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Introduction. Making the Past in Late and Post-Carolingian Historiography

Maximilian Diesenberger*

This article focuses on how different pasts were constructed in the late and post-Carolingian world. In order to create a past, authors active around the year 900 chose different strategies: they made use of specific text formats in order to distance themselves from the past; they drew on alternative sources and a new vocabulary. They changed the scale of their observation and took new liberties with their narratives, as they were not as firmly bound to inherited narratives as their predecessors had been. This had an effect on their authorial posture within their texts. Through their specific use of the past, these authors not only attempted to provide an image of a new reality – they went beyond this. By breaking off the present from the past, or emphasising certain aspects of the past while »forgetting« others, they were making an important contribution to the re-formation of their world.

Keywords: Carolingians; historiography; annals; social memory; empire; kingdoms

»The past was a very real presence in early medieval societies. It might provide a legitimating template for the current order of things, explaining how things were meant to be thus, or an image of an ideal order, a Golden age against which the present could be judged. Within a social group, shared beliefs about the past were a source of identity: the image of a common past informed a *›Wir-Gefühl‹* (a sense of ›us-ness‹), and the defining characteristics of that past identified those who were and were not part of ›us‹ in the present.«[1]

This is how Matthew Innes introduced the volume *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Hen and Innes) in 2000. The essays collected in this volume cover the period between 600 and 1200 in Italy, England and on different parts of the continent. This themed issue, however, concentrates on times of transition in the late and post-Carolingian world in western Europe as well as in tenth- and eleventh-century Georgia, Armenia and in Islamic Spain. One article even takes medieval China into account. In all these societies transformations took place, albeit for different reasons.

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1 Innes, Using the past, 1. See also Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*; Gantner *et al., Resources of the Past*, especially Pohl and Wood, Introduction. For new perspectives on the relation between historiography and identity see Pohl, Historiography. I would like to thank Richard Corradini, Paul Gazzoli, Thomas Gobbitt, Simon MacLean, Walter Pohl, Helmut Reimitz and Jelle Wassenaar for comments on this text.

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In the Latin West the Frankish Empire gave way to multiple different kingdoms, where Carolingian practices and (textual) traditions were more or less open to competition. In tenth-century Muslim Spain the Umayyad dynasty subdued all rebellions against their rule in al-Andalus, which was helped by profound changes in the Andalusi society, especially the processes of social Arabisation and Islamisation. In the same period, Byzantine expansion changed the political landscape of Armenia, with ambivalent reactions from the region's nobles. In Georgia, the kingdom of Kartli was repeatedly ravaged by Arabs and Persians, exacerbating the religious conflicts within the country. Political instability also prevailed in tenth-century China, the five dynasties period. These events and processes changed the social order within, or even the identity of, the respective societies and made the re-evaluation and re-formulation of their pasts necessary.

In what follows, some observations of how different pasts were constructed in the late and post-Carolingian world are presented, in order to open the topic up for discussion on a larger scale. The construction of the past is first and foremost a question of scale. While changes happened all the time in different localities and were also accompanied by texts, »times of transition« meant changes on a larger scale, whereby »scales« and »ranges« were themselves subject to transformation. An additional aspect is the complexity of the changes. These included not only the breakdown of the political system but also changes in the economic, cultural and social structures. In this paper I will focus on how the narrators of this period spoke about the past: which scales they chose, which sources and vocabularies they used to address changes in the social field, which genre they chose in the first place, how much freedom of story-telling they had and how they understood themselves as authors. But first and foremost in such periods, we sense the authors' awareness of living in their specific time period.

In 906 Regino of Prüm, for instance, writes in the introduction to his text *De synodalibus causis* to Archbishop Hatto of Mainz about the present as »dangerous times, a very bad time« (*periculosa tempora, pessimum tempus*).[2] Several of his contemporaries shared this view. Bishop Salomon of Constance sees only the collapse of morals, the brutalisation of human behaviour, the dissolution of cohesion, the lack of solidarity on all levels of society and even within families.[3] The participants in the Council of Trosly in 909 formulated things in a similar manner.[4]

At the same time, Bishop Dado of Verdun, confronted with his flock's fear of the apocalyptic Hungarian raiders, had to console himself with the words of Gregory the Great: »Our hardships have grown, everywhere we are surrounded by swords, everywhere we fear the imminent danger of death«, and so he continues: »What then remains for us, except to give thanks with tears while we endure the chastisements that we suffer on account of our sins?«[5] Such judgements of the present are not confined to the early years of the tenth century. Quite the opposite: the synods from the middle of the ninth century onwards lament the *tempus turbulentissimum* (c. 850),[6] *tempora angusta* (871)[7] and *tempora periculosa* (Fismes 881).[8]

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2 Regino of Prüm, *Libri duo de synodalibus*, ed. Hartmann, 21.

3 Salomon of Constance, *Carmen*, ed. von Winterfeld, 301.

4 *Synod of Trosly*, ed. Hartmann *et. al.*, 503-504.

5 *Epistola de Hungaris*, ed. Heilig, 16. See also Huygens, Témoin de la crainte.

6 *Synod of Moret* (c. 850), ed. Hartmann, 233.

7 *Synod of Doucy*, ed. Hartmann, 503 and 505.

8 *Synod of Fismes*, ed. Hartmann et al., 178.

The participants in the Council of Tribur (895) felt it necessary to set up a *novum paradigma* to counter the attacks of Satan and his followers.[9] Even in 920, such voices had not fallen silent, such as when Abbo of Saint Germain complained that the *regnum* was collapsing day by day, and that all the kings who had once protected the empire were long dead.[10] This assessment of the times had a point, even if drastic events had happened previously: the strife between Louis the Pious' sons, which reached its high point in 841; the battle of Fontenoy; almost annual Viking attacks; the incursions of the Hungarians; the empire drifting apart into several pieces, and the death of Charles III – the last emperor, at least in West Frankish perception.

In this generation of authors, a feeling of »lateness« had spread, a feeling of being at the end of an era and at the end of a chain of developments. Regino put this into words in his letter to Hatto when he labelled the present a »decrepit age« (*decrepita aetas*).[11] This has an eschatological touch, as the final age of the world in Bede and other authors, the *sexta aetas*. Regino also laments the scholarship which acquits itself so poorly in comparison to that of »inventive Latin antiquity« (*sollers latialis antiquitas*).[12] But the ideology of the *sexta aetas* per se was not necessarily a negative one. Almost at the same time (881), the unknown author of the *Chronicle of Albelda* also recognises in the kingdom of Asturia the end of the same (sixth) era. In this case, however, the author provides some positive impetus for the fight by the Christians against the Muslims in Spain.

This feeling of »lateness« entails a division between a recent and a more remote past. Where the boundaries fell and how these pasts were ordered was negotiated anew every time. Simon MacLean has recently drawn our attention to how Regino of Prüm used the *Annales regni Francorum* in his reconstruction of the history of Charlemagne. For the entry under the year 813, Regino remarks, »I discovered the things which have been laid out above in a certain booklet composed in the language of plebeians and rustics.«[13] A piece of writing propagated by the court and used as a »narrative of triumph« is thus devalued here, quite astonishingly.[14] But in light of his comments on the scholarship of Antiquity, which, in Regino's view, was cultivated by Archbishop Hatto in his own time, we can come to the conclusion that a gap had been created between the present and the more recent past. This is not the »floating gap« which Jan Assmann writes about as that moving boundary which separates cultural from communicative memory and which has been transmitted through first-hand experience.[15] Rather, this gap is created by Regino himself. Events from the past are actively made bad.[16] For Notker, a monk of St Gall and the author of an idiosyncratic biography of Charlemagne intended for Charles the Fat only twenty years earlier than Regino, the age of Charlemagne had been represented as a Golden age in comparison to *ignavia moderna*.[17] Either way, the expression of feeling late was a powerful tool for creating awareness and sensitivity for the present.

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9 *Synod of Tribur,* ed. Hartmann et al., 343.

10 Abbo of Saint-Germain, *Sermo adversus raptores,* ed. Önnerfors, 285-287. See also West, *Fratres*.

11 Regino, *Libri duo de synodalibus causis,* ed. Hartmann, 21.

12 Regino, *Libri duo de synodalibus causis,* ed. Hartmann, 21.

13 Regino of Prüm, *Chronicle, s.a.* 813, trans. MacLean, 129.

14 Airlie, Narratives of triumph.

15 Assmann, *Kulturelles Gedächtnis.*

16 MacLean, Insinuation.

17 Notker Balbulus, *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris* 2.16 ed. Haefele, 81; Goetz, Historiographisches Zeitbewußtsein, 165.

Another technique for arranging the past is to deny that it contained events that were meaningful or worthy of memory. Concerning the era of Louis the Pious, Regino reports, »I have not found written texts, nor heard from the *seniores* anything that was worth committing to memory«.[18] Simon MacLean has rightly pointed out that such an expression is extremely strange in light of the surviving manuscript material from that very period,[19] but Regino clearly would not and was not required to report anything concrete about this time. By 900, stories, reports and texts about Louis the Pious and his successors were clearly no longer so important as to be expected or demanded by the audience of a historiographical text. Applied to this very political aspect of social life, this meant that the early Carolingians – even Charlemagne and Louis the Pious – were no longer necessarily as central to identity as before, or perhaps *should* no longer have this function, according to Regino himself. Their histories were at least not so familiar and cared for, not to say protected, that a reader or recipient of the text would immediately look up in consternation when he read Regino's dismissive comments. Similar processes can be observed in historiographical texts from different regions. The disappearance of the Armenian lay and clerical elites following the Byzantine annexation of the principality of Tarōn in the tenth century, for instance, allowed the unknown author of the *History of Tarōn* to subvert centuries-old practices in his text and to reshuffle the historical meaning of churches, monasteries and other cult sites in order to justify the »radical transformation« in the ecclesiological landscape happening in their own time.

Freed of limitations, taking liberties with dates could also be another technique. With Regino in particular, we can observe looseness with years: Lothar married Theutberga in 855, not in 856 as mentioned in the *Chronicle*; the Treaty of Verdun was concluded in 843, not in 842; the first attack by the Northmen on the banks of the river Loire happened in 843, not in 853; Nominoe, king of the Bretons, died in 851 and not in 862, and so on.[20] Some of these erroneous datings are due to the devaluation of this era, while others are entirely due to the author's calculations with the aim of lending an exaggerated importance to selected events and identifying a turning point. Again, Regino of Prüm provides an example of how to arrange events in order to create meaning. The key event in Regino's *Chronicle* took place in 888. In the passage referring to this year, he vividly describes the crisis of political authority that erupted in the Carolingian Empire after Charles the Fat's deposition and death. After Charles's death, chaos, lack of hierarchy and lack of hegemony prevailed.[21] Even Arnolf, a hero in the *Annals of Fulda*, for instance, »was only simply one more ruler in what was now a landscape crowded with rulers«, as Stuart Airlie put it.[22] To highlight the immediate effects of Charles's death, a clear break with a glorious past had to be illustrated. Regino assigned this role to the Hungarians, who were a new, alien people on the borders of the Frankish realms with the potential to become a real threat to the larger social whole (in contrast to the Northmen, who raided Prüm in 882 and 892, but were never described in the *Chronicle*

18 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 813, trans. MacLean, 129.

19 MacLean, Carolingian past, 19.

20 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 856, 842, 853, 862, trans. MacLean 135, 132, 133, 138; Goetz, Historiographisches Zeitbewußtsein, 169. But see West, Knowledge, 151-153, who refers to a lack of sources in Trier due to a Viking raid in 882.

21 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 888, trans. MacLean, 198-202.

22 Airlie, »Sad stories«, 121-122.

in similar fashion). In the entry for the year 889, he therefore offers a long excursus on the *gens Hungrorum* »… who were more savage than any beast«, and who threatened the entire empire.[23] In the first years of the tenth century, when Regino wrote the *Chronicle*, it was obvious to everyone how dangerous the Hungarians really were, because everybody was acquainted with their raids in northern Italy in 899/900. But no other contemporary source reports Hungarian raids in 889 or in the next two years. It is only in 892 that the *Annals of Fulda* tell us about Hungarians fighting for Arnulf of Carinthia, king of East Francia, against the Moravians.[24] To put the *excursus* on the Hungarians in the account of 889 was therefore a dramaturgical decision by the historian. It was meant to frame an important moment of late Carolingian history – the death of Charles the Fat – with an appropriate threat. But there is more: Regino of Prüm wrote the *Chronicle* for Louis the Child in 908 for a purpose, as Simon MacLean and Eric Goldberg argue in their contribution of this issue. To safeguard the future of Carolingian rule in East Francia, Regino hoped to influence the king's inner circle to select an appropriate royal bride. Because of this, it was appropriate to suppress bad news about the royal family. Connecting the Hungarian threats with Charles the Fat's death helped to conceal the responsibility of Arnulf, Louis the Child's father, for the steppe-riders' introduction into Carolingian polities. Rumours were circulating that Arnulf once opened the gates of Europe to the marauding Hungarians. Moreover, the young king had failed to protect his realm against the Hungarians, especially in the battle of Bratislava in 907, when a large number of Bavarian aristocrats had lost their lives. In locating the appearance of the Hungarians in the context of the death of Charles the Fat, responsibility for the rising power of the steppe riders and the inadequate defensive measures of 907 was neatly shifted to events and circumstances which occurred before the ruling king was even born. 888 was clearly a gap in history for Regino of Prüm and his contemporaries,[25] but 889 was intentionally created for the reasons mentioned above.

Authors from different regions used selected chronological frames in order to give their narratives a specific orientation. The unknown author of the *Chronicle of Albelda* for instance used biblical computations in order to create an historical account in eras which framed the rules and deeds of the Roman kings and emperors. To Eduardo Manzano this chronological order was »a hint of a divine plan that was unfolding in the course of time« and which should culminate in efforts by the Asturian kings to expel the Muslims from Iberia. Employing a similar technique in late tenth-century Armenia, Uxtanēs of Sebasteia merged an already existing *History of the Armenians* with a list of Roman emperors, split into seventeen sections. In doing so, the author provided the Armenian past not only with a chronological framework, as Timothy Greenwood argues, but also with symbolic meaning, because between Aeneas and Romulus there had been 17 kings.

For many authors in the Middle Ages, but explicitly for Regino of Prüm, creating the past meant actively »forgetting« the deeds of earlier generations, talking their cultural heritage down, identifying turning points in the history of the realm or of a people, and re-arranging events in order to create a new narrative. It is characteristic of this period of transformation

23 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 889, trans. MacLean, 202-207.

24 *Annales Fuldenses, s.a.* 892, ed. Kurze, 121.

25 See henceforth Diesenberger, Straining after effect.

that there are thresholds between different pasts. This again does not correspond to the floating gap (of 80 to 100 years) which separates communicative from cultural memory, as defined by Jan Assmann.[26] The immediate past is naturally always more (socially) real, more threatening, more political. It must be described more precisely, with care, caution and calculation. Regino demonstrates this as well, by being forced by his own involvement in Lotharingian politics into mere insinuations and even a gap in the text.[27] In times of transition, authors are confronted with a number of events that cannot be placed into a simple narrative strand, like the rebellion of Louis the Pious' sons in 830, which had consequences for the continuation of one of the most influential historiographical texts of this time. The *Frankish Royal Annals* stopped because it was no longer possible to reach a consensus about the text »as the valid narrative of the Carolingian past and present«, as Helmut Reimitz put it.[28] In the following decades the political conditions became more confused, obliging the authors to make manifold decisions and weigh up their positions in order to build a reliable narrative of what had happened. Simon MacLean and Eric Goldberg demonstrate in their contribution how prudently the legitimacy of Louis the Child is strengthened, while his opponent's (Charles the Simple's) line of descent is carefully but decisively devalued throughout Regino's *Chronicle*. Prudence was advised, because the West Frankish king, Charles, showed an interest in Lotharingia, where Regino lived and wrote his text.[29] In a similarly complicated situation, Uxtanēs of Sebasteia wrote a sophisticated history on the relations between Romans and Armenians in the last years of the tenth century, in a time when Armenians in and around Sebasteia were divided in ecclesiological matters into factions which supported or opposed the Imperial, i.e. Byzantine, Church.

The liberty of choice has its advantages, but also several disadvantages. Above all, there is no centre of authority, no hegemon, who makes it easier for the author to present his text as the expression of this dominant authority. This all leads to the authors perceiving themselves as actors and presenting themselves actively in their texts. This applied to Regino of Prüm as well as to Liudprand of Cremona, Flodoard of Reims and Widukind of Corvey. They have all integrated autobiographical notes into their works.[30] In his *Chronicle,* Regino reflects more than once on his replacement as abbot of Prüm[31] The second book of the *Chronicle* becomes much more detailed in 892, when his deposition took place. The concentration on the more recent past was already dealt with in Regino's entry for 813:

26 Assmann, *Kulturelles Gedächtnis.*

27 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 892, trans. MacLean, 212-214.

28 Reimitz, *History* 425.

29 About this and other political factions see MacLean, Insinuation, 12-15.

30 Flodoard of Reims, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, 4.28, ed. Stratmann, 419. Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum* 1.1, ed. Hirsch and Lohmann, 4; Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, 3.1, ed. Chiesa, 68.

31 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 892 and 899, trans. MacLean, 212-214 and 224; MacLean, Insinuation, 12.

> »Concerning the times of the emperor Louis [the Pious, 814-40] I have included very little because I have not found written texts, nor heard from the elders anything that was worth committing to memory. However, I have more to say about the deeds of the emperor Lothar [I, 840-55] and his brothers, the kings of the Franks. And where it comes up to our own times, I have made my narrative broader: ›for things we have seen‹, as Jerome says, ›are told in one way, and those we have heard in another: those things we know better, we also explain better.‹«[32]

In the first place, it was the rupture in *his* biography, which explains the broadening of the narration. Secondly, in a society built around a strong dynastic centre, the cultivation of memory reaches very far back: old stories have a longer effect; there are obligations which go back decades, rhetorical understandings as to how many events are dealt with, norms about what can be passed over and what can be mentioned. Regino deals with all this rather summarily, as the political landscape had changed completely after Louis the Pious.

When these obligations towards the past no longer exist, or are no longer important (at least on the surface), then this gap can be expressed clearly, as Regino does in his devaluation of the time of Louis the Pious. Another example is offered by the *Annals of Quedlinburg*, compiled in the first years of the eleventh century, which have a gap between 873 and 910. This is in no way due to some kind of lack of knowledge, but rather the concern to make allowance for the beginning of a new power in the East Frankish Kingdom. The entry for 873 ends with the report of a great famine in *Germania*. In the previous year, the church of St. Mary in Hildesheim (which was highly important for the Ottonians) had been consecrated by Bishop Altfrid.[33] The entry for 911 reports the death of Louis the Child and the succession of Conrad – the first non-Carolingian and elected king. But in 913 the really important event is noted: the death of Otto the Illustrious, Duke of Saxony, the father of Henry I – he is labelled *stemma imperatoria* in the text. Above all, attention is drawn to the birth of Otto the Great in the same year.[34] Between the years of 873 and 910, every single year is listed, but not filled out with a narrative. This visual desert, from whose barren horizon only the death of the last Carolingian ruler stands out before the new material begins, is presaged by natural disasters, as recorded in the annals for 862, 867, 868, 872 and 873.[35] In the *Germania* plagued by famine and laid waste by locusts, the most fruitful tree of the *propago Otthonum* took root, which would be of the greatest importance for all *Europa*, as the annalist notes.

In this example, not only the length of time is important, but also the scales of observation and the ranges of rulership. We see an expansion from »Germania« to »Europa«. Liudprand of Cremona also announces in his *Antapodosis* that he will, coming from this Ottonian perspective, report the »deeds of the Emperors and Kings of all Europe«.[36] But he begins his text with *Fraxinetum* (today's La Garde-Freinet, France). This is a very notable change of scale: from »all Europe« to a small, unimportant locality, which, according to Liudprand, had once been captured by no more than twenty Muslims.[37] The inclusion of this place and

32 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 813, trans. MacLean, 129.

33 *Annales Quedlinburgenses, s.a.* 873-910, ed. Giese, 451-452.

34 *Annales Quedlinburgenses, s.a.* 913, ed. Giese, 453-454.

35 *Annales Quedlinburgenses, s.a.* 862, 867, 868, 872 and 873, ed. Giese 450-451.

36 Liudprand, *Antapodosis,* 1.1, 5.

37 Liudprand, *Antapodosis,* 1.3, 6-7.

event did not come out of nowhere: this focus on *Fraxinetum* is clearly a hidden message for Recemund, the Christian bishop to whom Liudprand dedicated his text and who served as ʾAbd al-Rahman III's ambassador to the court of Otto I.[38] Naturally, *Fraxinetum* was known to Liudprand's contemporaries. In the second quarter of the tenth century the Muslims of *Fraxinetum* regularly raided transalpine travellers.[39] Ultimately the Muslims had kidnapped Maiolus, the abbot of Cluny, and the Saracens were an important power in their own right in the Mediterranean area.[40] Moreover, it was not that far from Cremona, where Liudprand himself was based, and, on top of this, King Berengar, whom Liudprand rejected, came from Provence. In this regard, the treatment of *Fraxinetum* in the *Antapodosis* is no exception to the rule. Generally, it should be kept in mind that the focus of historiographical texts is often concentrated on smaller places and events, but to *begin* a historiographical text in such a place is a notable exception. In contrast to older texts, this narrative does not start with a noteworthy event that can immediately be situated within a larger social whole, for example with the death of Emperor Charles the Fat, which could have furnished a framework into which the attack on *Fraxinetum* could be situated. Quite the opposite – the author draws attention to a small, insignificant, nearly banal event in the past in an unimportant place, which nonetheless, over the course of time, developed to a considerable threat, an insignificant injury that became a festering wound.

Through this choice of beginning, Liudprand indirectly points to the fragmentation of western Europe in the late-Carolingian past – a Europe without a centre, divided into kingdoms, in which the ranges of power were not sufficient to fend off intruders; a fragmented society, in which the range of enemies could easily expand because of a lack of unity among neighbours. The change of scale in the first pages of Liudprand's work makes a clear break with the past, both in terms of content and form. As we can see here, a period of transition is a time when scales are shifted.

The shift in power relations was reflected in all areas of life. In the 920s there were six or seven kings in the former (Carolingian) empire and only one of them was a »Carolingian«. The drifting apart of the Carolingian Empire, which had already begun in the middle of the ninth century, had already had an effect on historiographical texts at that point. Already in the ninth century, the focus of the *Annales Bertiniani* is on Western Francia, while the *Annales Fuldenses* focus on the eastern realm.[41] But even there, several centres provided focal points, such as Mainz, Fulda and Regensburg.[42] The narratives orient themselves increasingly according to alternative scales. Flodoard in his *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* concentrated on »regional histories« rather than only on political history, which had consequences for his annals as well.[43] Above all, in the place of historiographical works we see the rise of *Gesta episcoporum,* which place bishops and the history of their bishoprics centre stage: the scale

38 Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, 3; Leyser, Ends and means.

39 Flodoard of Reims, *Annales s.a.* 921, 923, 929, 931 etc., ed. Lauer, 5, 19, 44-45, 47 etc.; Bruce, *Cluny and the Muslims,* 29.

40 Bruce, *Cluny and the Muslims*, 6-12.

41 *Annales Bertiniani,* ed. Waitz; trans Nelson.

42 *Annales Fuldenses, s.a.* 830-863 (= *Continuatio Fuldensis*), *s.a.* 864-887 (= *Continuatio Mogontiacensis*), *s.a.* 882-897 (= *Continuatio Ratisbonensis*), ed. Kurze.

43 Flodoard of Reims, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, ed. Stratmann.

has thus become smaller.[44] In this, the scale follows the diminution in the range of rulership, for instance in the case of Arnulf's precarious rule in Italy and Lotharingia even narrated by the *Annales Fuldenses*.[45] The *Annales Fuldenses* also demonstrate the smaller political range of Arnulf of Carinthia, who was able to assert himself against Zwentibald in Italy but not in Lotharingia. The diminution in factual political rulership is also the theme of many narratives about counts and other *potentes*. Thus Count Boso of Burgundy, characterised as malevolent in the *Vita* of Johannes of Gorze, is criticised with regards to his behaviour, as his rulership effectively ends outside his area of office. The roads in his area are plagued by bandits.[46]

The choice of scale depended on the position of the author and of the audience he was writing for. In his contribution to this issue Timothy Greenwood observes a focus in Armenian historiography of the tenth century upon the districts and regions of the south and the east. Whilst the reason for this focalisation is difficult to determine, the scale of the historical works changed according to the political situation in Armenia: in times of active resistance against the Byzantine rule the focus was narrower. But when the benefits of the Byzantine Empire became apparent for the Armenian elite, Stepʻanos Tarōnecʻi wrote *The Universal History*, demonstrating the great risks in ceasing their resistance. Obviously becoming a smaller part of a big empire encouraged the author to report about the bad deeds of Roman emperors in a large-scale history.

In late Carolingian societies, though, serious problems of dissolution prevailed. The reduction of areas of power at various levels also conditioned changes in territorial names and group names. The Carolingian *imperium* once shaped groups in different ways and held them together. Consequently, it was not only the confusing past which bothered the authors of the late ninth/beginning of the tenth century. The definitions or the common denominators of social groups themselves now had to be (re)negotiated. Old designations such as *Gallia comata* began to surface again. New names for enemies were dug up from older texts, such as the *Getae* for the Northmen, which the monk Ulmarus took from Jordanes.[47] New names drawn from Antiquity were applied to various political situations, such as the *gens Tungrorum* for the rebellious people of Liège, who, in the author's view, have the »wrong« bishop; or the *gens Aquitanica*, referring to the rebels of that province.[48] From the early 870s, the *Annales Fuldenses* refer to the Bavarians alternatively as *Baiuvarii* and *Norici* (and the latter are distinguished from the Slavs). *Norici* is a modification of the name of an old Roman province, which in reality no longer fit.[49] Obviously, in the late Carolingian world antique names helped authors to identify the changed political conditions; similarly the *Chronicles* of northern Spain made extensive use of Biblical denominations to identify the political and cultural Other.

44 Riches, The changing political horizons.

45 *Annales Fuldenses*, *s.a.* 893-899, ed. Kurze 122-133.

46 *Hystoria de vita*, c. 105, 1 and 107-108, ed. Jacobsen, 394-395 and 400-403.

47 Ulmarus, *Libellus de virtutibus,* cc. 1 and 2, ed. Holder-Egger, 399.

48 Abbo of Saint-Germain, *Sermo adversus raptores*, ed. Önnerfors, 94-99, trans. Cross and Brown, 285-7. Adrevald of Fleury, *Miracula Sancti Benedicti*, c. 23, ed. Holder-Egger, 495.

49 *Annales Fuldenses, s.a.* 877, 882, 884 and 887, ed. Kurze 90, 98, 101 and 106.

Moreover, these repertoires also enabled authors to understand and explain complex social and political relations. Justin's *Epitome*, for instance, helped Regino of Prüm set the divergent forces of a society into precise language, not merely by reporting internal conflicts but also by reflecting on them. In this, the decisive factor is the level of reflection.[50] But mostly the texts these terms were taken from had their own specific notions of social cohesion and belonging, and more importantly, they offered alternative political frames. Texts from the more distant, pre-Carolingian past especially helped in distancing oneself from the more recent Carolingian past. The use of Vergil's *Georgics* and *Eclogues* presented an idealised image of the era of Augustus, which could be contrasted with the later Carolingian Empire. The acts of martyrs and accounts of their translations emphasised the Christian roots of Europe. As Geoffrey Koziol put it, »The very frame of history has changed from empire to Church, where the Church is an apostolic foundation led by bishops and nourished by the blood of martyrs.«[51] From this perspective, we can also see how texts written by Gregory the Great in around 600 became a resource for episcopal authority in the era after the Carolingian Empire. Gregory's letter collection »was a mirror [for bishops on] how to survive, and indeed to prosper in a world otherwise spinning out of control.«[52]

The change to alternative frameworks was not limited to matters of content, but was also put into words through the use of other forms of text. In the second half of the ninth century, the number of hagiographical texts rose considerably, mainly because of numerous relic translations imposed by pressure from Norman and Hungarian raids. Martyrologies, like that of Usuardus, promised to provide spiritual stability for monastic communities in an ever changing world. In contrast, in the tenth century, annals nearly disappeared. Regino's decision to compose a chronicle was a conscious invocation of an older tradition. On the whole, historiographic texts became notably fewer, but in compensation, poetry was employed more. Abbo of Saint Germain cast the account of the defence of Paris against the Northmen in the last years of the ninth century in verse.[53] In 906, Bishop Salomon of Constance expressed his concerns about the Empire under the reign of Louis the Child in a long epistolary poem.[54] And the *Gesta Berengarii imperatoris* was written in around 920 in more than 1000 hexameters.[55] Every author had his own reasons for choosing this genre. Abbo of Saint-Germain in any event focused on specific events, which he then formed into a turning-point for Frankish history: the defence of Paris in the time of the disintegration of the Carolingian realm and the advent of a new ruler, Odo of Paris. The epic nature of these events was underpinned by the use of dactylic hexameter, and, what is more, the form of verse allowed a more or less synchronic representation of the divergent events which naturally occur in battle. Moreover, the Viking raids on Paris reported here stretched from the year 885 to 896 and were arranged year after year. In this way, a typically Carolingian format, namely that of annals, was chosen to represent a diachronic

50 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 890, trans. MacLean, 290.

51 Koziol, Future of history, 29.

52 Leyser, Memory, 197.

53 Abbo of Saint Germain, *De bello Parisiaco, ed. von Winterfeld*

54 Salomon of Constance, *Carmen, 1,* ed. von Winterfeld.

55 *Gesta Berengarii imperatoris,* ed. von Winterfeld.

chain of events. This, however, required squeezing events into a narrative strand, which in this time-period was often no longer successful: from the 860s/870s onwards, for example, the *Annals of Fulda* had to include information from other decades in their yearly entries, in order to make the events of every year understandable. The events of Paris were thus »double-formatted« and so formed a watershed between the (recent) past and the present.

In order to create a past, authors active around 900 used different strategies: they chose specific text formats in order to distance themselves from the past; they employed alternative sources and a new vocabulary; they changed the scale of their observation and took new liberties with their narratives, as they were not quite as firmly bound to inherited narratives as their predecessors. This also had an effect on their authorial posture within their texts.

Through their specific use of the past, these texts not only attempted to provide an image of a new reality, they went beyond this: their efforts to break the present off from the past, or to emphasise certain aspects of the past and to »forget« others, makes clear that they were making an essential contribution to the re-formation of their world.

Each of the authors and actors whose works and deeds are discussed in the following articles had the difficult task of handling the past. Not all of them used written records, but dealt either with oral tradition, like the lay advocates and notaries who discussed legal customs in tenth-century Raetia, or reused the material culture of a long-ago era, like the caliphs of al-Andalus, who reused Roman sarcophagi and statues as an active process of appropriation and reinterpretation of Antiquity. Some of the authors and actors were confronted with the social and discursive effects of fragmentation. In their respective articles Simon MacLean, Eric Goldberg, and Stefan Esders analyse two important aspects of transforming the Carolingian past: the question of legitimacy and continuation of the ruling dynasty, and the role of legal customs and written law in a period when the empire broke apart and governmental structures became regionalised. In both cases old traditions and practices were re-evaluated in order to make the present fit for a promising future. Stefan Esders also underlines that legal pluralism was already established at the very beginning of the Carolingian Empire, a postulation which is also valid for other areas of social, political and cultural life in the first half of the ninth century. The idea of fragmentation often leads to inappropriate conclusions, for instance that the central region of an empire remains culturally and politically decisive after its breakdown.

However, it was not only in the Carolingian heartland regions, such as Lotharingia and Raetia, that Carolingian texts and traditions remained important, but also in the border regions or in neighbouring kingdoms like Catalonia and England. Matthias Tischler demonstrates in his contribution how the very periphery of the Carolingian Empire, Catalonia, became a centre of Carolingian knowledge and manuscript transmission in the ninth to the eleventh centuries, despite older literature qualifying the long tenth century as a »dark age« of literacy.

A large number of Carolingian books had also already reached England by the end of the ninth century, such as Usuard's *Martyrology*, a volume containing stories on late antique martyrs' lives and deaths. In contrast to genuine early English martyrologies, the Carolingian texts focused on the historicity of the material, thus creating a Church history of the ancient past. In her contribution Sarah Hamilton investigates how the »historical-mindedness« of Carolingian churchmen like Usuard was passed to their tenth and eleventh century successors in early Medieval England and how this text shaped the society in which it was read.

While the Latin West reflected on Carolingian political styles and texts, most of the Spanish peninsula was part of the dar al-Islam, which, although it clearly differed from the Christian world, nevertheless based its knowledge on the same cultural legacy from Late Antiquity

as the Christian kingdoms in the North. In their paper Eduardo Manzano Moreno and Jorge Elices Ocón compare the use of this classical heritage in both cultural milieus in times of crisis and transition.

Late antique cultural heritage and the Christian past were important sources for many authors in the successor states of the Roman Empire in the entire Mediterranean area and beyond. The Byzantine expansion to the east led to a serious crisis in tenth-century Armenia, provoking contemporary authors to rewrite Armenian history on the basis of late antique sources and Church history. Timothy Greenwood examines three different historiographical works, which deal with Roman-Armenian encounters in the past. The role of saints and their cult sites was particularly significant in defining the past. That was also the case in early Medieval Georgia, where disputes about the confessional identity of the kingdom Kartli – pro or contra Chalcedonian – determine the historiography until today, as Emma Loosley Leeming demonstrates in her contribution. The past was and is still today a source of identity.

The long tenth century certainly had its ups and downs in most of the regions discussed in this themed issue, but it cannot just be qualified as a »dark« or »iron« age, stressing the downside of fragmentation, conflict, violence and cultural decline, as is traditionally argued for the tenth-century Latin West.[56] Expanding the focus will allow similar processes and events happening on a larger scale to be recognised. The contribution from Alice Hicklin on social and discursive traditions of hostage-giving from Ireland to China demonstrates how many writers in these different parts of the world experimented, often in a very similar manner, with »new modes and models of approaching their past, responding to their present«. Sometimes there is no need to go very far to become aware of alternative dynamics of transformation in this period. The Spanish peninsula alone provides decisive findings in this respect. Despite, or even due to, constant conflicts and tensions between the Christian North and the Islamic South, both cultures produced extraordinary texts. In tenth-century Umayyad Spain the *Historiae adversos paganos* of Paulus Orosius were translated into Arabic and adapted for Islamic history, while in Catalonia the so-called *Luculentius Homiliary* tackled, on the basis of classical texts, the religious, political and social problems of this frontier society including the relationship to the Muslims. The middle ground between the Carolingian and Mediterranean worlds was indeed an intellectually and culturally fertile area. Like this example, all the contributions in this themed issue show that master narratives like that of the »decline of an empire« often conceal a wide range of social practices and critical discourses on smaller scales. Times of transition in general and the long tenth century in particular can be regarded as periods of experimentation and of exceptional productivity, especially when it comes to the »uses of the past«.

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56 Zimmermann, *Das dunkle Jahrhundert.*

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Abbreviations
MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica

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The Church as a Governance Actor in a Period of Post-Imperial Transition: Delegation of Fiscal Rights and Legal Change in 10th-century Churraetia[1]

Stefan Esders*

Taking the Alpine region of Churraetia as a case study, this paper investigates processes of fiscal delegation, their preconditions, their legal construction, and their consequences. As Churraetia maintained many features of Roman provincial administration and statehood well into the Carolingian period, the article's first part traces how fiscal revenues and rights came to be delegated to the episcopal church of Chur via royal privilege from the mid-9th century until 960. The delegation of fiscal rights usually happened in special situations when kings and grantees agreed on a closer cooperation in the future. In the course of this process, which in the case of Churraetia eventually turned a former Roman province into an ecclesiastical principality, the episcopal church became a governance actor that would play a crucial rule in exercising public functions such as tax collection, jurisdiction and military recruitment. Ecclesiastical property (often deriving from royal munificence) and fiscal income became indispensable means for performing these functions. The article's second part focuses on the situation of 912 when the newly elected East Frankish king Conrad I, the first ruler of non-Carolingian stock, conferred two special privileges on the episcopal church of Chur: Conrad's grant of the right to conduct inquisition procedure by compulsory witness in order to protect ecclesiastical property effectively meant that procedural law typical for the »public sphere« now came into the hands of the bishop of Chur. Conrad's second stipulation, that the thirty-year period of proscription should not to be applied against the interest of the bishop of Chur, has to be seen against the background of legal pluralism in this region, in which several legal traditions were in conflict: while Roman law allowed a slave to rid himself of his master after thirty years, Aleman law forbade this, just as the idea that ecclesiastical property was regarded as inalienable spoke against the application of the thirty-years rule to the detriment of the church. Responding to ecclesiastical networks supporting his rule, Conrad thus had the Roman legal rule of prescription branded as a »bad custom« (*mala consuetudo*). As is finally argued in a more general perspective, in historical situations of political transition legal pluralism and legal change could lead to a new qualification of what had formerly been seen in more positive terms as »custom«.

Keywords: law; custom; fiscal rights; inquisition procedure; prescription; slavery and serfdom; delegation; Churraetia; polyptychs; royal charters

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In a European perspective, the 10th century appears in many regions as a period of post-imperial transition. In the various successor states of the Carolingian Empire we can observe the creation of new arrangements of »power structures« between kings and nobles. These processes seem to have corresponded to a shift in power structures, as one would expect when empires break apart and old governmental structures become regionalized and relations between rulers and nobles become reshaped. An instructive aspect to understand these processes of decentralization is the role played by ecclesiastical actors – monasteries and episcopal churches in particular. As evidence coming from administrative and legal documents preserved in ecclesiastical archives illustrates from a local perspective, these developments did not simply happen *via facti*, but appear to have been handled in a fairly organized manner.

To a certain extent, these early medieval practices of decentralizing government structures were rooted in administrative traditions of the Roman Empire. The process of delegating political and administrative functions to ecclesiastical institutions in Western Europe – thereby making »the church« a »governance actor« or indeed a »co-producer of statehood«[2] – can, in some of its features, be traced back to Late Antiquity or more precisely, to late-Roman statehood, if we think, for instance, of episcopal jurisdiction (*episcopalis audientia*) or the manumission of slaves in the church, both of which were already legally acknowledged by the first Christian emperor Constantine I.[3] In the post-Roman West, by the Merovingian period we can observe how large monasteries and episcopal churches were granted immunities that entitled them to exact taxes from their dependents, and that also, from the 7th century onward, often included the right to exercise some sort of jurisdiction over its tenants, excluding the royal functionaries from carrying out this kind of business (interdiction of *introitus*).[4] In the Carolingian period, the contents of these immunities often became extended, with many monasteries being granted special royal protection.[5] It is from the 8th century onward that we can see how monasteries and larger churches also became involved in military recruitment so that they constituted a part of the Carolingian army.[6] Already under Charlemagne, when he ordered the oath of fidelity to be sworn by his subjects in 789, the crucial role of abbots and bishops in commanding relevant parts of the army is amply visible.[7] In the 9th century, famous monasteries such as Fulda seem to have exercised quite a number of important secular and indeed military functions, as charters and diplomas illustrate.[8] A further stage in this development can be observed in the Ottonian period, when Carolingian policies of delegating public functions were developed further.[9] The appointment of bishops and abbots, who had often previously been in royal service in the royal chapel (*Hofkapelle*), was put more strictly under royal control,[10] while in the course of the tenth century we can also see how counties were added to bishoprics.[11] On closer inspection, however, many such

2 For some more general thoughts on this topic, see Esders and Schuppert, *Mittelalterliches Regieren*.

3 See the references from the laws collected by Leo Karl Noethlichs, Materialien zum Bischofsbild.

4 Kaiser, Steuer und Zoll; Id., *Bischofsherrschaft;* Murray, Merovingian immunity revisited.

5 Semmler, Traditio und Königsschutz.

6 Prinz, *Klerus und Krieg;* Id., Karolingischer Klerus und Krieg; for the 10th century, see Auer, Kriegsdienst des Klerus.

7 Ed. Boretius, MGH *Capitularia regum Francorum* 1, no. 25, 66-67.

8 As a case study, see Lübeck, Reichskriegsdienste des Klosters Fulda.

9 Schieffer, *Ottonisch-salische Reichskirchenpolitik.*

10 Fleckenstein, *Hofkapelle;* Reuter, »Imperial Church System«.

11 Hoffmann, Grafschaften in Bischofshand.

developments did not simply emanate from some sort of programmatic policy, but appear to be driven by special situations and local conditions that could vary enormously.[12] Each case thus deserves a special study that brings to light the individual circumstances where the evidence allows for painting a more nuanced picture.

Churraetia, the Alpine region dealt with in this article, witnessed a less straightforward development during the first centuries of Frankish rule. *Raetia Curiensis*, the area centred around the city of Chur, which in Roman times was the capital of the province *Raetia prima*, is well known as a region with a remarkable impact or continuity of Roman culture well into the Carolingian period and after.[13] Chur continued to be an important place in the early medieval period, as we find the governor of this region often still called a *praeses*. Churraetia was a Latin-speaking region, and the predominant legal text to be applied within this territory appears to be the *Lex Romana Curiensis*,[14] an 8th-century compilation of Roman law based on the Breviary of Alaric, which was also known in Churraetia.[15] To be sure, there were also Alemanni, Bavarians and Lombards living in this region, but Churraetia was one of the few areas of the Frankish kingdom, and certainly the only one of the East Frankish kingdom, where Roman law was regarded as the dominant legal system, though with certain adjustments.[16] In fact, several rulers, including Charlemagne as early as 772, had guaranteed that local »law and custom« (*lex et consuetudo*) be observed in Churraetia, as has been emphasized by Reinhold Kaiser, who also pointed to the *Capitula Remedii* as an important text originating in Churraetia and revealing a remarkable fusion of Frankish capitulary law and local law, possibly intended as a *capitulare legibus addendum*.[17] Moreover, the private charters that have come down to us from Churraetia, including the famous Folcwin dossier from the early 9th century, display a remarkable awareness of Roman legal clauses and figures and point to a legal culture in which trained lay advocates or notaries played a significant role.[18] The emperor Lothar I, when confirming his predecessors' grants in 843, renewed royal protection for the people (*populus*) and the bishop of Churraetia stating that no external functionaries should impose unjust laws and customs (*iniustas leges et consuetudines inponere*).[19] And still in a *placitum* of 920, documenting a legal dispute between the bishop of Chur and the abbot of the neighbouring Aleman abbey of St Gall about the abbey of Pfäfers, situated in Raetia, we find an order of the Aleman Duke Burchard that

12 See the criticism of Reuter, »Imperial Church System«, and Hoffmann, Grafschaften in Bischofshand.

13 Kaiser, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter*; on Raetian Romanness, see also Zeller, Romanen, Räter und Walchen.

14 *Lex Romana Curiensis,* ed. Meyer-Marthaler; Meyer-Marthaler, *Römisches Recht in Rätien*; Siems, Zur *Lex Romana Curiensis.*

15 See e.g., Müller, Neue Handschrift.

16 See also Esders, Roman law.

17 Ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret, Bündner Urkundenbuch 1, no. 19, 23-25. All royal charters given to Chur will be cited according to this edition, abbreviated as BUB 1; cf. R. Kaiser, Autonomie, Integration, bilateraler Vertrag; Kaiser, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter*, 247 and 275-276; *Id., Capitula Remedii,* 146-181; Siems, Recht in Rätien.

18 Fichtenau, *Urkundenwesen*, 38-53; Erhart und Kleindinst, *Urkundenlandschaft Rätien*, 83-90; Bullimore, Folcwin of Rankweil; Erhart, Erratische Blöcke; Innes, Practices of property; Kleindinst, Folcwin Archiv.

19 BUB 1, no. 63*, ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret, 55-56: *»quod ipsi et praedecessores eorum reges Francorum memoratum populum sub plenissima tuitione mundeburdo atque defensione constitutum semper habuisset, ita ut nullus exteriorem po[t]entes et propinquos eorum nec etiam ipsos iniustas leges et consuetudines inponere debuissent«.*

the Alemans and Romans should settle the dispute »according to Roman law«.[20] So there appears to be plenty of evidence that Roman law continued to be the prevalent legal system in 10th-century Raetia. But it needs to be emphasized that besides Roman law, the legal tradition of this region included a number of further texts and practices, such as ecclesiastical law, royal charters and capitularies preserved in Raetian manuscripts and, of course, orally transmitted legal custom.[21] Practically, this meant that only local people with legal knowledge could know how one had to proceed in a given situation, and the rulers had an interest in ensuring that this continued to be the case by granting a certain degree of autonomy.[22]

In the following study, an attempt will be made to analyse the political and social background of processes of decentralization that took place in Churraetia in the course of the 10th century. As will be demonstrated, institutional modes and legal devices rooted in late Roman fiscal administration played an important role in the transformation of this region. Moreover, as will be shown, we can also observe an important legal change which must be analysed against the backdrop of an important legacy of Carolingian rule in the Alpine regions, namely ethnically defined legal pluralism.

1. The Delegation of Fiscal Rights to the Episcopal Church of Chur in the Mid-10th Century

Legal culture underlines Roman continuity or a deliberate affirmation of Romanness in early medieval Churraetia, but it only points to a major phenomenon. It seems that late Roman state structures also lingered on or continued to exercise significant influence on the political culture of Churraetia, such as the transalpine road system and other infrastructures and resources related to it.[23] In particular, the famous »*Churrätische Reichsurbar*«,[24] probably compiled in connection with the division of the Carolingian Empire in the Treaty of Verdun of 843,[25] illustrates the importance of fiscal structures and local administration, which to some extent appear to have followed Roman models, as has been shown in a more recent study by Sebastian Grüninger on the royal seigneurie of Churraetia.[26]

It is well known that in late Roman financial administration land-registers and lists of people liable to poll-tax played an important part.[27] A late-Roman law ordering the production of registers or inventories of property that was confiscated and thus entered fiscal administration shows remarkable parallels to the structure of early medieval polyptychs and

20 BUB 1, No. 96, ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret, 78-80; see also below, n. 95. The application of Roman law seems to be justified by the fact that both the abbey under dispute and the bishop of Chur as defendant were from Raetia. See Gaupp, *Die germanischen Ansiedlungen,* 252-253.

21 See the contributions in Eisenhut *et al., Schrift, Schriftgebrauch und Textsorten:* Grüninger, Stratigraphie, Struktur und Text; Siems, Zur *Lex Romana Curiensis.*

22 Kaiser, Autonomie, Integration, bilateraler Vertrag.

23 Clavadetscher, Verkehrsorganisation in Rätien; recently Heitmeier, Verkehrsorganisation und Infrastruktur.

24 Kleindinst, Churrätische Reichsguturbar.

25 Clavadetscher, Churrätische Reichsguturbar als Quelle.

26 Grüninger, *Grundherrschaft im frühmittelalterlichen Churrätien.*

27 See in detail Zuckerman, *Du village à l'Empire.*

registers of both fiscal and ecclesiastical property.[28] Carolingian rulers, beginning with Pippin I and Charlemagne, repeatedly ordered registers and lists of such property and of revenues and corvées related to them to be written down on the basis of an interrogation (*inquisitio*) carried out among the local tenants.[29] That ecclesiastical property was also ordered to be registered had to do with the fact that to a large extent ecclesiastical property originated in royal munificence, meaning that it was once fiscal property and in the rulers' perspective continued to be regarded as fiscal property in functional terms, despite the fact that it had been irrevocably transferred to individual churches and monasteries. With the famous polyptych of St Germain-des-Prés compiled in the late 820s and the polyptychs of the abbeys of Prüm in the Eifel region and Werden in the Ruhr area, most likely written down as a reaction to Viking incursions and depradations, we have several lengthy registers illustrating how large Carolingian monasteries administered their property and income and managed their workforce; to those one may add a large number of smaller registers and fragments showing how widespread this phenomenon was.[30]

Against this backdrop, what makes the *Churrätische Reichsurbar* so unique is the fact that it contains a fiscal register that was apparently produced before the pieces of property listed therein were transferred to and thus came into permanent use of the church. Indeed, the very occasion to which its compilation has been attributed, 842/843 points to the preparations made in the wake of the Treaty of Verdun, when the division of the Carolingian Empire among the sons of Louis the Pious caused a major survey to be produced that, at least in some respects, resembles the Domesday Survey of 1086.[31] Each of Louis's sons was to have an equal share in fiscal property, income etc., and several other fragments of registers seem to have originated in the historical situation of 842/843.[32] This explains why the *Churrätische Urbar* does make references to several churches and monasteries, but in its basic structure is firmly grounded in terms of secular administration, as may be illustrated by the entry for the »Drusus Valley« (»Drusentalgau«), a district situated in the northern part of Churraetia and containing in its very name a reference to Drusus, Augustus' stepson, who had conquered these regions shortly before the turn of the eras.[33] It starts with a title that was added later and is thus placed in brackets here:

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28 *Codex Theodosianus* 9.42.7 (published in 369), ed. Mommsen and Meyer, 510:: *»Si quis intra provinciam [...] stilum proscriptionis incurrerit, per ordinarii officii sollicitudinem bonorum eius [...] plena descriptio conprehendat, quod spatium et quod sit ruris ingenium, quid aut cultum sit aut colatur, quid in vineis olivis aratoriis pascuis silvis fuerit inventum, quae etiam gratia et quae amoenitas sit locorum, quis aedificiis ac possessionibus ornatus, quotve mancipia in praediis occupatis vel urbana vel rustica vel quarum artium generibus inbuta teneantur, quot sint casarii vel coloni, quot boum exercitiis terrarum atque vomeribus inservientium, quot pecorum et armentorum greges et in qua diversitate numerati sint, quantum auri et argenti, vestium ac monilium vel in specie vel in pondere et in quibus speciebus quidve in enthecis sit repertum. Tum demum omnia ea [...] inquisitione constricta rationalis rei privatae tradantur officio nostro nectenda patrimonio. Mox vero ad nos sub litteris publicis iudicis singillatim de omnibus nominatimque referatur [...] post factam a praedicto officio investigationem rationalis rei privatae, cui inquisitio secunda mandata est Theodosiani libri«* (= Cod. Iust. IX, 49; see also *Cod. Theod*. 9.42.3, issued in 357).

29 Kuchenbuch, Verrechtlichung von Erinnerung; Heidrich, Befragung durch Beauftragte; see also Esders, Römischen Wurzeln.

30 Editions: *Das Prümer Urbar*, ed. Schwab; *Urbare der Abtei Werden a. d. Ruhr*, ed. Kötzschke, 4-87; Kuchenbuch, Ordnungsverhalten im grundherrlichen Schriftgut; Id., Abschied von der »Grundherrschaft«.

31 Davis, Domesday Book; Percival, Precursors of Domesday.

32 Clavadetscher, Churrätische Reichsguturbar and Metz, Kloster Weißenburg.

33 Erhart, *Das Drusental.*

< § Property rights of the church of Chur >
< § District in the name of the Drusen valley >
In the villa of Bludenz: a church with a tithe from this villa. And the tithe of Bürs along with the church. This church has 20 acres (*iugera*) of land. And of meadows 30 cart-loads (*carratae*) [of grass]. One hide. This has been a benefice which Fero had. Donatus holds there 7 acres (*iugera*).
The tax (*census*) of this district (*ministerium*), however, that is the Drusus Valley, is as follows: In each *zelga* [= a third of the arable lands of a homestead] they have to cultivate (*arare*) 70 acres (*iugera*) and stack it up most cautiously (*cum omni cautela*) in the royal granary (*in dominicum horreum*). Of iron (*ferrum*), 70 bars (*massae*), each by ... Of honey (*mel*), 70 measures (*mensuare*), each ... Of piglets (*frisginga*), 7 each worthy of 10 *denarii*. This is the royal tax-income (*census regis*).
For the officeholder (*minister*), that is the »sheriff« (*sculthacius*): 6 bars (*massae*) of iron (*ferrum*). Hatchets (*secures*) 5. Six piglets (*friskinga*), each worthy of 6 *denarii*. Of corn (*granum*), 35 bushels (*modii*). 12 bushels (*modii*) of crop. 14 bushels (*modii*) of oat (*avena*). [There are] 6 farmsteads (*mansiones*), which render 12 piglets (*friskinga*) each, worthy of 8 *denarii*, [and] 12 cheese-loaves (*formatici*). Whenever the officeholder (*minister*) goes to war (*in hostem*), they have to render one good horse (*caballus honestus*). And they also render further support (*aliud adiutorium*).
There is, however, another royal tax-income (*census regis*), from the district (*ministerium*) called Ferraires. It is such custom (*consuetudo*) that each man (*omnis homo*) who is working there in ore mining (*pro ferro*) (with the exception of Wanzo's family) renders the sixth part to the king (*in dominico*). Accordingly, there are 8 smelting furnaces (*fornaces*) there.
To the »sheriff« (*sculthacius*) [have to be given] 36 bars (*massae*), whenever he holds his judical assembly (*placitum*) there. Whenever he does not, [he gets] 32 [and] 8 hatchets (*secures*) [and] 8 goatskins (*pelles hircinae*).
In this district (*ministerium*) 3 fishponds (*piscinae*) are held.
This is what we found (*invenimus*) in this district (*ministerium*).[34]

While this entry in the register reveals in its very last line (*invenimus*) that it resulted from an official inquiry, it is interesting to see how much it was focused on renders and revenues to be extracted, while a list of properties, and corvées, are lacking. The renders listed refer to special regional or indeed local conditions, as they not only include certain amounts of agricultural produce, but also finished pieces of metalwork, based on the exploitation of the mines and the use of furnaces attached to them. It is in this context that reference is made to a certain orally transmitted custom (*consuetudo*), which was now apparently written down for the first time.

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34 *»<§ Curiensis ecclesiae propietatis iura > <§ Ministerium in pago vallis Drusianae.> In villa Pludono ecclesia cum decima de ipsa villa. Et decima cum ecclesia de terra iugere.XX. De pratis carratas .XXX. hobam .I. Hoc fuit beneficium, quod habuit Fero. Habet ibi Donatus iugera .VII. Census autem huius ministerii, id est vallis Drusianae, iste est: In unaquaque zelga debent arare .LXX. iugera atque ea cum omni cautela in dominicum horreum congregare. De ferro .LXX. massas, unaquaque per .... De melle .LXX. mensuras, unaquaque .... Frisgingas .VII. unaquaque .X. denarios valentes. Iste est census regis. Ministro autem, id est sculthacio. Sex massas de ferro. Secures .V. Sex friskingas, unaquaque .VI. denarios valentes. De grano .XXXV. modios. .XII. modios des frumento. .XIIII. modios de avena. Mansiones in ministerio VI. quae reddunt fiskingas .XII. unaquaque .VIII. denarios valentes. formaticos .XII. Quando in hostem perget minister, reddere debent unum caballum honestum. Etiam si aliud adiutorium reddunt. Est autem alius census regis, de ministerio, quod dicitur Ferraires. Est ergo talis consuetudo, ut omnis homo, qui ibi pro ferro laborat (extra Wanzaningam genealogiam) sextam partem reddat in dominico. Sunt ergo ibi octo fornaces. Sculthacio vero massas .XXXVI., quando suum placitum ibi habet. Quando autem non habet .XXXII. secures .VIII. pelles hircinas .VIII. Habentur ergo in ministerio piscinae .III. Haec invenimus in isto ministerio. [...] <§ Ministerium in Planis> [...] Sculdhazii census iste est: De isto ministerio libram .I. Haec invenimus in isto ministerio«*: BUB 1, ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret, 380-381 and 388-389.

While two churches with their tithes are registered at the beginning, the core part of this entry deals with the *census* of the king and that of the *centenarius* (called *sculthacius* here).[35] This is perhaps the text's most interesting feature as it clearly shows a certain tranche of fiscal income that was directly attributed to the king's local office-holder. The famous Folcwin, attested only twenty years before the inventory was listed, had been *centenarius* in Rankweil in the Drusus Valley.[36] The register's entry thus seems to echo the administrative practice in use when he was in office. The *centenarii* or *sculdais* were governing districts that were not identical with the location of fiscal property, but have to be seen as a rank within a hierarchy of military office-holding between counts and decans once adopted from the Roman military.[37] In Churraetia, however, their position became territorialized, meaning that they were in charge of a certain local district in which they exercised important military, judicial and fiscal functions.[38] While they were most likely responsible for collecting all revenues for the king, the register clearly shows that they had a special share in these revenues exclusively reserved for them and their office, separate from the royal tax (*census regis*). The *sculdhazii census* did not include grain and piglets alone, but also bars of iron and hatches or axes, made of iron quarried in the local mines and processed further. Thus, it seems the *centenarius* was somehow officially involved in the exploitation of the mines in Churraetia.[39]

The *Reichsurbar* therefore shows that at this time large parts of tax income and pieces of land (enumerated in other entries) were not yet in the hand of churches and monasteries, as we find in other regions of the Frankish Empire,[40] but handled by secular officials. At the same time, a summary given at very end of the register references the income of the king (*census regis*) from Churraetia by combining the entries from all districts to be paid in *solidi* to the royal chamber.[41] This clearly indicates that the renders in kind were expected to be commuted into cash at a certain stage, as the king was mainly interested in filling his treasury, while placing the local administration in the hands of counts and *centenarii.*

Now it is interesting to see that the *Reichsurbar*, which came down to us only in a late 15th- or early 16th-century copy made by the humanist scholar Aegidius Tschudi,[42] apparently came into the hands of the episcopal church of Chur at some time. Most historians have assumed for good reason that this most likely took place in the 10th century. Indeed, it is well known that Churraetia came to play an important role for the Ottonian rulers once they became interested in Italy.[43] In was in this context that Otto I transmitted fiscal revenues of Churraetia to the episcopal church of Chur in 951 along with other rights that had pertained to the county of Chur before, as is documented by an extant charter:[44]

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35 On the terminology of office-holding, see Krug, Untersuchungen.

36 See above, n. 32.

37 On the *centenarii* and *sculdais* see Murray, From Roman to Frankish Gaul, 73: »The term *centenarius* was not an isolated borrowing from the late Empire. The Merovingian hierarchy of *dux*, *comes*, *tribunus*, and *centenarius* was a system of ranks and offices adopted as a whole from the Roman military by the Franks and adapted to the conditions of the Merovingian kingdom in Gaul.«

38 Esders, Amt und Bann.

39 Kleindinst, Das churrätische Reichsguturbar, 97-99 and 105-106.

40 See the studies by Reinhold Kaiser quoted above in n. 3, 12, and 21.

41 BUB 1, ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret, 393-394.

42 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 609. See Grüninger, *Grundherrschaft im frühmittelalterlichen Churrätien*, 163.

43 Clavadetscher, Herrschaftsbildung in Rätien, 330.

44 BUB 1, nos. 108 and 119, ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret.

[*Chrismon*]: In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity. Otto, by divine clemency, king of the Franks and the Italians. Let it be known to the devotion of all faithful men, of the holy church of God and ours, both present and future, that we, on consultation and intervention of our beloved son Liudolf, and especially for love of God and for the remedy of our soul, have by this precept of ours, as we can do it justly and lawfully, conceded, given and offered to the holy church of the mother of God Mary and the blessed confessor of Christ Lucius, which is the capital of the episcopacy of Chur, presided over by Bishop Hartbert, our *fidelis*:
In the county (*comitatus*) of the above-mentioned duke of Raetia [= Swabia] the whole fisc (*omnem fiscum*) of the very county (*comitatus*) of Chur, as it had belonged until now to the royal chamber and authority (*ad regale pertinebat cameram et postestatem*) along with the just coercive power to use the inquest with regard to this fisc (*cum districtione iusta ad eundem fiscum inquirendum*), as it was previously determined that for our service and right was to be inquired from our tenants (*veluti prius ad nostrum opus et ius a quadrariis inquirendum fuerat constitutum*), with full integrity and lawful inquest, we transfer and delegate everything from all our right and ownership into the right and ownership of the above-mentioned church, so that it will have and possess it in eternity. For this reason, we prescribe and order that henceforth no high or low person of our kingdom shall dare to disturb the before-mentioned church and its representative. However, if someone turns out as violator of this precept, he shall know that he will have to pay 100 pounds of pure gold, one half to our chamber and the other to the above-mentioned church. And so that this precept will be trusted more truly and observed more attentively, we gave order for it to be signed by our hand through our seal ring.
+ The mark (*signum*) of Lord Otto, the most serene king. [*monogram*]
+ I, the chancellor Wigfried, have attested, in place of Bruno the archchaplain. [*impressed seal*]
Given on the Idus of October, in the 951st year of our lord Jesus Christ's incarnation, in the 9th indiction, in the 16th year of King Otto's rule in Francia, his first [year of king] in Italy. Done in Pavia; in the name of God, happily, Amen.[45]

45 *»In nomine sanctae et individue trinitatis. Otto dei gratia rex Francorum et Italicorum. Omnium sanctae dei ecclesiae fidelium nostrorumque presentium scilicet ac futurorum noverit devotio, qualiter nos consultu atque interventu Liudolfi dilecti filii nostri precipueque dei amore nostręque anime remedio per hoc nostrum preceptum prout iuste et legaliter possumus, concedimus, donamus atque offerimus eclesię sanctę dei genetricis Marię beatique Lucii confessoris Christi que est caput Curiensis episcopii, cui preest venerabilis episcopus [Ha]r[t]bert[us noste]r fidelis, in comitatu predicti ducis Recia omnem fiscum de ipso Curiense comi[ta]tu, sicuti actenus ad regale pertinebat cameram et postestatem, cum districtione iusta ad eundem fiscum inquirendum, veluti prius ad nostrum opus et ius a quadrariis inquirendum fuerat constitutum, cum omni integritate ac legitima inquisicione, omnia et ex omnibus a nostro iure et dominio in prędictę eclesię ius et dominium omnino transfundimus et delegamus, ut habeat in perpetuumque possideat. Precipientes itaque iubemus ut nulla regni nostri magna parvaque persona pretaxat[a]m [ec]l[e]sia[m] eiusque vicarium inde inquietare presumat. [Si quis au]tem huius precepti violator estiterit, sciat se compositurum auri optimi libras centum, medietatem camera nostrę et medietatem predicte eclesię. Et ut hoc preceptum verius credatur et attentius observetur, manu nostra insignitum anulo nostro iussimus adsignari. Signum domni Ottonis serenissimi regis. Uuigfridus cancellarius advice Brunonis archicapellani recognovi. Data idus octobris, anno incarnationis domini nostri Iesu Christi DCCCCLI, indictione VIIII, anno domni Ottonis regis in Francia XVI, in Italia I; actum Papiae; feliciter in dei nomine amen«*: BUB 1, no. 108, ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret. See also RI I.3.3 n. 2200, in: *Regesta Imperii Online.* Accessed on 10 June 2019: www.regesta-imperii.de/id/0951-10-15_1_0_1_3_3_768_2200.

The immediate political situation in which this generous grant was made was caused by the sudden death of King Lothar II of Italy in November 950.[46] Berengar of Ivrea took the crown shortly afterwards and in order to prevent his widow Adelheid from entering a new marriage and thereby making her new husband heir to the kingdom of Italy, he had her captured. In this situation Otto, whose first wife had died shortly before and who was befriended by Adelheid's brother, the king of Burgundy, seems to have developed plans to intervene in Italy and liberate her. Already in summer 951 his son Liudolf, Duke of Swabia, marched into northern Italy, which was seen as documenting an early stage of the rivalry that would lead to Liudolf's insurrection against his father in 953. At this stage, however, relations seem to have been peaceful, and it was on Liudolf's intervention as duke of Swabia that Otto granted the fiscal income to the bishop of Chur. The immediate background to this was the marriage of Otto, who had captured Pavia in September 951, with Adelheid of Burgundy in October, while his assumption of the title *rex Francorum et Italicorum* is, in fact, attested for the first time in the charter for Chur, issued on the 15th October.[47] As Otto's transfer of fiscal rights to Bishop Hartbert of Chur, who had accompanied him to Pavia,[48] was motivated by the expectation that having access to Italy would be of continuous importance for Otto, this could indeed be imagined as a perfect occasion to hand over a fiscal register, or parts of it, to the bishop.[49] The reference to *omnis fiscus*, whatever this may have meant precisely, attributes some plausibility to such a hypothesis.[50] From the 950s we have several further charters which show how much both Raetia itself, and being on good terms with the bishop of Chur, must have mattered to Otto and his advisers.[51] He now transformed the right to collect tolls, which had already been granted to the bishop of Chur, into perpetual ownership, and donated to him in compensation for losses the church of Chur had suffered from Saracen incursions (*quia loca ad eandem aecclesiam pertinentia ab Italia redeundo 1 invasione Sarazenorum destructa ipsi experimento didicimus*) a royal *curtis* in Zizers, located in the upper Rhine valley only 10 miles north of Chur along the transalpine road to Italy.[52] And in 958, he also gave to the bishop of Chur half of the city of Chur (*dimidiam partem ipsius civitatis cum tali districtione et iure sicuti hactenus ad nostram pertinebat potestatem*) along with all the tribute paid by free men in this province (*homines ipsius totius provinciae censuales ac liberi debitores*), as well as the right to mint coins.[53] This process of delegating more and more fiscal rights to the episcopal church came to an end with a long charter issued in 960, in which Otto also gave the royal household at Chur, his *curtis*, to the bishop of Chur:

46 See the surveys by Beumann, *Ottonen,* 67-72; Althoff, *Königsherrschaft ohne Staat*, 96-101; Keller, *Ottonen*, 36-41.

47 On the background to this charter, Otto's new royal title and the notary who wrote the charter, see Huschner, *Transalpine Kommunikation*, 96-97, 205, 297, also emphasizing the year 951/952 as a turning point for Ottonian politics with regard to Italy.

48 Kaiser, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter*, 121.

49 Grüninger, *Grundherrschaft im frühmittelalterlichen Churrätien*, 183; Id., Stratigraphie, Struktur und Text, 234.

50 See the discussion in Kaiser, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter*, 121-122.

51 Otto also issued charters to restore disputed distant property of the Chur bishopric located in Alsace: BUB 1, no. 111 (952) and 112 (953), ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret. On the importance of these acts, see Kaiser, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter*, 114.

52 BUB 1, no. 109 (952), ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret; BUB 1, no. 113 (955), ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret; confirmed and detailed in the following year: no. 114. See Kaiser, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter*, 115 and 120-121.

53 BUB 1, no. 115 (958), ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret. See Kaiser, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter*, 122.

While also approving the request of the aforementioned bishop as sound, and after having consulted our fideles, we have given into ownership the piece of property in question [...] in turn in the county of Raetia our royal household called Chur (*Curia curtem nostram regalem nominatam*), which our count of this place Adalbert had held from us until now as a benefice, also the Bergell Valley with all coercive rights of judicial assembly and ban which had belonged until now to the county (*cum omni districtione placiti et panni hactenus ad comitatum pertinentis*), but also the taxes of all [future] acquisition (*totius inquisitionis census*) on the mountains and the plain fields and woods belonging to this march, and also the toll that used to be paid by all travelling merchants in that valley (*teloneum in ipsa valle ab iterantibus emptoribus persolvi consuetum*), which was paid recently in the same place of Chur, and also the complete tax of the hundred and the »sheriff's district« (*censum omnem ab ipsa centena et scultatia Curiensi*) from sheep's pasture and the coerced procuratorship of falcons (*procuratione bannita falchonum*) and the military tax (*hostisana*), with total acquisition of the full tax and ban from the bridge (*cum tota inquisitione integri census et banni de ponte*) and all selling at this place (*omni venditione ipsius loci*) and the complete tax revenue of the free men (*totumque exactum a liberis hominibus*), from the tenants [paying the fourth part] and taxable properties on the mountains and plains and the peasants on the mountains (*sive a quartanis ac terris censualibus in montanis et planis et colonis montanaricis*), and also the church located in the castle Bonaduz [and Rhäzüns] with their tithes and everything which belongs ecclesiastically to the same bishopric, in such way, that the aforementioned bishop and all later administrators of this bishopric [have] the household in question with everything justly and lawfully belonging to it, households, small households, buildings, slaves of both sex, peasants and all vassals from the mountains, as they always used to do service for the household in question under the count and his father, and all farmsteads, those which have been given as a benefice and those who served directly to the royal household, with the [parts of the] Alps and all vineyards (with exception of two in Trimmis with two vintners, residents and forests, both surrounded with the usual ban district cincture), arable lands, meadows, willows, stagnant and running waters, mills, fishing grounds, revenues and dues, cultivated and non-cultivated, acquired and yet to be acquired ... [54]

54 *»... Nos quoque precatum praenominati pontificis congruum approbantes consultu fidelium nostrorum eandem quam nobis in concambium exhibuit praefatae [aecclesie proprietatem ab ipso recipiens, econtra in com]itatu Rehciae in vico Curia curtem nostram regalem nominatam quam comes noster ipsius loci Adalbertus in beneficium hactenus a nobis obtinuit, vallem quoque Pergalliae cum omni districtione placiti et panni hactenus ad comitatum pertinentis, sed et totius inquisitionis census sive in montibus et planis campis et silvis ad ipsam marcham pertinentibus nec non et teloneum in ipsa valle ab iterantibus emptoribus persolvi consuetum, modo vero in eodem loco Curia datum, censum quoque omnem ab ipsa centena et scultatia Curiensi de pastu ovino et procuratione bannita falchonum et de hostisana cum tota inquisitione integri census et banni de ponte et omni venditione ipsius loci totumque exactum a liberis hominibus sive a quartanis ac terris censualibus in montanis et planis et colonis montanaricis, aecclesiam videlicet in castello Beneduces [et Ruzunnes] rs cum suis decimis ac omnibus sibi aecclesiastice pertinentibus ad idem episcopiurn in proprium contradidimus, ea scilicet ratione quatenus praedictus episcopus omnesque in posterum ipsius episcopii provisores omnia praenominata ipsamque curtem regalem cum omnibus ad eandem iuste et legaliter pertinentibus, curtibus curtilibus aedificiis mancipiis utriusque sexus colonis et vassellariis cunctis de montanis, sicut semper ad ipsam curtem serviebant sub ipso comite et patre eius et omnibus mansis, sive sint in beneficium date sive serviant ad curtem dominicam, cum alpibus et vineis omnibus, exceptis duabus in Trimune cum vinitoribus duobus et accolis et forestis, cinctis duabus cum consueta cinctionis districta, agris pratis pascuis aquis aquarumque desursibus molendinis et fundis piscationibus exitibus et reditibus cultis et incultis quesitis et inquirendis«*: BUB 1, no. 119, ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret, 98-100, a. 960. The formula enumerating the rights and incomes pertinent to the location at the end of the passage quoted is damaged in the original charter.

As is made clear in its first part (not quoted here), the charter was motivated by an exchange of locations bringing Otto into possession of the place of Kirchheim located in the Neckargau (Swabia), while the king in turn granted the rights and holdings of Chur to Bishop Hartbert of Chur, whose crucial role in the territorial expansion and acquisition of the episcopal church of Chur can hardly be underestimated.[55] One gets the impression that Otto now almost completely donated to the bishop of Chur the remaining fiscal rights and pieces of fiscal property located in this region and until then belonging to the *ius regium.*[56] Indeed, Reinhold Kaiser rightly emphasized that what was now given to the bishop of Chur were basically the fiscal rights that had, since Late Antiquity, belonged to the provincial governor (*praeses*) of Churraetia.[57] To this one may add former imperial property located within Churraetia. Both had come into the possessions of the Frankish kings and counts. Otto's grant of 960, as well as giving the royal *curtis*,[58] included certain rights pertaining to the county (*comitatus*), the *census* of the *centena* as already mentioned in the Reichsurbar, the military tax (*hostisana*)[59] to be paid in compensation for not doing service by the »free men« (*liberi homines*), several types of ban, tolls and income etc. It seems that the military organization was also passed over to the bishop to rearrange it according to what seemed necessary. And indeed, in the famous *Indiculus loricatorum* of 981, a list of an additional contingent of mounted troops to be furnished for Otto II's campaign in southern Italy, the bishop of Chur is listed as obliged to contribute 40 »knights« to the Ottonian army.[60]

So we may assume that the process of delegating fiscal rights to the bishop of Chur was completed by 960, while Otto would be crowned emperor in 962.[61] Taking into account the growing importance of transalpine connections, Otto thought that this would be an effective means to integrate the episcopal church into military organization and logistic administration for intensifying communication with Italy. However, it would be too simple to assume that the process of the delegation of fiscal rights only started in the mid-10th century and was exclusively motivated by Otto I resuming Carolingian imperial policies connected to Italy. This sounds far too radical and too schematic. For the process by which the episcopal church of Chur acquired rights from secular rulers extended over more than a century and took place in different stages. In fact, the episcopal church of Chur enjoyed immunity by a grant given by Louis the Pious in 831.[62] The privileges granted by Otto I mark the end of this development rather than its beginnings.

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55 Kaiser, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter*, 116 and 120-121 (on Hartbert's personal background).

56 Kaiser, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter*, 125-126: »Mit der Übernahme des Königshofes im vicus von Chur … dürfte der Bischof im Stadt- und Stadtumlandgebiet sämtliche Herrschaftsrechte, die bisher noch dem König bzw. Grafen zustanden, übernommen haben … Das war das erste Mal, dass im ottonischen Reich ein Bischof expressis verbis die gräfliche Gerichtsbarkeit erhielt.«

57 Kaiser, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter*, 127.

58 Kaiser, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter,* 115-116.

59 Clavadetscher, *Hostisana* und *pretium comitis*, whose interpretation seems a bit outdated now. See Grüninger, *Grundherrschaft im frühmittelalterlichen Churrätien,* 270 (no. 218) and 482.

60 *Indiculus loricatorum* (a. 981), ed. Weiland, No. 436, 633. For a discussion of this important document, see Auer, Kriegsdienst des Klerus; and in particular Werner, Heeresorganisation und Kriegführung.

61 On the delegation of fiscal rights to the bishop of Chur, see also Kaiser, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter,* 125-126.

62 BUB 1, no. 54, ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret, 45-46.

Legal Plurality and Change around 900

What one needs to explain is why Otto and his advisers were willing to place so much trust in the bishop of Chur. To understand this, one has to take into account several further steps that took place between the draft of the Reichsurbar in 842 and the transfer of all fiscal rights to the bishopric in 951. In what follows, I will isolate a crucial moment, which, in my view, for the first time led in this direction, occurring in the early 10th century and going hand in hand with a profound legal change. At the centre of the following discussion is an original diploma that Conrad I, the first East Frankish king who was not a Carolingian, issued for Bishop Theodulf of Chur and which is preserved as an original:[63]

> [*Chrismon*]: In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity. Conrad, by the favour of divine clemency, king. Let it be known to the wisdom of all our faithful men, both present and future, that Theodulf the venerable prelate of the church of Chur came to our Clemency, bemoaning the fact that he was unable, without royal assistance, to correct numerous acts of neglect and violence (*negligentiae ac violentiae*) which were being done in his bishopric. Having therefore taken the counsel of our faithful men, that is, Salomon the venerable bishop [of Constance], Erchanger the count of the palace, Perahtold, Conrad, Henry, and other noble men (*nobiles viri*) serving us, together with the testimony of the leading men (*primores*) of Chur and upon their truthful counsel, we found that [he] ought to conduct an inquisition by oaths (*sacramentis investigare*) upon any doubtful matters (*dubia quaeque*). Therefore, if any acts of violence (*violentiae*) should be carried out in the villages (*villulae*) subjected to the holy church of Chur, in its lands, meadows, woods, [among its] slaves (*servis*), female-slaves (*ancillis*), or [its] affairs of any kind (*quibuscumque negotiis*), by the request (*rogatu*) of the aforementioned nobles (*proceres*), we grant to the same venerable bishop Theodulf and to his successors the power and the license, according to the custom (*mos*) of other prelates, to conduct an inquisition by oaths (*sacramentis investigare*) upon any hidden matters (*latentia quaeque*). We also desire and command that no slave (*servus*) or female-slave (*ancilla*) belonging to the same church of Chur should hereafter presume to free themselves by a thirty-year period (*se per tricennia tempora liberare*), as formerly, so we have heard, they were doing, by a bad custom (*mala consuetudo*) and at variance with [slaves] of other churches, so that rather if such as these might chance to be discovered, by our royal authority let them be compelled to act as slaves (*servire*). We have also ordered this charter (*praeceptum*) to be drawn up (*conscribi*), by means of which we will and firmly decree, that all abiding in the same bishopric should be useful to the aforementioned bishop Theodulf and to his successors and should be obedient in all righteous affairs (*in omnibus iustis negotiis*), and that none should presume to contradict (*contradicere*) him. And so that this charter (*praeceptum*) should endure, firm and stable, we have signed it below with our own hand, and we have commanded it to be sealed with the impression of our ring.

63 BUB 1, no. 91, ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret. On this charter, see also Vollrath, Rechtstexte, 331-332 and 347-348.

> + The mark (*signum*) of Lord Conrad <*Signed monogram*> the most serene king +
> + I Salomon the chancellor attest, in place of Pilgrim the arch-chaplain <*Sign of recognition*> <*Impressed seal*>
> Given on the seventh calends of October [Sept 25] in the year of the incarnation of the lord 912, in the first indiction, and in the first year of the reign of the most glorious king Conrad I. Done at Bodman palace; in the name of God, happily, Amen.[64]

The charter was granted by Conrad in September 912 when he visited the royal palace at Bodman on the northern shore of Lake Constance. Its date of issuing thus belongs to a period of transition after the Eastern branch of the Carolingian dynasty had died out the year before.[65] As a consequence, a great deal of negotiation took place between various political actors, as the new ruler Conrad I was interested in enhancing his legitimacy as the first non-Carolingian king. It is in this difficult situation, full of tension, that we can observe the forging of new alliances, but also substantive legal change. Much that had been regarded as law by tradition and custom now came under close scrutiny and was adjusted in the context of new personal constellations and power structures. Conrad's charter for Chur begins in its narrative part by relating that Bishop Theodulf of Chur had approached the king saying that many acts of negligence and violence were being committed within his episcopacy (*multae negligentiae ac violentiae in suo episcopate fierent*) which he felt unable to correct without royal help (*quae sine regali adiutorio corrigere nequivisset*). The king thus had this matter discussed, as we learn, with his *fideles*; that is Bishop Salomon of Constance, the Count of the Palace Erchanger, and with Bertold, Conrad, Henry and the remaining noblemen, and also some magnates from Chur, who were referred to as *primores* in this context. With the help of these *primores*' advice and veracious testimony, they decided that there were some dubious matters that should be henceforth investigated under oath. To make this possible, King Conrad granted to the bishop of Chur the right to conduct inquisition procedure – that is, deciding a case by compulsorily requiring a sworn testimony from the local population –

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64 »*In nomine sanctae et individuae trinitatis. Chuonradus divina favente clementia rex. Noverit omnium fidelium nostrorum praesentium scilicet et futurorum sagacitas, qualiter venerabilis Diotolfus Curiensis aecclesiae praesul ad nostrum clementiam venit, reclamans se quod multae negligentiae ac violentiae in suo episcopate fierent quae sine regali adiutorio corrigere nequivisset. Initoque igitur consilio nostrorum fidelium, Salomonis scilicet venerabilis episcopi, Erchangarii comitis palatii, Perahtoldi, Chuonradi, Heinrici cęterorum nobelium vi[r]orum nobis assistentium nec non primorum Curiensium testimonio et veraci consilio eorum invenimus dubia quaeque sacramentis investigare debere. Igitur si aliquae violentiae in villulis sanctae Curiensi aecclesiae subiectis terris pratis silvis servis ancillis vel quibuscumque negotiis inlatae fuerint, rogatu suprascriptorum procerum eidem venerabili Diotolfo episcopo suisque successoribus potestatem ac licentiam secundum morem cęterorum praesulum latentia quaeque sacramentis popu[li] investigare donamus. Volumus quoque atque praecipimus, ut nullus servorum vel ancillarum ad eandem Curiensem aecclesiam pertinentium se per tricennia tempora liberare deinceps audeat, sicuti hactenus ut audivimus mala consuetudine et dissimili aliarum aecclesiarum fecerant, quin potius sicubi tales forte reperiuntur, nostr[a re]gali auctoritate servire compellantur. Iussimus quoque hoc praeceptum inde cons[cribi] per quod volumus firmiterque iubemus, ut cuncti in eodem episcopio consistentes praefato Diotolfo episcopo suisque successoribus adiuvantes et in omnibus iustis negotiis obedientes existant et nullus ei contradicere audeat. Et ut hoc praeceptum firmum stabileque permaneat, manu nostra subtus illud firmavimus anulique nostri impressione insigniri praecepimus. Signum domni Chuonradi serenissimi regis. Salomon cancellarius advicem Piligrimi archicapellani recognovi et … Data VII. Kl. Oct. anno incarnationis domini DCCCCXII, indictione I; anno vero regni gloriosissimi regis Chuonradi I; actum Potamico palatio; in dei nomine feliciter amen*«: BUB 1, no. 91, ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret; translated by Shane Bobrycki. I would like to thank Shane Bobrycki for allowing me to quote from his translation he kindly produced after the Vienna conference. – An image of the charter can be found in Kaiser, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter,* 119, no. 22.

65 See in general Goetz, *Konrad I.*

whenever somebody acted violently against the lands and dependents of the villages belonging to the episcopal church of Chur. Moreover, Conrad also prescribed that no male or female slave (*nullus servorum vel ancillarum*) of the episcopal church of Chur could henceforth obtain freedom through the time-span of thirty years, as the king had heard that some people had done so following »a custom which is bad and different from those of other churches« (*mala consuetudine et dissimili aliarum aecclesiarum*). If henceforth such slaves were found, they should be compelled to perform their servile duties by royal authority. The charter's dispositive section closes by admonishing that all inhabitants of the *episcopatus* of Chur should henceforth support Bishop Theodulf and his successors and not act disobediently or be resistant. At the document's end, we find the king's subscription by his *signum*, as the charter was confirmed and also validated by Bishop Salomon of Constance, who did so on behalf of Archchaplain Pilgrim of Salzburg presiding over the royal chancery.

If we take a closer look at the charter's two main provisions, it becomes clear that the inquisition procedure granted here as a procedural right to the bishop of Chur was a legal device that Frankish kings had begun to concede to selected episcopal churches and monasteries since Louis the Pious.[66] It was based on the idea that compulsory testimony may be obtained through an oath that can be required from the local population so that they either had to denounce certain misdeeds or that they had to provide testimony on some matters on which the person entitled to carry out the inquisition procedure would question them. The whole procedure puts the plaintiff of a case into a strong position, as it is basically in cases of public interest that inquisition procedure was carried out, not in what we call »private law«, where other modes of proof (a party's testimony or oath, ordeal etc.) were commonly used.[67] It stems from Roman procedure in fiscal law and can be traced back even into the late Roman republic. It was adopted by the Frankish kings already in the Merovingian period, and the Carolingian innovation was indeed that this right to conduct inquisition procedure, usually reserved for the king and his *missi* to protect fiscal property, now became delegated individually to selected ecclesiastical institutions to apply it to church property, which was regarded as »public«[68] as it derived to a large extent from fiscal property granted by kings to churches and monasteries, but came to be regarded as inalienable.[69] So what the bishop of Chur obtained here through Conrad's privilege was basically what several other bishops and abbots had obtained before by grants of immunity[70] – such as the abbot of the neighboring monastery of St Gall, to whom the right of inquisition procedure by compulsory oath (*iuramentum coactum*) had been granted and confirmed in 853, 873, 903 and indeed shortly before Conrad I's charter for Chur, by the same ruler in March 912.[71] The Ottonian rulers would follow this policy by issuing charters granting the right of inquisition procedure.[72]

66 The classic study on Carolingian *inquisitio* is Brunner, Zeugen- und Inquisitionsbeweis, extended version in Id., *Forschungen zur Geschichte*, 88-247; see also Esders, Römischen Wurzeln. On inquisition procedure granted to individual churches and monasteries from Louis the Pious onward, see Mischke, *Kapitularienrecht und Urkundenpraxis*, 57-62.

67 Brunner, Zeugen- und Inquisitionsbeweis.

68 Esders, Römischen Wurzeln.

69 Esders and Patzold, Justinian to Louis the Pious.

70 Bachrach, Immunities as tools of royal military policy.

71 BUB 1, no. 85 (891) and 90 (912), ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret; Ganahl, *Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte*, 53-54.

72 Bachrach, *Inquisitio* as a tool of royal governance.

The second topic dealt with in Conrad's charter for Chur, the prescription period of thirty years[73] that could allow a slave to obtain freedom, was also a legal institute of Roman law, which can be traced back into the early 5th century AD.[74] In 419, the West Roman emperor Honorius had published a law on the thirty-years rule of prescription, which he wanted to be applied to *coloni* that his free tenants fixed to the soil of large estates.[75] This and a second law on the *longi temporis praescriptio*[76] were selected for the Theodosian Code published in 438. And in a lengthy novel of 449 the Western emperor Valentinian III sought to establish even retroactively the term of thirty years as a general rule for the settlement of all kinds of disputes in order to provide »profound peace for the human race«, since no one can »endure that suits shall be instituted which grandfathers and great-grand-fathers did not know about«.[77] As a consequence, it was stated that »no action shall hereafter be brought after a period of thirty years in regard to persons of an ignoble birth status, whether *coloni, inquilini,* or slaves of either sex, and in regard to *peculia* and the offspring of the above designated, ownership, that is, a perpetual, patrimonial, emphyteutic, or municipal ownership.«[78] This type of rule eased the process for *coloni* and slaves to get rid of their master or *possessor* and obtain freedom for themselves and their offspring or to look for a new master. It is noteworthy, however, that in Valentinian's law the church is not yet mentioned, while Justinian would legislate on the use of prescription in favour of the church.[79]

These regulations on *coloni*, including *coloni* on fiscal property, and *servi* were maintained in *Churraetia*,[80] as becomes evident from the 8th-century *Lex Romana Curiensis*, although with a post-Roman specification: if such *coloni* or slaves took refuge in churches, they could not be reclaimed by their master after the time span of thirty years had elapsed.[81] So, by this time, it was the ecclesiastical institutions that took profit from adopting this ruling from late Roman law.

It is interesting to see that this issue was handled very differently already in the Carolingian period, as is quite typical for Carolingian legal pluralism. This can be illustrated using a capitulary most likely issued by Charlemagne for Italy:

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73 On this important legal rule, see also Esders, Verjährungstitel des *Liber iudiciorum;* Id., Procopius of Caesarea.

74 Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 799-800; Nörr, *Entstehung*; Piekenbrock, *Befristung, Verjährung, Verschweigung*, 44-81 and 317-346.

75 C. Th. 5.18 (*De inquilinis et colonis*) 1 (419): *Theodosiani libri*, vol. 1, ed. Mommsen and Meyer, 239-240.

76 C. Th. 4.14 (*De actionibus certo tempore finiendis*), 1 (424): *Theodosiani libri, vol. 1*, ed. Mommsen and Meyer, 194-196.

77 *Novella Valentiniani* 3.27 (*De triginta annorum praescriptione omnibus causis opponenda*): *Theodosiani libri, vol. 2*, ed. Mommsen and Meyer, 122-126. Translation taken from: Pharr, *Theodosian Code and Novels*, 538-539.

78 *Theodosiani libri, vol. 2,* ed. Mommsen and Meyer, 122-126. *»De originariis et coloniis, inquilinis ac servis utriusque sexus, peculiis atque agnationibus designati iuris, id est perpetui patrimonialis enfyteuticarii et rei publicae, post triginta annorum curricula nulla deinceps actio moveatur. Et negotium, de quo per expressa tempora sollemniter nemo pulsavit, novum nemo proponat.«* Translation taken from Pharr, *Theodosian Code and Novels,* 538-539.

79 Kaiser, Zur hundertjährigen Verjährung.

80 On the role of unfree people in Raetia see Niederstätter, Zur Frage der Unterschichten.

81 *Lex Romana Curiensis* 18.11, ed. Meyer-Marthaler, 396: *»Originarios vero vel servos, qui ad honorem ecclesiasticum adspiraverint, debere intra triginta annos a dominis revocari. Ita tamen, ut diaconus pro se vicarium, si habuerit, reddat, et omne peculium suum dominus eius usurpet. Quod si vicarium non habuerit, unde reddat, ipse ad conditionem propriam revocetur«.*

> »Wherever in Italy a fugitive slave of the king, the church or another man is detected, he can be reclaimed by his master without any prescription of years, provided that the master is a Frank, an Aleman or of any another nation. If, however, the master is a Lombard or a Roman, he shall either acquire or lose his slaves according to their law, as has been fixed among them in ancient times.«[82]

From this passage it becomes clear that in Italy only Roman and Lombard law continued to follow the Roman thirty years prescription rule which they applied to fugitive slaves, while according to Frankish, Aleman or Bavarian law this principle was not accepted at all. The application of this rule can be vividly demonstrated by charters. For instance, in a lawsuit from northern Italy from the first half of the 8th century, a man whose freedom was disputed was given the opportunity to prove according to Lombard law that he had been living as a free man for more than thirty years.[83] However, in Carolingian Italy this rule should not be applied to a Frank or Aleman who came to settle in Italy following the Frankish conquest of Lombard Italy: according to the principle of personality of law[84] he could claim that if it was this slave, the case would have to be decided according to his law of birth. Ethnically defined legal pluralism could thus have profound consequences on the legal status of an unfree person.[85] But, so it seems, Lothar I had already suspended the thirty-years rule for Italy in a capitulary given in Pavia in 832.[86] The situation in Raetia was apparently not affected by this. It thus was only Conrad I in his charter of 912, who followed the interest of the episcopal church of Chur by introducing a departure from Roman legal tradition. This becomes clear as the thirty-years rule as applied in favour of slaves is branded as »a custom which is bad and different from those of other churches« (*mala consuetudine et dissimili aliarum aecclesiarum*).

In fact, Louis the Pious in a capitulary of 829 had already prescribed that, in analogy with the procedure to be used for fiscal property inquisition, the procedure should be used in cases in which the thirty-years rule was brought into action against ecclesiastical property.[87] This illustrates that the two provisions given in the charter of 912 were already conceived as connected to one another in the Carolingian period. But it is not clear whether these regulations were actually put into effect, for the issue was apparently hotly debated in 829, while

82 *Capitularia regum Francorum* 1, no. 98, ed. Boretius, 206, c. 8: *»De servis fugacibus. Ubicumque intra Italiam sive regius sive ecclesiasticus vel cuiuslibet alterius hominis servus fugitivus inventus fuerit, a domino suo sine ulla annorum praescriptionum vindicetur; ea tamen ratione, si dominus Francus sive Alamannus aut alterius cuiuslibet nationis sit; si vero Langobardus aut Romanus fuerit, ea lege servos suos vel adquirat vel amittat, sicut inter eos antiquitus est constituta«.*

83 *Carte di famiglia*, no. 4, ed. Gasparri and La Rocca, 312-314 (= Chartae Latinae Antiquiores XXVIII, No. 847); see Feller, Sulla libertà personale, 197-200, and Rio, *Slavery after Rome*, 84-85.

84 Guterman, *Principle*; Hoppenbrouwers, *Leges nationum.*

85 In the legislation of Louis the Pious the thirty-years rule appears to have been adopted from the *Epitome Aegidii: Capitula de praescriptione temporis*, ed. Boretius and Krause, *Capitularia regum Francorum* 2, no. 195, 25-26; see also Regino of Prüm, *De synodalibus causis*, 1.22.

86 *Capitularia regum Francorum* 2, no. 201, ed. Boretius and Krause, 62, c. 12: *»Ut per trigenta annos servus liber fieri non possit, si pater illius servus aut mater illius ancilla fuerit. Similiter de aldionibus.«*

87 *Capitulary of Worms* a. 829, c. 8, ed. Boretius and Krause, *Capitularia regum Francorum* 2, 13: *»Ut de rebus ecclesiarum, quae ab eis per triginta annorum spatium sine ulla interpellatione possessae sunt, testimonia non recipiantur, sed eo modo contineantur, sicut res ad fiscum dominicum pertinentes contineri solent.«*

from this period the first charters come into existence that confer the right to inquisition procedure to individual monasteries and churches.[88] This rather suggests that Louis' general rule of 829 was not universally applied, but only put into effect sporadically by individual grants; the same seems to hold true for Lothar's provision given in 832 for Italy.

To understand Conrad I's approach to dealing with custom, it is helpful to look closer at the historical situation when he issued his charter. It seems likely that the precedent, the »custom of other churches«, to which the charter refers was introduced by Salomon, bishop of Constance and abbot of St Gall. Salomon plays a prominent role in the charter as royal adviser and as chancellor, and he had a broad legal expertise, as becomes evident from a collection of *formulae* from St Gall attributed to him.[89] St Gall, by contrast, has a long series of royal privileges dating back to the later 9th century, immunity grants, the right to carry out inquisition procedure etc. that allowed St Gall to enjoy special legal regulations to keep its ecclesiastical *familia* together.[90] Salomon of St Gall and Constance played an important part in the entourage of Conrad I and appears as his most important adviser at this time.[91] He had been chancellor since 909 under Louis the Child, the last East Frankish king from Carolingian stock.[92] The charter was issued in September 912, shortly after Raetia had become somehow involved in the nebulous process of the formation of the Duchy of Swabia.[93] In fact, only the year before, in 911, Burchard, the first duke of Swabia since 909, who belonged to an important Swabian noble family and was also in charge of Raetia, had revolted against the *comes palatii* Erchanger and against Bishop Salomon of Constance, who was also abbot of St Gall, both being loyal supporters of Conrad I at that time. At an assembly held in Swabia, Burchard was charged with treason and executed in November 911 along with his brother Adalbert, Count of Thurgau, while Burchard's son, Burchard II, was exiled to Italy.[94] As Conrad was only elected king on the 10th of November by Swabian and Saxon nobles at Forchheim,[95] Burchard's deposition and execution appears directly connected to Conrad's election. The position of the duke of Swabia – possibly only a *principatus* under Burchard I – does not seem to have been replaced after Burchard's death, meaning that Conrad kept this region under his direct control. At the time when his charter for Chur was drafted, King Conrad appears to have relied very much on the authority of Salomon, who had already served his predecessor. It thus seems clear that Salomon must have played an important role in Burchard's deposition and execution. Indeed, as becomes clear from a later dispute heard at Rankweil in 920 about the abbey of Pfäfers, which had once belonged to Burchard I, but was

88 Mischke, *Kapitularienrecht und Urkundenpraxis*, 57-62.

89 See for discussion Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word,* 152 and 156-157.

90 Ganahl, *Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte*, 26-70.

91 Postel, *Nobiscum partiri*. Konrad I.

92 Frank, Ostfränkische Reichskirche.

93 Zotz, König Konrad I.

94 Excellent discussion of the contradictory evidence and possible reconstructions of events and background is given by Zettler, *Geschichte des Herzogtums Schwaben*, 78-82, and Zotz, König Konrad I., 192-197.

95 *Annales Alamannici* a. 912: Lendi, *Untersuchungen zur frühalemannischen Annalistik*, 188. On Conrad's itinerary in the years 911/912, as far it can be reconstructed from his charters, see Goetz, Letzte »Karolinger«?, 73-75 with a helpful map.

transferred to Salomon under Louis the Child in 905, the conflict between Salomon, bishop of Constance and abbot of St Gall since 890, and Burchard, who must have been a powerful figure shortly after 900, must have had wider implications.[96] In King Conrad's charter of 912 reference is made, among others, to Erchanger and his brother Berthold, two Swabian nobles from the Alaholfing family, who were sympathetic to Conrad at this point.[97] However, in 913/14 Burchard II returned from Italy and tried to capture the property confiscated from his father following his execution in 911. It seems that Erchanger and Berthold changed sides soon afterwards and joined Burchard II's rebellion against King Conrad. Apparently, Erchanger had himself acclaimed as duke of Swabia near Bodman in 915.[98] Along with his brother Berthold he entered into a feud with Salomon of Constance / St Gall at this time or shortly before, even holding the latter captive for some time.[99] Through the intervention of King Conrad, Salomon was released while Erchanger was sentenced on a charge of treason to monastic exile at a synod assembled at Hohenaltheim in Swabia along with his brother Berthold, but was executed on order of King Conrad in 917.[100] So the charter was issued at an early stage of a profound and bloodstained reversal of Swabian aristocratic networks, with the bishop of Constance and abbot of St Gall being firmly on Conrad's side. In particular, the execution of the first duke of Swabia in 911 must have caused considerable unrest resulting in encroachments upon property belonging to the episcopal church of Chur.[101]

What needs to be asked is why the topic of thirty-year prescription became so important in this situation that some desired to have it abolished by a royal charter. Naturally, this rule was also applied occasionally in other regions and periods, but what one needs to explain is why it apparently became so important in quantitative terms in early 10th-century Churraetia that it prompted a royal decree in favour of the bishop of Chur. In 912, the problem of unfree people leaving their ecclesiastical lord must have acquired a substantial dimension in Churraetia, meaning that unfree dependents attempted to get rid of their ecclesiastical lord on quite a large scale. If the thirty-year rule could become such an important legal device for unfree ecclesiastical servants, this means that the episcopal church of Chur must have found it difficult to establish an overview of the total number of its unfree dependents over the last thirty years or so; moreover, regular occasions on which the dependency of an unfree person was made visible must have become very rare since c. 880, if we calculate the thirty years backwards. And while we may assume that the validity of the bonds of such dependence often relied on custom more than on written documentation, it seems reasonable to assume that unfree dependents did not »automatically« seek to get rid of their bond once

96 BUB 1, no. 96, ed. Meyer-Marthaler and Perret, 78-80. On the background, see Erhart, Kirchlicher Besitz, 126 and 129-131, who observed an attempt by St Gall to extend its influence over Raetian territory.

97 On Erchanger, see Maurer, *Herzog von Schwaben*, 37-48; Zotz, Erchanger; Zettler, *Geschichte des Herzogtums Schwaben*, 77-78 and 82-93.

98 *Annales Alamannici* a. 915: Lendi, *Untersuchungen zur frühalemannischen Annalistik*, 198.

99 *Annales Sangallenses maiores* a. 914/15: Henking, Annalistischen Aufzeichnungen des Klosters St. Gallen, 280; Ekkehard of St Gall, *Casus S. Galli*, 15-21, ed. Haefele, 42-56.

100 Hellmann, Synode von Hohenaltheim, 132-133.

101 It should be noted that some property the episcopal church of Chur wanted to protect may have been situated at some distance from Churraetia in Alsace, as this came into dispute again later. Vollrath, Rechtstexte, 329-332.

this seemed possible. If we want to explain why this caused a problem of notable quantity, a scenario has to be imagined in which it actually made sense for many unfree peasants to quit their ecclesiastical lord in early 10th-century Churraetia. It thus seems tempting to link such a phase of profound insecurity and loosening of social bonds, which seems to have extended over more than thirty years, to turmoil and political fragmentation during the decomposition of the East Frankish kingdom in the later years of the reign of Charles the Fat and following his deposition and death in 887/888.[102] As Brigitte Kasten has shown, in the early 10th-century East Frankish kingdom there were fierce struggles for material resources, while many manorial documents originated in this situation, as an attempt to protect ecclesiastical property.[103] If such an assumption is correct, the execution of Duke Burchard of Swabia in 911 gains additional weight, for it seems entirely conceivable that he and his supporters used his judicial power as duke of Raetia to alienate unfree dependents of the episcopal church of Chur by simply applying the thirty-years prescription rule of Roman law. Although such a charge is hard to prove, it seems more likely than assuming that this flight of unfree servants happened only after his death. Following the duke's deposition, and taking advantage of a situation when there was no duke of Swabia, while important ecclesiastical advisers such as Salomon of Constance and St Gall increased their influence at court, the bishop of Chur must have seen a chance to revoke the release of fugitive dependents who had fled his church in the preceding years. However, as they had apparently based their claim for freedom on a well-known regulation of Roman law, the application of existing law would not have helped Theodulf of Chur to pursue his objective.

This leads us to the topic of legal change. It is noteworthy that nothing in Conrad's charter of 912 suggests that we are dealing here with Roman law. On the other hand, from the *Lex Romana Curiensis* it becomes clear that the *lex tricennalis* was well known, as was the fact that it derived from Roman law. Moreover, we even have several bits from Carolingian capitularies that refer to the *lex tricennalis*,[104] but these mostly deal with the possibility that the church might acquire property and serfs through prescription. Consequently, the intention of the clause in the charter cannot have been to brand Roman law in any general way as bad or old fashioned. Only a certain aspect of Roman law was meant to be branded as bad, in as much as it contradicted the interests of the episcopal church of Chur. The Frankish Church, of course, regarded itself as an institution that lived according to Roman law, as we already find expressed in the 7th-century Ribuarian law code: *ecclesia vivit lege Romana*.[105] But this was not what was at stake here. The predominance of Roman law in Raetia apparently made it possible that slaves who had not been required for service by their lord for 30 years could go to a public court and claim freedom for themselves or protection by a new master who promised them better conditions of service. Apparently, the bishop of Chur wanted to have this legal loophole closed and to adopt for his church a legal regulation that was already enjoyed by several other churches and monasteries.

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102 Keller, Zum Sturz Karls III. See in more detail MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, 123-198.

103 Kasten, Kampf um die wirtschaftlichen Ressourcen.

104 See above, n. 81, 85 and 86.

105 Fürst, *Ecclesia vivit lege Romana?*

At first sight there seems to be some irony in the fact that the ancient law of the slave-holding Roman society, in allowing the acquisition of freedom by prescription, appears as more friendly towards slaves than the law which the Frankish kings conferred to ecclesiastical institutions via privilege. On closer inspection, however, it becomes apparent that the legal situation was far more complicated than one might expect, for there were several different legal traditions, with the one fixed by the *Lex Romana Curiensis* being only one, albeit important, among them. It tells us even more that the charter not only brands the thirty-years rule as a bad custom, but as one that differs from the custom enjoyed by other churches. In the case of St Gall this also had to do with the fact that St Gall, though located only 50 miles north of Chur, was situated in a region subject to Aleman law, where jurisdiction was held by the Aleman duke; as we saw, within Aleman law, the thirty-years rule was rejected.[106] Moreover, St Gall had acquired its right to conduct inquisition procedure by a royal privilege,[107] and this apparently served as the model for the bishop of Chur.

Another aspect which seems relevant here for departing from Roman tradition and which made things even more complicated is that since the late 5th century, church property came to be regarded as inalienable in legal terms.[108] Practically, this meant that even according to Roman law the legal situation was not clear: for in this sense, a slave who obtained freedom for himself caused a diminution of church property, and this could be used as an overriding principle to deny any slave the right to obtain freedom through prescription. The rulings on this principle, in particular those established by the East Roman emperor Justinian, became accessible in Francia only in the earlier 9th century through the *Epitome Iuliani*, from where it was copied into the capitulary collection of Ansegis of Fontenelle.[109]

So there was a plurality of legal traditions and legal texts that could contradict one another, and it is against this backdrop that a royal privilege could prioritize certain competing norms over others. Therefore, the bishop of Chur could approach the king and ask him to decide, as there was a conflict of contradictory laws and regulations – in fact of conflicting Roman laws (that is the Theodosian code on prescription vs. Justinian's novels on church property) and Alemannic law, while other churches and monasteries enjoyed special regulations and two capitularies had suspended the thirty-year rule in favour of slaves. King Conrad followed Bishop Theodulf's suggestion and issued this charter, which, in fact, assimilated the status of the episcopal church of Chur to that of the neighbouring monastery of St Gall. Thus, by royal privilege, the differences between various *leges barbarorum* and Roman law were pushed aside, while the grant of procedural rights typical for fiscal property and the idea that the inalienability of church property constituted an overriding principle, which was at the heart of a process that transformed the episcopal church of Chur into an ecclesiastical principality.[110]

106 See above, n. 81.

107 See above, n. 70.

108 Esders, Frühmittelalterliche »Blüte« des Tauschgeschäfts; Calvet-Marcadé, *Assassin des pauvres.*

109 See Esders and Patzold, Justinian to Louis the Pious, 389-395. On knowledge of the *Epitome Iuliani* in St Gall as documented by manuscripts and excerpts, see Kaiser, *Epitome Iuliani*, 37-39, 219-223, 421-423.

110 Clavadetscher, Herrschaftsbildung in Rätien.

A final remark on legal change in this period of transition as documented by Conrad I's diploma relates to the detestation of the thirty-years rule in favour of slaves as »bad custom« (*mala consuetudo*). As is well known, custom is usually treated as a good thing in law, certainly as a subsidiary or supplementary body of regulations, but often also having a worth of its own.[111] 66 years ago the French historian Jean-François Lemarignier, an expert on the development of *»la société féodale«*, wrote an important article on the disappearance of Carolingian administrative structures and the emergence of local custom entitled *»La dislocation du pagus et le problème des consuetudines«.* Imagining the creation of new legal structures in the course of the late 10th and the 11th century, Lemarignier observed a diminution of royal authority giving rise to the seigneurie, a process he saw, in line with many historians before him, encapsulated in the granting of immunities.[112] As royal privileges of immunities conferred the rights of ban and other rights, by undermining the authority of the local office-holder, usually the count, they effectively led to the evolution of local customary law within ecclesiastical principalities or seigneuries. The rights conferred upon an immunist, especially his entitlement to exercise jurisdiction and to collect a variety of fines and revenues resulting from his performing justice, from raising tolls, from collecting renders etc. now came to be called *consuetudines*, customs. More recently, on the occasion of the bicentenary of the French revolution, the late Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, interpreted this new term »bad customs«, *malae consuetudines*, as arising from basically the same process at a second stage.[113] The end of the Frankish fisc, which he assumed for the 10th century, but also the end of the domanial system, *»la seigneurie foncière«*, which he saw increasingly replaced by the *»seigneure banale«*, the entitlement to exercise certain functions independently from property, were, in Lauranson-Rosaz', view at the heart of a process which eventually led to a widespread abuse of these powers. Justice was performed when some income and revenues could be gained. It was the corruption of the judicial system that linked this development to the early peace of God movement which also made a claim for some sort of judicial reform and sought to replace *malae consuetudines* through royal legal acts and through *convenientiae* (as *bonae consuetudines*).[114] In French scholarship, the debate on bad customs (*malae consuetudines*) has always been closely linked to that on the *révolution féodale* or *mutation de l'an mil*.[115]

However, Conrad I's charter with its reference to *mala consuetudo* was written almost a century earlier. The idea of disqualifying customs as bad was certainly older,[116] but what is striking here is its appearance in a legal document. The charter of 912 suggests that the appearance of the term »bad custom« in a legal document should not be linked to the feudal revolution. Rather, it happened in a period of transition and rapid change, which appears to be shaky and perilous also in the sense that it could easily introduce legal change according to the interests of powerful magnates. For this reason, the early 10th century appears as a

111 See the classic study by Kern, Recht und Verfassung. On Kern and his ideas, see now Liebrecht, *Fritz Kern.*

112 Lemarignier, La dislocation du *pagus.*

113 Lauranson-Rosaz, Mauvaises coutumes d'Auvergne; Id., »Mauvaises coutumes« aux »bonnes coutumes«; see also Magnou-Nortier, Mauvaises coutumes.

114 See the discussion by Mazel, *Féodalités*, 184-191 and West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution,* 184-187. See also Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia.*

115 White, Bad customs (*malae consuetudines*). For Italy see Nobili, *Malae consuetudines* in Lungiana.

116 On different notions of custom, see most recently Kerneis, *Le droit et la coutume.*

fight over the notion and validity of custom. The question of which customs were actually »bad« and which not, depended on the viewpoint, of course. But the very rhetoric suggests that many of the developments we can already observe in the early 10th century were, in fact, hardly peaceful and harmonious and must be placed in a wider perspective by looking backward.

Charlemagne had warranted *lex et consuetudo* for Churraetia in 772, as did Lothar I in 843.[117] However, Charlemagne's son, Pippin of Italy, prescribed in a capitulary:

> »It was our wish to insert the following: Where there is written law (*lex*), it shall prevail over custom (*consuetudo*), and no custom (*consuetudo*) shall be placed above the written law (*lex*)«.[118]

This seems to echo the late-Roman idea that a custom which did not interfere with the public welfare may be regarded as law[119] – if Carolingian legislation was legitimized with reference to *utilitas publica* such an interpretation does not appear to be too far-fetched. However, in the late Carolingian period, when Carolingian rulers ceased to issue capitularies, and when written documentation became reduced to some extent, this must have caused a re-evaluation of custom. For precisely this reason, custom needed to be checked. Re-thinking custom led to its re-evaluation according to different criteria.[120] It seems particularly noteworthy in the case of Churraetia that the notion of a »bad custom« was extended here to a legal tradition that was clearly rooted in written law. This points to a new legal reasoning. Legal change was introduced through royal privilege, by individual grants, but had an impact on many people nonetheless. So it was not only the case that in the absence of clear administrative or legal structures, the past and its uses gained importance, but also that action in the present often drew authority and legitimacy from claims about the past. It was the past itself, custom, oral and written, that needed to be checked, historicized, reaffirmed or delegitimized.

117 See above, n. 16 and 18.

118 *Pippini capitulare* ca. 790, c. 10, ed. Boretius, *Capitularia regum Francorum* 1, no. 95, 201: *»Placuit nobis inserere: ubi lex est, praecellat consuetudinem, et nulla consuetudo superponatur legi.«.* See also Magnou-Nortier, *Lex et consuetudo.*

119 C. Th. 5.20.1, *Interpretatio: »Longa consuetudo, quae utilitatibus publicis non inpedit, pro lege servabitur«. Theodosiani libri,* vol. 1, ed. Mommsen and Meyer, 242.

120 Vollrath, Herrschaft und Genossenschaft, 54.

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Abbreviations
MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica

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Understanding the Church's Past: Usuard's Martyrology in Tenth-and Eleventh-century England

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The ninth century witnessed the compilation of martyrologies in both the Latin Frankish world of the Carolingians and the vernacular world of Anglo-Saxon Wessex. Yet this phenomenon has been treated very differently by modern scholars of these two cultures. For Carolingianists these martyrologies represent a public, shared text, one which was read aloud in chapter as part of the daily life of religious communities across the Frankish kingdoms, and which, as Rosamond McKitterick has suggested, should be viewed as contributing to those communities' understanding of their Christian past. For recent Anglo-Saxon scholars, the vernacular text known as the *Old English Martyrology* is rather a work compiled to support private, devotional reading, and better understood as an encyclopaedia of arcane information. This article investigates the reception of one Frankish compilation in tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon England, that of Usuard, and compares it to that of the *Old English Martyrology*. It asks how far both texts should in fact be viewed as historical texts. It concludes with a case study of how they were both read in one late eleventh-century community, Exeter, and suggests that this community, at least, was able to maintain two overlapping but different views of its past and its place in wider Church history.

Keywords: Martyrology, hagiography, history, Usuard, Old English Martyrology, reception, cult of the saints, Exeter, Bishop Leofric

Martyrological texts have generally been treated as ancillary works; lumped with calendars, they are plundered as evidence for the location and dissemination of individual cults. But in the last two decades, scholars of the early medieval worlds of both Francia and Anglo-Saxon England have begun to recognise the potential of historical martyrologies in particular to reveal much more about the thought worlds of their compilers and readers.[1]

Historical martyrologies must be distinguished from the earlier, enumerative martyrologies. Compiled from at least the sixth century, enumerative martyrologies are lists of the names of those martyrs and saints to be remembered, often with a brief mention of their place of burial or execution, recorded across the liturgical year. From Bede in the eighth century onwards, enumerative martyrologies were developed into historical martyrologies

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1 The pioneer in this regard was Jacques Dubois in the editorial apparatus to his two editions of key Frankish ninth-century martyrological texts: Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois; Ado, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois and Renaud. See also McCulloh, Historical martyrologies; Lifshitz, *Name of the Saint*; McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, 52-54; Rauer, Usage; Thacker, Bede; Maskarinec, *City of Saints*, 154-168.

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through the inclusion of brief historical entries for each saint, listing, in Bede's words, »not only on what day, but also by what sort of combat or under what judge they overcame the world.« Frankish writers, including Hrabanus Maurus, Ado of Vienne and Usuard of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, developed the genre much further over the course of the ninth century. Yet, as Rosamond McKitterick observed in 2004, this »particular type of history book … still has not been adequately assessed«. Despite her own work over a decade ago, which situated various Carolingian historical martyrologies within a more general ninth-century preoccupation with Christian history, this remains the case. Building on Ado and Hrabanus Maurus's martyrologies, she suggested that the Franks' creation of a range of historical texts across various genres points to their being »historically minded« in a way which distinguished them from their Anglo-Saxon and Byzantine contemporaries. She thus highlighted the significance of Ado's martyrology as both a historical text and a geographic one: a form of »hagio-historio-geography«. Like Bede, Ado located individual saints' relics at a particular place, and established his accounts of martyrs' lives and deaths in historical time, be it that of the Roman, Gallo-Roman, seventh-century English or early medieval Frankish worlds. She thus demonstrated how through the retelling of saints' deaths these texts transmitted an account of Christian history, framed around its heroes and heroines. My aim in this article is to investigate how far the »historical mindedness« of Carolingian churchmen was passed to their tenth-century and eleventh-century successors in Anglo-Saxon England. I will do so first by investigating the late Anglo-Saxon reception of a Frankish martyrology, and secondly by comparing it to an indigenous martyrological text.

I

Only two historical martyrologies are known to have circulated in Anglo-Saxon England in the tenth and eleventh centuries. These are the Frankish Latin martyrology compiled by Usuard of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in the third quarter of the ninth century, and the vernacular *Old English Martyrology*, composed in southern England in the second half of the ninth century.[2] The attitude of modern scholars to these two works has been rather different, as we shall see, and perhaps explains why their potential to reveal a good deal about how Anglo-Saxon churchmen understood their past, and their place within it, has not yet been fully realised.

Usuard's Martyrology

First, the Latin martyrology composed by Usuard of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Usuard seems to have begun work on it c. 850 and continued updating it until the time of his death c. 879.[3] It is an impressive and encyclopaedic undertaking, based on extensive research; Jacques Dubois's researches suggest Usuard drew on the work of at least five earlier martyrologists (the Hieronymian martyrology as well as those of Bede, Florus, and Ado and the metrical martyrology of Wandelbert); various calendars; the Old and New Testaments; some twenty-seven late antique and early medieval texts; potentially 263 saints' lives and passions, as well as various now lost sources. Usuard's text is also the earliest evidence for some sixteen saints' cults.[4] Unlike earlier martyrologists, Usuard set out to ensure that saints' cults were

2 See the entries under *martyrologium* and martyrology in the index to Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 921.

3 Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 134-139.

4 Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 53-74.

recorded for *every* day of the calendar year. His entries are generally pithier, less detailed and less discursive than those of his sources, and include several saints for each day.[5] They often include much abbreviated entries taken from earlier texts. Their concise nature helps explain why Usuard's text was not considered in detail by McKitterick; it is much shorter than Ado's text. Nevertheless, Usuard's text mentions some 2,000 saints, and ranges over Christian time, starting with Old Testament prophets such as Elisha (June 14th) and Moses (September 4th) before moving on to the Maccabees (August 1st). Sometimes he acknowledged his debt to earlier authors, as with his decision to locate Elisha's death and cult at Samaria, on the authority of Jerome.[6] Other times, as for the feast of Moses and that of the death of the Maccabees, he did not cite any authority, but seemingly drew on earlier martyrological texts.[7] He includes several feasts marking events in the New Testament, including his account of the birth of Christ (December 25th), which was again based upon the earlier Carolingian martyrological texts of Florus and Ado and reveals a preoccupation with historical time:

> »Jesus Christ, the son of God, was born in Bethlehem in Judea, in the forty-second year of Caesar Augustus, in the sixty-sixth week according to the prophecy of Daniel, and the one hundred and ninety-third Olympiad.«[8]

He recorded the lives and deaths of apostolic saints including SS Peter and Paul, as well as other martyrs of the early Church. But he also noted the more recent cults of the ninth-century Cordoban martyrs, SS George and Aurelius, whose relics Usuard brought back from Cordoba to Paris on 20th October 858. He later added to his second recension on 20th September an entry for Bishop Eulogius of Cordoba, killed on 11th March 859 (see below).[9] Usuard's text thus moves from Biblical Palestine to the eastern Mediterranean of the early Church, to Rome, to early medieval Francia (east as well as west), Italy and Spain, to seventh-century England and ninth-century Spain.[10] The houses owning copies of Usuard's martyrology subsequently added their own more local cults.[11] As a consequence, this Frankish text links the local to more distant places and present time to both the recent and more distant past. The result is a text which locates each local church where it was read and updated within the wider framework of a shared Christian history. Usuard's martyrology is a work of salvation history in its own right, and became a standard text in the later Middle Ages.

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5 Usuard, *Martyrologe,* ed. Dubois, 103-121.

6 *»XVIII Kl. Iul: Elisei prophetae, qui apud Samariam Palestinae, ut beatus scribit Hieronimus, situs est, ubi et Abdias propheta quiescit«*: Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 246.

7 Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 276, 296.

8 *»VIII Kl. Ian. Iesus Christus filius dei in Betleem Iudae nascitur, anno Caesaris Augusti quadragesimo secundo, ebdomada iuxta Danielis prophetiam sexagesima sexta, Olympiadis autem centesimae nonagesimae terciae.«*, Usuard, *Martyrologe,* ed. Dubois, 147.

9 *»… XII KL. Oct. … Civitate Corduba, beati Eulogii presbiteri, ob Christi martyrium decollati«, »XIII Kl. Nov … Ipso die, exceptio sanctorum martyrum Georgii diaconi et Aurelii«*: Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 306, 325. On Usuard's role in introducing the cult of the Cordoban martyrs to Francia, see Nelson, Martyrology of Usuard and the Martyrs of Cordoba; Christys, St-Germain-des-Prés, St-Vincent and the Martyrs of Córdoba.

10 Usuard, *Martyrologe,* ed. Dubois, 75-102.

11 Dubois discusses this issue, and the challenges it poses for editing Usuard's text, in *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 13-15.

A far from static text, its gradual evolution and dissemination across the Frankish world was closely associated with the Carolingian court of Charles the Bald. Its modern editor, Jacques Dubois, identified three main recensions:

a) a primitive recension which is the version of the text Usuard completed post 20th October 858.[12] On this day Usuard recorded the cult of Saints George and Aurelius, whose relics he brought to Paris from Cordoba.[13]

b) The most widely circulated recension is the so-called first recension, completed post 20th September 859.[14] This recension was usually prefaced by a letter in which Usuard dedicated his work to the Frankish ruler Charles the Bald. In it Usuard set out his aims in compiling the text and his sources. He reported he had written it at the king's request: Charles the Bald had asked him to collect all the anniversaries of the saints, currently scattered across various records, into one work.[15] Usuard gave his sources as the martyrologies of Jerome, Bede and Florus, and wrote that where feasts had previously been omitted from earlier works, he had corrected and added them. It is perhaps not surprising that this version of Usuard's text which included the *imprimatur* of Carolingian royal authority was that which circulated most widely across the Latin West in succeeding centuries, from the north-west to Italy and Catalonia.[16]

c) There is, however, a second recension which is based on the authorial text kept at Usuard's own community of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and which he continued to revise between 859 and his death. The manuscript now survives as Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 13745.[17] This version is not always accompanied by the letter-preface to Charles the Bald, nor, indeed, the other prefatory material which often accompanied Usuard's text, namely an Augustinian text on how the feasts of the apostles and martyrs should be celebrated, known from its incipit as *Festivitates*, and commonly found in other ninth-century martyrological texts as well.[18] This second recension had a much a more restricted circulation, confined mainly to Normandy and England.[19]

12 Dubois, Recherche de l'état primitif; Overgaauw, Deux recensions.

13 Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 325.

14 See n. 9 above.

15 *»Domino regum piissimo Karolo Usuardus indignus sacerdos ac monachus perennem in Christo coronam. Minime vestram latet celsitudinem, o sapientissime princeps, qualiter monemur imitandis antiquorum studiis, ut quicquid in gestis praecipue ecclesiastico dogmati congruis minus perfectum inventum fuerit, debeamus vel pro posse supplere vel certe suppleri obtare. Quae res pia quidem sollicitudine, vestro, si recordamini, iussu dignanter admoto, me ad hoc etsi indignum compulit, quatinus sanctorum sacras atque anniversario recolendas festivitates ex quibusdam praecedentium patrum martyrologiis in quandum colligerem unitatem«:* Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 145. On the different versions of this text see Overgaauw, Deux recensions.

16 Overgaauw identified some fifty eleventh- and twelfth-century versions of the first recension in the dioceses of Utrecht and Liège: *Martyrologes.*

17 A digitised copy of the manuscript is available at gallica.bnf.fr, accessed 27 June 2019.

18 Usuard, *Martyrologe,* ed. Dubois, 144-146; cf. Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, XX.21, PL 42, cols. 384-385.

19 Andersen, Second recension.

There now survives only one manuscript of Usuard written in England before 1050, although there is good reason to believe the text circulated more widely within the late Anglo-Saxon Church.[20] This manuscript is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 57 (hereinafter CCCC MS 57); it is a copy of the authorial second recension.[21] Its contents are a testament to the monastic reforms of the early ninth century under Louis the Pious and Benedict of Aniane, and evidence for their influence on the tenth-century English reforms.[22] Usuard's text is included in a collection of other texts as follows:

1. *Regula Sancti Benedicti* (fols. 2r-32v) (post-Aachen recension)
2. Pseudo-Fulgentius (fol. 32v) (admonition not to deviate from the *Rule of Benedict*)
3. *Memoriale qualiter* (fols. 33r-37v) (anonymous eighth-century text which circulated with the Aachen acta; customary supplementing the *Rule of Benedict*)
4. *De festivitatibus anni* (fol. 37v) = Council of Mainz (813), c. 36 (which feasts should be celebrated in all the churches of the Frankish empire); attributed here to Louis the Pious
5. *Collectio capitularis* (fols. 37v-40v) i.e. Aachen texts.
6. *Martyrologium of Usuard* (fols. 41r-94v)
7. Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Diadema monachorum* (cc.1-84; breaks off at end of quire) (fols. 95r-163v) (c. 810: commentary on the *Rule of Benedict*)

One of the requirements of the Aachen reforms was the daily reading of the martyrology in chapter, alongside chapters from the *Rule*.[23] This requirement thus explains the presence of Usuard's text in this manuscript. CCCC MS 57 is a chapter book, intended to support communal reading in chapter, and, in particular, to provide support for interpretation and reflection upon the *Rule of Benedict*.[24] Smaragdus's commentary on the Benedictine *Rule* was intended to be read aloud to the community before Compline, a service described in the ninth century as »evening chapter«.[25]

The text of Usuard in CCCC MS 57 is remarkably close to the authorial second recension text. Only six cults have been added to the base second-recension text (i.e. to the version kept at Saint-Germain-des-Prés), and these entries have all been copied in the manuscript's main hand. In addition, a further twenty-one entries for southern English and Flemish saints were added in later Anglo-Saxon hands in blank spaces and in the margins.[26] The most recent scholars to work on this manuscript, Timothy Graham and Mechtild Gretsch, have therefore suggested that CCCC MS 57 is based on a Frankish exemplum brought back to Glastonbury from his exile in Flanders in the 940s by the monastic reformer, Dunstan.[27] He then

20 Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithin*, 30; Andersen, Second recension, 388; Hamilton, Liturgy as history.

21 A digitised copy of the manuscript is available at the Parker Library on the Web, parker.stanford.edu/parker/, accessed 27 June 2019. On this manuscript, see Graham, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57, and Gretsch, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57.

22 For an introduction to the Aachen reform councils, see now Kramer, *Rethinking Authority*.

23 *Initia Consuetudinis Benedictinae*, ed. Hallinger, 235, 480: *Memoriale Qualiter,* c. 2, ed. Morgand; *Synodi Secundae Aquisgranensis Decreta Authentica* (817), c. 36, ed. Semmler; de Gaiffier, »De l'usage et de la lecture du martyrologe«.

24 Gretsch, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57. On chapter books, see Lemaître, *Liber Capituli.*

25 Gretsch, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57, 135, n.124.

26 Graham, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57; Andersen, Second Recension.

27 Graham, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57; Gretsch, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57, 144-146; Andersen, Second Recension.

took the exemplar to Canterbury when he became Archbishop in 959. CCCC 57 was most likely copied there in the late tenth century; it subsequently passed to the reformed house of Abingdon where palaeographical evidence suggests obits were added in its margins in the 1040s.[28] Although Graham and Gretsch investigated the evidence of the six cults added into Usuard's base text after it left Saint-Germain-des-Prés to help with the provenance and dating of the exemplar for the Corpus codex – they can all be associated with Flanders – they were much more interested in investigating parallels with other versions of the other contents, especially the *Rule of Benedict*, and therefore did not investigate Usuard's text in any detail, accepting it as a necessary element of a collection which was clearly intended to serve as a chapter book within a reformed community.

The Old English Martyrology

The second text to circulate in England is a vernacular text, now known unimaginatively as the *Old English Martyrology*.[29] This has been dated on linguistic grounds to southern England in the ninth century, and its earliest manuscript is from late ninth-century, Alfredian Wessex. It continued to be copied in the tenth and eleventh centuries and now survives in some six medieval and one early modern manuscripts, although none of these includes a complete text, and some, such as the earliest manuscript, are very fragmentary indeed.[30] Like Usuard's *Martyrology*, the copying of this text can also be linked to the tenth-century monastic reform movement in England. One of the more extensive copies, now London, British Library, Ms Cotton Julius A.x, is associated with Glastonbury, an early centre of the reform movement, and the house which is also the postulated home of the exemplum for the earliest surviving copy of Usuard from Anglo-Saxon England.[31]

The *Old English Martyrology* is much smaller in scale than Usuard's text. It made no attempt to include entries for each day of the year, including entries for just 450 figures. Generally the entry for each day includes just one abbreviated account of a saint's life; each entry is therefore generally longer than those in Usuard where there may be three or four, as can be seen from a comparison of the entries for 31st May in these two works:

28 Gerchow, *Gedenküberlieferung*, 233-252.

29 *Old English Martyrology,* ed. Rauer.

30 London, British Library, MS Additional 23211; on this and other manuscripts, see *Old English Martyrology,* ed. Rauer, 1-4, 18-25.

31 London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius A.x, fols. 44-175; on its Glastonbury provenance, see the summary in *Old English Martyrology*, ed. Rauer, 20, based on her account in: Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*, 130-131.

Old English Martyrology
31 May: Petronilla
On the thirty-first day of the month is the feast of the virgin Saint Petronilla. She was the daughter of Saint Peter, the first of the apostles, and she was a very beautiful virgin in Rome. Then the reeve of the city, who was called Flaccus, asked for her hand to marry her; then she asked him, that after seven days he should send her all the noblewomen and the noble virgins who were there, so that she might go to her wedding ceremony with them. Then she spent all of seven days standing in prayers, asking God that she might end her life in virginity. Then on the seventh day the priest Nicomedes came to her and gave her the Eucharist, and she gave up the ghost to God soon thereafter. And all the noblewomen and the virgins, who had arrived there, organised her funeral and led her to her grave.[32]

Usuard's Martyrology
II KL. Iun (31 May)
At Rome, Saint Petronilla, who afterward worked many miracles of healing, when a certain count came to her as he wished to marry her, asked for a stay of three days, which she spent fasting and praying, and on the third day she accepted the sacrament of Christ and immediately gave up her spirit.
At the city of Aquileia, the anniversary of the holy martyrs Cantius, Cantianus and Cantianilla, siblings, who were of the lineage of the Anicii family, because of their constancy in the Christian faith, all had their heads cut off, together with their tutor, Protus.
In the towers of Sardinia, Saint Crescentianus the martyr.[33]

Whereas Usuard had deliberately abbreviated the loquaciousness of his sources, in particular those by Florus and Ado, in order to increase the number of saints, the anonymous compilers of the *Old English Martyrology* adhered to principles more similar to Bede, Florus and Ado in providing a précis of the life and passion of a single saint to be remembered on that day. The saints chosen by the compilers of the *Old English Martyrology* are generally drawn from the early Church and, unlike Usuard, the compilers chose not to include entries from the more recent past, that is the ninth and tenth centuries. Nor do the surviving manuscripts of the *Old English Martyrology* include the addition of regional or local cults which is such a usual feature of martyrologies.[34] Even once allowance has been made for the fragmentary nature of the record, the result is a text which, as its most recent editor, Christine Rauer, has

32 *»On ðone an ond þritegðan dæg þæs monðes bið Sancta Petranellan tid ðære fæmnan. Heo wæs Sancte Petres dohtor, ðara apostola aldres, ond heo wæs swiðe wlitegu fæmne on Rome. Ða ongann þære burge gerefa hire biddan to wife, se wæs on noman Flaccus: þa onbead heo him, þæt he þæs æfter seofan dagum hire to onsænde all ða gesiðwif ond ða æþelan fæmnan, þe þær wæron, þæt heo mid þæm mihte feran to þæm brydþingum. Þa stod heo ealle þa seofon dagas on gebedum ond God bæd, þæt heo on mægðhade hire lif geendade. Ða on þæm seofoðan dæge com hire to Nicomedes se mæssepreost ond hire sealde husl, ond heo sona onsende hire gast to Gode. Ond eall þa gesiðwif ond ða fæmnan, ðe þær to coman, dedan hire licþenunge ond læddon hi to byrgenne.« Old English Martyrology,* ed. and trans. Rauer, 108-109.

33 *»Romae, sanctae Petronillae, quae post multa miracula sanitatum, cum eam quidam comes suo vellet coniugio sociare, tridui inducias postulans, ieiuniis atque orationibus vacans, tertio die mox ut Christi sacramentum accepit emisit spiritum. Apud urbem Aquileiam, natalis sanctorum martyrum Cantii, Cantiani et Cantianillae fratrum, qui cum ducerent prosapiam de genere Aniciorum, ob christianae fidei constantiam, una cum pedagogo suo Proto, capite plexi sunt. Turribus Sardiniae, sancti Crescentiani martyris.«* Usuard, *Martyrologe*, ed. Dubois, 237-238.

34 An exception is the attribution of Saint Cuthbert to Glastonbury in one manuscript for the entry on 31st August which is generally viewed as a tenth- or eleventh-century addition made as a consequence of the translation of Cuthbert's relics there in the 940s: *Old English Martyrology,* ed. Rauer, 172-173, 287. For a more extensive discussion of this entry, see Rauer, Usage of the *Old English Martyrology,* 130-131.

observed, is remarkably static across the tenth- and eleventh-century surviving manuscripts. There is no evidence of new entries being made across its manuscript tradition, nor indeed of ninth or tenth-century saints being mentioned. Indeed, the inert nature of the text is one of the features which has led Rauer to suggest that it is not really a martyrology at all but rather a much more hybrid text, »combin[ing] the characteristics of a martyrology, calendar, legendary, homiliary and encyclopedia«.[35] Her careful work on its manuscript context and reception suggests that it was regarded as a work for education and devotional personal reading rather than being used daily in chapter to support the community's understanding of the *sanctorale.* She drew support for this interpretation from the fact that later readers generally cited the more encyclopaedic passages about cosmology or astronomy rather than saints' cults. Indeed the entry in one thirteenth-century catalogue from Exeter to a *»liber utilis exceptis omnibus expositionibus in anglico«* (»a useful book of all sorts of extracted information, written in English«), which seemingly refers to this text, reinforces this view of the text as a sort of encyclopaedic miscellany rather than martyrology.[36]

Rauer emphasised the preoccupation of the compiler(s) of the *Old English Martyrology* with arcane information as part of her argument for the text's hybrid nature: there are entries including information about cosmology, astronomy, zoology, animal husbandry, and agriculture, much of it based upon material from Bede's *De tempore*. But what she did not highlight is the compilers' preoccupation with historical time. The preface to the month of May reads:

> »Then in the fifth month of the year there are thirty-one days. The month is called *Maius* in Latin and in our language Three Milkings because there used to be such abundance in Britain and also in Germany, from where the Angles came to this Britain, that in that month they milked their cattle three times a day.«[37]

This entry combines a guide to the Roman calendar with an explanation of the etymology of the Old English term for May, *þrimilce*. In doing so it makes the distinction between current Christian time, and that of pre-Christian time, and reminds the English audience of their own conversion history and past.

Several of these temporal features reoccur in its more straightforwardly martyrological entries as well. On 12 March Gregory the Great's death was remembered in an entry which begins:

> »On the twelfth day of the month is the death of our father Saint Gregory, who sent us baptism here to Britain. He is our *altor* and we are his *alumni*: that means he is our foster father in Christ, and we are his foster children in baptism.«[38]

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35 Rauer, Usage of the *Old English Martyrology,* 144.

36 Ker, *Catalogue*, 75, cited by Rauer, Usage of the *Old English Martyrology*, 141; the translation is taken from Rauer.

37 *»Þonne on þone fiftan monað on geare bið an on þritag daga. Se monað is nemned on Læden Maias, ond on ure geðeode Þrymylce, forðon swylc genihtsumnes wæs geo on Brytone ond eac on Germania lande, of ðæm Ongla ðeod com on ðas Breotone, þæt hi on þæm monðe þriwa on dæge mylcedon heora neat.« Old English Martyrology*, ed. and trans. Rauer, 92-93.

38 *»On ðone twelftan dæg ðæs monðes bið Sancte Gregorius geleornes ures fæder, se us fullwiht onsænde on ðas Brytene. He is ure altor ond we syndan his alumni: Ðæt is ðæt he is ure festerfæder on Criste, ond we syndon his festerbearn on fullwihte.« Old English Martyrology,* ed. and trans. Rauer, 64-65.

Amongst the English saints recorded is Saint Alban, »who suffered martyrdom here in this Britain for Christ«, on 22nd June. This entry ends »The place where Alban suffered is near the city which the Britons called *Verolamium*, and the English now call Wætlingceaster«.[39] The use of »now« again draws attention to the historical dimensions of this text. The compilers' unacknowledged source here was almost certainly Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Their debt to Bede was acknowledged much more overtly in the entry for St Chad on 2nd March which begins:

> »On the second day of the month is the death of the bishop Saint Chad. And Bede the scholar wrote about his miracle and life in the books about the English.«[40]

Bede is also the source for the entry about Benedict Biscop, »who was English«, readers are told.[41] The entries in the *Old English Martyrology* are grounded in the history of the early church and, especially, the conversion of the English in the seventh century. Its view of a historic and secure past, one anchored in part in the golden age of Anglo-Saxon England's Christian past, is thus rather different to Usuard's more universalising and up-to-date view of the Church's past. Like Usuard, however, the compilers of the *Old English Martyrology* aspired to cover the whole of Christian history, starting on 25th December with an account of Christ's birth:

> »On the first day of the year, that is on the first day of Christmas, all Christians celebrate Christ's birth. Saint Mary gave birth to him during that night in a rocky cave outside the town of Bethlehem … 5199 years had passed since the beginning of the world.«[42]

It is to that extent a work of salvation history similar to Usuard, but the picture it presents of the Church and its past is rather more narrow.

II

Whilst this comparison of how the past was treated in these two texts reveals more parallels than first suspected, nevertheless it has also highlighted some considerable differences. Usuard set out to present a universalising interpretation of the Church's past, ranging across the whole of the Christian world and across time, whilst that depicted in the *Old English Martyrology* is more parochial, and grounded in the origins of the English Church in the seventh-century conversion period. Aside from the obvious matter of language, they also vary in the scale of the coverage: Usuard included some 2,000 cults, ranging from the universal to the local, whilst the compiler of the *Old English Martyrology* records only 450 universal cults.

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39 *»… se þrowade on þisse Breotone martyrdom for Criste … Seo stow þær Albanus ðrowade is neah ðære ceastre þe Bryttwalas nemdon Uerolamium, ond Ængla þeod nemnað nu Wætlingaceaster.« Old English Martyrology,* ed. and trans. Rauer, 120-121, 244 on problems of identifying the source for this entry.

40 *»On þone æfteran dæg þæs monðes bið þæs biscopes geleornes Sancte Ceaddan. Ond þæs wundor ond lif Beda se leornere wrat on Angelcynnes bocum.« Old English Martyrology,* ed. and trans. Rauer, 60-61, 243; Rauer, Sources.

41 *»se wæs angelcynnes man«, Old English Martyrology*, ed. and trans. Rauer, 46-47, 235.

42 *»On þone forman dæig on geare, þæt is on þone ærestan geoheldæig, eall Cristen folc worþiað Cristes acennednesse. Sancta Maria hine acende on þære nihte on anum holum stanscræfe beforan Bethlem ðære ceastre….Þa wæs agangen fram middangeardes fruman fif þusend geara and ane geare læs þonne twa hund, ða Crist was acenned.«, Old English Martyrology,* ed. and trans. Rauer, 34-35.

They differ in their focus, ambition and length: Usuard included brief entries for several cults for every day of the year, whilst the *Old English Martyrology* did not include an entry for every day of the year, and generally focused on only one cult, albeit in greater detail. Usuard's text was composed for daily, public recitation in chapter, and as such its entries were revised and updated to reflect the cultic spirituality of individual houses; the contents of the *Old English Martyrology* were, by contrast, much more static, reflecting its use as the subject of devotional, private reading. In the final section of this article I will therefore investigate how both texts were read and understood within the context of a single community, that of the canons of Exeter Cathedral in the later eleventh century. What can such a case study tell us about how eleventh-century churchmen in south-western England thought about their history, and the version of it they had inherited from their ninth-century predecessors?

Although there is reason to think both Usuard's and the vernacular English martyrological texts circulated relatively widely in later tenth and eleventh-century southern England, late eleventh-century Exeter is the one community which we can be relatively certain had access to both of them. When in 1050 its founder, Bishop Leofric (d.1072), transferred the south-western see from its seat on a rural estate outside Exeter to the tenth-century minister church of St Peter's on the site of the Roman forum, he established a new community of reformed canons, under the rule of Chrodegang, »after the Lotharingian manner«, and endowed the new cathedral community with numerous churchly treasures.[43] These treasures included what is an unusually well-documented library of books in both Latin and Old English; it was recorded in an inventory made c. 1070 to commemorate Leofric's achievements and a significant proportion of Exeter cathedral's library survived the English Reformation.[44] The inventory includes some fifty-nine works in both Old English and Latin. Some fifteen manuscripts now survive which can be linked to Leofric's episcopate.[45] Amongst the books Leofric endowed the canons with was a text described in the inventory as a *»martyrologium«*.[46] But quite which work this refers to remains unclear, for there now survive two copies of the *Old English Martyrology* which both have a late eleventh-century Exeter provenance, together with a mid-twelfth century almost complete copy of Usuard's Latin martyrology, and a late eleventh-century partial copy of the prefatory texts to Usuard's text.[47]

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43 *»Hic Lefricus, eiectis sanctimonialibus a sancti Petro monasterio, episcopatum et canonicos statuit, qui contra morem Anglorum ad formam Lotharingorum uno triclinio comederent, uno cubiculo cubitarent.«:* William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. Winterbottom, 314-315.

44 For text of the inventory, see Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter,* 226-235. Written in Old English, two copies survive now in two Exeter Gospel Books: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auctarium D.2.16, fols 1r-2v, and Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11. There has been a good deal of research on Leofric's library in recent years, focusing in particular on the vernacular texts, including Drage, *Bishop Leofric*; Hill, Leofric of Exeter; Treharne, Producing a library; Treharne, Bishop's book; Gameson, Origin; Gameson, Manuscrits normands; Billett, Divine office.

45 Gameson, Origin, 144-146.

46 Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, 232. On the Old English vocabulary for martyrologies, see Gneuss, Liturgical books, 128-129.

47 *Old English Martyrology:* Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 196, pp. 1-110, and MS 41, pp. 122-132, *Old English Martyrology,* ed. Rauer, 20-22; Usuard's *Martyrology*: Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3518; on this manuscript, see now Hamilton, Liturgy as history. The text of Usuard's Preface and part of the Augustinian *Festivitates* text were copied on the inner sides of a bifolium written in a late eleventh-century hand which was seemingly added to a copy of Bishop Theodulf of Orléans's *Capitulary*, in Latin and Old English, and a homily in Old English, both of which were written in the same scriptorium as that which copied other manuscripts for Bishop Leofric: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, pp. 260-261, on which, see Ker, *Catalogue*, 90-91; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* 88; on this manuscript, see now Hamilton, Liturgy as history.

As I have argued elsewhere, there are good grounds for suggesting that the twelfth-century Exeter copy of Usuard is based on a late eleventh-century English exemplum.[48] It is also clear that Exeter's surviving copy of Usuard was used as a chapter book: some 400 obits were added in the margins in various hands, together with a note about how to deal with a situation when events in the *temporale* clashed with those in the *sanctorale*, as they did on at least two occasions when the most important feast in the community's calendar, the feast of the translation of relics to Exeter on 22nd May, occurred on the feast of Pentecost.[49] This is not the case for the *Old English Martyrology*. Rauer suggests, on the basis of both manuscript and textual evidence, that it was instead reserved for private study and devotional reading.[50] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 196, pp. 1-110, is an almost complete copy of the *Old English Martyrology* with an Exeter provenance. Although earlier scholars suggested that this text might be linked to the bilingual Exeter version of the *Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, on the grounds that the rule for canons precedes the martyrology in the inventory, and that the two were linked together for reading in chapter, such a connection seems highly unlikely on both codicological and textual grounds.[51] The other Exeter copy is a much more fragmentary version: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, pp. 122-132. Here passages from the martyrological text were copied into the margins of an Old English version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[52] The juxtaposition of these two texts reinforces the point that the *Old English Martyrology* was read by »historically minded« churchmen in eleventh-century Exeter. This and other copies of the *Old English Martyrology* are associated with prognostic texts, which in themselves also reflect a concern with time.[53]

Usuard's was never a static text. It evolved over the course of his life, and continued to be revised by individual communities. All the eleventh-century English copies of Usuard testify to how their owners incorporated local as well as recent cults, anchoring the story of the past it told in their locality. This is true for Exeter where some sixteen local cults were added to Usuard's base text.[54] Exeter is unusual in lacking a focus around a particular local cult, preferring to focus its identity around its collection of some around 150 relics, which its canons remembered as being donated by King Athelstan to their predecessor community.[55] The Exeter relic collection, like Usuard's text, ranged over Christian time, and Christian geography, from relics associated with Christ's person (beginning with the blood of Christ), to apostolic relics, to those of the early Christian martyrs, to more recent confessor saints, and from the eastern Mediterranean to south-west England. The evidence of the relics and martyrology needs to be placed alongside the evidence of litanies copied in late

48 Hamilton, Liturgy as history.

49 Exeter, Cathedral Libary, MS 3518, fol. 22v.

50 Rauer, Usage.

51 Ker, Catalogue, nos. 46-47, 74-76; *Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule*, ed. Langefeld.

52 Old English Martyrology, ed. Rauer, 20-22.

53 In addition to CCCC MS 41 see London, British Library, Harley MS 3271. On the connection between prognostics and temporality, see Liuzza, Sense of time. On prognostics and *Old English Martyrology*, see Rauer, Usage.

54 *Ordinale Exon*., ed. Doble.

55 This argument is developed further in Hamilton, Liturgy as history. Athelstan's donation is remembered in both the eleventh-century Old English (lists 146 relics) and Latin (lists 159 relics) versions of Exeter's relic list: ed. in Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter,* 176 (Old English), 192 (Latin): *»Haec sunt nomina sanctarum reliquiarum quae habentur in Exoniensi monasterio sanctae Mariae et sancti PETRI apostoli, quarum maximam partem gloriosissimus et uictoriosissimus rex Athelstanus, eiusdem scilicet loci primus constructor, illuc dedit.«*

eleventh-century Exeter under Leofric: the litany copied in a psalter associated with Leofric, now London, British Library, MS Harley 863, is enormous, and mentions some 300 saints by name; its most recent student, Michael Lapidge, described it as a »scholarly compilation.«[56] Taken together, these three texts suggest that Exeter's late eleventh-century community of canons had a universalising approach to saints' cults. This attitude underlay three different kinds of text. This contrasts with other copies of Usuard made under early Norman churchmen in the late eleventh century where additional cults are focused around the patron of the community: that made for Saint Augustine's Canterbury incorporates various lengthy entries for feasts associated with Saint Augustine and his companions[57] while that made for Durham incorporates a good deal of material on Cuthbert and other northern cults.[58] In all three communities it is clear that Usuard's Martyrology was intended to serve as a public, communal text and was used as such in chapter on a daily basis. The text of the *Old English Martyrology* was, by contrast, unchanging. The two copies of this vernacular text available in Exeter by the late eleventh century were both seemingly used for private, devotional reading rather than in chapter. Whilst read in different ways, and displaying different views of the past, both the Frankish Latin and indigenous vernacular text contributed to, and reinforced, the historical understanding of their readers.

Modern scholars have tended to treat the ways in which Usuard and the *Old English Martyrology* were read by late Anglo-Saxon churchmen as very different, but in fact they reveal a rather similar attitude to the Church's past on the part of their compilers and their readers. Both fit into a world in which churchmen sought to fit their own church into its wider history. It was a past in which churchmen drew comfort from their understanding of their place in salvation history, situating their own locality and past in a wider understanding of Christian time. And it was a past focused not around individual cults, but around wider church history. To that extent, the tenth and eleventh-century churchmen of Exeter clearly inherited from their ninth-century predecessors a well-developed sense of »historical mindedness«.

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56 *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, no. XXIII, ed. Lapidge, 193-202.

57 London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius C.xii, fols. 114-157.

58 Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.IV.24; Piper, Durham Cantor's Book.

References

Abbreviations

PL = Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1844-1890).

Manuscripts

CCCC MS 41 = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, pp. 122-132.
CCCC MS 57 = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 57.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 196, pp. 1-110.
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Creating an »Orthodox« Past: Georgian Hagiography and the Construction of a Denominational Identity

Emma Loosley Leeming*

In the early Middle Ages, Georgia consisted of two kingdoms. The western part was called Egrisi by the local inhabitants, and Lazica by the Byzantines and to the east of the Likhi range of mountains was Kartli, known as Iberia to outsiders. Egrisi was ruled from Constantinople for much of this period with vassal overlords, but Kartli was harder to control and its leaders often played the Byzantine and Persian Empires off against each other in order to maintain some autonomy over their territories. Until the early seventh century Kartli was under the religious jurisdiction of the Armenian Catholicos and officially non-Chalcedonian (miaphysite), but at the Council of Dvin in 610 the Kartvelians rejected Armenian ecclesiastical authority and declared an autocephalous Georgian Church. This new Church joined the Chalcedonian fold and accepted the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople.

One of the defining events of Georgian ecclesiastical history is the arrival of the Thirteen (As)Syrian Fathers in Kartli in the sixth century. The *vitae* of these shadowy figures and their origins and doctrinal beliefs are still rigorously disputed today. The information given (or deliberately obscured) in eighth and ninth century accounts of the (As)Syrian Fathers is crucial for our understanding of how Kartvelian confessional identity evolved and was conflated with ideas of Kartvelian nationhood. This paper will explore the construction of Kartvelian national identity through the lens of ecclesiastical history and examine how past events, in particular the narrative of the (As)Syrian Fathers, were deliberately obfuscated in the quest to create an »Orthodox‹ past.

Keywords: Georgia; Egrisi/Lazica; Kartli/Iberia; Thirteen (As)Syrian Fathers; monophysite; miaphysite; dyophysite

The country that we know today as Georgia consisted of two kingdoms in the early Middle Ages. The western part was called Egrisi by the local inhabitants and Lazica by the Byzantines. To the east of the Likhi range of mountains was Kartli, known as Iberia to outsiders. Egrisi was ruled from Constantinople for much of this period by vassal overlords who reported to the Byzantine emperor. However Kartli was harder to control and its leaders often played the Byzantine and Persian Empires off against each other in order to maintain autonomy over their territory.

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Fig. 1: Egrisi and Kartli in the eighth to tenth centuries

In this paper we will be concentrating on Kartli (eastern modern Georgia) and the events that brought the country into the Chalcedonian Orthodox fold. This discussion will look at these events through the hagiographical literature of Georgia and, in particular, the works relating to the Thirteen (As)Syrian Fathers. We will explore how ostensibly devotional works of literature were manipulated by their writers to reflect the ecclesiastical politics of the seventh and eighth centuries rather than being the straightforward panegyrics to holy men that they purport to be.

At this point a brief digression is necessary to explain the confessional divisions of the Near East and the Caucasus from the sixth century onwards and why the events of the Councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451) had such a formative role in the evolution of Christian Caucasian identity. The Council of Ephesus had led to the Church of the East (formerly pejoratively referred to as Nestorians) being anathematized for their perceived insistence on the humanity of Christ and not sufficiently recognising His divinity. This persecution by the Church hierarchy led those who rejected Ephesian teaching to migrate eastwards into Persian territory and ultimately found their own Church. Whereas most Christians in the Persian Empire were viewed with suspicion as possible fifth-columnists, possibly on a »enemy of my enemy is my friend« basis, those who rejected the Third Ecumenical Council were tolerated and, at times supported by, the shahs so that the Church of the East took root outside the environs of the Byzantine world. Twenty years later the Fourth Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon led to the so-called monophysites (who are more accurately referred to as miaphysites) breaking with Constantinople over their insistence that Christ had one nature that was indivisibly human and divine at the same time. These non-Chalcedonian believers were increasingly persecuted by those who upheld the teachings of the Third Council and by the reign of the Emperor Justinian (527-565) the division had become so acrimonious that there was no way back. The Syriac-speaking heartlands around Edessa were a centre for non-Chalcedonian Christians and those who rejected Chalcedon eventually became the Syrian Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox Churches (the Copts and Ethiopian Orthodox are also non-Chalcedonian, but they are of no concern for this paper).

This is where the issue of Kartvelian Christian identity begins to enter the picture. It is traditionally believed that Kartli was converted in the fourth century by a woman of Cappadocian origin named Nino. This event is placed in the 330s in the reign of King Mirian, with the story recounted in the text named *The Conversion of Kartli*.[1] The oldest extant manuscript of this was written c. 950 but it employs archaicisms that suggest to specialists that it was drawing upon source material dating back at least to the seventh century.[2] Interestingly the narrative is given credibility by the fact that certain passages of the text are supported by Rufinus' *Historia Ecclesiastica* of 403, telling us that the basic outlines of the conversion narrative were widely known in this period – although the conversion in Rufinus' text is performed by an unnamed »captive woman« and the figure of St. Nino, the Illuminator of Kartli, only emerges in later sources.[3] This textual evidence is also supported by archaeological finds suggesting an early Judaeo-Christian presence in and around Mtskheta, the ancient capital of Kartli.[4] Carbon dating on ecclesiastical sites in Kakheti in the east has shown that large basilicas were also being built near Caucasian Albania (the exact location of Albania is unknown but it is believed to have been located in the region of modern Azerbaijan) by the mid-fourth century,[5] suggesting that Christianity was well-established throughout the region by the end of the fourth century. However, despite the reference to the conversion of Kartli in Rufinus, there is extremely little textual evidence from Kartli itself in the early Middle Ages. We know that the Georgian alphabet developed in the fourth/fifth century and that this is when the Kartvelian language was written down for the first time. The earliest extant evidence for this comes from two inscriptions dated 430 and 432 respectively, found in the mid-twentieth century at Bir El Qutt between Bethlehem and Jerusalem in the Holy Land.[6] In Georgia itself the earliest evidence is an inscription on the exterior of the nave of Bolnisi Sioni church, in the south of Georgia, dated 494.[7] There are various hagiographical texts in Georgian that have been dated to the first few centuries after it became a written language, but it is the work known as *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, »the History of Kartli«, of which the *Conversion of Kartli* is a constituent part, that is the first literary account in Georgian of the political and religious history of the country.[8] This is significant because as a retrospective account of events it has more reason than most chronicles to obfuscate matters of religious authority and allegiance.

When we examine its ecclesiastical history, Georgia is something of an anomaly in denominational terms, as it remains the only early Christian nation to have changed its confessional identity. This change was formalised at the Third Council of Dvin in 609-610, but it remains unclear whether this was a sudden break or, more plausibly, the formal announcement of a parting of the ways that had occurred sometime previously. Whilst the picture is

1 Anonymous, Life of Saint Nino, trans. Wardrop, 3-88.

2 Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia.*

3 Rufinus of Aquileia, *Historia ecclesiastica*, trans. Amidon, 10:11.

4 Mgaloblishvili and Gagoshidze, Jewish diaspora and early Christianity.

5 Loosley Leeming, *Architecture and Asceticism*, 50.

6 Corbo, Monastero di Bir El-Qutt, 110-139.

7 Rapp Jr, *Sasanian World*, 41.

8 *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, ed. Metreveli and Jones.

opaque, the fact is that in 610 Kartli officially changed from a non-Chalcedonian position in union with the Armenian Orthodox Church, and embraced Chalcedonian Orthodoxy and Constantinopolitan religious authority. Therefore, although we are not sure what the exact situation in the country was before the early seventh century, the assumption has been that whilst Egrisi (modern Western Georgia) was already in the Chalcedonian fold, in Kartli the Church was non-Chalcedonian. The primary evidence for this assumption is that the Church in Kartli was subservient to the Armenian Catholicos and therefore part of the autocephalous Armenian Church that was firmly miaphysite. However, as the late Tamila Mgaloblishvili cogently pointed out,[9] just because the hierarchy takes one doctrinal stance it does not mean that the wider populace all conform to this position and we cannot assume that the entire country was non-Chalcedonian simply on this basis. When we consider that all the Georgian written evidence of the split with the Armenian Church was written at least a hundred years after the events that they purport to relate,[10] this means that the history of the country is written exclusively from the viewpoint of Chalcedonian Orthodox court scribes and clerics giving a partial, and often confused, account of the ecclesiastical history of Kartli at a time when the confessional identity of the majority of the population remains unclear.

It is at this stage that it makes sense to turn to hagiography to try and elucidate the early ecclesiastical history of Kartli. As mentioned above, hagiography is the first surviving genre of original Georgian literary composition – as opposed to other early Georgian texts that utilised sources written in other languages and translated them into Georgian. The first original text in Georgian is the *Passion of Queen Shushanik* which purports to have been written by Shushanik's chaplain Iakob Tsurtavi, as an eye witness account of the late fifth century martyrdom of a Christian queen at the hands of her Zoroastrian husband.[11] As with many other early sources, the earliest extant manuscript of this text is six hundred years younger than the events of the narrative, but despite many later linguistic interpolations, the account is widely accepted as having substantial fifth-century content.[12] Obviously hagiographical texts dating back to the fifth century bear little information about doctrinal conflict unless they are written by clergy involved in the theological minutiae of the debate and so we cannot use this text or the handful of other early Georgian hagiographies to tell us about Kartvelian confessional identity, but one group of hagiographical works has been endlessly debated by Georgian scholars for signs of Chalcedonian Orthodoxy or otherwise and it is to these works that we shall now turn.

The most significant moment in early Georgian ecclesiastical history after the conversion of Kartli is the arrival of the *Asirieli Mamebi* (Thirteen (As)Syrian Fathers) in Kartli in the sixth century. The *vitae* of these shadowy figures and their origins and doctrinal beliefs are still rigorously disputed by scholars today as they are credited with bringing monasticism

9 Tamila Mgaloblishvili, *pers. comm.,* 2013.

10 The only near contemporary accounts of these events are from the Armenian side, see Garsoïan, *L'Église Arménienne*. Rapp argues in *The Sasanian World through Georgian Eyes* that the *Conversion of Kartli* was produced in the years after the Third Council of Dvin and reflected this break with the Armenian tradition and the growing links with Byzantium; Rapp, 107.

11 See Peeters, Sainte Sousanik, 5-48 and 245-307 for a critical edition; see Lang, *Lives and Legends* for an English translation.

12 Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, 42.

to Kartli and founding the earliest and most influential monasteries in the country.[13] As is common for this era, and as we have found elsewhere in Georgian literature, the first written accounts of these Fathers were written in the eighth and ninth centuries and therefore they post-date the Third Council of Dvin and the rejection of non-Chalcedonian Christology in Kartli. These *vitae* of the (As)Syrian Fathers are crucial for our understanding of how Kartvelian confessional identity evolved because the authors have gone to great effort to link these figures to significant historical personages and artefacts in an effort to give their narratives a retrospective aura of authenticity. This information has become a key element in modern attempts to try and discover the confessional identity of these Fathers, and this exercise has become increasingly political in contemporary Georgia where adherence to Georgian Orthodoxy is now often viewed as synonymous with Georgian identity as a whole.[14]

It is perhaps instructive to begin our exploration of these sources with Ioane Zedazneli, who is regarded as the leader of the Thirteen Fathers, and, as the narratives imply that these figures did not all arrive together, was responsible for the first group of monks to arrive on Kartvelian territory. In the metaphrastic *vita* of Shio Mghvimeli it says that Ioane »ascended to the great luminary Symeon of the Admirable Mountain … who blessed Ioane and his disciples and they prayed before following the road to Kartli.«[15] The anomaly of this statement is that a number of Georgian commentators, including Korneli Kekelidze on whose work most contemporary arguments are based, have made the assumption that the Fathers were monophysite.[16] This interpretation of their doctrinal loyalties is problematic with regard to the *vita* cited above given that our evidence relating to Symeon Stylites the Younger (or Symeon of the Admirable Mountain) in his own *vita* and that of his mother Martha makes clear that he was an enthusiastic supporter of Chalcedonian Orthodoxy. Therefore he would not have offered his blessing, as the metaphrastic *vita* of Shio claims, to a group of monks fleeing northwards to escape persecution for their anti-Chalcedonian beliefs. Kekelidze does not acknowledge this fact in his work, but, on the contrary, remains clear in his view that these figures were non-Chalcedonian. Part of his argument is to point out that although much of the written evidence suggests that they had Chalcedonian sympathies, given that the texts were written post-610 in a Chalcedonian context they are unlikely to »reflect reality«.[17]

As evidence to back his interpretation of their faith, Kekelidze points to a famous episode in the *vita* of Davit Garejeli, another of the Thirteen Fathers. In this account Davit turns back suddenly from his pilgrimage within sight of Jerusalem believing himself unworthy of entering the holy city. He takes three stones from the hill that he has reached with him as *eulogiae* and turns away. In a vision he is asked to return the stones as he is told that they contain the Grace of the Lord and that he is removing this grace from Jerusalem, so he sends two stones back by messenger and retains the third, which he carries with him home to Kartli.

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13 Abuladze, *Dzveli kartuli agiograpiuli literaturis dzeglebi*. For more recent discussion (in English), see Loosley Leeming, *Architecture and Asceticism* and for those who read Georgian the works of Matitashvili are an excellent introduction to the literature. In particular see Kartuli bermonazvnoba VI–VIII saukuneebshi: Sirieli Mamebi, 216-230.

14 The growing power of the Georgian Orthodox Church and the political narrative that the Church embodies the authentic mode of Georgian identity means that those belonging to ethnic and religious minorities in the country are increasingly marginalised as being »non-Georgian«, or, more dangerously, even viewed as »anti-Georgian«.

15 Translation author's own from Kekelidze, Sakitkhi siriel moghvatseta kartulshi, 103.

16 I use the term monophysite here as a direct translation of the Georgian sources.

17 Kekelidze, Sakitkhi siriel moghvatseta kartulshi, 103.

Kekelidze interprets this event as meaning that Davit feels unworthy of entering Jerusalem because of his monophysitism.[18] However, despite his place as the pre-eminent twentieth century Georgian historian on this subject, Kekelidze is an ambivalent (one could even say unreliable) interpreter of these sources as on the one hand he uses them to date the time that the Fathers arrived in Kartli, but on the other, he dismisses other elements of the texts on the basis that they were at least partially falsified in a later era and that this accounts for their often pro-Chalcedonian statements. This ambivalence is reflected in the somewhat startling interpretation he has of the assertion that the Fathers are purported to have spoken fluent Kartvelian (Georgian) even though they were native Syriac[19] speakers; for Kekelidze this circumstance is not miraculous as the *vitae* claim, but is more plausibly understood as being »no more no less than Kartvelians speaking Kartvelian to each other.«[20] This view that these figures were in fact ethnic Kartvelians returning to their homeland has found much support with contemporary Georgian scholars. It enables the Church to view these Fathers as homegrown Georgian saints and can be used, in direct opposition to Kekelidze's position, to argue for a pre-610 Chalcedonian presence in Kartli. One of the most forceful voices in favour of the view that the Thirteen Fathers were ethnic Georgians is Goiladze,[21] but his arguments have been contested by Matitashvili who takes issue with Goiladze's assertion that Georgians and »related tribes« had settled in north Mesopotamia and along its rivers:

> The author [Goiladze] believes that the Assyrian Fathers, who were Georgians by their mentality, moved towards Georgia from Edessa, but we cannot agree with this. Here again we have a case of the wrong interpretation of the source. Not one work on the lives of the Assyrian Fathers, nor any other medieval narratives or epigraphical sources mention the Georgian origins of the Syrian Fathers (or that they were monophysites, however V. Goiladze believes that they were dyophysites) in the slightest reference to their origins, but the researchers frequently draw attention to the appeal of their own interpretation and how the sources prove their ideas, which are explained in a highly subjective manner. Accordingly we must conclude that the Assyrian Fathers who came to Kartli were dyophysite Syrian figures.[22]

Whilst Matitashvili is using Georgian literary sources to refute Goiladze's argument it must also be noted that no archaeological evidence has yet been found of any Georgian presence on Syrian or Mesopotamian territory except for the Georgian monasteries built around Antioch in the eighth-tenth centuries. In addition there is a lot of extant literary evidence from Edessa, but nobody has yet made reference to extensive Georgian settlement in the city in Late Antiquity. When we take this combination of factors into account, Matitashvili's view that Goiladze has interpreted the information in an especially subjective manner is fully justified, even if his own arguments for seeing the Fathers as dyophysite Syrians are largely unsubstantiated.

18 Kekelidze, Sakitkhi siriel moghvatseta kartulshi, 99.

19 The Georgian historians refer to them as speaking Aramaic or Assyrian, but as they are ascribing a miaphysite identity to these men then we should make the assumption that they would have been speaking the Syriac vernacular that spread across Syria and Mesopotamia.

20 Kekelidze, Sakitkhi siriel moghvatseta kartulshi, 103-104.

21 Goiladze, *Asurel mamata samsshoblo da sakartvelo*. This is a self-published booklet.

22 Translation author's own from Matitashvili, Kartuli bermonazvnoba VI–VIII saukuneebshi, 226-227.

Referring back to Mgaloblishvili's comments on the difficulties of establishing what the confessional beliefs of Kartvelian Christians were before 610, it is clear that we must use an interdisciplinary approach to try and elucidate the problem. Given the relative paucity of texts on the subject, it makes sense to include also information from the material culture of the time to try and bring an extra perspective to bear on the problem. Mgaloblishvili herself took this view by working with the archaeologist Iulon Gagoshidze to explore the veracity of the stories in the *Conversion of Kartli* of positive Jewish-Christian interactions and she believed that the same approach would help identify the confessional identities of the Thirteen Fathers, who she was convinced arrived at different times throughout the sixth century from various locations and, accordingly, followed different doctrinal beliefs.[23] In particular she believed that some of the stories of the easternmost Fathers, such as Abibos Nekreseli, pointed to Persian origins, whilst other accounts, such as that relating to Ioane Zedazneli, pointed to a Syro-Palestinian identity. Following this logic, these figures can be considered to have arrived from various countries of origin and it could be argued that their confessional identities would have been similarly varied. Mgaloblishvili also endorsed the view of Kekelidze that it was extremely unlikely that there were thirteen Fathers – this number was a synonym for »many« and was chosen for its obvious Biblical resonance.

Returning to the arguments relating to disparate doctrinal beliefs, the story of Abibos Nekreseli is one that offers us particular reasons to argue for the varied origins of the Fathers. We have already encountered the narrative of Ioane Zedazneli in the metaphrastic *vita* of Shio Mghvimeli that places Ioane and his disciples at Symeon the Younger's monastery in the environs of Antioch, which, despite the narrator's reference to them being miaphysite, suggests that these figures were Chalcedonian monks. The narrative of Abibos situates him in the context of the Persian Empire and paints him as an indefatigable opponent of Zoroastrianism, which would logically suggest that he was most likely an adherent of the Church of the East. The cultural affinity of Kakheti with Persia and the porous borders of the time makes it clear that there was a great deal of movement between Persia and its client state of Kartli in this period – in fact these themes are clearly mentioned in the fifth-century *Passion of Queen Shushanik* mentioned above – therefore it seems entirely plausible that some of these Fathers were Assyrian Christians (members of the Church of the East), just as others espoused Chalcedonian Orthodoxy and yet others supported the non-Chalcedonian stance of the Kartvelian Church in the sixth century. Whilst this would seem to many to be a fairly straightforward and uncontroversial statement, in contemporary Georgia it is far from easy to make such a case without eliciting strong reactions. When Mgaloblishvili died last year, her long-term research on Peter the Iberian remained unpublished, at least in part because of her difficulty in overcoming Church opposition to work on Peter due to the suspicion that he was non-Chalcedonian. In reality we do not know with certainty where he stood on this debate because, as with many other people who lived in the mid-fifth century, it is unclear if he realised how cataclysmic the long-term effects of the Council of Chalcedon would become.

23 Tamila Mgaloblishvili, *pers. comm.,* 2013.

Accepting the argument for waves of small groups of monks arriving from different locations at different times in the sixth century is strengthened by the fact that Kekelidze suggested this in his work back in the 1920s, along with the assertion that the number thirteen had been chosen for its Biblical resonance rather than for any logical reasons of authenticity. This line is also followed by Zaza Aleksidze who attempts to cross-reference the varying names and *vitae* of the Thirteen Fathers. He explains that some manuscripts list as many as fifteen or sixteen Fathers and that, given the names do not exactly map on to each other across manuscripts, there are even more »Fathers« if we were to list all variants from all extant sources.[24] His solution to this question is to suggest that as the accounts got further and further from their origins, more and more layers of interpretation were added to the texts, so that ultimately prominent disciples of the original Fathers were included amongst their number, causing the disparities in names and numbers.

This is important because Aleksidze attempts to understand how a notable relic, namely the *mandylion*, came to be employed as a mark of authenticity in *vitae* relating to one group of Fathers, just as Symeon the Younger was used for the same purpose to authenticate the journey of the group including Ioane and Shio. Aleksidze discovered that the earlier strata of the *vitae* clearly differentiated between the »Icon of Edessa« (*mandylion*) and its secondary relic the *keramidion*. His research demonstrates that the *keramidion* of Hierapolis was reputedly translated to Kartli by Ezderios/Isidore Nabukeli, later known as Isidore Samtavneli, one of the Thirteen Fathers, who took the role of »censer and servant of the *keramidion*«.[25] The *vitae* then suggest that a later group included Theodosius/Tadeoz/Tata of Urhai (Edessa) bearing the »Icon of Edessa« (*mandylion*) to Kartli and that he settled there near Isidore and became known as Theodosius Rekhali or Stepantsmindeli. The significance of this earlier testimony is that whilst both Isidore and Theodosius are still counted amongst the Thirteen Fathers, today they are joined by Anton Martqopeli who is also listed as the Father who translated the *keramidion* to Kartli, although at some point this has shifted from the secondary relic to the primary icon. Today visitors to Martqopi, his eponymous monastery, are shown modern frescoes showing Anton bearing the *mandylion* and monks tell visitors that the relic is secreted safely somewhere on the territories of the monastery awaiting someone pure of heart to reveal its location.[26]

This digression concerning the personages linked to the *mandylion* and *keramidion* is important for two reasons. Firstly Aleksidze has deftly demonstrated what Kekelidze posited, but failed to prove in detail; later accretions to the *vitae* of the Fathers grew more implausible in terms of the Fathers' origins and tied them ever closer to a Chalcedonian interpretation of events. They also included mention of notable personages and artefacts in an effort to anchor them firmly in the chosen historical milieu and offer »authenticity« to the narratives. The second factor we need to consider is that the *vitae* are the only evidence to support this narrative of a link with Edessa and Kartli. There is no reference to these figures in Syriac literature and, although there are competing narratives as to the fate of the *mandylion*, the stories linked to the Thirteen Fathers and the *mandylion* and *keramidion* are unknown outside

24 Aleksidze, Mandilioni da keramioni and *id.*, New recensions.

25 Aleksidze, Mandilioni da keramioni, 13.

26 Based on the author's visit to Martqopi in 2016.

Georgia. In fact, in contemporary Georgia the most significant relic associated with the *mandylion* today is Anchiskhati (»the image of Ancha«).[27] This *mandylion*-type encaustic icon dates back to the sixth century and remained in Ancha, a Georgian city that was overrun by Ottoman Turks in the seventeenth century, at which point it was translated to the Kartvelian heartlands to protect it. Therefore it becomes clear that by the tenth century the chroniclers were deftly constructing an alternative Georgian ecclesiastical past that tied the country into significant events in the surrounding territories and, subtly or overtly, increasingly glossed over the doctrinal ambiguities of the past to present a society that had always, at heart, been loyal to Chalcedonian Orthodoxy.

Why was this recasting of Kartvelian doctrinal identity so necessary and why does it still matter so deeply? One factor is the longstanding enmity between Georgia and her Armenian neighbour. Divided by language and ethnicity, although culturally not entirely unrelated, the Georgian Church chafed at being subordinate to the Armenian Catholicos in Late Antiquity and it is still seen as a matter of national humiliation today. To admit that this was the sole reason to break with the Armenian Church would risk placing human hubris above divine law and so insisting that the division was solely down to the need to reject a »heretical« doctrinal stance has become a necessary fiction to satisfy national pride.

If we accept that there was undoubtedly a political dimension to these events, we can see that embracing Chalcedonian Orthodoxy meant suggesting a cultural affinity with Constantinople and fellow Kartvelian-speakers in Egrisi, rather than with non-Chalcedonian Armenia that was culturally linked with Persia and in doctrinal union with Syriac-speaking Christians from Mesopotamia and Northern Syria. It signified west-facing ecclesiastical and political classes who wished to use Byzantine power to push back the influence of Persian culture. Whether this was strongly the case in the sixth century is unclear, but by the tenth century, when many of the later *vitae* were written, Kartli had been ravaged by the Arabs and repeatedly pillaged by the Persians. As an early target for Arab expansion it is easy to see how a narrative linking Kartli to an ancient Christian power was desirable at this time; playing on an ancient loyalty to Constantinople, suggesting a »pure« Chalcedonian past was a valuable aid when Kartli needed Byzantine support against eastern and southern aggression. Once again it also outlined how they differed from Armenia – as »heretics« the Armenians had placed themselves beyond mainstream Christianity and were therefore unable to expect as much sympathy and aid from their co-religionists to help them negotiate a place in an Arab- and Persian-dominated era.

If this is the case, then why has the story of the »Thirteen (As)Syrian Fathers« retained its importance in the national consciousness? St. Nino is believed to have been Cappadocian and later recensions of her story have embroidered her a backstory that links her family to the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Why did Kartli also need to have these foreign monks as part of their religious heritage? Here, again, we can perhaps see seeds of local rivalries influencing these narratives. Armenia has long claimed primacy as the first Christian nation in the world, it was because of the older and more established Church hierarchy in Armenia that

27 Here I am referring to the icon of this name housed in the Shalva Amiranashvili Museum of Art in Tbilisi, not the basilica of the same name in the old city of Tbilisi.

Kartli was subservient to the Armenian Church in the first place. Edessa in Mesopotamia has long claimed the laurels for being the first city-state to officially proclaim Christianity as its official religion and Syro-Palestinian Christianity could, for obvious reasons, claim the oldest Christian communities of all. Therefore, if Kartvelian ecclesiastics wanted to claim a link with ancient forms of monasticism it added a layer of mystique and added authenticity to suggest that the first Kartvelian monasteries were founded by exceptional ascetics who had trained in Syria and exported their way of life to the Caucasus in an attempt to escape persecution and experience the peace of the valleys, mountains and steppe of the region. Of course, we are still left with the question as to why foreigners needed to perform this function when epigraphy and archaeology has provided copious evidence of Kartvelian monasteries in the Holy Land from the early fifth century onwards. Why do the *vitae* not cast the Fathers as monks returning from the monasteries in the vicinity of Bethlehem and Jerusalem to their ancestral territory to spread ascetic practices to their Kartvelian brethren? This is a question that needs a great deal of further exploration.

Naturally, ecclesiastical history was a forbidden genre of study for most of the twentieth century in Georgia and an emphasis on national identity and ethnicity rather than doctrine and ascetic practice was the only way that such research could pass the censors. Consequently, this is a growing area of study today as scholars are not only free to research these issues unhindered, but, with the internet and freedom of travel, they also have more opportunity to pursue comparative studies and place this material into a wider context. It is to be hoped that hardening doctrinal stances across the Eastern Orthodox world will not prevent this kind of research evolving and that a measured, informed debate can develop. This will enable us to further explore how the construction of confessional identities has shaped the formation of contemporary Caucasian nation states and is still relevant to questions of Caucasian Christian identity today.

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Figure 1: Egrisi and Kartli in the eighth to tenth centuries

Using the Carolingian Past in a Society of Transformation: The Case of Early Medieval Septimania/Catalonia in the Long Tenth Century (900-1050)

Matthias M. Tischler*

The north-eastern region of the Iberian Peninsula, which later became medieval Catalonia, and the adjacent French region, then called Septimania, formed an intermediary zone of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, social, political, and religious transition and brokerage between the Mediterranean and central European worlds, interfacing with the Christian north and Muslim south. Consequently, the double region Septimania/Catalonia is an ideal subject for a comparative view of transformation processes in the Carolingian Empire. My paper – giving an interim report on ongoing research – analyses how this still-underestimated periphery of the Carolingian Empire transformed into a central region of Latin Christian Europe between the late ninth and the middle of the eleventh century, through exploring its imported and autochthonous manuscript production and its position as a border society. In doing so, I show that the societal and religious circumstances of this intermediary zone favoured the concerted selection, introduction and implementation of the core results of the Carolingian Church reform, as well as its well-balanced adaptation to a post-Roman, post-Visigothic and post-Carolingian society under reconstruction. My reflections allow us to assess the quality of »Carolingian« culture as an imperial, i.e. overarching, eclectic and flexible concept of amalgamation of cultural and political semantics, from a peripheral rather than a central European perspective.

Keywords: Carolingian Church reform; texts and transmission; manuscript studies; centres and peripheries; Carolingian Empire; Septimania; Catalonia; border societies

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The central focus of my paper is not to show how »Carolingian« early medieval Septimania/Catalonia was in the long tenth century (900-1050),[1] nor to present the huge bulk of Carolingian manuscript transmission of this period and beyond,[2] nor to demonstrate that this region north and south of the Pyrenees formed a historical, ecclesiastical and cultural unit.[3] Nor do I reiterate an overly narrow focus on selected manuscript material from the famous Benedictine abbey of Ripoll and some other Catalan places of manuscript culture from the ninth to the late tenth century alone, motivated by a political conception of »Carolingian« which is erroneous and deserves complete revision.[4]

My central aim is to present an overarching *and* precise view on the Carolingian manuscript culture of this region we still know today and to identify the power and effects of identity-building represented in the specific features of this manuscript legacy. In other words, my focus is on the intriguing question of what Carolingian text corpora were used and not used, and how they were used for the transformation of a deeply Romanised Mediterranean society which – having been a periphery of the former Visigothic kingdom – showed cultural, legal and theological traces of this Hispanic world. The other point of my paper results from precisely this cultural and political constellation: after the end of the Visigothic dominion in the Iberian Peninsula following the Arabo-Berber conquests in 711, the opportunity to establish new Christian dominions in southern Gaul and the northern and north-eastern regions of the peninsula formed new intellectuals in this Hispano-Gaulish middle ground. These men then developed text models which became central for the further text culture we now call »Carolingian«.[5]

1 Tischler, How Carolingian.

2 Tischler, Knowledge transfer.

3 Mundó i Marcet, El pes, 48-49, who already showed the continuity of cultural and monastic contacts between Catalonia and Septimania even after the late tenth century. In the following, my focus lies especially on the Catalan manuscript evidence, but – if already identified among the even less-investigated Septimanian manuscript legacy – I also mention copies from religious institutions north of the Pyrenees. I explicitly stress the provisional character of my results due to the unsatisfying state of the art of manuscript research in Septimania/Catalonia.

4 The massive Carolingian text transmission of the ninth to twelfth centuries in Septimania and Catalonia (as n. 1-2) speaks against the picture of early medieval Catalonia built on a highly selective manuscript basis offered by Chandler, *Carolingian Catalunya*, 189-228.

5 In the following all mentioned manuscripts are quoted without their related bibliography, which can be checked under pagines.uab.cat/unup/content/materials.

Key figures such as Benedict of Aniane,[6] Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel[7] and others[8] promoted the introduction of revised and new forms of monastic and religious life and their normative text corpora.[9] Therefore, we should not be astonished by the early wide-spread presence of the so-called Narbonne recension of the *Rule of St. Benedict* in ninth- to eleventh-century Septimania/Catalonia,[10] nor by the availability of a corpus of exegetical work on its content and meaning.[11] Both these corpora guaranteed a unified form of monastic life in this region.

6 Kettemann, *Subsidia Anianensia.*

7 Rädle, *Studien.*

8 To name only Theodulf of Orléans: Dahlhaus-Berg, *Nova antiquitas*; Freeman and Meyvaert, *Theodulf of Orléans*; Agobard of Lyon: Boshof, *Erzbischof Agobard von Lyon*; Claudius of Turin: Boulhol, *Claude de Turin.*

9 Excellent overviews on the introduction of Benedictine life in early medieval Catalonia are: Linage Conde, *Los orígenes*, 498-538; Linage Conde, L'implantació.

10 On the Iberian manuscript transmission and diffusion of the *Rule*: Linage Conde, *Los orígenes*, 777-788 and 844-854. The text family of the rare Iberian testimonies depends on an archetype stemming from Narbonne or Septimania, the home region of Benedict of Aniane: Hanslik, Praefatio, liv-lv and lviii; Díaz y Díaz, La circulation des manuscrits, 238 n. 132; Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire* 2, 762. Ríu i Ríu, Revisión, 96 indirectly assumed that it was Benedict of Aniane himself who brought this version of the *Rule* to the Spanish March during his mission to Urgell. The earliest Septimanian testimony was a now-lost manuscript of the late eighth century still existing at the end of the seventeenth century in the library of a canon of Narbonne Cathedral and collated by D. Estiennot for Jean Mabillon and Edmond Martène. The collation is preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 12772, pp. 137-143. The earliest known Iberian copy of this text family from c. 850 is still written in Visigothic minuscule, but seemingly under the influence of Carolingian minuscule and thus produced in a religious centre of a north-western Catalan county (Sant Vicenç de Gerri?), today El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, MS I. III. 13., fols. 7v-57v. Further preserved copies from the eleventh century are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 4209, fols. 1r-20r, unidentified Catalan Benedictine house, Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, MS Sant Cugat 22, fols. 135v-155r, Sant Cugat del Vallès (given to its foundation Sant Llorenç del Munt), and København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Ny Kgl. Samling, MS 1794, fols. 185r-201v, Santa Maria de Serrateix, before 1076. Other early copies are attested in the book inventory of Sant Sadurní de Tavèrnoles from 1040 (one, if not two exemplars) and in the Ripoll catalogue of 1047, perhaps the (now-lost) personal exemplar of Abbot Oliba. Gellone later also participated in the history of the recensio Narbonensis with Montpellier, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 13, fols. 37r-83v, thirteenth century.

11 This explicatory work has three branches: a) exegetical tracts on the *Rule* in the proper sense; b) propagandistic texts in favour of the *Rule;* and c) the hagiographical production on Benedict of Aniane. For a) the central work is Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel's *Expositio in Regulam S. Benedicti.* Beyond an early Septimanian copy of the third quarter of the ninth century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 4213, fols. 1v-180v, we have a single folium from a tenth-century copy from Sant Benet de Bages, Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 793/I, and the »*Espositum regule*« in the Ripoll catalogue from 1047 was most probably also a copy of this commentary. A further copy is mentioned in the catalogue of the Septimanian Benedictine abbey of Saint-Pons-de-Thomières of 1276. Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Còdex 120, fragment no. 2, Septimania, ninth century, shows glosses on the *Rule* ch. 5-7, the spiritual core of the work. This fragment belonged to a glossary on the *Regula S. Benedicti* which explained the *Rule* chapter by chapter in commenting central words or passages of the text. For b) one has to mention Benedict's *Concordia regularum*, a synopsis of regulations taken from different monastic rules, transmitted in an abbreviated text version (with lacunae) in a Septimanian copy of the late ninth century, today Tarragona, Biblioteca pública, MS 69, fols. 1r-176r. Two further traces of Benedict's works are Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 847, fols. 59r-62v, a fourteenth-century copy perhaps from Saint-Victor de Marseille of his tract *De diversarum poenitentiarum modo de regula Benedicti distincto,* a special short comparative text on various monastic penitence practices, and Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, MS 995, fols. 136r-137v, Girona, Sant Pere de Gallicants, fifteenth century, with Benedictus Levita's *Collectio capitularium* III additio I, a revised version of Benedict of Aniane's *Capitulare monasticum*. The only Catalan copy of Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel's famous monastic speculum, the *Diadema monachorum*, is the twelfth-century copy from the Benedictine abbey Sant Cugat del Vallès, Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, MS Sant Cugat 90, fols. 1v-124v. For c) we have traces of Benedict's *Life* written shortly after his death (821) by his own pupil Ardo of Aniane (c. 822/823) in the lectionary of Serrateix, Solsona, Arxiu Diocesà, Còdex 33 (olim Museu Diocesà, MS 3), fols. 23v-24r, and in the (lost) two-volume breviary of Saint-Michel de Cuxa, here first volume, fols. 63-64, attested by the table of contents in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds Baluze, MS 372, fols. 44r-48v, here fol. 44v.

Though it is very often forgotten, the same holds true for the canonical life, since we now know of a handful of early tenth- and eleventh-century copies of the Aachen rule for canons from 816[12] which remained influential in some of the »unregulated« – that is, non-Augustinian – Septimanian and Catalan cathedrals and canonical communities, until the late Middle Ages.[13]

We should not forget that the implementation of these Empire-wide unified religious normative orders and lifestyles north and south of the Pyrenees did not merely demonstrate the presence of Carolingian rule in this south-western Mediterranean zone; instead, it was more a theological necessity, since it was the best means to establish the practice of orthodox Catholic faith in the old and new monasteries, cathedrals and clerical communities of a deeply Romanised society affected by the »Hispanic« heresy of Adoptionism.[14]

The well-known struggle of Carolingian theologians against the main protagonist of this erroneous Christological position, Bishop Felix of Urgell,[15] set off an avalanche of religious, exegetical, theological and juridical texts of Carolingian provenance which transformed the ecclesiastical and cultural landscape, especially of Catalonia, during the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. We know that beside Alcuin and Paulinus of Aquileja – whose relevant works of Catholic faith instruction were also available in Catalan copies[16] – Benedict of Aniane and Leidrad of Lyon were central figures in this battle for Christian orthodoxy south of

12 The oldest known copy in our region is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1534, fols. 1r-115r, Aachen court scriptorium for Carcasonne Cathedral, first quarter of the ninth century. The copy mentioned in the Vic inventories of Bishop Guadamir from 957 and Bishop Atto from 971 is perhaps the existing manuscript Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, MS 128 C (XLVII C), fols. 1v-45v, written in an unidentified Catalan scriptorium of the middle of the tenth century. Further testimonies are the lost exemplar Sant Joan de les Abadesses, Arxiu del Monestir, s. n., Sant Joan de les Abadesses (?), eleventh century, Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, MS 44 (XXXVI), fol. 84va-144vb, Vic Cathedral, 1064/1065, and the lost copy of La Seu d'Urgell, mentioned in the inventories from c. 1100 and 1147 respectively, perhaps the exemplar produced on occasion of the reform of the community of canons of Urgell Cathedral under Bishop Ermengol in 1010. An enigmatic, perhaps Septimanian tenth-century copy is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 17649, fols. 1r-38v, which was in Paris, Notre-Dame, in the seventeenth century.

13 This is shown by Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, MS 130 (III), fols. 101va-116rb, Vic, fourteenth century (before 1340), and Girona, Biblioteca Diocesana del Seminari, Fons de Manuscrits de Sant Feliu de Girona, MS 17 (olim Seminario, MS 150; olim Archivo de San Félix, MS 16), fols. 104ra-160ra, Girona, Sant Feliu, 1502.

14 On the preaching activities of Benedict of Aniane against Adoptionism in the diocese of Urgell: Ríu i Ríu, Revisión, 91-92; Bonnery, À propos, 785. Benedict's Visigothic background, but pro-Frankish theological position were important arguments against the wrong »outfashioned« theology of Felix's Adoptionism: Cavadini, *Last Christology*, 82, 115, 128-130, 184 n. 7, 185 n. 10, and 191 n. 64; Chandler, Heresy and empire, 525-526.

15 Cavadini, *Last Christology*, 1, 4, 8, 71-102, 107-127, 156 n. 90, 159-160 n. 113, 163-164 n. 135 and 137, 184 n. 5, 191 n. 62-63., 192 n. 69 and 74, 196-197 n. 102, and 198 n. 108-109; Perarnau i Espelt, *Feliu d'Urgell;* Perarnau i Espelt, *Jornades internacionals.*

16 Alcuin, *De fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis* and *De Trinitate ad Fredegisum quaestiones* XXVIII: Cavadini, Sources. The manuscripts are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 2341, fols. 158ra-166rb and 166rb-167ra, Orléans region, second quarter of the ninth century (843), later Ripoll, tenth or eleventh century, later Le Puy Cathedral; Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, MS 43 (LXXX), fols. 62ra-95rb and 95rb-98va, Vic, 1056/1057, written by the Vic canon and scribe Ermemir Quintilià; Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, MS 47 (LXXXVIII), fols. 80v-115r and 115r-117r, Italy, twelfth century. Paulinus of Aquileja, *Liber exhortationis ad Hericum comitem*: Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, MS 43 (LXXX), fols. 30ra-57va, Vic, 1056/1057, written by the Vic canon and scribe Ermemir Quintilià; Tarragona, Biblioteca pública, MS 105, fols. 1r-70r, Santes Creus, twelfth to thirteenth century, with various additions.

the Pyrenees.[17] What has not yet been realised and described, is that the panorama of the wider religious, pastoral, liturgical and theological Carolingian text culture introduced in early medieval Septimania/Catalonia was mainly formed by authors who were members of the school of Lyon or whose works were intellectually related to this learned circle of Visigothic and Frankish clerics.

The most prominent case in this field of text transmission is certainly the dissemination of the Martyrology by Ado, former monk of Ferrières and Prüm, who, before becoming archbishop of Vienne (860-875), redacted this text in Lyon between 850 and 859 on the basis of Bede the Venerable, Florus of Lyon and the so-called *Martyrologium Romanum Parvum*, a version he had made himself.[18] Up to the twelfth century, his work was the exclusive collection of short biographical notes and texts on the saints venerated in many early medieval Septimanian and Catalan institutions of Benedictine,[19] canonical or clerical denomination,[20]

17 On Benedict: as n. 6. On Leidrad: Cavadini, *Last Christology*, 82, 185 n. 10, and 189 n. 50. A central gateway of Carolingian religious and theological influence was the Abbey of Sant Sadurní de Tavèrnoles (near La Seu d'Urgell), which, before the Benedictine reform by Benedict of Aniane (799/800), had been a hotspot of Felix of Urgell's Adoptionism: Baraut i Obiols, Monestir, 254-255 and 259; Delcor, Monastère, 43-46, 48-49 and 61.

18 The martyology is transmitted in two families and the first family again has three recensions, probably all by Ado, whereas the second family is the result of redactional work by someone else: Quentin, *Martyrologes historiques*, 465-675; Dubois and Renaud, *Martyrologe d'Adon*, xx-xxvii. The following overview of manuscripts is an update of Iglesias i Fonseca, »Martirologio«.

19 København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Ny Kgl. Samling, MS 1794, fols. 3r-173r, Santa Maria de Serrateix, before 1076; Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, MS Sant Cugat 22, fols. 1v-135r, Sant Cugat del Vallès, eleventh century. In addition, the book inventory integrated in the charter of the church dedication of Sant Sadurní de Tavèrnoles from January 17, 1040 mentions two martyrologies, and the Ripoll catalogue of 1047 even three martyrologies. A later Septimanian copy is Montpellier, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 13, fols. 1r-36v, Saint-Sauveur de Gellone, thirteenth century.

20 Girona, Arxiu Capitular, MS 3, fols. 1ra-131vb, Girona, middle of the tenth century or c. 960/980 (copy of the priest Richarius); Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, MS 128 A (XLVII A), fols. 1r-140v, Vic, end of the tenth century (980-1000); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5256, fols. 14r-146r, Carcassonne, 1046/1055; Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, MS 128 B (XLVII B), fols. 1ra-143vb, Vic, 1061; (†) Sant Joan de les Abadesses, Arxiu del Monestir, Carpeta 539, no. 3, Sant Joan de les Abadesses, eleventh century; Sant Joan de les Abadesses, Arxiu del Monestir, s. n., fol. 1r-3v, Sant Joan de les Abadesses (?), eleventh century; Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. XII/13, fols. 1r-2v, Vic (?), twelfth century; Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, MS 129 (XLIII), fols. 1ra-106vb, Vic, before 1196. This martyrology continued to be used as can be seen in the cases of Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, MS 130 (III), fols. 1r-82v, Vic, fourteenth century (before 1340), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5255, fols. 10ra-37vb, Narbonne, Saint-Étienne, fourteenth century, and Girona, Biblioteca Diocesana del Seminari, Fons de Manuscrits de Sant Feliu de Girona, MS 17 (olim Seminario, MS 150; olim Archivo de San Félix, MS 16), fols. 7r-103r, Sant Feliu de Girona, 1502. Further copies of martyrologies, probably also by Ado of Vienne, are mentioned from the early tenth century onwards, as in the testament of Bishop Riculf of Elne (915) and in the inventory of Bishop Guadamir of Vic (June 14, 957), which could have been the same manuscript that is also mentioned in the inventory made after the death of Bishop Atto of Vic (August-September 971). In some cases, the medieval provenance is still unknown: Vilanova del Vallès, Arxiu parroquial, fragment s. n., Catalonia, twelfth century, and two late-twelfth-century copies which showed typical local feasts and important necrological entries pertaining to Catalonia and were preserved until 1811 in the library of Montserrat Abbey.

since only from then onwards did the new French communities of the Augustinians from Saint-Ruf d'Avignon and the Cistercians in Catalonia substitute this edition with the Carolingian Martyrology of the ninth-century Benedictine monk Usuard of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.[21]

Another prominent case demonstrating the significant influence of the Carolingian school of Lyon in our zone is the wide use of the *Liber officialis*, the main work of Amalar, who, since summer 835, had administered the Archbishopric of Lyon for several years and had taught and disseminated there his comprehensive allegoric interpretation of the Christian liturgy.[22] Copied and read in Septimanian and Catalan Benedictine and Cistercian houses[23] and also by canonical and clerical communities[24] at least up to the thirteenth century, Amalar's work, alongside Walahfrid Strabo's rarely transmitted *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*,[25] became central for the introduction of the common Roman liturgy.

21 Tortosa, Arxiu Capitular, MS 90, fols. 34r-94r, Southern France, middle of the twelfth century; New York, Hispanic Society of America, B 2715, fols. 12r-82r, Sant Miquel d'Escornalbou, end of the twelfth century; Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, MS 207, fols. 1r-23v, Catalonia (Vallbona de les Monges?), twelfth to thirteenth century; Tarragona, Biblioteca pública, MS 106, fols. 206r-287v, Santa Maria de Bonrepòs, twelfth to thirteenth century. A late medieval deluxe copy is Girona, Museu Diocesà, MS 273, fols. 7r-96v, Bohemia, early fifteenth century.

22 Steck, *Liturgiker Amalarius*, 9-11, 15 n. 63, 103, 105-118, 195 and 199.

23 Already mentioned in the Ripoll catalogue of 1047, two existing copies from the eleventh century show that the text was then available and used in Catalonia. The first copy from early eleventh-century Ripoll, Tarragona, Biblioteca pública, MS 85, fols. 1r-120v, written by the famous scribe Guifred, is certainly one of the manuscripts mentioned in the Ripoll catalogue. The other copy, Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 944, fols. 5v-121r, is also from Ripoll, but from later in the same century, and already shows awareness of the Gregorian Church reform because of texts belonging to this period of transition. A third copy from the twelfth to thirteenth century, Tarragona, Biblioteca pública, MS 66, fols. 105r-113v, from Santes Creus, presents only excerpts, but shows the unbroken popularity of this Carolingian work in Catalonia. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, MS Ripoll 206, fols. 134v-156r from the same period transmits Pseudo-Amalar of Metz, *Eclogae de ordine Romano et de quattuor orationibus episcoporum sive populi in misa.* The two copies that remained in Ripoll are still mentioned by Benet Ribas in his catalogue under the nos. 76 and 162; it is probable that these Ripoll manuscripts are Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 944 and Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, MS Ripoll 206. A further copy is mentioned in the catalogue of the Septimanian Benedictine Abbey Saint-Pons-de-Thomières from the year 1276.

24 An eleventh-century copy is attested in the testament of the judge, sexton and cantor of Vic and abbot of Àger who donated it to his cathedral after his death (October 17, 1082). The majority of this library was the former personal collection of the Vic canon, scribe and mecenas Ermemir Quintilià (who himself got many books from the Vic canon Guillem Hiquilà), who delegated it to Guillem Ramon in 1081 with the purpose of donating it to the altar of St. Michael in Vic Cathedral at the time of his death. Another possible copy of the work is mentioned in the book inventory of the basilica of Saint-Aphrodise in Béziers from the year 1162.

25 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, MS Ripoll 206, fols. 102r-134v, Ripoll, twelfth to thirteenth century; Tarragona, Biblioteca pública, MS 66, fols. 105r-113v (excerpts), Santes Creus, twelfth to thirteenth century.

A third text corpus which exerted a massive influence on the reform of the former Visigothic churches in our intermediary region is constituted by the copies of the new Carolingian Church Law collections, the *Collectio Dacheriana* and the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*. The first was perhaps redacted by the Visigoth Agobard, the later archbishop of Lyon, who widely based his work on the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, commissioned by Pope Hadrian I in 774, and the systematic collection of the Visigothic Church of Toledo, the *Collectio canonum Hispana*.[26] It was a hybrid solution which combined Roman and Hispanic canon law and whose knowledge and use is attested through ninth- and eleventh-century copies in Ripoll and Vic.[27]

The more prominent Carolingian collection of the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana* appears to have been introduced in the Catalan dioceses and monasteries since the ninth century via the same route of dissemination.[28] It served as a basic source for the famous *Admonitio generalis* which laid the foundation for Charlemagne's reform of education in monasteries and bishoprics with the aim of establishing schools for grammar and the liberal arts in order to promote learned monks and clerics. Early ninth- and tenth-century copies of this collection are still preserved or at least attested in Urgell, Vic and Ripoll.[29]

The Carolingian collections of canon law offered the legal framework of the pastoral work of early medieval Catalan bishops and abbots. We still have copies of Carolingian tracts, compendia and capitularies that gave their reader detailed information on the correct form of baptism, Christian education and penance. A tenth-century copy from Girona transmits Leidrad of Lyon's *Liber de sacramento baptismi*, together with Theodulf of Orléans's episcopal capitularies.[30] This common text transmission does not appear to be fortuitous, when we remember that Theodulf's norms were published in 798, so shortly before Benedict of Aniane, Nebridius of Lagrasse and Leidrad of Lyon were Charlemagne's Spanish »missi« in the matter of the Adoptionist affair (799/800). Leidrad's tract on the sacrament of baptism, written some years later in response to the demand of Charlemagne and dedicated to the emperor, shows his episcopal activities and his concern for pastoral care. Integrated into the

26 Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform*, 12-13 with n. 49 and 259; Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, 87.

27 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 2341, fols. 204ra-231rb, Orléans region, second quarter of the ninth century (843), later Ripoll, tenth or eleventh century, later Le Puy Cathedral; New York, Hispanic Society of America, HC 380/819, fol. 2v, Santa Maria de l'Estany, eleventh century counts under ch. 69-78 of the Capitulatio I 73-75, 82-83, 77-79, 92 and 85, but the corresponding folia are missing. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, MS Ripoll 77, fols. 5vb-39rb with excerpts of Form B, a copy made in January 1776 by the Ripoll monk and librarian Antoni d'Olmera i Desprats, attests an early eleventh-century copy of this collection in Ripoll.

28 This suggests at least the palaeographical analysis of the preserved oldest copy mentioned in n. 29.

29 La Seu d'Urgell, Arxiu Capitular, MS 2006, Lyon, second half or end of the ninth century; Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 945, southern France (?), ninth to tenth century, later in Ripoll, tenth century. The copy in Urgell and La Seu d'Urgell, Arxiu Capitular, MS 2005, Santa Maria de Ripoll, beginning of the eleventh century, with the *Collectio Hispana,* are the manuscripts mentioned in the catalogues of Urgell Cathedral from c. 1100 and 1147 respectively. In addition, the testament of Bishop Idalguer of Vic from February 15, 908 also mentions a copy of the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, which is perhaps one of the Vic copies mentioned in the inventories of 957 (three exemplars) and 971 (three plus one exemplars) respectively. Finally, the Ripoll catalogue of 1047 mentions five copies, of which one could have been the above-mentioned copy in Ripoll. A later thirteenth-century copy of this collection from Ripoll is Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, MS Ripoll 105.

30 Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat, MS 228, fols. 141r-158r and 76v-89r, Girona, sometime before 990. Leidrad's tract goes here under St. Jerome's name and shows interpolations, whereas Theodulf's work is transmitted anonymously.

dedication letter, this tract explains the meaning of baptism, shows the biblical background of this sacrament and gives an exegesis of the rites pertaining to it. On the other hand, Theodulf recommends the establishment of parish schools in his diocese and obliges his priests to teach free of charge. The regulations thus concern the Christian education of the believers, the formation of the clergy and the bishop's pastoral care, and they seemingly found an interested audience in tenth-century Catalonia.[31]

The same holds true for other copies of capitularies of the Carolingian bishops such as Pseudo-Theodulf (Theodulf of Orléans's *Capitulum alterum*), Radulf of Bourges, Isaac of Langres and Walter of Orléans which are transmitted in early eleventh-century copies from Vic, Sant Joan de les Abadesses and Ripoll.[32] In addition to this scenario of pastoral care, the tenth- or eleventh-century book holdings of Ripoll Abbey also possessed a partial copy of Halitgar of Cambrai's penance manual *De vitiis et virtutibus et ordine poenitentialium*.[33] The latter is also transmitted in a nearly full copy from the late tenth-century episcopal see of Girona[34] and in excerpts from mid-twelfth-century Roda de Isábena,[35] a fact which allows us to uncover the practice of penance at some bishoprics of early and central medieval Catalonia.[36]

A final central aspect of how Carolingian religious text culture transformed an early medieval border zone in transition is that of the concerted and balanced implementation of the revised text of the Vulgate and its daily reading and use in the exegetical and liturgical form of Homiliaries. From the late eighth century onwards, many Carolingian authors invested their full energy in revising the Latin text of Jerome's Bible version and in compiling new collections of homilies based on patristic and contemporary Bible exegesis. Since the state of research on the widely unexplored Latin Bible tradition of early medieval Septimania and Catalonia does not allow for a succinct qualification of the text versions that circulated in this middle ground,[37] I will focus on the question of the Carolingian Homiliaries in this border zone alone. Intensified manuscript research in the last decades has uncovered a rich tradition of various Carolingian Homiliary editions, imported into and accomplished within

31 A selection of Theodulf of Orléans's Capitularies is also transmitted in the eleventh-century Vic copy of a late Carolingian edition of the acts of the Church Council of Troyes from 878, New York, Hispanic Society of America, HC 380/819, fols. 1r-2v and 5r-28r, here fols. 7v, 9r, 10v-12r, 16v-17v and 19v-20v, later Santa Maria de l'Estany.

32 Pseudo-Theodulf of Orléans, *Capitulum alterum:* New York, Hispanic Society of America, HC 380/819, fols. 11r-12r; Radulf of Bourges, *Capitula: ibid*., fols. 5r-10v, 12r-16v and 17v-22v; Isaac of Langres, *Capitula: ibid.,* fol. 32r/v; (†) Sant Joan de les Abadesses, Arxiu del Monestir, MS 1, Sant Joan de les Abadesses (?), eleventh century, perhaps lost in the Spanish Civil War in 1939; Walter of Orléans, *Capitula*: Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, MS Ripoll 40, fols. 50ra-51rb, Ripoll, c. 1020.

33 Here only Book VI: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 2341, fols. 231rb-233rb, Orléans region, second quarter of the ninth century (843), later Ripoll, tenth or eleventh century, later Le Puy Cathedral.

34 Here Books I-V: Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat, MS 228, fols. 6v-46r, Girona, sometime before 990. Since Books III-V are heavily drawn from the *Collectio Dacheriana* (Kottje, *Bußbücher*, 165), this would uncover another connection of some of this manuscript's works to the Carolingian school of Lyon.

35 Book I: Lleida, Arxiu Capitular, RC. 0022 (olim MS 8), fols. 201r-217r, Roda de Isábena, middle of the twelfth century.

36 Halitgar ist not mentioned in Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire.*

37 Puig i Tàrrech, Bíblia llatina.

the Church of Narbonne north and south of the Pyrenees.[38] Among them, the most influential was the still largely unedited Homiliary published by a certain Luculentius around 900, which found a wide dissemination in Catalonia and Septimania from the early tenth century onwards.[39] This new testimony is worthy of a full edition and detailed study, since it turns out to be a precious testimony of the religious, social and political situation of the Catalan counties at the end of the ninth century. These formed a frontier society to the pagan world of the non-Christian Iberian Peninsula which needed a complete re-Christianisation. On the basis of the Homiliary of the Visigoth Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, Luculentius enriched his text with further patristic and Carolingian sources, especially from the school of Auxerre (Heiric), but also added many proper observations and comments in order to analyse the present religious, social and political state of his society south of the Pyrenees against the backdrop of the sources he used in a selective, but concerted manner.

To conclude, we can say that after nearly three years of manuscript research we have produced more new questions than we have found really sound answers. At least we have stressed the massive influence that the Visigothic-Carolingian school of Lyon exerted on early medieval Catalonia, a phenomenon we completely underestimated before we started our in-depth manuscript research in the Barcelona-based HERA-project in late summer 2016. This specific feature makes sense when we remember Lyon's role in the struggle against the Adoptionism of Felix of Urgell and when we take into account too that remnants of this Christological position persisted in Catalonia and Septimania during the whole ninth century (if not even later).[40] We also showed how deliberate and targeted were the selections of the bishops and abbots from the rich Carolingian production of new religious, exegetical, liturgical and legal works and which of them they possessed in full copies or excerpts.

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38 Attested are the collections by Paul the Deacon, Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, Hrabanus Maurus, but also knowledge of the later Carolingian compilations by Haimo and Heiric of Auxerre or the Franco-Catalan recension of the so-called Liverani-Homiliary. A modern, comprehensive monograph on the transition from Visigothic to Carolingian liturgy in Septimania and Catalonia and on the rich history of redactions of new individual Carolingian Homiliaries of the Church of Narbonne is missing. Previous research on liturgy and music in Catalonia embedded in the broader Iberian context, especially by Alexandre Olivar i Daydí, Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol and Maricarmen Gómez Muntané, is documented in Zapke, *Hispania Vetus.*

39 Tischler, Supposed and true knowledge of the Qur'ān, 28-34; Tischler, How Carolingian, based on the excellent work done by Raymond Étaix, Joseph Lemarié, Hildegund Müller and Francesc Xavier Altés i Aguiló. The main testimonies are the two earliest, nearly complete copies Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, MS 17 and MS 21, from Sant Cugat del Vallès, middle of the tenth century. A list of 95 further fragments of homilies of this collection from the tenth to the early thirteenth century, which needs complete revision from codicological and palaeographical standpoints, is published by Altés i Aguiló, Tradició codicològica i litúrgica, 129-200.

40 Chandler, Heresy and empire, 513-514; Chandler, *Carolingian Catalunya*, 117-118, who, however, does not connect his observations with the specific Carolingian text transmission in Septimania and Catalonia I tentatively outlined above. Baraut i Obiols, La intervenció, 173-188 already mentioned at least the introduction of some texts of the reformed Benedictine monasticism and of the Carolingian Roman liturgy of the Church of Narbonne, yet almost without mentioning existing early medieval manuscripts of this specific religious text culture in Catalonia. On other memories of Adoptionism in ninth-century authors of the Carolingian Empire such as Jonas of Orléans (*De cultu imaginum* I), Paschasius Radbertus (*Expositio in Psalmum XLIV*) or Hincmar of Rheims (*De una et non trina deitate* ch. 9): Cavadini, *Last Christology*, 206 n. 8.

What still remains as a major problem is the need to give an adequate qualification of Narbonne's religious and cultural role in this manuscript panorama, since it was this metropole in Septimania which expanded south of the Pyrenees after the Muslim occupation of the dioceses of the »ecclesia Tarraconensis«.[41] Was the role of Narbonne more that of an intermediating transmitter between Aquitaine, Western Francia and Burgundy on the one hand and the Italian and Iberian Peninsulas on the other hand?[42] And what role did the Church of Narbonne and its religious communities play in the concert of Carolingian religious culture between centres and peripheries? Was it also an innovative zone of biblical and liturgical production in addition to its known role in the monastic history of reform-Benedictinism?[43] Finally, what »writing province« did the styles of Carolingian minuscules in early medieval Septimania and Catalonia belong to?[44]

Ongoing research in the coming years will give more insight into this mainly unexplored middle ground intermediating between the Carolingian and the Mediterranean worlds. The more we understand the agency of this middle ground, the more we have a chance to compare it with the specific features of the other border zones of the post-Carolingian Empire and to deepen our understanding of what was »Carolingian«, or not, in the centres and peripheries of an always multilayered and multiple Europe.

41 A sophisticated overview of this process of expansion is given by Vones-Liebenstein, Katalonien zwischen Maurenherrschaft und Frankenreich.

42 Magnou-Nortier, *La société laïque et l'église*; Riess, *Narbonne*.

43 Gros i Pujol, Liturgie narbonnaise; Olivar i Daydí, Survivances wisigothiques; Gros i Pujol, De l'església hispana a l'església carolíngia, have stressed a certain stand-alone position of the Church of Narbonne within the Carolingian reform movement also known for perpetuating orthodox liturgical text traditions of the former Visigothic Church.

44 On our still very scarce knowledge of Benedict's scriptorium in Aniane: Bischoff, Älteste Handschriften, 13-14; Engelbert, *Codex Regularum*, 49-52; Engelbert, Karolingisches Fragment, 147-149. On the earliest written products of the ninth- to tenth-century Benedictine and clerical communities of Catalonia: Mundó i Marcet and Alturo i Perucho, Escritura de transición; Alturo i Perucho, Cultura llatina medieval; Alturo i Perucho, Manuscrits i documents llatins; Alturo i Perucho, Escritura visigótica y escritura carolina; Alturo i Perucho, Fragment de còdex 2541, IV; Alturo i Perucho, Tipus d'escriptura a la Catalunya; Mundó i Marcet and Alturo i Perucho, Problemàtica de les escriptures, 127-131 and fig. 4-7; Arnall i Juan, Escritura carolina, 98-104. The reconstruction of the earliest palaeographical landscape of Carolingian Septimania/Catalonia on the basis of the manuscript data given in Bischoff, *Katalog* and beyond remains a big challenge for our future research.

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Uses of the Past in Early Medieval Iberia (Eighth-Tenth Centuries)

Jorge Elices Ocón and Eduardo Manzano Moreno*

During the Early Middle Ages, most of the Iberian Peninsula became part of the so-called *dār al-Islam*, the huge realm that extended from the shores of the Atlantic to the borders of the Indian subcontinent, and which comprised North Africa, the Near East and significant parts of Central Asia. In the long run, this meant a dramatic shift from the notions, ideologies and frames of reference that emerged in other western regions of the former Roman Empire. Notwithstanding this obvious divergence, Iberia had shared with these regions a common classical legacy that was assimilated, readapted and, finally, integrated after the Arab conquest under a new perspective in a number of distinctive ways. The aim of this paper is to analyse receptions, perceptions and ideas on classical Antiquity from the eighth to the tenth century in both al-Andalus and the Christian north, drawing data from the material evidence and the written record. It is our contention that the appreciation of this legacy underwent significant changes in both cultural milieus as a result of changing political and social circumstances.

Keywords: Reuse; translation; legitimation; Antiquity; Umayyad; Asturias, al-Andalus

Introduction

The way any given medieval society perceived its past is a good proxy for understanding not only its prevalent cultural traditions, but also the social and political traits that helped to build its definition of itself. Being a process of ideological elaboration, it involved not only historical writing, but also the preservation, readaptation, obliteration or neglect of existing remains that were, or were not, deemed relevant for prevailing identities. This was a complex endeavour, as any relation with the past involved a constant selection and/or disposal of texts, legacies or notions that helped to re-elaborate new-old ideas, which justified existing social or political identities. It is important to bear in mind, however, that not all medieval social formations considered history as a crucial element for legitimization, as there were alternative ideological elements that could also account for existing political or social orders: this helps to explain why there were certain medieval formations which showed little interest in the past, placing an stronger emphasis on religious, legal or political factors as the main arguments for their legitimacy.

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In recent years, there has been a growing interest in this issue, as historians have become increasingly aware of the weight of the past (or its lack) in the configuration of the medieval body politic. The early stages of this process are particularly significant, as they highlight the wide range of ideological alternatives, which were at stake in the post-Roman period, and which were reshaped through a complex process of ideological elaboration that had long lasting effects in the late Middle Ages. In the case of Italy, for instance, the initial fields of urban ruins inherited from the Roman past in ancient cities went from being simple quarries for construction purposes to becoming landmarks that stimulated or created a sense of citizenship.[1] A different path has been revealed by R. McKiterrick in her analysis of the early eighth century *Liber Historia Francorum*, which ascribed the origins of the Franks to a group of Trojans who took refuge by the Black Sea after the fall of their city: in this case, historical origins were also rooted in a past linked with Rome, but with the main aim of conveying »a sense of Frankish superiority even over the early Romans.«[2]

It is in the framework of this ongoing discussion that the case of medieval Iberia is particularly revealing. The abrupt separation between the Christian north and Islamic al-Andalus also entailed a deep ideological divide that, as we will see, affected perceptions of their shared Roman legacy. The aim of this paper is to compare how these perceptions emerged by comparing them in a long-term perspective. Contrary to commonly held assumptions, however, we argue that there was not an »essential« opposition between both realms, but rather a changing pattern of perceptions, depending on a number of social and political circumstances. The following discussion is based not only on textual sources, but also on remains from Antiquity existing in early medieval Iberia, as we are convinced that both types of evidence reflect the same trends in the social and political construction of the past.

The Early Period: a Past With and Without Meaning

What were the material remains of the classical past in Iberia at the time of the Arab conquest in 711? There is considerable evidence that shows that the conquerors found a landscape that was punctuated by derelict buildings, abandoned public works and disused structures, which had been constructed in Roman times, but had suffered decay and transformations since then. The new Arab rulers dealt with this landscape in a number of different ways. Some structures were restored; other remains were re-adapted, whereas in some other cases ancient ruins and spaces were used in ways that bear witness of their long-lasting decline.

A good example of a classical structure that was refurbished by the Arab conquerors is the Roman bridge that crossed the Guadalquivir river in their new capital, Cordoba. This bridge had been built in the first century BCE and from its inception it had been conceived as an important strategic landmark, being the only stone bridge over this river, the most important watercourse of southern Iberia. According to textual sources, when the Arabs took over

1 C. La Rocca, »Using the Roman past«, 68,

2 R. McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 10.

Cordoba, the bridge was in ruins and one of their first decisions was to reconstruct it. The decision may have been prompted by the necessity of having an unobstructed route connecting the new capital with the southern coast where the conquerors had originally landed, and sea contacts with North Africa and the caliphal metropoli were crucial at this early juncture.[3]

The adaptation of remains from the classical legacy is also visible in the case of Roman aqueducts. Again, Cordoba provides excellent evidence on this, as shown by the case of al-Ruṣāfa, a recreational property (*munya*) that was built by the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I (755-786) beyond the northern wall of the city. Archaeological works have shown that this *munya* had a hydraulic system that reused a previous Roman aqueduct, which had originally supplied water to classical *Corduba*. Other works undertaken in the ninth century readapted parts of the ancient water structures in order to supply water to the Umayyad palace and to the neighbouring main mosque, both of them located beneath the southern wall of the city.[4]

Evidence of the state of dereliction of former urban Roman sites at the time of the Arab conquest is also provided by early Islamic tombs laid in places that used to be fully functional in classical times. This is the case for three Islamic graves discovered in Nimes (southern France), the corpses in which belong to individuals who lived during the first half of the eighth century and were buried within the walls of the ancient Roman enclosure. In classical times, this area had been a quarter with a typical urban landscape, which had progressively changed into a zone of fallow lands after the third century CE.[5] In Pamplona's Plaza del Castillo (Navarra), Muslim graves from this early period have also been discovered in an area that had been occupied by Roman *thermae*.[6] Munigua (north of Seville) was a Roman city that flourished between the first and third centuries CE. Here, the excavation of the *atrium* of a house, which later became a workshop, has revealed the corpses of two Muslim individuals, also from this early period, who were placed into the pit with their right-hand side facing south-east in the direction of Mecca.[7] Another fascinating case of Islamic burials in a former Roman site is Toledo's ancient *circus*, where a number of graves were discovered during archaeological excavations conducted during the last century, although in this case it is not possible to determine their chronology.[8]

This landscape of ruins and abandoned sites also provided *spolia* for the early constructions of the new rulers. The case *par excellence* is the main mosque of Cordoba, whose early phase was built in the 780s and whose innovative arcaded prayer hall rests on Roman columns, capitals and cymatiums that had been extracted from classical buildings. The formal analysis of these materials reveals a long chronology (first to fourth centuries CE) that indicates a diverse provenance from different ruined Roman constructions located not only

3 *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, 23-24, ed. Lafuente, 58-59; *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, ed. Molina, 46 l. 37; *Dhikr bilad al-Andalus*, ed. Molina, 21, l. 37. On a local scale, the renewal of the Cordoban bridge allowed for a reconnection between both banks of the Guadalquivir, and this resulted in the growth of a new urban suburb, called Shaqunda, which emerged on the left side of the river, opposite the southern wall of the old *ciuitas*, Casal, Rabad of Shaqunda.

4 Murillo Redondo, Almunia de al-Rusafa; Ventura Villanueva, Acueductos romanos de Córdoba, 126; Pizarro Berengena, *Abastecimiento de agua*, 139-146.

5 Gleize *et al.*, Early medieval Muslim graves.

6 Faro Carballa *et al.*, Pamplona y el Islam, 238.

7 Eger, Frühislamische Bestattungen in Munigua, 260-261

8 Juan García, Enterramientos medievales, 641-654.

in Cordoba but also in Mérida and *Italica* (near present-day Seville). One of the cymatiums, for instance, bears a Latin inscription that witnesses its original use as the pedestal of an equestrian statue of a fourth-century Roman governor.[9] Other reused pieces may have evoked a different consideration. A fragment of a Roman sarcophagus of Christian derivation was reused in the foundation of one of the mosque's pillars. The piece was not visible, but the Christian figures were rudely mutilated with the exception of two carved in low relief.[10] Another series of reused capitals in the mosque of Cordoba come from Visigothic buildings, some of them dated as late as the seventh century CE, something that again hints at the very diverse origins of the buildings from which these *spolia* were taken.[11]

Reutilisation of Roman materials is also documented in Seville, where the earliest preserved Arab inscription in al-Andalus was engraved in the shaft of an ancient column and celebrated the foundation of the Ibn 'Adabbas mosque in the year 820-821 CE. There is also evidence of Roman columns with Arab graffiti from the ninth century CE in rural sites, such as the *villae* of Milreu (Estoi, Portugal), Casa Herrera (Mérida) or Carranque (Toledo). In all these sites, columns, which once had adorned *perystili* and main entrances to buildings, were now inscribed with pious invocations and Arabic names. Finally, there are also a number of Muslim epitaphia that were engraved using the reverse sides of ancient Roman gravestones.[12]

These examples of adaptations and reuses of classical remains show a strong emphasis on functionality rather than meaning. During the eighth and ninth centuries, rulers, builders or individuals utilized or readapted bridges, aqueducts, *spolia*, gravestones or former Roman sites in al-Andalus because they were useful or handy for specific purposes. It is not possible, though, to ascertain any ideological intentionality in these reutilizations beyond a generic purpose of cultural appropriation and historical superimposition. This is particularly evident in the case of the mosque of Cordoba, which follows earlier precedents in the Near East and North Africa, where ancient materials had also been reutilised in the prayer halls of the Umayyad mosque in Damascus and the mosque of Qayrawān. Apart from these intriguing cases, the absence of a clear ideological motivation in the use or adaptation of ancient remains reflects a widespread lack of interest in a centuries-old legacy whose original meaning had become widely incomprehensible. A ninth-century Arab governor of Mérida was impressed by the quality of the marble inscriptions that were scattered across this city, once the capital of the Roman province of *Lusitania*, but he was unable to find any Christian who could decipher their contents, except an old monk.[13] In the eyes of the new rulers, the past provided quality and magnificent remains, which were useful and prone to be adapted to their purposes and ideological premises, but whose significance was far from being obvious.

9 Stylow, Nuevo gobernador, 426-428.

10 Fontaine, Sarcófago cristiano, 99; Sotomayor, Datos históricos, 105-106; García García, Reutilización y destrucción, 245-246, figs. 3 and 4.

11 Cressier, Chapiteaux de la grande mosquée, 318-319

12 Ocaña Jiménez, *Cúfico hispano*, 22-23; Barceló, Columnas arabizadas, 92-99; Gonzalo Maeso, Inscripción árabe; Barceló and Labarta, Inscripción árabe, 201.

13 Torres Calzada, Emeritense, 243-244.

This ignorance of or indifference to the meaning of the classical legacy was not limited to material remains. Neglect of the classical past at a period dominated by fresh and novel ideas coming from the East can also be discerned in the bitter words of Alvarus of Cordoba (d. 861), a scholar who complained about his fellow young Christians, who were more interested in the works of Arab writers than in the study of Latin.[14] Alvarus was a contemporary of ʻAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 853 CE), the author of the first work on history written in Arabic in al-Andalus that has come down to us. ʻAbd al-Malik was born in the Andalusi province of Elvira, but had also travelled to Egypt and the Middle East. Once he was back in Cordoba, he was appointed senior legal advisor (*mushāwar*) of the Umayyad *amīr* and became an influential figure who wrote a considerable number of works on Islamic law and theology. His »Book of History« (*Kitāb al-Taʾ rīkh*) is an ambitious universal history, which starts with the creation of the world and includes a history of the pre-Islamic prophets and a sketch of prophet Muḥammadʹ s mission.[15] This is followed by a history of the caliphs and an account of the conquest of al-Andalus, which includes a list of its governors. Apocalyptic predictions about the imminent arrival of Judgement Day also figure prominently in this salvational history. Some of these prophecies were gathered by this scholar himself, but some others were written down by one of his disciples, who penned the only manuscript of this work that has survived to the present day[16]. Despite the fact that this was a work on »history«, there was no mention of the classical past. In the cultural milieu of ʻAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, sources of knowledge and legitimacy were not to be found in the Graeco-Roman legacy and even less in the historical accounts of the Roman Empire, but rather in the Muslim tradition conveyed by the oriental Muslim scholars whom he had met during his travels.

The perceptions prevalent in al-Andalus in this early period bear a paradoxical comparison with the historical views that can be assessed in the Christian north. Here, the kingdom of Asturias had emerged in the aftermath of the Arab conquest in a territory that had been much less Romanized than the south, and therefore lacked the relatively dense urban network that the Arabs had inherited from Roman times. Ancient material remains were not so rife in Asturias and, consequently, their reuse in buildings of the eighth and ninth centuries, although not completely absent, was very scarce and limited.[17] One example is the church of Santa María de los Arcos de Tricio (La Rioja), whose walls were built with reused material, and which had large Roman grooved tambours of columns, arranged irregularly in its aisles, as they had probably been taken from a building plundered at the nearby Roman city of *Tritium Magallum*.[18]

14 Albarus, *Indiculus Luminosus*, in *Corpus Scriptorum Mozarabicorum*, 314-315.

15 Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾ rīj,* ed. Aguadé.

16 Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾ rīj,* introd. Aguadé, 74-75, 87-100.

17 Utrero Aguado and Sastre, Reutilizando materiales, 318 and 321.

18 Sáez Preciado, Últimas actuaciones realizadas; Utrero Aguado and Sastre, Reutilizando materiales, 315.

For people living in northern Iberia, the Islamic conquest of Iberia had meant a clear rupture. The Visigothic kingdom was considered finished, and the legitimacy of the new kingdom initially relied on its military victories.[19] During the last decades of the ninth century, social and political conditions changed dramatically in this region, as indigenous structures disintegrated under the aegis of the new kingship that had emerged as a result of the confrontation with the Muslims. The most striking feature of this kingship is that, despite the fact that it was rooted in local lineages, the kings of Asturias presented themselves as successors of the Visigothic kings, sporting the same set of Christian beliefs and values that had been defeated in 711.[20]

The claim that the kings of Asturias were the inheritors of the defeated Visigothic kingship involved an ambitious programme of historical writing that was in full swing in the royal capital, Oviedo, by the 880s, three decades after the death of ʻAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb in Cordoba. One of the outputs of this endeavour was a wide-ranging historical chronicle, known today as the *Chronicle of Albelda*. This remarkable work opens with a miscellaneous section, which includes a terse but meaningful description of the world in general and *Hispania* in particular, as well as a section which describes the main traits of different peoples (*Fortia Gotorum, Yra Britanie, Libido Scottorum*, etc.). In the writing of these sections the author of the *Chronicle of Albelda* relied heavily on works from the late antique tradition, like the *Cosmographia* of Julius Honorius, a Roman writer who had probably lived in the third or fourth century, or the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville (d. 636).[21]

The proper historical section of the chronicle begins with an estimation of the time passed since Creation, which amounts to a total of 6092 years. This calculation is probably based on the work of the Visigothic writer, Julian of Toledo (d. 690), whose *De comprobatione sextae aetatis aduersus iudaeos* had attempted to refute Jewish allegations that the Messiah had not yet been born, by showing that biblical chronology conclusively backed Christian claims to the contrary. The six millennia of human history are divided by the anonymous author into six ages from the time of Adam up to his day with the sixth age beginning with the birth of Christ, so that 883 years have passed since then.[22] Within this chronological framework, the historical events described by the *Chronicle of Albelda* start with the foundation of Rome by Romulus and Remus and cover the deeds of the Roman emperors, including those of Constantinople until Emperor Leontios (695-698).[23] This is followed by a history of the Visigothic kingdom until the defeat by the Arabs of their last king, Rodrigo. The last sentences of this section make it clear that the anonymous author viewed events in Iberia as the final outcome

19 *Annales Portucalenses Veteres* attested that the Visigothic kings were expelled from Hispania (*expulsi sunt de regno Hispanie*): in David, Annales portucalenses veteres, 291-292. The same idea (the end of the Visigothic kingdom) is mentioned in the *Testamentum regis Adefonsi II*, 87-88. Alfonso II declared Charlemagne's vassal in a letter: Einhard, *Vita Caroli*, 16, in *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, XXV, 19; Gil Fernández *et al.*, *Crónicas asturianas*, introd. 73.

20 Regarding this new legitimacy as successors of the Visigothic kings: Gil Fernández *et al.*, *Crónicas asturianas*, introd. 43-105; Isla Frez, Consideraciones and Monarchy and Neogothicism; Escalona, Family memories, 229-232.

21 *Chronicle of Albelda*, I-VIII, in Gil Fernández *et al.*, *Crónicas asturianas*, 153-155.

22 *Chronicle of Albelda*, IX-X, in Gil Fernández *et al.*, *Crónicas asturianas*, 155-156. *De comprobatione*, in *Sancti Iuliani*, ed. Hillgarth, I, 141-212.

23 *Chronicle of Albelda*, XIII, in Gil Fernández *et al., Crónicas asturianas,* 158-166.

of the grandiose historical account he had undertaken: the »Sarracens« were still in possession of most of *Spania*, but Christians were fighting them daily until divine predestination would decree their expulsion: *Sarraceni euocati Spanias occupant regnumque Gotorum capiunt, quem aduc usque ex parte pertinaciter possedunt. Et cum eis Xrniani die noctuque bella iniunt et cotidie confligunt dum predestinatio usque diuina dehinc expelli crudeliter iubeat. Amen.*[24]

The comparison of these two historical perspectives is dazzling. Whereas ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb conceived the history of the world as a succession of prophetic missions, which culminated with Muḥammad and the Islamic expansion, the author of the *Chronicle of Albelda* used computations based on the Bible in order to draw an historical account that viewed the past as a succession of eras, which framed the rules and deeds of Roman and Visigothic kings and emperors (e.g. *Adrianus rg. an. XXI. Iste Iherosolimam restaurauit et ex nomine suo Eliam uocitabit*). This culminated with the bold efforts undertaken by the Asturian kings to expel Muslims from Iberia. Both historical approaches were salvational and based on a linear conception that considered the world as framed into a limited span of time previously decreed by God.[25] However, their approach was very different: whereas ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb's was a history of prophecy culminating with the revelation received by Muḥammad, the *Chronicle of Albelda* was a militant view of human history, which considered chronology as a hint of a divine plan that was unfolding in the course of time and supported the legitimacy of the kings of Asturias. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb was writing in a social milieu that was embarked on a process of religious Islamization, a perspective that needed no references to the classical past. In contrast, the author of the *Chronicle of Albelda* had the crucial mission of convincing his audience that the events that were taking place in the remote lands of northern Iberia were unfolding according to a divine plan. It is also significant that in both cases predictions about the future became part and parcel of perceptions about the past. In the case of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb and his continuators these eschatological predictions foresaw tough times for the Muslim community before Judgement Day; in the case of the writers who worked in the kingdom of Asturias at the end of the ninth century, prophecies were used to assert confidence on a rapid victory of Christians over the Muslims and the restoration of Christianity.

The Umayyad Caliphate: Searching for a New Antiquity Discourse

The optimism of the author of the *Chronicle of Albelda*, who was writing in the 880s, was well justified. During the second half of the ninth century there had been widespread rebellions against the rule of the Umayyad *amīrs* in al-Andalus. These rebellions were led in most cases by descendants of the old Visigothic aristocracy, who had converted to Islam in the aftermath of the conquest – the so-called *muwalladūn* – but were reacting against the increasing centralization and tax pressure that the Umayyad rulers had imposed during the previous decades. Social change was gradually fostering a more urbanized tributary society in al-Andalus that was also resisted by these *muwalladūn*, whose power base had remained mainly rural and rested upon ties of dependence. The possibility of an extinction of the Umayyad dynasty and a termination of Islamic rule in Iberia was very real indeed.

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24 *Chronicle of Albelda*, XIV, in Gil Fernández *et al., Crónicas asturianas*, 171. An alternative version of this last sentence preserved in another manuscript is less optimistic: *Et cum eis Xrniani die noctuque bella iniunt et cotidie confligunt sed eis ex toto Spaniam auferre non possunt. Finit*. On the sources of this writer: Gil Fernández *et al., Crónicas asturianas*, 91-98.

25 Marsham, Universal histories, 437-439.

Despite having been on the brink of being overthrown, during the first decades of the tenth century the Umayyads made a spectacular comeback. After a series of tireless military campaigns, the new *amīr* ʻAbd al-Raḥmān III (912-961) managed to subdue all rebellions against his rule. In this he was helped by the profound changes that Andalusi society had been undergoing in the previous decades. The gradual but unstoppable processes of social Arabization and Islamization had produced a more homogeneous society with an urban drive that favoured the imposition of a centralized state.[26] In 929, just after having finally defeated the Banū Ḥafsūn, who had been the most outspoken *muwalladūn* rebels against his dynasty, ʻAbd al-Raḥmān III proclaimed himself as caliph.

This proclamation had a remarkable religious and political dimension within the Islamic world. First of all, it sent a clear message to the rival Shiʻīte dynasty of the Fāṭimids, who had just proclaimed themselves caliphs in North Africa in 909, and were challenging Umayyad rule as direct descendants of the prophet Muhammad, his daughter Fāṭima and his son in law ʻAlī. With his own promotion to the caliphal title, ʻAbd al-Raḥmān III was trying to recover the legitimacy and authority of his ancestors, the Umayyad Caliphs of Damascus, by being recognized as the leader of the Sunnite community.[27] However, the proclamation also had an internal dimension. In one of his official letters, ʻAbd al-Raḥmān III insisted on the necessity that *»people were a single community, obedient, calm, subdued and non-sovereign, governed and non-ruling«*[28]. The ideology behind this bold assertion of authority was mainly pragmatic. Lacking the formidable genealogy of the Fāṭimids, the Umayyad caliphs underlined that theirs was a dynasty that had managed to preserve Muslim tradition within the limits of strict orthodoxy, something that had entailed prosperity and security for its subjects in al-Andalus.

The pragmatism of Umayyad ideology went hand in hand with a new historical discourse, which stressed the necessity of a more inclusive perception of the past in contrast with the previous divisions that had been rife during the former period. Processes of social Islamization and Arabization had encountered resistance in some sectors, as we have just seen, but the new caliphal era fostered a comprehensive narrative that insisted on the homogeneity of the community in al-Andalus, despite the well-known fact that it included groups from diverse origins. Umayyad legitimacy drew mainly from principles taken from the Sunnite Islamic tradition, but its new pragmatic formulation also needed elements from a classical tradition that, as it emerged, could also provide valuable arguments supporting Umayyad claims.[29]

This is why, for the first time in several centuries, late classical works became a reliable source for Arab authors historical writing during the tenth century. It meant an actual »revolution« in the Iberian Peninsula since most of the information gathered until then by Arab authors in al-Andalus had come from Quranic and Oriental traditions, as we have already seen. In this new ideological framework, classical sources were selected, translated, compared and complemented with local traditions and Oriental sources, in order to create a more complete and ambitious historical narrative that focused on the Iberian Peninsula as the

26 Acién, *Entre el feudalismo*; Manzano, *Conquistadores, emires y califas.*

27 Martínez-Gros, *L'idéologie omeyyade*; Acién, Materiales e hipótesis, 189; Safran, *Second Umayyad Caliphate*; Fierro, Madinat al-Zahara', 316-321.

28 Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis* V, ed. Chalmeta *et al*., 142 and 155.

29 Vallvé, Fuentes latinas, 258-270; Picard, Passé antique, 98-99; Elices, *Pasado preislámico*, 43-74.

cradle from where the triumphant Umayyad legitimacy had fought its way back in order to claim authority over the whole Muslim community. In this new ideological landscape, Arab authors recovered ancient historical figures, such as Hercules, Viriathus, Julius Caesar, Octavius Augustus, or even Visigothic kings, like Leovigild or Recared who, according to their accounts, would have founded or built several cities and monuments still visible in al-Andalus. In the tenth century, for the caliphs Antiquity definitely became something that went beyond mere curiosity, convenience or interest, to signify, in particular, precedence and legitimacy.

Two works highlight this significant change: the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūs* and the *Ta'rīkh fī akhbār mulūk al-Andalus* (*History of the kings of al-Andalus*) by Aḥmad al-Rāzī (d. 955). Both works were written in the Umayyad court and elaborated a powerful historical narrative that is also reflected in archaeological evidence that has discovered a set of classical statues and sarcophagi reused in the palatine city of *Madīnat al-Zahrā'*, construction of which had been ordered by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in c. 936.

The Kitāb Hurūshiyūs*: a Unique Translation*

The *Kitāb Hurūshiyūs* is an extraordinary work for a number of reasons. This is the only translation of a Greek or Latin historical work written in Late Antiquity that is documented in a medieval Islamic society. It is well known that in the *Bayt al-Ḥikma* (House of Wisdom) in Baghdad, classical texts were widely translated, but these were philosophical or scientific works, as pre-Islamic history seems not to have been a matter of particular interest at the court of the 'Abbāsid caliphs.[30] The *Kitāb Hurūshiyūs* has survived in a single manuscript held at Columbia University (New York), which is incomplete. However, thanks to its index, it can be asserted that this work was not only a translation of *Adversus paganos historiarum libri septem* by Paulus Orosius (d. 420); it also included events that had occurred in the East until Emperor Heraclius and also those connected to the conquest of *Hispania* by the troops of Ṭāriq b. Ziyād.[31]

The circumstances that surrounded the translation of the work by Paulus Orosius are mentioned by two Arab authors: Ibn Juljul (d. c. 994), and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406). The former states that Orosius' work was sent to the caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III as part of a gift sent in 948-949 by the Byzantine emperor, Romanus Lecapenus, along with a Greek copy of the book of Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, in one of the frequent diplomatic exchanges between both courts.[32] This may well be a watered-down version of actual facts, since Orosius was known in Iberia and the *Adversus paganos* is included in the catalogue of a Christian library in Cordoba.[33]

30 Rosenthal, *Classical Heritage*, 24-28; Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, 107-150; Di Branco, *Storie arabe,* 9-36.

31 Levi della Vida, Traduzione araba; Molina, Orosio y los geógrafos, 66-71; Daiber, *Orosius »Historiae adversus paganos«; Kitāb Hurūšiyūs,* ed. Penelas, 27-66; Sahner, *From. Augustine to Islam*, 909.

32 Ibn Ŷulŷul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibba*, cited after Molina, Orosio y las geógrafos, 67.

33 *Kitāb Hurūšiyūs,* ed. Penelas, 40-42. Orosius' work was widely known in the Carolingian Empire where manuscripts containing his work were prominent in ninth-century library catalogues, McKitterick, *History and Memory,* 46. This work does not seem to have been used by the author of the *Chronicle of Albelda,* though.

Be that as it may, Ibn Khaldūn further adds that the work was translated »for the Umayyad al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir [al-Ḥakam II] by the *qāḍī* of the Christians and Qāsim b. Aṣbag«.[34] M. Penelas has suggested that the judge of the Christians can be identified with Ḥafṣ b. Albar al-Qūṭī, who was also the translator of Christian texts into Arabic. Next to him, Qāsim b. Aṣbag supervised the Arabic translation. He was an Umayyad client (*mawlà*) who had been the mentor of both caliph ʻAbd al-Raḥmān III and of his son and successor, al-Ḥakam II (961-976).[35]

As has already been mentioned, Ḥafṣ b. Albar al-Qūṭī and Qāsim b. Aṣbag did not produce a mere translation, but a proper chronicle which added other texts designed to continue the account of the late Roman author. It is significant that some of these texts were the same ones that had been used by the chroniclers working in the kingdom of Asturias several decades earlier: the *Cosmographia* of Julius Honorius, the works of Isidore of Sevilla or the writings of St. Jerome, which provided specific references about the Roman emperors, the history of the Christian Church or later events leading to the Islamic conquest of Iberia. Certainly, the list of sources and the extension of the history clearly point out the magnitude of the translation carried out.[36]

Why spend time and resources in such a major project? The question still demands an answer. Since at least one translator was a Christian, Mayte Penelas considers the *Kitāb Hurūšiyūs* a by-product of the increasing Arabization of the Christian community at Córdoba, which was in dire need of a universal history in Arabic but written from a Christian point of view, due to the general decline in the use of Latin among members of this community[37]. This hypothesis does not contradict the idea that the translation was sponsored by the caliphal court, as is clearly stated by both Ibn Juljul and Ibn Khaldūn.

The *Kitāb Hurūšiyūs* was in all probability housed in the splendid library of Caliph al-Ḥakam II, alongside manuscripts dealing with Islamic law and theology, and presumably close to a translation into Arabic of a summary of the Talmud that we know was also kept in that library. David Wasserstein has rightly suggested that this diversity in library contents responded to a conscious attempt to rival Baghdad, the distant capital of the adversaries of the Umayyads, the ʻAbbāsid caliphs. At a time when most of the population had converted to Islam, the »numbers of people involved or expecting to be involved in the majoritarian culture of [al-Andalus] were vastly greater than ever before« and this gave the Umayyads the opportunity to seek a distinctive legitimization that could be distinguished from the one sported by the oriental caliphs. This legitimization was not to be only Arab and Islamic, as al-Andalus also reckoned with traditions pertaining to different social groups which had been recently incorporated into caliphal rule, thus broadening its social base. In this connection, Wasserstein considers that the »tremendous vitality« of the Jewish community in caliphal Cordoba reckoned »with the tacit blessing of the state«, as demonstrated by the fact that its main promoter, the great Jewish physician and scholar, Ḥasday b. Shabrūṭ (915-975), was an official of the caliphal government. Behind this policy lay a conscious attempt to appropriate

34 Ibn Jaldūn, *Ta'rīj Ibn Jaldūn* II, 169 and 401-402, cited after Molina, Orosio y los geógrafos, 67.

35 *Kitāb Hurūšiyūs*, ed. Penelas, 33.

36 *Kitāb Hurūšiyūs*, ed. Penelas, 47-66 and 372, fn 223.

37 *Kitāb Hurūšiyūs*, ed. Penelas, 41.

the cultural heritage of Judaism as an integral element »in the creation of a new view of al-Andalus«.[38] It is our contention that the *Kitāb Hurūšiyūs* served the same design, in this case regarding the pre-Islamic history of al-Andalus that was well known to Christian groups that had recently converted to Islam. The big challenge faced by Umayyad ideologues was how to incorporate these historical traditions into the narratives that legitimized their dynasty. This was the challenge that was taken on by the great historian, Aḥmad al-Rāzī (d. 955).

Aḥmad al-Rāzī: a Historian with a Mission

The translation of Orosius predated the historical chronicle that was composed by Aḥmad al-Rāzī a few years later. As a matter of fact, the *Kitāb Hurūšiyūs* was one of his sources. As a general history centred on the Iberian Peninsula, the work of Aḥmad al-Rāzī is unique and somehow »visionary«. It is divided into three main sections: a geographical description of the Iberian Peninsula, a pre-Islamic history of this land and a history of al-Andalus after the Islamic conquest. Therefore, he adopted a significant scheme within the early medieval historiography, because al-Rāzī focused his attention on the Iberian Peninsula as the historical subject of his work.

The importance of al-Rāzī's work contrasts with the problems of its transmission. No original manuscript has reached our days and, therefore, we can only rely on the wide transmission of this work, reaching four literary traditions (Arabic, Latin, Portuguese and Spanish) from the tenth to the seventeenth century. Apart from the Arab compilers, who drew on significant parts of the text of al-Rāzī, the most important of these works is the *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, a fifteenth-century Castilian translation of a Portuguese version of the original, which was commissioned by King Dinis (1279-1325).[39] This tortuous transmission has given rise to a decades-long debate among scholars concerning what was the actual narrative of the pre-Islamic history of Iberia elaborated by al-Rāzī. However, the comparison between *Rasis* and quotes from later Arabic authors points out that the Castilian translation contains significant parts of the original work by the Cordoban historian.[40]

The *Ta'rīj fī ajbār mulūk al-Andalus* can be compared with the *Chronicle of Albelda* with which it shares some features, as both works include a geographical introduction and a history of Rome and the Visigothic kingdom. However, the work of Aḥmad al-Rāzī is much more ambitious. It includes the history of pre-Roman Iberia and gathers more information than the Asturian chronicle. From what we know about the text of al-Rāzī, it is clear that the »Arab Orosius« was one of its main sources. However, the Cordoban historian also gathered information from the *Chronicle* of St. Jerome, the works of Isidore of Seville, the chronicle of John of Bíclarus, the *Chronicle of 754* or even the work of Titus Livius. Furthermore, al-Rāzī not only considered these sources, but he also incorporated several new details from local traditions, memories and archaeological finds of inscriptions and statues.[41]

38 Wasserstein, The library of al-Hakam, 99, 101-103.

39 Al-Rāzī, *Crónica del moro Rasis*, ed. Catalán and De Andrés, xii-ci.

40 Molina, Sobre la procedencia; Elices, *Pasado preislámico*, 62-69 and 113-166.

41 Elices, *Pasado preislámico*, 60-74.

An episode of the Roman history of Iberia is a good example of how Aḥmad al-Rāzī elaborated on his sources in order to create a new narrative of the past that could explain and legitimize his present context. The account concerns Viriathus, the leader of the Lusitanian people who resisted Roman conquests in western Iberia during the second century BCE and was mentioned by Roman authors like Titus Livius or Florus. Viriathus is also mentioned in the *Kitāb Hurūšiyūs* in a correct translation of the original work by Orosius. However, in al-Rāzī's work, these historical events take a different twist. Viriathus (*Birbāṭ*) is a rebel from Lusitania (*Luyidānia*) from Mérida (*Mārida*), who takes control of Toledo and manages to defeat the Roman armies until he is finally betrayed by his own men. After the death of Viriathus, the uprising continues until, thanks to a new betrayal, the Romans manage to take control of the city. However, this is not the end of the rebellion of Toledo: a local chieftain called *Antonius* leads a new revolt and defeats the Romans again. Even Julius Caesar is forced to besiege the city, but he is forced to withdraw and returns to Rome defeated and humiliated.[42]

The narrative of Aḥmad al-Rāzī is obviously wrong and fabricated (Viriathus never rebelled in Toledo, there is no other evidence regarding *Antonius*, and Julius Caesar never besieged Toledo). The whole account is a deliberate invention of the past that combines certain historical references and figures with some *topoi* in order to draw a comparison between past and present Iberia. People of al-Rāzī's generation had strong memories of the uprisings that had unfolded in al-Andalus before caliphal rule and the figure of Viriathus displayed a striking similarity to rebels against Umayyad rule. By reinforcing this association between the past and the present, the author is trying to elaborate two points. On the one hand, the bellicose and insubordinate attitude of the people from *Hispania* is a major factor that has conditioned the dominance over the Iberian Peninsula over the centuries. On the other hand, Aḥmad al-Rāzī is trying to reinforce Umayyad authority by elaborating a narrative that leads to the final triumph of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III against the rebels, thereby placing him as the only ruler capable of subduing and pacifying Toledo as well as al-Andalus.[43]

Reuse in Madīnat al-Zahrā': Memories in Stone

While Aḥmad al-Rāzī was busy composing his monumental history of al-Andalus, Caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III had in 936 started the construction of a new palatine city called Madīnat al-Zahra', which was located four kilometres west of Cordoba. The archaeological remains of this city speak of its magnificence and grandeur and they count among the finest examples of Islamic architecture of the period. But Madīnat al-Zahrā' also housed a set of antiquities that were located in different parts of the city: twenty-five Roman sarcophagi, some of them really exceptional, and a number of statues that, although smaller, are no less important.[44]

42 Orosius, *Historiae* V, 4, 1-5, 12-4 and 7, 1-18, ed. Arnaud-Lindet; *Kitāb Hurūšiyūs*, ed. Penelas, 255 and 257, fn 5-7, 10 and 12 and 262-3, fn 28-32; al-Rāzī, *Crónica del moro Rasis*, ed. xxx, 157-163; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabis* V, ed. Chalmeta *et al.*, 180-181 and 206-207.

43 Elices, *Pasado preislámico*, 450-457.

44 Beltrán, Colección arqueológica, 109; *idem,* Hermeraclae hispanos; Beltrán *et al., Sarcófagos romanos*, 126-144; Vallejo, *Ciudad califal*, 178, 236-242, 262-263; Calvo, Madinat al-Zahra', observación; *idem*, Ciencia y adab; *idem*, Reuse of classical Antiquity.

The main problem that arises from the study of this collection of antiquities is the state in which they have been found. The sarcophagi and the statues are almost completely destroyed, probably as a result of the looting of the city in the year 1010 during the civil war that brought an end to the Umayyad caliphate.[45] However, it has been possible to reconstruct some of these sarcophagi and even to restore them to their original location in the courtyards of the residences: they functioned as basins and water sources, as demonstrated by the fact that they had been polished, partially restored with stucco and had holes in their sides.[46]

The function of these reused sarcophagi was eminently decorative and aesthetic. Some of them displayed splendid figurative scenes of ancient myths. However, their considerable number, their quality and the fact that they were placed in significant locations of palatine buildings may also indicate that their use had other ideological readings. Following this idea, S. Calvo Capilla has put forward the hypothesis that these sarcophagi could be linked to certain spaces devoted to knowledge at Madīnat al-Zahrā', where they would have been considered as »allegories of the sciences of Antiquity«.[47] This hypothesis, although certainly appealing, obviates the wide distribution of sarcophagi (and statues) throughout the entire palatine city, and their private and public use, as has been rightly pointed out by A. Vallejo.[48]

When analysed from the perspective that we are proposing in this paper, the process of searching out, selection, and collection of antiquities by the Umayyad caliphs seems to coincide with the same perception of the past that was being fostered by authors like Aḥmad al-Rāzī. The reuse of classical remains like sarcophagi and statues should not be understood as a passive process of reception, not even as an »Antiquity revival«, but as an active process of appropriation and reinterpretation, linked to the new cultural memories and identities that the Umayyads were trying to foster. Sarcophagi and statues were not just simple *spolia*, but an extraordinary example of antiquarian and pre-musealization practices, according to the interpretation suggested by Wendy Shaw, who has stated the narrative and didactic purpose of this type of reuse in the Islamic world.[49]

Following these ideas, we consider that these antiquities had a clear purpose and meaning for those who contemplated them. There is a precedent for this in the Pharaonic statues and antiquities that were sent to Damascus after the conquest of Egypt and became part of the collection of the Umayyad caliphs in Damascus. 'Umar II (717-720) used to show this collection to his guests, explaining for them that these statues would actually be human beings petrified as a divine punishment for the sins of the pharaoh who had dared to confront Moses.[50]

45 Beltrán, *Colección arqueológica*, 111; Vallejo, *Ciudad califal*, 262, n. 92.

46 Beltrán, *Colección arqueológica,* 111-113 and Lam. I, 2; *idem*, *Sarcófagos romanos*, 37; Vallejo, *Ciudad califal*, 236-237 and 262-263, fig. 208.

47 Calvo, Madinat al-Zahra' observación; idem, Ciencia y adab; *idem*, Reuse of classical Antiquity. She focuses on references to the peninsular pre-Islamic past and its ruins, and highlights the translations and Caliph al-Hakam II' *bibliofilia*. When she actually centres the topic on the sarcophagi, the ideas pointed out just stress that at least two of the sarcophagi contain representational muses and philosophers that should be related to the astrological knowledge at that time.

48 Vallejo, Materiales de la Antigüedad.

49 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed,* 38-39; Schnapp *et al., World Antiquarianism.*

50 Al-Maqrizī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, I, 110; El Daly, *Egyptology*, 41-42.

Therefore, it is clear that these remains were prone to carry certain stories, memories, and identities loaded with a certain meaning. In this connection, the antiquities at *Madīnat al-Zahrā'* should be understood as archetypes of good and bad virtues, or as models or counter-models to be or not to be imitated, very much in the same way as Viriathus had been a past figure, who exemplified the evil nature of rebels finally subdued by the Umayyad caliph. In the same way that Toledo was now part of a community that was *»governed and nonruling«*, antiquities collected by the Umayyad caliphs in their palatine city also stated that their power, conquests, and appropriations had bred a distinctive political identity.

Conclusion

This original and powerful discourse set by the Umayyad caliphs rapidly disappeared after the fall of the dynasty in 1031. Since it was a perception that was built from and for the present service of caliphs and state apparatus, the discourse it enshrined did not have any chance of survival once the caliphate finally collapsed. Al-Andalus fragmented into small taifa kingdoms and later Arabic authors were not particularly interested in the history of the Iberian Peninsula, as they rather focused on their kingdoms and cities, and on the literary aspects related to the *adab* culture. History became less appreciated and later authors limited themselves to compiling the information elaborated by caliphal writers.

Interestingly, the Christian narrative that had also relied on Antiquity in order to build an ideology that could legitimize the rule of the kings of Asturias and the constant warfare against the Muslims also vanished after its sudden emergence in the late ninth century. Certainly, medieval Christian kings saw themselves as successors of the Visigoths who were aiming at the recovery of a lost land, but their claim came to be based more on religious grounds than on a clear elaboration of political legitimacy (fragmentation of the Christian north may also have been a reason that prevented this). The libraries of Iberian monasteries during the tenth and eleventh centuries were full of patristic works, religious commentaries and monastic rules, but works from Antiquity were notably absent in the manuscripts that were gathered within their walls.

Several new works on ancient history were elaborated after the end of the tenth century, such as the *Chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana*, a work dated in the first half of the twelfth century, written in Latin, but relying on the information gathered by Arabic sources. Like the *Chronicle of Albelda* or the work of Aḥmad al-Rāzī, it also starts with a geographical description of Iberia, followed by the primitive kings of Rome, the emperors and the Visigothic kings, concluding with the Islamic conquest. However, although the *Chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana* included new details, such as a better description of the northern coast of Iberia or the legend of Romulus), it seems that it was an abbreviated version of Aḥmad al-Rāzī's work put together with other Latin materials, without being able to convey fully its message.[51]

It was only in the thirteenth century when a renewed interest on the history of Iberia produced works such as the *Historiae Rebus Hispaniae* of the archbishop Jiménez de Rada (1170-1247) and the *Estoria de España* of Alfonso X (1221-1284). Like Aḥmad al-Rāzī, they place Iberia as the centre/subject of their historical narratives[52]. It is probably no coincidence that the former was familiar with his work.[53]

51 *Chronica gothorum pseudo-isidoriana*, ed. Mommsen; ed. and trans. González Muñoz, introd. 91, 96.

52 Molina, *Muslim Conquest,* 611; García Sanjuán, Territorio y formas, 139.

53 Ferrero Hernández, Cristianos y musulmanes.

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Royal Marriage, Frankish History and Dynastic Crisis in Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle*

Eric J. Goldberg and Simon MacLean*

Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* (907/908) is one of the most important works of contemporary history written in the era of the Carolingian Empire. In this article we consider Regino's numerous stories about good and bad royal marriages drawn from the deep past of the Franks, and we show how the historian adapted his source material to late Carolingian sensibilities. We then argue that Regino's interest in royal marriage can best be interpreted as a reflection of his anxiety about the marital status of the reigning East Frankish king Louis IV »the Child« (900-911). Regino dedicated his work to the king's godfather and counsellor Adalbero of Augsburg, and he apparently hoped to influence the king and his inner circle in the urgent task of selecting an appropriate royal bride. Regino's accounts of past rulers and their marital histories therefore give us an insight into how he perceived the political order of his own day and his fears about the future of the Carolingian dynasty.

Keywords: Carolingians; marriage; Regino of Prüm; historiography; Louis the Child; Lotharingia

1. Introduction

Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle*, composed in 907-908, offers a valuable case study in how the past could be used, and not used, in moments of crisis. The *Chronicle* was the last largescale Frankish history produced by the fertile historiographical culture of the Frankish Empire under the Carolingians. Written in two books from the birth of Christ to the year 906, it drew on numerous identifiable sources which Regino variously copied, abbreviated and altered. It was also written at a time of political disorder – the crisis of the empire itself, triggered by the death of Emperor Charles III »the Fat« in 888. This event marked the end of the Carolingian monopoly on royal power in the Frankish kingdoms that had endured since 751. It led to the accession of kings from various Frankish families, some (but not all) of whom were related to the Carolingians. This in turn led to a long period of doubt about the new dynastic dispensation that was characterised by political violence between kings, would-be kings and aristocrats. As Regino himself put it: »the equality of descent, authority and power increased the discord among [the new kings]; none so outshone the others that the rest deigned to submit to his rule.«[1] The uncertainty and instability caused by the evaporation of the Carolingian

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1 Regino, *Chronicle*, s.a. 888, ed. Kurze, 129, trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, 199.

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royal monopoly provided the broad context for Regino's own life and work. His *Chronicle,* as Stuart Airlie has argued, can therefore be read not only as the last great Carolingian history but also as the first complete history of the empire's rise and fall, making Regino »the Edward Gibbon of Carolingian historical writing.«[2]

To judge by his appointment in 892 to the leadership of the monastery of Prüm in Lotharingia (the empire's »middle kingdom«), Regino himself was a well-connected figure. Prüm was one of the wealthiest and most prestigious monasteries in the empire, and it had enjoyed intimate connections with the Carolingian dynasty since its foundation in 721. As abbot of such an institution, Regino was inevitably drawn into high political circles, and at the end of the ninth century he was trusted enough by King Arnulf of East Francia (887-899) to be charged with the custody of the defeated Carolingian claimant Hugh of Lotharingia.[3] Yet the abbot's foothold on the upper faces of Frankish political life was not secure, and in 899 he plummeted spectacularly when he was ejected from his monastery during a violent phase of the factional politics that blighted the middle kingdom after 888. Thanks to the patronage of Archbishop Ratbod of Trier, who was a major player at the court of Arnulf's son and successor Louis IV »the Child« (900-911), Regino forged a second career as abbot of St-Martin in Trier, an altogether less prestigious posting than Prüm. Here, before his death in 915, he composed the three scholarly works for which he is best remembered today: a treatise on music, a collection of canon law intended to inform episcopal visitations, and the *Chronicle*.[4]

The latter has attracted much attention in recent years, and its second book (which runs from 741 to 906 and becomes an independent account after 818) is familiar to historians as one of the most important narrative sources for the second half of the ninth century. Regino's first book, which begins with the Incarnation of Christ and runs through to the death of the proto-Carolingian mayor of the palace Charles Martel in 741, has received much less attention.[5] This section of the *Chronicle* is made up of a patchwork of citations from several earlier works (including Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*, Bede's *Greater Chronicle* and the anonymous *Deeds of Dagobert*) and has sometimes been dismissed as a work of cut-and-paste plagiarism. But Regino was an innovative historian (he was one of the first chroniclers to begin with the Incarnation and attempt a coherent AD chronology), and we should not forget that the act of selection and compilation can itself articulate an authorial voice. One of the aims of this article is to identify some of the ways that Regino actively used this more distant past to offer implicit commentary on his present.

2 Airlie, »Sad stories«, 126.

3 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 885, ed. Kurze, 125.

4 For accounts of Regino's career and work, see Hüschen, Regino; Hlawitschka, Regino; MacLean, *History and Politics*, 1-53.

5 Though see von den Brincken, *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronik*, 128-133; McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, 30-33, 38-42.

What was the purpose of the *Chronicle*? We need not look for a single answer to this question. To some extent history was a self-justifying genre for Carolingian intellectuals: for Regino, as a scholar and monastic leader, participation in the culture of history-writing, which was such an important part of contemporary learned discourse, needed no explanation beyond itself.[6] Undoubtedly, Regino wanted to demonstrate the influence of God and the saints in the world, and celebrate the triumph of the church.[7] His account of the rise and fall of the Frankish Empire therefore can be read as an object lesson in the fleeting nature of earthly power and the ultimate victory of divine justice.[8] These historiographical ambitions in the design of the work did not, however, prevent Regino from communicating more immediate messages to his readers. His closing pages betray an autobiographical impulse, as the abbot lamented his ejection from Prüm and justified his own behaviour in the events that led to his downfall.[9] Regino's hoped-for audience included Bishop Adalbero of Augsburg, to whom he dedicated the *Chronicle*. History was sometimes written as advice literature for kings, and it is significant that Adalbero was one of the guardians of the teenaged Louis the Child. Indeed, Louis's charters refer affectionately to the bishop as his *»nutritor«* (foster-father/godfather) and *»magister«* (teacher).[10] By dedicating his *Chronicle* to Louis's teacher and counsellor, Regino undoubtedly hoped it would be read and studied by the king himself.

It has been suggested that the *Chronicle* would not have worked as advice for a ruler because it does not contain a consistently organised catalogue of military or kingly examples for emulation.[11] However, there is at least one theme that runs consistently through the narrative: royal marriage. Regino's interest in this subject is not surprising since his work was concerned with the histories of dynasties. Yet the *Chronicle* gives much more coverage to royal marriages than most other Carolingian narratives. Regino's expertise in this area is clear from the extensive coverage of marriage law in *De synodalibus causis*, his handbook of legal authorities intended to inform the diocesan work of bishops. This was written around the same time as the *Chronicle*. It had been commissioned by another of Louis the Child's guardians, Archbishop Ratbod of Trier, and c. 906 it was dedicated to a third, Archbishop Hatto of Mainz.[12] As Karl Ubl has shown, Regino's meticulous organisation of his sources on marriage law was not neutral. Instead, he articulated a distinctive and nuanced position that was deeply informed by Roman, papal and Carolingian legislation on the subject.[13]

6 McKitterick, *History and Memory.*

7 Meens, Rise and fall; Bohnenkamp, Regino.

8 Airlie, »Sad stories«.

9 MacLean, Insinuation.

10 Schieffer (ed.), *Die Urkunden Ludwigs*, nos. 4, 9, 65, 66. Chronicle as advice: e.g. MacLean, *History and Politics*, 17-18.

11 Ubl, Doppelmoral, 124.

12 Regino, *De synodalibus causis.*

13 Ubl, Doppelmoral.

Regino's cataloguing of all kinds of royal unions in the *Chronicle* therefore deserves close examination and careful analysis. In the remainder of this article, we will discuss the various ways that he presented the history of royal marriages to his hoped-for readers. By considering the ways in which Regino adapted and arranged his sources, we can shed new light on how the abbot organised and manipulated the historical past to address the discourses and debates of his own day. We will argue that the prevalence of royal marriages in the *Chronicle* must be understood in the context of the political crisis Regino was living through and his mounting concerns about the future of the Carolingian dynasty. There is reason to believe that Regino intended his gallery of good and bad royal marriages to serve as a guide for Louis the Child's guardians in one of the most pressing political questions of the day: the selection of a suitable bride for the unmarried East Frankish king. The tumultuous events of the year 907 were, as we shall see, crucial in bringing this issue to the forefront of Regino's thinking. Only through an acceptable Christian marriage, Regino suggested, could the now adult Louis produce a male heir who might rescue the foundering Carolingian family and bring security to the contested territory of Lotharingia, in which the abbot's own tumultuous career played out.

2. Regino's Queens

The centrality of the Carolingian royal dynasty to Regino's narrative makes it easy to take for granted the frequent appearance of queens and marriages. Often they are mentioned so casually that their symbolism is easily missed, as in the regular obituaries which praise good kings for the nobility of their wives and the legitimacy of their marriages and children.[14] This insistence on legitimacy must be understood in light of Regino's obvious fascination with the divorce case of Lothar II (855-869). This notorious dispute revolved around Lothar's attempts to divorce his wife Theutberga and return to an earlier union with Waldrada, the mother of his son Hugh. Debates over the solubility or otherwise of his marriage to Theutberga were played out against a menacing political backdrop, with the opposition of his uncles Charles the Bald and Louis the German, and of Pope Nicholas I, making it impossible for Lothar to gain sanction for his plans before the pope's death in 867. Nicholas's successor Hadrian II was apparently happy to absolve Lothar of his sins during a trip to Rome in 869, but the taste of victory was still fresh in the king's mouth when he fell ill and died before reaching the Alps.[15] Regino was not the only author to savour this outcome as a manifestation of divine judgement. He was, however, alone in seeing Lothar's actions as the epicentre of an historical earthquake that would ultimately lead to the fall of his kingdom. Regino alerts the reader to this outcome in the same breath as he reports the marriage itself: »The greatest ruin resulted from this union, not only for him, but also for his whole kingdom«. Later, he delivers the pay-off in his account of the violent rebellion mounted by Lothar's son in 883: »Thus almighty God was enraged at the kingdom of Lothar, and He began to act against and utterly destroy the strength of that same kingdom by increasing disasters of such a kind that the prophecy of the most holy Pope Nicholas, and also the curse which he had pronounced over this kingdom, was fulfilled.«[16]

14 For instance Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 876, 878, 879, 880, 888, ed. Kurze, 110-111, 114-117, 128-129.

15 Airlie, Private bodies; Heidecker, *Divorce*.

16 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 856, 883, ed. Kurze, 77, 121; trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, 135, 189.

The disasters to which Regino referred included those that wracked Lotharingia, the kingdom of Lothar II where the abbot's own personal tragedies played out in the 890s. Yet within the structure of Regino's narrative, they also had consequences for the Carolingian family as a whole. Later in the text, Regino blamed the dwindling of the Carolingian line on two main factors: »the delicate youth of those kings who died«, and »the sterility of their wives.«[17] He saw these dynastic hardships not as mere bad luck, but as further symptoms of divine displeasure. Quoted in the *Chronicle*, Pope Nicholas I had mused upon the significance of sterility in one of his letters to Lothar: »perhaps this sterility is not caused by infertility but by unrighteousness«.[18] In the *Chronicle*, then, Regino presented the sterility of Lothar's marriage and the »increasing disasters« that engulfed his realm as part of – indeed, perhaps the source of – the tragedy of the whole Carolingian dynasty.

Regino's carefully crafted narrative is the handiwork of a canon law connoisseur. The case of Lothar II was (in its own time and in Regino's retelling) a dispute both about ecclesiastical jurisdiction and about the status of the king's marriage to Waldrada. Extensive (though often contradictory) early medieval legislation addressed marital legitimacy and questions of jurisdiction, and Regino collected numerous texts on both in his episcopal handbook.[19] This much is fairly obvious to even a casual reader of the *Chronicle*, whose stance on the Lothar case is nothing if not clear. How, then, did his approach to other Carolingian marriages compare?

The case of Louis the Stammerer, king of West Francia (877-879) who was separated and remarried, was potentially as incendiary as that of Lothar II, since each wife produced male heirs. According to the mainstream papal line, which Regino usually endorsed, divorce was generally not allowed except in exceptional circumstances: as Nicholas I announced, he would endorse Lothar's separation only if both spouses agreed to take up monastic vocations.[20] Louis the Stammerer and his first two sons died young (in 877, 882, and 884, respectively), before the son by his second wife (Charles III »the Simple«) reached adulthood (in 894). By the time Regino was writing, this Charles was king of West Francia and arguably the most powerful ruler in Europe. Regino presumably knew him personally, since Charles had visited Prüm with his army during his failed attempt to annex Lotharingia in 898.[21] Charles was a powerful and intimidating figure in Regino's world at the time he was writing, and the West Frankish king continued to have political connections in, and aspirations one day to rule, the middle kingdom.

Regino therefore needed to tread lightly in his account of Louis the Stammerer's complex marital history, since it was dangerous to challenge openly the legitimacy of Charles's birth. In his telling, it was Louis's father Charles the Bald who forced him to abandon his first wife Ansgard (because Louis had »admitted her to his embraces without the knowledge or consent of his father«) and subsequently »gave him [Charles the Simple's mother] Adelaide in

17 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 880, ed. Kurze, 117; trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, 183.

18 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 866, ed. Kurze, 89; trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, 150.

19 See Kottje, Kirchliches Recht; Hartmann, *Synoden*, 283; Ubl, Doppelmoral.

20 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 866, ed. Kurze, 86-87.

21 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 898, ed. Kurze, 146.

matrimony«.[22] Some Carolingian writers including Hincmar of Rheims viewed the consent of betrothed parties' families as an essential part of the nuptial process and thus as an indispensable component of legitimate marriage.[23] Whether Regino held this view in this case is questionable, however, since Lothar II's supporters had used the very same arguments to legitimate that king's divorce from Theutberga and reunion with Waldrada.[24] Regino's thinking was perhaps more in line with that of Pope John VIII, who was reluctant to crown Adelaide on the grounds of the prohibition against divorce.[25] As we will see, Regino's political allegiances to Louis the Child led him to paint a subtly negative picture of Charles the Simple. Nevertheless, apparently because of ongoing concerns about Charles the Simple's influence in Lotharingia, Regino did not openly approve or condemn the legitimacy of Louis the Stammerer's union with Charles's mother. Here one detects how contemporary political concerns shaped what Regino could say about one particularly knotty royal marriage.

Regino's account of Charles the Fat's divorce in 887 further illustrates the flexibility of his attitude toward royal marriage. In contrast to the way he had dealt with Lothar II's divorce, Regino's report of Charles the Fat's is remarkably unquestioning. The *Chronicle* describes how Charles expelled his chief adviser Liutward of Vercelli on suspicion of adultery with Empress Richgard, who then publicly announced that she was a virgin and, after this was confirmed by an ordeal and by Charles himself, retired to a nunnery she had founded.[26] Lying behind this implausibly straightforward tale was a somewhat contentious attempt by the emperor to remarry in order to produce an acceptably legitimate heir.[27] Regino's willingness to absolve Charles from criticism partly follows from the high regard in which he evidently held the king, whose exemplary piety and Christian endurance he praised lavishly.[28] As we will see, it also reflected his desire to honour Louis the Child's ancestors, the East Frankish Carolingians.

The idea that non-consummation could be grounds for annulment (or, more precisely, grounds for having a union recognised as a non-marriage) was put most forcefully by Hincmar of Rheims in his pronouncements on the case of Count Stephen of Toulouse in 860.[29] But some councils of the earlier, more permissive, phase of Carolingian reform had ruled along similar lines, notably the councils of Verberie in 756 and Compiègne in 757. The former, excerpted by Regino in *De synodalibus causis*, includes a clause that corresponds very

22 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 878, ed. Kurze, 114. Charles's interest in controlling his children's marriages was obviously political, particularly as Louis had first taken up with Ansgard during a period of rebellion in 862: *Annales Bertiniani*, s.a. 862, ed. Grat *et al.,* 91. In fact, it is likely that Louis the Stammerer's second marriage was effected, like the first, autonomously: Brühl, Hinkmariana II; McNamara and Wemple, Marriage and divorce, 112 and n. 134. On Regino and Charles the Simple, see MacLean, Insinuation.

23 Reynolds, *Marriage*, 401-412; Toubert, Carolingian moment, 399.

24 Lothar II's supporter Bishop Adventius of Metz had argued that the role of Lothar's father in brokering the earlier union with Waldrada was fundamental proof of its legitimacy: Heidecker, Why should bishops, 234-235. Regino's main source of information on the Lothar case was a dossier of texts created by Adventius of Metz: Staubach, *Herrscherbild*, 153-214; West, Knowledge of the past.

25 The basis for this interpretation is *Annales Bertiniani, s.a.* 878, ed. Grat *et al.,* 227 and n. 3.

26 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 887, ed. Kurze, 127.

27 MacLean, *Kingship and Politics,* 161-191.

28 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 887, ed. Kurze, 127-129.

29 See for example d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage,* 85-87, 178-179.

closely to the process described in the 887 case: if a woman publicly declares that her husband has never had sex with her and successfully proves this by means of an ordeal, then they can separate and she can do as she wishes.[30] One wonders if Regino also had in mind the parallel story of the famous seventh-century Northumbrian queen Æthelthryth, whose career closely resembled what Regino says about Richgard's: a chaste marriage followed by retirement to a self-founded nunnery. Regino did mention Æthelthryth, »queen and virgin«, in Book I, which was a very rare notice of insular affairs. Indeed, Regino's statement that Richgard and Charles had been married for more than ten years (when in fact it had been more like twenty-five) is notably similar to what Bede said about Æthelthryth.[31]

As Regino very well knew, there were also strong arguments against such a view: this interpretation of non-consummation represented a slender thread in Carolingian legislation, the bulk of which weighed heavily against the validity of this kind of separation. In deploying canonical concepts in his descriptions of Carolingian marital disputes, Regino adopted the persona of the advocate rather than that of the judge. The key point to emphasise is that his accounts of Carolingian disputes stayed well within the categories of mainstream thinking on marital legitimacy, but they did not articulate a consistent position on marriage *per se*. Rather, they served the various themes of his *Chronicle*: to underline the exemplary holiness of Charles the Fat, to imply doubt about the legitimacy of Charles the Simple, and to call attention to the divine judgement brought on the Carolingians by the behaviour of Lothar II. Similarly, Regino described the mother of Louis the Younger's son using the derogatory terms »concubine« (as he had for Waldrada); but the mother of Arnulf (who was equally unmarried) as »a certain noble woman.«[32] The double standard here was surely due to the fact that Arnulf was the father of the king for whose inner circle Regino was writing: Louis the Child. The abbot's use of legalistic concepts and categories was therefore an important component of his rhetorical machinery. As a scholar of canon law, he appreciated more than most the variety of overlapping interpretations of marital legitimacy, but that does not mean that he thought legitimacy was an unimportant or elusive category. Regino manipulated the rules of marriage not by ignoring them, nor by slavishly following canonical authorities, but by deciding which to apply or emphasise.

Regino did not limit to the Carolingian dynasty his use of marital legitimacy to convey judgements about particular rulers. In parts of Book I, he anachronistically superimposed Carolingian perspectives on marriage onto the pre-Carolingian past. The *Chronicle's* very first entry shows Regino's editorial hand at work. Here, Regino quotes and paraphrases Bede's *Greater Chronicle* to tell the story of King Herod turning on his own family, first killing his wife Mariamne and her sons, and then slaying his son Antipater by his former lover Dosis.[33] Here Regino subtly reordered Bede's material and inserted the additional comment that Antipater »had been the inciter of all these evil things«. By doing so, he reshaped this famous story in a Lothar II-like mould and highlighted from the outset the danger of

30 Regino, *De synodalibus causis*, 2.244, ed. Hartmann, 362-363 (cf. also nos. 243 and 245).

31 Regino, *Chronicle,* s.a. 605-611, ed. Kurze, 31-32, trans. MacLean, *History and Politics,* 108; Bede, *De Temporum Ratione,* ed. Jones, 528-529.

32 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 879, 880, ed. Kurze, 115-116, trans. MacLean, *History and Politics,* 181-182. See McDougall, *Royal Bastards*, 66-93.

33 Regino, *Chronicle*, s.a. 1-15, ed. Kurze, 2; trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, 63; Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, ed. Jones, 494.

»illegitimate« spouses and sons for the politics of the realm.[34] Herod was remembered in the early Middle Ages as an archetypally bad king emblematic of rulers who had incurred God's displeasure.[35] This ominous adumbration of the 860s projected back on the nefarious king of Judea warned the reader that illicit unions and illegitimate sons had been a cause of political hardship and turmoil throughout Christian history.

Regino also shows interest in the marriages of the first Frankish royal dynasty, the Merovingians. Dynasty and people step together onto the *Chronicle's* historical stage with the baptism of their first Christian king Clovis »together with the Franks« in a year reckoned by Regino to be between 421 and 449.[36] This passage illuminates an important feature of Regino's overall narrative in that here he implicitly rejected the Frankish origin myth found in one of his main sources, the early eighth-century Neustrian work known as the *Liber Historiae Francorum* (*LHF*, »Book of the History of the Franks«). Instead, he (like Gregory of Tours) implanted the Franks in a broader Christian narrative about progress towards universal conversion.[37]

This section of the *Chronicle* draws primarily on the *LHF* and on Paul the Deacon's late eighth-century *History of the Lombards*, both of which furnished Regino with plenty of information on the early Merovingians. He was initially content to stick close to this material, summarising as he went, but his narrative becomes more expansive, and shows clearer signs of editorial intervention, after the reign of Clovis. Take, for example, his account of Clothar I, who became king in 511 and was sole ruler of the Franks from 558 until his death in 561. After describing the division of Clothar's kingdom between his four sons, Regino moves on to offer evaluations of each of the sons' reigns, laying particular emphasis on the nature of their marriages. Though he seemingly approved of Sigibert's union with the Visigothic princess Brunhild, Regino thought differently of Charibert, who »abandoned his legitimate wife, who was called Ingoberga, and took in marriage the two sisters Marcovefa and Merofilda. On account of this abominable act he was excommunicated by St Germanus, the bishop of Paris, and, struck down by the just judgement of God, died.«[38] Regino fortifies the vocabulary of his source, the *LHF*: *»legitima uxor«* (legitimate wife) and *»scelus«* (abominable act) are his words, and they echo the furious debate surrounding Lothar II's divorce. These changes subtly shift the emphasis of the original. While the *LHF* suggests the king was punished for marrying two sisters in turn (a form of incest also prohibited in the legislation of Regino's day), the *Chronicle's* selective emphasis and vocabulary shift the weight of disapproval onto the divorce.[39] Regino drives his point home with a punchline not found in his sources: »Sigibert seized his kingdom«. He no doubt inferred this outcome from information found later in the *LHF*, but his emphatic ordering implied that the triumph of Sigibert (of whose own marriage Regino approved) was the result of God's judgement on Charibert's personal life.

34 For Lothar's son Hugh, see Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 883, ed. Kurze, 120-121.

35 Halsall, Nero and Herod.

36 Regino, *Chronicle*, s.a. 421-449, ed. Kurze, 19-20. The real date was nearer 500: on Regino's chronological errors see Sonntag, *Studien*, 87-120; MacLean, *History and Politics*, 20-3.

37 MacLean, *History and Politics*, 25-26; Reimitz, *History*, 44-60.

38 Regino, *Chronicle*, s.a. 498-509, ed. Kurze, 22, trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, 91; *Liber Historiae Francorum,* cc. 30-1, ed. Krusch, 290-291.

39 On incest see now Ubl, *Inzestverbot.*

Of the four brothers, Regino depicted Chilperic as having had the most colourful marital career. Chilperic's first two wives were Brunhild's sister Galswinth and Queen Audovera, by whom he had three sons. He killed the first wife and abandoned the second on the urging of the woman who would become his third, Fredegund.[40] Fredegund was one of Frankish history's archetypally wicked queens, and Regino, faithful to his sources, describes her evil influence on Chilperic in some detail. However, he notably modifies his source material concerning Chilperic and Fredegund's children, apparently because he wished to praise their son Clothar II, who fathered one of Regino's heroes, Dagobert I. The *LHF* makes clear that Chilperic and Fredegund had other sons before Clothar II, several of whom died in a divinely-ordained plague that struck after Chilperic, at Fredegund's prompting, levied unjust taxes on his subjects. However, Regino leaves uncertain the identity of the mother of Chilperic's sons who died in the plague, and he makes it seem as if his first son by Fredegund was Clothar II, who was born after the plague: »After [abolishing the taxes] he had intercourse with his wife, who bore him a son whom he called Clothar [II]. He was later a great king who was the father of Dagobert.«[41] In view of his keenness to signal approval for Dagobert, it seems that Regino placed here this unusually explicit reference to sexual intercourse to imply that Clothar II had been conceived right after an unusual episode of penance for the otherwise wicked Chilperic and Fredegund. Perhaps he even wanted to imply that they had not consummated their marriage, and thus in his eyes formalised it, until that point. The organisation of the passage shows Regino working to associate the genesis of this particular line of Merovingian kings with a moment of divine approval for its progenitor.

Regino's account of this generation of Merovingians therefore shows signs of significant editorial intervention. Although he actively reworded his sources only rarely, he altered their emphasis – and thereby created an individual text – through decisions about inclusion, omission, abridgement and chronological order. In general, Regino exchanged the *LHF*'s moral messages about the dangers of fraternal discord and the problems presented by Arian wives for a series of judgements that evaluated rulers' fates according to the propriety of their marriages. Thus, Sigibert and Brunhild's marriage, discussed first, was used to provide a positive example against which his brothers' irregular affairs could be set.

What attitudes to politics, history and law underlay this editorial policy? One possibility is that Regino was simply updating Merovingian history to fit Carolingian norms. This might explain his account of Sigibert's grandsons Theudebert and Theuderic fighting over the kingdom because Theudebert is said to have been born to a concubine. Where the *LHF* says Theudebert was killed and his head mounted on the walls of Cologne, Regino has him tonsured and committed to a monastery.[42] To a Carolingian author, this was a more fitting fate for illegitimate royals, and one that had specific resonance for Regino, who himself had been responsible for the tonsuring and imprisonment of Lothar II's son Hugh at Prüm.[43] Other omissions also hint at a modernisation of norms: leaving out the *LHF*'s praise for Sigibert's

40 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 498-509, ed. Kurze, 22.

41 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 510-516, ed. Kurze, 24; trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, 94; *Liber Historiae Francorum,* cc. 34-35, ed. Krusch, 299-304. For *»cognoscere«* in the sense of »to have sex with«, see Regino, *De synodalibus causis*, 2.150, ed. Hartmann, 318-319.

42 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 538-545, ed. Kurze, 27; *Liber Historiae Francorum*, c. 38, ed. Krusch, 307-309.

43 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 885, ed. Kurze, 125.

marriage to a foreign princess rather than a social inferior was a diplomatic move in a text intended for a Carolingian court, since marriage to Frankish aristocrats (social inferiors) rather than members of other royal families was standard Carolingian practice.[44]

Given Regino's specialist interest in canon law, one might reasonably imagine that a legal sensibility informed Regino's interest in marital propriety. This could explain the surprisingly lukewarm account he gives of Constantine the Great and his mother Helena, whose most celebrated achievements (organising the Council of Nicaea and discovering the True Cross, respectively) are shunted exclusively onto Pope Sylvester and Judas Cyriacus. This is somewhat incongruous since Helena was recognised as a saint and credited with the »invention« of the Cross in other Prüm texts (including Regino's own tract on music), and the abbot's downplaying of the imperial initiative in the *Chronicle* is out of step with the emphasis of his sources. It was apparently in response to this incongruity that Adalbert of Magdeburg, Regino's continuator and editor, felt compelled to enter here the corrective that under Constantine: »peace was restored to the churches, bishops deprived of their sees were restored, and many other things were conceded that were useful to the Christian religion.« It is not obvious why Regino skewed his sources in this way unless we take seriously his description of Constantine (drawn from Bede) as »son of Constantius by his concubine Helena«.[45]

If Regino's goal in the *Chronicle* were to present a historicised exposition of consistent legal principles, it is hard to understand why he whitewashed the notoriously Lothar II-esque marital affairs of Dagobert I; and why he omitted the *LHF*'s comment on the marriage of Merovech, Chilperic's son, to his uncle's widow Brunhild, »against divine command and canon law.«[46] Regino's history certainly demonstrates that he had a strong interest in matters of marital legitimacy and its relationship to political legitimacy; and, as in *De synodalibus causis*, he showed himself to be a connoisseur of the overlapping and sometimes competing streams of Carolingian thought on marriage, and broadly sympathetic to the relatively hard-line position taken by Nicholas I during the Lothar dispute. Nonetheless, he did not apply a single interpretation dogmatically or even consistently in his *Chronicle*. Instead, he used the lexicon of marriage as a proxy for judgement on the behaviour of kings he saw as good or bad; and presented a gallery of good and bad marriages (including many more not mentioned above), with variously good and bad consequences for the kings who made them. In the next section we will ask how Regino's interest in the colourful history of royal marriage can be best understood in the political context prevailing at the time he was writing.

44 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 498-509, ed. Kurze, 22; *Liber Historiae Francorum*, c. 31, ed. Krusch, 291.

45 For this paragraph see Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 263-294, ed. Kurze, 14-15; trans. MacLean, *History and Politics,* 78-79. On Helena's standing at Carolingian Prüm see Haubrichs, *Kultur der Abtei Prüm*, 164, 168.

46 Dagobert: Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 605-611, ed. Kurze, 31-32; here silently emending *Gesta Dagoberti*, cc. 22-24, ed. Krusch, 408-409. Merovech: Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 498-509, ed. Kurze, 22; *Liber Historiae Francorum*, c. 33, ed. Krusch, 298: *»contra fas et legem canonicam.«*

3. Past, Present and Future in Regino's Marital History

When considering Regino's thinking, it should not be forgotten that the unions whose histories he narrated were royal marriages, and that as a historian (and a member of the ruling class) he had a strong interest in the dynastic politics that ran alongside his canonist's interest in marital law. In a dynastic political system like that of the Franks, royal marriage shaped the political order. Its history was therefore not an inert aspect of the past, but rather a force that shaped the future. Sara McDougall is surely correct to argue that »the canon law of marriage did not function as a bright line rule that classified Carolingian sons as throne-worthy or not«.[47] Canon law in all its variety was a resource that writers like Regino could use (or not use) in their construction of arguments about the unfolding of dynastic history. Regino's choices therefore need to be understood not only as expressions of his intellectual preoccupations, nor as simple reflections of the power or consistency of contemporary canon law, but also as arguments formed in the context of the complex political situation at the time he was writing. In the rest of this article we will suggest that Regino's interest in the history of Frankish royal marriages was partisan, and should be interpreted as a response to the specific dynastic situation in which he was personally invested. In particular, Regino was deeply worried about the future of King Louis the Child and the continuation of his east Frankish Carolingian line.

That Regino himself made a connection between legitimate marriage and political legitimacy is suggested by his account of the reign of Theudebert II, who »was said not to be the legitimate heir of the kingdom because he had been born to a concubine.« This was another occasion on which Regino shifted the emphasis of his source, the *LHF*, from the adultery of Theudebert's father to the fact that his mother was not his father's legitimate wife.[48] The connection between marital and political legitimacy was explored at much more length in the »Revelation of Pope Stephen«, which Regino inserted into his otherwise faithful reiteration of the »Royal Frankish Annals« in the section of the *Chronicle* covering the second half of the eighth century. This text legitimised the advent of Carolingian rule in the early 750s by emphasising apostolic approval for their takeover. According to the text, Pope Stephen told the Franks to regard only the descendants of Pippin and Bertrada (the first Carolingian king and queen) as legitimate rulers, and not »ever to presume in any way to make a king over them from any family other than the descendants of that one which divine providence had seen fit to choose to protect the apostolic see and…to raise to royal power and to consecrate with the most sacred unction.«[49] In this way, Regino placed at the heart of his *Chronicle* the solemn papal injunction that the Franks should select their kings only from the Carolingian family in direct descent from the original royal couple.

Re-narrating this probably fictional story (which was written at St-Denis in the 830s) served one of Regino's main agendas, namely to underline the significance of the papacy to the legitimacy of the royal political order.[50] But it also drew attention to the political landscape of his own age, which was defined by the very fact that most of the Frankish kingdoms had

47 McDougall, *Royal Bastards,* 93.

48 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 538-545, ed. Kurze, 27 (*»quia de pelice erat natus«*); trans. MacLean, *History and Politics,* 100; LHF c.38, ed. Krusch, 307-308 (*»quia in adulterio in concubina patris … procratus fuit«*).

49 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 753, ed. Kurze, 45; trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, 128.

50 For this text and its date, see Stoclet, La Clausula.

been ruled by non-Carolingians since 888, after a series of unexpected royal deaths left the dynasty without viable male heirs. The most detailed account of this shift is in fact the one found in Regino's *Chronicle*, which highlighted how the new kings' inability to claim seniority of lineage over each other led to tension and conflict between them.[51] The post-888 political order was in flagrant violation of Pope Stephen's injunction. The *Chronicle* has therefore been read as an ironic history of the Carolingians, with their triumphant rise always overshadowed by the audience's foreknowledge of their fall in 888.[52]

We should pause, however, before interpreting Regino's ironic perspective as intended to draw a definitive end to the story of the Carolingians.[53] He was, after all, writing for the closest advisers of the East Frankish king, Louis the Child, who was indeed a direct male-line descendant of Pippin and Bertrada. Louis's father Arnulf was born illegitimate, and for that reason had not been recognised as a superior ruler by the other new kings in 888. Writing with two decades of hindsight, Regino made a special plea for Arnulf and Louis as the authentic continuers of the Carolingian line. After all, Regino asked in his preface for Adalbero's approval for what he had written, suggesting a desire that his version of history should be aligned with the way it was seen by the inner circle at court.[54] Thus in the 888 entry itself, he implies that Arnulf ought to have been obeyed by the other kings as their »natural lord«. In another entry where he laments the dwindling of the Carolingian line, Regino again suggests that Arnulf was the one legitimate king able to continue the dynasty: »he alone« (*»hic solus«*) was found suitable to take up the sceptre of the realm of the Franks.«[55] In the same section, Regino pointedly claims that Arnulf's father had named him after Bishop Arnulf of Metz (d. 640), the sainted founder of the Carolingian dynasty itself, thus signalling that King Arnulf was the renewer or re-founder of the line after its crisis in 888.[56] This impression is strengthened by the prominence Regino gives earlier in the *Chronicle* to Arnulf of Metz himself, in his capacity as mayor of the palace to Clothar II and tutor to his young heir Dagobert I.[57] Regino somewhat idealizes Dagobert as a proto-Carolingian, brought up under Arnulf's influence, and he omits his reputation for marital misbehaviour. At the same time, his emphasis on Dagobert's upbringing by a wise bishop was a nod to Regino's own dedicatee Adalbero of Augsburg and his role as the guardian of Louis the Child.

One especially sees Regino's partisanship toward Louis the Child in his praise for Louis's ancestors, the East Frankish branch of the Carolingians. It is true that Regino praises non-East Frankish rulers such as Louis II of Italy and even the usurper Boso of Provence.[58] Nevertheless, he chiefly acclaims the piety, military prowess, and physical beauty of Louis the Child's direct forebears: his father Arnulf, his grandfather Karlmann, his great uncles Louis the Younger and Charles the Fat, and above all, his great-grandfather Louis the German

51 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 888, ed. Kurze, 128-129.

52 Airlie, »Sad stories«.

53 In contrast: MacLean, *History and Politics,* 42-43; MacLean, Insinuation, 17-18.

54 Regino, *Chronicle*, preface, ed. Kurze, 1.

55 Regino, *Chronicle*, s.a. 880, ed. Kurze, 116-117, trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, 183.

56 Becher, Arnulf.

57 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 546-571, 605-611, ed. Kurze, 28, 31.

58 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 874, 879, ed. Kurze, 107, 114-15.

(840-876), the founder of the East Frankish Carolingian branch.[59] Regino's account of this first East Frankish king stands out as the most laudatory royal portrait in the entire *Chronicle*, surpassing even those of Dagobert and Charlemagne. He repeatedly praises Louis the German, »the most Christian king who exercised imperial rule over the Germans«: for rescuing his father Louis the Pious during the rebellion of 833/834, for his numerous triumphs over the Slavs, for his efforts to Christianize the Bulgars, for his kindness and mercy toward his relatives, and for his heroic toughness and courage in the face of adversity.[60] Regino then brings together all the royal virtues found throughout the *Chronicle* – piety, education, political talent, military skill, a good marriage – in his eulogizing epitaph for Louis the German, which he obviously intended as a model for his great-grandson.[61]

Regino's selection of the first East Frankish king as a model for Louis the Child was not by chance: when Hatto of Mainz and Adalbero of Augsburg baptized the infant Louis the Child in 893, they explicitly named him after his great-grandfather.[62] Arnulf and his circle of counsellors thus hoped Louis the Child would revive the fortunes of the East Frankish kingdom as it had thrived under Louis the German. The fact that Louis the Child authenticated his diplomas with Louis the German's royal seal made visible his identification with his famous great-grandfather. Louis the German's seal was probably one of the pieces of East Frankish regalia (*»regia ornamenta«*) that, according to Regino, Louis the Child received during his coronation in 900: »The magnates and leading men who had obeyed Arnulf gathered together as one at Forchheim and made Louis, the son by legitimate marriage of the abovementioned prince, their king. After he was crowned and adorned with the royal trappings, they raised him to the pinnacle of the kingdom.«[63] Regino's emphasis on the ancestral royal trappings as well as the coronation highlight his belief in Louis's identity as the rightful heir to the Carolingian dynasty.

Regino's pointed remark that Louis the Child was Arnulf's »son by legitimate marriage« calls attention to a key theme that runs throughout his positive depictions of the East Frankish Carolingians: the quality of their marriages. Regino concludes his eulogy for Louis the German with an encomium to his noble and fertile wife, Queen Emma, who bore him »three sons of most excellent character«, Karlmann, Louis the Younger, and Charles the Fat, »who

59 Regino, *Chronicle*, *s.a.* 876 (Louis the Younger's valour, resembles his father in intelligence and cleverness), 880 (eulogy for Karlmann, Arnulf's noble mother, name, and beauty), 881 (Louis the Younger convinces Vikings to leave kingdom), 882 (Louis the Younger's legitimate marriage), 888 (eulogy for Charles the Fat), 891 (Arnulf's victory over the Vikings at the River Dyle), ed. Kurze, 112, 116-119, 128-129, 137-138.

60 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 838 (rescues Louis the Pious), 860 (victorious wars against Slavs), 868 (support in converting Bulgars), 870 (toughness and courage when injured, mercy toward his blinded nephew), ed. Kurze, 74, 78, 95, 100-102. Regino's sole criticism of Louis the German was for his invasion of West Francia in 858: Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 866, ed. Kurze, 90. This is understandable, since Regino worried about the perils of civil war among rival kings (as he had experienced first-hand in Lotharingia) and advocated territorial expansion through peaceful diplomacy and the laws of inheritance.

61 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 876, ed. Kurze, 110-111. For the reign of Louis the German, see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire.*

62 *Annales Fuldenses* (Regensburg continuation), *s.a.* 893, ed. Kurze, 122: *»quem* [Louis the Child] *Haddo Magonciacensis archiepiscopus et Adalpero Augustae Videlicae episcopus sacro fonte baptismatis chrismantes nomine avi sui* [i.e., the name of Arnulf's grandfather] *Hludawicum appellaverunt.«*

63 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 900, ed. Kurze, 147-148, trans. MacLean, *History and Politics,* 225. On this passage, which is the first explicit report of a »German« coronation, see Schramm, Salbung und Krönung, 287-302. Concerning Louis the Child's use of Louis the German's seal, see Schieffer (ed.), *Die Urkunden Ludwigs*, 92-93. Louis the Younger likewise had used his father's seal.

by happy destiny managed the government of the empire after their father's death«.[64] He goes on to portray the unions of Louis the German's successors in a positive light, although this required considerable massaging of the messy truth.[65] For example, Regino bends over backwards to explain away the problem of Arnulf's illegitimacy: he assures his readers that Karlmann only turned to another woman because his legitimate wife was barren, he stresses that Arnulf's mother nevertheless had been a *nobilis femina* (and avoids giving her the negative epithet of »concubine«), he gives evidence of Arnulf's royal blood by describing him as unusually handsome, and he rationalizes his seemingly non-royal name by explaining that he had been named after Arnulf of Metz »from whose sainted line his own family and those of the other Frankish kings had sprouted forth«.[66] Regino then resolves this chequered marital history of Louis the German's descendants with the assertion that Louis the Child had been born to Arnulf *»ex legitimo matrimonio.«*[67] This proclamation of Louis's legitimacy was a vital piece of Regino's argument, since Louis's mother Uota had in fact been accused of infidelity in the summer of 899, when her husband Arnulf was on his deathbed and Louis was six years old. Although Uota proved her innocence at an assembly in Regensburg with the support of seventy-two oath helpers, the charge of adultery nevertheless cast a potential shadow on Louis the Child's birth.[68] Thus, Regino's explicit statements about legitimate marriage as well as his attempts to compensate for its absence demonstrate how much it mattered to him as a political category.

Regino's idealized picture of the East Frankish Carolingians and their marriages stands in sharp contrast to his depictions of other rulers. Scholars have long noted his detailed critique of Lothar II's marriage troubles. But what is often overlooked is Regino's sharp criticism of the West Frankish kings, as part of which he calls into question the legitimacy of their births. He is especially critical of the founder of the West Frankish kingdom Charles the Bald (840-877), who was Louis the German's younger half-brother. Regino stingingly accuses Charles the Bald of cowardice, greed, military incompetence, vainglory, and a disgraceful death, thereby making him the negative image of East Frankish royal virtue.[69] He also calls into question Charles's paternity when he blames the rebellions against Louis the Pious »on the manifold fornications of Judith his wife«, that is, Charles's mother.[70] Regino likewise contrasts East Frankish royal beauty and physical strength with West Frankish bodily imperfections: one of Charles the Bald's sons has a speech impediment, a second suffers a crippling sword-slash to the face, and a third is blinded by his own father.[71] Then, when

64 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a*. 876, ed. Kurze, 110-111; trans. MacLean, *History and Politics,* 174. Concerning Queen Emma, see Goldberg, *Regina nitens*.

65 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a*. 882 (Louis the Younger has a legitimate wife but their son dies from a tragic accident), 886 (justifies Charles the Fat's divorce on the grounds it had never been consummated), 890 (Arnulf's illegitimate son Zwentibald named after his godfather, the future king of Moravia and Bohemia), ed. Kurze, 118-119, 127, 134.

66 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 880, ed. Kurze, 116; trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, 182.

67 Regino, *Chronicle*, s.a. 900, ed. Kurze, 148.

68 *Annales Fuldenses, s.a.* 899, ed. Kurze, 132. Concerning the charges against Uota, see: Reuter, Sex; Dohmen, *Ursache allen Übels,* 288-311.

69 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a*. 860 (cowardice in battle), 873 (greed and ineffective leadership against Vikings), 876 (greed, fomenting civil war, ignominious defeat in battle), 877 (bribes pope, imperial vanity, cowardice, stench of corpse), ed. Kurze, 79, 106-107, 111-13.

70 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 838, ed. Kurze, 74; trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, 131.

71 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 870, 878, ed. Kurze, 101-102, 114.

Charles the Bald himself dies in Italy, his corpse gives off such an offensive stench that his companions become ill and are unable to bring the body back to Francia.[72] Thus Regino's east Frankish Carolingians are physically beautiful and strong while their west Frankish relatives are defective and damaged.

On the surface, Regino's account of Charles the Bald's grandson, the current West Frankish king Charles the Simple, seems to offer neither praise nor censure. As we have already seen, caution probably explains his careful neutrality: although Lotharingia had been part of the East Frankish kingdom since 900, Charles the Simple had attempted to annex it in 898 and continued to have supporters in the region.[73] But, beneath the surface, Regino undermines Charles the Simple's authority when he reports that his mother Adelheid had named her son after Charles the Bald, whom Charles the Simple as king did, in fact, consciously emulate.[74] In light of his previous litany of criticism of Charles the Bald, Regino's comment serves as oblique condemnation of Charles the Simple, just as his acclaim for Louis the German serves as celebration for his namesake Louis the Child. Also, as we have seen, Regino throws doubt on the legitimacy of Charles the Simple's birth. He recounts how Charles's father Louis the Stammerer had been married once before as a young man and that that first marriage had produced Charles the Simple's older half-brothers, the West Frankish kings Louis III (879-882) and Carloman II (879-884). However, because Louis the Stammerer had married without his father's permission, Charles the Bald had forced him to separate and marry Charles the Simple's mother Adelheid, who was pregnant with Charles when Louis the Stammerer died. Regino does not explicitly pass judgment on whether this forced divorce and second marriage was canonical, but his praise for the beauty and valour of Louis III and Carloman II, and his refusal to attribute any royal virtue to Charles the Simple, implies that it was not.[75] Regino further undermined Charles's legitimacy through his high praise for Charles's rival, the non-Carolingian usurper Odo (888-98), whom he describes as a handsome, manly, and skilled king.[76] In this way, Regino wove throughout the second book of his *Chronicle* an implicit contrast between East Frankish dynastic virtue and legitimacy to which Louis the Child was heir, and West Frankish decline and possible illegitimacy represented by Charles the Simple.

Regino thus shaped his narrative about kingship and royal marriages in a way that made the case for Louis the Child as the chief rightful heir of the Carolingian line. For this reason, Regino did not offer an »objective« analysis of royal legitimacy based on the niceties of canon law, but instead a historical and political argument in favour of the East Frankish king. His stance tallies with arguments made in other texts written in circles around the young ruler. In letters written to the pope in 900, Archbishops Hatto of Mainz and Theotmar of Salzburg defended Louis the Child's legitimacy by underlining his descent from past Christian kings

72 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 877, ed. Kurze, 113.

73 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 898, ed. Kurze, 145-146.

74 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 878, ed. Kurze, 114. For Charles the Simple's emulation of his grandfather, see Koziol, *Politics of Memory*, 544-548.

75 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 878, 883, ed. Kurze, 114, 120.

76 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 887, 888, 892, 893, ed. Kurze, 126-127, 129-130, 139-141. Regino's criticism of Charles might also explain his praise of the usurper Boso of Provence, the father of Charles's contemporary Louis the Blind: Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 879, ed. Kurze, 114-115. On Regino's positive portrayal of Odo, see also MacLean, Insinuation, 15-16.

and emperors, and thus presented him as continuing the Carolingian line.[77] A genealogy created during his reign (one of the earliest of its type) portrayed him in the same way.[78] But the dynastic history that Louis's apologists wished to claim was a contested one, as shown by a rival genealogy which presented Charles the Simple as the chief heir to Carolingian royal authority.[79] Louis was not the only possible heir to the Carolingian past, and inconvenient facts such as Arnulf's illegitimacy and the rupture of 888 meant that the story could not be told without special pleading. The case had to be made, and Regino needed his expertise in both history and canon law to make it. He may have been hopeful that Louis represented the future for the Carolingians, but it was an optimism born of anxiety about the future rather than a sense of certainty about the past.

Undoubtedly, the need felt by Louis's supporters to shore up his legitimacy arose from his youth. He was the first fatherless child to become king in the Carolingian era, and others (including Charles the Simple in 888) had been excluded on those grounds in the recent past. The growing menace of Hungarian raiders in the 890s and 900s made this a particular problem for the East Frankish kingdom. But with youth came another problem which must have troubled contemporaries but has barely been noticed by historians – should Louis marry, and if so whom? Without a wife, Louis remained a *iuvenis*, a youth, and thus not fully a man. With the East Frankish line bottle-necked to one young and yet unproven king, Louis's unmarried state must have worried anyone concerned with the future of the dynasty. A bride, followed by a legitimate heir, would give reassurance to the circles of aristocrats on whose support Louis (like any early medieval king) depended. Regino stood on the edge of those circles and sought to ingratiate himself with those closer to the centre. Significantly, in 908, the year that he sent his *Chronicle* to Adalbero, Louis turned 15 – the age of majority for Frankish males. Here was an opportunity for Regino to instruct and influence with his detailed knowledge of Frankish history – and at its centre, the history of good, bad and problematic marriages for the young king to emulate and avoid.

A number of other circumstances converged as Regino wrote his *Chronicle* that probably heightened his concerns about the young king's future marriage. One was the death of the previous queen, Louis's mother Uota. This seemingly happened in or shortly before March 907, when the king issued a charter redistributing some of her property to his sisters.[80] Mothers of young kings not infrequently sought to defend their power by delaying their sons' marriages, so Uota's death just before her son came of age opened a space at court for a royal bride. Another charter from around the same period refers to Uota as *»regina«.* This is significant as it was the first East Frankish royal charter to use that title for any royal woman. Regino's marital history was therefore written at a moment when East Frankish official discourse for the first time formally acknowledged the position of queen.[81]

77 Bresslau, Angebliche Brief; Beumann, Einheit des ostfränkischen Reichs.

78 Gädecke, Karolingergenealogie.

79 Koziol, *Politics of Memory,* 479-481.

80 Schieffer, *Urkunden,* no. 52; following the interpretation of Reuter, Sex.

81 Schieffer, *Urkunden*, no. 12 (dated earlier in the reign, but written c. 908); Deutinger, *Königsherrschaft*, 286.

907 brought a more dire crisis in the shape of the Battle of Bratislava (or Pressburg), one of the most calamitous defeats suffered by any army against the Hungarians. The defeated army was made up primarily of Bavarians, whose duke Liutpold, one of Louis's closest advisers, perished in the carnage. The shock of this military debacle almost certainly explains why Regino curtailed his narrative prematurely, in 906. The significant death toll among the magnates precipitated a major reorientation of the factions surrounding Louis. Influential families from the outlying regions of the kingdom lost ground – not least the decimated Bavarians – to the benefit of the already-powerful Conradines from Franconia. The leading member of this family, known as Conrad the Younger, now became particularly dominant. Among the closest allies of the Conradines were Hatto of Mainz and Adalbero of Augsburg, the bishops to whom Regino dedicated his canon law compilation and *Chronicle*.[82] This further concentration of power around the Conradines, Hatto, and Adalbero ensured that they would strongly influence if, when, and whom the king would marry.

But what perhaps gave the question of Louis's marriage the most urgency was the marriage of Charles the Simple in April 907 to a woman named Frederun (d. 917). In 907 Charles was in his late 20s and a self-conscious appropriator of Carolingian symbolism, and it is possible that his decision to marry at this point was calculated to pre-empt the impending majority of Louis the Child. He made an unusual effort to broadcast the significance of his new wife. In a diploma issued during an assembly at the venerable Carolingian palace of Attigny on 19 April 907, Charles gave Frederun a dower consisting of two royal palaces and bestowed upon her the honorific title of *»consors regni«* (partner in the kingdom).[83] The gift of royal palaces to a queen was virtually unprecedented, and the exalted epithet *»consors regni«* was an unusual honour in West Frankish politics.[84] In a second charter, which records an assembly held a month later, Frederun performed her new status by appearing as petitioner for the bishop of Paris at the head of a list of the great and good of the realm.[85] Frederun's political connections clearly enhanced Charles's enthusiasm for their marriage, although her exact family ties remain somewhat unclear. There is evidence that she had connections to the Saxon ducal family, known to history as the Liudolfings or Ottonians, and Charles later promoted Frederun's brother Bovo to the bishopric of Chalon-sur-Saône. Probably most significant is that Frederun seems to have come from Lotharingia. Evidence from later in Charles's reign strongly suggests that Frederun was closely associated with the powerful Matfriding family in that region.[86]

82 Hiestand, Pressburg 907; Offergeld, *Reges pueri*, 563-565, 612-619.

83 Lauer, *Recueil*, no. 56; MacLean, *Ottonian Queenship*, 41-42.

84 It had been used for Charles the Bald's queen in the 860s: Tessier, *Recueil,* nos. 269, 299; Erkens, Sicut Esther Regina, 22-36.

85 Lauer, *Recueil*, no. 57; Koziol, *Politics of Memory*, 517-524, 532, 546-548.

86 See Hlawitschka, Kontroverses; Gilsdorf, *Queenship*, 151-153; Depreux, Haganon, 384-389. Hlawitschka refutes the older argument that Frederun was a sister of the future Ottonain queen Mathilda.

The Matfriding brothers Matfrid and Gerhard played a leading role in the tumultuous Lotharingian politics of the late ninth and early tenth centuries. Indeed, during the political crisis that attended Arnulf's death and Louis the Child's succession, Matfrid, Gerhard, and their accomplices (possibly with the connivance of the Conradines) had murdered Louis's elder half-brother, King Zwentibald of Lotharingia.[87] At the same time, they ejected Regino himself from Prüm and installed their brother Richarius as abbot.[88] Regino portrayed the Matfridings as *bêtes noires* in the *Chronicle*, which he concluded in 906 with a triumphant account of their defeat and public outlawry at an assembly held by Louis in Metz.[89] For Regino, therefore, commitment to the future of Louis the Child's regime was not merely an abstract matter of loyalty to one's king or even of a principled interest in the continuation of the East Frankish Carolingians. Charles the Simple's marriage to Frederun was a menacing signal of his eastern ambitions and represented a threat not only to Louis, but to Regino personally. The marriage made the lack of a queen at Louis's court a potential point of urgency for those who, like Regino, were anxious about the future of Lotharingia and felt vulnerable to the insecurities of its aristocratic politics.

This, then, was the complex context surrounding Regino's dedication of his *Chronicle* to Adalbero of Augsburg in 907/908: the fall of the Matfridings (906), the death of Louis the Child's mother Uota (907), the marriage of Charles the Simple to Frederun (907), the crushing defeat of the Bavarian army at Bratislava (907), and Louis the Child's coming of age (908). These interconnected political events begged the question: would the East Frankish king marry? And, if so, whom? Although Regino does not explicitly address the question of Louis the Child's marriage, his high praise for his East Frankish ancestors – Louis the German, Karlmann, and Arnulf – strongly implied that the king needed to marry to continue the royal *stirps* blessed by Pope Stephen. His *Chronicle* thus offers an extended meditation on the nature of good and bad marriages, the perils of wicked queens and divorces, the troubles caused by illicit unions and illegitimate sons, and the generational challenges kings faced in producing adult male heirs acceptable to the magnates. It should be recalled that Regino at this time also dedicated his *De synodalibus* to Louis's other chief ecclesiastical counsellor, Hatto of Mainz, in which he presented the rules governing acceptable Christian marriages. In his eyes, therefore, history and canon law were intertwined, and both should serve as a guide for the selection of a bride for a young king. Regino highlights the urgency of heeding history and canon law in his *Chronicle*. In his very first entry on Lothar II's divorce, Regino reports that Lothar II »confessed that he could not long remain chaste and without marriage in the ardour of his youthful state« and that he had been disastrously counselled by a bishop »not particularly learned in divine scripture or trained in the canon law«.[90] By dedicating his *Chronicle* and *De synodalibus* to Louis the Child's episcopal counsellors, Regino sought to ensure that a situation like this did not happen again.

87 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 900, ed. Kurze, 148.

88 For an interpretation of these events with references to other literature, see MacLean, Insinuation.

89 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 899, 900, 906, ed. Kurze, 147-148, 150-152.

90 Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 864, ed. Kurze, 81-82; trans. MacLean, *History and Politics*, 139.

Perhaps the main reason Regino did not offer any overt suggestions about a potential wife for Louis was the fraught political dynamics of the moment. In light of the unrivalled pre-eminence of Conrad the Younger, a Conradine bride might seem like the obvious choice. But this would have been virtually impossible. References in royal charters imply that Louis's mother Uota had been a relative of Conrad the Younger, which would have made Louis's marriage to a Conradine uncanonical on the grounds of incest.[91] Some scholars have even suggested Conrad the Younger sought to keep Louis single all along, since we know from hindsight that he became king when the still unmarried Louis died without heir in 911.[92] While this is possible, it is far from certain, since no one could have known that Louis would die four years later at the age of eighteen. Another theoretical candidate for a bride would have been a daughter of the powerful Saxon-Thuringian duke Otto »the Illustrious« (d. 912), who was the brother of Louis the Younger's wife Liutgard and the father of King Henry I (919-936). Otto seems to have had good relations with Conrad the Younger and Hatto of Mainz, and in 908 Louis issued a diploma at Otto's request that praised him as a *vir venerabilis.*[93] Otto did in fact have three daughters, but all seem to have been ineligible: one (Oda) had been married to Louis's half-brother Zwentibald and was currently married to the Matfriding Gerhard; another (Liutgard) was a nun (she later became abbess of Gandersheim); and a third (unnamed) was illegitimate.[94] These obstacles illustrate how the demands of dynastic politics and the constraints of canon law could be at odds with each other and significantly limit the pool of potential brides for an unmarried king. This may be another reason why Charles the Simple married Frederun in 907: to place this highly desirable bride with connections to Lotharingia beyond the reach of his eastern Carolingian rival. Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* and *De synodalibus*, both of which he dedicated to Louis the Child's guardians, therefore highlight the tensions between the imperative that a king marry and produce a legitimate heir and the restrictions that canon law and aristocratic politics put on that imperative. No wonder Regino was worried. In the end, these tensions seem to have been insurmountable for the young king: when he died in 911, the East Frankish Carolingian line died with him. In the aftermath, Conrad the Younger became king of East Francia, and Charles the Simple finally took control of Lotharingia.

4. Conclusion

In discussing the history of royal marriage in Regino's *Chronicle*, we have not revealed any hidden subtext in the narrative. Rather, we have drawn attention to one of its most prominent themes – albeit one which is so obvious that it has been taken for granted in studies of the text. The *Chronicle* was of course not only a history of royal marriage, nor simply a set

91 Offergeld, *Reges pueri,* 566-569; Dohmen, *Ursache allen Übels*, 289-292.

92 Offergeld, *Reges pueri,* 615. See further Dümmler, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, 559-560 and n. 2.

93 Schieffer (ed.), *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Kindes*, no. 63. Otto requested this charter (which gave free abbatial elections to the monastery of Hersfeld, where he was lay abbot) ›per supplicationem Hathonis illustris archiepiscopi‹. The fact that Hersfeld lay in Conrad's county and that Conrad later, as king, confirmed this grant implies that he supported Otto's request (see Schieffer's introduction to no. 63). Otto appears in a number of other diplomas of Louis the Child and Zwentibald: Schieffer (ed.), *Die Urkunden Zwentibolds*, nos. 19, 22; Schieffer (ed.), *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Kindes*, nos. 15, 44. This evidence qualifies the argument of Offergeld, *Reges pueri,* 625-626, that the Saxons lost influence after Bratislava.

94 Gilsdorf, *Queenship,* xvi, 173. Regino, *Chronicle, s.a.* 897, 900, ed. Kurze, 145, 148, mentions Oda.

of instructions for a king. Like many large-scale historical texts from the early Middle Ages, it was a project that spoke of its author's scholarship and piety, and one whose immediate audience was probably quite limited. But even if it gives us access to no more than the priorities and preoccupations of its author, that remains valuable because Regino himself was a political actor with close links to the royal court. Among its many complexities, the *Chronicle* can legitimately be read as Regino's response to the political context in which he wrote and dedicated it. The aim of this article has been to show that his approach to the history of the Frankish dynasties was shaped by his anxieties about the future of the Carolingians in East Francia, and the possible consequences for the fate of Lotharingia, in both of which Regino had a personal stake.

In expressing these anxieties through the writing of history, Regino did not offer any easy solutions – if anything, his concern was to show that there were no easy solutions. Partly, this was because of the constraints imposed upon him by the authority of the past. Although he edited his sources in line with what he saw as the best and most useful version of the past, and produced a text that he hoped was acceptable to the king's closest advisers, he seemingly did not feel at liberty flagrantly to alter what he read in the work of earlier historians. He regarded the *LHF* and the others as sufficiently canonical and well-known that they could be manipulated only within limits. He could try to compensate for the crisis of 888 and the illegitimate birth of Arnulf, but he could not pretend that these historical problems did not exist. Where there were gaps in his knowledge (notably for the decades between the reigns of Charlemagne and Lothar II), he admitted as much rather than inventing or speculating. The culture of Carolingian history-writing transmitted structures of authority that still shaped the thinking of intellectuals like Regino even into the early tenth century.

Nonetheless, one of the things that makes Regino interesting is that he can be read as a rare example of an early medieval writer who was actually aware that he lived in an age of momentous transition. Many Frankish historians expressed anxiety about the future and held up golden ages of the past as mirrors to highlight the problems of the present, but Regino's perspective was more complex. The hope he invested in Louis the Child was set not only against the golden ages of Charlemagne and Louis the German, but also against the crisis of 888 that had seriously compromised the dominance of the Carolingian dynasty and inaugurated a period of disorder. Regino had not given up on the Carolingians, however, and he saw in Louis the Child an opportunity to restore the political order in East Francia and Lotharingia as it had existed before 888. But he seems to have held out no real hope of reuniting the empire as a whole, which demonstrates his understanding that things had fundamentally changed after the death of Charles the Fat. If they had not, why would he have needed to spend so much effort claiming that Louis was the natural heir of his dynasty's history? He acknowledged the paradigm shift of 888, but he also hoped it was not definitive. In the end, though, Louis's early death rendered such hopes forlorn, and the era of dynastic uncertainty was prolonged. It would be nearly 30 years before an East Frankish king was again succeeded by his own son.

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Abbreviations
MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MGH SRM = Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
MGH SS = Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores

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Negotiating the Roman Past in Later Tenth-century Armenia

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The Byzantine expansion eastwards into historic regions of Armenia in the second half of the tenth century and the Armenian responses to that expansion both receive modest coverage in Armenian historical narratives. Yet several works of Armenian historical literature were composed during this period which do not comment directly upon present circumstances but which, nevertheless, can be examined for what they reveal about the attitudes of their compilers. This study examines how historic Roman-Armenian encounters were represented in three such works. Despite their proximate dating, they attest a range of perspectives. The anonymous author of the *History of Tarōn* reimagined the conversion of Armenia at the start of the fourth century by Saint Gregory the Illuminator, highlighting the contribution of the metropolitan of Caesarea in the establishment of sees, monasteries and martyria across the region. A similar process was underway at the time following the Byzantine annexation of Tarōn and the attendant reconfiguration of the ecclesiological landscape. The *History* of Uxtanēs bishop of Sebasteia was completed between 980 and 989 CE by an Armenian orthodox bishop and projects historic antagonism between Romans and Armenians. Uxtanēs sharpened the negative presentation of several Roman emperors from Antiquity by applying derogatory epithets usually reserved in Armenian literature for oppressive Persian Šahanšahs. At the same time, Armenian leaders were projected as compromising their autonomy. Uxtanēs also incorporated much-altered traditions about Saint Theodore Tiron and the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, implying that they were Armenian Christians persecuted for their faith. Finally, while the *Universal History* of Step'anos Tarōnec'i offers an ambiguous portrait of the current Byzantine emperor, Basil II, the writer's antipathy is revealed through his hostile depiction of Constans II whose engagement with Armenia in the middle of the seventh century prefigured that of Basil II in several respects. In all three compositions, the Roman past was used as a mirror to comment upon the Byzantine present.

Keywords: Armenia; Basil II; Byzantium; Constans II; conversion; Saint Gregory; historiography; Sebasteia; Saint Theodore; Tarōn

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The history and literature of tenth-century Armenia has always occupied a liminal position in the field of Armenian studies. From a historiographical perspective, several contentions may be advanced as to why this is the case. In the first place, the tenth century witnessed the progressive, and accelerating, extension of Byzantine power eastwards into the regions and districts of historic Armenia, as Armenian kings and princes conceded their ancestral territories in exchange for lands, status and security within Byzantium.[1] It was, on the face of it, not an era of national unity, nor heroic resistance in defence of faith, family or patrimony but rather an epoch of compromise and concession. When the study of the Armenian past began in earnest in the nineteenth century, the circumstances of tenth-century Armenia did not support contemporary ambitions for national awakening and self-determination, ambitions which were reflected in terms of political activism and literary output. By way of illustration, one of the central characters in Abovyan's 1841 historical novel *Wounds of Armenia. Lament of a Patriot* asserts »Give up your life, your spirit, but never give up your native lands to the enemy or live in perpetuity without land«.[2] Unsurprisingly, it was the earliest Armenian literature, composed in the fifth century CE following the invention of the Armenian script by Mesrop Maštoc', which attracted the greatest scholarly interest. It was generally acknowledged that this was when Movsēs Xorenac'i, termed the father of Armenian literature, had composed his *History of Armenia*, extending from Creation to the demise of the Arsacid Armenian kingdom in 428 CE. Movsēs' projection of a single kingdom of Armenia, poised between the imperial powers of Rome and Persia yet occupying its own space and seemingly in control of its own destiny, matched contemporary aspirations in ways that the fractured, compromised Armenia presented in the tenth-century compositions did not. Moreover once a hierarchy of medieval Armenian literature had been established, with those associated with Movsēs Xorenac'i at the apex, the contours of subsequent scholarship were set. This hierarchy continues to inform the discipline of Armenian studies today. Whereas Xorenac'i's *History* has been published and reprinted in several editions and been the focus of over two hundred and fifty dedicated publications, monographs and articles since the middle of the nineteenth century, the late tenth-century *History* of Uxtanēs, has benefited from three editions and received sustained attention in barely a dozen scholarly publications across the same period.[3]

1 Garsoïan, Byzantine annexation, 187-198; Mahé and Mahé, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 138-174.

2 Abovyan, *Vērk' Hayastani Ołb hayrenaseri*, 137: »Շունդ տուր, հոգիդ, բայց քո հայրենիք / Մի տար թշնամեաց ու անաշխարհիկ / Ընկնիլ տարէ տար ...«. All translations from Armenian and Greek are my own; references to published translations have been supplied should further contextualization be sought.

3 Thomson, *Bibliography*, 156-167 and 208; Thomson, Supplement, 194-197 and 202.

Another reason for the lack of interest in tenth-century Armenian history may lie in what might be termed its »narrative deficit«. Although two substantial Armenian historical narratives reflecting on the recent past were assembled at the start of the tenth century – by T'ovma Arcruni in 904 CE and Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i in 924 CE – and a third by Step'anos Tarōnec'i was completed in 1004/1005 CE, collectively these offer modest coverage of the tenth century as a whole, with the period between 925 and 975 CE obtaining very meagre treatment.[4] Even the final notices of Step'anos Tarōnec'i's *Universal History* are not as substantial from an internal Armenian perspective as might have been anticipated.[5] They address recent events in Byzantine history – albeit often with an Armenian tinge – in much greater depth than the affairs of Bagratuni, Arcruni or Siwni kings or princes. As a result, anyone wanting to write a conventional narrative history of tenth-century Armenia tracing what happened, to whom and with what result, is confronted with a relative dearth of information. This is compounded by the perennial challenge of how to present the history of a fragmented political landscape, with multiple expressions of »Armenian-ness«, in a coherent, meaningful manner. Nor is it possible to offset this narrative deficit by turning to later Armenian compositions. The solitary eleventh-century Armenian history, compiled in the mid-1070s by Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, addresses exclusively eleventh-century affairs, whilst the early twelfth-century *Chronicle* of Matt'ēos Uṙhayec'i opens with a fascinating but chronologically muddled account of Armenian history in the second half of the tenth century which was shaped, as Andrews has demonstrated recently, by the prophecies of Yovhannēs Kozeṙn.[6] His *Chronicle* provides a twelfth-century vision of tenth-century Armenia, with all the attendant challenges of revision and reimagination that this entails.

Fortunately, however, the discipline of historical enquiry is not limited to narrative reconstruction. Every work of historical literature is an expression of the context in which it was assembled. All historical compositions construct their own stories in their own ways and this is as true within the Armenian tradition as any other. As social, intellectual and cultural productions of knowledge, they attest the attitudes and approaches of the scholars who composed them. This has two consequences for this study. In the first place, there is value in studying the three tenth-century historical narratives in their entirety, for not to do so runs the risk of failing to appreciate to its fullest extent what their authors wanted to communicate. All three reflect universal conceptions of history, starting with the Old Testament figures of Noah (T'ovma and Yovhannēs) or Abraham (Step'anos) and then advancing, each in its own way, through Biblical history and antiquity to the recent past before concluding in the present. Their representations of the remote past do not hold value or significance for the study of that past but they do reveal how their authors utilised it for their own purposes in their own times. Secondly, if we consider the writing of history in tenth-century Armenia – as opposed to the writing of narratives of tenth-century Armenian history – it transpires

4 T'ovma Arcruni, *Patmut'iwn tann Arcruneac'*; Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*; Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Patmut'iwn Tiezerakan*. For an introduction to these historical compositions, as well as those discussed below, see Greenwood, *Universal History of Step'anos Tarōnec'i,* 9-32.

5 Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Patmut'iwn Tiezerakan*, 3.22-48, ed. Manukyan, 800-828.

6 Aristakēs, *Patmut'iwn Aristakisi Lastivertc'woy;* Matt'ēos Uṙhayec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*; Andrews, *Matt'ēos Uṙhayec'i*, 30-43.

that the canon needs be expanded to include at least six other works. Only two of these will be considered in this study but there is merit in listing them here, since not all have been recognized as having a contribution to make to research into tenth and eleventh-century historiography and literature.

These comprise the following: an independent work of Arcruni history, previously, and misleadingly, identified as a continuation of T'ovma's *History*, composed shortly after 943 CE;[7] the *History of Ałuank'*, attributed variously to Movsēs Dasxuranc'i or Movsēs Kałankatuac'i, compiled before 958 CE, and focused on Caucasian Albania/Ałuank' in late Antiquity and then the heirs to its political and cultural legacy in eastern Armenia;[8] a study by a mid-tenth-century head of the Armenian Church, catholicos Anania Mokac'i, titled *Concerning the Rebellion of the House of Ałuank'* composed in 958 CE which addresses the contemporary political and confessional situation across eastern Armenia;[9] the *History of Tarōn*, sometimes attributed to Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean and also associated with Zenob Glak, composed between 966/967 and 989 CE in two parts, the first focused on the activities of Saint Gregory the Illuminator across the district of Tarōn, the second largely comprising a series of epic narratives;[10] the *History* of Uxtanēs bishop of Sebasteia, compiled between 980 and 989 CE, in three books, the first exploring relations between Romans and Armenians in Antiquity, the second outlining the confessional and ecclesiological conflict between Georgians and Armenians at the start of the seventh century which resulted in schism, and the third, now lost, recording contemporary Armenian engagements with those termed Cad, a pejorative term for Armenians who had changed their minds and accepted the authority and Chalcedonian confession of the Imperial Church;[11] and the *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller* attributed to Pseudo-Šapuh Bagratuni, composed between 989 and 1021/1022 CE, divided into two collections of lively, if largely legendary, stories, the first associated broadly with the era of Muḥammad and the conquests of the seventh century, the second focused primarily on the deeds of members of the Arcruni, Ṙštuni and Anjewac'i families across the districts of eastern Vaspurakan and north-western Iran from the seventh to the later tenth centuries.[12] Collectively these attest a remarkable vitality and variety to Armenian historical writing in the tenth century.

Two features of this second collection of historical works merit comment. In the first place, they are focused predominantly upon the districts and regions of southern and eastern Armenia rather than the Bagratuni-controlled regions of northern and western Armenia. Even Uxtanēs of Sebasteia can be associated with this broadly southern and eastern orientation. Although he was located in Sebasteia, far to the west, in what had been Roman Armenia in late Antiquity, Uxtanēs was commissioned to compose his *History* by his teacher Anania Narekac'i, the founder of the famous monastery of Narek on the southern shore of Lake Van.[13]

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7 T'ovma Arcruni, *Patmut'iwn tann Arcruneac'*, ed. Tēr-Vardanean, 264.1-296.29, trans. Thomson, 325-367; Greenwood, Historical tradition, 32-34.

8 Movsēs Dasxuranc'i/Kałankatuac'i, *Patmut'iwn Ałuanic*.

9 Anania Mokac'i, Yałags apstambut'ean tann Ałuanic'.

10 Yovhannēs Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy.*

11 Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*. Cad is pronounced Tsad.

12 Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh Bagratuni, *Patmut'iwn Ananun.*

13 Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 451.38: »... ով աստուածազարդ եւ վսեմական տէր իմ տէր՝ եւ տիեզերական վարդապետ, իբր ծառ իմն բազմապտուղ՝ եւ բարձր ի մէջ վայելուչ եւ աստուածատունկ դրախտիդ Նարեկդ կոչեցեալ ուխտի՝ ...«. This is contained in the Preface to Book I, which currently lacks a published translation.

It is difficult to determine whether this broadly southern and eastern focalisation reflects a penchant for historical writing in these regions or is simply a product of the circumstances of survival. Secondly, these works are interconnected, to the extent that the existence of scholarly networks of historical research operating across the southern and eastern regions of Armenia may be posited. The earliest reference to the *History of Ałuank'* occurs in Anania Mokac'i's study.[14] The History of *History of Tarōn* was known to a circumspect Uxtanēs who noted, and rejected, its divergent traditions.[15] And part II of the *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller* corresponds in several respects with the *History* of T'ovma Arcruni, although in this case, an indirect rather than a direct relationship, reflecting a common historical culture, should be envisaged.[16] In summary, although the narrative deficit for tenth-century Armenian history is unlikely to be closed, there was a wide range of historical literature being composed in tenth-century Armenia which has the potential to provide important insights into contemporary social, intellectual and cultural conditions.

This study analyses how three of the compositions introduced above – the *History of Tarōn*, the *History* of Uxtanēs of Sebasteia and the *Universal History* of Step'anos Tarōnec'i – represent aspects of the Roman past, that is to say, the world of Antiquity and late Antiquity in the eastern Mediterranean, down to the era of the Islamic conquests in the middle of the seventh century. It shall be argued that far from reflecting antiquarian interests, each of these broadly contemporaneous compositions – all dating from the four decades between 966/967 and 1004/1005 – exploited the Roman past to comment on present circumstances, when the heir to the Roman empire in the East, Byzantium, began to extend eastwards and impinge on Armenian lordships and communities in a sustained manner for the first time since the start of the eighth century. All three authors were faced with the same challenge, namely how to articulate their opinions on this current Roman resurgence. All three came up with the same solution. They looked back at the interactions between Romans and Armenians recorded in Armenian tradition and adapted them to convey their own views. In effect, the Roman past was used as a window through which to observe and evaluate the Byzantine present. Crucially, whereas the *History of Tarōn* represented that engagement in positive terms, both Uxtanēs and Step'anos chose to define relations between Armenians and Romans as antagonistic.

14 Anania Mokac'i, Yałags apstambut'ean tann Ałuanic', ed. Boisson, 797.47: »Իսկ զնախնեացն բարեմտութիւն եւ զհարցն դաւանութիւն, որ կայր յԱղուանից Պատմութեանն ...«.

15 Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 1.76, ed. Hovannisyan and Madoyan, 509.3-6, trans. Brosset, 275: »Բայց ոչ միաբանէին ընդ միմեանս Զենոբ եւ Մովսէս վասն նորա ...«. Brosset's chapter divisions differ from those in the edition; the latter are preferred.

16 Thomson, Anonymous story-teller, 176-181.

The History of Tarōn

As Avdoyan demonstrated, a series of features within this composition support the proposition that the *History of Tarōn* was compiled after the Byzantine annexation of this principality in 966/967 CE and before Uxtanēs completed his own *History* at some point between 980 and 989 CE.[17] Yet the work does not consider the tenth century. It is divided into two parts. Part I focuses upon the activities of Saint Gregory the Illuminator in the region of Tarōn during the conversion of Armenia in the early fourth century, stressing his role in the foundation of the monastery of Glak at Innaknean. Part II comprises a diverse series of narratives, often depicting conflicts involving huge numbers of soldiers (Armenian, Persian and others, but never Roman), situated loosely in the late sixth and early seventh centuries and played out in the immediate vicinity of the monastery of Glak. The history of the monastery, and the efficacy of its miracle-working relics of John the Baptist, provides an overarching thematic unity to Part II. This study, however, will focus on aspects of Saint Gregory's mission to Tarōn recorded in Part I.

Before doing so, it may be helpful to offer a very brief synopsis of this formative moment in the Armenian past. Although the *History of Armenia* attributed to Agat'angełos is recognised as the standard Armenian account of the conversion narrative, in fact there are multiple accounts of the life and work of Saint Gregory.[18] Those associated with Agat'angełos divide into two recensions and different versions have been preserved in several languages, including Greek, Arabic, Syriac and Karshuni. Furthermore, there are other accounts, with their own distinctive features, integrated into Armenian historical compositions. This is not the occasion to trace the correspondences and differences between these individual narratives although it is worth noting that much of the research undertaken has focused on defining their differences rather than interpreting or explaining them. The key proposition is that the life of Saint Gregory – including his background and upbringing, his confrontation with King Trdat, his torture and thirteen-year confinement in a pit, the punishment of Trdat, his rescue and preaching, the healing and conversion of Trdat, Gregory's consecration in Caesarea, his missionary journeys, his visit to the emperor Constantine and his final days – had a central role in the construction of Armenian communities and identities. In a world characterised by political and ecclesiological division and intense local and regional rivalries, the past was open to endless modification and reinterpretation. Traditions were refashioned to prefigure, and hence legitimise, present circumstances and those from the formative era of Saint Gregory held particular meaning. It is in this context that the account of Saint Gregory's activities in Tarōn projected through the *History of Tarōn* comes sharply in focus.

The following comprises a series of extracts taken from the first letter of Saint Gregory to the metropolitan archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Łewondēos/Leontius, situated at the beginning of this composition:

17 Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, 13-25 and 42-48; see also Greenwood, Imagined past, 378-389.

18 For a full description of all these versions, see Thomson, *Lives of Saint Gregory*, 7-108.

> [981] To the one honoured by God and glorified by man, the three-times blessed *Tēr*, the one rendered glorious and holy, Łewondēos, patriarch of that wonderful city, Great Caesarea, on account of your holy ordination upon me [Saint Gregory] … [982] In particular, we offer a double praise to God, and moreover blessing to you because you generously presented to this land of Armenia the treasure of life, the relics of Saint John the Baptist, the mediator between God and man … [983] For here, in this land of Armenia, in Armenia IV, at the boundary with Armenia III … at the place which the Indians and the Persians call Innaknean … [984] in that same place of Innaknean, I have left two inspired men, Anton and Krōnidēs, whom you out of your love presented to this country of Armenia. These men placed their living bodies on the cross to hang with Christ … Now according to your customary merciful love which you have for us, I entreat you, give us still further gifts. For the harvest is plentiful but the workers are few. So we ask you [985] that like the workers of our Lord, you shall find other workers for the harvest. One of the workers we request from you is Ełiazar, the brother of Zenob whom I consecrated bishop of the Mamikoneans … And send in particular Timot'ēos, bishop of Agdēn …[19]

Strikingly therefore, the author of the *History of Tarōn* did not attempt to relay a full account of Saint Gregory's life and career but chose to begin abruptly part way through. This suggests that the broad outline of the conversion narrative was so well-known no introduction or recapitulation was needed. It also implies that the full narrative was not deemed to be significant or necessary, that the author had a clear purpose for starting at this point. Whereas other versions recall the newly-converted Armenian king Trdat writing to Leontius the metropolitan of Caesarea asking him to ordain Gregory, the *History of Tarōn* is alone in attesting correspondence between Gregory and Leontius after his episcopal consecration.[20] Furthermore, whereas Saint Gregory is reported across the versions of Agat'angełos returning to Tarōn from Roman territory accompanied by relics of John the Baptist and the holy martyr of Christ Athenogenes, only the *History of Tarōn* records the despatch of two clerics, Anton and Krōnidēs, by Leontius in support of Gregory as well as Gregory's request for other trained personnel to assist in the process of conversion.[21] In his reply, Leontius writes that

19 Yovhannēs Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy,* 981.1-985.16: »[981.1] Զառ ի յաստուածուստ պատուեալ եւ ի մարդկանէ փառաւորեալ, երիցս երանելի տեառն եւ աստուածարեալ սրբոյ հայրապետիդ Ղեւոնդեայ Մեգաղու Կեսարու հոյակապ քաղաքիդ, առ ի ձերոյ սրբոյ ձեռնադրութենէդ …[982.5] Մանաւանդ կրկին գոհութիւն ձեւք Աստուծոյ մատուցանեմք, առաւել եւ ձեզ՝ աւրհնութիւն, զի զգանձն կենաց աննախանձ շնորհեցէք երկրիս Հայոց՝ զմիջնորդն Աստուծոյ եւ մարդկան, զսրբոյ Մկրտչին Յովհաննու զնշխարս … [983.7] Զի է աստ՝ յերկրիս Հայոց, ի չորրորդ բաժնի Հայոց եւ յերրորդ Հայոց աւարտին, … զոր Իննակնեան կոչեն տեղւոյն Հնդիկք եւ Պարսիկք …[984.11] Ի նոյն Իննակնեան տեղւոջն թողի եւ զերկոսին կենդանիսն զԱնտոն եւ զԿրաւնիդէս, զոր դու իսկ ըստ սիրոյ քո ընծայեցեր զնոսա աշխարհիս Հայոց: Որոց եւ եղեալ իսկ է զիւրեանց մարմինս կենդանի ի խաչ հանել ընդ Քրիստոսի, … [984.13] Այլ ըստ մտերմական սիրոյ ողորմութեան քո, զոր ունիս առ մեզ, աղաչեմ՝ զմիւս եւս ընծայս այլ շնորհեսցես ինձ: Զի հունձք բազում են, եւ մշակք սակաւ: Այլ զքեզ աղաչեմք, զի իբրեւ ճշմարիտ Տէր մշակաց հանցես այլ մշակս ի հունձս յայսոսիկ: Յորոց մին մշակն, զոր խնդրեմք ի քէն, Եղիազար է՝ եղբայրն Զենոբայ, զոր ես ածեալ ընդ իս՝ ձեռնադրեցի եպիսկոպոս տանն Մամիկոնէից … Մանաւանդ եւ զՏիմոթէոս Ագդենացւոց եպիսկոպոսն յղեսցես, …«.

20 Thomson, *Lives of Saint Gregory,* §§ 794-801, for Trdat's letter; Yovhannēs Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, 981-990, trans. Avdoyan, 55-61, for the exchange between Gregory and Leontius.

21 Thomson, *Lives of Saint Gregory*, §§ 810-811, for Gregory's return to Tarōn with these relics; Yovhannēs Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, 984.11-985.16, trans. Avdoyan, 57-58, for the dispatch of the two named clerics and request for others.

he has persuaded Epiphanius, a student of Anton, to go to Innaknean with forty ascetics and settle there and then instructs Gregory to appoint Epiphanius as leader of the community.[22] According to the *History of Tarōn*, therefore, the personnel for the first monastic community at Innaknean were sent from Roman territory by Leontius. However Leontius then admits to Gregory that he has not been able to find Ełiazar – later identified as bishop of Niwstra – or Bishop Timotʻēos, bishop of Agdēn.[23] Both had been identified previously by Gregory as suitable for his mission; indeed the latter had been praised for his knowledge of literature.[24] As a result, Gregory then writes to these bishops directly, observing that he had already appointed Ełiazar's brother, Zenob, as bishop of the places of Innaknean.[25] Yet in a subsequent passage, Zenob is also titled the abbot of the monastery of Glak.[26] As outlined below, this fusion of episcopal see and monastery resonates with late tenth-century circumstances.

This is not the first instance of Roman involvement in the life and career of Saint Gregory. Even the standard Armenian version of Agatʻangełos' *History of Armenia* depicts Gregory as a child being brought up in a Christian household in Caesarea in Cappadocia.[27] His consecration in the same city at the hands of Leontius and the gift of relics also appear in this narrative and many of the other versions. The otherwise unattested correspondence, however, between Leontius and Gregory holds a different importance because it implies an ongoing partnership between the two church leaders, one which is realised through the despatch of named bishops and abbots as well as the forty ascetics. This creates a single geo-ecclesiological landscape stretching from Caesarea to Tarōn through which these figures move without interruption. The singular direction of travel, from Caesarea and the wider Roman world to Tarōn, reflects the latter's dependency on the metropolitan of Caesarea. It is also striking that the monastery at Innaknean is described as being situated in the Roman province of Armenia IV, at the boundary with Armenia III, »where the Mamikoneans dwell«.[28] From a spatial perspective therefore, the monastery is imagined as being located within a historic Roman province, highlighting Tarōn's association with the Roman Empire, downplaying its independent political culture. In sum, the *History of Tarōn* presents Saint Gregory's relations with Leontius of Caesarea in positive terms, stressing his reliance on Caesarea for ordination, relics and personnel.

22 Yovhannēs Mamikonean, *Patmutʻiwn Tarōnoy*, 987.13, trans. Avdoyan, 59-60.

23 Yovhannēs Mamikonean, *Patmutʻiwn Tarōnoy*, 988.21-989.22: »Քանզի Եղիազար գնաց ի քաղաքէն իւրմէ փախստական…ի կողմանս Հռովմայ: Իսկ զՏիմոթէոս լուալ, թէ գնաց ի կողմանս Երուսաղէմի …«.

24 Yovhannēs Mamikonean, *Patmutʻiwn Tarōnoy*, 985.17: »… զհմտութիւն դպրութեանն ,,,«.

25 Yovhannēs Mamikonean, *Patmutʻiwn Tarōnoy*, 990.34-992.51, trans. Avdoyan, 61-63.

26 Yovhannēs Mamikonean, *Patmutʻiwn Tarōnoy*, 1045.1: »Զենոբ եկաց հայր վանացն Գլակայ՝ ամս Ի:«.

27 Thomson, *Lives of Saint Gregory*, §37.

28 Yovhannēs Mamikonean, *Patmutʻiwn Tarōnoy*, 983.7: »… եւ առ սովաւ բնակի երկիրս Սամիկոնէից, …«.

Before addressing the contemporary significance of this relationship, a second dimension of the *History of Tarōn* needs to be stressed. The composition sets out to undermine the primacy of Aštišat, the historic ancient centre of Christian worship and practice in Tarōn, whose church was founded, according to all the narratives associated with Agat'angełos, by Saint Gregory on the site of pagan temples as a martyrium for the relics of John the Baptist and Athenogenes.[29] Instead it promotes the claims of the monastery of Glak at Innaknean, asserting that Gregory drove the demons away from Innaknean to Aštišat which remained a centre of pagan worship and that it was at Innaknean that Gregory founded a martyrium for the relics of John the Baptist and Athenogenes.[30] It has been argued recently that such a fundamental shift in the tradition suits the changed conditions operating across the district of Tarōn after 967 CE, when its princes, Gregory and Bagarat, exchanged their patrimonial inheritance for imperial titles and estates further west.[31] A colophon written in Tarōn in 973/974 CE confirms that their departure coincided with an episcopal vacancy after the flight and death of Gregory, bishop of the Mamikoneans. It laments that »after his death, there was much disorder and opposition in connection with the ordination of a bishop«.[32] At this time of radical political and social restructuring, the monastery of Glak at Innaknean made an audacious bid for authority and sanctity, asserting its prior association with Saint Gregory and with the metropolitan see of Caesarea. The *History of Tarōn* represents an ambitious and highly creative response to these new circumstances. Remarkably it succeeded. The monastery became one of the most prestigious centres of Armenian spirituality across the centuries, down to its destruction in 1915.

It is only when these two characteristics of the *History of Tarōn* – asserting the role of the metropolitan see of Caesarea in supporting the activities of Saint Gregory and promoting the primacy of his foundation at Innaknean over the traditional centre of worship at Aštišat – are studied and treated together that the purposes of the work, and its value for the study of late tenth-century Tarōn, become clear. In normal circumstances, any attempt to subvert centuries-old practices and replace Aštišat with Innaknean would have been inconceivable. Those invested with the ongoing primacy of Aštišat, including, in all likelihood, the bishop, would have been able to overcome any rival by invoking tradition as well as looking for support from members of the lay elite – although hard to prove, it is likely that the majority of Armenian bishops were related to the local princely family. Again, in normal circumstances, the emergence of a rival cultic centre, claiming the legacy of Saint Gregory, would have been met with deep scepticism if not open hostility for daring to challenge longstanding patterns of annual commemoration and popular devotion. In the context of the Byzantine annexation of Tarōn, however, and the disappearance of the lay and clerical elite, new opportunities suddenly presented themselves for the creation of alternative traditions. The monastery of Glak at Innaknean was reimagined as the spiritual centre for the mission of Saint Gregory

29 Thomson, *Lives of Saint Gregory*, §§809-815. For specific study of this process in Armenia, see Parsamyan, Destruction/sécularisation des temples; and for broad comparison, Emmel, Hahn and Gotter, *From Temple to Church*.

30 Yovhannēs Mamikonean, *Patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, 983.8-984.10, trans. Avdoyan 57.

31 Greenwood, Imagined past, 380.

32 Mat'evosyan, *Hišatakaranner,* no. 75: »Եւ յետ մահուան նորա բազում շփոթումն եւ հակառակութիւն եղեւ վասն ձեռնադրելոյ եպիսկոպոս:«.

and as a site which enjoyed early and enduring connections with the see of Caesarea. This included the transfer of bishops, abbots and ascetics into Tarōn, actions which prefigured, and so justified, the contemporary expansion of the Imperial Church eastwards into Tarōn. Few details survive of this process but an outline of the episcopal network dated to the end of the tenth century indicates that Tarōn gained at least four new dioceses, of Tarōn, Mous (the city of Muš), Khatzoun and Khouit (the district of Xoyt'). [33] The location of Khatzoun is unknown but it is likely to have been associated with an institution dedicated to Surb Xač', Holy Cross. Furthermore, when the Armenian kingdom of Vaspurakan was annexed by Byzantium in 1021 CE, six of the new sees established at that time also bore the names of existing religious institutions: Hagios Nikolaos, Theotokos (in Eua, unidentified but conceivably the city of Van) Hagios Nikolaos (in Artzesin/Arčēš, a city on the northern shore of Lake Van), Hagios Georgios, Hagios Elissaios and Theotokos Sedrak. [34] It appears, therefore, that the correspondence between episcopal see and monastic community imagined in the *History of Tarōn* was realised in several of the new bishoprics established across Tarōn and Vaspurakan.

In sum, the *History of Tarōn* portrays the mission of Saint Gregory and institutional developments across Tarōn in ways which, in normal circumstances, would have been unthinkable. With the flight of the lay and clerical elite and the incorporation of Tarōn into the administrative and ecclesiastical hierarchies of the Byzantine empire, however, cherished local traditions were open to appropriation and reinterpretation. The conversion narrative was revised to promote an alternative centre of spirituality and holiness, protected by miracle-working relics and to highlight the contribution of the metropolitan of Caesarea in the establishment of episcopal sees, monasteries and martyria across fourth-century Tarōn. This radical revision of the past, now constructed in terms of Roman-Armenian cooperation and mutuality, served to justify the radical transformation in the ecclesiological landscape underway at the end of the tenth century.

The History *of Uxtanēs of Sebasteia*

The *History* of Uxtanēs of Sebasteia projects historic relations between Romans and Armenians in very different terms. It was composed between 980 and 989 CE by Uxtanēs, an Armenian orthodox bishop of Sebasteia, at the request of his teacher, Anania Narekac'i, who was himself responsible for composing an anti-Chalcedonian tract called *Hawatarmat* or *Root of Faith*. [35] Unlike the situation in Tarōn, where the historic Armenian see of the Mamikoneans had disappeared and been replaced by several new sees of the Imperial Church, the city of Sebasteia seems to have been a site of contemporary ecclesiological confrontation, containing both a Byzantine metropolitan under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople and an Armenian bishop under the authority of the Catholicos of the Armenian Church.

33 *Notitia* 10, ll. 704-706, 710, ed. Darrouzès, 336: ὁ τοῦ Ταρών; τὸ Μοῦς; ὁ Χατζοῦν; ὁ Χουίτ. Greenwood, Imagined past, 384.

34 *Notitia* 10, ll. 719-721, 726, 728, ed. Darrouzès, 336: ὁ Ἅγιος Νικόλαος; τὸ Εὐὰ ἡ Θεοτόκος; τὸ Ἀρτζέσιν ὁ Ἅγιος Νικόλαος; ὁ Ἅγιος Γεώργιος; ὁ Ἅγιος Ἐλισσαῖος; τὸ Σεδρὰκ ἡ Θεοτόκος. Hagios Nikolaos may perhaps be identified with Surb Nikołayos of Apahunik'; see Thierry, *Répertoire*, no. 391; Hagios Georgios could be any one of five sites: Thierry, *Répertoire*, no. 489, 525, 555 or 573 or 574. Hagios Elissaios has been identified as Surb Nšan of Č'arahan: Thierry, *Répertoire*, no. 545; Theotokos/Sedrak has been identified as the monastery of S. Marianos of Sirx: Thierry, *Répertoire*, no. 575.

35 T'amrazyan, Anania, 130; Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 453.53: »... զիիրս Հաւատարմաւն ...«.

Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i records that in this decade an Armenian bishop of Sebasteia, named Sion, and another Armenian bishop, of Larissa, called Yovhannēs, were induced to switch sides to the Imperial Church while one of the senior Armenian priests in Sebasteia, an old man called Gabriēl, was imprisoned and later died in chains.[36] Sebasteia had not always been a site of religious tension. The creation of an Armenian diocese seems to have been a recent development, probably in response to the emigration of significant numbers of Armenians seeking employment as soldiers in the Byzantine army. Sebasteia was a major military base and recruitment centre, one that was increasingly important in the second half of the tenth century as Byzantine forces pushed eastwards.

The *History* of Uxtanēs is divided into three books. The first addresses the distant past from Adam to Saint Gregory's conversion of Trdat at the start of the fourth century; the second records the breakdown in relations between the Armenian and Georgian Churches at the start of the seventh century which ended in a state of permanent schism; and the third describes contemporary relations between Armenians and the Cad, Armenians who had been baptised into the Imperial Church, with its Chalcedonian confession. Although this third book is lost, Uxtanēs included a substantial preface which preserves an impression of what it had comprised, defining those districts, villages, cities and strongholds in »that country« which contained Chalcedonian Armenian (Cad) communities as well as the monasteries and hermits, the bishops and nobles who, at the command of King Smbat, were working alongside him against the fear and brutal threats coming from »that light-faithed people«, by which Uxtanēs meant the Chalcedonian Armenians.[37] One way of analysing this three-book structure is to interpret it in terms of identity, distinguishing Armenians from Romans in Book I, Armenians from Georgians in Book II and true Armenians from false Armenians, those who had betrayed their anti-Chalcedonian inheritance and sided with the Imperial Church, in Book III. Uxtanēs therefore constructed his understanding of »Armenian« identity in opposition to three other communities represented in Sebasteia at the time – Romans, Georgians and Chalcedonian Armenians. By approaching this work not as a narrative history but as a sophisticated intellectual exercise in defining what it meant to be Armenian from the perspective of an orthodox Armenian cleric in Sebasteia at the end of the tenth century, it obtains a new significance. This study, however, is limited to analysing Roman-Armenian relations as they are presented in Book I.

As Brosset's introduction to his 1871 translation attests, it has long been recognised that Uxtanēs drew extensively upon the first two books of Xorenac‘i's *History* for his account of the distant Armenian past.[38] Less well-known is that Uxtanēs interleaved this material with extracts from a Roman imperial sequence preserved in a late seventh-century Armenian

36 Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i, *Patmut‘iwn Tiezerakan*, 3.20, ed. Manukyan, 769-770, trans. Greenwood, 252.

37 Uxtanēs, *Patmut‘iwn Hayoc‘*, 1.1, ed. Hovannisyan and Madoyan, 454.66: »… եւ յետ այնորիկ զմկրտութիւն ազգին՝ որ Ծաղն կոչի. Նա եւ զգաւառս, եւ զգեղս գլխաւորս, եւ զքաղաքս, եւ զբերդս իւրաքանչիւր գաւառաւք՝ որ են յաշխարհին յայնմիկ՝ որպէս եւ կամք քո հրամայեցին, եւ զվանաւրայս հանդերձ վանականաւք … եւ զանապատս միայնաւորաց … եւ զբան եւ զջան եւ զվաստակ եւ զհանդէս երանելի եպիսկոպոսացն Գրիգորի՝ եւ իւրոյ պաշտաւնէիցն, զգործակցութիւն եւ զհրաման թագաւորին Սմբատայ, եւ զնախանձ նախարարացն … եւ զհանդէս իշխանացն…Նաեւ զահ եւ զերկիւղ եւ սպառնալիս գազանամիտ եւ թեթեւահաւատ ճուաղաբարուոյ մարդկան այնոցիկ …«.

38 Brosset, *Deux historiens arméniens,* x.

composition, which, confusingly, goes under several names, including the *Chronicle* of Anania Širakac'i, the *Anonymous Chronicle* and the *Chronicle* of P'ilon Tirakac'i; for the purposes of this study, the last of these will be preferred.[39] This sequence lists Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to Constantine I, their years in power and key episodes in the history of the early Church – in terms of its leadership, persecution and the emergence and rebuttal of heresies – which took place during their reigns. The list was split into seventeen sections which were then inserted at intervals into the Xorenac'i-based narrative.[40] The resultant composition is therefore highly fragmented, oscillating between extracts from the two underlying texts. But this process is also instructive because it reveals how Uxtanēs wanted to reimagine the Armenian past. Not only do these short passages of Roman imperial history provide a chronological framework for the past preserved by Xorenac'i; they also invite the reader to interpret that past in the context of Roman imperial history and its oppression of the early Church.

Close analysis reveals that Uxtanēs did more than simply interleave the extracts from the *Chronicle* of P'ilon Tirakac'i. He also modified them. When these revisions are assessed collectively, they attest a clear antipathy towards Roman emperors. Uxtanēs sharpened the negative presentation of several emperors by adding derogatory epithets. Nero, Trajan, Severus and Licinius are described as impious, *ambarišt*;[41] Maximian and Decius as impious and delighting in evil, *ambarišt ew č'arap'ar̀*,[42] Aurelian as unjust and impious, *anawrēn ew ambarišt*;[43] and Diocletian as idolatrous and impious, *kr̀apašt ew ambarišt*.[44] Such epithets are commonly associated in Armenian historical literature with oppressive, persecuting Persian *Šahanšahs*, not Roman emperors.[45] Uxtanēs deliberately reshaped these figures, conforming them to the characters of Sasanian rulers and so inviting his audience to understand them as just as oppressive.

Extending this process of comparative textual analysis to the passages derived by Uxtanēs from Xorenac'i's *History* produces similar results. Episodes from Xorenac'i's *History* which portrayed interactions between Armenian kings and Roman emperors were selected and also reshaped by Uxtanēs. In a recent study, Nakada has demonstrated that Uxtanēs modified the representation of several Armenian rulers who submitted to Roman authorities.[46]

39 P'ilon Tirakac'i, Žamanakagrut'iwn, 935.1-947.199. This lacks a published translation but for a recent study of this sequence, see Greenwood, New light, 225-229.

40 Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 1.28, 29, 30, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 55, 56, 57 and 59, ed. Hovannisyan and Madoyan, 471.7, 471.15-472.18, 472.14-473.18, 477.7-15, 478.25-34, 479.13-17, 480.11-19, 481.16-482.26, 482.6-483.16, 483.8-15, 484.8-9, 484.17-27, 487.7-20, 489.6-490.17, 490.12-491.21, 492.23-31 and 494.1-8, trans. Brosset, 227-229, 236-239, 241-245, 247, 250-251, 253-255, 257 and 259-260.

41 Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 1.40, 42, 44 and 61, ed. Hovannisyan and Madoyan, 478.29., 480.13, 482.7 and 495.2, »ամբարիշտ«, trans. Brosset 238, 241, 243 and 260.

42 Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 1.46 and 50, ed. Hovannisyan and Madoyan, 484.9 and 487.7, »ամբարիշտ եւ չարափառ«, trans. Brosset 245 and 250.

43 Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 1.56, ed. Hovannisyan and Madoyan, 490.13, »անաւրէն եւ ամբարիշտ«, trans Brosset, 255.

44 Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 1, ed. Hovannisyan and Madoyan, 492.27, »կռապաշտ եւ ամբարիշտ«, trans. Brosset, 257.

45 By way of illustration, both անաւրէն, anawrēn, impious, and չարասէր, *č'arasēr,* evil-loving, are used repeatedly of the Persian king and Persians generally in Ełišē's *History.*

46 Nakada, Uxtanēs, 177-181 and 189.

Whereas Xorenac'i maintained that the Armenian king Aršam negotiated a peace treaty with the Romans because he was unable to obtain any assistance from Persia, and that under its terms he gave tribute for Mesopotamia and Caesarea, Uxtanēs omitted these mitigating comments about Persia, stating simply that in Aršam's time, Armenia began to pay tribute to the Romans.[47] The qualification that the tribute was due from only certain territories was also dropped, implying that it was levied across the whole of Armenia. According to Xorenac'i, »King Eruand gave support to the Romans and was completely untroubled in the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, granting them Mesopotamia«;[48] for Uxtanēs, »Eruand gave support to the Roman emperors Vespasian and Titus, granting them Mesopotamia«.[49] This subtle change creates the impression that Eruand had submitted to the Roman Empire, not that he had retained his status as an independent monarch. These alterations may appear to be minor but they serve to generate a straightforward narrative, of Armenian submission and Roman annexation, with the nuances and qualifications supplied by Xorenac'i removed. Arguably Uxtanēs revised this past to comment on his contemporary circumstances, involving an assertive, expanding Byzantium and Armenian compromises and concessions. In this respect the retention of Mesopotamia in his notice concerning Eruand may have been deliberate. Mesopotamia had an entirely different tenth-century meaning to its Antique definition, being the name of a Byzantine theme (military province) located south-east of the theme of Sebasteia.[50]

Although Uxtanēs derived much of the content of Book I from Xorenac'i's *History* and the *Chronicle* of P'ilon Tirakac'i, he also drew upon other materials. Two passages of hagiographical origin stand out. The first comprises a short account of the life and martyrdom of Saint Theodore Tiron, the Recruit, sometimes also known as Saint Theodore of Amaseia; the second consists of a longer narrative describing the circumstances in which the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia went to their deaths.[51] Both cults were prominent in the eastern Mediterranean from the late fourth century and continued to be very popular in the late tenth century, especially among soldiers.[52] The traditions preserved by Uxtanēs, however, are not well-studied and await comparative evaluation with the versions preserved in Greek and Armenian.[53] Nevertheless, for our purposes, two particular features merit comment.

47 Movsēs Xorenac'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 2.24, ed. Abełean and Yarut'iwnean, 139.4-10, trans. Thomson, 157-158; Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 1.30, ed. Hovannisyan and Madoyan, 472.9-10, trans. Brosset, 229.

48 Movsēs Xorenac'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 2.38, ed. Abełean and Yarut'iwnean, 164.9-12: »Բայց թիկունս առնելով Երուանդայ զՀռոմայեցիս՝ ոչ ինչ վտանգի ի թագաւորութեանն Վեսպիանու եւ Տիտոսի, թողով ի նոսա զՄիջագետս ...«.

49 Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 1.41, ed. Hovannisyan and Madoyan, 479.8: »Եւ թիկունս արարեալ իւր Երուանդայ զՎեսպիանոս եւ զՏիտոս զկայսերս Հռովմայեցւոց, թողու ի նոսա զՄիջագետս:«.

50 Oikonomidès, *Les Listes*, 349, 354; Nakada, Uxtanēs, 171-173. The theme of Mesopotamia is first attested under Leo VI in 899/901. Sebasteia was a theme by 911. Mesopotamia became a *katepanate* in 976 with its own *doux*.

51 Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 1.46 and 1.61 respectively; Greenwood, *Universal History*, 28-30; Nakada, Uxtanēs, 182-188.

52 Walter, *Warrior Saints*, 44-66 (St Theodore Tiron and St Theodore Stratelates) and 170-177 (St Jyion and the XL Martyrs of Sebasteia).

53 Haldon, *Tale of Two Saints*; Karlin-Hayter, Passio of the XL.

In the first place, it is striking that Saint Theodore is described as coming »from the village of Sabobē, six miles from the city of Berissa, in the district of Armeniakon which was called Second Armenia«.[54] In other words, Saint Theodore was represented as being an Armenian, born within fifty miles of Sebasteia. This origin is otherwise unattested. Uxtanēs does not specify the origins of the Forty Martyrs but his account also permits an »Armenian« interpretation. According to Uxtanēs, the emperor Licinus sent a centurion with soldiers to compel the faithful »in the district of Cappadocia and the theme of {T'ew}Laxunēk' (Lykandos?) and Anatolikon and Charsianon and Armeniakon and Dazimon« to worship idols or to suffer a cruel death.[55] These unspecified faithful fled to the borders of the territory of Sebasteia and took refuge in remote places, implying that they had been living in and around Sebasteia. For Uxtanēs, the Forty Martyrs were soldiers who refused to obey Licinius' command to persecute the faithful, not soldiers who had refused to obey Licinius' command to worship idols. One interpretation of this revision is that it enabled orthodox Armenian Christians to identify with the persecuted »faithful«. Uxtanēs states that the site of the subsequent massacre of the »faithful« was called Ekełeac'ajor, in Armenian the »Valley of Churches«, implying that they were indeed Armenian. He then describes how the Forty fled to a cave on the bank of the river Halys, a stronghold at that time which »now« was a settlement called K'aǰ Vahan, an unequivocally Armenian name, Vahan the Brave, where the saints were still venerated.[56] Again the Armenian identity of the Forty is implied. Nakada has also proposed that this feature of the much-altered tradition may have been intended for orthodox Armenian soldiers serving Byzantine commanders, inspiring them to act as their forebears had done in remaining loyal to orthodox Armenian tradition.[57]

Secondly, both passages support the hostile projection of Roman imperial authority across the composition. Saint Theodore is martyred in Amaseia during the reign of the impious and delighting-in-evil Maximian. The Forty Martyrs on the other hand, are martyred in Sebasteia on the orders of the impious Licinius. When the emperor learned of their disobedience, he ordered the *doux* and judge of Sebasteia, to locate the Forty, seize them and take them back to Sebasteia to be tortured and either submit to his orders to worship idols or die of their wounds.[58] Two features of this narrative stand out. The use of the qualifying impious, *ambarišt*, for Licinius confirms that it was Uxtanēs who inserted these derogatory epithets because this passage was extracted from a separate source. And secondly, the Roman representatives in Sebasteia were identified using titles which date from the second half of the tenth century, not the first decades of the fourth century. In using *doux* and judge, Uxtanēs was implying that the current office holders in Sebasteia were representatives of an impious emperor. This confirms his antipathy for Byzantium.

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54 Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 1.46, ed. Hovannisyan and Madoyan, 484.10: »... որ երանելիս այս ծնեալ ի գիւղ մի Սաբոբէ անուն, որ հեռի է ի Վեռիս քաղաքէ վեց մղոնաւ, եւ է գաւառն այն Արմենեակ՝ որ կոչի Երկրորդ Հայք:«; trans. Brosset, 245-246. It is likely that *gawaṙ*, district, here stands for theme.

55 Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 1.61, ed. Hovannisyan and Madoyan, 495.3: »... եւ հանեալ զհարիւրապետ ոմն հանդերձ զնդաւն իւրով ի գաւառն՝ որ կոչի Կապուտակէք, եւ ի թեմն Թեւլախունէք եւ Անատալիկէք եւ Խարտանայք եւ Արմենակք եւ Դազիմոն ...«; trans. Brosset, 260.

56 Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 1.61, ed. Hovannisyan and Madoyan, 496.8: »... երթեալ բնակէին յայրի մի յեզր գետոյն՝ որ կոչի Ալիս՝ ի տեղի մի ամրոցի, զի յայնմ ժամանակի ամայի էր լեալ տեղին այն, իսկ այժն շէն, որ կոչի Քաջ-Վահանայ ...«; trans. Brosset, 261.

57 Nakada, Uxtanēs, 185-186.

58 Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 1.61, ed. Hovannisyan and Madoyan, 496.11: դքսին եւ դատաւորին...

In sum, Book I's commentary on historic relations between Romans and Armenians can be interpreted as a sophisticated commentary on the current circumstances in and around Sebasteia which saw Armenians both accepting and rejecting inclusion within the Imperial Church. It is striking that Uxtanēs criticises both Roman and Armenian rulers. Roman emperors are projected as impious persecutors who presided over ecclesiastical disorder and tumult but Armenian kings do not escape sanction, represented as being liable to compromise their autonomy and submit to the Romans. Uxtanēs was writing at a time when just such a practice was happening. The princes of Tarōn had recently exchanged their ancestral territories for status and territories further west while the current Arcruni kings of Vaspurakan had shown their sympathies through their participation in the translation of a fragment of the True Cross sent by Basil II in 983 CE. Uxtanēs composed Book I in the knowledge of, and in opposition to, events such as these. Through the creative reimagination of the lives of Saint Theodore, the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia and the unspecified »faithful«, Uxtanēs claimed them as Armenians whose defiance in the face of Roman persecution, even to death, was worthy of commemoration and, by implication, emulation. It is unclear how influential Uxtanēs' *History* was, nor the extent to which it reflected local sentiment. The subsequent history of the Armenian orthodox see of Sebasteia is obscure, to the extent that we do not know if Uxtanēs had any successors, nor if an Armenian orthodox community persisted for any length of time.

The Universal History *of Step'anos Tarōnec'i*

Unlike the previous two historical compositions, the *Universal History* is not confined to the distant past but covers the whole of human history from Creation down to the year 1004/1005 CE. It too is divided into three books. Book I extends from Creation to the accession of King Trdat at the turn of the fourth century; Book II covers the period from Trdat and Saint Gregory down to the restoration of an Armenian kingdom under Ašot I Bagratuni in 884 CE; Book III records events from then until the present. It therefore comments on both the remote Roman past and the present Byzantine resurgence. Scholars, however, have tended to focus on the coverage of tenth-century affairs found in Book III and to ignore the first two books beyond occasional snippets of otherwise unattested information. This study argues for a different approach, stressing the limitations of Book III and the historical potential of Books I and II.

Even a cursory examination of Book III confirms that Step'anos was living through an era of confessional tension. He himself was a member of the orthodox Armenian Church and there can be no doubt that his commitment to this institution, its traditions and teachings shaped his composition. His comments on the oppression of the Armenian orthodox in Sebasteia have been highlighted previously but it is also relevant to note that he chose to include a long and learned defence of Armenian orthodoxy addressed to the metropolitan of Sebasteia, in the course of which the metropolitan is chastised for his stupidity, error, blasphemy and ignorance.[59] Furthermore Step'anos followed this rhetorical and theological tour de force with a notice recording the grisly fate of the metropolitan at the hands of the Bulgars, accused of duplicity in a diplomatic incident, condemned as a dog and burned alive.[60] His antipathy towards the Imperial Church is incontrovertible.

59 Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Patmut'iwn Tiezerakan*, 3.21, ed. Manukyan, 770.1-800.233, trans. Greenwood, 253-283.

60 Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Patmut'iwn Tiezerakan*, 3.22, ed. Manukyan, 800.1-5, trans. Greenwood, 283-284.

His attitude towards the Byzantine state, however, is harder to discern. While Basil II is not openly criticised, nor is he eulogised, lending credence to the view that Step‘anos adopted a judicious ambiguity when portraying the current emperor.[61] Yet it is striking to observe how many of the extracts associated with Basil II record challenges to his authority, whether in terms of civil war, military defeat or natural disaster. Furthermore, one of Basil II’s principal rivals, Bardas Skleros, is defined unequivocally as king in three chapters and praised for being »a valiant man and an expert in warfare«.[62] From this, one might infer that Step‘anos was unfavourably disposed towards Basil II but his overall presentation amounts to a subtle critique which leaves space for alternative interpretations. Admittedly, his depiction of previous tenth-century emperors does not provide much assistance; these figures obtain very brief coverage indeed. If, however, we move further back in the narrative, to the seventh century, we obtain a much clearer impression of Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i’s own attitude towards Byzantine imperial authority.

Book II chapter 2 outlines the actions of the emperor Constans II in relation to Armenia during the era of the Arab conquests and the circumstances in which a long letter to the emperor defending the Armenian confessional position was drafted.[63] Both the narrative and the long extract from the letter were derived from the *History* attributed to Sebēos, a work compiled in the middle of the seventh century. While the extract from the letter was copied without redaction or amendment, suggesting that it held particular value for Step‘anos, the accompanying narrative was adjusted in several ways. It opens with a notice on the decision of T‘ēodoros Ṙštuni, titled the commander of Armenia and previously the principal Armenian client of Constans II, to abandon the emperor and submit to the Arabs.[64] Sebēos interpreted his betrayal in hostile terms, describing it as »a pact with death and an alliance with hell«.[65] Step‘anos however recasts it as a pragmatic response to the Arab conquest and reports it in neutral terms. The emperor Constans II is described by Step‘anos as responding to this treachery by advancing into Armenia in great anger, boasting that he would purge it thoroughly;[66] this emotional response is not found in Sebēos’ original. According to Step‘anos, the Catholicos Nersēs III went out to meet Constans and sought to bring about a reconciliation. On arriving in the city of Dvin, Constans ordered that Roman priests should celebrate the sacrament in the churches.[67] These details broadly align with Sebēos’ account. However the contentions that many were offended when the emperor and Nersēs took communion

61 Basil II first appears in 3.10 and features prominently thereafter.

62 Bardas Skleros is called king, թագաւորն Վարդ, in 3.14, 15 and 20. Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i, *Patmut‘iwn Tiezerakan*, 3.14, ed. Manukyan, 762.1: »… որ էր այր քաջ եւ կորովի ի գործ պատերազմաց:«; trans. Greenwood, 242.

63 Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i, *Patmut‘iwn Tiezerakan*, 2.2, ed. Manukyan, 694.97-701.149, trans. Greenwood, 157-163.

64 Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i, *Patmut‘iwn Tiezerakan*, 2.2, ed. Manukyan, 694.98: »Զոր տեսեալ ապա Թէոդորոսի Ռշտունեաց տեառն, որ էր զաւրավար Հայոց եւ այլոց համախորհից՝ ի բաց կացեալ ի կայսերի՝ հնազանդին Տաճկաց:«.

65 Sebēos, *Patmut‘iwn*, 48, ed. Abgaryan, 164.13-17: »… եդին ուխտ ընդ մահու, եւ ընդ դժոխոց դաշինս …«.

66 Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i, *Patmut‘iwn Tiezerakan*, 2.2, ed. Manukyan, 694.99: »Իսկ կայսրն Կոստանդին՝ թոռն Հերակլի մեծաւ ցասմամբ դիմէ ի Հայս. խրոխտայր ջնջել ի միջոյ:«.

67 Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i, *Patmut‘iwn Tiezerakan*, 2.2, ed. Manukyan, 694.100, trans. Greenwood, 157-158.

together, and that the nobility were treated with contempt on that occasion, are both reactions inserted by Step‘anos.[68] Finally, and perhaps most tellingly, the Catholicos Nersēs III is presented by Step‘anos as pious, Christ-loving, and truth-relating, leading the Armenian faithful in their opposition to Constans II and Chalcedonian doctrine.[69] In the *History* attributed to Sebēos, however, Nersēs is described as keeping the bitter poison of Chalcedon in his heart, of perverting the true faith of Saint Gregory, and muddying the pure waters of Armenian orthodoxy.[70] In other words, Step‘anos has inverted the portrait of Nersēs III to present him as a firm advocate of traditional Armenian orthodoxy. At the same time, he substantially revised the figure of Constans II, now an angry emperor determined to enforce Chalcedon on a defiant Armenia.

Why did Step‘anos select such a passage for inclusion in his *Universal History* and why did he adapt it in the ways outlined? Although incapable of proof, it seems most likely that he did so because he interpreted the circumstances as analogous to his own time. He was confronted with a resurgent Byzantium and an expanding Imperial Church. Basil II had travelled through the districts of Armenia in the year 1000, meeting members of the elite including Abas Bagratuni, the king of Vanand based in Kars, and Senek‘erim Arcruni, king of Vaspurakan.[71] They had been rewarded with unspecified royal honours, horses and mules, splendid clothing and much gold. Rather than criticising these actions, Step‘anos looked back to an earlier era, when a Roman emperor had travelled to Armenia and had met with Armenian princes and bishops. He reshaped the narrative of this earlier engagement to create the story he wanted to tell, of Byzantine pressure to convert and Armenian defiance. In this respect, two additional sentences inserted by Step‘anos are particularly revealing. The first – purportedly in an edict composed by Constans II and the patriarch of Constantinople and sent to the Catholicos Nersēs III, all the bishops and the great T‘ēodoros Ṙštuni – warns that »if anyone from the princes should be found who resisted the command [to accept Chalcedon], he was to be removed from the honour and office of prince and all of his possessions were to be seized for the royal treasury and he was to be conveyed to the court of kings, there to make reply«.[72] Step‘anos therefore imagined recalcitrant Armenian princes losing their noble status and their territories to the imperial treasury. This can be viewed as an interpretation of what was happening at the end of the tenth century, when members of the Armenian elite were yielding their ancestral domains to Byzantium. For Step‘anos, it was the result of imperial pressure to accept Chalcedon. I suspect that for many members of the Armenian elite, the benefits of territory, status and security within the Byzantine Empire outweighed

68 Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i, *Patmut‘iwn Tiezerakan*, 2.2, ed. Manukyan, 694.101: »Յորմէ գայթակղեցան բազումք ... եւ ի ժամ ճաշոյն արհամարհեալ լինէին ազատքն Հայոց առաջի նորա:«.

69 Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i, *Patmut‘iwn Tiezerakan*, 2.2, ed. Manukyan, 695.106, 696.108: »...առ սրբասէր կաթողիկոսն Հայոց Ներսէս ... առ քրիստոսասէր եւ ճշմարտապատում կաթողիկոսն Հայոց Ներսէս ...«.

70 Sebēos, *Patmut‘iwn*, 49, ed. Abgaryan, 167.7-22: »... ի սրտի իւրում ծածկեալ ունէր զթիւնս դառնութեան, եւ խորհէր հաւանեցուցանել զՀայս Քաղկեդոնի ժողովոյն ... Եւ այսպէս շարժեաց կաթուղիկոսն զճշմարիտ հաւատս սրբոյն Գրիգորի ... Եւ զսուրբ եւ զվճիտ եւ զականակիտ աղբերացն պղտորեաց զջուրս ...«.

71 Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i, *Patmut‘iwn Tiezerakan*, 3.43, ed. Manukyan, 822.6-824.23, trans. Greenwood, 308-310.

72 Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i, *Patmut‘iwn Tiezerakan*, 2.2, ed. Manukyan, 695.106: »... եւ թէ գտցէ ոք յիշխանացն, որ ընդդիմասցի հրամանին, ի պատուոյն եւ յիշխանութենէն ի բաց ընկեսցի, եւ զինչս նորա զամենայն յարքունիս կալցեն, եւ տարեալ զնա ի դրունս թագաւորաց անդ արասցէ պատասխանի:«.

any qualms they might have had over abandoning confessional allegiances – exactly the situation that Uxtanēs was so keen to resist. The second sentence confirms this. It records the response of Nersēs, T'ēodoros and all the bishops and princes of the country: »It would be better for us to die than to exchange the doctrine of Saint Gregory for that of the Council of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo«.[73] For Step'anos, his sponsor Catholicos Sargis I Sewanc'i and other members of the Armenian orthodox Church, this is what was at stake at the end of the tenth century.

Conclusion

The second half of the tenth century witnessed an extension of Byzantine hegemony – whether viewed in political, administrative, ecclesiological or cultural terms – across a swathe of Armenian districts and lordships. This Roman resurgence generated a surprisingly rich and varied collection of Armenian historical compositions. The compilers of these works used the past to speak about the present, incorporating and adapting earlier accounts of encounters between Romans and Armenians. Existing narratives could be reshaped to support very different positions. Whereas the *History of Tarōn* emphasized the cooperation of the see of Caesarea – and by extension the Imperial Church – in the creation of ecclesiastical and monastic institutions in early fourth-century Tarōn, the histories of Uxtanēs and Step'anos Tarōnec'i both projected historic antagonism between Romans and Armenians. Although Step'anos covered the recent past and even current affairs in his *Universal History*, his own attitude towards Byzantine imperial authority can be seen most clearly in his refashioned description of the encounter between Constans II and Nersēs III. We are never going to be in a position to determine whether this creative reimagination of the past was a matter of preference or necessity. On the one hand, writing about the recent past or the present was fraught with danger. In the fragile and fluid context of late tenth-century Armenia, one could never be confident about the future. Who could predict which members of the lay or clerical elite would be tempted to turn Byzantine? This was a matter of deep concern for orthodox Armenian clerics but we should recognize that it may not have been so for those who embraced the opportunity to settle in and serve Byzantium, even if their voices are hard to discern in the written record. But we should perhaps acknowledge that practical considerations may also have had a part to play in recycling the past, that Armenian scholars may not all have been able to acquire sufficient knowledge to compose a narrative dealing with contemporary affairs. In such circumstances, reshaping the historical works available to them may have been the most straightforward, perhaps even the only, option when it came to the writing of history. Negotiating the Roman present invited, and may even have demanded, engagement with the Roman past.

73 Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Patmut'iwn Tiezerakan*, 2.2, ed. Manukyan, 696.111: »Լաւ լիցի մեզ մեռանել, քան թէ փոխանակել զվարդապետութիւն սրբոյն Գրիգորի ընդ ժողովոյն Քաղկեդոնի եւ տոմարին Լեւոնի:«.

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Abbreviations

MH	Matenagirk‘ Hayoc‘
OPP	Occasional Papers and Proceedings
REArm	Revue des études arméniennes

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Aitire, 人質, тали, όμηρος, رهن, obses: Hostages, Political Instability, and the Writing of History c. 900 - c. 1050 CE

Alice Hicklin*

The medieval hostage stood as a surety given by one party into the custody of another, with the understanding that hostages bound their donors to a particular obligation or set of terms outlined by the hostages' recipient. The practice is attested on a global scale, and much can be said about the narrative function of hostages as a foil for writers to construct stories of victory, defeat, piety, mercy and cruelty. This article adopts a broad geographical focus, from Ireland to eastern China. By looking at periods both of political turbulence and stability in the tenth and eleventh centuries CE, it examines how writers depicted hostage-giving in times of political fragmentation and change, and in what way was this reflected in narrative and documentary texts. By including authors writing about recent and more distant pasts, it explores how this practice operated both within and without the boundaries of legal custom, and considers how attitudes towards those who granted and received hostages might be shaped by politico-social transitions.

Keywords: Diplomacy; hostages; narrative; Old English; Latin; Greek; Georgian; Chinese; prose; medieval literature

Introduction

In 1015 CE Muğāhid al-ʿĀmirī (مجاهد العامري), ruler of the taifa of Dénia, took a large fleet from the Balearics to attempt a conquest of Sardinia. His forces were almost completely destroyed by military defeat and then shipwreck. Subsequently a combined army of Pisans and Genoans captured his mother, son, and relatives, and although Muğāhid successfully ransomed some of his family, an agreement was made that his son, ʿAlī (علي إقبال الدولة), would be kept as a hostage. Brought first to the court of the western emperor Henry II, the prince then spent the remainder of his hostageship in Pisa following the intervention of a merchant. After some fifteen years as a hostage, ʿAlī travelled first to the Zirid court in Ifriqiya (modern-day Tunisia) and then to his home of Dénia. There, the prince had to re-learn both his language and religion in preparation to rule, having converted to Christianity whilst serving as his father's hostage.[1] Although records of his travels survive only in twelfth-

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1 *Liber maiolichinus,* ed. Calisse 40-41; Ibn al-Abbār (ابن الأبار), *Al-takmila* (كتاب التكملة لالكتاب الصلة), ed. Bel and Cheneb, 52; Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon* 7.31, ed. Holtzmann, 435-436. See Fierro, Hostages, 74; Bruce, Politics of violence, 136.

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century sources, ʿAlī's hostageship conveys to the modern reader something of the extraordinary cultural contacts that could be made both by hostages and by those who gave and accepted them in the medieval world. Nor was ʿAlī alone. Visitors to royal or imperial courts from Ireland to China in the tenth and eleventh centuries CE would have found the sight of hostages amongst those in attendance a familiar one: individuals, groups and polities have given and taken individuals as a form of guarantee for as long as the written record stretches.[2]

The medieval hostage was a form of surety given by one party into the custody of another, with the understanding that the hostages bound their donors to a particular obligation or set of terms outlined by the hostages' recipient. Most scholars to have worked on this particular type of diplomatic transaction agree on the broad strokes of a definition, though there is naturally difference on the finer points. For John Gilissen, the medieval hostage was *»un garant qui est privé de sa liberté pour assurer un comportement determiné ou l'exécution d'une obligation«*,[3] while Annette Parks states that »hostages are defined as persons who are demanded or offered by one person or group to another person or groups for the purpose of securing an agreement … with the stated or implied understanding that a breach of the agreement on the part of the hostage-giver will result in retaliation against the hostage.«[4] Adam Kosto, responsible for much recent scholarship on hostage-giving, describes the hostage as »a form of surety, a person … deprived of liberty by a second person in order to guarantee an undertaking by a third person.«[5]

Yet despite these recent definitions, hostages were polysemic, able to carry within them multiple and sometimes contradictory meanings. Nor did this semiotic complexity only apply to the hostage in the present moment, but extended both forwards and backwards in time. A hostage represented an arrangement made in the past; their physical presence reflected current politico-social relationships; their fate, often dependent upon the actions of their family, completes the tripartite nature of their temporal identity. This triptych naturally impinges upon the accounts of those who wrote about hostages given and accepted, whether a day or a thousand years later. Hostages could at once represent past, present and future relations between kings, parties or even empires, and formed an important part of textual constructions of power, its gain and loss.

2 Kosto, *Hostages,* 199-226.

3 Gilissen, Esquisse d'une histoire, 52: »a guarantee that deprives one of their liberty to assure a determined behaviour or the execution of a particular behaviour.«

4 Parks, *Living Pledges,* 22.

5 Kosto, *Hostages,* 9.

Hostages in the Ancient World

References to hostages survive in some of the oldest extant written languages we have on earth, revealing a practice with origins rooted in ancient and near-global concepts of surety and guarantee. From c. 700 BCE individuals described as hostages appear regularly in the written record in diverse cultures and contexts, including classical Greece, the Neo-Assyrian Empire, and the Zhou (周朝) and Qin (秦朝) dynasties of China.[6] Such records often privileged transactions conducted by those in the highest societal echelons; many who went on to rule had themselves experienced hostageship, either serving as a hostage, or giving, exchanging and receiving such individuals.[7] These earliest accounts of hostage practices reverberated through historical writing for centuries, connecting the receipt of hostages with political dominance.

In China, hostages are continuously attested from c. 700 BCE, and their numbers peaked during the Han dynasty's (漢朝) rule, when its members extracted noble hostages from client kingdoms in the Western Regions as a matter of course.[8] The expansion of the practice's geographical range and cultural permeation is revealed by notices of so-called *hostage hostels* (質館) built to accommodate those held at central points.[9] The great emphasis commentators placed on the political currency hostages offered is in evidence from the Han to the Song dynasty (宋朝) of the mid-tenth to thirteenth centuries, with only minor lapses.[10]

Though more rare than in other historical contexts, hostages do appear in records dating from ancient and classical Greece, including frequent exchanges made to ensure those negotiating treaties stuck to their word during the process,[11] and in accounts of the Peloponnesian war.[12] Hostages in Islamic texts are a more nebulous phenomenon, but much of our earlier evidence comes from this region, whether involving the Roman and Persian empires or, according to some scholars, pre-Islamic tribal practices.[13] Better attested are transactions made

6 For China, see Yang, Hostages in Chinese history, 507-521. For Ancient Egypt: Feucht, The *Hrdw n k*3 reconsidered, 38-47; Feucht, *Kind im Alten Ägypten*, 266-304. For the Near East: Zawadzki, Hostages in Assyrian, 449-458; Radner, After *Eltekeh*, 471-479; Morschauser, »Hospitality«, 461-485.

7 Famous examples include Philip of Macedon: Diodorus Siculus, 15.67.3-4, Dio Chrisostom, *Discourses* (Λόγοι), 49.5, Plutarch, *Pelopidas* (Πελοπίδας), 26.4, Justin, *Epitome*, 6.9.7, and 7.5.1-3; Theoderic the Great: Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 52.271; the hostages exchanged between Chou and Cheng in 720 BCE: *The Commentary of Zuo: Zuozhuan* (左傳), 17, ed. Miller; and Shoshenq, a likely member of the Delta dynasties and relation of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, mentioned in the sale document recorded at Nineveh in 692 BCE: Kwasman and Parpola, *Legal Transactions*, 142, discussed in detail by Radner, After *Eltekeh*, 471-479. Nevertheless, the practice also impacted upon many lower down the social scale, in local contexts and transactions, e.g. Amit, Hostages in Ancient Greece, 129-142.

8 See for instance *Book of Han* (*Han shu*, 漢書) 94.2 (*Traditions of the Xiongnu,* 匈奴傳; *ibid.*, 96.1-2 (*Traditions of the Western Regions,* 西域).

9 Fan Ye, *Book of the Later Han* (*Hou-Han shu*, 後漢書) 90: Treatise on the Wuhuan, Xianbei, 卷九十 烏桓鮮卑列傳. See also Selbitschka, Early Chinese diplomacy, 61-114.

10 Yang, Hostages in Chinese history, 510-512.

11 Amit, Hostages in Ancient Greece, 129-142; Panagopoulos, *Captives and Hostages*, 189.

12 Especially that of Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.56.1-2, 1.57.6, 1.82.4, 1.91.2, 1.108.3, 1.115.3-5, 1.117.3, 2.26.1, 2.56.2, 3.90.4, 3.101.2, 3.102.1, 3.102.3, 3.114.3, 4.42.1, 4.57.4, 5.61.4, 5.77.1-3, 5.84.1, 6.43.1, 6.61.3, 7.83.2, 8.31.1.

13 For an early instance, see e.g. Strabo, *Geographica,* 16.1.28, ed. Jones, 7.236-237. See Greenfield, *»Kullu nafsin bimā kasabat rahīnā«*, 221-227; Kosto, Hostages during the crusades, 5-6; Ryckmans, Inscriptions historiques sabéennes, 329-342; Schacht, Foreign elements, 137-138.

by the raiding fleets that settled in the Balearics and then established the territorial units that came to be known as al-Andalus.[14] It is nevertheless a curious feature of the evidence that references to hostage donations between Christian and Islamic parties are something of a rarity in western Christian sources, despite numerous accounts of diplomatic-military engagement. Hostage donations do appear in seventh-century records of diplomatic negotiations between the Byzantine Empire and Islamic powers, however, and are intermittently attested from c. 650 until the period under scrutiny here.[15]

Turning our gaze to Rome, almost all recorded major politico-military interactions that occurred during the Republic and Principate eras involved hostages.[16] It is important to convey that almost without exception Roman sources record the donation of hostages *from* Rome's neighbours or subject peoples to the empire: from the centre to the periphery.[17] After the Second Punic war, victorious generals paraded high-profile hostages down the *Via Sacra* in triumph for the first time,[18] and as the empire continued to expand, Rome amassed hostages from the furthest edges of its influence.[19] By the time of the first emperor Augustus (27-14 BCE), hostages were given from virtually every territory in the empire, all of whom were brought to Rome. Hostages became synonymous with hegemonic rule over foreign territories in both text and practice, and Roman practices impacted on behaviour from Britain to Syria, and continued to have significant influence on those who performed similar transactions into the tenth and eleventh centuries CE.

The Current Paper

This paper seeks to explore representations of hostage-giving written in times of political fragmentation and change, and to consider how the authors of narrative and documentary texts alike portrayed such turbulence by engaging with the history of their own peoples, their neighbours, and their rivals. By selecting case studies from a global stage, including authors writing about recent and more distant pasts, it will examine how versions of the practice operated both within and without the boundaries of legal custom,[20] and how attitudes towards those who granted and received hostages might be shaped by politico-social transitions.

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14 On terms for hostages in Arabic sources: Jansen, Hostages, 2.454; Corriente, *Diccionario* »reenes«.

15 Kaplony, *Konstantinopel und Damaskus*, esp. 23-32, 37-46 and 99-113; Kosto, Hostages during the crusades, 6, nn. 10-13.

16 E.g. donations from Etruscans: Livy, 5.27.4, Dionysius Halicarnassensis, 9.17.3, Frontinus, *Strategemata*, 4.4.1; Volsci: Livy, 2.16.9, 2.22.2, Dionysius Halicarnassensis, 6.25.2; 6.30.1; Samnites: Livy, 9.16.1, 9.20.4, 10.11.13.

17 For the exception of Sassanian Persia see Lee, Role of hostages, 366-374.

18 Livy, 30.37.6; Polybius, 15.8.8; Moscovich, Hostage regulations, 417-427. On triumphal processions in Late Antiquity, see McCormick, *Eternal Victory,* 35-79 and 84-90.

19 Some examples: Appian, *Historia Romana: Mithridatic Wars*/ΜΙΘΡΙΔΑΤΕΙΟΣ, 103 and 117; Caesar, *Bello Gallicum*, 2.13, 2.15.2, 2.28.2, 2.31.2, 2.34, 3.21.3, 3.7-8.3, 3.10, 4.22.2, 4.37, 5.47.2, 6.4.4, 7.11, 7.55.2 and 7.63.3; Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 37.2.5-7; Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 45.4. See Allen, *Hostages*, 11; Moscovich, *Obsidibus traditis*, 122-128.

20 Hostages appear in a number of Roman law codes, which distinguished between hostages given as part of a personal promise, and those given to Rome by other kingdoms. See Kosto, *Hostages*, 212-213; Kosto, Hostages in the Carolingian world, 128-129. Hostages appear only rarely in medieval legal or documentary texts, for instance in the *Lex Frisionum*, 21.1: »[He] who kills a hostage, pays [for] him ninefold« (»*Qui obsidem occiderit, novies eum componat*«), ed. Eckhardt and Eckhardt, 64. See also Siems, *Studien zur Lex Frisionum*, 321-322.

Despite evidence for hostage-giving on a near-global scale, only a small number of studies have considered early or central medieval hostages outside western Europe, and consequently the historiography is heavily skewed towards Britain, Ireland and continental western Europe prior to the later eleventh century.

Historians traditionally interpreted the medieval practice as a legal mechanism, distinguishing between the public and the private, despite the limited number of medieval legislative texts that concerned hostages.[21] More recent work instead encourages us to view hostage-giving as a socio-political phenomenon, a distinct type of diplomatic interaction that can reveal much about power and its contemporary distribution. Kosto, Parks, Ryan Lavelle and others have advanced hostage-studies in three crucial aspects.[22] Firstly, they have established the logic of the practice, communicating its essence and purpose to modern audiences. Secondly, they have shown that the process was a specific if overlapping form of politico-military transaction distinct from captive-taking or gift-giving, routinely and consistently distinguished through terminological and contextual cues in early medieval western Europe. Finally, and most importantly, they have demonstrated that the value of hostage-giving lay both in the provision of politico-military security, and in its ramifications for cultural interaction and diffusion across polities, intimately connected to the prestige that custody of elite hostages conveyed: the political value of certain hostages may have outweighed their function as a guarantee.[23]

This contribution seeks to argue that, while study of the mechanics and political symbolism of the practice has been vital, we now need to look more closely at the narrative function of hostages as a foil for writers to construct stories of victory, defeat, piety, mercy and cruelty. While in the heyday of the Carolingian Empire hostages in the written record were fundamentally phenomena of the external, an echo of Roman texts and practices delivered to the centre by those from without its borders, this is an impression produced by its frequently triumphalist sources. I want to set accounts from early medieval western Europe against a broader canvas and question if we as readers are witnesses to the collision of the twin impulses of political instability and historiographical development. In other words, does political fragmentation result in a greater numbers of hostages, or an increased tendency to reveal the complexities of such transactions, as writers of different kinds of texts and histories operated within increasingly varied cultural milieux? In posing such a research question I have approached records of hostage transactions not as events we have to accept or reject as historical reality, but instead as expressions of the reification of internal narratives that might provide insight into how contemporary writers of history conceptualised the present, the past, and hostages in their social imaginaries.

21 For instance Lutteroth, *Der Geisel im Rechtsleben,* esp. 15-17. See also Hoppe, *Geiselschaft, passim*; Hammer and Salvin, Taking of hostages, 20-21; Berger, From hostage to contract, 281-292; Holmes, *The Common Law*, 247-250; Weber, *Economy and Society*, ed. and trans. Roth and Wittich, 2.679-680.

22 As well as the publications mentioned above, n. 20, see Kosto, First century of the crusades, 3-31; *id.,* Hostages and the habit, 183-196; *id.*, L'otage, comme vecteur d'échange, 171-181; *id.*, Otages conditionnels, 387-403.

23 Lavelle, Use and abuse, 269-296.

Hostages, 900-c. 1050 CE: an Overview

Between c. 900 and c. 1050 CE, to possess hostages remained synonymous with dominance, whether expressed via multitudes of hostages drawn from disparate locations, or the receipt of individuals of particular standing.[24] Unfortunately, those narrating such events rarely included the terms or duration of the agreement, or the identity of those given. What is generally consistent, however, particularly in longer accounts of triumphalist expansion or political dominance, is that these unilateral donations were made from those outside a kingdom or polity to those at the centre. Despite the different political landscapes of the tenth and eleventh centuries and the ebb and flow of dynasties, rulers and territories, such accounts continue to be written frequently.

Some illustrative examples set the scene, beginning with instances of larger quantities of hostages drawn from multiple locations. We hear of sites built specifically for the custody or housing of hostages, including an imperial decree issued by the Song dynasty in 1017 to establish a court for this precise purpose.[25] Similarly, the tenth-century Andalusian historian Ibn al-Qūṭiyya (ابن القوطية) referred to the *dār al-rahā'in* (hostage quarters) established in Cordoba, housing those who provided living proof of the emir's martial successes.[26] The *droungarios* of the watch John Skylitzes (Ἰωάννης Σκυλίτζης), who lived in Constantinople in the second half of the eleventh century, wrote that in 998 Emperor Basil II received the son of the Armenian ruler David the *kuropalates* as hostage, and also received hostages from the emirs [of Tripoli, Damascus, Tyre and Beirut], to ensure their loyalty before taking those in his custody to Byzantium.[27] In his account of the Danish king Swein Forkbeard's 1013 conquest of England, an anonymous chronicler used multiple hostage donations to cement the various regional submissions made to the Danish king: »Hostages were given to him from every shire« north of Watling Street, and then from the residents of Oxford and Winchester. In the south-west, the ealdorman Æthelmær and the thegns of western England came to Swein at Bath and submitted with hostages, before, finally, Swein received hostages from London and became king.[28]

24 Kosto states the most frequent across the Middle Ages as a whole was »submission following military defeat«: *Hostages*, 25.

25 Hsü Sung *et al.*, *Sung hui-yao chi-kao*, 6.7a. See Yang, Hostages in Chinese history, 511.

26 Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *History of Islamic Spain*, 7, The reign of the Emir Muhammad, ed. Ribera, 94; trans. James, 121; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis fī akhbār ahl al-Andalus*, ed. Chalmeta, Corriente and Subh, 186.

27 John Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum* (Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν), 16.20, ed. Thurn, 340.

28 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* CDE, a. 1013: *»7 him man sealde gislas of ælcere scire«,* ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 97-98; trans. Whitelock, 92-93.

Cases that involved high-status hostages reveal similar textual messages of political dominance expressed through smaller-scale transactions, the power of which stemmed from the importance of those in custody. Examples include the eleventh-century Georgian ruler Bagrat IV (ბაგრატ IV), who served as a child hostage in Byzantium after his father was defeated in battle by Emperor Basil II in 1022.[29] Bagrat succeeded his father at age 8, and in due course sent his own daughter to Constantinople as a hostage: Mart'a (მართა), known as Maria in her new home, married the Byzantine emperor Michael VII Doukas some years after her hostageship ended.[30] Joseph Genesios (Γενέσιος), writing in the earlier tenth century for the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII, included an account of the hostageship of a man thought to have been the author's grandfather. Genesios claims that Constantine Maniakes was sent to Emperor Theophilos »as a hostage and ambassador« (*ἐπικηρίικενσις ομηρον*), so distinguishing himself that he was elevated to considerable responsibility and the high office of *droungarios* in Constantinople.[31]

Evidence also survives of this type of transaction from beyond the borders of the Byzantine Empire. The tenth-century *Chronica Albeldense* records a donation made by the consul of Spain, Abuhalit, of his son and nephew to Alfonso III, king of Léon, Galicia and Asturias, in 877.[32] In 1038, Pandulf IV, *dux* of Capua, reportedly gave his son and daughter to the western Roman emperor Conrad II: although the son fled, the daughter remained at court.[33] Finally, although not explicit, it seems likely that following the battle of Lamghan in 986, Sukhapāla, grandson of the Hindu Shah Jayapala, was left amongst other kinsmen as a hostage to Abū Manṣūr Sabuktigīn (ابو منصور سبکتگین), founder of the Persianate-Muslim Ghaznavid dynasty. Sabuktigin sent these royal hostages to Nishapur to be placed in the custody of Maḥmūd (محمود), then governor of Khorāsān, where Sukhapāla converted to Islam and, despite being transferred into the custody of others on several occasions, rose through the ranks to become the first governor of India under the Ghaznavids.[34]

29 *Georgian Chronicles: The Chronicle of K'art'li* (*matiane kartlisaed,* მატიანე ქართლისა), ed. Qauxč'išvili , 1.288-289, trans. Thomson, 284; Sumbat Davit'is-dze, 62-63, ed. Qauxč'išvili, 1.384-385, trans. Rapp, 365. Bagrat's hostageship is also mentioned by John Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum* 45, ed. Thurn, 366-367. The term »Georgian« is here used with the usual cautionary note regarding the existence of a polity of »Georgia« prior to the Bagratid dynasty's ascension in the eleventh century, e.g. Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History,* xx.

30 Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, 6.145-147, 151-156, ed. Reinsch, 172-178; trans. Sewter, 173-178; Garland and Rapp, Mary »of Alania«, 91-124.

31 Joseph Genesios, 4.3, *Reigns of the Emperors*, ed. Lesmüller-Werner and Thurn, 58; trans. Kaldellis, 74.

32 *Chronica Albeldense* 15.12, ed. Fernández, Moralejo and Ruiz de la Peña, 27.

33 *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis,* 2.63, ed. Hoffman, 292.

34 Al-Utbi, *Tarikh-i-Yamini,* ed. Ghulam Rasul Ibn Ahmad, 223, trans. Elliot and Dowson, II.32; See Jabir Raza, Hindus under the Ghaznavids, 213-225.

Logic and Benefit: Positive Depictions of Hostage-Giving

Perhaps as a consequence of changing political boundaries, medieval commentators began to present the donation, receipt and release of hostages as positive qualities more frequently, or conveyed to their audiences the importance of the hostages involved in greater processes such as conflict resolution, or the maintenance of stable governance. Connected to this tendency is a demonstrable increase in narrative sources that outline the logic of hostage-giving as a means to achieve these goals; arguably such discussions are themselves endorsements of the practice. This new development may be as much the result of changes in the way history was written as it was a response to political turbulence and fragmentation. But either way, it offers a number of case studies that include far greater detail on the logics and connotations of hostage-giving than accounts from the preceding centuries.

Richer of Reims, writing at the end of the tenth century, paints just such a picture in his account of hostages demanded by Duke Gislebert of Lotharingia from his followers in preparation for their rebellion against the reigning West Frankish king Charles the Simple. Though Gislebert's rebellion is the subject of censure, Richer nevertheless demonstrates the logic of extracting hostages. »Reckoning, however, that his troops might desert him if he did not bind them to himself with an oath … [Gislebert] had them all swear an oath of loyalty to him, but he also received whatever hostages he wanted from them[,] and shut them up in the seemingly impregnable stronghold of Harburc«.[35] Writing in similar terms in the opening decades of the eleventh century, the Saxon bishop, chronicler and prince Thietmar of Merseburg framed advice proffered to the western emperor Henry II by Gero, archbishop of Magdeburg, in such a way that suggests Thietmar perceived hostages to be an effective means of political control. Gero recommended that Henry should extract hostages from the Polish duke Boleslav Chrobry: »Now, however, Boleslav is exceedingly hostile towards you because of your long custody and imprisonment of his son. I fear if you send Miesco back to his father, without hostages or some other surety, neither of them will be inclined to render loyal service in the future.«[36]

Narratives could also reinforce this concept by presenting the reverse: that a lack of hostages indicated a lack of control. On the death in 919 of Niall Glúndub, king of Tara, himself a descendent of the legendary Niall »of the nine hostages« (*Niall Noígíallach*), the eleventh-century compiler of the *Annals of Ulster* lamented: »Mournful today is virginal Ireland/ Without a mighty king in command of hostages.« The poem acts as a corollary to the above, suggesting that an absence of hostages not only reflected limited political power, but was unkingly.[37]

35 Richer of Reims, *Historiae,* 1.40: *»Ratus vero milites a sese deficere posse si iureiiurando sibi eos non annecteret, fidem ab imnibus ex iureiurando, sed et obsides quos vult accipit, eosque in oppido Harburc quod pene inexpugnabile videbatur …«,* ed. and trans. Lake, 100-101, with minor emendations in italics. On Richer's idiosyncratic attitude to his role as historian, see both Lake's introduction to the edition and translation, and his *Richer of Saint-Rémi, passim.*

36 Thietmar of Merseburg, Chronicon, 7.12: *»Nunc a vobis est mens Bolizlavi ob longam filii retentionem et custodiam aversa, et vereor, si hunc sine obsidibus aut aliis confirmationibus remittitis, ut in posterum fidelis servitii in ambobus careatis«,* ed. Holtzmann, 410, trans. Warner, 316.

37 *Annals of Ulster,* a. 919: *»<Bro>nach indiu Heiriu huag / cen rurig ruag rigi giall«*, ed. and trans. Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill, 370-371.

We also find accounts that implicitly praise the logic of hostage-giving further east, in Islamicate and eastern Christian territories. In an era when Byzantine imperial power arguably reached its height, writers exhibited greater interest in the welfare of hostages. In the famous manual written by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus for his son, *De Administrando imperio*, Constantine advised that hostages formed an essential component of the empire's relationship with their allies the Pecheneg Slavs:

> »It is always greatly to the advantage of the emperor of the Romans to be minded to keep the peace with the nation of the Pechenegs and to conclude conventions and treaties of friendship with them[,] and to send every year to them from our side a diplomatic agent with presents befitting and suitable to that nation, and to take from their side sureties, that is, hostages and a diplomatic agent, who shall be collected together under charge of the competent minister in this city protected of God, and [who] shall enjoy all imperial benefits and gifts suitable for the emperor to bestow.«[38]

In Arabic texts, interest in the welfare of hostages and their protection begins to appear in the later ninth and earlier tenth century. The eleventh-century jurist Al-Māwardī (الماوردي) used two historical agreements – one dated to 658 and made between the Byzantine emperor Constans and Mu'āwiya I (معاوية), first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, and another between the two territories from five years earlier – to argue that in the event of conflict, parties from the warring polities must return hostages unharmed before violence broke out:

> »If they break their pledge, the hostages we hold from among them should not be killed. The Byzantines did break their pledge during the reign of Mu'awiya, who held some of them hostage, but the Muslims unanimously refrained from killing them, and indeed set them free, claiming that it was better to repay treachery with kindness than to pay back in kind… Although hostages should not be killed, neither should they be released unless he has fought against them; if he has, the hostages should be set free and then considered for further action. The men should then be granted safe conduct, while the women and children must be delivered to their people.«[39]

Al-Māwardī wrote at a time when the Abbasid dynasty was in a vulnerable position after decades of decline, though at their commission. He was concerned to convey the importance of the caliphate through a juridical lens, and as such the *Ordinances of Government* was intended to provide practical examples for those engaged in governance.[40] Emphasis on the safety of hostages in his work should therefore be treated as a contemporary concern as much as it was a representation of prior judicial agreements from some four hundred years earlier.

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38 Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* (Προς τον ίδιον υιόν Ρωμανόν): »›Ὑπολαμβάνω γὰρ κ ατὰ πολὺ συμφέρειν ἀεὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ‹ Ρωμαίων εἰρήνην ἐθέλειν ἔχειν μετὰ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν καὶ φιλικὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι συνθήκαις τε καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ ἀποστίλλειν καθ'ἕκαστον χρόνον ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀποκρισιάριον μετὰ ξενίων ἁρμο-ζόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ἐπιτηδείων καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι διεῖθεν ὁμήρους , ἤτοι ὄψιδοις καὶ ἀποκρισιάριον, οἵτινες ἐν τῇ θωφυλὼςτῳ ταύτῃ πόλει μετὰ τοῦ καθυπουργοῦντος εἰς ταῦτα συνελεύσονται, καὶβασιλικῶν εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ φιλοτιμιῶν τῶν ἐπαξίων πάντων τοῦ βασι-λεύοντος ἀπολαύσουσιν« ed. Moravcsik, 48 and 50, trans. Jenkins, 49.

39 Al-Māwardī, *Al-Ahkam al-Sultania*, 4.5, ed. Abu Hasan Ali, trans. Yate, 78.

40 Mattson, *Al-Ahkam Al-Sultaniyyah,* 398-399.

In his commentary considering the same episode, the jurist al-Sarakhsī (السرخسي) also wrote that killing hostages was prohibited for three reasons: they were under safe conduct; one cannot kill one person for another's crime; and agreements allowing for the execution of hostages were contrary to Islamic law, and therefore invalid.[41] Both al-Māwardī and al-Sarakhsī therefore privileged the safety and importance of hostages over the agreements they represented, using a pivotal example from centuries earlier to cite prior law that bolstered their case.[42]

Narrative chroniclers writing in Arabic support the view of the practice presented in these treatises, and the western European accounts mentioned above also serve as a corollary. For example, Ibn Al-Qūṭiyya reports that the rebels 'Umar ibn Ḥafsūn (حَفْصُون) and Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajjāj (إبراهيم بن حجاج) made hostage donations to the emir ʿAbdallāh (عبدالله بن محمد الاموى).[43] After their subsequent rebellion, ʿAbdallāh ordered the execution of the son of Ibn Ḥafsūn, but his advisor Badr ibn Aḥmad (بَـدْر) counselled against the execution of a second hostage: »If we also kill the son of Ibn Hajjāj [,] that will unite the two of them against you until they die. There is hope that Ibn Hajjāj will return to obedience, while there is no hope that Ibn Hafsūn will ever do so.«[44] As will be explored below, Badr's advice is praised universally and he is greatly rewarded for his merciful attitude to the hostages.[45]

Criticism of Hostage-Giving

If the *receipt* of hostages connoted political stability and success, and the preservation of their safety demonstrated magnanimity, what about their donation? It is striking that when the attention of medieval authors turned to hostages given by those from their own socio-cultural imaginary, such narratives often recounted periods of political turbulence. In the process of the Carolingian Empire's fragmentation, a number of writers pointed to the limitations of hostage-giving, lamenting the inefficacy of the practice as a means of securing peace or obligations. This criticism could take many forms, from overt denunciation of the practice as a whole, to the implication that other modes of peace-making or military action represented a more effective alternative. Within such accounts we see, often for the first time in the written records of western Europe, accounts of rulers and elites *giving* or exchanging hostages rather than simply receiving them.

In c. 951 Atto, bishop of Vercelli, wrote to his Italian brother bishops in response to a request for hostages from kings Berengar II and Adalbert. Atto asserted that bishops should not be required to give hostages as proof of their loyalty, as many alliances had been successful without this security, whilst agreements sealed by grants of hostages had been broken despite these guarantees: »We have seen and heard many cases in which a promise is broken

41 Al-Sarakhsī, *Sharh al-siyar al-Kabir* (شرح كتاب السير الكبير), ed. al-Munağğid, esp. 3502, 3529, 3537, 3547, 3552; trans. Hamidullah, 3:282-305.

42 Kosto, First century of the crusades, 5-6.

43 Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *History of Islamic Spain,* 9 [The reign of the Emir ʿAbdallāh], ed. Ribera, trans. James, 137.

44 Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *History of Islamic Spain,* 9 [The reign of the Emir ʿAbdallāh], ed. Ribera, trans. James, 137.

45 See below, 000.

after hostages have been given, and even some where faith is kept [to the] death without hostages.«[46] Atto further declared that there was no precedent for bishops giving hostages in the writings of the Holy Fathers, a rather contrived argument given that bishops and the papacy were closely involved in hostage transactions from the Late Antique period onwards.[47] Atto concluded that anyone who insisted on hostages was »stupid, twisted, and not mindful of God«, a damning condemnation that seems to reflect the political fragility of the Lombard kingdom better than the practice itself.[48] Similar attitudes can be found in a letter attributed to Pope John VIII written to Lambert, *dux* and margrave of Spoleto, in the second half of the ninth century. In it John rejected Lambert's request for hostages, and justified his position by arguing that the residents of Rome had never in history been expected to give hostages: »We do not find anywhere that the sons of Romans – let alone Romans who have remained faithful to the Empire in their minds and, with God's help, in their works – have been given as hostages.«[49] As Kosto remarks, Roman inhabitants in fact had a long history of sending hostages to neighbouring territories. What unites both Atto and John's letters is not simply their manipulation of history, which they were surely aware of, but the opportunity presented by turbulent and fragmented politics that presented the opportunity to oppose requests made for hostages without fear of reprisals.[50]

A polemical account of the siege of Asselt by the emperor Charles the Fat in 882 by Liutbert, archbishop of Mainz, railed against the decisions made by the emperor and his advisers during a period of extreme political instability, but nevertheless simultaneously criticises and celebrates hostage-giving. Liutbert claimed that although Charles had almost destroyed the besieged Viking army at Asselt, two of the emperor's counsellors, the *pseudoepiscopus* (»false bishop«) Liutward of Vercelli and the *fraudulentissimo* (»most treacherous«) Count Wigbert, convinced Charles that he should make peace with Godfrid's army. Liutbert writes as though scandalised that

> »[They] presented the enemy *dux* Godfrid to the emperor. Like Ahab the emperor received him as if he were a friend and made peace with him, and hostages were exchanged … what was still more of a crime, he did not blush to pay tribute to a man from whom he ought to have taken hostages and exacted tribute, doing this on the advice of evil men and against the custom of his ancestors the kings of the Franks.«[51]

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46 Atto of Vercelli, *Epistolae* 11: *»Multos quoque audivimus et vidimus post datos obsides irritam fecisse sponsionem. Quosdam vero etiam absque datis obsidibus usque ad mortem servasse«,* ed. PL 134, 123C, trans. Kosto, *Hostages*, 209.

47 E.g. Gregory the Great, *Registrum Epistolarum*, 2.28 and 3.62, ed. Ehwald and Hartmann, 1.129-130 and 1.222; *Codex Carolinus,* 7, 57 and 64, ed. Gundlach, 493, 582 and 592; *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 781: »These hostages were received from the hand of Bishop Sinbert at the villa of Quierzy«, ed. Kurze, 58; *Annales Mettenses*, a. 781, ed. von Simson, 69.

48 *Ibid.:* »[*stolidi*] *et* [*perversi*] *Deumque non* [*curantes*]«.

49 John VIII, *Letter*, 63: *»Romanorum filios sub isto cęlo non legitur fuisse obsides datos, quanto minus istorum, qui fidelitatem augustalem et mente custodiunt et opere Deo iuvante perficiunt«,* ed. Caspar and Laehr, 56, trans. Kosto, Hostages, 210.

50 Kosto, *Hostages*, 210.

51 *Annales Fuldenses,* a. 882 (Mainz Continuation): *»Atque Gotafridum ducem illorum imperatori praesentavit; quem imperator more Achabico quasi amicum suscepit et cum eo pacem fecit, datis ex utraque parte obsidibus … et quod maioris est criminis, a quo obsides accipere et tributa exigere debuit, huic pravorum usus consilio contra consuetudinem parentum suorum, regum videlicet Francorum, tribute solver non erubuit«*, ed. Kurze, 100, trans. Reuter, 92-93.

Liutbert therefore asserted that correct, kingly behaviour required the extraction of hostages, not their donation.[52] That he used evidence of hostages given by the king to discredit his enemies at court is indicative of how useful the practice, with its strong connotations of honour and dishonour, could be to the polemicist or opinionated chronicler.

Some criticism is more subtle, suggesting instead that contemporaries were aware of the potential dangers of the practice. This could be particularly acute when holding individuals with little loyalty or fondness for their warders. In his *Histories*, Al-Qūṭiyya describes just such dangers, in an account which recounts how hostages given to the emir Muhammad from the Banū Qāsi people were seated outside their quarters with a teacher, reciting aloud the heroic poetry of the sixth-century ʿAntarah ibn Shaddād.[53] Enraged, Umayya ibn Šuhayd, one of Muhammad's most trusted ministers, declared that this material should not be taught to them: »You have gone to demons who have sorely grieved the emirs and taught them poetry which will give them an insight into real courage! Stop doing it! Teach them only poems like the drinking songs of al-Hasan ibn Hāniʾ and similar humorous verses.«[54] The story suggests that hostages given the »wrong« education, that is, one privileging the qualities of martial activity, might present a danger to their hosts. But it also suggests that the acculturation of such individuals might prove formative, and indeed was expected. As Maribel Fierro has shown, many of Al-Qūṭiyya's anecdotes about Umayya ibn Šuhayd, himself an immigrant to Arabic culture, reflect on the importance of Arabisation and the integration of Arabs and non-Arabs alike within the Umayyad emirate. The Banū Qāsi hostages form a piece of this puzzle, reflecting Umayya's nuanced conceptions of acculturation: individuals must be treated equally, but violence discouraged and exposure to Islam and Arabic culture alike controlled.[55]

Yet the dangers involved in hostage-giving were indisputably more pressing to those given as hostages, rather than to those holding them. Again, we see spikes in records during times of particular turbulence. A handful of records survive from tenth-century China, describing transactions during the political instability and turmoil of the period of the five dynasties.[56] In the biography of the hereditary house of Wu-Yue, Ouyang Xiu (歐陽脩) writes that Qian Yuanguan (錢元瓘), later known as King Wenmu of Wu-Yue (吳越文穆王), served as a hostage of the warlord Tian Jun (田頵) in the early tenth century. Writing in the middle eleventh century, Ouyang's critical attitude towards the warlords of this period is well known, and in his monumental work he sets the political stability of his own times in stark contrast to the chaos and instability of what came before.[57] The following unflattering account of Tian Jun's irascible behaviour is typical of this attitude: »Whenever suffering defeat, Jun would

52 MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, 30-37.

53 On the Banū Qasī, see Lorenzo Jiménez, *La dawla de los Banu Qasi.*

54 Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *History of Islamic Spain*, 7, The reign of the Emir Muhammad, ed. Ribera, 94, trans. James, 121.

55 Fierro, Hostages, 75-77.

56 Ouyang Xiu, *Wudai Shiji,* 36: *Biographies of Righteous Sons* (義兒傳), trans. Davis, 300.

57 Davis, *Historical Records*, xliii-lxxvi.

return with the intent of murdering Yuanguan, only for Jun's mother to intervene, shielding the youth. Jun finally departed for battle and promised aides upon leaving, ›if we are not victorious on this day, we must decapitate the Youth Qian‹. Jun died in battle on that very day, enabling Yuanguan to return home.«[58]

The majority of accounts of the mistreatment or execution of hostages in Europe attribute the violence to Viking warbands, symptomatic of broader criticism of these groups' behaviours. Some of these contain within them, too, broader dismissals of the efficacy of hostage-giving. The earliest such case is recorded by Asser, the Welsh bishop and biographer writing at the turn of the tenth century in the West Saxon court. Asser claims that after King Alfred of Wessex made peace with the great Viking army at Wareham in 876, the latter reportedly broke their agreement and executed the hostages in their custody: »Practicing their usual treachery, after their own manner, and paying no heed to the hostages, the oath and the promise of faith, they broke the treaty, killed all the [hostages] they had, and turning away they went unexpectedly to another place, called Exeter in English.«[59] Asser therefore directly connected the harm of West Saxon hostages to the Vikings' treacherous nature, with the implication that such attempts to secure the cessation of conflict with innately duplicitous peoples would only ever end in failure. When in the late tenth century the nobleman Æthelweard produced a Latin version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, he added historical material local to the south-west, including a similar report. Æthelweard claims that in 877 a Viking army beached off Swanage offered hostages and peace whilst nevertheless intending to break their agreement: »The barbarians made peace treacherously, being in the same frame of mind as before [.] Hostages were given[,] more than were asked, and the leaders promised King Alfred to withdraw from the jurisdiction of his boundaries. They acted accordingly.«[60]

A contemporary continental account presents a similar picture. Decrying the futility of attempted negotiations with a Viking army in Gaul, an anonymous annalist wrote that in 884 »The northmen … became bolder, and demanded 12,000 pounds of gold and silver from the region as tribute, and even after that they did not keep the faith which they had promised, for they killed their hostages and did not cease at all from plundering.«[61] Nor were such accounts limited to the first »Viking age«. In 994 an uncle of Thietmar of Merseburg escaped his Viking captors on the Elbe; the warband responded by executing those who remained in

58 Ouyang Xiu, *Wudai Shiji,* 67: *Hereditary House of Wuyue* (吳越世家): 元瓘字明寶，少為質於田頵。頵叛於吳，楊行密會越兵攻之，頵每戰敗歸，即欲殺元瓘，頵母嘗蔽護之。後頵將出，語左右曰：「今日不勝，必斬錢郎。」是日頵戰死，元瓘得歸。 trans. Davis, 300.

59 Asser, *Vita Alfredi regis*, 46: *»More suo, solita fallacia utens, et obsides et iuramentum atque fidem promissam non custodiens, nocte quadam, foedere disrupto, omnes equites, quos habebat, occidit, versusque inde [Domnaniam] ad alium locum«*, ed. Stevenson, 36-37, trans. Keynes and Lapidge, 82-83.

60 Æthelweard, *Chronicon,* a. 877: *»Fraude constituunt iterata oacem barbari mente, obsidesque dantur plusquam quaerebantur, Elfredi quippe regi opimi de potestate finium sua promittunt abstrahere pedem; sicque fecere«*, ed. and trans. Campbell, 72-3.

61 *Annales Fuldenses*, a. 884: *»Normanni … audaciores effete duodecim milia librarum auri et argenti ab illa regione tributе nomine exergerunt et tamen fidem pollicitam nequaquam servarunt. Nam et obsides occiderunt et a praedationibus minime cessaverunt«*, ed. Kurze, 102, trans. Reuter, 109.

their custody: »They cut off the noses, ears and hands of my cousin the priest, and all the other hostages who were thrown outside into the harbour.«[62] Twenty years later, the Danish royal pretender and eventual successor to Æthelred II, Cnut, mutilated a group of hostages the English elite had given to his father Swein Forkbeard.[63] In all these cases, whether explicit or implicit, criticism of those harming hostages is built into the above narratives. The noble action was to be honourable in the treatment of hostages. It is a striking feature of such accounts that they tend to appear during periods of political instability, and focused on those *outside* the perceived boundaries of society. That we find no opprobrium present in the tiny number of accounts that portray Christians harming hostages in the tenth and eleventh centuries therefore acts as a corollary.

The period under consideration here is nevertheless marked by a small increase in the (admittedly tiny) number of references to the potential and actual harm of hostages by Christians, another aspect of the visible diversification of written narratives concerning hostages present in this period. Further, such accounts, like those above, contain explicit comments on the contemporary *logic* (or otherwise) of the practice. While writers tended to connect the harm of hostages to those whom they already sought to vilify, this evidence, in contrast, reveals that Christians might equally harm hostages, or at least threaten to, if their donors' behaviour was not perceived to be satisfactory.[64] In the Irish compilation known as the *Annals of the Four Masters*, for instance, we hear of just such harm perpetrated by and against Christians, without criticism. In 1048, Garbíth Ua Cathassaig, ruler of Brega, had been captured by Conchobar Ua Maíl Shechnaill of Mide, securing his release in return for seven hostages. In the following year, a joint army comprising Ulstermen, Leinstermen and Vikings campaigned in Mide, and as a punitive consequence, »their hostages were put to death by Conchobar [Ua Maíl Shechnaill], together with Toirdelbach Ua Cathassaig; after which the forces burned the country, both churches and fortresses«.[65] Yet accounts of such retaliatory harm are vanishingly rare.

Others feared the harm of hostages. The chronicler Flodoard of Rheims wrote that in 939 a group of Lotharingian bishops delayed alliance with the West Frankish king Louis IV (d'Outremer) because they had already given hostages to the Saxon ruler Otto the Great of East Francia, and feared reprisals against those they had handed over.[66] Such narrative constructions do not just reveal that in such cases there was genuinely a perceived risk to hostages (at the very least on the part of the author), but such passages can also be used within narratives to explain particular political decisions made by groups. In Flodoard's case, Edward Roberts

62 Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon* 3.25: *»Tali furore omnes succensi crastino clericum et nepotem meum cum caeteris obsidibus universis naribus ac auribus et manibus obtruncant, foris eos proicientes in portum«*, ed. Holtzmann, 160-161, trans. my own.

63 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a. 1014 CDE, ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 74-75. The episode is discussed alongside evidence for the possible execution of another hostage by Cnut in 1016, in Hicklin, Role of hostages, 60-78.

64 See also Flodoard of Reims, *Annales*, a. 960, ed. Lauer, 148; and a possible allusive reference in *Abbo, Bella Parisicæ Urbis*, 430b-435, ed. and trans. Dass, 86-89. This latter possible piece of evidence has thus far attracted no attention, but would repay more in-depth analysis.

65 *Annals of the Four Masters,* a. 1049: *»Do cuingid aittire fer móregro marbhtha imorro a naittere lá Conchobar im Toirrdhealbhach Ua Cathasaigh. Ro loiscset na sluaig an tír etir cealla 7 dúine iar sin«,* ed. and trans. O'Donovan, 2.854-857. I am grateful to Tom O'Donnell for his assistance in exploring this evidence.

66 Flodoard of Reims, *Annales*, a. 939, ed. Lauer, 36.

has argued more broadly that Flodoard sought to promote the claims of the archdiocese of Reims to Otto, and simultaneously to convince his own *familia* of the worthiness of the Ottonian dynasty as their new rulers.[67] It may therefore be that Flodoard sought to explain the apparently vacillating attitude of his fellow clerics through their concern for those they had granted as hostages.

We see a similar narrative construct during a period of flux in mideleventh-century Sicily. According to the Norman chronicler William of Apulia, the citizens of Giovinazzo refused to submit to their sometime count Amicus, despite his custody of their hostages. Responding to this act of bravery, the Norman duke Robert Guiscard assured them that their children would be unharmed and that they would be rewarded for their loyalty: »He praised them all for placing their sworn fealty above even their dear children. He embraced them all and then said, ›Don't be afraid. Amicus will not harm any of your lads, because he is begging to be allowed to return to my good graces.‹«[68] William is here suggesting that Robert Guiscard's political dominance over Amicus was such that hostage donors might openly rebel against the person who held their sons in custody, because other hierarchies external to the agreement would preserve their safety. For such narratives to have resonance, harm to hostages must have been a possible outcome to such arrangements, even if it occurred only rarely. In the case of the residents of Giovinazzo, their fidelity to Robert in the narrative is such that they would willingly risk the lives of their own children.

William's story echoes some of the themes written in a text only a few decades earlier, but geographically in a very distinct context. The author of the eleventh-century Georgian compilation known as the *Book of K'art'li* recorded that the Mt'iuls (a people from the mountains of modern northern Georgia) gave three hundred hostages to the Abbasid caliph's general Bughā al-Kabīr. The story is unique to this account of the campaign; its author states that the Mt'iuls' sacrificed their hostages to undermine Bughā's eventual attack on Ossetia. Whether or not the hostages were executed is left implicit. But the author states that their noble decision was repaid by God, who caused snow to fall and Bughā's army to be defeated.[69] Although we do not know the fate of the hostages, the loyalty expressed here is reminiscent of how William and others frame loyalty expressed through hostage donation, despite, in this case, the otherwise fairly opaque nature of the political relationships described.[70]

67 Roberts, Hegemony, rebellion and history, 155-176.

68 William of Apulia, *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* 3.592-597: *»Ne temeatis, ait; non deformabit Amicus / Quemlibet ex pueris, omni quia postulat arte / Ut mea reddatur sibi gratia«*, ed. Mathieu, 196, trans. Loud, 42.

69 *Chronicle of K'art'li,* ed. Qauxč'išvili, 1.258. The episode has not attracted a great deal of attention as recorded in the Georgian texts, but see Vacca, Conflict and community, 84-85, who argues that the passage shows no unified concepts of group belonging in response to the attacks. On Bughā al-Kabir: Gordon, Bughā al-Kabir, 117-118.

70 Vacca posits three reasons for the account: that the author did not understand the loyalties of their ninth-century subjects, that the alliances during the period fluctuated, which might also explain why no Armenian sources include a similar anecdote, or finally, that the author sought to place distance between Bughā and the caliph, who counted the Georgian king amongst his allies: Conflict and community, 85.

Refusal and Negotiation

In periods of political fragmentation, just as we hear more about donations made from protagonists or from the centre, so too do we begin to see more accounts of refusals to give hostages: writers no longer framed hostages as simply moving from the borders to the centre, but now such transactions involved multiple centres, peripheries and power balances. Writers began to question, or perhaps reveal, the more complex negotiations that occurred prior to a donation.

Describing the capture of the West Frankish king Louis d'Outremer in 945, Flodoard of Reims claims that the Viking warband who held the king demanded of his wife Gerberga both their sons as hostages to secure Louis' release. Gerberga, according to Flodoard, agreed to send her younger son but refused to send the elder, and so Bishop Guy of Soissons volunteered to replace the elder son Lothar as a hostage.[71] A natural point of comparison is a short notice in the Carolingian court-centric text known as the *Royal Frankish Annals*, which tells how Charlemagne in 787 demanded hostages from the Beneventans, but of the two princes sent, elected only to keep the younger son.[72] Where the annalist's narrative might be intended to be read as an expression of the emperor's power, Flodoard's narrative, written at a time of far greater political instability, gives a fuller sense of the negotiations that might attend such transactions. Adapting Flodoard's narrative, Richer of Reims details further his view of the risks inherent in the arrangement:

> »The queen sent her younger son under oath, but she could not be prevailed to give up the elder; for she had only two sons. The younger son was thus offered to the Northmen as a hostage, but this did not satisfy them, and they continued to demand the older one. But because those who remained loyal to the king could see that the nobility of the royal line was at risk of being completely extinguished if Louis and all of his sons were held by the rebels, they refused to do so. They would only hand over the younger son, and in place of the elder they would send whichever one of themselves the Northmen asked for.«[73]

Richer emphasises both the lengthy negotiation process and the potential danger to the hostages perceived by their donors.

We might compare the above negotiations to a very different context, found within a fragmentary text outlining negotiations between two rulers: the Uyghur king and the chieftain of the Longjia (龙家) people of the western Guizhou (贵州) province. Thought to have been written c. 884, it recorded that the Uyghur ruler had made a public demand for sixteen hostages: »It is necessary that the younger brother of the king of the Long tribe and fifteen

71 Flodoard of Reims, *Annales*, a. 959, ed. Lauer, 146.

72 *Annales regni Francorum,* a. 787, ed. Kurze, 74-78.

73 Richer of Reims, *Historiae* 2.48: *»At reginam rem necessariam cognoscens, sub sacramento minorem dirigit, maiorem mittere evinci non valens. Nam duo tantum erant. Minore ergo obside oblato, Nortmannis non satis fuit, maiorem admodum petentes. Sed quia iis quibus fidelior mens inerat visum est regiae stirpis nobilitatem posse penitus absumi si desertoribus omnes filii cum patre teneantur, id sese non facturos responderunt; minorem tantum daturos, et pro maiore ex se ipsis quemcumque petant dimissuros«,* ed. and trans. Lake, 270-274.

people be sent as hostages, only then can a peace agreement be concluded.«[74] While the Longjia king was ready to acquiesce, his brother refused to serve as a hostage: »If you send me as a hostage to the Uigurs, then I will rather kill myself.«[75] The king had no choice but to send another envoy, claiming that his younger brother had lost his mind and could not serve as a hostage. »May I send my next younger brother you prefer, together with fifteen I await the Uigur khan's decision.«[76] Unfortunately we do not know how the situation was resolved, if at all, due to the fragmentary presentation of the text. Yet it still reveals that negotiations concerning which individuals would be sent underlay such arrangements, and furthermore, provides a very rare instance of a narrative which records a hostage's own opinion about being sent. The historical context in which the text was written bears similarity to that of Gerberga and her sons, too. The 880s were a period of considerable political turbulence for the Uyghur, whose *khaganate* had fallen apart in the 840s and who subsequently sought to reassert themselves amidst their new and former neighbours despite a much-weakened position.

Elsewhere, refusal to accept hostages, rather than refusal to give them, could be used to demonstrate good faith and good character, though such examples are unusual. Writing at the turn of the millennium for the Norman dux Richard, Dudo of Saint-Quentin presents several hostage transactions imbued with narrative significance, all of which bolster the reputation of the Norman dynasty for whom he wrote. His patron Richard, for instance, praised the bravery of his rival Tetbold in the following terms: »Without a hostage or an oath from me you have come here, wavering at nothing; whatever you require you will obtain.«[77] Nor was this incident isolated. As well as praising the actions of Richard's grandfather Rollo, discussed below, Dudo claimed that Richard's father, William Longsword received a high-status hostage from King Henry I of East Francia. After Duke Conrad of Saxony proved his worth and fidelity to William, the Norman *dux* brought his hostage to meet with Henry as a gesture of his faith in Conrad and bravery to reject the security the hostage offered, indicative of William's strength and noble nature.[78]

The Release of Hostages – A Magnanimous Act?

Narrative sources also begin to conceptualise the release of hostages in new ways in this era: showing overriding power, magnanimity, or mercy. The eleventh-century encyclopaedic compilation *Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature* (*Ts'e-fu yüan kuei*, 冊府元龜) contains events from the heyday of the Tang dynasty, and records that in the second year of his reign (714 CE) Emperor Xuanzong (唐玄宗) issued a decree to return all hostages since they were no longer necessary, such was the dynasty's dominance, though it was not to last.[79]

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74 S 389, *An appeal to the jiedushi of the guiyijun:* 其迴鶻王稱：「須得龍王弟及 十五家只（質），便和為定。ed. and trans. in Rong, Mthong-Khyab, 283.

75 *Ibid.*:「若發遣我迴鶻內 入只（質）, 奈可（何）自死。

76 *Ibid.*:「更有迫次弟一人，及見二人內堪者，發遣一人及十五, trans. 284.

77 Dudo of Saint Quentin, *Historia Normannorum*, 4.117: *»Sine obside et sacramento fidei meæ hic nihil tu titubans accessisti; quaecumque requiris impetrabis«*, ed. Lair, 279.

78 Dudo of Saint Quentin, *Historia Normannorum*, 3.52, ed. Lair, 196, trans. Christiansen, 72.

79 T'ai-tsung and Chen-tsung, *Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature* (*Ts'e-fu yüan kuei*, 冊府元龜), cited in Yang, Hostages in Chinese history, 510.

In the west, Dudo of Saint-Quentin is again a vital source for new representations of hostage release. In a rather fantastical section of *his* Gesta, Dudo claims that in the early 920s Rollo of Normandy saved the English king »Alstemus« from rebellion, after which he offered Rollo half the kingdom in return.[80] Hostages play a prominent role in Dudo's construction of Rollo within these passages: »... when the English saw that they were not prevailing against the king, but failing, they lost heart and came to Rollo and bowed the knee and said, ›O most powerful of Danes, reconcile us to *King Alstemus* ... We will give him hostages to guarantee that we keep faith.‹«[81] Alstemus then asked for advice, to which Rollo replied, »My lord, you must take hostages so that they remain faithful to you. I am a foreigner, unacquainted with the customs of the English, and I will [also] take hostages so that they continue in their fidelity to me.« Each English count then gave one hostage to the king and another to Rollo.[82] Despite his entitlement to half the kingdom, Rollo elected instead to return to Normandy. »[He] led the hostages which had been allocated to him before the king, and declared in a tranquil manner: ... ›The hostages which are mine by right, and which are here present: order them to be taken back, with a warning.‹«[83] As we saw above, Dudo's stories often align with his broader aim to show the dynasty's prowess in battle and personal qualities; the hostages they refused to accept or agreed to release are one way in which he expresses such arguments.[84]

The release of hostages could be a sign of bravery and a willingness to play by the rules of the game, but it could also signify political canniness and an ability to discern the best course of action. In the tumultuous first decades of the Later Tang dynasty, who were ascendant between 923 and 937, Li Congshen (posthumously Li Congjing, 李從璟), the eldest of four biological sons of Li Siyuan (李嗣源), served as a hostage and member of the imperial guard in the reign of his father's predecessor, Zhuangzong (後唐莊宗). Though his father had rebelled, Zhuangzong placed his faith in the hostage, first deploying him as a mediator and then returning him without punishment in the hope that Li Congshen could improve the deteriorating relationship between the pair.[85] To return to an earlier episode discussed above, after Emir ʿAbdallāh ordered the execution of two hostages, his advisor Badr counselled the emir to release the son of Ibn Ḥafsūn rather than execute him. The latter option would damage their relationship irreparably, while the former would ensure Ibn Ḥafsūn's loyalty. Al-Quṭiyyah wrote that this was a wise policy for which Badr received universal praise; the released hostage benefitted too, and was later promoted to rule Seville on behalf of the emir.[86]

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80 The identity of the king is not known, but see Howorth, Criticism, p. 239; Pohl, *Dudo,* 137.

81 Dudo of Saint Quentin, *Historia Normannorum,* 2.18: *»Videntes ... Angli quod non prevalerent contra regem, sed deficientes affligebantur, venerunt ad Rollonem flexisque genibus dixerunt: ›Dacorum potentissime, nos regi Alstemo pacifica et concordare ... Nos ei obsides conservandæ fidei dabimus‹«,* ed. Lair, 159, trans. Christiansen, 40-41.

82 Dudo of Saint Quentin, *Historia Normannorum* 2.19: *»Tu, domine, obsides perseveraturæ tibi fidei recipe. Ego vero advena, non cognoscens mores Anglorum, permansuræ fidelitatis mihi obsides recipiam«,* ed. Lair, 159, trans. Christiansen, 41.

83 Dudo of Saint Quentin, *Historia Normannorum*, 2.19, ed. Lair, 159, trans. Christiansen, 40-41.

84 See also Thietmar of Merseburg, who praises the emperor Henry II for his return of Boleslav Chrobry's hostages: »His hostages were thereupon released, with honour, and in a friendly manner«, (*»Obsides suos cum honore et laeticia remisit«*), Chronicon, 6.91, ed. Holtzmann, 382, trans. Warner, 298.

85 The case is discussed in Davis, *Warhorses to Ploughshares*, 19-20, 47, 125.

86 Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *History of Islamic Spain*, 7: The reign of the Emir Muhammad, ed. Ribera, 94, trans. James, 121.

Other individuals reportedly released hostages because of their piety and sense of mercy. The famed author Liudprand of Cremona incorporated into his panegyric of Emperor Otto I just such an account, in which Pope Leo VIII begged Otto to release the hostages of defeated Roman rebels in 964.[87] These hostages functioned as an effective means of controlling the rebels, and in Liudprand's text Otto feared that their release would endanger Leo, but he nevertheless freed them as an obedient son to the pope: »He entrusted the same pope to the trust of the Romans just as a lamb might be entrusted to wolves.«[88] Shortly after Otto's departure, however, Leo's opponents expelled him from Rome. Liudprand thus depicts the pope as a figure whose piety led him to value mercy over the security offered by hostages, an image that is contrasted within Liudprand's text with the dissolute actions of Leo's rival John XII, whose death at the hands of the devil whilst cuckolding another man's wife is the sole act of supernatural intervention recorded by the author.[89]

We find another compelling case for the connection between the release of hostages, honourable behaviour and Christian piety within the *Historiae* of Richer of Reims. The episode is chronologically problematic and appears to stem from Richer's failure to reconcile his sources, but its didactic message is nevertheless clear.[90] Richer claims that after Duke Robert of Neustria defeated a Viking army, the most important men were held captive, while others were permitted to return to their ships once the duke had received hostages.[91] Robert ordered those in his custody to receive baptism and education in the Christian faith. Yet Robert not only converted these groups, but the original hostage donors too: »And after they had received back from the duke the hostages whom they had handed over, they were brought to the sacraments that bring salvation.«[92] Elsewhere in the work Robert is a complex figure, criticised for his role in the deposition of his king; the implicit praise here of Robert's strategies of conversion is therefore striking. Writing shortly after 1080, the monk Amatus of Montecassino presented the release of hostages as merciful: like William of Apulia above, Amatus commemorated Robert Guiscard within his work, and claimed that the duke returned hostages given by the inhabitants of Salerno after being moved by *pitié* (»pity«).[93]

Finally, the texts collectively known as the *Georgian Chronicles* show considerable interest in hostages and their connotations in both the near and distant past. As we saw above, diverse cultures reported the release of hostages as a sign of political stability and dominance, which in this compilation is evident across centuries. In *The Conversion of K'artli by Nino* (ცხოვრება წმიდა ნინოსი), an account of the conversion of the Georgian dynasty first composed in the later ninth or tenth century, the text's author looked back to the rule of

87 On the demolition of the reputation of Pope Leo's adversary and Pope John XII, see Grabowski, Liudprand, 67-92.

88 Liudprand, *Historia Ottonis*, 18: *»Romanorum fidei eundem papam, quemadmodum lupis agnum, commisit«*. ed. Becker, 173; trans. Squatriti, 234.

89 Garbini, Scrittura autobiografica, 479-486.

90 Lake, *Richer of Saint-Remi*, 101-102. Richer's account closely follows that of Flodoard of Reims in his *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, 4.14, ed. Stratmann, 407, though this does not mention any hostages.

91 Richer, *Historiae*, 1.30, ed. and trans. Lake, I.84-85.

92 Richer, *Historiae*, 1.30: *»Et hi quoque per predictum virum instructi, receptis a duce opsidibus quod dederant, ad salutaria sacramenta deducti sunt«*, ed. and trans. Lake, I.84-85.

93 Amatus of Montecassino, *L'ystoire de li Normant*, 4.4, ed. De Bartholomaeis, 186. Note that the text survives only in a fourteenth-century French translation, the accuracy of which is debated but has been defended: Wolf, *Making History*, 89.

Emperor Constantine and his conversion. They claimed that after his Christianisation, Constantine wrote to Mirian III (მირიან III), the alleged founder of the Georgian dynasty, stating that he had released the latter's son Ba'kar (ვარაზ-ბაკურ) from hostageship because of his new Christian faith: »I, Constantine, autocrator, new servant of the Lord of Heaven … no longer need a hostage from you, but Christ is sufficient as a mediator between us.«[94] In the eleventh-century *Chronicle of K'art'li* (მატიანე ქართლისა) we hear of the release of a hostage by King Giorgi I (გიორგი I) on the Day of Lamps. Lastly, despite the conflict between the Georgian kings and the Byzantine emperor Basil II, the latter nevertheless swore an oath that he would release the Georgian prince Bagrat IV after three years, and did as he promised.[95] Bagrat IV, meanwhile, held as a hostage Ivane (ივანე), the son of his most powerful ally and sometime rival Duke Liparit of Kldekari (ლიპარიტ), and duly released him seven years later despite the vicissitudes of the pair's political relationship.[96]

Conclusion

Medieval hostages bore little resemblance to their modern counterparts, and instead operated as guarantees, binding their donors to particular obligations. Yet they could be used to convey diverse political contexts and didactic messages. While the above comparative study can only scratch the surface of the hundreds of records that survive from the tenth and eleventh centuries, I hope to have shown that many of the key tenets of the narrative role of hostages transcended political, societal and cultural boundaries. Near universally, to hold another's hostages indicated dominance over their donor, while exchanges of hostages might demonstrate commitment to alliance. Hostages could be displayed at court, travel in the retinue of their warder, or be transferred to a recipient's followers, demonstrating both the objectification of those serving and their political value. The tenth and eleventh centuries were a time of political flux for many peoples and territories, from the gradual unification of the English kingdoms in the west to the growing stability secured by the Song dynasty in the early eleventh century in the east. At the same time as this political upheaval, many writers experimented with new modes and models of approaching their past, responding to their present.

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94 *Georgian Chronicles: The Conversion of K'artli by Nino* (*ts'xovreba ts'mida ninosi*, ცხოვრება წმიდა ნინოსი), ed. Qauxč'išvili, 128, trans. Thomson, 143.

95 *Georgian Chronicles: The Chronicle of K'art'li* (*matiane kartlisaed*, მატიანე ქართლისა), ed. Qauxč'išvili, 269 and 288-289, trans. Thomson, 270 and 284.

96 *Georgian Chronicles: The Chronicle of K'art'li* (*matiane kartlisaed*, მატიანე ქართლისა), ed. Qauxč'išvili, 300, trans. Thomson, 293.

References

Abbreviations

MGH, SRG = Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum

MGH SRG NS = Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, Nova series

MGH SS = Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores

MGH Epp. = Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae

MGH Fontes = Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi

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Global Epigraphy: The Scholarship on Inscriptions of Eurasia from Antiquity to the Early Modern Period

Andreas Rhoby, Veronika Scheibelreiter-Gail and Andreas Zajic*

The European fifteenth century not only saw the advent of humanism as a new cultural phenomenon as a whole that fostered a ground-breaking shift in social discourses and polities, it also gave birth to a new paradigm of erudition that included a common code or intellectual habitus of learned elites. An ever-increasing interest in the distant ancient past, especially Greek and Roman Antiquity, led to a widespread enthusiasm for textual and material sources and relics of centuries past, a concern with the study of history that usually goes under the label of antiquarianism. Among the scholarly disciplines that were established within this framework in the early modern period, epigraphy, the science of ancient inscriptions, held pride of place. With epigraphic sylloges reproduced and distributed in manuscript form and later on in print, scholars and humanistic amateurs laid the cornerstone of what later turned into the academic routine of editing Roman and Greek inscriptions, with several epigraphical series as heirs and successors of primeval humanistic ambitions. In the nineteenth century, two prominent series were established at the Königlich-Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL) and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (CIG) (later *Inscriptiones Graecae* [IG]).[1]

On 12th March 1890, in Vienna the philosophical-historical class of the Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften set up the »Commission für archäologische Erforschung Klein-Asiens« at the request of Otto Benndorf. From the outset, the Commission's work focused on inscriptions and topographical research. At the same time, the series of the *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (TAM) was founded. Since then, TAM as well as the corresponding supplementary volumes (ETAM) belong to the traditional corpora and series which are located at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW).[2]

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1 For a detailed description of the development, scientific goals, prerequisites, organisational structures, but also scientific-political strategies of the epigraphic corpora enterprises of the Berlin Academy, see Rebenich, Berlin und die antike Epigraphik.

2 The history of the Commission and the development of TAM is described in detail by Dobesch, Hundert Jahre Kleinasiatische Kommission. The development of TAM in contrast to the Berlin Corpora is shown by Halloff, Berliner Corpus.

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The Academy's focus on ancient Greek inscriptions was emphasised in recent years by its participation in the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (SEG). Founded in 1923, the SEG is an international publication project that collects, comments and makes available the annual new publications of Greek inscriptions as well as their new readings and interpretations. The SEG (which can also be consulted online)[3] is an indispensable working tool for every epigrapher, as well as, more generally, for every classicist.[4]

Whereas the study of ancient Greek and Roman inscriptions is certainly among the oldest disciplines of auxiliary sciences of history, research on post-Roman epigraphy had not been established throughout larger parts of Europe before the late nineteenth century. Within the above-mentioned CIG series, one section was devoted to what was then called »Greek Christian Inscriptions«. However, despite a considerable number of Greek inscriptions which were produced in the Byzantine Empire and territories which formerly belonged to Byzantium (e.g., Egypt, Syria, Southern Italy, fourth-fifteenth centuries, and beyond), little attention has been paid to these inscriptions (of which many are painted on church walls or on icons, or are incised in metal objects) until recently. A new project entitled *Inscriptiones Graecae Aevi Byzantini* (IGAB), which is also based at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, now focuses on the research on Byzantine inscriptions and its contextualisation.[5]

As to post-Roman inscriptions in Latin script, large scale national corpus enterprises did not come into existence before the late 1930s, when the inter-academy edition series of »Die Deutschen Inschriften« was founded as a cooperation between all German academies of sciences and the Austrian Academy of Sciences.[6] Today, the series comprises c. 100 printed volumes (as well as an open access database[7]), presenting medieval and early modern (primarily Latin and German) inscriptions up to the middle of the seventeenth century.

Research on epigraphic material from outside the Euro-Mediterranean region also started in the nineteenth century. A first collection of Tibetan epigraphs, for example, was created as early as the eighteenth century, more systematic research, however, did not start before the second half of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a first systematic survey was conducted by the missionary August Hermann Francke in Ladakh (Kashmir). Despite several valuable publications of Tibetan inscriptions in the twentieth century, epigraphy has always been a somewhat neglected field within Tibetan Studies (as it has been, as noted above, within Byzantine Studies), especially due to political (but also geographical) reasons because fieldwork in places which are not easily accessible has been very difficult.[8]

3 referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum.

4 Each volume is structured geographically and comprises Greek texts from the territories of the entire ancient and early Byzantine world; the latest inscriptions entering the SEG date from the eighth century AD. At the Institute for the Study of Ancient Culture (IKAnt/Department of *Documenta Antiqua*) currently all of Asia Minor except Caria is covered.

5 www.oeaw.ac.at/en/byzantine-research/communities-and-landscapes/byzantine-epigraphy. See also Rhoby, Challenges of Byzantine epigraphy.

6 Koch, 50 Jahre Deutsches Inschriftenwerk; *id.*, Epigraphische Editionen europaweit.

7 www.inschriften.net.

8 Tropper, Epigraphy. On the history of research on Tibetan inscriptions, see also the contribution by Christian Jahoda in this volume: Inscriptions.

The scientific ties between the aforementioned enterprises – albeit differing in the time of their origins, their scope and editorial guidelines – should seem close enough to allow for at least a basic joint approach toward the subject of inscriptions.

Yet, even a definition of inscriptions is far from being uncontested within, for example, post-Roman (medieval and early modern) epigraphy, and depends greatly on diverging national traditions of academia. The late Munich medievalist Rudolf Kloos regarded inscriptions as writing on genuinely epigraphic material such as stone, wood, metal, textiles and so on, carried out by means and by writers who do not belong to the spheres of contemporary scriptoria and/or chanceries.[9] This definition has, at least in Central and Central Eastern Europe, certainly constituted an imaginary borderline between a medieval manuscript culture that should be studied by palaeographers and codicologists and an epigraphic scene, which still struggles to emerge from the neglected margins of established scholarly work. Basically, inscriptions are texts like any other, but very often displayed in public spaces instead of in archives or manuscript collections. However, interaction between the script of epigraphs and manuscripts is well documented: distinctive uncial types of Greek and Latin public inscriptions are imitated in manuscripts and minuscule handwriting found its way into incised or painted inscriptions. One also has to stress that the definition used by Kloos and others is not fully appropriate for other inscriptional cultures: so-called »paper inscriptions« attached to walls in sacred spaces of Western Tibet[10] prove that the definition of epigraphy varies from culture to culture.

The aspect of publicity of inscriptions, on the other hand, was stressed by the grand old man of French epigraphy, Poitiers' Robert Favreau. When defining inscriptions he emphasised the criteria of durability (»longue durée«) and publicity (»publicité«)[11]. Epigraphic reality turns out to be more complex and rather caught in the middle between the two attitudes. If medieval epigraphers from two neighbouring European countries tend to disagree on crucial aspects of their discipline, how broad would the gap be between neighbouring epigraphic disciplines investigating classic Roman or Byzantine inscriptions, not to mention between Euro-Mediterranean and Central or Southeast Asian inscriptions?

It was only a matter of time before three ÖAW affiliated scholars working on Antiquity/Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages (both West and East) started to discuss joint perspectives of epigraphic research transgressing their respective epochal and geographical limitations. When – at the turn of the year 2016 – the ÖAW concentrated a number of research institutes from the humanities, then scattered over several places in Vienna, in a common site at Hollandstraße (1020 Wien), this stimulated Andreas Rhoby (IMAFO, Division of Byzantine Studies), Veronika Scheibelreiter-Gail (IKANT, Documenta Antiqua) and Andreas Zajic (IMAFO, Division of Text Edition and Source Studies – MIR) to put forward an initiative »Epigraphik in der Hollandstraße«, meant to bolster informal exchange between those scholars working on site who dedicate at least part of their research to inscriptions in the broadest sense. We thought that we should try to find comparative perspectives toward epigraphy

9 Kloos, *Einführung in die Epigraphik*, 1-4.

10 Scherrer-Schaub, Classifying, questioning and interpreting.

11 Favreau, *Épigraphie médiévale*, 31: »L'inscription a pour fonction de porter une information à la connaissance du public le plus large et pour la plus longue durée, d'assurer une communication en vue d'une publicité universelle et durable«.

that would enable us to consider jointly inscriptions from a stretch of time spanning from Classical Antiquity to the nineteenth century and from a geographic space ranging from the Mediterranean and Central Europe to Asia. In the ÖAW building at Hollandstraße we are lucky enough to benefit from the expertise of collaborators from several institutes of the ÖAW Division of Humanities and Social Sciences, who work in the fields of classical Antiquity, oriental and European archaeology, western Middle Ages, Byzantium, Iranian studies, the cultural and intellectual history of Asia and social anthropology. The motivation behind this initiative was and is the discussing of the methodological approaches to inscriptions, regardless of which period and which region they stem from. Our, the organisers' and participants', specific interest is to discuss common questions, and we are curious to learn about each other's perspectives.

As a first topic, which we hoped would be inspiring to the multi-national and multidisciplinary group of scholars we had addressed with our idea of a starting workshop (on 22nd March 2018), we chose an approach focusing on the interaction of the inscribed objects and the places in which they were originally located. The visualisation of (epigraphic) writing in public space depends on several complex parameters and varies widely in its results according to the intention of those who conceived it. Claiming that at least the majority of inscriptions were media intended to draw the attention of readers, we proposed that the execution of a text carved in stone or painted on walls required exact consideration of where to present it. Accordingly, the relations between inscriptions and their placement and spatial context were discussed in the course of the first workshop.

The second workshop (on 29th November 2018) focused on a topic which is equally important for epigraphic cultures ranging from Europe to Asia: »self-presentation« or, as was coined by Stephen Greenblatt, »self-fashioning«.[12] It is not only donors who present themselves in the most favourable way; even craftsmen (such as stonemasons) find ways to publish their deeds. An important role is played by the transculturally existing memorial culture, as well as by the founders' and sponsors' need to preserve their foundation beyond death. Common trends in this respect were testified to by presentations on autobiographical monumental hieroglyphic inscriptions in Egypt; Greek inscriptions in which rulers present themselves extraordinarily; Greek and Latin inscriptions about late antique bishops and their secular foundations, as well as by inscriptions from Western Tibet and inscriptions of Sanskrit culture. Sanskrit culture is of specific interest insofar as the spoken word has greater significance than the written word, which, in earlier scholarship, led to the misunderstanding that the absence of written evidence is proof of the absence of knowledge of writing in India.[13] Furthermore, it is interesting to see how Sanskrit turned from a sacred to a public language in inscriptions.[14]

A third workshop (on 22nd-23rd January 2020) will again address a crucial aspect of global epigraphy: it will discuss the question of the presentation of the »foreign« in inscriptions. This transcultural and diachronic topic is also of great interest for our contemporary world.

Inscriptions, regardless of when and in which culture they were/are produced, are therefore not dead matter but messages that interact with their reading, beholding and listening, literate, semi-literate and even illiterate audience.

12 Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning.*

13 Apte, »Spoken Word«; Salomon, Indian Epigraphy 7-10, 64-65, 68-70.

14 On this issue, see Pollock, Language of the Gods.

The papers by Elisabeth Rathmayr and Veronika Scheibelreiter-Gail (»Archaeological Contexts of Inscriptions in the Private Sphere. The Mosaic Inscriptions of a *villa rustica* in Skala/Cephalonia«) and Christian Jahoda (»Inscriptions in Areas of Historical Western Tibet [*mNga' ris skor gsum*] in their Contexts. A Brief Overview with Selected Examples«) published in the special section of *Medieval Worlds* deal with aspects which were discussed within the previous workshops. While Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail's contribution addresses the question of the self-presentation and self-perception of a homeowner in Roman imperial period Greece, Jahoda's paper gives an overview about the various manifestations of epigraphy in the areas of historical Western Tibet. Although the papers differ greatly in their content, similarities, which are also of interest for other epigraphic cultures, can be traced. The spatial and functional contexts of Western Tibetan inscriptions closely resemble the functions of inscriptions from Antiquity and the Middle Ages. The use of inscriptions as a means for self-representation is a transcultural phenomenon: it is traceable in the mosaic inscriptions of the *villa rustica* in Skala as well as on Tibetan stela epigraphs. In addition, the variety of surfaces to which inscriptions in Central Asia are attached is also attested in the Euro-Mediterranean region (stone, metal, clay, cloth). Differences are obvious as well: while the mosaic inscriptions of Skala belong to an elite residential building, the density of Western Tibet inscriptions is especially high in and around Buddhist monasteries. Their spatial distribution rather reminds one of the context of Byzantine Greek inscriptions, which are primarily to be found in churches and monasteries, and on objects which belong to them. As a result, both case studies are good examples of the global and diachronic approach of the »Epigraphik in der Hollandstraße« initiative.

Even though a comparative approach toward pre-modern inscriptions as a global phenomenon certainly challenges the engaged scholars in several ways – not least with regard to the need to find a suitable joint terminology for a discussion of sources that vary broadly in many respects – we are convinced that cooperation will lead us to a deeper understanding of general aspects of epigraphic writing. Whereas recent suggestions of fostering collaboration between neighbouring epigraphic research enterprises in Germany seem to focus primarily on a homogenisation of technical solutions (relating to data models, databases and DH infrastructure), we are confident that we can bring about a productive and sustainable shift in perspectives on epigraphy through a topic-oriented method of scholarly exchange. The epigraphic papers in this issue are only intended to lead the way for others of their kind. It is the aim of the organisers of the »Epigraphik in der Hollandstraße« workshop series to invite scholars from outside the pool of collaborators at Hollandstraße to join in the common initiative of establishing a cluster on comparative epigraphic studies (the third workshop in January 2020 will be a first step into this direction).

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Abbreviations

CIG = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGAB = *Inscriptiones Graecae Aevi Byzantini*
SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
TAM = *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (ETAM = *Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris*)

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Archaeological Contexts of Inscriptions in the Private Sphere: The Mosaic Inscriptions of a *villa rustica* in Skala/Cephalonia

Elisabeth Rathmayr and Veronika Scheibelreiter-Gail*

The article deals with inscriptions on the floor mosaics of a residence in Skala on the island of Cephalonia. The archaeological context of the inscriptions, their representation and legibility as well as their contents will be addressed. In at least two rooms, inscriptions have been combined with depictions that give insights into the beliefs of the residents. One shows the personification of Envy, depicted as a *damnatus ad bestias*, which was common in amphitheatrical scenes on mosaics in imperial times, another a sacrifice of three animals (*trittoia*), which is only seldom depicted and also rarely documented in epigraphy and literature; to date, the picture in the villa of Skala together with a mention in a play by Aristophanes are the only sources for this sacrifice in the private realm of a house. Moreover, the depiction probably refers to a real sacrifice made on the outskirts of the villa. The commissioner of the inscribed mosaics was certainly the homeowner, who is recorded by his name Krateros in two mosaic inscriptions in the house. He was probably identical with Lucius Pompeius Krateros Cassianus, a member of a third-century-AD elite family from Elis known from inscriptions found in Olympia.

Although both the figurative representations on the mosaic floors and the length of the inscriptions are unusual, they have received too little attention so far. The nearest parallels are to be found in the mosaic art of Patras, only a short distance away across the sea, where a whole series of comparable mosaics came to light, especially during emergency excavations. The mixture of »Greek« and »Roman« in the depictions of the mosaics in the villa in Skala could be explained by a mosaicists' workshop from Patras, a Roman colony founded by Augustus, where such depictions might have developed.

Keywords: Cephalonia; Skala; villa rustica*; mosaic inscriptions; Roman Imperial times; domestic religion; sacrifice of three animals; phtonos; apotropaic; self-presentation*

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1. The Building and its Construction Period

While the residential building in the modern village of Skala on the south coast of the island Cephalonia was already mentioned in nineteenth-century travelogues, systematic excavations were carried out by Vassilis Kallipolitēs in 1957.[1] Today the remains of the house are protected by a shelter construction, and visitors can use a walkway leading over the ruins.

Due to the location of the house away from a larger settlement on a plot by the sea, it was probably a *villa rustica*, which could have served both agricultural and recreational (*otium*) purposes. Several rooms of different sizes have been preserved (*Fig. 1*): while rooms I to V were certainly covered by roofs, area VI, directly adjoining in the west, could have been a courtyard, as indicated by the presence of a deep well and the discovery of a column.[2]

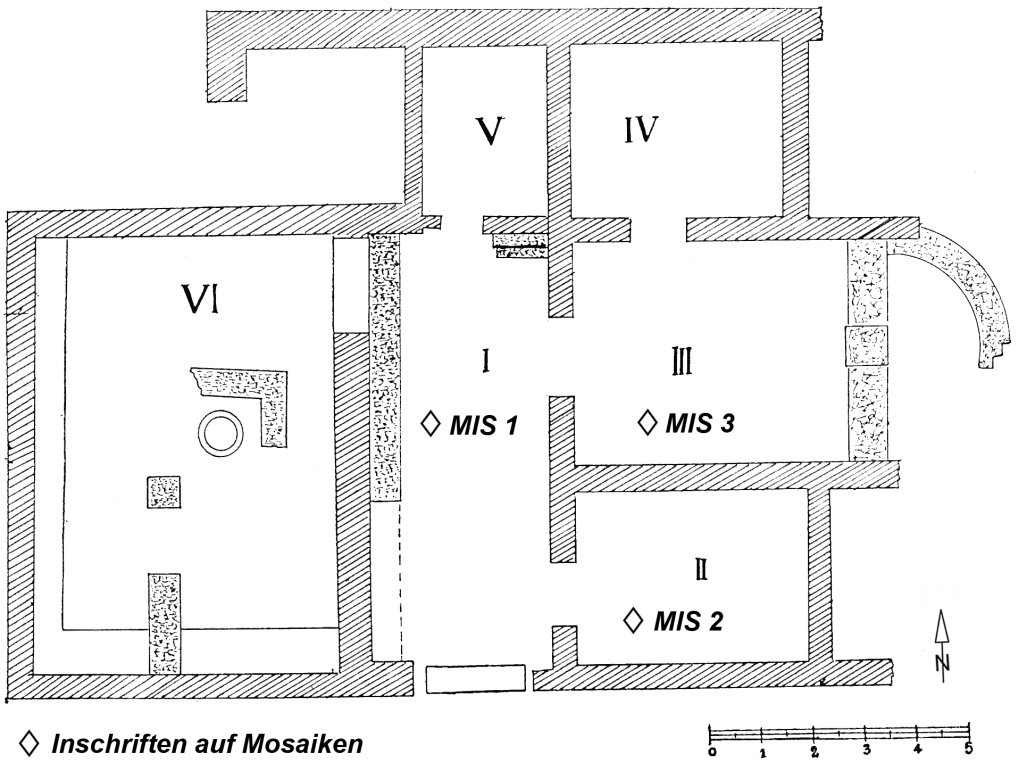

Figure 1: Plan of the house with the mosaics marked

1 TIB 3 (1981) 259; for travelogues of the nineteenth century, see Goodisson, *Historical and Topographical Essay*, 141-142; Riemann, *Recherches archéologiques*, 57 and 59.

2 Daux, Fouilles en 1958, 730.

Room I, which is entered from the south, is a long, wide corridor that may have served as a distribution area in this part of the villa (*Fig. 2*).

Figure 2: Mosaic in corridor I on the left of the overall view

It opens to three rooms in the east (II-IV) and probably to storeroom V in the north, as suggested by the latter's simple decoration – it is the only room without a mosaic floor – and fragments of *amphorae* and *pithoi* found there. Rooms I to IV are adorned with mosaic floors, that are still *in situ*. While the pavements of rooms I to III bear inscriptions, remains of mural paintings were only observed in room IV.[3] The building expanded at least to the east, as extensions of the outer walls of rooms II to IV indicate. The apse on the east side of room III, however, is likely to come from the use of the building as a church in Late Antiquity.[4]

The most recent pottery and small finds discovered during excavations of the foundations date back to the second half of the second century AD. They constitute a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the villa.[5] The mosaics of rooms I and II, and presumably also those of room III, can be assigned to the construction period for stylistic reasons. For them a date at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century AD is very likely. Destruction and abandonment may have been triggered by a fire catastrophe, which, based on coin finds, took place in the second half of the fourth century AD.[6]

3 Kallipolitēs, Anaskaphē, 8.

4 Kallipolitēs, Anaskaphē, 11; Daux, Fouilles en 1958, 732.

5 Kallipolitēs, Anaskaphē, 4 and 8-12; Daux, Fouilles en 1958, 730.

6 Kallipolitēs, Anaskaphē, 4 and 10.

2. The Archaeological Context and the Function of the Inscriptions

Corridor I measures 8.20 m x 3.60 m and thus occupies an area of approx. 30 m². It has a mosaic floor with a personification of Envy (phthonos) facing the entrance, depicted at its center (*Fig. 3*).

Figure 3: Mosaic in corridor I, detail

He is represented as a bare young man in a death struggle against four big cats (tiger, panther, lion, leopard), who have already inflicted numerous wounds on him, while his intestines are already bulging out of his stomach. Below the picture is the twelve-line inscription:[7]

Ὦ Φθόνε, καὶ σο[ῦ] τήνδε ὁλοῆς | φρενὸς εἰκόνα [γ]ράψε hedera
ζωγράφος, ἣν Κράτερος θήκα|το λαϊνέην, hedera
5 οὐχ ὅτι τειμήεις σὺ μετ' ἀνδρά|σιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι θνητῶν hedera
ὄλβοις βασκ[α]ίνων σχῆμα τό|δε ἀμφεβ[ά]λου· hedera
10 Ἔστ̣α[θ]ι δ̣[ὴ] πάντεσσιν ἐνώπιος, | ἔσταθι τλήμων, hedera
τηκεδόνος φθονερῶν δεῖγμα | φέρων στύγιον hedera

7 SEG 19, 409 with corrections of SEG 23, 389; editions: Daux, Fouilles en 1958, 730 Fn. 1 (L. 1-4); Marinatos, Dyo epigrammata ek Kephallēnias, 355-361; J. and L. Robert, REG 73 (1960) No. 188 (L. 1-4); V. Kallipolitēs, Anaskaphē, 16-17 pl. 3-9; J. and L. Robert, REG 75 (1962) 171 (LL. 5-12); Daux, Sur un épigramme, 636-638, fig. 1; J. and L. Robert, REG 77 (1964) 174 no. 215; SEG 23, 389; Dunbabin and Dickie, Invidia rumpantur pectora, 8-10, 30 and 35-36 pl. 1; Donderer, *Mosaizisten der Antike*, 126 C 5 pl. 58, 1; Kankeleit, *Kaiserzeitliche Mosaiken* 1, 85-87 and 2, cat.-no. 48; IG IX 1^2, 4, 1498.

O Envy, the painter also drew the picture of your destructive spirit, which Krateros had laid in stone – not because you are honored among men, but because you, disfavoring mortals of their happiness, have taken this form. Now stand before all eyes, stand, miserable one, who bears the hated sign of the emaciation of Envy.

(translation: V. Scheibelreiter-Gail)

Apotropaic inscriptions such as MIS 1,[8] meant to ward off envy, can be found in certain areas of houses – e.g. floors in entrances areas, on thresholds and doorframes – throughout the Roman Empire.[9] While monuments depicting Envy as a person are so far known only from the Greek East – from Egypt to the Black Sea, mainly in small-scale art (terracotta, lamps, amulets, reliefs) – in the West inscriptions have been found, but until now, no visual representations.[10] Bearing this in mind, what makes the phthonos mosaic of Skala so special is the combination of an elaborate inscription with an image of Envy personified. Moreover, it is illustrated in the context of a whole scene, not just through symbols. The iconography is also unique: Four feline predators attack a young man – not a snake, a scorpion or a bird, which are usually depicted for warding off (the) evil (eye).[11] One possible explanation for the choice of this depiction is to ensure that the immense physical pain of the tortured envious person is effectively portrayed. Obviously no prototype was used here, and it is very likely that Krateros, the commissioner of the mosaic and homeowner, chose this form of representation. The tattered *phthonos* is neither physically nor physiognomically reminiscent of a pale, emaciated wry-eyed man, but of a man in the prime of his years who was executed in the amphitheater as *damnatus ad bestias*. Comparable arena scenes are known from imperial-era mosaics, especially from Northern Africa.[12] The reference to the amphitheater is probably intended to illustrate the real experience of torture and thus make the representation even more abhorrent. Together with the inscription on the pavement, which was meant to catch the eye of the person entering, the homeowner created a particularly urgent warning against envy: Ruin should seize everyone who envied Krateros his fortune, as emerges from the opening phrase of the inscription *o phthone, kai sou* … which is reminiscent of the formula καὶ σύ or of *et tu, et tibi* and certainly alludes to »Tit for tat«.[13] The inscription was intended to keep evil away from the inhabitants of the house on the one hand and to preserve the happiness (ὄλβος) mentioned in the text on the other. In the context of corridor I, the inscription and visual representation were placed in such a way that one had to deal with them. Anyone who wanted to enter rooms III to VI, had to either step on the depiction of *phtonos* or bypass it laterally, which could also be seen as an aspect of »magic«.

8 The numbers MIS 1-3 are taken from the monograph of the authors of this contribution (in progress). They are also used to mark the inscriptions on the house plans.

9 For instance Bruneau, *Recherches*, 643-645; Dunbabin and Dickie, Invidia rumpantur pectora.

10 Dunbabin and Dickie, Invidia rumpantur pectora, with numerous examples.

11 Elliott, *Beware the Evil Eye.*

12 C.f. e.g. Augenti, *Spettacoli*, 34, no. 9 (mosaic from a villa in Zliten), 35, no. 10 (mosaic from a villa in Thysdrus/El Jem), 36, no. 11 (Thysdrus/El Jem), 37, no. 12 (Zliten); generally on this topic, see Dunbabin, *Africa.*

13 C.f. Elliot, *Beware the Evil Eye.*

Room II is the first room on the east side that was entered from corridor I. It measures 4.50 m x 3.20 m and has an area of approx. 14.40 m^2. It is decorated with a mosaic floor with a sacrificial representation and the metric inscription MIS 2 (*Fig. 4-5*):[14]

Figure 4: Mosaic in room II, detail

Παλλάδι καὶ Μ[ούσῃσι μά]λ’ εὐ|πλοκάμοισι Τύ[χῃ τε]
Φοίβῳ τε Ἀπόλ[λωνι καὶ] Ἑρ|μῇ Μαιάδος υ[ἱῷ]
αὐτῷ σὺν βω[μῷ Κρά]τερος | καὶ τοῦδε φίλ[ος παῖς]
ταῦρόν τε κρει[όν] | τε ἠδὲ φριξ[α]ύχε|να κάπρον |
λεπτῇσιν [λιθά]|δεσσι συ[να]ρμόσ|σαντες [ἔθ]ηκαν
τέχνης δαιδαλέ|ης ἀναθήματα | καὶ μερόπεσσιν
εἰκόνας εὐσεβί|ης ἐσορᾶν ἧς λώ|ϊον οὐδέν hedera

To Pallas and the beautifully curled Muses, Tyche and Phoibos Apollon, Hermes, Maia’s son, have Krateros and his beloved child with this altar assembled from fine stones and consecrated a bull, a ram and a boar with a ruffled neck, a votive offering of a colorfully speckled art and for the mortals pictures of the worship of the gods than which there is nothing more appropriate to be regarded.

(translation: Veronika Scheibelreiter-Gail)

14 SEG 19, 408 with corrections of SEG 23, 388; editions: Daux, Fouilles en 1958, 729-730, n. 1; Marinatos, Dyo epigrammata ek Kephallēnias, 355-361; J. and L. Robert, REG 73, 1960, no. 188; Kallipolitēs, Anaskaphē, 22-24 pl. 6. 7-9; J. and L. Robert, REG 75, 1962, 171; G. Daux, Sur un épigramme de Céphalonie, 636-338, fig. 1; SEG 19, 408; J. and L. Robert, REG 77, 1964, 174 no. 215; SEG 23, 388; Kankeleit, *Kaiserzeitliche Mosaiken* 1, 87-89 and 2, cat. 48; IG IX 1^2, 4, 1497; Kokkinē, Ē apeikonisē, 84-85 Λ. 4.

Figure 5: Mosaic in room II

The central zone of the pavement is divided into two differently aligned image fields. In the lower one sacrificial animals are arranged next to each other in profile on floor lines. Beneath these, the inscription is written in two blocks: six lines (lines 1-6) are arranged underneath the boar and the bull, the other twelve lines underneath the ram (lines 7-18). The lines are more or less straight, the line spacing is narrow, but the letter height of 4 to 5 cm is quite large. Since the text is close to the threshold and stands out from the light background with its dark color, it was easy to read when one entered the room.

Directly above the inscription the sacrificial animals – a wild boar, a bull and a ram – are depicted; they are oriented upwards towards a scene showing a sacrifice. While their slaughter is not shown, the subject of the upper picture is the frequently depicted libation, and maybe also fruits were offered.[15] The libation is carried out by the figure to the left of the altar. The attributes of a *patera* in its lowered left hand and a jug in its lowered right refer to this sacrifice. The action of the figure to the right of the altar is more difficult to interpret. Like the figure to the left, it is unveiled, barefoot and wears a tunic reaching down to the knees. The head, reproduced in three-quarter view, is slightly inclined and turned to the left. According to Kallipolitēs, the figure held a basket with both hands.[16] Unfortunately, due to the bad preservation of this part of the figure, nothing of it has remained. Yet, the basket could only have been depicted at breast height and the right arm must have been angled towards the torso[17]. Whether the left arm was also angled towards the upper body or hung downwards must remain open, but if the figure held a basket, then this arm would also have been lowered and angled to hold it[18]. While Kallipolitēs interpreted these figures as house heroes,[19] Kankeleit generally addressed them as boys;[20] Daux described the figure to the left as a child and the figure to the right as a female one,[21] and Marinatos, as male figures showing Krateros and his son.[22] The latter interpretation would fit the fact that image and inscription usually complement each other or are related to each other, whereby a sacrificial servant (that could be the homeowner or his child) and a deity named in the inscription could also have been depicted next to the altar, especially since gods are often shown on reliefs next to altars as the recipients of the offerings.[23] Of the deities who appear in the inscription as recipients of the sacrifice, Pallas Athena might be the figure to the right of the altar. She is not only mentioned first in the epigram, but the picture could also support this assumption in so far as the strands of hair protruding from the back of the head could be parts of a helmet bush.

15 Kallipolitēs, Anaskaphē, 20 names small fruits; Kankeleit, *Kaiserzeitliche Mosaiken* 2, 88, speaks of a pomegranate that we cannot recognize. In our opinion the larger object in the middle seems to be a representation of a flame, as known from a number of sacrificial reliefs; see e.g. ThesCRA 1, pl. 16 Gr. 76.

16 Kallipolitēs, Anaskaphē, 19.

17 This is certain because the background of the mosaic between the altar and the figure is intact.

18 Cf. a sacrificer with a basket on a mosaic floor in Larisa, s. Pliota, Diakosmēsē, 261 and 551 pl. XXXIVa.

19 Kallipolitēs, Anaskaphē, 20: „οἰκουροὶ ἥρωες« (after Plut. De fort. Rom.10).

20 Kankeleit, *Kaiserzeitliche Mosaiken 1*, 181-182 and 2, 88-89.

21 Daux, Fouilles en 1958, 729.

22 Marinatos, Dyo epigrammata ek Kephallēnias, 360.

23 E.g. Greek and Roman votive reliefs, such as Mars on the so-called Domitius-Ara from the first century BC or many depictions of deities on black and red figured vases; see ThesCRA 1, pl. 14 Rom. 120; pl. 29 Gr. 537.

However, the short robe is unusual for Athena. It is maybe explained by the invocation of Pallas for Athena used in the epigram, by which the virgin girl is meant.[24] Though this representation cannot be precisely determined, it is clear that the scene illustrates a sacrifice *Graeco ritu* due to the unveiled heads of the sacrificers. Nevertheless, research has equated it with the *suovetaurilia* or even addressed it as such.[25] While the latter is, however, a typical Roman sacrifice, a sacrifice of three animals is also recorded for ancient Greece: the so-called *trittoia*. From ancient literature and inscriptions we learn that in the course of this sacrifice a boar, a ram and a bull were slaughtered, but also other combinations of three animals occur.[26] Though the majority of sources refer to public sacrifices, Aristophanes provides the important information that it was obviously common to sacrifice three animals in a private house: in the comedy *Plutos*, the slave Cario makes fun of the new wealth of his master by telling that the latter, now crowned with a wreath, made a sacrifice of a wild boar, a he-goat and a ram inside his house, so that the smoke has driven him out.[27] With the occurrence of the three-animal sacrifice in Greece and the representation of a sacrifice *Graeco ritu* on the mosaic in room II, a designation of it as a *suovetaurilia* has to be rejected. This does not mean, however, that visitors from the Roman West would not have been reminded of this sacrifice when looking at the picture. Such an association might have been intended by the commissioner. Moreover, the iconographical scheme of the Roman *suovetaurilia* was probably taken over, since in Greek art – with two exceptions on black-figured bowls[28] – there are no representations of a three-animal sacrifice from either Hellenistic nor Imperial times. In contrast to the Roman *suovetaurilia*, which were exclusively dedicated to Mars, different deities from Greece are known as the recipients of the triple animal sacrifice:[29] Zeus, Hades, Artemis, Poseidon, Heracles, and especially Pallas Athena. Thanks to the inscription from the *villa rustica* in Skala, the list can now be extended by the deities which appear here alongside Pallas (Athena). These were certainly gods especially venerated by the homeowner and his family: Pallas (Athena), the Muses and Phoibos (Apollon) could point to a relation of the inhabitants to arts and crafts, and especially for the display of arts and *luxuria*. A special appreciation of these skills is evident in the mosaic inscriptions in the villa. In the inscription MIS 2 it is expressed by the emphasis on the way of setting and coloring the mosaic (cf. L. 10). Hermes, in turn, may have played a role in the lives of these people as this god of flocks and trade would be consistent with the function of the house as a *villa rustica*. If we now confront the inscription and the image, it emerges that they refer directly to each other, whereby the content of the epigram and the representation are easily understandable.[30] However, without the inscription one could interpret the sacrifice as *suovetaurilia* and the figure to the right

24 Kleiner Pauly 1 (1979) 681 *s.v.* Athena (W. Fauth).

25 Kallipolitēs, Anaskaphē, 31; Kankeleit, *Kaiserzeitliche Mosaiken* 1, 182 and 2, cat.-no. 87.

26 While the oldest literary source of the three-animal-sacrifice is Hom. Od. 11, 97, the last evidence is Plut. Pyrrhus 6, 2, 5; for the three-animal-sacrifice see ThesCRA 1, 110 No. 417-425 *s. v.* Sacrifices (Antoine Hermary *et al.*).

27 Aristoph. Plut. 819-820: »καὶ νῦν ὁ δεσπότης μὲν ἔνδον βουθυτεῖ / ὗν καὶ τράγον καὶ κριὸν ἐστεφανωμένος: / ἐμὲ δ' ἐξέπεμψεν ὁ καπνός. οὐχ οἷός τε γὰρ / ἔνδον μένειν ἦν. ἔδακνε γὰρ τὰ βλέφαρά μου.«

28 Beazley, Attic Black-Figure, 39-40; ThesCRA 110 No. 425a-b *s. v.* Opfer (Antoine Hermary *et al.*).

29 ThesCRA110 No. 417-425 *s. v.* Opfer (Antoine Hermary *et al.*).

30 Differently Kankeleit, *Kaiserzeitliche Mosaiken* 1, 182 according to whom the composition is unclear due to different orientations of the figures and would require a considerable ability of combination on the part of the observer.

of the altar as Mars, to whom, alongside Janus and Jupiter, this Roman sacrifice was addressed[31] and who, like Athena, was depicted with a helmet. This further means that without the inscription we would have a different idea of the recipients of the sacrifice.[32]

Since we know from Aristophanes' play *Plutos* that a sacrifice of three animals was possible in the private sphere of a house, at least in the classical period, the depiction on the mosaic could refer to a particular event which was intended to bring prosperity to the house and its inhabitants.[33] How and where exactly such a ritual could have been performed in the private realm is not handed down to us. Maybe it was similar to such a ritual described in Cato's *De agricultura*.[34] However, the dominant picture and inscription on the mosaic of room II can be referred to the religiosity of the homeowner. The representation on the mosaic may have reminded him/people/visitors of a concrete sacrifice made on the outskirts of the villa and indicate a function of room II within a domestic cult.

In general, depictions of sacrificial scenes in residential buildings are rare. But we know examples from mosaics in houses in Patras,[35] and Larisa,[36] from a wall painting in Dwelling Unit 7 of Terrace House 2 in Ephesus[37] and from a mosaic representation in the house of Quintus in Zeugma.[38] In addition to the nature of the sacrifice and the gods to whom it was dedicated, the epigram in room II in the villa of Skala also tells us the name of the homeowner Krateros, who, together with his son, commissioned the mosaic and thus the epigram and the depictions. He communicated with his contemporaries in words and image. The reason that only his name and not that of his son is mentioned could be explained by the

31 Cf. Cato agr. 141.

32 Kankeleit, *Kaiserzeitliche Mosaiken* 1, 182, arrives at wrong conclusions on the basis of identifying the sacrifice as the *suovetaurilia*. According to her, typical »Roman« themes such as the suovetaurilia and the arena scenes would synthesize with traditional »Greek« motifs to create an overall impression of wealth and variety.

33 Likewise already Kallipolitēs, Anaskaphē, 31, who thinks of a sacrifice, which was carried out on certain days of the year.

34 Cf. Cato agr. 141 who describes here how a *villa rustica* (farm) should be lustrated: *»Agrum lustrare sic oportet. Impera suovitaurilia circumagi: ›Cum divis volentibus quodque bene eveniat, mando tibi, Mani, uti illace suovitaurilia fundum agrum terramque meam quota ex parte sive circumagi sive circumferenda censeas, uti cures lustrare.‹«* (Undertake the preparations for the *suovitaurilia* to be driven about: »So that each [victim] may be allotted propitiously to the good-willed gods, I bid you, Manius, that you determine in which part that *suovitaurilia* is to be driven or carried around my farm, land (*ager*) and earth–that you take care to purify.« trans. Woodard, *Sacred Space*, 102-103). Then follows the libation to Janus and Jupiter and the prayer to Mars; for an interpretation, see e.g. Baudy, *Römische Umgangsriten,* 103-121.

35 Cf. Bonini, Casa nella Grecia romana, 109, fig. 84 and 479 cat. Patrasso 33: a mosaic from a house in the Odos Karatzá 12 depicts an altar with a sacrificial fire, a cock and a knife on the left and a goose on the right; cf. further Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatzi, *Mouseio Patrōn*, 83-84, fig. 90: a mosaic from a house in Patras, in the Odos Agios Dimitrios 40, shows three females dancing (*Horai?*) around an altar.

36 The mosaic of the fourth century AD shows a sacrifice of fruits? (grapes?) in a basket by a man and a woman to Dionysos; see Pliota, Diakosmēsē, 261 and 551 pl. XXXIVa.

37 It is an imperial wall painting showing a libation within a sacrifice *Romano ritu*, see Rathmayr, Räume, 657-658, pl. 402.

38 On the mosaic of a *triclinium* in a house in Zeugma a sacrifice within a mythological scene of Theonoe and Leukippe is shown, see Görkay *et al.,* Observations on the Theonoe, 1-12, fig. 1; Asēmakopulu-Atzaka, *To apangelma tou psēphothetē,* 52, fig. 39.

epigram form of the text. His name, of which -]τερος can still be read, has no word division,[39] which is otherwise common in this inscription. Krateros stands in the middle of the left column and thus approximately in the middle of the two inscription columns and is the only word that crosses the stand line of one of the sacrificial animals. Therefore his name was in a prominent position and could quickly be noticed.

Room III, the largest room, is the second room on the east side that could be entered from corridor I. It measures l6 x 4.25 m, which is approx. 68 m^2 and bears a long multi-line inscription MIS 3 on its mosaic floor that is only fragmentarily preserved:[40]

---ΛΑ----------
-----ΦΟΙ....ΟΜ-------
-----ΤΕ .....Τ--------
horse?
4 -------Ṇ----------
------γ]ραπτα[ι?---ca. 5---]ΙΑ--
------ą̣μενος κ[---ca. 6---]ΜΟ---

Comparable with the other mosaics of rooms I and II, however, is that the depiction and inscription are located in a large central field (4.50 m^2) and their alignment to the entrance from corridor I. As in room II, the inscription was inserted into the field in several columns between representations. From the depiction, a left-facing leg of an animal (probably a horse[41], less likely a bird[42]) has survived.

To date no attempt has been made to reconstruct a possible content from the poorly preserved letters. However, ΛΑ in line 1 and ΦΟΙ in line 2 can perhaps be added to Pallas and Phoibos, especially since these deities were already encountered in the epigram in room II. -ą̣μενος in the bottom line will be the ending of an aorist participle; in connection with gods the frequent εὐξάμενος in the sense of »redeeming a prayer/having fulfilled a vow« would be conceivable, but also, for instance, γραψάμενος, which would also fit well in our context. Both, but also other possibilities must remain open. Although the letter combination ΤΕ in line 3 is frequently found in Greek words, in the concrete case it should nevertheless be considered that it was part of the name Krateros, since the homeowner also appears by name in the mosaic inscriptions of the other two rooms.

39 In contrast to a series of words that have been separated, such as the name of Hermes, the name of the homeowner is in a single line.

40 SEG 23, 390 with corrections. editions: Kallipolitēs, Anaskaphē, 24-25, fig. 4; SEG 23, 390; Kankeleit, *Kaiserzeitliche Mosaiken* 1, 89-90; IG IX 1^2, 4, 1499.

41 Kallipolitēs, Anaskaphē, 24-26, fig. 4.

42 Kankeleit, *Kaiserzeitliche Mosaiken* 2, 89, n. 4.

3. Conclusions

All three mosaic inscriptions of the *villa rustica* in Skala are part of a program which can be related to the homeowner Krateros. He was the one who commissioned the texts and the depictions on the mosaic floors of the three interconnecting rooms. Inscriptions and depictions are oriented towards the entrances of the respective rooms.[43] The texts are easily legible due to the large letters of 4 to 5 cm, which contrast with the white ground due to their black color. The inscriptions and pictures of the individual mosaics complement each other and give an insight into the beliefs of the inhabitants in the early third century AD and possibly even beyond, since they belonged to the furnishings of the villa until its destruction in the second half of the fourth century AD.

In the text the commissioner and homeowner Krateros comes to the fore as the only person named. Together with his son, who is mentioned in one text, he thus becomes the counterpart who communicated with his contemporaries in word and image. Mosaics, inscriptions and their placements were used by the homeowner as a medium for self-presentation, but they also reflect ancient law, according to which the landlord in his house determined all religious matters in his family.[44]

For the mosaics of rooms I and II it should be emphasized that there is no other representation of *phthonos* and a three-animal sacrifice in the Greek East (except the previously mentioned two examples from classical times for the latter). It can therefore be assumed that the representations were newly developed according to the wishes of the homeowner and clearly took iconographic borrowings from the Roman pictorial language. While the representation of *phthonos* was adopted from arena scenes, the three-animal sacrifice imitates the *suovetaurilia*. Nevertheless, we are dealing with Greek beliefs as is made clear by the inscriptions and the depictions of the unveiled sacrificers. While until now Aristophanes' play *Plutos* has been the only source for a three-animal sacrifice in the private sphere, now the depiction in the villa of Skala can also be regarded as a proof of this. Maybe the picture and text refer to a concrete sacrifice that most probably would have been carried out on the outskirts of the villa.

Amongst the preserved imperial-era mosaics from Cephalonia there are none which show stylistic, motivic or iconographic similarities with the mosaics of the *villa rustica* in Skala.[45] The elaborateness of the texts and the designs are rather reminiscent of the mosaic art of Patras. It is not only the combination of the patterns that allows parallels to be drawn with mosaics from residential buildings in this veteran colony founded by Augustus, but also the lengthy and detailed inscriptions which are otherwise unusual for floor mosaics

43 For the importance of alignment of inscriptions cf. the contribution of C. Jahoda in this issue (inscriptions on stone).

44 Cf. Wachsmuth, Aspekte, 48; Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, 51-52.

45 Most of the mosaics stem from buildings uncovered in Sami, a town that from the Antonine period onwards had experienced a revival; cf. Kallipolitēs, *Archaiologikē Ephemeris*. For the mosaics that, due to their preservation or their restricted access, have not been studied properly, cf. Kankeleit, *Mosaiken Griechenlands* 2, cat. 44; Daux, Chronique des fouilles en Grèce en 1959, 731 and 733, fig. 7 (Agia Euphemia, bath-building of a villa?, second half of the second century AD); Kankeleit, *Mosaiken Griechenlands* 2, cat. 45; Daux, Fouilles en Grèce en 1959, 728-733 figs. 3-5 (Sami, bath-building; 2nd-3rd century AD); Kankeleit, *Mosaiken Griechenlands* vol. 2, Kat. 46; Kalligas, *Archaiologikon Deltion*, 28 B (1973) 426-427, pl. 385-386 (Sami, house-complex, 2nd-3rd century AD); Kankeleit, *Mosaiken Griechenlands* 2, Kat. 47; Pariente, Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques, 876, fig. 57 (Sami, house? third century AD); Kankeleit, *Mosaiken Griechenlands* 2, cat. 48; Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς 1932/33, 6-7, fig. 8 (Valtsa, house? 2nd-3rd century AD).

that occur here, and, as in the villa of Skala, are always combined with figurative depictions. Thus it is very probable that a workshop from this nearby town across the sea was active in the *villa rustica* of Skala. In particular, a mosaic from a *villa rustica* in the outskirts of Patras from the end of the second or third century AD is reminiscent of the *phthonos* mosaic of Skala:[46] Here too we find a mosaic with a perspective rendering of cubes that decorated an elongated corridor, with its geometric pattern interrupted by a figurative depiction bearing an inscription with letter forms very similar to those in the villa of Skala.

Regarding the family that owned the villa, the inscriptions in rooms I and II indicate that Krateros and his unnamed child were the inhabitants, more precisely the homeowner and his son. The idea that these were instead mosaic artists can be rejected due to the prominent self-display of the people involved.

In general, the name Krateros is a name frequently used in Greece and Asia Minor in Hellenistic and Imperial periods up to the third century AD.[47] But since only the first name appears in the mosaic inscriptions of the villa of Skala, it is not possible to determine with absolute certainty whether a certain Lucius Pompeius Krateros Cassianus, who was honored in an inscription of an honorific statue in Olympia,[48] is identical to that on the mosaic in the villa of Skala. However, the stone inscription, which is dated to 210 to 220 AD,[49] would be compatible with the chronological classification of the mosaics in the villa. Moreover, just like the person Krateros named in the villa, the Krateros named in the inscription in Olympia also had a child. This son, called Publius Egnatius Maximus Venustinus, erected the honorific monument in Olympia together with his grandmother Apria Cassia. Therefore, and because there is no other person named Krateros within the possible time frame in the immediate geographical environment, it can be assumed that the persons named Krateros in the inscriptions in Skala and Olympia are one and the same. While in the private sphere of his villa he would have presented himself only with his *cognomen*,[50] it was obligatory in the honorary inscription of the public realm that he was addressed with his full name.

It is conceivable that it was a wealthy family who owned an estate on the nearby island of Cephalonia. Yet, their town residence may have been in the prosperous town of Patras that was easily reachable via the sea and its important harbor. The latter is indicated not only by the proximity of the city to Cephalonia and Olympia, but also by the close stylistic connections of the mosaics of the villa to the mosaic art of this town.

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46 House in the Odos Karolou; cf. Papapostolu, Mosaics of Patras, 50-56; Kolonas and Stavropoulou-Gatzi, *Mouseio Patrōn,* 58-59, fig. 61.

47 LPGN *s. v.* Κράτερος, where, however, the inscription from Cephalonia is missing.

48 IvO 477.

49 This date given in IvO 477 is based on the inscription IvO 122 from 265 AD in which the grandson of Krateros is very probably named; also Zoumbaki, *Roman Personal Names*, 351 no. 32.

50 Cf. Solin, Zur Entwicklung des römischen Namensystems, 5-9, concerning the development from a personal praenomen to a personal cognomen. The use of only the praenomen/cognomen is primarily attested for the private realm of the house.

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Figure 5 Mosaic in room II, detail

Inscriptions in Areas of Historical Western Tibet (*mNga' ris skor gsum*) in their Contexts: A Brief Overview with Selected Examples[1]

Christian Jahoda*

The area of the 10th-11th-century West Tibetan kingdom and its successor kingdoms Purang, Guge and Ladakh is today mainly divided between China and India, with a small part belonging to Nepal. Tibetan inscriptions constitute an important part of the extensive Buddhist heritage and vital cultural traditions in areas all over historical Western Tibet. This paper seeks to present an overview on these inscriptions in key areas of historical Western Tibet, such as Purang and Guge (including Spiti and Upper Kinnaur), based on selected examples, all of which were documented *in situ* during the past two decades by taking into account their various contexts. In the first part, after a brief introduction on the research history, the geographical-historical setting and spatial and functional contexts of inscriptions are discussed, which are mainly characterized by Tibetan Buddhism. Then, the dominating emic concept of religious purpose (merit) and Tibetan terminology related to inscriptions, technical and material realities are briefly given attention before highlighting relevant administrative and ritual practices as well as visual aspects. Finally, structured mainly on the material support on which inscriptions are found (correlating to some degree with the chronological distribution), a number of inscriptions on stone, mineral building materials, metal, clay and cloth are analysed and also presented through illustrations, partly also in transliteration and in translation, in order to demonstrate the various different types of inscriptions, their content, materiality, functions and contexts.

Keywords: historical Western Tibet; Tibetan Buddhism; inscriptions: Tibetan terminology; merit; material support; inscriptions on stone; inscriptions on mineral building materials; inscriptions on cloth; inscriptions on clay.

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1 The transliteration of written Tibetan follows a slightly modified form of the »Wylie system«. Tibetan words are rendered in italics without hyphens. In the case of names, the spelling is in Roman and the root letter (in Tibetan *ming gzhi*) is capitalized. As a rule, on the first mention of a name the spelling corresponding to the academic transliteration is given in brackets.

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Introduction

The first collection of old (pre-9th-century) Tibetan inscriptions was compiled by the Tibetan monk scholar Katok Rindzin Tsewang Norbu[2] (1698-1755) as early as the 18th century. The scientific study of inscriptions in Tibet began in the late 1940s with Hugh E. Richardson (1905-2000)[3] and Giuseppe Tucci (1894-1984).[4] For a long time thereafter it mainly focused on early (c. mid-8th-mid-9th-century) inscriptions on stone pillars or stelae (*rdo ring*), erected with the purpose of making manifest or visible sworn edicts and undertakings, primarily political and/or juridical decisions by the Tibetan emperor (*btsan po*). Most of these inscriptions (including a few on metal bells) are associated with a religious, mainly Buddhist context, in particular Buddhist temples and monasteries.[5] Some early inscriptions which are found at burial mound sites and on rocks deal with the divine status and cult of the emperor.

In the second half of the 20th century, »the corpus of Tibetan inscriptions has been essentially studied from the point of view of its content«.[6] In recent decades this was to some degree also done in connection with the (re-)study and (re-)edition of historiographic texts, such as the »Old Tibetan Annals«[7] and other early (pre-10th-century) written materials found at Dunhuang and other Central Asian sites,[8] partly also with a focus on palaeography and linguistics.[9]

Until now, the study of inscriptions together with the investigation of their immediate and further spatial, societal, narrative, performative and other contexts was carried out in Tibet only in individual cases, partly in combination with historical, social anthropological or archaeological research.[10]

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2 In written Tibetan Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu.

3 Between 1949 and 1978 Richardson published many articles on old inscriptions from Central Tibet. His most widely known publication in this regard is the book *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions* (1985).

4 See, for example, Tucci, *Tombs*.

5 The first traces of Buddhism appeared in Tibet in the 7th century. The earliest Buddhist temples in Tibet, the Jokhang (Jo khang) and Tradruk temples (in Tibetan Khra 'brug, literally »Thundering Falcon«), most probably date from the late 630s (see Sørensen and Hazod, in cooperation with Tsering Gyalbo, *Thundering Falcon*, 15). Initiated by the inauguration (in 779) of the first Buddhist monastery in Samye (bSam yas) (founded with royal support), from the late 8th century onward Buddhism increasingly gained influence, even allowing us to speak of a state religion (see Hazod, Anti-Buddhist Law), although until the end of the Tibetan Empire (c. 866) it did not represent an exclusive ideology (Hazod, Religious conversion).

6 Scherrer-Schaub, Tibetan inscriptions, 139. A major example for such a study is the work by Li and Coblin, *Old Tibetan Inscriptions.*

7 See Dotson, *Old Tibetan Annals*. This text consists of two fragmentary untitled manuscripts – designated as Pelliot Tibétain/PT 1288 (kept in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris) and IOL Tib J 750 (kept in the British Library, London) which were found in the early 20th century in a »hidden library« in the Mogao Caves near Dunhuang in present-day Gansu Province, China.

8 See, for example, Panglung, Grabmäler; Scherrer-Schaub, Towards a methodology; Scherrer-Schaub and Bonani, Typology.

9 See, for example, Hill, Rkong po inscription, and Dotson and Helman-Ważny, *Codicology, Paleography and Orthography*. Additional information on the history of research on Tibetan inscriptions is provided by Tropper, Epigraphy.

10 See, for example, Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus (Pasang Wangdu), *Bod kyi rdo brkos yi ge*; Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, lHa khang gi mtshan byang; Hazod, Sino-Tibetan Treaty pillar; Sha bo mkha' byams (Shawo Khacham), rDo brkos yig rnying.

Studies of inscriptions in areas of historical Western Tibet were carried out mostly within the framework of research on early (10th-12th-century) West Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and temples as well as rock engravings (dating largely from pre-historic periods, to a small degree from the period between c. the 9th and 15th centuries). Essential pioneering work was carried out by August Hermann Francke (1870-1930) and Yo seb dGe rgan (bSod nams Tshe brtan, better known as Joseph Gergan) (c. 1877-1946) between c. 1900 and 1930, followed in the 1930s by Giuseppe Tucci.[11] Since the 1990s studies of inscriptions (as well as related investigations of manuscripts, including palaeography) by Christian Luczanits, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Ernst Steinkellner, Helmut Tauscher and Kurt Tropper within the framework of transdisciplinary research on the founding phase (996-997) of Tabo Monastery in the Spiti valley brought a substantial increase in insights in terms of content and methodology,[12] all of which was also relevant for concurrent and subsequent historical, art-historical, architectural and social anthropological studies.[13] Crucial factors in this process were, on the one hand, the detailed investigation of inscriptions *in situ*, on the other, the continuously improved method of documentation and the extension of surveys of inscriptions to sites with comparable contexts (predominantly Buddhist monuments) in further areas all over historical Western Tibet.[14]

So far inscriptions in areas of historical Western Tibet were, with only a few exceptions, studied from a perspective including their various contexts. It is only during the past decade that research on inscriptions together with their historical, visual, spatial, performative and other contexts was begun. Such investigations were carried out, among others, at Khartse and Tholing in Tsamda District, at Khorchag and Chokro (lCog ro) in Purang District (all in the Tibet Autonomous Region of China), again at Tabo in Spiti, most recently again also in Alchi in Ladakh (in the Himachal Pradesh and Jammu & Kashmir states of India, respectively).[15]

This brief overview with selected examples comprises a wide chronological frame (from the 9th century to the present) and also looks at spatial, political, ritual and other contexts of inscriptions. In addition, the materiality or material support of inscriptions, movability, function, location and further classificatory criteria are included (thereby following suggestions by Scherrer-Schaub in her quest for a descriptive and comprehensive catalogue of Tibetan inscriptions).[16]

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11 See, for example, Francke, *First Collection*; Francke, *Second Collection*; dGe rgan, *Bla dwags rgyal rabs*; Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica I*; Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica II*; Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica III*, Parte I; Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica III*, Parte II.

12 See Luczanits, Minor Inscriptions; Steinkellner and Luczanits, Renovation inscription; Scherrer-Schaub, Towards a methodology; Tauscher, Admonitory inscription; Tropper, New evidence.

13 See Klimburg-Salter *et al.*, *Tabo*; Luczanits, Clay sculptures; Petech, Western Tibet; Feiglstorfer, *Buddhistische Sakralarchitektur*; Jahoda, *Socio-Economic Organisation*; Heller, *Maṇḍala Temple*; Kalantari, Hārītī and Pāñcika.

14 See in particular Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po (Guge Tsering Gyalpo), *mNga' ris chos 'byung*; Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, *Wa chen phug pa'i ldebs ris*; Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, lHa khang gi mtshan byang; Tropper, *Dgung 'phur Monastery*; Tropper, Pang gra phug; Tropper, Dung dkar; Tropper, Lha khang chen mo.

15 See, for example, Tshe ring rgyal po and Papa-Kalantari, in cooperation with Jahoda, *Buddhist Monuments*; Jahoda and Kalantari, Eine frühe buddhistische Steinstele; Heller, Donor inscriptions; Tsering Gyalpo *et al.*, འོག་ཅན་ཆགས། / *Khorchag* / 廓迦寺文史大观; Jahoda and Kalantari, Kingship; Heller, Inscribing; Luczanits, Pearl Garland Composition.

16 See Scherrer-Schaub, Tibetan inscriptions, 140-141.

Geographical and Historical Setting

Historical Western Tibet refers to the territory of the West Tibetan kingdom and its successor kingdoms Purang, Guge and Ladakh.[17] With the exception of Ladakh and the adjacent regions of Zanskar and Ruthok,[18] this overview covers inscriptions in a number of key areas of historical Western Tibet today belonging to China, such as Guge and Purang,[19] as well as areas such as Spiti and Upper Kinnaur in India.[20] The reason for focusing on inscriptions and their contexts in these areas is due to the author's close personal acquaintance with them, based on in-depth field research in situ, in the case of Khartse by way of an exceptionally detailed documentation made by the late Guge Tsering Gyalpo.[21]

The earliest (in contrast to the highland inscriptions documented by Bellezza[22] and those in Alchi, Ladakh, studied by Takeuchi[23] which can be dated with a higher degree of reliability) inscription is from the second quarter of the 9th century or slightly later, that is, from the time of the Tibetan Empire (c. 608-866 CE).[24] This inscription thus predates not only the foundation of the West Tibetan kingdom (around 932) but also the introduction of Buddhism as a state religion in historical Western Tibet which can be dated to 986 (corresponding to a Fire Male Dog year of the Tibetan calendar).[25]

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17 The West Tibetan kingdom was founded in the early 930s by Kyide Nyimagön (sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon), a descendant of the royal Central Tibetan Purgyal (sPu rgyal) dynasty, and lasted until the late 11th century. The realm of this kingdom which became known among other things as Ngari Khorsum (mNga' ris skor gsum, literally »the three circles of the upper [western] subject territories«) encompassed the countries of Purang (sPu rang, also sPu hrengs, etc.), Guge (Gu ge) and Maryül (Mar yul) (to some extent congruent with Ladakh [La dwags]), which, together with lesser regions, such as Zanskar (Zangs dkar), Spiti (sPyi ti), Upper Kinnaur (Khu nu), developed from the 12th century onward into regional successor kingdoms. See Jahoda, *Socio-Economic Organisation,* 50-51.

18 In written Tibetan Ru thog.

19 Guge and Purang correspond more or less to the Tsamda (rTsa' mda'), Gar (sGar), and Purang Districts in the West of the Tibet Autonomous Region of China.

20 These areas (bordering the Tibet Autonomous Region) are nowadays part of the Lahaul-Spiti and Kinnaur Districts in the Indian state of Himachal Pradesh.

21 To include inscriptions from Ladakh and adjacent regions would have exceeded the space available for this contribution. While it is impossible to mention all relevant research works in these areas which deal with inscriptions, attention should be drawn at least to the site of Alchi. Around one hundred short Tibetan rock inscriptions together with drawings of Buddhist *stūpa*s were found there which can most probably be dated to c. the 9th-11th centuries and are particularly relevant on account of a combination of (mainly military) titles, clan and given names appearing in these inscriptions (Takeuchi, Old Tibetan rock inscriptions, 52-54). These names can be related to other sites and allow the identification of different wider contexts, such as the settlement and influence areas of clans, etc. In the case of the monastic complex at Alchi, with a number of Buddhist monuments, temples and *mchod rten* (the earliest being datable from before the 13th century) which feature important Buddhist art, such as wood carvings, sculptures and paintings, and a considerable number of inscriptions, the latter are of great relevance in ongoing debates regarding the dating of these monuments (see, for example, Heller and Shawo Khacham, Tibetan inscriptions at Alchi, and Luczanits, Pearl Garland Composition).

22 See Bellezza, *Written in Stone*.

23 See Takeuchi, Old Tibetan rock inscriptions.

24 Date according to Dotson, Naming the king, 8.

25 See Jahoda and Kalantari, Kingship, 79, 84.

Spatial and Functional Contexts

With a few exceptions, more or less all inscriptions from the sample sites are of a religious nature, in particular characterized by Tibetan Buddhism, that is, different »schools« of Tibetan Buddhism, predominantly those distinguished by a form of monastic organization.[26] Many inscriptions, in particular those of greater length, are therefore found in monastic Buddhist contexts, also in temples (including a number of cave temples).

They are often related to the foundation of these monuments (sometimes also to a renovation or extension) and mostly occur together with (in fact usually in close spatial connection to) wall paintings, additionally also on a variety of more or less movable religious objects which are commonly kept in Buddhist monasteries and temples, such as paintings on cloth (including thangkas, Tib. *thang ka*), sculptures and other ritual objects. The inscriptions' material supports in these cases are usually of durable quality, such as mineral building materials, metal, stone, and wood (of specific quality). In the case of clay and cloth, the surface is specifically treated or coated.

In a smaller number of cases the material support consists of wood, paper and clay with no particular (or specifically enhanced) quality. The objects bearing inscriptions belonging to this category, too, are characterized by a strong relationship to Tibetan Buddhism. In contrast to the other category, they are used for short-term or everyday purpose and function. The function and use (as well as accessibility) of both categories of inscriptions (together with related material supports) is subject to respective religious (Buddhist) criteria, that is, various different rules, regulations and conventions obtaining for monks, nuns, lay (ordained) people, men/women, etc.

The costs for the production of inscriptions (together with the paintings, etc.), also in terms of time and effort (for the procuration of raw material, stone-cutters, scribes, etc.) manifest a clear relevance of socio-economic and religio-political criteria. Wall inscriptions in Buddhist monasteries were one important medium (besides individual scroll documents, Tib. *dril*) for recording the founder and foundation of a monument. Such inscriptions (subsequently also quotes or paraphrases contained in historiographic texts) often also refer to the resources spent for the founding of a monastery.[27] The same is true for the production of exquisite Buddhist scroll paintings (many of which make use of gold, also for inscriptions),

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26 A similar result was reached by John Bellezza with regard to his survey of 77 sites in the sparsely populated highlands of Upper Tibet (averaging around 4,600 m). Forty-one sites in the Changthang (Byang thang) and Tö (sTod) areas were found to contain rock inscriptions, altogether more than 550 epigraphs. The inscriptions, most of which »concern religious matters«, were dated by him to the period between 630 and 1300 CE (Bellezza, *Written in Stone*, 5). In contrast to the examples treated in this paper (from sites between c. 3,800 and 4,200 m), the body of religious inscriptions found by him comprises not only Buddhist mantras, prayers, dedications and memorials but also some of a non-Buddhist nature, »archaic religious [...] and localized religious cults«, either belonging to one form of the Bön (Tib. Bon) religion or »a pan-regional Tibetan religious movement of that time« (*ibid*.). A few »non-religious inscriptions include proper names of people, clans and places, partial alphabets, and labels identifying rock art.« (*ibid.*).

27 These costs were quite enormous. They consisted, first of all, in the donation of land and human power for the construction of a monument, in addition for its decoration through the financing of artisans and their materials, its maintenance through the recruitment of monks from local communities and the allocation (and levying) of dues in kind and labour services from peasant and/or nomadic families. To this can be added the donation of funds for financing an increasing demand for religious rituals and festivals as well as for the financing of repair works and for additional construction works (see Jahoda, Foundations).

but also for metal sculptures (with inscriptions) or stone stelae (which were usually made by order of members of the ruling royal family, the aristocracy or leading Buddhist clergy, during the 10th-12th centuries mostly members of the royal family or one of the leading aristocratic families allied with them).[28] Conversely, inscribed objects and items without specific durability or quality which typically date from more recent periods (19th century onward) are related primarily to the religious practices of (non-aristocratic) communities with sedentary, semi-sedentary and nomadic subjects.

Concept of Religious Purpose: Merit

The founding of Buddhist monuments as well as the creation and production of religious objects (as part of the decoration of a monastery, etc. or independent of this), therefore also all inscriptions appearing in connection with these buildings, paintings or objects or independent of these, are in all cases motivated by basically the same religious purpose, that is, the accumulation of merit (*bsod nams*, Sanskrit *puṇya*), which is of paramount importance in a Buddhist context in order to contribute to a better rebirth and ultimately reach nirvana (*myang 'das*, literally »[a state of having] passed beyond [any] experience«, Skt. *nirvāṇa*), in other words liberation from being reborn or leaving the repeating cycle of birth, life and death. For this reason (in order to relate the merit to the person/s), the names of those who performed such virtuous deeds[29] and asked for the production of such objects (or for whom such objects were ordered to be made), or those who contributed to their making (by way of donations) or those who were responsible for their consecration (Tib. *rab gnas* or *dbang skur*, the latter meaning literally empowerment) – sometimes identical with the person/s just mentioned – are almost always part of the inscription.

Thus, for historical, religious and social anthropological studies of such Buddhist monuments as well as of single objects, the analysis of related inscriptions together with explicitly mentioned emic concepts is an extremely relevant if not necessary element of research with a strong *in situ* and contextual perspective.

28 High or elite social status as well as the resources to afford the costs and access to artists for the creation of floor mosaics with inscriptions as well as related sacrificial rituals in the private context of a *villa rustica* manifest the clear relevance of socio-economic and religio-political criteria in third-century-AD Greece. See the contribution by Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail, this issue.

29 The corresponding Tibetan expression *dge ba'i las* consists of *dge ba*, literally virtue (partly used synonymously with *bsod nams*) and *las* (literally deed, action; Sanskrit *karma*), thus often referred to in translations as »good karma«. A Tibetan author from the 14th century listed the erection of stelae with inscriptions or the engraving of inscriptional texts on stelae as one of »four gates of good royal practice« (Scherrer-Schaub, Tibetan inscriptions, 143). The presence of religious formulas on *tsha tsha* (stamped clay images) is also credited as »especially increasing merit« and »providing multiple benefits such as increasing a person's life span, protecting them from premature death, guaranteeing rebirth in pure lands, purifying past misdeeds and obscurations« (Namgyal Lama, *Tsha tsha* inscriptions, 25).

Terminology: History, Techniques, Materials and Objects

The introduction of the Tibetan script (which is based on an Indic script) seems to date to the decade(s) prior to the mid-7th century. The earliest period covered by the *Old Tibetan Annals* is the early to mid-650s.[30] According to post-dynastic Tibetan sources, »legal and administrative practices were first *inscribed* on wooden slips, and then later transferred to paper« [my emphasis, CJ].[31] These wooden slips or tablets seem to have been referred to as *byang bu*. They were given up for the recording of censuses (*pha los*) in 743/744.[32] The use of »notched pieces of wood[33] and knotted strings in covenants« in Tibet at the time when there were »no written characters« is mentioned by the *Old Tang Annals* (in Chinese *Jiu Tangshu*).[34] A particular sort of early »wooden document« is referred to in the entries of the *Old Tibetan Annals* for the late seventh and early eighth century (that is, for a time when a script and writing had already been introduced) as »red tally« (*khram dmar po*). »Red tallies« (most probably so called because of the use of a red colour, in some cases apparently blood)[35] appear to have been connected with administrative practices of a greater dimension decided by the emperor. They were exchanged for/substituted by/transferred to yellow paper by order of the emperor in 744/745.[36]

In general, tally-sticks (only some of which were coated with red paint) were used for registering administrative information (such as taxes, debts and other data). They were, for example, »employed to relay messages and to keep records and accounts by a system akin to double-entry book-keeping whereby the tally stick was divided into two identical halves.«[37] Many specimens of such sticks (mostly of Tamarisk wood) were found in Central Asian sites such as Miran (which were controlled by the Tibetan army from the late 8th to the mid-9th centuries). They are of sizes up to 40 cm in length and 2 cm in width on the sides and contain

30 Dotson, *Old Tibetan Annals*, 10.

31 Dotson, *Old Tibetan Annals*, 10-11. The corresponding Tibetan word in the sources quoted by Dotson is *rtsis*. The principal meaning of this word is »to count, calculate, enumerate«, which in early Tibetan dynastic sources with respect to related administrative practices (the recording of authoritative information on pieces of wood) seems to have implied also the meaning of »to incise« (see Róna-Tas, Tally-stick, 169-170; Uebach, Red tally, 60), according to Luciano Petech's theory the initial meaning of the term and related to record-keeping on tally sticks (see Dotson, *Old Tibetan Annals*, 55).

32 See Uebach, Red tally, 60; Dotson, *Old Tibetan Annals*, 123; van Schaik, Tibetan invention of writing, 55. This word designates a piece of square, oblong wood, cloth, paper, etc. (*Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo,* vol. II [*bar cha*], 1873). Its root – *byang* – is contained in *mtshan byang* (honorific for *ming byang*, literally »name panel«), in the present a common word relating to (mostly rectangular) captions accompanying and identifying depictions of deities and historical persons in wall paintings (see, for example, Tropper, Epigraphic evidence [in the corresponding Tibetan version of his paper epigraphy is also rendered as *mtshan byang*], and Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, lHa khang gi mtshan byang) and also for inscriptions carved on rocks (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, Brag brkos snang brnyan).

33 The corresponding Tibetan word is not rendered but there are reasons to suspect that it may have been *khram shing*, *khram* meaning »tally«, lit. »notch«, »incision« or »›indentation‹ in wood« (Uebach, Red tally, 57).

34 See Bushell, Early history, 440; Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, 1; Lee, *Early Relations*, 3. Uebach holds tallies (also known in great variety in Tang dynasty China) to have been widespread in early Tibetan state organisation and administration (Uebach, Red tally, 57).

35 Uebach, Red tally, 62.

36 Róna-Tas, Tally-stick, 166; Uebach, Red tally, 61; Dotson, *Old Tibetan Annals*, 124. See also Bialek, *Old Tibetan*, 122-131, for a comprehensive discussion of the archaeological evidence, linguistic aspects and historical context of red and plain, unpainted tallies (*khram skya*).

37 Dotson, *Old Tibetan Annals*, 52.

writing, often only a few words, and incisions (notches),[38] the short ones being used either to record numerical data (for example, an amount of grain) and the long ones to serve for later match-up or identification.[39]

The conclusions to be drawn from this with regard to the Tibetan terminology used for inscription/s are:

Before the time of the introduction of a script (around the 630s), the word *rtsis*, used in general for the calculating and recording of numerical data and information, perhaps with an original meaning of »to incise«, implied the making of notches and indentations on wooden slips and tablets (*byang bu*) and wooden sticks (*khram shing*). Whether such calculations and enumerations by way of the technique of incision were made exclusively (or primarily) on wood is difficult to tell on account of missing archaeological evidence and written sources.

Beside a description in a contemporary Chinese source, information on this practice is contained in an early post-dynastic account: »The one who arranged the administration [...] was Mgar Stong-btsan [mGar sTong btsan]. He had six *mdzo*-loads of paper [*shog bu*] brought, and wrote down what had been previously arranged [*rtsis*] using pebbles [*rde'u*] and wooden slips (*shing-bu*).«[40] mGar sTong btsan was a leading administrative official from the early 640s onward and served as chief minister (*blon che*, lit. »great minister«) from c. 652-667/668.[41] The entry for the year 655/656 in the *Old Tibetan Annals* mentions that he »wrote the texts of the laws« (*grims* [*khrims*] *gyi yi ge bris*) in this year.[42] The Tibetan words *bris* (to write) and *yi ge* (meaning letter, character, text, written language) clearly indicate that in these instances the technique of writing (*bris*) a text on paper was used (implying the use of ink and a writing utensil),[43] in contrast to the earlier technique of incising (*rtsis*) wooden slips (*shing bu* or *byang bu*) with the help of small stones (*rde'u*).

In view of the fact that as early as the year 655/656, the writing of texts (*yi ge bris*) is recorded, it seems not to be improbable that textual recordings in the sense of inscriptions were made in the form of letters/words either incised or written with ink on wooden tablets, slips or sticks not long after the introduction of a script (from around the 630s onward).

The techniques (incising, writing), material (wood, paper), object (*shing bu*, *byang bu*, in particular *khram shing*, notched pieces of wood, and, *shog dril*, scrolls of paper)[44] and the kind of data (numerical, textual) recorded are clearly differentiated in the respective phrases. However, no specific word for inscription *per se* existed or was developed over the course of time.[45]

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38 See Róna-Tas, Tally-stick, 166-167, 179.

39 Takeuchi, Military administration, 44-48.

40 Dotson, *Administration and Law*, 351.

41 See also Hazod, Graves of the chief ministers, 48-53.

42 Dotson, *Old Tibetan Annals*, 85.

43 As reported in the contemporary *Tang Annals* (see van Schaik, Tibetan invention of writing, 56).

44 The two extant versions of the *Old Tibetan Annals* are written on such scrolls, the bigger one measuring 25.8 x 434 cm. As in the case of legal and administrative practices, which were first inscribed on wooden slips according to post-dynastic sources, it is assumed that the early entries in these annals were also initially written on wooden slips (also suggested by their brief and laconic nature) (Dotson, *Old Tibetan Annals*, 10-11).

45 This is similar to ἐπιγραφή (from *epigraphein*, to write upon, incise) in ancient Greek and *inscriptio* in Latin, corresponding to the German word *Beschriftung* which, like the Greek and Latin (but, until now, in contrast to the Tibetan), found use in the various definitions of epigraphy as a delimited academic discipline or field of study. See, for example, Kloos, *Epigraphik,* 2, and Rhoby, Byzantine epigraphy, 17-29.

As in the self-referential use found in the earliest inscriptions,[46] the usual way to describe and classify inscriptions was by phrases which stated that letters/a text (*yi ge*) was written (*bris*) on, engraved and carved (*brkos*), impressed or stamped (by way of a seal or stamp, *mu dra* or *phyag rgya btab*, incised with a text) into, or painted (*bris*)[47] onto a certain material such as stone (*rdo*), etc., as well as its place and location. This was also applied in the earliest catalogue of Tibetan inscriptions established in the 18th century by Katok Rindzin Tsewang Norbu[48] and is still observed in modern collections, partly with some additional differentiation and information, for example, whether texts of inscriptions were found on processed stone (for example, on stone-pillars/stelae, *rdo ring*) or unprocessed stone (rock, *brag*), often together with the technique, such as carved (*brkos*).[49] In Tibetan sources from the 13th-19th centuries prescriptions for the use of certain inks, with distinct qualities in terms of base of colour (for example, vermilion [*mtshal*], musk [*gla rtsi*], etc.) and also scent (*dri bzang po*), can also be found in connection with handwritten inscriptions in or on certain clay objects (*tsha tsha*).[50]

Context: Historical, Administrative, Ritual and Visual Aspects

Quite clear descriptions also exist with regard to the context of recording practices which can be identified for the pre-writing phase with the calculation and recording of numerical data for administrative practices, while from the 650s onward (soon after the introduction of a script) the legislation of law and political order into a standardized body of catalogues of royal law (based on various earlier legal and bureaucratic manuals) was begun.

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46 A sort of model phrase is found, for example, in the (north face) inscription on the Shöl (Zhol) stela in Lhasa from c. 764): *gtsigs gnang ba'i mdo rdo rings la yi ger* [according to an earlier reading *yig gru*] *bris* – »a summary of the edict was put into writing [›square‹ letters were inscribed] on a stone-pillar«). See Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus, *Bod kyi rdo brkos yi ge*, 8, and Richardson*, Early Tibetan Inscriptions,* 16, for the Tibetan text. On the Shöl stela and its date, see also Dotson, *Administration and Law*, 372, Dotson, *Old Tibetan Annals*, 19, and Hazod (Wandernde Wahrzeichen, 1), who states that the inscriptions on the three sides of this monument can be identified »as the oldest known Tibetan stone inscriptions and earliest extant documentation of Tibetan writing« (Hazod, Wandering monuments, 31). Another example for such a standard phrase is found on the stela at Chongye ('Phyong rgyas) from c. 800 dedicated to the emperor Khri Srong lde brtsan sometime after his passing away: *sku yon tan yongs kyis brjod pa'i yi ge / nam zhig rdo rings la bris* – »the [written] words (*yi ge*) which comprehensively express His [the emperor's] virtues have been written for all time on a stone-pillar«. See Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus, *Bod kyi rdo brkos yi ge*, 32, Richardson, *Early Tibetan Inscriptions*, 38, and Li and Coblin, *Old Tibetan Inscriptions,* 229, for the Tibetan text and Doney, *Khri Srong lde brtsan*, 109-110, for a full translation of the inscription.

47 From *'bri*, which, in addition to »to write« (and in combination with other words), also carries the meaning of to draw, paint, delineate, compose.

48 Richardson, *Early Tibetan Inscriptions*, 36, 72.

49 See Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus, *Bod kyi rdo brkos yi ge*, 1-2. Some chapter titles in this book follow closely the earlier 18th century practice: *'phyong rgyas stag rtse zam sna'i rdo ring yi ge* (*ibid.*: 29-34): text (*yi ge*, »inscription«) [on] the stone stela (*rdo ring*) at the head of the bridge (*zam sna*) in 'Phyong rgyas stag rtse; *rgyal sde skar chung lha khang gi rdo ring yi ge* (*ibid*.: 42-55): text (*yi ge*, »inscription«) [on] the stone stela (*rdo ring*) at the temple (*lha khang*) of rGyal sde skar chung; *lho brag brag brkos yi ge* (*ibid*.: 126-132): text (*yi ge*, »inscription«) carved (*brkos*) [on] a rock (*brag*) in lHo brag; *Khri lde srong btsan bang so'i rdo ring yi ge* (*ibid*.: 133-146): text (*yi ge*, »inscription«) [on] the stone stela (*rdo ring*) of the grave mound (*bang so*) of [the emperor] Khri lde srong btsan.

50 See Namgyal Lama, *Tsha tsha* inscriptions, 19.

Available textual and archaeological evidence together with the analysis of the historical political context makes evident that while, on the one hand, new techniques of recording information (use of script) and new materials related to this (paper) were introduced or used (stone, metal) leading in various ways to a greater differentiation, it was also a gradual process in which earlier material and technical realities were continued over a longer period, partly side by side with new ones, partly by way of adapting the previously used materials and objects (such as wooden slips) to new techniques (writing, carving), and partly also by applying new forms of information (textual, also visual) and – related to this – also new techniques (for example, stone-cutting) – to (for this context) new materials (stone, metal).

Important elements related to these technical, material and other realities are ritual and performative as well as symbolic aspects which should not be overlooked as they constitute an essential part of these practices.

First of all, the swearing of oaths was a strongly established ritual practice in early Tibetan history. There is ample evidence in historical sources that the idea of »binding words« (together with related rituals) was perhaps the most important aspect for the legitimation of all kinds of contracts and contractual relationships, particularly those in which the ruler was involved.[51] In a number of cases the combination of oath-swearing with animal sacrifice and blood rituals is also manifest, which continued to be practised into the early 9th century in connection with the erection of stone stelae with inscriptions and the simultaneous production of paper copies.[52] The use of blood, which seems to have been closely associated with these practices before the introduction of writing, as well as the more general symbolism of the colour red, such as was applied in the case of the red tally and possibly also in the design of the imperial stone stelae during the second half of the 8th and first half of the 9th century,[53] are further relevant visual elements associated with concepts of royal power (later also carried over into the field of Buddhist authority).

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51 »The clan leaders were bound to the *tsenpo* [emperor], and each other, by the most solemn of oaths, sworn beneath the heavenly bodies, before the great mountains, and in the presence of the divine beings of the earth. The oath was carved in stone and sealed with a sacrifice.« (van Schaik, *Tibet*, 4). Also, the use of stones on which are carved sun and moon symbols or swastikas, over which oaths were sworn, is mentioned (see Walter, *Buddhism and Empire,* 50).

52 This was, for example, also the case for the treaty of 821/822 concluded between China and Tibet on the occasion of which »oath-taking was accompanied by the sacrifice of animals, and, according to the T'ang Annals, all the participants [...] smeared their lips with the blood. That was a regular part of Tibetan ceremonial on such occasions – e.g. at the annual oath of loyalty to the *btsan-po* [emperor].« (Richardson, *Early Tibetan Inscriptions*, 107). Oath-taking and the sacrifice of animals was also recorded in the inscription on the monumental stone-stela *(rdo ring*) set up in Lhasa subsequently: »the sun and moon, planets and stars have been invoked as witnesses; its purport has been expounded in solemn words; the oath has been sworn with the sacrifice of animals; and the agreement has been solemnized. [...] Thus the rulers and ministers of both Tibet and China declared, and swore the oath [*mnga'*]; and the text having been written in detail it was sealed with the seals of both great kings. It was inscribed [*lag yig du bris*] with the signatures of those ministers who took part in the agreement and the text [*yi ge*] of the agreement was deposited in the archives of each party.« (Richardson, *Early Tibetan Inscriptions*, 127). On the rituals accompanying treaties concluded between China and Tibet in the 8th and 9th centuries, see also Imaeda, Rituel des traités.

53 Indications for this exist with the 8th-century stone stela at Samye (bSam yas) in Central Tibet (Richardson, *Early Tibetan Inscriptions*, 26) and the early 9th-century stela at Chokro (lCog ro) in western Tibet (on which see below). See also Schuh, Stein- und Felsinschriften.

Selected Examples

The following selection is structured mainly according to the material support on which the inscriptions are found. This allows us to some degree at the same time to follow the chronological distribution of the given evidence in each category, starting with inscriptions on stone, followed by inscriptions on mineral building materials (from monastic sites) and finally those on metal, clay, and cloth (mainly related to movable objects).

Inscriptions on Stone

The oldest extant example for an inscription on stone in historical Western Tibet is found on a stela (*rdo ring*) located in a raised position on the right bank of the Peacock (rMa bya) river in a small farming settlement called Chokro (lCog ro) near the town of Purang in the eponymous district in the far west of the Tibet Autonomous Region of China.

Fig. 1(a-b): Stela with Chenrézik (sPyan ras gzigs, Skt. Avalokiteśvara) image on front (east) side and inscriptions on south (left) and north sides (right); Chokro (lCog ro) village, Purang District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China (photo: Christian Jahoda, 2007).

This stela (h. 185 cm, average width on front and rear sides 50 cm, on the other sides c. 18 cm) features a relief portrayal of a standing image of 'Phags pa sPyan ras gzigs dbang phyug (in Sanskrit Ārya-Avalokiteśvara) facing east[54] and a two-part, religiously motivated inscription on the south- and north-facing sides.

54 The preferred direction for the orientation of Buddhist monuments is towards the east. The main door (as well as the main cult image) often faces eastward. The orientation of figurative representations as well as of inscriptions towards room entrances (that is, in relation to the person/s entering the room/s) is similarly relevant in other contexts. See the contribution by Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail, this issue.

Fig. 2: Upper front view of stela with butter marks; Chokro (lCog ro) village, Purang District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China (photo: Patrick Sutherland, 2010).

Fig. 3: Detail of inscription on stela facing south; Chokro (lCog ro) village, Purang District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2004).

The inscription can be translated thus:
In the first half of the first autumn month in the Year of the Horse, Khri brtsan sgra mGon po rgyal of the 'Bro,[55] *seng ge* (lion)[56] and great *zhang*,[57] dedicating equally among all the numberless sentient beings [the merit therefrom accruing], requested that a relief made of stone with an image of Ārya-Avalokiteśvara ('Phags pa sPyan ras gzigs dbang phyug) be set up.[58] This root of virtuousness shall be dedicated to the benefit of all sentient beings without exception!

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55 An aristocratic clan which was allied with the ruling royal family of imperial Tibet and later also highly influential in the West Tibetan kingdom.

56 A great honorary title, presumably one specifically related to the 'Bro clan.

57 Literally, »maternal uncle«, expressing a relationship to the ruler on the mother's side or from the clan of the [classificatory] mother's brother (such as the 'Bro), who, in the time of the monarchy, exercised functions as a minister or another high-ranking official (see also Dotson, Note on *źaṅ*). The changing »systems« of names and titles manifest in inscriptions and historiographical sources dating from different periods is an important aspect for studies of the related societal context, in particular of socio-political and religious hierarchies. See also below (inscriptions on mineral building materials) and the contribution by Rathmayr and Scheibelreiter-Gail, this issue.

58 The expression *gsol pa* in the inscription also seems to permit an interpretation in the sense of *gsol mchod*, so that the request by 'Bro Khri brtsan sgra mGon po rgyal for the erection of the stela can also be seen as being connected with a sacrificial ritual in which the divinity (*yul lha, gzhi bdag*) who lives in and rules the area is asked for permission or blessing for the erection.

> Praise! In the presence of Ārya-Avalokiteśvara (’Phags pa sPyan ras gzigs dbang phyug) I confess to all [my] misdeeds. There is a joy over and above all merit (*bsod nams*). As far as the obstacle of the afflictions (*nyon mongs pa’i sgrib pa*, Skt. *kleśāvaraṇa*) and the obstacle of the knowable (*shes bya’i sgrib pa*, Skt. *jñeyāvaraṇa*), these two things, are concerned, they will be removed. As far as the great accumulation of merit (*bsod nams*) and wisdom (*ye shes*), these two things, is concerned, it will be brought to perfect completion, and then I, *zhang* ’Bro Khri brtsan sgra mGon po rgyal, and all the numberless sentient beings shall one day attain unsurpassable Buddhahood!

Detailed comparative analysis of the evidence contained in the text of the inscription together with an assessment of the art-historical and palaeographic features permits a tentative dating of the stela and its inscription to the 9th century, most probably around (Fire Horse year) 826 or (Earth Horse year) 838 or in one of the following Horse years (perhaps even as late as the early 10th century).[59]

The inscribed stela seems to be in the tradition of the *rdo ring* from the royal period in Central Tibet, in terms of its calligraphic features and design (including the use of the colour red) as well as through its relationship to an individual of obviously socio-politically elevated status, in this case the member of a high-ranking aristocratic clan. The depicted motif, an image of Avalokiteśvara, the cult of which was introduced, according to later sources, as early as the 7th century (reportedly in relation to this bodhisattva’s function as protector of kingship), is a new element (which, at least, cannot be found on contemporary stone stelae from Central Tibet). Also the visual and aesthetic language of the carved image was usually associated with other media and objects (of this time) than stelae made of stone.

What is highly remarkable in the case of the stela is the explicit public Buddhist (self-) confession (and self-fashioning) of a high-ranking person, in this case through the worship of Avalokiteśvara, in a region and at a time where/when Buddhism seems not to have been present at all.[60] Accordingly, it can be assumed that the intended function consisted not only in a religious motif (related to the individual concerned and his clan), it must have also had a political significance (corresponding to the rank and area of power of the person who commissioned it). One aspect of this may have been that Buddhism, which »was the dominant »high culture« paradigm [...] in the four directions immediately around Tibet«[61] during much of the time of the Tibetan Empire, must have also served for the purpose of empire-building in a border area like Western Tibet (as earlier in Central Asia). In addition, uninscribed

59 See Jahoda and Kalantari, Eine frühe buddhistische Steinstele, and Papa-Kalantari and Jahoda, A New Perspective, for initial reports and discussions of this stela (based on a documentation in situ in 2007), and Jahoda and Kalantari, Power and religion, for a comprehensive account of relevant historical, artistic and religious contexts (early 9th-century Tibet and Central Asia, reliefs in stone in early Tibetan art, cult of Avalokiteśvara). This account (based on comprehensive documentation *in situ* in 2010) also provides very detailed photography of the inscription and allows revision of some minor editorial flaws in earlier works (such as Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring, sPyan ras gzigs kyi rdo ring, and Iwao *et al.*, *Old Tibetan Inscriptions*).

60 There is no archaeological or written evidence for any presence of Buddhism anywhere in historical Western Tibet – with the exception of this stela – before the late 10th century.

61 Beckwith, Central Eurasian culture complex, 230.

stone pillars (in considerable number) were part of the cultural practices in this area, most probably related to the worship of ancestors, so that the erection of this stela could be seen to represent a new »high culture« variant of older local stelae related to a non-Tibetan population (*mon rdo*).[62]

As is often the case with monuments of this kind, the Chokro stela also still has a living function within the village community. Joint ceremonial circumambulations (*skor ba*) and butter offerings (on the bodhisattva relief) in the course of main village festivals are ongoing worship practices in the present which might be relevant to further research and should therefore not be ignored.[63]

Inscriptions on stone dating from more recent periods, usually dating to times after the 16th century, are also found on stone slabs which are inscribed with Buddhist mantras such as *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ* (in Tibetan characters), which is specifically used to call the bodhisattva Chenrézik (sPyan ras gzigs, Skt. Avalokiteśvara). Sometimes stone slabs with such inscriptions are found in huge numbers and erected to form consolidated standing structures which are referred to accordingly as *maṇi* walls. In various areas of historical Western Tibet canonical texts were carved onto a series of stone slabs dedicated to family members »after their death in order to gather merit and to thus contribute to his or her favourable rebirth«.[64]

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62 Further finds of stone stelae in historical Western Tibet already belonging to the period of the West Tibetan kingdom were made at Pooh (sPu) in Upper Kinnaur (from the 11th century, associated with a leading member of the royal family, with representations of a bodhisattva figure in shallow relief on one side and a *mchod rten* [Sanskrit *stūpa*], a type of commemorative Buddhist monument, on the other) and at Kyuwang (Kyu wang) in the Tsamda District of West Tibet. This stela (without inscription) which features images recalling a four-faced image of Nampar Nangdzé (rNam par snang mdzad, Sanskrit Vairocana) and also *mchod rten* is associated with the Great Translator (*lo chen*) Rinchen Zangpo (Rin chen bzang po) (958-1055). These two examples seem to have had a similar religio-political function as the earlier one at Chokro although on a much more regional and limited scale.

63 The same is true for local oral accounts which have it that in the early 10th century Chokro was the residence area of a minister (*blon po*) of the founder of the West Tibetan dynasty Kyide Nyimagön called Lekdra Lhalek (Legs sgra lha legs) from the aristocratic Chokro (lCog ro) clan. It is also said of the stela that it was originally brought from Central Tibet (dBus gTsang) by this clan. The moving of an inscribed stone stela is discussed by Hazod in the case of the famous Shöl stela in Lhasa (Sørensen and Hazod, in cooperation with Tsering Gyalbo, *Rulers on the Celestial Plain*, 602-603).

64 Tropper, Epigraphy, 1015.

Fig. 4: Inscribed stone slabs, near Sher village, Tsamda (rTsa' mda') District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2011).

Fig. 5: Stone slabs featuring inscriptions of Buddhist mantras such as oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ *in Tibetan »headed« script (*dbu can*) and in Landza (*la nydza*, a calligraphic script of Indic origin which was adopted in Tibet for the rendering of Sanskrit mantras); near Sher village, Tsamda (rTsa' mda') District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2011).*

Fig. 6: Buddhist site with temple (11th-century foundation) and maṇi *walls with inscribed stone slabs, Mang nang (Mang nang) Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China (photo: Christian Jahoda, 2007).*

Inscriptions on Mineral Building Materials

A large number of inscriptions are found in the earliest West Tibetan foundations of Buddhist monasteries and temples from the late 10th-early 11th century as well as from the consecutive periods. The related material supports of wall inscriptions (many of which are, at least to some degree, well preserved to date) can be identified as masonry covered with plaster (consisting of gypsum, quartz, clay, etc.) on which a preparation layer called the »ground« and a »size«, an organic coating, are applied.[65]

These inscriptions of varying length (from short captions to longish quotes from canonical sources) appear in association with wall paintings which depict, for example, specific historical figures and events, such as the foundation, consecration and renovation of temples (or parts of them), or, in a few cases, also in monuments commemorating a deceased person, such as donor inscriptions in an early 11th-century commemorative Buddhist monument (*mchod rten*) in Tholing. Inscriptions also serve to explain narrative religious paintings, the content of the scenes and activities depicted as well as their ideological meaning.

Early examples of such inscriptions which are also well preserved were found at the monastery of Tabo. In the monastery's entry hall (*sgo khang*), the lower south and north walls are covered with friezes of images representing the royal and monastic elite on the occasion of a public ceremony, most probably connected with the foundation or consecration of the

65 See Bayerová, Painting materials and techniques, 237.

monastery. The depictions of these figures, identified through accompanying captions,[66] are executed on both walls in the form of a strict grid-system illustrating an elite assembly expressing a strong hierarchical order. On the south wall are depicted ordained monks, nuns and ordained lay persons, all of them members of the royal family or one of the aristocratic clans. In the centre of the uppermost register, at the position of highest status, the founder of the monastery, Yeshe Ö (Ye shes 'od), is depicted flanked by his sons.[67]

*Fig 7(a): Wall painting of ordained monks, nuns and ordained lay persons identified by inscriptions in captions placed next to them; entrance hall (*sgo khang*), wall facing south, Tabo Monastery (Lahaul-Spiti District, Himachal Pradesh, India), late 10th century (photo: Christiane Kalantari, 2009).*

66 See Luczanits, Minor inscriptions, 103-117, for an edition of these captions.

67 Yeshe Ö was perhaps *the* most important and influential person in the early history of Western Tibet, who, according to all relevant sources, was responsible for the Buddhist transformation of Western Tibet in the late 10th/early 11th century. He is named as Tri Désong Tsuktsen (Khri Lde srong Gtsug btsan), also as Tri Désongtsen (Khri Lde srong btsan) and Tri Désongtsuk (Khri Lde srong gtsug) but became much better known through his ordination name as the Buddhist monk Yeshé Ö in 989.

Fig. 7(b): Detail of wall painting depicting Yeshe Ö (Ye shes 'od), the founder of Tabo Monastery, flanked by this sons Devarāja and Nāgarāja identified through inscriptions; from left to right: (1) lha sras na ga ra dza *(ordained [lay practitioner] Prince Nāgarāja), (2)* dge slong *[uncertain reading]* chen po ye shes 'od *(»Great Monk« Jñānaprabha), (3)* lha btsun pa de ba ra dza *(»Royal Monk« Devarāja); entrance hall (*sgo khang*), Tabo Monastery (Lahaul-Spiti District, Himachal Pradesh, India) (photo: Christiane Kalantari, 2009).*

On the north wall, lay figures are depicted, according to the identifying captions also of royal status but without mention of having taken a religious vow.

*Fig. 8(a): Wall painting of royal and aristocratic lay figures identified by inscriptions in captions placed next to them; entrance hall (*sgo khang*), wall facing north, Tabo Monastery (Lahaul-Spiti District, Himachal Pradesh, India), late 10th century (photo: Patrick Sutherland, 2009).*

*Fig. 8(b): Detail of wall painting depicting Prince Jigten Gön (*lha sras 'jig rten mgon*) and Princess Ö Tro (*lha lcam 'od 'phro*) identified through inscriptions; entrance hall (*sgo khang*), wall facing north, Tabo monastery (Lahaul-Spiti District, Himachal Pradesh, India), late 10th century (photo: Patrick Sutherland, 2009).*

The distinction between these two wall paintings is obviously first of all based on religious criteria, in addition also taking account of political status and descent, gender and age.[68] Sumptuous robes, baldachins and luxury textiles function as symbols of royal descent and markers of high status for the purpose of the self-fashioning of a religio-political elite.

In the same monastery's assembly hall (*'du khang*), an inscription from 1042 records the partial renovation of the temple by Jangchub Ö (Byang chub 'od) forty-six years after the original foundation by his grand-uncle Yeshe Ö.[69] This inscription is contained in a panel located immediately below a painting of an assembly consisting of the religious and lay elite, with the enthroned Jangchub Ö – entitled as »*dharma* king (and) lord monk« (*chos rgyal rje btsun*) and »royal monk« (*rje rgyal lha btsun*) in the inscription – in the centre.[70]

*Fig. 9: Wall painting depicting Jangchub Ö (Byang chub 'od), responsible for the renovation of Tabo Monastery according to the inscription underneath, amidst an assembly of the religious and lay elite; assembly hall ('*du khang*), wall leading to the sanctum (*dri gtsang khang*), Tabo Monastery (Lahaul-Spiti District, Himachal Pradesh, India), c. 1042 (photo: Christiane Kalantari, 2009).*

68 See Jahoda and Kalantari, Kingship, 89-98, for a detailed analysis of these paintings.

69 See Steinkellner and Luczanits, Renovation inscription, for an edition of this inscription.

70 These titles not only agree with the double functions he held between 1037 and 1057 according to historiographical sources, giving him supremacy in religious affairs and worldly power, but also with the depicted combination of monastic garb and emblems of worldly royal power.

The whole content of the inscription (together with a few captions within the related painting) expresses a strictly Buddhist notion of kingship, with the religio-political sovereign at the centre of his domain (hierarchically structured predominantly along religious criteria), with different religious, political and social status being illustrated through costumes, head-dresses, jewellery and other markers of status and social belonging.[71]

Comparable to this is the depiction of historical figures in a *mchod rten* at Tholing Monastery datable to c. 1019 (or 1025) (*fig. 10*) showing, in addition to a figure in royal dress, men and women from one prominent aristocratic clan, all individually identified through short captions, in order to record their reverential presence at an important ritual occasion and their function as donors (associated with the accumulation of merit) (*fig. 11*).

Fig. 10: Wall painting depicting in the lower registers historical figures identified by inscriptions in captions placed next to them; mchod rten*, Tholing (mTho gling) Monastery, Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, c. 1019 or 1025 (photo: Zhang Jianlin, c. 1997).*

71 See Jahoda and Kalantari, Kingship, 98-101, for a more comprehensive discussion of the various visual elements of this painting.

Fig. 11: Detail of wall painting depicting members of the aristocratic Rugs wer (also Hrugs wer) clan (identified through inscriptions; from left to right: rugs wer skyid 'ar ma; rugs wer khri dog rje; rugs wer srid gsum mkhar; rugs wer tsol*) at the time of participating at a commemorative religious ritual, presumably related to the passing away of Yeshe Ö;* mchod rten*, Tholing (mTho gling) Monastery, Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, c. 1019 or 1025 (photo: Zhang Jianlin, c. 1997).*

Similar captions are found in many Buddhist monasteries and temples all over historical Western Tibet dating from various different periods. In some of these sites, like in one of the cave temples in Khartse (dating from the 14th/15th century), the most prominent politico-religious figures of the 10th and 11th centuries, such as Yeshe Ö (947-1019 or 1024), Jangchub Ö (984-1078), Zhiwa Ö (Zhi ba 'od, 1016-1111) and the Great Translator Rinchen Zangpo (958-1055) are honoured through portraits accompanied by short identifying captions. Interestingly these paintings in the interstices between mandalas (*dkyil 'khor*, Sanskrit *maṇḍala*) show them as eminent spiritual teachers (*bla ma*, Sanskrit *guru*) (with respective gestures), without any reference to worldly contexts. This predominantly religious mode of representation agrees with their titles in the inscriptions, where they are revered through titles as elevated *bla ma*s and in the case of Jangchub Ö as *pho [b]rang btsun pa* (literally »monk from the palace«), a title reserved for those who were in charge of protecting the Buddhist teachings (*bstan pa skyong ba*).

Fig. 12(a): Wall painting featuring a double portrait of Butön Rinchendrup (Bu ston Rin chen grub, 1290–1363) and mandalas; cave temple (mKhar rdzong lha khang), wall facing north, Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, c. 14th/15th century (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2010).

Fig. 12(b): Detail of wall painting depicting Yeshe Ö (Ye shes 'od) according to the inscription (»Homage to the ›Royal Lama‹ Yeshe Ö«, lha bla ma ye shes 'od la na mo*); cave temple (mKhar rdzong lha khang), wall facing north, Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, c. 14th/15th century (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2010).*

Fig. 12(c): Detail of wall painting depicting Rinchen Zangpo (Rin chen bzang po) according to the inscription (»Homage to the ›Great Translator‹ Rinchen Zangpo«, lo chen rin chen bzang po la na mo*); cave temple (mKhar rdzong lha khang), wall facing north, Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, c. 14th/15th century (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2010).*

Fig. 13(a): Detail of wall painting depicting Jangchub Ö (Byang chub 'od) according to the inscription (»Homage to the ›Monk from the Palace‹ [Jangchub Ö]«, pho [b]rang btsun pa la na mo*); cave temple (mKhar rdzong lha khang), wall facing north, Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, c. 14th/15th century (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2010).*

Fig. 13(b): Detail of wall painting depicting Zhiwa Ö (Zhi ba 'od) according to the inscription (»Homage to the ›Royal Lord Lama‹ Zhiwa Ö«, lha rje bla ma zhi ba 'od la na mo*); cave temple (mKhar rdzong lha khang), wall facing north, Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, c. 14th/15th century (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2010).*

Another function of inscriptions, not only in early Buddhist monasteries such as Tabo, is to accompany certain categories of narrative paintings, such as the Life of the Buddha, or stories about the earlier lives (*skye rabs*, Sanskrit *jātaka*) of the Buddha. These are a characteristic genre in the decorative programmes of early western Tibetan temples in various media (wall paintings and also wood carvings on portals) which aimed at promoting the (for the early 11th century new) Buddhist life ideal in the region and served as models of virtuous behaviour of every human being desiring to follow the Buddha's path to liberation.

*Fig. 14: Wall paintings (with inscribed panels) featuring the story of Nor bzang/s (Sanskrit Sudhana) in his pious quest for supreme enlightenment in the lower register; assembly hall ('*du khang*), wall facing south, Tabo Monastery (Lahaul-Spiti District, Himachal Pradesh, India), c. 1042 (photo: Christiane Kalantari, 2009).*

Fig. 15: Wall painting (with inscribed panels) featuring the Life of the Buddha (birth scene); Cave 1, wall facing west, Dungkar (Dung dkar), Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, c. mid-12th century (photo: Christiane Kalantari, 2007).

Another category of inscription is that which serves to consecrate different types of religious supports (with depictions of Buddhist deities). Such consecratory inscriptions[72] are often specific sacred words (*sngags*, Sanskrit *mantra*) or beneficial formulas (*gzungs*, Sanskrit *dhāraṇī*) which appear not only on inscribed clay images (*tsha tsha*) and scroll paintings (*thang ka*) (on which see further below) but also on wall paintings, such as in the cave temple at Zhag dating from the 12th century.

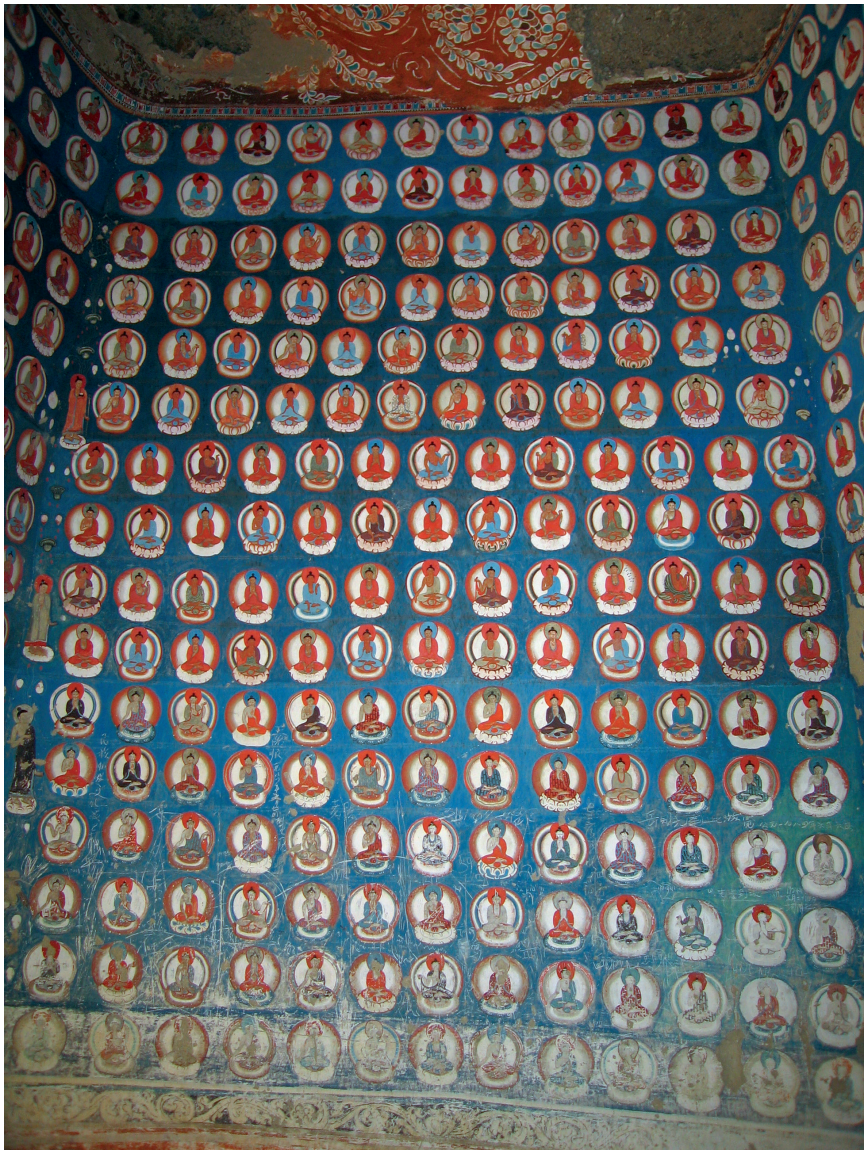


Fig. 16: Wall painting depicting One Thousand Buddhas of the Fortunate Aeon (sKal pa bzang po, Sanskrit Bhadrakalpa) motif; cave temple, Zhag (Zhak), Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, 12th century (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2009).

72 See also Namgyal Lama, *Tsha tsha* inscriptions, 15-16.

Fig. 17: Detail of wall painting, One Thousand Buddhas of the Fortunate Aeon, with related Tibetan inscription: de bzhin gshegs pa nor bu'i zhabs / ye dha rma he tu pra bha ba he tun te shan ta tha' ga to hya ba dad te shan tsa yo ni ro dha e bam ba ti ma ha' shra ma ṇa *(rendering the Sanskrit* ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgaḥ hyavadat teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha ebaṃ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ*), »Tathāgata [Buddha] Ratnapada, All things originate from causes of which the Tathāgatas [Buddhas] have taught the causes, and that which is the cessation of the causes is also proclaimed by the Great Sage,« 12th century (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2009).*

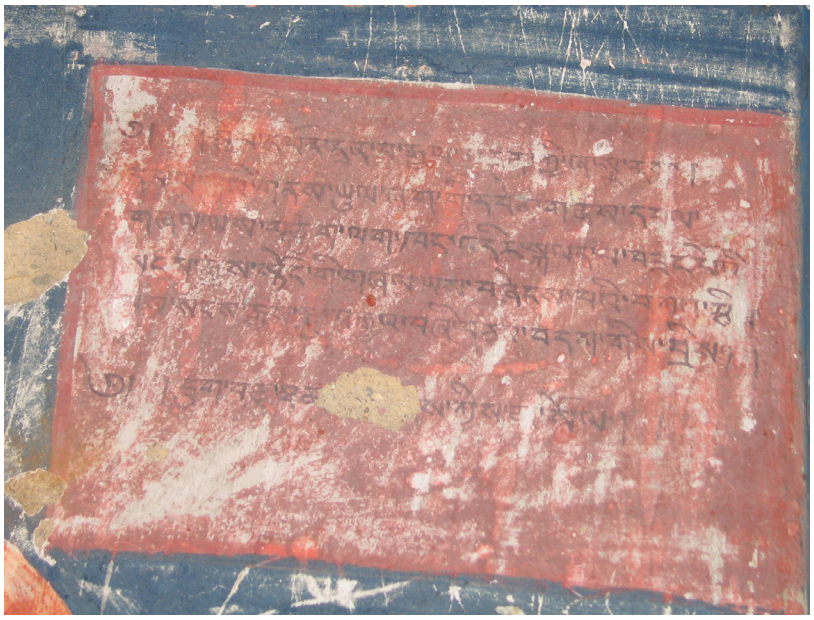


Fig. 18: Inscription reading: slob dpon dran pa rgyal mtshan gyi zha snga nas / dpal zhu'i gnas yul zhag gi dben gnas dpal gzhal yas gtsug lag khang 'dir skald pa bzang po'i sangs rgyas stong gi gzhal yas bzhengs pa'i bka' rtsis las sangs rgyas rgu brgya' bzhi bcu bdag gis bris / / drug bcu tham *[a few syllables are no longer extant]*s kyis ma sol / / *(transliteration: Tsering Gyalpo, Christian Jahoda), »In the presence of the teacher (*slob dpon*, Sanskrit* ācarya*) Drenpa Gyeltsen (Dran pa rgyal mtshan) were painted by me [the painter] in this magnificent immeasurable temple (*gtsug lag khang*) of the hermitage in the glorious sacred place of Zhag 940 Buddhas instead of the prescribed immeasurable 1,000 Buddhas of the Fortunate Aeon (*skald pa bzang po*, Sanskrit Bhadrakalpa). [...] 60 were not effected,« 12th century (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2009).*

In the latter case the »verse of interdependent origination« (*rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba'i tshigs su bcad pa*, Sanskrit *pratītyasamutpādagāthā*) is written next to the respective deities (in the case of the Zhag cave, instead of the prescribed immeasurable 1,000 Buddhas of the Fortunate Aeon [*sKald pa bzang po*, Sanskrit Bhadrakalpa] only 940 were painted according to the inscription set in a text cartouche).

In Buddhist monasteries and sites such as Tabo (with a history of over 1,000 years since its foundation in 996) many extensions and renovations took place over the course of time. While until the 16th century inscriptions relating to donations, in particular additions and renovations to the building, were usually written or painted on walls and panels designed or reserved for this purpose, in more recent times, in the case of lesser renovations, this sometimes also happened by way of inscriptions written on a piece of paper which was then affixed to the wall, without destroying any sacred painting underneath but by recording, in particular also for the purpose of merit, which pious activities were done by whom.[73] The same holds true for minor donations which are recorded in the present along the circumambulation path outside the monastery of Tabo on wood beneath »prayer wheels« (*ma ṇi 'khor lo*).

73 See De Rossi Filibeck, Later inscriptions.

*Fig. 19(a): Mani Khorlo (*ma ṇi 'khor lo*, »prayer wheels« made of brass), with inscriptions in Landza, along circumambulation path; Tabo Monastery (Lahaul-Spiti District, Himachal Pradesh, India) (photo: Christiane Kalantari, 2009).*

*Fig. 19(b): Inscription on wood beneath Mani Khorlo (*ma ṇi 'khor lo*, »prayer wheel«) recording a minor donation given to Tabo Monastery:* la ri kun bzang chos sgrogs nas sgor 500.-, *»From Künzang Chödrok (Kun bzang chos grogs) from Lari [La ri, a village close to Tabo] [were given] 500 [Rupees]«, early 21st century (photo: Christiane Kalantari, 2009).*

Of a more ephemeral nature is imagery consisting of a combination of auspicious letters and signs belonging to a popular Buddhist belief system. This is also found on wood, usually not in a monastic environment but in households, for example on doors, fulfilling an auspicious function.

*Fig. 20: Auspicious motifs on the door of the village house during time of Tibetan New Year (*lo gsar*) celebrations; from bottom to top: lotus blossom;* g.yung drung *(Sanskrit* svastika*); sun and moon;* oṃ *(holy syllable, also short for the Buddhist mantra* oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*) (photo: Christian Jahoda, 2000).*

Inscriptions on Metal

As usual in the case of Buddhist objects of worship, including in the case of the creation of metal sculptures of Buddhas, Buddhist deities and eminent historical religious figures, inscriptions are found which mention the circumstances and motivation of creation, often including the date and the donor responsible. Such statues can vary in size, ranging from very small (below 10 cm) to several metres tall. The latter are usually found placed as central cult objects in temples or chapels dedicated to them, such as the Buddha of the Future (Byams pa, Sanskrit Maitreya) at Khorchag Monastery in Purang.

Fig. 21: Brass sculpture of Gyelwa Jampa (rGyal ba Byams pa, literally »Victorious Loving One«), Buddha of the Future (Byams pa, Sanskrit Maitreya), Khorchag Monastery, Purang District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, 2010-2011 (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2011).

Fig. 22: Donor inscription on the lotus base of Gyelwa Jampa (rGyal ba Byams pa, literally »Victorious Loving One«), Buddha of the Future, Khorchag Monastery, Purang District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, 2010-2011 (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2011).

Others, in particular those of great historical or religious value, are not infrequently hidden among the most sacred treasures of a monastery, usually locked up in boxes in special store rooms. Different metals (including gold, silver, copper, etc.) and alloys, such as brass, etc., were used for the creation of such metal sculptures. The metal sculptures extant in historical Western Tibet are either in the possession of Buddhist monasteries and temples or private owners, also households, where they are found in altar rooms (*mchod khang*, literally »offering room«) dedicated to the worship of Buddhist deities and protective divinities.

The oldest metal sculptures kept in areas of historical Western Tibet date from even before the time of the West Tibetan kingdom and the introduction of Buddhism. One example of this is a twenty-six centimetre-tall bronze with extensive silver and copper inlays from Dangkhar (Brang mkhar, etc.) in Spiti which has an original dedicatory inscription in Sanskrit in proto-*śāradā* script (dating from 712 or 812) and another one in Tibetan (in *dbu can*, literally »headed«, script) reading *lha bla ma zhi ba 'od*, »the royal lama Zhiwa Ö (Zhi ba 'od)«, thus most probably identifying him as its owner at some time (as evident from similar instances).[74]

74 Quite a number of such precious objects, likewise from the Kashmir-Gilgit region, dating to the time before the West Tibetan kingdom, came into the possession of members of the royal West Tibetan family whose names were inscribed on them (see Laurent, Eighth century bronze, 204). Beside the name of Zhiwa Ö also that of Na ga ra dza/ Nāgarāja (988-1026) – his religious name as ordained lay practitioner (*dge snyen*, Sanskrit *upāsaka*) – is found written on many objects still kept in sanctuaries of historical western Tibet. Both are mentioned in later (15th century) historiographical sources as founders of religious monuments and responsible for their decoration with statues, etc., thus as pious patrons of Buddhism.

Another metal sculpture made mainly from brass which is kept in Khartse Monastery most probably dates from the 15th century. In the case of this sculpture, which features the Great Translator Rinchen Zangpo in a teaching gesture (*chos kyi 'khor lo'i phyag rgya*, Sanskrit *dharmacakramudrā*), the text of the inscription which is engraved in six lines running along the base at the rear side also mentions the master-sculptor (*lha bzo mkhas pa*) who made this object, according to local oral tradition in the year/s after the passing away of the Great Translator, whereas the inscription indicates a much later time.

*Fig. 23(a-b): Brass sculpture of the Great Translator Rinchen Zangpo (*lo chen *Rin chen bzang po, 958-1055), Khartse Monastery, Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, 15th century (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2010).*

*Fig. 24: Detail of inscription on the base, brass sculpture of the Great Translator Rinchen Zangpo (*lo chen *Rin chen bzang po, 958-1055), Khartse Monastery, Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, 15th century (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2010).*

Inscriptions on Clay

Inscriptions on clay are associated mainly with sacral objects, usually in the form of stamped clay images (*tsha tsha*), which are either baked or (more often) sun-dried. They are usually produced »from a mould depicting, in relief or moulded in the round, miniature *stūpa*s, deities, historical figures and inscriptions.«[75] Such objects were manufactured in large numbers all over historical Western Tibet (as in other areas of Tibet) »for religious purposes associated with the accumulation of merit.«[76] They are »placed at the heart of shrines, inside *stūpa*s or special edifices built to house them [...], inside portable shrines [...], or deposited in large quantities around sacred sites, in holy caves,« etc. These practices were reportedly introduced into Western Tibet by the Indian *paṇḍita* Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna Atiśa (982-1054) who stayed there between 1042 and 1045 following an invitation by Jangchub Ö. In areas of historical Western Tibet *tsha tsha* making and offering thus represent a Buddhist practice with a long history which is on the one hand connected to ritual and iconographic (as well as textual) developments (associated with religious experts), on the other hand, with worship carried out mainly by lay people.

The specific design of such clay images appears to have been closely associated with certain sacred sites where, depending on school affiliation, religious tradition and other criteria, a predilection for particular favourite deities, motifs and iconography is found. This aspect certainly constituted an important factor which, together with pilgrimage, contributed to the creation and furthering of distinguished sacred sites over long periods, as, for example, in the case of the Buddhist monuments of the Khartse valley between the 11th and 19th centuries.[77]

75 Namgyal Lama, *Tsha tsha* inscriptions, 1.

76 Namgyal Lama, *Tsha tsha* inscriptions, 1.

77 This is also indicated in the inscription on the brass sculpture of the Great Translator Rinchen Zangpo kept in Khartse Monastery where this place is referred to as »excellent holy sanctuary and monastic seat« (*gnas chen khyad 'phags gdan sa*).

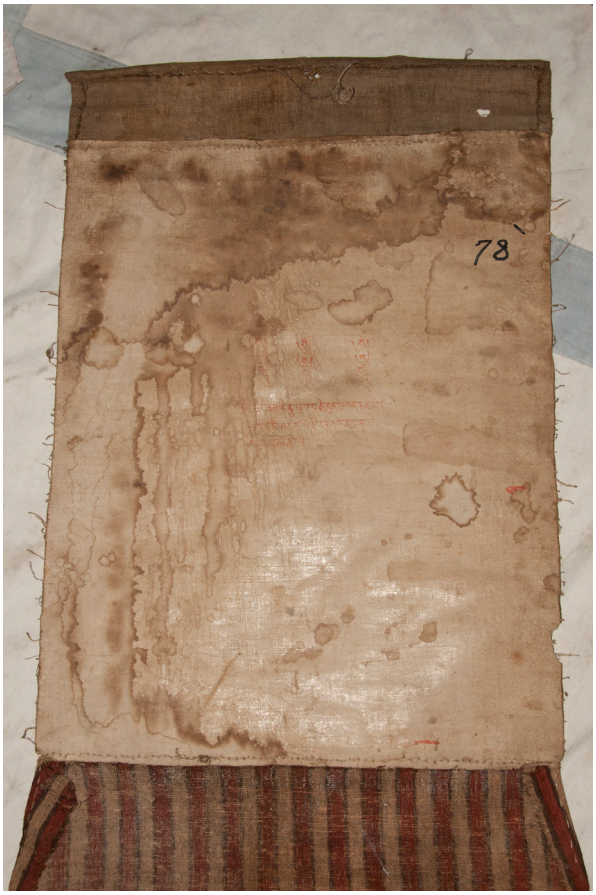
*Fig. 25: Stamped clay images (*tsha tsha*) and moulds featuring inscriptions, Khartse Monastery, Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2009).*

*Fig. 26: Stamped clay images (*tsha tsha*) featuring inscriptions, Khartse Monastery, Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, 11th century (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2009).*

Inscriptions on Cloth

Inscriptions on cloth usually appear on scroll paintings or thangkas (*thang ka*), on the front side identifying deities and historical figures – *Fig. 27 (a-c) and 28 (a-b)* – or in order to explain narrative scenes, on the rear side in the form of mantras not only serving to realize the presence (and specific powers) of one or more deities through incantation but specifically as written evidence for the consecration of this type of religious support.

*Fig. 27(a): Front side of scroll painting on cloth (*thang ka*) depicting a Buddha in teaching gesture at the centre, flanked by two bodhisattvas (*byang chub sems dpa'*), Khartse Monastery, Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, 13th century (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2010).*



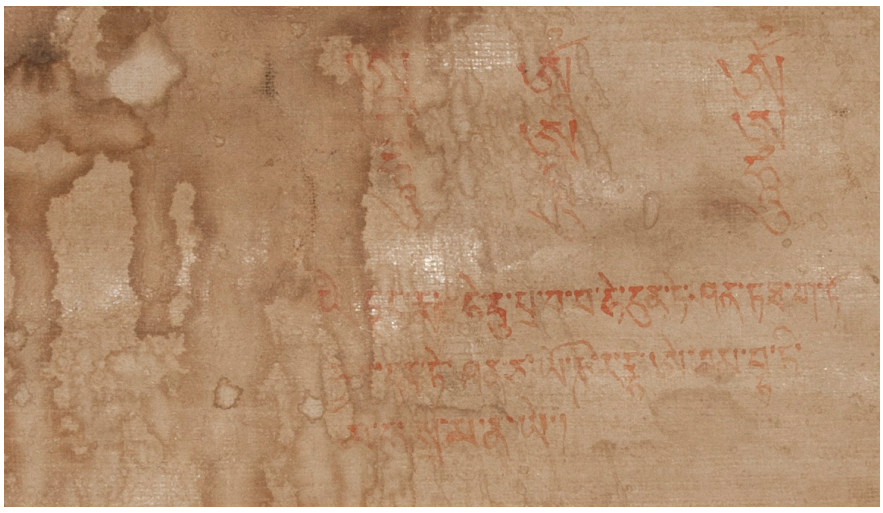


*Fig. 27(b-c): Rear side of scroll painting on cloth (*thang ka*) with inscriptions featuring the mantra (*sngags*)* oṃ aḥ hūṃ *(the »three seed syllables« representing the body, speech and mind of deities/Buddhas) and the »verse of interdependent origination« (*rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba'i tshigs su bcad pa*, Sanskrit* pratītyasamutpādagāthā*), Khartse Monastery, Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, 13th century (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2010).*

*Fig. 28(a-b): Front side of scroll painting on cloth (*thang ka*) depicting the Great Translator Rinchen Zangpo (958-1055), with an identifying reverential inscription:* lo tsthswa ba rin chen bzang po la na mo*, »Homage to the Great Translator Rinchen Zangpo«; further inscriptions identify Sakya Pandita (1182-1251) (*sa skya paṇ kri ta*) and the Sixth Dalai Lama Tsangyang Gyatso (1683-1706) (*tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho che*), Spiti valley, early 20th century (photo: Patrick Sutherland, 2015).*

Such thangkas are mainly used for ritual and meditational practice by monks and ordained lay people. Their making and use in historical Western Tibet goes back to the 11th century and continues into the present, sometimes changing the technique (from painting to printing, in the present even to digital printing) and material (from cloth to synthetic material). Thangkas made long ago are usually regarded as counting among the most precious treasures of monasteries which are never shown to outsiders. In the past, many of these thangkas were only taken out of store-rooms and used within the monastery on the occasion of a religious ritual specifically related to a depicted Buddhist deity or cycle of deities (perhaps only once a year or even every few years).

Scroll paintings with narrative scenes depicting particular religious stories can be seen as the annotated visual rendering of related literary texts as well as of day-long performances of such stories in a kind of theatrical form (known as *lha mo* or *rnam thar*, literally »complete liberation« [from the cycle of birth, life and death]) in areas of western Tibet.

*Fig. 29(a-b): Front side of scroll painting on cloth (*thang ka*) depicting scenes from the Drowa Zangmo ('Gro ba bzang mo) liberation story (also play); the inscriptions serve to identify individual figures and activities, for example,* rje btsun sgrol ma*, »Noble Tārā«, the main deity or female bodhisattva at the centre of the scroll painting, and (below this)* 'gro ba bzang mo rta pho nag po rting dkar la chibs*, »Drowa Zangmo riding on a black stallion with white fetlocks«, Spiti valley, 20th century (photo: Patrick Sutherland, 2014).*

These stories and related religious practices seem to have originally spread from areas of Central Tibet in the 14th/15th century onward and may have reached the area of historical western Tibet not long after this. In the present, these traditions continue to flourish, in particular in Pin Valley in Spiti. In other areas of historical western Tibet (such as Purang) they are more or less limited to local performance traditions, while textual and, in particular, related visual materials seem to have largely disappeared.

Brief Conclusion

Given the various different spatial, political, ritual and visual contexts, considering aspects such as the materiality or material support of inscriptions, their location, function, movability, and the long chronological frame (from the 9th century into the present) and being aware that inscriptions often play an important role in dating certain historical events or objects, it is advisable, in particular from a strong contextual and *in situ* perspective, to keep the conclusions within the limitations set by the quality of the respective documentation and the range of coherent samples. Therefore, due to the nature of this contribution – an overview on inscriptions in historical Western Tibet in their contexts with selected examples – the conclusion is also necessarily of a preliminary and general nature.

Almost all inscriptions in historical Western Tibet, at least those which are known to the author and discussed in scientific literature, are related to a Buddhist context. This relationship is expressed either through the naming of Buddhist deities and concepts (in particular the concept of merit and the mention of a donor/donors) and/or through the related depiction (painting, engraving) of objects, buildings, symbols and other visual aspects clearly relatable to a Buddhist meaning and context.

The quality and durability of the material support of inscriptions as well as of the inscriptions themselves indicate a correlation between high social status and high quality, to some degree also high durability, and, conversely, also a correlation between lower status and lower quality and durability. The notion of materiality is highly important in Buddhist scriptures, in particular in ritual texts, where quite elaborate concepts are found. In addition, it also occurs significantly with a less Buddhist focus in cycles of songs performed at wedding ceremonies, the written versions of which are seemingly of some antiquity. How these correlations developed and played out over the course of time still needs to be inspected and studied.

In terms of the quantitative spatial distribution of inscriptions, the density is very high in and around Buddhist monasteries. This is true in particular of those religious centres established during the 10th-12th centuries. An explanation for this may be seen in the contemporary religio-political concept in force during the formative phase of the West Tibetan Buddhist kingdom (986 - mid-11th century) with the foundation of key Buddhist monasteries in the main constituent regions of the kingdom. Following the increase in religious authority and power (also reflected in the increase of religious hierarchies) and a (retrospective) spiritualization of rulers across all of historical western Tibet from the 13th through the 15th centuries, starting from the 14th and 15th centuries a strong trend towards popularization of Buddhist worship practices seems to be reflected in the appearance and increasing production of stone slabs inscribed with Buddhist mantras and of stamped clay images at pilgrimage sites.

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Fig. 27(a): Front side of scroll painting on cloth (*thang ka*) depicting a Buddha in teaching gesture at the centre, flanked by two bodhisattvas (*byang chub sems dpa'*), Khartse Monastery, Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, 13th century (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2010).

Fig. 27(b-c): Rear side of scroll painting on cloth (*thang ka*) with inscriptions featuring the

mantra (*sngags*) *oṃ aḥ hūṃ* (the »three seed syllables« representing the body, speech and mind of deities/Buddhas) and the »verse of interdependent origination« (*rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba'i tshigs su bcad pa*, Sanskrit *pratītyasamutpādagāthā*), Khartse Monastery, Tsamda District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), China, 13th century (photo: Tsering Gyalpo, 2010).

Fig. 28(a-b): Front side of scroll painting on cloth (*thang ka*) depicting the Great Translator Rinchen Zangpo (958-1055), with an identifying reverential inscription: *lo tsthswa ba rin chen bzang po la na mo*, »Homage to the Great Translator Rinchen Zangpo«; further inscriptions identify Sakya Pandita (1182-1251) (*sa skya paṇ kri ta*) and the Sixth Dalai Lama Tsangyang Gyatso (1683-1706) (*tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho che*), Spiti valley, early 20th century (photo: Patrick Sutherland, 2015).

Fig. 29(a-b): Front side of scroll painting on cloth (*thang ka*) depicting scenes from the Drowa Zangmo ('Gro ba bzang mo) liberation story (also play); the inscriptions serve to identify individual figures and activities, for example, *rje btsun sgrol ma*, »Noble Tārā«, the main deity or female bodhisattva at the centre of the scroll painting, and (below this) *'gro ba bzang mo rta pho nag po rting dkar la chibs*, »Drowa Zangmo riding on a black stallion with white fetlocks«, Spiti valley, 20th century (photo: Patrick Sutherland, 2014).

History and Exegesis in the *Itinerarium* of Bernard the Monk (c. 867)

Daniel Reynolds*

This article presents a re-evaluation of the ninth-century Itinerarium Bernardi monachi franci*, which describes the journey of the monk Bernard to Jerusalem and the Holy Places. Challenging traditional perceptions of the work, as a straightforward narrative of travel, this article argues that a more contextual reading of the source and its topography, with respect to ninth-century exegetical and liturgical culture, identifies the* Itinerarium *as a text closely linked to exegetical explorations of the themes of penitence and just rule. It concludes that an examination of the motifs of the Old Testament world kingdoms and themes of Christian triumph within the work identifies Bernard as a writer engaged in an attempt to incorporate the world of Islam within a Christian salvific worldview and the eventual promise of redemption.*

Keywords: Jerusalem; Pilgrimage; Islam; Abbasid; Exegesis; Carolingian; Bernard the Monk

Bernard the Monk hides from medievalists in plain sight. Although often integral to recent reconstructions of early medieval pilgrimage routes, or broader appraisals of ninth-century Mediterranean exchange, targeted analysis of the *Itinerarium Bernardi monachi franci* remains a notable critical blind spot in studies of ninth-century literary culture.[1] To some extent, this dearth of interest is unsurprising. Due to its uniqueness as an example of a ninth-century »Holy Land«[2] *itinerarium*, Bernard's text lacks a related corpus of comparable writings that would provoke more widespread interest in the source as a component of a defined literary »genre«. Equally, as a relatively simple composition, the *Itinerary* does not display many of the literary and intellectual qualities of other ninth-century works that have

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1 The major critical study of the text and its transmission remains Ackermann, *Itinerarium*. References to the text are based on this edition. Translated extracts are taken from Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 472-479, with some amendments based on the Ackermann edition (noted in the footnotes). Throughout this article I will refer to the text by the English term *»Itinerary«*. In the interests of clarity, I will continue to refer to the author of the piece as »Bernard«.

2 »Holy Land« is a complex and amorphous term which already by the ninth century was beginning to reveal considerable differences between Christian writers in Byzantium and the West regarding its extent and the places it included. For the purposes of this article, »Holy Land« will refer to the landscape associated with the events of the Bible and Gospel, which roughly spans the modern regions of Israel and the Palestinian Territories and Jordan.

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attracted more forensic commentary and academic interest since the late nineteenth century.[3] Indeed, critical approaches to the *Itinerary* have generally deviated little from a basic observation of the text as a straightforward narrative of travel and have yet to apply the lessons gained from more successful critical re-readings of medieval pilgrimage *itineraria* that have surfaced over the past two decades.[4]

The recent appearance of the critical edition and commentary of the *Itinerary* by Josef Ackermann, however, makes a reassessment of Bernard's text in light of its contemporary intellectual milieu both pertinent and timely.[5] Ackermann's commentary has done more than any other study to establish a later ninth-century date for the text and broadly locate its composition within the territories of the Frankish kingdoms in the third quarter of the ninth century.[6] Based on the *Itinerary*'s explicit reference to the reign of Louis II (king of Italy 840, Carolingian emperor 855-875; whom Bernard describes as living), the pontificate of Nicholas I (858-November 867) and the patriarchal reigns of Theodosios of Jerusalem (864-879) and Michael of Alexandria (860-870), Ackermann, has firmly advocated a date of c. 867 as the most plausible for Bernard's journey.[7] In connection with these observations, Ackermann has noted that the *Itinerary*'s positive perception of Louis II and his mediation of the dispute between Radelchis and Siconulf (848), lends some tentative support to the identification of Bernard as a writer broadly aware of political developments within Italy and the Frankish world shortly before the capture of Bari in 871.[8] Based upon this evidence, Ackermann has proposed a date range of c. 867-c. 871 as the most plausible for the composition of the work.

Attempts to reappraise the text in light of Ackermann's key observations and dating have, nevertheless, proven slow to emerge, a situation that owes much to the continued anonymity of Bernard as a writer and the uniqueness of his work as an example of a ninth-century Holy Land itinerary. Consequently, Bernard's work continues to be seen as an essentially straight-

3 The literature on this subject is immense and continues to grow annually. Therefore, I direct the reader to the major studies and their accompanying bibliographies, Bullough, Roman books and Carolingian renovatio; Contreni, Carolingian renaissance; Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*; McKitterick, *Books, Scribes and Learning*; McKitterick, *History and Memory*; Nelson, Kingship, law and liturgy; Nelson, Literacy in Carolingian government; Stratmann, *Hinkmar von Reims*.

4 Bowman, History's Redemption, 163-187; Elsner, *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, 181-195; O'Loughlin, Exegetical purpose, 37-53; O'Loughlin, *Adomnán and the Holy Places*. Halevi, Bernard, explorer, 24-50, especially 45-48, and Ackermann, *Itinerarium*, 72-93.

5 Ackermann, *Itinerarium*, 1-112.

6 Ackermann, *Itinerarium*, 30-55.

7 Ackermann, *Itinerarium*, 51-54. William of Malmesbury, who had access to a copy in the 1120s, dated the journey to 870, William of Malmesbury, *William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum, IV*. 376.3-386.4, ed. and trans. Mynors, 642-657. On the pontificate of Nicholas I, including regnal dates, see Norwood, Political pretensions, 271-285. See also *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne 107.1, 107.83, trans. Davis, 205, 247 and critical discussion, 189-204. *Itinerary,* 24. On the dates for the Patriarch Theodosios and Michael, Sa'id ibn Batriq, *Nazm al-Jawhar*, ed. Cheikho, 153-154, 183-184, trans. Pirone, 413-418. These are confirmed by a series of surviving letters from Dawud, Metropolitan of Damascus concerning his dispute with the Patriarch of Antioch. These are preserved in MS Milan, Ambrosiana, X 201 supp., fols 94r-137v. An edition is currently under preparation by John Lamoreaux and Abdul-Massih Saadi. For a brief introduction, see Lamoreaux, David of Damascus, 79-82. I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. John Lamoreaux for sharing his unpublished translation of this text. A general overview of the period may be found in Kreutz, *Before the Normans*, 23 and also the important studies by Berto, Erchempert, a Reluctant Fustigator, 147-175 and Berto, Remembering, 23-53.

8 Ackermann, *Itinerarium*, 98-103.

forward geographical description of the ninth-century Holy Land, interspersed with scriptural elements, rather than a text that, from its inception, was composed with clear reference to a typological understanding of Jerusalem's landscape drawn from established exegetical models.

Regardless of whether or not we consider Bernard's *Itinerary* to be an account of a »real« ninth-century journey, or Bernard as an individual who actually lived, such a positivist reading of the *Itinerarium Bernardi monachi Franci* is fundamentally misplaced. Although several of the details offered by the *Itinerary* disclose Bernard's awareness of contemporary developments within Carolingian territory and Italy during the 860s, these are often situated within a wider framework that stresses the typological significance of these events and places as part of a broader Christian understanding of time and revelation. Rather than peripheral to a reading of the narrative, these typological motifs are central to the interpretation and recognition of the *Itinerary* as an under-appreciated exegetical work, informed by ninth-century liturgical experience and understanding of biblical time.

This study aims to situate the topography of the *Itinerary* within the context of biblical exegesis in the late 860s and to demonstrate how Bernard fashioned the *Itinerary* as an exegetical exploration that responded to an increasing emphasis on the physicality of Christ's Passion and final hours within ninth-century liturgical experience. As a product of the late ninth century, the *Itinerary* is also structured around a number of themes that situate Bernard's experiences of Muslim hegemony in the Holy Land within a broader Christian understanding of time and revelation.

In order to appreciate these aspects of the text, however, it is also necessary to briefly address the legacy of the more positivist readings of Bernard's text that have emerged since the late nineteenth century, many of which have their origins in early modern conventions of textual criticism and translation.[9] This study, therefore, will begin with a review of this history of publication before proceeding to address the primary themes and topography of Bernard and situate them within the wider intellectual and exegetical context of its former ninth-century milieu.

Publication and Legacy

To begin, I want to set aside the impossible question of whether Bernard the monk ever lived, or if the journey to Jerusalem described by the *Itinerary* ever took place. As the following discussion will explore, Bernard's use of existing literary models in his description of Egypt and the Holy Land, many of which resonate with themes addressed by other writers active during the mid-ninth century, leads me to doubt the usefulness of the *Itinerary* as an account from which we could construct meaningful information about the ninth-century Holy Land and Egypt. That Bernard was aware of several key historical developments in Italy and the Caliphate in the period c. 848-c. 871 is clear from a number of episodes in the *Itinerary*, including his allusion to the arbitration of Louis II between Radelchis and Siconulf and his description of the Emirate of Bari shortly before its capture in 871.[10] Nevertheless, these vignettes often unfold against a literary topography that was evidently constructed to stress the typological importance of the landscape that the journey follows – especially as Bernard's journey moves beyond Italy and enters Egypt and the Holy Land.

9 Ackermann, *Itinerarium*, 4-8 offers the most complete overview.

10 *Itinerary*, 4, 24.

For convenience I will continue to refer to the author as Bernard and talk about his journey as one that took place, albeit with the caveat that neither of these things is certain or intrinsic to the interpretation presented here, nor possible to prove from the details that the *Itinerary* presents internally. As a unique text, written by an otherwise unknown historical figure, the *Itinerarium Bernardi monachi Franci* is a self-contained source that effectively exists in isolation. The existence of Bernard cannot be verified by an independent witness, nor does the text appear to have generated wider interest in the biography of its writer among later medieval commentators. Everything that is known about the *Itinerary*, including the identity of its author and protagonist, must be extracted from the internal thought-world that the narrative presents.[11] In this respect, the premise of the *Itinerary* as an actual journey is, at face value, a convincing one. According to the account, in the late 860s, a monk named Bernard embarked on a journey from Rome to Jerusalem accompanied by two monastic companions named Stephen of San Vincenzo and Theudemund the Spaniard.[12] Beginning his journey at Rome, Bernard passed through Italy, first reaching the shrine of St Michael at Monte Gargano, before proceeding to Bari and the port of Taranto. After crossing the Mediterranean Sea on a slave ship, the *Itinerary* describes Bernard's arrival in Alexandria and his passage down the Nile to Babylon of Egypt (al-Fustat), where he was imprisoned for six days. The *Itinerary* then proceeds to describe Bernard's journey eastwards to Sitinuth (Sitinulh), Maalla (Maalla), and Damietta (Amiamatem) before his arrival at Tinnis (Tamnis) and Farama (Farameam), from where he entered the Holy Land. Journeying through the desert, Bernard and his companions then reached Gaza, before turning eastwards to Ramla (Ramulam), the shrine of St George, Emmaus (Emaus) and finally, Jerusalem, itself. Having described Bernard's visit to the Sepulchre and Mount Sion, the *Itinerary* then proceeds to describe the churches in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the Mount of Olives and Bethany (Bathaniam), before describing Bernard's experiences in Bethlehem (Bethleem) and at the River Jordan. Returning by sea, Bernard and his companions travelled for sixty days, disembarking at Mons Aureus (San Michele in Olevano sul Tusciano) before reaching Rome and travelling to complete his journey at Mont-Saint-Michel in Normandy.[13] At some point after his return, but apparently before the death of Louis II in 875, Bernard purportedly compiled a description of his journey which is known today by the Latin title *Itinerarium Bernardi monachi franci* – the only text of its type to survive from the ninth century.

Throughout the text are further details of Bernard's experiences during his travels through Egypt. Bernard, for example, describes the permits that he was required to solicit from the papacy and Muslim authorities for permission to travel.[14] Names of reigning Muslim governors (Suldanus, Amarmoni and Adelacham) and references to slavery, Christian taxation and Bernard's own imprisonment in »Babylon« (al-Fustat), further add to the impression of the *Itinerary* as an account of a lived experience in real space.[15]

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11 The possibility that Bernard is an authorial device, rather than an actual historical figure, remains possible, but ultimately unprovable. Thomas O'Loughlin's study has proposed that Arculf is an authorial device of Adomnán O'Loughlin, Adomnán and Arculf, 127-146. Alternative readings are suggested by Woods, Arculf's luggage, 25-52 and Hoyland and Waidler, Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis*, 787-807.

12 *Itinerary*, 1.

13 *Itinerary*, 3-22.

14 *Itinerary*, 1, 7.

15 *Itinerary*, 4-7, Halevi, Bernard, Explorer, 32-34.

It is these particular details that have firmly ensconced the *Itinerary* within broader studies of early medieval pilgrimage and early Islamic Jerusalem.[16] Yet, despite its renown, it is important to note that Bernard's *Itinerary* shapes perceptions of ninth-century Jerusalem and Egypt for a wider audience today than it could possibly have achieved at the point of its composition and in succeeding centuries. Although known to writers by the 1120s, the text was not widely copied in later centuries and lacked the popularity of the better-known descriptions of the Holy Land compiled by Adomnàn of Iona and Bede.[17] It was not until the publication of a version drawn from a manuscript preserved in Reims by Jean Mabillon in 1672, which appeared in the *Patrologia Latina*, and the slightly later edition of Titus Tobler in 1874, that the text became more widely known to scholarly audiences and secured its position within the canon of »pilgrim literature«.[18] Translations of the text into English, first by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society in 1893 and later in John Wilkinson's seminal study of 1977 (and its 2002 re-edition), *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, have resulted in further dissemination of this text and its use in studies of the Pre-Crusader Holy Land.[19]

Critical approaches to the *Itinerary* have, for the most part, continued to operate within the interpretative parameters established by Titus Tobler's 1874 edition. Though accessible, Tobler's reproduction of the text is problematic for the way in which it situated Bernard's narrative alongside other similar descriptions of the Holy Land, none of which are known to have circulated together until the nineteenth century.[20] Modern appraisal of Bernard's work, therefore, generally approaches the *Itinerary* as part of a compendium of descriptions of the Holy Land, variously dated between the seventh and eleventh centuries, which may be analysed and cross-referenced in a manner that evokes the methodology of early modern Biblical concordance. Thus, the topographies presented in one text are compared and overlapped with the descriptions contained within another and used to make broader assessments of the shifting contours of the Holy Land and the survival of its churches in the Early Islamic period.[21]

16 Leor Halevi's 1998 study, for example, draws together the internal details of the *Itinerary* to emphasise the difficulties Bernard faced in negotiating his journey through Muslim lands, Halevi, »Bernard«, 24-50. Michael McCormick's pivotal Origins of the European Economy follows suit in utilising Bernard's text as a source for reconstructing ninth-century Mediterranean exchange, McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 134-138. Recent studies of medieval slavery, pilgrimage and Christian-Muslim interactions also remain indebted to the Itinerary's internal details, see McCormick, New Light on the »Dark Ages«, 17-54; Bruce, *Cluny and the Muslims,* 22.

17 O'Loughlin, Diffusion, 93-106.

18 Bernardus Monachus Francus, *Bernardi Itinerarium*, ed. Migne, 569-574, which was taken from a fourteenth century manuscript. This manuscript was first published by Jean Mabillion in the Acta SS. Ord S. Bend. Tom IV, in 1672: Mabillon *Bernardi monarchi Franci aliud Itinerarium*, Mabillon, 523-526. For Titus Tobler's edition see *Bernardi Itinerarium* (Tobler), 86-99.

19 Bernard, *Library*; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 141-145, Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims* (second edition), 261-269. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, 23-31.

20 This includes Hugeberc's *Vita Willibali* and John of Wurzburg's *Descriptio terrae sancta*, Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sancta*, 1-312.

21 Key examples of this approach are Aist, *Christian Topography*; McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey*, 81-88.

Archaeological appraisals of early Islamic Jerusalem have proven particularly susceptible to this method, and it remains common to encounter chronologies of individual church sites whose existence beyond 700 is established through comparison of the texts preserved within the Tobler volumes and the related translations of John Wilkinson.[22] Often, such chronologies have been established without full recognition that many of the sites mentioned in the *Itinerary* were excavated after the publication of Tobler's edition and have not escaped the influence of this text, and others in Tobler's volume, on the conclusions drawn by their excavators. Louis-Hugues Vincent's interventions at the Eleona Church on the Mount of Olives in 1911, for example, relied heavily upon Tobler's edition of the *Itinerary* to establish a ninth-century phase for the church, rather than through an examination of the material recovered during its excavation.[23]

Bernard's *Itinerary* may not be unique in this regard, but the relative anonymity of its author has deterred further interest in the language and style of the text, that in the examples of Adomnán, Bede and Hugeburc's *Vita Willibali* have provoked caution in the use within historical reconstructions of the early Islamic Holy Land.[24] On occasion, this neglect has also obscured the identification of important scriptural parallels within the *Itinerary* that would likely have been as significant to its ninth-century readers as the description of the journey itself. Bernard's imprisonment in Egypt recounted in chapter 7 of the *Itinerary*, for example, which the Latin text renders as *»donec post dies sex inito consilio, cum Dei auxilio«* offers its readers an important typological parallel between the experiences of Bernard's six-day imprisonment in Babylon and that of the prophet Daniel that the text also draws in other passages.[25]

This is a single example among many, which requires a more detailed discussion beyond the scope of this article. But it is, nevertheless, an instructive point for what it reveals about the influence of the Book of Daniel as one of a number of typological subjects around which the *Itinerary* is structured. When examined closely, what they reveal is the extent to which Bernard closely modelled his descriptions of the Holy Land in response to a number of exegetical themes and concerns that were extant within Italy and the wider »Carolingian« cultural milieu at the time of the *Itinerary*'s composition around the third quarter of the ninth century.

22 Key examples include the excavations of the Eleona Church on the Mount of Olives by Louis-Hugues Vincent and the Church of the Probatica, whose post-Byzantine chronologies draw heavily on the textual accounts that appear in the editions of Titus Tobler: Bouwen and Dauphin, *Piscine probatique*. This approach also frames the discussions and dating of Shalev-Hurvitz, *Holy Sites Encircled*, 143-167.

23 Vincent, Église, 219-65.

24 Adomnán, *De locis sanctis*, ed. Bieler, 183-234D; Bede, *De locis sanctis*, ed. Fraipoint, 244-280.

25 This parallel has often been overlooked in recent treatment of the text, often due to the influence of the popular translation by John Wilkinson over later studies. In the Wilkinson version the text *donec post dies sex inito consilio, cum Dei auxilio* is translated as »Then, with the help of God«, and omits the important parallel with Daniel 14.31, *Itinerary,* 7; Wilkinson, Jerusalem Pilgrims (second edition), 263.

Itinerarium Bernardi: *Context and Transmission*

With respect to Bernard's *Itinerary*, what those particular concerns were, and the identity of the text's original audience, remain somewhat unclear. Unlike Adomnán or Bede, the meagre details related to Bernard's biography do not lend themselves to the kind of detailed contextual discussion of the *Itinerary* that can be achieved with these earlier and better-known works.[26] The paucity of later references to the *Itinerary* and the lack of surviving ninth-century copies of the text also complicates our ability to situate Bernard's writings within the context of a specific intellectual milieu, especially in view of Josef Ackerman's identification of the commonly-cited line from Tobler's edition of the *Itinerary*, *»Francia vero est navitatis meae locus«* (»Francia, truly, is the place of my birth«), as a later interpolation only present in the Reims manuscript.[27] Ackermann's analysis of the lexicography and syntax of the Latin text has also failed to pinpoint Bernard's identity and place of activity with precision, although it broadly places Bernard's activity somewhere within the Carolingian political milieu in the period 867-871.[28]

It is also clear that the *Itinerary* did not experience a level of dissemination comparable to the descriptions of the Holy Land attributed to Adomnán, Bede and Jerome, which continued to generate interest beyond 1100.[29] Only six copies of Bernard's *Itinerary* have been identified and there are few indications that the text exerted significant influence over later perceptions of the Holy Land among writers active beyond 900.[30] William of Malmesbury is the only later writer who indicates direct knowledge of Bernard's *Itinerary*.[31] William, however, appears to have been unaware of his identity beyond his status as a monk, perhaps indicating that the text was already circulating as a purely textual unit by the 1120s without further interest in the biography of its writer.[32] All that we may say beyond this is that by the twelfth century the *Itinerary* was commonly encountered as part of a compendium of texts describing the Holy Land that were often bound in single volumes.[33]

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26 O'Loughlin, *Adomnán and the Holy Places*; O'Loughlin, Library of Iona, 33-52; O'Loughlin, Exegetical, 37-53; O'Loughlin, *De Locis Sanctis* as a liturgical text, 181-192; O'Loughlin, Diffusion, 93-106. Bede, *De locis sanctis*, ed. Fraipoint, 244-280. This is attested in two ninth-century copies. Laon, Bibliothèque publique, 216, from Notre Dame, Laon; and Munich, Staatsbibliothek, 6389; see Laistner, *Hand-list*, 83-86.

Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica.* The literature on Bede is immense and beyond the scope of this study, I direct the reader to Brown, *Companion.*

27 Ackermann, *Itinerarium*, 4, 55-69, 115, 128.

28 Ackermann, *Itinerarium*, 4, 55-69, 115, 128.

29 Ackermann, *Itinerarium*, 9-19, who surveys the manuscript tradition of the surviving copies.

30 See MS Cotton, Faust. B. i. 192; Catal. Codd. MSS. Coll. Linc. Oxon. 46 (cod. xcvi. 118); Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, xvi. The Rheims manuscript underpins the edition published by Mabillion, *Bernardi monachi Franci alius Itinerarium*, 523-526, later printed as *Bernardi Itinerarium*, ed. Migne, col. 569-574. London, British Library, Cotton Faustina B1 ff.2-11; London, British Library, Cotton Vitellis E.11.Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2432, fols.24v-28r. Oxford, Lincoln College, lat. 96, fols. 122r-127v and Oxford, Worcester College 285, fols. 252r-254v.

William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* IV. 376.3-386.4, ed. and trans. Mynors, 642-657.

31 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* IV. 376.3-386.4, ed. and trans. Mynors, 642-657.

32 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* IV. 376.3, ed. and trans. Mynors, 642. William simply identifies Bernard as *Bernardi monachi*. The evidence from the surviving copies indicates that by the twelfth century the *Itinerary* was commonly encountered as part of a compendium of texts describing the Holy Land that were often bound in single volumes, Ackermann, *Itinerarium*, 9-19.

33 Ackermann, Itinerarium, 9-19.

Bernard and his Sources

Without further details, it is impossible to locate Bernard within the context of a specific ecclesiastical foundation or region. As a result, any attempt at a detailed exegetical reading of the work is hampered by our inability to know exactly which works Bernard had access to and from which scriptorium he was operating. As this discussion will explore, Bernard's use of several typologies and pericopes that had already been established by earlier writers well known to ninth-century audiences, including Ambrose, Augustine, Bede, Jerome and Isidore of Seville, lend support to an identification of Bernard as a figure well versed in the canon of Latin exegetical thought. Further, Bernard's interest in the scheme of the world kingdoms described in the Book of Daniel and his interest in biblical typologies associated with penance and just rule, resonate with the interests of several other Frankish writers active in the 860s and suggests that we should broadly understand Bernard's topography as a product and response to this intellectual milieu, even if his origin and place within this intellectual landscape cannot be located with precision.

Bernard himself makes very little direct reference to his sources and, as a text, the *Itinerary* is often difficult to situate within the literary genre to which it has been traditionally ascribed. In one respect, the *Itinerary* employs the conventional structure of an *itinerarium* (and, indeed, identifies itself as one).[34] Following its protagonist on a sequential journey across the landscape, the narrative introduces specific topographical markers that are briefly described to the reader. The journey of Bernard and his companions through Egypt, for example, is narrated in a series of stages that permit its readers to trace their movements from one point to another.

> So these things being so, we returned back along the river Gion for three days and we came to the city of Sitimuth. From Sitimuth we progressed towards Maalla and from Maalla we crossed over to Damietta, which has the sea to the north, and apart from a small piece of land, is surrounded by the Nile. From there we sailed to the city of Tanis in which there are many devout, warm and hospitable Christians. Indeed there is nowhere in the land belonging to this city that does not possess a church, and wherein the field of Tanis is pointed out, where there are what appear to be three walls, which are the bodies of those who were born in the days of Moses.[35]

Despite these stylistic parallels with earlier itineraria, Bernard's text also departs from the formula in a number of ways. Distances, for example, are rarely given to the reader, as they are in the earlier fourth-century *Itinerarium Burdigalense* and the sixth-century *De Situ Terrae Sanctae* of Theodosios, which are both known to have circulated within ninth-century copies.[36] Where they do appear, most function to situate biblical holy sites with respect to one another. Bethlehem, for example, is described as being six miles from Jerusalem – Bethany, the *Itinerary* informs us, could be reached by descending for a mile from the Mount of Olives.[37] Although serving to situate Bernard's route within a tangible geographical space,

34 *Itinerary*, prologue. On the broader genre of itineraria in the Roman Empire and during Late Antiquity, see Salway, Travel, 22-66; Salway, Sea and river, 43-96; O'Loughlin, *Adomnán and the Holy Places*, 19-20, with further references.

35 *Itinerary*, 8. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization,* 474. I have substituted Dutton's naming of the field as »Goan« with the name »Tanis«, which better reflects the Latin edition of Ackermann and the Vulgate.

36 *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, ed. Geyer and Cuntz, 1-26; Theodosius, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Geyer, 115-125.

37 *Itinerary*, 16-17.

these descriptions are not in themselves conclusive of an actual journey and indeed replicate an established consensus about the topography of the Holy Land known to ninth-century audiences from existing sources. The six-mile distance between Jerusalem to Bethlehem, for example, appears in the *De Locis Sanctis* of Bede, who probably relied on a copy of Ps. Eucherius that was available to him in Jarrow.[38] The one-mile distance from Jerusalem to the Mount of Olives also appears to have been drawn from the same source, or from the Gospels.[39] Elsewhere, the *Itinerary*'s knowledge of the Holy Land is more limited – only with respect to Italy does the narrative provide more systematic descriptions of distances between cities.[40]

The *Itinerary* also frequently breaks with this structure to provide additional historical details about events that coincided with Bernard's journey. Bernard's journey home, for example, leaps abruptly from Jerusalem to Italy, only noting that he and his companions sailed for sixty days.[41] Bernard's solitary journey from Rome to Mont-Saint-Michel also eschews a description of the stages and distances between these two points.[42] Instead, the *Itinerary* addresses the contemporary political instabilities of the 860s as a backdrop to the journey. The initial stages of Bernard's journey through Italy describe the Muslim capture of Bari and the enslavement of the people of Benevento with whom Bernard and his companions journey to Egypt.[43] Upon the completion of his journey at Mont-Saint-Michel in Normandy, the narrative then breaks to focus on the broader political instabilities of Bernard's lifetime; from the assassination of Sichard, to the ascension of Louis II and the legal status and relative peace among Christians in the Muslim world.[44]

38 Ps. Eucherius, *De Situ Hierusolimitanae Urbis* 11, ed. Fraipont, 238-239; Bede, *De Locis Sanctis*, VII.1, ed. Geyer, 251-280, especially 265, trans. Foley and Holder, 6-25. For an awareness of Adomnán, Bede and Pseudo-Eucherius among Carolingian writers see O'Loughlin, Diffusion, 94-98; O'Loughlin, Symbol gives life, 221-252. Also useful are the earlier studies of Lambot, L'homelie, 26; Bullough, Columba, 111-30.

39 Ps.Eucherius, *De Situ Hierusolimitanae Urbis* 11, ed. Fraipont, 238-239; Bede, *De Locis Sanctis*, VI. 1, ed. Geyer, 264-265, trans. Foley and Holder, 14, John 11:18. Ps. Eucherius was evidently in circulation in Francia by the eighth century. Cod. Paris, 13348, was produced in northern France in the late eighth century and held in the library of Saint Pierre in Corbie, where it was compiled with a Latin translation of the Pseudo Methodius: Kortekaas, Transmission, especially 67-68. Distances are also described in Bede, *De Locis Sanctis* VI.1 and VII.1, ed. Fraipont, 262, 264.

40 *Itinerary*, 3-4.

41 *Itinerary*, 20.

42 *Itinerary*, 22.

43 *Itinerary*, 3-4.

44 *Itinerary* 22-24. The description of Louis' mediation of the dispute among the Beneventans and their invitation to Louis to rule over them (*super eos imperium accepit*), would indicate that the text is alluding to the events of the period c. 849-c. 855. Broader discussion of *imperium* in the Carolingian world, and its historiography, appears in De Jong, The Empire.

These »ninth-century« vignettes have been valued highly among recent readings of the *Itinerary*, to the extent that the accompanying passages describing Bernard's experiences in Jerusalem are often subordinated in recent critical commentary as a derivative compilation of earlier sources.[45] Part of the reason for this negative appraisal is that Bernard explicitly acknowledges his use of Bede in his discussion of the tomb of Christ, which, as the *Itinerary* states, made a further description of the sepulchre unnecessary (*De hoc sepulchre non est necesse plura scriber, cum dicat Beda in historia sua inde sufficientia*).[46] The source in question is Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* which drew from the earlier *De Locis Sanctis* penned by Adomnán of Iona around c. 680.[47] Bernard's description of the Holy Sepulchre, however, does not quote directly from Bede's text and it is not certain if he had direct access to a copy as he wrote the *Itinerary*. The frequency with which both descriptions intersect implies that he did, or that its descriptions were known to him from other sources.[48]

> Within that city [of Jerusalem], with other churches left aside [here], four churches stand out [and] share common walls with each other. One, which lies to the east, contains Mount Calvary and the place where the cross of the Lord was found and it is called the Basilica of Constantine. Another [lies] to the south; a third to the west, in the middle of which is the Sepulchre of the Lord which has nine columns around it, between which stand walls made of the finest stones. Four of the nine columns are before the face of that monument; with their walls they enclose the [tomb] stone placed before the sepulchre, which the angel rolled back and upon which he sat after the resurrection of the Lord was brought about. It is not necessary to say more about this sepulchre, since Bede in his history says enough about it.[49]
>
> *Bernard, Itinerary, 11*

Bede's emphasis on the precious stone decoration of the Church of the Sepulchre resonates in Bernard's own encounter, as does Bernard's description of four churches in the ecclesiastical complex of the Anastasis and Golgotha. Both scenarios – that Bernard had Bede's text to hand or knew it well – are plausible and support a ninth-century authorial context in which copies of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and *De Locis Sanctis*, alongside Adomnán's earlier version, are known to have circulated widely.[50]

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45 Raymond Beazley's denunciation of the *Itinerary* in his seminal 1897 study, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, is characteristic of sentiments that continue to appear in modern critical engagement of the text. As he states, »His credulity and ignorance are not greater than those of earlier pilgrims; his sufferings appear to have been less than Willibald's; he shows no inventive faculty, like the Antonine or Cosmas, no peculiar breadth of view or culture of style, like Silvia or Arculf«. This is followed by the later description of Jerusalem: »But here is an account (which though brief has been hitherto fairly ample) dwindles into a bare enumeration of sites and churches«, Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, 167-171. See also, Halevi, Bernard, explorer, 27.

46 *Itinerary*, 11.

47 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* 5.16-17, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 508-512.

48 Copies of the *Ecclesiastical History* circulated widely in the ninth century. Laistner, *Hand-list*, 93-102, Becker also lists copies at Reichenau and St Gall: Becker, *Catalogi*, 20 and 47.

49 *Itinerary*, 11, Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 475.

50 On the transmission of Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis*: O'Loughlin, Diffusion, 93-106.

The internal organisation of the *Itinerary* also displays some subtle influence from Jerome's *Epistola ad Eustochium* (no. 108), another text widely copied by the 860s.[51] Jerome's description of Paula's pilgrimage, for example, traces her journey from Diospolis, to Emmaus and then to Jerusalem, where she visited the Praetorium (her lodging), the tomb of Christ and Mount Sion.[52] Departing the city, Paula then moved eastwards to Bethany and the tomb of Lazarus, Bethlehem and Shepherd's Fields.[53] After visiting Galilee, Paula's journey travelled through Gaza and then to Egypt, where she journeyed across the five cities of Egypt that evoke the prophecy of Isaiah 19.18.[54]

The description of Bernard's journey through Egypt and Jerusalem follows a corresponding itinerary. Journeying towards Jerusalem, Bernard first visits Ramla (which had replaced Diospolis in the seventh century) and Emmaus, before heading to the *hospitium* of Charlemagne (*imperatoris Karoli*) (his lodging place) in Jerusalem.[55] Like Paula, Bernard's description of the intramural churches of Jerusalem only focuses upon the Holy Sepulchre and Holy Sion, which he describes, and then shifts focus to the sites on the outskirts of the city, at Bethany, Bethlehem and Shepherds' Fields.[56] Bernard's description of Egypt, like the *Epistola ad Eustochium*, is also structured around the description of five cities described in the *Itinerary* as *civitates* (*Fig.1*).

51 Jerome's eulogy of Paula is *Epistola*, 108, ed. Hilberg, 306-351. A copy of the letter was on Iona by the late seventh century, see O'Loughlin, *Adomnán and the Holy Places*, 248. For wider use of Jerome's letters in the early medieval world, see Matis, Seclusion of Eustochium, 665-689 and Lifshitz, Religious women, 34. For ninth-century copies of Jerome's Letters, see Becker, *Catalogi*, 9, 17, 25, 32 and 45. On the importance of Jerome and his companions as a model in ninth-century writing, see Contreni, Learning for God, 122-123.

52 Jerome, *Epistola*, 108, ed. Hilberg, 9, 14.

53 Jerome, *Epistola*, 108, ed. Hilberg, 10-11.

54 Jerome, *Epistola*, 108, ed. Hilberg, 14. »In die illa erunt quinque civitates in terra Ægypti loquentes lingua Chanaan, et jurantes per Dominum exercituum: Civitas solis vocabitur una'una.«

55 *Itinerary* 10-11.

56 *Itinerary* 11-12.

Name	Reference
Alexandria	Ab aquilone est portus illius civitatis; a meridie habet introitum Gyon sive Nilus, qui rigat Egyptum et currit per mediam civitatem, intrans in mare in predicto portu. *Itinerary*, 6
Babylon	Est itaque in hac civitate patrirarcha domnus Michael, et super totum Egyptum disoinens gratia Dei ordinem omnium episcoporum et monachorum et Christianorum. *Itinerary*, 7
Sitimulh	His ita se habentibus, redivimus retrorsum per fluvium Gyon III diebus, et devenimus ad civitatem Sitinulh, *Itinerary*, 8
Tanis	Inde navigavimus ad civitatem Tamnis, in qua sunt Christiani multum religiosi, hospitalitate nimia ferventes *Itinerary*, 8
Farama	De Tamnis venimus ad civitatem Farameam, ubi est ecclesia [in honore] sancte Marie, in loco, ad quem, angelo monente, fugit Ioseph cum puero et matre, *Itinerary*, 9

Fig. 1: The five civitates of the Itinerary

Landscapes of Exegesis

Whether or not this correlation was intentional, Bernard's *Itinerary* evidently emerged within a literary milieu in which an established tradition of geographical writing about the Holy Land was known to him from other sources. Yet, although Bernard acknowledges his particular use of Bede, the *Itinerary* is more sophisticated than a straightforward replication of earlier sources and instances of variation between the text and other Holy Land itineraries suggest that Bernard also utilised the *Itinerary* to address specific exegetical concerns extant among his own community. Bernard's identification of a Church of St John on the Mount of Olives, which commemorated the story of the *Pericope Adulterae*, offers a clear example of Bernard's exegetical method.

> From there we proceeded to the Mount of Olives on whose slope is displayed the place of the Lord's Prayer to [God] the father. Also on the side of the same mountain is the place where the Pharisees brought forth to the Lord the woman caught in adultery; it has a church in honour of Saint John in which is preserved in marble the writing that he wrote on the ground.[57]
>
> *Bernard, Itinerary, 14.*

57 *Itinerary*, 14.

Despite Bernard's claims as a witness, it is doubtful that such a church ever existed as a physical space, because its location within the *Itinerary* is based upon a straightforward misreading of John 7:53-8.11 which locates the events of the story in the Temple.[58] This presents two possibilities: either Bernard had misread the pericope, or he worked from a manuscript that omitted the passage, where the woman accused of adultery is brought to Christ at the Temple.[59] Either suggestion is plausible in view of the complex history of the pericope as a later third-century interpolation often omitted from the earliest Greek copies of the Gospel of John and related Latin translations.[60]

A plausible interpretation for Bernard's »error« is that his conception of the topography of the Mount of Olives had been shaped by his reading of the Gospels in an earlier Latin copy that deviated from the codified Vulgate extant by the ninth century.[61] Exactly how this misreading entered the tradition familiar to Bernard is unclear, although examples like the *Codex Rehdigeranus*, where the passage was inserted into older copies of the Latin Gospels by ninth-century scribes, provide us with some sense of how Bernard may have had access to a version of John without such editing, which could have framed his expectation of the landscape of Jerusalem and its hinterland.[62]

Bernard's description of a church dedicated to St John is nevertheless instructive for the way that it reveals Bernard's use of the topos of the physical *ecclesia* as an exegetical tool to clarify scriptural readings.[63] The *Pericope Adulterae* is a particularly compelling example, because it deals with a passage familiar to ninth-century audiences, and emphasised in patristic writing, to be complex and in need of critical commentary.[64] While there is little indication that the authenticity of the *Pericope Adulterae* was widely questioned by the 860s, monastic writers like Bernard would have been familiar with a wealth of older writings in Latin that drew attention to suspicions regarding its validity.[65] Both Augustine and Jerome, although essentially convinced of the pericope's status as a genuine Gospel story, allude to concerns about its authenticity and its placement within the chronology of Christ's earthly life.[66]

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58 *»Jesus autem perrexit in montem Oliveti: et diluculo iterum venit in templum, et omnis populus venit ad eum, et sedens docebat eos«.*

59 John 8.1-3.

60 Knust and Wasserman, *To Cast the First Stone*, 49-95. ; *ibid.*, 209-248.

61 On the general deviations in the transmission of the pericope, including Ambrose of Milan's own use of divergent versions, see Knust and Wasserman, *To Cast the First Stone,* 217-231.

62 The eighth or ninth-century *Codex Rehdigeranus*, in which the passage of John 7:53-8.13 was inserted into the margin of the folio beside an Old Latin translation of the Gospel of John, provides an illustrative example of a practice that was widespread among copying practices in Bernard's lifetime, Knust and Wasserman, *To Cast the First Stone*, 229-232; Loew, Date of the *Codex Rehdigeranus*, 569-570; Vogels, *Codex Rehdigeranus.*

63 O'Loughlin, *Adomnán and the Holy Places*, 55-57.

64 See note 68.

65 These have been surveyed in Knust and Wasserman, *To Cast the First Stone*, 209-248.

66 Augustine's *De adulterinis coniugiis* (dated 419), which was later invoked at the Synod of Paris in 825, provides what is probably the earliest witness to accusations of the pericope's deliberate removal from the Gospel of John, Augustine, *De adulterinis coniugiis*, 387, ed. Zycha, trans. Wilcox, 107; *Concilium Parisiense* 825, MGH Conc. 2, 2 p. 498. For A copies of the *De adulterinis*, see Becker, *Catalogi*, 5. Jerome's *Contra Pelgaium* and Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, which were well known to Carolingian audiences, also expose an awareness of the complex history of the pericope's transmission: Rufinus of Aquileia, 3.39.17. See also Amidon, *Church History*. On the transmission and use of Rufinus in the Carolingian world, see McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 227-235. Copies were present at Fontelles, Reichenau and St. Gall by the ninth century: Becker, *Catalogi*, 3, 9, 224.

The *Itinerary*, however, cuts through such ambiguity by offering eyewitness testament to the existence of a church on the Mount of Olives dedicated to the Evangelist in whose Gospel the story appears. Drawing upon an established exegetical device of the stone *vestigia*, equally familiar to a monastic audience trained within the tradition of Augustinian exegesis, the *Itinerary* also proceeds to describe the marble stone (*lapide marmoreo*), that marks the spot where Christ had drawn in the earth (*quam Dominus scripsit in terra*).[67]

Bernard's visit to the location of the *Pericope Adulterae* also resonates with a renewed interest in the story by the mid-ninth century due to its associations with penance and justice.[68] The story appears in its most explicit form in the Lothar Crystal (probably dated 855-869), which depicts a sequence from the life of Susanna, (an established typology for the Adulterous Woman), flanked by quotations from the Vulgate text of John 7.53-8.1.[69] An image of the scene also adorns the cover of the Codex Aureus of St Emmeram commissioned in 870 by Charles the Bald, with further illuminations of the pericope also known from ninth-century copies of the *Carmen paschale* and Sedulius Scottus' biblical commentaries.[70]

In placing the Church of St John on the Mount of Olives, the *Itinerary* also locates the *Pericope Adulterae* in a geographical context familiar to ninth-century audiences from the sequences of the Lenten liturgy. As an essentially redemptive story which emphasises the salvific power of Christ, the pericope appears in Latin lectionaries as early as the fifth century in connection with the Paschal cycle. In Rome, the story served as the prescribed reading assigned to the third Saturday of Lent, observed at the church of Santa Susanna, whose biblical namesake was widely recognised in the ninth century as a typological parallel to the *Pericope Adulterae*.[71] Carolingian liturgies of the eighth to tenth centuries also demonstrate a continued association of the story with the readings ascribed to the Lenten fast.[72]

The *Itinerary*'s geographical placement of the Church of St John on the Mount of Olives accords with its typological connection to Lent. After leaving Jerusalem and Gethsemane, Bernard first visits the Church of the Last Supper, in which Christ was betrayed, before journeying to the Mount of Olives where Christ prayed to the Father.

67 Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. J. Martin; O'Loughlin, Exegetical purpose, 38-42, Moore, *Architecture of the Christian Holy Land*, 39-52. For copies of *De Doctrina Christiana*, see Becker, *Catalogi*, 5, 25, 32, 39, 45.

68 See notes 68-70 above.

69 Flint, Susanna and the Lothar Crystal, 61-86; Kornbluth, *Engraved gems*, 36-46; Tkacz, Susanna, 101-153.

70 München, Staatsbibliothek, München SB Clm 140; Dielbold, Verbal, visual, and cultural literacy, 89-99; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS M.17.4; Martyr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 1.72-73; Sedulius Scottus, *Collectaneum Miscellaneum*, 13.2.14, ed. Simpson, 54; See also Knust and Wasserman, *To Cast the First Stone,* 321-323.

71 The Harley Golden Gospels (British Museum MS Harl. 2788), produced c. 800-c. 825, lists the observance: Frere, *Roman Liturgy*, 37 (no. 81). On the significance of the story of Susana as a typology of John 7.53-8.11, see Kornbluth, Susanna Crystal, 25-39; Flint, Susanna and the Lothar Crystal, 61-86.

72 The only additional development being the addition of the chant *Nemo Te* (from the Vulgate text of John 8:10-11), as the antiphon for the Lenten communion. This is taken from the Vulgate: *»Erigens autem se Jesus, dixit ei: Mulier, ubi sunt qui te accusabant? nemo te condemnavit? Quæ dixit: Nemo, Domine. Dixit autem Jesus: Nec ego te condemnabo: vade, et jam amplius noli peccare«*; Knust and Wasserman, *To Cast the First Stone*, 318.

> From there we proceeded to the Mount of Olives on whose slope is displayed the place of the Lord's prayer to [God] the father. Also on the side of the same mountain is the place where the Pharisees brought forth to the Lord the woman caught in adultery; it has a church in honour of Saint John in which is preserved in marble the writing that he wrote on the ground.
> *Bernard, Itinerary, 14*

Each of these churches commemorates episodes familiar to Roman and Carolingian audiences through the readings and scriptural pericopes assigned to the final Lenten weeks before Easter Sunday. A listing within the Roman lectionary indicates that both events formed part of the commemoration on the final Saturday of Lent, accompanied by readings from chapter 13 of the Book of Daniel.[73] By the ninth century, these were also accompanied by sermons delivered on Holy Thursday that recalled the importance of both events as symbols of Christ's humility and sacrifice.[74] The *Itinerary*'s placement of these churches within a single travel sequence thus brings to the fore motifs and stories that resonated within ninth-century liturgical custom and reveals Bernard's conception of the Holy Land as one closely aligned to ninth-century interests in the redemptive story of the Passion and liturgical celebrations linked to the Paschal cycle.[75]

Paschal Landscapes

At the centre of the *Itinerary*'s exegetical map lay the tomb of Christ and the physical centre of the world, which Bernard identifies by the description of four chains that ran to the centre of a *paradise*.[76] Following Bede's directive, Bernard proceeds to describe the four constituent churches of the complex of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

> Within that city [of Jerusalem], with other churches left aside [here], four churches stand out [and] share common walls with each other. One, which lies to the east, contains Mount Calvary and the place where the cross of the Lord was found and it is called the Basilica of Constantine. Another [lies] to the south; a third to the west, in the middle of which is the Sepulchre of the Lord which has nine columns around it, between which stand walls made of the finest stones.[77]
> *Bernard, Itinerary, 11*

Comparing the two accounts it becomes apparent that Bernard's description of the tomb deviates from Bede's model, despite explicitly acknowledging it. Bede, for example, describes the tomb as an aedicule furnished with twelve columns and twelve hanging lamps.[78] Bernard, however, reorganised this architectural plan to describe a structure surrounded by nine columns – four of which are placed directly before the entrance to the tomb.

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73 Flint, Susanna and the Lothar Crystal, 69-71, with further references. See also Frere, Lectionary, no. 81.

74 Hrabanus Maurus, *Homily*, 15 (*In coena Domini*), ed. Migne, 30D-33A; Hrabanus Maurus, *Homily*, 13 (*In feria IV*), ed. Migne, 27B-29A, and the *Homily* by Smaragdus of St-Mihiel, *Homily*, 2 II, ed. Migne, 163-166; Etaix, L'homéliaire, 211-240; Chazelle, *Crucified God*, 152-155.

75 Chazelle, *Crucified God*, 149-150.

76 *Itinerary*, 11.

77 *Itinerary*, 11.

78 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 5 V.17.

> Four of the nine columns are before the face of that monument; with their walls they enclose the [tomb] stone placed before the sepulchre, which the angel rolled back and upon which he sat after the resurrection of the Lord was brought about. It is not necessary to say more about this sepulchre, since Bede in his history says enough about it.[79]
> *Bernard, Itinerary, 11.*

This re-arrangement is unlikely to reflect a physical change to the structure of the tomb but a typological one that attached specific importance to the numerological values of nine and four. In this respect, the *Itinerary* reveals its use of an established exegetical device that had also been employed by both Gregory and Bede, for whom numerological readings of architectural plans had informed their earlier descriptions of the Sepulchre, the Tabernacle and Solomon's Temple.[80] Drawing upon this tradition, Adomnán's earlier description of the tomb of Christ had also been shaped by a numerological code that placed Christ's burial at the centre of twelve pillars (the disciples), decorated by twelve lamps and flanked by three walls, three altars and three partitions.[81]

Bernard's use of the numbers nine and four offer different, although probably equally meaningful, numerical values that also emphasise the position of the Sepulchre at the intersection between the heavenly and earthly paradise. What we cannot know from the *Itinerary* is exactly how they were intended to be read by Bernard's audience, because the text itself offers no definitive reading. Nevertheless, the emphasis on recurrent numerical values in the description of the Sepulchre and elsewhere in the narrative, to which we will return, alludes to Bernard's own familiarity with existing numerological conventions and his ability to adapt them to stress alternate allegorical readings.

Bernard's sepulchre is organised around the numerical values of nine and four. By the mid-ninth century the number nine was most commonly associated with the number of angelic orders that surrounded the heavenly throne, a reading that drew upon the *De Coelesti Hierarchia* of Pseudo Dionysius the Areopagite which was known by the 860s from the Latin translations of John Scotus Eriugena, an earlier version by Hilduin and the extensive commentaries of Anastasius Bibliotecarius.[82] The number four also held particular significance for ninth-century audiences owing to its association with the Gospels and as the number of cardinal directions – two readings that had been exegetically linked in earlier centuries.[83] Bernard's arrangement of four pillars (the number of Gospels) before the tomb of Christ – a symbolic arrangement that denotes their primacy over the other five (evoking the Pentateuch) – was likely intended to evoke one, or several, of these existing typologies.[84]

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79 Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 475.

80 Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 3 III.1-37, ed. Martin. See the comments in Connolly, *On the Temple*, xxv-xxviii, see Laistner, *Hand-list*, 75-77. Bede, *De tabernaculo*, I. 25-30, ed. Hurst 25-30, trans. Holder, 28-29. Bede, *De templo*, 18.7, 18.10-13, 20.12, 22.3-4, ed. Hurst, 141-234. For copies of this text, see Laistner, *Hand-list*, 70-74.

81 Adomnán, *De Locis Sanctis*, 1.1.3, ed. Bieler, 87, trans. Wilkinson (second edition), 171.

82 Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *De Coelesti Hierarchia*, ed. Heil, 26, trans. Parker. Rorem, Eriugena's Commentary. On the history of the reception of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: Rorem, Early Latin, 601-614; Delaporte, He darkens, 219-246. For writers such as Dhuoda, the nine standing (*steterunt*) angelic orders prefigured the return of the tenth angelic order at the end of days Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, 9.3-4, ed. and trans. Thiebaux, 212-215. Anastasius Bibliothecarius also had access to a copy of the *De Coelesti Hierarchia*, Forrai, Notes, 74-100.

83 Dhuoda also links four to the number of Gospels and the preaching of the Gospels in four directions throughout the world, Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, 9.3, ed. and trans. Thiebaux, 212-213.

84 *Itinerary*, 11.

If this particular reading is correct, Bernard's description of the Sepulchre is reordered and rendered Christo-centric: Christ's earthly tomb is surrounded by columns that number the books that prophesy and detail his life, death and resurrection.

This is a central theme that emerges in other sections of the *Itinerary* as the geographical focus of Bernard's journey moves beyond the Sepulchre itself and explores the wider landscape of churches and holy sites testifying to Christ's redemption of human sin. Although the *Itinerary*'s internal topography cannot be correlated directly with the liturgical arrangements of a single ecclesiastical or monastic community, Bernard's conception of Jerusalem as a physical space is evidently organised in topographic parcels that resonate with liturgical themes observed in Rome and Francia by the 860s.[85] From the Sepulchre, Bernard proceeds directly to Mount Sion and bears witness to the scenes of Christ's washing of the feet and the trials of his final hours, which the *Itinerary* locates in the church dedicated to Saint Symeon.[86]

> Moreover, there is in that city another church to the south on Mount Sion which is called [the church] of Saint Symeon. In that church hangs the crown of thorns.
> *Bernard, Itinerary, 12*

The association of Mount Sion with the tribulations of Christ was already well established at the time of the *Itinerary*'s composition. The *Itinerary*, however, is the only example among the Holy Land itineraries pre-dating 1000 to locate a church dedicated to Saint Symeon over these relics. Although often perceived as an error derived from Bernard's misunderstanding of the church, the dedication of the *ecclesia* to Symeon can be seen to draw together several themes that emphasised the messianic status of Christ also familiar to ninth-century audiences from the themes of liturgy and earlier patristic writing.

The *Sancti Symeonis*, to whom the church is dedicated in the *Itinerary*, is to be identified as the figure described in Luke 2.22-40, to whom Mary and Joseph presented the infant Christ at the Temple.[87] Although celebrated separately at the feast dedicated to the Purification of the Virgin, which was also paired with the commemoration of the Lord's circumcision, the reading of Luke 2.22-40 that accompanied the observance was already understood by the ninth century as a prefiguration of Mary and Christ's suffering during the Passion. The commentaries on the Gospel of Luke by Ambrose and Bede, as well as Bede's Homily to accompany Easter Sunday, all emphasise the symbolic role of Christ's circumcision and presentation at the Temple as a model for his future suffering.[88]

85 Chazelle, *Crucified God*, 14-73.

86 *Itinerary*, 12.

87 Luke 2.22-40.

88 Ambrose, *Expositio* 22-24, ed. Schenkl, 71-73; Bede, *Homelia*, 1.18, ed. Hurst, 128, trans. Martin, 182. See also Del Giacco, Exegesis and Sermon, 9-29.

Symeon's words recounted in Luke 2:29-32, the *Nunc Dimitis*, were also familiar to monastic audiences in the ninth century as the canticle sung at Compline and as one of a number of canticles that accompanied the antiphon *Alleluia* during the mass celebrations of Paschal week.[89] Whether or not Bernard intentionally sought to evoke the writings of Ambrose or Bede, his exegetical geography emerges from a similar tradition of thinking: Bernard's church of Saint Symeon, dedicated to the holy figure who prophesies Christ's Messianic status and future suffering, is furnished with the relic of the Crown of Thorns that confirms the fulfilment of this prophecy.[90]

Moving outside of the walls, the focus of the *Itinerary* extends to other sites linked with Christ's betrayal, Ascension, then to Bethany and the site of Lazarus' tomb.[91] This particular topographical sequence follows an established geographical conception of the Holy Land that corresponds to the key motifs and stories common in the western Paschal liturgy by the 860s.[92] Isidore of Seville's discussion of the Holy Week in the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, for example, follows a similar exegetical itinerary that simultaneously stresses the salvific role of Christ and his humility.[93] Isidore's description of the observations of Holy Thursday, centred on the washing of the disciples' feet and the prefiguration of the Eucharist in the Last Supper all find corresponding motifs in Bernard's narrative through the identification of churches at the locations of these events.[94] Lazarus' tomb in Bethany also brings into focus another site and story widely utilised by ninth-century exegetes for its association with penance and spiritual rebirth through Christ.[95] For ninth-century audiences, these episodes conveyed further exegetical relevance as symbols of hope and as examples of redemption through penance.[96] Combined, each of these biblical *topoi*, reveal Bernard's conception of the Holy Land to be one defined principally by the redemptive story of Christ and the efficacy of penance.

89 Frere, *Kalendar*, 1, 5, 92-94. It appears in the Harley Golden Gospels: Frere, *Roman Liturgy*, nos. 8 and 42, Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 30.

90 A similar link is also made in Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Matthaeum*, ed. Löfstedt, 741.

91 *Itinerary*, 12-16.

92 The homilies of Bede also focus on these stages: Bede *Homelia*, II.4, ed. Hurst, 207-213, trans. Martin and Hurst, 33-41; Bede *Homelia* II.4, ed. Hurst, 207-213, tr. Martin and Hurst, 33-41; Chazelle, *Crucified God*, 14-73.

93 Isidore of Seville, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, I.27 [28]-I.29 [280], ed. Lawson, 31-34, trans. tr. Knoebel, 50-51. This text circulated widely by the ninth century and had been commonly used by Anglo-Saxon missionaries in the eighth century. On the prevalence of the text in Anglo-Saxon England, see Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 39-43 and Levinson, *England and the Continent*, 280-290.

94 *Itinerary*, 12-14.

95 Alcuin, *Commemoratorium in Joannem*, ed. Migne, 743-1008, especially 896-903; Hrabanus, *Expositio in Mattheum*, 6., 45-51, 552, Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo IX-XII,* 2854-61 and 3499-514, ed. Paulus, 1018 and 1038-39. Earlier influence derived from Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus cxxiv*, 44, ed. Willems, 3-5 Gillis, Heresy and dissent, 97-98. This is a theme originally addressed in Gregory the Great's *Homily* 26, which was recited on the Octave Sunday of Easter, Gregory the Great, *Homily*, 26, ed. Migne, 1200B-1201B, trans. Hurst, 205-206.

96 In Carolingian liturgy, these observances coincided with the reconciliation of penitents and the blessing of the chrism in the church on Holy Thursday: Chazelle, *Crucified God*, 35.

Landscapes of Redemption

These themes only become more apparent, however, when the topography of Jerusalem and the Holy Land is situated within the wider geography that the *Itinerary* presents internally. Bernard's initial journey to Jerusalem proceeds from Egypt, but does not extend further north than Jerusalem itself. Traditional interpretations of the *Itinerary* have tended to assume that the omission of holy sites north of Jerusalem derived from local political instabilities that prevented Bernard and his companions from travelling further north. Yet, this rather literal interpretation overlooks the relationship between Bernard's experiences in Jerusalem and Egypt as a literary pairing that reinforces the text's central focus on the redemptive message of the Easter story. Indeed, Bernard's initial journey through Egypt towards the Holy Land functions as a counterpart to the Gospel topography by bearing witness to sites representing established Old Testament typologies linked with the Paschal theme.

The typological connection between Christ's final hours in Holy Week and the Israelite exodus had already been firmly established in western liturgical and exegetical consciousness by the seventh century and continued to be reinforced by the circulation of these earlier works in Bernard's lifetime.[97] Isidore of Seville in the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* and Bede's *Homily on Easter*, both known to ninth-century audiences, both explicitly connect the two.[98] Within Bernard's *Itinerary* these typologies are rendered as a physical geographical dichotomy in which Bernard moves between sites that evoke the transition between the Old and New Laws and traces the footsteps of the Israelite captivity and liberation from Egypt. Crossing the five *civitates* of Egypt, which evoke the Israelite cities of Isaiah 19:18 (also noted by Jerome), Bernard is brought into contact with the former city of Pharaoh and the granaries (*horrea*) of Joseph.[99] In Tinnis (*Thaneos*), Bernard describes the bodies of those »slaughtered in the days of Moses«, which confirms to his readers the authenticity of the miracles performed by Moses before Pharaoh recalled in Psalm 77 [78] and explicitly links the *Itinerary* to its Paschal theme.

> This city, however, has no land without churches and the plain of Thaneos is found there. In it in the likeness of three walls lie the bodies of those who were slaughtered in the time of Moses.[100]

The salvific tenor of Psalm 77 [78], which extolls God's deliverance of his chosen people, had secured its position within western liturgies long before the ninth century, although by the 860s it was most often encountered as part of the Paschal cycle where readings of the Psalm appear among a number of ninth-century liturgical manuscripts for the Easter *ordines*.[101]

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97 Chazelle, *Crucified God*, 29, 134, with further references.

98 Isidore of Seville, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, 32 [31], ed. Lawson, 35-38, trans. Knoebel, 54; Bede, *Homilia*, 2 II.7 ed. Hurst, 225-232, trans. Martin and Hurst, 61-65. See also Chazelle, *Crucified God*, 29, 162.

99 The Israelite captivity and liberation were also frequently recounted in the Lenten and Easter liturgy. It appears in the ninth-century lectionary of Corbie (also called the Comes of Leningrad: Frere, *The Lectionary*, LVI-LXXXV, [8-11]

100 *Itinerary*, 8.

101 Andrieu, *Les Ordines*, nos. 84, 368; Chazelle, Exegesis in the ninth century, 167-187. The connection between Psalm 77 [78] and the raising of Lazarus also appears in Jerome's Homily 11, which was delivered in Lent, Jerome, *Homiliae*, 11 and 86, ed. Morin, *et al.*, trans. Deferrari, 79-89 and Ewald, 208.

A continuation of the Old Testament typological theme of salvation and its Paschal counterpart is recalled in a later episode of the *Itinerary* when Bernard visits Habakkuk's field on the route to Bethlehem, from which Habakkuk was believed to have sent food to Daniel, imprisoned in the lions' den.[102]

> Besides [those sites], when we went out of Jerusalem, we crossed over to Bethlehem where the Lord was born, which was six miles [away]. A field was shown to us in which Habbakuk was working when the angel of the Lord ordered him to carry the lunch to Daniel in Babylon ...[103]
>
> *Bernard, Itinerary, 17*

The *Itinerary* is the only example of a pilgrimage *itinerarium* to describe Habakkuk's field (drawn from Daniel 14:33-36), and reveals Bernard's particular interest in salvific themes and typologies drawn from the Book of Daniel. As we have seen, Bernard's six-day imprisonment in Babylon deliberately echoes the experiences of the prophet Daniel, but also brings to the fore a symbolic motif that links the themes of incarceration and liberation with Christ's death and resurrection. Since as early as the fourth century, Daniel's incarceration in Babylon had been widely understood by Christian exegetes as a model for Christ's resurrection, but by the mid-ninth century, had been augmented by a further understanding of Daniel and Habbukuk's story as confirmation of God's reward for enduring faith and eventual Christian triumph over evil.[104] Hrabanus Maurus' commentary on Daniel is characteristic of the multi-layered interpretation of the story that existed by Bernard's lifetime and drew from the earlier traditions of Jerome and Augustine who also stressed the duality of its interpretation.[105] Although Bernard shows no awareness of Hrabanus' writings, the *Itinerary*'s topographical focus on sites connected with typological themes of salvation and divine intercession recalled in the Book of Daniel, recreates a topography that resonates with broader exegetical concerns of writers like Hrabanus active in the same decades.

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102 Daniel 14:33-36.

103 *Itinerary*, 17.

104 The subject of Daniel as a prefiguration of Christ and the resurrection appears in the writings of Hippolytus of Rome, *In Danielem*, 31.2, 39.7, ed. Lefèvre, which develops the parallel with Christ's Resurrection, Hilarius of Poitiers, *De Trinitate*, 10.45-46, ed. Smulders, 499, Jerome, *Commentarii in Danielem*, ed. Migne, 491-584., Maximus of Turin, Sermon 21, ed. Migne, col. 576, Richardson. *Prudentius' Hymns*, 104-107. See also, Saxon. *The Eucharist*, 107-111. Hrabanus Maurus, *Allegoriae in sacram Scripturam* , ed. Migne, cols. 884ss., Haimo of Auxerre, *Homiliae de tempore*, 28, ed. Migne, col. 194.

105 De Jong, Old law and new-found power, 161-176; De Jong, Empireas *ecclesia*, 191-226; Shimahara, Daniel et les visions, 19-32; Palmer, *Apocalypse*, 165-167, Zier; Interpretation of Daniel, 43-78, especially 58-59; Webb, Knowledge will be manifold, 307-357.

Like Psalm 77 [78], to which it was typologically linked in the Gospel of John, recognition of the story of Habakkuk's field as a prelude to the Eucharist and Christ's resurrection encouraged its use within western liturgical cycles during Lent and Easter.[106] The sixth-century *Libri Comptis*, for example, lists a reading of the pages on the Tuesday of Passiontide which was still being observed at the Abbey of Cluny in the early tenth century, according to the surviving lectionaries.[107] By locating the field in Bethlehem, a detail which is omitted from the descriptions of Daniel 14:33-36, the *Itinerary* also links Habakkuk's field with Bernard's subsequent journey to the birthplace of Christ.[108] Like the earlier example of the church of Saint Symeon, Bernard's association of Habbukuk's field with Bethlehem presents a further example of a typological location that links together themes relating the Messianic status of Christ proclaimed in his infancy with those anticipating his death and resurrection in adulthood. By the 860s, Habakkuk's prophecy (Habakkuk 3:2), was varyingly interpreted both as a typological prelude to Christ's Nativity in Bethlehem and his Crucifixion. As one of the Lenten canticles recited during the Easter vigil, the third book of Habakkuk was also understood as further confirmation of God's deliverance of his people and their triumph over adversity.[109] Bernard's linking of Habbukuk's field with Bethlehem thus brings together these typologies within a single geographical sequence that works to emphasise Christ's redemptive message and resonate with the parallels established within the Paschal liturgy.[110] Like Jerusalem, the landscapes of Egypt and the wider Holy Land that Bernard encounters are, from the outset, encoded with salvation and the promise of redemption.

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106 John 6.25. A typological connection between Habbukuk 3 (the Canticle of Habbukuk), is also drawn by Bede's commentary of Habbukuk, see Bede, *In Canticum Abacuc*, ed. Hudson, 381-382, trans. Connolly, 65-66. The interpretation of Psalm 77 as a prefiguration of the Eucharist is established in Cassiodorus' Commentary on the Psalms, Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, ed. Adriaen, 708-732, trans. Walsh, 250-275. Cassiodorus' work is widely attested in the ninth-century manuscript tradition, see Halporn, Manuscripts of Cassiodorus, 388-396. General discussion in Copeland and Sluiter, Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum,* CA. 540, 210-231. Cassiodorus' commentary is also listed in the archival lists published by Becker at St Riquier, Fontelles, Wurzburg and St Gallen; Becker, *Catalogi*, 10, 26, 34, 40, 47 and 55.

107 *Liber comitis,* ed. Migne, col. 502. The passage appears in a tenth-century lectionary from St Gall (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS C 77, fols. 106r-107r), see Euw, *St. Galler*, 1:433-435. For the formation of the *Liber comitis*, see Noble, Literacy and the papal government, 8-133, especially 100 and Vescovi, Eschatological mirror, 53-80.

108 *Itinerary*, 17. Bernard's description of the Cave of Bethlehem and his emphasis on the Lord's crying appears to be influenced by the earlier descriptions of Jerome, *Epistola* 108, 10.7, on which, see Cain. *Jerome's Epitaph on Paula*, 256-258. Bernard's description of altars within the cave, and the emphasis on the cries of the infant Christ also overlap with the descriptions provided in Jerome's *Homily on the Nativity*, which was well known to Carolingian audiences, Jerome, *Homily*, 88, ed. Morin *et al.,* trans. Ewald, 221-228.

109 The correlation derives from a misreading of Habbukuk 3, which encouraged a reading of the text as a typology of Isaiah 1.3. The connection was certainly known through the ninth century: Pseudo Matthew, *Libri de nativitate Mariae*, ed. J. Gijsel. On the transmission of this text in the Carolingian world, see Leyser, From maternal, 30-35.

110 Bede, *In Canticum Abacuc*, ed. Hudson, 383, trans. Connolly, 68. Bede, *In Canticum Abacuc*, ed. Hudson, 381-409, trans. Connolly, 65-95. For wider use of the Canticle of Habukkuk in western liturgy, including Iberia, see Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*, 244-302.

Penitence and the Journey of Redemption

This correlation is made explicit in the opening and closing chapters of the *Itinerary*, which begins and ends by disclosing the political and social disarray across southern Italy from the assassination of Sichard in 839 until the year of Bernard's journey in c. 867.[111] At the very beginning of the narrative, as Bernard crosses into Muslim territory, the *Itinerary* describes the thousands of Christian captives transported to Africa:

> Departing from Bari, we walked south for ninety miles until [we came] to the port of the city of Taranto, where we found six ships in which there were nine thousand Christian Beneventans held captive. In two ships which left first for Africa there were three thousands captives; in the next two departing ships similarly carried three thousand to Tripoli.[112]
>
> *Bernard, Itinerary, 4*

It is not until the final chapters, however, that the *Itinerary* situates such events within a broader moralistic framework that emphasises the unjust killing of Sichard, for which the »Christians of Benevento gravely broke Christian law« (*legem christianorum*).[113] The enslavement of the people of Benevento is thus presented in the *Itinerary* as an ordained consequence of their transgression and draws an immediate parallel with the Israelites of the Old Testament. Within this moralistic framework, the Caliphate, which the *Itinerary* describes as »Babylon«, looms large as the instrument through which divine chastisement is implemented within Bernard's ninth-century world. Bernard's description of contemporary events in southern Italy in the reign of Louis II is consequently drawn into a Biblical model of transgression and redemption: the Beneventans are enslaved by the Babylonians for their transgression of Christian law.

Yet, like the Old Testament prototype, the *Itinerary* is also replete with symbols that stress the temporality of the Beneventan chastisement at the hands of the earthly Babylon. Such a reading is achieved in the *Itinerary* by drawing upon established Biblical parallels that, as we have seen, evoked the Paschal image of the Israelite exodus from Egypt.[114] Interwoven throughout the *Itinerary* are further reminders of the previous empires and past kings that had fallen in accordance with divine will. The legacy of Babylon, in particular, casts a shadow over the narrative, both as a reference to the biblical Babylon and Bernard's identification of the Caliphate as the Babylon of his own time.[115] Although historically accurate, the anachronistic use of the term »Babylon of Egypt« to describe Fustat appears to be a deliberate conflation of the biblical and Abbasid ages, for elsewhere in the *Itinerary* Bernard shows a clear awareness of the contemporary ninth-century names for the cities he visits.[116]

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111 *Itinerary*, 24.

112 *Itinerary*, 4.

113 *»Beneventani principem suum Sichardum per superbiam interfecerunt, et legem Christianroum multum destruxerunt«, Itinerary*, 24.

114 See notes 96-97.

115 *Itinerary*, 7: *»In quod intrantes navigamus ad meridiem diebus VI, et venimus ad Babyloniam Aegypti, ubi reganvit quondam pharao, rex, sub quo aedificavit Joseph VII horrea adhunc manentia.«*

116 Ramla, rather than Diospolis, for example, is given as the approximate location of the tomb of Saint George as Bernard approaches the Holy City, *Itinerary*, 10. The ambiguous names of El Baracha and El Ariza, which appear as Latinised versions of Arabic toponyms, provide another case of Bernard's awareness of contemporary realities of the ninth-century landscape, *Itinerary*, 9.

The *Itinerary*'s ambiguous conflation of the biblical and Egyptian Babylon, however, facilitates a broader understanding of Bernard's journey as an exegetical exploration of the temporal nature of human rule. Travelling to Egypt, Bernard ventures to Fustat, which the narrative identifies as Babylonia of Egypt (*venimns ad Babyloniam Aegypti*), and notes that King Pharaoh once reigned there (*regnavit quondam pharaoh rex*).[117] Observing the seven granaries (*horrea*) built by Joseph, an established typological identification for the pyramids by the ninth century, the *Itinerary* alludes to the dreams of Joseph recalled in Genesis 41 and the prophecy of seven years of prosperity.[118]

Passing through Tinnis, Bernard and his companions then bear witness to the field in which Moses performed miracles before Pharaoh – an encounter that connects Bernard's topography to the teachings of Psalm 77 [78], which recalls God's intercession and kindness to the people of Israel.[119] Similarly, upon entering Bethlehem, Bernard was shown (*ostensus*) the field from which the angel of the Lord commanded Habakkuk to bring the meal to the imprisoned Daniel in Babylon.[120] This is accompanied by a further note that Babylon is located to the south (*quae est ad meridiem*).[121]

The story of Habbukuk is drawn from the fourteenth chapter of the Book of Daniel in the Vulgate, but the *Itinerary* supplements its details by locating the former royal capital of Nebuchadnezzar within a geographical place to the south.[122] This intentional geographical shift immediately calls to mind the apocalyptic prophecy of »the King of the South« of Daniel 11, a well-known eschatological motif by the ninth century.[123] In the next line, Bernard reinforces this prophetic association.[124] Babylon used to be the city from which Nebuchadnezzar reigned but is now inhabited only by beasts and serpents (*»quam nunc serpentes ac bestiae inhabitant«*).[125] The image of the abandoned royal city, inhabited by beasts, is a description that evokes the prophecy of Isaiah 13.21-22 which anticipates the destruction of Babylon.[126] Combined, Bernard's journey across Egypt and his visit to the field of Habakkuk form a literary pairing that recalls past kingdoms and rulers whose temporal power was brought to a close as a result of divine intervention. Implicit within this reading is an exegetical model that invites its readers to draw similar conclusions about events in their own time.

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117 *Itinerary*, 7.

118 Genesis 41.5-7, Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, 1.10, ed. Migne, 167B, trans. Thorpe, 74.

119 Psalm 77 [78]: 12, *»Coram patribus eorum fecit mirabilia in terra Aegypti, in campo Taneos«.* For the liturgical significance of this psalm, see note 133.

120 *Itinerary*, 16.

121 *Itinerary*, 16. *»A loco nativitatis Domini, qui fuit VI. Millario, ostensus est campus, in quo laborate Habbukuk, quando angelus Domini jussit eum prandium ferre Daniueli in babyloem, quae est ad merideim, ubi regnavit Nabuchodonosor: quam nunc serpents ac bestaie inhabitant.«*

122 Daniel 14.33-40, which locates Daniel's prison in Babylon.

123 Genesis 41.5-7. Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* 1.10, ed. Migne, 167B, trans. Thorpe, 74.

124 *Itinerary*, 16; Daniel 11.11.

125 *Itinerary,* 16.

126 Isaiah 13.21-22, *»Sed requiescent ibi bestiæ, et replebuntur domus eorum draconibus, et habitabunt ibi struthiones, et pilosi saltabunt ibi; et respondebunt ibi ululæ in ædibus ejus, et sirenes in delubris voluptatis.«*

Numerological Values

Further confirmation of this biblical parallel is offered throughout the *Itinerary* by the recurrence of numerological signs in the landscape that carried established allegorical meanings linked to the finite nature of the human world.[127] Although we can only conjecture how these numerical values were read by the specific audience intended for the *Itinerary*, the use of numerological calculation as a method of exegesis was nevertheless a familiar one by the mid-ninth century, and can be seen most explicitly in Dhuoda's own calculations in Book Nine of the *Liber Manualis* (penned c. 841-843) and the writings of Hrabanus Marurus which drew heavily from the earlier *De tempore ratione*, penned by Bede.[128]

The extent of Bernard's awareness of these works in the 860s is difficult to assess from the relatively limited details that the *Itinerary* itself provides, although the recurrence of particular numbers in the text that possessed common allegorical significance by the ninth century places him broadly within this wider exegetical tradition and indicates his general familiarity with the conventions of ninth-century numerological calculation. The numbers six and thirteen, for example, make regular appearances when associated with Bernard's experiences of the Muslim world. Six appears on multiple occasions and to ninth-century audiences represented a familiar numerological allegory that conveyed the imperfection of humanity and the temporality of the human age.[129] In scripture, six represents the number of days in which the world was created before the Sabbath (the seventh day); and for earlier commentators such as Augustine and Gregory also functioned as a typological allusion to the »Six Ages of Man« that preceded the Day of Judgement and the heavenly seventh age.[130]

Corresponding interpretations of six as both a human and imperfect number were also a common feature of Carolingian numerological thought by Bernard's lifetime and can be encountered in both the *Liber Manualis* of Dhuoda (composed c. 841-c. 843) and in the numerous biblical glossia compiled by Hrabanus Maurus.[131] Thirteen, though less commonly described by patristic authors, is also encountered within scripture as a number associated with rebellion and sin.[132]

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127 Wallis, Number, 181-199; Surles, *Medieval Numerology*.

128 Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, 9, ed. and trans. Thiebaux, 300-312; Garipzanov, *Graphic Signs*; Bede, *De temporum ratione*, ed. Jones, 66, trans. Wallis, 157-158; Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, 22-26; Palmer, Ends and futures, 139-160; Isidore, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, 1.42-25, ed. Lawson, 27-29 and trans. Knoebel, 47-49.

129 Bede, *De temporum ratione*, 66 and translation in Wallis, Bede: The Reckoning, 157-159.

130 Augustine, *De Civitate Dei,* 11.30, ed. Dombart and Kalb; Augustine, *De trinitate libri*, 4.4, ed. Mountain,169-172; Augustine, *De Genesi*, 4.6.13-4.7.14, ed. Zycha; Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, 35.16.-42.14, ed. Adriaen, 1802, trans. Bliss, 4.691. More negative associations that stressed the imperfection of humanity could also be found within scripture in relation to the value of six. Christ, for example, was subject to six trials on Good Friday and accused six times of demonic possession, On the six trials of Christ: Matt. 26.57-68, 27.1-2; Luke 22:63-71; Luke 26:6-12; John 18: 12-14; John 18.28-38 and John 18:30-19:8. The accusations of demonic possession appear in Matt. 12.24, Mark 3.22, Luke 11:18-19, John 7:20 and John 8:48-52.

131 Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis,* 9.1-3, ed. and trans. Thiebaux, 210-213. On Hrabanus' numerology, see Schutz, *Carolingians*, 192-185, with further references, and Ferrari, Il *»liber Sanctae Crucis«.*

132 The appearances of the beast of Revelation number thirteen in scripture and are described in Revelation 13.

From the perspective of the *Itinerary*, the numbers six and thirteen are embedded across the structures of the ninth-century Abbasid society that Bernard encounters along his journey. It is signalled at the very outset of the journey: as Bernard and his companions disembark from their boat in Alexandria they are fined thirteen denarii when their letters of recommendation are not recognised by the Muslim governor.[133] An additional thirteen denarii are also required to secure Bernard's release from prison.[134] Before disembarking from the ship at Alexandria, Bernard and his companions are forced to pay a fee of six aurei, at which point the text informs the reader that six of Bernard's Frankish *denarii* and *solidi* are only worth three *solidi* and *denarii* within the Caliphate.[135] Once in Babylon, Bernard was imprisoned for six days – echoing the experiences of the prophet Daniel imprisoned by Nebuchadnezzar.[136] Even Bernard's discussion of the Muslim poll tax is woven with numerological symbols which allude to its essential humanity and imperfection. The levying of taxes on wealthier Christians in the Caliphate, as described in the *Itinerary*, amounts to three, two or one *aureus* (a combined total of six), or thirteen *denarii* for poorer Christians.[137] Bernard's experience throughout the *Itinerary* consequently confirms to its readers the finite and essentially human nature of the Abbasid »Babylon« and situates its rise and worldly influence within a Christian numerological code.

Like the *Itinerary*'s description of former Biblical rulers, Bernard also employs numerological signs within the *Itinerary* to draw explicit comparison between Babylon and the Christian world. The *Itinerary*'s emphasis on the numerological temporality of the human Babylon, represented by the number six, is juxtaposed throughout the *Itinerary* by the recurrence of the number seven in places Bernard and his companions associate with Christian revelation.

133 *»Quo urgente, dedit ei unusquisque nostrum pro se XIII denarios, et fecit nobis litteras ad principem Babyloniae«, Itinerary*, 6.

134 *»Qua de causa ostendimus ei litteras de parte praedicti suldani et de parte principis Alexandriae, quod nihil nobis profecit, sed ab illo missi sumus in carcerem, donec post dies sex inito consilio, cum Dei auxilio, tredecim denarius unusquique dedit pro se, sicut et superius«, Itinerary* 6.

135 *Itinerary*, 6.

136 Daniel 14.33-40.

137 *Itinerary*, 7.

To audiences in the ninth century, seven represented an established numerical value that conveyed an explicit connection to the »End of Days«, and thus was a symbol of divine completeness and unity.[138] The interpretation is derived from Biblical numerological allegory, where seven is frequently linked to the concept of perfection.[139] Carolingian numerological writings, inspired by Biblical sequences, elicit a corresponding understanding of these eschatological significations of the number seven.[140]

Bernard's experiences of spaces associated with the Gospel and Old Testament revelation are accordingly described within the *Itinerary* in a manner that stresses the allegorical significance of the number seven. Apart from Bernard's contact with the seven *horrea* of Joseph, Bernard also describes seven caves that adorn the shrine dedicated to the Archangel Michael in his recollections of Mons Aureus (San Michele Sul Tusciano in Olevano).[141] Bernard's broader description of the Holy Land also traces a landscape inscribed with references to the divine value of seven. Within the walled city of Jerusalem, Bernard encounters seven churches (*Fig. 2*) and then proceeds to visit seven more in the surrounding valleys and hills. Seven sites of revelation are also described across the wider landscape beyond the Holy City.

138 Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, 6.4, 9.1-3 ed. and trans. Thiebaux, 184-185, 212-215; Isidore of Seville, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, 1.25, ed. Lawson, trans tr. Knoebel, 48-49; Bede, *De temporum ratione*, 66, trans. Wallis.

139 Within the Book of Revelation, seven forms the eschatological counterpart to the number six as a symbol of divine completeness. Seven spirits, for example, are said to stand before the throne of God and seven seals are also prophesied to be broken at the end of time Revelation 1: 4-7. John's eschatological vision also anticipates seven angels and plagues that will presage the coming of the beast with seven heads (marked 666) before the Day of Judgment, Revelation 8:1-2; Revelation 16; Revelation 13:1.

140 The value of seven as a structuring principal of exegetical interpretation is a recurrent motif of the apocalyptic commentaries of Ambrose Autpertus, Alcuin and Haimo of Auxerre, all of whom drew from the earlier models of Bede and Aldhelm of Malmesbury, Ambrosius Autpertus, *Expositio in Apocalypsi VI*, ed. Weber, 465-551; Haimo, *Expositio in Apocalypsin*, ed. Migne, 1019-1020 and Darby, *Bede and the End of Time*, 60-61. Bede's emphasis on the seven-fold structure of sacred time in the *De tempore ratione* is probably the better known of these examples: Bede, *De temporum ratione*, ed. Jones, 66, trans., 159. Dhuoda's *Liber Manualis*, composed between c. 841 and c. 843, and likely in Bernard's lifetime, also reflects the general permeation of this knowledge beyond strictly monastic circles. Dhuoda stresses the numerological value of »seven« as the symbol of the seven gifts attributed to the Messiah in Isaiah 11.12, Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, 6.4, 9.1-3, ed. and trans. Thiebaux, 184-187, 212-215. The convention of situating descriptions of landscape within a numerological model is not unique to Bernard's *Itinerary*, as recent discussions of the ninth-century Hiberno-Latin text of the *Nauigatio Sancti Brendani* have also shown; Ireland, *Navigating*, 18.

141 On the horrea, Genesis 41: 35-36: *»qui jam nunc futuri sunt, congreget in horrea: et omne frumentum sub Pharaonis potestate condatur, serveturque in urbibus et praeparetur futurae septem annorum fami, quae oppressura est Aegyptum, et non consumetur terra inopia«*; on Mont Aureus, *Itinerary*, 20.

Location	Reference
The seven churches in Jerusalem	
Calvary (Golgotha)	*Itinerary*, 11
Basilica of Constantine	*Itinerary*, 11
South Church	*Itinerary*, 11
Sepulchre	*Itinerary*, 11
St Simeon (Sion)	*Itinerary*, 12
St Stephen (Sion)	*Itinerary*, 12
St Peter (Sion)	*Itinerary*, 12
The seven churches surrounding Jerusalem	
Gethsemane (Mary's birthplace)	*Itinerary*, 13
Gethsemane (Mary's tomb)	*Itinerary*, 13
St Leontios	*Itinerary*, 13
Last Supper	*Itinerary*, 13
St John	*Itinerary*, 14
Church of the Ascension	*Itinerary*, 15
Monastery of Lazaros	*Itinerary*, 16
The seven churches of the Holy Land	
St George (Monastery)	*Itinerary*, 10
St Mary (Jehoshaphat)	*Itinerary*, 10
Bethlehem (Nativity)	*Itinerary*, 17
Bethlehem (Innocents)	*Itinerary*, 17
Bethlehem (Shepherd's Field)	*Itinerary*, 17
River Jordan	*Itinerary*, 18
St Mamilla	*Itinerary*, 19

Fig. 2: Churches visited by Bernard in the Holy Land

Bernard's consistent use of the Babylonian »six« and Christian »seven« indicates that these embedded numerical meanings are unlikely to be coincidental and indeed conform to other sections of the *Itinerary* where the symbolic significance of numbers actively informs his conception of the landscape he describes. As we have seen, Bernard's deliberate modification of Bede's description of the Tomb of Christ probably functioned to stress the role of the Sepulchre as a typological symbol centred upon the revelation of Christ as the Messiah.[142] With this central cosmic point firmly established, Bernard's journey then proceeds to trace the contours of the landscape that stresses the completeness of divine creation (three rings of seven churches) unveiled through Christian revelation and juxtaposed against the temporality of the earthly »six« of the Abbasid Babylon.

142 See notes 79-83.

Angelic Intercessors

Although we cannot know how receptive Bernard's audience was to these numerological allusions, audiences less familiar with these more complex exegetical themes could encounter more overt symbolic reference to the *Itinerary*'s emphasis on penance and the use of biblical models of time and world kingdoms. Although the *Itinerary* is not an apocalypse narrative, its topography draws together a number of themes pertinent to an understanding of biblical temporal cycles and the eventual promise of Christian triumph. Among the most explicit of these allusions is the role that angels and angelic revelations perform as a feature of Bernard's experience as he moves across the landscape and observes signs of their intervention in the course of human history. As a further confirmation of Bernard's numerological working, the *Itinerary* is structured around seven separate episodes of angelic apparition that provoke immediate parallels with the seven angels of the Book of Revelation.[143]

The importance of angels as instruments of divine intercession – as opposed to revelation – is also an innovation of Bernard's *Itinerary*, which has little precedent in earlier examples of Latin Itineraria. Although Biblical loci associated with angelic visitations are noted by Adomnán's De Locis Sanctis and Hugeberc's Vita Willibali, neither text identifies cases of contemporary angelic intervention.[144] Within Bernard's *Itinerary*, however, contemporary angelic visitations are commonplace and serve as a vehicle through which divine will operates within the human world *(Fig. 3)*.

143 Revelation 8. 2.

144 Adomnán', *De Locis Sanctis*, 2.26.1-5, ed. Bieler, 218-219; Bede, *De locis sanctis* 15.1-2, ed. Fraipont, 275-276. A further English translation is also available in Wilkinson, Jerusalem Pilgrims, 109.

Angelic manifestations in the Itinerary		
Location	**Event**	**Reference**
Monte Gargano	An angel appears to Joseph	*Itinerary*, 2
Alexandria	An angel releases Christians from prison	*Itinerary*, 7
Farama	An angel appears to Joseph	*Itinerary*, 9
Church of the Anastasis	An angel appears during the miracle of the Holy Fire. The angel that appeared by the tomb.	*Itinerary*, 11
Holy Sion	An angel releases Peter from prison	*Itinerary*, 12
Habbukuk's Field	An angel aids Daniel in prison	*Itinerary*, 17
Shepherd's Fields	Angel appears to the Shepherds	*Itinerary*, 17
Sites associated with angels		
Monte Gargano	An angel appears to Joseph	*Itinerary*, 2
Alexandria	An angel releases Christians from prison	*Itinerary*, 7
Farama	An angel appears to Joseph	*Itinerary*, 9
Church of the Anastasis	An angel appears during the miracle of the Holy Fire. The angel that appeared by the tomb.	*Itinerary*, 11
Holy Sion	An angel releases Peter from prison	*Itinerary*, 12
Habbukuk's Field	An angel aids Daniel in prison	*Itinerary*, 17
Shepherds Fields	Angel appears to the Shepherds	*Itinerary*, 17
Mont Aureus	Apparition of the Archangel Michael	*Itinerary*, 20
Mont Sant Michael	Apparition of the Archangel Michael	*Itinerary*, 22

Fig. 3: Angelic revelations in the Itinerary

That Bernard sought to situate angels within a role that stressed their importance as intercessors, rather than messengers, is demonstrated by the places purportedly visited by Bernard where biblical angelic revelations are said to have occurred. Nazareth, the setting of the Annunciation, for example, which had emerged as a fairly standard marker of western perceptions of the Holy Land by the early eighth century, is missing from Bernard's topography, despite appearing in the earlier text of Bede which Bernard is known to have consulted.[145] Instead, the *Itinerary* emphasises places within scripture where divine intervention, rather than revelation, had been administered through the agency of angels.

The *Itinerary*'s conception of angelic intercession can be seen to operate on two temporal levels: angelic revelation of the biblical past and angelic apparition in the ninth-century present. Throughout the *Itinerary*, Bernard and his companions frequently encounter places that bear witness to past kingdoms whose power had been subverted by angelic agency. Bernard's description of his visit to Farama recalls the angel's warning to Joseph (Matthew 2.13), which preceded the flight of the Holy Family to Egypt.[146] In Jerusalem, Bernard visits the iron gates

145 Bede, *De locis sanctis*, 15.1-2, ed. Fraipont, 275-276. English translation in Wilkinson, Jerusalem Pilgrims, 109. It also appears in Adomnán', *De Locis Sanctis*, 2.26.1-5, ed. Bieler, 218-219.

146 Itinerary, 9.

through which the angel led Peter from prison (Acts 12: 7-11); the story of Habbukuk's field and assistance to Daniel is another of these angelic revelations that emphasised the futility of earthly rule against divine intervention.

The *Itinerary*'s focus on these particular episodes conforms to a broader understanding of angelic manifestation that evidently drew upon a set of beliefs about angels resonant with the teachings of the *De Coelesti Hierarchia* attributed to Pseudo-Dionysius as it was understood by ninth-century commentators. Like Eriugena, Bernard's *Itinerary* distinguishes the apparition of Gabriel at Nazareth from other examples of angelic visitation in which the identities of the angel were unknown.[147] Instead, the *Itinerary* places emphasis upon angelic revelations in scripture that related to angelic intercession in times of danger: to the imprisoned Daniel and Peter and to Joseph before the flight to Egypt.[148]

As a counterpart to historical cases of angelic apparition, Bernard's experiences in the Babylon of Egypt provide further confirmation of divine intervention in his own age. Like Daniel in the biblical Babylon, Bernard is arrested and imprisoned for six days.[149] Although his release is secured through payment of a fine (of an ominous thirteen denarii), he attributes his release to the help of God (*cum Dei auxilio*).[150] Elsewhere in the text, God sends angels to release Christians imprisoned by the Muslim authorities.[151] In identifying the ninth-century Abbasid Caliphate as another »Babylon«, the *Itinerary* fashions a structure in which Bernard's journey to Jerusalem is situated within this revelatory cycle as yet another human power chastened by divine will.

Bernard's topography and numbering of angelic revelation further reinforces this underlying temporal model. Of the seven separate angelic appearances, which provoke comparison with the seven angels of Revelation 8:1-2, six are situated in Egypt and the Holy Land, with the final angelic manifestation taking place within the territories of the Christian west in Monte Gargano.[152] The significance of this becomes more apparent when we consider that of the seven angelic apparitions described by the *Itinerary*, only one example explicitly identifies the manifest angel as the Archangel Michael, whose appearance is limited to sites within the Christian-held territories of Italy and Normandy.

147 Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, *De Coelesti Hierarchia,* IX, ed. Heil and Ritter, 20-24.

148 Matthew 2:13. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, *De Coelesti Hierarchia*, 9; Rorem, Eriugena's, 216-219. John Scottus' commentary of the *De Coelesti Hierarchia,* completed in 862, ascribed the role to Gabriel as the teacher of the mysteries but does not identify Gabriel as the angel who subsequently appeared to Joseph and the Shepherds. For John these later episodes were to be linked to other angels. This draws upon Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, *De Coelesti Hierarchia*, 4 and 9. ed. Heil and Ritter, 20-24, 36-41, trans. Parker, 117-120, 127-128.

149 *Acts* 12: 7-11.

150 As we have seen, this allusion is lost in the Wilkinson translation where *»donec post dies sex inito consilio, cum Dei auxilio, tredecim denarius unusquique dedit pro se, sicut et superius«* is rendered as »Then, with the help of God«: *Itinerary*, 7; Wilkinson, Jerusalem Pilgrims (second edition), 263.

151 *»Si autem talis est, ut non possit hos XIII denarios solver, sive sit incola, sive advena christianus, mittitur in carcerem, donec aut Dei pietate per angelum suum liberartur, aut ab aliis bonis christianis redimitur«, Itinerary* 7.

152 *Itinerary*, 22.

Sites associated with the Archangel Michael thus form a literary pairing within the *Itinerary*, as both the first and last holy sites described by Bernard but also the most recent in terms of the text's timeline of angelic intervention.[153] The first locus of apparition is Monte Gargano, which Bernard visits at the beginning of his journey. Here, Bernard describes how the Archangel Michael appeared and commanded a church to be built in his honour – a legend that can be traced to the sixth century, but had become widely disseminated in several redactions by Bernard's lifetime.[154] Two further sites connected with Michael are also described in the text, but not explicitly linked with his apparition. Having parted with companions in Rome, Bernard's final stage of the journey brings him to Mont-Saint-Michel where the *Itinerary* informs the reader of the miracle on the feast of the archangel at which the sea miraculously parts and allows visitors to cross to the island.[155] A further site associated with the cult of Michael, at Mons Aureus (San Michele sul Tusciano in Olevano), is also visited by Bernard and his companions upon their return from Jerusalem.[156]

As has been noted by several earlier studies, Michael's role within the West's broader conception of biblical time was well established at the time of the *Itinerary*'s composition in c. 867, and drew directly upon biblical precedent where Michael appears as the leader of the heavenly armies at the end of days.[157] Bernard's *Itinerary* is not explicit about its connection to these sources, although the text's recurrent discussion of the Archangel Michael in conjunction with the themes of Babylon and pericopes that evoke the life of Daniel situate the *Itinerary* within this broader exegetical current.[158] By identifying the apparition of the final angel as Michael, the *Itinerary* also draws directly upon the biblical role of Michael as the defender of Israel who will rise to protect his people.[159] Bernard's *Itinerary* effectively offers witness of the final manifestation of that cycle at Monte Gargano and identifies two further sites, at Mont Aureus and Mont Saint-Michel, where the angel Michael was also believed to have appeared. In doing so, the *Itinerary* situates his descriptions of ninth-century Italy within an established temporal framework in which the Christians of the west are identified as Michael's people and aligned with the broader expectation of Christian triumph.[160]

153 *Itinerary*, 2, 22.

154 The main study is Arnold, *Footprints of Michael the Archangel*; Arnold, Arcadia becomes Jerusalem, 567-588; Everett, *Liber de Apparitione*, 364-391; Callahan, Cult of St. Michael, 181-205.

155 *Itinerary*, 22. Allen Smith, Angel's power, 347-360; Lelegard, Saint Aubert, 29-52; The oldest extant copy of this text dates from the abbacy of Mainard II (991-1009) and is found in Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 211, fols. 181-188v. Jonathan J. Alexander identifies the copyist as the monk Hervardus: Alexander, *Norman Illumination,* Appendix II. The standard edition of the *Apparitio* differs from this version in its inclusion of twelfth-century additions dealing with donations: *Apparitio,* ed. Migne.

156 *Itinerary*, 21. On the shrine, Di Muro *et al. La Grotta*.

157 Revelation 12:7-9.

158 See also Callahan, Cult of St. Michael the Archangel, 181-205, who discusses the importance of Michael's identity as the angel of the west.

159 Daniel 12.1.

160 On the growing importance of Michael's cult in Francia after the eighth century, including the identification of Michael as the angel of the Franks: Johnson, Saint Michael the Archangel, 43-45.

World Kingdoms

This correlation is fully realised by the temporal sequences of rulers and vestiges of earlier human powers that Bernard encounters, all of which evoke the temporal cycle of Old Testament kingdoms noted in the Book of Daniel. Examined in sequence, the *Itinerary* identifies and names four of these temporal powers: »King Pharaoh« of Egypt in the days of Joseph; »Nebuchadnezzar« of Babylon, in the days of Daniel; Amarmoni, Emperor of the Saracens in the »Babylon« of Bernard's lifetime, and, finally, the Romans, who are described twice in the *Itinerary* through reference to Charlemagne in Jerusalem and his successors, Louis II, Lothar II and Charles of Provence.[161] The closing lines of the *Itinerary* in Chapter 24, which celebrate the peace and order established by Louis II, also suggest that Bernard sought to situate Francia as the latest, and possibly the last, of these temporal powers.[162]

The *Itinerary*'s descriptions of Charlemagne (*gloriossissimi imperatoris Karoli*) and the vestiges of Frankish intervention in Jerusalem are also framed by several motifs that stress their connection to biblical prophesies. Upon reaching Jerusalem, Bernard and his companions stayed in the *hospitium* of the »most-glorious emperor Charles«, which lies adjacent to a church dedicated to St Mary.[163]

> From Emmaus we reached the holy city of Jerusalem and we were received in the hospice of the most glorious emperor Charles and they receive all those who come in the cause of devotion and who speak the Roman language. Beside it is the church in honour of holy Mary and has a splendid library built by the aforementioned emperor; with twelve mansions, fields, vines, and a garden in the valley of Jehoshaphat. In front of the hospice is a market in which everyone who does business there pays the person in charge two aurei every year.
>
> *Bernard, Itinerary, 10*

Although the location and function of the complex remains a subject of considerable recent debate, the details supplied in Bernard's *Itinerary* are presented in in such a way as to stress its correlation with eschatological models. The motif of the gathering of *lingua loquentes Romana* calls to mind the gathering of nations and reign of a wise king of Joel 3.12 and Jeremiah 23.3-6. Charlemagne's endowment of twelve mansions in the Valley of Jehoshaphat further alludes to the return of the twelve tribes of Israel and echoes the significance of the number twelve in the eschatological prophecies of Revelation 21:10-26. Bernard's employment of the word *mansionibus* to describe the twelve foundations of Charlemagne, notably sits within a much broader exegetical tradition that utilised the term in reference to the tribes of Israel.[164]

161 *Itinerary*, 10, 24.

162 *Itinerary*, 24.

163 *Itinerary*, 10.

164 Key among them is Jerome *Epistola*, 78, ed. Hilberg, 49-87; Ps.-Ambrose, *De XLII mansionibus filiorum Israel,* ed. Migne, 9-40; Isidore of Seville, *Quaestiones in Numeros*, ed. Migne, 339-60; Bede, *De mansionibus filiorum Israel,* ed. Migne, 699-702.

That Bernard identified Charlemagne as the »fourth emperor« is difficult to determine from the *Itinerary* itself, although the text's allusions to these signs and numerical symbols suggests that this is how he broadly conceptualised the role of the Franks as the last of the world kingdoms. All that may be said, very broadly, is that Bernard operated within a wider intellectual context that anticipated the emergence in the west of the final emperor envisioned in Daniel 2 and Daniel 7.[165]

Yet, although evidently shaped by eschatological motifs, the *Itinerary* is not overtly apocalyptic and does not anticipate the imminent end of days. Instead, by drawing upon the temporal structure of the biblical world kingdoms and laying emphasis on the Beneventan transgression and enslavement, the *Itinerary* situates the political events of the period 839-c. 867 (which it describes) within a biblical model of transgression, chastisement and redemption. Bernard's emphasis on this model is evident from the intersection between the places he visits and the biblical stories and typologies that were commonly viewed as models of idealised imperial rule and penance by the mid-ninth century, of which the *Pericope Adulterae* is the most explicit example. Bernard's witness to sites associated with the prophet Daniel, as well as the biblical rulers Nebuchadnezzar and Pharaoh, present other examples widely utilised in ninth-century discussions of ideal rule.[166] Hrabanus Maurus' commentary on the Book of Daniel offers the clearest example, although its themes and emphasis on an Old Testament scheme of world kingdoms also resonates in the works of Notker the Stammerer and Haimo of Auxerre, both likely active in Bernard's lifetime.[167]

The *Itinerary* evidently does not set out to establish the criteria and characteristics of ideal political behaviour, although its critique of the Beneventan transgression of Christian law (*legem Christianorum*), indicates that it generally operates within this moral code.[168] Instead, Bernard shows through his journey that the biblical stories and revelations so connected with the themes of justice, mercy and righteous rule were indeed true and confirmed by the physical presence of relics and churches that bore witness to these events. In its emphasis on just rule, penitence, and salvation, the *Itinerary* traces a topography that resonates with the broader exegetical currents of the 860s and effectively grounds them in topographic reality.

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165 The idea is to be encountered most explicitly in the Latin redactions of the seventh-century Syriac *Apocalypse* of Pseudo Methodius that emerged in the mid-eighth century, in which the original wording of the prophecy referring to the »emperor of the Greeks« was amended to read *rex christianorum* and reworked to assimilate this identity with a western Christian ruler. Marc Laureys and Daniel Verhelst have identified ninety-one manuscripts of this version (five predating 1100) and forty-four of the original Latin translation (ten predating 1100). See Laureys and Verhelst, Pseudo-Methodius, 112-136; Alexander, Diffusion, 75-76. Copies of the Latin translation were certainly available in the libraries of Corbie and St Gall, and also in San Vincenzo al Volturno, around a century before Bernard wrote, and can be seen to have influenced many of his contemporaries in their own writings throughout the ninth century, See also Alexander, Diffusion, 75-76.

166 For a broader discussion, see De Jong, Empireas *ecclesia*, 191-226.

167 De Jong, Biblical *historia* for rulers, 210; Shimahara, Daniel et les visions politiques, 19-32; Palmer, *Apocalypse*, 165-167; Notker the Stammerer, *Gesta Karoli*, 1.1, ed. Haefele, 1, trans. Ganz, 55. On Haimo of Auxerre: Savigini, Commentario di Aimone, 207-266; Contreni, By lions, 29-56. As Miriam Czock has observed, ecclesiastical responses to these changes were marked by a growing concern on the question of law and just rule that repeatedly drew upon Old Testament models to regulate high political behaviour in anticipation of the Last Judgment. Czock, Creating, 101-120; Palmer, *Apocalypse*, 160-161; see also the important study relating to the reign of Louis the Pious, De Jong, *Penitential State*.

168 *Itinerary*, 25.

Central to this interpretation is the redemptive message of the story of the Passion and the Israelite exodus from Egypt as perpetual reminders of God's assistance to the righteous. Bernard's optimistic assessment of the reign of Louis II also accords with this general context and proposes that the *Itinerary* may be read as a reaction to the challenges that faced the emperor in the late 860s and the victories that awaited him if the *Itinerary*'s messages and signs were heeded.[169] If Ackermann's dating of Bernard's *Itinerary* to c. 867-c. 871 continues to hold weight, this would situate the composition of the *Itinerary* in the aftermath of Louis II's success against the Arabs in southern Italy and in the short period that anticipated the successful capture of Bari.[170] Drawing together a physical itinerary that bore witness to biblical stories of loss, penitence, justice and redemption, Bernard's Holy Land situates the fluctuations of the 860s within a timeframe of divine revelation and biblical history that stressed the impermanence of this hardship for God's chosen people. Bernard's attempts to place Monte Gargano within a topography of anticipated Christian triumph during the reign of Louis II also resonate with the concurrent attempts by the emperor to align himself with the shrine through a number of donations and endowments in the same years that the *Itinerary* was being composed.[171]

Yet just over a decade later, with the death of Louis II in 875 a new political landscape had emerged.[172] It is likely that Bernard's *Itinerary*, whose central exegesis was so embedded in an anticipated Christian triumph and high expectation for the reign of Louis, no longer resonated with audiences within this changing context and fell into relative obscurity. In this light, the text's resurgence in the 1120s, at the time of the establishment of the Norman Kingdom of Roger II and the consolidation of Christian power in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, is not likely to be coincidental, but may indicate a new-found interest in the themes that Bernard had articulated three centuries earlier.

There remain, nonetheless, many questions to be answered about the *Itinerary* and further research will undoubtedly enable us to understand its elusive writer and its specific origins in greater resolution. What this study has aimed to demonstrate, however, is that a more contextual reading of the work with respect to its broader intellectual and exegetical culture, is fundamental to a recognition of the *Itinerary* as a sophisticated reworking of an established literary genre that had not been widely utilised since Late Antiquity. It also partially rescues Bernard from his anonymity, identifying him as a figure enmeshed in the rhythms and concerns of biblical exegetes at the turn of the mid-ninth century and a writer capable of utilising a (by then) centuries-old literary formula to address specific questions pertinent to his own time. This recognition, nevertheless, comes at a price. The more that the *Itinerary* is understood in exegetical terms, the more the belief that it can straightforwardly inform our understanding of the intricacies of western travel in the Caliphate and the Carolingian presence within the ninth-century Holy Land will require considered reflection. Yet, in its

169 *Itinerary*, 25.

170 For overviews of the main developments, with further references, see Wickham. *Early Medieval Italy*, 62-63; Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 110-114.

171 See Garipzanov, *Symbolic Language*, 82-82, with further references.

172 Nelson, *Charles the Bald*; Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, 304-334.

place, emerges a source that stands to tell us much about how writers in the 860s conceptualised and interpreted a world in constant change and how they sought to situate the rise of Abbasid power within a temporal and salvific worldview. Rather than what it might tell us about Jerusalem, the *Itinerary* holds a mirror to how Christians in the west understood their own place within the wider world and their history as God's own people.

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References

Abbreviations

CCCM = Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL = Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CSEL = Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica
PL = Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1844-1890). Adomnán, De Locis Sanctis, ed. Ludwig Bieler, CCSL 175, (Turnhout, 1965) 175-234.

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