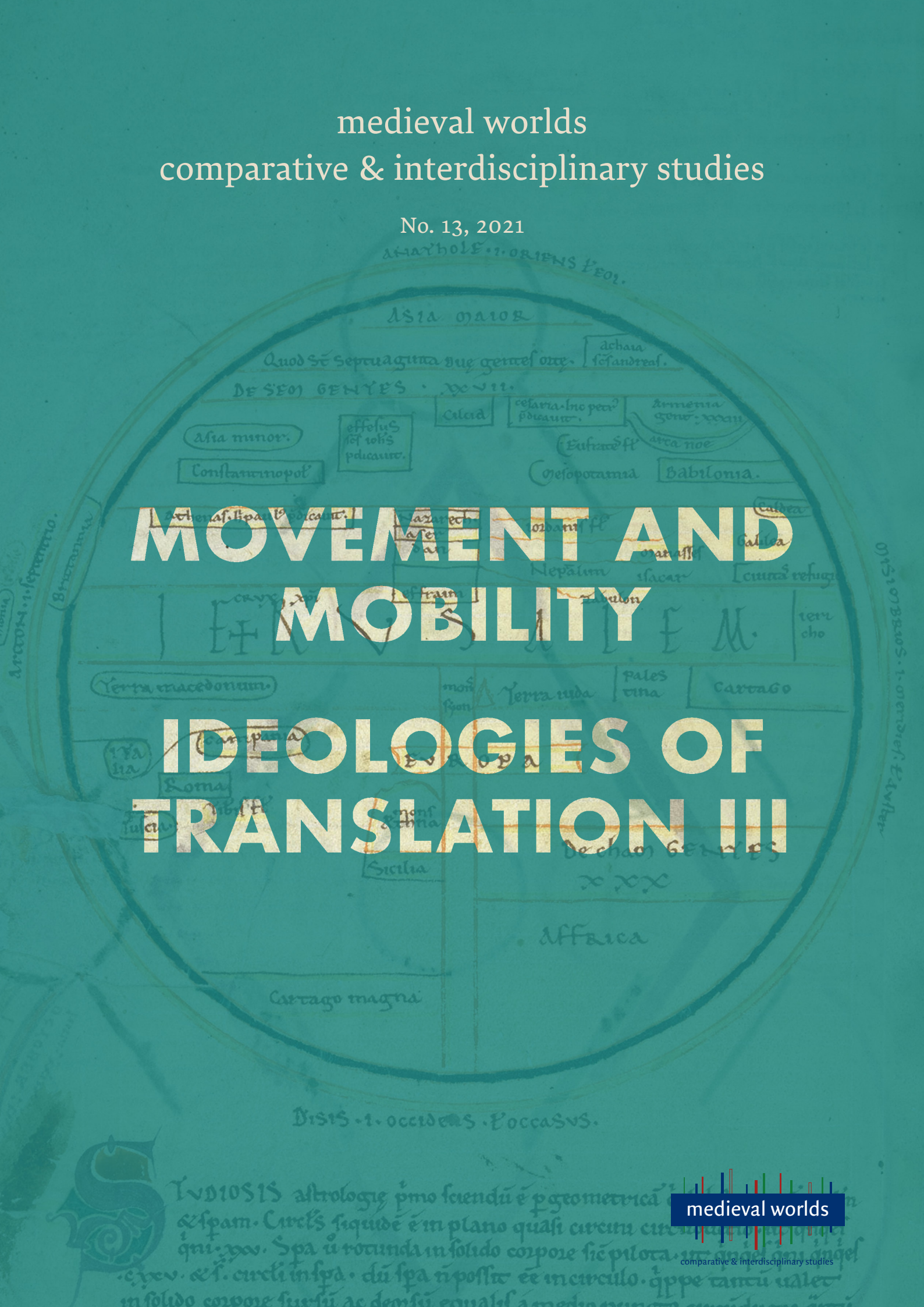


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No. 13, 2021



**MOVEMENT AND
MOBILITY
IDEOLOGIES OF
TRANSLATION III**

DISIS .i. OCCIDENS . OCCASVS.

SVDIOSIS astrologie pmo sciendū ē p geometrica
& spam. Circul's siquidē ē in plano quasi circū
qui .xxv. Spa ū rotunda in solido corpore sic pilota .
.c. xxv. & f. circuli in spa . dū spa n̄ possit ēē in circulo . q̄ppe tantū ualet
in solido corpore sursum ac deorsū equalis a medio

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Volume 13, 2021

Movement and Mobility
in the Medieval Mediterranean:
Changing Perspectives
from Late Antiquity
to the Long-Twelfth Century, I

Guest Editors:

Christopher Heath, Clemens Gantner
and Edoardo Manarini

&

Ideologies of Translation, III

Guest Editor: Jan Odstrčilík

ÖAW

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ISSN 2412-3196 Online Edition

Media Owner: Institute for Medieval Research

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Cover design, layout: Anneke Gerloff-Mazas

Cover image: Computus collection including Byrhtferth of Ramsey's diagram

Credit: The British Library, Harley MS 3667, f 008v

www.bl.uk/collection-items/computus-collection-including-byrhtferth-of-ramseys-diagram

Austrian Academy of Sciences Press

Dr. Ignaz Seipel Platz 2, 1010 Vienna, Austria

Tel. +43-1-515 81/DW 3402-3406

Fax +43-1-515 81/DW 3400

hw.oeaw.ac.at, verlag.oeaw.ac.at

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Editorial

Walter Pohl and Ingrid Hartl

In our 2021 summer issue, the medieval Mediterranean takes a prominent place. The first of two thematic sections addresses this macro-region that has received increasing attention in historiographic debates recently, a contact zone in which evidence of movement and mobility can be used to trace the exchange of cultures, of ideas and products. Under the title *Movement and Mobility in the Medieval Mediterranean: Changing Perspectives from Late Antiquity to the Long-Twelfth Century*, guest editors Christopher Heath, Clemens Gantner and Edoardo Manarini have assembled a series of articles, which will appear in this and the following volume 14 of *Medieval Worlds*.

Furthermore, our successful series *Ideologies of Translation* continues, focusing once again on the emerging research area of historical multilingualism, in which philological, linguistic, palaeographic and historical methods are combined to trace the scribes' and preachers' engagement with the texts and with their audience. This sub-series was launched in volume 12, in which multilingual sermons from England, France, Italy, Catalonia and Ireland were examined, and guest editor Jan Odstrčilík provided the readers with an overview of recent research and methodologies in this vibrant field of studies. In the present volume, this thematic section is complemented by studies on code-switching between Latin and English or Irish in sermons of the 7th, 9th and 15th centuries, and rounded off by a discussion of a compelling and little-known piece of evidence for multilingual preaching.

Both these thematic sections are featured on the cover. But of course, as usual in our volumes, there is more to discover. Three stand-alone articles provide interdisciplinary and comparative insights into an exceptional world map from a Christian Iberian manuscript; into Byzantine and Chinese gardens in comparison; and into the relations between religions among the 9th century Khmer. The relationship between religions also takes centre-stage in our report about the ongoing activities of the ERC Synergy Grant *EuQu (The European Qur'ān. Islamic Scripture in European Culture and Religion 1143-1850)*, which concludes our present summer edition.

We would like to round off this preface with two announcements. As we keep receiving more and more submissions and suggestions for thematic volumes, we have decided to start a loose series of supplementary issues prepared by responsible guest editors, each covering only one coherent topic. The first issue is planned for October 2021 under the working title *Medieval Biographical Collections: Perspectives from Buddhist, Christian and Islamic Worlds*. It includes cases studies on manuscripts from widely different cultural backgrounds, and with often surprisingly similar structural features. Secondly, the Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, which hosts our journal, has promised to upgrade our website and make it more attractive and usable. So, watch out for more from *Medieval Worlds*!

Introduction: Movement and Mobility in the Medieval Mediterranean: Changing Perspectives from Late Antiquity to the Long-Twelfth Century

Christopher Heath, Clemens Gantner, Edoardo Manarini*

This article introduces the themed section »Movement and Mobility in the Medieval Mediterranean: Changing Perspectives from Late Antiquity to the Long-Twelfth Century«. This series of articles engages with the ongoing debates in historiography on the role of movement and mobility in the socio-political frameworks of medieval societies throughout the Mediterranean world from Iberia to the Near East. The papers introduced here consider a wide range of contacts and exchange from the diplomatic encounters of late antique Byzantium via the exchange of (religious) ideas and spiritual objects in Italy and the Near East to the fundamental mobility of capital, slaves and goods. Rather than reveal a static, ossified and self-contained range of landscapes, this article will argue that there were not only cross-cultural, religious and political contacts but also economic and social connections that fused the Medieval Mediterranean into a heterogenous contact zone of cultures, ideas and products. Using this broader framework of the Mediterranean as a contact zone and border region between and across the *longue durée* represented by the period from Late Antiquity until the end of the twelfth century allows the contributions to demonstrate movement, not stasis after Rome and the expansion of horizons rather than their restriction.

Keywords: movement; contact zone; Mediterranean economies; cultural production; pre-modern society; celestial mobilities; socio-cultural exchange

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...the king possessed nothing at all of his own, except a single estate with an extremely small revenue in which he had his dwelling and from which came the few servants, few enough in number who ministered to his wants and did him honour. Whenever he needed to travel he went in a cart which was drawn in country style by yoked oxen with a cowherd to drive them. In this fashion, he would go to the palace and to the general assembly of this people which was held each year to settle the affairs of the kingdom and in this fashion he would return home again.¹

Einhard's memorable depiction of a Merovingian king in the early eighth century making his lugubrious way to the annual assembly of the Franks struck a chord for both Einhard's Carolingian contemporaries and later commentators.² It is, of course, as a passage, used as a demonstration of the weak, feeble and somewhat tragi-comic state that the Merovingians then embodied, a pale shadow of their powerful predecessors. Or at least, this is what Einhard would have us believe. Careful reflection on this passage also feeds into the perpetuation of persistent characterisations (one might be tempted to suggest caricatures) of early medieval society in Occidental Europe that such societies were fundamentally ossified, static and immobile. There remains an apparent dichotomous paradox that, on the one hand, emphasises regional and local impulses as the foundational engine of society, and on the other hand, identifies a vibrant mobility, between, across and through the continent and beyond. Defining this vibrant mobility has been an encouraging aspect of recent historiographical endeavours to tackle the realities behind early medieval societies in Europe.³

Asking the right questions and finding an effective interpretative balance between narrative and normative sources stands at the centre of the contributions below. In seeking to understand the role of movement and mobility in the Mediterranean societies analysed in this themed series of contributions, it is evident that a clear-cut paradigm does not work. Pre-industrial societies may well have depended upon the agricultural resource base at their disposal and have had limited inter-connectivity, economically speaking, beyond immediate contexts and contacts, but this did not mean that they remained closed to movement and mobility into and across their territories.⁴ In this special section, for example, some contributions concentrate on movement within Italy, as we will explain in more detail below.

-
- 1 Thorpe, *Einhard and Notker*, 55-56. »*Nihil aliud proprii possideret quam unam et eam praeparvi reditus villam, in qua domum et ex qua famulos sibi necessaria ministrantes atque obsequium exhibentes paucae numerositatis habebat. Quocumque eundum erat, carpento ibat quod bubis iunctis et bulbulco notico more agente trahebatur. Sic ad palatium sic ad publicum populi sui conventum qui annuatim ob regni utilitatem celebrabatur ire, sic domum redire solebat*«. *Einhardi Vita Karolis*, ed. Pertz, 444. The key word here is *carpentum* which can be rendered as either carriage, cart or chariot. This word originates from the Gaulish *carbantos*. It could also be used to mean a wagon or barouche. Du Cange highlights two senses: a) a two-wheeled covered carriage/coach or chariot especially used in towns or by women and b) a wagon or cart for agricultural use. See Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infime latinitatis*.
 - 2 For discussion of this passage see Fouracre, *Long shadow*, 5-6 and Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, 102.
 - 3 For the broader picture McCormick and Wickham remain fundamental. Works on particular aspects of the mobility in the Middle Ages continue to encourage refinement of the perceptual responses to these issues. As starting points, see McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy* and Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*. For interesting perspectives on contact zones and border regions, see Wolf and Herbers, *Southern Italy as Contact Area*.
 - 4 There are many examples which allow one to identify longer-distance trade and contact in specific items: olive oil, chestnuts and silk for instance, although the latter is hardly an everyday item at this time. See Story, *Lands and lights*, and Balzaretto, *Chestnuts in charters*. For silk, see Fleming, *Acquiring, flaunting and destroying*. On the other hand, one should also recall the inter-connections maintained by the post-Roman Byzantine Empire through its maritime links. On this, see Zavagno, *Going to the extremes*. In contrast, see Prigent, *Monnaie et circulation*.

Still, the Mediterranean Sea and travel by ship along its coasts, straits and inlets was a major connecting element that is present in most contributions in the section in some form or another. It has often been shown just how central this sea was, even after the political integrity of the Roman Empire had been lost – and before modern seafaring technologies brought another revolution.⁵

There was a wide plethora of possible contacts predicated upon social, economic, political, intellectual and ecclesiastical bases which, at any point, may or may not have aligned in such a way as to initiate and invigorate fundamental change at the socio-cultural and socio-economic levels. Consequently, it flows from these multivalent movements that there remains a variance between societies in terms of scale, in other words, between the macrocosm (e.g. the empire, the kingdom, the city) and the microcosm (e.g. the valley, the village, the landed estate). Here again, historians have to ask the right questions and find the appropriate interpretative model, which takes into account variance in the experiences of individuals who managed and lived the realities of the situation on the ground.

Contact at the elite level is not the same, of course, as that lower down the societal ladder. The latter is less likely to be commented on in narrative sources and to attempt to unpick the reality, one must resort to the witness of diplomatic and normative materials which generally retain their own issues of interpretation. In this respect, one example of elite movement in Italy will illustrate the scenario. In 661, Aripert I (653-661) died, and the Lombard kingdom was partitioned between his two sons Perctarit (661-662 and 671-688) and Godepert (661-662) in an experiment of shared authority that was not repeated in this fashion again. Within the year, however, Godepert had been killed and Perctarit had been forced into exile. He travelled eastwards to the Avar Qaganate, where he was protected for a time until a messenger from his supplanter Grimoald (662-671) reached the Avars demanding that Perctarit be given up.⁶ Perctarit returned to Pavia where he resided briefly under the rather grudging protection of Grimoald. This uncomfortable scenario did not persist, for we are told by Paul the Deacon that Grimoald was worried that the popularity of Perctarit in Pavia would prompt the return of his predecessor to both prominence and power. Once again, Perctarit was forced into exile via Asti, the powerbase of his father, where »friends« (*amici*) were resident who were »still rebels against Grimoald« (*et qui adhuc Grimualdi rebelles extabant*) as Paul the Deacon indicates.⁷ Thereafter, Perctarit travelled to Turin and westwards into exile in Francia. Even here, Perctarit feared the intentions of Grimoald and had embarked to sail across »to the island of Britain to the kingdom of the Saxons«, at which point the news of the death of Grimoald reached him and he returned to Italy.⁸ The prominence of this story in the *Historia Langobardorum* implies that the events described were hardly run-of-the-mill and commonplace. For our purposes they adequately demonstrate that movement and mobility was perfectly possible in the late seventh century. Of course, it does not demonstrate that such theoretical

5 Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, esp. 7-172. See also McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*. All this refers to the great Braudel, *La Méditerranée* for the big changes in the early modern era.

6 Paolo Diacono, 4.51 and 5.2, ed. Capo, 234-253, trans. Foulke, *Paul the Deacon*, 205-213.

7 Paolo Diacono, 5.2, ed. Capo, 252-253, trans. Foulke, *Paul the Deacon*, 213.

8 Paolo Diacono, 5.33, ed. Capo, 278-281, trans. Foulke, *Paul the Deacon*, 236-237.

transit was either straightforward or certain. In his commentary on the pilgrimages of Willibald (721-724) and Bernard (867) from the west to Palestine, McCormick sets out the very real difficulties experienced by pilgrims and travellers who were beset not only by physical challenges but also by the random inadequacies of the transport infrastructure and the limitations imposed by those who controlled the territories visited.⁹ Clearly, these movements were anything but ordinary.¹⁰

Thanks to the recent insights provided by sociological studies,¹¹ the issue of human mobility, together with its practice and its representation, is investigated according to innovative and more comprehensive approaches, which aim to examine the phenomenon in the broadest and most multifaceted way possible.¹² Applied to the early medieval period, this theme has mostly been tackled through the concept of »great migrations« of the fifth and sixth centuries, which has now replaced the traditional concept of »barbarian invasions«.¹³ In both cases, however, it is a similar way of understanding the physical movement of large human groups, which can be more or less violent, from one point of origin to one of final arrival. It is therefore essentially understood as a change of residence or as a crossing of a political-administrative border. If instead applied to the Middle Ages, the concept of movement is immediately connected to the so-called »armed pilgrimages«, the crusades, in which the predominant movement is that of armies and the encounter with other cultures is invariably a religious, political, and economic clash. The studies presented here deliberately depart from these paradigmatic visions of the concept of mobility in the medieval period, to present instead a broader, nuanced and more complex picture, which can also take into account other types of mobility, the examination of which increasingly helps our understanding of medieval societies.

The essays presented here are the proceedings of the papers presented during the conference of the Society for the Medieval Mediterranean held in Barcelona in 2019, under the general theme of »*Movement and Mobility in the Medieval Mediterranean (6th-15th centuries)*«, in the session entitled »*Movement and Mobility in Uncertain Times: Changing Perspectives in the Mediterranean*«. This dossier interrogates the reality of movement and mobility in the Middle Ages adopting a *longue durée* perspective. Considering both a wide range of source material and immediate contexts, the articles are designed to allow discussion between and across both chronological and geographical boundaries but at the same time permit detailed consideration of specific localities and contexts. How did individuals on the ground perceive and understand movement in the Mediterranean world? What does this tell us about the responses of both societies and individuals to those who moved through and between the spheres of a multidimensional Mediterranean? These are the key questions which this section of articles will approach and discuss.

9 McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 129-138. But on Bernard, see recently Reynolds, *History and exegesis*, who shows that the author may have used second-hand knowledge.

10 McCormick sets out in a number of useful graphs the hierarchy of status with regard to movement. See McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 160, 163. A glance at his »Register of Mediterranean communications« is also illustrative and softens the bias, see, *ibid.*, 852-973.

11 See Cresswell, *On the Move*.

12 See also the recent Paziienza and Veronese, *Persone, corpi e anime*.

13 See, for example, Pohl, *Eroberung und Integration*; Pohl, *Wandlungen und Wahrnehmungen*; Pohl, *Völkerwanderung*; Pohl, *Migrations, ethnic groups*.

Admittedly the Mediterranean is not the only protagonist in all of the case studies herein. Indeed, rather than the sea itself, it is people (both alive and dead) and artefacts that will be considered. The approach here, then, is one that supplements the approach of significant recent scholarship, rather than seeking to replace it with new theoretical modelling.¹⁴ That said, of course, the Roman *mare nostrum* provides the key framework within which the contributions are presented and thus the Mediterranean context is not one that is incidental to the issues discussed. The sea, then, facilitated movement and communication and thus promoted mobility and connectivity. Only through the Mediterranean could all the mobility described in this section ever happen. So, despite not being mentioned constantly, the sea was always there, making all the communication described possible, sometimes even causing it. The Mediterranean and its shores are thus at the centre of our section, not only geographically. They had retained their connecting role despite having split up politically and gradually becoming culturally even more diverse than the old empire had been. This did not keep people from feeling a strong connection. Even in the emerging Islamicate world, many »stayed Roman«, as they did elsewhere.¹⁵ It (nearly) goes without saying that, albeit only a small section in this journal, our goals can only be achieved through a comparative approach, including several historical disciplines. We are thus providing input from medieval studies (both the early and the high Middle Ages), Byzantine and Late Antique studies, orientalist and Judaist approaches. It would be unrealistic to include all of these viewpoints in all contributions. Rather, the articles gathered here each provide a focused analysis of aspects of movement around the Mediterranean. By doing so, however, what emerges is a mosaic that provides at least a little more information than the sum of its parts. This bigger picture can only be produced by examining different source types comparatively and by choosing a perspective »from the ground« up, by studying microstructures even, in some cases.

The essays of this section will be presented in this and a subsequent issue of *Medieval Worlds* (vols. 13-14),¹⁶ pursuing the individual approaches and chronologies selected by each of the authors to examine the theme of mobility and its perception in various contexts of the medieval Mediterranean. However, more precise and meaningful lines of research also link the studies. The essays by Christopher Heath, Ecaterina Lung and Enrico Veneziani examine the issue of human mobility in the Italian peninsula and towards the East through the diplomatic and juridical perspective typical of political authorities: in his examination of Lombard legislation, Heath will consider how Lombard kings, and therefore society as a whole, perceived those who moved through and across the kingdom, both illicitly and legally, arguing that the Lombard kingdom was subject to greater interconnectivity between the Atlantic world of Francia and the Mediterranean cultures of the East. The Perctarit episode, discussed above,

14 Both Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, and Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, for example, follow a far more holistic approach, which can only be achieved in a monograph

15 See Conant, *Staying Roman*, on northern Africa in early Muslim times. See also the contributions by Heath (touching on the situation in Lombard Italy), Gantner (showing Rome, Italy and Constantinople in the process of drifting apart, embodied in the diplomatic mission of Anastasius), and Bondioli, whose piece will demonstrate prolonged, if not intensified interconnectivity, not least on the economic level. See also McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*.

16 The contributions by Lorenzo Bondioli, Fabrizio De Falco, Andra Juganaru, Ecaterina Lung and Enrico Veneziani are planned for publication in *Medieval Worlds* 14. We rely on provisional versions of these articles for this introduction.

also had a »diplomatic« context as well as political, religious and cultural dimensions that illustrate the mosaic of connections between the Mediterranean and beyond. Lung instead focuses on diplomatic relations between the western post-Roman kingdoms and the Byzantine Empire. Paying particular attention to the »barbaric« component of these relations, she considers the barbarian embassies sent to Constantinople or to Byzantine generals on the battlefield in order to understand what problems were linked with the distances they had to cover in order to complete their missions and what role cultural differences played in these relations. Still on the relationship between political institutions and mobility, Veneziani shifts the focus to the twelfth century by offering an emblematic case of immobility through the examination of the pontificate of Honorius II (1124-1130), considered by historiography to be a weak pope due to the fact that, unlike his predecessors, he displayed a much lower level of mobility. Veneziani shows that Honorius was an exception because he managed to control and reside in Rome for much of his pontificate thanks to his solid authority and to the broader consent his authority attained among Roman elite families. As we see here, in and for the 12th century, lack of mobility can and could still be interpreted as a sign of weakness, very similar to the depiction of the already mentioned last Merovingian king in Einhard's rendering many centuries before. Acting as a counterpoint to the issues of multifaceted movement, this contribution concludes this section.

It is not only the movement of people and individuals which is discussed in the papers here. Objects, too, played a crucial part in the movements around the Mediterranean – as did both ideas and religions. These movements attest that human mobility is directly linked to the transfer and germination of ideas and thought.¹⁷ Our essays, however, provide more information than that and therefore contribute strongly to the image of an interconnected Italy, as we shall show. The joint essay by Francesco Veronese and Giulia Zornetta and the contribution by Edoardo Manarini focus on the mobility of relics and their cult as an occasion for political itineraries and power struggles in early medieval Italy. Manarini examines the case of the cult of the relics of Pope Sylvester I (314-335) which assumed importance in the legend of the holy pontiff only during the eighth century, when the *translatio* of the body by the abbot Anselm, from Rome to his monastery of Nonantola, gave rise to the clash over his memory and ideology between Lombard Nonantola and the Roman popes. These two institutions had built their own legitimation discourse in the eyes of Christianity on the basis of the mobility/immobility of these relics. Veronese and Zornetta consider two other cases of the translation of saints' bodies, with the *furta sacra* of St. Mark and of St. Bartholomew. Related to plans to strengthen local public authorities, the mobility of two of the most important relics in the whole of Christianity is investigated in the wide Mediterranean context, thus also considering the circulation of cultural models to and from the Carolingian worlds to which Italy very much belonged at that time.¹⁸ The authors will show just how complex and multifaceted these worlds had become.

17 For a theory of relic transfer and mobility, see, for example, Smith, *Portable Christianity*, and the classic Geary, *Furta sacra*.

18 Bougard, *Was there a Carolingian Italy?*, as well as the entire new volume Gantner and Pohl, *After Charlemagne*.

The remaining essays contemplate aspects of political and cultural mobility together in the broad geographical horizon of the Mediterranean basin. Clemens Gantner explores the figure of Anastasius *Bibliothecarius*, examining his characteristics as a »broker« between two cultures and three courts, namely Rome, Constantinople and Pavia. His career was embellished with many points of intersection between different political environments, which, through his abilities and knowledge, made him one of the most illustrious figures of the ninth century. The contribution will, however, focus on a quite well-documented diplomatic mission that led Anastasius to Constantinople – and on the implications this particular embassy had for himself, the eastern and the western empires and the papacy. Committed to the study of pilgrimages of ascetic women towards Eastern holy places, Andra Juganaru examines the texts of the Church Fathers addressing spiritual relationships and providing advice for nuns who were willing to embark upon their own long and perilous *peregrinatio*. A picture emerges marked by the question of authority between late antique male spiritual guides and ascetic women. Whereas the contributions by Gantner and Juganaru stay very much within the framework laid out by the Ancient Roman Empire – and show the longevity of it – the essays by Lorenzo Bondioli and Fabrizio De Falco shift the chronology and the geographical focus to different landscapes and cultures. Bondioli proposes an extensive study on the Islamic Mediterranean of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with a markedly economic perspective, while also considering diplomatic, cultural and political elements of the interactions that Muslim rulers reserved for non-Muslim cultures. Starting from the documentation of the Cairo *geniza* also helps us to take a short look at the world of Jewish traders active around the Mediterranean. De Falco explores the same shores from the particular point of view of the Anglo-Norman court of Henry II of England (1154-1189), through the works of Gerald of Wales and Walter Map. The negative description of the eastern Mediterranean, of the crusade and, in a way, also of the Holy Land is examined in the context of Henry II's political initiatives, showing clearly how the two authors' personal motivations concurred to shape their narratives.

The dossier therefore presents many different ways of approaching and studying the theme of mobility and human movement, which can be physical or imagined, of living or dead people, or even of spirituality, of texts and cultural materials, as well as of goods and riches. The meeting point of all the events and the cases studied always remains the waters of the Mediterranean Sea, a fundamental means that unites the lands they water and the human societies that reside on them. Over the centuries, these societies have faced the issue of human, social and economic mobility, always in original and never unequivocal ways.

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Aspects of Movement and Mobility in Lombard Law: Fugitives, Runaway Slaves and Strangers

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Lombard laws were issued between 643 and 755. They comprise *in toto* an invaluable normative source for the Lombard kingdom and society in the seventh and eighth centuries. Commentators have concentrated upon the witness that the laws comprise for the ability of Lombard kings to rule, control and influence society. This paper, however, will consider aspects of both movement and mobility through and across the kingdom using the prism provided by the law with regard to fugitives, runaway slaves and strangers. What does the law tell us about the conceptual parameters associated with those who composed and compiled Lombard law? How did the Lombard kingdom respond to movement and mobility? What do prescriptions which relate to frontiers reveal about the broader interconnectivity of the Mediterranean world? In addressing these issues, and in considering the broader connotations revealed, this paper will argue for a deeper mobility in the early medieval West.

Keywords: Lombard laws; mobility; fugitives; slaves; spatial responses; Pirenne thesis; Rothari.

Introduction

At first glance, one may identify an apparent paradox with Early Medieval society in the West. On the one hand, there is a set of societies forged by the movement of peoples and ruling elites into parts of the former Western Roman Empire, but on the other hand, such societies were apparently organised on the basis of a social conservatism that emphasised the absence of social mobility and movement.¹ In his classic work, *The Birth of the Western Economy*, Robert Latouche (1881-1973) observed that »any attempt« to identify the origins of economic life in the Early Middle Ages »must inevitably...raise the problem of the transition from the ancient world to the Middle Ages which contemporary German historians... like to call *Kontinuität*«. ² Finding a measured interpretative balance between continuities and discontinuities

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- 1 Peters, Foreword, xvii. The literature on the development of early medieval Europe in terms of the movement of peoples is considerable, but one may usefully consult: Halsall, *Barbarian invasions* and Leyerle, *Mobility and the traces of Empire*.
- 2 Latouche, *Western Economy*, xiii. Latouche is not explicit as to who he means, providing no footnote. His bibliography suggests that he might have been thinking of (for instance) L. M. Hartmann's *Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Italiens in fruhen Mittelalter* (Gotha, 1904) or A. Dopsch, *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen der Europäischen Kulturgeschichte* (Vienna, 1923-1940) to name but two works, although, the latter was, of course, Austrian. For Alfons Dopsch, see Wood, *Modern Origins*, 236-241.

across the varied landscapes of the Mediterranean basin and further afield into the Atlantic worlds of Francia, Britain and Scandinavia remains a series of challenges that continue to engage historians.³ If one were to narrow the focus and consider the Lombard kingdom on a geopolitical level, a paradoxical impression, similar to that sketched out above, is also furnished. One could characterise Lombard society of the seventh and eighth centuries as a static, self-contained entity that remained, up to the 680s, in a state of intermittent conflict with Byzantine-controlled territories (mainly) to the south and in an often inferior and contested relationship with the Frankish kingdoms to the north.⁴ At the same time, however, the spatial theatre in which the Lombard kingdom operated between the period of Rothari (636-651) and Liutprand (712-744) was noticeably fluid.⁵ An ongoing and erratic accumulation of territory shifts the boundaries between the Lombards, on the one hand, and Byzantium, on the other, so that (ultimately) a tilting point in terms of power is reached in favour of the Lombard kingdom during the rule of Liutprand. This shift in power in the Italian peninsula reaches a symbolic crescendo with the capture of Ravenna in 751 by Aistulf (749-756). At this juncture we see the restriction of an indirect political presence of Constantinople in north-central Italy to Venice and Istria alone.⁶

If the spatial parameters of the kingdom throughout this period are fluid, one might think that this would be reflected in the normative source materials that we possess, such as the law. The variable frameworks within which the Lombard *regnum* operated, as we shall see, had an often implicit (and occasionally explicit) impact on specific prescriptions in the laws. One may detect how those who framed the titles responded to movement and mobility through, into and across the kingdom. Using the law and legal codes as evidence for impulses and responses, however, is not without implications. As Tom Lambert notes in his analysis of Anglo-Saxon law, we must be alive to the fact that law may not be a »perfect source for the reconstruction of behaviour«. ⁷ Lambert and other commentators, when considering the

3 The literature on these issues is naturally enormous, but for entry into the issues, see McCormick, *European Economy*; Wickham, *Framing*; Loseby, *Mediterranean economy*.

4 For a short summary of Lombard military endeavours, see Peters, Foreword, ix-xi. For further discussion of law and contingent political rhythms, see Delogu, *Editto di Rotari*. See Fabbro, *Warfare and the Making*, for one reading of the first century of Lombard warfare in Italy. For the south, see now Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*.

5 After the resumption of active hostilities with Byzantium, the Lombard kingdom progressively »nibbles« away at the Byzantine controlled territory of Emilia; conquers Liguria in the 640s; and later adds Corsica and the whole of the exarchate and the pentapolis. Similar attrition occurs to the south with the enlargement of Lombard *Tuscia*. There was also somewhat limited expansion of Benevento at the expense of the Byzantine empire across the course of the eighth century. See Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia Bizantina*, 238-245.

6 Evidence for the »peace« of 680 is limited to a vague reference in Theophanes, and is thus rather unsatisfactory. See now Brown, 680 261-272. The reference in Theophanes to the »peace« may be found in Mango and Scott, *Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 496 *sub anno* 6169 i.e. 677-678: For *Venetia* and Istria, see Gelichi and Gasparri, *Venice and its Neighbours*. Also pertinent is West-Harling, *Three Empires*. Boundaries between the Franks, the Avars and the Bavarians and the Lombards are relatively stable in the eighth century, notwithstanding Paul the Deacon's report that Liutprand had captured significant territory from the Bavarians.

7 Lambert, *Law and Order*, 1 and 7-8. Avoiding the projection of »alien« conceptual frameworks when tackling early medieval law is an important part of any analysis of law at this time. For Lombard law, in particular for the *Edictum Rothari*, the thin evidence for the application of provisions at the initial promulgation is also a difficulty.

witness of law as a source for early medieval societies, have emphasised the methodological risks associated with accepting the texts at face value and as a straightforward window on early medieval societies.⁸ Notwithstanding the real variances that may disconnect the initial aims of those who drafted the titles, the intentions of those who approved the law and the conceptual horizons such legislation reveal, law as a source brings both possibilities and problems.

Lombard law also embodies this dual challenge of problems and possibilities. Between 653 and 755, Lombard kings issued a number of codifications [and amendments] of the law.⁹ The question that is immediately begged, of course, is whether such enactments reflected »the« reality at the time of codification. Clearly the prism between the legal texts as we have them now and reality at the point of promulgation is problematic, even were we to accept at face value the fundamental veracity of the texts.¹⁰ This is an issue that is particularly apposite for the *Edictum Rothari* (ER).¹¹ The prologue tells us that custom is set down but also that »he« (in this case the king himself, Rothari) has reviewed, amended and updated specific clauses. It will be for us to consider this aspect in detail below.¹²

Historiographical responses to Lombard law appear to muddy the waters further. Older discussions of Lombard law were predicated on assumptions of not only their German origin but also their alleged barbarism.¹³ Thus, for the usually phlegmatic Thomas Hodgkin (1831-1913), an entirely scathing overview of Lombard law appeared to be a natural impulse, as we see here:

And so the Lombard invaders, like children, repeat the lessons which they have learned from their forefathers of the forest and try to fit in[to] their barbarous law terms ...the stately but terribly misused language of *Latium*. Throughout Roman ideas, Roman rights, the very existence of a Roman population are not so much menaced or invaded as calmly ignored. The Code of Rothari, promulgated on the sacred soil of Italy, in a land which had once witnessed the promulgation of the Code, the Institutes and the Digest of Justinian, is like the black tent of the Bedouin pitched amid the colonnades of some stately Syrian temple, whose ruined glories touch no responsive chord in the soul of the swart barbarian.¹⁴

8 Indeed, the pitfalls are emphasised in significant works; see Davies and Fouracre, *Property and Power*, 1-3; Rio, *Legal Practice*, 1-5 with reference to *formulae*.

9 In terms of titles, Rothari's *Edictum* has 388 titles; Grimoald added nine; Liutprand 153 titles on fifteen separate occasions; Ratchis fifteen; and Aistulf nine titles.

10 For discussion of the applicability of the *ER* to conditions in 643 and the manuscript footprint of Lombard law, see *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, xxvii-xxx and xlvi-li respectively. One is on firmer ground with Liutprand's law, which, in providing amendment and extension of the law, refers to both current issues and conditions at the point of promulgation.

11 Wormald, *Kings and kingship*, 598-599; Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, 36-39 and 69-70; Wormald, *Lex Scripta*; Fischer Drew, *Laws of the Salian Franks*, 26-27.

12 »We have perceived it necessary to improve and to reaffirm the present law, amending all earlier laws by adding that which is lacking and eliminating that which is superfluous« (*necessariam esse prospeximus presentem corrigere legem, quae priores omnes renovet et emended, et quod deest adiciat, et quod superfluum est abscidat*). *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 13-14, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 39. See Everett's amended translation, Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, 164.

13 See the useful precis in Davies and Fouracre, *Settlement of Disputes*, 2-3.

14 Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, 238. Even more positive Anglophone commentators at this time, such as Charles Kingsley (1819-1875) in his lecture series *The Roman and the Teuton*, opined that the »code« was one of the best ways to study the Lombards since »one may gain some notion of that primeval liberty and self-government, common at first to all«: Kingsley, *Roman and Teuton*. Everett discusses the Italian work on uncovering the »real« sources for Lombard law. See Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, 164-167 and n. 3, which furnishes full bibliographical references.

Subsequent work by historians, however, has recognised that the Laws comprise *in toto* an invaluable normative source for both the Lombard kingdom and Italian society in the seventh and eighth centuries.¹⁵ The corpus of Lombard law has been used by historians to address a variety of historical issues. Commentators have, for instance, concentrated upon and considered the witness that the laws comprise for both the intentions of centripetal authority and the ability of that authority to rule, control and shape the socio-economic reality on the ground. In other words, what might be considered possible, reasonable and enforceable and, by implication, what could not.¹⁶

One may take the view that normative materials dwell upon the mundane and the theoretical.¹⁷ Yet whilst the analysis of law is not a simple golden key that unlocks the mysteries of early medieval societies, it is still an invaluable resource in understanding the conceptual frameworks within which polities operated.¹⁸ Legal codes set out what is considered acceptable, or at least expectable in any pertinent scenario. Obviously, what is not comprehensible to those who frame and compose the law – or at least foreseeable by them in specific contexts – should be identifiable by an absence. Thus, if one balances these aspects, one may extrapolate and comprehend the mental furniture of both those who formulated the laws and those who authorised and enacted the codification. Identifying clauses in Lombard law that explicitly allow »x« in circumstance »y« provides us with the potential to perceive what was considered possible in spatial terms. We may go further than this. In tackling those provisions that allow, restrain and prevent or prescribe, we may pinpoint three sets of responses. First, concerning allowance, one may identify what is theoretically conceivable, though this does not simply equate to what may have actually happened on the ground; secondly, regarding restraint, we can see what is considered preventable, although again, not necessarily the actual capacity of any given authority to actually stop what is interdicted; and, thirdly, we consider a linked category, deviance, in other words, what happens when matters go awry, how the situation should be re-balanced and how to deal with opposition that may arise. Theoretically, at least in the interstitial spaces between all these responses, we may find »a« reality or at least a possible meaningful impression of that society.

15 The key editions of the laws may be found in *Leges Langobardorum*, ed. Blühme; *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*. For Gasparri »le leggi longobarde...costituiscono un mezzo per entrare nei meccanismi sociali, economici e culturale dell'eta longobarda...« ix-x. That said, Gasparri also contends that doubt remains about the historicity of the *Edictum* as we currently have it. He says, »una legislazione tutta orientate sul passato e priva de riferimento alla societa presente« and »fossero almeno parzialmente obsolete gia al momento dela loro promulgazione«, x-xi.

16 Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*; Ausenda *et al.*, *Langobards*; Albertoni, Law and the peasant, 417-445; Sutherland, Idea of revenge. Everett's discussion, for instance, concentrates on the evidence for literacy and literate practices rather than the operation of the kingdom – although his discussion on the immediate circumstances of the issue of the *Edictum* is very useful.

17 Fischer Drew suggests that law tackles »the unusual rather than the usual condition...«: Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 22. Davies and Fouracre held that »political and social structures are best appreciated not through the study of laws and other normative texts, but through charters«: Davies and Fouracre, *Property and Power*, 1.

18 Faulkner, *Law and Authority*, 1-5 is a useful discussion. Whilst he observes that the *leges barbarorum* »are among the richest of all sources of early medieval history« their potential value has »always proved very difficult indeed«. Rio is perhaps a little more cautious in that she observes that »historians no longer take [law codes] as a straightforward reflection of society, but they still convey the value systems deployed«; see Rio, *Legal Practice*. To access the broader debate on the value of law as a historical source, see Fossier, *Sources de l'histoire économique* and Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*.

In our subsequent discussion of the issues raised by a close analysis of the legal titles in the *Edictum Rothari* and the laws of Liutprand, Ratchis and Aistulf we shall first consider the range of regulations on different forms of movement, namely how the law, in theory, sought to allow, restrain and control movement within both the »public« sphere and the »private« worlds of individuals. Subsequently, we shall broaden the field of enquiry to analyse the spatial theatre in Lombard history before, thirdly, we consider the specific evidence for the crossing of liminal frontiers. Subsequently, wider and broader conclusions, in particular, the implications for the transformation of the Roman world debate, may be drawn. We shall first, however, consider the specific regulations that pertain to movement and mobility.

Allowance, Restraint and Deviance: Impulses and Responses in Lombard Law

One does not have to scratch far below the surface to see reflected in Lombard law, an apparently dynamic and often mobile society which undertakes forms of quotidian movement naturally. We should, however, at this point be clear about the working definitions of »movement« and »mobility« used in this item. Whilst they are frequently used as synonyms, they may also be defined within narrow and broad contexts. In simple terms, movement may be defined as a physical act of moving. Narrower aspects associated with movement, for instance will relate to relatively banal and short-range activities that in medieval law codes relate to specific actions that may either be permitted or interdicted. »Mobility« may then be defined as the ability to move or be moved freely and easily. In wider contexts it may relate to the principle which allows, or at least does not restrain the theoretical allowance to undertake movement that is more than local or even regional – including the crossing of political frontiers. Further, in setting out a legal framework that permits or allows such movement but also delimits and restricts it, we may be able to identify the boundaries between what might be called the public sphere and the private sphere. In other words, where the implied competence of the »public« authority to control and protect existed and where such competence ended.

Mobility in Lombard law is addressed in implicit terms. Thus there are *capitula* that deal with both freemen and slaves who are found »in someone else's courtyard« (*in curte alterius*)¹⁹ and those that punish freemen or slaves breaking the peace in »another« district, the clear implication being that this is not their own area, and thus constitutes some form of movement.²⁰ Activities on the road attract a whole slew of prohibitive titles that include

19 See *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ER 32 and 33, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 22-25, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 58-59. The difficulty here appears not to be the simple unauthorised and alien presence of the individual freeman or slave but the temporal framework, i.e. at night, because, as the ER indicates, »it is not consistent with reason that a man should silently or secretly (*silentium aut absconse*) enter someone else's courtyard at night.« Intent would then appear to be the key element here. In Burgundian law, the *Liber Constitutionum* or *Lex Gundobadi* also identifies the courtyard as a specific locus of crime. See title 92, which relates to women whose hair has been cut off in their own courtyard. Also of interest here are those provisions which intend to protect vineyards, i.e. title 103. See *Leges Burgundionum*, ed. Salis, 111 and 114-115, transl. Fischer Drew, *Burgundian Code*, 82 and 86-87. In Frankish Law, in particular the *Lex Salica Karolina*, breaking into property rather than being present without fault is the prime concern, e.g. the breaking into the enclosure of a mill (*clusam*) attracts a separate fine in addition to anything that may be stolen; see *Lex Salica*, ed. Eckhardt, 222, trans. Fischer Drew, *Laws of the Salian Franks*, 214-215.

20 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ER 39 and 40, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 24-25, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 60.

throwing someone from his horse, not extinguishing fires beside the road, allowing freemen to move wherever they like, and even the expulsion of lepers from their »own« district.²¹ We should also mention the two specific capitula which deal with the »*magistros Commacini*« (master builders of Como) which hints at both the continuance of economic specialisation and employed mobility beyond Como itself.²²

Both the differences and the similarities between the regulation of different types of movement and, in particular, how they relate to the nature of the persons and places in question, reveal not only the hierarchical impulses in the law code but also the variances in treatment of individuals in spatial responses. Already from the very brief selection of clauses above, it is evident that, in the details of punitive address, Lombard law is hierarchically determined by status. In relation to those lurking in courtyards at night, a freeman may provide compensation of 80 *solidi* for himself, whereas a slave may be remitted (by his or her Lord) by the payment of 40 *solidi*, although if either offers resistance they may be killed with impunity.²³ Not all slaves, however, were encompassed in the same categories in the *ER*. The *Edictum Rothari* provides three terms for the dependent. First, household slaves (*servus ministerialis*); secondly, *servus massarii*, who may be termed tenant slaves; and, thirdly, field slaves or the *servus rusticus*. Titles 130, 132 and 134 in the *ER* provide an explicit hierarchical pyramid of value.²⁴ Household slaves are valued at 50 *solidi* (although a minor or subordinate is valued at 25 *solidi*); tenant slaves at 20, and a field slave is allocated 16 *solidi* and so on.²⁵

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- 21 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, *ER* 30, 148, 176 and 177, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 22-23, 44-45, 54-55, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 58, 76, 83-84. Using Everett's division of the *ER*, title 30 pertains to crimes against private individuals; 148 to »damage to property«; and 176 and 177 pertain to laws on succession. Here Everett follows Azzara; see Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, 167 and, *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, xxviii-xxix. Waylaying or pillaging on the road is directly forbidden in the *Pactus Legis Salicae* (14 and 21), as is »blocking the road«; see *Pactus Legis Salicae*, 14 and 21, ed. Eckhardt, 64-69 and 120-121, trans. Fischer Drew, *Laws of the Salian Franks*, 79 and 94-95. Likewise, in the *Lex Burgundionum*, title 27 prohibits the blocking of either the »public road« or a »country lane«. For this, see *Leges Burgundionum*, ed. Salis, 64-65, transl. Fischer Drew, *Burgundian Code*, 42. The recognition of leprosy triggers expulsion from the civitas or from the leper's own house (the clause pertains to income). For leprosy, see Miller and Smith-Savage, *Medieval Leprosy*.
- 22 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, *ER* 144 and 145, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 42-45, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 75. For the *Magistri*, see *Leggi dei Longobardi*, 119. 58 and 59, ed. Azzara and Gasparri. See also Moschetti, *Primordi eseggetici*. Whilst there is no explicit indication that the »*magistri comacini*« are peripatetic, the import of the clauses would suggest that their activities were not restricted to Como alone. One may adduce, however, that a certain Rodpertu »*magistrum comacinu*« was active in Tuscania in 739. See Monneret de Villard, *L'organizzazione industriale*, 45.
- 23 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, *ER* 32 and 33, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 22-25, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 58-59. Consider titles 37 and 38 re: those freemen and slaves who break the peace in a district where the king is present, or simply titles 39 and 40, where the peace is broken in another district.
- 24 *De servo ministeriale occiso/ On killing household slaves; De servo massario occiso/On killing tenant slaves; De servo rusticanum qui sub massario est/On the killing of a field slave subordinate to the tenant slave: Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 38-41, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 72-73. For discussion, see Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 30.
- 25 By way of relative comparison, we find values adumbrated for *aldii* (half-free) at 60 *solidi* (*ER* 129); ox ploughmen at 20 *solidi* (*ER* 133); master swine-herders at 50 *solidi* (*ER* 135); cattle-herders, goatherds, oxherds all at 20 *solidi*. If one computes the value globally provided by the litany of unpleasant injuries set out between *ER* 48 and 73, one may attain a considerable corporeal value, dependent, however, on the personal status of the individual concerned.

The form of unfreedom delineated in the law is one tethered to unfreedom associated with the tenure of land occupation rather than as a result of slave raiding and trading.²⁶ Accordingly, the responses in law to spatial issues are also mediated through a hierarchical pyramid of application, and, as we shall see, this has a direct impact on movement and mobility. In this sense, with regard to allowance, the *ER* is explicit that freemen (and thus by implication not those who are *aldii* i.e. the half-free or slaves) are allowed to move and should in theory be left unmolested. This clause is set out below:

De homine libero ut liceat eum migrare
Si quis liber homo, potestatem habeat intra dominium regni nostri cum fara sua megrare ubi voluerit, sic tamen si ei a rege data fuerit licentia...

Concerning freemen who are allowed to move
 Any freeman together with his family [fara] has the right to go where-ever he wishes within our kingdom provided that this privilege has been given to him by the king.²⁷

Here it is noteworthy that the theoretical allowance to move has been abrogated by the king as a *licentia*. At first sight it appears that the provision is merely one of theoretical allowance, but it is made clear that movement can also be interdicted by regnal authority and/or action.²⁸ In practice, however, one must wonder how feasible it would have been to enforce the »privilege« or even to return those who had not acquired any explicit permission to move. Secondly, the hierarchical approach to movement is demonstrated by the reference to freemen (*homine libero*) alone. Whilst the regulation is indicative of »a« perceptual view, the difficulties of enforcement would suggest that the provision was only honoured in the breach.²⁹

26 This is something that becomes relevant for the ninth century, in the south of Italy in particular. There is some anecdotal evidence for this in the northeast of Italy in the seventh century; see Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* 4, ed. Waitz, 37. On ninth-century slavery, see the account of Bernard *Monachus*. On eighth-century slave raids, see Paul the Deacon's account in the *HL* of Avar raids and subsequently Slavic incursions into Friuli in the eighth century. See Rio, *Slavery after Rome*.

27 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, *ER* 177, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 54-55, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 83-84. Whilst not referring to this particular title directly, Paziienza notes that the »capitoli dell'Editto...sembrerebbe sancire almeno teoricamente il totale controllo regio sui movimento della popolazione«. Clearly, as Paziienza suggests, the reality differed. See Paziienza, *Mobilita interna*, 97-99.

28 On this clause and its broader context, see Fabbro, *Warfare and the Making*, 175-176. The caveat to the allowance in the clause is: »*Et si aliquas res ei dux aut quicumque liber homo donavit et cum eo noluerit permanere el cum heredes ipsius : res ad donatorem vel heredes eius revertantur*« (If a duke or any other freedman gives him some property and the recipient does not wish to remain with him or his heirs, the property shall revert to the donor or his heirs). *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 54-55, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 83-84. By contrast, in the *Pactus Legis Salicae* (45) movement into another village to reside was not directly governed by regal allowance but determined by those who lived in the new location: *Pactus Legis Salicae*, 45, ed. Eckhardt, 172-176, trans. Fischer Drew, *Laws of the Salian Franks*, 109-110. Further, it is interesting that those provisions that relate to »those who refuse to come to court« do not delineate exceptions based on logistical difficulties in travelling. See *Pactus Legis Salicae*, 1 and 56 ed. Eckhardt, 18-20 and 210-214, trans. Fischer Drew, *Laws of the Salian Franks*, 65 and 119.

29 See below, however, for discussion of subsequent attempts to restrict the movement of foreigners.

On this level of movement, unfettered mobility across and into the kingdom was not circumscribed for the free. The treatment of those described as »waregang« or »foreigners« was, however, also illustrative of a broadly permissive approach.³⁰ This is what the clause says:

De Waregang

Omnes waregang qui de exteris fines in regni nostri finibus advenerint seque sub scuto potestatis nostrae subdederint legibus nostris Langobardorum vivere debeant, nisi si aliam legem ad pietatem nostram meruerint. Si filius legitimus habuerint heredes eorum existant sicut et filii Langobardorum; si filius legitimus non habuerint non sit illis potestas absque iussione regis res suas cuicumque thingare aut per quolibet titulo alienare.

On Foreigners

All foreigners who come from outside our frontiers into the boundaries of our kingdom and yield to the jurisdiction of our powers ought to live according to the Lombard laws, unless through our grace they have merited another law. If they have legitimate children these heirs shall live just as do the children of the Lombards. If they do not have legitimate children it shall not be in their power to give away any of their property or to alienate it by any means without the king's consent.³¹

There is much of interest here for our purposes. It is evident from a close scrutiny of the details of this passage that we see a variance between the contingent political rhythms that framed the promulgation of the *ER* and the thinking demonstrated at the core of the titles. Issued in the immediate context of renewed hostilities between the Lombards and Byzantium, the permissive element of the »waregang« title is somewhat intriguing. Indeed the reports of narrative sources do not sketch out the movement of foreigners into the kingdom as quotidian, tolerable or unimportant.³² For our specific purposes two elements of the title should be further considered. First, the use of »advenerint« implies an active movement »into« the jurisdiction. Active is significant, as opposed to the passive process (from the perspective of the population), where those in adjacent territories who were formally »waregang« were rendered into subjects by conquest. This would be relevant, for instance, for those who lived in (modern) Liguria, which, during the course of the 640s, was conquered by Rothari.³³ Later, it also encompasses the Italo-Romans who became subject to Liutprand as a result of his conquests in the Romagna and the Exarchate of Ravenna in the 730s and 740s. The physical

30 See Bruckner, *Sprache von Langobarden*; Onesti, *Vestigia longobarde*, 29-30, who uses the definition »straniero in cerca di protezione«; and *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 126. See also, Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, 116.

31 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 106, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 124-125. Certainly, one must argue for Lombard and Roman rather than necessarily Roman v Lombard. Here again the comments of Gasparri are useful. He says: »...l'editto sia stato applicato anche ai Romani...un'idea...che concorda perfettamente con i più recenti studi sui rapporti fra Longobardi e Romani«, *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, xi.

32 I.e. war with Byzantium in 643. One might imagine that this was the legal basis for the acceptance of the settlement of Alzecco, a *dux* of the Bulgarians reported by Paul the Deacon. Conversely, the Saxons are reported to have left Italy »because it was not permitted to them by the Langobards to live according to their own laws«. See Paolo Diacono, 3.6 and 5.29, ed. Capo, 276-277, trans. Foulke, *Paul the Deacon*, 234 and 298. For discussion of Alzecco and the Bulgars, see Vlaevska, *Storia di un problema storiografico*.

33 Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*. See above re: Alzecco.

expansion of the kingdom then does not explicitly allow adjustment of the terminology used in the law. Yet, secondly, the title provides a flexibility and discretion on the part of the regnal authority so that if »waregang« should »yield to the jurisdiction of our powers« (*potestatis nostrae subdederint*) they may remain in the kingdom and »live according to the Lombard laws« (*legibus nostris langobardorum vivere debeant*). It is not axiomatic that Italo-Romans were »waregang« and there are other independent references in the law which seem to support this reading.³⁴ Accordingly despite an apparent articulation of clear spatial limits and conceptual boundaries, we should avoid extrapolation that would see jurisdictions and their boundaries as either softened or hardened.³⁵ Cross-referencing this title to the opening global intent of the *ER* set out by Rothari could even allow us to assert that Rothari's asserted motivations in the prologue run against the allowance set out here.³⁶

Allowance with reference to internal mobility also appears to be at the centre of concerns with activities that inhibit or prevent movement on the road. In the first place, in *ER* 17 it is indicated that »if one of our men wishes to come to us, let him come in safety and return to his home unharmed« (*si quis ex baronibus nostris ad nos voluerit venire, securus veniat, et inlesus ad suos revertatur...*).³⁷ This clause has theoretically stringent compositional fines which are also attached to the subsequent clauses 26, 27 and 28. This section of the *ER* deals with offences against the movement of individuals and those committed in specific venues.³⁸ Activity described as »wegworin« (road-blocking – glossed as *orbitaria*) that interferes with the free movement of a free woman or a girl attracts the penalty of 900 *solidi* as compensation; 20 *solidi* to a freeman in the case of obstruction alone; and, finally, a further 20 *solidi* in cases where slaves were inhibited.³⁹ The common interdicted activity across all three of these titles is simply placing oneself into the path of a third party to prevent their movement,

34 Occupants of the Romagna and the Exarchate are termed »Romans« in pertinent titles in the Lombard laws e.g. Liutprand 127.11 and Aistulf 4.

35 On the principle of personality of law, see Peters, Foreword, xiv: »Germanic law was personal not territorial it »belonged« to each member of a people where-ever he or she went.«

36 »In unum previdimus volumine conplectendum, quatinus liceat unicuique salva lege et iustitiae quiete vivere et propter opinionem contra inimicus laborare, seque sousque defendere fines« (We wish to have all law collected in one volume, so that everyone may live peacefully under a secure law and with justice, and so that everyone will willingly work against enemies and defend themselves and their territory). Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, 164. See also *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 14-15, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 39. Frequent notices in narrative sources, principally Paul the Deacon's *HL* would also back this interpretation; see, for instance, the notices on Friuli and the Slavs in *HL*: 6.24 which reveals a less than harmonious connection. *Paolo Diacono*, 6.24, ed. Capo, 326-329, trans. Foulke, *Paul the Deacon*, 266-270.

37 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, *ER* 17, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 20-21, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 56. See also, in relation to the »road«, *ER* 26 road-blocking *wegorin*: *Leggi dei Longobardi*, *ER* 26, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 22-23, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 57.

38 Crimes against private individuals in Everett's taxonomy. Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, 167.

39 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 22-23, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 57-58. The level of composition does not suggest that enforcement on the »public« road was any more rigorous than infractions of law on »private« property. For »wegworin«, see Bruckner, *Sprache von Langobarden*, 213 and Onesti, *Vestigia longobarde*, 130-131.

with additional penalties applied if injuries should be inflicted (see *ER* 26 and 27). In a following clause, *ER* 29, which deals with »him who blocks a field or meadow or any enclosure to another man« (*si quis messem suam aut pratum seu qualibet clausura vindicanda homini prohibuerit*), such activity is allowable only if undertaken in self-defence, adding that one is guilty if »one blocks the road to a man simply walking along« (*sicut ille qui hominem sempleciter viam ambolantem antesteterit...*).⁴⁰

This explicit reference to fields and meadows hints at the delineation of public and private spheres of spatial use. A number of other clauses also seem to repeat this distinction. The *ER* allows, for instance, for movement into gardens where no ill intent is involved which is not considered possible for those sneaking into or found in a courtyard after sunset. In this sense a conceptual boundary has been crossed beyond the public environment of the road into the private world of the individual or landholder. The latter is then endowed with the capacity to determine the good or ill intent of the third party. The title indicates that if one is »seeking his own property and does not do any damage he shall not be guilty« (*nam si post suam rem ingreditur et damnum non fecerit, non sit culpavlis*).⁴¹ Licit movement here ultimately depends on the intent of the individual but also upon the venue and the time in and at which the episode occurs. At the same time, however, there is no explicit indication that an individual enjoys an elevated level of protection in exterior public spaces. In terms of spatial frameworks, then, there is some ambivalence at work in the *Edictum*. There is explicit provision, on the one hand, to safeguard the mobility of individuals undertaking (short-range) activities and journeys; and there is also protection for the movement of individuals and groups across jurisdictional boundaries; but, on the other hand, with both hierarchical impulses in terms of protection of individuals on the roads and elsewhere, an evident set of limitations is apparent.

If there is not a clear-cut set of responses in the clauses that deal with allowance, one may wonder whether the control and restraint of mobility is demonstrated in equally ambivalent terms. Near the commencement of the *Edictum*, clauses 3 and 4 prohibit two actions. The first forbids anyone from fleeing outside »the province« (*provincia*) and the second relates to those who proffer »invitations to or introduction of enemies into the province«; both offences merit the penalty of death without composition. They are reproduced here:

3. *Si quis foris provinciam fugere tentaverit* [On him who attempts to flee outside the province]

Si quis foris provincia fugire timtaverit, morti incurrat periculum et res eius infiscentur.

He who tries to flee outside of the country shall be killed and his property confiscated.

40 Azzara and Gasparri, *Leggi dei Longobardi*, 22-23; and Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 58 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, *ER* 29, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 22-23, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 58.

41 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, *ER* 284, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 86-87, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 109. There does not seem to be the same presumption of guilt at work here as in the first examples. The concern with boundaries, fences and roads may link in with the suspicion of the uninvited in courtyards.

4. *Si quis inimicus intra provinciam invitaverit* [On him who invites enemies within the province]

Si quis inimicus intra provincia invitaverit aut introduxerit, animae suae incurrat periculum et res eius infiscentur.

He who invites or introduces enemies into the land shall be killed and his property confiscated.⁴²

Both of these titles are associated with offences against public authority. Emplaced in close proximity to clauses that deal with those who seek the death of the king and to those who assist spies, the rigorous penalties in the clauses are designed to deter those who would choose to challenge the kings in Pavia.⁴³ At the same time, both clauses are silent as to the mechanisms of enforcement but, in theory, at least, we might assume that »local« institutional governance (as set out in its fullest expression in the later laws of Liutprand) could be mobilised to restrain those who might flee.⁴⁴ Whilst silent as to effective enforcement, both clauses also imply a finite spatial extent of the kingdom that can be equated with the use of the word »provincia« where this is essentially coterminous with the Lombard kingdom and where »outside« is »anywhere else«. This is deceptive in that the term »provincia« is left undefined in terms of jurisdiction. It might be tempting then, as we saw with the »waregang« clause, to see this inexactitude as a product of the unfixed extent of the kingdom itself.⁴⁵ If, however, we use a narrower definition of »provincia« to connote that area associated with a Lombard *dux*, we may identify a congruence that connects territories, jurisdictions and borders with conceptual frameworks. Further anecdotal evidence can be found in the *HL* of Paul the Deacon both generally and specifically with his catalogue of Italian provinces in book 2 of the *HL*, but is also present in his frequent references to specific areas.⁴⁶ Further, in practical terms,

42 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 114. See also Gasparri, Regno Longobardo in Italia; Bognetti, *Santa Maria Foris*, 446 n. 164. For comparison in terms of treatment of the malefactor, see Alamannic law title 24: »if anyone invites a foreign nation into the province« (*de homine qui gentem extraneam infra provinciam invitaverit*): *Leges Alamannorum*, ed. Lehmann, 84-85, trans. Rivers, *Laws of the Alamans*, 74.

43 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 16-17, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 53. Both titles 3 and 4 fall into the section of the *Edictum* that deals with what might be termed »crimes against public authority«. The implication here is that the offence is one against the public authority in the public sphere.

44 It is interesting that the second clause, if we are to believe Paul the Deacon's *HL*, was a tenet that was breached by Lombard kings themselves – see the invitation of Grimoald (662-671) to the Avars to enter Friuli in the late 660s and nullify the activities of the *dux* Lupus: *Paolo Diacono*, 5.17-20, ed. Capo, 268-273, trans. Foulke, *Paul the Deacon*, 227-229. For discussion re: Lupus, see Gasparri, *Duchi Longobardi*, 67-68 and Heath, *Narrative Worlds*, 217-218.

45 See Secord, *Three Worlds Met*, 6-11, which sets out a typology for borders, i.e. »linear boundaries of political demarcation; nonlinear divisions between cultures or barriers; and, border zones or zones of interaction«, in other words zones of separation and zones of interaction. More generally, see Berend, *Medievalists and the notion*, 55-72 and Abulafia and Berend, *Medieval Frontiers*.

46 *Paolo Diacono*, 2.14-24, ed. Capo, 94-105, trans. Foulke, *Paul the Deacon*, 71-79.

Lombard Italy demonstrates the administrative footprint of Late Roman Italy with its patchwork of dukes and gastalds based in urban centres with discrete and delineated zones of authority. The key geopolitical division in the peninsula, however, that between the Lombards and Byzantium, also fostered a congruent crystallisation of boundaries, concepts and peoples.⁴⁷

The Spatial Theatre in Lombard History

Up to this point, an analysis of specific titles, principally in the *Edictum Rothari*, with regard to movement and mobility in Lombard society has been undertaken. Whilst the clauses discussed deal with allowing mobility and restraining illicit movement, they deal specifically with the situation on the ground in the Lombard kingdom. It will, however, also be useful to consider how this operated in wider and broader contexts in what may be termed the spatial theatre of the Lombards. Mobility and movement are one of many pertinent impulses that affect the treatment of Lombard history in Italy.⁴⁸ As we noted above, a paradox of immobility versus mobility is a function of the mixed witness of narrative materials which concentrate on shorter contingent political rhythms. It is often the case, – our main narrative source Paul the Deacon's *HL* being no exception – that such narratives dwell upon the exceptional rather than the mundane. One may cite Paul's account of his distant relative's escape from Avar slavery courtesy of a friendly wolf as indicative of this sort of response.⁴⁹

Negative appraisals of the Lombard impact on Italy have remained persistent, obscuring in some respects the subtleties of the situations on the ground. If we turn to Latouche again for one emblematic example, his view was that the »Lombard invasion brought disorder as well as poverty to the peninsula«. ⁵⁰ For Latouche, the sixth century was an era that was a »muddled spineless Merovingian world«. ⁵¹ Pithy (but mostly incorrect) *obiter dicta* aside, however, recent work in a variety of historiographical contexts has cut across the grand narratives of the Early Medieval past as perceived by historians writing after the publication of Henri Pirenne's *Mahomet et Charlemagne*.⁵² There are numerous examples in this

47 One should, nevertheless, remain cautious about the operation of borders in the Early Middle Ages. Sharper borders predicated upon antagonistic geopolitical impulses do not necessarily equate to clear demarcations on the ground. One does wonder whether the Italian situation allowed for greater ease in establishing and upholding perimeters of polities. I thank Dr Gantner for discussion on this point.

48 General surveys include: La Rocca, *Italy*; Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*; Christie, *Lombards*; Cammarosano and Gasparri, *Langobardia*; Jarnut, *Storia dei Longobardi*; and Ausenda *et al.*, *Langobards*.

49 *Paolo Diacono*, 4.37, ed. Capo, 218-219, trans. Foulke, *Paul the Deacon*, 185.

50 Latouche, *Western Economy*, 119. In this he echoed his mentor Pirenne, who observed that »they [i.e. the Lombards] overran the population, took its land and reduced it to the condition of a vanquished enemy«: Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, 70. Such responses, of course, have a very long provenance. Gregory the Great's eschatological impulses were often deployed when referring to the Lombards to correspondents.

51 Latouche, *Western Economy*, 120. One may find rather more positive appraisals of this period and the sixth/seventh centuries in the essays in Gnasso *et al.*, *Long Seventh Century*; Esders *et al.*, *East and West*; Fischer and Wood (eds.), *Western Perspectives*; Esders *et al.*, *Merovingian Kingdoms*; and Hodges and Bowden, *Sixth Century*. And see now Effros and Moreira, *Oxford Handbook*.

52 Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*. On Pirenne, see Wood, *Modern Origins*, 224-229. Also useful, Esders and Hen, Introduction. See also Hodges and Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne*; Delogu, Reading Pirenne again; and, Effros, Enduring attraction.

respect, but two will suffice here to set the scene. Fouracre's recent work, for instance, on the provision of lighting materials for ecclesiastical sites, and what he usefully terms the »moral economy«, provides one helpful example of the management of resources beyond a simply local environment. As he indicates, »the expense of materials needed to fuel the lights put the means to provide them beyond the reach of most people.«⁵³ What interests us here in this context, however, is the plausibility of supply to satisfy demand, and in this respect, the provision of olive oil for lamps in the northern monasteries of Francia was one corollary of the demise of the Lombard kingdom in 774.⁵⁴ But here one finds the enduring paradox of socio-economic frameworks that are not appropriately refined, in that whilst the supply of oil was facilitated across a considerable distance, the production of goods can be seen as a function of a closed economy dependent upon the labour of those restricted in terms of service and freedom.⁵⁵ Contact, movement and mobility need not, however, be restricted to comment on the transport of specialised or even luxury goods across long distances. A second example of work which cuts across the grand narratives of this period, deals with contacts between the Lombards and Avars, who were neighbours to the northeast of the Italian peninsula.⁵⁶ Csánad Bálint's important work, *The Avars, Byzantium and Italy* sets out and identifies, *inter alia*, the landscapes of transmission of goods. So far as trade is concerned, his model separates economic transactions pursuant to a hierarchical model predicated upon geographical proximity – i.e. from local to »international«. ⁵⁷ Clearly functioning trade contacts can be exemplified by all these categories, dependent upon the nature of the goods and their origins. For Bálint, however, whilst there is evidence of Avar export of horses to Italy, »Byzantine and Italian jewellery items, luxury goods, pottery and coins [only] occur sporadically and in low numbers in Avar lands.«⁵⁸ The picture, then, even from two distinct examples, is mixed. It highlights the dangers of an undifferentiated definition of trade and transmission, movement and mobility. What impact does this have for Lombard responses to movement and mobility?

To address this question, one must recognise the tensions between the explicit and the implicit in both narrative and normative sources. From the outset, the scenario that we sketched out above is one that can be demonstrated by a careful analysis of the Lombards both in historical terms and in the legal responses to space and control. In discussing, for instance, the early origins of the Lombards in *Germania*, and at the start of the *Historia Langobardorum*, Paul the Deacon (c.735-796) tells us that:

53 Fouracre, *Lights, power*, 369.

54 Fouracre, *Lights, power*, 373. See also the essays Fouracre »Framing« and lighting; Story, *Lands and lights*. Economic aspects of the Frankish conquest of the Lombard kingdom are dealt with in Gasparri, 774, 81-174.

55 See, for instance, the charter of Pistoia of 767 cited by Fouracre (Fouracre, »Framing« and lighting, 307) for the reference to *Regesta Chartarum Pistoensium* (which I have been unable to consult directly).

56 There are many examples of contact and conflict between the Avars and the Lombards in Paul the Deacon's *HL*. See, for instance, from book 4 alone, *Paolo Diacono*, 4.4, 4.12 and 4.37, ed. Capo, 184-185, 192-193 and 210-215, trans. Foulke, *Paul the Deacon*, 152, 159, (both imply a »state« of conflict) and 179-183.

57 Bálint, *Avars, Byzantium and Italy*, 179. The four categories are local, regional, inter-regional and international. See also Kardaras, *Byzantium and the Avars*, 135-155; Pohl, *Avars*, 220-253; and Daim, *Byzantine belts*.

58 Bálint, *The Avars, Byzantium and Italy*, 188.

from this populous *Germania* then countless crowds of captives are often led away and sold for gain to the people of the south.

*ab hac ergo populosa Germania saepe innumerabiles captivorum turmae abductae meridianis populis pretio distrahuntur.*⁵⁹

This idea, the fecundity of northern populations, was one that Paul had borrowed from classical ethnography: a trope that allowed commentators to explain the responses of »barbarians« to their space, an apparent need to find alternative sites to expand and their resistance to control by the creation or imposition of defined boundaries that might be envisaged or policed by settled polities to the south.⁶⁰ Throughout his narrative in book 1 of the *HL*, Paul emphasises the modest nature of the Lombards as a people in terms of population and power. He tracks their uncertain progress from the modern *Bardengau* (to the south of Hamburg and west of the Elbe) to the borders of Italy in 568/569.⁶¹ Whilst the historicity of Lombard movement in this period need not detain us, his telescoped account of roughly 400 years amply demonstrates the possibility of movement in the four centuries after the first attestation of the Lombards in classical sources. The picture he provides alters once the Lombards have reached the borders of Italy, which was roughly four centuries after the events that the passage above describes. Here, over the following 200 years or so, they ruled a *regnum* with a core based on the Po plains, comprising most [but not all] of northern and central Italy. This is the point at which the production and codification of law becomes relevant.

As we have already noted with an analysis of the *ER*, geopolitical alterations do not necessarily map across to socio-cultural or economic adjustments. In terms of broader movements of people across Eurasia in the early Middle Ages, the migrations of the Lombards were part of the transformative processes at work on the Roman world, where one theoretically over-arching structure at the level of the empire was replaced by the installation of locally focused and regional regimes.⁶² As is well known, these geopolitical changes do not cohere with socio-economic change propelled by variant rhythms. Such adjustments mask the kaleidoscope of socio-economic, religious and cultural zones, contact regions and communities that linked and divided the Mediterranean world and beyond. In this sense, the spatial theatre in which the Lombards operated once they had settled in Italy was not a »closed« system, nor was it one that demonstrated a uniform cultural conformity.⁶³ The complicated

59 *Paolo Diacono*, 1.1, ed. Capo, 12-13, trans. Foulke, *Paul the Deacon*, 2 (with adjustments by the author); Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. Waitz, 48. See the useful discussion of James and the concept of »barbarism« in James, *Europe's Barbarians 200-600*, 1-15. See also Jones, *Image of the barbarian*.

60 James, *Europe's Barbarians*, 21-30. Strabo was of the view that »it is a common characteristic of all the peoples in this part of the world [i.e. *Germania* beyond the Rhine] that they migrate with ease, because of the meagreness of their livelihood and because they do not till the soil...« (κοινὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἅπασιν τοῖς ταύτη τὸ περὶ τὰς μεταναστάσεις εὐμαρὲς διὰ τὴν λιτότητα τοῦ βίου καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ γεωργεῖν μηδὲ θησαυρίζειν...). *Strabo: The Geography*, ed. Jones, 156-157. On Strabo, see Almagor, *Who is a barbarian?*, 42-55.

61 For discussion of this period, see Cingolani, *Storie dei Longobardi* and, Rotili, *I Longobardi*.

62 Local aspects of societies are dealt with in Cooper and Wood, *Social Control*; Zeller *et al.*, *Neighbours and Strangers*, and the essays in Rousseau and Raithel, *Companion to Late Antiquity*. Locally focused studies include Viso, *Reino y las sociedades locales*; Hummer, *Politics and Power*; and, Innes, *State and Society*, to name only three. This could be characterised as the replacement of an »imperial« space in which Italy acted as the centre to the creation of multipolar post-imperial spaces. The insecure and fissiparous tapestry of Italy in the period 568-640 renders this post-imperial space complicated and contingent. See Van Nuffelen, *Historiography and Space*.

63 Fouracre, *Cultural conformity*. See also Fouracre, *Space, culture and kingdoms*.

and often chaotic political conditions in Italy between c.568 and c.640 demonstrates the connectivity of the Lombards within the wider Mediterranean world, but also beyond to the Avars, the Franks and the Barvarians who were neighbours to the east, west and north; their geographical locus linked them into both the Atlantic world and the steppe worlds of the Avars and others. A flexibility to spatial contexts was part of this initial period of settlement in Italy which saw expansion beyond the kingdom's core in the Po valley to Spoleto, Benevento and even attempts to expand into Provence in Gaul.⁶⁴

After the *interregnum* of 574 to 584, however, the spatial viewpoint of the Lombard kingdom is increasingly fixed and orientated around the Po valley in the north. Whilst the description of the nineteen provinces of Italy by Paul the Deacon does not associate specific provinces with the Lombards, the transit of his narrative demonstrates an increasing effort to stabilise the spatial and liminal framework of the kingdom. In terms of spatial perspective, the residence of the early kings moves from Verona to Milan to Pavia, but it is the Po valley that retains a centrality in terms of governance and law.⁶⁵ Paul the Deacon provides a notice that Authari (584-590) identified a column adjacent to Reggio di Calabria. This was the point where, the king declared, »the territories of the Langobards will be up to this place« (*usque hic erunt Langobardorum fines*).⁶⁶ Yet, for all practical intents, both Spoleto in the centre of the peninsula and Benevento in the south remained politically exterior to the kingdom throughout the long seventh century. The promulgation of the *ER*, which follows on from this period, as we have seen above, marks a specific point, a snapshot of responses and impulses before the relatively unfixed parameters of the Lombard kingdom are increasingly ossified. The period between the death of Rothari and the accession of Liutprand (i.e. 651-712), during which no significant territorial adjustments were undertaken, was the backdrop to this crystallisation of spatial responses, which will be considered below in respect of Lombard frontiers.

The Limits of the Frontier

Although Rothari and the Lombards had recommenced territorial expansion in earnest from the 640s, after a period of consolidation post-*interregnum* of 574-584, the geopolitical framework of the peninsula remains stable for the next 75 years or so. The *ER* itself, as we saw above, both condones and restricts movement and mobility. In the final half-century of the kingdom, however, Lombard law reveals new attempts to maintain and control its own spatial framework, to determine and manage licit mobility, and to stop illicit movement.

Part of this impulse to control movement and solidify frontiers was predicated upon events in the early eighth century. The Lombard hegemony in the peninsula orchestrated by Liutprand had been undermined by both the emergence of the papacy as an independent protagonist and by Frankish interventions into Italy. This is demonstrated by two key provisions in the laws of Ratchis (744-749 and 756-757).⁶⁷ First, Ratchis attempted to prevent the movement of representatives:

64 For the spatial turn, see Lefebvre, *Production of Space*; de Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*; Rohkrämer and Schulz, *Space, place and identities*; and Withers, *Place and the spatial turn*.

65 For Pavia as a »site of power«, see Bougard, *Public power and authority*, 44-45.

66 *Paolo Diacono*, 3.32, ed. Capo, 168-169, trans. Foulke, *Paul the Deacon*, 145-146.

67 These have been analysed in detail by Walter Pohl; see Pohl, *Frontiers in Lombard Italy*.

Si quis iudex aut quiscumque homo missum suum diripere presumpserit Roma, Ravenna, Spoleti, Benevento, Francia, Baioaria, Alamannia, Ritas aut in Avaria sine iussione regis animae suae incurrat periculum et res eius infiscentur.

If a judge or any other man without the king's permission presumes to send his representative to Rome, Ravenna, Spoleto, Benevento, Francia, Bavaria, Alamannia, Raetia or to the land of the Avars, he shall lose his life and his property shall be confiscated..⁶⁸

And the second emphasised the importance of guarding and maintaining the boundaries

ut inimici nostri et gentes nostre non possint per eas sculcas mittere aut fugacis exientes suscipere, sed nullus homo sine signo aut epistola regis exire possit

in order that neither our enemies nor our people can send spies through them or allow fugitives to go out and in order that no man can enter without a letter sealed by the king⁶⁹

It is noteworthy, in the first place, that Ratchis explicitly sets out those areas that are considered to be external to the Lombards, in theory at least. All of the places highlighted can be considered to be exterior to the kingdom proper. The presence of Spoleto, Benevento and Ravenna in the list is intriguing. They had all formed part of the inclusive and expansionist dimensions of Liutprand's and (subsequently) Aistulf's (749-756) kingdom and were part of the Lombard political space in the eighth century. In this sense, they were not exterior in a spatial sense.⁷⁰ This clause, no doubt prompted by contingent political rhythms pertinent in the 750s, pinpoints the awareness of the conceptual boundaries of the kingdom but does not seem to take account of the developments earlier in the century. The second relevant clause attempts to create fixed control of the borders and aimed to constrain movement across, through and into the kingdom. We should be cautious in accepting at face value the detailed provisions in a subsequent title of Ratchis which set out the procedure for compliance.⁷¹ There is still a conundrum at work here which needs explanation. One solution would be to see the clauses above as part of a continuum of responses and evidence for an increasing crystallisation of the Lombard »spatial« zone. With this reading, the titles become evidence for a conscious formulation of a Lombard spatial zone which is defined and expressed by its opposition to adjacent polities. Such expression in border or contact zones such as Friuli may always have been sharper due to the proximity of exterior communities, identities and polities.

68 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 268-269, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 221. Pohl, *Frontiers in Lombard Italy*, 117-121 sets out the immediate geopolitical context of the title.

69 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 272-273, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 223-224.

70 Indeed, in relation to law, both Spoleto and Benevento used Lombard law issued in the *regnum proper*. For further detail and discussion of autonomous governance, see Conti, *Il Ducato di Spoleto*, 171-174 and Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, 32. Waldman reminds us that »Benevento had a much deeper relationship with the Lombard Kingdom than is often assumed, one that actually encouraged the dukes and their people to embrace more firmly their Lombard identity both before and after 774«; see Waldman, *Pavia's Twin*, 6.

71 Pohl, *Frontiers in Lombard Italy*, 117-121.

Finally, let us briefly look at deviance from societal and legal injunctions in this regard. We have already seen in the discussion above that Lombard law attempts to set out a framework of mixed allowance and restraint, albeit rather unbalanced. As we noted, it is often entirely silent about crucial aspects of enforcement. This, in effect, reifies the intangible tension between the two impulses. The reality of this tension between hubris and performance in the laws is sketched out by the witness of provisions that relate to fugitives and runaway slaves that mark the limits of the Lombard kingdom's powers. We find that if slaves flee, re-imposition of physical control and restriction is envisaged. More pertinent, however, is that Liutprand's law provides a period of three months for the lord »to seek him out« (*eius eum perquirere*). Subsequently Liutprand issued further clarification on his provision in V.88, where the geographical realities on the ground are set out.⁷² Here again, fugitive slaves are tackled – and a specific duration provided for a lord to seek out a fugitive is set out within specific areas. For Benevento and Spoleto the period is three months, for *Tuscia* two months, and anywhere else in the *regnum*, one month. These durations set out the view from Pavia, rather than demonstrate a particular difficulty in these areas themselves.⁷³ This is also reflected in a remarkable *capitula* which concerns fugitives, slaves and strangers. The clause issued in Liutprand's additions of 723 marks a distinct shift in both the willingness of Lombard rulers to countenance unfettered movement allied to an organisational impulse that sought to control the situation on the ground throughout the entire *regnum*. Here Liutprand indicates that:

Si in alia iudiciaria inventus fuerit, tunc deganus aut saltarius, qui in loco est, comprehendere debeat et ad schuldahis suum perducatur, et ipse schuldahis eum iudici suo consignet. Et ipse iudex potestatem habeat eum inquirendum, unde ipse est...

If a fugitive or a stranger has been found in another judicial district, then the deganus or the forester [saltarius] in that region ought to take him and lead him to his own schultheis and the schultheis shall consign the fugitive to his judge. The judge shall have the power to enquire of him from what place he comes.⁷⁴

The law sets out in full the consequences of failure to undertake these pertinent enquiries but also provides for a time limit of one month in »these parts« or »for across the mountains that is in parts of *Tuscia*, it shall be two months«.⁷⁵ Responses to this sort of deviance from conformity are also addressed in the laws of Ratchis and Aistulf. Both were fundamentally concerned with boundaries and infiltration – a product of the instability of the kingdom at that time as a result of Frankish interventions. Not only did Ratchis ban judges or »any other man« (*quiscumque homo*) from sending representatives outside the kingdom without permission,⁷⁶ but he also sought to regulate and restrict access to the kingdom. Ratchis sets out his thinking directly:

72 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 190-191, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 182-183.

73 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 164-167, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 164.

74 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 164-167, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 164.

75 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 164-167, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 164.

76 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 286-269, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 221.

On protection of the frontiers

Hoc autem statuere previdimus: ut marcas nostras Christo custodiente sic debeat fieri ordinatas et vigilatas, ut inimici nostri et gentes nostre non possint per eas sculcas mittere aut fugacis exientes suscipere, sed nullus homo per eas introire possit sine signo aut epistola regis. Propterea unusquisque iudex per marcas sibi commissas tale stadium et vigilantium ponere debeat et per se et per locopositos et clausarios suos, ut nullus homo sine signo aut epistola regis exire possit.

It is our command, that with the help of Christ, our boundaries will be maintained and guarded in order that neither our enemies nor our people can send spies through them or allow fugitives to go out and in order that no man can enter them without a letter sealed by the king. Every judge should use such care and vigilance with regard to the frontier committed to him both in his own actions as well in those of his local officials and gate wardens that no man can go without a letter sealed by the king.⁷⁷

Ratchis is particularly anxious about »strangers« (*peregrini*) who »plan to go to Rome«. These are to be »diligently« questioned. To underscore this, Ratchis impels the judges in *Tuscia* in particular to ensure that no one should depart without authorisation. This tone of suspicion of travellers is also echoed in Aistulf's law on broken boundaries issued in 750.⁷⁸ Here is a clear transit in terms of both geographical specificity and performance. As we saw above in the *ER*, borders or zones of contested control are implicitly acknowledged. Later law attempted to create a fixed line of control with detailed mechanisms of restraint using local networks of power to control the situation on the ground and by so doing to create a Lombard space and a non-Lombard space which was to be policed and guarded by mechanisms set out in detail in law. Two final points are worth emphasising. In the first place, clear geographical parameters are enunciated with regard to specific territories (which in some respects is a reflection of the experiences of the Italian peninsula in the early eighth century); and in the second place, in concert with the vigorous »new« kingship of Liutprand and his successors, we see an operative and conscious extension of the horizons of competence and ability of the Lombard kings and kingdom. This manifested in a capillary arrangement which expected local agents of the kings to enforce and maintain control of movement on the ground.

Conclusions

A comparison between the titles of the *ER* and the later law of Liutprand, Ratchis and Aistulf is illustrative. It has allowed this article to consider both the specific and narrow witness of Lombard law with respect to movement and mobility but also to seek to place this within the broader landscape of the spatial theatre of the Lombards. Identifying the interpretative balance between movement and mobility on the one hand and restriction and control on the other has also been one of the key concerns of this contribution, and in this respect this is reflected in the tensions evident in the law. Those who provided the framework of law do not supply straightforward responses to the issues highlighted above. However, in the formulation of what is and what is not perceived as enforceable and thus in the actual reified spatial

77 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 272-273, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 224.

78 *Leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. Azzara and Gasparri, 282-283, trans. Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, 229.

framework, we may detect clear responses to mobility and movement. Layering our analysis into allowance, restraint and deviance also permits us to identify tensions and contradictory impulses in the laws. We have seen that on an uncomplicated basis the laws provided a clear framework that positively allowed movement for certain sections of Lombard society; it incorporated a specific concern to ensure that movement on the road was not restricted or contested, which suggests a concern for specific areas in the public zone, whereas, at the same time, we may identify concerns regarding entry into the private zone of individuals and properties. The apparent absence in the *ER* of effective mechanisms for control and enforcement should cause us to pause when we consider the effective power of the Lombard kings. We have also seen that there were theoretical limitations to movement and these were associated with those who were unfree. Our difficulties, however, must remain associated with the issues that arise as to the applicability of law and its effective use on the ground. That said, analysis has pinpointed a shift in the perceptual dynamics of Lombard law, which, affected by short-term and contingent political rhythms, narrowed the horizons of the kingdom and sought to police mobility. This is evident in the later laws of Ratchis and Aistulf – but not absent within the *corpus* we have of Liutprand's laws. On the other hand, the *Edictum Rothari* presents a society open to movement and trade, and one where kings in Pavia could not control fixed borders. Ultimately, attaining an effective balance between security and mobility, between inter-connectivity and migration, proved to be a set of tensions that were irreconcilable for the Lombard kingdom.

Acknowledgements

My thanks to Clemens Gantner and Edoardo Manarini for their comments on earlier drafts and to the anonymous referees for their apposite and useful insights, which assisted the production of the final version.

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Abbreviations

ER = Edictum Rothari
 HL = Historia Langobardorum
 MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica

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Ad utriusque imperii unitatem? Anastasius Bibliothecarius as a Broker between Two Cultures and Three Courts in the Ninth Century

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In 870, Anastasius, former (and later once again) librarian of the papal bibliotheca and chancellery, well-known erudite and former anti-pope, reached the pinnacle of his career as a diplomat. While exiled from Rome for a crime committed by his cousin, he was an important member of a mission sent to Constantinople by the Carolingian emperor and lord of Italy Louis II. He was sent there to negotiate a marriage alliance between Louis's daughter and only surviving child Ermengard and a son of the upstart Byzantine emperor Basil I, which was ultimately to serve to bind the two empires together in the fight against the Saracens, southern Italy and Sicily. While there, Anastasius also joined the papal delegation at the Eighth Ecumenical Council, which was there in the pope's stead to formally depose Patriarch Photius and negotiate the case of Bulgaria. We thus see Anastasius as a diplomat and cultural broker between Latin and Greek ecclesiastic and lay culture and between three courts. He composed a letter about his dealings in the East for Pope Hadrian II in 870, and thus we have an invaluable first-hand eyewitness account. While most negotiations started in 869 and 870 between the East and the West ultimately failed or were rendered pointless by political change, Anastasius shows us that 870 was a great chance for all sides. And while most parties involved lost something by the failure of the exchanges, Anastasius himself regained and kept a powerful position in the papal administration once again.

Keywords: Anastasius Bibliothecarius, Louis II, emperor, Hadrian II, pope, Rome, papacy, Carolingian Empire, Byzantine Empire, diplomacy, cultural broker

Introduction: The Talented Anastasius

Anastasius, nowadays known as »the Librarian«, was one of the most illustrious figures of the ninth century – some might rightfully say also one of the most notorious.¹ He had been born into a family which was based in the city of Rome and which was to become relatively influential in the ninth century, as far as we can judge from the scant and patchy evidence

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1 Forrai, Anastasius Bibliothecarius; Forrai, *Interpreter of the Popes*; Forrai, Greek at the Papal Court; Forrai, *The Sacred Nectar*; Perels, *Papst Nikolaus I. und Anastasius Bibliothecarius*; Neil, *Seventh-century Popes and Martyrs*; Arnaldi, *Come nacque la attribuzione ad Anastasio del »Liber Pontificalis«*; Arnaldi, Anastasio Bibliothecario, antipapa.

that has come down to us for the Roman elites of this period. Anastasius must have received an exceptional education for a young cleric of his time – in his work, which we mostly have transmitted from the 860s onwards, he shows himself as an adept Latinist, author, theologian, and diplomat. His unique characteristic was, however, his mastery of Greek.² Apart from Greek names running in his family, which was exceedingly common in families with definitely Latin-Roman origins from the seventh century on, there is nothing to suggest that his family may have been of Greek origin. Given the career of his uncle Arsenius, bishop of Orte, that even seems rather unlikely. What is more, in a legal process against Anastasius in 868, he was testified against by a kinsman of his, bearing the name Ado, which is certainly not a Greek name, and one could rather speculate about a Frankish connection there.³ His Greek was also far from flawless, as his translations show, suggesting that he used a learned language.⁴

Still, due to his thorough education in Greek, he was able to translate a whole corpus of very different texts from Greek into Latin and showed himself capable of discussing difficult theological matters in Greek, a rare ability in ninth-century Rome.⁵ The combination of all this education made him the closest anyone got to a bilingual person in the whole Latin West in his time.

That is not to say that the knowledge of Greek had declined as dramatically as some scholars still think today, despite Tom Noble's important contribution some four decades ago.⁶ Considering just the city of Rome, it can be shown that many Greek texts, especially saint's lives, were indeed produced well into the tenth century. However, these texts were written by a Greek community that does not seem to have been able to produce high-quality material in Latin⁷ – the same applies in reverse for the admittedly rather small group of erudites in the Latin language, most of whom were working for the Lateran administration. However, as we shall see below, Anastasius worked with a small team, and the members of this group were also able to translate from Greek texts.⁸ Thus, while he was not working alone, we can see our protagonist as the head of all these translation operations, which seems to have made him a man whose qualities the popes could not dispense with.

2 Arnaldi, Anastasio Bibliotecario, antipapa.

3 *Annales Bertiniani*, a. 868, trans. Nelson 148-150, ed. Grat, 144-150 (Ado at 149).

4 See, in great detail, Forrai, *Interpreter of the Popes* 95-114. Tabachovitz, *Sprachliches zur lateinischen Theophanes-übersetzung*, 16-22, is surely overly critical in his judgement, but already clearly shows flaws in Anastasius' Greek. On this particular translation, see also Mango and Scott, *Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 96-98. On Anastasius as a translator, see also Chiesa, *Scopi e destinatari delle traduzioni*, 121-124.

5 Forrai, *Interpreter of the Popes*.

6 Noble, *Declining knowledge of Greek*.

7 The classic study is Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome*, esp. 48-51 and 69-76.

8 Chiesa, *Scopi e destinatari delle traduzioni*, 121-124.

Cultural Output

Apart from his services as a political negotiator and broker, Anastasius was also a cultural broker, as his literary career proves: in the 860s and 70s he produced a remarkable output. He interpreted several important saint's lives while Nicholas I was still pope.⁹ After the translation of the acts of the Eighth Ecumenical Council, with which we will deal in more detail below, he also translated those of the seventh, the Second Council of Nicaea, which had been held in 787.¹⁰ He also produced an ample dossier on the seventh-century pope Martin I, who had convened the Lateran synod of 649 and was therefore famous for his steadfast defence of orthodoxy against monotheletism (the latter decreed by two consecutive emperors but considered a heresy by the papacy and many others).¹¹ In addition, he translated a set of three Byzantine chronicles into Latin and occasionally added comments. This *Chronographia tripartita* was then widely copied, but even more than that, it was integrated into Western historiography and transported an important set of knowledge from both the Greek and the Syrian east.¹² A sizeable part of his material he may have even obtained for himself and the Latin West at Constantinople. He made the material accessible to the Latin world and his translations are sometimes the only remaining version of a text.¹³ Through his translation work, Anastasius was as much a cultural broker as he was the power broker between at least three courts. All the same, we shall concentrate on his role as a politician and diplomat in due course.

Anastasius' Political Odyssey

Anastasius will probably have stood out even as a youngster due to his exceptional talents. In 847 or shortly thereafter, Anastasius was made priest of the church of S. Marcello. By 850, he had, however fled from the city, the reasons for which remain undisclosed in the sources we have at our disposal.¹⁴

A possible theory is that he did so in order to avoid being consecrated as bishop of a suburbicarian see by Pope Leo IV. This consecration would have reduced his chances of sitting on the papal throne later in his career to a minimum, as a switch (*translatio*) from one bishopric to another was considered uncanonical at the time, only dispensable by the pope himself, which made it problematic in this specific case. Therefore, Anastasius may have fled Rome to *avoid* elevation to a major order (so to speak). A statement from the pope himself seems to contradict this at first: in a summoning letter a few years later, Leo argued that Anastasius' ambition had been too high.¹⁵ At first glance this does speak against a quarrel over a promotion – but does it really? Whatever the true motivations may have been, he was swiftly excommunicated by Pope Leo.

9 Forrai, *Interpreter of the Popes*.

10 For details on Anastasius' translation and the discrepancies concerning the letter of Pope Hadrian I, see Lamberz, »Falsata Graecorum more«?

11 Neil, *Seventh-century Popes and Martyrs*. And see further work by Neil on various aspects of Anastasius' compendia and work as an author, compiler, and translator.

12 Mango and Scott, *Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, lxxiv-xcv.

13 See Forrai, Anastasius Bibliotecarius, 320, on the methodological difficulties. For an assessment of the working conditions, see Forrai, *Interpreter of the Popes*, 89-94. Note that she does not speculate as to where the manuscripts came from.

14 Arnaldi, Anastasio Bibliotecario, antipapa.

15 Arnaldi, Anastasio Bibliotecario, antipapa.

The anathema is transmitted in its full text in a manuscript, Vat. Lat. 1342 of the Vatican library.¹⁶ It contains the text of a letter addressing Anastasius directly, followed by a solemn pronouncement of the anathema in a nice rubric in capitals, as well as an illustrious list of subscribers, including many bishops of the Roman metropolitan area, but also Paul, the envoy of the archbishop of Ravenna John, and claims that Emperor Lothar signed the acts as well (named directly after the pope, still in the rubric). Thereafter 65 bishops and many other clerics are also listed as witnesses.¹⁷

The anathematization was a big deal in Rome; the decision was even advertised on the walls of St Peter's basilica. This seems to have been far from a standard procedure; the fact was even recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis*, the semi-official papal historiography.¹⁸ When the anathema was renewed at another Roman synod in 853, the sentence was again fixed to the walls of Old St. Peter's. The text has been preserved by Hincmar of Reims.¹⁹ We must assume that a very serious political rival was to be driven from Rome once and for all. Leo IV did everything to ensure that, if he were to return, he would never hold an office in the papal administration again. This does, however, show Anastasius' prior standing.

This also becomes clearer from the events of 855: Anastasius returned to Rome at the head of a small armed force, provided by Louis II, emperor and king of Italy. The LP tells us that

the deposed priest entered Rome as an enemy and with his wicked followers swiftly made his way to the Lateran patriarchate; and like a bloodstained tyrant he opened its doors with worldly force and many kinds of weapons, and so entering by this door he sat on the throne which his hands should not even have touched.²⁰

The Frankish *missi* succeeded at first in replacing the already elected Benedict III – who had *not* been confirmed by the emperor in his office and was therefore not a pope yet, despite the claims of the LP.²¹

Anastasius did not manage to hold on to the throne. The Romans threw the Franks and Anastasius out of the city and reinstated Benedict. This could and should likely have been the end of Anastasius' career in Rome. It was, however, probably his unique skills, which we have already described, that made him indispensable, so that he was restored to the Roman clergy under Benedict's successor Nicholas I (858-867), with the highest post he held being abbot of the important monastery at Santa Maria in Trastevere.²² He was promoted to the post of *bibliothecarius*, which meant head of archives as well as most scribal production, by the next pope, Hadrian II (867-872).²³ However, disaster struck again: he had to flee Rome

16 BAV Vat. Lat 1342. The manuscript contains canon law, mostly Roman synods. The 850 synod begins on fol. 203r, the anathema proper on fol. 211r-213r.

17 BAV Vat. Lat. 1342, fols. 212r and 212v.

18 LP Vita of Benedict III, c. 12, trans. Davis, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, 172.

19 *Annales Bertiniani*, a. 868, trans. Nelson 148-150, ed. Grat 144-147.

20 LP Benedict III, c. 13, trans. Davis, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, 172.

21 For the imperial point of view, see RI 3, ed. Zielinski and Böhmer, nn. 135, 136 and 140.

22 Arnaldi, Anastasio Bibliotecario, antipapa.

23 Perels, *Papst Nikolaus I. und Anastasius*, 231.

a few months into that pontificate after one of the greatest scandals in papal history, which I can sum up here only very briefly. Anastasius' cousin Eleutherius had tried to force a marriage with Pope Hadrian's daughter through abduction – not an uncommon strategy at the time, one has to concede. The coup failed, however, and Eleutherius killed the pope's daughter and wife – only to be slain in turn by imperial envoys, who had tried to negotiate with him. Arsenius, Eleutherius' father, bishop of Orte and imperial *apocrisiarius*, that is overseer, at the Lateran, had to flee Rome in a hurry. Anastasius, too, was suspected of having played a part in the conjuration – which is quite unlikely, given that he had been a political opponent of his uncle since 867 at the latest.²⁴ Still, after a few months holding his position in Rome, he too was banished by a harsh papal decree preserved by Hincmar of Reims in the *Annals of St Bertin*.²⁵ He went to join the court, or at least the entourage of Emperor Louis – who at the time was campaigning against the Saracens at various places in southern Italy.

The Mission to Constantinople – Prerequisites

We meet Anastasius again, travelling back from Constantinople at some point in late spring or summer 870, when he wrote a long letter to Hadrian II, designed to justify his own conduct and to function as a companion letter to the translation of the synodal acts of the same year.²⁶

We have seen that Anastasius' involvement had a backstory of its own, but we also need to take a brief look at the geopolitical situation since the 840s, because it needs to be clear why a Western imperial delegation was heading east at this point. Byzantium and the West had been in a climate of loose cooperation, but also of mutual distrust since the Franks had risen to more power during the eighth century. The two empires had been neighbours somewhere in Istria and in the Venetian lagoon since about 774. Charlemagne's imperial coronation in 800 had further complicated matters, as had several religious issues that were and largely remained unresolved. There had been armed conflict after that, mainly between Venice and the Italian Frankish kingdom, mostly in the time of King Pippin of Italy (d. 810), Charlemagne's son and, at the time, likely heir.²⁷ An accord had again been reached with the treaty of Aachen in 812, but distrust had remained, even though there had been political and military cooperation as well. In early 842, Emperor Theophilos (829-842) had reached out to the new and troubled emperor Lothar I (840-855) and had sought Frankish help against the Saracen threat – somewhere, as the letter is vague, but most likely in Italy. In due course, a marriage alliance was concluded between Lothar's son Louis and a daughter of Theophilos. None of this was ever carried out, as Theophilos died even before his delegation reached Lothar in Trier, but the agreement lingered on, with the Carolingians trying to obtain control over 'their' south and the Byzantines still expecting that marriage to be concluded at some point. This all dissolved in 853, when Louis abandoned the southern project for a while and found himself a Frankish woman, albeit first as a concubine. This led to reduced relations between

24 Anastasius, ep. 3, to Ado, ed. Laehr, 401. See Laehr, *Briefe und Prologe*, 421-425. On the unhappy events, see Grotz, *Erbe wider Willen*, 168-172.

25 *Annales Bertiniani*, a. 868, trans. Nelson, 148-150, ed. Grat, 148-150.

26 Anastasius, ep. 5, to Hadrian II, ed. Laehr, 403-415. For the edition of the whole translation by Anastasius, see Anastasius, *Gesta sanctae*, ed. Leonardi and Placanica.

27 See soon Gantner, *Silence of the popes*, as well as the whole *Spes Italiae* volume.

the Franks and the Byzantines until the late 860s.²⁸ In the meantime, however, the East-West axis was still tested several times. Many of these tests started during the Roman pontificate of Nicholas I (858-867). Nicholas was a young and energetic pope, who stood out not mainly for his ideology, which was simply very papal and Roman, but mostly for his strong-mindedness in thinking it through and standing by it. This brought him into conflict with most Western rulers, not least King Lothar II (855-869) and Emperor Louis II (855-875). His most exacerbated quarrels were, however, with the Byzantine court. Nicholas had, early in his tenure, supported the deposed patriarch Ignatios against his successor Photios, actually following legal protocol and, in fine papal tradition, simply assuming responsibility for the case. This had led to a harsh exchange of letters with the young Byzantine emperor Michael III (842-867), or rather his advisors.²⁹ The question of which church was ultimately responsible for leading the new Christian mission in the Bulgarian kingdom further complicated matters, as the Bulgarians had temporarily turned to Rome.³⁰ In 867, Michael and Photios convened a synod to have Nicholas officially deposed. Before this synod met, they also contacted (or tried to contact) Emperor Louis II, who was campaigning against the Saracens between Bari and Benevento. They clearly tried to enlist his help and get Nicholas arrested in the West. They knew that Louis had had trouble with the pope only recently – and they offered official recognition of Louis and his wife Angilberga as emperors at the synod. As far as we know, the Western imperial couple was even acclaimed at that synod in autumn 867, which does not necessarily mean that their help against the pope had been guaranteed.³¹ I would even suspect that Angilberga would have known about Nicholas' serious illness by summer 867 and tried to play to both sides, but nothing can be proven. We do not even have the acts of the synod in September 867, as the political tides in Constantinople shifted soon thereafter. Michael III was murdered by his hierarchically inferior colleague and successor Basil I (867-886), Photios was deposed and Ignatios reinstated. Before this news reached Rome or Louis, Nicholas was already dead (d. 13 November) to complete the full turn of events. New communication seems to have been initiated between the Frankish and the Byzantine empires fairly quickly, but, again, religio-political matters interfered as well, as full communion between Rome and Constantinople was also sought. This led to a synod to be held in Constantinople in autumn 869, which in the West is recognized as the Eighth Ecumenical Council. The East no longer fully recognizes it, on good grounds, as this council was indeed far from universal. Its last session even had to be postponed, mainly to assure a minimum quota of consent among the Eastern ecclesiastics.³² This happened around the same time as Louis II, who had been campaigning in southern Italy against the Saracens since 866, started negotiations with Basil about a marriage union between his daughter Ermengard and Basil's son. The Byzantines were, in return, expected to provide naval support for Italy and it was envisaged that in due course the Franks would, in turn, provide troops for the planned reconquest of Sicily.³³

28 Gantner, »Our Common Enemies Shall Be Annihilated!«; Gantner, Kaiser Ludwig II.

29 Noble, Pope Nicholas I and the Franks.

30 LP Nicholas, cc. 19 and 75-76, ed. Duchesne, vol. 2, 155 and 165.

31 RI 1,3,1, ed. Zielinski and Böhmer, no. 273. See Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, ed. Martin and Petit, vol. 16., col. 255 D and E, for the account by the Byzantine author Niketas-David.

32 Chrysos, Council of Constantinople.

33 This information can be gathered from Louis II, Letter to Basil, ed. Henze, 385-394. See Henze, Über den Brief Kaiser Ludwigs II.; Fanning, Imperial diplomacy.

Therefore, an imperial mission travelled to Constantinople in late autumn of that year and reached Constantinople early in 870.³⁴ And it is from this point on that a letter by Anastasius becomes our best source for what happened next.

Anastasius' Letter to Pope Hadrian II (870, ep. 5)

First, we need to discuss the transmission of the letter briefly, as it will also help in dealing with its contents. Anastasius' letter to Pope Hadrian II was inserted, in all probability by its author, as a dedicatory piece to go with the translations of the acts of the Eighth Council, which had recently been finished. This translation had been done by Anastasius himself and he may have felt that his probably originally older letter would fit in nicely. Interestingly, today we have the very manuscript of this translation in which Anastasius entered his own corrections to the text. It is important to note that the letter seems to have come down to us in a slightly re-worked version.³⁵ This manuscript is the *Vaticanus Latinus* 4965, today kept in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.³⁶ It was clearly produced by Anastasius' own trusted collaborators in a nicely executed Carolingian minuscule. It had a very interesting later history, as Rather, the famous bishop of Verona, entered his glosses in the tenth century. It is even possible, but not certain, that the manuscript had made its way to Bobbio a few years after its production in 870/71.³⁷

It is very likely that Anastasius indeed worked on this very manuscript with his own team, probably scribes from Rome – and possibly from his own workshop at the monastery of S Maria in Trastevere, where he had been abbot until falling from grace in 868.

The letter to Hadrian II contained in this important manuscript, as well as in many other copies of the translation of the acts of the eighth council, was, judging from its narrative, written while still on his way back, possibly shortly after his return to Italian shores. This seems only logical, considering that in Rome Anastasius could have reported to Hadrian directly. It is also quite clear why Anastasius would have chosen to write a long letter instead: he was still removed from his office as abbot and was *persona non grata* in Rome for his alleged part in the murder of the pope's daughter. He thus probably sent the original version of this letter ahead before going to Rome (rather briefly) himself. This we can safely assume, even though the author himself already mentions the translation of the acts – he could have meant that as a current project, or he could have edited that sentence into the text when he chose the letter as a preface to his translation.³⁸ Interestingly, Anastasius told the rest of the tale himself, in a gloss, to be found in the original manuscript Vat. Lat. 4965 itself,³⁹ in which he described

34 The embassy was therefore not a reaction to the alleged arrival of a Byzantine fleet before Bari in 869. This fleet in all probability only arrived as a *reaction* to Anastasius' mission later in 870. The timeline will be revisited below, at n. 52. See also Kislinger, *Erster und zweiter Sieger*.

35 Leonardi, *Anastasio bibliotecario e l'ottavo concilio ecumenico, 74-90 Palma, Antigrafo/Apografo*, esp. Tav. 11 and 12.

36 BAV Vat. Lat. 4965, s. IX ex.

37 Palma, *Antigrafo/Apografo*: the manuscript was indeed corrected together with the exemplar from Bobbio – which does not mean that this must have been done at that monastery. On the manuscript and its genesis, see Leonardi, *Anastasio bibliotecario, 90-104*. Schmid, *Roms karolingische Minuskel*. See also Chiesa, *Filologia e politica*.

38 Anastasius, ep. to Hadrian II no. 5, ed. Laehr, 403-415.

39 BAV Vat. Lat. 4965, fol. 22v. The account is a gloss spanning the full page. See an edition in: Leonardi, *Anastasio bibliotecario, 170-171*.

the rest of the journey. The Latin missions, both the papal and the imperial one, had gone to Dyrrhachium together. There, however, their ways parted. The papal envoys boarded a ship to Ancona, which was captured on the way by Slavic pirates, whereupon the original codex with the council acts was lost. Anastasius' party made it to Siponto safely and went to Benevento. It was only from there that some went on to Rome, bringing the copy of the acts with them.⁴⁰ Anastasius cannot have stayed in Rome for long, as he was back in Benevento with Louis II early in 871.⁴¹ It is therefore far from certain whether Anastasius really produced the translation of the acts *in* Rome, or whether he already *brought* it to Rome⁴² – he could have worked with his Roman team at a number of places, for example Montecassino or Benevento proper. Indeed, we have no document attributed to him from Rome until summer 871.⁴³

The letter was re-worked into a very fitting preface: Anastasius first and foremost sums up his mission to Constantinople, but actually, he does far more than that: he gives an ample summary of all papal policy of the past and present pontificate, as far as it related to the East. Accordingly, he starts the letter with a long list of charges against the former patriarch of Constantinople, Photios, whose deposition had recently been sanctioned at the council.⁴⁴

Only after this longish »recap« does he explain the nature of his own personal mission as follows:

So when this venerable synod was being held, it happened that I your servant was present, sent by the pious emperor Louis with two other notable men, and carrying out an embassy ... arranging the marriage which both sides were hoping and preparing for, between the emperor Basil's son and the daughter of the said God-worshipping Augustus (Louis II). For in such a godly business, one which was believed without doubt to relate to the unity of both empires, indeed to the freedom of all Christ's church, your assent as supreme pontiff was particularly sought.

So by God's will it happened that I too rejoiced at the conclusion of so great an affair (the council) with the apostolic see's representatives, and that I, coming home with shouts of joy, could bring my sheaves with me (Ps. 125 (126),6). For some seven years, I had worked tirelessly on it, and by writing, I had broadcast the seeds of words throughout the world. It was in obedience to the supreme pontiffs, your predecessor

40 BAV Vat. Lat. 4965, fol. 22v. Leonardi, Anastasio bibliotecario, 171.

41 As is proven by the famous letter to Basil I, drafted by him in the name of Emperor Louis II, see Louis II, *Letter to Basil*, ed. Henze.

42 Contrary to Palma, Antigrafo/Apografo 324, it is not logical to assume that Anastasius would have waited for the papal envoys to arrive with the official copy to start producing his translation in the course of the year 870.

43 Arnaldi, Anastasio Bibliotecario, antipapa, accordingly dates his return to office to summer 871. Accessed on 7 April 2021: www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antipapa-anastasio-bibliotecario_%28Enciclopedia-dei-Papi%29/.

44 Anastasius, ep. to Hadrian II no. 5, ed. Laehr, 403-410, starting with the early tenure of Emperor Michael III and ending with the events of 870.

(Nicholas) and yourself, that I expounded almost everything that relates to the present affair and that has been issued by the apostolic see in Latin, whether contained in the codex of this synod or in other volumes. After I chanced to be at Constantinople for the reason I have mentioned, I provided many comforts for these representatives of yours, as they too bear witness.⁴⁵

Anastasius, despite calling himself the pope's servant repeatedly, had actually been in the imperial city to negotiate a marriage alliance between his employer at the time, the Western emperor Louis II, and the Eastern emperor Basil I through Louis' only surviving daughter, Ermengard. The mission to Constantinople was led by Angilberga's relative Suppo, soon to be dux of Spoleto, and his *seneschal* count Everard.⁴⁶ While we know very little about the latter, Suppo was clearly very close to the empress and was surely chosen as an older relative of Ermengard, and not for his intimate knowledge of Eastern politics or his diplomatic skills – these requirements were instead to be filled by the experienced Anastasius.

The imperial embassy arrived in February 870, just in time to enable them to take part at the last session of the council held there, as we will discuss later. Their mission was of the highest possible relevance for the Carolingian emperor, and it is no coincidence that Anastasius had been asked to be one of the leaders of it. Apart from his skills in Greek and his diplomatic experience, he had also been Ermengard's teacher and thus will have had a personal interest in the wellbeing of his pupil.⁴⁷ Sadly, we have no more information than this about the negotiations in February 870.

45 Anastasius, ep. to Hadrian II, ed. Laehr, 410, trans. Davis, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, 280, n. 104. *Igitur cum haec celebraretur venerabilis synodus, accidit me famulum vestrum missum a Hlndowico piissimo imperatore cum duobus aliis viris insignibus interesse ferentem etiam legationem ab apostolicis meritis decorato praesulatu vestro, causa nuptialis commercii, quod efficiendum ex filio imperatoris Basilii et genita praefati Dei cultoris augusti ab utraque parte sperabatur simul et parabatur. In tam enim pio negotio et quod ad utriusque imperii unitatem, immo totius Christi ecclesiae libertatem pertinere procul dubio credebatur, praecipue summi pontificii vestri quaerebatur assensus. Dei ergo nutu actum est, ut tanti negotii cum loci servatoribus apostolicae sedis et ipse fine gauderem et veniens fructuum in exultatione portarem manipulos, qui per septennium ferme pro eo indefesse laboraveram et per totum orbem verborum semina sedule scribendo dispereram. Nam pene omnia, quae ad praesens negotium pertinent quaeque a sede apostolica Latino sermone prolata sunt sive quae in huius synodi codice sive quae in aliis voluminibus continentur, ego summis pontificibus obsecundans, decessori scilicet vestro ac vobis, exposui et postmodum Constanti-nopoli pro praedicta causa reppertus non pauca in his vestris loci servatoribus, ut ipsi quoque testantur, solatia praestiti.*

46 RI 1,3,1, ed. Zielinski and Böhmer, no. 301; accessed on 16 November 2020: www.regesta-imperii.de/id/0870-02-00_1_0_1_3_1_4518_301. On Everard, see Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, no. 67, 180f: he was probably later a supporter of the Guidonian emperors Guy I (III) and Lambert. For Suppo III, see Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, no. 153, 171-173. And see Bougard, *Les Supponides*.

47 RI 1,3,1, ed. Zielinski and Böhmer, n. 290; accessed on 16 November 2020: www.regesta-imperii.de/id/0869-00-00_1_0_1_3_1_4507_290; Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* 3, 27, ed. Heller and Waitz, 550.

Consequently, modern research often concluded that negotiations must have failed,⁴⁸ but Anastasius' letter does not support this interpretation. It is far more plausible for the text above that in the course of 870, Anastasius still believed that the marriage alliance was to be concluded soon: »causa nuptialis commercii, quod efficiendum ex filio imperatoris Basilii et genita praefati Dei cultoris augusti ab utraque parte sperabatur simul et parabatur«, he says – the marriage is hoped for by both parties and prepared by both!⁴⁹ From the Carolingian point of view, it was probably to be concluded with the next mission, which was indeed sent in spring 871.⁵⁰ By then, however, the political tides had shifted: first, even though the chronology remains unresolved, it is very likely that a Byzantine fleet arrived before Bari in late summer 870.⁵¹ Its commander, Niketas Ooryphas,⁵² seems to have been under the impression that he would already take Ermengard to Constantinople. The misunderstanding culminated in a diplomatic éclat, information about which we can find in yet another letter penned by Anastasius, though this time in the name of Emperor Louis himself. This is the famous letter written to Basil I, preserved in the anonymous Chronicle of Salerno. Therein we learn that both Basil and his envoys to the West had refused to acknowledge Louis' imperial rank at a later point.⁵³ This cannot have happened during Anastasius' Eastern mission, otherwise we would surely have heard of it in the earlier letter.⁵⁴ We also learn that the political alliance had not brought the desired results for both sides: Louis had taken Bari in February 871, but the naval support from the Byzantines had been minimal – in fact, he had had to resort to Slavic allies to block reinforcements for Bari. As a result of these events, the marriage alliance was called off by the Carolingian side.⁵⁵

In 870, however, this was, of course, not known, and, as we learn from the letter to Hadrian, not even expected. Though Anastasius does not tell Pope Hadrian much about this part of his mission, we can discover a lot when we take a close look at the passage. The most important factor for the geopolitical importance of the message is Anastasius' notion that the marriage negotiations could be seen as »related to the unity of both empires« – *ad utriusque imperii unitatem*.⁵⁶ He used this peculiar expression, even though he must have been aware that this aspect would be a little worrying for the papacy. Since the 730s at the latest, the popes did not desire any direct influence of the Eastern emperors in the West, let alone in Rome itself. In fact, they did everything in their power to stay on agreeable terms – but

48 For example, RI 1,3,1, ed. Zielinski and Böhmer, no. 301.

49 Anastasius, ep. to Hadrian II, ed. Laehr, 410.

50 RI 1,3,1, ed. Zielinski and Böhmer, no. 326.

51 See Kislinger, *Erster und zweiter Sieger*; and see below, n.52.

52 Niketas Ooryphas #25696, in: *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, accessed on 18 May 2020: db-degruyter-com.uaccess.univie.ac.at/view/PMBZ/PMBZ27850.

53 Louis II, Letter to Basil, ed. Henze and Westerbergh, *Chronicon Salernitanum*, 107-21.

54 Despite that very clear argument from a letter that can be dated with high certainty, the historians upholding the traditional chronology that has the fallout with the East start already in 869 are more numerous. For a summary and support of the traditional timeline, see Kolditz, *Gesandtschaften, Briefe und Konzilien*. But see Kislinger, *Erster und zweiter Sieger*, for a compelling refutation of that timeline. In my forthcoming monograph on Louis II and his time, I shall address this question in more detail.

55 Louis II, Letter to Basil, ed. Henze.

56 Anastasius, ep. to Hadrian II, ed. Laehr, 410.

nevertheless to keep Constantinople as far away as possible.⁵⁷ It is therefore unlikely that anyone in the papacy would have relished the thought that a son of the new, upstart emperor Basil might one day be able to reign in Italy. We cannot say today why Anastasius even thought that this may be good news – but obviously it was to him and he expected Hadrian to feel the same way. It seems that no one in the West even considered Basil's son ruling Italy after Louis II's death a real possibility, and maybe it would have been regarded far-fetched by 870. Later in her life, we meet Ermengard again as a very strong woman⁵⁸ who wielded a lot of power – and it is not impossible that Anastasius, as her teacher for a short time, had already recognized that strength in her. Maybe it was this confidence in the princess and the Carolingians in general that led Anastasius to believe in his core mission, but ultimately, we will never be able to tell.

What we do know, however, is that compared to the rest of the letter, the imperial mission seems, in Anastasius' eyes, to be the successful part. This means a lot given that the council of 869/70 was in many respects a triumph for the Western churches.⁵⁹

In the letter at least, Anastasius had other concerns, as we can already see in the longer cited section: in Anastasius' opinion the breaking points in early 870 lay mainly in the ecclesiastic field. It is thus not conspicuous that Anastasius mentions no other imperial personnel. Indeed, not even Basil's son or Ermengard are mentioned by name (which has the consequence that we do not know which of Basil's sons was meant to be married). Both names will have been known to the addressee, of course, but it underscores the character of Anastasius that he only mentions this in passing. The letter was meant to document the problems Anastasius must have seen as most pressing in great detail: the schism Photios had brought about, the Bulgarian question and the question of the acts of the synod. Anastasius verbosely described how he had been excluded from the negotiations on Bulgaria in particular and how his presence would have enhanced the papal position.⁶⁰ For the acts of the synod, the

57 Noble, *Republic of St. Peter*; Gantner, *Freunde Roms und Völker der Finsternis*, esp. 60-138; Gantner, Label 'Greeks'; Gantner, *Romana urbs*; Gantner, *Eighth-century papacy*; Dell'Acqua and Gantner, *Resenting Byzantine Iconoclasm*.

58 Bougard, *Ermengarda, regina di Provenza*: Ermengard married Boso of Provence shortly after her father's death and was key in his establishment of a separate kingdom in southern Francia. She was also the mother of Emperor Louis III (the Blind),

59 Chrysos, *Council of Constantinople*.

60 Anastasius, ep. to Hadrian II, ed. Laehr, 411-414.

letter mainly explains how its author had been essential in the preservation of the acts' text for the papacy – while the pope's own embassy lost the original copy of the acts meant to be brought to the Lateran. For this, Emperor Basil is blamed at least implicitly, as he had failed to provide for a secure journey for the papal delegation. Still, it becomes equally clear that Anastasius and the imperial embassy had taken better precautions than the pope's men – and had been right to do so.⁶¹

Anastasius, Power Broker Par Excellence?

The letter from 870 is very much dedicated to Anastasius' self-promotion, urgently needed to regain fully the favour of Pope Hadrian. He negotiates with the Byzantine emperor for the Carolingian emperor. Besides this, he also grasped the opportunity to represent the papacy vis-à-vis the Eastern ecclesiastical elites – certainly no easy task. Anastasius did this, even though he had not received an official mandate from the pope. He calls himself the pope's servant in the letter, but really he was at the council by chance. What is more, he underlines his usefulness and thereby justifies his unsanctioned actions. He even informs Hadrian and the world about his personal motivations for doing so, explaining that already under Pope Nicholas he had considered the fight against the former patriarch Photios as his personal project. Anastasius was an erudite diplomat and ecclesiastic, essentially writing an application to be taken back into papal service. He did this while working for Emperor Louis, whose daughter he seems to have instructed as her teacher during these years. We thus see Anastasius as a diplomat, even as a power broker between East and West.⁶² He was one of the most important authors of letters sent by the popes Nicholas I (858-867), Hadrian II (867-872) and John VIII (872-882), being at times nearly solely responsible for the formulation of the Eastern policy.⁶³ The same seems to apply for Louis II's correspondence with the Byzantine Empire, as far as we can tell from the very scant evidence.

And even though he personally certainly caused discord between the imperial court and the Lateran at some points during his long career, he also worked as a power broker between those institutions he knew so well – incidentally showing us that a power broker does not need to be functional or even successful all the time.⁶⁴ That he may even have been of service

61 Anastasius, ep. to Hadrian II, ed. Laehr, 410: *Nam pene omnia, quae ad praesens negotium pertinent quaeque a sede apostolica Latino sermone prolata sunt sive quae in huius synodi codice sive quae in aliis voluminibus continentur, ego summis pontificibus obsecundans, decessori scilicet vestro ac vobis, exposui et postmodum Constantinopoli pro praedicta causa repperitus non pauca in his vestris loci servatoribus, ut ipsi quoque testantur, solatia praestiti. Qui etiam diversos hominum eventus considerans gesta huius synodi, quae apostolicae sedis loci servatores in uno volumine secum portaturi conscripserant, in altro codice transcripta Romam aequae deferre proposui. Unde factum est, ut eisdem loci servatoribus praedones incidentibus et codicem ipsum cum omnibus suppellectilibus suis amittentibus ego codicem, quem detuleram, Romam vexisse dinoscerer, quem sanctitas vestra grato suscipiens animo mihi ad transferendum in Latinam tradidit dictionem. Ad quod opus ego idoneum esse me denegavi, licet in interpretandis ex Achivo in Romanum sermonem scripturis praesenti tempore quoddam conamen arripere nitar et nonnulla iam ad aedificationem plurimorum et praecipue vestri decessoris hortatu interpretatus edidisse dinoscar.*

62 For the theoretical approach used, see Gantner, Eighth-century papacy, esp. 245-247; Hinderaker, Translation and cultural brokerage.

63 See Perels, *Papst Nikolaus I. und Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, 242-316.

64 See Hinderaker, Translation and cultural brokerage, 358. Going beyond Hinderaker's definition of cultural brokerage, however, Anastasius' deeds possibly did supersede his original standing and Roman origins.

for Louis in this respect is suggested by the fact that after his return to papal service in 870 or 871, Hadrian II unflinchingly supported Louis II's cause⁶⁵ once Louis was released after having been imprisoned in southern Italy in late summer 871 for 40 days⁶⁶ – though I have to admit, that Anastasius' influence cannot be proven, due to our relative lack of sources for these years.

Conclusion

In this article, we have but rushed through Anastasius' life and acquired only glimpses of what he accomplished. He was a complex figure, maybe even a polymath. Mostly, we have met him at one of the last points of intersection he faced during his career. In the few years between 868 and 872, he was deprived of office and status, but remained a sought-after teacher. He was then sent on his most important diplomatic mission, but, as it turned out, also the most important cultural mission of his lifetime by the emperor, only to return into papal service thereafter. During these vicissitudes, all his actions stayed firmly connected to his role as a broker between East and West, between the past and the present through his cultural work and between the lay world and the ecclesiastical sphere.

We have no reason to doubt his personal claim that he had indeed been the most important author (*dictator*) of the papal letters dealing with Eastern affairs – after all, why should he have overstated his contribution when writing to Hadrian II, who had himself been part of the papal administration and would have known the truth anyway? Given this evidence, he was ultimately among the more successful papal diplomats of the early Middle Ages. No wonder then, that he was also employed in that profession during his exile by the imperial court. It was a lucky coincidence that he even managed to serve his interim as well as his long-time lord during his mission to Constantinople in 870. As we have seen, the official leaders of the mission were (or in one case at least seem to have been) close to the empress, the emperor or the princess, but they were in all probability not equipped to lead negotiations with the Constantinopolitan court or even Emperor Basil himself. For this, they will have needed Anastasius with them. And Anastasius, who will thus have been heavily involved in the marriage question, told the pope that this part of the mission had gone well. He was euphoric enough even to invoke an idea of a unity of the Eastern and Western empires under the couple to be – possibly he knew Ermengard well enough to appreciate that she would not simply be dominated by any husband. In the much more famous letter from 871 Anastasius wrote in the name of Louis II and we can sense his frustration with the course that events had taken as much as his employer's. The »Greeks« had already insulted him and the papal delegation in 870, and now they had insulted the imperial side as well. Ultimately, therefore, the librarian and diplomat will have come to see this part of his career as a failure, but quite probably not as his personal defeat. His comment only a few years later in his translation of the acts of the Second Council of Nicea, that parts had been »falsified, as is the custom of the Greeks« shows that he still held a personal grudge.⁶⁷ His efforts were partly in vain. Constantinople sacrificed an alliance with the Western empire for short term gains in southern Italy

65 Grotz, *Erbe wider Willen*, 300-303.

66 Granier, *La captivité*.

67 See Lamberz, »Falsata Graecorum more«?. Indeed, the Greeks acts of the 787 council seem to have left out a big part of a letter by Pope Hadrian I on purpose.

and in the Balkans – and thereby achieved territorial gains and renewed political influence mostly by luck, while it had to accept the loss of Syracuse in 878 and Sicily a little later as a very high price for it. Louis II, together with Anastasius, had sacrificed the same alliance as well, mostly due to hierarchical questions, losing the south for the north Italian kingdom for good. And the papacy, while it gained a better standing in the church temporarily, lost Bulgaria to the Eastern church and had to accept another tenure of the hated Patriarch Photios only a few years later.

Anastasius still (probably) witnessed many or all of these developments before his death and none of them were ultimately his fault – and in none of the developments will he have been blameless. Still, for him personally, things turned out well. He was taken back into papal service in late spring or summer 871. In this year he was on a mission for Hadrian to Naples before August.⁶⁸ For Pope John VIII, who ascended to the papal throne in 872, he served as *bibliothecarius* again. He is even mentioned as head of the chancellery in many of his letters and privileges by then. Anastasius died in 878 or 879 as a quite old man in Rome and will, in all probability, have considered this last stretch of his career as its high point.⁶⁹ We have seen him, instead, in the last of several turbulent stages, when he rose to his highest »international« or super-regional importance all the same. Over a period of about three years he worked at no less than three of the most important courts of his time: in Rome, at the mobile, impromptu Carolingian court of the late 860s and in Constantinople. He acted as a broker between all of them – during his stay at the Byzantine capital even simultaneously – and through his longish letter, he provided us with a first-hand account of one of the most fascinating diplomatic missions of the ninth century.

68 J³, no. 6284, ed. Werner *et al.*, 162-163. The last time Anastasius is attested in Rome before this is 12th October 868, at his trial in front of Hadrian II: see J³, no. 6190, ed. Werner *et al.*, 147.

69 Arnaldi, Anastasio Bibliotecario, antipapa.

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Abbreviations

- BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
 LP = Liber Pontificalis
 MGH EE = Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae
 MGH SS = Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum
 RI = Regesta Imperii
 J³ = Regesta Pontificum Romanorum vol. 3

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- BAV *Vat. Lat. 4965* = Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus Latinus 4965.
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Holiness on the Move: Relic Translations and the Affirmation of Authority on the Italian Edge of the Carolingian World

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Between the eighth and ninth centuries many kings, dukes and counts in Carolingian Europe promoted the collection of relics in cathedrals and/or urban foundations both to centralize their power and to increase their prestige. Their ventures were part of a wider framework in which the mobility of the saints' bodies, which was strictly defined by the Carolingian authorities, put various political and social agents in a relationship, often competitive, with each other. This paper considers two cases of the translation of saints' bodies at the peripheries of the Carolingian Empire: the *furta sacra* of St Mark (from Alexandria, Egypt to Venice, 828) and St Bartholomew (from the island of Lipari to Benevento, 838-839). Both the hagiographical traditions narrate the theft and transport of the relics from the Islamic world to the Italian peninsula by boat. These two cases are also both related to a conscious and ambitious plan to strengthen local public authorities. The paper examines the underlying political strategies that led to the mobility of two of the most important relics in the Mediterranean context and the circulation of cultural models from the Carolingian worlds, which relocated the saints' bodies in order to redefine the political balance.

Keywords: translations of relics; public authorities; peripheries of the Carolingian Empire; Benevento; Venice

Introduction

In the ninth century, the mobility of saints' relics and the involvement of public authorities in the process of translation already had a long history. Since the mid-fourth century emperors had begun moving the relics of the apostles to Constantinople in order to shape it as a Christian capital.¹ This pattern continued in various post-Roman communities, for example the politically driven relic translations that took place in the Lombard kingdom. In 725 King Liutprand moved St Augustine's body from Sardinia to his capital in Pavia and buried it in one of the most important churches of the capital city, San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro; later he endowed a monastic foundation there.² During this period, the translation of St Augustine's relics was conceived as an important operation in terms of

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1 Cronnier, *Les inventions*, 333-354.

2 *Historia Langobardorum*, 6. 48, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, 181.

its role in both sustaining and consolidating the king's public authority.³ The news of the translation spread as far as the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, where Bede reported it in his *De temporum ratione*.⁴ As highlighted by Edoardo Manarini in this issue, relics and their installations in new locations were key assets in the affirmation of the great monasteries established in the eighth century by kings and aristocratic groups in the Lombard kingdom.⁵

Later in the eighth century, Charlemagne began regulating all matters concerning the cult of saints and their remains within his realm.⁶ Only those figures belonging to a distant past and renowned for their *auctoritas passionum* or *vitae meritis* were admitted.⁷ As a result, there was a significant increase in the production of hagiographical texts that served as the main means to prove a relic's antiquity. New texts were drafted and old ones rewritten.⁸

The relocation of relics was also regulated. The Council of Mainz (813) established that translations could only take place with the consent of the ruler and/or an assembly of bishops.⁹ A new genre of hagiography, *translationes*, developed in order to prove that relics had been moved according to Carolingian rules.

At the same time, accounts of illegal relocations, which openly broke the laws (both human and divine), also appeared. Einhard's *Translatio Marcellini et Petri*, written in 830-831, had a key role in the development of what Patrick Geary famously described as *furta sacra*.¹⁰ In Einhard's text, the choice to move relics was attributed to God and the saints themselves, whose authority was clearly higher than that of any worldly ruler. So, in Carolingian times both the practices and the narratives of the translation of relics were reshaped.

These choices and events appear to have also affected areas on the peripheries of the Carolingian world. In around the same years as Einhard's *Translatio* was written, possession of the evangelist Mark's body was claimed by the dukes of Venice, and in Benevento the *Translatio sanctorum Ianuarii, Festi et Desiderii* was written in the form of a *furtum sacrum* narrative. In both places all the aforementioned traditions – late Roman/Byzantine, Lombard, Frankish/Carolingian – helped remodel society and politics. Although the role of the Roman/Byzantine and Lombard traditions has long been acknowledged and highlighted by scholars, only recently has the exchange of practices and textual models between the Carolingian world and these regions been investigated in depth.

This paper compares how and evaluates why relics were translated in these contexts. By analysing how the elites and public authorities in Venice and Benevento exploited saints and relics to support their strategies, strengthen their social and political positions, and build their own legitimacy, the extent to which they were influenced by Carolingian rules becomes visible, illustrating the level to which these activities on the peripheries of the Carolingian world followed Carolingian patterns.

3 Di Muro, *Usò politico delle reliquie*.

4 *De temporum ratione*, 66, ed. Mommsen and Jones, 535.

5 Manarini, *Translation of St Sylvester*.

6 Riché, *Carolingiens*; Fouracre, *Origins*; Smith, *Old saints, new cults*.

7 *Capitulare Francofurtense*, 42, ed. Werminghoff, 170.

8 Gouillet, *Écriture et réécriture*, 33-40; Gibson, *Carolingian world*.

9 *Concilium Moguntinense*, 51, ed. Werminghoff, 272.

10 Geary, *Furta Sacra*.

Public Authority and Regional Competition: St Bartholomew and the Beneventan furta sacra

According to hagiographic tradition, the translation of St Bartholomew from the island of Lipari took place in 838 at the instigation of Prince Sicard of Benevento (832-839) and thanks to some *navigatores*, probably the Amalfitans, who, unlike the Lombards, had a large fleet at their disposal. The relics were transported by ship to Salerno and in 839 they arrived in Benevento, where Sicard had a church built next to the cathedral in their honour, which, after the death of the prince, was completed by Ursus, the bishop of Benevento.¹¹

Sicard's interest in St Bartholomew was aroused by the Islamic campaigns for the conquest of Sicily, which began in 827 with the landing in Mazara del Vallo and ended over a century later.¹² Located just north of the island, the Aeolian archipelago had been sacked by the Aghlabids on at least two occasions and was in danger of being conquered by them.¹³ The removal of the relics of St Bartholomew could therefore easily be justified as an attempt to save the disciple's precious body, a motivation that was in fact duly adopted by the hagiographic tradition.¹⁴ An initial account of the facts was probably written in Benevento after 839, but this first draft only exists now in the form of subsequent redrafts that were not written in Benevento itself.¹⁵ This also explains why the roles of Sicard and Bishop Ursus only emerge in a later narrative, the one written by a Beneventan monk, Martinus, in the mid-eleventh century.¹⁶

Hagiographic texts are, however, only one part of a larger whole that must be taken into consideration in order to understand the arrival of the body of St Bartholomew in Benevento. This translation must, in fact, be considered within the framework of the political designs of the Siconid dynasty, whose ambitions were not only focused on the Lombard territories, but on all of southern Italy.

After a conspiracy against Grimoald IV (806-817), Sico (817-832), the father of Sicard, assumed the title of prince thanks to the support of some members of the Beneventan elite. Both the chronicles and his funerary epitaph highlight his foreign origin and note that, unlike his predecessors, he was not part of the dynasty of the founder of the principality, Arechis (758-787).¹⁷ Lacking a vast family heritage and strong parental ties, it is likely that those who supported his seizure of power saw in him a leader who would be easy to influence. In reality, Sico proved to be highly skilled both in affirming his own political authority and in his relationship with the aristocracy, to which he tied himself through a shrewd marriage policy that saw his daughters as protagonists.¹⁸

11 *Translatio*, ed. Westerbergh, 10-12; *Translatio S. Bartholomaei*, ed. Borgia, 340-342.

12 Nef, *Reinterpreting the Aghlabids*.

13 Amari, *Storia dei musulmani*, 237-438; Kislinger, *Storia di Lipari*, 13-17.

14 *Translatio S. Bartholomaei*, ed. Borgia, 336-339.

15 Westerbergh, *Anastasius*, 49-52; Anderson, *Historical Memory*, 231-233.

16 *Translatio S. Bartholomaei*, ed. Borgia; Vuolo, *Agiografia beneventana*, 224-225.

17 *Chronicon Salernitanum*, 42, ed. Westerbergh, 42-43; *Carmina varia*, 2, ed. Dümmler, 649-651; *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 51, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, 428.

18 *Chronicon Salernitanum*, 55, ed. Westerbergh, 55; Thomas, *Jeux lombards*, 115-117; Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, 161-163.

The war against the Neapolitans helped consolidate the internal consensus around this prince. It diverted the heated internal competition of the first half of the ninth century towards the most traditional of external enemies, Naples, with which the Lombards had long fought over the fertile plain of Liburia.¹⁹

In 831 the Lombards besieged Naples, inflicting a crippling loss on Duke Stefano III (821-832), and leading to the imposition of an annual tribute on the Neapolitans. The local commercial market, which was the most important in the region, was also forced to use the Benevento currency.²⁰ This was an opportunity to expand the economy of the Lombard hinterland, so much so as to suggest that commercial objectives were the foremost motivators of the military campaigns of the Siconids.²¹ This attempt, however, proved unrealistic, not only because it was short-lived, but also because the Beneventan coins contained a very modest quantity of gold compared to that of the Byzantine coins which circulated amongst traders in the Tyrrhenian region.²²

These aggressive measures were also accompanied by the theft of the prestigious relics of St Januarius, which were brought by Sico to Benevento with great ceremony and entrusted to the custody of St Mary's cathedral.²³

The *Translatio sanctorum Ianuarii, Festi et Desiderii* was written in Benevento shortly afterwards, and unsurprisingly does not explicitly indicate the theft of relics. The author pays little attention to the context of the war against the Neapolitans and justifies the translation of relics with one of the *topoi* of the hagiographic genre, that is the will of the saint to be found and be moved, in this case to return to his original episcopal see.²⁴ According to tradition, in fact, Januarius was bishop of Benevento and he was martyred in Pozzuoli during the persecutions of Diocletian together with his companions, including Festus and Desiderius. As pointed out by Thomas Granier, both the narrative strategy of the hagiographic text and, above all, the silence of the chronicler Erchempert, a monk at the abbey of Monte Cassino who wrote his *Ystoriola* at the end of the ninth century, lead to the hypothesis that this theft struggled to find full acceptance amongst the Lombards. On the other hand, Neapolitan sources do not mention it because the abduction of the patron saint constituted a profound humiliation for the Tyrrhenian city, where the cult of Januarius continued almost undisturbed.²⁵

It is precisely in this sense that Sico's decision to steal the relics and take them to Benevento must be interpreted as real spoils of war.²⁶ However, this was not only a success on a military and religious level, but also in terms of the internal political balance.

19 Martin, *Guerre*, 102-114.

20 *Chronicon Salernitanum*, 57, ed. Westerbergh, 57-58.

21 Di Muro, *Economia e mercato*, 87-89; Wickham, *Considerazioni conclusive*, 750.

22 Oddy, *Analysis*, 84-86; Arslan, *Monetazione*, 89-90.

23 *Carmina varia*, 2, ed. Dümmler, 650-651; *Chronicon Salernitanum*, 57, ed. Westerbergh, 58; *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, 1.20, ed. Hoffmann, 66.

24 *Translatio sanctorum Ianuarii, Festi et Desiderii*, 888; Vuolo, *Agiografia beneventana*, 222-223; Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 108-118.

25 Granier, *Miracle accompli*; Granier, *Lieux de mémoire*, 63-102.

26 Granier, *Conflitti*, 36-39; Galdi, »Quam si urbem«, 226-228.

Before the ninth century, St Mary's Cathedral had never been at the heart of elite Lombard patronage. It did not hold an important position either in terms of its own identity or in the context of urban devotions, which instead were concentrated in the numerous private churches and monasteries founded by the Lombard dukes and members of the Benevento elite.²⁷

The translation of St Januarius enhanced the religious geography of the capital, endowing the episcopal see with an unprecedented importance and an increased level of visible representation of princely political authority. By entrusting these prestigious relics to the cathedral, Sico created a new urban devotional centre that competed with the illustrious St Sophia in Benevento. This female monastery was built by Arechis and modelled on St Salvatore in Brescia, which had been founded by the Lombard king Desiderius and his wife Ansa before 757.²⁸ Its prestige was inextricably linked to the birth of the southern principality of Benevento, which took place in 774 following the Carolingian conquest of the Lombard kingdom, from which the south of Italy was excluded.²⁹ The church of St Sophia was also home to numerous relics, including those of St Mercury and the Twelve Brothers, whose bodies were moved to Benevento from some nearby towns.³⁰ The complex founded by Arechis was therefore not limited to being the fulcrum of the prestige of the first prince, but also became the main centre of urban devotion.

When Sico came to power in 812, St Sophia was undoubtedly the richest and most important ecclesiastical institution in Benevento. It is therefore not strange that the new prince turned to another institution, the episcopate, to consolidate his prestige in the urban environment. From the first half of the ninth century, St Mary's Cathedral was recognized, alongside the palace and the princely court, as a place of representation of public authority and became the building – both religious and public – in which the Lombard princes exalted their link with the capital. Upon his death in 832, Sico chose to be buried in the cathedral's *paradisus*, as did the princes of the Radelchid dynasty. On the other hand, the tombs of Arechis and his descendants were located in the cathedral of Salerno, a city to which Arechis was particularly attached.³¹

During 833 Sicard resumed the conflict against Naples, which, in the meantime, had rebelled on several occasions against the previous agreement. In 836 he signed a new treaty with the city: the *pactum Sicardi*.³² However, this did not lead to a definitive pacification, so much so that the Neapolitans constant about-turns resulted in Sicard reformulating his project of expansion towards the Tyrrhenian coast. In order to bypass the commercial control of Naples, he tried to strengthen the economic role of Salerno by deporting Amalfitans to this city.³³ Previously they had been invited to settle in Lombard territory enticed by generous

27 Fonseca, *Particolarismo e organizzazione ecclesiastica*; Rotili, *Spazi monastici*; Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, 56-67; La Rocca, *Élites, chiese e sepolture*; Wood, *Proprietary Church*, 166-175.

28 Belting, *Studien zum Beneventanischen Hof*; Delogu, *Mito di una città*, 13-35.

29 Loré, *Monasteri, re e duchi*, 958-965; Zornetta, *Monastero femminile*.

30 Vuolo, *Agiografia beneventana*, 208-211; Galdi, *Identità e pluralità*, 99-101; Wood, *Giovardi*; Di Muro, *Uso politico delle reliquie*.

31 *Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. Westerbergh, 24-26, 31-32; Delogu, *Mito di una città*, 38-69; Peduto, *Arechi II a Salerno*; Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, 102-111.

32 *Chronicon Salernitanum*, 72-73, ed. Westerbergh, 70-72; *Pactum Sicardi*, ed. Martin; West, *Communities and pacta*, 384-389.

33 *Chronicon Salernitanum*, 74, ed. Westerbergh, 72-73. Di Muro, *Economia e mercato*, 82-86.

donations, but only a small group accepted the proposal.³⁴ Sicard then decided to act otherwise, and in 838 he sacked Amalfi and deported its inhabitants. On this occasion, the relics of St Trofimenia, martyr of Minori, were also stolen, and they were once again entrusted to the cathedral of Benevento.³⁵

The hagiographic work that traces this story is fundamental for understanding the relationship between Sicard and the Amalfitans. However, more than anything, it is the text that traces the events concerning the numerous movements involving the body of St Trofimenia. Although its dating is debated, an initial version was certainly used by the anonymous author of the *Chronicon Salernitanum* and it therefore predates the end of the tenth century.³⁶ The author was also not from the Lombard area, but was more likely of Amalfi-Minorese origin.³⁷

Like the relics of St Januarius, those of St Trofimenia also constituted the spoils of war. Once they reached Benevento, they made it possible to demonstrate and memorialize Sicard's recent military successes in the public and urban context of the cathedral.

These were not the only saints that came to the city during the principality of Sicard, as St Felicity and her seven sons were also added to the Benevento pantheon. Unlike the previous translations, this one does not seem to have been particularly publicized and the related hagiographic text only briefly mentions the involvement of the prince and the bishop.³⁸ Antonio Vuolo thus hypothesized that these relics had been purchased in Rome, perhaps through the organization led by the deacon Deusdona, known through Einhard's *Translatio sancti Petri et Marcellini*.³⁹

As I have demonstrated above, the translations promoted by the Benevento princes concern how their public authority was represented. Their aim was to boost the prestige of Benevento as a religious centre and simultaneously promote its role as the capital of the principality. Although translations were a common feature of the Lombard world, both Arechis and the Siconids were probably following the model of the Lombard kings, i.e. Aistulf and Liutprand, who had accumulated numerous saints' bodies in the churches of Pavia and elsewhere.⁴⁰ What was unique in this case was the truly active role that the Benevento princes played in actually ensuring that these translations were carried out, which assigned an otherwise absent religious component to their public authority. Unlike what happened, for example, for the Carolingian kings, who took part in rites of consecration and unction by the bishops, the Lombard kings did not have a sacral dimension in any true sense.⁴¹ The participation of the princes of Benevento in the translation of relics was meant to compensate for this absence, thereby placing them in direct contact with the sacred.

34 *Chronicon Salernitanum*, 72*, ed. Westerbergh, 71; Sangermano, Ducato di Amalfi, 294-295; Taviani-Carozzi, *Principauté*, 800-807.

35 *Historia inventionis ac translationis*, 235-236; *Chronicon Salernitanum*, 74, ed. Westerbergh, 72-73; Granier, *Conflitti*, 40-49.

36 Avallone, *Historia S. Trophimena*, 763-767.

37 Oldoni, *Agiografia longobarda*, 603-614.

38 *Passio et translatio Beneventum ss. Felicitatis*, 18.

39 *Translatio et miracula ss. Petri et Marcellini*, ed. Waitz, 240; Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 44-49; Vuolo, *Agiografia beneventana*, n. 75, 221-222.

40 Tomea, *Intorno a Santa Giulia*, 34-46; Di Muro, *Usi politici delle reliquie*.

41 Gasparri, *Kingship rituals*.

While Arechis merely centralized some cults that had already been established in the Beneventan area, the translations promoted by the Siconids not only encompassed a wider range but also had a more complex symbolic design, which included not only Lombard territory but also the whole of southern Italy.⁴² Grafting the cults of Januarius and Trofimena onto Benevento was clearly an attempt to make the Lombard capital a religious reference point for the communities of the Tyrrhenian coast. While the Siconids' military campaigns certainly had an economic significance, albeit temporary and unrealistic, their thefts of relics suggest an attempt to widen the horizons of their project to a religious and political dimension.

It is in this context that the translation of St Bartholomew from Lipari must be read. To become the sacred reference point of all southern Italy, Benevento and its cathedral had to act as a counterpart to the ancient and prestigious tradition of the Neapolitan church. One of the ways to reach this goal was to enrich the city pantheon with a protector of the highest importance, such as a disciple of Christ. In fact, since the fifth century, the claim of an apostolic origin had been a key strategy for increasing the prestige and legitimacy of the episcopal church.⁴³ Unlike what happened in Venice with St Mark, the cathedral of Benevento did not claim a tradition linked to the figure of Bartholomew, especially as he was active in the East rather than in the south of Italy, but limited itself to hosting the prestigious relics. However, the translation of St Bartholomew from Lipari should be interpreted both in terms of competition with the Tyrrhenian cities, Naples and Amalfi, and within the framework of the political designs of the Siconids throughout the whole south.

The arrival of the relics of St Bartholomew was certainly a success – but this was short-lived. In fact, in 839 Sicard was killed during a conspiracy hatched by the local aristocracy, and his ambitious political project came to an end.⁴⁴ After his death, the Lombard principality was divided by factions and plagued by a violent conflict, which ended a decade later with the mediation of Emperor Louis II and Guy of Spoleto, and the birth of two distinct political bodies: the Principality of Benevento and the Principality of Salerno.⁴⁵ In Benevento, the memory of the Siconids, especially of Sicard, underwent a kind of *damnatio memoriae*. Yet it was cultivated in Salerno, which became the capital of the principality led by Sicard's brother, Siconulf, in 849. In order to give prestige to the dynasty that formed the roots of this new Lombard principality, the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, a historiographic work written in Salerno at the end of the 10th century, offers an overall positive image of the Siconids. However, while this is true for Sico and Siconulf in particular, Sicard is presented as a violent ruler, prey to irrational outbursts, and strongly influenced by the aristocracy.⁴⁶

Although the relics of St Bartholomew were undoubtedly prestigious, after 849 they lost much of their political appeal in Benevento. In the latter half of the ninth century, the princes preferred to direct their devotion to St Januarius, probably because he was linked to a victorious ruler, Sico, and, above all, because he was directly linked to the identity of their

42 Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, 192-193.

43 Granier, *Saints fondateurs; Vocino, Caccia al discepolo*, 357-359.

44 Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, 170-173.

45 Gasparri, *Ducato e il principato*, 116-120; Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, 211-230.

46 *Chronicon Salernitanum*, 65-72, ed. Westerbergh, 62-71.

town. The epitaphs of later rulers, who were also buried in St Mary's Cathedral, recall the special devotion of some of the members of the Radelchids to St Januarius.⁴⁷ This dynasty ruled over Benevento until 900 and seems to have been particularly linked to the episcopal see, also in terms of how their political authority was portrayed. Adelchis (854-858) was the first prince to introduce the dedication to St Mary on coins minted in Benevento.⁴⁸ One of the sons of Radelchis I (839-851), Aio, also obtained the office of bishop and tried to increase the prestige of the cathedral by relaunching the cult of the most important relics preserved in the cathedral: those of St Bartholomew. He requested help from Anastasius Bibliothecarius, a prominent figure of the Roman curia, who undertook a translation of Theodorus Studita's *Sermo* about the life of Bartholomew.⁴⁹ In fact, as already mentioned, the hagiography of St Bartholomew had a rather complex tradition. There appears to have been a previous narrative relating to the relics being moved to Benevento, but there was also a short account of the text attached to Anastasius' translation.⁵⁰

Again, however, the success of the renewal of the cult of Bartholomew seems to have been short-lived. At the end of the ninth century, the Principality of Benevento faced a series of setbacks. The Byzantines conquered much of what is now Puglia and Basilicata, causing the loss of an area rich in fiscal properties.⁵¹ The diocese of Benevento found itself divided into a territory where one part was subject to Lombard power and one to the Eastern Empire; this second part also included the prestigious sanctuary of San Michele al Gargano. On the other hand, Atenulf of Capua overthrew the Radelchids in 900 and the cathedral lost its role of supporting the political authority because the new dynasty remained mostly rooted in the city of Capua.⁵² Unquestionably, from the 10th century onwards, the centre of gravity in southern Italy belonged to its maritime areas. Compared to the Tyrrhenian duchies and the Principality of Salerno, Benevento lost its political relevance and became peripheral.

[G. Z.]

Competing Bodies, Chairs, Patriarchates: The Transfer of St Mark to Venice

The *Istoria Veneticorum*, written by John the Deacon in Venice in the early eleventh century, recounts that in his last year of life, the duke Justinian Particiaco *Sanctissimi Marci evangelistae corpus, de Alexandria a Veneticis allatum, recipere promeruit*.⁵³ To install the relics in a worthy location, Justinian had a chapel built in the ducal palace, but he died before the work was accomplished, and the undertaking was completed by his brother and successor

47 *Carmina varia*, 12; 13, ed. Dümmler, 659; 660. Recently, on the Radelchids' epitaphs: Anderson, *Historical Memory*, 87-110.

48 Grierson and Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, 1113-1114; 576.

49 *Anastasii Bibliothecarii Epistolae*, 18, ed. Perels and Laehr, 441-442.

50 *Translatio*, ed. Westerbergh, 8-17; Bonaccorsi, *Sermo*.

51 Loré, *Curtis regia*, 35-44.

52 Gasparri, *Ducato e il principato*, 130-134.

53 *Istoria Veneticorum*, 2. 39, ed. Berto, 118.

John. The *Istoria* places the translation in 822/823, the period in which Justinian ruled the duchy after the death of his father Agnellus, who had included his son in the administration of the government. According to the chronicler, Agnellus died in 822, but other sources indicate that Justinian was actually duke only between 828 and 829, raising uncertainty about the actual date of the translation.

The *Istoria Veneticorum* was compiled to exalt Venetian autonomy and the role played by Duke Peter II Orseolo (991-1009) as a peacemaker in conflicts between opposing family factions.⁵⁴ John the Deacon's reconstruction of the history of the duchy was structured to project into the past the dichotomy between a group that supported an approach to western royal and imperial power and one that favoured the maintenance of privileged relations with Constantinople. While John the Deacon's account is not a neutral narrative, however, the dating of the translation of St Mark in 822/823 does not appear to be related to this strategy. He wrote about two centuries after those events, and probably made a miscalculation.

Placing the issues of the dating aside, the other aspects of the story are confirmed in previous sources. The translation was the subject of a hagiographical narrative, the *Translatio sancti Marci*, dated by Emanuela Colombi to the latter half of the tenth century.⁵⁵ This text also refers to the duchy of Justinian, attributing to him the desire to build a chapel in the ducal palace, completed by his brother John.⁵⁶ In the 860s the monk Bernard, in the account of his pilgrimages, remembers that he went to Alexandria to pray at the body of St Mark, but that he was unable to do so, since the Venetians had stealthily appropriated it.⁵⁷ A final confirmation came from Justinian's testament, dated hypothetically to 31st August 829, which has come down to us in incomplete late copies.⁵⁸ One of the lacunae concerns the passage in which the duke entrusted his wife Felicita with the task of arranging *de corpus vero beati Mar[...]*, traditionally identified as that of St Mark.

Further evidence placing the translation between 828 and 829 comes from the analysis of the political context. Since the events that affected the duchy at the beginning of the ninth century have been the subject of precise reconstructions, including recent ones, I will limit myself to a few background details.⁵⁹ Between 806 and 812 the Carolingians and the Byzantine emperors contended for control of the Upper Adriatic. In 804, during the plea of the Rižana, the aristocracies of Istria, a Carolingian territory that depended ecclesiastically on the Byzantine patriarchate of Grado, complained to the Carolingian authorities about the fiscal conditions imposed on them by *dux* John and Patriarch Fortunatus.⁶⁰ The *Annales regni Francorum (ARF)* for the year 806 opens by referring to a mission to Charlemagne by the *duces Venetiae* Obelerius/*Willeri* and Beatus, together with the *dux* and the bishop of

54 Paziienza, Archival documents; Provesi, *Terre et la mer*.

55 Colombi, «Translatio Marci evangelistae Venetias», 76-79.

56 *Translatio Marci evangelistae Venetias*, 16.5-6, ed. Colombi, 128-129.

57 *Bernardi monachi Itinerarium*, 6, ed. Ackermann, 117.

58 *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto*, 2, ed. Lanfranchi and Strina, 17-24. A new online edition by Annamaria Paziienza is available at saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-veneziana-4/, accessed on 16 February 2021.

59 Borri, *Adriatico*; Paziienza, *Venice beyond Venice*; West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna, and Venice*, 89-100; Paziienza and Veronese, *Pipino*.

60 Borri, «Neighbors and relatives»; Paziienza, Archival documents.

Zadar, that met in Thionville in northern France, following which Charlemagne issued an *ordinatio de ducibus et populis tam Venetiae quam Dalmatiae* that sanctioned the inclusion of the lagoons in the Carolingian domains and thus opened hostilities with Constantinople.⁶¹ From that year until 810 there were a series of military actions, followed by negotiations and truces between King Pippin of Italy and the commanders of the Byzantine fleets sent to the area.⁶² In 810, after the death of his son Pippin, Charlemagne took over the negotiations.⁶³ After exchanges of embassies, the matter was resolved in 812 with the Treaty of Aachen.⁶⁴ The *ARF* links the event to an even more important achievement in Charlemagne's eyes, perhaps his underlying goal. On that occasion, the Byzantine ambassadors addressed him *imperatorem eum et basileum appellantes*.⁶⁵ For the first time the Eastern emperors recognized the imperial power of Charlemagne, honouring him with the same title as they used for themselves. In short, the stakes were very high.

The Treaty of Aachen put an end to the disputes over the Venetian Duchy through diplomatic-military means, but the game moved to a new terrain. Between the Byzantine lagoons and the Carolingian hinterland there was a political and political-ecclesiastical border. The Byzantine lagoons depended on the patriarchate of Grado, while the churches in the hinterland were suffragans of the patriarchs of Aquileia. The separation between the two patriarchates occurred between the second half of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh as a result of the schism of the Three Chapters and the Lombard conquest of much of the Italian peninsula.⁶⁶ In the early ninth century this division of jurisdiction was delicately balanced but contested. To seek a remedy, on 6th June 827 a synod of the bishops of *Aemilia*, *Liguria* and *Venetia* met in Mantua. In the presence of two papal representatives and two of the emperors Louis and Lothar, they were all there to discuss the allocation of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Istria between Aquileia and Grado.⁶⁷ The patriarch of Aquileia Maxentius presented a *dossier* consisting of *libelli precum*, *sacrae litterae* and other documentation in his possession.⁶⁸ He thus provided himself with a multiplicity of tools, starting with the selection of the place in the territory of the *regnum*, the audience and the participants. The documents presented by the deacon Tiberius in the name of the patriarch of Grado Venerius (who was absent) were deemed unreliable as they were *nullius manu roborati*.⁶⁹ Maxentius' strategy paid off. The acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of Aquileia over the Istrian churches accompanied the reclassification of Grado to a *plebs* of Aquileia.⁷⁰

61 *ARF*, a. 806, ed. Kurze, 120-121; Štih, Imperial politics, 65.

62 *ARF*, a. 806, 087, 809, 810, ed. Kurze, 122-130.

63 *ARF*, a. 810, ed. Kurze, 133.

64 Ančić, Treaty of Aachen.

65 *ARF*, a. 812, ed. Kurze, 136.

66 Rando, Chiesa di frontiera, 13-14; Sotinel, Three Chapters.

67 *Concilium Mantuanum*, ed. Werminghoff; Azzara, Patriarchi contro; La Rocca and Veronese, Cultures of unanimity, 51-52.

68 *Concilium Mantuanum*, ed. Werminghoff, 585-586.

69 *Concilium Mantuanum*, ed. Werminghoff, 588.

70 Azzara, Concilio di Mantova.

One of the arguments that Maxentius put forward in support of his position was the Marcian legend of Aquileia – the tradition that assigned the evangelization of northeast Italy and the foundation of the Christian community of Aquileia to St Mark. In Mantua, Maxentius began with a sort of calling card of the church of Aquileia, founded by Mark, the spiritual son of Peter, and the *elegantissimus* Hermachoras.⁷¹ The Aquileian church was therefore a direct derivation (*discipula, peculiaris, vicaria*) of the Roman one. Hermachoras, Mark's first successor, was invoked again towards the end of the proceedings.⁷² While he resided in Aquileia, Mark, who was eager to see his master, took to Rome the *elegans vir* Hermachora, *ab omni electus clero et populo* and consecrated bishop by Peter in person. Peter, Mark and Hermachoras were thus established as the founders of the relationship between the churches of Aquileia and Rome. Hermachoras, who had been invested with religious authority by Peter, had previously been elected bishop by the people and clergy of Aquileia, in compliance with canonical procedures. This was in contrast to the election of Candidianus, the first patriarch of Grado, which the council described as taking place *contra canonum statuta et sanctorum patrum decreta*.⁷³ The aim was to discredit the patriarchal succession of Grado by opposing it to the legitimate and apostolic tradition supposedly held by the Church of Aquileia.

The first mention of the Marcian legend appears in the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* written by Paul the Deacon in the 780s.⁷⁴ Its origins, however, have been traced back to the schism of the Three Chapters. According to Pier Franco Beatrice, Gregory the Great conceived the legend to affirm the authority of Rome over the schismatic patriarchate of Aquileia, presenting its origins as the result of an initiative promoted by Peter.⁷⁵ In any case, in the 830s the legend appeared sufficiently authoritative to be exploited to establish the superior metropolitan dignity of Aquileia over Grado. The assembly in Mantua marked a significant turning point in how the legend was portrayed.⁷⁶ References to St Mark re-emerge in several places in the council's acts. Maxentius's speech included a quote from Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*, which was dedicated to the flight of his predecessor Paul to Grado in 568/569.⁷⁷ The text was, however, modified in order to underline the temporary and emergency nature of the transfer of the see and the illegitimacy of the election of Candidianus. The privileged relationship between St Mark and Aquileia was further strengthened with a reference to the relics of the saint. Paul the Deacon recounted that at the time of his flight, Paul took with him the treasure of his Church.⁷⁸ The synodal acts specify that the chairs (*sedes*) of Mark and Hermachoras were also part of that treasure.⁷⁹ Their possession

71 *Concilium Mantuanum*, ed. Werminghoff, 585.

72 *Concilium Mantuanum*, ed. Werminghoff, 588-589.

73 *Concilium Mantuanum*, ed. Werminghoff, 586.

74 *Liber de episcopis*, ed. Santarossa, 129.

75 Beatrice, *Hermagorica novitas*.

76 Veronese, *Saint Marc*, 300-301.

77 *Concilium Mantuanum*, ed. Werminghoff, 585-586.

78 *Historia Langobardorum*, 2. 10, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, 78.

79 *Concilium Mantuanum*, ed. Werminghoff, 585.

by the Church of Aquileia demonstrated the reliability of the Marcian legend, and therefore the antiquity and prestige of the patriarchate. The Marcian tradition was then detailed in the final part of the acts, in which the foundation of Grado, a simple fortification (*munitio*), was traced back to the Aquileian patriarchs.⁸⁰

The *dossier* assembled by Maxentius was effective because it was not addressed to the local communities of northeastern Italy but rather to a Carolingian audience, made up of the bishops gathered there and the envoys of the pope and the emperors; and it was done through strictly Carolingian means. The resources of the past, such as the Marcian legend and the *Historia Langobardorum*, were placed at the service of present needs, through pathways also attested, for example, by the *ARF*.⁸¹ The *libelli precum* were key to defining a common Christian culture in the Carolingian Empire.⁸² The memory and the relics of St Mark were an integral part of this strategy, and served as the means for establishing the antiquity – and therefore the admissibility in the eyes of the Carolingian authorities – of a cult through its hagiography. Several scholars have identified an element of the *dossier* in the *Passio Hermachorae et Fortunati*, whose prologue, which was added to the original text on the cusp of the eighth and ninth centuries, is dedicated to Mark's mission in Aquileia.⁸³ The presence of the two papal delegates at the assembly in Mantua strengthens this hypothesis: the prologue of the *Passio* highlights the link between Peter and Mark and the derivation of the Church of Aquileia from the Roman Church.⁸⁴ Its inclusion among the *sacrae litterae* of Aquileia thus benefitted Maxentius's cause.

Despite the peremptory nature of the decisions taken in Mantua, the question was not resolved. The Aquileian offensive triggered reactions from various actors. In Grado they took the shape of written responses. In the *Carmen de Aquilegia numquam restauranda*, Maxentius, who was defined as *veneficus* and *venenosus*, was accused of having tried to trick three emperors – Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and Lothar – in order to extend his ecclesiastical dominion over *totam Dalmatiam*.⁸⁵ The drafting of the *Passio Helari et Tatiani*, which was interpreted as a polemical response to the *Passio* of Hermachoras and Fortunatus, has been traced back to a similar initiative by Grado.⁸⁶

Above all, Maxentius' reinterpretation of the past was revived and rejected by his opponents. In her edition of the *Translatio Sancti Marci*, Emanuela Colombi stressed its two-part structure: a historical prologue, dedicated to the origins of the Grado patriarchy, and the actual narrative of the translation.⁸⁷ The first part is presented as »a sort of ›reasoned – and manipulated – anthology‹ of selected passages from the *Historia Langobardorum*«, and a point-by-point response to the arguments that had decreed the Aquileian victory in 827.⁸⁸

80 *Concilium Mantuanum*, ed. Werminghoff, 588-589.

81 McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 31-54; Reimitz, *History*, 293-334.

82 Pilsworth, *Vile Scraps*, 178-180; Phelan, *Formation*, 249-252.

83 Picard, *Souvenir des évêques*, 414-415; Vocino, *Under the aegis*, 32-33.

84 *Passio Hermachorae*, ed. Chiesa, 171-176.

85 *Carmen de Aquilegia numquam restauranda*, ed. Dümmler; Gasparri, *Formation*, 40-42.

86 *Passio Helari et Tatiani*, ed. Cerno. For its attribution to Grado, Vocino, *Saints*, 288-291; for a different view, Cerno, *Aquileian patriarchate's title*.

87 Colombi, »Translatio Marci evangelistae Venetias«, 76-81.

88 Colombi, »Translatio Marci evangelistae Venetias«, 76; Colombi, *Alcune riflessioni*.

A comparison between the acts of Mantua and the prologue of the *Translatio* offers evidence for this interpretation. Both texts drew from the *Historia Langobardorum*, but in taking up the same passages, they collated and reworked them in opposite ways. In the prologue of the *Translatio*, the flight of Paul to Grado was placed within a broader historical context, defined by the Gothic wars and the Lombard invasion of the peninsula, in order to reconstruct the motivations behind it.⁸⁹ The change of the episcopal see was thus justified within a context of political and ecclesiastical transformations. The effort to establish the definitive character of this change, in contrast to what was stated in Mantua, was supported by a reference, absent in Paul the Deacon, to the council convened at Grado in 579, during which the bishops gathered there raised Grado to *totius Venetiae metropolis*.⁹⁰ The provision was also ratified *ex consensu beatissimi papae Pelagii*.⁹¹ In other words, more than two centuries before the synod of Mantua disavowed the flight of Paul as a displacement of the patriarchal see, another synod, equally certified by the papal authority, had instead established that displacement as a definitive act.

The real trump card of Maxentius, as the author of the prologue well knew, was, however, the Marcian legend. Rather than attempting to discredit it, he cleverly reinterpreted the legend to support his rationale. Some of his reinterpretations of the narrative of Paul the Deacon concern the details of the transfer of the see that call into question the relics of Mark and Hermachoras. The text of the *Historia* had already been interpolated in the acts of Mantua, attributing to the patriarch the saving of the chairs of the two saints. The author of the prologue interpolated this interpolation, stating that it was not the chairs of Mark and Hermachoras that were being moved, but rather the bodies of the martyrs of Aquileia – including that of Hermachoras.⁹² In his version the chair of Mark was sent to the patriarchs only at the beginning of the seventh century by the emperor Heraclius to seal the change of see.⁹³ The two texts therefore attributed this relic with very different functions. In the acts it was placed at the foundation of the Aquileian episcopal tradition, not interrupted by its temporary sojourn in Grado. In the prologue of the *Translatio*, Mark's chair served instead to renew the link between the saint and the patriarchate after a definitive transfer endorsed both by the pope and by the Byzantine emperors. The author of the *Translatio* echoed the importance attributed by the acts to the relics of Mark and Hermachoras, taking up the challenge and exploiting them to his advantage. In his account, after Paul's escape, the bond between the true patriarchs (of Grado) and St Mark was strengthened through the acquisition of a new relic; in other words, only thanks to the relocation of the see did Mark's chair come to Italy.

Maxentius' claims entailed a complex reworking of the past reinforced by references to ancient and prestigious relics. The writer of the prologue of the *Translatio* exploited the same arguments, but with a very different interpretation: he agreed to be judged by norms established by the Carolingians. However, even this was not considered sufficient. In addition to the textual strategies expressed in the prologue of the *Translatio*, the Venetian duchy

89 *Translatio Marci evangelistae Venetias*, ed. Colombi, 112-116.

90 *Translatio Marci evangelistae Venetias*, ed. Colombi, 115-116.

91 *Translatio Marci evangelistae Venetias*, ed. Colombi, 115-116.

92 *Translatio Marci evangelistae Venetias*, ed. Colombi, 115.

93 *Translatio Marci evangelistae Venetias*, ed. Colombi, 116.

went even further in its investment in relics of Mark by procuring his body.⁹⁴ The translation seems to have taken place between 827 and 829, in line with the needs and strategies of Venice and Grado in the aftermath of the pronouncements of the Mantuan synod. To safeguard the duchy's ecclesiastical and political autonomy, it reacted by resorting to a material shift of holiness. The translation allowed the dukes to enter into disputes that concerned them a great deal but from which they had been excluded when, after the Treaty of Aachen, the level of international relations was replaced by that of hierarchies between dioceses. The acquisition of new Marcan relics served to strengthen the apostolic identity of the patriarchate, placing it on an equal footing with Aquileia. In this way their owners, the dukes, carved out an unprecedented role in the dispute between Aquileia and Grado. The prologue of the *Translatio* and the translation belonged to the same context of political-ecclesiastical competition and appear to be united by their adherence to discourses and tools developed in a Carolingian context, which was linked to the cult of saints and relics. By agreeing to play according to the rules set by others, Venice and Grado astutely managed to preserve their ecclesiastical autonomy against Aquileian attempts to increase its influence.

[F. V.]

Conclusions

In exploiting the translation of relics, the dukes of Venice and the princes of Benevento proved to be well informed about what was happening in the nearby Carolingian world and how to leverage new patterns of hagiographic promotion to their benefit. The translations discussed here occurred at a time when the relics of the saints began to circulate with renewed intensity throughout the Frankish Empire, taking on a new role within the machinery of political and social competition. For example, the *ARF* for 826 reported that Hilduin commissioned the translation of the body of St Sebastian to Soissons, and for 827, that Einhard did the same for Marcellinus and Peter to Seligenstadt.⁹⁵ Both elevated the status of the sanctuaries that hosted them to key places in the political and religious life of the empire. In 833 Louis the Pious was subjected to public penance in Soissons, in the basilica of St Mary, where the body *Sebastiani praestantissimi martyris* rested.⁹⁶ In his letters Einhard presented himself as the spokesman for his martyrs, who were assigned with the role of protecting the peace and stability of the empire.⁹⁷

Given that the councils and capitularies had forbidden the raising of new figures to veneration, the acquisition of relics of established or acknowledged saints became the only way to make use of sainthood – a sainthood as far removed in time and space as possible – as an instrument to legitimize one's strategies or claims. The translations and their narrations – the *translationes* – are an indication of the position of those who performed them towards the Carolingian power and the rules it imposed on the cult of the saints. The very fact of resorting to the translation of relics underlined an adherence to the principles that guided this legislation, because it implied the exploitation of already existing saints rather than the creation of new holy figures. This is also true in the case

94 Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 88-94.

95 *ARF*, a. 826; a. 827 ed. Kurze, 171-172; 174.

96 *Relatio Compendiensis*, ed. Booker, 15.

97 Sot, *Service de l'empire*.

of *furta sacra*, in which the violation of these rules by carrying out translations without authorization (and subsequently legitimizing the translations by narrating them) served to reinforce the Carolingian regulatory framework by the very fact of breaking it.⁹⁸ Both the legitimate translations and the thefts of relics (and the respective narratives), as they were configured in the Carolingian world, were products of the »Carolingian attempt to regulate the cult of saints«,⁹⁹ and therefore indicators of the level of success of this attempt.

Venice and Benevento were political entities on the peripheries of the empire, or rather, several empires. Through their proximity to and reliance on Carolingian political power, they accessed and astutely mimicked the strategies that were becoming the norm in the Carolingian sphere.¹⁰⁰ They did so by turning to prestigious saints from the past, for whom the *auctoritas passionum* and the *vitae meritis* were documented through hagiography beyond any reasonable doubt, and by welcoming their material remains. The choice was not necessarily entirely spontaneous: in the Venetian case of St Mark, his memory and his relics were first recalled by Maxentius of Aquileia. In the case of Benevento, the choice and the initiative were all down to the Siconids. However, both cases appear to reflect not only the existence of but also the adherence to a common language, the one developed in (and imported from) the Carolingian world, relating to the use of sainthood and relics to support political competitions. In Venice and Grado, in the need to respond to the patriarch of Aquileia with his own (and totally Carolingian) means and arguments, this language was combined with reinterpretations of the past and its sources. In Benevento, on the other hand, the Siconids appropriated the new concept of a *furtum sacrum* to give strength to their political ambitions, on the one hand in competition with the Tyrrhenian cities of Byzantine tradition and on the other in the representation of their political authority in the framework of their capital city.

Thus, neither the dukes of Venice nor the princes of Benevento limited themselves to absorbing the Carolingian language of sainthood and its instructions for use, but rather craftily re-employed it to pursue their own purposes, sometimes diverging from the interests of the Carolingians. The Venetian dukes used it to avoid being subjected to a politically very close figure to the Carolingians, i.e. Maxentius. The Siconids did so in an attempt to create a regional domination on the southern borders of the empire. In short, both showed that they understood the political value of discourses and textual tools developed in the Carolingian world, but also that they knew how to take advantage in multiform and above all autonomous ways.

It was not a one-way process. During the abbacy of Erlebald (822-838) in Reichenau, a monastery on Lake Constance awarded with royal protection, an anonymous monk recounted in the *Commemoratio brevis de miraculis Genesii* that, before arriving in the Alamannian monastery of Schienen, a relic of the martyr Genesius passed through Venice and was acquired through the mediation of Venetian *negotiatores*.¹⁰¹ About half a century later, another monk from Reichenau reported in the *Translatio Ianuarii* that Januarius's relics had arrived in the monastery at the time of Louis II. The image of Venice and southern Italy as areas characterized by the translation of relics was therefore accepted in the Carolingian world and integrated into its narratives.

98 Veronese, *Rispetto delle leggi*.

99 The reference here is to Fouracre, *Origins*.

100 Smith, *Old saints, new cults*; Vocino, *Traslazioni*.

101 *Commemoratio brevis*, ed. Wattenbach, 9.

Acknowledgements

This article has been published within the framework of the Mobility & Humanities project of the University of Padua's Department of Historical and Geographical Sciences and the Ancient World (DiSSGeA). The Mobility & Humanities project is funded as a Project of Excellence (2018-2022) by the Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research (MIUR). The authors would like to thank Edward Schoolman for reading and improving the previous version of this text.

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Abbreviations

AASS = *Acta Sanctorum*

ARF = *Annales regni Francorum*

BHL = *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1898-1899)

CCSL = *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*

CISAM = *Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*

MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*

EE = *Epistolae*

SS = *Scriptores*

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The Translation of St Sylvester's Relics from Rome to Nonantola: Itineraries of *corpora sacra* at the Crossroads between Devotion and Identity in Eighth-Tenth-Century Italy

Edoardo Manarini*

Pope Sylvester I (314-335) became an important figure in the political history of early medieval Italy. His legendary relationship with Constantine I (306-337), the first Christian emperor, played a significant role in establishing his ideological prominence. Declared a saint of the early Roman Church, Sylvester's relics did not gain much attention until the middle of the eighth century, when they became a source of competition. On the one hand, Roman popes venerated his body in the monastery of St Stephen and St Sylvester, founded by Pope Paul I around 760 inside the Eternal City; on the other hand, the Lombard king Aistulf and his brother-in-law, Abbot Anselm, claimed to have brought Sylvester's relics north, in order to have them buried in Anselm's newly founded monastery of Nonantola in the Po Valley. Scholars would appear to have overlooked this major issue when investigating the relationship between Lombard elite society and Roman popes in the eighth century. This article will therefore consider the dates, forms, and narratives of the *translatio* of St Sylvester in order to evaluate Nonantola's political and ideological involvement in this »holy« movement. The main argument is that through the »journey« of Sylvester's relics within the Lombard kingdom, King Aistulf was able to increase his prestige and political influence. For its part, Nonantola rewrote the history of its origins by centring it on the relics of the Constantinian pontiff and those of Pope Hadrian I, in order to claim political and spiritual primacy throughout the medieval period.

Keywords: Carloman and St Sylvestre on Mount Soratte; translations of relics; St Sylvester of Nonantola; hagiography; Pope Sylvester I; Lombard kingdom; St Sylvester in Capite; Pope Paul I

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In recent times, the role of royal abbeys and monasteries in the political context of early medieval Italy has been examined from the innovative perspective of fiscal estates.¹ This strand of research relates to the broader topic of fiscal properties in the kingdom of Italy under the Lombards and Carolingians. In recent years the topic in question has attracted renewed attention from historians interested in assessing the extent of such properties, their distribution and their economic and political value for royal power holders. This renewed perspective on public assets has also made it possible to acquire a different awareness of the role of royal abbeys and monasteries, which are now acknowledged to be an integral part of the system.² After the vain attempts made by the Lombard king Liutprand (712-744) to safeguard the royal patrimony against possible unlawful acts at the hands of minor officials, the *actores* of the kingdom, the brothers Ratchis (744-749/756-757) and Aistulf (749-756) sought to find another way to ensure exclusive royal control over fiscal properties.³ The two kings followed a strategy based on exceptions that entailed the founding or endowment of large monasteries with considerable public resources, as a way of freeing them from the control usually exercised by the *actores regni*. This is the case with St Sylvester of Nonantola, whose founder, Anselm, obtained very substantial fiscal endowments from his brother-in-law, in areas ranging from the Apennines to the Po.⁴

These powerful and wealthy monastic foundations, of course, also carried crucial spiritual power within the kingdom, especially in relation to the conduct and prestige of individual kings. The prayers recited by the monks and devotion to the saints they venerated in their churches constituted a constant and tangible source of support for the *stabilitas regni* of early medieval kings. It is within this context that we can best appreciate Paul the Deacon's account of how King Liutprand organised an expedition to Sardinia to retrieve the remains of St Augustine, which had been brought to the island by African bishops exiled by the king of the Vandals Thrasamund in 486.⁵ In the early eighth century, »Saracen« raids became increasingly destructive, even in Sardinia,⁶ also threatening the saint's relics in their new location in the city of Carales (Cagliari), which seemed no longer safe enough to house such an important treasure for Christendom as a whole. The Lombard king therefore had Augustine's bones retrieved and then buried, with all honours, in the monastery of St Pietro in »Ciel d'oro« near Pavia, a symbol of royal power at the very heart of the kingdom of Italy.⁷

In this article, I would like to retrace the story of the relics of the pope saint Sylvester I (314-335) in the eighth century. Like Augustine, bishop of Hippo Regius, after his death Sylvester was transported to various places, evidently for the purpose of exploiting the symbolic, religious and political value of his relics, insofar as the papal tradition had attributed to this pontiff the conversion of Emperor Constantine, and hence of the whole empire, as

1 See Lazzari, *Patrimoni femminili*; Lazzari, *Tutela del patrimonio fiscale*; Loré, *Monasteri, re e duchi*. On fiscal estates in the early middle ages, see Bougard and Loré, *Biens public*; Tomei and Vignodelli, »*Dark Matter*«.

2 On St Sylvester of Nonantola, see Manarini, *Politiche regie e attivismo*; Manarini, *Politiche regie e conflitti*.

3 Lazzari, *Tutela del patrimonio regio*, 11.

4 See Manarini, *Politiche regie e attivismo*, 18-23.

5 Bede, *De temporum ratione*, 66, ed. Jones, 535; Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 6.4, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, 181. See Di Muro, *Uso politico*; Stone, *St. Augustine's Bones*; Tomea, *Intorno a S. Giulia*, 34-36.

6 Cosentino, *Byzantine Sardinia*, 351.

7 Pani Ermini, *La Sardegna*, 300.

early as the fifth century.⁸ According to the Roman perspective, Pope Sylvester I was the linchpin of the »Constantinian turn«, insofar as he was responsible for the emperor's conversion. After embracing the new religion according to the Roman faith, Constantine was able to support Christianity throughout the Roman world and to assign Rome undisputed primacy within Christendom. However, the historical sources paint a substantially different picture, in which no particularly significant events stand out in Sylvester's twenty-year-long pontificate.⁹ Sylvester did not take part in the two great ecumenical councils held during his papacy, the Council of Arles in 314 and that of Nicaea in 325, nor did his legates play any notable role.¹⁰ The most reliable historical information about Constantine's baptism is provided by St Jerome, who draws a different picture still: in all likelihood, the emperor was baptised only a short time before his death and certainly embraced the Arian brand of Christianity through the influence of the Arian bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia.¹¹ The whole legend of Sylvester, therefore, was fabricated for the purpose of obliterating the memory of Constantine's Arian baptism and of changing his story by placing Rome and its bishops at the centre of Christendom. Starting with accounts of Constantine's baptism, the legend soon took shape in a first written form, which scholars date to the years between the late fifth century and the beginning of the sixth, during Symmachus' pontificate (498-514).¹² Over time, this initial core expanded considerably, developing into the *Silvesterlegende*.¹³ Sylvester became a confessor and champion of orthodoxy who had led an exemplary life, performed miracles, triumphed in disputes with demonic creatures, and finally received the Donation of Constantine.¹⁴ We find all this in the so-called *Actus Silvestri (AS)*, which became a key text in the development of Roman Catholic Christianity. At various moments in the Early Middle Ages, Roman pontiffs were to draw upon and revive the veneration of Sylvester, to suit contingent political aims and memorialisation strategies. It is within this framework that the story of St Sylvester's relics and their movements takes place.¹⁵ But things are somewhat more complicated and contradictory, since throughout the Middle Ages – and even beyond – two major monasteries vied for his remains: the Abbey of St Sylvester of Nonantola and the Roman monastery of St Sylvester *in Capite*.

8 See also, for further readings, Pohlkamp, Kaiser Konstantin; Canella, *Gli Actus Silvestri*; Wirbelauer, Riche mémoire. On the account provided by the *Liber Pontificalis* on the life of Sylvester I (n. 34), see McKitterick, *Rome and the Invention*, 97-100.

9 Canella, *Gli Actus Silvestri* tra Oriente e Occidente, 241.

10 Scorza Barcellona, *Silvestro I*.

11 Jerome, *Chronicon*, a. 337, ed. Helm, 234. In his *continuatio* of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Rufinus of Aquileia re-elaborated the figure of Constantine in a doctrinal key, while avoiding the story of the baptism: Canella, *Gli Actus Silvestri* tra Oriente e Occidente, 247.

12 Canella, *Gli Actus Silvestri* tra Oriente e Occidente, 242.

13 See Levison, *Konstantinische Schenkung*.

14 On the category of confessor saints, see Bartlett, *Saints and Worshippers*, 16-19.

15 On the hagiographical genre of *translationes*, see Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte*. An overview of the development and regulation of the veneration of relics in the Early Middle Ages is provided in this issue by Veronese and Zornetta, *Holiness on the move*. On translations of relics in Lombard and Carolingian Italy, see Tomea, *Intorno a S. Giulia*; Vocino, *Traslazioni di reliquie*; Veronese, *Rispetto delle leggi*.

The aim of my article is to consider dates, actions and narratives associated with the *translatio* of St Sylvester in order to evaluate the political and ideological implications of this »holy« movement. First, I will examine the hagiographical dossier from Nonantola, and particularly the text about the *translatio*, for the purpose of setting the account of King Aistulf and Abbot Anselm's transfer of Sylvester's body in the political context of the mid-eighth century.¹⁶ Secondly, after a short investigation of the relations between the monastery of St Sylvester *in monte Soracte* and Carloman son of Charles Martel, I will turn to the Roman side, by examining the papal version of the event, which took place after the incursion by the Lombard army. The main sources here are the lives of Popes Stephen II and Paul I featured in the *Liber Pontificalis (LP)*, some letters which these pontiffs sent to the Frankish king Pippin, and documents pertaining to the founding of the monastery of St Sylvester *in Capite*. Lastly, returning to Nonantola, I will analyse how the monastic community responded to this dispute, and particularly how it redeveloped the memory of the translation of the relics and of the very founding of the abbey in accordance with new political requirements that emerged over the course of the Middle Ages.

King Aistulf and the Nonantolan translatio

The Acta sanctorum of Nonantola and the Text of the translatio Silvestri

In the medieval period, the Abbey of Nonantola boasted a rich and valuable library.¹⁷ This was first established by its founder Anselm (c.730-803) in the early years of the community, and it was then enlarged by his successors through acquisitions and the work carried out by copyists in the adjacent *scriptorium*. In the modern age most of the codices were gradually transferred to Rome and today the abbey holds only three manuscripts:¹⁸ a late eleventh-century Gradual;¹⁹ the so-called »Gospel Book of Matilda of Tuscany«, also from the late eleventh century;²⁰ and the hagiographical codex entitled *Acta sanctorum*.

This codex was bound in the eighteenth century by putting together two existing manuscripts. In total it comprises four separate codicological units, which, on palaeographical grounds, can be dated to the years between the late tenth century and the beginning of the twelfth.²¹ These quires bring together all the forms of veneration and hagiographical legends associated with the abbey. In the early years, these legends must have been transmitted in a purely oral form. Then, between the tenth and eleventh centuries, the monastic community felt the need to record in writing the hagiographical and memorial material on which it based its identity and its political claims.²² A palaeographical analysis of the handwriting can

16 On the attention Lombards devoted to Roman relics, see Ammannati, *La lettera papiracea*.

17 Pollard, »Libri di scuola spirituale«, 332. Branchi, *Scriptorium*. On the importance of the exploitation of the written word for early medieval monasteries, see Smith, *Aedificatio sancti loci*.

18 See Branchi, *Scriptorium*, 115-119.

19 See Branchi, *Scriptorium*, 230-233.

20 See Branchi, *Scriptorium*, 254-262.

21 Branchi, *Scriptorium*, 272; Golinelli, *Agiografia monastica*. See also the detailed description in Parente and Piccini, *Splendore riconquistato*, 125-132.

22 On the practice of historiography at Nonantola, see Frison, *Note di storiografia*. A survey on the polysemic uses of the past is given in Innes, *Introduction: using the past*; see also Geary, *Phantoms*. On relations between oral and written tradition, see Goody, *The Power*.

therefore provide a rough date for the texts, although this does not necessarily coincide with the moment in which the narratives were originally drafted. Some internal textual evidence suggests that there is a likely temporal rift between the development of the stories and the redaction of the manuscript we have. Let us take a brief look at the four codicological units before focusing on the one that is of most interest for the present article.

The first codicological unit includes a life of the founder, Abbot Anselm,²³ a list of the abbots of the monastery, and the transcription of some letters from Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) concerning the autonomy of abbeys with respect to bishops. Although it is most likely that the texts were developed earlier, the handwriting can be dated to the early twelfth century, which makes this section the latest of the four.²⁴ Originally it must have made up the final part of another manuscript, as the *folia* are numbered in Roman numerals from 276 to 283. The same section was also the last to be bound with the other quires to create the present codex.

The second codicological unit constitutes the earliest and original nucleus of the Nonantolan hagiographical collection. It consists of the *Vita sancti Silvestri*, written in a measured and calligraphic Carolingian minuscule which may be dated to the last decades of the tenth century.²⁵ The text belongs to the so-called C version of the *AS*. Ever since the research conducted on the complex tradition of this text, first by Wilhelm Levison and later by Wilhelm Pohlkamp, three different versions have been identified, A, B, and C.²⁶ The studies in question aimed to produce a critical edition of the text, but this has yet to be published, owing to the large number of witnesses – roughly 300 codices in Latin, 90 in Greek, and several in Syriac.²⁷ Version A is the earliest of the three main redactions; it is written in Latin and was first recorded in manuscript form in the tenth century. The second-earliest version is B, which is characterised by a new prologue assigning the work to Eusebius of Caesarea; its manuscript tradition can be traced back to the eighth century. Finally, the most recent version, C, combines the previous two with certain additions; most significantly, it draws upon *LP*. No manuscripts earlier than the mid-ninth century are preserved for this version.²⁸

It is noteworthy that the veneration of Sylvester also reached its peak in three moments: the first occurred between the fifth and the sixth century, when Pope Symmachus established the first core of the Sylvester cult and dedicated to the saint the *titulus Equitii* on the Esquiline (the current church of San Martino ai Monti).²⁹ The second occurred in the seventh

23 *BHL* 541; edited in *Vita Anselmi abbatis Nonantulani*, ed. Waitz, 566-570; *Vita di sant'Anselmo*, ed. Bortolotti, 255-263.

24 Golinelli, *Agiografia monastica*, 24.

25 Branchi, *Scriptorium*, 273. The hypothesis of the end of the tenth century is proposed by Golinelli, *Agiografia e culto*, 33; instead inclined towards the eleventh century are Ludwig Bethman in *Vita Anselmi abbatis Nonantulani*, ed. Waitz, 566; Gaudenzi, *Monastero di Nonantola*, 279; Bortolotti, *Antica vita*, 178.

26 See Levison, *Konstantinische Schenkung*; Pohlkamp, *Tradition und Topographie*.

27 Canella, *Gli Actus Silvestri tra Oriente e Occidente*, 242.

28 Canella, *Gli Actus Silvestri*, 5. It is also the only one printed in Mombricitius, *Sanctuarium sive Vitae Sanctorum*, ed. Quentin and Brunet, 508-531.

29 Canella, *Gli Actus Silvestri tra Oriente e Occidente*, 242. See Boaga, *Complesso titolare*. On the division of the city of Rome in twenty-five *tituli*, see McKitterick, *Rome and the Invention*, 57; Guidobaldi, *Organizzazione dei tituli*.

century, under Sergius I's pontificate (687-701), when there is evidence of the existence of an oratory dedicated to St Sylvester in the Lateran palace.³⁰ Finally, the third moment was in the mid-eighth century – the very period we are focusing on – when Pope Paul I founded the monastery of St Sylvester *in Capite* and Pope Hadrian I officially recognised the *AS*' narrative by mentioning it in two letters, addressed to Emperor Constantine VI (790-797) and Charlemagne (768-814).³¹ Until a critical edition of this text becomes available, it will be impossible to draw a close correspondence between these three moments and the different redactions of the text. However, as we shall see in the following pages, interesting correlations can be found between the political events of the eighth century and redaction C, the earliest manuscripts of which date from the middle of the following century. In the Nonantolan hagiographical codex, therefore, we find a late tenth-century redaction of version C, accompanied by an account of the *translatio* of Sylvester's body to Nonantola in the mid-eighth century.³²

The third codicological unit is devoted to the veneration of the martyr saints Synesius and Theopompus of Jerusalem, whose bodies were transferred to Nonantola from a small church in the Veneto attached to the monastery after the Hungarian invasions of the early tenth century.³³ The text covers the *passio* of the two martyrs, the translation of the relics to Nonantola, and the miracles worked by the two saints' bodies.³⁴ It may be dated to the mid-eleventh century.³⁵ This account is the most original one in the context of the Nonantolan hagiography, as it draws more directly upon the Benedictine hagiographical tradition, leaving aside the usual political and patrimonial issues recurring in the other texts.

Also dating from roughly the same period is the fourth and last codicological unit, which presents the *Constitutum Constantini* and the life of Pope Hadrian I. With the addition of the *Constitutum* to the Nonantolan hagiographical tradition, we have the *Silvesterlegende* in all of its various constitutive elements: the *AS*, the *translatio*, and, of course, the *Constitutum Constantini*, which represents the final redevelopment of the relations between Sylvester and Constantine.³⁶ This last account was put together between the eighth and the ninth century, probably in a Roman milieu.³⁷

30 *Liber Pontificalis*, 1.86, ed. Duchesne, 371.

31 Canella, *Gli Actus Silvestri* tra Oriente e Occidente, 245-246.

32 *BHL* 7736, 7736a, 7737; *De translatione sancti Silvestri*, ed. Bortolotti, 269-271.

33 See Bellelli, *I codici latini*.

34 *BHL* 8118 (*passio*), 8115 (*translatio*)

35 Branchi, *Scriptorium*, 273.

36 See *Constitutum Constantini*, ed. Fuhrmann.

37 On the *Constitutum Constantini* see Levison, *Konstantinische Schenkung*. Although it was probably composed in a Roman context, its composition among the Franks has, however, been proposed. On the latter hypothesis, see Fried, *Donation of Constantine*; recently, the Roman origin was maintained in Goodson and Nelson, *The Roman contexts*. In 1974, Pietro De Leo proposed that the *Constitutum* was written in Rome by a Greek monk who fled there after the iconoclastic crisis, maybe staying in the Greek monastery of St Sylvester *in Capite*: De Leo, *Constitutum Constantini*.

The life of Pope Hadrian I is narrated in two versions, in verse and in prose.³⁸ The contents are roughly the same, but, of course, the second version is more detailed and it is intended for a learned public, mostly consisting of clerics. The one hundred verses of the poetic version of the life are instead addressed to the *concio plebis*, the assembly of the people of Nonantola, who would probably listen to a recitation of the pope's deeds on what, according to the abbey's liturgical calendar, was his feast day, possibly 8th July.³⁹ This was believed to be the day of his death – at least at Nonantola – because of the fortuitous circumstances of Pope Hadrian III's death near the monastery in 885 on that very day.⁴⁰ The memory of Pope Hadrian III's death – and of the burial of his body in the abbatial church – was thus intentionally kept vague by the monks in order to establish the local veneration of Hadrian I. Scholars investigating the two texts have long wondered which was composed first. Judging from the textual motifs and the two modes of fruition, it is most commonly held nowadays that the two texts were composed around the same time, with two different target audiences in mind.⁴¹

Let us now return to the section dedicated to St Sylvester in order to add some philological details before dealing with its content. As already mentioned, the great hagiographical codex from Nonantola devotes an entire section to St Sylvester's life in its C version. It is noteworthy that this is the only redaction to mention the pontiff's death and his burial in the Priscilla cemetery along the Via Salaria, a few miles north of Rome.⁴² This detail may have been added to the legend in the eighth century, which is to say when St Sylvester's relics started attracting some interest even outside the Church of Rome: the latter would have felt the need to reaffirm that their current location was the original one, which had remained unchanged since the fourth century.

Likewise, the account of the translation of the relics is recorded in a small number of codices, all belonging to redaction C. In his edition of the entire Nonantolan hagiographical corpus, produced in the late nineteenth century, Pietro Bortolotti identified another six witnesses in addition to the Nonantolan one – three preserved in France, three in Belgium.⁴³ From a palaeographical standpoint, the version preserved at Nonantola is the earliest, since it is written in a late tenth-century Caroline minuscule.⁴⁴ Over the course of its history, the

38 *BHL* 3737, 3738; both texts are edited in Gaudenzi, *Monastero di Nonantola*, 280-312.

39 In the same quire as the life of Abbot Anselm, a mass for Pope Hadrian's feast day has also been copied; see Golinelli, *Agiografia e culto*, 45.

40 *Liber Pontificalis* 2.112, ed. Duchesne, 191; *Annales Fuldenses*, a. 885, ed. Pertz, 401-402.

41 Ropa, *Agiografie e liturgia*, 43-44.

42 Canella, *Gli Actus Silvestri tra Oriente e Occidente*, 242; Scorza Barcellona, *Silvestro I. On the matrona Priscilla and the cemetery named after her*, see McKitterick, *Rome and the Invention*, 91, 122.

43 Bortolotti, *Antica vita*, 178. Quoting the *BHL* online database, Golinelli (*Agiografia monastica*, 28) indicates sixteen manuscripts attesting the first version of the *translatio* (*BHL* 7736), one for the second (*BHL* 7736a) and twelve for the third (*BHL* 7737). However, a first analysis of the catalogues of the various libraries has shown that these data are groundless.

44 Bortolotti, *Antica vita*, 178, but the dating to the late tenth century is proposed by Golinelli, *Agiografia e culto*, 33.

manuscript must also have served a liturgical function, since in the margins, for the whole length of the text, the pages bear rubrics dividing it by *lectiones*. Their enumeration, which from the third *lectio* to the last, the eighth, is given in Arabic numerals, enables us to date the manuscript to the thirteenth century, and hence to confirm the enduring use of this text in the everyday life of the monastic community.⁴⁵

Scholars have yet to examine the philological relations between the Nonantolan witness and the other six, later, transalpine manuscripts, so it is impossible to propose a *stemma codicum* for the text. As far as dates are concerned, Troyes MGT anc. 7, Paris BNF lat. 3788 and Bruxelles KBR 5519-5526 have been dated to the twelfth century; Namur MAAN vil. 15 and Bruxelles KBR 206 to the thirteenth; and Bruxelles KBR 8515 to the fifteenth. Bortolotti thus based his edition on the earliest Nonantolan witness – even though he regarded it as more recent than the latest studies have shown it to be – and was only able to check the variants in three of the six transalpine manuscripts.⁴⁶ Bortolotti also discovered a *recensio brevior* of the text in a codex from the Philipps Collection of the Brussels Royal Library (KBR),⁴⁷ which he believed to belong to a different tradition from that of the Nonantolan version present in the other manuscripts.⁴⁸

Let us now turn to examine the content of the *translatio Silvestri* and try to set it in its historical context, since the veneration of Pope Sylvester I stretched back to the very origins of the abbey. The monks maintained that the saint's body had been retrieved in Rome by the Lombard king Aistulf, who had then handed it over to his brother-in-law Anselm, in order for it to be preserved in his monastery. In the early years multiple names were associated with the abbey, but in the tenth century Nonantola exclusively came to be named after St Sylvester. In the following section, I will discuss the events which occurred in the mid-eighth century, as these constitute an essential starting point for grasping the memorial and identity-building strategies adopted by the monks over the course of the following centuries.

King Aistulf's Military Expedition of 755

The events related to the *translatio* took place in the context of King Aistulf's military operations against the Roman duchy between 755 and 756, when Lombard troops occupied the territory and besieged Rome for almost three months. In the early years of his reign (749-752), Aistulf pursued a bold expansionist policy which enabled him to conquer almost all of the central northern Italian territories still nominally under Constantinople's control.⁴⁹ The king then took advantage of his dominant position to strike a forty-five-year peace agreement with the newly elected Pope Stephen II.⁵⁰ However, the situation changed radically for

45 On the liturgical use of the *translatio*, see Tiraboschi, *Storia dell'augusta badia* 1, 67; on Nonantolan liturgy in general, see Ropa, *Agiografie e liturgia*.

46 Troyes MGT anc. 7, Namur MAAN vil. 15 and Bruxelles KBR 206.

47 *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Bruxelliensis* 2, 437-439. See the edition of the text in *Translatio Sancti Silvestri*, ed. Bortolotti, 272.

48 Bortolotti, *Antica vita*, 178.

49 On mid-eighth-century political events in Italy involving the Lombards, the Franks and Rome, see Delogu, *Lombard and Carolingian Italy*, 294-300; Gasparri, *Italia longobarda*, 100-106. A specific enquiry on Aistulf's political and military choices is provided by Hallenbeck, *Pavia and Rome*, 52-85. On the 756 siege of Rome, see Hallenbeck, *Rome under attack*.

50 See Noble, *Republic of St. Peter*, 71-78; Hallenbeck, *Pavia and Rome*, 52-59.

Aistulf following the pontiff's negotiations with Pippin III – who had just supplanted the Merovingian Childeric III on the Frankish throne (751)⁵¹ – and his first Italian expedition in 754.⁵² The siege of Rome may have been an attempt by the Lombard king to force Stephen II to grant the Lombards a more favourable agreement than the one they had been compelled to sign the previous year, under the threat of Pippin's army.⁵³

The hagiographical narrative offers the following version of the story: after founding the monastery of Nonantola, which housed phalanges of monks right from the start,⁵⁴ Anselm decided to make the abbey the final resting place for St Sylvester's limbs – the Latin uses the word *artus*, which I will return to shortly. Anselm therefore asked the king, who found himself in the territory of the Roman duchy, to authorise the transportation of the holy relics from Rome. In this passage we catch a glimpse of the later Carolingian laws concerning the transfer of relics, which was only deemed legal if sanctioned by the authorities.⁵⁵ Aistulf agreed and so Anselm, escorted by a group of monks, was able to retrieve Sylvester's body – the text now uses the word *corpus* – and to take it back to Nonantola in order to bury it in the abbey's church. As though to confirm the rightfulness and lawfulness of the translation, the saint already started working various miracles on the way back, showing his approval of Anselm's actions.⁵⁶

The narrative, then, is quite straightforward: in order to increase the aura of sanctity and symbolic weight of his monastery, the founder decided to obtain one of the most coveted and valuable relics in Christendom. The circumstances were favourable because Aistulf was already near Rome – the hagiographer casually glosses over the very earthly military deeds in which the king was engaged – and was bound to consent to his brother-in-law's operation. As though heading a procession, Anselm entered Rome and *cum reverentia* removed the saint from his original grave. I have emphasised the two terms used by the Nonantolan hagiographer, *artus* and *corpus*, because the choice of these words might express a sort of *excusatio* to the Church of Rome and the pope, the previous keepers of the relics; as such, it might reflect a concern to avoid the charge of performing a *furtum sacrum*.⁵⁷ Anselm had set off with the intention of retrieving only the saint's limbs, which is to say one or more portions of what remained of his mortal body. In all likelihood, all that remained was bones, seeing that 400 years or more had gone by. It was only for reasons beyond Anselm's control – namely Aistulf's desire to retrieve the relics and the dilapidated condition of the Roman cemetery (although the hagiographer does not dwell on such matters) – that the Nonantolan mission ultimately returned with the whole *corpus*, which is to say with all that remained of Sylvester's body.

51 See Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, 290-292.

52 See Gasparri, *Italia longobarda*, 105-107.

53 Hallenbeck, *Rome under attack*, 206.

54 On the historical consistency of this hagiographic *topos*, see Schmid, *Anselm von Nonantola*.

55 See Veronese, *Rispetto delle leggi*. On Carolingian regulation on the cult of saints, see Fouracre, *Origins of the Carolingians*.

56 *De translatione sancti Silvestri*, ed. Bortolotti, 269-271.

57 On the concept, see Geary, *Furta sacra*, 3-27.

This text supports two distinct levels of reflection on the events reported. First, this version of the story is told from the perspective of Nonantola, according to the earliest reconstruction. I will get back to later redevelopments shortly. One piece of historical information that seems plausible, as it is also reported by the Roman sources, is the role played by King Aistulf in the relics episode. The first level of reflection, therefore, concerns the political behaviour of the leading actors of the mid-eighth century. In other words, it consists in reflecting on the religious and symbolic motivations behind the retrieval of the relics of St Sylvester and their placement in the Abbey of Nonantola, which had been founded through the crucial contribution of Aistulf.

In a charter granted to the abbey by Louis the Pious and Lothar in 825, Anselm's church is said to have been dedicated to *omnium apostolorum* (to all the apostles), and to be the place where the body of St Sylvester rests, »in quo beatus Sylvester corpore requiescit«. ⁵⁸ Only a few decades later, then, do we find some indirect evidence attesting to the translation of the relics. Given that we have no references to any translation from either the Carolingian period or the reign of Desiderius (757-774), Aistulf's successor, St Sylvester's relics – or part of them – must have been transported from Rome to Nonantola in the period indicated by the Nonantolan narrative. Just as King Liutprand (712-744) decided to retrieve the remains of a Church Father in order to enshrine them in the church in the capital of his kingdom, possibly the church dearest to him, ⁵⁹ so King Aistulf sought to implement a similar plan by retrieving from Rome the relics of Sylvester, the pope who had converted Emperor Constantine, and hence the whole West, to Christianity. ⁶⁰ As we shall see in the following section, the memory of St Sylvester and the tradition associated with him were to become a source of competition with the Carolingians, who, in those years, were busy consolidating and legitimising their royal power. ⁶¹

Secondly, another level of reflection pertains to the memorial and identity-building discourses developed by the monastic community over the course of its history. The veneration of the saint at Nonantola is attested from the ninth century, when at least two copies of the *AS* had been copied following the C version, but without any reference to the relics of Sylvester. ⁶² It then intensified over the course of the tenth century, when the life and *translatio Silvestri* were copied in the manuscript which later became the ancient section of the *Acta sanctorum*. In this respect, the reception of Carolingian regulations in the narrative adaptation of the account suggests that this was first laid down before the drafting of the current Nonantolan manuscript, possibly in the late ninth or early tenth century. The cult was intended to celebrate the figure of Sylvester by establishing a direct parallel between the pope

58 *DD Lu I*, ed. Kölzer, n. 249; *RI 1*, ed. Mühlbacher and Lechner, 321. The dedication to Sylvester is already mentioned in Charlemagne's diplomas for Nonantola: the first original is the second granted by the king in 780: *RI 1*, ed. Mühlbacher and Lechner, 96; *DD Kar I*, ed. Mühlbacher, n. 131.

59 Di Muro, *Usò politico*.

60 On Aistulf's symbolic and ideological programme, see Harrison, *Political rhetoric*, 250-251.

61 On the Pippinid conquest of Frankish royal power, see Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, 287-292; Goosmann, *Memorable Crises*, 159-204; Fouracre, *Long shadow*; Ricciardi, *Re e aristocrazia*.

62 St. Gallen 567 and Bamberg patr. 20. See Bischoff, *Manoscritti nonantolani*, 111-114; Branchi, *Scriptorium*, 175-178.

and the founder Anselm, and between Constantine and the Lombard king Aistulf, who was also praised as the founder of the abbey. This kind of hagiographical discourse was essentially designed to provide ideological support to the political claims of the abbey, whose political and spiritual influence had been waning significantly over the course of the tenth century.

The Roman Account: Reticence and Sanctity

St Sylvester in Monte Soracte and Carloman's Retirement

Before carefully examining the Roman version of what happened in 756, we must turn our attention to another monastic institution dedicated to the Constantinian pontiff, whose history appears to be closely related to the events we are investigating. In this case, what captures our interest is not so much the saint's relics, as the tradition of his veneration in the Roman area and its evolution over the course of the eighth century. The Roman monastery of St Sylvester *in monte Soracte* became particularly important for the cult of St Sylvester in this period through the action of Carloman, *maiordomus* of the Frankish kingdom of Austrasia (741-747), eldest son of Charles Martel and brother of Pippin III.⁶³

Mount Soratte is a limestone mountain that dominates the Roman countryside. It rises in the Tiber Valley north of the Eternal City and its slopes were already a place of religious worship in Antiquity. The first Christian traces date back from the earliest days of Christianity in Rome and Latium, when many hermits established themselves on the summit of the mountain to flee the world and engage in contemplation.⁶⁴ Benedict, a monk of S. Andrea al Soratte who wrote a *chronica* in the late tenth century,⁶⁵ traces the founding of the *aeclesia* of St Sylvester *in monte Soracte* back to Damasus' pontificate (366-384). He credits the pope himself with having established the monastery, to mark the site where Sylvester had sought refuge from Constantine's persecution,⁶⁶ even if, according to his tale, the latter emperor was also involved in the foundation of the church.⁶⁷ This information, which is not recorded anywhere else, is clearly inspired by the *Silvesterlegende* laid down in the *AS*.⁶⁸ The first historical attestation dates from the late sixth century, when Pope Gregory the Great described the life and miracles of a monk residing in the monastery »quod Soracte monte situm est« in the first book of his *Dialogi*.⁶⁹ The monk in question was Nonnosus, the *praepositus* of the monastery around the mid-sixth century, who had already given proof of his profound saintliness and miraculous powers during his lifetime.⁷⁰

63 On Carloman's political career, see McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, 33-34; Goosmann, *Politics and penance*.

64 Canella, *Luoghi di culto*, 329.

65 See *Chronicon di Benedetto*, ed. Zucchetti, VII-XX.

66 *Chronicon di Benedetto*, ed. Zucchetti, 9.

67 *Chronicon di Benedetto*, ed. Zucchetti, 6.

68 Mombricitus, *Sanctuarium sive Vitae Sanctorum*, ed. Quentin and Brunet, 511.

69 Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, 1.7, ed. de Vogüé, 66.

70 See *Acta Sanctorum*, 2nd September.

The most detailed source concerning the history of the monastery between the sixth and the eighth century is undoubtedly monk Benedict's chronicle, even though it was only composed in the late tenth century. In addition to drawing upon other historical accounts in relation to earlier periods – including the Venerable Bede, the *LP*, and Gregory the Great –⁷¹ it is most likely that Benedict had exclusive access to legends and oral accounts of the history of the first monastery *in monte Soracte* and that he incorporated them into his work. However, by the time of his writing, the dedication of the monastery to St Sylvester had certainly been established for at least two centuries, so much so that the pontiff's tomb could be placed inside the abbatial church, along with a commemorative tombstone.⁷² It is reasonable to assume, then, that the attribution of the dedication of the monastery to Sylvester was an effort on the chronicler's part to backdate the cult of the saint *ab origine*. Besides, the very legend featured in the *AS* affirms the holiness of Mount Soratte for the first time by stating that St Peter and St Paul appeared to the emperor in a dream, ordering him to seek out Sylvester, whose hiding place they revealed to him.⁷³ Given that the two saints' intervention represents the centrepiece of Constantine's conversion story, Giuseppe Tomassetti has suggested that the first church erected on the slopes of the mountain was dedicated to Rome's two most prominent saints.⁷⁴

In this respect, what we know about the cult of St Nonnosus seems to confirm the hypothesis that the figure of Sylvester was originally assigned less weight. Nonnosus would appear to have been the primary object of devotion in the earliest monastic community *in monte Soracte*, even though his name is always associated with that of Sylvester.⁷⁵ If we once again turn to the only source close to the events in question, we realise that Pope Gregory makes no mention of the dedication of the monastery, as the focus of his narrative is specifically on the saint's life and deeds. After the miracles performed in his own lifetime, according to Pope Gregory, once deceased, Nonnosus' body was buried in the church on the slopes of the mountain, where he was venerated as a saint.⁷⁶ In the mid-eighth century even King Ratchis (744-749) and Queen Tassia made a pilgrimage to Nonnosus' tomb. Beyond Ratchis' veneration for the saint, this journey also shows that the Lombard king was always eager to control the shifting southern borders of his kingdom, and always kept an eye on Rome and southern Italy.⁷⁷ To strengthen Nonnosus' link with the monastery, monk Benedict recounts that while the royal couple was praying by his relics, the saint performed a miracle by freeing a man from the evil spirits possessing him.⁷⁸

71 *Chronicon di Benedetto*, ed. Zucchetti, XXII-XXIII.

72 *Chronicon di Benedetto*, ed. Zucchetti, 10.

73 Mombritius, *Sanctuarium sive Vitae Sanctorum*, ed. Quentin and Brunet, 511. See also Canella, *Storia e leggenda*, 32-34.

74 Tomassetti, *Della campagna romana*, 557; Canella, *Luoghi di culto*, 329.

75 See Tomassetti, *Della campagna romana*, 555-560.

76 *Chronicon di Benedetto*, ed. Zucchetti, 22.

77 See, in this volume, Heath, *Aspects of movement and mobility*.

78 *Chronicon di Benedetto*, ed. Zucchetti, 66.

In the mid-eighth century, the situation changed drastically and the monastery *in monte Soracte* acquired European-wide relevance. It was at this time that the abbey came to be unambiguously associated with St Sylvester and his cult, even though no mention of his relics is made in our sources.⁷⁹ Even more interestingly, this link emerges from Frankish sources, those closest to the Carolingian royal household. The Pippinids' interest in the cult of this saint no doubt introduced a significant novelty in the papal tradition of the discourse on Sylvester, since for the first time a political actor outside the Roman milieu appropriated it in order to legitimise his recent acquisition of royal power.

Following his victorious campaign against the Alamanni in 746,⁸⁰ according to the *Annales Regni Francorum (ARF)*,⁸¹ Carloman confided to his brother Pippin III that he wished to leave the saeculum in order to become a monk. The following year he reached Rome, was tonsured, and founded a monastery dedicated to St Sylvester on Mount Soratte. Some time later, Carloman moved to Monte Cassino and took up the monastic life there.

The version of the *ARF* in the so-called *continuatio Einhardi* added two more highly interesting details which, as we shall see, were later rearranged in the last version of the event provided by Einhard's *Vita Karoli*. The account of the *continuatio* features a direct reference to the *AS* – although no mention is made of the Church of Rome – with regard to the reason for Carloman's founding of the Soratte monastery: »ubi quondam tempore persecutionis, quae sub Constantino imperatore facta est, sanctus Silvestrus latuisse fertur«. Carloman would have chosen to move to Monte Cassino after receiving virtuous advice from someone whose identity is not mentioned.⁸² As the narrative of the *ARF* provides the »official« Carolingian version of the event,⁸³ it must be recalled that Carloman belonged to the kinship branch that had lost the contest for the throne.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the episode brings out powerfully the desire to establish a direct link between the Pippinids, who were seeking to legitimise their royal power after the coup of 751, and the Roman and Christian imperial tradition embodied by St Sylvester.

However, other sources complicate the picture. The *Annales Mettenses Priores* reveal that the advice in question was offered by Pope Zachary, thereby bringing the pontifical voice into the narrative, which had been noticeably absent in the two previous versions. Like the *ARF*, the *Annales Mettenses* were drafted in a milieu very close to the Carolingian family: they may have been written by Gisela herself, Charlemagne's sister and the abbess of Chelles.⁸⁵ Their

79 A document from the register of Pope Gregory II (715-731) already records the dedication to Sylvester: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 2207, ed. Jaffé *et al.*, 255. However, since it survives only inside the *Collectio Canonum* of Deusdedit composed in the eleventh century, there is no need to refer to it here; see *Kanonessammlung des Kardinal Deusdedit*, 3.231, ed. Glanvell, 369.

80 *Annales Mettenses Priores*, a. 746, ed. Simson, 37. See Becher, *Verschleierte Krise*.

81 *Annales Regni Francorum*, a. 746, ed. Kurze, 6.

82 *Annales Regni Francorum*, a. 746, ed. Kurze, 7.

83 McKitterick, *Constructing the past*, 115.

84 The Carolingian accounts should therefore be read bearing that in mind, as pointed out by Goosmann, *Politics and penance*, 53.

85 See Nelson, *Gender and genre*.

account, though, presents the event in a more neutral form, so to speak, by leaving out the figure of Sylvester and focusing the whole action on the pontiff: having decided to leave his kingdom, Carloman moved to Rome, where Pope Zachary ordained him a monk and advised him to withdraw to Monte Cassino and live there under the guidance of Abbot Optatus (750-760).⁸⁶

A very similar narrative, with no references to Sylvester or even Mount Soratte, is featured in the *LP*'s life of Zachary.⁸⁷ It is conceivable that Carloman's plans about Soratte were not received favourably in Rome, both because they would have been viewed as an interference in the cult of Sylvester, and because Stephen II's interlocutor had always been Pippin, not his brother.⁸⁸ So what was later recorded in the *LP* must be a watered-down version of the event, which already took account of the later compromises struck by the two parties – as we shall soon see.

On the Carolingian side, the final rereading of Carloman's actions was provided by Einhard in the *Vita Karoli*:⁸⁹ probably out of love of the contemplative life, Pippin's brother resigned from the secular government of the kingdom, travelled to Rome *in otium*, and then – after taking the monastic vows – moved to Mount Soratte. Here, around the church of St Sylvester, he built a monastery in which he hoped to find the tranquillity he was looking for, along with his brothers, who had joined him from across the Alps. However, throngs of noblemen started heading towards Rome from Francia, in order to visit Carloman, to the point that the latter decided to move away to escape the constant disturbance. Leaving Mount Soratte, he reached the monastery of St Benedict at Monte Cassino, where he lived out the rest of his days.⁹⁰

Einhard does not assign the pontiffs any weight in the event but makes sure to distinguish between the existence of a church of St Sylvester on Mount Soratte and Carloman's monastic foundation. This subtle distinction may be regarded as the outcome of the negotiation between the Carolingians and the pontiffs: while being welcomed into the monastic world of Roman central Italy, Carloman did not appropriate the figure of St Sylvester. Once freed from the awkward self-legitimising discourse of the Carolingians, the saint's memory and cult would have remained exclusively connected to the Church of Rome and its popes – had it not been for Aistulf.

86 *Annales Mettenses Priores*, a. 746-747, ed. Simson, 37-38.

87 *Liber Pontificalis*, 1.93, ed. Duchesne, 433. On Frankish additions in this *LP* section, see McKitterick, *Rome and the Invention*, 210-216.

88 On Pope Stephen II's role in shaping the Carolingian-Roman allegiance, see Noble, *Republic of St. Peter*, 71-94; McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 146-148. For his part, Carloman served as Aistulf's envoy at Pippin's court in 754: Hallenbeck, Pavia and Rome, 77-78.

89 Later, Regino of Prüm also told of Carloman. He basically relied on the ARF account (recension B), but also expanded the tale in order to make a hero out of Carloman, an *exemplum memorabile*; see Goosmann, Politics and penance, 51-53.

90 Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, 2, ed. Holder-Egger, 4-5.

Pope Paul I and the Roman Account on St Sylvester's Relics

Let us now consider the relics episode from the Roman side.⁹¹ King Aistulf's military operations in the Roman duchy in the late months of 755 are also associated with the removal of the relics by Roman sources, within the Church of Rome (the *LP*),⁹² and by the *Codex Carolinus*. Although the *Codex* brings together letters which the pontiffs addressed to the Frankish court, the collection was commissioned by Charlemagne. The representation of power and relations which this collection provides should be regarded as a Frankish political statement, albeit one expressed through the papal voice.⁹³ However, the picture both these sources paint is an inconsistent one.

First of all, we can rely on three letters which Pope Stephen II sent King Pippin to ask for his aid against Aistulf's incursions into the duchy's territory and for troops to break the siege on Rome.⁹⁴ These letters describe the many acts of devastation perpetrated by the Lombards: outside the city, buildings, churches and monasteries were pillaged and set on fire; monks were murdered and nuns raped and killed; many Romans were seized as slaves or slain.⁹⁵ The life of the pontiff included in the *LP* adds further details concerning these events:

everything outside the city this pestilential (*pestifer*) Aistulf devastated with fire and sword, and thoroughly wrecked and consumed it, pressing mightily on so that he could capture this city of Rome. He even dug up the sacred cemeteries of the saints and stole many of their bodies, which was greatly to his own soul's detriment.⁹⁶

Based on the expression »*multa corpora sanctorum [...] abstulit*«, subsequent chroniclers, as well as modern historians, have attributed generic *furta sacra* to Aistulf designed to breathe new spiritual life into the churches of Pavia and the kingdom through the relics of saints.⁹⁷ The only translation we can identify is precisely that of St Sylvester, although the Roman sources do not mention it explicitly.

A detailed analysis of the *LP*'s account, however, would appear to suggest that the whole passage on Aistulf must be interpreted in the light of the last sentence: »*ad magnum anime sue detrimentum*«. For obvious reasons, throughout the text the king is portrayed in totally negative terms, as a diabolical figure.⁹⁸ All value judgements aside, the biographer sought to demonstrate that the king's earthly behaviour was bound to have repercussions on his

91 For the earlier papal policy on relics, see Goodson, *Building for bodies*.

92 A comprehensive analysis of the text is provided by Capo, *Liber Pontificalis*; and now McKitterick, *Rome and the Invention*; see also Gasparri, *Italia longobarda*, 154-164.

93 Gasparri, *Italia longobarda*, 105. On the *Codex Carolinus*, see Van Espelo, *Testimony of Carolingian rule?*

94 *Codex Carolinus*, 8, 9, 10, ed. Gundlach, 494-503.

95 *Codex Carolinus* 9, ed. Gundlach, 498-500.

96 *Liber Pontificalis*, 1.94, ed. Duchesne, 451-452: »*Omnia extra urbem ferro et igne devastans atque funditus demolens consumpsit, imminens vehementius hisdem pestifer Aistulfus ut hanc Romanam capere potuisset urbem. Nam et multa corpora sanctorum, effodiens eorum sacra cymiteria, ad magnum anime sue detrimentum*«. The quote is from *Lives of the Eight-Century Popes*, 94, trans. Davis, 68. On this biography, see Gantner, *Lombard recension*, 68-70.

97 *Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. Pertz, 475; *Pauli diaconi continuatio tertia*, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, 209. An enquiry about the relics Aistulf took can be found in Tomea, *Intorno a S. Giulia*, 41-46. Doubts as to what actually happened have also been expressed by Goodson, *Relics translation*, 125.

98 The life of Stephen II also exists in a so-called Lombard recension, which eliminates all the negative adjectives used to describe King Aistulf and the Lombards; see Gantner, *Lombard recension*; McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 52; Lidia Capo believes that the redaction is of Roman origin: Capo, *Liber Pontificalis*, 64-65.

soul. Aistulf's profanation of cemeteries and theft of numerous bodies of saints no doubt represented the culmination of a series of increasingly wicked behaviours certainly destined to seal his damnation. This hypothesis is confirmed by a document issued by Stephen II's successor, his brother Paul I, who ruled as pontiff between 757 and 767. On 2nd June 761, he founded a monastery near an urban residence of his for the safekeeping and veneration of many of the relics buried in cemeteries and catacombs outside the city walls.⁹⁹ This measure had become necessary because of the state of abandonment in which those ancient places of worship lay. The text explains how, in addition to the ravages of time, the tombs had recently suffered devastation at the hands of the Lombards, who had profaned, pillaged and demolished them, stealing the bodies of some saints: »quorundam sanctorum depredati auferentes secum deportaverunt corpora«. Therefore, the Lombard troops would appear to have stolen only some of these relics.

This deed is crucial for the dossier on St Sylvester's relics transmitted by the Roman tradition. The monastery founded by Paul I was dedicated precisely to saints Sylvester and Stephen and was conceived by the pontiff as a means to permanently enshrine the cult of St Sylvester in Rome by combining for the first time a dedication to the saint with the burial of his remains:

ut, quia beatus Silvester christianorum inluminator fidei, cuius sanctum corpus in nostro monasterio a nobis reconditum requiescit, pridem persecutionem paganorum fugiens conversatus est, iustum prospeximus, ut sub eius fuisset ditione, ubi ipsum venerandum requiescit corpus.¹⁰⁰

To this day, the church preserves its original dedication, having acquired the name of St Sylvester *in Capite*, meaning precisely St Pope Sylvester I. The foundation charter itself, which is now lost, bore on the *verso* the date on which the two saints were buried in the new church, shortly after the founding day, 2nd June 761: the *corpus* of St Sylvester was brought to the monastery the following 9th June, that of St Stephen on 17th August.¹⁰¹ The transfer of the relics from the cemetery of Priscilla on the Via Salaria, outside the city of Rome, is further confirmed – as we shall see – by a letter that pontiff Paul I addressed to King Pippin not long afterwards, as well as by the account of this pope's life in the *LP*:

this holy prelate constructed from the ground up a monastery in his own house in honour of St Stephen the martyr and pontiff and St Sylvester, another pontiff and a confessor of Christ. He built a chapel on to this monastery's upper walls, and with great veneration he deposited their bodies there.¹⁰²

99 *Concilia aevi Karolini*, 12, ed. Werminghoff, 64-70. On the eighth-century papacy's relics' policy, see Smith, *Care of relics*; Maskarinec, *City of Saints*.

100 *Codex Carolinus*, 42, ed. Gundlach, 556; see also *Regesto del monastero di S. Silvestro*, ed. Federici, 216-226.

101 *Concilia aevi Karolini*, 12, ed. Werminghoff, 65.

102 *Liber Pontificalis*, 1.95, ed. Duchesne, 464: »Hic sanctissimus presul in sua propria domu monasterium a fundamentis in honore sancti Stephani, scilicet martyris atque pontifices, necnon et beati Silvestri, idem pontificis et confessoris Christi construxit. Ubi et oraculum in superioribus eiusdem monasterii moeniis aedificans, eorum corpora magna cum veneratione condidit«. The quote is from *Lives of the Eight-Century Popes*, 85, trans. Davis, 81.

To complete the establishment of the cult of St Sylvester from a papal perspective, Paul I also needed to settle the issue of St Sylvester *in monte Soracte* and of its relationship with the Pippinid dynasty. The only sources about this are two letters which Paul I addressed to Pippin between 761 and 767. As these epistles too come from the *Codex Carolinus*, it is possible to interpret them on two distinct levels. The first letter, sent between 761 and 762, informs us that Carloman's presence on Mount Soratte was due to Pope Zachary, who had donated the monastery of St Sylvester to him. We further learn that Pippin later asked Paul I to donate the monastery to him, and that the pontiff granted his request.¹⁰³ It is immediately evident that this account conflicts with what the *LP* states in its life of Zachary, where no mention at all is made of Mount Soratte with reference to Carloman. Perhaps, as he could not deny the latter's involvement in the cult of Sylvester on Mount Soratte alongside his brother, Paul I sought at least to bring this involvement back within the pontifical orbit, by imagining that his predecessor was responsible for Carloman's presence on the mountain. It is more difficult to make sense of Pippin's request that the pope donate the same monastery to him, but it may reflect the king's desire to follow in his brother's footsteps and remain associated with the Roman Christian imperial tradition embodied by Sylvester.

Be that as it may, the issues would appear to have been settled for good shortly afterwards, as the second letter – already mentioned above, and written between 762 and 767 – informs us that the king of the Franks returned the monastery *in monte Soracte* to the pontiff, that the latter might complete the foundation of his own abbey of Saints Sylvester and Stephen: Pippin granted the pope possession of the other monastery of St Sylvester too »ad laudem Dei et vestri [i.e. Pippin's] memoriam«. ¹⁰⁴ To further strengthen the political and ideological-symbolic relations between the Pippinids and the Church of Rome, Paul I enshrined the relic of St Denis which his brother Stephen II had brought back to Rome from Francia as a gift from Pippin in the new monastery of St Sylvester. Not only was an altar dedicated to the first Bishop of Paris inside the church, but his name was added to the dedication of the monastery itself.¹⁰⁵ The dedication was retained until the twelfth century.¹⁰⁶

Paul I was thus able to bring together the tradition and cult of St Sylvester in a single place, under solid papal patronage. The memory of the saintly pontiff could only become associated with – and exploited by – the Frankish political authorities through the Church of Rome, which imposed itself as a mediator. The Pippinids/Carolingians thus agreed to leave the figure of Sylvester to the popes because, through their mediation, they would still be able to ensure the kind of legitimation of their own royal power that they had been seeking since the coup of 751.¹⁰⁷ However, the *Codex Carolinus* bears witness to Charlemagne's desire to preserve the memory of these events and of his uncle and father's connection with St Sylvester *in monte Soracte*: echoing earlier Frankish sources, these letters evoke the dynasty's direct relationship with the saintly pontiff.

103 *Codex Carolinus*, 23, ed. Gundlach, 526-527.

104 *Codex Carolinus*, 42, ed. Gundlach, 554-556.

105 Hilduin, *Libro de sancto Dionysio*, ed. Waitz, 3. See Ferrari, *Early Roman Monastery*, 302-312; Goodson, *Rome of Pope Paschal I*, 214.

106 *Regesto del monastero di S. Silvestro*, ed. Federici, 220.

107 On the following developments, such as the choice of Saint Petronilla as the patron saint of the Frankish royal family and Paul I's *parrainage* to Pippin's daughter Gisela, see Goodson, *To be daughter*; McKitterick, *Charlemagne, Rome and the management*. In general, on the ability of the papacy as a political and cultural mediator, see Gantner, *Eighth-century papacy*.

The church of St Sylvester *in Capite* immediately became a place of worship and veneration on account of the many bodies of saints and martyrs – around fifty – which had been brought there from dilapidated cemeteries outside the city.¹⁰⁸ A set of inscriptions still preserved in the churchyard lists the *Dies nataliciorum* (feast days) of the saints found in the church, divided by gender.¹⁰⁹ Based on an analysis of the writing, the inscription has been dated to the period of Paul I's pontificate.¹¹⁰

The Roman tradition about the relics of St Sylvester is therefore connected to the pontificate of Paul I, who held the apostolic throne in the decade following King Aistulf's campaign against Rome. In my opinion, it is important to take this close time-frame into account. To sum up, according to the papal version of the story, Aistulf's Lombards devastated the cemetery areas around and outside the city, with the chief aim of pillaging them. During this looting, the Lombards also removed some relics and bodies of saints, whose names are not mentioned. Given the utter state of ruin of the sepulchres, and to avoid the complete deterioration of those precious relics, Paul I then decided to found the monastery of St Sylvester *in Capite*. Shortly after its founding, the pontiff also transferred there the bodies of the two titular saints of the monastery, St Sylvester and St Stephen. The fact that no mention is to be found of the translation performed by Anselm, along with the emphasis given specifically to the relics of St Sylvester, betrays the disposition of the Roman ecclesiastical authorities towards the Nonantolan claims: the translation, in their view, had never occurred and St Sylvester's relics had never left the Eternal City.

A New Foundation Story for St Sylvester of Nonantola

After the initial disputes in the second half of the eighth century, the controversy surrounding the relics of St Sylvester would appear to have cooled down, as the two contrasting positions became entrenched. While significant, the sources at our disposal do not allow us to clarify what really happened, that is, whether Sylvester's relics – as a whole or just a portion – were transferred from their original location on the Via Salaria to Nonantola in 756 or whether they were brought within the Aurelian walls, into the newly established Roman monastery of St Stephen, St Sylvester and St Dionysius in 761. But ultimately this is not the point.

In Rome, the version developed by Pope Paul I in the years just after Aistulf's expedition was laid down in its final form with the redaction of the *LP*, where it was featured within the account of the pontiff's life. By contrast, at Nonantola, probably between the tenth and the eleventh century – as we will now see – the need must have been felt to redevelop the original story of the translation of the saint, which was established with the text appended to the account of his life. Perhaps the urge to redevelop the tradition of the founding of the abbey was due to the need to counter the version endorsed by Pope Paul I in Rome. No doubt, the monks sought to consolidate the ideological claims made by their abbey, which aimed to reassert its pre-eminence within European Christendom, since the tenth century had brought a marked decline in its political and spiritual prestige compared to the previous century.¹¹¹

108 Goodson, *Rome of Pope Paschal I*, 208; on Paul I's policy towards relics, see *ibid.*, 213–216.

109 Goodson, *Rome of Pope Paschal I*, 209–210.

110 *Monumenta epigraphica*, 37.1–2, ed. Silvagni. See Gray, *Paleography*, 52–53.

111 See Manarini, *Politiche regie e attivismo*, 58–74; Gelichi, *Monastero nel tempo*; Golinelli, *Nonantola nella lotta*.

The text of the *translatio* Silvestri we are focusing on was probably composed on the basis of oral accounts and legends dating back to the period in which the monastery was founded. The text continued to be copied and regarded as useful – not least for liturgical purposes – up until the late tenth century, judging from the handwriting in the surviving manuscript.¹¹² In the late Ottonian period, a moment of marked transition, the monastic community must have felt the need to redefine its identity-building discourse, which had hitherto rested on the hagiography of St Sylvester and on the founding of the monastery by Aistulf. The monks then established the sainthood of their first abbot, Anselm, by recording the *Actus vel transitus Anselmi abbatis*,¹¹³ but also by officially reserving a day in the liturgical calendar for his commemoration, 3rd March. The time frame for this process may be inferred from the agrarian contracts which the monastery drew up between 995 and 1019, where the rent day falls in March, rather than on the day of St Martin, on 11th November, as would have been customary.¹¹⁴

A new version of the translation of St Sylvester's relics – and hence too of the founding of the abbey – was inserted into the life of its founder Anselm, drafted in its final form around the mid-eleventh century,¹¹⁵ which is to say just a few decades after the text of the *translatio Silvestri* had been copied. In order to substantiate their account of the translation, this time the monks attributed a key role in this event to one of Paul I's successors, Pope Hadrian I (772-795): a widely renowned figure whose memory had become associated with the tradition of Carolingian power in Italy already in the years immediately after his death.¹¹⁶ The new tale inserted into the life of Anselm goes like this: while Pope Hadrian was in Rome, he was visited by the Lombard king Aistulf, who brought him various gifts for St Peter, including the praeceptum for the foundation of the monastery of Nonantola, which the king himself had granted Abbot Anselm not long before. The abbot himself was present and took the document and placed it on St Peter's body, thereby donating his monastery to the Church of Rome. The king then asked Hadrian to grant his brother-in-law the body of Pope Sylvester I. The pope agreed, consecrated Anselm as abbot, and placed Nonantola under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Ravenna Sergius, as his representative.¹¹⁷

As far as our enquiry is concerned, the most striking fabrication in this new version is the fact that Aistulf's reign is said to coincide with Hadrian's pontificate. Actually, the whole narrative is built around the role played by Hadrian and the legitimating memory of him, which is used to support all the monks' claims about the relics and, more generally, in favour of the abbey's autonomy. Even the figure of the real founder of the monastery Anselm is de-emphasised in this new account, since he only plays a secondary role compared to Aistulf – the person responsible for founding the abbey and involving the pontiff – but also compared to Hadrian, who, through his munificence and authority, laid the foundations for the holiness and autonomy of Nonantola.

112 Golinelli, *Agiografia e culto*, 33.

113 *BHL* 541. According to Tomea, though, it must be dated not later than 974: Tomea, *Intorno a S. Giulia*, 32.

114 Tiraboschi, *Storia dell'augusta badia* 2, ns. 98,105,108,115. See Golinelli, *Agiografia monastica*, 24-25.

115 Golinelli, *Agiografia monastica*, 29.

116 Story *et al.*, *Charlemagne's Black Marble*, 158. On Pope Hadrian I and Charlemagne, see Hartmann, *Hadrian I*.

117 *Vita di sant'Anselmo*, ed. Bortolotti, 257-259.

In rewriting the history of its origins, the monastic community chose to add to the veneration of St Sylvester that of Pope Hadrian, whose body it also claimed to possess after the fortuitous circumstances of Pope Hadrian III's death near Nonantola in 885.¹¹⁸ The choice of this pope is hardly a matter of chance, because the figure of Hadrian I ensured an unexpressed yet direct link with Charlemagne's royal power: by including precisely this pope among the abbey's founders, the monks turned the Carolingian element into one of the original defining features of their identity. From this perspective of »mobility«, the ideological discourse based on possession of the relics of St Sylvester may be seen to acquire a new meaning, by juxtaposing the first officially acknowledged pontiff of the Roman Empire to the pope who had enabled Charlemagne to build a new Christian empire through the stable control of the Italian kingdom. The abbey had sprung from Anselm's piety and King Aistulf's resources; and through the intervention of Pope Hadrian I it had acquired the bodies of saints that made it a unique site within Christendom: Constantine's pope, St Sylvester, and St Hadrian himself, Charlemagne's pope.

Conclusion

The case of *translatio* examined here is no doubt significant, yet at the same time contradictory. The translation of the relics of St Sylvester and the political and spiritual use of their holiness represent an instance both of mobility and of immovability, where both situations rest on specific reasons and claims, on the basis of which different authorities developed their identity-building and symbolic discourses for centuries.

First of all, what in a sense paved the way for the *translatio* was the Roman Church's creation of a tradition about Sylvester, collected in the *AS*, starting at the time of Symmachus' papacy in the early sixth century. The first versions of this tradition did not mention the issue of the pontiff's relics, since what mattered was rewriting the tale of Constantine's conversion, which, according to St Jerome, had involved the Arian faith – an idea that the Church of Rome found unacceptable. The ideological portrayal of Sylvester as the founder of Constantine's Christian empire was then relaunched by the Frank Carloman, who vied with his brother Pippin for the throne before withdrawing to monastic life: Carolingian sources associate him with the veneration of the holy pontiff on Mount Soratte. The connection between the Pippinids, who had just ascended the Frankish throne, and Sylvester was to bestow further symbolical legitimation on Pippin III's power.

It is at this point that the relics come into play. The Lombard king Aistulf and his brother-in-law both hedged their bets on their translation. The former, following the example of his predecessor Liutprand's use of St Augustine's relics, sought to strengthen his reign against the Frankish-papal alliance by establishing a direct connection with Constantine's Roman Christian imperial power. By bringing the *corpus* into his abbey, Anselm instead sought to make the monastery one of the foremost sites in Christendom: a God-enlightened crossroads where political power and sainthood coexisted harmoniously. This narrative was incorporated into the hagiographical text entitled *translatio santi Silvestri*, which was chiefly composed

118 *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Jaffé et al., 427.

and preserved at Nonantola. The more successful project of the two was Anselm's one: his institution endured beyond Aistulf's reign, even acquiring new vigour after the Carolingian conquest. In Charlemagne's empire, Nonantola emerged as one of the great and powerful royal abbeys and came to be known as the place »in quo beatus Sylvester corpore requiescit«. ¹¹⁹

By contrast, Pope Paul I hedged his bets on the immovability, or rather stability, of Sylvester's relics in Rome. By founding the monastery of Saints Sylvester and Stephen, he primarily sought to prevent the plundering of the bodies of martyrs and saints that Aistulf was to carry out during the 755/756 siege of Rome by bringing a large number of relics to safety inside the monastery walls. Secondly, Paul I sought to complete the papal version of the cult of St Sylvester by associating the *AS*'s narrative with a concrete place, St Sylvester *in Capite*, where the faithful could see the saint's relics. The founding of this monastery also enabled the pontiff to reach an agreement with the Pippinids/Carolingians, who granted the pope exclusive control over the St Sylvester tradition in exchange for the full legitimation of their own royal power. Paul I thus added St Denis to Saints Sylvester and Stephen in the dedication of the monastery he had founded.

St Sylvester's relics were moved again as late as the beginning of the eleventh century. Faced with a new political and institutional situation, the monastic community of Nonantola felt the need to rewrite the history of its foundation, this time starting precisely from an account of the translation of the saint's relics featuring the direct involvement of Pope Hadrian I. The new veneration of this pontiff, which the monks associated with that of Sylvester and of their founder Anselm, constituted an attempt to paint the abbey's history in a new light, more suited to the eleventh century.

In the case just examined, then, St Sylvester's relics acquired different meanings depending on their state of mobility or immovability. In the face of the stability of the relics affirmed and established by the Church of Rome, the monks of Nonantola changed their identity-building discourse to suit new political requirements. However, there is one principle to which they always remained true: once brought within the abbey's walls, the body of St Sylvester was to ensure Nonantola's perpetual autonomy and independence from all secular powers.

Acknowledgements

An oral presentation of this work was delivered as a contribution to the strand »Movement and Mobility in Uncertain Times: Changing Perspective in the Mediterranean« in the context of the 6th Biennial Conference of the Society for the Medieval Mediterranean, held in Barcelona from 8th to 11th July 2019. I am grateful to Christopher Heath for co-organising that lively three-panel event, as well as editing these proceedings, also with the precious help of Clemens Gantner. I warmly thank both. I am indebted to Christopher Heath, Clemens Gantner, Dario Internullo, Tiziana Lazzari, Francesco Veronese, Giorgia Vocino, Giacomo Vignodelli for their helpful comments on earlier written drafts of this article. The views expressed are, of course, my own.

119 *DD Lu I*, ed. Kölzer, n. 249.

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Abbreviations

- BNF = Bibliothèque nationale de France
 BHL = Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina
 CC SL = Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
 DD Kar I = *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*
 DD Lu I = *Ludovici Pii Diplomata*
 LP = *Liber Pontificalis*
 MAAN = Musée provincial des Arts anciens
 MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica
 MGH SS = Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores
 MGT = Médiathèque du Grand Troyes
 KBR = Royal Library of Belgium
 RI 1 = *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern (751-918)*

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Bilingualism in the *Cambrai Homily*

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The *Cambrai Homily* (Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 679 [s. viii2] ff. 37rb–38rb) is a short prose homily found between two chapters of the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*; as the *Homily* is incomplete, it has been suggested that it was copied from a stray leaf inserted into the exemplar of the *Collectio*. The *Homily* itself is estimated to date to the seventh or first half of the eighth century. More salient for the purpose of this anthology, however, is the fact that the *Homily* code-switches between Latin and Old Irish. Some claim that this text provides us with the earliest record of continuous Irish prose; as such it has long been an important source for early Irish linguistics, as well as evidence for sermons in the seventh-century Irish Church. Nevertheless, the aspects of code-switching between Old Irish and Latin in the *Cambrai Homily* remain underexplored. This article provides an assessment of existing perspectives on the relationship between Latin and Old Irish in this homily, and offers a fresh interpretation of the code-switching that takes place.

Keywords: Medieval homily, code-switching, translation studies, Old Irish, Latin, Cambrai

Introduction

The manuscript preserved in Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 679 (formerly 619) is a partial transmission of the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*, containing 38 of 65–69 books of scriptural and patristic extracts, as well as canon law, and Irish synodal and penitential decrees. It was copied for Alberic, bishop of Cambrai and Arras (763–790), in the second half of the 8th century. The *Collectio* is entirely in Latin, and littered with scribal errors, potentially due to the scribe's difficulty with the Irish script of the exemplar.¹ The scribe appears to have had particular difficulty with a certain section of text, at folios 37rb–38rb, which contains an incomplete homily, mostly in Irish with some elements in Latin. This text, known as the *Cambrai Homily*, was most likely inserted into the exemplar as a flyleaf, which the scribe copied along with the rest of the codex.

The *Cambrai Homily* not only lays claim to being one of the earliest preserved examples of continuous Irish prose, but also demonstrates an early example of Irish-Latin code-switching. These features, in combination with the *Homily*'s somewhat enigmatic classification of martyrdom, have piqued the interest of scholars from various disciplines. It is clear that in the *Cambrai Homily* we are dealing with a piece of writing that is actively engaging in code-switching. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of code-switching within the *Cambrai Homily* remains comparatively understudied, and there remains space for examining the language interactions present in the text. Indeed, the precise motivation, function and effect of these switches remain elusive. It has been suggested that the Latin quotations amount to little more than authoritative citations that need to be translated for an audience ill-equipped to understand them, although the exegetical complexity has been cited as an indication that

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1 Muzerelle, *Manuscripts*, 87; Ó hAnnracháin, Aguisín I, 40; Stokes and Strachan, *Description*, xxvi.

the *Homily* was more likely to have been composed for a monastic audience.² Even though the role of translation is downplayed, the longer passages in Irish are still proposed to serve as elucidation for difficult concepts. The present article builds on recent work on Irish-Latin code-switching to offer a fresh perspective on the language interactions within this text.³ In particular, it examines instances of what had been identified as translation, and posits that these may be better explained as examples of multilingual reiteration, thus reinforcing both the potential for a highly competent bilingual speech community as well as the likelihood that the *Homily* was composed for a predominantly monastic audience.

The Cambrai Homily

The *Cambrai Homily* begins with an invocation (*In nomine Dei summi*), followed by the pericope, a quotation in Latin from Scripture (Matthew 16.24, *Siquis uult post me uenire, abneget semet ipsum et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me*, »Then said Jesus unto his disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me«).⁴ As Pádraig Ó Néill observes, this quotation provides not only the point of departure but also the thesis of the homily.⁵ Then follows the exordium in Irish, which identifies the speaker of the quotation (i.e. Christ) and his audience (all people), as well as the intention of the utterance (to banish vice and sin on the one hand, and gather virtue on the other). The body of the homily follows. It begins with the Irish *isaire asber*, »therefore he says« and a repetition of the quotation in Latin, with partial translations into Irish:

Siquis uult post me uenire abneget semet ipsum et tollat crucem suam ocuis ticsath a chruich et sequatur me ocuis numsechethse

»If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and let him take up his cross, and follow me, and let him follow me.«

The homilist continues in Irish, setting out the ways in which one denies oneself (i.e. not giving in to our desires and abjuring our sins) and the ways in which one takes up one's cross and follows Christ (i.e., through abstinence, fellow-suffering, and martyrdom).

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- 2 Ó Néill initially writes that »This interchange between the functions of the two languages [i.e., Latin and Old Irish] would suggest an audience which did not understand Latin and needed to have the important points of the homily explained to them in their native language.« However, he considers the discussion of martyrdom better suited to a monastic community, and ultimately proposes a predominantly monastic audience that potentially included laypeople: Ó Néill, *Background*, 144-145. For the latter argument, see additionally Picard, *L'Homélie de Cambrai*.
 - 3 Most prominently Bisagni, *Proglomena*; Ó Flaithearta and Nooj, *Code-Switching* (including articles from both Stam and ter Horst); Stam, *Typology*; ter Horst, *Code-switching*; Stam and ter Horst, *Visual Diamorphs*.
 - 4 All scriptural quotations and quotations from Irish maintain the form of the *textus restitutus* of Stokes and Strachan, 2. *Cambrai Homily*; translations into English of scriptural quotations are taken from the King James Version. Translations of other Latin quotations are my own unless otherwise indicated. Translations from Irish are my own, based on those found in Stokes and Strachan. For clarity, quotations in Irish are given in italics; quotations in Latin are given underlined.
 - 5 Ó Néill, *Background*, 138.

The Irish phrase *amail assindber alaile*, »like a certain person says it«, introduces a supporting quotation in Latin from Gregory the Great. Gregory is not identified as its source, but Jean Michel Picard rightly points out that this passage is part of a piece of exegesis that was well known in monastic environments in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, and Ó Néill has also observed that the writings of Gregory the Great enjoyed great popularity among Irish ecclesiastics more generally.⁶ Indeed, this citation provides, as Picard writes, the keys to the homilist's discourse in more ways than one.⁷ Firstly, the citation describes the two ways in which we may carry the Lord's cross: through fleshly abstinence and through fellow-suffering. Secondly, however, the homilies that inform both this citation and the *Cambrai Homily* more broadly (Homilies 32 and 37 from Gregory's *Homilia*, discussed in more detail below) centre on the theme of martyrdom, the theme to which the homilist turns in the second part of the *Cambrai Homily*.

The Latin phrase *ut Paulus ait*, »as Paul says« transitions to a Pauline quotation which is cited in support of fellow-suffering (Galatians 6.2). A line nearly entirely in Irish (*ocus asbeir daniu ind apostol*, »and furthermore the apostle says«)⁸ introduces two further quotations (Romans 12.15 and I Corinthians 12.26), which speak further to the theme of sharing in the joy, as well as the suffering, of one's fellow humans, and establish the metaphor of the mystical body. A section then follows in Irish that expands upon this metaphor; i.e., that all humans are members in the body of Christ. This concludes with an introduction in Irish, *amail assindbeir apostolus*, »like the apostle says it«, to a citation of Paul (II Corinthians 11.29).⁹ The quotation is expanded on in Irish and the whole section on fellow-suffering brought to a conclusion by the phrase *adciam isnaib inscib sc[e]o eulis ind aecni as ar chenél cruche adrimther in coicsath*, »we see in the words and wisdom of the sage that fellow-suffering is counted as a kind of cross«.

6 Picard, *L'Homélie de Cambrai*, 28; Ó Néill, *Background*, 139.

7 Picard, *L'Homélie de Cambrai*, 28.

8 The ligature form *apostol* appears in the manuscript: Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 679, fol. 37d; Ó hAnnracháin, *Aguisín I*, 41 (37 verso is incorrectly identified as 37 recto). Stokes and Strachan retain the ligature in their *lectio codicis*; however, the *textus resitutus* removes the ligature and Stokes and Strachan appear to interpret *apostol* as Irish. I am grateful to the peer reviewer for pointing out that the Irish forms *apstal* or *abstal* demonstrate an expected syncope not seen in this case; due to this, as well as the similarity to the form *apostolus* that appears later in the text, I follow the recommendation of the reviewer and read *apostol* as signifying *apostolus*.

9 *Apostolus* appears in the manuscript as an abbreviation, rendered by Stokes and Strachan in the *lectio codicis* as *ap̃* and expanded in the *textus resitutus* as *apostolus*: Stokes and Strachan, 2. *Cambrai Homily*, 246.

From fol. 38a line 10, the homily transitions to a new subject and to what Ó Néill calls »Part II« of the homily: with *filus trechenélae martre daneu*, »now, there are three kinds of martyrdom«, the homilist introduces *baanmatre* (»white martyrdom«), *glasmartre* (»violet¹⁰ martyrdom«) and *dercmartre* (»red martyrdom«). The homilist describes *baanmatre* as abjuring one's loves or habits for the sake of God; *glasmartre* as abstinence from desire for such vices; and *dercmartre* as physical suffering for the sake of Christ. The description concludes with a statement that these three forms of martyrdom are contained in those »carnal ones« (i.e., humans) who observe these habits. This section contains only Irish, up until the phrase *filus daneu trechenéle martre ata lógmára le Dea, arantatham-ni fochrici ma nos-comalnamar*, »now, there are three kinds of martyrdom which are precious according to God for which we obtain rewards if we fulfil them«, which introduces a sequence in Latin: *castitas in iuuentute, continentia in habundantia*, »chastity in youth, continence in abundance«. The homily ends here; the Latin that follows at this point in the manuscript is not the third form of martyrdom, but refers back to the text that the *Cambrai homily* initially interrupted. However, R. E. McNally recognised the first two elements in the triad as identical to another triad found in a mid-eighth-century florilegium known as the *Prebium de multorum exemplaribus*,¹¹ so we may suppose that the final element would have been *largitas in paupertate*, »largesse in poverty«.

10 The precise interpretation of *glas* in this context, and whether this threefold concept of martyrdom was unique to Ireland or not, has excited some of the most vigorous debate surrounding the *Cambrai Homily*. Stokes and Strachan translate *glasmartre* as 'green martyrdom'; Stancliffe and Ó Néill prefer 'blue martyrdom'. In examining the *Cambrai Homily* alongside the *Munich Commentary on Genesis* (Clm 6302, fols. 49r-64r) and the *Celtic Homily Collection* (Vat. reg. lat. 49), Stancliffe observes that both of these latter texts contain colour interpretations, typically red (*rubicundus*) and white (*candidus/albus*), as well as blue (*iacinthus*) and occasionally yellow (*millenicus*) or black (*niger*). Stancliffe argues for a correspondence between *glas* and *iacinthus*, and on this basis she translates *glas* as blue, and furthermore identifies an association between *iacinthus* and penitence. Picard largely supports this analysis, but adds that while *iacinthus* or *hyacinthus* denoted 'blue' in Latin, in a biblical context it referred to violet ('the natural colour of the hyacinth flower', according to Picard), and that in Irish exegesis, the colour violet is associated with penitence, youth, abstinence, and the physical pain derived from manual labour. Both Stancliffe and Picard identify blue/violet martyrdom as a step up, so to speak, from white or quotidian martyrdom; in his observations on the colour hyacinth, Ó Néill also points out that – in patristic as well as Irish exegesis – it is associated with »a separation from earthly desires to turn to heavenly ones«. Stokes and Strachan, 2. *Cambrai Homily*, 247; Ó Néill, Background, 142-143; Picard, *L'Homélie de Cambrai*, 30-32; Stancliffe, Red, white, and blue, 22-29; for white martyrdom, see additionally Ní Chatháin, A reading, 417.

11 The *Prebium* triad in its entirety reads: *Quod sunt genera martyri preter mortum? Id, tres. Continentia in habundantia, largitas in paupertate, castitas in iuuentute*, »What are the kinds of martyrdom? That is, three. Continence in abundance, generosity in poverty, chastity in youth.« Robert E. McNally and Charles Wright imply that these are two instances of the same triad, but Ó Néill cautions that because the *Prebium* is a florilegium, and a somewhat miscellaneous collection at that, it provides no clues about the context of this triad or its precise relationship to the *Cambrai Homily*: McNally, *Scriptores I*, 163; Wright, *Irish Tradition*, 74; Ó Néill, Background, 143.

Irish-Latin Interactions

Irish-Latin Interactions in the Cambrai Homily

Although the *Homily* begins with an invocation and Scriptural citation in Latin, we may immediately observe that the overall matrix language is Irish; i.e. it is the base language into which Latin is embedded.¹² The initial switch from Latin to Irish occurs at the end of the quotation, with the Irish beginning with a referential but independent clause (*insce inso asber ar féda Ísu...*, »this [is] the word our Lord Jesus says...«). The homilist's switch from Irish to Latin takes place at a clause boundary and is similarly marked (*isaire asber*, »therefore he says«).

Thereupon follows a series of intrasentential switches between Latin and Irish, wherein the Scriptural quotation is repeated, but interrupted with translations in Irish. For the purpose of illustration, it is worth quoting the passage once more in full:

Siquis uult post me uenire abneget semet ipsum et tollat crucem suam *ocuis ticsath a chruich et sequatur me* *ocuis numsechethse*

»If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and let him take up his cross, and follow me, and let him follow me.«

We may note firstly that the quotation receives only a partial translation: the homilist only translates »let him take up his cross« and »let him follow me«. Rather than insertions, these appear to be instances of intrasentential alternations, which integrate semantically from a translational perspective, but are nevertheless syntactically independent. Despite the sequential alternations of phrases, there is no clash between grammars or morphosyntactic patterns. The homily continues in Irish, expanding on self-denial (»this is our denial of ourselves«) and bearing one's cross (»this is our taking up of the cross upon ourselves«).

At the subsequent clause boundary we find *amail assindber alaile*, »like a certain person says it«, which introduces the quotation in Latin; of the two quotations from Paul that follow, the first is introduced in Latin (*ut Paulus ait*, »as Paul says«), while the second is offset by the Irish *ocus asbeir daniu ind apostol*, »and furthermore the apostle says«. As mentioned above, however, despite Stokes and Strachan rendering the final word as Irish, it is more likely a ligature form of the Latin *apostolus*. The clause following the second Pauline quotation continues in Irish. The next switch from Irish to Latin follows a familiar pattern: it is marked by the Irish phrase *amail assindbeir apostolus*, »like the apostle says it«. Nevertheless, the next clause begins a quotation in Latin. Switches following this pattern (Irish to Latin switches marked by a speech tag), including this one, switch back from Latin to Irish at the conclusion of the quotations unmarked.

The final Irish-Latin switch, the presentation of the three (in the extant homily only two) forms of martyrdom treasured by God, is not marked with a speech tag. As noted in the presentation of the homily above, a very similar phrase is used to introduce the Latin text as was used earlier to introduce the red, white, and *glas* martyrdom described in Irish. The switch is intrasentential but occurs at a clause border and thus creates no grammatical or morphosyntactic clashes.

12 Erman Boztepe points out that the Myers-Scotton guideline of identifying the matrix language as the language of more morphemes is not unproblematic; however, in this case, not only is the volume of Irish noticeably greater but the Latin is used almost exclusively (with few exceptions) for quotations: Boztepe, *Issues in code-switching*, 10.

Nicole Müller has argued that, in the *Commentary to the Féilire Óengusso* and *Bethu Brigte*, it is relatively uncommon for code-switching to occur within a phrase. Müller notes that code-switching is more likely to be tolerated by a certain text when the information directly marked by the change does not affect the completeness of the sentence predicate.¹³ This appears to be the case when reading *apostolus* rather than *apstol* in the two examples above: it shifts the Irish-Latin switch from the clause boundary to within the clause, yet this involves a word that is similar in both languages, and aside from the syncope in Irish, both appear very similar in their nominative singular forms (particularly when abbreviated). These appear to be the only cases where a switch at a speech tag does not seem to align with the clause boundary.

Irish-Latin Interactions in Medieval Ireland

Irish and Latin enjoyed a particular relationship in medieval Ireland. As a biblical and sacral language, as well as the language of the learned class, there is no doubt about the authority, high status and cultural pre-eminence of Latin. Nevertheless, numerous Irish and bilingual texts demonstrate that Irish appears to have been seen as an important tool of communication.¹⁴ Certainly this was the case for in-group communication within the Irish-language community; however, the proliferation of manuscripts with texts in Irish copied on the Continent (and with more comprehension than the copyist of the *Cambrai Homily*) would seem to indicate that its importance was appreciated outside of Ireland as well. Thus, while the diglossic relationship between Latin and Irish may have begun as the H (high-status) and L (low-status) varieties present in the language community of the learned elite, over time the relationship became more complex as Irish clearly »leaked« into domains previously reserved for Latin.¹⁵ Jacopo Bisagni describes this relationship as one wherein the L variety (Irish) may be treated as a quasi-H variety within specific domains.¹⁶ His working hypothesis based on the Old Irish glosses is that switching from Irish (whether L or quasi-H) to Latin (H) may, in fact, have been a common linguistic behaviour in early medieval Irish monasteries.¹⁷ Furthermore, these glosses contain such a diversity of code-switching patterns that Bisagni suggests there may have been a corresponding variety configurations of bilingualism.¹⁸ In her study on code-switching in Irish translation literature, Nicole Müller also argues that writers who spend most of their working time with both Latin and Irish texts might get accustomed to using certain languages for certain phrases and might mix the borders of the two language systems in cases where a particular phrase fits the syntactic structure of Latin as well as Irish.¹⁹ Within the *Cambrai Homily*, we certainly see the high prestige of Latin as

13 Müller, *Kodewechsel*, 77-78.

14 Bisagni, *Prolegomena*, 15-16; Bronner, *Codeswitching*, 3.

15 Fishman, *Societal Bilingualism*.

16 Bisagni, *Prolegomena*, 16.

17 Bisagni, *Prolegomena*, 37.

18 Bisagni, *Prolegomena*, 52.

19 Müller, *Kodewechsel*, 79.

the language of scriptural and patristic quotation; however, as the language of the body of the Homily, Irish clearly occupies a quasi-H status rather than one of low prestige. As noted above, speech tags regularly mark the switch from Latin to Irish (one case) or from Irish to Latin (four cases), and the switches, aside from the ambiguous abbreviation, occur either at phrasal or clause boundaries, thus keeping the borders of the language systems distinct.

It is worth noting, however, that in Bisagni's material (i.e., the Würzburg Irish glosses) Irish-Latin code-switching most often took the form of insertional switches; that is to say, they consisted mostly of the insertions of single lexemes in the matrix language.²⁰ The *Cambrai Homily*, roughly contemporaneous and possibly earlier than the glosses, favours a type of mixing that aligns more with alternation: the elements surrounding the switches are usually not grammatically linked or morphologically integrated in the matrix language, as in cases of insertion, and the length and complexity of the switches also indicate alternation. This it has in common with later bilingual Irish-Latin material, such as the *Vita Tripartita Sancti Patricii*,²¹ and the *Commentary to the Féilire Óengusso*.²² This potentially challenges Nike Stam's suggestion that the contrast between the strong, almost exclusive, preference for insertion in the Old Irish glosses and the preponderance of alternation in the *Commentary to the Féilire Óengusso* may be explained by the progression of a bilingual community from one pattern to the other, as it suggests that both patterns may have been in place coterminously, but applied differently in different contexts.²³ On the other hand, however, Stam notes that one of Muysken's features of alternation is that the two languages exist in competition with each other, and suggests that the change during the medieval period from Latin to Irish as the dominant literary language implies a long-standing competition between Latin and Irish.²⁴ The early date of the *Cambrai Homily*, and the presence of alternation switches, supports this hypothesis and suggests that such competition between Latin and Irish had already begun by the end of the seventh century.

In medieval Irish code-switching, Stam and Tom ter Horst have discussed the importance of visual diamorphs, or words that by their form could potentially be assigned to either language in a bilingual situation. While often defined at the level of the word (for example, medieval Latin and Irish share certain conjunction diamorphs), Stam and ter Horst suggest that formulaic phrases may function as visual diamorphs as well. In their article, they describe the importance of visual diamorphs for neutralising the codes involved in code-switching.²⁵ In this case, although the *Cambrai Homily* contains direct scriptural quotation, such highly formal language does not act as a phrasal visual diamorph. Ambiguous abbreviations are often visual diamorphs; however, the abbreviation *ap̃*, and possibly even *apostol̃*, appear within the context of a speech tag which normally marks an Irish-Latin switch within this piece of writing. Thus, the role that they play in the switches, and indeed the Irish clauses, where they appear is somewhat ambiguous. The overall lack of visual diamorphs in this particular text,

20 Bisagni, *Prolegomena*, 31.

21 Bronner, *Codeswitching*.

22 Stam, *Typology*.

23 Stam, *Typology*, 376.

24 Stam, *Typology*, 377.

25 Stam and ter Horst, *Visual Diamorphs*, esp. 238.

in contrast to their presence elsewhere in medieval Irish material, may be a function of the early form of Irish-Latin alternation present in the *Cambrai Homily*. In other words, at the time when the *Cambrai Homily* was written (if we presume that the copyist would have been unlikely to include such elements independently), visual diamorphs may not have had the importance for medieval Irish code-switching identified by Stam and ter Horst. However, it may also be an indication that the homilist wanted to play up the contrast, or the competition, between Irish and Latin within the *Homily*: the lack of neutrality and uneven status between these two codes indeed forms part of the power of the switch.

Multilingual Practices in the Cambrai Homily

Among the learned elite in early medieval Ireland, we may be confident in speaking of a »leaky« diglossic community in which many (if not all) members are at least partially bilingual. Regarding early medieval Ireland, we have, as mentioned above, early attested evidence of single works that include both Irish and Latin elements.²⁶ Indeed, Irish-Latin bilingualism has excited a rich body of scholarship.²⁷ With the exception of Picard, however, much of this research has tended to overlook the *Cambrai Homily*, and studies of the *Cambrai Homily* do not tend to linger on the Irish-Latin interactions within it. The quotations in Latin are typically identified as authoritative invocations, and the Irish that follows is generally interpreted as intended to translate this community's H variety into their L variety for an audience whose own bilingualism was too underdeveloped to understand the former. Ó Néill, as mentioned above, writes that the functions of Irish and Latin within the *Cambrai Homily* suggest an audience who would not have understood Latin. While he does observe that the content suggests a monastic or mixed audience, that he leans towards a mixed, rather than monastic, audience would seem to indicate that he still sees the code-switching as serving that purpose, even if part of the audience (i.e., the monks) would not have needed it.²⁸ Picard, who resists even further the implication that the homilist anticipated an audience (possibly a lay audience) with insufficient Latin, has suggested that the Irish-Latin interactions in the *Cambrai Homily* served to elucidate difficult concepts in a style reminiscent of the glosses created around that time.²⁹ Thus, the

passage du latine à la langue maternelle devient alors un moyen de clarifier ses idées et de proposer au groupe une interprétation dont on a éliminé au moins l'équivoque de la transposition culturo-linguistique.³⁰

26 While the *Cambrai Homily* is argued to be the oldest piece of continuous prose in Irish, the earliest attested bilingual material from Ireland is likely to have been the Old Irish glosses (eighth century). For more on Irish-Latin bilingualism in the Old Irish glosses, see, e.g., Bisagni, Prolegomena and Bisagni and Warntjes, Early Old Irish material.

27 See, for example, Bisagni, Prolegomena; Bronner, Codeswitching; Stam, *Typology*; ter Horst, *Code-switching*; Picard, *L'Homélie de Cambrai*; Müller, *Kodewechsel*.

28 Ó Néill, Background, 144-145. Although Picard revises Ó Néill's ideas somewhat, the general suggestion (i.e., the Irish being necessary to explain the Latin to some degree) persists. Picard, *L'Homélie de Cambrai*, 33.

29 Picard, *L'Homélie de Cambrai*, 33; supported by Bisagni, Prolegomena.

30 Picard, *L'Homélie de Cambrai*, 34: »[The] passage from Latin to one's mother tongue thus becomes a way to clarify its ideas [i.e., those of the Latin text] and to propose to the group an interpretation where the ambiguity of the cultural-linguistic transposition has at least been removed« [trans. author].

While this is certainly a plausible interpretation of the Irish-Latin interaction within the *Cambrai Homily* in broad terms, and one which will be returned to in greater detail below, it does not give due consideration to the variations in Irish-Latin interaction that we observed in the previous section. The situation is not as simple as the »passage from Latin to one's mother tongue«, and an analysis of the code-switching that takes place in the *Cambrai Homily* should attempt to account both for the variations in switches that take place, and for the interplay between the Latin quotations and Irish matrix. In the sections that follow, I will first interrogate a group of concepts that sit at the intersection of translation and code-switching analyses, with a particular focus on quotation, reiteration and support. Then, I will analyse the multilingual practices in the *Cambrai Homily* to see whether these concepts may facilitate our attempt to account for the code-switching within the homily and the motivations or goals of the homilist in including them, and as a consequence enrich our understanding of the sociolinguistic context in which the text was produced.

Quotation, Reiteration, and Support

Although translation and code-switching are both features of multilingual practices, they have usually been thought to have different functions and apply to different rhetorical situations: According to this way of thinking, translation is the (more or less) word-for-word substitution of one language for another, whereas code-switching is the presence of more than one language or dialect within the same sentence, conversation, or piece of writing.³¹ However, it may be more appropriate to see translation and code-switching as occupying a continuum of multilingual practice, whereby, depending on the participants, their language competence, and the particular sociocultural context of language use, these two language processes are not only connected, but actively interact with each other.³² Quotation is, in and of itself, not necessarily a feature of translation studies, as direct quotations or reported speech do not implicitly require translation or explanation, though the function of code-switching to frame a quotation – sometimes twice, with not only a change in language but also a quotative verb – is well known.³³ In particular, it is common to find quotations accompanied by code-switching in medieval sermons or homilies featuring Latin quotations. Frequently, these appear with vernacular translation, paraphrase, or elaboration.³⁴ Thus, quotation is an important element of both reiteration and support, two functions of code-switching that frequently feature translation (or features of translation that frequently result in code-switching, depending on one's perspective).

The interaction between translation and code-switching that occurs in cases of reiteration within written works is grounded in the presence of translation *in* the text (intra-textual), rather than *in between* different texts (inter-textual).³⁵ Gumperz identifies (translational) reiteration as the repetition of an expression in another language or code in a more or less

31 Gardner-Chloros, *Code-switching*; Meylaerts, Multilingualism and translation, 227.

32 Kolehmainen and Skaffari, Multilingual practices, 124-125.

33 Gardner-Chloros, *Code-switching*, 75.

34 Harjunpää and Mäkilähde, Reiteration, 182 with examples.

35 Kolehmainen and Skaffari, Multilingual practices, 127; Meylaerts, Multilingualism and translation, 227.

modified form, and this definition generally serves as the basis for studies of reiteration which have followed.³⁶ Katariina Harjunpää and Alekski Mäkilähde have observed that where participants know the same languages, translational reiteration does not necessarily serve to ensure mutual understanding; in addition to cases of reiteration with a facilitating function, Harjunpää and Mäkilähde provide examples where the speaker using reiteration treats the prior reference (i.e. the thing being reiterated) as linguistically accessible to their audience.³⁷ Aside from clarification, two widely recognised functions of reiteration in general, and translational reiteration in particular, are emphasis and amplification. With reference to medieval English drama, Diller has argued that biblical Latin was used to show that a »thought has *already been* expressed and presumably in its definitive form,«³⁸ and the biblical Latin appearing in sermons and homilies not only pointed to the sacredness of the words, but also provided the audience with structural cues. The vernacular reiteration, in fact, contained the main message.³⁹ Furthermore, when analysing medieval material, we would do well not to forget the debt that was owed to classical rhetoric and its role in the education of the learned class. Reiteration is a prominent figure within classical rhetoric, and one which students would likely have encountered, even though that familiarity would have been mediated by means of late antique rhetorical literature and handbooks rather than direct knowledge of classical rhetorical teaching.⁴⁰ The reiterative character of quotations and their translations thus has a potentially classical, or late antique, referent, as well as an established didactic function. Additionally, Harjunpää and Mäkilähde observe »in examples from prior studies and in our data,« translational or code-switched reiterations often appear adjacent to or in connection with reiterated utterances lacking any translational or code-switched element.⁴¹

In his study of medieval English drama, Diller explores forms of translation and paraphrase, though, as Harjunpää and Mäkilähde point out, he does so without broader reference to repetition or reiteration as a more general phenomenon.⁴² Instead, he introduces the term »support« to characterise instances where English paraphrases, elaborates, or translates text in Latin. In all cases, the function of clarification is seen to be the unifying feature. Using the code-switching within the multilingual text *Vices and Virtues* in MS Stowe 34 from c. 1200 as an illustrative example, Janne Skaffari has explored and elaborated upon Diller's concept

36 Gumperz, *Discourse*, 78.

37 Harjunpää and Mäkilähde, *Reiteration*, 174.

38 Diller, *English drama*, 510, emphasis in original.

39 Harjunpää and Mäkilähde, *Reiteration*, 182.

40 For the prominence of repetition within classical rhetoric, see Harjunpää and Mäkilähde, *Reiteration*, 185 and Vickers, *Repetition*, esp. 90-93. For a more theoretical examination of the role of ornament (including tropes of repetition, classed under ornamentations of orderliness and pattern) in making »mnemonically powerful associations«, see Carruthers, *Craft*, 117. For the intersection of reading, writing, and memory in an early medieval Irish context, and particularly potential mutual connections between literacy and orality, see Johnson, *Literacy*, esp. 162-164. For the presence of rhetorical teaching in early medieval Ireland, with specific reference to the late antique rhetorical literature and handbooks that informed the composition of the *Hisperica Famina*, see Knappe, *Rhetoric and Grammar*. Knappe, *Classical Rhetoric*, is also relevant here, although this paper deals more specifically with the early English context.

41 Harjunpää and Mäkilähde, *Reiteration*, 194.

42 Diller, *English drama*; Harjunpää and Mäkilähde, *Reiteration*.

of »support«, noting its similarity to the terms »cushioning« and »parallelism« used in translation studies. In »cushioning«, a term which originated in postcolonial literature, words or phrases in a foreign language are accompanied, or »cushioned«, by equivalent expressions in the text's primary language.⁴³ »Parallelism« describes »textual components expressing the same content in different languages« (e.g. bilingual signs).⁴⁴ Skaffari sees these terms as lacking currency in studies of historical code-switching, and turns to the concept of »support« as a way to express both the sense of equivalence carried by »parallelism« and that of »softening the blow« of the presence of an unfamiliar language provided by »cushioning«. As Skaffari explains,

[The] function of the support is to facilitate understanding in case the reader or audience does not know the embedded language well enough to access meaning expressed in that language.⁴⁵

Diller and Skaffari both view reiteration as falling broadly under the heading of support, and in instances of translational reiteration, quotations in a non-matrix language are clear targets for supportive elements in the matrix language. Here too the functions of amplification and emphasis are recognised but, especially in the case of amplification, subsumed under elaborative support. However, as Skaffari notes, »if the reader ignores the [code-switch] in favour of the support, what is left is no longer reiteration from the reader's point of view, as nothing is repeated.«⁴⁶

Both translational reiteration and support coalesce around functions of clarification, emphasis/amplification, and translation. They are broadly similar approaches to translational and paraphrased code-switches; the major difficulty with applying support as an explanatory model is that, as a recently introduced and comparatively underdeveloped analytical concept, it remains somewhat imprecise, and its inclusivity makes hazy certain distinctions (such as, indeed, reiteration and translation) that vary in discreteness depending on a variety of factors, such as what the code-switch achieves, or speaker as well as listener language competence. In other words, precisely *how* the code-switched element clarifies or facilitates understanding remains unclear. Harjunpää and Mäkilähde point out that the apparent occurrence of a word-for-word translation does not necessarily indicate the rendering of an utterance in another language to facilitate participant interaction; what is important is »what the modification achieves in its specific interactional context.«⁴⁷ They highlight the fact that in some cases, the role of the original »saying« can be more complex than simply acting as a target for emphasis, translation, or clarification, whereby the message in fact relies on the »combination of original and reiterated items embedded in the larger activity«.⁴⁸ Indeed, the degree to which the Irish text »supports« (according to Diller and Skaffari) the Latin quotations in our text will depend largely upon the way in which Irish and Latin are combined within the »activity« of the *Homily*.

43 Skaffari, Code-switching and vernacular support, 214.

44 Skaffari, Code-switching and vernacular support, 214.

45 Skaffari, Code-switching and vernacular support, 214-215.

46 Skaffari, Code-switching and vernacular support, 222.

47 Harjunpää and Mäkilähde, Reiteration, 195.

48 Harjunpää and Mäkilähde, Reiteration, 194.

Reiterative and Supportive Code-switching in the Cambrai Homily

We may immediately observe that, despite the variation of interactions between Irish and Latin in our text, it follows a rather restricted switching pattern whereby the only elements in Latin are scriptural or patristic citations. The initial Latin citation is, of course, the invocation and pericope; i.e. the passage from Scripture that forms the basis of the homily. From the invocation to the Gregorian citation, i.e. the first half of Ó Néill's Part I discussed above, the homilist's interpretation remains close to the text of the pericope; the quotation from Gregory the Great's homilies connects the theme of »carrying one's cross« to the practices of abstinence and fellow-suffering, thus bridging this half of Part I with the second (fellow-suffering), as well as with Part II (forms of martyrdom, including abstinence).

We have touched upon the conventions of the homiletic genre above; at this point we may pause for a moment and consider precisely what form this genre took in the later seventh and early eighth centuries. Throughout much of the Middle Ages, the two most common labels for written works recording preaching, *sermo* and *homilia* (»sermon« and »homily«, respectively) were often used interchangeably; the distinction between the two terms as denoting more or less discrete styles of discourse is a scholarly tendency.⁴⁹ A homily presents a passage from Scripture (the aforementioned pericope), and reads a word or phrase at a time while explaining and offering commentary. In principle the explanation and commentary should centre on the fourfold sense of scripture; i.e., the historical (the words and events within Scripture); the spiritual or allegorical (symbols in this world that reflect divine will); the moral (practical application); and the anagogical (guiding the listener or reader towards heaven).⁵⁰ Ter Horst points out that in the »Ancient form« (i.e. the homiletic form most often observed during the early Middle Ages through the long twelfth century) this fourfold system frequently collapsed into a simplified literal sense (the text of Scripture and its translation into the vernacular) and spiritual meaning (in effect everything else), and that this simplified system is often found in homilies intended to be preached before an audience.⁵¹ Additionally, Thayer notes that while the biblical text provides the framework of a homily's discourse, the preacher did not necessarily need to stay close to the text, often resulting in »tangents or digressions«.⁵²

The structure of the *Cambrai Homily* aligns with the »Ancient form« described above, whereby the homilist explains the words of the pericope and then moves on to an explanation and commentary that combines the spiritual and moral senses. Whether the homily would have ended with an eschatological sense is impossible to know for certain. Nevertheless, the difficulty in applying the concept of support to interpret code-switching in the *Cambrai Homily* becomes immediately apparent: as a genre, the homily's central aim is to clarify and explain Scripture. Regarding homilies in the vernacular, the importance of translation in carrying out this aim is clear; what is less straightforward, however, is the extent to which explanations in the vernacular serve to explain the Latin, Scripture, or both. This

49 Thayer, *The medieval sermon*, 44.

50 Ter Horst, *Code-Switching*, 54; Mac Donncha, *Medieval Irish homilies*, 60.

51 Ter Horst, *Code-switching*, 54.

52 Thayer, *The medieval sermon*, 44.

will naturally vary case by case, and depend upon the Latin competence of the homilist, the expected Latin competence of the audience and, correspondingly, whether they, as a group, were lay or monastic. In the case of the *Cambrai Homily*, both the intricacy of the commentary and the internal references between Irish and Latin elements suggest that the homilist presumed his audience would understand the Latin of the citations, even if their message required explication. Picard's argument that the *Homily* was created for a monastic audience seems reasonable, and given not only the largely diglossic character of Irish monasticism at this time but also the predominance of Latin as the primary language of the Church, the extent to which Latin elements in a homily would have required »cushioning« is questionable. I would thus propose that while the Irish commentary certainly supports and clarifies the Latin citations of Scripture and Gregory the Great, it most likely does not do so on the level of code-switching. Indeed, it seems more likely that the abrupt contrasts between Latin citation and Irish commentary serve to highlight the change in language rather than explain it.

Thus, while support holds potential as a framework for understanding code-switching in medieval texts, it requires a more precise framework and must be applied on a case-to-case basis. Does translational reiteration experience the same challenges? As mentioned above, the only direct translation in the text appears quite early on: the framing quotation is given in Latin, followed by the identification of the speaker (Jesus Christ) and his audience (human-kind), as well as a paraphrase in Irish; then, the homilist translates the quotation once more, phrase by phrase. Structurally, the homilist takes some liberties with the phrase-by-phrase translation, skipping *abneget semet ipsum* in order to translate and expand on this part of the biblical quotation following the phrase-by-phrase translation. More than translation, however, the repetition in this small section achieves two important elements: firstly, through reiteration in two languages the homilist amplifies the citation from Matthew, the core message of the homily. Secondly, by dividing the citation into phrases and repeating each phrase first in Latin then in Irish, the homilist communicates to their audience the structure of the homily to follow. The switches between Latin and Irish highlight and establish Latin as the signal for authority and definitive reference, and Irish as the signal for commentary and interpretation. This sets up the pattern of code-switching throughout the remainder of the homily: although lacking in reiteration, it retains the emphatic and signalling character of the initial switches between the Matthew quotation and its Irish translations.

If we posit a function of translational reiteration to the Irish-Latin interactions in this initial section of the *Cambrai Homily*, we may ameliorate the apparent inconsistency between the function of the Irish-Latin codeswitching and the supposed monastic or mixed audience of the *Homily*, and thus clarify some of the sociolinguistic underpinnings of the homily itself. Irish and Latin clearly have their own domains in this text, but given the deftness of the homily's Irish commentary – indeed, Ó Néill notes that the homilist »shows a fine awareness of his craft«⁵³ – it seems reasonable to interpret this relationship as closer to an H and quasi-H interaction between Latin and Irish, respectively, than an H and L interaction as previous analyses have implied. Interpreting the repetitive translation of the framing biblical quotation as a deliberate emphatic strategy, and one which would provide a listening audience

53 Ó Néill, *Background*, 147.

with structural cues akin to present-day signposting strategies, supports such a characterisation of Irish-Latin interaction. The convincingly argued state of Irish monastic diglossia and well-attested high status of Irish as a language of religious writing by the eighth century also supports a more subtle and rhetorically-grounded use of reiteration by the homilist.

Conclusions

This paper has re-evaluated the Irish-Latin code-switching in the *Cambrai Homily* according to two particular language-interaction paradigms, vernacular support and translational reiteration. Ó Néill initially suggested that the relationship between Irish and Latin was one of translation for an audience with a defective or insufficient knowledge of Latin, and it appears that he suggests a mixed (rather than monastic) audience for the *Homily* on this basis. Although Picard has modified this view, he describes the Irish elements as intended to explain or facilitate the comprehension of complex themes expressed in Latin. However, he also argues that the audience was likely monastic (rather than mixed), and thus unlikely to have been lacking in Latin competence. The Irish-Latin interactions as described by Picard align closely with the concept of language interaction coined by Diller as »support«, and expanded on by Skaffari. Vernacular support also aligns closely with the genre conventions of early medieval homilies more generally, and in the case of vernacular homilies that contain Latin quotations, it can be challenging to parse the degree to which the clarification contained in the vernacular text acts upon the content of the Latin citation, versus facilitating understanding an unfamiliar language.

As an alternative, the present paper approached the language interaction of the *Cambrai Homily* rhetorically, and sought to account for the Irish-Latin switches in a way that could accommodate both the asserted diglossic nature of early medieval Irish monasticism, and the clear presence of translational elements within the homily. Translational reiteration not only combines aspects of translation studies and code-switching, but also accommodates the rhetorical value of reiteration. Granted, this applies to a small section of the homily, but I would argue that it sets a pattern of switching (through establishing the switches as points of emphasis as well as establishing the domains of Irish and Latin respectively) that is followed throughout.

It is hoped that this reassessment of an early example of Irish-Latin code-switching may hold some interest for research in language interaction. Although the switching pattern of the *Cambrai Homily* is more rigid than is seen in other genres, and later texts within the homiletic genre itself, it nevertheless demonstrates the usefulness of occasionally looking beyond the boundaries of code-switching to related fields such as translation studies and rhetoric.

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to the peer reviewer for their valuable comments and corrections. Any errors that remain are, of course, entirely my own.

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Between Innovation and Tradition: Code-Switching in the Transmission of the *Commentary to the Félire Óengusso*

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This article presents a case study that explores the issue of code-switching in medieval text transmission with initial data mined in a three-year project run at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. The case study is based on a bilingual corpus of glosses and notes in Irish and Latin that accompanies the ninth-century *Martyrology of Óengus*. This collection of material is referred to as the *Commentary to the Félire Óengusso* and is found in ten manuscripts. This provides an excellent opportunity to compare different versions of a bilingual text in order to analyse the way in which different scribes dealt with the bilingual material that they copied. In my analysis, a twofold approach to the material will be adopted: first, from the perspective of linguistics, I examine whether the grammatical characteristics of a code-switch influence its transmission. For this, I use Pieter Muysken's typology of code-mixing (2000) to distinguish between complex and simple code-switches. Secondly, from the perspective of palaeography, I examine whether highly abbreviated words that could be interpreted as either Latin or Irish (visual diamorphs) may cause so-called »triggered« code-switches in transmission. The aim of the comparison is to provide a window on scribal practice in bilingual texts.

Keywords: bilingualism; code-switching; Ireland; Old Irish; Latin; typology; transmission; palaeography; visual diamorphs; martyrology; Óengus Mac Óengobann; glosses; commentary

Introduction

Pais luceri deochain.
diar fiadat ba sercach.
sruith nola næb sochlach
felix flann finn fechnach.

(14 January, UCD A7, fol. 6rb, l. 21-25)

*The passion of Deacon Glycerius
To our Lord he was loving
Felix the elder of Nola, holy, famous
Fland, fair (and) happy.*¹

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1 Stokes, *Félire Óengusso Céili Dé*, 35; Stokes, *On the Calendar of Oengus*, xxvii.

This Irish quatrain was written at the beginning of the ninth century by Óengus Mac Óengobann, the bishop of Tallaght († c. 830).² It is part of a martyrology that enumerates several saints in a single vernacular quatrain for each day of the year.³ As Óengus chose to write just one quatrain for each day and did so in the strict Irish metre *rinnard*,⁴ there was little room for him to elaborate on the saints themselves – for example, on their place of origin, their miracles, their martyrdom. Over time, therefore, scholia and glosses accumulated in the margins around the poem to provide additional information. This body of material is usually referred to as the *Commentary to the Féilire Óengusso* (CFÓ).⁵ The Flann mentioned in the quatrain cited above, for instance, receives the following gloss:

#1401 FLANN FINN FECHTNACH nescio ubi est hic flann sed alii dicunt conadhflann febla comharba patraig.⁶ (UCD A7, fol. 6rb, l. 24-25)

FLANN, FAIR (AND) HAPPY I do not know where this Flann is, but others say that it is Flann Febla, the successor of Patrick.

This gloss, like many others surrounding this text, is bilingual and contains both Latin (up to *alii dicunt* »others say«) and Irish (the name Flann, and the clause from *conadh* »that it is« onwards).

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- 2 For a discussion of the linguistic dating of the *Martyrology*, see Stokes, *On the Calendar of Oengus*, 1, 6-11; Strachan, Deponent verb in Irish, 110-112; Stokes, *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, xxviii-xxxviii; Thurneysen, *Abfassung Des Féilire von Oengus*, 6-8; Breatnach, *Poets and poetry*; Dumville, *Problems of dating*; and Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 80-118. The current consensus is a date around 800 or somewhat later.
 - 3 The poem itself also contains some Latin words and names; see Hennig, *Studies in the Latin Texts*, 64 for a list.
 - 4 Each quatrain in this metre has four lines, each of which contains six syllables. The final word of each line should end in two syllables and could make a rhyme or consonance with another line; see Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics*, 64.
 - 5 Stokes variously referred to the material as »the glosses« and »the notes«: Stokes, *On the Calendar of Oengus*, 118-22; Stokes, *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, xlvi. Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 173-204, however, refers to it as the *Commentary*, which is the name commonly used in bibliographies; see, for example, the relevant entry in the bibliography *CODECS*, accessed on 14 May 2021: www.vanhamel.nl/codecs/Commentary_on_F%C3%A9lire_%C3%93engusso.
 - 6 The transcriptions from the manuscript University College Dublin, Franciscan A7 (F) are my own, as are the translations of the material, unless otherwise stated. In these transcriptions, expanded abbreviations are indicated by italics. Word separation and capital letters are kept as in the manuscript. Each gloss is introduced by a reference to its lemma in the form of a hashtag, followed by the day and the month at which it occurs. For this gloss, that is #1401c for the third lemma (c) of the 14th of January. These lemmata are used as part of the XML-encoding of the transcription, which will be made available online at a later stage of the project. The numerical reference to the lemma is followed by the lemma itself, indicated by small caps. Manuscript images of F are available online through the Irish Script On Screen project, hosted at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (www.isos.dias.ie/english/index.html, accessed on 3 April 2019). The line numbers in F are counted using both the large script of the martyrology and the smaller script of the interlinear notes and the notes following each quatrain. Even though the ruling is visible throughout the page, I have only counted the lines that have been written on.

Such use of two languages in a single »communicative event«, whether spoken or written, is a phenomenon referred to as code-switching.⁷ While this term was originally developed for the analysis of spoken bilingualism, it has proven to be a useful tool for the analysis of historical sources.⁸ Its success lies in the fact that there are many similarities between code-switching in speech and in writing with regard to grammatical constraints as well as with regard to its various communicative functions. Combining these linguistic models with well-tried historical methods has highlighted the linguistic complexity of historical communities and their written records. Furthermore, using these linguistic models has revealed information that is otherwise lacking in our sources, such as information on societal norms;⁹ vice versa, the historical material has complemented modern theories in adding a diachronic dimension which has the ability to prove or disprove their proposed universality.

Historical Documents as Bilingual Discourse

Of course, this is not to say that studying historical documents with methodologies developed for spoken utterances is always smooth sailing. There are many stormy waters that will need to be navigated in the near future, not least the differences between language production in speech and in (historical) writing.¹⁰ Another matter that needs to be addressed is that of text transmission. Often, the historical texts under investigation are not contemporaneous with the manuscripts that contain them and may have a long and complex history, during which their language, lay-out, and content may have been altered at any stage of copying. Therefore, the bilingualism of historical texts, glosses, sentences, and clauses may, in fact, be the result of editorial decisions or scribal corruptions rather than the result of language production.¹¹ It is all the more important to remain aware of what may happen to bilingual material when it is copied in the case of the extremely flexible genre of glosses and commentaries: the lay-out of glosses (often interlinear or in the margins of a text) invited additions, deletions or

7 Schendl and Wright, *Code-Switching in Early English*, 23.

8 Odstrčilík, Multilingual medieval sermons, 142-144; Schendl, Multilingual texts as a reflection, 149-150; Ter Horst, Typology and spectrum, 235. See also Ter Horst, Irish-*Latin* Leabhar Breac, and Stam, *Typology of Code-switching*, in which Pieter Muysken's *Typology of Code-Mixing* is used (see also below). For an overview of studies up to 2017 that use concepts developed for the spoken language and apply them to historical sources, see Stam, *Typology of Code-switching*, 49-94. This overview includes areas like medieval German, English and Irish. More recently, see Ó Flaithearta and Nooij, *Code-Switching in Medieval Ireland*, and Pahta *et al.*, *Multilingual Practices*, as well as the various contributions to *Medieval Worlds 12* (2020) by Odstrčilík, Schendl, Bériou, Delcorno, Negoï, and Ter Horst respectively.

9 Stam, *Typology of Code-switching*, 373-379; Ter Horst, Typology and spectrum.

10 Sebba, *Language Mixing and Code-Switching*; Stam, *Typology of Code-switching*, 49-65; Negoï, Bilingual strategies, 212. Sebba in particular has proposed a new approach to written code-switching that includes semiotics, literacy, and visuality.

11 An interesting example of this is discussed in Ter Horst, Typology and spectrum, 245-251, with regard to Irish-Latin homilies that have been copied into various manuscripts as well as in Bériou, Orality in its written traces.

new combinations. Furthermore, glosses carried less authority than the main text and may therefore have been more likely to be changed by the scribes.¹² That some code-switches in bilingual glosses may, in fact, be the result of additions, deletions, or translations by later scribes was also stressed by Jacopo Bisagni in the case of Irish-Latin code-switching in the eighth-century Würzburg glosses,¹³ by Pádraic Moran regarding the glosses in the *St Gall Priscian*,¹⁴ and by Alderik Blom regarding the glosses in the *Southampton Psalter*.¹⁵

A complicated transmission, however, makes it all the more interesting to study these texts from the perspective of code-switching, since it helps us to focus on a new layer within the mechanics of written bilingual language production: the layer of the scribes and copyists who worked on bilingual texts after their composition. The scribes copying these bilingual texts would have needed to activate both their languages (»bilingual mode«) in order to successfully combine two monolingual glosses into one bilingual gloss.¹⁶ An example of this intricate combination of two languages may even be seen between lemma and gloss:

12 Bisagni, *Amra Coluim Chille*, 14-17; Charles-Edwards, *Manuscript transmission*, 119-120.

13 Bisagni, *Prolegomena*, 23-30. These glosses have Latin, monolingual cognates in another manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.10.5, hereafter B), which allowed Bisagni to make a comparison between the bilingual corpus in the Würzburg manuscript (Wb) and the monolingual corpus in B. From this comparison, it becomes clear that some Irish glosses that occur in Wb are translations or adaptations of Latin glosses, as in this example:

B f 21v: .i. praedicata est crux Christi uobis quasi eam oculis uideritis (»i.e., Christ's cross has been preached to you as though ye had seen it with [your] eyes«).

Wb 19b6: .i. ro pridchad düib céssad Crist amal ad cethe [...] (»i.e., Christ's Passion has been preached to you as though ye had seen [it]«). (Bisagni, *Prolegomena*, 27)

Although there are some differences between the two (*oculis*, for example, is left untranslated and *crux Christi* is translated as *céssad Crist* »the passion of Christ«), it is clear that both glosses are related. In other examples, glosses that were originally monolingually Latin, were used to create bilingual glosses:

B f 8r: .i. a deo

Wb 13a24: .i. a deo i tindnacul raith (»i.e., by God in bestowal of grace«) (Bisagni, *Prolegomena*, 28)

The gloss in Wb has the appearance of a bilingual gloss containing an inter-phrasal switch between two prepositional phrases, but the evidence from B suggests that the two phrases might originally have been separate units that appear side by side in this manuscript, perhaps due to scribal considerations of lay-out or compilation.

14 Moran, *Language interaction*, 16: »[...] the respective layers [of glossing, NS] become visually inseparable in the course of copying and recopying. These glosses are therefore just as likely to be the result of textual accretion rather than spontaneous bilingualism.«

15 Blom, *Glossing the Psalms*, 68: »Some of the Irish SUB1 glosses are immediately followed by a Latin phrase in the same hand, often introduced by <.i.> or <†>: [...] ad-selbem ›I testify: [...] is followed by: .i. quae sequuntur hic ›which follow here«, a phrase which also occurs in the Vatican Commentary, suggesting that this composite gloss was not originally bilingual.« See also p. 69: »Even so, it appears that genuinely bilingual glosses do not occur. In fact, most of the bilingual phrases can be shown to have been compiled from separate sources. This does not imply, however, that these glosses were not read as a single utterance, but the compilatory nature of the gloss resulted in a paratactic structure (uel [...] uel) in which the two languages are not integrated in terms of syntax.«

16 The term »language activation« is used here as defined by François Grosjean: »the state of activation of the bilingual's languages and language processing mechanisms at a given point in time« (Grosjean, *Bilingual and monolingual language modes*). In bilinguals, this looks as follows: »[b]ilinguals will be in a bilingual mode when interacting with other bilinguals who share their languages and with whom they feel comfortable bringing in the other language. In this case, both languages are active, but one language is slightly less active as it is not the main language of communication« (Grosjean, *Bilingual and monolingual language modes*, 2).

Ml. 66^b4 *datorem deligit Deus* »God favours a giver«

.i. *adidnopair fessin dudia ɔ degnimaib*

i.e. who offers himself to God with good works.¹⁷

The Old Irish gloss here consists of a relative clause, which is borne out by the use of the infixed pronoun *id n-* in the verb *ad-opair*, which is only used in relative clauses.¹⁸ Furthermore, the form of the infixed pronoun is in agreement with its antecedent (*datorem*, accusative of *dator* »a giver«) in number and gender (masculine singular). This makes the Irish relative clause directly dependent on a Latin antecedent. To be able to create this Irish relative clause, a scribe would have needed to activate his knowledge of both Latin and Irish in order to properly link it to its Latin antecedent. While this case cannot be classified as a code-switch, since the two languages are not contained in a single discourse (see above), it does demonstrate the close ties between the two languages even across the divide of lemma and gloss. A second reason for including this material is that the readers who were dealing with the end result of such scribal activity would also have had to process any bilingual material as code-switches.¹⁹

Returning to the text we started with – the *Commentary to the Féilire Óengusso* – it is likely that this text, too, has undergone a complex process of textual accretion and deletion in the course of its history: the text occurs in a total of ten manuscripts in varying degrees of completeness, each individual copy containing a version that is ever so slightly (or ever so greatly) different from its relatives. However, each individual copy is bilingual. The following table shows the 10 manuscripts and their sigla, as well as the material that they contain:²⁰

17 Taken from the Milan Glosses database created by David Stifter and Aaron Griffith, see www.univie.ac.at/indogermanistik/milan_glosses/, last accessed on 3 April 2019.

18 For the use of different classes of infixed pronouns in Old Irish, see Thurneysen, *Grammar of Old-Irish*, 255-270.

19 That Grosjean's concepts of language activation and bilingual mode apply to both oral and written bilingualism is clear from Grosjean, *Studying bilinguals*, 137: »Everything that has been said about speakers also pertains to listeners or readers. For example, and whatever the base language, if listeners determine (consciously or not), or find out as they go along, that what they are listening to can contain elements from the other language, they will put themselves partly in a bilingual mode, that is, activate both their languages (with the base language being more strongly activated). This is also true of readers, whether they are reading a continuous text or looking at individual lexical items interspersed with items from the other language. Simply knowing that there is a possibility that elements from the other language will be presented (in an experiment, for example) will move the bilingual away from the monolingual endpoint of the continuum.« See also Dijkstra *et al.*, *Interlingual homograph recognition*.

20 Stam, *Typology of Code-switching*, 102-104. The tenth manuscript, manuscript NLI G169 (C2) is a direct copy of C made in 1806 and is of no independent value.

Sigla	Shelf mark	Date	Lacunae
R1	Oxford, Bodleian, Rawl. B505	early 15th century	One gathering; lacks preface, prologue and epilogue. ²¹
Lb	Dublin, RIA 23 P 16 (Leabhar Breac)	1408-1411	
L	Oxford, Bodleian, Laud 610	early 15th century	
P	Dublin, RIA 23 P 3	1467-1470	Lacks preface, prologue, May, September and December due to loss of leaves.
F	Dublin, UCD A7	1490	
R2	Oxford, Bodleian, Rawl. B512	1500	Lacks the body of the Féilire, part of the prologue and the notes to May, June, July, most likely due to loss of leaves. ²²
C	Dublin, NLI G10 ²³	16th century	Lacks mid-March to mid-November, most likely due to lack of leaves. ²⁴
B	Brussels, BR 5100-4	1630	
B2	Brussels, BR 5057-5059	17th century	Extract of poetry from the notes to March, April, September and October as well as some additional material. ²⁵

No extant manuscript is contemporary with the composition of the *Martyrology* or the *Commentary*. All ten manuscripts date from the fifteenth century onwards and are thus at least six centuries removed from the ninth-century origin of the *Martyrology*.²⁶ While this lack of contemporaneous manuscripts makes it more difficult to trace the scribal processes of translation, compilation, and deletion in the *Commentary* from the beginning of the tradition, it does allow for a comparison across the different versions of the existing manuscripts in order to analyse the way in which later scribes transmitted bilingual material.

21 R1 is a composite manuscript, of which *CFÓ* makes up the second part as a separate gathering of five bifolia; see Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts*, 210. It is unclear whether the lack of the preface, prologue and epilogue is due to the loss of separate gatherings or whether the scribe had no interest in these elements of the text.

22 Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts*, 242.

23 In Stokes, *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, ix-xii referred to as the Cheltenham Manuscript.

24 Ní Shéaghda, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts*, 62.

25 The indexation and editing of the material in this manuscript is part of the current project.

26 This is, unfortunately, very common in medieval Irish studies. For more information on the loss of Irish manuscripts from the period 900-1200, see Russell, *Irish language*, 989-991, 993: »Irish prose texts have been written in manuscripts since at least the eighth century. However, owing to both factors of historical discontinuity and the local environmental conditions (such as wet climate and acid soil), very few manuscripts in Ireland itself survive from the Old Irish period (c. 600-900), and none of these is a collection of Irish-language literary prose fiction. Therefore, we rely on surviving later copies.« The dating of these texts to earlier periods is generally done through an analysis of the linguistic strata of the language (Russell, *Irish language*, 990). Further suggested causes for the loss of medieval Irish manuscripts are given in Ó Corráin, *Ireland's medieval manuscripts*, and Sharpe, *Books from Ireland*.

Bilingual Textual Variation as a Window on Scribal Practice

Bilingual variation in different versions of the same text can provide insights into the ways in which scribes dealt with bilingual material. As is to be expected, the glosses in *CFÓ* show variation in the deletion and translation of Latin but also in the length, form, and accuracy of each individual Latin code-switch. Due to the lack of manuscripts predating the fifteenth century, however, the role of the scribe can only be analysed in manuscripts that appear to be closely related to each other in terms of their transmission. Only then can we plausibly exclude the activities of copyists working in the period(s) for which we have no direct witnesses. Determining which manuscripts are closely related is, unfortunately, impeded by the fact that not all copies of the *Commentary* have been edited as yet. As a result, only two tentative attempts have been made to create a stemma of the transmission of the *Félire* and the *Commentary*. One of these was created by an anonymous participant of the 1911 summer school, held at the School of Irish Learning in Dublin. It was never published, but it was discovered by Pádraig Ó Riain while working on his *Feastdays of the Saints*.²⁷ Due to its mysterious origins, we know very little about this stemma; we do not know, for example, whether it was based on the metrical *Martyrology*, on the *Commentary* text, or on both.²⁸

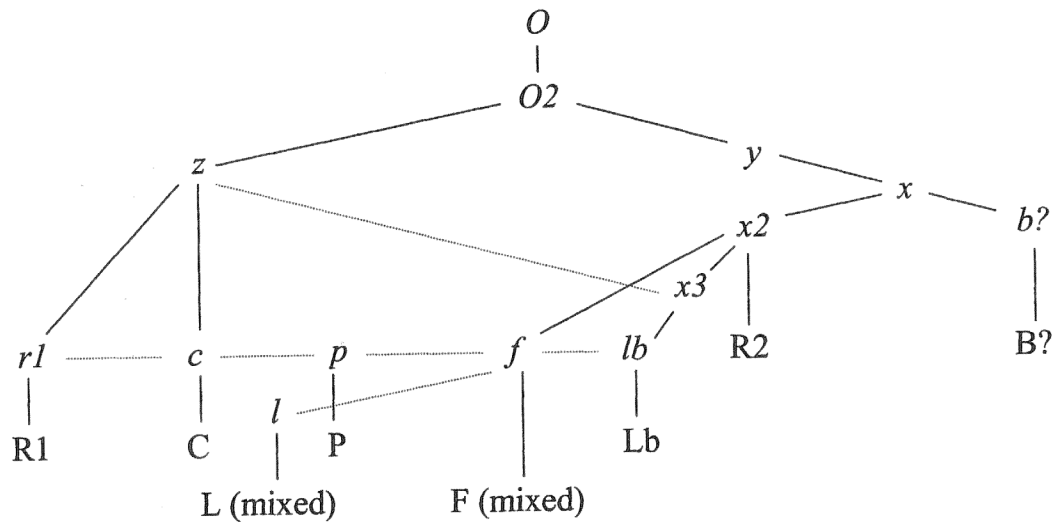


Fig. 1: The 1911 stemma of (C)FÓ, Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 177.

In the same book, Ó Riain himself also created a working stemma, based on four excerpts from the *Commentary*:

27 Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 177

28 For the shelf numbers of the sigla used above, see the list above. In the second stemma, the sigla L1 is used by Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 182, to indicate that L shows influence from two sources, one from the z-branch (L) and one in the y-branch (L1).

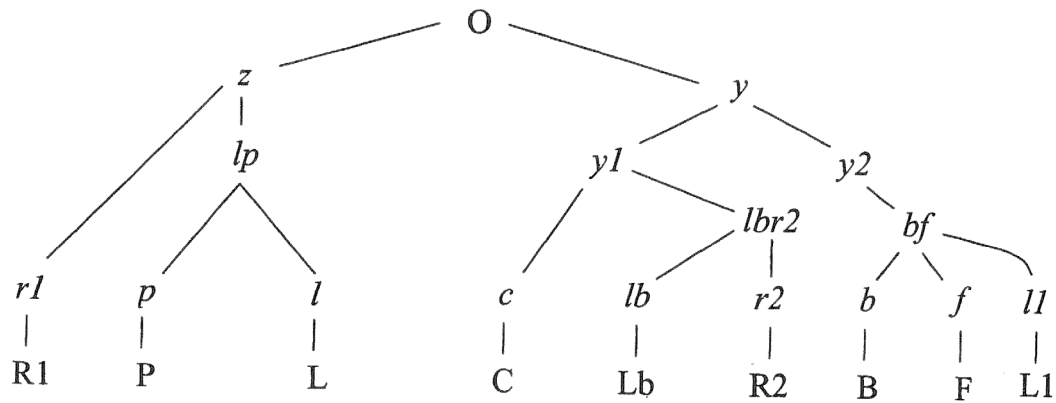


Fig. 2: Ó Riain's stemma for CFÓ, Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 182.

Both stemmata are similar in that they show that no manuscript is directly derived from another extant one. Yet, they diverge greatly in terms of the details of these relations, with the 1911 stemma displaying much more cross influence between the different manuscripts than the 2006 stemma. Since some question may be posed concerning the 2006 stemma,²⁹ I have based the choice of two manuscripts for this case study on the 1911 stemma by selecting the manuscripts University College Dublin A7 (F), and Royal Irish Academy 23 P 16 (Lb).³⁰ Both copies are complete and they are closely related in the stemma through the common node x2 as well as through the relationship between the nodes *f* and *lb* (Figure 1).³¹

29 See Stam, *Typology of Code-switching*, 107-125 for a discussion of this. Without a full edition of all extant versions of the *Commentary*, or an extensive discussion of the material, it is impossible at this stage to verify either of the two stemmata.

30 The manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud 610 will be included in the comparison at a later stage of the project. It is a composite manuscript, the oldest segment of which contains the *Félire Óengusso*. This segment is thought to have been written between 1410 and 1452 for James Butler (fols. 59-72 and fols. 123-46). After his death, it came into the possession of Edmund Butler, James' nephew, who combined his uncle's manuscript with material that had been written for himself (Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts*, 62). While the scribe of the earliest segment is unknown, the scribe of the later segment identifies himself as Seaan Buidhi ó Cléirig or Yellow Sean Ó Cleirigh (Stokes, *Félire Óengusso Céili Dé*, xv). The manuscript has seen its share of adventure, as it was used as a ransom for Edmund when he was held prisoner by Thomas Fitzgerald, the earl of Desmond (Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts*, 67).

31 I am aware that it might not be useful in the case of texts such as glosses and commentaries to speak of a stemma; considering the complex life of glosses, it might be more useful to aim at distinguishing different layers. However, the existing stemma is here used to provide a starting point for the comparison.

Manuscript F is part of what is called *The Franciscan Archive*, a collection of manuscripts that is now housed in University College Dublin but which had previously been kept at Franciscan institutions in Louvain, Rome, and Dublin.³² Its colophon identifies the scribe as Ruaidhri hUa Luinin, who wrote the book for Cathal Mac Maghnusa Meguidhir (†1498).³³ This Cathal is praised highly in the *Annals of Ulster* (a. 1498.8) as someone »who was full of grace and of knowledge in every science, both law and divinity, physic and philosophy, and knowledge of Gaidhelic also to the time of his decease« and someone who had occupied various functions within the church: »canon choral in Ard-Macha and in the bishopric of Clochar and dean over Loch-Erne and parson in Inis-cain of Loch-Erne and who was in the deanery of Loch-Erne as vicar of the bishops for 15 years before his decease«.³⁴

The manuscript RIA 23 P 16, or *Leabhar Breac*, »the Speckled Book«, may be dated somewhat earlier, to the period 1408-1411. We owe this precise dating to the scribe of the manuscript, Murchad Ó Cuindlis, who notes the death of Cobhthach Ó Madaghain in 1411 and the fact that he has been travelling for over three years to collect the texts for his manuscripts, thus giving us a *terminus ante* and *post quem* of 1408-1411. Murchad is known to have been a pupil of the Lecan historian Gilla Ísa Mac Fir Bisig Murchad, and his hand was identified in this manuscript by Ó Concheanainn.³⁵ It is unclear for whom exactly it was written, but it has been suggested that it was for a religious community.³⁶

A Threefold Approach to Bilingual Scribal Variation

In the project, bilingual variation in these manuscripts is approached from a number of angles: first, from the perspective of philology, variation in code-switching across manuscripts may depend on the intended audience and on the attitude of the scribes. It is possible that scribes writing for a religious community will have had a greater interest in the Latin and bilingual glosses than scribes writing for a secular lord. Additionally, their training in Latin might allow them to retain Latin code-switches more accurately or might even encourage them to add new material in Latin.

32 See Dillon *et al.*, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts*, 14-16. The Franciscan collection is now housed in University College Dublin and has been made available through Irish Script on Screen (accessed on 3 April 2019: www.isos.dias.ie).

33 Stokes, *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, xii-xiii, and O'Donovan *et al.*, *Martyrology of Donegal*, xiv state that Cathal Mac Maghnusa died in 1470, but it is unclear where they sourced this information, as the *Annals of Ulster* record his death under 1498 (see celt.ucc.ie/published/T100001C/, a. 1498.8, accessed on 3 April 2019). For 1470, the *Annals* do mention a raid on Cathal Mac Maghnusa: »a. 1470.17 The sons of Donchadh, son of Aedh Mag Uidhir and the sons of Cormac, son of the same Aedh, made a foray on Cathal Mac Maghnusa junior in Rinn-Airigh«, celt.ucc.ie/published/T100001C/text093.html, accessed on 3 April 2019

34 1498.8 Scél mór i n-Erinn uile isin bliadhain-si: .i. so síis. Mac Maghnusa Mheg Uidhir do ég in bliadhain-si: .i. Cathal Og, mac Cathail, mic Cathail, mic Gilla Padraig, mic Matha & arail; neoch bui ina bhiatach for Seanadh & ina chanánach coradh i n-Ard Macha & i n-espucoidecht Clochair & ina dheganach for Loch Eirne & ina persun a n-Inís Cain Locha h-Erne & do buí a n-degántacht Locha h-Erne ina fer-inaid espuic fri u. m-bliadhna x. ria n-a eitsecht. Ind leacc loghmur imorro & in gem gloine & in retla sholusta & cisti taiscedha ind ecnai & craebh cnua-saigh na Canoine & topur na desherci & na cenna & na h-aigine & in coluim ar gloine cridhe & in turtuir ar endca & in nech d'ar' buidhighi dama & deoraidh & deiblein bochta Erenn & in nech & buí lan do. Taken from the »very unsatisfactory edition« of Hennessy and Mac Carthy, *Annals of Ulster*, digitised on the CELT initiative: for the Irish text, see celt.ucc.ie/published/G100001C.html, and for the translation see celt.ucc.ie/published/T100001C.html.

35 Ó Concheanainn, Scribe of the *Leabhar Breac*, 67.

36 Ó Concheanainn, Scribe of the *Leabhar Breac*, 65. See Ter Horst, *Irish-Latin Leabhar Breac* for a recent, in-depth analysis of the manuscript, its scribes, and its quire structure.

Secondly, from a linguistic perspective, variation may be dependent on the chronological development of the linguistic status of Irish vis-à-vis Latin in medieval Ireland, particularly within commentary texts. This genre is likely to have displayed a chronological development akin to that of the *Annals*, i.e. from a monolingually Latin form to a monolingually Irish form, with a mixed, bilingual Irish-Latin form in the period in between.³⁷ This intermediate bilingual stage might show both quantitative and qualitative changes in the appearance of Latin: the quality of Latin code-switching will change from complex to simple, while the overall quantity of Latin will decrease in favour of Irish. To define »complex« and »simple« code-switching, Pieter Muysken's *Typology of Code-Mixing* is a useful starting point.³⁸ According to Muysken's *Typology*, complex forms of code-switching include alternation (long phrases, clauses, and sentences) and congruent lexicalisation (syntactically complex elements like conjunct particles). Simpler forms of code-switching include insertion, which is the insertion of small elements like single nouns, and conventionalised code-switching, which is code-switching in set expressions and idioms.³⁹ The degree to which any of the quantitative or qualitative developments appear in different versions of the same text might provide insight into the relative chronologies of bilingual texts.

Thirdly, from a palaeographical perspective, so-called visual diamorphs may trigger unconscious code-switching by writers and scribes into either language, as was suggested in Stam and Ter Horst and Stam.⁴⁰ Visual diamorphs are elements in texts that are linguistically ambiguous, either because they are highly abbreviated or because they are words that have the same form in both languages involved.⁴¹ Their influence may be examined by determining whether there is more variation in the transmission of code-switching around these elements.

A Linguistic Case Study of CFÓ

While the project as a whole will entail the analysis of bilingual glosses in the three different manuscripts, the present case study will present the results of an initial examination of the first six months of the *Martyrology* in two manuscripts discussed above (F and Lb). Due to the small size of the sample, my focus here will only be on the linguistic aspects of the bilingual glosses, and not on the overall material philology: the complete data set is necessary to determine the attitudes of scribes and patrons towards the bilingualism in the commentary.

37 The development in the annals is described in Dumville, *Latin and Irish*.

38 Muysken, *Typology of Code-Mixing*; Stam, *Typology of Code-switching*.

39 Pieter Muysken has used the term conventionalised code-switching to denote code-switches that »have gained acceptance within a particular speech community« (Muysken, *Typology of Code-Mixing*, 71), but that have not been integrated to such a degree that they might be considered borrowings. In Stam, *Typology of Code-switching*, 298-299, I have used a minimum of five occurrences in the same source to include a code-switch as a conventionalised code-switch, but this is in need of refinement through a comparison across sources.

40 Stam, *Typology of Code-switching*, 328-361; Ter Horst and Stam, *Visual Diamorphs*, 223-242. Following linguistic research on triggering (Clyne, *Dynamics*; Myslín and Levy, *Code-Switching and predictability*), triggering is a form of code-switching in which proper names, unintegrated loans, and bilingual homophones induce an unconscious change of language.

41 For example, the abbreviations 7 »and«, 1 »or«, q »because«, s »but«, and .i. »that is«, function as Latin in a Latin context and as Irish in an Irish context. When they occur in bilingual material at switch points, it is undesirable to expand them in the transcription into either language, as their ambiguity is an integral part of the bilingual nature of the text. The diamorphic nature of such elements was originally noted by Wright, *On variation*, and Voigts, *Character of the Carecter*.

The linguistic make-up of the commentary for the months January till June is as follows: these months contain a total of 857 glosses, 210 of which are bilingual (25%),⁴² 129 are Latin (15%), and 509 are Irish (59%). Some of the glosses (9, or 1%) are ambiguous, because the words they contain could belong to both Latin and Irish, like the word *martir* »martyr« in its nominative case. In the 210 bilingual glosses, a total of 394 code-switches occur.

The total number of code-switches has been divided into several categories:⁴³ adjectival phrases (AP), adverbial phrases (BP), determiner phrases (DP), noun phrases (NP), prepositional phrases (PP), verb phrases (VP), function words (FW),⁴⁴ coordinate clauses (CC), main clauses (MC), subordinate clauses (SC, with a separate category for relative clauses RC), and long switches that stretch across several phrases or clauses (LongAlt):

	Number of CS in F	Number also in Lb	Percentage also in Lb
AP	5	4	80%
BP	29	12	41%
DP	8	8	100%
NP	140	108	77%
PP	27	18	67%
VP	8	8	100%
FW	1	0	0%
CC	46	34	74%
SC	31	23	74%
RC	17	11	65%
MC	21	14	67%
LongAlt	61	46	75%
Total	394	286	

42 This percentage is slightly higher than the percentage of bilingual glosses in the manuscript Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B505, in which 18.7% of the glosses were bilingual (Stam, *Typology of Code-switching*, 173). In the same manuscript, 57.2% of the glosses were monolingually Irish, 23.7% of the glosses were monolingually Latin, and 0.4% of the glosses were ambiguous.

43 In counting code-switches, I follow the methodology set out in Stam, *Typology of Code-switching*, 162-171. This means that the gloss is the basic unit of analysis and is assigned a matrix language. Any code-switches in the glosses are then flagged using Muysken's list of features for insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalisation. In the case of alternation and congruent lexicalisation, however, there is no over-arching matrix language, which means that each sequentially switched element will be counted as an individual code-switch. For example, if a gloss starts on an Irish main clause, followed by a Latin subordinate clause, which is in turn followed by an Irish coordinate clause, both the Latin subordinate clause and the Irish coordinate clause are counted as code-switches.

44 As defined in Brown and Miller, *Cambridge Dictionary of Linguistics*: »In contrast with a lexical word, a grammatical word does not denote an entity – a thing, a being, an event, an abstract idea and so on – but carries information about the grammar of clauses«, s.v. Grammatical Word (Function Word).

While the first column shows the number of code-switches across the different categories in manuscript F, the second column shows how many of these also appear as a code-switch in Lb, which is conveyed as a percentage in the third column. Noticeable from these figures is that, generally, there is a very high chance that a code-switch in F will also appear as a code-switch in Lb: except for the single switched function word, only the category of adverbial phrases scores below 65%.⁴⁵

These results need to be further refined: we need to look more closely at the reasons why some of the code-switches that occur in F do not occur in Lb. There may be several reasons for the non-retention of a switch; for example, the gloss that contains the switch in F may not exist at all in Lb (percentage missing). Alternatively, the bilingual gloss may appear both in F and Lb, but may have a different form in Lb (percentage changed). The following table shows how many of the bilingual glosses in F do not appear at all in Lb.

	Number of CS in F	Number of CS not in Lb	Glosses missing	Percentage missing	Percentage changed
AP	5	1	1	100%	0
BP	29	17	7	42%	58%
DP	8	0	0	0	0
NP	140	32	19	59%	41%
PP	27	9	6	67%	33%
VP	8	0	0	0	0
FW	1	1	1	100%	0
CC	46	12	7	58%	42%
SC	31	8	3	37%	63%
RC	17	6	6	100%	0
MC	21	8	2	25%	75%
LongAlt	61	7	6	86%	14%
Total	394				

Since these glosses do not appear in Lb in their entirety, they can provide no information on how their scribe dealt with copying a bilingual gloss itself.⁴⁶ I shall therefore focus on the glosses that occur in both manuscripts but that do not contain the same code-switch. This means that adjectival phrases, determiner phrases, verb phrases, function words, and relative clauses are excluded, since they have either not been changed in transmission (DP, VP) or since the gloss that contains them in F is entirely absent in Lb (AP, FW, RC). Included are adverbial phrases, prepositional phrases, main clauses, subordinate clauses, coordinate clauses and long alternations across clauses or phrases.

45 The switched function word is the Latin preposition *post*, which in its abbreviated form may have acted as a visual diamorph: #0906c .i. *Baithin mac brenaind .maic. ferghusa ab ia post colum .cille. (...)* »i.e. Báithín mac Brenainn maic Fergusa, abbot of Iona after Colum Cille (...). This example will be discussed in more detail in a forthcoming publication that will compare the code-switches in F and Lb with code-switches in L.

46 Except, of course, for the fact that a scribe may have had a tendency to delete or add bilingual glosses. To examine this, the consistency with which the monolingual glosses appear across the different manuscripts should be compared with the results for the bilingual glosses. This, however, lies outside the scope of the present article.

Adverbial Phrases

There are ten glosses that contain a switched adverbial phrase in F but not in Lb. The causes for this seem to be threefold: translation, deletion, and abbreviation. There are two glosses in which translation seems to have caused a code-switch to disappear (assuming that the code-switch is the *lectio difficilior*): #0101d and #2106b. In the first example, the gloss explains the phrase from the martyrology stating that Christ »submitted to the law« or, in other words, underwent circumcision. In F, the Latin *sic* »thus« appears as the Irish *sís* »downwards« in Lb, where the order of the elements in the gloss is different as well:

#0101d LUID FOREACHT ARD ERAIL Luidh forecht ard erail 7r1 [...] .i. incroicenn fas bis acenn anboill fherrdha sic † neraín .i. furail .i. inforimadh bec noteasctha ann † iserail uasal tesctha peccáigh ochach crist do dul forecht nimdibhe † urain .i. imarcraidh do techt forecht nimdibe. (fol. 5ra, l. 20-25)

[CHRIST] SUBMITTED TO THE LAW, HIGH THE REQUIREMENT! He submitted to the law, high the requirement etc, [...] i.e. the empty skin that is wont to be the head of the masculine member thus, or [read] *nerain*, i.e. *furail* »abundance«, i.e. the small excess that was wont to be cut there, or Christ submitting to the law of circumcision is a noble injunction of cutting sin from everyone, or read *urain*, i.e. a surplus submitting to the law of circumcision.

Lb: [...] .i. incroicend remaniusa riachach .i. réim náiniusa. † romain .i. remshamud. infás bis acind inbaill fherrdai sis. no nerain .i. furail .i. in forimad bec nothesta and. (p. 78b, l. 16-18)⁴⁷

»[...] the empty thing that is wont to be the head of the masculine member downwards [...]«⁴⁸

While *sís* might alternatively have arisen as a misreading of *sic*, the end result is still a correct Irish clause in which a code-switch is translated in the broadest sense: the general meaning of the gloss remains unchanged – a meaning that is conveyed with a code-switch in F but without one in Lb.

A clearer case of translation may be found in #2106b, again of the word *sic*, represented in Lb by its Irish equivalent *amlaid sin*:

#2106b CORMAC BA CAIN CLEIRECH .i. ualiathan indermaig imidhe IS fris adbert colum .cille. Airis arse sunn indirmuig. Niairisium icein † cofarcbusa ní dotthaisib occum. Doro cuat ní dib ol colum .cille. Dolam ind olcormac. Sinis colum .cille. alam Scothais cormac alutaing de. ISgoirt domai[r]lis achormaic olcolum .cille. Cidfil ann olse acht coín dotithi ind issed ón rocomailled. ISe didiu incormac sin rotriall tar muir indeagaid. colum .cille. coneracht inmhuir fris conarleig tairis he onchinniud gorocomailtea briathar .coluim.cille. sic (fol. 23rb, l. 13-24)

47 RIA 23 P 16 or Lb is also available online at Irish Script On Screen (accessed on 3 April 2019: www.isos.dias.ie). The line numbers have been counted according to the lines of the larger script of the *Martyrology* itself from p. 79 onwards. The glosses are generally located around these lines either in the interlinear space (IL), in the bottom margin (BM), right margin (RM), left margin (LM), or top margin (TM). The first page of the *Commentary* (p. 78) is different in that it has no marginal or interlinear material but collects the glosses and notes in a column as running text. In this case, the line numbers reflect individual lines, regardless of the size of the script.

48 The meaning of this gloss is slightly different from that in F, as it uses *fás* as a substantivised adjective »empty thing«.

CORMAC WAS A FAIR CLERIC i.e. [he was] of the Uí Liathain in Durrow in Meath. It is to him that Colum Cille said: »Stay here,« he says, »in Durrow.« »I will not stay unless you leave some of your relics with me.« »You will get some of them,« says Colum Cille. »[Put] your hand onto it,« says Cormac. Colum Cille stretched out his hand. Cormac cuts his little finger off him. »You have attacked me bitterly, o Cormac!« says Colum Cille. »Nevertheless,« says he, »wolves will eat you for this.« And that was fulfilled. He is that Cormac who travelled across the sea after Colum Cille, and the sea rose against him, so that she did not allow him to pass her, because of the determination that Colum Cille's word should be fulfilled in that way. (Adapted from Stokes, *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé*, 156-159).

Lb: [...] onchindiud corocomailtea briathar coluim .cille. amlaid sin (p. 90, l. 2-8 RM)

There are five glosses that lack the switched adverb altogether in Lb (#0804b; #2001a; #0503c; #0704b; #1706d). In two of these, either the whole clause is missing (#2001a, fol. 7ra, l. 17; Lb p. 80, l. 13 RM), or just the adverb itself (*prius* #0906d, fol. 21va, l. 6).⁴⁹ For the other three examples, the way in which the lemma or synonym is introduced in the gloss in each manuscript creates the code-switch or the lack thereof:

#0503c CARTHACH RIGHDHA RUAMACH Carthach uero .i. mac fingin mac noi mac cellain mac tailginn mac firb a quo .h. fhirb (fol. 11vb, l. 27-28)

CARTHACH, ROYAL, CITY-POSSESSING Cartach, then, i.e. the son of Fingen, son of Noe, son of Cellán, son of Tailgenn, son of Firb from whom [are] the Uí Fhirb.

Lb: .i. Carthach mac find maic noei maic cellain maic tailcind maic firb a quo .hui. firb. (p. 83, l. 3 RM)

In the gloss above, the lemma from the *Martyrology* is *Carthach*, which is introduced as »Carthach then, that is [...]«. In Lb, the gloss simply starts on the explanatory *.i.*, followed by the name *Carthach*.⁵⁰

The abbreviated adverb *uero* features as a point of divergence in glosses #2001d and #0102b as well. In each of these glosses, F seems to prefer the abbreviated *uero* as an adverb meaning »then«, while Lb prefers to use the abbreviations for Irish *immorro* or *didiu*, which have roughly the same meaning.⁵¹ In both cases, the words are part of a narrative gloss. Here follows the example from January:

49 Note, however, that in the gloss in F, *prius* has been inserted over the word *baiste* as a correction of the text.

50 Other examples: #0704c BA GERAIT CRIST CAINDE Bagerait *críst .uero*. [...] (fol. 15ra, l. 16); lemma not introduced in Lb. #0804b A TEMPAIL .i. *eclésie didiu* »a church therefore«, (fol. 15rb, l.17); Lb .i. *eclisia* »a church« (p. 85, l. 15 IL).

51 Note, however, that variation exists, since F collects another gloss on *Carthach*, in which the lemma is introduced by *dano* (*Carthach dano* dalta ciarain saigri he [...] »Carthach, then, he was a student of Ciarán of Saiger« fol. 11vb, l. 29). This reintroduction of the lemma may point to the fact that the scribe considered this to be a new gloss on the lemma and, perhaps, that this new gloss was taken from a different source.

#2001d SABBAIST 7 OENU Oenu .i. oenghus mac ui laighse dolaichis laighin docuaidh 7daghilla maille fris forfecht (GAP) inamhsa corigh connacht. Condechaid iarum coport innsi clothrann ictriall tarloch rí siar. Ecmaing dano ciaran isin indsi tunc 7asbert. Tabair amaigh in toglach airbidhfer corath de he 7bidhé gebhus mocomarbussa domeis. (GAP)naghar oenghus amuigh. Ciaairet doshet olcieran. corigh connacht aringilla. Nachferr lat dochur corigh nime 7talman arciaran. Mase achoir dano arangilla ISE uero. arciaran. Tescthar afholt 7ailter frisineclais 7gabais comarbus ciarain iarsin ut ciaran profetauit. (fol. 7ra, l. 38 - 7rb, l. 4)

SEBASTIAN AND ÓENU Oenu, i.e. Óengus son of the Uí Laigse of Leix of Leinster. He went, along with two servants, on a journey to enter military service to a king of Connacht, and he came to the port of Inis Clothrann, passing over Loch Rib westwards. Now Ciaran happened to be on the island then and he said »bring the young hero in [to the island], for he is a man with God's grace, and it is he who will take my coarbship after me.« Óengus is then taken in. »Where are you going?« said Ciaran. »To the king of Connacht,« said the youth. »Were it not better for you to put yourself to the king of heaven and earth?« said Ciaran. »If it be proper,« said the youth, »It is in truth.« says Ciaran. His hair is cut, and he is reared at the church and he took Ciaran's coarbship afterwards, as Ciaran prophesied. (Adapted from Stokes, *On the Calendar of Oengus*, xxxviii)

Lb: [...] issed immorro olcieran. [...] (p. 80, l. 24 RM)

Considering the fact that the abbreviation for *uero* is also used in monolingual Irish texts for the Irish words *immorro* and *didiu*, this particular abbreviation might be included into the list of visual diamorphs. Additionally, discourse-shaping elements like these might easily be changed in the process of copying and could therefore reveal the individual preferences of scribes.⁵²

Another abbreviation that may be added to the list of visual diamorphs is the abbreviation for *quam* »than«, used in comparisons. The following gloss shows that an Irish comparison, »it is fitter than«, is constructed with the abbreviation for Latin *quam*, while in Lb this is constructed with the Irish *iná*:

#1101a A HEIGHIPT NA⁵³ SUBAE Cidfodera conadsollomuín tuidecht críst ahegipt 7nach sollamain adul innti .nihansae. arægipt isinunn 7tenebre 7iscora suba dotiactain neich eisibsidhe iarruin quam dodul inntibh. (fol. 6ra, l. 38)

OUT OF EGYPT, FULL OF GLADNESS Why is it that Christ's coming out of Egypt is a festival and his going into it is not a festival? Easy to say, since »Egypt« is the same as »darkness«, and fitter is happiness at one's coming out of it than at going into it according to the mystical meaning.

Lb: Cid fodera conid sollamain tidecht críst ahegipt 7 nach sollamain adul innte. ni hansae. árisinand egiptus 7 tenebre .i. dorcaedae 7 iscoru suba dothiachtain neich esti ina dul inntib. (p. 79, l. 31 RM)

52 Another example is #0102b BRIGIT BAN BALC NUALANN [...] Maith ale maccleirig tall olbrigít. ínfil anmchara lat Ata uero. arinmaccleirech. Gaib eim aecnairc olbrigít (fol. 8va, l. 30-31). BRIGIT THE FAIR, STRONG, PRAISEWORTHY [...] »Well, O young cleric there,« said Brigit, »do you have a soulfriend?« »I have indeed,« said the cleric. »Let us sing his requiem,« said Brigit. [...] (Adapted from Stokes, *On the Calendar of Oengus*, xlvi)
Lb: [...] Maith ale ameicléirig thall olbrigít ínfil anmchara lat. ata immurro olinclerech. gaibem aecnairc olbrigít. [...] (p. 82 BM).

53 Under *na* is written *lán* as a correction (fol. 6r., l. 31).

It must be noted, again, that the abbreviated *quam* may be found in monolingual Irish texts for Irish *iná, indaas* »than«, which shows that this abbreviation functions in both Irish and Latin linguistic contexts and thus acts as a visual diamorph.⁵⁴ If the abbreviations for *uero* and *quam* are included in the list of visual diamorphs, then they cannot be counted as code-switches in an otherwise monolingual Irish context.

Prepositional Phrases

When examining the category of prepositional phrases, we find different causes for the lack of switching in Lb: for the three glosses that occur in each of the two manuscripts in a different form, the mobility of the material on the page and the deletion of elements seem to play a stronger role, while there are no examples of translations or ambiguous abbreviations.⁵⁵ Gloss #1005a is a good example of the type of code-switching that is created by the mobility of the material on the page, as discussed by Bisagni. The single phrase *glóir in caelo* »voices in heaven« in F forms two separate glosses in Lb:

#1005a HI SITHLAITH IND ALLTAIR I MBI TOIRM CECH TEMPAIL
i.e. moladh ḡ glóir incaelo lineclais .i. infuturo (fol. 18ra, l. 21)

INTO THE OTHER WORLD'S REALM OF PEACE, WHEREIN IS EVERY TEMPLE'S NOISE
i.e. praising, or voices⁵⁶ in heaven or in a church, i.e. at a future time

Lb: .i. molad ḡ glóir hic .i. incaelo ḡ ineclais .i. infuturo (p. 87, l. 19 IL)
i.e. praising or voices here, i.e. in heaven or in a church, i.e. at a future time

54 The following gloss from F shows that two parts of a gloss on Joseph deal with the word for »than« in the same comparison differently:

#1903e IOSEPH AINM IS UAISLIU .i. do aite issu doradh frihioseph *quam* ioseph ḡ isuaisliu aiti issu doradh ris inaioseph.
JOSEPH, NAME THAT IS NOBLER i.e. [it is nobler] for him to call Joseph »Jesu's tutor« than »Joseph«, or it is nobler to call him »Jesu's tutor« than »Joseph«. (fol. 13rb, l. 33-35)

Lb: .i. do aite isu dorad frihioseph .i. quam ioseph ḡ is uaisle aite ihesu dorad ris ina ioseph (p. 84, l. 6 IL)

Note that the gloss itself collects two different readings: one with the abbreviation for *quam* and one with the Irish reading *ina*. In Lb, however, the Latin *quam* is separated from the syntax of the Irish clause by *.i.*, »that is«.

55 With the concept »mobility of material«, I intend to describe the flexibility that glosses and other marginal material display in transmission, i.e. that they are very likely to be combined, split up, and recombined as well as very likely to appear at different places on a page or in a different order in each manuscript witness. On the complexity and flexibility of glosses in transmission, see Bisagni, *Amrae Coluimb Chille*, 17 and the discussion in Stam, *Typology of Code-switching*, 106-109.

56 Alternatively, *glóir* may denote »glory«; see eDIL s.v. 1 *glóir* or dil.ie/26118.

A prepositional phrase that simply does not occur in Lb may be found in F for #1805b, which contains a Latin phrase referring to a source.⁵⁷

#1805b MOMOEDHOC MOR MOEINECH .i. momoedoc fedha duin ínosraighi .i. momoedoc mac midhgna maic meite maic nineda maic naxair maic crimtain maic eachach maic ængusa maic cathair mair in eadem genealogia (fol. 19ra, l. 20-25)

MY MAEDÓC GREAT AND TREASUROUS i.e. My Máedoc of Fid Dúin in Ossory, i.e. My Máedóc son of Midgnae son of Nindid, son of Nastar, son of Crimthann, son of Eochaid, son of Óengus, son of Crimthann, son of Cathaír Mór [is] in the same genealogy.

Lb: .i. momóedoc fheda duin inosraigib .i. momoedoc mac midgnai maic meti maic ninedai maic nazair maic crimthain maic echach maic oengusa maic crimthainn maic cathair mair 7 colam mac nineda maic nazair maic crimthain maic echach maic oengusa maic crimthannain maic cathair máir (p. 88, l. 3 IL - RM)

Main Clauses

Main clauses show yet another pattern: all six glosses that contain code-switches in F may be shown to be separate glosses in Lb. Here, then, the mobility of the glosses during their transmission plays an important role. The quatrain for the ninth of June, for example, is accompanied by a wealth of glossing material, since it is the feast day of one of Ireland's best-known Saints: Colum Cille. The following excerpt from a longer gloss explains how he got his name:

#0906c COLUM CILLE CAINNLECH [...] Cuimine didiu 7 míncloth 7 sinech. tri sethra coluim .cille. Colum pro simplicitate eius dictus est [...].⁵⁸ (fol. 21va, l. 9-10)

COLUM CILLE THE LUSTROUS [...] Cuimine, then, and Míncloth and Sinech [are] the three sisters of Colum Cille. Colum was so called because of his simplicity. [...] (Adapted from Stokes 1880, *On the Calendar of Oengus*, xcix)

Lb: Cuimine didiu 7 míncloth 7 sinech. tri seathra choluim chille. (p. 89, l. 14 RM)
Colum pro simplicitate eius dictus est. [...] (p. 89 BM)

In Lb, the material is presented separately as the Latin main clause is the start of a separate account in the lower margin of the manuscript page.⁵⁹

57 Similarly: #0805b AR CRÍST COTA RUISET [...] 7 roimarchuirsedar aneire arcríst ininitio ætatis. (fol. 17vb, l. 38-39) FOR CHRIST THEY HAVE BROUGHT THEMSELVES [...] or they carried about their burden for the sake of Christ from a young age.; Lb: 7 roimchuirset aneri arcríst (p. 87, l. 16 IL)

58 The Latin sentence in F begins on a new line and has been given a capital letter. This might indicate that it is consciously set apart as different material.

59 Other examples: #2204b; #2404a; #2904d; #2405d (2x). The material will be published online at a later stage in the project. Until then, the material will be available upon request.

Subordinate Clauses

The five subordinate clauses are also not retained as a code-switch in Lb due to the mobility of the material. It is important to note that all code-switches in this category are of a conventionalised or formulaic nature: generally, they are forms of the Latin verbs *dicere* or *canere* used to introduce poetry. In #0602a, the phrase *ut poeta cecinit* is used in F to link material that is presented separately in Lb:

#0602a ESPOC MEL MIND RIGHE Darerca dano incoiced siur dophadráig mathair espuic mel ut poeta .cecinit. Lupait 7 tigris tenn feib rorimes isrichell. [...] (fol. 9ra, l. 29-34)

BISHOP MEL, A DIADEM OF THE KINGDOM Darerca, then, one of Patrick's five sisters, [was] Bishop Mel's mother, as the poet sang: Lupait and Tigris the severe, as I have recounted, and Richell, [...]. (Adapted from Stokes, *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé*, 68-69)

Lb: [...] Darerca siur patraic máthair espuic moel. 7 ise dorat grada forbrigit 7 bagrada espuic iatside 7 isiat bis for acomorba diahessi (p. 81, l. 11 IL RM)
Lupait 7 tigris^{proprium} tend feib doruirmess is ricell [...] (p. 81 BM)

In glosses #2102a, #2203d, #1106d, and #3006d, extra material, present in F but not in Lb, is introduced by means of the phrases *ut dixit*, *ut dicitur* and *ut est*. This confirms that these phrases are used as a »textual glue«, allowing the linking of existing materials in the commentary or the addition of new material to it. Gloss #2203d, for example, explains the phrase »over the rampart of the sea«. While a similar gloss exists in Lb, the gloss in F is longer because of an added *ut dicitur* which is intended to introduce an illustration of the word *doë* »rampart«:

#2203d BALC LESS LER TAR DOA Tardoa 7rł [...] ł ismor íntshoillsi failbe *tardoe*. .i. *tarcladh* ł darcrich mara *arbid doe*. .i. *clodh ut dicitur mecon tua arabeth akladhaibh.* (13va, l. 30-32)

A STRONG LIGHT OVER THE SEA'S RAMPART Over the rampart etc, [...] or, great is the light of Failbe over the rampart, i.e. over the dyke, or over the boundary of the sea, for there is a word *doë* meaning »rampart«, as is said *mecon tua ara-beth a cladhaibh* »the great burdock which would be present on ramparts«.

Lb: [...] (p. 84, l. 12 IL)

Coordinate Clauses

Defining switched coordinate clauses is not entirely straightforward. It must be noted that, in this group, clauses are included that start with the abbreviated *.i.* for *id est* or *ed ón* »that is« and *uel* or *nó* »or«. These clauses are the very building blocks of commentary texts and are frequently used to compile information from different sources. As a result, these clauses have not always been included as code-switches in studies of historical bilingualism, since it is difficult to establish single authorship.⁶⁰

60 Bisagni, Prolegomena, 26.

As stated above, however, there are several reasons to include these glosses among the bilingual glosses of a particular manuscript. After all, these glosses were actively grouped together by a particular scribe and were read as such by their readers. In any case, establishing single authorship for any gloss in a commentary text is fraught with difficulties, since even glosses that do not contain markers of compilation may still have been influenced by it. These glosses have therefore been included here as switched clauses for F. Their inclusion, however, provides a good opportunity to examine whether these clauses are indeed particularly susceptible to the compilatory activities of scribes.

Of all the switched coordinate clauses (46), 15 start with *.i.*, 6 start with *†* »or«, 21 start with *⁊* »and«, and 2 start with *ḡ* »but«. Of the 5 examples that are not code-switches in Lb, 4 start with *.i.*, which confirms that this particular connector can very easily be added onto other glosses or taken off of them in the course of transmission. This seems to have happened with at least three of the examples (#2401b, #0404a, #2804a), illustrated here by the first:

#2401b BABILL BRUTH OIR ORLÁIN .i. babillus epscop *⁊*^{martir} inantoig *.i. inantiochia* cum suis tribus filiís. (fol. 7va, l. 8-10)

BABYLAS, THE ABUNDANT MASS OF GOLD i.e. Babillus and [he was] a martyr [and] bishop in Antioch, i.e. in Antiochia with his three sons.

Lb: *.i. babillus epsoc inantoig cum suis tribus filis.* (p. 80, l. 16 LM-IL)

In F, the name Babill is glossed with a string of elements that can be considered diamorphic (a personal name *Babillus*, the borrowing *martir*, an ambiguous abbreviation for the word »bishop«, and a shared preposition *in*), followed by the Irish version of the name Antioch. This string of elements, in turn, is followed by a Latin gloss on the same subject. Lb, however, shares the first part of the gloss with F (*Babillus epsoc inantoig*) but continues with the Latin prepositional phrase that is part of a separate gloss in F. Note, however, that the Latin element in F *.i. inantiochia* is inserted over the line and is likely to have been a later addition, either by the scribe of F or by the scribe of its exemplar(s). While the code-switch in Lb appears to be syntactically more complex than that in F, since it contains an inserted Irish prepositional phrase following a visual diamorph (the abbreviation *ep̄s*), the two glosses are, in fact, very similar to each other if the Latin phrase is considered to be a later addition.

The two other examples in this category seem to be the result of, respectively, a deletion and a translation. In #0406d, for example, both manuscripts have the same Irish glossing material, but only F also contains a Latin phrase:

#0406d LA TARMRITH MARTÍNI .i. abreith inepiscopatum .i. athaisi aloc hiloc .i. athaisi tucta asin mainistir inerbail docum nacathrach moire ⁊ non statim .i. abreith inepiscopatum *†* translatio corpore eius desepulcro in alium locum (fol. 21ra, l. 5-8)

AT THE TRANSLATION OF MARTINUS i.e. bringing him into the bishopric, i.e. his relics from place to place, i.e. his relics were brought from the monastery in which he died towards the great city and it was not immediately, i.e. bringing him into the bishopric or the translation of his body from the grave into another place.

Lb: *.i. abreith inepiscopatum .i. athaisi [sic] alloc hilloc .i. tuctha athaisi asin mainistir inerbail dochum nacathrach* (p. 89, l. 8 IL)

In #0605a, the code-switch in F occurs between two clauses that convey the same information, only one of them does so through Latin and the other through Irish:

#0605a⁶¹ hic cadit euasio incolomis *sancti iohannis apostoli* ⁊ euangeliste. adimperiū cesaris domiciani indolium feruentis olei missi ante portam latinam apud romam. .i. annso tig ternam eoin apstail ondabaig ola arfiuchad inarcuired é saroim ante portam latinam ar forcongra dominciani. (fol. 17vb, l. 1-9)

Here happened the unharmed escape of Saint John the apostle and evangelist who, at the command of Caesar Domitian, was thrown into a vat of boiling oil before the Porta Latina near Rome, i.e. here comes the escape of the apostle John from the tub of boiling oil into which he was cast in Rome before the Porta Latina by Domitian's order.

Lb: .i. *sancti iohannis apostoli ante*⁶² abimperio cesari . ⁊ dormtiano inferuentis olei doleum misus est ⁊ incolonis euassit. (p. 87, l. 11 IL)

It is striking that Lb only has the Latin gloss on Saint John, which is slightly different from the Latin material in F in that it is shorter and also contains several errors.⁶³ F, on the other hand, preserves two accounts of this information, the second of which is mainly Irish and is probably a translation of the Latin, though not a word-for-word translation, as the order in which the information is given is slightly different.

Long Alternations

As to the long alternations, there is only one example that has changed significantly in terms of its code-switching behaviour:

#1704e DONNAN EGA UAIRE Sanctus donnanus ineglesia insula cumsua familia .i. l. duobus apiratis interfectus est Donnan egha dano ainm oilein fil inalbain ⁊ isansidhe ata donnan .i. icataibh ⁊ ibi donnan *sanctus cum* familia obiit .i. lii. ⁊ lan ISe andonnansa docoidh foramus coluim .cille. diagabail danmcharait Condebairt colum .cille. fris nibam anmchara olse dolucht dercmartra uair raghaisiu indercmartra ⁊ domuinter lat ⁊ issed on rocomailled. Teid *iarum conamuintir* ingallghaidelaibh ⁊ geibid aitreb ann baile ambitis cairigh rigna intire INnister don righain sin. Amarbad uile olsi. Nicreitmech sin olcach. Teacar cuca *iarum dia marbad*. IS and sin bui inleiriuch ocanaiffriunn. Leicidh cairde dun cotair intaiffrend oldonnan leicfider olsiat. Marbtar *iarum iarsin inlín badar uile*. (fol. 15vb, l. 28 - fol. [15a]r)

DONNÁN OF CHILLY EIG Saint Donnán [was] in a church on an island with his familia, i.e. Donnán was killed by pirates with 52 [others]. Ega is the name of an island which is in Scotland, and there Donnán is, i.e. in Caithness. And there Saint Donnán died with his *familia*, i.e. 52, or the full [number]

61 This gloss does not refer to a particular lemma in the martyrology but rather adds another event to be commemorated on the sixth of May.

62 Probably a corruption of the abbreviation for *euangeliste*.

63 Take for example the word *ante* discussed in the footnote above, which is likely to be a corruption of *euangeliste*, as well as the reading *dormtiano* for *Domitiani*.

It is this Donnán that went to visit Colum Cille to get him as a soulfriend. And Colum Cille said to him, »I will not be a soulfriend,« he said, »to folk of red martyrdom for you will suffer red martyrdom and your family with you,« and this was fulfilled. Thereafter Donnán came with his family into (the country of the) Gallgaedil and settled there where the sheep of the queen of the country used to be. This is told to that queen. »Kill them all« said she. »That is not pious,« said everyone. Then people come to kill them. The cleric was then at mass. »Give truce to us till the mass ends,« said Donnán. »It shall be given,« said they, and thereafter all that were there were killed. (Adapted from Stokes, *On the Calendar of Oengus*, lxxiv-lxxv)

Lb: Lafeil petair deochain 7r1 Dondan ega .i. ega ainm oilein fil inalpain 7 isannside ata donnan 1 icattaib 7ibi donnan sanctus cum sua familia obiit .i. .lun. Is he indondansa dochoid foramus choluim cille diagabail danmcharait. condebairt colum cille friss. nibamanmcharusa ol se dolucht dergmartra. uair ragusa indergmartra 7 domúinter lat. 7issed on rocomailled. Teit iarum donnan conamuinntir ingallgædelaib 7 gebid aittreb ind bail ambitis cærig rigna intíre. indister sin don rigain. Amarbhad uile olsise. nireitmech sin olcách. Tecar chuca iarum diamarbad. ISand sin bui inclerech ocaofrend. Lécid cairde dun cotair inoifrend oldonnan. lécfider olsiat ocus marbthar iarum iarsin inlín batar uile. (p. 86, l. 2 RM)

This gloss in F starts with a Latin main clause and coordinate clause, which, in turn, is followed by an Irish main clause. In Lb, however, this Irish main clause is the start of the gloss. It seems likely, therefore, that F or its precursor was again combining material from different sources and putting it together as one gloss, thereby creating a code-switch. Alternatively, Lb has omitted Latin material that was present in its exemplar, in which case we would be dealing with a deletion of Latin material.

Shape-Shifting Code-Switches

The previous examples all dealt with code-switches that appeared or disappeared during the transmission of the text. However, code-switches may not just appear or disappear. In the course of transmission, they may also be changed into a different type of code-switch. In this category, there are two patterns that have come to the fore: first of all, formulaic language and conventionalised code-switching seem to lend themselves to a certain degree of flexibility. For instance, in switched verb phrases and subordinate clauses used to introduce direct speech, different verbs or verbal inflections may occur:

F	Lb	
#0102e	Bercan dixit (fol. 8va, l. 11)	Berchan cecinit (p. 82, l. 26 RM - BM)
#0602a	ut dictum est (fol. 9rb, l. 1)	ut dixit [poeta] (p. 81, BM)
#0602a	ut dictum est (fol. 9rb, l. 3)	ut dixit [poeta] (p. 81, BM)
#0503c	Patraig cecinit (fol. 11vb, l. 35)	ut dixit patraic (p. 83, l. 17 RM)
#3103a	ut dicitur (fol. 14va, l. 7)	ut dixit [poeta] (p. 84, l. 31 BM)

Unlike the examples of the subordinate clauses that appear in F but not in Lb, these phrases appear in matching positions in both manuscripts, but they use different verbs (*dicere* »to say« or *canere* »to sing«) or different forms of the same verb (*ut dictum est* »as it is said« vs. *ut dixit* »as he said«). Perhaps, the fact that these phrases are highly abbreviated and function almost as emblematic diamorphs invites them to be realised in new copies according to a variety of conventionalised phrases essentially occurring in free distribution.⁶⁴

Secondly, there seems to be a tendency in Lb to disambiguate abbreviations, especially in the case of the Tironian note 7 »and«. So far, I have come across five examples of this.⁶⁵ Take, for example, this gloss on 21st February, in which the switched phrase starts with 7 in F, but with *et* (fully written out) in Lb:

#0103a DAVID CILLE MÚINE .i. *dauid* (GAP)ine *dobretnaib* deiscirt 7 arceepiscopus britanie insole (fol. 11va, l. 8-10)

David of Cell Muini i.e. David of Cell Muine of the Britons of the South, and [he was] archbishop of the island of Britain. (Adapted from Stokes 1880: lx)

Lb: *Dauid* chille muine *dobretnaib* descirt et archepiscopus britanniae insolae (p. 83, l. 2 RM)

The following example includes not only the disambiguation of an abbreviation, but also a translation of the preceding switched prepositional phrase:⁶⁶

#1002c CRONAN CAIDH CENDIGNA ł comadh é mochua miliuca .i. *cronan mac meallain* *oglais moir andeisib muman* 7 *didiu* ata alis mor ł *glais mor ceall robui itaebh shuird* *aness cotangadar goill dano inbir dom ann cuice coromarbsat amuinnter* inuna nocte 7nullus defamilia eius euasit. (fols. 9va, l. 36 - 9vb, l. 5)

64 Stam, *Typology of Code-switching*, 332-338. For another example, see Clarke, *Lore of the monstrous races*, 33 n. 68.

65 More may be found, however, once a new transcription of Lb is completed. The 1880 edition cannot be trusted in this regard, as the editor sometimes disambiguated abbreviations.

66 An example of disambiguation into Irish:

#1605a TOGAIRM BRENAIND CLUANA *Togairm brenaind* 7r̄. [...] *Uair adberat cenel fiachach gurub ofhiachach mac neill .ix.giallaig atat fessin 7niheth ader anrannsa acht ofhiachaig mac maile breissi 7 necio postea 7inic intsharaighti sin tucadh ros corr do .h. shuanaigh 7tucadh nadaine doronsat inecht .i. h. gilla suanaigh hiraitthin.* (fols. 18vb, l. 34 - 19ra, l. 2)

THE CALLING OF BRENNAN OF CLÚAIN The calling of Brenann etc. [...] For the race of Fiacha say that they themselves come from Fiacha son of Niall the Nine Hostages, and this is not so, as this quatrain says, but (they come) from Fiacha son of Maelbressi, and I do not know it after this and, in compensation for that outrage, Ross Corr was given to Hua Suanaig and the men who committed the crime were (also) given, i.e. the descendants of Gille Suanaig in Rathin. (Adapted from Stokes, *On the Calendar of Oengus*, lxxxvii)

Lb: *uair atberait cenel fiachach corubofiaichu mac neill .ix.giallaig attatt fessin. ocus nihed amal atbeir inrannsa \\ acht ofiaichu mac moilebressi 7nescio postea. ocus* inhicc intsaraigthesin tucad ross corr do .h. suanaig 7tucad nadaine doronsat inecht beos .i. h. gille shuanaig iraitthin., (p. 90 BM)

CRONÁN THE CHASTE, WITHOUT REPROACH Or he may be Mochua Miliuca, i.e. Cronan son of Mellan from Glais Mór in the Deise of Munster, and it is then in Lismore, or from Glais Mór, a church that was on the southern side of Swords and the foreigners of Inver Domnann came there and slew his family in one night and none of his familia escaped. (Adapted from Stokes, *On the Calendar of Oengus*, l)

Lb: .i. sinand. † isna dessib .i. ceall fas prisordanes .i. cronan mac mellan oglais moir indessib muman 7 didiu ata illiss mor. † glais mor. ceall robui itoeb suird alla aness cotancutar gaill indbir domnand chuire cormarbsat amunttir inoenaidche et nullus de famamilia [sic] eius euasit. (p. 81, l. 20 IL RM)

Whereas this switch in F might have been classified as a long alternational switch – starting with a prepositional phrase and continuing into a main clause – the switch in Lb is confined to the main clause and therefore shows a greater segregation of the two languages. Instances such as these may also indicate how this particular scribe read the visual diamorphs or how they thought they should be read.

Conclusions

The aim of this case study has been to discern in what way scribes dealt with the bilingual material they encountered in the *Commentary to the Féilire Óengusso*. While the sample size is still small, several patterns seem to emerge already at this stage. First of all, we may note the stability of code-switching in the transmission of these two manuscripts. On average, 72% of the code-switches that occur in F also occur in Lb, with a much higher percentage within some of the linguistic categories involved. While these switches may have been the result of the mobility and merger of material inherited from earlier stages of the transmission of this text, the fact that they are so consistently retained demonstrates that they maintained their relevance as a mode of communication for at least these two fifteenth-century scribes and the audience they had in mind.

Secondly, the hypothesis that the grammatical characteristics of a gloss may influence its transmission is partially confirmed: the transmission of these switches does not seem to depend solely on their complexity or simplicity, but more so on their grammatical embeddedness in the sentence or on a combination of the two factors. For example, simple switches with strong grammatical ties, like determiner phrases and noun phrases, occur more frequently in both manuscripts than simple switches with loose grammatical ties, like adverbial phrases or prepositional phrases. A similar process seems to apply to the longer, more complex switches that stretch across phrases and clauses: these are more likely to occur in both manuscripts than main clauses, probably because they are tied to the preceding material more strongly. The grammatical integration of a code-switch and its complexity may therefore act as predictors for its chances of being transmitted faithfully.

When zooming in on the reasons for the lack of transmission, we see that different grammatical switch categories present different arrays of causes. Material that has only loose grammatical ties to its textual context, such as adverbial phrases, main clauses, subordinate clauses, and coordinate clauses, has a greater mobility in transmission and is more likely to occur as separate monolingual glosses. In the case of the subordinate clauses discussed here, many of these are formulaic in nature as well, and may be employed as »textual glue«, gluing together in one manuscript material that is presented as separate sections in another. Switches that have stronger grammatical ties to their textual surroundings, like noun phrases or determiner phrases, are more likely to be translated or deleted.

Thirdly, it seems that there is a greater flexibility in the transmission of code-switches that are either highly abbreviated or conventionalised. This perhaps accounts for the fact that many adverbial phrases are frequently translated or deleted, despite their loose grammatical ties, as many of them seem to function as visual diamorphs. For highly abbreviated code-switches, this is as expected, since these switches form part of the emblematic class of visual diamorphs that could be read in a variety of ways. For the conventionalised switches, however, this is unexpected as they could be considered simple switches that are more petrified than others. Perhaps, the flexibility in the transmission of these conventionalised switches points to the fact that these phrases, too, are emblematic in nature and may, after all, be classified as a specific sub-type of visual diamorph.

Lastly, visual diamorphs are occasionally disambiguated in Lb at switch points, both into Irish and into Latin. This, perhaps, may be the result of unconscious code-switches triggered by the ambiguous nature of the diamorphs themselves. However, if a stronger pattern emerges from a further analysis of the material, it may point to a greater preference on the part of the scribe to segregate the two languages more clearly.

The project will continue to examine whether these patterns persist and whether new patterns emerge. The comparison between the various copies of the *Commentary to the Féilire Óengusso* will hopefully provide a window on scribal practice in a bilingual text, so that we may learn more about the scribes themselves, their interests, and their training, but also about the readers for whom they worked so hard.

Acknowledgements

This case study was carried out as part of an O'Donovan Scholarship (2018-2021) at the School of Celtic Studies, with which I aim to analyse the ways in which code-switches in the *Commentary to the Féilire Óengusso* change during transmission. I am grateful to the School for giving me the opportunity to explore these topics, and I would like to acknowledge the support of Liam Breatnach whose advice has greatly improved this article. The article itself came out of the workshop »Understanding Medieval Multilingual Sermons«, held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in 2018, and I would like to thank Jan Odstrčilík for organising this inspiring event as well as Pavlina Rychterová and the anonymous reviewer of *Medieval Worlds* for their careful reading of the text and their insightful comments on the draft.

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 B2 = Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Brussel, 5057-5059.
 C = Dublin, National Library of Ireland, G10.
 F = Dublin, University College Dublin, Franciscan A7
 L = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud 610.
 Lb = Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 23 P 16.
 P = Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 23 P 3.
 R1 = Oxford, Bodleian, Rawl. B505.
 R2 = Oxford, Bodleian, Rawl. B512.
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Fig. 1: The 1911 stemma of (C)FÓ, Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 177.

Fig. 2: Ó Riain's stemma for CFÓ, Ó Riain, *Feastdays*, 182.

Jacobus de Saraponte's *Aurissa*: Evidence for Multilingual Preaching

Jan Odstrčilík*

One of the key questions of sermon studies on medieval multilingual sermons is whether – and to what extent – multilingual preaching actually occurred. The unpublished and little-known medieval art of preaching *Aurissa*, composed by Jacobus de Saraponte in the 14th century, provides unique insights into this issue.

This study reconstructs the original composition of the work that was unknown until now. The article argues that the treatise consisted of three parts: the main treatise *Theologia est sciencia* (the only part described as *Aurissa* in the past), an additional chapter on preaching in the chapter and a list of rhymed words grouped thematically called the *Quadrangulum*. The study then provides an overview of the main 33 chapters, focusing on the peculiar terminology of the treatise, especially so-called *notabilitates* and the ways in which they can be extracted from the *thema* of the sermon. This leads to the main part of the article, which discusses the advice on the use of various languages. Jacobus de Saraponte provides detailed instruction on which languages should be used in different parts of the sermon (*thema*, initial prayer, *notabilitates*, conclusion) with regard to different audiences. Most notably, he mentions the possibility of mixed sermons. This type is described especially in his detailed advice regarding preaching in the chapter. Finally, the study investigates traces in the manuscripts showing how they were used. The conclusion discusses the degree to which the advice by Jacobus de Saraponte can be taken as evidence for so-called macaronic preaching, i.e., the type of preaching where languages would be mixed seemingly randomly within sentences.

Keywords: multilingualism, Middle Ages, preaching, ars praedicandi, sermons

One of the most crucial questions regarding the multilingual sermons of the Middle Ages is their relation to the spoken word. Were they just a written phenomenon or did multilingual preaching actually occur?

This preliminary study introduces an unedited and little-known treatise from the 14th century that offers surprisingly clear answers to this complicated question. It is usually called *Aurissa* and it belongs to the medieval genre of *artes praedicandi*, medieval guides for preachers dealing with the right composition and delivery of sermons. This treatise is usually ascribed in manuscripts to the otherwise unknown *frater* Jacobus de Saraponte, whose name connects him to Saarbrücken in today's Germany in the state of Saarland.¹ Besides that, nothing is known about him. His only known work, however, gained substantial popularity.

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1 Occasionally we find different attributions, like *Annisia (?) fratris Nicolai* in Brandenburg, Domstiftsarchiv und -bibliothek, Ki 1952, fol. 1r or *Explicit discursus Alani* in Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, Hs. 668, fol. 279v.

Aurissa has escaped modern scholarly attention almost completely until now with only scattered observations in the literature. Franco Morenzoni briefly discussed the topic of the use of various languages in *Aurissa* as a part of his longer study on languages used by preachers from 2008.² Morenzoni quoted the München, BSB, Clm 16508, but was probably not aware of the real extent of the work (as will be discussed later). *Aurissa* was also briefly discussed in the Czech secondary literature. In 1891, Adolf Patera quoted a short excerpt of it from the manuscript kept in Wilhering, Zisterzienserklöster, Cod. IX 122, and attributed the work to an unknown Czech author.³ His mistake was corrected by Jan Vilikovský in 1940, who identified it as a work by Jacobus de Saraponte.⁴

Manuscripts

Existing repertories of *artes praedicandi* list eight⁵ and fourteen manuscript⁶ witnesses of this treatise, respectively. In manuscript catalogues I have found 34 manuscripts containing this work so far. They are preserved in libraries in Germany, Austria, the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and Switzerland, and the vast majority of them are dated to the 15th century⁷. This study is based on 33 of them:

1. Admont, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 209, fol. 115r-120r
2. Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A II 36, fol. 203v-205r (first 8 chapters)
3. Bernkastel-Kues, Bibliothek des St. Nikolaus-Hospitals, 104, fol. 90r-105r
4. Brandenburg, Domstiftsarchiv und -bibliothek, Ki 1952, fol. 1r-19v
5. Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, Hs. 668, fol. 265r-279v
6. Esztergom, Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 213, fol. 17r-25r
7. Gdańsk, BG PAN, Ms. Mar. F 253, fol. 159r-165r (TOC on 169r)
8. Gdańsk, BG PAN, Ms. Mar. F 295, fol. 218r-218v (first 8 chapters)⁸
9. Gdańsk, BG PAN, Ms. 2014, 205r-211r
10. Göttweig, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 250 (red), fol. 1r-7r
11. Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 348, fol. 87ra-94vb
12. Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 928, fol. 161r-164r (excerpt)
13. Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 971, fol. 1r-11r
14. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Ms. 158, fol. 289r-295r
15. Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 1580, fol. 144r-163v
16. München, BSB, Cgm 660, fol. 191ra-200ra
17. München, BSB, Clm 4784, fol. 150r-154v
18. München, BSB, Clm 12389, fol. 29r-41v

2 Morenzoni, *Les prédicateurs*, 505-506.

3 Patera, *Mistra Jana Husi česká kázání*, 355-356.

4 Vilikovský, *Kazatelství*, 293.

5 Caplan, *Mediaeval Artes Praedicandi*, No. 173, 21-22.

6 Charland, *Artes praedicandi*, 52.

7 Three manuscripts dated to the 14th century in their respective catalogues are exceptions: Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, D 61; Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, F 75 and Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 311. Moreover, Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Ms. Mar. F 295, München, BSB, Clm 12389 and Praha, Národní knihovna, VIII A 19 are dated between the 14th and 15th centuries.

8 This is a different fragment than in Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A II 36.

19. München, BSB, Clm 16226, fol. 189r-201v
20. München, BSB, Clm 16508, fol. 214vb-223vb
21. Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 1v-17v
22. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, D 61, fol. 1r-18v
23. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, F 75, fol. 2r-12r
24. Praha, Národní knihovna, VIII A 19, fol. 43r-48r
25. Sankt Florian, Bibliothek des Augustiner Chorherrenstifts, XI. 96, fol. 256r-265r
26. Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mc 127, fol. 1ra-7va
27. Vyšší Brod, Cisterciácký klášter, 92, fol. 187v-204r⁹
28. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4553, fol. 262r-273r
29. Wien, Schottenstift, 232, fol. 6r-14v
30. Wilhering, Zisterzienserkloster, Cod. IX 122, fol. 103r-118v
31. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 311, fol. 157v-164v
32. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I Q 152, fol. 280r-295v
33. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV Q 73, fol. 120r-135v

Unfortunately, the last manuscript seems to have been lost during the Second World War: Warszawa, Bibliotheka Narodowa, Lat.Q.ch.I.57¹⁰

At the moment, it is still too early to establish the stemma codicum. For this reason, the quotations for general parts of this study are mainly taken from three manuscripts that preserve the text in good quality: Esztergom, Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 213, Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259 and Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 311.

What is Aurissa?

The answer to this question is rather complex. Existing repertories understand the title *Aurissa* to refer only to a treatise with the incipit *Theologia est sciencia pro naturato a naturante* (hereinafter *Theologia est sciencia*). It usually consists of 33 chapters divided into two main sections. The first one is concerned mainly with defining basic terms (e.g.: what is theology, what are various meanings of the scripture, what is a sermon), and it discusses the structure of a sermon. The second section combines more various topics. Its main focus lies in the correct interpretation of the Bible and delivery of sermons. We will look at both sections in detail later.

9 In this manuscript *Theologia est sciencia* is divided into two parts in reversed order. The treatise starts on fol. 194r and continues until fol. 204r. The 28th chapter (*Cum vis sermocinari*) then starts on fol. 187v, the treatise continues until fol. 193v where it finishes with the *Modus in capitulo sermocinandi*; see Pavel, Beschreibung, 274. This issue, perhaps caused by incorrect binding, led the cataloguer to describe the preceding part (i.e. from the 28th chapter) as an independent work. This position was later also adopted by Josef Tříška, see Tříška, Příspěvky III, 10.

10 Kaliszuk, *Codices deperditi* 2/2, No. 748, 783-785.

In some cases, *Theologia est sciencia* ends with obscure verses, whose nature forces me to leave them untranslated here (Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 14r):¹¹

*Explicit Aurissa, michi lector, sis precorissa.*¹²
Quam nec tu nec ego nec iste, sed illius echo
Qui facit non fit, facit et fit, non facit et fit.
Non relegas versus cui presit nescio sensus
*Perdicitur, persequitur, persubditur, peradditur, peradiungitur.*¹³

There are two other texts that can be found in several manuscripts directly following *Theologia est sciencia*. The first one is a short text contained in nine manuscripts.¹⁴ Usually, it does not have any title. For our purposes, I will use the one that can be found in the manuscripts Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, D 61, fol. 15v, and Esztergom, Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 213, fol. 49r: *Modus sermonizandi in capitulo* (hereinafter *Modus sermonizandi*). Caplan and Charland list this little text as a separate item in their repertories without connection to *Theologia est sciencia*,¹⁵ and it is also mentioned as such by Siegfried Wenzel.¹⁶ However, a close look at it shows otherwise: it is written in the same style as *Theologia est sciencia*, it uses the same terminology, and most importantly, its author speaks about *Theologia est sciencia* as his own work and refers to it. These features allow us to assume with certainty that this short text was an original part of *Aurissa*, probably a supplementary chapter or postscript. It provides additional instruction on the use of various languages in preaching that complements the rules given in *Theologia est sciencia*.

11 These verses are present in Admont, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 209, fol. 119v; Bernkastel-Kues, Bibliothek des St. Nikolaus-Hospitals, 104, fol. 104v-105r; Brandenburg, Domstiftsarchiv und -bibliothek, Ki 1952, fol. 19v; Budapest, Esztergom Bibliotheca, MS I 213, fol. 49r; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Ms 158, fol. 295r; Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 1580, fol. 160r; Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, D 61, fol. 15r, Wien, Schottenstift, 232, fol. 14v and Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 311, fol. 164v.

12 Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, F 75 contains only a single verse that seemingly starts the same but ends differently (fol. 12r): *Explicit Aurissa, per quam sint scismata scissa*.

13 This particular verse is missing in Bernkastel-Kues, Bibliothek des St. Nikolaus-Hospitals, 104; Brandenburg, Domstiftsarchiv und -bibliothek, Ki 1952 and Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Ms 158.

14 Brandenburg, Domstiftsarchiv und -bibliothek, Ki 1952; Esztergom, Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 213; Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Ms. Mar. F 253; Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Ms. 2014; Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 1580; Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, D 61; Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259; Vyšší Brod, Cisterciácký klášter, 92 and Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 311.

15 Caplan, *Mediaeval Artes Praedicandi*, No. 49a, 9; Charland, *Artes praedicandi*, 100.

16 Wenzel, *Macaronic sermons*, 108, n. 10.

The second text is a long list of words without any explanation about what it means or how it should be used. It can be found in nine manuscripts, which do not always contain *Modus sermonizandi*.¹⁷ Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, D 61, Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I Q 152 and Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV Q 73 give this list a title, the Prague manuscript uses *Et hoc quadrangulum* (»And this quadrangle«) and the manuscripts from Wrocław *Incipit quadrangulum* (»Here starts the quadrangle«)¹⁸ (hereinafter *Quadrangulum*).

Manuscripts Vyšší Brod, Cisterciácký klášter, 92 and Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259 divide the list into five subsections and provide the table of contents:¹⁹

- *Membra Christi*
- *Membra ecclesie triumphantis*
- *Membra ecclesie militantis*
- *Membra diaboli*
- *Membra inferni*

In the manuscripts from Wrocław, the list of words is divided similarly, however, with different names and without the table of contents:

- *Membra solius dei*
- *Membra regni celorum*
- *Membra huius mundi*²⁰
- *Membra dyaboli*
- *Membra regni dyaboli*

The original structure of the list is well preserved, especially in Vyšší Brod, Cisterciácký klášter, 92 and Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, which both show groups of four thematically grouped words (as the title *Quadrangulum* [»Quadrangle«] suggests) with the same consonance or rhyme. In the following examples, I will use the manuscript from Olomouc.²¹

17 Admont, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 209; Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 1580; München, BSB, Clm 16508; Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, D 61; Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259; Sankt Florian, Bibliothek des Augustiner Chorherrenstifts, XI. 96; Vyšší Brod, Cisterciácký klášter, 92; Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV Q 73; Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I Q 152.

18 All translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

19 The same subdivision can be found in part in Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, D 61.

20 Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV Q 73 lacks this particular subtitle.

21 I am especially grateful to Rostislav Krušínský, the librarian of Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci, who provided me with the images of the manuscript.

i	membra xpi	Allocabilis
h	membra eccie triumphat	Intemporalis
m	membra eccie militans	Inestimabilis
m	membra diabli	Inexplicabilis
v	membra inferni	Iesus
	membra xpi	Opus
	Omnipotens	Dominus
	Unipotens	Deus
	Solipotens	Inmutabilis
	Auspotens	Ineffabilis
	Creator	Incomprehensibilis
	Redemptor	Inestimabilis
	Resuscitator	Bonus
	Rebutor	Nonissimus
	Impetor	Solus
	Illuminator	Senus
	Clarificator	Miserans
	Senator	Verax
	Imitas	Compass
		Patifans

Fig. 1: Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 15r

Words in each group always belong to one of the main grammatical categories – substantives, adjectives, verbs, participles, and adverbs, e.g. (Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 15r):

- *inmutabilis*
- *ineffabilis*
- *incomprehensibilis*
- *inestimabilis*

The verbs are sometimes provided in the infinitive form but they also appear as imperatives or conjunctives, e.g. (Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 17r):

- *venias*
- *procedas*
- *curras*
- *accipias*

For a proper understanding of these lists, we have to turn to *Theologia est sciencia*. Its 32nd chapter is called *De quadrangulo* – i.e. the same title as in the lists in the above-mentioned manuscripts Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, D 61 and Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I Q 152 and Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV Q 73. In this particular chapter Jacobus de Saraponte describes a device that will help the reader in finding suitable key terms²² for the grid of the sermon – the division and its further subdivision.²³ Another rule formulated in the same chapter postulates that the divisional key terms should be in consonance.²⁴ This description corresponds to the list discussed above. Similar lists of key terms, sometimes rhymed, were used in other texts of the *ars praedicandi* genre. They can be found in, e.g., *De modo componendi sermones cum documentis* by Thomas Waleys and *Ars faciendi sermones* by Gerladus de Piscario.²⁵

We can summarize the presence of *Modus sermonizandi* and the *Quadrangulum*:

<i>Modus sermonizandi</i>	<i>Quadrangulum</i>
	Admont, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 209
Brandenburg, Domstiftsarchiv und -bibliothek, Ki 1952	
Esztergom, Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 213	
Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Ms. Mar. F 253	
Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Ms. 2014	
Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 1580	Melk, Benediktinerstift, 1580 ²⁶
	München, BSB, Clm 16508
Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, D 61	Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, D 61
Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259	Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259
	Sankt Florian, Bibliothek des Augustiner Chorherrenstifts, XI. 96
Vyšší Brod, Cisterciácký klášter, 92	Vyšší Brod, Cisterciácký klášter, 92
Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 311	
	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I Q 152
	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV Q 73

Table 1: Manuscripts containing the *Modus sermonizandi* and the *Quadrangulum*

22 Jacobus de Saraponte speaks about *membra*, which are words used for further development of the division of the sermon (which he called *notabilitas*). However, he also mentions that any *membrum* can also be used for divisions. See the following chapter that discusses his terminology.

23 Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 12r: *Quadrangulum nichil aliud est quam membrorum posicio. Unde per quatuor tibi posui membra in quadro, ut eo expedicius invenias, quid queris.*

24 Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 12v: *Item omnia membra ad invicem posita pro uno habent inter se consonanciam, si hoc tamen sensus permittit.*

25 d'Avray, Wordlists.

26 The *Modus sermonizandi* follows the *Quadrangulum* in Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 1580.

Thus, *Modus sermonizandi* and the *Quadrangulum* are both extant in only four manuscripts: Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, D 61; Vyšší Brod, Cisterciácký klášter, 92, where the *Quadrangulum* follows the *Modus*, and Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 1580, where the *Modus* follows the *Quadrangulum*. What is peculiar is that three of these four manuscripts are from Bohemia and two of them, as will be discussed later, contain mentions of the Czech language.

Nevertheless, their close connection to *Theologia est sciencia* is undeniable and they should therefore be understood as integral parts of *Aurissa*. *Aurissa* thus originally consisted of three texts: the core treatise *Theologia est sciencia*, the additional chapter *Modus sermonizandi* and a list of key terms called the *Quadrangulum*.

The Structure of Theologia est sciencia

There were many types of sermons used in the Middle Ages. Usually, a simplified distinction is made between a *homilia* and a *sermo modernus* (or scholastic sermon). Homilies start with a longer passage from the Bible and explain it bit by bit. A *sermo modernus*, on the other hand, usually takes a short passage from the Bible and builds the whole sermon on this using more complex exegetical methods.²⁷ Jacobus de Saraponte does not address the differences between these two basic types, but *Aurissa* concentrates completely on the structure of the *sermo modernus*.

According to Siegfried Wenzel, a typical scholastic sermon has the following structure (direct quotation):²⁸

- (a) The *thema* is announced.
- (b) It is or may be followed by a protheme as a kind of prologue, which leads to
- (c) A prayer for divine assistance
- (d) Then the *thema* is repeated or resumed
- (e) Some kind of connection to the next part is established, which may be what I will call a bridge passage, or else a longer
- (f) Introduction of the *thema*.
- (g) The division follows.
- (h) The members of the division are confirmed. The members are then explained or further developed with various processes including
- (i) Subdivisions and distinctions as well as
- (j) Other processes of dilatation.
- (k) At the end of the development the members may be tied together.
- (l) Finally, the sermon ends with a closing formula, essentially a prayer.

27 Bataillon, *Approaches to the study*, 28. See also Wenzel, *Medieval Artes Praedicandi*, 56.

28 Wenzel, *Medieval Artes Praedicandi*, 48. A similar structure was also described by Charland, *Artes praedicandi*, 107-211.

This structure is quite similar to that of the first section of *Theologia est sciencia* (according to Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259):²⁹

<i>Theologia est sciencia</i> - First part, »forma« – form of the sermon				
1	<i>De theologia</i>		General introduction	
2	<i>De speciebus theologie</i>			
3	<i>De sermone</i>			
4	<i>De themate</i>	=	<i>Thema</i>	12 things that can »occur« in a sermon
5	<i>De invocacione</i>	=	Initial prayer	
6	<i>De notabilitate</i>	=	Similar to a division	
7	<i>De commixcione</i>		Obtaining the suitable <i>notabilitas</i>	
8	<i>De discursu</i>			
9	<i>De natura</i>			
10	<i>De ampliacione</i>		Further development of the sermon	
11	<i>De articulacione</i>			
12	<i>De membracione</i>			
13	<i>De probacione</i>			
14	<i>De exposicione</i>			
15	<i>De allusione</i>			
16	<i>De conclusionem</i>	=	Conclusion	
17	<i>De recapitulacione prima</i>	=	Summary	

Table 2: *Theologia est sciencia* - Contents of the first part (form)

The *thema* of the sermon is – of course – probably one of the most discussed elements in the treatises on the art of preaching. The fourth chapter in *Theologia est sciencia* is, however, very short and contains only basic advice (I paraphrase): a *thema* should be from the Old or New Testament, the preacher has to know from which biblical book it is and what it means, and it should be short. After saying it once, there should be an invocation (initial prayer).

Noteworthy here is the skipping of prothema, otherwise a common topic in the treatises of medieval *artes praedicandi*.³⁰ This is not by chance. In the first *recapitulatio*, Jacobus de Saraponte speaks against it, saying (Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, fol. 4v):

Item non facias subthema vel prothema, sed simpliciter pone thema tuum et procede.

Never make a subtheme or prothema, but simply say your theme and continue.

²⁹ I am using a classical orthography for terms and medieval orthography in direct quotations from manuscripts.

³⁰ Wenzel, *Medieval Artes Praedicandi*, 55-59.

Some manuscripts also mention here an uncommon term: *praethema*.³¹ However, from the context, it seems to be synonymous with *prothema*. It may be originally a gloss that tried to explain the Greek preposition *pro* by Latin *prae*. What is important is that the structure of the sermon should be simple and straightforward.

The invocation should, again, be short, it should mention the (biblical) source of the *thema* (testament, book, author, chapter), and close with a prayer, like the *Pater noster* or *Ave Maria*. After that, the *thema* should be recited again.

Here the treatise starts to deviate from common terminology. Usually, the *thema* of a sermon is divided into parts in the process called *divisio* (»division«). Jacobus does not use this term and instead he speaks about *notabilitas* which is similar to it and provides the following explanation (Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 311, fol. 158rb):

Notabilitas est medulla ex hoc, in quo latuit sensus, exossata. Verbi gracia: »Mittamus lignum in panem eius et eradamus eum de terra vivencium. « Ecce hoc est thema, in quo tres sunt clausule, quas virgule punctant. Modo vide in eo, quod dicit »mittamus lignum«, latet »iniquitatis conspiracio«, sed »in panem eius« »creatoris passio«, sed in hoc, quod dico »eradamus eum«, etc. »erroris opinio«. Ecce hec erat medulla sensus, que latuit in hiis tribus clausulis: »Mittamus lignum in panem eius« etc. Hanc medullam modo tibi exossavi, id est extraxi, quia absque dubio iudei conspirabant, Cristum crucifigebant, sed errabant.

Notabilitas is a marrow that was extracted from where the sense lies. For example: »Mittamus lignum in panem eius et eradamus eum de terra vivencium.« [Jeremiah 11.19] (Let us put wood on his bread, and cut him off from the land of the living.) See this is the *thema*, which consists of three clauses divided by strokes [i.e. interpunction]. Now see that in »mittamus lignum« (let us put wood) there is a hidden »iniquitatis conspiracio« (»conspiracy of wickedness«), and in »in panem eius« (»on his bread«) there is »creatoris passio« (»passion of the creator«), and in »eradamus eum« (»cut him off«) there is »erroris opinio« (»false opinion«). See that was the marrow of the meaning, which was hidden in these three clauses: »Mittamus lignum in panem eius« and so on. And I extracted this marrow for you, i.e. dragged it out, because without a doubt, Jews were conspiring, they were crucifying the Christ, but they were in error.

Especially important is the idea of a firm linguistical structure of these *notabilitates*. They should consist of two substantives, one in the genitive and one in the nominative or accusative (Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 311, fol. 158rb):

Item nota, quod omnis notabilitas habet duos casus, scilicet genitivum, qui preponi potest vel postponi, et nominativum vel accusativum et hoc secundum formam Latinitatis.

Also note that each notability has two cases, namely genitive that can be put first or last, and nominative or accusative and that according to the Latin grammar.

Later examples provided by Jacobus de Saraponte, like »*laudabilis vite status*« (in *De discursu*), show that additional adjectives could also be a part of the *notabilitas*.

31 E.g.: *Item numquam facias subthema vel prothema vel prethema, sed simpliciter pone thema tuum et procede.* (Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 311, fol. 159vb).

The author also lists alternative names for *notabilitas* (Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 311, fol. 158rb-158va):

Notabilitas autem multa habet nomina, dicitur enim utilitas, meta, exemplum, consideracio, informacio, sensus.

Notability has many names, for instance it is called utility, meta, example, consideration, conception, meaning.

Why is it called *notabilitas*? This unusual term may come from a common opening of divisions in the style of »*Hic duo/tria/etc. notantur*«: I.e. »here two/three/etc. things are being noted«.

Three subsequent chapters following *De notabilitate* deal with the question of how to find suitable *notabilitates* to a *thema*. The author proposes the following methods:

1. *Commixtio* (Mixing)
2. *Discursus* (Discourse)
3. *Natura* (Nature)

The *commixtio* combines the key terms in order to find the best one for the selected clause of the *thema*. There are two tools that can be used to make this specific task easier:

1) First, the aforementioned *Quadrangulum* (Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 311, fol. 158va):

Illas autem notabilitates, quas commisces, a quadrangulo accipies, quia omne membrum potest fieri notabilitas et econverso et hoc in simili sensu.

You will get the notabilities to mix from the quadrangle, because each member (word) can become a notability and the other way round and that in the similar sense.

This means, the preacher may use the words from the *Quadrangulum* to create various combinations of suitable key terms.

2) Second, a wax tablet should serve to choose the best one among various *notabilitates* (Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 2r-2v):

Item cum sit magna vis investigare notabilitatem, fac in cerario rotham circularem et in medio rothe scribe thematis clausulam, [in] infra sperulas scribe notabilitates inductas, quibus scriptis vide, que magis notabilitas conveniat cum sensu clausule in rotha scripte, et illa est notabilitas illius clausule vel si magis placet discurre.

Also, because it is very difficult to find notabilities, create a circle in the wax tablet and write the clause from the *thema* in the middle, then write under the circles notabilities that you created and after you have written them down, see which one corresponds more to the meaning of that clause that is written in the circle. And that is the notability of that clause. Or if you prefer, make the discourse.

The second method is *discursus* (Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 311, fol. 158va):

Discursus est transicio partis in partem sub quolibet accidenti vel contingenti.

Discourse is a transition of a part into another part under any accident or contingent.

In other words, a preacher is supposed to determine the *notabilitates* through identifying shared properties of accidental qualities of terms or events connected to them (contingent). The author provides the following example (Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 311, fol. 158va-158vb):

Verbi gracia: »Erat lucerna ardens«. Ecce hic sunt due clausule. Modo discurre, quousque invenias notabilitatem, que latet in prima clausula, videlicet »Erat lucerna«. Dicis ergo: O Iohannes, fuisti lucerna? Qualis lucerna? Perspicua. De quo est facta hec lucerna? De vitro vel de cornu vel quid fuit male intelligo. Corpus, sensus, fides, verbum suum, quod predicavit, erat lucerna, nam et intellectus, operacio exempli boni fuit candela in hac lucerna et ita est utique. Certe, si sic est, tunc sanctus Iohannes et status sancti Iohannis erat bonus et laudabilis. Ergo »laudabilis vite status« erat in Iohanne et ecce, hec est notabilitas »laudabilis vite status«, que latuit in hac clausula »Erat lucerna«. Similiter et in aliis contrariis Latine vel Teutunice vel in utroque et semper procede scalariter ascendendo secundum quod sensus est.

For example: »Erat lucerna ardens.« (»He was a burning light.«) [John5.35]. See there are two clauses. Now wander so long until you find the notability that is hidden in the first clause, namely »Erat lucerna« (»He was a light«). So you say: O, John, were you a light? And what light? The bright one. From which is that light? From glass or from horn or I don't understand well what it was. Body, senses, faith, his word that he preached – that was the light, and the intellect, performance of a good example was the candle in that light and so it is. Of course, if it is so, then St. John and the state of St. John was good and praiseworthy. Accordingly, there was a praiseworthy state of life in John and see, this is the notability »laudabilis vite status« (»praiseworthy state of life«) which was hidden in that clause »Erat lucerna«. Similarly, you can use the same approach for the contrary things [i.e. negative topics], in Latin or in German or in both and proceed always step by step and ascend according to the meaning.

Finally, there is the third method to determine suitable *notabilitates*, probably the most curious one, called *natura*. This method is usually called *excoriatio* and can be found in other treatises as well.³² It is based on taking letters from one word and using them as initial letters for new words (Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 2v):

Natura est coagulacio athomi alicuius tocium in aliud totum, verbi gracia: »Erat lucerna ardens«. In hac dictione »ardens« latet secunda notabilitas huius thematis, videlicet »Erat lucerna ardens«. Modo vide, hec dicio ardens habet sex litteras, igitur accipe per quamlibet litteram dictionem integram ita, quod illa incipiatur ab illa littera, igitur per A - amore, R - regis, per D - dei, per E - eterni, per N - novi, per S - spirans. Modo cum dictionibus sex fac sentenciam et vide, quid resultet ex hoc, verbi gracia: Spirans, id est qui spirabat, amore regis dei eterni novi, id est incarnati. Et ex hoc erat in beato Iohanne vere caritatis declaracio.

Nature is a solidification of the minimal part of something complete into something else complete, e.g.: »Erat lucerna ardens« (»He was a burning light.«) In this word »ardens« (»burning«) there is hidden the second notability of this *thema*, namely »Erat lucerna ardens.« Now see, this word »ardens« has six letters, therefore for every letter, take a complete word that starts with that latter, so for A – »amore« (»love«), for

32 Wenzel, *Medieval Artes Praedicandi*, 81; Charland, *Artes praedicandi*, 204.

R – »regis« (»of king«), for D – »dei« (»of God«), for E – »eterni« (»eternal«), for N – »novi« (»new«), for S – »spirans« (»breathing«). Now create a sentence with these six words and see what the result from this is, e.g.: »Spirans« (»breathing«), i.e. who was breathing, »amore regis dei eterni novi, id est incarnati« (»by love towards the king, eternal new God, i.e. incarnated«). And based on this, there was truly manifestation of love in St. John.

The following chapters of the first section of *Theologia est sciencia* focus on expansion of the sermon. *Ampliatio* consists of variation based on swapping prepositions for different ones and making gradations,³³ *articulatio* is based on the preacher asking questions and then answering them.

Membratio seems rather a more universal approach. It is defined as follows (Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 3v):

Membratio est quedam alligatio huius, de quo quis loquitur. Poteris autem membrari in qualibet specie sermonis, id est ponere membra. Et nota, quod sicut corpus sine membris informe est, sic sermo sine membris.

»Membration« is a kind of binding to this, about what one talks. You can »membrate« any element of the sermon, i.e. add members. And note that as much as the body without members is deformed, the same [is true] for the sermon without members.

In other words, *membratio* ties (*alligat*) additional terms to any other part of the sermon. Their most common use is, however, in further development of *notabilitates*, where they function as a type of subdivision. *Aurissa* prescribes their number quite exactly (Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 3v):

Et nota, quod si due fuerint notabilitates, ad quamlibet pone quatuor membra.

Si autem tres, ad quamlibet duo membra.

Si autem quatuor, ad quamlibet pone unum membrum.

Et si plures notabilitates, eodem modo fac.

We can visualize it in the form of table:

Number of notabilities		Number of members for each notability
2	→	4
3	→	2
4+	→	1

Table 3: Corresponding numbers of notabilities and members

33 Cf. Wenzel, *Medieval Artes Praedicandi*, 81.

After *membratio*, the author lists *probatio*, which uses parts of the Bible as proof of the preacher's statements. *Expositio* explains the less known through the more known.

Allusio requires a little bit of explanation. It is a complicated rhetorical figure consisting of three sentences totaling 18 words that repeat in the following pattern:

A-B, A-C, A-D
 B-E, C-F, D-G
 B-H, C-I, D-K

The example the author provides is the following (Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 4r):

*Adam, ubi es? Videlicet, qui
 magna scivisti, magna fecisti, magna offendisti;
 scivisti bonum, fecisti malum, offendisti deum;
 scivisti immortalitatem, fecisti iniquitatem, offendisti trinitatem.*

Adam, where are you? Namely you,
 who knew great things, who did great things, who offended great things
 you knew the right, you did the wrong, you offended the God;
 you knew the immortality, you did inequality, you offended the Trinity.

Finally, *conclusio* represents simple advice regarding the final words of the sermon. The first part ends with a summary.

The second part of the treatise will be summarized only quickly here because it deals mainly with the interpretation of the scripture.

<i>Theologia est sciencia</i> - Second part, »intelligentia« – understanding of the scripture and circumstances around preaching			
18	<i>De intelligencia thematis</i>		Interpretation of the <i>thema</i> and other biblical passages
19	<i>De inconveniencia verborum</i>		
20	<i>De inconveniencia sentenciarum</i>		
21	<i>De inconvenienciis quasi mendaciorum</i>		
22	<i>De numero</i>		
23	<i>De opinione</i>		
24	<i>De equalitate</i>		
25	<i>De ydemptitate</i>		
26	<i>De exclamacione</i>		
27	<i>De habitu</i>		
28	<i>De actu</i>		
29	<i>De memoria</i>		
30	<i>De prohibicione</i>		
31	<i>De forma</i>		
32	<i>De quadrangulo</i>	=	Use of the <i>Quadrangulum</i> device and various general advice
33	<i>De recapitulacione secunda</i>	=	Second summary

Table 4: *Theologia est sciencia* – Contents of the second part (understanding of the scripture and circumstances around preaching)

Inconveniencia verborum explains the case when terms are attributed to God or the devil that do not fit them (like *deus irridebit*, »God shall laugh«). *Inconveniencia sententiarum* deals with contradictory sentences. *Inconveniencia quasi ex mendaciis* focuses on parts of the Bible that may seem not to be in accord with the truth. Similarly, Jacobus de Saraponte included chapters on the interpretation of numbers from the Bible (*De numero*), the difference between assertion and opinion (*De opinione*), using parallel passages in preaching (*De equalitate*), the interpretation of passages containing the same or similar words multiple times (*De ydemptitate*) and the interpretation of the direct speech in Bible (*De exclamacione*).

Subsequent chapters focus on the delivery of sermons. In *De habitu* (On the habit), Jacobus describes how each sermon should have three (types of) gestures and three voices (Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 10v):

In quolibet sermone tuo habeas tres gestus et tres voces. Verbi gracia, quando invocas et concludis, inspicias terram semiclausis oculis et quasi tacita voce fruaris, ita tamen, ut audientes plene intelligant.

Thema autem et totum alium sermonem preter allusiones loquaris voce mediocri et facie erecta. Nullum tamen singulariter respicias, sed omnes sensus exteriores dirige ad interiorem intellectum, ut scias, quot sint notabilitates, quot membra, quot probationes et que sunt et numquam errabis.

Cum autem alludis, erige faciem tuam et alta voce loquaris modo vertens vultum ad dexteram, modo ad sinistram, modo illum respiciens, modo istum et oculos apperi et ipsos circumfer more falconis et hoc modo in omni sermone sive Latino, sive materno procedas.

In each sermon you should have three (types of) gestures and three (types of) voices. For example, during the initial prayer and conclusion look at the ground with eyes half-closed and use a silent voice, but in such a way that listeners could still fully understand you.

Say the thema and whole rest of the sermon, except allusions, with medium voice, looking straight. However, don't look at anyone in particular but focus all your exterior senses on the interior intellect, so you know, how many notabilities there are, how many members, how many proofs and which one and then you will never err.

When you allude, raise your head and speak loudly, sometimes turn your head to the right, sometimes to the left, sometimes look at one person, sometimes at another, open your eyes and look around like a falcon and act this way in any sermon, be it in Latin or in the mother tongue.

The chapter *De actu* provides probably the best understanding of the relationship between the *thema*, *notabilitates* and *membra* (Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, 10v):



Fig. 2: Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 10v

<i>Thema</i>		<i>Notabilitates</i>	<i>Connection</i>		<i>Membra</i>
<i>Mittamus lignum</i>	→	<i>Iniquitatis conspiratio</i>	<i>que fuit</i>		<i>Consensu</i>
					<i>Consilio</i>
					<i>Auxilio</i>
<i>In panem eius</i>	→	<i>Redemptoris passio</i>	<i>et hec fuit</i>		<i>In turpitudine</i>
					<i>In amaritudine</i>
					<i>In multitudine</i>
<i>Et eradamus eum de terra viventium</i>	→	<i>Erroris opinio</i>	<i>que fuit</i>		<In> <i>insipientia</i>
					<i>In invidia</i>
					<i>In superbia</i>

Thema		Notabilities	Connection		Members
Let us put wood	→	conspiracy of wickedness	that was		in the agreement
					in the intention
					in the aid
on his bread	→	passion of the saviour	and this was		in the shameful-ness
					in the bitterness
					in the number
cut him off from the land of the living	→	false opinion	that was		in the foolishness
					in the envy
					in the arrogance

Table 5: *Theologia est sciencia – Second part, »intelligentia« – Diagram of thema, notabilitates and membra*

The chapter on memory offers simple advice: the need to remember the most crucial terms of the sermon, especially the *notabilites* and *membra*. If something goes wrong and a preacher forgets them, then he can use a quotation from an authority or an exclamation. In the chapter *De prohibicione* Jacobus de Saraponte also advises the preachers against speaking about certain, theologically complex topics like the Trinity. The subsequent chapter, *De forma*, admonishes the preacher to adapt his topic to his audience (chapter, nobles, soldiers, nuns, city or countryside). The chapter *De quadrangulo* analyzed above follows, and the section again closes with a *recapitulatio*.

Multilingual Preaching

In several significant passages the treatise refers to multilingual preaching. They can be found in these chapters:³⁴

1. *De discursu*
2. *De recapitulacione prima*
3. *De quadrangulo*

And in the addition

4. *Modus sermonizandi*

34 Latin and the mother tongue are also mentioned in the chapter *De equalitate* and *De habitu* simply stating that the chapter is valid for both languages.

Recapitulatio follows the structure of the treatise. The first mention of multiple languages concerns the topic of rhyme (Esztergom, Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 213, fol. 19r):

*Item si sermo fuerit Latinus totaliter, consonanciam in notabilitatibus et in allusionibus servabis. Si autem totus sermo fuerit in Teutonico, predictam consonanciam non servabis, nisi velis et lingua matris tue consenciet.*³⁵

Also, if the sermon is completely in Latin, you should preserve the consonance [i.e. rhyme] in notabilities and in allusions. However, if the sermon is in German, you don't have to preserve the said consonance, unless you want and your mother tongue allows that.

In other words, the rhyme is only expected to be preserved in the Latin preaching, not in the vernacular. The following rule explains the language of the *thema* in a vernacular sermon (Esztergom, Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 213, fol. 19r):

Item in Teutonico sermone penitus nullum dicas Latinum, sed bis tantum thema in Latino, videlicet in principio sermonis et facta invocacione iterum thema repete in Latino. Et hoc intellige, si audientes puri fuerint layci.

Also, in a sermon that is completely in German, don't say anything in Latin except twice the *thema* in Latin, namely at the beginning of the sermon; and after making the invocation repeat the *thema* in Latin. And follow this, if the listeners are pure laymen.

Then the mixing of languages is addressed (Budapest, Esztergom, Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 213, fol. 19r):

Item si sermo tuus fuerit intermixtus vel si monialibus sermonizas, tunc sit in arbitrio tuo, quando loquaris Latinum vel quando maternum.

Also, if your sermon will be mixed or if you preach to nuns, then it is up to your judgement when you speak in Latin and when in the mother tongue.

It seems the sermon for nuns presented some difficulties for the copyists. We can also find alternative readings, like *moralibus* instead of *monialibus* (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 971, fol. 3vb), an addition of *in materno* after *monialibus sermonizas* (St. Florian, XI. 96, fol. 159va), or *monialibus sermonizas in Theutonico vel materno* (Brandenburg, Ki 1952, fol. 5v) etc. These changes and additions may be the result of confusion on the part of the scribe, who tried to clarify the matter.

In this respect, it is interesting also to look at the same passage in the excerpts from *Aurissa* extant in München, BSB, Clm 4784, fol. 151v:

Si vero sermo tuus fuerit intermixtus, [tunc] tunc ad placidum tuum modo tamen congruo et tempore oportuno sermoni vulgari vel materno admiscere potes Latinum.

If, in fact, your sermon will be mixed, then you can add Latin to your sermon in the vernacular or in the mother tongue as you wish, however, in the right way and at a suitable time.

35 Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I Q 152, fol. 284r has a peculiar reading here: instead of *et lingua matris tue consenciet* it has *et ligwis (sic!) matris tue consenciat*. The use of plural (*ligwis*) may, however, be a scribal error.

In *Aurissa*, Jacobus postulates that the invocation should be in Latin only in sermons that are pronounced entirely in Latin, otherwise, it should be presented in the vernacular (Esztergom, Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 213, fol. 19r):

Item nota, quod numquam invocabis in Latino, nisi sermo tuus fuerit totus Latinus. Et invoca breviter, nec queras ambagies.

Also, note that you should never invoke in Latin, unless your sermon is full in Latin. And invoke shortly and don't look for digressions.

In the summary on the further make-up of the sermon, *recapitulatio* discusses the use of various languages only in a few instances. First, regarding the second way to find proper *notabilitates*, the so-called *discursus* (Esztergom, Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 213, fol. 19r):

Item circa discursum procede in Latino vel in materno vel in utroque et hoc secundum placitum tuum.

Also, regarding the discourse, proceed in Latin, the mother tongue or both and do that as you wish.

This is practically the same advice that also appears in the chapter *De discursu* (Esztergom, Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 213, fol. 18r):

Similiter et in aliis contrariis Latine vel Theutunice vel in utroque et semper procede scalariter ascendendo secundum quod sensus est.

Similarly, you can do it in the contrary things [i.e. negative topics], in Latin or in German or in both and proceed always step by step and ascend according to the meaning.

This part is especially noteworthy because it points to the possibility of active mixing of languages (*in utroque*). From the context, this would mean that preachers could switch between languages in their process of finding suitable *notabilitates*.

Regarding the allusion, *recapitulatio* only mentions that at least one should be present in all types of sermons, incl. the mixed one (Esztergom, Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 213, fol. 19v):

Item omnis allusio fiat sicut docui et adminus semel in quolibet sermone alludas, qualis etiam fuerit sermo, sive Latinus, sive maternos, sive intermixtus.

Also, each allusion should happen as I taught you and you should allude at least once in every sermon, not regarding whether it is Latin, in the mother tongue or mixed.

Finally, the conclusion should be in Latin in the Latin sermon, multilingual sermon or in a sermon for nuns. It should be in the vernacular only in a purely vernacular sermon (Esztergom, Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 213, fol. 19v):

Item omnis conclusio tua fiat subtiliter et brevibus verbis. Et si fuerit sermo Latinus vel intermixtus vel monialibus, conclusio tota fiat in Latino. Si autem fuerit Theutunicus sermo totaliter, conclusio tota fiat in materno.

Also, every conclusion should be done finely and shortly. And if your sermon will be in Latin or mixed, or for nuns, the whole conclusion should be done in Latin. However, if your sermon will be in German completely, then the whole conclusion should be done in the mother tongue.

In the chapter *De quadrangulo*, besides special advice regarding preaching in the chapter that will be commented on later, we also find the following note on the translation of different *membra* (Esztergom, Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 213, fol. 24r):

Item si aliquod membrum positum in Latino non poteris in materno exprimere, tunc illud exprimas per similitudinem vel per circumlocutionem. E converso autem, si membrum in materno positum non vales exprimere in Latino, fac similiter.

Also, if you cannot express a Latin word in the mother tongue, then explain it in similar words or through description. And on the other hand, if you are not able to express a vernacular word in Latin, do the similar thing.

The context of this part is using the *Quadrangulum*, i.e. the list of rhymed words that could be used for finding appropriate *notabilitates*, *membra* and *allusiones*. The formulation of the advice seems to suggest that the *Quadrangulum* should also contain a list of German words – which is unfortunately not the case in any manuscript I analyzed. Nevertheless, it seems to suggest that the user should translate Latin words into the vernacular and vice versa.

Preaching in the Chapter

The peculiar aspect of *Aurissa* is that it also provides special language advice on preaching in the chapter (*in capitulo*). This appears in two places: firstly, as the part of *Theologia est scientia* at the end of the chapter *De quadrangulo* and then in some manuscripts in the following *Modus sermonizandi*. Because of their importance, the relevant passages are transcribed here. The first passage reads (Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 311, fol. 163vb):

Item meum est consilium, quocienscumque in capitulo feceris sermonem, facta invocatione in lingua matris statim in Latino repete et distinctis notabilitatibus primam notabilitatem totam dicas in Latino, qua dicta tunc primum incipe maternum et prenumera omnes notabilitates a themate ductas. Et premissa prima notabilitate, quam posuisti in Latino, prosequaris alias notabilitates cum suis membris in materno. Potes tamen auctoritates, probationes, exclamaciones infra sermonem premittere in Latino, tamen statim debes eos (sic!) iterum repetere in materno.

Item, quando alludis, hoc fac ante conclusionem et semper primo fiat in Latino, ita si fueris in capitulo. Deinde alludas in materno, tamen tunc non attendas consconanciam aliquam, nisi velis et tuum ydioma hoc expedite admittat.

Also, my advice is that every time you preach in the chapter, invoke in the mother tongue, then immediately repeat [*thema*] in Latin and after proposing notabilities, explain the whole first notability in Latin, [and] after that, start in the mother tongue and enumerate all notabilities extracted from the *thema*. And skipping the first notability that you exposed in Latin, follow all other notabilities with their parts (*membra*) in the mother tongue. You can quote authorities, add proofs, exclamations within the sermon in Latin, however, you have to immediately repeat them in the vernacular.

Also, when you allude, do that before the conclusion and it has to be always done in Latin, if you are in chapter. Then make the allusion in the mother tongue, however, then don't care about any consonance, unless you want to and your language allows to do it well.

This part is then expanded on in the addition *Modus sermonizandi* (Esztergom, Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 213, fol. 25r):

Modus sermonizandi in capitulo

Primo dic thema in Latino, deinde thema dic in Theutunico, quo dicto statim invoca in Theutunico. Et illo dicto, quod invocacione postulaveras, statim thema repetas in Latino.

Distingue clausulas in Latino et pone notabilitates in Latino. Et primam notabilitatem cum suis membris totam prosequere in Latino, qua prosequeris iterum thema repete in Latino. Quo repetito tunc primo incipe Theutunicum.

Distingue clausulas in Theutunico, pone omnes notabilitates in Theutunico. Et premissa prima notabilitate cum suis membris, quam exposuisti in Latino, prosequere alias notabilitates cum suis membris in Theutunico. Et breviter loquendo postquam primam notabilitatem cum suis membris exposuisti in Latino, postea per totum sermonem procedas in Theutunico, nisi aliquando permittas aliquam auctoritatem vel exclamacionem vel allusionem vel expositionem in Latino. Et tunc statim eandem repete in Theutunico.

Method of preaching in the chapter

First say the *thema* in Latin, then say it in German, after that immediately invoke in German. After saying, what you asked for in the invocation, repeat immediately the *thema* in Latin.

Separate the clauses in Latin and propose notabilities in Latin. And follow the first notability with all its parts in Latin, after doing that, repeat again the *thema* in Latin. After repeating it, then firstly start with German.

Separate the clauses in German and propose all notabilities in German. And skipping the first notability, that you explained in Latin, follow other notabilities with their parts in German. And after you explained the first notability with its parts in Latin, speak shortly and proceed in the whole sermon in German, unless you sometimes allow some authority, exclamation, allusion or exposition in Latin. And then repeat it immediately in German.

Both passages provide practically the same advice. In the chapter, the preacher should start with the *thema* in Latin, translate it into German and then make the invocation. As the first excerpt suggests, the invocation should be in German. Then the *thema* should be repeated again in Latin. No German translation is mentioned here. This is followed by the most complicated and peculiar part: bilingual *notabilitates*.

The first one should be said in Latin with all its parts. It is not completely obvious whether this means that the whole division should be said in Latin or just the *notabilitas* with its members without further exposition. The *thema* should then be repeated in Latin again. At this point, the preacher should switch into German.

The preacher enumerates again all *notabilitates* in German. The following part is not completely clear, but it seems that the preacher should then skip the first notability that he already explained in Latin, and continue directly with the others in German. He may still use Latin though, in authorities, exclamations, allusions and expositions. All of these should be immediately translated into German. As we learned before, the conclusion in the case of mixed sermons should be in Latin.

It appears that the author meant primarily a chapter room of a monastery, where sermons took place, since he uses the phrase *in capitulo ordinis* once in connection with choosing the right topic for the preaching – in this case something related to a feast.³⁶ This would also explain another passage where he describes how if the preacher stands in the middle of laymen, he should turn around so everybody can perceive his sermons equally.³⁷ This could describe a situation known, e.g., from Cistercian monasteries, where sermons in a chapter room on feast days were also attended by lay brothers who did not necessarily know Latin. Sermons of a Czech Cistercian of German origin, Peter of Zittau (†1339), from the famous monastery of Aula Regia in Zbraslav, near Prague, show that already in the 14th century, at least some Cistercians used the vernacular language in the oral delivery for the body of the sermon when lay brothers were present.³⁸

German Readers and Bohemian Adaptations

Unfortunately, there are very sparse marginal notes in the manuscripts that would tell us more about how this work was actually used. However, there is an interesting short note in Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Ms. Mar. F 253, fol. 164r.³⁹ Here a reader added just one word on the margin to the chapter *De habitu: beyspelen*, i.e. a German word for »example«:

36 Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 311, 163rb: *Talem habebis formam si in capitulo ordinis dogatizas, thema tuum sit de festo vel tale, quod possit appropriari presenti festivitati.*

37 Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 311, 163ra: *Item nota, si laicis sermonisas et ipsi ex omni parte circumstant te vel sedent et tunc tu in medio eorum stas, tunc quandoque vertas te naturaliter sicut tarda rota, ut omnes equaliter percipiant dogma tuum.*

38 Peter of Zittau, *Sermons on the Principal Feasts*, ed. Pumprová, 48-50.

39 A marginal gloss was also copied with the text into Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Ms 2014, fol. 209r.

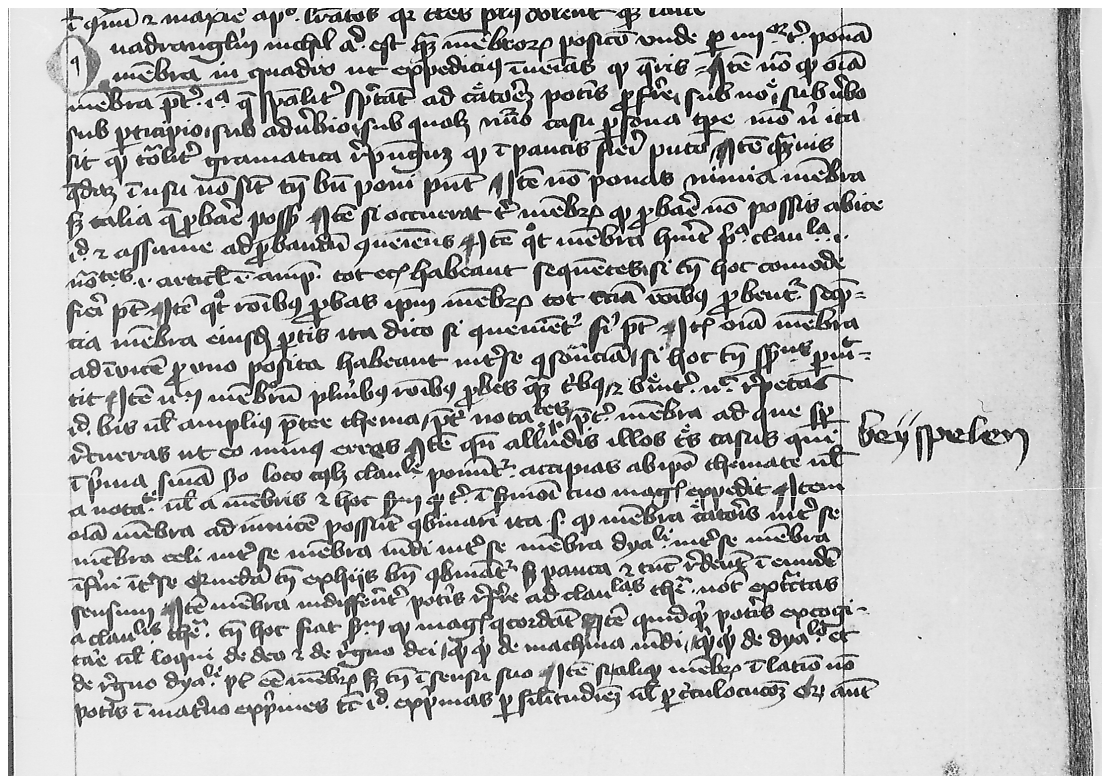


Fig. 3: Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Ms. Mar. F 253, fol. 164r

This is interesting, especially from the perspective that *Aurissa* otherwise does not contain any German or vernacular words at all.

Aurissa was also locally adapted, as three manuscripts of Bohemian origin show. The manuscript currently kept in the Cistercian monastery in Wilhering (Zisterzienserkloster, Cod. IX 122) substitutes all occurrences (except one) of the term *Theutunicum* («German») with *maternum* («mother tongue») or even *Boemicum* («Czech language»).⁴⁰

There are, however, two even more curious cases. The first one is Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259 that otherwise provides a very good text and is one of the few manuscripts containing all the original parts of the treatise (i.e. *Theologia est sciencia, Modus sermonizandi* and the *Quadrangulum*). The Olomouc manuscript substitutes all occurrences of *Theutunicum* with *Boemicum*. However, probably a subsequent reader was not happy with this change. First, in the chapter on *discursus*, he crossed out the first occurrence of *Boemice* and wrote on the margin *<in> vulgari ligwa* («*<in>* the vernacular language»):⁴¹

40 E.g. *Item meum consilium est, quocienscumque in capitulo feceris sermonem, facta invocacione in lingua materna, statim thema repete Latine repente et distinctis notabilitatibus primam notabilitatem totam dicas, qua dicta tunc primo incipe Boemice et prenumera omnes notabilitates ad Boemicum ductas et pretermissa prima notabilitate, quam posuisti in Latino, prosequaris alias notabilitates cum suis membris in materno.* (fol. 117r)

41 Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 2v.

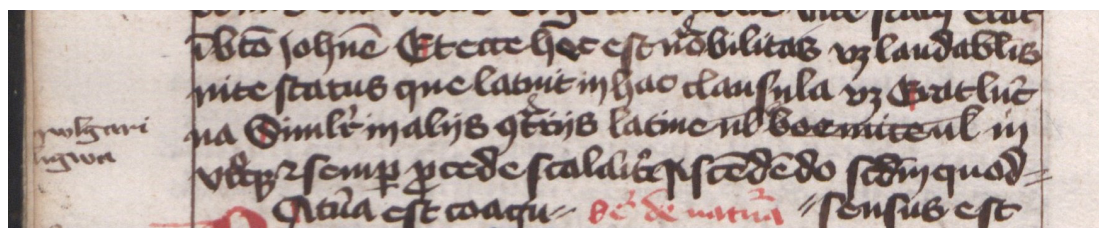


Fig. 4: Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 2v

However, in later occurrences, he usually simply used interlinear glosses to write above every other occurrence of *Boemicum* («Czech») the *Theutunicum* («German»). This can be observed well in the first *recapitulatio* (Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 4v):⁴²

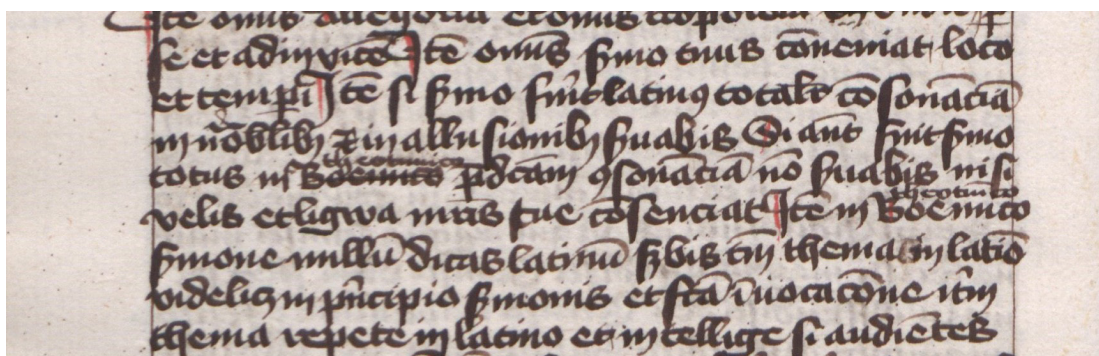


Fig. 5: Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M I 259, fol. 4v

This seems to be a testimony to a multiple reception of the text: first it was probably accommodated by Czech users by replacing German with *Boemicum*, then re-accommodated by German readers again. It is also notable that the manuscripts from Wilhering and from Olomouc do not completely overlap in their use of *Boemicum* – this may suggest two independent Czech adaptations of *Aurissa*.

The second curious case is in the manuscript from Vyšší Brod, Cisterciácký klášter, 92. In this manuscript, we can find not only Latin, German and Czech as languages of preaching but even their different combinations. If we took them at face value, they would contradict themselves, e.g., in its version of *Modus sermonizandi*, we read (fol. 190v):

Primo dic thema in Latino, deinde dic thema in vulgari vel Theutunice, quo dicto statim invoca in vulgari vel Bohemice et illo dicto, quod invocacione postulaveras, statim thema repete in Latino.

First say the thema in Latin, then say it in the vernacular or in German, after that immediately invoke in the vernacular or Czech. After saying what you asked for in the invocation, repeat immediately the thema in Latin.

42 Note also that only the first occurrence of *Boemico* is crossed out in this selection.

Then in other sentences of the same part, there is no mention of German at all (fol. 190v):

Distingue clausulas in Bohemico, pone omnes notabilitates in Bohemico.

Separate the clauses in Czech and propose all notabilities in Czech.

Could it be possible that there is a connection between the manuscripts from Olomouc and from Vyšší Brod? Could either the Olomouc scribe move mentions of *Theutunicum* into the interlinear space or the scribe of Vyšší Brod integrate interlinear glosses from Olomouc into the text (partially and imperfectly)? It is difficult now to completely exclude these possibilities; however, both seem improbable. The nature of Vyšší Brod seems to be simply too inconsistent in this regard. Also, the first instance of *Bohemicum* in the Olomouc manuscript is very clearly crossed out with a marginal gloss (see Fig. 4) that does not have an expected equivalent in Vyšší Brod. Among other reasons, there is also the *Quadrangulum*. The version in Vyšší Brod is longer and has a different structure than the one in Olomouc. The Olomouc version could not, therefore, be a model for Vyšší Brod and the other direction seems unlikely.

Also intriguing is a possible relationship between the manuscript from Vyšší Brod and that from Wilhering. The latter in fact, originally belonged to the monastery of Vyšší Brod, a Cistercian monastery in south west Bohemia that was originally occupied by monks from Wilhering. However, later the monastery also started to accept Czech monks and it became bilingual.⁴³ This bilingual situation may have contributed to the creation of these manuscripts and the manuscript Vyšší Brod, Cisterciácký klášter, 92 could influence the creation of the Wilhering, Zisterzienserkloster, Cod. IX 122. In this case, the inconsistent nature of the manuscript from Vyšší Brod may perhaps be a witness of gradual, not yet completed adaptation. The detailed relationship between all three manuscripts still has to be established.

This gives rise to an important question: why where these language changes necessary at all? Couldn't Czech users simply replace *Theutunicum* with *Bohemicum* mentally? And when already written, why did the German user (if the presented theory is right) change it back to *Theutunicum* again with so much consistency? This is especially striking if we consider that the treatise does not contain any language-specific advice that would not work in German as well as in Czech or any other vernacular. However, this may be related to the need to appropriate the text by the reader, the desire to make it their own by adapting it to their own discourse and their specific situation.

43 Bok, *Literaturpflege*, 182.

Conclusion

In the sixth chapter of his monograph *Macaronic Sermons*, Siegfried Wenzel collected evidence supporting the concept of multilingual preaching. He quoted examples from sermons from England where which language the preacher should address the audience in is mentioned, like in this example of translation of *thema*:⁴⁴

Extrema gaudii luctus occupat, Prouerbiorum 14. Karissimi, ista verba, que nunc dixi in latinis possunt sic dici in Anglico:

Worliche blysse and joye al-so
Enditeȝ in sorwe and wo.

Mourning taketh hold of the end of joy,⁴⁵ Proverbs 14. Dear ones, these words, that I said now in Latin, can be said in this way in English:

Worliche blysse and joye al-so
Enditeȝ in sorwe and wo.

Similarly, he mentions an example in the sermons of Ranulphe de la Houblonnière (c. 1225?-1288). One passage of his sermon preached to a mixed audience of laymen and clergy was said in Latin in order to prevent common folks from understanding it.⁴⁶ Finally, Siegfried Wenzel quotes handbooks on preaching, texts from the genre of *Artes praedicandi*, among them the incipit of *Modus sermonizandi* according to catalogues where it is recommended to pronounce the *thema* first in Latin and then in the vernacular.⁴⁷

The treatise by Jacobus de Saraponte, *Aurissa*, provides crucial material for this very important question. It describes not only Latin and vernacular sermons, but Latin, mixed and vernacular ones – and many types on the continuum in between, starting from Latin sermons for clerics, to Latin sermons with the invocation in the vernacular, to mixed sermons of various types for the chapter and nuns, to vernacular sermons with just a sprinkle of Latin in the form of the *thema* and a Latin conclusion, and, finally, to completely vernacular sermons. Different parts of a sermon could be pronounced in different languages and, in the case of the chapter, different notabilities could even be explained and developed both in Latin and the vernacular.

However, in all these cases, the use of particular languages follows some type of instruction or even order. Could there also be mixing of languages within sentences? Or even (for the lack of a better term) macaronic preaching, as Siegfried Wenzel concluded in his monograph?

There are only three parts in *Aurissa* suggesting this possibility:

1) The instruction regarding the *discursus* says that the preacher can proceed in Latin, in the vernacular or in both.

2) The chapter about the *Quadrangulum* says that the preacher can explain Latin words in the vernacular with similar words or through description – and the same for vernacular words being translated into Latin. This could be understood in the context of translating the

44 Wenzel, *Macaronic sermons*, 108.

45 Biblical translations into English here and elsewhere are taken from the Douay-Rheims' Bible, accessed on 25 May 2021: www.drbo.org.

46 Wenzel, *Macaronic sermons*, 121.

47 Wenzel, *Macaronic sermons*, 108.

thema, notabilitates, auctoritates, probationes, exclamationes, allusiones from one language into another, as described, e.g., in the part about preaching for the Chapter.

3) Finally, there is the key passage about the mixed sermon or a sermon for nuns where *sit in arbitrio tuo, quando loquaris Latinum vel quando maternum*, i.e. a preacher can decide for himself when to speak in Latin or in the vernacular. However, even this could be understood as applying for whole parts or sentences, not for single words. The most convincing is, therefore, the part about discourse that does not seem to allow any other interpretation than code-switching at least between sentences, if not within them. Unfortunately, Jacobus de Saraponte does not provide any example here and thus this interpretation can be only taken cautiously.

Aurissa was undeniably popular; it was read, copied and adapted by many users. But did preachers actually follow its advice regarding the use of multiple languages? Latin *themata* in vernacular sermons are a well-known phenomenon, but other elements mentioned in *Aurissa* seem to be less standard. This is especially true for the passage on the preaching in the chapter with its complicated instruction concerning the structure of the sermon and switching between the language in the first notability and the following ones.

Here, in this question, we meet the crucial problem – we have to rely on written sermons to judge the multilingualism of their delivery. It has to be taken into consideration that we are dealing simultaneously with two interconnected, yet still separate multilingual situations – multilingual written sermons and multilingual preaching. Multilingual written sermons could be delivered perfectly monolingually (either in Latin or in a vernacular) while multilingual preaching could be based on monolingual written sermons – or even on multilingual ones but transformed into a different form of multilingualism. But it is exactly this issue that makes other witnesses of multilingual preaching, like *Aurissa*, so valuable despite their unique flaws.

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Abbreviations

BSB = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

BG PAN = Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk

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Language Mixing as a Persuasive Strategy in Oxford, MS Bodley 649

Helena Halmari*

One of the salient features of Oxford, MS Bodley 649, a fifteenth-century sermon collection, is its frequent switching from Latin to English – and back to Latin again. Building on Wenzel’s (1994) groundbreaking work on macaronic sermons, I discuss the rhetorical characteristics of English elements in MS Bodley 649, with the purpose of showing that language mixing in this collection is not random but rather one of the rhetorical devices that the author uses for persuasion. The English elements are frequently used to build grammatical cohesion through structural parallelism. Also, lexical and semantic cohesion are achieved via repetition of the same words in both languages or through English paraphrases of Latin scriptural content. Alliteration, another rhetorical device, often coincides with language switches within the sermons. I hope to show that, together with other rhetorical strategies, mixing English into Latin constitutes one means within an entire bundle of linguistic devices that all contribute to the persuasive purpose of the genre. As a preliminary finding of some work in progress, I report on the nature of the English words mixed into these highly scholastic and often allegorical sermons. The English elements within the sermons tend to provide content that is mundane, or objectionable (from the point of view of Christian conduct and goals), or even merely negative (if not repulsive). An important conclusion is that none of the rhetorical strategies that overlap with code-switching into English are used mechanically and systematically by the sermonist; the coincidence of the bundled persuasive features is never predictable. However, this does not mean that mixing English elements into Latin in MS Bodley 649 should be characterized as random. A persuasive sermon is not tamely predictable in its delivery; it must offer surprises as audience-engagement strategies. The most salient surprises in MS Bodley 649 are provided by the English elements.

Keywords: macaronic sermons; Oxford MS Bodley 649; code-switching, persuasion, cohesive devices; alliteration; repetition; structural parallelism

Introduction

Oxford, MS Bodley 649 is an early fifteenth-century sermon collection, famous for its intensively macaronic structure. In MS Bodley 649, the predominantly Latin sermons incorporate words, phrases, and clauses from English, in a pattern that seems enigmatic. This MS is a typical representative of the macaronic genre. One of the earliest definitions of the adjective *macaronic* found is from 1611, listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary* with the following entry:

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- (1) 1611 R. Cotgrave Dict. French & Eng. Tongues *Macaronique*, a Macaronick; a confused heape, or huddle of many seuerall things.

The other listed historical meanings for *macaronic* in the *Oxford English Dictionary* are derogatory or pejorative. The *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 1992, 3rd edition, gives the following two meanings for macaronic:

- (2) 1. Of or containing a mixture of vernacular words with Latin words or with vernacular words given Latinate endings: *macaronic verse*. 2. Of or involving a mixture of two or more languages. [New Latin *macaronicus*, from Italian dialectal *maccarone*, dumpling, macaroni (perhaps from the way macaroni is heaped on a plate and mixed with sauce).

While the *American Heritage Dictionary's* meanings 1 and 2 do not involve a value judgment, the parenthetical explanation referencing sauce on a heaped pile of macaroni does not connote an elevated genre like sermons. These dictionary entries seem more a reflection of their writers' tastes than of the quality of the macaronic sermons themselves that they came to designate, barring these sermons from serious scholarly inquiry for many decades, if not for centuries.¹

Siegfried Wenzel, who dedicated a good part of his academic career to the study of macaronic sermons, defines the term *macaronic* thus:

- (3) [T]he term *macaronic* has been adopted by modern English writers and is being applied to any kind of verse that mixes English and Latin (or French) in *different structural forms* and for a *variety of rhetorical purposes*. [...] Such macaronic texts can be found not only in verse but [also] in prose. There is probably no religious or devotional text in Middle English prose that does not include some Latin words, phrases, or sentences.²

Oxford, MS Bodley 649 is a collection of sermons, of which twenty-three show »a highly unique macaronic mixture of Latin and English«.³ Latin is the base language, with English (and sometimes French) pouring in as the sauce, or getting tangled with the strings of pasta. Wenzel's definition of *macaronic*, unlike many dictionary definitions and references to medieval macaronic texts, does not have any pejorative connotations. The genre of sermons in medieval times, just as today, is, in fact, a »high« genre, to evoke Ferguson's 1959 notion of *diglossia*.⁴ But Ferguson's high vs. low codes involve a clear situational separation of the two language varieties: the low variety, for instance, in the marketplace, and the high variety in places of worship or the halls of academia. In macaronic sermons this principle does not work: the sermonist brings both Latin (the »high« variety and the expected tongue) and the vernacular (the unexpected »low« variety) into the same physical space, at the same time, delivered simultaneously by the same speaker to the same audience.

1 See Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, v. For an overview of the negative attitudes toward mixed languages in historical texts, see Schendl and Wright, *Code-switching in early English*, 16-18.

2 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 5 (emphasis mine).

3 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 3.

4 Ferguson, *Diglossia*.

Scholars have wondered why Bodley 649 would mix so much of the »low« English into its »high« Latin. Is this simply a reflection of England post Statute of Pleading in 1362⁵ and »English triumphant«,⁶ where these bilingual sermons showcase a microcosm of late-medieval England, literally pushing forward the vernacular on the battleground defined by the clause and the sentence? To an extent, the answer must be »yes«: by the fifteenth century, the road had been paved for English to take over from French in high society and from Latin in church. English had already suppressed and absorbed Scandinavian as another vernacular, and now the country was getting ready for the Reformation and the linguistic reconquest by English. A few centuries earlier, a clerical audience⁷ would most certainly have been preached to in monolingual Latin. However, those working on bilingualism in Medieval England⁸ and on language contact today,⁹ are not really surprised.

Example (4) comes from Horner's edition and translation.¹⁰ This example appears at the closing of Sermo 5, which is among the sermons typical in its bilingual structure. As in all the examples in this article, for clarity, Latin is in normal font (even when italicized in Horner); English is in italics, and Horner's translation follows:

- (4) From Sermo 5, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 649, as edited and translated by Horner:

Set ex quo sicut predixi *þoru myzt and vertu* angeli celestes pascuntur *so daynteliche*, terrestres homines sanati ita *graciuslich*, et demones inferni victi ita potenter, »in nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur celestium terrestrium et infernorum,« Ad Philippenses 2, »*Fal eueri creature on kne* in nomine Iesu celi, terre, et inferni.« Et infernorum *falle euey fende on kne and drede þe almyzti prince* Iesu, quia sue armatura lucis erant victi, sicut dixi primo principali; terrestrium *fal eueri mon on kne and lowe þe al witti leche* Iesu, quia sui surripo sanguinis nos sanauit, sicut dixi in secundo; celestium *falle euey angel on kne and worschip þe algodli lord* Iesu, quia sue dulcedine deitatis pascuntur, sicut dixi in tercio. *þus to loue and drede þis worthi Lorde and in his loue* sic ducere nostram vitam mortalem quod post hanc pasci possimus *with his daynte* deitate in gloria, Iesus vobis concedat et michi qui pro nostra salute suum sanguinem effudit in cruce. Qui cum Patre, etc.

5 Rothwell, English and French.

6 Millward and Hayes, *Biography*, 147-148.

7 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 71.

8 See, e.g., Schendl and Wright, *Code-Switching*; Pahta et al., *Multilingual Practices*; Classen, *Multilingualism*; Jefferson and Putter, *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain*; Trotter, *Multilingualism*.

9 To mention a few, see Thomason and Kaufman, *Language Contact*; Matras, *Language Contact*; Schreier and Hundt, *Contact Language*.

10 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 152-153.

»But since as I said before *through might and virtue* the heavenly angels are fed *so deliciously*, earthly men are healed *so graciously*, and demons of hell conquered so powerfully, »at the name of Jesus every knee should bend in heaven, on earth, and under the earth,« Philippians 3 [sic], »*Let every creature* in heaven, earth, and hell *fall on knee* at the name of Jesus.« And *fall every fiend* of hell *on knee and dread the almighty prince* Jesus, for by his armor of light they were conquered, as I said in the first principal; *fall every man* on earth *on knee and love the all-wise leech* Jesus, for by the syrup of his blood he healed us, as I said in the second; *fall every angel* in heaven *on knee and worship the all-good lord* Jesus, for by his sweetness of godhead they are fed, as I said in the third. *So*, may Jesus grant to you and to me *to love and dread this worthy Lord and in his love* thus to lead our mortal life so that after this we can be fed *with his delicious godhead* in glory, he who for our salvation poured out his blood on the cross. Who with the Father, etc.«

This passage is characteristic of the sermons in Bodley 649 except that, for the sake of illustrating a variety of English elements within a relatively short text, the concentration of English words is higher than the average in Bodley 649, as well as in Wenzel's bilingual sermon corpus of approximately 225,000 words; in the latter, the percentage of English words is 11.4 percent.¹¹ The above passage consists of 163 words, out of which 97 are in Latin, 58 in English, and eight expressions – *Iesu* (5), *Iesus* (1), the numeral 2, and the abbreviation *etc.* – can be considered language-neutral.¹² Table 1 shows the distribution of English vs. Latin words in this short passage:

Table 1. The distribution of Latin and English words in the sample passage from Sermo 5 (n=155).

Latin words	97 (63%)
English words	58 (37%)

The passage above includes nine switches into English, listed in Table 2, together with their syntactic forms and, if phrases, their function within the sentence:

11 The numbers of Wenzel's corpus come from his statistical table of 43 macaronic sermons (Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 347-348). The Bodley 649 sermons form part of these data.

12 For the development of machine-identification of Latin vs. English and automated tagging of lexical categories, with Bodley 649 as a sample text, see Schultz and Keller, *Code-switching ubique est*. For examples of accessible medieval multilingual texts where language identification and editorial tagging has been completed, see, e.g., *Piers Plowman Electronic Archive* at piers.chass.ncsu.edu.

Table 2. Examples of switched syntactic forms and their functions.

þoru myzt and vertu	PP/Adjunct
so daynteliche	ADVP/Adjunct
graciuslich	ADVP/Adjunct
»Fal eueri creature on kne ...«	Clause
falle eury fende on kne and drede þe almyzti prince Iesu	Clause (Coordinate)
fal eueri mon on kne and lowe þe al witti leche Iesu	Clause (Coordinate)
falle eury angel on kne and worschipe þe algodli lord Iesu	Clause (Coordinate)
þus to loue and drede þis worthi Lorde and in his loue	Infinitive VP/Direct Object
with his daynte	Part of a PP/Adjunct

The English elements include one prepositional phrase (PP) and one first part of a PP; two adverbial phrases (ADVPs); four clauses (subjunctives); and an infinitive verb phrase (VP). In earlier work, we have shown that adjuncts (referred to as adverbials in traditional grammar) are easily switchable elements, as they belong to the periphery of the sentential syntax.¹³ The same explains the prevalence of four switched clausal elements in this tiny sample; clause boundaries are typical switching sites as they, obviously, are outside the grammatical constraints for switching. The one infinitival VP that functions as a direct object is left-dislocated. The switches in this passage thus consist of word-, phrase-, and clause-level elements. It seems that syntactic structure has a role to play in where English insertions appear.¹⁴ However, this chapter is not about structural forms; it is about Wenzel's second italicized phrase in the excerpt in (3) above: the »variety of rhetorical purposes«. ¹⁵ I argue that while mixing is not random in terms of its syntactic structure, it is not completely random in its rhetorical purposes either. Naturally, mixing can never be predicted – neither do we know in advance when a preacher or a politician today will shift to a colloquial expression or to another dialect, but, post facto, we can often see that this style-shifting took place for a rhetorical, persuasive purpose.

13 Halmari and Regetz, Syntactic aspects.

14 There have been in-depth discussions of the »different structural forms« (see example 3 above) of the language mixing in Bodley 649, by Wenzel (*Macaronic Sermons*) himself, but also by others, e.g., Schendl, Late medieval macaronic sermons; Schendl, Syntactic constraints, 67-86; Archan, *Functional and Structural Aspects*; Keller, Code-switched adjectives; Halmari and Regetz, Syntactic aspects.

15 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 5.

The Rhetorical Aspects of Switching to English in Bodley 649

With this article, my purpose is to make a small contribution to the work done by scholars like Owst,¹⁶ Haines,¹⁷ Machan,¹⁸ Johnson,¹⁹ and many others, in discussing the »variety of rhetorical purposes« for mixing Middle English into these predominantly Latin sermons. My goal, thus, is to look not at *how* but *why*. We know that this is a reflection of bilingualism in medieval England and, more generally, multilingual medieval Europe,²⁰ but why does the mixing happen? Wenzel lists a number of potential motives for what he refers to as the »macaronic texture«.²¹ He discusses – and quickly dismisses – a number of possible »reasons« for switching from Latin to English. Among these Wenzel lists and gives examples of *coordination* (5a), the desire to use the sermon author's *favorite word*, which happens to be an English word (5b), his *favorite phrases*, almost like his idiolectal mannerisms (5c); *alliteration* (5d); *structural parallelism* (5e); or, the use of *English proverbial material* (5f):

- (5) Examples from Wenzel 1994:
- (a) Gracia *and* comfort²²
 - (b) ouerseile, wawe, stormis²³
 - (c) be x never so y²⁴
 - (d) lati rami, articuli, *fadoun fast; made of marbilstonys; sua humilitas of herte*²⁵
 - (e) *þus* ignis caritatis extinguitur, *þus* humor deuocionis arescit, *þus* tota spiritualis vita subtrahit se [...].²⁶
 - (f) Si habes conscienciam *to trede on a crossid* stramen²⁷

In (5a), the switch happens within a coordinated NP, where the English coordinator *and* matches in language with the second noun *comfort*. The words in example (5b) come from within one semantic field, that of seafaring, the metaphorical topic of the sermon. The fixed structural formula in (5c) is prevalent in the sermons of Bodley 649. Alliteration (5d) has been pointed out as a common feature of bilingual sermons, but it is, of course, a strong stylistic feature of Old English poetry, as well as a part of the alliterative revival during the Middle English period.²⁸ In the last example in (5d), *sua humilitas of herte*, alliteration seems

16 Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*; also, Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*.

17 Haines, »Wilde Wittes«; »Our Master Mariner«.

18 Machan, *Visual pragmatics*.

19 Johnson, *Grammar of Good Friday*.

20 See, e.g., Taavitsainen *et al.*, *Placing Middle English*; Classen, *Multilingualism*; Schendl and Wright, *Code-Switching; id.*, *Code-switching in early English*; Jefferson and Putter, *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain*; and Pahta *et al.*, *Multilingual Practices*, to mention some recent collections on multilingualism in the Middle Ages.

21 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 81.

22 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 86.

23 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 87.

24 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 88.

25 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 88-89.

26 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 90.

27 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 93.

28 See Turville-Petre, *Alliterative Revival*; also, Burrow and Duggan, *Medieval Alliterative Poetry*. For an analysis of alliteration in Bodley 649, see Halmari and Regetz, *Language switching and alliteration*.

to function as a tie between the Latin *humilitas* and the English *herte*. Example (5e) shows a thrice-repeated English adverb *þus*, followed by a Latin NP–V combination: *ignis caritatis extinguitur*, *humor deuocionis arescit*, and *tota spiritualis vita subtrahit se*. Example (5f) contains English proverbial material: evidently, stepping over two crossed straws was considered bad luck.²⁹

All the possible explanations and rationalizations for the macaronic structure, listed by Wenzel, were, in fact, dismissed almost immediately by Wenzel himself. The six patterns listed in (5) above are not used consistently, and very often there is no switching to English for these reasons. Therefore, is there any sense in attempting to explain what is going on in Bodley 649 – and, significantly, in the mind of its author, hypothesized to have been John Paunteley from Oxford?³⁰ In a sense, we are left wondering whether it is even possible to talk about the purpose of English in these bilingual sermons. Yet, in this article, I hope to show that the list of typical code-switching strategies in (5) above coincides significantly with elements in Halliday and Hasan's list of cohesion-building devices: referencing, substitution, conjunction, and grammatical and lexical cohesion.³¹ At first it seems oxymoronic to claim that, by breaking the linguistic cohesion within a sermon, a paragraph, and even a sentence through changing from Latin to English, the preacher is actually building coherence by the way he carries out these shifts.

The Bundling of Rhetorical Features in Oxford, MS Bodley 649

Because the macaronic sermons in Bodley 649 follow closely the *Ars Praedicandi*, the structural and rhetorical principles of effective, persuasive preaching, how does the mixing of Latin and English fit into the sermon's hortative goals? And what does this mixing do to the structure of the sermon? What good, if anything, does this macaronic texture achieve? Would it not hinder the sermonist from his persuasive goals? Or, does this macaronic texture actually reveal something about the sermonist's strategy in order to reach his persuasive goals?

In this article, I start from the premise that switching to English in Bodley 649 does not have (and does not need to have) an all-encompassing explanation, as switching to English is merely one of several effective rhetorical devices that the sermon author uses to reach out to, touch, and move his bilingual audience. Examples (5 a-f) show what any good speaker does in an orally delivered message. Switching may be one salient method used, but switches also exhibit a number of other rhetorical strategies, often bundling these rhetorical devices. These often include rhyming in English.

29 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 92.

30 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 6.

31 Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion in English*.

How, then, are the switches into English marked? Most often, there is no explicit signal when a transition from Latin to English – and back to Latin – takes place. In the manuscript, all text is in black, in the same hand, with no indication about the frequent language changes. This is in contrast to many other medieval religious manuscripts (for instance *Piers Plowman*), where rubrication shows language change.³² The means of these overt signals for a shift in language include red ink, boxing, bolding, boxing in red, and shifts in the size of the text.³³

Flagging, Repeating, Rhyming, Code-switching

Even though very few of the switches are flagged in any way, one of the common means of explicitly introducing the switch is the following, from the beginning of Sermo 6, O-06 in Wenzel's system:

- (6) Fortis armatus custodit atrium, Luce XI°. Anglice,
A myzti werrou and a wyzt
Kepes his halle armed brizt.
 Lego, 2° Machabeorum XI [...]

»The strong man, fully armed, guards his courtyard, Luke 11. In English,
A mighty warrior and wight
Keeps his hall armed bright.
 I read in 2 Maccabees 11 [...]«³⁴

Anglice appears a number of times in Bodley 649 as an overt and explicit flag for a switch.³⁵ But example (6) is also in the form of a little rhyming jingle, a poem of sorts. A switch to English is not the sole rhetorical device here. The sermonist also switches to another genre: from the prose style of the sermon to reciting poetry. Example (7) provides another instance of using *anglice* as an explicit marker of transitioning into English, and he also uses the Latin *vel sic* »or thus« to signal the second reiteration, in English, of his original Latin content. However, the preacher also paraphrases the Latin content and its English translation in the form of a rhyming couplet. He thus ends up expressing the same content in three different ways: Latin prose, English prose, and English verse:

- (7) Assumpsit eum in ciuitatem, vbi prius. Anglice: *He toke him into the cite,*
vel sic:
He so mercy doth for Goddis sake,
Into þe cite of mercy he schal be take.
 Tutissima ciuitas in terris [...]

32 Robert Adams (*pers. comm.*, April 2019) points out that the reason for these differences between the Bodley 649 and *Piers Plowman* manuscripts is obvious: *Piers Plowman* manuscripts were meant to be read; these sermons were merely meant to be heard.

33 For the role of visually marking language shifts in manuscripts, see Carroll *et al.*, Pragmatics on the page; Benson, Another fine manuscript mess, 27; Halmari, Visual presentation of Latin.

34 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 154-155.

35 Langland does this too, signaling with *anglice* before he translates a Latin tag into English (Robert Adams, *pers. comm.*, April 2019).

»He took him into the city, as above. In English: *He took him into the city*, or thus,
He so does mercy for God's sake,
Into the city of mercy he shall be take.
 The safest city on earth [...]«³⁶

In addition to *anglice* or *vel sic, isto modo* »in this way« is another flag that the sermon writer uses to introduce the switch explicitly. In addition to the explicitly flagged switch of language, example (8) also illustrates a generic shift to verse:

- (8) In iuuentutis mane, pulsat per sue passionis beneficium isto modo,
 ›For þe I wax al rody opon þe rode,
 Mi blod y scheedde to wasche in þi hert;
 Amende þe be [f. 6] tymes and seese of þi synne,
 Vndo þe dore of þin hert and let me inne.‹
 In tue adolescencie meridie [...]

»In the morning of youth, he knocks through the benefit of his passion
 in this way,
 For thee I waxed all ruddy upon the rood,
 My blood I shed to wash thy heart;
 Amend thee soon and cease of thy sin,
 Undo the door of thy heart and let me in.
 In the noontime of your adulthood [...]«³⁷

The four English verse lines in example (8) provide a colorful, stylistically vivid insertion. Here, the sermonist uses code-switching to quote,³⁸ and the speech he is reporting comes from no lesser authority than Jesus himself. The importance of the content is marked by a switch of language to the vernacular and the shift of the genre to verse. In addition, the content is flagged by *isto modo*.

If anything, these explicitly marked switches, especially those flagged by *anglice*, provide concrete verification that the preacher was completely aware of preaching a bilingual sermon. It was his intention to use English; it was not an accident.

Example (9) is not a flagged switch, but it is another example of a language switch overlapping with a generic switch – again from the sermon prose to verse:

- (9) ›Cecidit corona capitis nostri; ve nobis quia peccauimus.‹
 ›þe garlond of blis is falle vs fro;
 Alas for synne we haue al þis wo.‹
 Attendite de ista vindicta [...]

36 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 54-55.

37 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 44-45.

38 Code-switching often coincides with reported speech and quotations; see, for instance, McClure and McClure, Macro- and micro-sociolinguistic dimensions. McClure and McClure report this to be »by far the most frequent motivation for conversational code-switching« (p. 35).

»The crown fell from our head; woe to us for we have sinned.<
 ›The garland of bliss is fallen from us;
 alas for sin we have all this woe.<
 Pay heed to this vengeance [...]«³⁹

Here, too, the preacher is bundling three rhetorical strategies: repetition (paraphrasing the Latin in the vernacular); doing this in the form of rhyming verse; and shifting the language into English. The preacher's Latin does not rhyme; his English does.

At first, it seems that a shift from one genre (prose) to another (verse) would break the cohesion (and thus ultimately the coherence) within the sermon. However, repetition itself is a cohesion-building device:⁴⁰ when the semantic content of the key message of the sermon is repeated in two different languages, what may at first look like a threat to the sermon's coherence actually functions to enforce it through semantic cohesion – albeit with lexical elements from two different languages.

Building Cohesion through Repetition and Simultaneous Variation

In examples (6-9) above, the preacher is making the switch of language highly salient by transitioning to English not only intersententially, between sentences, but also switching to a different genre – verse. Another, and much less noticeable, strategy of switching by the sermonist is introduced when he inserts English elements within the sentence, intrasententially. In Sermo 1, where the theme is »Now is the day of salvation«, the sermon author refers to the urgency of repenting by repeatedly using the noun *clock*, both in Latin and in English. Example (10) shows the alteration between *horologium* and *clock/clock*:

(10) horologio – horologium – horologium – horologii – horologii –
 horologio – horologium – *bi clock most be set – set bi clock þerafter* –
 tuum *clock* false vadit – emenda tuum *clockum* – tuum *clock* vadit false –
 horologium – horologium – horologio – horologio – horologio⁴¹

The sermonist is here building extreme lexical cohesion through repetition: within three paragraphs and 61 lines in Horner, reference to »timepiece« is made seventeen times, twelve of those times in Latin (with the expected Latin case endings as required by Latin morphology) and five times in English. All five English forms of *clock/clock* appear in the middle paragraph, between two mostly Latin paragraphs. In this middle paragraph, where the saturation of English appears, the word *clock* is embedded twice into English syntax (*bi clock most be set*; *set bi clock þerafter*) and three times the word *clock/clock* is embedded in Latin, showing insertional switching. Within Latin syntax, this English word behaves like a Latin word, with assimilation to Latin morphosyntax. While the form *clockum*, showing the Latin inflectional suffix *-um*, is rare in the macaronic sermon corpus, it follows the proposed syntactic constraints where the transitive verb *emenda* »change« assigns the accusative case to its direct object *tuum clockum* »your clock«. ⁴² The twelve English words that appear in example (10) are the only English words within the 61 lines that focus on the theme of time.

39 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 244-245.

40 Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion in English*. See also Johnson, *Grammar of Good Friday*.

41 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 35-37, lines 168-228.

42 For the syntactic principles governing the switching in most cases, see Halmari and Regetz, Syntactic aspects.

So, what does the switching from Latin *horologium* to English *clok* do here? First, example (10) would nullify any hypotheses according to which the preacher resorts to English words when he does not know their Latin equivalents. Second, this type of switching introduces a break in the long, potentially monotonous, sequence with multiple mentions of one lexical item in Latin: *horologium*. Introducing its English equivalent brings a colorful (and perhaps welcome) change into the theme of salvation. Mainly, however, by introducing lexical variation in the form of the English *clok/clock*, the preacher continues to build semantic coherence to this topic, without tiring the listener by too much repetition of the same word – clever avoidance of »horror equi«.

Repetition, but not too much repetition, seems to be one of the leading persuasive principles of the preacher of Bodley 649. Repetition, of course, builds coherence, and coherence builds up the persuasive power of the message. Lexical variation, the use of synonyms or translation equivalents (*horologium* vs. *clok/clock*), allows for the building of semantic coherence while simultaneously helping the speaker to avoid sounding repetitive. Example (11) from Sermo 3, »Great is faith«, is another illustration of cohesion-building, now achieved via the sermonist's repetition of the verb *climb*. Because the use of *climb* involves a switch from Latin into English, its use provides simultaneous variation from the surrounding text:

- (11) Non mouerent dubia de fide, *climbe* non alcius quam eorum sensus possit attingere, set credere docentur [...]. Set iam, quod dolendum est, [...] animalia terrestria *han clymbe vp on hy*. [...] Sicut quidam dicunt laici *and a clymbin al to hye*.

»They should not raise doubts about faith, *climb* no higher than their senses can grasp, but believe what they are taught [...]. But now, sad to say, [...] the earthly animals *have climbed up on high*. [...] Just as some lay people speak out *and have climbed all too high*.«⁴³

In example (11), the preacher builds up the English »momentum« around the word *climb* (and around the sins of pride and selfishness), starting from just a one-word insertion (*climbe* »climb«), then moving to a verb phrase (*han clymbe vp on hy* »have climbed up on high«), and finally ending up with an entire English clause (*and a clymbin al to hye* »and have climbed all too high«). In this way, the sermonist of Bodley 649 plays with coherence by breaking it when he switches from Latin to English, but builds it back by lexical repetition within the code-switched segments.

As Wenzel points out (see examples in [5d] above), alliteration is another rhetorical device that often bundles with language switching.⁴⁴ Through repetition of the same initial phonetic element in collocating words, the sermonist is building up audible cohesion. Examples (12-14) illustrate this:

43 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 78-79.

44 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 88-90. See also Halmari and Regetz, Language switching and alliteration.

- (12) Pulcra folia, verbum Dei, incipiunt cadere, lati rami, articuli, *fadoun fast*, et tota arbor Christiane fidei arescit et sterilescit.

»The beautiful leaves, the word of God, begin to fall, the wide branches, the articles, *fade fast*, and the whole tree of Christian faith dries up and becomes sterile.«⁴⁵

- (13) In prosperitate et aduersitate, *in weel and woo* serua [f. 8] arma ista super te.

»In prosperity and adversity, *in weal and woe*, keep these arms on you.«⁴⁶

- (14) Memento quod quantum-cumque sis *gay and gret*, morieris: [...] nescis quo vadis, ad gloriam uel ad penam, *weel* uel *woo*.

»Remember that no matter how *gay and great* you may be, you will die: [...]; you do not know where you will go, to glory or to pain, *to weal* or *to woe*.«⁴⁷

In example (12) above, it is alliteration that coincides with code-switching. However, in examples (13-14), it is not only alliteration but also structural parallelism that coincides with the switch to English. In (14) the coordinated Latin phrase *ad gloriam uel ad penam* adds to the overall structural parallelism realized in the fully English *gay and gret* and also in *weel uel woo*, where two parallel English words are conjoined by the Latin *uel*. This is an important point because code-switching does not always need to be involved with the use of other rhetorical, cohesion-building devices. If it were, the sermonist would be showing mere mechanical application of his skills; what he is doing is adding to the rhetorical (and persuasive) value of his sermon in a creative, non-mechanical way. Structural parallelism can be seen as a realization of grammatical cohesion, here achieved by the means of conjunction – another cohesion-building device listed by Halliday and Hasan.⁴⁸

The next example, from Sermo 2, shows a different incident of structural parallelism that adds to grammatical cohesion while language switching (a potential threat to cohesion) is present. Example (15) shows the consecutive use of three English adjectives – *nedful* »necessary«, *spedeful* »advantageous«, and *mydful* »meritorious«:

- (15) [...] prima turris est misericordia tui et ista turris est tibi *nedful*; secunda turris est misericordia pauperis et ista turris est tibi *spedeful*; tercia turris est misericordia tui hostis et hec tibi est *mydful*.

»[...] the first tower is mercy towards yourself, and this tower is *necessary* to you; the second tower is mercy towards the poor, and this tower is *advantageous* to you; the third tower is mercy towards your enemy, and this is *meritorious* for you.«⁴⁹

45 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 78-79.

46 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 52-53.

47 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 56-57.

48 Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion in English*.

49 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 58-59.

All three adjectives appear in the same clause-final position, within three parallel structures: NP1 + copula *est* »is« + NP1 + conjunction *et* »and« + NP1 + copula *est tibi/tibi est* »is for you«/»for you is« + ADJ. According to the Functional Sentence Perspective,⁵⁰ the sentence-final position typically provides new (not given) information. The three sentence-final adjectives underscore this new information in the focal position of the sentence, the end. From the point of view of the sermonist, the adjectives capture the essence of the metaphor of the three towers. Note that all three adjectives end in the same derivational suffix *-ful*; this adds lexical cohesion to structural cohesion.

These additional rhetorical strategies that coincide with and support the switches into English are strategies that add to the effectiveness and cohesion of the message⁵¹ and are found in monolingual texts as well.

I hope to have established that code-switching is persuasive because it breaks the monotony of just one sermon language. While code-switching ostensibly breaks the cohesion by introducing a different language, it simultaneously builds this cohesion back through (1) repetition (paraphrasing the Latin message in English), (2) lexical cohesion (by recycling the Latin lexical material through English words); (3) enhanced lexical cohesion via alliteration (both within the inserted English elements and across English and Latin); and (4) grammatical cohesion through structural parallelism (often via conjunction or via identical, parallel structures). These elements coincide with code-switching, overlapping yet not completely correlating, as total overlap would be too mechanical in nature.

The Content of the English Switches

I have looked at the bundling of coherence-building features that add to the persuasive nature of the macaronic sermons in Bodley 649. Now I wish to end this article with a brief discussion about the semantic content of the switched English elements.

Examples (16-18) give a hint of what kind of semantic material often seems to coincide with the inserted English elements:

- (16) Si fueris a *lecchour* sequens delectaciones corporis, colis falsam deam, *þe ladi of lust*; eius mammona in tua anima est fetens hircus luxurie.

»If you are a *lecher* following the delights of the body, you cherish a false goddess, *the lady of lust*; her idol in your soul is the stinking goat of luxury.«⁵²

- (17) Ista execrata vasa, *þes poysunmongeres*, demon iecit inter nos.

»These cursed jars, *these poisonmongers*, the devil throws among us.«⁵³

- (18) Si aliquis sub tua cura cadat vltra tabulam in mare, *into Lollardri*, luxuriam, uel aliud mortale, facias debitum tuum *and þi besines*: retrahere eum sursum.

50 See, e.g., Firbas, Concept of communicative dynamism; Firbas, *Functional Sentence Perspective*.

51 Cf. Johnson, *Grammar of Good Friday*, xvi.

52 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 224-225. For a discussion of this example from the point of view of its alliterative qualities coinciding with switching to English, see Halmari and Regetz, Language switching and alliteration, 320.

53 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 278-279.

»If anyone under your care falls beyond the board into the sea, *into Lollardy*, lust, or other mortal sin, do your duty *and your business*: drag him up.«⁵⁴

In examples (16-18), reference to *lechers*, *ladies of lust*, and *poisonmongers* coincide with English insertions. The Latin that embeds these English nominals describes them in no flattering terms. Of course, the word *poisonmongers* of example (17) refers to the Lollards, despised by the Bodley 649 sermon writer, and example (18) makes an unambiguous reference to Lollardy, comparable to »lust, or other mortal sin«. Further examples include *pes rioturs* »these rioters« and *ze sinful men* »you sinful men«.⁵⁵

While it is not within the purview of this study to address the content of all the English switches in Bodley 649 (the number of these switches runs into thousands), a quick look at switches in Sermo 9 and Sermo 10 shows that many carry negative content:

- (19) a. *schame and vilony* »shame and villainy«
 b. *synne and wickednes* »sin and wickedness«
 c. *wo and wrechetnes* »woe and wretchedness«
 d. *ful nedi, and nacut* »very needy, and naked«
 e. *qui sunt gredi et cupidi* »who are greedy and avaricious«⁵⁶

English elements in (19a)-(19e) show conjoined nouns; in addition, alliteration is added in *wo and wrechetnes* »woe and wretchedness« (19c) and *ful nedi, and nacut* »very needy, and naked« (19d). When referring to sinful thoughts and desires, the preacher may resort to the vernacular (*of wickud thožtes* »of wicked thoughts«, *foule lustis* »foul desires«),⁵⁷ and the reference to the devil may also trigger a switch to English (*with þe gobline* »by the evil spirit«).⁵⁸ In example (20), the switch to English does not take place for the word *pomum* »apple« but for the words *worme ete*:

(20) *istud pomum est worme ete intus*

»this apple [...] it is *wormeaten* within«⁵⁹

Without a quantitative study of the contents of all the English elements within all the sermons, these examples provide no basis for generalization; however, these examples may show that a shocking, disgusting, or reproachable content may be found in the English insertions. Down-to-earth concepts lend themselves to vernacular expression:

54 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 278-279.

55 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 266-267, 244-245.

56 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 236-237, 264-265, 244-247.

57 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 266-267.

58 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 240-241.

59 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 244-245.

- (21) *Omnem welth ponunt in a wombe ioy, so þe bali repleatur non cupiunt aliam felicitatem.*

»They put all their *wealth into the stomach's pleasure, as long as the belly* is full they do not desire any other happiness.«⁶⁰

Wealth and *wombe* in (21) provide coherence by added alliteration, and the preacher's message is probably more condemnatory because the names of the body parts (*wombe, bali*) are expressed in the vernacular.

The final example, (22), consists of two sentences where grammatical coherence is built partially through structural parallelism: a list of noun phrases that reference allegorical animals representing vices. In both sentences, these noun phrases are introduced by parallel forms (*Hic ambulat X; Hic intus serpit Y*):

- (22) *Hic ambulat rapaces leones superbie, vorax vrsus gule, þe gredi lupus auaricie, þe wile fox decepcionis et falsitatis. Hic intus serpit þe eddur inuidie, ardens serpens luxurie, et alia venenosa animalia omnium viciorum.*

»Here prowl the rapacious lions of pride, the voracious bear of gluttony, *the greedy* wolf of avarice, *the wily fox* of deception and falsehood. Here crawl *the adder* of envy, the burning serpent of lust, and the other poisonous animals of all the vices.«⁶¹

The noun phrases — *rapaces leones superbie; vorax vrsus gule; þe gredi lupus auaricie; þe wile fox decepcionis et falsitatis; þe eddur inuidie, ardens serpens luxurie; alia venenosa animalia omnium viciorum* — attract attention because of their right-dislocated position. Because the sermon author has placed these phrases in the sentence-final position, his intention must have been to underscore these allegorical animals (lion, bear, wolf, fox, adder/serpent, other poisonous animals) that stand for pride, gluttony, avarice, deception and falsehood, envy, lust, and »all the vices.« However, the sermon author resorts also to other rhetorical devices to flag these noun phrases as important for his message. I argue that it is not a coincidence that the author uses also the vernacular to draw attention to the negative traits, repulsive habits, and even deadly sins that the animals stand for. Three of the seven noun phrases are introduced by a switch to English: *þe gredi lupus auaricie; þe wile fox decepcionis et falsitatis; and þe eddur inuidie*. The repeated English determiner *þe* adds to coherence while, simultaneously, introducing a different language — a potential problem for cohesion. In summary, the parallel list of allegorical animals draws attention not only through structural parallelism but also through the use of some initial vernacular for three of them. The wolf, the fox, and the adder are not only the incarnations of avarice, deception and falsehood, and envy; they are also flagged by the switch to English.

60 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 242-243.

61 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 238-239.

In sum

Within the macaronic texture of Oxford, MS Bodley 649, English elements seem to serve as an effective rhetorical device that the sermons' author uses to persuade. By switching from Latin to English, he breaks away from the monotony of one language, and this perhaps helps his bilingual audience to follow, pay attention, and stay awake. I have argued that switching often coincides with other rhetorical strategies that build coherence within the text: lexical repetition, alliteration, and structural parallelism. In addition, the content of the sermons is down-to-earth and tangible, often associated with sin, filth, and foulness. For the audience, the switches to English may also be reminders about salvation as a matter of their daily lives, conducted in English – not just an academic topic discussed in Latin with sterile words and abstractions.

At first, one might think that by switching languages within one speech situation the preacher is likely to break the cohesion (and consequently the coherence) of his message. However, with his skillful use of English and his abundant employment of cohesive devices, he ends up building back cohesion – while also keeping his audience awake. Thus, the preacher's use of code-switching and his bundling of the cohesive devices contribute to the highly persuasive nature of these macaronic sermons. Even though code-switching itself is not necessarily persuasive, both the structure and the content of the switches in Bodley 649 add to the effects of this already hortative genre.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to Timothy Regetz for his help with the data analysis of Oxford, Bodley 649 and to Robert Adams for the discussions during the preparation of this article. I also want to thank David Denison and the audience of the University of Manchester Linguistics and English Language seminar, where I presented an early version of this paper on October 25, 2016, as well as the participants of the Vienna conference »Understanding Multilingual Sermons of the Middle Ages: Forms, Methodologies, and Challenges«, at the Institute for Medieval Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences, 15th-17th May 2018, for the helpful discussion.

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The World Map of the *Corpus Pelagianum* (BNE, 1513, fol. 1v) and its Strategies of Identification

Patrick S. Marschner*

One of the manuscripts of the famous *Corpus Pelagianum* contains a square world map that is simultaneously a genealogical chart of peoples that are descended from the sons of Noah. In combining a geographical imagination of the world with genealogies, this illustration becomes an impressive intellectual achievement of the high medieval Iberian Peninsula and differs considerably from other forms of medieval world maps. In this article the characteristics of this cartographical and genealogical figure will be investigated in general, but also with regard to the map's context in the manuscript Madrid, BNE, 1513. Hence, the map will be contextualised in relation to the text corpus that follows it and, therefore, its interaction with the textual heritage of Christian-Iberian historical writing, from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, will be illuminated. In particular, the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville were an important source, both for the textual content of this codex and for the information displayed on the map. Accordingly, this article is, after some introductory passages on the composition of the codex BNE 1513, divided into two parts. The first describes the characteristics of the geographical chart and compares them with other contemporary world maps. The second part addresses peoples of the world that appear in this illustration and discusses how their identification correlates with the historiographical texts in BNE 1513. So far, these parallels have not been taken into account in research on this codex.

Keywords: mappae mundi; genealogy; Christian-Muslim relations; Isidore of Seville; Pelayo of Oviedo; *Corpus Pelagianum*; BNE 1513; Chronicle of Alfonso III; Chronicle of Sampiro; Chronicon regum Legionensium; *ethnonyms*

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Introduction

The manuscript 1513 of the Spanish National Library, also named »*Códice de Batres*«,¹ was written around 1200 in Oviedo² and belongs to the famous *Corpus Pelagianum*. This manuscript is based on a compilation by Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo (died in 1153), whose main intention is to emphasise the role of his diocese.³

Beginning with a geographical scheme, a specific form of a *mappa mundi*, described in more detail below, the codex BNE 1513 differs in a significant respect from other manuscripts of the *Corpus Pelagianum*.⁴ No other Pelagian witness, especially not the two perhaps most comparable codices, BNE 1358 and 2805, offers this kind of illustration.⁵ Additionally, this map is not a map in pure form, as it also exhibits the qualities of a genealogical table, referring to the three sons of Noah and their descendants. Its schematic layout differs considerably from other forms of medieval *mappae mundi*.

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- 1 Pérez de Urbel, *Sampiro*, 165; Galván Freile, MS. 1513, 479; Fernández Conde, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 13. A completely digitised version of this codex is provided by the Spanish National Library, accessed on 21 April 2021: bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000005990&page=1.
 - 2 Fernández Conde, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 13 and 14 n. 5; Galván Freile, *Iconografía, ornamentación y valor*, 234 n. 61 and Galván Freile, MS. 1513, 494-495 date it to the early years of the thirteenth century, but also take into account arguments for an emergence in the late twelfth century, which is also discussed by Sánchez Alonso, *Crónica del obispo*, 17-18 and Barton and Fletcher, *World of el Cid*, 71.
 - 3 The *Corpus Pelagianum* contains in particular texts that substantiate the desired leadership role of the diocese of Oviedo. See Pérez de Urbel, *Sampiro*, 136-165; Fernández Conde, *El Libro de los Testamentos*, 50-61; Fletcher, *Episcopate*, 72-74. See generally on Bishop Pelayo and the *Corpus Pelagianum*, Alonso Álvarez, *Corpus Pelagianum*; Alonso Álvarez, *Obra histórica*; Alonso Álvarez, *Obispo Pelayo*; Jerez, *Arte compilatoria pelagiana*; Alonso Álvarez, *Rey Alfonso VI*, 16-19; de Toro Vial, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 15.
 - 4 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 1v. There has been only a little investigation of this object so far. The studies in which one would expect to find it discussed, do not in fact address it. Destombes, *Mappemondes* does not refer to this map. In his study of miniatures and further illustrations of the codex 1513, Galván Freile, MS. 1513, 483-494 does not examine the map either. Also the extensive and versatile article of Woodward, *Medieval Mappaemundi*, does not relate to this map. Equally, Pinet, *Task of the Cleric* does not mention it. Most recently, the scheme has been investigated by de Toro Vial, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 6-7 and 20, where he transcribed and translated it into Spanish, and Fernández Conde, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 52-53.
 - 5 Madrid, BNE, 1358 and Madrid, BNE, 2805. For more information on these manuscripts see *Inventario general 4*, 401-404 for the first and *Inventario general 8*, 365-367 for the second. In this article I define as an illustration every graphical depiction that is not or not entirely textual, which contains maps, diagrams, miniatures etc.

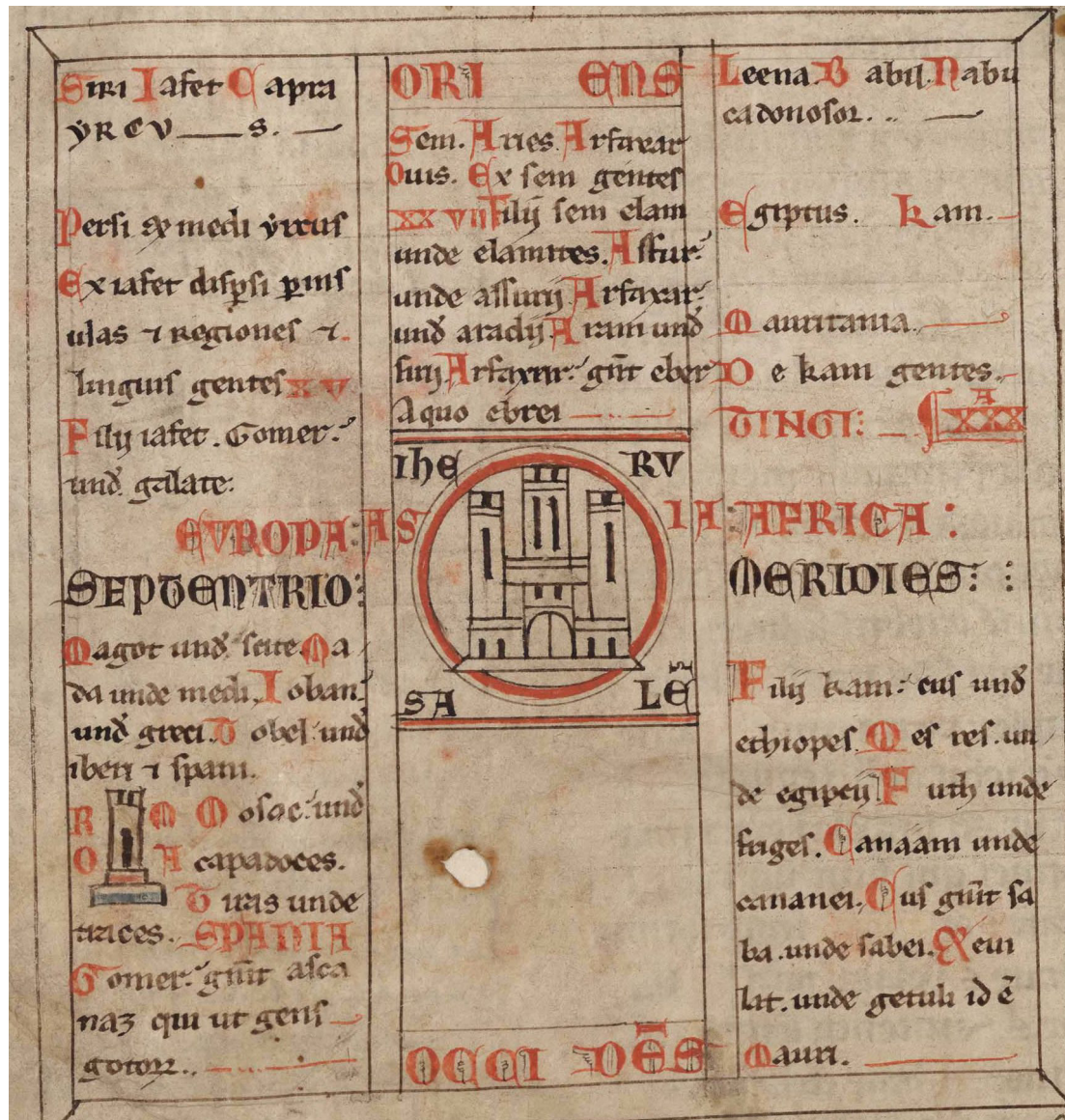


Figure 1: Geo-genealogical scheme. Madrid, BNE, MS. 1513, fol. 1v.

The map combines different ways of presenting knowledge, and the sources for this material will be discussed here. In particular, the genealogical content of this chart is closely related to the historiographical texts that follow in the codex BNE 1513. To what extent do the texts and the map interact directly, and to what extent can the similarities be explained by the fact that both use material from Isidore's *Etymologies*? To start with, an overview of this codex and its structure will be given.

The Composition of the Codex Madrid, BNE 1513

BNE 1513 contains further illustrated geographical, or rather meteorological, elements, a diagram on consanguinity with respect to the degrees of kinship, historiographical texts, transcripts of royal decrees, various council documents, and two small historical texts, each addressing theories of time.⁶ In particular, the combination of historiographical texts following the geographical illustrations and descriptions represents a specific interaction of the depiction of history and space in this codex.⁷

The illustration on folio 1v is followed directly opposite the opening by another one, a diagram depicting consanguinities to six degrees, on fol. 2r.⁸ This symmetric diagram basically follows the form produced in Isidore's *Etymologies*.⁹ As Galván Freile mentioned, diagrams like this were not unusual in contemporary Hispania.¹⁰ Yet, it is difficult to explain its relationship to the preceding illustration. One could speculate that on fol. 1v relationships of peoples are depicted in a universal sense, whereas fol. 2r displays relationships on a lower level, namely between individuals. After a short text passage explaining the diagram of consanguinity, the next two illustrations within the codex, on fols 3r and 3v, both comprise schemes of the different winds from the cardinal directions,¹¹ which are also drawn from Isidorean knowledge;¹² one gets the impression, therefore, that the main correlation uniting these illustrations in the first folios of the codex is their connection to Isidore's *Etymologies*. By collecting Isidorean knowledge, Pelayo of Oviedo may have sought to style himself as a scholar.¹³

6 *Inventario general 4*, 401-404. See also the website of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, accessed on 21 April 2021: bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh000005990#. Galván Freile, MS. 1513, 482-483.

7 On the impossibility of investigating such an illustration in isolation from the surrounding text(s), see Müller, *Visuelle Weltaneignung*, 25-26.

8 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 2r.

9 Galván Freile, MS. 1513, 483; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, 9.5-6, ed. Lindsay.

10 Galván Freile, MS. 1513, 483 n. 20.

11 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 3r., also depicted in Galván Freile, MS. 1513, after 496 [no pagination]; Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 3v.

12 Galván Freile, MS. 1513, 484; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, 13.11.2-3, ed. Lindsay. The illustration on fol. 3r. contains a possible error: the cardinal directions north and south in the inner circle are mixed up – the wind called »Septentrio« would blow from the south while the »Auster« would blow from the north, which, in truth, is the other way around in the medieval imagination. This has previously been mentioned by Galván Freile, MS. 1513, 484 n. 21. But there is the possibility that this depiction functions in a similar way as a planisphere from today's astronomy education. Such a planisphere also shows north and south interchanged as long as laid out in front of the observer. But if one holds it above the head, the depiction turned down, the cardinal directions are correct again. Since the illustration of winds from BNE 1513, fol. 3r from a certain point of view shows phenomena from the sky, there is a possibility that it might have been used or at least understood like that.

13 In both of the schemes in Madrid, BNE, 1513 fol. 3r and fol. 3v the following is written in the middle: »Pelagius episcopus me fecit.« On fol. 3v the »fecit« is written out. Trans.: »I, Bishop Pelayo, made this«; All quotations from manuscript sources are transcribed diplomatically, but with spacing regularised and abbreviations expanded in italics. On the characteristics of Bishop Pelayo as a compiler or collector of knowledge, see the studies mentioned above in n. 3.

The presentation of history in BNE 1513 starts with texts on the creation and the *aetates mundi*.¹⁴ Unsurprisingly, some content from the initial scheme, such as on the descendants of Noah's son Shem, reappears in these passages of biblical stories.¹⁵ They offer a genealogy from Shem up to Ishmael and the Ishmaelites and also to the Israelites in a textual manner, i.e. without any graphical support. It makes obvious reference to the Table of Nations.¹⁶ After giving a brief history of the people of Israel, touching, for instance, on the stories of Moses or David, the historical focus then turns to the Roman Empire under Octavian, mentioning the birth of Jesus,¹⁷ and continues with the depiction of the Roman emperors up until Tiberius III (698–705).¹⁸ Having reached the contemporaries of the last Visigothic kings, the compilation does not, however, go further with the historiographical texts of the Iberian Peninsula. Instead, the historical narration gets interrupted by the biblical stories of Job, Joseph, Moses, and the rulers of the people of Israel until Solomon.¹⁹ These passages are followed by Jerome's exegesis of the book of Ezekiel and further biblical genealogies.²⁰ After a short depiction of Jesus, Peter and Paul, as well as some accounts of persecutions against the Christians, the historical narration then leads to Gaiseric.²¹ Following that, the manuscript offers a computation of the years of the world.²²

After these undoubtedly universal-historical elements, the codex contains continuous Hispanic chronicles, beginning with Isidore's *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum*,²³ followed by »Redaction C« of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*,²⁴ the *Chronicle of Sampiro*²⁵ and Pelayo's *Chronicon regum Legionensium*.²⁶ After these Christian-Iberian texts, the codex contains a version of the *Liber historiae Francorum*.²⁷ Hence, the geographical depictions, the imagination of space and phenomena within space – such as the winds – are directly followed by history. In that manner, history and space are entangled in codex 1513. Additionally, since the first and most prominent geographical depiction also contains genealogical elements that correlate with the content of the above-mentioned text about the

14 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fols. 4r–24r. Fernández Conde, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 54–56,

15 For instance, Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 5r, right column: »Sem anno II^o post diluuium cum esset C duo annorum genuit arfaxar a quo gens chaldeorum exhorta est«. Trans.: »In the second year after the Flood Sem, with one hundred and two years, begot Arpachshad from whom sprung up the people of the Chaldeans.«

16 Genesis 10. All references to and quotations from the Bible are taken from the Vulgate. All English Bible translations are taken from the Douay-Rheims Bible.

17 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 11r.

18 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 18r.

19 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 21r.

20 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 21v–22r.

21 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 22r–23r.

22 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 23r–24r.

23 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fols. 24r–38r. Isidore of Seville, *Historia Gothorum*, ed. Mommsen, 295–303. The order of the parts of the text in the manuscript varies from the order in the edition.

24 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fols. 38v–52v. *Redactio C*, ed. Prelog, 70–129.

25 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fols. 52v–64r. Obviously, this is the »Pelagian version« of this chronicle. Sampiro of Astorga, *Chronica*, ed. Pérez de Urbel, 275–346, left column.

26 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fols. 64r–72v; *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Fernández Conde, 28–37.

27 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fols. 72v–101v. Apparently, it is version B according to the studies of Krusch, *Fredegarü et aliorum chronica*, 215–238.

aetates mundi and at least three of the chronicles, this map interacts with the historical writing in the codex. Due to the constructions of identity that can be found in both the map and the historiographical texts, the field of historical identification will be the most important element of this comparison.

The chronicles of Isidore, Alfonso III, Sampiro and Pelayo are also related to each other through their contents. Beginning with the reign of Wamba, the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* relates to the content of the *Historia Wambae regis* of Julian of Toledo,²⁸ but is also tied to Isidore's *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum*, since it is in some points a continuation of the latter.²⁹ While the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* connects to the last Visigothic chronicles, the eleventh-century *Chronicle of Sampiro* begins with precisely that part of Iberian history that the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* ended with: the reign of Alfonso III.³⁰ In the same way, the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* is a continuation of the *Chronicle of Sampiro*.³¹ Accordingly, the Hispanic historiographical texts in BNE 1513 seem to mirror continuity from the last Visigothic kings until the days of Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo.³² This »grand narrative«³³ contains an intense examination of the cultural and religious »Other« in the Iberian Peninsula, the Arab foreign rulers, from the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* until the *Chronicon regum Legionensium*. As will be shown below, the initial scheme on fol. 1v correlates with the depiction of the »Other« in these historiographical texts. Therefore, the scheme should also be understood through the historiographical approach.

Bearing all this in mind, the composition of BNE 1513 taken as a whole can be interpreted as depiction of the compilers ideas of both space and history. Both components that shape this codex are of a universal character: the geographical and meteorological elements refer to all parts of the (known) world, while the history that is written in BNE 1513 begins with creation, historically thematises several regions of the world, describes the *aetates mundi*, and turns the focus of this universal history to the post-conquest Christian realms in the north of Hispania. This codex grasps the world in its entirety, concerning both history and space. In doing so, it converges with the almost all-embracing knowledge of Isidore's *Etymologies*, which form a significant and striking component of this manuscript. Ultimately, Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, the compiler of this collection of knowledge, is placed in direct succession to Isidore, as the most important bishops – as they appear in the aforementioned chronicles as authors or protagonists – are all depicted in the form of miniatures in this codex: Isidore,³⁴ Julian of Toledo,³⁵ the perhaps fictive

28 *Historia Wambae regis*, ed. Levison, 213-255; *Redactio C*, ed. Prelog, 70-71, for instance, contains several passages and information taken from the *Historia Wambae regis*. They are identified and further interpreted in Prelog, *Chronik Alfons' III.*, 133-137 n.13-25.

29 Bronisch, *Reconquista und Heiliger Krieg*, 126.

30 Casariego [Fernández-Noriega], *Crónicas de los Reinos*, 79; Bronisch, *Reconquista und Heiliger Krieg*, 159.

31 Sánchez Alonso, *Crónica del obispo*, 43-44; Casariego [Fernández-Noriega], *Crónicas de los Reinos*, 161.

32 For example, on this topic, see Jerez, *Arte compilatoria pelagiana*, 66-87; Fletcher, *Episcopate*, 72-73.

33 Concerning the justified criticism of this term as it was used in nationalistic Spanish depictions of medieval Iberian history from the middle of the twentieth century, see Payne, *Visigoths and Asturians reinterpreted*, 48, 51-54.

34 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 28v.

35 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 38v.

Sebastian,³⁶ Sampiro of Astorga,³⁷ and finally, Pelayo of Oviedo.³⁸ All of them also appear in succession in a small text passage towards the start of the codex.³⁹ Perhaps Pelayo of Oviedo wanted to be understood as a new Isidore, reassembling the latter's wide-ranging knowledge. In the following, more traces of Isidore in Pelayo's work will be explored.

The »Geo-genealogical Scheme«, its Peculiarities, and its Sources of Knowledge

The display on BNE 1513, fol. 1v is named »Divisio hominum in terrae regionibus« (division of the humans in the regions of the world) in the *Inventario general* of the Spanish National Library,⁴⁰ even though this title does not appear in the manuscript. There is no individual denomination for this illustration. One of the latest investigators of this object, José Miguel de Toro Vial, calls it a »Tabla con el reparto del mundo entre los patriarcas« (table with the division of the world among the patriarchs).⁴¹ At the same time, de Toro Vial is aware of the cartographic character of this scheme.⁴² Francisco Javier Fernández Conde calls it a »Cosmovisión« (worldview) in his latest monograph.⁴³ Indeed, the illustration on BNE 1513, fol. 1v is a map, but it is more than that: it is also a table, a diagram, and a genealogy. Hence, in combining these forms it has been described as a »geo-genealogical scheme«.⁴⁴ The genealogies basically follow Isidore's *Etymologies*, which are, again, based on the book of Genesis.⁴⁵

In the following I am going to approach this scheme in four ways, which, however, cannot be strictly divided but rather merge into each other. In doing so, the somehow unique character of this scheme and, therefore, its differentiation from other more usual forms of medieval world maps will become clear. This discussion will reveal both its author's ability to combine different forms of knowledge into a complex world view, and the attempt to render this complexity in simple forms and compressed information. It will also cast light on the author's strategies of structuring knowledge.

36 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 43r. On the presumable fictive nature of this bishop see Gil, *Chronica Hispana*, 112-116.

37 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 48v.

38 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 64v.

39 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 4r; Gil, *Chronica Hispana*, 112.

40 *Inventario general* 4, 401.

41 de Toro Vial, Pelayo de Oviedo, 5-6.

42 de Toro Vial, Pelayo de Oviedo, 6.

43 Fernández Conde, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 91. Also on p. 52 n. 12 Fernández Conde calls it a »Descripción del mundo« (description of the world) and assumes Bishop Pelayo himself being the originator of this map based on the questionable argumentation that the depictions of the winds, following this map, contain the aforementioned sentence that Pelayo created them. See above n. 13.

44 I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Uta Heil (*pers. comm.*, 19 June 2020) for this phrasing, which she suggested during a webinar in which I presented an earlier version of this research.

45 de Toro Vial, Pelayo de Oviedo, 6; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, 9.2.2-5, 10-14, 27, 29, 89, ed. Lindsay; Genesis 10.

The Scheme as a Map

The characteristics that mark this scheme as a map⁴⁶ in a contemporary and geographical sense are several: defining the cardinal directions is one. Depicting the world with the eastern direction on top is completely usual in medieval maps, partly due to the sun rising in the east and partly through locating Paradise in this direction (which very likely coincides).⁴⁷ Second, the trichotomy of this scheme is a typical element of medieval world maps, which show the three inhabited parts of the (empirically known) world, the *ecumene*, divided into Europe, Asia and Africa and allocated to the sons of Noah.⁴⁸ Usually, Asia is depicted as the biggest part of the world – a point on which this map definitely differs greatly from broader medieval traditions. In the common T-O maps, Asia occupies about fifty percent of the *orbis terrae*, while Europe and Africa share the remaining space.⁴⁹ The reason for Asia having only a very small area in comparison to Europe or Africa in the map of the *Corpus Pelagianum* can only be speculated upon: was the size of Asia less important for the author of the map and, therefore, the dimensions shrunk in favour of Jerusalem, which has a dominant position and occupies about one ninth of the map? Was the geographical information of the size of continents less important than the genealogies that relate to each part of the *ecumene* for the author of this map, and if so, why in particular should the genealogy of Shem's descendants be the smallest (but most closely packed)? Do these questions perhaps correlate? Does the empty area to the west of Jerusalem represent the Mediterranean Sea⁵⁰ or has the genealogy of the Semites simply not been finished and should it have instead been continued down into this field? In what other way could this blank space, which is usually avoided in medieval maps,⁵¹ be justified?

The form of such a map may result from both a rethinking of the order of the world and a construction of specific knowledge, e.g. political, religious or social.⁵² Hence, cartography can be a language in a semiotic sense, cultural symbolism, and a social product supporting control over spaces and facilitating the expansion of social systems.⁵³ Therefore, a map is a result of influences coming from contemporary imaginations, purposes of depiction, and the combination of knowledge.⁵⁴ Consequently, Christian high-medieval world maps have to be

46 Generally, there is no clear definition of what a map is, neither in a contemporary sense nor given by today's cartographical or geographical science. What defines a map is foremost what it expresses. What is common to all maps is that they reduce information for the sake of easier understanding of spatial circumstances. Witt, *Lexikon der Kartographie*, 301.

47 Simek, *Erde und Kosmos*, 59. Edson *et al.*, *Mittelalterliche Kosmos*, 55; Edson and Savage-Smith, *Medieval Views*, 58; Podossinov, *Orientierung der alten Karten*, 36; von den Brincken, *Mundus figura rotunda*, 100; Fernández Conde, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 52.

48 Woodward, *Medieval Mappaemundi*, 296; Edson and Savage-Smith, *Medieval Views*, 50; Harvey, *Mappa mundi*, 21; Gautier-Dalché, *Héritage Antique*, 56; Weeda, *Ethnic identification and stereotypes*, 588. Concerning the reasons of the trichotomy in Genesis 10 see Hieke, *Völkertafel*, 27-28, 30, and especially 32; Pinet, *Task of the Cleric*, 27; Fernández Conde, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 52.

49 A brief overview is given in Mauntel *et al.*, *Mapping continents*, 310-312.

50 Mauntel *et al.*, *Mapping continents*, 329; Fernández Conde, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 53.

51 von den Brincken, *Ausbildung konventioneller Zeichen*, 341-342; Mauntel *et al.*, *Mapping continents*, 341.

52 Baumgärtner, *Welt im kartographischen Blick*, 527-528.

53 Harley, *Maps, knowledge, and power*, 278-279, 304-305; I came across these definitions through Baumgärtner, *Welt im kartographischen Blick*, 528, referring to Harley, who himself built his definitions in part based on those of Aby Warburg and Michel Foucault.

54 Baumgärtner, *Welt im kartographischen Blick*, 528.

seen as a particular image of the world rather than as a realistic display.⁵⁵ In the case of BNE 1513, fol. 1v, it is – as we will discover below – a depiction of the world’s peoples affecting Iberian history, created by a Christian intellectual, who was aware of the transcultural situation in the Peninsula and the foreign rulers dominating major parts of the region.

The divergent proportions between the parts of the world and the square shape of this map are the characteristics that make it somehow unique. Contemporary maps mostly have only round, oval or at least rounded forms.⁵⁶ That being said, there are several comparable geographical depictions in contemporary manuscripts, especially as graphical additions to Isidore’s *Etymologies*, that are also square instead of round. For instance, a twelfth-century manuscript of Isidore’s *Etymologies* from Göttweig, now held in the Austrian National Library in Vienna, offers a square scheme, divided into three triangles, each dedicated to one son of Noah.⁵⁷ This »V-in-square map«⁵⁸ is accompanied by at least three of the cardinal directions with east on top and, is therefore, from a certain perspective, similar to BNE 1513, fol. 1v.



Figure 2: T-O map and V-in-□ map in a copy of Isidore’s *Etymologies*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 67, fol. 117v.

The proportions of the spaces assigned to each of Noah’s sons in this map on Vienna, Cod. 67, fol. 117v are almost even. Furthermore, it is positioned adjacent to a simple T-O map. Very similar V-in-square maps – with assignments of each of the equal parts to one of Noah’s sons, cardinal directions, orientation towards the east⁵⁹ or even accompanied by T-O maps – can be found in many regions of medieval Europe – including the Iberian Peninsula – from at

55 von den Brincken, *Mappa mundi*, 122.

56 von den Brincken, *Mundus figura rotunda*, 99-103.

57 Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 67, fol. 117v.

58 Van Duzer, *Neglected type*, 278. To emphasise the shape of these maps, Van Duzer also offers the spelling »V-in-□ map«.

59 This is somewhat tautological, since the term »orientation« originates from »oriens«, east. A different definition is given by von den Brincken, *Mappa mundi*, 175, ascribing the term to the Italian language as a reference to the setting of sails against the wind. For the characteristics of V-in-square maps in general, see Van Duzer, *Neglected type*, 278.

least the ninth to the fifteenth centuries. In most cases, they appear as additions to copies of Isidore's *Etymologies*.⁶⁰ A decidedly Iberian example of such a V-in-square map appears in an eleventh-century copy of Beatus of Liébana's *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, also embedded in an Old Testament genealogy.⁶¹

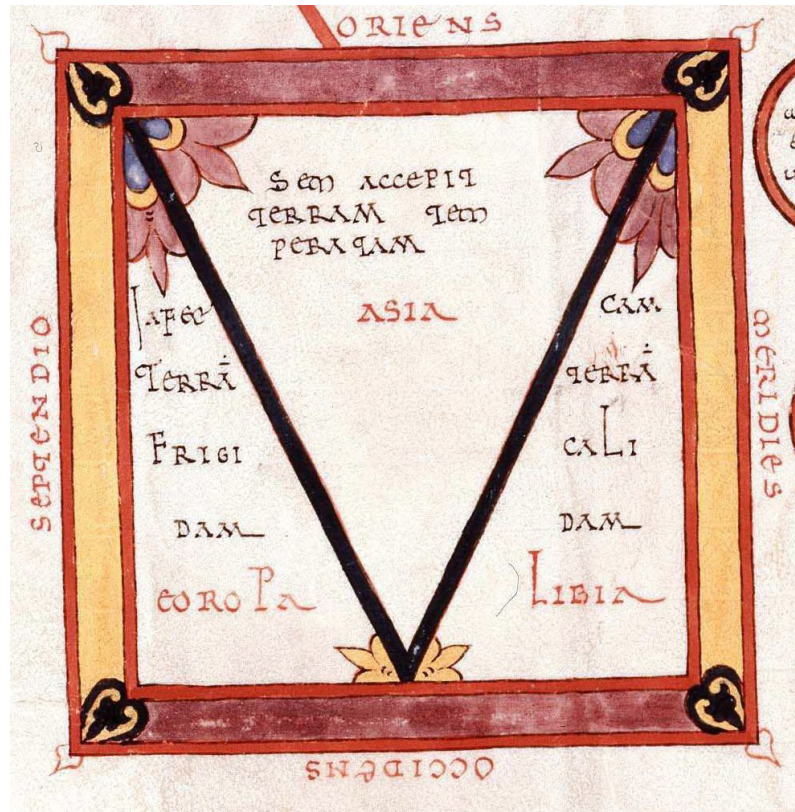


Figure 3: V-in-□ map in a copy of Beatus of Liébana's *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. Madrid, BNE, Vitr. 14-2, fol. 12v.

BNE, Vitr. 14-2, where we find the above illustration, contains another world map of some size, positioned across the opening of two folios (fols 62v-63r); it follows the T-O scheme but is somewhat rectangular rather than round. Jerusalem is not positioned in the centre but is instead very exposed near the midpoint, the map is orientated towards the east and contains several topographical terms such as Rome, Tarragona, Pannonia or »Mauritania Tingitania«.⁶²

60 Woodward, *Medieval Mappaemundi*, 301; Van Duzer, *Neglected type*, 278-280, for illustrations, see especially 293-296.

61 Madrid, BNE, Vitr. 14-2, fol. 12v.

62 Madrid, BNE, Vitr. 14-2, fols 62v-63r. This map and its potential tenth-century predecessor are thematised briefly in Baumgärtner, *Welt im kartographischen Blick*, 531-534.

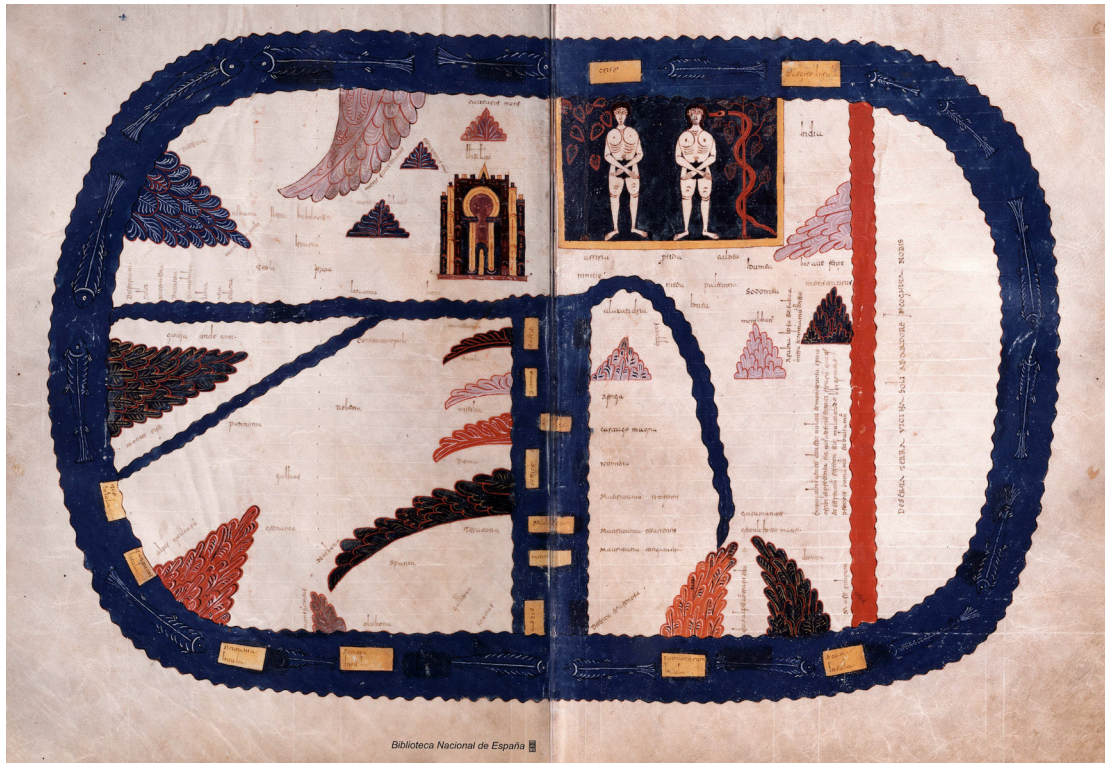


Figure 4 (a-b): World map in a copy of Beatus of Liébana's Commentary on the Apocalypse. Madrid, BNE, Vitr. 14-2, fols 62v-63r.

One could speculate that the author of the Pelagian scheme was aware of both types of *mappae mundi* and, thus, mixed them. In all probability, there was a Beatus codex in Oviedo, containing comparable illustrations of the corresponding maps.⁶³

Apart from the unusual dimensions of Asia and the unclear role of the empty area to the west of Jerusalem, the map of the *Corpus Pelagianum* seems to follow the schematic approach of the V-in-square maps rather than that of T-O maps, albeit elements like the central position of Jerusalem or the depiction of Rome are striking differences. The connection to Isidorean knowledge especially supports this assessment. At the least, one could interpret the two lines of the typical V as simply being paralleled for the sake of a more practical layout for writing in the resulting columns.

63 Miller, *Weltkarte des Beatus*, 21.

Returning from the mere geometric form of BNE 1513, fol. 1v to its content, the positioning of Jerusalem in the centre of the known world is a usual element of medieval *mappae mundi*, especially of the T-O type. As the place where Jesus' grave is located and where the Easter event, the beginning of salvation, took place, Jerusalem was interpreted as the navel, the centre of the world in both the spatial and the historical sense.⁶⁴ Furthermore, it could also have drawn on a passage from the book of Ezekiel that reasoned the geographical position of Jerusalem in the centre of the world.⁶⁵

Finally, the four cardinal directions and several topographic terms in the scheme are an unequivocal sign of a map. First, there are the names of the three known parts of the world located in each third and written in red capitals: »Europa«, »Asia« and »Africa«. In the centre of the map, Jerusalem is the only toponym belonging to Asia. »Mauritania« and »Tingi« are the only two terms describing a region and a city⁶⁶ in Africa. Lastly, in the area of Europe, Rome and Hispania are the only toponyms given.⁶⁷ Thus, on every continent at least one name of a city appears: Rome, Jerusalem, and Tingi. The character in which »Mauritania« is written in the upper third of the column representing Africa seems to be an exception, since »Roma«, »Spania«, »Europa«, »Asia«, »Africa«, and »Tingi« are written in red capitals and »Iherusalem« also at least in capitals. All other remaining text in this scheme, except the cardinal directions, is of the genealogical kind. Additionally, Rome and Jerusalem are the only cities which are both named and depicted with buildings in the map. This emphasising of these two cities is not surprising, since Jerusalem was, as mentioned above, understood as the navel of the world and Rome represented both the *caput mundi* as well as the sixth and final age of the world. From a Christian author's point of view, then, these are the two most important cities of the world's history. In a historiographical sense, Jerusalem could be understood as the turning point, the place where David and Solomon installed a divine kingship and built the first temple and also the place where Christ died and was resurrected and, in doing so, opened the way to the salvation of humankind, whereas Rome represents the final age. Interpreted like this, both are symbols related to salvation and, thus, more than mere places on earth.⁶⁸ Furthermore, most of the text referring to peoples and their origin in the map leads to the conclusion that the primary aim was the depiction of humankind, rather than offering a display of the physical world.

64 von den Brincken, *Mappa mundi*, 173; Simek, *Erde und Kosmos*, 95-96, 104; Wolf, *Jerusalem und Rom*, 208-220; Fernández Conde, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 52.

65 Ezekiel 5, 5: »haec dicit Dominus Deus ista est Hierusalem in medio gentium posui eam et in circuitu eius terras«. Trans.: »Thus saith the Lord God: This is Jerusalem, I have set her in the midst of the nations, and the countries round about her«; Baumgärtner, *Wahrnehmung Jerusalems*, 272, 275, who also refers to Jerome's influence on this image of Jerusalem.

66 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, 14.4.12 and 15.1.74, ed. Lindsay.

67 de Toro Vial, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 6; Fernández Conde, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 52-53.

68 Goetz, *Gott und die Welt*, 160, 162-163, 216; Wolf, *Jerusalem und Rom*, 174-186, 188-206.

The Scheme as a Table

From another perspective, this geo-genealogical scheme could be interpreted as a table.⁶⁹ Even though it lacks an arrangement into rows, the division into columns is obvious. Yet, it seems that the columns do not contain a clear and exclusive subject. If the columns were solely dedicated to Noah's sons in the order Japheth, Shem and Cham from left to right, then the cardinal directions, the depictions of cities and the denomination of the parts of the world would be alien elements – at least from today's perspective and with our definition of »table« in mind. On the other hand, the contemporaries' clear allocation of the continents to Noah's sons did not even admit the option for the author to categorise the terminology in the scheme into »geographical« and »genealogical«. Hence, to him there was no alien element but only an order of peoples in specific parts of the world. Thus, for the author, these columns could very well have had a clear and specific subject.

Furthermore, the genealogical content in each column is strictly delimited from the rest, and possible cross connections – which do exist in the Old Testament genealogies, as we will discover below – are absent. Accordingly, the three parts of the world function as columns of a table, especially as regards its genealogical content.

The Scheme as Genealogy

Genealogy is a way of depicting history, since its content enters the past alongside the ancestry of persons or peoples clarifying their origins.⁷⁰ If such genealogies go back to the origin of all peoples, namely the biblical progenitors, as is the case in BNE 1513, fol. 1v, then this form of history becomes a universal one.⁷¹ Therefore, this map is not just a depiction of the entire inhabited world but also of the origin and history of its inhabitants. Admittedly, the genealogical story does not go back as far as the Creation, but instead to the end of the Flood, which is something of a second beginning of mankind's history. The story of Noah and his sons is a myth explaining the roots of all humans from that point in time, when mankind was virtually recreated.⁷² Therefore, the scheme's basis can not only be found in Isidore's *Etymologies* but also in Genesis 10, better known as the Table of Nations. This archetype of »Völkergenealogie« already intended to create a spatial order of the world,⁷³ and this function was passed on by Isidore⁷⁴ and, moreover, by those medieval scholars, who built further upon his work.

69 de Toro Vial, Pelayo de Oviedo, 5-6.

70 Hieke, Genealogy, 391.

71 von den Brincken, *Mappa mundi*, 124: »Sind [...] mittelalterliche Weltkarten weitgehend gewissermaßen graphische Darstellungen der Weltchroniken, des Weltverlaufs im Raume, aufgezeichnet auf einer begrenzten Fläche, so sei es gestattet, sie [...] einmal nicht vom Standpunkt der Geographie, sondern von dem der Universalhistoriographie zu betrachten. Geschichtsschreibung stellt Menschen in Raum und Zeit dar, Universalgeschichtsschreibung sucht die Menschheit in der Gesamtheit des Raumes und der Summe der Zeit zu erfassen.« Trans.: »If medieval world maps are largely quasi graphic depictions of world chronicles, of the course of the world inside space, recorded in a limited range, it is permitted to contemplate them for once not from the perspective of geography but that of universal historical writing. Historical writing depicts humans in space and time, while universal history tries to conceive of mankind in the entirety of space and in the summa of time.«

72 Hieke, *Völkertafel*, 24-25.

73 Hieke, *Völkertafel*, 24 and 30-31, concerning the uniqueness of the Table of Nations among religious texts of the antique Middle East and in comparison to ancient Greek genealogies.

74 Merrills, *Geography and memory*, 51.

In one of her older studies, Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken did not take into account that genealogies can be a part of universal history⁷⁵ although she identified the genre of encyclopaedic historical writing as such, among which she numbered Isidore's *Etymologies*.⁷⁶ Additionally, she reminds the reader of the continuing connection made between encyclopaedic universal chronicles and maps in medieval manuscripts. In particular, the allocation of the world's parts to Noah's sons has often been a cause of geographical excurses, presumably reasoned for the emergence of diversity out of unity.⁷⁷ The scheme of BNE 1513 seems to be just such a case. An opening element of this manuscript comprises an Isidorean-encyclopaedic prologue to Iberian history, with the genealogies as they appear in the scheme being, essentially, taken from the ninth book of his *Etymologies*.⁷⁸ In the area – or column – of Europe, the descendants of Japheth are listed up until the people of the Goths, following Isidore's text with only minor variations:

Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 1v	Isidore, <i>Etymologiarum</i> 9.2.26-32, ed. Lindsay
»Siri, Iafet, Capra yreus Persi et medi, yirus Ex iafet dispersi per ins ulas et regiones et linguis gentes XV Filii iafet. Gomerus unde galate Magot [sic!] unde scite. Ma da unde medi. Iobanus unde greci. Tobel unde iberi et spani Mosacus unde capadoces Tiras unde traces Gomerus genuit asca naz qui ut gens gotorum«	»Fili i igitur Iaphet septem nominantur : Gomer, ex quo Galatae, id est Galli. Magog, a quo arbitrantur Scythas et Gothos traxisse originem. Madai, a quo Medos existere putant. Iavan, a quo Iones, qui et Graeci. Vnde et mare Ionium. Thubal, a quo Iberi, qui et Hispani; Jicet quidam ex eo et Italos suspicentur. Mosoch, ex quo Cappadoces. Vnde et urbs apud eos usque hodie Mazaca dicitur. Thiras, ex quo Thraces; quorum non satis inmutatum vocabulum est, quasi Tiraces. Filii Gomer, nepotes Iaphet. Aschanaz, a quo Sarmatae, quos Graeci Rheimos vocant.«

75 von den Brincken, *Mappa mundi*, 125-126.

76 von den Brincken, *Mappa mundi*, 126.

77 von den Brincken, *Mappa mundi*, 130.

78 de Toro Vial, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 6-7.

<p>Syrians, Japheth, Capra [?], Yrius [?]; Persians and Medes, Yirus; From Japheth spread fifteen languages and peoples to the isles and regions; Sons of Japheth. Gomer, from whom [descent] the Galatians; Magot, from whom [descent] the Scyths; Madai, from whom [descent] the Medes; Javan, from whom [descent] the Greeks; Tubal, from whom [descent] the Iberians and Spaniards; Mosac, from whom [descent] the Cappadocians; Tiresias, from whom [descent] the Thracians. Gomer begat Ashkenaz, from whom [descent] the people of the Goths.⁷⁹</p>	<p>Seven sons of Japheth are named: Gomer, from whom sprang the Galatians, that is, the Gauls (Galli). Magog, from whom people think the Scythians and the Goths took their origin. Madai, from whom people reckon the Medes came to be. Javan, from whom the Ionians, who are also the Greeks – hence the »Ionian« Sea. Tubal, from whom came the Iberians, who are also the Spaniards, although some think the Italians also sprang from him. Meshech, from whom came the Cappadocians; hence to this day a city in their territory is called Mazaca. Tiras, from whom the Thracians; their name is not much altered, as if it were Tiracians. Then the sons of Gomer, the grandsons of Japheth. Ashkenaz, from whom descended the Sarmatians, whom the Greeks call Rheginians.⁸⁰</p>
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79 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 1v. I left out the toponyms and cardinal direction listed in this space of the illustration. Concerning the reading of the manuscript, compare de Toro Vial, Pelayo de Oviedo, 20 and, partially, Fernández Conde, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 53 n. 14.

80 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, 9.2.26-32, ed. Lindsay; trans. Barney *et al.*, *Etymologies*, 193. On the background of the story of Tubal, its underlying form in Isidore's *Etymologies* and its appearance in the thirteenth century, see Díaz [Martínez], Mito godo, 58-59.

Compared to Isidore's very long genealogy of the descendants of Shem,⁸¹ the text in the middle column of the Pelagian scheme is very short. But this passage also basically follows the *Etymologies*:

Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 1v	Isidore, <i>Etymologiarum</i> , 9.2.2-5, ed. Lindsay
»Sem. Aries. Arfaxar Ouis. Ex sem gentes XXVII. Filii sem elam unde elamites. Assurus unde assurii; Arfaxarus unde aradii [sic!]; Aram unde sirii. Arfaxarus genuit eber a quo ebrei«	»Gentes autem a quibus divisa est terra, quindecim sunt de Iaphet, triginta et una de Cham, viginti et septem de Sem, quae fiunt septuaginta tres, vel potius, ut ratio declarat, septuaginta duae; totidemque linguae, quae per terras esse coeperunt, quaeque crescendo provincias et insulas inpleverunt. Filii Sem quinque singulariter gentes singulas procreaverunt. Quorum primus Elam, a quo Elamitae principes Persidis: secundus Assur, a quo Assyriorum pullulavit imperium: tertius Arphaxat, a quo gens Chaldeorum exorta est: quartus Ludi, a quo Lydii: quintus Aram, a quo Syri, quorum metropolis fuit Damascus. Filii Aram, nepotes Sem, quattuor: Hus et Ul et Gether et Mes. Hus Traconitidis conditor, qui inter Palaestinam et Coelesyriam tenuit principatum, unde fuit Iob, secundum quod scriptum est [Hiob 1, 1]: ›Vir erat in terra Hus: secundus Ul, a quo Armenii: tertius Gether, a quo Acarnanii sive Curiae: quartus Mes, a quo sunt hi qui vocantur Maeones. Posteritas Arphaxat filii Sem; Heber nepos Arphaxat, a quo Hebraei; Iectam filius Heber, a quo Indorum orta est gens; Sale filius Iectam, a quo Bactriani, licet eos alii Scytharum exules suspicantur«

81 Already in Genesis 10, Shem has the longest list of descendants. Hieke, Völkertafel, 30.

Shem. Aries. Arpachshad; Ovis. From Shem [descent] twenty seven peoples; the sons of Shem: Elam, from whom [descent] the Elamites; Ashur, from whom [descent] the Assyrians; Arpachshad, from whom [descent] the Arades [Arabs?]; Aram, from whom [descent] the Syrians; Arpachshad begat Eber, from whom [descent] the Hebrews.⁸²

Now, of the nations into which the earth is divided, fifteen are from Japheth, thirty-one from Ham, and twenty seven from Shem, which adds up to seventy three – or rather, as a proper accounting shows, seventy two. And there are an equal number of languages, which arose across the lands and, as they increased, filled the provinces and islands. The five sons of Shem each brought forth individual nations. The first of these was Elam, from whom descended the Elamites, princes of the Persians. The second Asshur, from whom sprang the empire of the Assyrians. The third Arpachshad, from whom the nation of the Chaldeans arose. The fourth Lud, from whom came the Lydians. The fifth Aram, from whom descended the Syrians, whose capital city was Damascus. There are four sons of Aram, the grandsons of Shem: Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash. Uz was the founder of Trachonitis – a principate between Palestine and Celesyria – from which came Job, as it is written (Job 1:1): ›There was a man in the land of Uz.‹ The second, Hul, from whom came the Armenians. The third, Gether, from whom came the Acarnanians or Curians. The fourth Mash, from whom descended those who are called Maeones. The posterity of Arpachshad the son of Shem follows. The grandson of Arpachshad was Heber (i.e. Eber), from whom descended the Hebrews. The son of Eber was Joktan, from whom the nation of the Indians arose. The son of Joktan was Sheleph, from whom came the Bactrians – although others suspect that these were Scythian exiles.⁸³

82 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 1v; see again de Toro Vial, Pelayo de Oviedo, 20.

83 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, 9.2.2-5, ed. Lindsay; trans. Barney *et al.*, *Etymologies*, 192.

The same is true of the right-hand column, representing the descendants of Cham, populating Africa:

<p>Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 1v</p> <p>»Leena. Babil[onia/ones]. Nabu cadonosor. Egiptus. Kam. De Kam gentes XXX^A Filii Kam: cus unde ethiopes. Mesres un de egiptii. Futh unde friges. Canaam unde cananei. Cus genuit sa ba unde sabei. Heu llat unde getuli id est Mauri«</p>	<p>Isidore, <i>Etymologies</i>, 9.2.10-14, ed. Lindsay</p> <p>»Fili Cham quattuor, ex quibus ortae sunt gentes haec: Chus, a quo Aethiopes progeniti; Mesraim, a quo Aegyptii perhibentur exorti. Phut, a quo Libyi. Vnde et Mauretaniae fluvius usque in praesens Phut dicitur, omnisque circa eum regio Phuthensis. Chanaam, a quo Afri et Phoenices et Chananaeorum decem gentes. Item ex nepotibus Cham filii Chus, nepotes Cham sex. Filii Chus: Saba et Hevila, Sabatha, Rhegma, Seba, Cuza. Saba, a quo progenili et appellati Sabaei, de quibus Vergilius (Georg. 2, 117): Solis est thurea virga Sabaeis. Hi sunt et Arabes«</p>
<p>Leena. Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar. Egyptus. Cham. From Cham [descent] thirty [eighty] peoples. The sons of Cham: Chus, from whom [descent] the Ethiopians; Mizraim, from whom [descent] the Egyptians; Phut, from whom [descent] the Phrygians; Canaan, from whom [descent] the Canaanites; Chus begat Saba, from whom [descent] the Sabaeans; Hevilat, from whom [descent] the Getules, who are the Moors.⁸⁴</p>	<p>There were four sons of Ham, from whom sprang the following nations. Cush, from whom the Ethiopians were begotten. Mesraim (i.e. Egypt), from whom the Egyptians are said to have risen. Put, from whom came the Libyans – whence the river of Mauretania is called Put still today, and the whole region around it is called Puthensis. Finally Canaan, from whom descended the Africans and the Phoenicians and the ten tribes of Canaanites. Again, the sons of Cush, grandsons of Ham – the grandchildren of Ham were six. The sons of Cush: Saba (i.e. Seba), Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, Seba, and Cuza. Saba, from whom the Sabaeans were begotten and named, concerning which Vergil (Geo. 2.117): The bough of frankincense is the Sabaeans' alone. These are also the Arabians.⁸⁵</p>

84 Madrid, BNE, 1513, fol. 1v. I, again, renounced geographic or topographic text in this area of the scheme; de Toro Vial, Pelayo de Oviedo, 20.

85 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, 9.2.10-14, ed. Lindsay; trans. Barney *et al.*, *Etymologies*, 193.

As will be discussed below, some of the ethnonyms from this Isidorean genealogy play an important role in the depiction of Iberian history in the chronicles following the map, in the later parts of BNE 1513. Hence, this map contains a genealogy, correlating with Christian-Iberian historical writing and its chronicler's identification of the cultural and religious »Other«, the foreign rulers in the Iberian Peninsula. It connects representations of ethnicity with geographical imaginations.⁸⁶

The Scheme as a Diagram

»A diagram is the commonest form of mapping. Everybody creates a map in diagrammatic style for one reason or another – ruthlessly selecting only the essential topographical detail and reducing direction to straight or boldly curved lines – if only to guide visitors to their destination. Not everyone, though, recognises that their scribbles are a form of mapping, or that the simple schematic figures they see in books are maps cleverly designed for a specific purpose – that of instant and unambiguous communication between individuals familiar with the subject under discussion.«⁸⁷ Following Catherine Delano-Smith's argument, the scheme from the *Corpus Pelagianum* can be seen as a paragon for a diagram, since it reduces geographical information to a minimum to achieve a trichotomy in the depiction of the world, thereby enabling the inclusion of a universal genealogy, leading from the Flood to the author's present. The depicted order is a result of generalisation.⁸⁸ Hence, this scheme persuades the beholder of an even clearer order for the world, its history and its inhabitants than any textual description of the very same subject could. This is reasoned by its clear and almost simple appearance, while simultaneously offering complex meanings⁸⁹ that can be realised through abstraction.⁹⁰ Thus, a scheme like the one in BNE 1513 is a concept of knowledge transformation and conservation⁹¹ as well as a model of an imagined reality of the world.⁹² This model becomes established for the beholder through its pictoriality.⁹³

86 Weeda, *Ethnic identification and stereotypes*, 591.

87 Delano-Smith, *Maps as diagrams*, 32.

88 Meynen, *Flache Blicke*, 49. Müller, *Formen des Anfangs*, 93-94 explains that to understand the world one had to abandon its manifest appearance in favour of geometry. Hieke, *Völkertafel*, 24 calls this »Bewältigung von Komplexität«, the overcoming of complexity, but refers to the genealogy in Genesis 10 itself, that is to the ethnic complexity rather than to the geographical, although it is equally applicable to both. Concerning the spatial order of knowledge in Isidore's *Etymologies* and their principle of simplification, see Merrills, *Geography and memory*, 61-62.

89 Haug *et al.*, *Diagramme im Gebrauch*, 263; Tanneberger, *Visualisierte Genealogie*, 531: »Sichtbares ist tendenziell leichter zu vermitteln und eher glaubhaft zu machen.« Trans.: »Visible things tend to be easier to communicate and more believable.«

90 Meynen, *Flache Blicke*, 40, 42.

91 Haug *et al.*, *Diagramme im Gebrauch*, 265.

92 Mahr and Wendler, *Bilder zeigen Modelle*, 191, 194.

93 Mahr and Wendler, *Bilder zeigen Modelle*, 200.

The contours of BNE 1513, fol. 1v build the framework in which the text was positioned. Hence, two fields of knowledge interact in this scheme, spatial order and genealogy.⁹⁴ Furthermore, the field of genealogy can be subdivided into identification and history, due to its character as a discipline that looks back into history to identify contemporaries. Consequently, at a first glance this geo-genealogical scheme seems very simple, but this reduction leads to a complex abstraction and combination of different fields of knowledge⁹⁵ and is, thus, an impressive intellectual assessment that combines at least four ways of depicting knowledge.

Strategies of Identification and the Interaction with Historical Writing

Self-identification

Even though the Visigothic kingdom ceased to exist in 711 and its territory came under Arab rule during the first decades of the eighth century, Christian Iberian authors, especially those in Asturias, referred to themselves as Goths.⁹⁶ Accordingly, the cartographer's »own« people in this geo-genealogical scheme are identified as the descendants of Japheth, since the *gens gotorum* is the final ethnonym in the northern, i. e. European line of ancestry. Furthermore, this ethnonym is positioned near the toponym *Spania*. From a certain point of view, one could argue that this *gens gotorum* is now presented as the spearhead of the Roman Empire, understood as the final age of the world, due to the position of this ethnonym near the illustration of this city.⁹⁷ Therefore, the cartographer's own people in this scheme could even represent the focus of salvation history, although they are not located in the centre.

In addition to the imitation of Isidore's ninth book of the *Etymologies*, this Japhethan genealogy contains another Isidorean detail, which was overlooked or, at least, not further investigated by de Toro Vial, when he translated this geo-genealogical scheme.⁹⁸ Directly under the term *Septentrio*, the genealogy continues with the name »Magot«. It seems almost certain, that the biblical figure or people of Magog is meant here, yet the author of the scheme definitely wrote it with final »t« as »Magot« instead of the more usual final »g«, for »Magog«.

94 This kind of entanglement may be compared with the structure of textiles, being the basis of building an object. In our case the scheme's shape comprises a specific interaction of form and text, as well as textual array. Schneider, *Diagramm und bildtextile Ordnung*, 10-11.

95 Pinet, *Task of the Cleric*, 24.

96 The innumerable studies on this field cannot be listed here. In order not to extend the list of studies used for this article even more, I refer to already cited works, in which this subject has already been thematically addressed: Prelog, *Chronik Alfons' III.*, 151 n. 84; Bronisch, *Reconquista und Heiliger Krieg*, 91, 125, 154.

97 See above, 197.

98 de Toro Vial, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 20.

This presumably deliberate misspelling triggers, or rather stresses, the reference to Isidore's identification of the Goths as descendants of Magog, due to the similar sound in the final syllable of the latter.⁹⁹ Hence, the author's »own« people is traced back to a biblical origin. After Isidore and, furthermore, after the Arab conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, this identification of the Goths continues, as can be seen in examples from the ninth-century Asturian chronicles,¹⁰⁰ or in this geo-genealogical scheme.

The historical connection drawn between the last Visigoths and the Asturian kingdom is, thus, also part of the redaction of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, which is also part of the manuscript BNE 1513. It refers to the fall of the Visigothic kingdom, the flight of the Goths into Frankish and Asturian regions, and the famous dialogue between the rebel Pelayo (not to be mixed up with Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo) and the collaborator Bishop Oppa before the depiction of the battle of Covadonga, in which Pelayo is confronted with the idea of restoring the (Visi)Gothic armies against the foreign rulers.¹⁰¹

Identification of the Cultural and Religious »Other«

The *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, including redaction C as it appears in BNE 1513, offers a variety of synonymous ethnonyms concerning the foreign rulers of the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁰² The foreign rulers are named »Saracens«¹⁰³, »Arabs«¹⁰⁴, »Ishmaelites«¹⁰⁵, and »Chaldeans«¹⁰⁶. Additionally, the Calif of Damascus is once referred to as a »Babylonian king«.¹⁰⁷ None of these ethnonyms appears in the geo-genealogical scheme – at least not obviously. But in connection with Isidorean knowledge, it is possible to ascribe them to a specific son of Noah.

99 Isidore of Seville, *Historia Gothorum*, ed. Mommsen, 268: »Gothorum antiquissimam esse gentem [certum est]: quorum originem quidam de Magog Iafeth filio suspicantur a similitudine ultimae syllabae [...]; Trans. Donini and Ford, *History of the Kings*, 3: »It is certain that the Goths are a very old nation. Some conjecture from the similarity of the last syllable that their origin comes from Magog, son of Japhet [...]; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, 9.2.89, ed. Lindsay: »Gothi a Magog filio Iaphet nominati putantur, de similitudine ultimae syllabae, quos veteres magis Getas quam Gothos vocaverunt; gens fortis et potentissima, corporum mole ardua, armorum genere terribilis. De quibus Lucanus (2, 54): Hinc Dacus premat inde Getes occurrat Iberis«; trans. Barney *et al.*, *Etymologies*, 197: »The Goths are thought to have been named after Magog, the son of Japheth, because of the similarity of the last syllable. The ancients called them Getae rather than Goths. They are a brave and most powerful people, tall and massive in body, terrifying for the kind of arms they use. Concerning them, Lucan (Civil War 2.54): Let here a Dacian press forward, there a Getan (Getes) rush at the Iberians.«

100 Marschner, Depiction of the Saracen, 218-221 and 219 n. 11 for the identification of the Goths as Gog already undertaken by Ambrose, with a rather negative interpretation.

101 Madrid, BNE 1513, fols 43v, 45r; *Redactio C*, ed. Prelog, 76, 81.

102 Concerning the interpretation of these ethnonyms, their synonymous meaning, and the development of their use in Christian-Iberian historical writing see Marschner, Familiar stranger. Since the meaning of these denominations has been investigated in this article and, further on until the Christian-Iberian historical writing of the twelfth century, in another article, Marschner, Development of ethnic terminologies, I will not go into detail here and rather just name the different ethnonyms that appear. Furthermore, I will interpret them concerning their relation to the geo-genealogical scheme and only as far as necessary in relation to the further medieval Iberian identification discourse, since this is already the subject of the aforementioned articles.

103 For instance, Madrid, BNE 1513, fols 45r, 51r; *Redactio C*, ed. Prelog, 80, 85, 100, 103

104 For instance, Madrid, BNE 1513, fols 43v, 45r, 46r, 47v; *Redactio C*, ed. Prelog, 76, 81, 88.

105 For instance, Madrid, BNE 1513, fols 45r, 47v; *Redactio C*, ed. Prelog, 81, 88.

106 For instance, Madrid, BNE 1513, fols 45v-46r, 50r, 51r, 51v-52v; *Redactio C*, ed. Prelog, 82-83, 99, 102, 104-105, 107-108.

107 Madrid, BNE 1513, fol. 43v; *Redactio C*, ed. Prelog, 76.

Looking in the book of Genesis, one becomes aware of further progenitors being thematised after the Table of Nations. Possibly the most famous of them is Abraham, who was a Hebrew and father of Ishmael. According to the geo-genealogical scheme, the Hebrews are descendants of Shem. Furthermore, the ethnonym Ishmaelites belongs to the descendants of Ishmael. Consequently, the Ishmaelites have to be identified as Shemitic people. Additionally, since in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* »Ishmaelites«, »Saracens«, »Arabs«, and »Chaldeans« are different ethnonyms for one and the same people, the author of the chronicle perceived the foreign rulers as being descendants of Shem, no matter which of the above names was given to them at any time. Since in Isidorean and later Christian-Iberian tradition the term »Saracens« is linked to Abraham's wife Sara,¹⁰⁸ there is again no doubt that they should also be defined as Shemites.

The denomination of the foreign rulers as Arabs either found its expression in the geo-genealogical scheme through a misspelling or else cannot be linked to the illustration at all. In the lineage of Shem, we read that the »Aradii« are descended from Arpachshad.¹⁰⁹ One could speculate that in »Aradii« »d« and »b« were mixed up, and also that an incorrect ending of the ethnonym occurred to the author. In that, admittedly unlikely, case, »Aradii« would be a strongly altered form of »Arabes« and, thus, the Arabs were part of Shem's offspring. On the other hand, Isidore actually mentions a people named »Aradii«, but they are given as descendants of Cham, not of Shem.¹¹⁰ The same holds true for the actual Arabs, as they are mentioned by Isidore. They appear in the lineage of Cham as sons of Saba and also have an alternative name, where they are called the »Sabeans«.¹¹¹ Therefore, the Arabs, who were identified as Ishmaelites and Saracens in the historiographical texts of BNE 1513, either appear in a heavily changed spelling, or the term »Aradii« is strikingly misplaced, or they are not mentioned at all and the »Aradii« should be identified as a completely different people.

108 Marschner, *Depiction of the Saracen*, 225. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, 9.2.6, ed. Lindsay: »Ismael filius Abraham, a quo Ismaelitae, qui nunc corrupto nomine Saraceni, quasi a Sarra, et Agareni ab Agar.« Trans. Barney *et al.*, *Etymologies*, 192: »son of Abraham was Ishmael, from whom arose the Ishmaelites, who are now called, with corruption of the name, Saracens, as if they descended from Sarah, and the Agarenes, from Agar (i.e. Hagar).« See also Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, 9.2.57, ed. Lindsay: »Saraceni dicti, vel quia ex Sarra genitos se praedicent, vel sicut gentiles aiunt, quod ex origine Syrorum sint, quasi Syriginae. Hi peramplam habitant solitudinem. Ipsi sunt et Ismaelitae, ut liber Geneseos docet, quod sint ex Ismaele. Ipsi Cedar a filio Ismaelis. Ipsi Agareni ab Agar; qui, ut diximus, perverso nomine Saraceni vocantur, quia ex Sarra se genitos gloriantur.« Trans. Barney *et al.*, *Etymologies*, 195: »The Saracens are so called either because they claim to be descendants of Sarah or, as the pagans say, because they are of Syrian origin, as if the word were Syriginae. They live in a very large deserted region. They are also Ishmaelites, as the Book of Genesis teaches us, because they sprang from Ishmael. They are also named Kedar, from the son of Ishmael, and Agarines, from the name Agar (i.e. Hagar). As we have said, they are called Saracens from an alteration of their name, because they are proud to be descendants of Sarah.«

109 See the second table above.

110 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum*, 9.2.24, ed. Lindsay: »[...] Aradius, a quo Aradii sunt, qui Aradum insulam possiderunt angusto fretu a Phoenicis litore separatam.« Trans. Barney *et al.*, *Etymologies*, 193: »Arvadah, from whom are the Arvadites, who occupied the island Aradum, separated by a narrow strait from the Phoenician coastline.« The same genealogical origin is given to the »Aradii« and the Arabs, for instance, by Frechulf of Lisieux, *Historiarum libri XII*, 1.1.27, ed. Allen, 54-56, who also allocated the »Aradii« to a specific island: »Filiis Cham: Chus et Mesraim, Futh et Chanaan [...] Interpretatur nunc Saba »Arabia« [...] Chanaan autem genuit [...] Sineum et Aradium [...] Aradii sunt qui Aradum insulam possederunt [...]« Trans.: »The sons of Cham: Chus and Mizraim, Phut and Canaan [...] now Saba is interpreted as »Arabia« [...] also Canaan begat [...] Sineus and Aradius [...] the Arades are the ones, who possessed the island of Aradum.« Yet, the »Aradii« as well as »Arabia« are linked to Cham in Frechulf's genealogical history.

111 See the third table above; Rotter, *Abendland und Sarazenen*, 79-80, 82.

So far, I have not come across another genealogy in which either the Arabs or the »Aradii« were specifically identified as descendants of Shem. However, the synonymous use of the term »Arabs« and »Saracens« in the chronicles of BNE 1513 indirectly marks the Arabs as descendants of Shem rather than Cham. Thus, if the »Aradii« refer to the »Arabs«, then the scheme and the historiographical texts of BNE 1513 coincide concerning this people's origin but run counter to Isidore's identification of them.

It is also remarkable that in Isidore's *Etymologies* Arpachshad's sons are the Chaldeans,¹¹² which is a term often used as a denomination for the foreign rulers of the Iberian Peninsula in post-conquest Christian-Iberian chronicles, also those contained in BNE 1513,¹¹³ but this ethnonym does not appear in the geo-genealogical scheme. Hence, an ethnonym that was frequently used in the historiographical texts of BNE 1513 and undoubtedly associated with Shem's lineage in Isidore's work, which seems to be the basis of most of the codex's content, was instead replaced in the geo-genealogical scheme with a name that cannot be clearly identified: »Aradii«. Even though Isidore's *Etymologies* were somewhat authoritative, in some cases they were altered – either to adapt Isidorean knowledge to someone's own contemporary circumstances or because they were mixed up with other sources and, thus, caused divergent depictions in later works dealing with the same topics.

An ethnonym which can be found in the geo-genealogical scheme appears in a passage of redaction C of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* about the military leader Musa, who was of the »nacione Getulus« and whose clan was called »Benkazi« by the »Chaldeans«.¹¹⁴ If one relates this specific passage to the scheme, marking the rebelling Musa as »Getule« could be interpreted as a clear sign for identifying him as a member of a Chametan people, since the »Getules« in the map are the last descendants of Cham and are identical with the »Moors«.¹¹⁵ But, looking into the actual history of the Banu Qasi, as one has to translate »Benkazi«, and also into older versions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* from the ninth century, one is quickly proven wrong: the Banu Qasi were Goths who converted to Islam.¹¹⁶ Obviously, the later redaction of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* offers an ethnonym for a member of the Banu Qasi that is different from their original denomination in the ninth-century versions of this chronicle. How could this be explained? With Isidore one could identify the Goths with the Getes¹¹⁷ and could assume a confusion of »Getes« and »Getules«, but this seems rather unlikely since the Getes were a people living on the western shore of the Black Sea¹¹⁸ and the Getules were

112 See the second table above.

113 See above n. 15 and 106.

114 Madrid, BNE 1513, fol. 51v; *Redactio C*, ed. Prelog, 104: »Muza quidem nomine, nacione Getulus, sed ritu mamentiano cum omni gentis sue [...] deceptus, quod Caldei vocitant Benkazi, contra Cordubensem regem rebellavit [...].« Trans.: »A certain man by the name of Musa – a Getule by birth but deceived by the Muhammadan rite along with all of his family [...] which the Chaldeans call the Banu Qasi – rebelled against the Córdoba king [...].«

115 Madrid, BNE 1513, fol. 1v: »getuli id est Mauri«.

116 *Chronica Adefhonsi III*, ed. Gil, 428: »Muzza quidam nomine, natione Gothus sed ritu Mamentiano, cum omni gentis sue deceptus, quos Caldei vocitant Benkazi, contra Cordubensem regem revellavit.« Trans. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 142: »A certain man by the name of Musa – a Goth by birth but deceived by the Muhammadan rite along with all of his family, which the Chaldeans call the Banu Qasi – rebelled against the Córdoba king [...].«

117 See the above quotation of the *Etymologies* in n. 99.

118 Haarmann, *Lexikon der untergegangenen Völker*, 116.

definitely identified with the North African Moors. Additionally, the text of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, as it appears in BNE 1513, mentions the Goths several times with an unmistakable spelling. Therefore, it is hard to attribute the identification as Goth only with a different term to this characterisation of Musa. Accordingly, this singular choice of ethnic terminology in the text – if not a mistake by the copyist – does not seem to fit with the geo-genealogical scheme, which distinguishes the Goths clearly from the Getules, just like the historiographical texts in the very same codex do. Another option was the wilful changing of the ethnonyms by the author of redaction C of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, who maybe could not explain to himself the atypical name »Musa« for a »Goth« and, thus, turned this member of the Banu Qasi and his entire clan into »Getules«.

With the *Chronicle of Sampiro* following directly the text of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* in BNE 1513,¹¹⁹ further ethnonyms can be added to the terminological repertoire of this codex. Next to »Saracens«, a frequently appearing denomination for the foreign rulers of the Iberian Peninsula is »Hagarenes«.¹²⁰ Since Hagar, after whom the »Hagarenes« were named, was the mother of Ishmael, whom she had with Abraham, the »Hagarenes« are descendants of Shem, too.¹²¹ Even though this seems very simple, the *Chronicle of Sampiro* offers a very confusing passage. In Christian-Iberian historical writing, eighth to ninth centuries, we find a clear distinction between the »Arabs« (who were also identified as »Saracens«, »Ishmaelites«, »Hagarenes«, and »Chaldeans«) and the »Berbers« (who were identified as the »Getules« or »Moors« and generally the inhabitants of northern Africa).¹²² With a single appearance of the ethnonym »Moors« in the Pelagian redaction of the *Chronicle of Sampiro* addressed here, this distinct imagination of the »Other« began to blur. Describing the battle of Simancas in 939 AD, Sampiro reports 80,000 dead Moors in the hostile army, which had come from Córdoba and was led by a Saracen or Hagarene »king«, the military leader Abu Yahya.¹²³ I have

119 Madrid, BNE 1513, fol. 52v. The *Chronicle of Sampiro* begins with an initial »A« in red ink, yet this does not mark the start of a new text. Instead, the same type of coloured initial capital letters occurs repeatedly throughout the manuscript, signalling new paragraphs. Hence, this element in the *mise-en-page* signals continuity of the text rather than the beginning of a new one. As mentioned above, the *Chronicle of Sampiro* can be understood as a continuation of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*.

120 Madrid, BNE 1513, fols 54r, 59r, 61r-v, 62v; Sampiro of Astorga, *Chronica*, ed. Pérez de Urbel, 283, 312, 313, 326, 330, 331, 336, each on the left column. Concerning »Hagarenes« being a synonym for »Saracens«, »Ishmaelites«, »Arabs«, and »Chaldeans« in the Christian-Iberian tradition, see Marschner, *Depiction of the Saracen*, 230-232.

121 See the above quotation in n. 108.

122 Marschner, *Development of ethnic terminologies*.

123 Madrid, BNE 1513, fols 60v-61r; Sampiro of Astorga, *Chronica*, ed. Pérez de Urbel, 325-326, left column: »Rex quidem sarracenorum nomine Aboiahia regi magno Ranimiro colla submisit, et omnem terram dicioni regis nostri subiugavit. Abderrechman regi suo Cordubense mentitus est, et regi catholico cum omnibus suis se tradidit [...] Postea Abderrechman, rex Cordubensis, cum magno exercitu Septimancas properavit [...] Rex noster catholicus hec audiens, illuc ire disposuit cum magno exercitu. Et ibidem dimicantibus ad inuicem, dedit Dominus uictoriam regi catholico qualiter die II^a feria imminente festo sanctorum Justi et Pastoris deleta sunt ex eis LXXX^a milia maurorum. Etiam et ipse Aboiahia rex agarenorum ibidem a nostris comprehensus est [...]«. Trans.: »Indeed, Abu Yahya, the king of the Saracens bowed to the power of Ramiro the Great and subjugated the entire territory under the rule of our king. He betrayed his Córdoba king, Abd al-Rahmān and [therefore] together with all of his men delivered himself to the Catholic king. [...] When our Catholic king heard this, he arranged to head there with a big army. And there, they encountered in battle and the Lord gave victory to the Catholic king while 80,000 of the Moors were killed during the two days of the feasts of Justinus as Pastor. And Abu Yahya himself, the king of the Hagarenes, has been arrested by ours in that very place.«

explored elsewhere the possibility of a multi-ethnic army, as well as the fact that this is the only appearance of the ethnonym »Moors« in the *Chronicle of Sampiro*. The interpretation of this term in this passage of the chronicle is not as easy as it seems and leaves too many questions unanswered to take up a position. In the depiction of the battle of Simancas, the term seems to be synonymous with the other ethnonyms. On the other hand, this chronicle is based on the historiographical tradition, in which the term was usually distinguished from the »Arabs« and their alternative denominations.¹²⁴ Taken alongside the geo-genealogical considerations of BNE 1513, fol. 1v, it is surely better to simply distinguish two groups as being mentioned within this passage and assign the »Moors« to the lineage of Cham. Nevertheless, this would raise the question of why only »Moors« would have died or at least why the chronicler counted only the fallen »Moors« and not the »Saracens« or »Hagarenes« too, who very likely also died in such a battle?

However, we also have to keep in mind that this codex contains the oldest surviving manuscript of the *Chronicle of Sampiro*. Thus, the content of an eleventh-century chronicle reappears in a twelfth- or thirteenth-century codex and, therefore, was not safe from alteration, perhaps even by Bishop Pelayo himself.¹²⁵ Furthermore, political changes in the Muslim realms in the Iberian Peninsula affected the Christian's perception of the foreign rulers between the eleventh and twelfth centuries with the Almoravids taking over in the middle of the eleventh century a north African dynasty that clearly would be identified with the »Moors«. They then ruled over a region that had formerly been under Saracen power.¹²⁶ From a Christian-Iberian chronicler's perspective, this could cause a mixing of ethnonyms.¹²⁷ Therefore, there is a possibility that in this case »Moors« was a synonym for »Saracens«, »Hagarenes«, etc., especially in a text that was copied and presumably altered in twelfth-century Oviedo.

Finally, »Almoravids« is also the term that can be added to the spectrum of denominations for the foreign rulers in the series of chronicles contained in BNE 1513, as it appears once in the *Chronicon regum Legionensium*.¹²⁸ Even though this term does not appear in the geo-genealogical scheme, it is obvious that the Almoravids should have been perceived as being descendants of Cham due to their (north) African origin. Nevertheless, Pelayo of Oviedo identified the Almoravids with the Saracens and Hagarenes and, in doing so, as descendants of Shem.¹²⁹ The way Pelayo handled the term »Almoravids« and the fact that the oldest version of the *Chronicle of Sampiro* appears in the *Corpus Pelagianum*, strengthen

124 Marschner, Development of ethnic terminologies.

125 Bronisch, *Reconquista und Heiliger Krieg*, 160.

126 Singer, Almoraviden, 449; Oliver Pérez, Sarraceno, 120-121.

127 In most of twelfth-century Christian-Iberian historical writing ethnic denominations for the »Other« very likely depended on where they came from, al-Andalus or beyond the Mediterranean, Africa. Bru, Posar un nom, 130, 133; Sirantoine, What's in a word?, 231-238; Di Branco and Wolf, Berbers and Arabs, 4-5.

128 Madrid, BNE 1513, fol. 68r; *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Fernández Conde, 35: »Post hec etiam, tantis prospertatibus, ad tantam elacionem peruenit, ut extraneas gentes que Almorabites uocantur ex Affrica [sic!] in Spania per regem [sic!] Abenabet misit, cum quibus prelia multa fecit et multa contumelia, dum uixit, accepit ab eis.« Trans. Barton and Fletcher, *World of el Cid*, 85: »After this, he reached a pitch of elation because of such good fortune that at the instigation of King Abenabet some foreigners called Almoravids were summoned from Africa to Spain, with whom he fought many battles, and whilst he lived he suffered many attacks by them.«

129 Marschner, Biblical elements and the »Other«, 81.

the assumption of a synonymous comprehension of »Moors« and »Saracens« (plus the other synonymous ethnonyms) in this version of the *Chronicle of Sampiro*. The explanation for the different depiction of the Moors in the geo-genealogical scheme and the historiographical texts still eludes us.

According to all the above, the historiographical texts in BNE 1513 differ repeatedly from the genealogical knowledge as presented in the geo-genealogical scheme. In the very same codex, the information given is partially inconsistent and, thus, confusing. How might this be explained? Of course, one could always argue that a compiler simply wanted to collect texts without pondering their contents in every detail. Hence, discrepancies like ethnic identification were accepted, or maybe not even noticed. Then again, we could take into account what such a scheme, such a diagram is good for – to reduce the complexity of the world surrounding us. The complicated situation of a foreign group ruling over the realms of another different people, plus the many synonymous ethnonyms, each with a different meaning, and the etymological derivations of their names resulted in a very complex situation for an Iberian Christian dealing with history.

Furthermore, the simple character of the geo-genealogical scheme offers the possibility of filling it with appropriate information as necessary, depending on the needs of a chronicler dealing with foreigners that he has to depict somehow.¹³⁰ BNE 1513, fol. 1v offers precisely this potential. If we, again, compare the genealogical information in BNE 1513 with that given in Isidore's *Etymologies*, we can create two simple lineages for each:

As follows from the above, in the *Etymologies* Shem is the progenitor of the Chaldeans, the Hebrews, Abraham, Hagar and the Hagarenes, and Ishmael and the Ishmaelites; Cham is the progenitor of the Egyptians, the Moors and the Sabeans, who are Arabs.

By comparison, in BNE 1513 Shem is the progenitor of the »Aradii« – whoever they might represent in this case –, the Hebrews and, in conclusion, of Abraham, Hagar, and Ishmael; whereas Cham is the progenitor of the Egyptians and the Getules, who are Moors.

No definitive solution can be presented for the problem of the »Aradii« based on the current state of evidence, but the above-mentioned confusing equation of the Moors and the Almoravids with the other ethnonyms could become a little bit more plausible if we add but one component besides the changing political situation: Hagar may be a key figure. The bondswoman of Abraham, with whom he fathered Ishmael, was Egyptian.¹³¹ Thus, with Hagar belonging to the Chametan tribe and Abraham being of Semitic origin, their son Ishmael is technically both and so are his descendants. Finally, according to the final text in BNE 1513, Bishop Pelayo's *History of the four cities*, it was the »sons of Hagar« who invaded Hispania.¹³² Nowadays we know it was an Arab-Berber conquest.¹³³ From our current point

130 Hieke, Völkertafel, 36.

131 Genesis 16, 1: »igitur Sarai uxor Abram non genuerat liberos sed habens ancillam aegyptiam nomine Agar.« Trans.: »Now Sarai, the wife of Abram, had brought forth no children: but having a handmaid, an Egyptian, named Agar.«

132 Madrid, BNE 1513, fol. 115v; Pelayo of Oviedo, *De fundatione*, ed. Martínez, 125: »Et ab introitu filiorum Agar in Yaspania usque hodie quod est Era M^a C.LXXX sunt anni CCCC.« Trans.: »And from the invasion of the sons of Hagar in Hispania until today, the era 1180, are 400 years.« The Spanish Era is an alternative calendar, always adding 38 years to the actual AD.

133 By way of example, see Bronisch, *Reconquista und Heiliger Krieg*, 1 n. 2; Di Branco and Wolf, *Berbers and Arabs*, 3-4.

of view, bearing in mind the probable key role of Hagar, with Pelayo's choice of allocation, all the subtle distinctions in medieval ethnic terminology and identification of Christian-Iberian historiography have simply been consolidated. Denominating all groups of foreign rulers of the Iberian Peninsula, appearing in post-conquest historical writing, as »sons of Hagar« consequently leads to the identification of the Moors as Saracens (and Arabs and Chaldeans etc.) and vice versa.

Conclusion

Medieval strategies of identification were complex and occasionally difficult. Even though simplifications like Pelayo's denomination of the eighth-century conquerors of the Iberian Peninsula as »sons of Hagar« or the geo-genealogical scheme of BNE 1513 can be interpreted as attempts to create a clear picture, these attempts often failed since there have always been competing opinions on the identification of peoples. This is comprehensible in two ways: in one and the same codex different strategies of identification can be found and are only rarely explained; but also, long-lasting discourses on the identification of peoples come to the fore, if one compares textual identifications of peoples throughout several centuries, as was done here from Isidore to Pelayo.

In terms of the peoples appearing in Iberian history, the interaction of the geo-genealogical scheme and the historiographical texts in BNE 1513 is diverse. The identifications of peoples in the scheme can be seen as an addition to the knowledge given in the chronicles of the codex and the other way around. Furthermore, the scheme presents the relationship, or rather distinction, between the Goths, who were understood as the cartographer's own people, and the foreign rulers over major parts of the former Visigothic kingdom. The interactions of the cultural and religious »Other« and the successors of the (Visi)Goths that are depicted in the historiographical texts of BNE 1513 are supplemented by the depiction of the historical protagonists' origins in the geo-genealogical scheme. But the relationship between this graphic depiction and the chronicles in this codex also includes inconsistencies, like the ambivalence concerning the Getules, partially the Moors, the Arabs and their origins as well as the »Aradii«. Even though this geo-genealogical scheme depicts the world and its inhabitants in a very individual manner and, thus, differs strongly in some essential points from other comparable medieval illustrations like world maps, it cannot remove these discrepancies.

Identification is always constructed and depends on contemporary political circumstances.¹³⁴ What these reasons for identification were is often far from clear, and can be rather complex. This complexity could also appear in one and the same codex, as the comparison of the geo-genealogical scheme in BNE 1513 with its historiographical content has shown, no matter how much a diagram like the aforementioned scheme tried to reduce this complexity. Hence, it is not only the actual identity of peoples – whatever it may be¹³⁵ – that was (and is) complicated. The construction of identities that were meant to make complex realities more comprehensible were also rarely as straightforward as we might expect.

134 Fried, *Schleier der Erinnerung*, 270; Coulmas, *Ich, wir und die Anderen*, 89.

135 Coulmas, *Ich, wir und die Anderen*, 64-65.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful for the opportunity to present early versions of this research in two webinars in summer 2020. The first was the »Frühjahrsklausur« of the Vienna Doctoral Academy »Medieval Academy«, moderated by Matthias Meyer (University of Vienna). The second was the »Scriptures in Transition« webinar, moderated by Helmut Reimitz (Princeton University). In both events I benefited from the participants' discussions and comments after my presentations. Furthermore, I would like to thank Christoph Mauntel (University of Tübingen) for his valuable hints in our correspondence about this topic. Many thanks go to Thom Gobbitt (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Medieval Research (IMAFO), Vienna) for his codicological and palaeographical expertise, as well as polishing the language of this text. This article is also a result of a fruitful discussion with Salvatore Liccardo (IMAFO). Additionally, Marcus Richter (Leibniz Institute for Applied Geophysics, Hannover) kindly commented on this work as a geographer.

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Abbreviations

BNE = Biblioteca Nacional de España

ÖNB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

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The Pleasures of Virtue and the Virtues of Pleasure: The Classicizing Garden in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century China and Byzantium

Curie Virág and Foteini Spingou*

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Byzantium and China, the garden as a site of pleasure was an important literary theme among literati. Although pleasure had long been associated with gardens prior to this period, its simultaneous resurgence in both cultures was specifically linked to new ways of engaging with the classical tradition. This paper explores the nature and significance of the discourse of pleasure in the imagination of gardens in these two culturally distinct, but historically resonant, imperial societies. Noting important parallels and divergences in the literature surrounding pleasurable gardens in the two traditions, it argues that the garden as a site of pleasure was more than a document of the carefree pleasures of communing with nature. Instead, it was a declaration among literati – constrained by their place in a vast imperial bureaucratic system – of their agency, their integrity and, above all, their virtue. Far from being just a psychological or affective state, the pleasures they documented were a testimony of their freedom and moral authority in the face of a vast political order upon which they depended, but that also required their participation and validation as the bearers of the authoritative classical tradition that sustained the very imperial project. As a site charged with references and allusions to the ancient past and its authoritative voices, the garden provided an optimal arena in which those literati retreating from the front lines of official duty could fashion the conditions of their own pleasure, and thereby display their virtue, assert their autonomy and bring to fulfillment their human potentiality.

Keywords: gardens; pleasure; Antiquity; classicizing learning; literati; Song Dynasty; Byzantium; virtue; self-cultivation

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the garden became an object of widespread interest among educated elites in both Byzantium and China. Whether they engaged in actual garden-building (as was the case in China) or constructed gardens of the imagination, literati produced elaborate accounts that emphasized pleasure as the defining mode of experiencing

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gardens. Although pleasure-taking had long been associated with gardens in the cultural traditions of both societies, the fact that it became a focus of literary concern during this period is highly significant. Why was pleasure in the garden such a major preoccupation in writings about gardens among Chinese and Byzantine literati during this period? How was pleasure conceived in these texts, and what was the importance of framing such pleasures in the specific context of gardens? What was the connection between this discourse of pleasure and the interest in classicizing forms of learning, which was a pronounced feature of Chinese and Byzantine cultures during this period?

This paper explores the nature and significance of the discourse of pleasure in the imagination of gardens in these two culturally distinct, but historically resonant, imperial societies. Noting striking parallels and divergences between the two traditions, it argues that the pleasures associated with the garden were not just about the carefree delights of communing with nature, but were part of an ethically and politically charged discourse in which literati, often constrained by their place in a vast imperial bureaucratic system, asserted their agency, their integrity and, above all, their virtue. Filled with references and allusions to the ancient past and its authoritative voices, the garden provided an optimal arena in which those literati retreating from the front lines of official duty could fashion the conditions of their own pleasure, and thereby display their virtue, assert their autonomy and bring to fulfillment their human potentiality.

Though located at the far ends of Eurasia, and characterized by very distinct cultural and imaginative traditions that seem to have had little direct contact with one another, Byzantium and China bear comparison because they shared some remarkable structural commonalities and underwent comparable large-scale developments.¹ In both Byzantium and China during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there was a surge in the number of educated elites (*pepaideumenoí* in Byzantium and *shi* 士 in China) who constituted the basis of the imperial bureaucracy, and whose qualifications for office and standing in elite society depended on their learning and cultural mastery of the ancient, »classical« heritage.² During this period, there was, in both cultures, heightened interest in Antiquity and in reflecting on what it meant. In China, here referring to the realm governed by the Northern Song 宋 Dynasty (960-1127),³ there was an important shift in the very conception of Antiquity, what it meant to learn from the ancients, and how to emulate the lessons of Antiquity in the present.⁴ In

1 For a synoptic overview of the transitions that characterized this period in Byzantium and China, respectively, see Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change*, and Chaffee, Introduction.

2 For an overview of the literati and their place in Byzantine administration, see Spingou, Introduction, l-lvi with further bibliography. For the Song system of education and bureaucratic recruitment through the examination system, see Chaffee, Sung education.

3 The Song is conventionally broken down into the Northern and the Southern Song (1126-1279) periods. For convenience, this paper will often speak generally of »Song« developments in referring to figures and phenomena of the Northern Song period.

4 For a concise treatment of the new paradigm of Antiquity that shaped the learning and ethical outlook of literati in Song China, see Bol, *Neo-Confucianism in History*, 52-72.

Byzantium, scholars expanded the canon of classical texts from previous centuries, and engaged in active discussion with them, bringing past ideas to bear on the present.⁵ Such shifts gave rise to norms and values that also shaped the arts and aesthetic appreciation. They also form an important backdrop to the imagination of gardens during this period, and to the discourse of pleasure surrounding gardens.

Although Byzantine and Chinese discourses of pleasure in the garden were founded on markedly contrasting conceptions and practices of garden-building, as well as ideas about pleasure, in both cultures, the garden – alongside textual learning and engagement with the arts – had an important place among the cultural markers that sustained the collective identity of literati. Such markers of distinction had an ambiguous status insofar as they qualified literati for a place in the imperial system and provided avenues of participation in official life, but also offered a space in which to retreat from official life and enjoy a sphere of independence and autonomy. As physical objects but also as objects of discourse, they furnished the setting for sustained reflection among literati about their life predicaments, becoming, effectively, an alternate world in which to navigate one's path towards self-realization, and to fulfill one's »true nature« (φύσις/*xing* 性).

The article is divided into four sections. The first section lays the groundwork by discussing the respective historical contexts of the flourishing of garden discourse in each culture, the different ways in which literati related to gardens (both physically and imaginatively), and the textual forms literati chose when writing about gardens. The two subsequent sections, focusing on the Chinese and Byzantine traditions respectively, investigate key eleventh- and twelfth-century writings on the theme of pleasure in the garden and the relevant classical antecedents to the discourse of pleasure. The final section recapitulates the major commonalities and differences between the discourses of pleasure in both traditions and draws out the insights arising from the cross-cultural exploration.

The discussion of Song literati discourses on the pleasure of gardens examines two well-known texts: Sima Guang's 司馬光 (1019-1086) »Record of the Garden of Solitary Pleasure« (*Du le yuan ji* 獨樂園), and Su Shunqin's 蘇舜欽 (1008-1048) »Record of Canglang Pavilion« (*Canglang ting ji* 滄浪亭記). Both written by literati who were forced into a life of retirement from public life, the two texts exemplify the way in which writing about one's garden became, in the Song period, a way to fashion one's literati identity and moral authority around the theme of pleasure.

The discussion on the Byzantine side focuses on two key sources from the corpus of late eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantine literature: the first a romantic novel, *Hysmine and Hysminias* (Ἑσμίνη καὶ Ἑσμινίας) by Eustathios Makrembolites (fl. c.1150), which includes lengthy descriptions (*ekphraseis*) of a garden, and the second a series of epigrams, *On a Garden* (Εἰς κήπον), written by Theodore Prodromos (c. 1100-c. 1160). Both Makrembolites and Prodromos were based in Constantinople and had strong ties to aristocratic circles.

5 For a learned, discursive overview of the engagement with the »Classics« in the twelfth century, see Kaldellis, Classical scholarship and Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change*, 133-141. On the importance of Classicizing rhetoric, see also Gaul, Manuscript tradition, 78-79 with further references. The reader may also wish to consult Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos*, 166-170, on the discourse of Hellenism in the work of the paradigmatic author of the period, Michael Psellos.

For all their differences, these sets of writings by Song Chinese and Byzantine literati were united by a shared vision of the garden as a place of antiquity, and as a site in which virtue could be realized through pleasure. They presented the garden as an arena in which to articulate and bring to fulfillment a vision of one's true and genuine self, and to make bold claims about what was the real basis of values and moral worth. In writing about their pleasure in these worlds of their own fashioning, the authors of these texts offered a testimony of their freedom and moral authority in the face of a vast political order upon which they depended, but that also required their participation and validation as the bearers of the authoritative classical tradition that sustained the very imperial project.

Writing the Garden in Byzantium and China: Contrasting Contexts, Practices and Genres

Byzantine and Chinese discourses of pleasure in the garden during the eleventh and twelfth centuries present us with significant differences not only in the conception and discussion of pleasure, but also in terms of what the garden itself was, as a physical object and as a social, cultural, and political phenomenon. These differences shaped the ways in which literati related to the garden, both practically and as an object of reflection, aspiration and value. Moreover, by the eleventh century, the garden had long been a topic of literary and philosophical interest, and the distinct traditions that developed in each of these cultures continued to structure the content, approach and genre through which literati wrote about gardens, and about the pleasure they experienced in them.

In the Song period, beginning in the eleventh century, there was a flourishing of literary accounts of gardens, which corresponded to a major wave of garden-building among literati.⁶ Neither the ownership of gardens nor garden-building among literati was particularly new in this period: already from the Eastern Jin Period (317-420 CE) onwards, the garden featured as a prominent literary theme among such celebrated poets as Tao Qian 陶潛 (365?-427, also known as Tao Yuanming 陶淵明) and Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433), who were both owners of gardens. Gardens became an even more visible feature of cultural life during the Tang Dynasty (618-907), when the construction and representation of gardens became an increasingly important pastime among imperial and aristocratic elites.⁷ However, literati from relatively modest backgrounds, like the famous poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), are also known to have owned gardens.⁸

6 For English translations of literary accounts of gardens from the Zhou Dynasty (1045-256 BCE) through the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), see Hardie and Campbell, *Dumbarton Oaks Anthology of Chinese Garden Literature*.

7 The growing number of imperial and aristocratic garden estates within commuting distance of Luoyang, the Tang's eastern capital, and in Chengnan, the region south of the imperial capital of Chang'an, gave rise to the emergence of what Stephen Owen has called the »Tang estate poem« during the eighth century. See Owen, *Formation*, 39-59. For a brief history of royal and imperial gardens and parks prior to the Song period, see Hargett, *Huizong's magic marchmount*, 1-5.

8 On the poetics of garden-writing in Bai Juyi, see Yang, *Metamorphosis*, 11-90.

The trend toward private ownership continued on a wider scale during the Song period, when, alongside major social, political and economic developments, a sizable literati class came to power and prominence.⁹ These literati possessed the means to purchase and maintain private gardens, as well as the learning and culture to transform them into spaces of refined social interaction and objects of literary interest. Further contributing factors to the popularity of gardens were the demographic shifts and growth of urbanization that took place during this period: with the surge in population in the major urban centers of the Song empire,¹⁰ city-dwellers longed to escape from the crowded, polluted, cramped quarters in the city, and find a refuge in which they could enjoy the tranquil and beautiful surroundings of rustic, unspoiled nature.

The emergent discourse of pleasure in the garden was thus, to some extent, due to the sheer proliferation of privately-owned gardens, and to greater opportunities for the cultivation of private life and to the enjoyment of personal pleasures. But while historians have rightfully argued that the flourishing of literary and artistic activity surrounding gardens reflect a heightened interest in the realm of the private,¹¹ such activity should also be understood as socially embedded forms of cultural construction that involved more than the physical reality of the garden itself, or enjoyment of the private sphere. In Song China, writing about gardens provided literati the opportunity to fashion, as some scholars have emphasized, an identity for themselves for public display – a public that defined itself through shared *wen* 文 (in this context, meaning »culture«, »civilization«, »writing«, or »literary attainment«).¹² In the Northern Song period, the expansion of the class of educated and cultured elites¹³ resulted in the flourishing of the kinds of activities that these elites enjoyed and valued, and in new dynamics of social interaction among those literati taking part in these activities. In such a setting, owning a garden and writing about it became an important way to participate and display one's membership in the community of learned elites.

9 On the rise to prominence of literati during the transition to the Song period and the large-scale transformations behind this development, see Bol, »*This Culture of Ours*«, 32-75.

10 For a summary of major developments, see Hartman, Sung government and politics, 22-24.

11 The categories of the »private« and »personal« are central in Robert Harrist Jr.'s work on Northern Song painting and gardens. See esp. Harrist and Li, *Painting and Private Life*, 4-10, and Harrist, Art and identity, 151-153. The theme of the »private« is also emphasized in Yang, *Metamorphosis*, 2-4 and 249-251.

12 The term *wen* has a very expansive semantic range, originally referring to patterns in the natural world and, in the human context, »cultural accomplishment« (following Martin Kern) before becoming associated with text and writing during the transition to the Han 漢 dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE). On the early meanings and development of *wen* see Kern, Ritual, text.

13 Chinese historiography traditionally characterizes the transition from the Tang to the Song Dynasty as one in which military power (*wu* 武) gave way to civil (*wen* 文) authority, signaling the rise to prominence of an educated elite whose access to office and high position was determined by their achievement in learning, as measured by one's success in the civil service examinations. For an in-depth discussion of the debates in the early Song court leading to the dominance of *wen*, as defined by the proponents of ancient learning (*guwen*), see Bol, »*This Culture of Ours*«, 148-175.

But owning and writing about gardens were highly charged activities, both ethically and politically. And it was not a coincidence that some of the most well-known Song writings, including those examined here, were written by literati who were ousted from their official posts, or were in voluntary retirement from political life because of an inhospitable climate – an especially common fate among those caught up in the political turbulence surrounding the reform movements of Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989-1052) and Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086).¹⁴ In such politically fraught times, to write about the joys and pleasures to be found in the garden allowed not only for the fashioning of one's identity, but also for the articulation of one's values and convictions. But given the wide-ranging forms and ethical ramifications of pleasure, this also involved a deliberate and delicate act of negotiation: in an age of commercialized wealth and a growing consumerism that seeped into all aspects of cultural life, there was much anxiety about the dangers of pleasure as well. The effort among some Song literati to link pleasure to virtue, then, marks a concern with identifying a legitimate realm of pleasure that was distinct from its potentially corrupt (and corrupting) forms. It was also directed towards showing that the locus of value lay within the self who appreciated such pleasure. Thus, for figures like Sima Guang and Su Shunqin, the pleasure that they experienced in their garden became the ultimate confirmation of their virtue.¹⁵

Both widespread ownership of gardens and new ways of relating to them had an impact on the literary form through which literati wrote about their gardens. Although Song literati writings about gardens took diverse forms and encompassed a variety of prose and poetic genres, a notable development in the Song period was the prevalence of *ji* 記 – a short prose genre, commonly translated as »record« or »account«, that was often used to describe sites (natural or constructed), works of art, or other kinds of objects, as well as to narrate personal experiences.¹⁶ Some of the most famous and widely circulated texts about gardens in the Song period took the *ji* form, and were highly self-referential and autobiographical. These »records« were thus not just factual, but also contained reflections about one's thoughts and feelings about gardens, or about topics of a more philosophical nature that were occasioned by the garden. They were also very much bound up with the identity of their owners. As Robert Harrist Jr. has put it, »the Northern Song bequeathed to later periods the conviction that a garden, like a piece of calligraphy or a painting, was in some essential way an extension of the identity of the person who created it.«¹⁷

14 On Fan Zhongyan's reforms, see Liu, *Early Sung reformer*, and McGrath, *Reigns*; on Wang Anshi's New Policies, see Bol, *Government, society, and state*; and Bol, »*This Culture of Ours*«, 212-253.

15 John Makeham has emphasized the difficulty of distinguishing between aesthetic and moral discourses in the Chinese tradition, specifically in the context of gardens. See Makeham, *Confucian role of names*.

16 Tian, *Collections*, 229.

17 Harrist, *Art and identity*, 147.

The Byzantine garden, by contrast, was not a private space, as gardens were usually shared spaces in monasteries and palace complexes, or in imagined worlds (designed to be shared through the performance of the narration).¹⁸ Despite complaints about the turbulent life in Constantinople, evidence for privately owned gardens is rather limited, with the most famous example being that of John Geometres (fl. second half of the tenth century) and of Theodore Metochites (1270-1332).¹⁹ There is nothing surprising *per se* about the fact that there were such few private gardens owned by twelfth-century literati, given their often low financial stature. Being a literatus may have ensured for most a position in the imperial bureaucracy, but it is quite questionable whether any income from that position would have sufficed to acquire and maintain a sizeable estate. That said, Byzantine literati were able to claim a form of ownership by writing about a public or fictional garden. When writing about gardens – be they fictional or real – they did not assume the point of view of its builder, but rather, selected elements they themselves deemed important or interesting, thus transforming a public space into a personal experience. Such personal views of the garden multiplied after the middle of the eleventh century, with descriptions of not only extant gardens but also fictional ones.

Given the very different kind of relationship that literati had with the gardens they wrote about, the rhetorical forms used to discuss them were also quite different from those prevalent in Song China. In contrast to the more self-referential records that were penned by their Song literati counterparts, in Byzantium, writings about gardens primarily took the rhetorical form of *ekphrasis*.²⁰ An *ekphrasis* describes creative reflections on an extant or fictive sensual stimulus. The genre was developed by authors of the Second Sophistic (an intellectual movement that flourished between the second and third centuries CE and was influential during Late Antiquity) in the form of rhetorical exercises (the so-called *progymnasmata*).²¹ Telling in that respect is the *Ekphrasis of a Garden*, attributed to the famous rhetor Libanios, who lived in fourth-century CE Antioch and who became a model for later rhetoricians.²² His *ekphrasis* begins by praising the Homeric Phaeacians for owning the garden *par excellence* in Greek literature: that of Alcinous in the *Odyssey*.²³ In what follows, Libanios tours that mythical garden describing what he had »seen«. He speaks of »low-lying« vegetation with streams running »from the mountains«, surrounded by a stone wall. He also vividly describes

18 For an overview of the forms of Byzantine gardens see, e.g., Littlewood, *Gardens of the Byzantine world*, with references to both literary and archaeological records.

19 On Geometres' garden, see the excellent discussion in Demoen, *Homeric garden*, and Demoen, *Classifying elements*. The relevant texts are edited in Littlewood, *Progymnasmata*, 7-13. On Metochites' garden, see Constantinides, *Byzantine gardens and horticulture*, 99-100. For a new edition of the relevant poem (no. 19), which was written after Metochites was forced into exile and his palace was destroyed, see Theodore Metochites, *Poems*, ed. Polemis, trans. Polemis, *Theodore Metochites, Poems*, 320.

20 On *Ekphrasis*, see, e.g., Elsner, *Introduction*, and Nilsson, *Ekphrasis*, both with further bibliography.

21 The bibliography on the subject is vast. For a short and recent overview, see Nilsson, *Raconter*, 139-145. On the second sophistic, see, e.g. Fowler, *Second Sophistic*, and Goldhill, *Rhetoric*.

22 Ps. Libanios, *Progymnasmata*, 12.9, ed. Foerster 8, 485-486, trans. Gibson. On the authorship of the *ekphrasis*, see Gibson, *Libanios' Progymnasmata*, 427-428.

23 *Odyssey*, 7.53-68 and 112-131. See Nilsson, *Erotic Pathos*, 100, 211 and 263-264.

a fertile land with blooming trees and rich produce, and birds whose singing pleases the ear of the beholder. Libanios finishes his *ekphrasis* emphasizing that what he described is not necessarily true, but the beauty of the words is more important than the vision: »It was possible to see these things with pleasure, but more pleasurable to describe them to the listeners.«²⁴ This ancient form for demonstrating rhetorical artistry would return in the twelfth century to give pleasure to an aristocratic audience interested in high rhetorical forms.²⁵

Within a climate that encouraged inquiry on rhetoric and its ancient past, authors started again composing literary works in the form of novels.²⁶ Romantic novels started to be written in Greek in the first century CE, but their production peaked in the second century, and the last example dates from the sixth century. One of the finest examples of this genre is *The Adventures of Leukippe and Kleitophon* by Achilles Tatius (second century CE), which narrates the turbulent love of a young couple. A small cluster of four novels re-emerge in the twelfth century. These novels were clearly influenced by ancient models, and one of them, namely *Hysmine and Hysminias* by Eustathios Makrembolites, is at the center of our analysis.²⁷ Makrembolites was an imperial secretary in the 1140s or 50s when he composed his novel, but he would be promoted to high posts in the imperial administration shortly afterwards.²⁸

Epigrams on works of art was another rhetorical form that literati often employed in discussing gardens. Epigrams were usually (but not necessarily) short texts that were inscribed or meant to be inscribed on actual works of art or on buildings, including those located in gardens and on their surrounding walls.²⁹ In contrast to *ekphraseis*, which were only to be performed in a group of literature-loving peers, epigrams often served a more public function, with literate passers-by being invited to access and rehearse the texts. The epigrams on gardens focus on a specific feature of the garden, suggesting to the viewer how it should be understood. The text discussed below, a five-stanza epigram (or cycle of epigrams) called *On a Garden* by Theodore Prodromos, does not focus on a particular object or building in the garden as many epigrams did, but on a garden itself. Theodore Prodromos is perhaps the most prolific among literati in the twelfth century although, unfortunately, it is impossible to date the particular text. Given also that the text only survives in manuscripts (like the one quoted above), it is unclear whether it was ever inscribed on the walls of a garden or was only recited aloud to please listeners.

24 Gibson, *Libanios' Progymnasmata*, 446-449.

25 On twelfth-century *ekphraseis*, see Nilsson, *Raconter*, 152-158 and Nilsson, *Ekphrasis*.

26 See Nilsson, *Romantic love*; and Nilsson and Zagklas, »Hurry up«, for the constant presence of novels in Byzantium. For a list of descriptions of gardens in ancient and medieval romances, see Littlewood, *Romantic paradises*, 110-114.

27 The main passages on gardens in *Hysmine and Hysminias* are 1.4-6, 2.1-11, 3.8 and 4.4-20. The relevant passages from *Hysmine and Hysminias* are discussed by Alicia Walker, *Domestic gardens*.

28 Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, 159-165.

29 For an introduction to the genre of epigrams on works of art, see Spingou, *Epigrams on works*, with further references.

Finally, there were also telling contrasts in the physical features of gardens in Byzantium and China. Writings about gardens in Song China suggest that they were varied in size, usage and layout, ranging from the sprawling, lavish, and built spaces of the vast estates owned by the emperor and the nobility, to more modest ones owned by individuals of more humble means, for whom the garden could also be a source of subsistence. But if there is no set model of a »Chinese garden«,³⁰ or even a typical Song literati garden, it is possible to glean certain shared features and aesthetic values based on descriptions of gardens that emerged during this period. Li Gefei's 李格非 (c. 1041-1101) »Record of the Famous Gardens of Luoyang« (*Luoyang ming yuan ji* 洛陽名園記)³¹ provides descriptions of varying length and detail of nineteen gardens in the old capital city of Luoyang, among them Sima Guang's famous »Garden of Solitary Pleasure«. Notable, recurring features of these gardens include the prevalence of terraces, pavilions and hills, from which one can visually take in the expanse of the garden or the surrounding areas; a preponderance of water – ponds, streams, and lakes; winding pathways; and an abundance of vegetation – unusual or exotic plants, or else groves of bamboos or other kinds of trees. The type of garden described in the cases considered here is simple, rustic and minimally built, with simple architectural structures, groves of trees, and access to water and open spaces. This type sustained the idea of the garden as a natural and pristine realm that offered a respite from the tedium and oppressiveness of life in the urban centers.³²

The classical Chinese terms for gardens – most commonly *yuan* 園, but also *pu* 圃, which often involves a vegetable garden, and *you* 園, a walled park – are all characters graphically inscribed with boundaries, and carry an early association with enclosures, which represents a striking parallel to the walled enclosures emphasized in Byzantine writings about gardens.³³ Despite the fact that most Song literati gardens were constructed within the city walls and were also enclosed spaces, literati often described their gardens as open sites with porous boundaries between the world inside and outside the garden, and with elevated platforms for taking in expansive views.³⁴ This physical openness had important social, political and cultural ramifications, providing the space and the occasion for literati to visit each other,

30 As Craig Clunas emphasizes in *Fruitful Sites*, 9-15.

31 The text has been preserved in numerous text collections, including the eighteenth-century compendium, *Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書, and the *Congshu jicheng* 叢書集成. The version consulted here appears in the former collection, in a set of writings called the *Gujin yishi* 古今逸史, compiled in the sixteenth century by the Ming dynasty collector Wu Gun 吳琯 (b. 1545). A full translation and study of Li's text by Kenneth J. Hammond can be found in Campbell and Hardie, 222-232, in Watson, »Famous Gardens«, and in Yang, »Luoyang Ming yuan ji«.

32 The »naturalness« of these gardens, as will be further elaborated below, was very much by design. This was the case not only of the gardens themselves, but of the discourse surrounding gardens. As Yang Xiaoshan has underscored, »naturalizing the garden did not mean letting nature take over; on the contrary, constructing a garden was a rigorous process of subjective control and selection.« Yang, *Metamorphosis*, 4.

33 Lin, Good place, 127.

34 As Philip Watson has stressed in the introduction to his translation of this text, this openness – and its emphasis in Song sources – represents a marked contrast from the gardens of the late Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) periods, which featured walled enclosures, and which marked off gardens as private, hidden, and domestic spaces. Watson, »Famous Gardens«, 41.

strengthen their connections, and engage in those activities that literati during this period came to value and identify themselves with, such as learned conversation, reading and studying, writing, drinking tea, and appreciating beautiful things – including the garden itself.³⁵ Moreover, like their lavish imperial counterparts which were open on festival days, and which were important sites of entertainment, consumption and celebration, literati gardens in Song China were also open to the wider public on certain days of the year. This made them a part of the public landscape of the city and its surroundings, and a fixture of the cultural imagination.³⁶ On some occasions, the literati carrying on in the gardens was itself the spectacle, as attested by the following observation by Shao Bowen 邵伯温 (1057-1134):³⁷ »Luoyang has many famous gardens and ancient temples, filled with waters, bamboos, groves, and pavilions. Whenever the elders gathered, with their snow-white eyebrows and their magnificent attire, everyone followed to watch them.«³⁸

At the same time, the emphasis on the experience of open views in Song Chinese gardens as a pleasurable feature of gardens was linked to the garden's role as a refuge and a realm apart – a place in which one could dictate the terms of one's physical and moral existence. The lofty structures and elevated platforms that afforded panoramic views were important emblems of what the garden signified for those literati who retreated to them and, just as importantly, wrote about them: namely, a place in which one could rise above the ordinary confines within which one found oneself and achieve a higher vantage point – with all of the ethical and epistemological implications that such a position entailed. The possibility of climbing to a height or positioning oneself so as to achieve a privileged visual position was, in turn, part of a more general descriptive strategy in which the garden's significance derived not only from its features and from the objects it contained, but also, as we will see below, from the way that it functioned as an arena through which one could navigate, thereby exercising one's agency.³⁹

35 The fact that Li Gefei wrote a »record« of famous (*ming* 名) gardens in Luoyang is one of the most revealing documents of the way in which literati visited and partook of the pleasures of each other's gardens, and shared their thoughts and experiences of them in their writings, thus participating in a shared literati subculture revolving around gardens.

36 West, *Spectacle, ritual*, 291-293.

37 Shao Bowen was the son of the famous Neo-Confucian natural philosopher and poet, Shao Yong, mentioned below. Shao is known for his work in editing and promoting his father's work, and for his book, *Shao's Records of Things Seen and Heard* (*Shaoshi wenjian lu* 邵氏聞見錄) which, among other things, describes activities surrounding gardens in Luoyang.

38 Shao Bowen, *Records of Things*, 10.105. See the discussion of this passage, and of the vibrant social culture surrounding gardens, in Yang, *Metamorphosis*, 220-222.

39 This way of approaching the garden was a basic feature of the aesthetics of landscape painting, which – not coincidentally – emerged during this period as the foremost genre of painting. A well-known feature of Northern Song landscape aesthetics is the idea that a landscape painting should endeavor to become a kind of virtual reality that would enable the viewer to imagine walking through the landscape. As Guo Xi 郭熙 (c. 1020-1090), one of the most famous Northern Song landscapists and landscape theorists put it, a properly executed landscape painting was one that created a space through which a viewer could enter. Guo Xi, *Lofty Message of Forests and Streams Collection*, *juan* 1.2a.

A Byzantine pleasure garden was called *kēpos* or *paradeisos*. In contrast to the open-view garden described in earlier texts, gardens in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were enclosed, heavily walled places.⁴⁰ By the eleventh century, the kinds of pleasure gardens that drew the attention of the literati were enclosed urban spaces located in the empire's perennial capital, Constantinople. The prolific literatus Michael Psellos (1017/1018-1078 or 1096) writes about his admiration of the magnitude of the garden established by Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042-1055), but he does not neglect to mention that the emperor took special care to establish borders.⁴¹ The virtue of the garden as a guarded shelter was also conveyed through a series of metaphors, such as that of a trusted friend, who was called an »enclosed garden« referring to the security that hearty and honest communication offers.⁴² Moreover, the enclosed garden, thanks to its physical appearance, is often interpreted in the male imagination as an enclosed landscape that contains a desirable woman, who stands far from the turmoil of life.⁴³

Nonetheless, the wall of the Byzantine garden was used to define a unity consisting of beautiful parts, every single one of which was deemed essential for the aesthetic enchantment offered by the garden.⁴⁴ The above-mentioned description of the imperial garden in Mangana emphasizes that

it was not merely the exceptional beauty of the whole, composed as it was of most beautiful parts, but just as much the individual details that attracted the spectators' attention, and although he could find pleasure in all its charms, it was impossible to find one that palled. Every part of it took the eye, and what is more wonderful, even when you gazed on the loveliest part of all, some small detail would delight you as a fresh discovery.⁴⁵

The parts contained within a walled landscape surpassed their individual aesthetic power, and they create a proper whole – the Byzantine garden.

40 Della Dora, *Landscape*, 108, with references to primary sources.

41 Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, ed. Impellizzeri, 6.173, trans. Sewter, 190.

42 On the metaphor of a garden as a friend, see Gregory Antiochos, *Letter to the Bishop of Kastoria*, l. 79-82, ed. Drakopoulou and Loukaki, 129.

43 Barber, *Reading the garden*, esp. 14-19; Della Dora, *Landscape*, 115; Stewart, *Literary landscapes*, 287-289.

44 On the importance of the unity of parts in Greek aesthetics, see Heath, *Unity, wholeness and proportion*.

45 Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, ed. Impellizzeri, 6.186, trans. Sewter, 190-191.

The Classicizing Garden and Pleasure in Northern Song China

In the Chinese intellectual tradition, pleasure was a major topic of philosophical and literary interest long before the eleventh century. In foundational texts of the pre-Qin period (between the sixth and third centuries BCE), it figured prominently in ethical and moral psychological debates about the nature of the good life and how to realize it. It was also important in early theories of statecraft, where the problem of how to manage and satisfy the desire for pleasure – that of rulers, as well as of the people – was of central concern. Much of the discussion revolved around the term *le* 樂. Commonly translated into English as »pleasure«, but also as »joy«, »delight«, or »happiness«, *le* covers a far broader semantic range than the English term »pleasure«, with its hedonic associations of sensual and bodily pleasure.⁴⁶

Le appears in early taxonomies of emotions where it was part of a grouping of usually four, six or seven basic feelings (*qing* 情).⁴⁷ The core four consisted of joy (*xi* 喜), anger (*nu* 怒), sorrow (*ai* 哀) and pleasure (*le* 樂) but the list was sometimes expanded to include fear (*ju* 懼), dislike (*wu* 惡) and desire (*yu* 欲).⁴⁸ But prior to the emergence of such taxonomies around the fourth century BCE, and subsequently as well, *le* had a privileged status that went beyond its being simply one of the basic human feelings,⁴⁹ and was often invoked as a criterion of the properly lived life. Thus, if early mainstream philosophical texts warned against taking self-indulgent forms of pleasure that were oriented primarily towards sensual gratification or excessive luxury, on the whole, the ethical status of *le* in these writings tended to be more positively oriented, and was often recognized as an accompaniment to virtue, rather than as a danger to it.

In the *Analects* of Confucius (Kongzi 孔子, 551?-479? BCE), and the *Mencius* (Mengzi 孟子, 372-289 BCE),⁵⁰ the early Confucian texts that would become most authoritative during the Song period, pleasure was connected to virtue in several ways. The framing of pleasure in these particular texts is worth underscoring because they would become important touchstones for many eleventh-century literati who wrote about the pleasures they took in their gardens. First, and most basically, pleasure was not something to be distinguished from virtue, but was part and parcel of what it meant to live a virtuous life. As Confucius declared, speaking of the Dao 道 (the Way, the true path of living), »One who knows (*zhi* 知) it is not the equal of one who loves (*hao* 好) it, and one who loves it is not the equal of one who delights (*le* 樂) in it.«⁵¹ In this respect, the very capacity for genuine pleasure accompanied the reali-

46 For a study of pleasure in the premodern Chinese intellectual tradition, see Nylan, *Chinese Pleasure Book*.

47 On the development and conceptual implications of the early mainstream philosophical account of emotions in China, see Virág, *Emotions*.

48 Virág, *Emotions*, 6. For a discussion of early taxonomies of *qing*, see Harbsmeier, *Semantics of Qing*.

49 As far as the existing evidence shows, this took place in around the fourth century BCE, and it is to this period that what can properly be called moral psychological theorization (and hence, a theory of »emotions«) can be traced. Virág, *Emotions*, 1-25.

50 Confucius is the presumed founder of the authoritative classical tradition in China and Mengzi (or Mencius) is widely recognized as the most influential among his latter-day followers. The Song period was marked by an intellectual revival of the early Confucian tradition as represented by the writings associated with these two figures. See Bol, »*This Culture of Ours*«, 176-188.

51 *Lunyu* 6.20, ed. Lau *et al.*, 13/25. See the discussion of this and related passages about the importance of pleasure and delight in Confucius' ethics, in Virág, *Emotions*, 41-45.

zation of a good life, and encompassed what it meant to live a life of true virtue. Second, the defining criterion of virtue was not so much whether or not one succumbed to pleasure, but whether one took pleasure in those things that were genuinely worthwhile.⁵² A declaration of one's experience of pleasure in the proper things was thus tantamount to a declaration of one's virtue.

During the Song period, these early attitudes towards pleasure – articulated not only in early Confucian texts, but also in other writings like the early Daoist philosophical text, the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (late 4th century BCE), as we shall see below – were actively invoked by Song thinkers, including Sima Guang and Su Shunqin. The appeal of these early accounts of pleasure can be explained, in part, by the fact that there was a heightened interest in emotional life more generally, as reflected in the preoccupation among writers and artists with emotions as an explicit topic of theorization and discussion.⁵³ But pleasure in the northern Song period had a significance that extended beyond its inclusion among the various »emotions«. The ways in which some Song literati sought to delineate the boundaries of this pleasure and to offer a defense of »virtuous« pleasure suggests that the topic was a site of controversy. As Ronald Egan observes, there was, in Northern Song aesthetic culture, a deep ambivalence surrounding aesthetically pleasing objects – an ambivalence that played out in writings relating to gardens.⁵⁴ This is exemplified by the afterword to Li Gefei's »Record of the Famous Gardens of Luoyang« which provides a sobering reminder of the harms that could befall the empire if the wealthy and powerful continue to indulge themselves in the extravagant pleasures provided by their lavish gardens. What is striking about this text, Egan observes, is the fact that Li's condemnation of pleasure-taking in one's garden could follow such an exuberant account of the beauty and wonders of the most celebrated among the gardens in Luoyang.⁵⁵

52 See, e.g., *Lunyu* 16.5, where Confucius makes a categorical distinction between good and bad forms of pleasure by identifying those pleasures that are beneficial (*yi* 益) and those that are harmful (*sun* 損). ed. Lau *et al.*, 46/8–9.

53 This is a pervasive phenomenon that can be seen in wide-ranging domains of intellectual life during the Song period, and was evident not only in the prevalence of more personal, informal, and autobiographical writings (of which accounts of gardens was just one example), but also in the heightened interest in moral psychology and self-cultivation that characterized philosophical discourse during this period. In all these domains, this development went hand in hand with an emergent ethical position that tended towards the recognition of the importance of emotions in moral life. On this, see Virág, *Emotions and agency*; Virág, *Self-cultivation as Praxis*; and Virág, *Ethics of emotion*. A synthetic treatment on this phenomenon in Song intellectual life more generally remains to be written.

54 Egan, *Problem of Beauty*, 109–161.

55 Egan, *Problem of Beauty*, 160–161. As Egan recounts, Li's text later achieved fame because he was regarded by many as having predicted the loss of the north to the Jin Dynasty (1115–1234), an event that has been traditionally understood as the result of precisely the kind of extravagant pleasure-taking that Li warned against in his text.

This anxiety about the dangers of pleasure is an important part of the background to the more positive forms of pleasure emphasized by some Northern Song thinkers. If Li Gefei approached the matter by both embracing and condemning the pleasures of the garden, other writers sought to achieve a different sort of balance by delineating the proper scope of pleasure and binding it more closely with their identity and character. This was the strategy of some of the most prominent Northern Song figures, including Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011-1077),⁵⁶ Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101),⁵⁷ and Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086).⁵⁸

All of these thinkers wrote voluminously about the things they took pleasure in, and about their experience of pleasure. Some, however, took the further step of crafting a persona for themselves around the theme of pleasure.⁵⁹ Ouyang Xiu famously took as his epithet the Retired Scholar of the Six Ones (*Liu yi ju shi* 六一居士), referring to those six objects that he took pleasure in: his books, bronze and stone inscriptions, zither, chessboard, jug of wine, and his own self.⁶⁰ Others, like Shao Yong and Sima Guang, both owners of gardens in the old capital city of Luoyang, conferred the very word *le* on their garden estates, thus binding their experience of pleasure and enjoyment more closely to their literary identity. Shao named his garden estate »The Nest of Peace and Enjoyment« (*Anlewo* 安樂窩) and wrote many poems describing the pleasurable circumstances of his life in retirement there, far from the cares of official responsibility.⁶¹ Sima Guang similarly constructed a »Garden of Solitary Pleasure« (*Du le yuan* 獨樂園) and wrote not only a famous prose account of it, but also a number of poems, including his »The Garden of Solitary Pleasure: Seven Songs« (*Du le yuan qi ti* 獨樂園七題).⁶² Another famous »pleasure« garden was that of Zhu Changwen 朱長文 (1040-1098), whose Garden of Delight (*Lepu* 樂園) was similarly the topic of a celebrated account called the »Record of the Garden of Delight« (*Lepu ji* 樂園記).⁶³

56 Shao Yong was a natural philosopher and poet most well-known for his endeavors to schematize and model the unity of the cosmos through a numerological system. His major work in this area was the *Book of Supreme Principles for Ordering the World* (*Huangji jingshishu* 皇極經世書), ed. Wei Shaosheng. Shao also produced a collection of poetry, the *Collection of Beating the Earth by the Yi River* (*Yichuan Jirang ji* 伊川擊壤集), ed. Okada Takeshi.

57 Su Shi was one of the most renowned intellectual figures of the Northern Song period. He was an important statesman, as well as a prolific and celebrated poet, essayist, scholar, calligrapher and painter. Su's close involvement in the factional struggles of the 1070s led to his banishment and exile to Huangzhou, where he farmed and continued writing on – among other things – the toils and joys of rural life. For an excellent literary biography of Su Shi, see Fuller, *Road to East Slope*.

58 Sima Guang was one of the most prominent literati figures in the eleventh century, and the leader of what we might call a conservative, anti-Wang Anshi faction in the court. On the different political visions of Sima Guang and Wang Anshi, and their larger contexts, see Bol, *Government, society, and state*.

59 Xiaoshan Yang devotes a chapter in his study of Tang and Song garden culture to the theme of *le*, but approaches it in terms of a focus on joy and happiness during this period, as a reaction to past poetic sensibilities that presumably focused on sorrow. See Yang, *Metamorphosis*, 197-242. On emotions in the ethical configuration of the self in Ouyang Xiu, Shao Yong and Su Shi, see Virág, »That Which Encompasses the Myriad Cares«.

60 Ouyang Xiu, *Ouyang Xiu Quanjì*, ed. Li Yī'an, 634-635.

61 Shao Yong's estate was a gift to him by devoted friends in high positions, and it enabled him to live out his days in retirement. See Yang, *Metamorphosis*, 222-226.

62 In Sima, *Sima Gong Wenji*, *juan* 14. James M. Hargett's translation of these poems appears in Campbell and Hardie, 207-209.

63 Despite his early success in the state examinations, a foot injury kept Zhu out of office, and he spent much of his adult life at home in his family estate and gardens. For a study of Zhu's garden within the backdrop of his personal, social and cultural circumstances, see West, *Zhu Changwen*.

Sima Guang built his »Garden of Solitary Pleasure« in Luoyang in 1071, after being forced into retirement from political life in the wake of his conflicts with the radical reform policies of the Chief Chancellor, Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086).⁶⁴ His »Record of the Garden of Solitary Pleasure«⁶⁵ is heavy with allusions to the early Confucian tradition, which allow him to identify his own pleasure in the garden with paradigm cases of pleasure in the *Analects* and the *Mencius*. The »solitary pleasure« (*du le* 獨樂) that furnishes the name for his famous garden is a classicizing reference to a passage in the *Mencius*, but with an ironic twist, which gives a special charge to the meaning of the pleasure that Sima writes about in his account. The reference is to a series of exchanges that Mencius had with King Hui of the state of Liang, whom Mencius was trying to persuade to become a more benevolent ruler who provides for his people. In one exchange, the king, standing by a pond and surveying his vast domain, asks Mencius, »Do the worthy also take pleasure in these things?« To which Mencius replies, »Only the worthy take pleasure in these things. Those who are not worthy, even if they have these things, do not take pleasure in them.«⁶⁶ To explain what he means, Mencius makes a classicizing reference of his own, quoting a passage from the ancient classic, the *Book of Odes* (*Shijing* 詩經), about the virtuous King Wen, whose pleasure in his estate was made possible by the fact that he shared his pleasure with his people. When King Wen constructed a tower and pond on his estate – effectively making it a place designated for enjoyment – the common people participated in the construction, and so the king invited them to enjoy the place with him. As Mencius reports,

King Wen, with the strength of the people, made the Tower and made the Pond, but the people were pleased and delighted by them (*huan le* 歡樂): they called his tower the »Marvelous Tower«; they called his pond the »Marvelous Pond«; they delighted (*le* 樂) in its having deer, fish, and turtles. The ancients delighted in these things *together with the people, hence they were able to delight in them.*⁶⁷

In the course of this exchange between Mencius and King Hui, Mencius articulates a number of crucial points about pleasure, both of which are of key importance for understanding the pleasure of which Sima writes in the context of his garden. First, there is nothing wrong with taking pleasure in things: no virtue is attached to asceticism here.⁶⁸ Second, pleasure is not just about the feeling of pleasure derived from beautiful things, but an earned capacity that only people of virtue can experience. King Wen's pleasure, in short, is a testimony to his virtue. Third, what qualifies King Wen's pleasure as true – and therefore virtuous – pleasure is the fact that he has shared it with his people. His enjoyment in the delightful park is made possible by the fact that he enjoys the delights of his royal domain with his people.

64 See footnote 11, above.

65 In Sima, *Sima Gong wenji*, *juan* 66. For a full translation of this text, see Hardie, *Craft of Gardens*, 122-123, and Campbell and Hardie, 204-206.

66 Mencius, *Mengzi* 1A1, trans. Van Norden, 2. Italics added.

67 Mencius, *Mengzi* 1A1, trans. Van Norden, 2-3. Italics added.

68 On Mencius' approach to pleasure within the broader framework of his conception of emotions, see Virág, *Emotions*, 101-132.

When Sima builds himself a garden and calls it »The Garden of Solitary Pleasure,« he explicitly departs from the standards of virtuous pleasure promoted by Mencius. He insists that they apply only to kings and rulers, and not to people of modest means like himself. But the direction in which he takes the discussion suggests that Sima's assertion of his solitary pleasure is more than about the simple joys of his humble circumstances: it is also about the fissure that has developed in the political world, such that the center no longer binds the whole together. Sima thus looks elsewhere for models of pleasure that are more appropriate to his own situation and finds them in 1) the pleasure of Yan Hui, the favorite disciple of Confucius; and 2) the simple, natural pleasure of animals subsisting in nature.

The first is a reference to passage 6.11 in Confucius' *Analects*, where the Master praises Yan Hui for dedicating himself to a life of learning and virtue, despite having to endure great hardship. What is praiseworthy in Yan Hui is not the sheer fact that he chose to live this way, but that, in so doing, he managed to keep his pleasure intact: »What a worthy man was Yan Hui! Living in a narrow alley, subsisting on a basket of grain and a gourd full of water – other people could not have born such hardship, yet it never altered his pleasure (*le 樂*). What a worthy man was Hui!«⁶⁹ For Confucius, Yan Hui's pleasure is the mark of his true and authentic virtue. Confucius' celebration of Yan Hui's undiminished pleasure in the midst of his impoverished circumstances serves as an important reference point for Sima, whose own pleasure in his garden allows him to identify with Yan Hui's virtue. The second model that Sima invokes – the pleasure of the animals in the natural world – is a reference to the early philosophical Daoist text, the *Zhuangzi*. Attributed to a figure called Zhuang Zhou 莊周 (c. 356-286 BCE), this text promotes an ethical ideal founded on spontaneity and naturalness. Like many other Song thinkers, Sima appeals to this text to express and confer authority to his alternative vision of virtue outside of life in politics. In the original *Zhuangzi* passage, which appears in its opening chapter, titled »Free and Unfettered Wandering« (*Xiao yao you 逍遙遊*), the bird and mole are invoked by a hermit called Xu You, to whom the ancient sage-king Yao offers his throne. Xu You declines the offer, comparing himself to the bird and the mole who, though possessing nothing more than a branch for building one's nest and water to drink from the streams, are able to remain perfectly content.⁷⁰ Citing this passage, Sima concludes that »each is content with its lot«⁷¹ and that he, with his garden, has also found contentment in his own humble circumstances. In thus drawing attention to his pleasure, Sima claims that he, like Yan Hui and Xu You, possesses the fortitude and moral integrity to enjoy the pleasures of his circumstances.

69 Confucius, *Lunyu* 6.11, trans. Slingerland, 56.

70 *Zhuangzi* Ch. 1, ed. Lau *et al.*, 1/2/10-1/2/11.

71 Sima, *Sima Gong wenji*, *juan* 66.

In addition to framing his own virtuous pleasure in terms of his chosen ancient exemplars, Sima's account of his garden reveals another way in which the authoritative classical tradition comes into play in making a virtue out of pleasure. Like many other gardens during the Song period, Sima's was a classicizing garden in the additional sense that its space was given coherence and meaning through the naming of sites that referred to exemplary figures and events from the distant past.⁷² Sima's garden contained seven different sites, each corresponding to a revered figure from the past, and whose claim to virtue was captured in the activity that gave its name to the site⁷³:

- 1) The Reading Hall (*Dushu tang* 讀書堂): named for Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (c. 179-104 BCE), the learned scholar who promoted Confucianism in the Han imperial court.
- 2) The Fishing Hut (*Diaoyu an* 釣魚庵): named for Yan Guang 嚴光, the friend of Han Emperor Guangwu (r. 25-26) before he ascended the throne, who gave up the chance for high office and chose, instead, to live as a hermit and spend his life fishing and farming.
- 3) Gathering Herbs Patch (*Caiyao pu* 采藥圃): named for Han Kang (fl. 147-167), an herb seller who fled renown and offers of high office.
- 4) Viewing Mountains Terrace (*Jianshan tai* 見山臺): named for Tao Qian 陶潛 (365-427), the most famous and beloved of reclusive poets, who gave up an unhappy career as an official to live a simple life in the countryside. Tao Qian's legacy was revived by Song writers, many of whom identified with his plight.
- 5) Dallying With Water Gallery (*Nongshui xuan* 弄水軒): named for Du Mu 杜牧 (803-852) the late Tang writer and poet, who had a pavilion built with the same name.
- 6) Planting Bamboo Studio (*Zhongzhu zhai* 種竹齋): named for Wang Huizhi 王徽之 (d. 388), son of the legendary calligrapher Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (321-379), who loved bamboos and planted them around his house.
- 7) Watering Flowers Kiosk (*Jiaohua ting* 澆花亭): named for the famous Tang poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), known for his love of flowers.

Having named these sites, Sima describes his experience of moving from one to the other, proceeding from the Reading Hall, where he studies the writings of the ancient masters, and then, tiring of that, going fishing or gathering herbs, tending to his flowers, or hiking up to a lofty perch from which to take in the views. Through the activity of moving through the

72 The significance of these named sites in Sima's garden is the topic of Robert E. Harrist Jr.'s illuminating article, *Site names and their meanings*. On the importance of naming in the Chinese tradition and its resurgence in the Song period, see Makeham, *Confucian role of names*. Makeham particularly emphasizes the role of naming in signaling participation in a community of »players« taking part in a shared performance.

73 Sima explains these references in his »Seven Inscriptions from the Garden of Solitary Pleasure« (*Du le yuan qi ti* 獨樂園七題). I follow Hargett's translation of these site names. For fuller descriptions of the sites and the figures associated with them, see Harrist, *Site names*, 209.

various sites of the garden, each dedicated to a past figure whose virtues and pleasures he identifies with, Sima transforms his garden into a living landscape in which to commune with figures past, and to enact both his pleasure and his virtue. He concludes by describing how the garden becomes for him a place of freedom:

When I proceed, nothing pulls me along; when I stop, nothing brings me to a standstill; my ears and eyes, lungs and intestines are entirely my own and I rely on myself alone. I don't know what pleasure in the world can possibly match this, and therefore I call my garden the »The Garden of Solitary Pleasure.«⁷⁴

Sima's reference to the parts of his body is highly significant. For it is through his body, which is inalienably his own, that he experiences his freedom and the possibility of self-realization. Even when politics has turned sour for him, when he has lost his place in society and in the court, his body remains his own, and he does with it as he wills. This attention to the workings of his own body reveals the further significance of the garden and its pleasures for Sima: the garden offers a home for his body to roam freely and achieve what it needs, thereby allowing him to realize his genuine pleasures. Beyond merely providing an account of a man enjoying his garden, Sima's testimony of the pleasure he has achieved in his garden is a defense of his own self-worth, independence and autonomy.

The theme of the garden as a place in which to realize one's agency and freedom through the workings of the body is also prominent in Su Shunqin's 蘇舜欽 (1008-1048), »Record of Canglang Pavilion«.⁷⁵ The narrative begins with Su's disclosure about how, having been dismissed from his official post, he comes to purchase the plot of land that would eventually become his famous garden. This crisis, which unanchors him from a position of stability and leaves him without a place to call home, sets him on a path of wandering. After a period of both geographical dislocation and psychic and emotional frustration, Su eventually finds a deserted plot of land, covered with bamboo groves, and purchases it for 40,000 strings of cash. He builds a pavilion on the south bank of the stream, and calls it Canglang 滄浪, or the Azure Pavilion.

Having related the sequence of events leading to his procuring of the plot, Su devotes a few lines to describing the natural enchantments of the place, but the rest of the account is notably autobiographical: it tells of what happened to him upon his arrival at the property; how he sang while drinking and laughed out loud by himself, with only the birds and fish to share his pleasures (*gong le* 共樂); and how he came to reconnect to what one might call his true self through the experience of the simple pleasures of his body. As Su explains, it is through the body that one can realize the proper way to live and understand the world: »If the body (*xing* 形) attains what is proper to it, the spirit (*shen* 神) is not vexed; if what one sees and hears is not depraved, then the Dao is illuminated.«⁷⁶ This focus on the body and its engagements with real objects in the world reveals a crucial dimension of Su's conception of the self, and the human being more generally – namely, that we are emotional beings that need to lodge our emotions in the proper objects of concern:

74 Sima, *Sima Gong wenji*, juan 66.

75 Su, *Su Xueshi Wenji*, juan 13. Xu Xinong's translation and introduction of this text can be found in Campbell and Hardie, 245-247. See also Xu, *Interplay of image*.

76 Su, *Su Xueshi Wenji*, juan 13.

Ah! Humans are indeed sentient beings. The affections (*qing* 情) can so teem within one that one's true nature (*xing* 性) lies concealed; this true nature only finds its expression when the affections are lodged in things external to oneself. But if one's affections remain lodged there for too long, one can become obsessed with these external objects, and that lodgment becomes second nature. Unless one overcomes this situation and transfers [the affections to their proper concerns], one will be full of grief and frustration (*bei er bu kai* 悲而不開).⁷⁷

In accordance with this account of the workings of human emotions, the garden becomes, for Su, the arena in which his fundamental needs – what is proper to his emotional, psychological, physical and moral well-being – are fulfilled. And the pleasure that he achieves in the garden is his self attaining what is proper to it. This pleasure is what testifies to his realization of the Dao – a process that is, paradoxically, described as one of »self-overcoming« (*zi sheng* 自勝).

The »self« that is overcome here is precisely the self that is captivated by the allure of glory and success in one's career. This is a direct reference to a passage in the canonical early Daoist text, the *Daodejing*, which states, »One who knows others is wise; one who knows oneself is intelligent; one who overcomes others possesses strength; one who overcomes oneself is powerful.«⁷⁸ It is, paradoxically, by overcoming oneself – that is, one's desires and longing for glory, power and advancement – that one can achieve real, worldly strength and power. For Su, then, to devote one's life to the pursuit of glory in one's career and take part in the competition for worldly success is problematic, not because it will lead to failure in achieving these goals, but because it will destroy one's person. To pursue the path of an official is to live a life of unfulfilled desires and passions, which will inevitably lead to grief and frustration. Su's claim is that his dismissal from office is what has allowed him to »overcome himself« and enjoy a peaceful life of tranquility – a life that has been made possible by his garden. The pleasure that he achieves there, in his alternative, private world, both enables and testifies to his realization of his most fundamental human aspirations. The garden opens the possibility of living a more natural and authentic existence, and of achieving freedom in a world of his own making. The vehicle of this freedom is ultimately his own self – a self that delights in the free and proper functioning of his body through its experience of pleasure in the garden.

The Pleasures of Classicizing Learning in the Byzantine Garden

Byzantine writings about pleasure and the garden are not as detailed as their Chinese counterparts. Nonetheless, the garden had consistently been a *locus amoenus* (an idealized place where one loves to be) since at least the second century, and, as such, it indulged the beholder with its enchantments.⁷⁹ References to such *loci amoeni* multiplied after the middle of the eleventh

77 Su, *Su Xueshi Wenji*, juan 13. Translation adapted from Xu, in Hardie and Campbell, 245-247.

78 Laozi, *Laozi Deodejing*, juan 33.

79 And not only in Greek literature. See about the garden as a *locus amoenus* in, e.g., the Latin literature in Myers, *Docta Otia*; Henderson, *Hortus*; Pagán, *Rome*. The term *locus amoenus* was introduced by E. R. Curtius in the mid-50s (*Europäische Literatur*, 191–209). For modern treatments of the term see Hass, *Der locus amoenus*; Schönbeck, *Der Locus*, and the most remarkable collection of studies edited by Renée Ventresque, *Le locus amoenus: variations autour d'un paysage idéal*. I am most grateful to Yannis Papadogiannakis for suggesting Ventresque's book.

century and during the twelfth century. Crucially, gardens were now falling within the purview of personal space. They were complex landscapes able to reveal the virtuous nature of their beholders (owners and visitors alike). In the context of a general, more vigorous interest in the self during the eleventh and twelfth centuries,⁸⁰ it comes as little surprise that the garden was transformed into a personal *locus amoenus*, granting different forms of pleasure to its maker, beholder and reader.

Pleasure was a *pathos* for the Byzantines. *Pathē* (sing. *pathos*) is the Byzantine concept closest to the modern term »emotions«. A *pathos* befalls someone, thus causing different responses according to the beholder's ethical disposition.⁸¹ Like any *pathos*, pleasure has a negative potential (called *apolausis* in our period) and a positive one (named *terpsis/terpolē*, and its near synonyms *hēdonē*, *thymēdia*, *charmonē* and *charis*).⁸² The term *apolausis* indicates an excessive drive to experience pleasure, while its direct opposite, *terpsis*, signifies a moderate interest in pleasure. *Terpsis* and its synonyms are inescapably connected with practicing a virtuous lifestyle. The distinction between *terpsis* and *apolausis* is exemplified in the discussion of gardens and their relation to their creators. The garden of Digenis Akrites, a Byzantine epic hero living near the River Euphrates, is praised as *terpnos* – that is, it is characterized by *terpsis*.⁸³ In contrast to the virtuous garden of a hero, the garden of Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos is characterized by *apolausis*. That is hardly surprising for an emperor who, according to Psellos, was governed by his *pathē* and thus accused of debauchery.⁸⁴

The understanding of pleasure as a *pathos* is present already in the Platonic corpus, and its binary understanding – as something that can be ethically good or bad – is common in Antiquity.⁸⁵ Despite the flourishing of hedonistic philosophy during the Hellenistic era, pleasure is rarely discussed systematically in Christian philosophy. A bishop in Syria, Nemesios of Emesa, composed one of the few systematic treatments of the topic in the late fourth century

80 On the so-called »emergence of individuality« after the middle of the eleventh century, see, Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change*, 220-230. For a more recent and complex discussion of the distinction between the self and the individual, see Lauxtermann, *Poetry*, 192-193. For the self in twelfth-century Latin Europe, see the seminal study by Carolyn Bynum, *Did the twelfth century*.

81 Hinterberger, *Emotions* (with further bibliography).

82 The word *hēdonē* is also used for denoting a negative form of pleasure, but such instances are rare in the eleventh century. See, e.g., Michael Psellos, *Ekphrasis or Allegory of Circe*, ed. Littlewood, no. 33, 18-22, transl. Angelidi, p. 288. The nuanced meaning of a term often changes with the passing of time. The terminology here is detailed using sources from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

83 The garden of Digenis is described in a twelfth-century record of the epic, *Digenis Akrites*, Grottaferrata version, bk. 7, 8-44, trans. Jeffreys.

84 On the garden of Monomachos see above, 237. The description of the garden is included in passages expressing *Kaiserkritik*, see Ljubarski, *E prosopikoteta*, 310-315. In one of his letters, Psellos points out that the »apolaustikos vios« (pleasurable life) led to the downfall of the Roman imperium. On *Kaiserkritik* in the work of Psellos, see Tinnefeld, *Kategorien*, 122-134.

85 For a detailed discussion of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Imperial philosophical understandings of pleasure, the reader can refer to works such as, Destrée, *Pleasure and Wolfsburg*, *Pleasure*, which includes a discussion of hedonistic philosophy.

CE. In his treatise, *On Human Nature*, Nemesios, an Aristotelian thinker and a theologian, refutes hedonistic theories.⁸⁶ Given that such a refutation of hedonistic theories would have been appropriate for Christian ethics, it remained relevant throughout the history of Byzantium. However, Nemesios' works had limited circulation in the twelfth century.⁸⁷ Three centuries later, Maximos the Confessor (580-662), an original Christian thinker with a great command of Hellenic philosophy, attempts to explain the birth of pleasure in the human soul.⁸⁸ He stipulates that pleasure is created through the combination of sensation and desire. As the sensible world is important in this understanding of pleasure, pleasure itself can move the soul towards the material world. The truly holy men receive a higher experience of pleasure. Practicing virtuous deeds, they transform that movement so as to adorn the body »with the beauty of divine manifestations«. ⁸⁹ In other words, with the right experience of pleasure, human beings can come closer to God. Maximos the Confessor, whose work acquired popularity especially in the period under consideration, was heavily influenced by the work of Dionysius the Areopagite and Neoplatonism⁹⁰ – a philosophical movement that flourished between the third and sixth centuries CE.

The interest in Neoplatonism during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries underpins an expanded vision of classicizing learning. Beyond subtle references to the Garden of Eden from the Jewish tradition, discussions of human gardens were traditionally »classicizing«, referring to classical literary works familiar to all Byzantine school pupils, such as the Homeric epics.⁹¹ The reference to classical texts from the school curriculum is most clearly exemplified in the work of the tenth-century scholar John Geometres (c. 935-late tenth century). Geometres, who found refuge in his garden after he (probably) fell into imperial disfavor, took pride in the fact that his place of consolation did not simply resemble the garden of the mythical Alcinous from the seventh book of the *Odyssey*, but even surpassed it in beauty.⁹² References to the garden of Alcinous were ubiquitous in writings from later centuries, but later authors, seeking inspiration in philosophical works from the first to the sixth centuries CE, rediscovered »the garden of Zeus«, a reference to the Platonic *Symposium* that was further developed by the leading Neoplatonic philosopher, Plotinus (204/205-270 CE).⁹³

86 As did many of his rough contemporaries. See, e.g., Gregory of Nazianzus, *Moral Poems*, in *Patrologia Graeca* 37: 736-737 or *Against Julian 1* (Oration 4), *Patrologia Graeca* 35: 593; Nemesios, *On Human Nature*, ed. Morani, section 18; trans. Sharples and Van der Eijk, *Nemesios*, 134-139. Nemesios's treatise has been discussed in Walker, Apolausis. We are greatly indebted to Alicia Walker for allowing us to see a pre-publication version of her text.

87 Sharples and Van der Eijk, *Nemesios*, 4.

88 On Maximos the Confessor, see Booth, Maximos the Confessor, and Conostas, *On Difficulties in the Church Fathers*, especially x-xiii and xxii-xiii with further bibliography.

89 Maximos the Confessor, *Ambigua (=On Difficulties) to John*, Amb. 10.2b, ed. Conostas, 160, transl. 161.

90 On Maximos' response to Neoplatonism (as compared to that of Dionysius the Areopagite) see Conostas, *The transformation of Christian Neoplatonism*.

91 On the Christian Paradise/Garden of Eden in Byzantium see Maguire, *Paradise withdrawn*. On the garden of Alcinous see p. 235 above.

92 For the classicizing elements in Geometres' garden, see the discussion by Demoen, *Homeric garden*, esp. 120.

93 On Neoplatonic language, inspired by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, in Geometres' *Ekphrasis* on the basilica of the Stoudios monastery, see Maguire, *Nectar & Illusion*, 127-128.

Interest in classical works beyond those included in the school curriculum was expressed in the genre of romantic novels. That genre first flourished between the second and the fifth centuries CE, but afterwards, the composition of novels ceased until the twelfth century.⁹⁴ From the twelfth century, a small cluster of four romances connected to the Constantinopolitan court survives. Although references to gardens were rather limited in the ancient novels, they were more prevalent in their medieval successors.⁹⁵ Eustathios Makrembolites' *Hysmine and Hysminias* is one of these medieval novels and is of particular interest for our discussion, given that it includes no fewer than four (shorter or longer) *ekphraseis*.⁹⁶

Hysmine and Hysminias narrates the turbulent love of Hysminias, a herald sent from the fictional city of Eurykomis to the equally fictional city Aulikomis, and Hysmine, a noblewoman of Aulikomis.⁹⁷ Early in the plot we read about the garden in the palace of Hysmine's father, Sosthenes. That garden was a place of antiquity: it contained no Christian landmarks, such as crosses or churches, but instead made references to antique columns, statuary and depictions of classicizing personified figures, such as the cardinal virtues or Eros.⁹⁸ The description, in Hysminias's voice, begins thus:

This [garden] was full of cheering grace (*charis*) and pleasure (*hēdonē*), brimming with plants completely full of flowers. The cypresses are in rows, the myrtles form a dense covering, the vines are wreathed with grape clusters [...] Seeing this I thought I beheld Alcinous' garden and felt that I could not take as fiction the Elysian plain so solemnly described by the poets. For laurel and myrtle and cypresses and vines and all the other plants that adorn a garden, or rather that Sosthenes' garden contained, had their branches raised like arms and, as if setting up a dance, they spread a roof over the garden but they permit the sun to filter through to the ground in as much as the zephyr blew and rustled the leaves. When I saw this I said, »Sosthenes, you have woven me a golden chain.⁹⁹

The opening sentence of this passage sets the tone for the rest of the description, starting with the two nearly synonymous words for pleasure: *charis*, implying charming pleasure, and *hēdonē*, adding an element of delight. The comparison to the mythical garden of Alcinous, the mythical ruler of the Phaeacians in the *Odyssey*, emphasizes the impact of the garden's beauties on the beholder.¹⁰⁰ Aesthetic pleasure is also evoked with the flowery meadows, myrtles and dense tree canopies – a description that finds a parallel in Makrembolites' literary model, the first- or second-century CE novel *Leukippe and Kleitophon* by Achilles Tatius, and the *Ekphrasis of a Garden* by Libanios discussed above.¹⁰¹ The reference to the

94 See Nilsson, Romantic love; and Nilsson and Zagklas, »Hurry up«, for the persistent presence of novels in Byzantium. On the medieval novel, see Nilsson, *Raconter*, 57-86.

95 For a list of descriptions of gardens in ancient and medieval romances see Littlewood, Romantic paradises, 110-114.

96 Makrembolites, *Hysmine and Hysminias*, 1.4-6, 2.1-11, 3.8, and 4.4-20, ed. Marcovich. On the novel and the *ekphraseis* see Walker, *Domestic gardens*.

97 For a full summary of the plot see: Jeffreys, *Four Byzantine Novels*, 168-170.

98 *Hysmine and Hysminias*, I.5.2-6 and see below for the depiction of the personifications of the cardinal virtues and eros. Cf. the garden in Niketas Eugenianos (d. after 1158), *Drosilla and Charikles*, I, ed. Conca, 102-108, transl. Jeffreys.

99 *Hysmine and Hysminias*, I.4.1. and I.4.3-4, trans. Jeffreys, 179. The last word is translated as »cord« in Jeffreys.

100 *Odyssey* 7.112-131. On the specific passage Nilsson, *Erotic Pathos*, 86-99.

101 Achilles Tatius, *Leukippe and Kleitophon*, ed. Vilborg, 1.1.2-13. For the relation of Makrembolites' novel to that by Tatius, see Nilsson, Static imitation.

»golden chain«, which Hysminias claims Sosthenes had woven for him, is an indirect and simultaneous evocation of Neoplatonic cosmology and Christian ethics. Panagiotis Roilos has already underlined the connection of the particular passage with Neoplatonic texts, but below we revisit the argument and expand it in the context of the search for pleasure in the Byzantine garden.¹⁰²

The »golden chain« is mentioned in the *Iliad* as the chain with which Zeus bound the two worlds, that of the immortals to that of the mortals.¹⁰³ Crucially, the allegorical interpretation of the myth was developed by the Neoplatonists between the third and the fifth centuries CE, and Michael Psellos resumed these discussions in the middle of the eleventh century.¹⁰⁴ Psellos traces the interpretations of the »golden chain«, first, to semi-mythical Orphic poetry; second, to Plato's *Theaetetus* and, thirdly to the Neoplatonic tradition. The relevant passage reads:

But these are their myth. Indeed, the creator, that Zeus, having fixed the first and second orders of the gods, in a way appropriate to an accord of agreement, placed that golden chain; for it is a symbol of their entanglement and bond. So the first were kept together with the second, the third with the second, and the rest by continuity, and all were relying on the First Principle, which according to the Hellenes [i.e., pagans] is Zeus. But the related natures, which were connected with the first god, cannot apply any restraint on Zeus, but he can easily pull them all towards him. The worst can turn to the best, but the best cannot turn to the worst, until they keep their proper order. Thus the body [can turn] to the soul, the soul towards the intellect, and the intellect can ascend towards god, but they cannot turn towards those that are subject to them.¹⁰⁵

Psellos may name Iamblichus and Proclus in his treatise and include a digression to explain the views of Porphyry, but his interpretation of the mythical golden chain is ultimately rooted in Plotinus' *Enneads* (which were indeed recorded by Porphyry).¹⁰⁶ Specifically, what lies behind Psellos' interpretation is the distinction between the intelligible world and the intellect, and what is even more important is the interest in the distinction between the sensible and intelligible world, and in the ascent of the intellect, which can subsequently lead to the One (which is the absolutely beautiful and good).¹⁰⁷ The ascent to the level of the intellect is the ultimate aim for humanity according to the *Ennead On Intellect, Ideas and Being* (5.9).¹⁰⁸

102 Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia*, 175-183. A connection with Neoplatonism is also found in the novel's very title, Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia*, 170-175.

103 *Iliad* 8.18-27; cf. *Iliad*, 15.14-33, trans. Lattimore, *Iliad*, pp. 200-201 and 330-331 respectively.

104 Michael Psellos, *On the Golden Chain*, no. 46, ed. Duffy, 164-168. There is no English translation available. For a translation in French see Lévêque, *Aurea Catena Homeri*, 78-81. The commentary on the *Iliad* by Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *Commentary on the Iliad*, ed. Van der Valk, 514, also includes an exegesis on the golden chain; Eustathius, however, mainly considers the stoic interpretation that the golden chain stands for the four elements. On Psellos in general, see Jenkins, Psellos.

105 The translation is ours. Michael Psellos, *On the Golden Chain*, no. 166, ed. Duffy, 52-64.

106 Regarding the references to Proclus, see Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia*, 176-177.

107 Plotinus, *Ennead on Eros*, 3.5.9, trans. Gerson *et al.*, 302-303.

108 That would not be the first time that Psellos engages with *Ennead* 5.9; see Lauritzen, Psellos and Plotinos, 717-719.

In a letter, Psellos proclaims his inclusion among this most elevated kind of human, pronouncing proudly: »As I profess philosophy [...] I should be attached only to the ›golden chain‹ of heaven.«¹⁰⁹ What is also important for this discussion is that the higher human being aims to reside in a specific place, which for Psellos – who takes a lead from Plotinus’ »well-governed fatherland« – becomes Heaven. If the Christian Heaven is associated with the ultimate garden, Eden/Paradise (*paradeisos* literally meaning »garden«¹¹⁰), Plotinus – quite conveniently for the Christian discourse – locates this place in a garden:

It is in the Soul, then, that this expressed principle takes its place as it comes from Intellect, flowing into his [i.e., Zeus’] garden at the time when Aphrodite is said to be born.

And every garden is a glorious display and ornamental expression of wealth, but the domains of Zeus are brilliant with reason and his ornaments are the glories that enter into the Soul from Intellect itself. What could the garden of Zeus really be except the glorious image of his person? And what could his glories and adornments be other than the expressed principles which flow from him? The expressed principles taken together are identical with Plenty, his abundance and wealth of beautiful things already revealed.¹¹¹

According to Plato, the garden of Zeus is where Eros was conceived.¹¹² For Plotinus, the perfection of the garden of Zeus – often considered the same as the One – mirrors the virtuous nature of its maker. The reference here to a garden associated with the very existence of Eros is crucial for understanding pleasure. Pleasure for Neoplatonists derives from the desire to observe the One.¹¹³ That desire is driven by Eros and is addressed towards beauty and goodness.¹¹⁴ The highest pleasure is achieved by transcending to the level of the intellect and being unified, thanks to Eros, with the One.¹¹⁵

Returning to *Hysmine and Hysminias*, this Neoplatonic pleasure is the one Makrembolites endows his protagonist with, and which he invites the reader to observe. Makrembolites was acquainted with the rhetorical aesthetics preached by Psellos,¹¹⁶ but the passage from the novel quoted above takes the discourse a step further. The connection between the medieval novel and the ancient *Ennead On Eros* becomes established directly with Eros’ image as an enthroned king (»Eros the King«) depicted together with that of the cardinal virtues on the

109 Ἔδει με γὰρ φιλοσοφίαν ἐπαγγελλόμενον μὴ δ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶδέναι, [...] μόνης τῆς χρυσοῦς σειρᾶς ἐξηρητῆσθαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Papaioannou, *Rhetoric and Authorship*, 207-208.

110 Discussed in detail by Della Dora, *Landscape*, 93-117.

111 *Ennead* 3.5: *On Eros*, trans. Boys-Stones *et al.*

112 According to Diotima, Eros was conceived at a birthday party for Aphrodite, which took place in the garden of Zeus. *Symposium*, 203b, ed. Burnet, trans. Nehamas and Woodruff, *Plato Symposium*, 48.

113 Plotinus, *Enneads*, ed. Henry and Scwyzer, 1.1.5. Cf. Van Riel, *Pleasure*, 100. Neoplatonists like Plotinus place little importance on pleasure. In fact, the excerpt from *Ennead* 5.9 (*On Intellect, Ideas and Being*) is preceded by a declaration of the superiority of (Neo)Platonism in two schools of philosophy that had placed pleasure at the center of the discussion: Epicureans and Stoics. For Neoplatonism (as for Plato) pleasure is a *pathēma*. Maximus the Confessor, *Ambigua (=On Difficulties) to John*, Amb. 10.2b, ed. Constan, 160, transl. 161.

114 Plotinus, *Enneads*, ed. Henry and Scwyzer, 5.9. Cf. Michael Psellos, *Ekphrasis of Eros Carved on Stone*, ed. Littlewood, no. 34, ll. 16-30, trans. Angelidi, 288-289.

115 Van Riel, *Pleasure*, 107-117.

116 Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos*, 248.

wall surrounding Sosthenes' garden.¹¹⁷ The virtues are related to the ethical connotation of the garden in a Christian context, and, indeed, Psellos interprets the Neoplatonic discourse related to the golden chain as an allegory for Christian virtue: the One is the Christian God (a unity with three *hypostaseis*). God separated the sensible and the intelligible worlds, where humans and angels live. Humans can become angels, but angels cannot become humans.¹¹⁸ Reading the passage thus, the garden of Sosthenes retains pleasure because it functions as a place of transmutation between the Christian worlds.¹¹⁹

Virtues are important for pleasure in the classicizing garden of Eros the King. On the second day of their sojourn in Sosthenes' palace, Hysminias and his companion Kratisthenes once again praise the pleasure they receive in the garden in the most emphatic way possible:

On the following day, we went into the garden again, and fed our eyes with its charms (*charis*), drawing the pleasure (*hēdonē*) down into our souls. For the garden was the abode of all good things, a dwelling place for the gods, and was all charm (*charis*) and pleasure (*hēdonē*), a delight (*terpsis*) to the eyes, comfort to the heart, consolation to the soul, repose for the limbs and rest for the body.¹²⁰

Pleasure, while not originally the central topic of *Hysmine and Hysminias*, comes to the center of the discussion. It is the beauty of the garden that causes this change of focus. Beauty and goodness are intimately related in post-fifth-century Greek philosophy and, according to Plotinus, beauty exists in virtue (*aretē*). As such, it can cause »pleasurable excitement« (*ptoēsīn meth' hēdonēs*).¹²¹ Thus, it is not surprising that in Makrembolites' description pleasure derives from all the »good things« in the garden, namely the classicizing depictions of the four cardinal virtues, Prudence, Fortitude, Chastity and Justice, as well as of Eros.¹²² The Neoplatonic idea that (good) pleasure co-exists with virtue (*aretē*) was developed further by a Neoplatonist par excellence of the twelfth century: Eustratios, the metropolitan of Nicaea.¹²³ In his refutation against Islam, included in his commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, Eustratios suggests that the only good life is the one that contains pleasure led by virtue.¹²⁴

117 *Hysmine and Hysminias*, II.2.1-11; IV.21. The connection with the garden of Zeus mentioned in the speech of Diotima in the Symposium becomes explicit in *Hysmine and Hysminias*, II.7. For a discussion of Eros in general in twelfth-century novelistic literature, see James, *Eros*, 410-411; Magdalino, *Eros the king*; Cupane, *Eros basileus*. For a different approach that suggests Makrembolites' direct or indirect dependence on Proclus, see Roilos, *Amphoteroglossia*, 179-183.

118 Michael Psellos, *On the Golden Chain*, no. 46, ed. Duffy, 100-110.

119 On Christian allusions in Komnenian novels, see Burton, *Reviving*.

120 *Hysmine and Hysminias*, II.1.1. The passage is also translated and discussed in Walker, *Domestic gardens*.

121 Plotinus, *Enneads*, ed. Henry and Scwyzer, 1.4, especially lines, 15-17.

122 *Hysmine and Hysminias*, II.1-6. On the strategies of seeing the virtues, see Chatterjee, *Viewing and description*.

123 See, e.g., Trizio, *Neoplatonismo*. Eustratios, like Psellos, believed in the chain to which »the second term is always connected first and maintains similarity with it.« *Commentary in Nicomachean Ethics VI*, 317, 30-32. For a detailed discussion, see Trizio, *Eleventh- to twelfth-century Byzantium*, 193.

124 On the Neoplatonic material of the commentary, see Trizio, *Neoplatonic source-material*; on the refutation of Islam, see Trizio, *Neoplatonic refutation*, with further parallel from Eustathios' commentary on the first book of the Aristotelian work.

Neoplatonism was a form of classicizing learning, as it included studying texts from a vaguely defined yet revered past. In contrast to the classical texts included in the school curriculum, Neoplatonic interests were challenged throughout the late eleventh and twelfth centuries – given that Neoplatonism was seen as a threat against Orthodox Christianity. In 1082, Psellos' student and Eustratios' teacher, Michael Italos, was condemned by the Church for his Neoplatonic beliefs. A few years later, Eustratios himself was tried for heresy. Nonetheless, Psellos, Eustratios, and Makrembolites were all connected to the higher aristocratic and administrative strata of the imperial capital. Psellos was the official *consul of the philosophers* and educator of an emperor, Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071-1078). Eustratios, a court theologian, composed his (Neoplatonic) commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics* at the request of Anna Komnene, the aunt of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143-1180).¹²⁵ Finally, Makrembolites' novel, like its contemporary counterparts, was written to entertain an aristocratic audience.¹²⁶ And, indeed, a number of contemporary figures had an uneasy relationship with the revival of Neoplatonism essentially initiated by Psellos.¹²⁷ That fear of persecution explains why Makrembolites had hidden references to Neoplatonic influences that could pass unnoticed by the average reader, while the *pepaideumenoí* would take double pleasure from the philosophy and the beautiful words of the descriptions.

For literati, pleasure in the garden derived from the beauty of colors and aromas, and from the excitements of (classicizing) learning similar to that discussed above.¹²⁸ For instance, Constantine Manasses (c.1130-c.1187) admires the library in the church of Hagia Sophia, describing it as a garden with »book-bearing trees«. ¹²⁹ In an *ekphrasis* dating from the very beginning of the thirteenth century, fervent discussions of medicine are said to be conducted in the garden of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.¹³⁰

An unpublished address by the intellectual Gregory Antiochos (?1125-after 1196) to his contemporary, the major patron of arts George Kamateros, exemplifies the delights of learning. Antiochos was hoping to enjoy in the garden. Antiochos complains about the great preoccupations deriving from his post as a judge by recollecting good times past, when he was dedicated to studying and learning, as if he were living in »a sweet small garden« (*glykyn kēpion*).¹³¹ The wording »sweet small garden« indicates a protected and comfortable place. Such a place, we read next, would allow Antiochos to withdraw from his daily toils and labors in the imperial bureaucracy, and offer security. Antiochos describes his transition from a student of (classicizing) learning to an imperial official in terms of a new expulsion from

125 Trizio, *Neoplatonismo*, 22-74.

126 Trizio, Eleventh- to twelfth-century Byzantium, 200-201 and 203. See also Mariev, *Neoplatonic Philosophy*, 12-13.

127 See Trizio, Eleventh- to twelfth-century Byzantium, and Mariev, *Neoplatonic Philosophy*, 7-13.

128 For Classical and Hellenistic associations between the garden and learning, see Della Dora, *Landscape*, 94. The sensual perception of the garden can be found, for example, in all eleventh- and twelfth-century descriptions of gardens discussed in this article.

129 Constantine Manasses, *Short Chronicle*, ed. Lampsides, 4190-4197.

130 Nicholaos Mesarites (c.1163/1164-after 1216), *Description*, XLII, ed. Downey, trans. Angold, 129-130.

131 *Logos to Andronikos Doukas Kamateros*, Scor. Y.II.10, f. 380v-381. See Kazhdan and Franklin, Gregory, esp. 201-202.

Paradise (the Greek *paradeisos* also meaning »garden«). Our author fears that were he to have stayed in the garden, *apolausis* would have taken over the place of *terpnotes* (= noun from *terpnos*, a positive form of pleasure) and his eternal salvation would have been lost. Thus, Antiochos finds pleasure in the garden, but fears the consequences of that pleasure being experienced without pain and moderation.

If the personified virtues (together with the depiction of Eros) are said to fence off Sosthenes' garden in *Hysmine and Hysminias*, self-moderation of one's own pleasure in the garden is required by Theodore Prodromos in his poem *On the Garden*.¹³² Its exact date and context remain unknown, just as it remains unclear whether it was intended as a school exercise or a verse inscription. Yet, this poem of forty-four verses emphasizes a Christian understanding of the garden, which finds parallels to Neoplatonic worldviews evoking a restrained pleasure that could lead to the One.¹³³

At first glance, the poem reads like a rhetorical exercise, with Prodromos advocating restrained enjoyment of the ample pleasures offered in the garden. »Here, a white lily!« Prodromos points out to the reader in the first stanza, but then immediately calls for caution: »Reap, but with chastity!« (v. 3). The second stanza is a *memento mori*, for Prodromos uses the blooming fields that wither in winter, as a figuration for the mortality of humanity. As Prodromos advocates, if humans think about death, Christians would think about Paradise and the joys offered in the divine garden. The text subsequently passes from the material world to the intelligibility of Eden in the third and fourth stanzas. The poet reflects again on the material garden. He addresses a personification of the garden with admiration for »how many pleasures [...] are teeming« and the delight he offers to the beholders in stanza four. In the last stanza, Prodromos speaks directly to the beholder: »the mortal« is asked to enjoy pleasure in the garden but to not forget that »nothing in life is free from toil and trouble.« Prodromos starts from the earthly garden yet transitions to the divine. That full transition from the sensible garden to the intelligible one, Paradise, can only be achieved by an individual who chooses to practice true virtue. This includes self-restraint in this material world.¹³⁴ Unmitigated choice is the kind of freedom one experiences in the earthly garden. If the choice is virtuous, then one can arrive at true self-realization: the return to the first condition of humanity and the return to the lost garden, Paradise.

132 New edition and translation, Theodore Prodromos, *On a Garden*, ed. Zagklas, 395-400. Cf. Nilsson, *Nature controlled by artistry*, 21-23.

133 On Prodromos and his relation to Neoplatonic circles, see Trizio, *Neoplatonismo*, 67-70, and Magdalino, *Manuel*, 390-391.

134 Cf. the discussion of virtues in Plotinus, *Enneads*, ed. Henry and Scwyzer, 1.2: *On Virtues, according to which, practicing a virtuous stance is related to the sensible world*.

Conclusions

Our comparative examination of the discourses of pleasure in Byzantium and China during the eleventh and twelfth centuries reveals two rather different political, cultural and conceptual worlds. Among many significant contrasts, several have been highlighted here. While Byzantine literati mostly wrote about gardens that they did not own, and in a genre that was rhetorically designed to evoke pleasure, Chinese literati often wrote about gardens that they owned, and in an autobiographical mode that was also a literary self-performance before a wider literati public. While Byzantine gardens were primarily walled urban gardens, and their literary depictions emphasized that they were places of security and protection, the private gardens that Chinese literati wrote about tended to emphasize open vistas afforded by pavilions and elevated outlooks.

A further contrast involves approaches to the body. In narratives of Chinese gardens, the body assumes considerable significance, with bodily experience becoming the very site of meaningful engagement with the garden. References to the body in Byzantine sources are limited when compared to sources from the Song era. When they do appear – as in the case of Makrembolites' texts – they are related to senses rather than to the body itself.¹³⁵ This difference reveals an essential divergence in the nature of the discourse of the garden between the two cultures. Byzantine authors were following the principles of *mimesis* (imitation) when writing about gardens. They were using literary examples from the past, often to describe what were imaginary worlds. The body as such was not included in this discourse.¹³⁶ By contrast, Song literati emphasized their personal experience, and also drew from an ancient tradition in which the body was understood as the starting point of engagement with the world.¹³⁷ It was thus not surprising that Song intellectuals seeking inspiration and validation from the ancients, and increasingly cognizant of the workings of the body,¹³⁸ would emphasize bodily experience in their writings about self-cultivation and personal realization.

A final point of comparison is the very means of experiencing pleasure in relation to the garden. In the Song writings considered here, pleasure was defined not so much in terms of objects, as attributes of a virtuous character, and as part of a statement about the very meaning of true virtue and the properly realized life. Byzantine gardens, for their part, functioned as ethical places in which pleasure (in a form that was virtuous or not) could befall someone. At a first level, that pleasure came from a harmonious unity of beautiful elements in an essentially built environment. At a second level, given that these were places that were to be experienced through literature, the true pleasure available to the audience was a statement of the writer's skills.

135 See above, 250.

136 Although the body had acquired a special significance in the twelfth century; see, Kazhdan, *Körper*.

137 On the centrality of the body and its role as the most intimate layer of the spatial ordering of reality in early China, see Lewis, *Construction of Space*, 13-76.

138 Not coincidentally, it was during the Song period that we find an empire-wide, court-sponsored campaign that sought to systematize medical knowledge, resulting in major advancements in the visual and spatial understanding of the workings of the body as an integrated whole. See Goldschmidt, *Evolution of Chinese Medicine*.

Despite these differences, however, there are some striking commonalities as well. Most basic is the conception of the garden as a space of ethical progress and self-realization. In Byzantium, this virtue is realized not so much by the act of shaping the garden (a privilege only for the few), as by the selective and thus personal viewing of a fenced area.¹³⁹ As landscape becomes a spectacle that is witnessed through the gaze of an individual, it is the nature (*physis*) of the viewer that defines whether the beholder will receive virtuous pleasure or its opposite from the part of the natural environment (also termed as *physis*) included in the fenced area of a garden. For their Chinese literati counterparts, the garden was a place to be transformed physically into a meaningful landscape through which one could navigate and experience one's freedom of movement, choice and creativity. But regardless of whether one actually owned and worked the garden that one was writing about – with Chinese literati literally fashioning out of their gardens a topographical emblem of their ideal selves, performed before others, while their Byzantine counterparts built beautiful rhetorical structures – for both, the garden became a place through which an ideal self could be cultivated, realized, and ultimately, expressed.

Another important commonality in the literary construction of the garden as a potential place of virtue is the role of classicization – here pointing not necessarily to ancient canonical texts, or to the ancient Greek tradition, in the Byzantine case, but to an idealized past embodying what was held as timeless principles or values. In Byzantium, the garden's association with the Garden of Eden, the paradigmatic, mythical garden in the Christianized world, made it, by definition, an ethically charged space. As shown above, the ethical significance of the garden was heightened as a result of the prominence of Neoplatonism. In Song China, in the absence of a mythology of a specific original or ideal garden that would have such an enduring and powerful hold over the imagination of later thinkers,¹⁴⁰ framing the garden as an ethically meaningful landscape was achieved through references to a constantly shifting repertoire of iconic past figures and texts.

Finally, in both the Chinese and Byzantine discourses, there was a deep relationship between pleasure and virtue. Pleasure was clearly conceived of as more than just a psychological or affective state: it was the evidence of a virtuous life, as achieved through the proper channels. True virtue entailed pleasure, and an important part of the literati interest in the garden was to furnish an arena in which the individual could achieve something like virtuous pleasure. The discourse of pleasure thus became part of an ethically complex package in which pleasure was vital to one's moral (and physical) well-being.

These commonalities ultimately point towards the world beyond Byzantium and China, potentially opening up space for further explorations in global approaches to the philosophy of pleasure, as well as to the cross-cultural history of gardens. Philosophically, the fascinating accounts of pleasure promulgated in these eleventh- and twelfth-century garden texts put into perspective the limits of certain modern approaches to pleasure in terms of pleasurable

139 A different aspect of the garden in fourteenth-century Byzantine romances as a place of female power and freedom emerges in the study of Kirsty Stewart, *Literary landscapes* (with further references).

140 Early poetic and mythological writings in China do contain accounts of gardens as fantastic, paradise-like places, the earliest known instances being in several poems included in the famous second century CE anthology, *The Songs of Chu* (*Chu ci* 楚辭), attributed to Qu Yuan 屈原 (c. 339-278 BCE), an official and poet from the state of Chu 楚. However, this text was not much invoked by the Song writers, who resorted rather to the canonical, classical writings, and to later historical figures deemed to embody the values they associated with the ancient sages.

feelings,¹⁴¹ and suggest that the more complex approach that links pleasure with virtue might not have been an aberration but rather a norm in the premodern world. In terms of the history of gardens, this preliminary study of the diverging yet resonant discourses of pleasure in the garden in Byzantium and China could be the starting point for further conversations among scholars working in other classicizing traditions about how pleasure, Antiquity and virtue might have come together in the ethical space of the garden.

Acknowledgements



This article was completed as part of the project *PAIX-UE. Classicising Learning in Medieval Imperial Systems: Cross-cultural Approaches to Byzantine Paideia and Tang/Song Xue*, which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (grant agreement no. 726371, 2017–2022).

We would like to thank the anonymous reviewers of this paper for their valuable comments and suggestions.

141 For recent critical discussions of this hedonistic approach, see, Nico Frijda, *Nature of pleasure*; and Duncker, *Pleasure, emotion and striving*. For a recent study that highlights the diversity and complexity of approaches to pleasure in the history of philosophy, see Shapiro, *Pleasure. A History*.

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Sectarian Rivalry in Ninth-Century Cambodia: A Posthumous Inscription Narrating the Religious Tergiversations of Jayavarman III (K. 1457)

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This article provides an edition and translation of an inscribed two-sided stela (K. 1457), discovered during the construction of a road in the northwest of Cambodia in 2019, that commemorates the endowment of a Viṣṇu temple during the reign of the ninth-century king Jayavarman III. The inscription, in Sanskrit verse except for a few lines in Khmer prose that give details of the grants made, is undated, but uses the posthumous name of Jayavarman III, namely Viṣṇuloka, whose death cannot have occurred later than 877 CE. »Syncretism« is a label often bandied about in connection with ancient Khmer religious life. In counterpoise, this epigraph alludes to Jayavarman III having attempted to drive out Buddhists and to convert his subjects into Śaivas, before being himself won over to Vaiṣṇava devotion, after his Śaiva chaplain was struck dumb and died during a debate with a priest of the temple of Cāmpesvara, once the most famous Viṣṇu temple in the Khmer religious landscape, whose location can no longer be determined with certainty. A second faith-inspiring drama is also sketched after the first endowment: a wife of the king entered Viṣṇu's temple while menstruating and began to bleed from her breasts. K. 1457 adds nuance to our picture of the interrelations between the classical Indian religions among the Khmers, and confirms the recognition at that time of three principal religionists: Buddhists, Vaiṣṇavas, and Śaivas. Comparison with evidence for religious rivalry specifically between Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas in different parts of the Indian sub-continent (particularly Nepal and the Tamil-speaking South) enables us to set the Cambodian evidence in a relevant context.

Keywords: »Hinduism«, religious history, religious nomenclature, Khmer history, religious persecution, religious conversion, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Buddhism

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Often it is damaged sculptures and speculations about iconoclastic vandalism that are used as evidence for movements of religious intolerance or allegations in records produced by non-witnesses removed in time or place from the events they document. In the case of the pre-Angkorian Khmer-speaking region, for instance, the seventh-century Chinese monk Yijing speaks of a wicked king who seized power and persecuted Buddhists.¹ As Revire has noted, however, Yijing travelled in maritime Southeast Asia and appears never to have visited the region in question.² But an undated inscription has now come to light that actually provides some near-contemporary written evidence produced »on the spot«, and it pertains to a period that is especially sparsely documented for Cambodia: the first three quarters of the ninth-century, in particular the reign of Jayavarman III.³ We know that this king bore the posthumous name Viṣṇuloka, which is used of him here, but how did he acquire this name? This inscription narrates two sanguinary tales that purport to explain first his »conversion« from being a devotee of Śiva to being a devotee of Viṣṇu, and then the confirmation of his Vaiṣṇava faith. It further records that, even before this conversion, he had somehow conceived a dislike of Buddhists (*jaina*), whom he attempted to drive out (*nirasya*), converting his subjects so that they became »Śaiva«.

The fact that the evidence about intolerance is in this case written, perhaps unsurprisingly, hardly makes any clearer what the extent of the attempts at persecution or conversion may have been, or how long they may have lasted. But it does add some nuance to our picture of the peaceful coexistence (and even intermixture) of rival religious traditions in what might be regarded as either the very beginning of the Angkorian period, or the last gasp of a pre-Angkorian prelude to it.

It raises further unanswerable questions too. Various forms of Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism all seem to have been present in the Khmer heartland in both Angkorian and pre-Angkorian times, but there seem to be few surviving epigraphic witnesses to the patronage of Buddhism by persons with direct contact with the royal court from this area in the pre-Angkorian period. This is different, of course, at least according to common consensus, for the Mon territory, where numerous endowments to Buddhist foundations are directly related to figures who claim royal status, such as the king of Canāśa, Face A of K. 400, and a princess of Dvāravatī in K. 1009, according to Skilling's reading, quoted by Revire.⁴ Revire, however, seeks to challenge this consensus, arguing that »Brahmanism« and Buddhism are both equally present across the entire Mon-Khmer region in pre-Angkorian times. This may be so, but evidence of direct royal patronage for Buddhist foundations seems especially thin for the pre-Angkorian Khmer-speaking territory.

Could this be because such Buddhist foundations and endowments closely backed by the court were hardly made there, or could the traces of some such foundations have disappeared because of occasional waves of intolerance, such as that alluded to in this inscription?

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- 1 For a brief account alluding to various scholars' identifications of the »wicked king« that have been proposed, see Dowling, *New light*, 129.
 - 2 See Revire, *Dvāravatī and Zhenla*, 408.
 - 3 Coëdes' list of inscriptions by reign, at the beginning of *Inscriptions du Cambodge* 8, 5, records no inscriptions dating from the reigns of the ninth-century kings Jayavarman II and Jayavarman III.
 - 4 Revire, *Dvāravatī and Zhenla*, 413.

A brief exploration, for comparison, of Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava hostility in the Indian subcontinent, to which there are a great many allusions, even if many are not clear and unequivocal, might be instructive. A number of pointers are furnished by S.A.S. Sarma's useful 2012 article bearing the self-explanatory title »Harmony and Conflicts between the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava Systems – The South Indian Scenario«. More recently, Sanderson's 2015 article on »Tolerance, Exclusivity, Inclusivity, and Persecution in Indian Religion During the Early Mediaeval Period« provides a magisterial view of the relations between the various religious traditions in this period, of the political forces that tended to hold them together under the protection of the king, and the manner in which their cohabitation was seen by the theologians of the different traditions. Sanderson also, in a section entitled »Persecution«⁵ refers to a small number of what appear to be instances of persecution or rhetoric suggestive of persecution. For a lively ninth-century emic take on these issues, one can do no better than read Jayantabhaṭṭa's comic drama the *Āgamaḍambara*, translated by Csaba Dezső.⁶

While there are such head-on engagements with the subject, it is clear that mutual rivalry is often instead sublimated into mythological or ritual expression. A neat illustration of both forms of expression may be found in a South Indian form of Śiva known as Śarabheśvara. According to an ancient myth, Viṣṇu took the form of Narasiṃha to rid the world of the fearsome demon Hiraṇyakaśipu, whom none other could vanquish. But Śaiva retellings of this myth tweak it to glorify Śiva instead. For they add that Narasiṃha afterwards ran amok and none could control his destructiveness other than Śiva, who took the form of a golden bird with a lion's body having four downward-turned feet and four upward-turned ones, according to *Uttara-Kāmika* 54,⁷ a chapter of a South Indian Temple Āgama prescribing the rules for the installation of Śarabheśvara. Because of the background story, the worship of Śarabheśvara's idol in the temple is inevitably a ritual reminder of the ultimate supremacy of Śiva. Such sectarian warring through myth has a long history. An older example is the *liṅgodbhava* myth, which purports to see the origin of *liṅga*-worship in a quarrel between Brahmā and Viṣṇu about supremacy, only to be outclassed by the appearance of Śiva as a column of fire of infinite length (for comparisons of various versions of this myth, see the articles of Kafle, Wagner-Hohenberger, and Bisschop).⁸

5 Sanderson, *Tolerance, exclusivity, inclusivity*, 207-214.

6 Dezső, *Much Ado about Religion*.

7 Ed. Svāmināthaśivācārya, *Kāmikāgamaḥ Uttarabhāgaḥ*.

8 Kafle, *Liṅgodbhava* myth; Wagner-Hohenberger, *On the composition of parallel versions*; and Bisschop, *Vyoman: The sky is the limit*.

In many such cases, it may seem to some to be far-fetched to assume that more than mild mutual intolerance lies behind the joshing of such competitive myths, but sculptural representations of Śarabha are perhaps exceptional, since they can be pinned down to a particular moment and context.⁹ As L'Hernault¹⁰ and Smith¹¹ have pointed out, only four Cōla-period images in stone are known, three of them in royal temples (Vikramacōlīśvara at Tukkacchi, Kampahāreśvara at Tribhuvanam, Airāvateśvara at Darasuram) and the fourth in Chidambaram. L'Hernault explains:¹²

L'aspect sectaire de cette représentation est indéniable car son apparition a été plus ou moins contemporaine du moment où il existait de fortes tensions entre les śivaïtes et les viṣṇuïtes à Chidambaram où le roi Vikrama Chola (1118-1135) fit jeter à la mer la statue de Tillai Govindarājapperumāl. Avec l'apaisement des querelles dès les règnes suivants il est normal qu'on ait abandonné une forme d'une agressivité aussi manifeste envers le Sivaïsme et qu'on ne la rencontre pas après le 12e.¹³

David Smith further speculates,

The royal aspect of the cult should also be stressed, and the bizarre form could be seen to reflect the growing political stresses as Cōla power waned – desperate measures calling for desperate means. One might contrast Rājarāja's preference for the calm and stately Tripurāri *mūrti*, which exclusively occupies the niches on the second storey of the *vimāna* of the Great Temple of Tanjavur.¹⁴

Now, while one might dispute this characterisation of Chola politics at the time, or indeed the implicit characterisation of the (arguably bellicose) flavour of representations of Śiva as the Enemy of the Three Citadels (Tripurāri), what seems clear is that an aggressively sectarian image (Śarabha) was royally and expensively favoured at a time when mutual hostility between Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas seems to have been expressed by acts of intolerance (the casting of the statue of Viṣṇu from Chidambaram into the sea).

Smith's book, by the way, concerns a poem in praise of the raised foot of Śiva dancing in Chidambaram in which Śarabha is mentioned in a protracted sequence of myths, where Śiva or the goddess must step in to check Viṣṇu's calamitously destructive power:

9 Versions of the tale of Śarabha, however, are, of course, spread widely across time and space, and there has been considerable evolution, some of which has been traced by Granoff, who shows that the earliest accounts of the Śarabha myth are not as aggressively sectarian (Granoff, *Saving the saviour*, 115-125).

10 L'Hernault, *Darasuram*, 88.

11 Smith, *Dance of Śiva*, 193.

12 L'Hernault, *Darasuram*, 88.

13 »The sectarian aspect of this representation is undeniable, for its appearance was more or less contemporaneous with the moment when strong tensions existed between the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas at Chidambaram when the king Vikrama Cōla (1118-1135) had thrown into the sea the statue of Tillai Govindarājapperumāl. With the pacification of the quarrels from the time of the following reigns it is not surprising that a form of such manifest aggression on the part of Śaivism was abandoned and is not found after the 12th century.« (Translation of Smith, *Dance of Śiva*, 193). Sanderson (Tolerance, exclusivity, inclusivity, 213, quoting Nilakanta Sastri and referring to the *Divyasūricarita*) also alludes to this episode, but ascribes it instead to Kulottuṅga II.

14 Smith, *Dance of Śiva*, 194.

One of the most striking sections of the *Kuñcitāṅghristava* is from verses 122-133, a section which begins with an irruption of terrible power as Śiva destroys one *avatāra* of Viṣṇu after another: each *avatāra* goes off the rails once it has achieved its intended purpose and has to be terminated.¹⁵

The history of the image of Govindarāja deep inside the Śaiva complex in Chidambaram, is a broad topic, but Sarma offers a brief overview.¹⁶ The Chidambaram case is well known for all sorts of reasons, but perhaps now rather hard to get to grips with factually, because so many sources of all periods (down to the big-budget popular Tamil film *Dasaavathaaram* of 2008, whose spectacular opening sequence reimagines the journey of the statue by boat through the mangrove forest to be cast into the ocean) offer discrepant versions. In fact, temple compounds with two principal shrines, one housing Śiva and one Viṣṇu, are rather common in the Tamil-speaking South. In contemporary Pondicherry, for instance, the so called Chetty Koil (or Kalatheeswar temple) has shrines to Śiva and Viṣṇu side by side within the same enclosure. Much earlier examples of such an arrangement are found at the rock-cut shrines of Malaiyaṭipaṭṭi and Tirumeyyam, both near Pudukkottai. In the case of the latter, a wall now divides the Vaiṣṇava part from the Śaiva one, following a litigious dispute between the two communities of worship in the thirteenth century. Our colleague Valérie Gillet intends to publish an account of the conflict there, which is reflected in dispositions that are recorded in Tamil inscriptions.¹⁷ In this particular case, there is documentary evidence, but such disputes may sometimes have occurred without leaving such explicit traces, so we cannot know how common they were.

For other sorts of evidence of Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava intolerance, we may turn to Mahabalipuram under the Pallavas. There is a distinctively Śaiva central shrine in the famous rock-cut shrine at Mahabalipuram that has facing high-relief sculptures of Viṣṇu lying on the serpent Ananta and of the goddess battling Mahiṣāsura, but, as Lockwood et al. have demonstrated,¹⁸ it was clearly a Vaiṣṇava shrine that was repurposed, already in Pallava times, as a Śaiva one. Was this a peaceful transformation? The most recent scholar to discuss Pallava-period iconoclasm is Emmanuel Francis, who draws other cases from the same site into the picture and argues that Śaiva transformations of Vaiṣṇava shrines were made in the late seventh and early eighth centuries with direct royal backing.¹⁹ He treats separately the special and complex case of the so-called Rāmānujamaṇḍapa there, which has long been assumed to be a rock-cut Śaiva shrine that was converted to a Vaiṣṇava one centuries later in the Vijayanagara period, a transformation that involved entirely chiselling away the high-relief sculptures to leave only flat scars on the rock walls. Outside, on either side of the opening of the cave, are relatively crudely scored schematic representations of Viṣṇu's principal emblems, the conch and the discus. What has not been effaced, however, is an inscription in large floridly calligraphic

15 Smith, *Dance of Śiva*, 191-192.

16 See Sarma, *Harmony and conflicts*, 109-111.

17 Valérie Gillet presented some of the evidence in a presentation entitled »Land, revenue, tax: breakdown in 13th-century Tirumeyyam« that was delivered at a conference on »Ruptures and Breakdowns in Temple Life« organised at the EFEO and IFP in Pondicherry in December 2016.

18 Lockwood et al., *Pallava Art*, 7-20.

19 Francis, Śaiva curse inscription, 188-191.

Pallava-period lettering carved into the floor of the entrance that curses all those without devotion in their hearts to Rudra! In fact several scenarios have been proposed as to what may have happened. Francis considers, for instance, the possibility that the vandalism of the sculptures might have happened in Pallava times, and that before that vandalism the cave might have been first Vaiṣṇava and then rededicated to Śiva.²⁰ Whatever did happen, it seems clear that mutual intolerance led to iconoclastic violence and that some of this violence had royal backing, as can be seen from the evidence of the virulent curse, beautifully and prominently engraved in the Rāmānujamaṇḍapa and in three other shrines at the site.

The thrones of worship that are visualised for enthroning deities offer examples of more purely ritual expression of religious rivalry, as Goodall has attempted to show in an article in 2011 entitled »The Throne of Worship: An 'Archaeological Tell' of Religious Rivalries«. ²¹ By incorporating rival deities (or sometimes the prostrate corpses of rival deities) into lower levels of the throne, a visual (or at least visualised) demonstration of their inferiority to the deity who sits in majesty on top is enshrined in daily ritual, frequent repetition of which then acts as a sort of catechesis. Close to the bottom of Śaiva thrones is Ananta, who may be seen historically as the cosmic serpent or as Viṣṇu.

Explicit references to religious debates with sanguinary conclusions are also to be found, but they tend to be between mutually more distant religious groups and to bear signs of poetic exaggeration. In Cēkkīlar's *Periyapurāṇam*, for instance, a twelfth-century hagiographical work in Tamil, it is recounted that the (possibly seventh-century) Śaiva singer-saint Jñānasambandha/Ñānacampantar engaged Jains in a debate at Madurai, and when he defeated them, the Pāṇḍya king, who had converted to Śaivism, had all 8000 Jains killed by impalement, a punishment for criminals. The tale is long and sinuous, covering stanzas 2497-2769.²²

Returning for a moment to the role of iconography in Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava relations, it seems worth quoting a stanza of a sixth-century Nepalese epigraph that records the installation of an image of Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa (often called Harihara), a form whose left half is half of Viṣṇu and whose right half is half of Śiva, by a certain Svāmivārtta in the reign of Gaṇadeva. The stanza in question (st. 3, out of 5) makes explicit that this deity, in whom Śiva and Viṣṇu are fused together, is one that calms dissensions because it unites the worshippers of both:²³

bhinne puṁsām jagati ca tathā devatābhaktibhāve
 pakṣagrāhabhramitamanasām pakṣavicchittihetoḥ
 ity arddhābhyām samuparacitaṁ yan murārīśvarābhyām
 ekaṁ rūpaṁ śaradijaghanaśyāmagauram tad avyāt//

And since the world of men is divided with respect to the nature of devotion to deities, with the idea it might be a cause of cutting away the bias of those whose minds are confused because of clinging to a side, half of Viṣṇu and half of Śiva formed a single form that is dark and light like a cloud that arises in autumn. May that form help [us]!

20 Francis, Śaiva curse inscription, 204-209.

21 Goodall, Throne of worship.

22 McGlashan, Holy Servants, 216-237. Whether or how this event really took place is unclear, but it has cast a long shadow over religious relations: see, for example, Umamaheshwari, *Reading History*, 18, 110, 209, 213, 288, 301, etc.

23 The inscription is No. 50 in Vajrācārya Dhanavajra's 1973 edition, *Licchavikālakā Abhilekha*.

In other words, just as some iconographic forms (such as the Śarabheśvara and Liṅgodbhava) were clearly sectarian (in varying degrees across time and space), others were seen to counter sectarianism and favour harmony. In addition to Svāmivārtta's installation of a Śāṅkara-Nārāyaṇa sculpture, another possible insight into Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava relations in the Kathmandu Valley may be gleaned from the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, a work incorporated in Nepalese manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus. There we find the veneration of Harihara and the inclusion of more Vaiṣṇava orientated themes and practices into a Śaiva textual framework, reflecting a religious environment in which there was a strong presence of Vaiṣṇava devotion (from early on) that had to adjust to competition with Śaiva devotion.²⁴

If, as seems not unlikely, Harihara was regarded as having a similar pacificatory role among the pre-Angkorian Khmers, then perhaps some of the images of Harihara bear witness to moments in which there was a political will to quell sectarian rivalries and promote harmony.²⁵ Unfortunately, the early inscriptional record does not tell us much about Harihara among the Khmers, for although there are a dozen pre-Angkorian epigraphs that mention him, the few clues they contain as to what might have governed the choice of this divine form are shadowy and ambiguous. There is no need to present the evidence here, since Julia Estève usefully sets out at some length all the inscriptions that refer to Harihara, both pre-Angkorian and Angkorian, discussing each case and improving here and there on details of both text and interpretation.²⁶ But she is principally concerned with examining the notions of syncretism versus inclusivism, and does not devote much attention to whether one motive for installing Śāṅkara-Nārāyaṇa images might sometimes have been to foster peaceful relations between rival religious groups. Paul Lavy's article, as its sub-title suggests, »The Politics of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Harihara Images in Preangkorian Khmer Civilisation«, does raise this question, but quickly dismisses it out of hand:

Harihara is commonly interpreted, however, as a syncretic deity that brought about the rapprochement of two allegedly »rival« Hindu sects, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. This explanation is over-simplistic and dubious, particularly if applied to the ancient Khmer; there is no evidence from the Preangkorian period, for example, to indicate hostilities or competition between various »exclusive« sects of Hinduism.²⁷

And yet, with the discovery of K. 1457, there is now such evidence of rivalry, at least for the mid-ninth century, before the well-documented Angkorian period.

24 For a discussion of this evidence bearing on Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava relations in the Kathmandu valley, see Mirnig and De Simini 2017.

25 In addition to Mirnig and De Simini (Umā and Śiva), who make such a case for Nepal, Nayar (Harihara sculptures of Kerala), in a short article on Harihara in Kerala that also mentions a number of early Harihara sculptures from across the subcontinent, seems to make the assumption, without really examining it, that Harihara generally had an anti-sectarian role. For mentions of sculptures of Harihara and of epigraphical allusions to him among the Khmers, including those of later periods, see Bhattacharya, *Religions brahmaniques*, 157-159.

26 Estève, *Étude Critique*, 233-275.

27 Lavy, *As in heaven*, 22.

Of course, any single model purporting to explain the background for all Harihara images is bound to be inadequate. To cite another example, it is often assumed (often no doubt correctly) that the Harihara form subordinates Viṣṇu, who occupies the (supposedly inferior) left body-half, to Śiva.²⁸ In other words, this would be a case of »inclusivism« practised by Śaivas upon Vaiṣṇavas. But it is surely worth noting that, while there is indeed evidence of this, particularly in works that lean towards Śaivism, there are also Vaiṣṇava texts which present Harihara in a Vaiṣṇava light, as a case of Viṣṇu generously giving space to (thus »including« and thereby subordinating) Śiva. Harihara is presented in a manner favourable to Vaiṣṇavism in, for example, the Vaiṣṇava devotional Tamil poems of Pēyālvār (*Mutal Tiruvantāti* 5, 28, 74 and 98) and Poykaiyālvār (*Mūṇṇām Tiruvantāti* 31 and 63).²⁹

Furthermore, Éric Bourdonneau has suggested an entirely different sort of motivation for the inauguration of Harihara images. Observing that the various deities in a religious complex are often installed by or for the merit of various members of a family and that these social relations often appear to be echoed in the relations between the installed deities, he suggests that the union of Viṣṇu and Śiva in Harihara may transpose onto a divine plane a mundane social or spiritual alliance, for instance when Harihara is installed by a son for the benefit of his two parents in K. 22.³⁰

There is perhaps no need to venture further into this complex debate. If one is prepared to accept that Harihara may sometimes have an anti-sectarian flavour (as Svāmivārta's inscription suggests), then it is perhaps significant that the ninth-century »capital city« of Jayavarman III's successor Indravarman was known as Hariharālaya (today Roluos). Unfortunately, it is not known how or precisely when it got that name. As far as we can tell, the name only appears in records from the tenth century onwards (starting with K. 848 of śaka 891). It is later epigraphs that inform us that Jayavarman II sojourned there and that it was also Jayavarman III's capital,³¹ but the principal constructions there are those of the reign of Indravarman. It is therefore not inconceivable that the name Hariharālaya could have been given after the time of Jayavarman III, perhaps by Indravarman, who now appears to us to have been its main builder (but perhaps later still), and it just might have been chosen with the intention of marking the will to promote Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava amity after a period of sectarianism. Faint support for this hypothesis, perhaps, is the evidence that Indravarman prominently mentioned the installation of a Harihara in his Bakong inscription (K. 826 of 803 śaka), which records, among a handful of installations that he undertook in other sites, the creation of a Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa that he enjoined his sons to install (st. XXXI).³² Against this, however, a quite different hypothesis should be mentioned. There are, in fact, three statues of Harihara that have been discovered at Roluos, and two of them, those discovered on the site of the ruined and inscriptionless shrine known as Prasat Trapeang Phong, have been regarded as

28 See, for example, Estève, *Étude Critique*, 259, quoting Sanderson.

29 See Wilden, *Three Early Tiruvantātis*, 11-12 and 59, fn. 51.

30 See Bourdonneau, *Nouvelles recherches sur Koh Ker*, 116: »...la reunion de Śiva et Viṣṇu transpose au niveau divin une relation d'alliance — alliance spirituelle entre un guru et le lignage de son disciple, alliance matrimoniale entre deux lignages — célébrée par le produit même de cette alliance (enfants et disciples spirituels).«

31 Coèdes, *Capitales de Jayavarman II*, 121-122.

32 Coèdes, *Inscriptions du Cambodge* 1, 31-36.

relatively early on stylistic grounds. This evidence, along with other considerations, has led Pottier and Bolle to suggest that the Prasat Trapeang Phong, which may predate Jayavarman II's arrival there, was an old temple (*ālaya*) of Harihara which may have given its name to the city Hariharālaya.³³

Coming back at last to our inscription after this excursus, the use of the posthumous name Viṣṇuloka tells us that K. 1457, although undated, must have been written after the death of Jayavarman III, which took place in 877 CE at the latest, the date of the accession of Indravarman. It could have taken place several years earlier than this if one assumes that other kings ruled between the reigns of Jayavarman III and Indravarman, but Vickery has convincingly argued that this is improbable.³⁴ It may be observed that posthumous names generally appear to be used in Khmer prose, but not in Sanskrit verse, but Jayavarman III is exceptional in this regard. The only inscriptions that mention him appear to be posthumous, and the use of his posthumous name Viṣṇuloka occurs not only in Khmer passages but also in Sanskrit stanzas (K. 449, st. XX-XXI; K. 1258, st. I; and here in K. 1457), sometimes in a lengthened form that spells out the ellipsis implicit in such posthumous names, for example Viṣṇulokaprayāta, »he who has gone forth to the world of Viṣṇu« (K. 826, st. XXX), and Viṣṇulokasthita, »he who resides in the world of Viṣṇu« (K. 256, st. VI).

Physical Description of the Stela

Measuring 85 cm in height, 34.5 cm in width, and 11.5 cm in depth, the stela, which seems to be of sandstone, bears engraved text on both sides, apparently carved in the same style and so at the same time. There are 22 lines on the first side (Face A), which give 11 stanzas of *anuṣṭubh* verse in Sanskrit. On the second side (Face B), there are 21 lines, of which lines 1-6 and 10-16 give further Sanskrit stanzas in *anuṣṭubh*, clearly distinguishable at a glance because a central margin separates the odd-numbered verse-quarters from the even-numbered ones, and lines 7-8 and 17-21 are in prose in Khmer. The inscribed portions on Face A and Face B measure 49 x 31 cm and 43 x 31 cm, respectively.

The top of the stela culminates in an ornamented form of »accolade«, in other words, it is like a curly brace on its side and opening downwards, but it has an extra decorative downwards indentation in each of its branches.

The lettering flows freely, becoming more cursive from the first portion in Khmer onwards, and looks as if it could be of the eleventh or late tenth century. The *bha* is of the »drop-shouldered« Angkorian type, not the »high-shouldered« pre-Angkorian type; the *ra* consists of a single vertical stroke, not a double one, and does not descend below the level of the bottom of the main body of the other letters; the serif-like curls at the tops of the letters that are typical of most Angkorian-period lettering are pronounced. The lettering is not particularly regular or careful in appearance, but there is a pleasing fluidity that curiously suggests the freedom of rapid writing with a fountain pen or brush. Presumably some considerable engraving skill must have been required to create such an effect.

33 Pottier and Bolle, *Le Prasat Trapeang Phong*, 67-69.

34 Vickery, *Resolving the chronology*.

Summary of the Contents of the Stela

Face A

There is no initial invocatory verse (an oddity we see in another posthumous inscription of Jayavarman III that is clumsier both in literary style and in the quality of its engraving, K. 1258). The text begins straight away with the information that a king, whom we understand from the context to be Jayavarman II, created an endowment for a statue of Viṣṇu (st. 1). A Jayavarman succeeded him as king (st. 2). This successor, Jayavarman III, took a dislike to Buddhists and converted his subjects to Śaivas (st. 3). He had a Śaiva guru called Kulacandra, who believed in Śiva as the only god (st. 4). That guru was challenged in debate by a staunch Vaiṣṇava called Kṛṣṇapāla, who was a priest of Viṣṇu Cāmpēśvara (st. 5-7). In the debate, Kulacandra's tongue split and he died (st. 8). Persuaded of Viṣṇu's greatness, Jayavarman III gave a statue of Viṣṇu (presumably the same one as is mentioned in st. 1) to Kṛṣṇapāla and endowed it with lands, slaves and wealth (st. 9-10). He installed servants [here] in Kusumāstrapura. This is followed by an exhortation to protect the foundation (st. 11).

Face B

He married his two sororal nieces, Vaiṣṇavī and Nārāyaṇī, to two Brahmins called Keśava and Atharvaveda (st. 12-13). To those two men, settled in Kusumāstrapura, he entrusted the worship of this statue of Viṣṇu (st. 14). There follow two lines of endowment details in Khmer.

The wife (*svāminī*) of King Viṣṇuloka stood in the temple of Viṣṇu while she was menstruating (st. 15). Blood flowed from her breasts, she became emaciated and the king gave her to the god (st. 16). The king further offered male and female slaves and lands (st. 17). When Viṣṇu's anger had abated, the king gave his wife to a worshipper/priest [of Viṣṇu?] called Dharmajña, who came from the family of Kṛṣṇapāla (st. 18). There follow five lines of details of endowments entrusted by the king to Dharmajña in Khmer.

Provenance and Current Location of the Stela

On 3rd August 2019, the stela K. 1457 was found in the moat of the ruined shrine known as Prasat Kon Kramom located in Thmei Village, Svay Chek Commune, Svay Chek District, Banteay Mean Chey Province, during the construction of the road connecting road 2582 to Prasat Banteay Preav. Prasat Kon Kramon is about 450 metres southeast of Prasat Banteay Preav. On 4th August, it was moved to the provincial museum of Banteay Mean Chey, where Hun, Chhünteng, was able to make estampages of its two sides. According to the CISARK website,³⁵ the site, also called Kôk Prasat is a brick mound surrounded by a moat where a few blocks of sandstone and laterite were found.³⁶

35 cisark.mcfa.gov.kh/core/showsite.php?id=3527&keyword=, accessed on 11 Sep 2020.

36 Note that this is not the same as the site IK 776 described by Lunet de Lajonquière (*Inventaire descriptif*, 3, 372), which bears a similar name (Lunet de Lajonquière calls it Kuk Prasat) and which used to be in Svay Chek District, but is now in Thma Puok District and is some 16 km distant. The site where K. 1457 was discovered appears not to be described by Lunet de Lajonquière.

The nearby temple known as Prasat Beanteay Preav or Prasat Preav (IK 782) may also contain an echo of the patronage of Jayavarman II (just as the first stanza of K. 1457 does). Five inscriptions from the beginning of the eleventh century have been found there, namely K. 220 (S & N), K. 221 (S & N), K. 222, K. 1433 and an inscription stored in Svay Chek museum with no inventory K. number. Among these, K. 222 is a list of slaves donated to the temple of Parameśvara by Narapatīndravarman. Parameśvara is the name of the Śiva installed in the southern tower of Prasat Banteay Preav, but it may have been chosen because it is also the posthumous name of King Jayavarman II. For we learn from the beginning of the Khmer portion of K. 235 (the celebrated eleventh-century epigraph from Sdok Kak Thom, which is also just a short distance away, on the Thai border), that Jayavarman II designated families of people in Stuk Ransi and Bhadrapaṭṭana to serve the deity Kaṁmraten jagat ta rāja, in his new capital Mahendraparvata on what is now known as the Phnom Kulen.³⁷ Now Banteay Preav is a Śaiva temple at a place known in the Angkorian period as Thpvañ Rmmāñ in the land of Bhadrapaṭṭana of Amoghapura. It is therefore conceivable that the families taken from this place to his capital by Jayavarman II subsequently consecrated a deity in their home territory with the name Parameśvara in memory of Jayavarman II.

Transcription Conventions

In the edition that follows, we have attempted to follow the transcription conventions outlined in the »*DHARMA Transliteration Guide*« prepared by Dániel Balogh and Arlo Griffiths,³⁸ but we have also indicated with small bullet-marks (•) the gaps deliberately left to demarcate metrical units from one another.

Edition and Annotated Translation of K. 1457

A first transcription of a stela inscription of Prasat Kon Kramom was prepared by Dominic Goodall and Hun, Chhunteng, in September 2019 on the basis of photographs (*Figs. 1 and 2*) of estampages taken by Hun, Chhunteng, in August 2019. Shortly before submission, we received photographs taken by Khom, Sreymom, that show part of the substantial tenon and give an idea of the finish and colouring of the stone (*Figs. 3 and 4*). Draft translation of the Sanskrit by Dominic Goodall; draft translation of the Khmer by Hun, Chhunteng.

37 On K. 235, see Coedès and Dupont, *Sdök Kāk Thom*, 87, 103-104; about the urban complex at Mahendraparvata, see Chevance, *Palais royal de Mahendraparvata*.

38 Balogh and Griffiths, *DHARMA Transliteration Guide*.

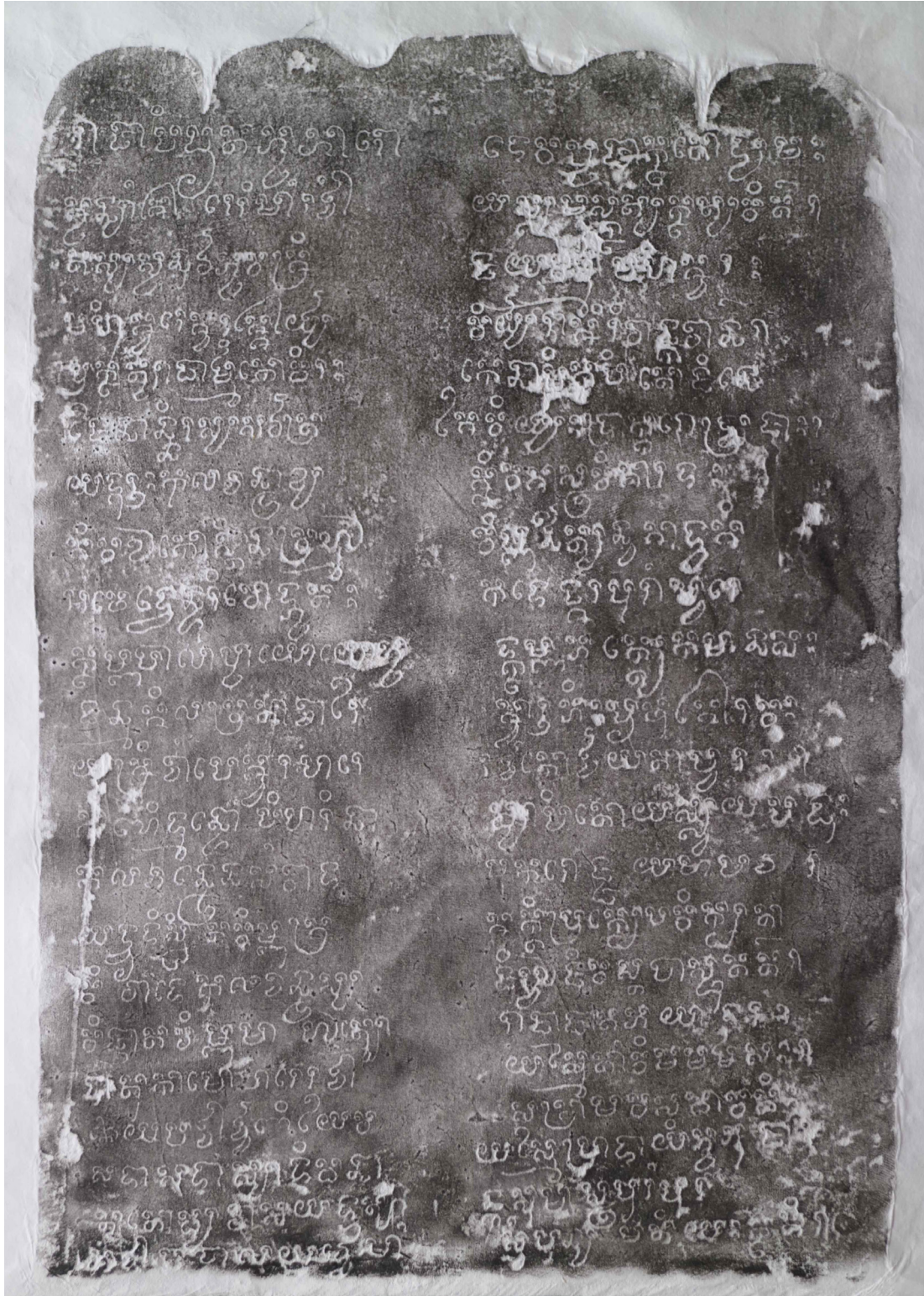


Fig. 1: Estampage of Face A of the stela of Prasat Kon Kramom (photo: Hun Chhunteng, 2019)

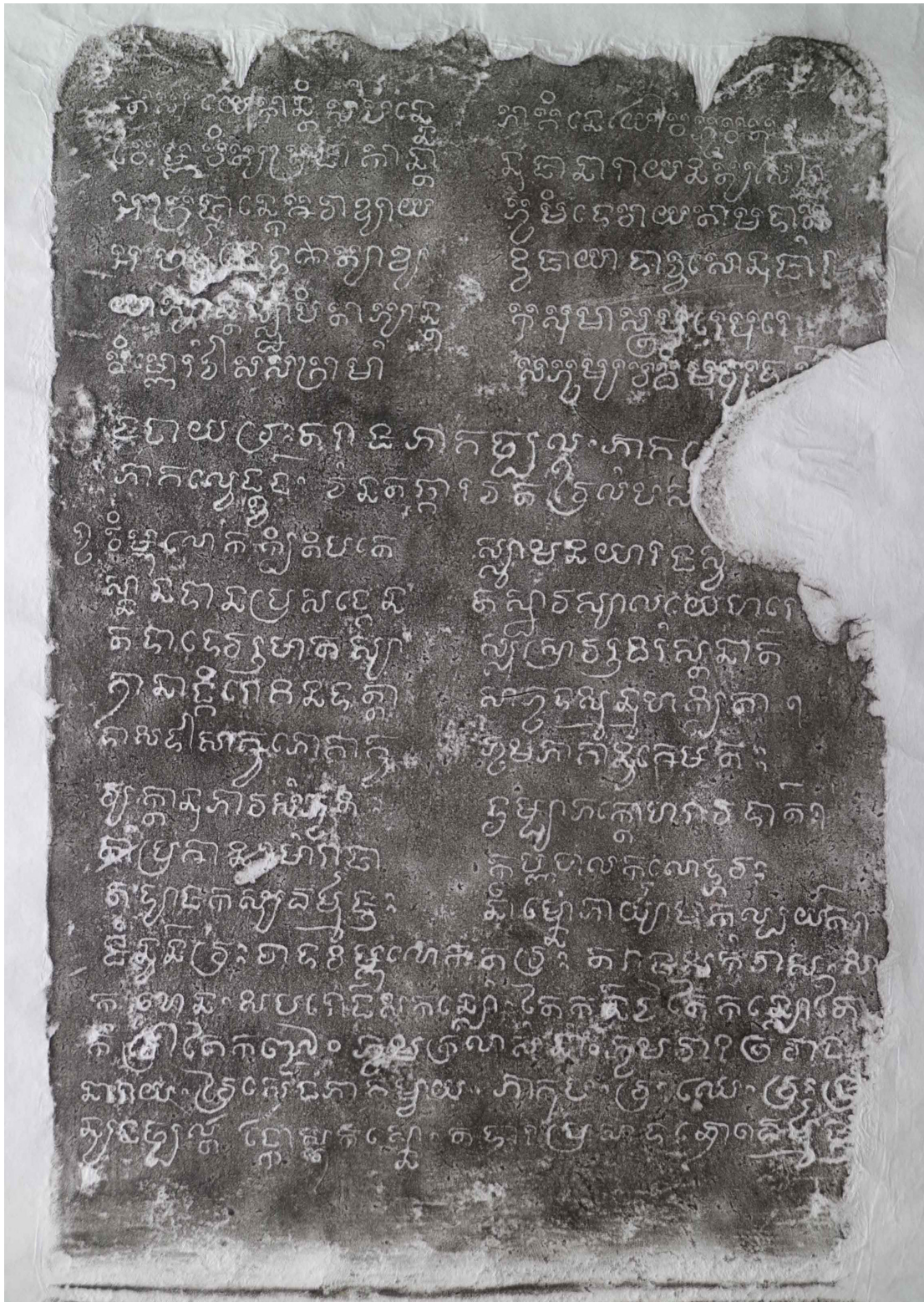


Fig. 2: Estampage of Face B of the stela of Prasat Kon Kramom (photo: Hun Chhuenteng, 2019)

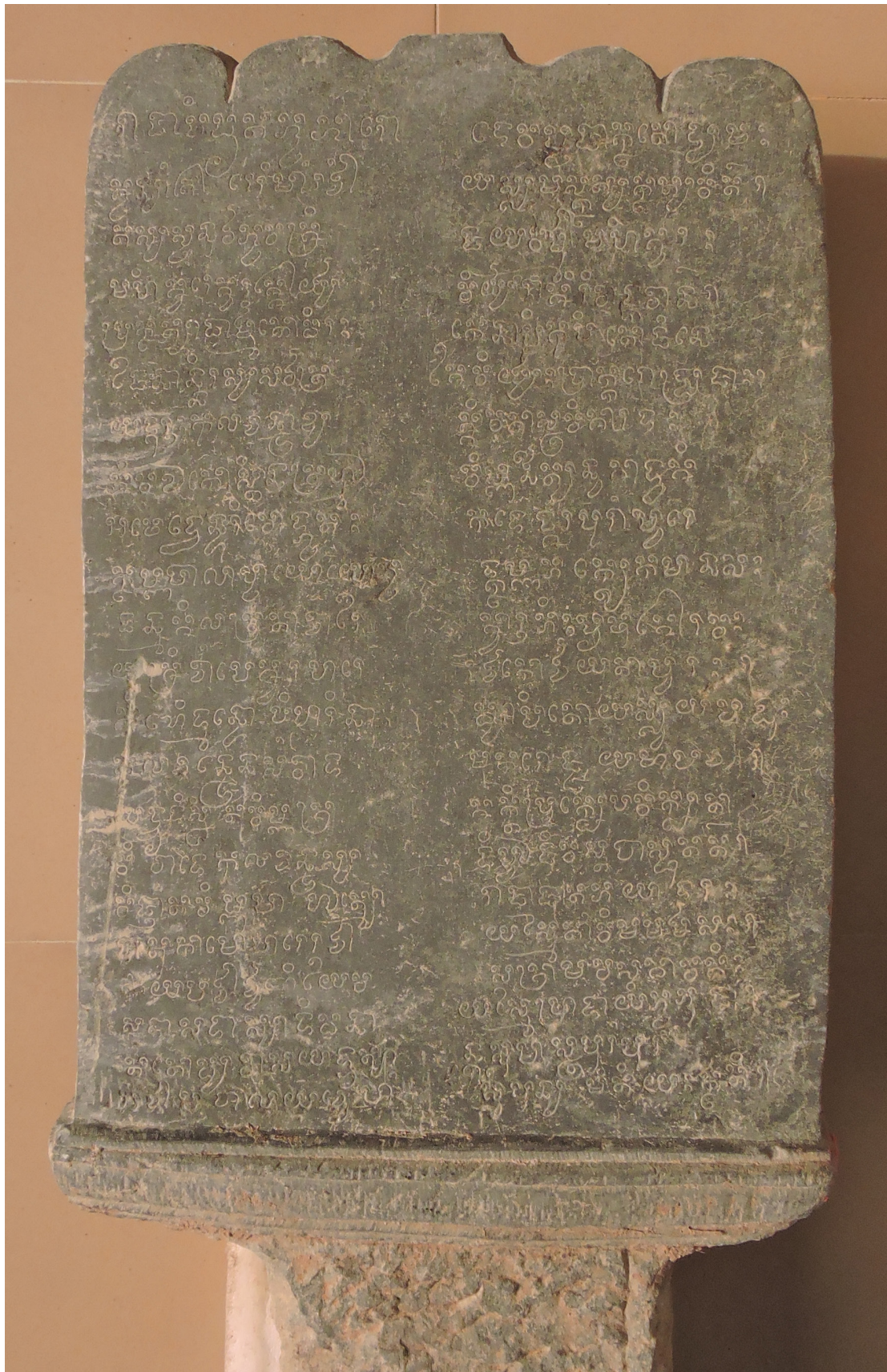


Fig. 3: Face A of the stela of Prasat Kon Kramom (photo: Khom Sreymom, 2020)

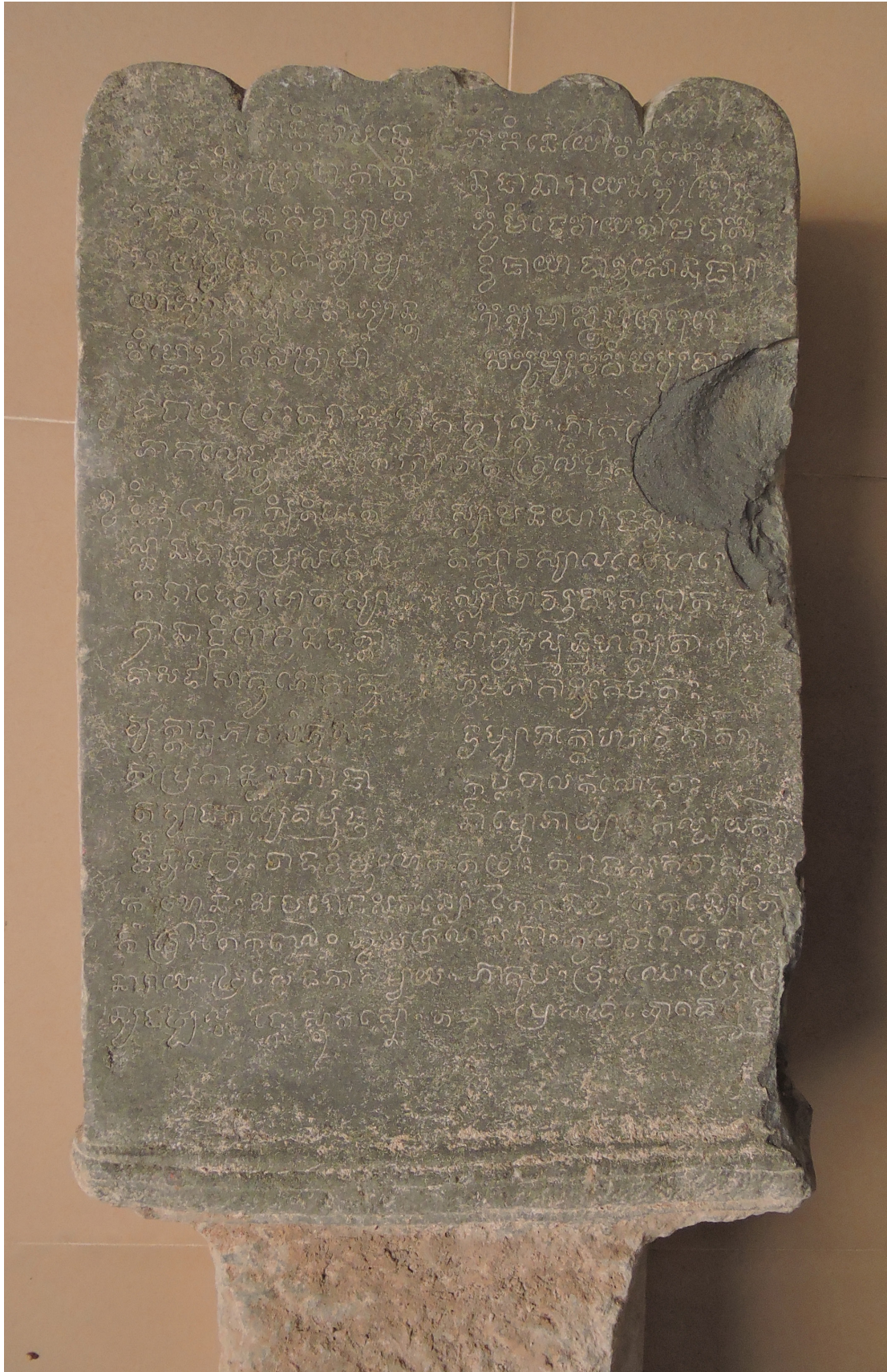


Fig. 4: Face B of the stela of Prasat Kon Kramom (photo: Khom Sreymom, 2020)

Edition**Face A****I.**

(1) rājāp(i dh)ṛtabhūbhāro • devapūjākṛtyodyamaḥ

(2) sūnyām śaurer imām rarcām • yas samaskṛtya kṛtyavitḥ ||

1a. At first sight, the inscription appears to open with *rājā pīpṛta*^o, but we note that *p* and *dh* are palaeographically similar in this inscription: cf. the *dh* of *dhiro* in line 6. Furthermore, we note that the long vowel *ī* tends not to be distinguished from the short vowel *i*, and that the mark inside the loop of the *i* here (which is what would normally be used to make it long) might be the result of damage to the stone.

1c. *imām rarcām*] Understand: *imām arcām*

II.

(3) tasya sūnur vabhūva śrī•jayavarmmā mahīśvaraḥ

(4) mahīśvareśvaraś śauryya•viryyarāśir ivāṅkavānḥ ||

2b. *mahīśvaraḥ*] Understand: *mahīśvaraḥ*. 2d. *viryyarāśir*] Understand: *vīryarāśir*.

III.

(5) prakṛtyā dhārmiko dhiraḥ • kenā(pi kupi)to jine

(6) jainān nirasya sarvatra • śaivi(r) yyaḥ (p)rākka(ro)(d|ñ) prajāḥ |

3a. *dhiraḥ*] Understand: *dhīraḥ*. 3b. *kenā(pi kupi)to*] Although the bracketed letters are not clear in the estampage, they are clear on the stone. 3d.] Understand: *śaivir yyaḥ prākarot prajāḥ*

IV.

(7) yadguruḥ kulacandrākhyā•ś śivaśāstraviśāradaḥ

(8) śiva Eko 'sti na vrahmā • viṣṇur nety anvagād vaśi

4d. *anvagād*] On the stone this looks more like *anvaśād*, which would also fit here, for we could translate »who taught that«. There seems to be no trace of a punctuation mark at the end of this stanza.

V.

(9) Atheddhendur ivodbhūtaḥ • kadeśārapurām(m)vare

(10) kṛṣṇapālāhvayo yo 'bhū•t kṛṣṇabhaktyekamānasah [||]

VI.

(11) janmaśilavratācārai•ś cārubhiḥ pṛthugauravaḥ

(12) ya śrīcāmpesvarahare•r arcako 'rcayatā(m) varaḥ ||

6c *ya*] Understand: *yaḥ*.

VII.

(13) k(i)ñcid mando 'pi harinā•(dh)yāpito yas svaya(m) paṭuḥ

(14) k[u]lacandrena saṁvāda•m akaroj jayam āpa ca ||

7a.] Understand: *kiñcin mando 'pi hariṇā*^o. 7c. *°candrena*] Understand: *°candreṇa*.

VIII.

(15) yaddhṛdisthitaviṣṇugra•śaktiprakṣepavikṣatā

(16) vivāde kulacandrasya • jihvā jīvas tapāsphutatḥ ||

8a.] Understand: *yaddhṛdisthitaviṣṇugra*^o 8d. *tapāsphutatḥ*] Understand: *tathā 'sphuṭatḥ*. The *p* is assumed to be a copying mistake, perhaps from a badly written *th*, which could look similar.

IX.

(17) vijñātaviṣṇumāhātmyo • rājā jātabhayādarah

(18) dātukāmo harer arcām • yasmai tām vimamar(s)a saḥ ||

X.

(19) Īya(p) arcārccaṇiyaiva • sagraṁavas(u)dhāvadhīḥ

(20) sadāsadāsyādīdhanā • yasmai prādāyi bhūbhujā ||

10a.] Understand: *Iyam arcārccaṇiyaiva*. A small horizontal bar inside the second letter would be enough to transform the *p* into an *m*. As noted above, both instances of initial *ī* in this inscription (for the other, see 4th line of face B) seem to be intended as instances of short *i*. Perhaps, since initial vowels are used less often, the scribe was not perfectly aware of the difference.

XI.

(21) tato '(dhyav)āsaya(d bh)[r]tyā•n kusumāstrapuram purā

(22) (A)rcā(ñ cā)pālayac cemām • svaṁ punyam iti yaḥ kṛtī ||

Face B

XII.

(1) tasya ye kāntisaṁpanne • bhāgineyau vabhūvatu(h)

(2) vaiṣṇavīty agrajā kāntā•nujā nārāyanīty asau (||)

12b. *bhāgineyau*] Understand: *bhāgineyyau* (feminine dual). 12cd.]Understand: *vaiṣṇavīty agrajā kāntā'nujā nārāyanīty asau*.

XIII.

(3) Agrajān keśavākhyāya • bhūmidevāya tām adāt•

(4) Atharvvaveda Ītyākhyā•dvijāyādāc ca so 'nujām ||

13a. *Agrajān*] Understand: *agrajām*. 13c. *Ītyākhyā°*] Understand: *ityākhyā°*.(For another initial long *ī* used in place of short *i*, see above line 19 of face A.)

XIV.

(5) yābhyān tassthāpitābhyān t(u) • kusumāstrapure pure

(6) viṣṇor arcām sa sagraṁām • sabhūmyavadhim avyadā[t]•

14a. *tassthāpitā°*] Understand: *tasthāpitā°*.

(7) Upāya vraḥ ta rāja bhāga thpala ° bhāga Ce [[broken]]

(8) bhāga lveñ tvañ ° caṁnata qgāra cata vraī laṁpasa [[broken]]

XV.

(9) || viṣṇulokakṣitipate•s svāmini yā rajasva[lā]

(10) snānadānaprasaṅgena • tasthāv asyālaye hare[h]

15b. *svāmini*] Understand: *svāminī*.

XVI.

(11) tadā devaruṣā tasyā•s susrāva rudhiraṁ stanāt•

(12) glānāṅgi rogini dattā • sābhūd asmin mahikṣitā ||

16c. *glānāṅgi rogini*] Understand: *glānāṅgī rogiṇī*. 16d. *mahikṣitā*]Understand: *mahikṣitā*.

XVII.

(13) dāsir dāsās ca bhogās ca • bhūmibhāgān viśeṣataḥ

(14) vyaktānubhāvasaṁbhūti(h) • dṛṣṭyā bhakto harāv adāt• ||

17a.] Understand: *dāsīr dāsāś ca bhogāś ca*.

XVIII.

(15) tām praśān(t)i(r)[u]ṣām rājā • kṛpṇapālakulodbhavaḥ

(16) tadyājakasya dharmmajñāḥ • nāmno bhāryyām akalpayat· ||

18a. *praśān(t)i*°] Understand: *praśānta*°. 18b. *kṛpṇapālakulodbhavaḥ*] Understand: *kṛpṇapālakulodbhavaḥ* (genitive). 18cd. *dharmmajñāḥ • nāmno*] Understand: *dharmajñānāmno* (genitive).

(17) jaṁnvan· vraḥ pāda viṣṇuloka ta vraḥ ta rāja si kaṁvāsa ° si

(18) kañcana ° si paroṅ· sī kansom ° tai kan· Ū tai kanso tai

(19) kaṁvrau tai kañjā ° O bhūmi kralā samnām ° bhūmi vāri travāna

(20) nārāya ° vraī sleṅa bhāga mvāya ° bhā(gu)pa ° vraḥ jhe ° vraḥ jra

(21) nyaṅa thpal taṅko stuka sno ° ta dāra prasāda chloṅa dharmmajñā³⁹

Translation

- I. Although (*api*) king (*rājā*), [and therefore] bearing the burden of [governing] the earth (*dhṛtabhūbhārah*), he made efforts to venerate the gods (*devapūjākṛtyamaḥ*) by ornamenting (*samaskṛtya*) this bare [viz. devoid of a temple?] (*sūnyām*) statue (*arcām*) of Viṣṇu (*śaureḥ*).
- II. To him (*tasya*) was born (*babhūva*) a son (*sūnuḥ*), King (*mahiśvaraḥ*) Śrī-Jayavarman [III], king among kings (*mahiśvareśvaraḥ*), like (*iva*) a mass of heroism and strength (*śauryavīryarāsiḥ*) endowed with a body (*aṅkavān*).
- III. By nature (*prakṛtyā*), he (*yaḥ*) was righteous (*dhārmikaḥ*) and firm (*dhīraḥ*), [but] being for some reason (*kenāpi*) angry (*kupitaḥ*) towards the Buddha (*jine*), he drove (*nirasya*) Buddhists (*jainān*) out everywhere (*sarvatra*), and made (*prākarot*) his subjects (*prajāḥ*) followers of Śiva (*śaivīḥ*).
- IV. His guru (*yadguruḥ*), learned in the teachings of Śiva (*śivaśāstraviśāradah*), was called Kulacandra: he was self-controlled (*vaśī*) and believed that (*anvagāt*) Śiva alone (*ekaḥ*) exists (*asti*); not Brahmā, nor Viṣṇu.
- V. Now (*atha*) there was a man called Kṛpṇapāla, whose only thoughts were of devotion to Kṛpṇa (*kṛpṇabhaktyekamānasaḥ*), who arose (*udbhūtaḥ*), like (*iva*) a blazing moon (*iddenduḥ*) in the sky that was the city of Kadeśara (?*kadeśarapurāmvare*).
- VI. He (*yaḥ*) was a priest (*arcakaḥ*) of Viṣṇu Śrī-Cāmpesvara (*śricāmpesvarahareḥ*), best (*varaḥ*) among priests (*arcayatām*), of broad authority (*pr̥thugauravaḥ*) because of his noble (*cārubhiḥ*) birth, virtues, religious observances and conduct (*janmaśīlavratācāraiḥ*).
- VII. Although (*api*) somewhat (*kiñcid*) slow-witted (*mandah*), on being taught (*adhyāpitaḥ*) by Hari (*hariṅā*) himself (*svayam*), [he became] sharp-witted (*paṭuḥ*), engaged in (*akarot*) a debate (*samvādam*) with Kulacandra and obtained (*āpa*) victory (*jayam*),

39 There was probably a concluding punctuation mark, now broken off with the edge of the stone.

- VIII. In the [middle of the] debate, the tongue and the life[-force] of Kulacandra split, on being shattered apart (*°vikṣatā*) by the blow of the fierce power of Viṣṇu who resided in the heart of that [Kṛṣṇapāla].
- IX. Realising the greatness of Viṣṇu, the king conceived fear and respect and, being desirous of giving to this [Kṛṣṇapāla] (*yasmai*) a statue of Hari, he deliberated about that [earlier mentioned one].
- X. To this [Kṛṣṇapāla] (*yasmai*) the king gave this statue, which deserves to be worshipped, along with villages and bounded lands, and with wealth consisting in male and female slaves and so forth.
- XI. Thereupon (*tataḥ*), back in those days (*purā*), this (*yaḥ*) meritorious (*kṛtī*) [Kṛṣṇapāla] settled (*adhyavāsayat*) servants in Kusumāstrapura and protected this statue, considering (*iti*) it [as] his own merit[orious foundation].
- XII. As for the two beautiful sororal nieces who were born to him, the lovely elder one was called Vaiṣṇavī and the younger one, she was Nārāyaṇī.
- XIII. He gave the elder to a Brahmin [lit. »god upon earth«] called Keśava. And he gave the younger one to a Brahmin called Atharvaveda.
- XIV. To the two of them (*yābhyām*), established by him [thus] in the city of Kusumāstrapura, he entrusted (*avyadāt*) [the worship of] the statue of Viṣṇu, along with its villages and demarcated lands.

Lines 7-8. The resources (*upāya*) of the god of the king (*vraḥ ta rāja*) [are]: the portion [of land] (*bhāga*) [called] *Thpala [= group of trees or animals]; the portion [of land] (*bhāga*) [called] ...; the portion [of land] (*bhāga*) [called] *Lveñ Tvañ [= row of coconut palms]; the settlement (*caṁnata*) of *agāra*, the established (?*cata*) *Vrai Lampasa [Forest Glade].

- XV. When the queen of King Viṣṇuloka was menstruating, she went and stood (*tasthau*) in the temple of this Viṣṇu on the occasion of ablutions and gifts [for the deity].
- XVI. Thereupon, blood flowed from her breasts because of the anger of the god. When her body became emaciated (*glānāṅgī*) and she was diseased (*rogīṇī*), she was given by the king to this [god] (*asmin*).⁴⁰
- XVII. At the sight [of this illness striking his queen, the king, now] a devotee, revealed the profusion of his wealth/power and gave to Viṣṇu female and male slaves and riches and portions of land.

40 The *asmin* could refer to »this [temple]« rather than »this [god]«.

XVIII. The king made her, once this anger [of Viṣṇu] towards her had been appeased, the wife of the sacrificer to that [Viṣṇu], who was born of the family of Kṛṣṇapāla, and who was called Dharmajña.

Lines 17-21. Royal offering (*jamnvan*) of His Majesty King Viṣṇuloka [Jayavarman III] (*vraḥ pāda viṣṇuloka*) to the god of the king (*ta vraḥ ta rāja*):

Si Kaṁvāsa, Si Kañcana, Si Paroñ, Si Kansoñ, Tai Kan ū, Tai Kanso, Tai ..., Tai Kaṁvrau, and Tai Kañjā;

land of *Kralā Samnāñ, land of *Vāri travāñ Nārāya,⁴¹ one division (*bhāga mvāya*) of *Vrai Sleñ,⁴² *Bhāgupa (?), Sacred *jhe* tree (*vraḥ jhe*) [of] *Jra nyañ,⁴³ *Thpal Tañko,⁴⁴ *Stuk Sno.⁴⁵

The receiver of the royal offering is *chloña* Dharmmajña.⁴⁶

Notes

I. Note that the opening of the inscription seems strangely abrupt, without any verse of *maṅgala* and without an explanation of who the king in question is. We find this same jarring abruptness in another inscription that describes events of the reign of Jayavarman III, namely K. 1258.⁴⁷ The king in the first stanza is revealed in the next stanza to be his father, in other words presumably Jayavarman II. References to this king in documents during his supposed lifetime are rare, the only inscription mentioning him that appears to have been produced in his reign being K. 1060.⁴⁸

The interpretation not only involves emending *imām rarcām* to *imām arcām*, but also requires accepting the questionable form *samaskṛtya*, which might be an error for *samskṛtya*, partly on the analogy of *upaskṛ*, or it might be based (still on the analogy of *upaskṛ*) not on the preverb *sam*, but rather on *sama*^o. Whether or not the use of *sama*^o as a preverb (with the further insertion of an *s* before the root) could be justified by grammarians is unclear. As to its meaning, we assume it to be the same as that of *samskṛtya*, which is used of adorning or completing (and not simply of creating from scratch), since this sense seems to fit.

41 Nārāya is presumably a shortened form of Nārāyaṇa, and vāri might be the Sanskrit word for water, since *travāñ* is a natural pond or a tank. One might therefore translate this with »Water-tank of Nārāyaṇa«.

42 This toponym could be translated »Forest (*vrai*) of *Strychnos nux-vomica* (*sleñ*)«.

43 Although the very ends of these lines in Khmer might seem to be broken, it seems that nothing is actually missing, which means that we should probably read *jranyaña*, which Jenner (*Dictionary of Angkorian Khmer*, s.v. *jranyañ*) records as a name for a kind of tree. Here there is a punctuation separator after *vraḥ jhe* and none after, so, although we have taken *vraḥ jhe* ° *vraḥ jra nyaña* as a single unit, we wonder whether *vraḥ jhe* should not instead be understood as a separate item.

44 A group (*thpal*) of *Diospyros chevalieri* (*tañko*).

45 Of *sno*, Jenner (*Dictionary of Angkorian Khmer*) records that it is used of *Sesbania javanica*, which he describes as a »small aquatic plant«. For *stuka* Jenner (*Dictionary of Angkorian Khmer*, s.v. *stuk*) records several related senses, including thicket, grove, dense growth of underbrush. The element *stuk* is used in innumerable toponyms. The toponym *Stuk Sno* also occurs elsewhere, for instance in K. 22, lines 27-28, in K. 904, B 16, and in K. 1238, A 35 (Griffiths and Soutif, *Autour des terres*, 48).

46 Jenner (*Dictionary of Angkorian Khmer*) records numerous attestations of *chloña* used as the »[t]itle of an unidentified rank or function«.

47 Lowman, *Elephant hunt of Jayavarman III*.

48 See Goodall, *Inscriptions from Liṅgaparvata*.

We imagine that an image described as *śūnyā*, »empty«, means an image that is unendowed and perhaps without a temple of durable materials built around it. The word *śūnya* (or *śūnyamūla* in Khmer) is used elsewhere in the corpus, typically of land, but we find it used to describe a piece of abandoned land that had a *liṅga* upon it, which is thus perhaps nearly parallel, in K. 382, st. B4 (*kṣmām... śūnyām saśivaliṅgām*).⁴⁹

There were once many four-armed sculptures of Viṣṇu wearing a mitre that were produced in the pre-Angkorian period,⁵⁰ and it is possible that one such abandoned image was re-endowed by Jayavarman II in the place where this inscription was set up. The pronoun *imām* makes clear that the image must once have been in the immediate vicinity of the stela. Its use here implies that it is the same image of Viṣṇu that Jayavarman III calls to mind (st. IX) and then further endows (st. X) below.

II. This translation assumes that *aṅkavān* means the same as *aṅgavān*, »embodied«, either because it is a »mistake« for *aṅgavān*, or because »body« is a conceivable sense of *aṅka*. But it could refer to the »moon«, since the moon has the »mark« of a hare. Another possibility is that *aṅkavān* might simply mean that the king »has [auspicious] marks«. In that case, this could be an allusion to the auspicious bodily features described in *sānudrikasāstra*, or to auspicious marks traced by the lines on the palms and soles. In *Raghuvamśa* 4.90, for example, Raghu's feet are described as having the marks of a flag-standard, a pot and a parasol traced by their crease-lines (*rekhādhvajakalāsātapatracihnam*).⁵¹

III. One could take *sarvatra* instead with the last quarter: »he made his subjects everywhere Śaiva«. We have assumed that the engraver miscopied what was intended to be the word *prākaroṭ*, a regular augmented imperfect of *prakṛ*, which Monier-Williams records as meaning (among other things) »to make into, render«. ⁵² This sense fits well here. An alternative would be to assume that *prāk karot* was intended, with *karot* taken to be an augmentless imperfect. In that case the end of the stanza could be rendered »formerly (*prāk*) made ([*a*] *karot*) his subjects (*prajāḥ*) followers of Śiva (*śaivīḥ*).« But *prāk* does not fit the context particularly well. We also weighed whether it might be *drāk* (»speedily«), but, although the first grapheme is not particularly clear, we think that reading *drāk* can be ruled out.

Note that the inclusion of *kenāpi* (»for some reason«) implies that the author of the text found the king's religious intolerance odd, and perhaps even reprehensible (see our conclusion).

49 Cf. also K. 736, st. XIX, where the reading is uncertain, for a similar use of *śūnya*. And cf. further K. 215, an inscription in Old Khmer which describes an *āśrama* as *śūnya* (lines 5-6): 871 śaka | man· loṅa Apa vraī taṅvvaṅ· slāp· śūnya Āśrama noḥ dau, »In 871 śaka, when Loṅ Ap of Vrai Taṅvvaṅ died, this āśrama became empty«.

50 See, for example, Dalsheimer and Manguin, Viṣṇu mitres.

51 Thus, Vallabha's text (for which, see Goodall and Isaacson, *Raghupañcikā of Vallabhadeva*). Mallinātha's (see Nandargikar, *Raghuvamsa of Kalidasa*) has a thunderbolt (*kuliśa*) instead of a pot.

52 Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *prakṛ*.

IV. Until now, the only personage known to have been referred to as the guru of Jayavarman III was a certain Śrīnivāsakavi (who received the title Pṛthivīndrapaṇḍita),⁵³ who is so described in st. V-X of K. 256.⁵⁴ Among Śaiva anthroponyms in the Khmer corpus, we can distinguish various distinctive forms that indicate allegiance to the Atimārga or Mantramārga. Names prefixed with Bhā-, for instance, or suffixed with -rāśi are used of Pāśupatas,⁵⁵ whereas names suffixed with -śiva indicate the receipt of initiation into the Mantramārga.⁵⁶ It has been argued that the Mantramārga had reached Cambodia by the time of Jayavarman I bis, in the eighth century,⁵⁷ and so we might reasonably expect to see an initiatory name here. But the name Kulacandra is unfortunately not such a distinctive Śaiva name and so offers no evidence of the presence of any specific Śaiva tradition.

V. We assume that Kadeśapura is a sort of *vairi-samāsa*, »a compound of enemies« to use a South Indian expression, that is to say, a compound made up of elements of two different languages, *pura* being Sanskrit and perhaps also śara, with *kadeñ* being Khmer. Jenner records *kadeñ*, with the variant form *kadyañ*, as being a toponym found in K. 938, K. 956 and K. 989, but as for its meaning, he says only »Analysis unidentified«.⁵⁸ If it were to refer to a »flower«, then, given that śara may be used interchangeably with *astra* when speaking of Kāma's weapons, then Kadeśapurapura might conceivably be a more nearly Khmer fashion of referring to Kusumāstrapura, the Sanskrit name for the place in which the Viṣṇu image is installed, endowed and worshipped (see st. XIV below). The use of Khmer names within Sanskrit verse is relatively rare in the loftier compositions, but it is common in the small corpus associated with Jayavarman III (cf., e.g., K. 449⁵⁹ and K. 1258).

As for Kṛṣṇapāla, a personage of this name occurs in two other fragmentary inscriptions, namely K. 382 and K. 534, both of which explain that that particular Kṛṣṇapāla further acquired the names Mahendrārimathana and Keśavabhaṭṭa and that he was a Brahmin who became chaplain to the king (*rājapurohita*). The king in question is a Jayavarman, whom Bergaigne (introducing K. 382, which is an inscription in Khmer Nāgarī that records an event dated to 815 śaka) supposes to be Jayavarman II,⁶⁰ whose accession date is indeed given (K. 382, A4) as 724, the same date that we find in K. 598, st. XIV. It is nonetheless conceivable that K. 1457 refers to the same Kṛṣṇapāla as K. 382 and K. 534, a man who had already been *rājapurohita* to Jayavarman II before he would have encountered Jayavarman III's guru Kulacandra. But in that case, we would expect some overlap in the names of the descendants mentioned here with those mentioned as the descendants of Kṛṣṇapāla in K. 382 and K. 534, and we might, furthermore, have expected that the extra names Mahendrārimathana or Keśavabhaṭṭa would be mentioned. So perhaps we should conclude that it is not particularly likely that K. 1457 refers to the same Kṛṣṇapāla as do K. 382 and K. 534.

53 Coédès and Dupont, Pràsàt Kòk Pò (*passim*), refer to him as »Çrī Nivāsakavi«, as though the element Śrī° were an honorific, rather than an integral part of the name. Śrīnivāsa (»residence of Lakṣmī) is of course a commonly used kenning for Viṣṇu.

54 See Coédès and Dupont, Pràsàt Kòk Pò.

55 See Goodall, On K. 1049, and Goodall, Nandirāśi's Pāśupata monastery.

56 See Goodall, On K. 1049.

57 Goodall, Influences littéraires indiennes.

58 Jenner, *Dictionary of Angkorian Khmer*.

59 Coédès, Études cambodgiennes XI.

60 Bergaigne, *Inscriptions sanscrites*, 528.

VI. The word *arcakaḥ* could conceivably refer not to a »priest«, but just to a »worshipper«. But there are two circumstances that suggest rather that he was a »priest«, one being that he is described as best among those who worship, which arguably sounds less natural if he is simply an ordinary person who worships, and more natural if he belongs to a professional community of priests. The second circumstance is that Kṛṣṇapāla is connected here with Cāmpesvara, which is the name of the Viṣṇu whose shrine (of still unknown location) seems for centuries to have been the principal Viṣṇu temple in the Khmer religious landscape, much in the same way as Bhadreśvara, on the Liṅgaparvata (Vat Phu, in Laos), was for centuries the principal Śiva in the Khmer religious landscape.⁶¹ Such an important temple might well have had a large number of priests. This is not the earliest reference to Viṣṇu Campeśvara/Cāmpesvara, for K. 428, which, exceptionally is in Sanskrit but apparently entirely in prose, appears to commemorate the erection in 683 śaka (761 CE) of a Viṣṇu Campeśvara, who might be the original Campeśvara (or might already be just another Viṣṇu named after him), and an extremely fragmentary pre-Angkorian Khmer inscription found reused in the Western Mebon temple contains the name Śrī Campeśvara (K. 922), but with no meaningful context preserved. Furthermore, there are other references that may be roughly contemporary with ours, for instance that in stanza II of K. 256, which declares that a Viṣṇu installed by Pṛthivīdrapaṇḍita in Śvetadvīpa will share revenue with Śrī Campeśvaraśauri.⁶² We note further that K. 254 (of 1051 śaka) appears to use the terms *yājaka* and *arcaka* (st. 16 and 24) to refer to temple priests.⁶³

VII. We now assume *adhyāpitaḥ*, but had earlier assumed *dhyāpitaḥ*, supposing it to be intended to be a causative from *dhyai*: »caused by Hari to meditate upon Himself«. That solution seems, however, less plausible.

IX. The »deliberation« could be independent (the king alone thought about the statue) or collaborative (with Kṛṣṇapāla). If *vimamarṣa* is indeed what is written (it also looks like *vimamarma*, and perhaps that is what we should read), then it is perhaps to be understood as though it were *vimamarśa*, »he thought of«, »he conceived«; but it is possible that another verb, one meaning »to create«, is intended instead.

To put this in other words, we have assumed in the above translation that Jayavarman III »thought about« the statue of Viṣṇu that was mentioned in the first stanza of the inscription as one that he could bestow upon Kṛṣṇapāla, but we understand that it might seem conceivable that the king instead »conceived of« or »created« a new statue, which he bestowed upon Kṛṣṇapāla. But the configuration of the pronouns *imām* (st. I), *tām* (st. IX) and *iyam* (st. X) suggests rather that there is one old Viṣṇu image that Jayavarman II re-endowed and that Jayavarman III then entrusted to the guardianship (and consequent profit) of Kṛṣṇapāla (and of his heirs through his sororal nieces, as we shall see below on Face B) and which he also endowed with further wealth.

61 See, e.g., Sanderson, Śaiva religion, 409-421.

62 Coédès and Dupont, Prāsāt Kôk Pô, 394-395.

63 Coédès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge III*, 183, 184, 188.

XIII. Atharvaveda may seem a strange name for a man, but note that K. 382, one of the two inscriptions that speak of the *rājapurohita* to Jayavarman II called Kṛṣṇapāla and his lineage (see our note on st. V above), records a son of a certain Hyañcandrā giving birth to a son called Sāmaveda (K. 382, B 10). There is also a Brahmin called Ṛgveda mentioned in the unpublished inscription K. 1084, in line 4 of Face B (EFEO estampage n. 1353).

XIV. Lines 7-8. We have asterisked the toponyms. As is no doubt common in the toponymy of much of the world, Khmer toponyms often have the names of particular plants, especially trees, integrated into them.

XV. Being ritually impure because of her menses, the queen should, of course, have avoided entering the temple. The impurity caused by menstruation is a large topic in mainstream *Dharmaśāstra*, but it is perhaps less easy to find prescriptions about how it relates to the practices of theistic devotion. One text that does talk about this topic, but in a Śaiva context, is the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, a compendium of injunctions relating to rites of expiation and reparation compiled by the twelfth-century South Indian writer Trilocanaśiva. Among its many other strictures imposed on menstruating women, the text makes clear that a woman can only perform mental worship (not external worship) while she is impure (verses 531-536), and her impurity is thought to have a powerfully polluting power.⁶⁴

XVIII. The referent of *tad°* in *tadyājakasya* is not certain. It should not really refer to the king (since one would expect *sva°* as a possessive in that case). We are assuming that the compound means »the [priest who was the] worshipper of that [Viṣṇu/ foundation]«. Lines 17–21. As often elsewhere in Khmer epigraphs, the names of male slaves are preceded by *si* and those of female slaves by *tai*. There is, of course, a large literature on the subject, but for recent appraisals of »slavery« in the ancient Khmer world, see Vickery's enlightening presentation of the inscriptions of Roluos,⁶⁵ the remarks of Sanderson in his broad article on Śaivism,⁶⁶ the essay of Jacques,⁶⁷ and the analytical survey of Eileen Lustig and Terry Lustig.⁶⁸ Several of the anthroponyms are attested elsewhere, but Khmer onomasty is a tricky subject and we have no illuminating comments to make about this particular list of names. Note that a circular punctuation mark, a little larger than that between items of the list that belong to the same class, demarcates the slaves from the pieces of land.

We have again asterisked the Khmer toponyms and added individual footnotes in cases where Jenner's *Dictionary of Angkorian Khmer* suggests identifications.

64 Sathyanarayanan and Goodall, Śaiva Rites of Expiation, 290-296.

65 Vickery, Khmer inscriptions of Roluos. See also Soutif, *Organisation religieuse et profane, passim*.

66 Sanderson, Śaiva religion, 395-401.

67 Jacques, *Koh Ker*, 44-70.

68 Lustig and Lustig, New insights.

Some Conclusions?

As we have remarked above, it is difficult to deduce hard facts about the impact on anyone but the king and his immediate circle from the glancing allusion in stanza III to the driving out of Buddhists and the conversion of the population to Śaivism, or indeed from the tale of the Śaiva Kulacandra being struck dead during a debate with the Vaiṣṇava Kṛṣṇapāla and Jayavarman III's consequent conversion to Vaiṣṇavism. The narration – which may tell us less about historical events than about Dharmajña's Vaiṣṇava piety and his desire to frame the story of his family's foundation within a tale of high religious drama that confirmed both his faith and his royal connections – has something of the quality of a folk tale and, since it is found in an undated inscription, one might suspect it of being just that: a semi-legendary tale about a long dead king. But while the date of the document is uncertain, it seems unlikely that it was produced more than a few generations later, since Jayavarman III's importance in popular awareness would no doubt have diminished with the passing of each subsequent reign.⁶⁹

Furthermore, regardless of their bearing on historical events, these stanzas do throw light on the categories of religious affiliation that were recognised. Clearly the three principal affiliations, as Sanderson has explained at some length,⁷⁰ were Buddhist and Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava. Of course, this does not mean that there could be no »syncretism« or cases of persons who favoured a mixture of deities.⁷¹ Nonetheless, we can say that these three were recognised as distinguishable affiliations (while, for instance, »Hinduism« was not).

Perhaps a line of speculation is permitted here about the possibility that the mutual intolerance of these traditions that this inscription suggests prevailed in Jayavarman III's time might have ushered in a conscious desire to reintroduce and to institutionalise equitable relations at the end of the ninth century. There is a great deal that is remarkable about Yaśovarman's bold plan of social engineering by decreeing the creation of a hundred *āśramas* across his kingdom when he came to power in 889 CE (we do not know whether they were all created, as Estève and Soutif note),⁷² but one thing that stands out is its conscious »ecumenism«, if we may borrow this Christian term into the realm of classical religions of Indian origin.⁷³ In his capital, four such *āśramas* were constructed⁷⁴ around the huge tank that bears his name, the Yaśodharataṭāka, and their largely identical charter-inscriptions reveal that they were Vaiṣṇava (K. 701, *vaiṣṇavāśrama*), Buddhist (K. 290, *saugatāśrama*) and Śaiva (K. 279, *brāhmaṇāśrama*, and K. 1228, *māheśvarāśrama*).⁷⁵

69 Not very many inscriptions refer to Jayavarman III, and all seem to be posthumous, but perhaps not by a very long period. Most, when dated, seem to date from within a century of his rule: K. 175, K. 256, K. 449, K. 521, K. 826, K. 872, K. 956, K. 989, K. 1073, K. 1258. But there are a couple of outliers: the enormous Sdok Kak Thom inscription K. 235 contains an allusion (line C82) and K. 774, an inscription that records a gift of a palanquin (*śivikā*) by Viṣṇuloka (Jayavarman III) in 782 śaka, but also other donations of 817 and 911 śaka. Also, the Khmer portion of K. 570, a tenth-century inscription at Banteay Srei, refers to an edict (*ājñā*) of Viṣṇuloka in line 29. (We are grateful to Dominique Soutif for having indicated many of these passages to us.)

70 Sanderson, Śaiva religion, 380-402, but see especially *id.*, 389, where he defends the exclusion of »subsidiary Brahminism« from his tally.

71 For an exploration of a case where such a mixture is recorded in a single inscription, see Estève, Inscription K. 237.

72 Estève and Soutif, *Les Yaśodharāśrama*, 332-333.

73 See Estève and Soutif, *Les Yaśodharāśrama*, 340-341.

74 See Estève and Soutif, *Les Yaśodharāśrama*, 331-332.

75 The texts of the first three charters are translated in parallel in Cœdès, *Recherche du Yaśodharaçrama*.

Acknowledgements

Research on religious foundations recording in this epigraphical corpus falls under the aegis of the project DHARMA 'The Domestication of »Hindu« Asceticism and the Religious Making of South and Southeast Asia', funded from 2019 through 2025 by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no 809994). The authors of this article all benefit from the synergies created by this project, to which all are, in different ways, connected.

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The European Qur'ān: The Place of the Muslim Holy Book in European Cultural History

John Tolan*

Napoleon Bonaparte, for Victor Hugo, was a »Mahomet d'Occident« when he appeared on the banks of the Nile. Goethe likewise expressed his admiration for the emperor by proclaiming him »der Mahomet der Welt«. Bonaparte liked to compare himself with the prophet, who was a source of inspiration for him: a brilliant general, inspired orator, sage legislator; in sum, the paragon of the »great man« who knew how to inspire the masses. On the *Orient*, the ship that brought him to Egypt, Napoleon read the Qur'ān, in the recent French translation by Claude-Etienne Savary. In his preface, Savary sketched a portrait of Muhammad as »one of those extraordinary men who, born with superior talents, appears now and again on the world's stage to change it and to chain simple mortals to their chariots«. Napoleon read the Qur'ān and saw in Muhammad a model for his conquest of Egypt. He ostentatiously carried his Qur'ān with him as he tried to win over Egypt's 'ulamā, had them instruct him in its doctrine and promised them that in Egypt he would establish a legal system based on the Qur'ān.

This is but one example of the surprising roles that the Qur'ān plays in European culture. I am the recipient, along with Mercedes García-Arenal (Spanish National Research Council, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid), Roberto Tottoli (University of Naples, Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale) and Jan Loop (University of Copenhagen, Københavns Universitet), of a synergy grant from the European Research Council on »The European Qur'ān. Islamic Scripture in European Culture and Religion 1143-1850« (or »EuQu«). We study the ways in which the Islamic holy book is embedded in the intellectual, religious and cultural history of medieval and early modern Europe. We are particularly interested in how the Qur'ān has been translated, interpreted, adapted and used by Christians, European Jews, freethinkers, atheists and European Muslims.

We seek to place European perceptions of the Muslim holy book and of Islam into the fractured religious, political, and intellectual landscape of the period from 1143 to 1850. We explore how the Qur'ān played a key role not only in polemical interactions with Islam but also in debates and polemics between Christians of different persuasions and, indeed, is central to the epistemological reconfigurations that are at the basis of modernity in Europe. The project studies how the Qur'ān was interpreted, adapted, used and formed in Christian European contexts – often in close interaction with the Islamic world, as well as with the Jewish populations living in both Christian and Islamic regions. Concretely, this means studying, for example, the Qur'āns which Europeans brought, collected and copied; the Qur'āns they translated and printed in Arabic and in translation, often using Muslim exegesis (*tafsīr*) and

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Arabic grammars and dictionaries; and the Qur'āns which Muslim minorities living in European Christian lands copied, interpreted and translated into local vernaculars, often in Arabic script (*aljamía*). It also means studying how non-Muslim European writers used the Qur'ān in their various writings, which included anti-Muslim polemics; inter-Christian polemics and apologetics (notably between Catholics and Protestants), scholarly studies in Arabic language, history, geography, theology and religious studies, and other disciplines; fiction and poetry.

We document the circulation and dissemination of Arabic Qur'āns and translations of the Qur'ān (in manuscript and in printed editions) and assess the ways in which the Qur'ān was exploited in religious, political, scholarly and cultural discourse in medieval and early modern Europe. We are doing this through in-person and online seminars, workshops and conferences. A book series with De Gruyter press will provide multiple volumes on our theme: proceedings from our conferences, dissertations by our PhD students, and monographs by our postdoctoral and senior researchers.

The EuQu research team consists of our four principal investigators, senior collaborators in Amsterdam, Barcelona, Budapest, Erfurt and Notre Dame (Indiana, USA), 14 postdoctoral researchers, 7 PhD students, and affiliated scholars from across the world. We are currently in the process of hiring other postdoctoral researchers and PhD students.

One of the principal activities of the EuQu team is the creation of a database of information about the circulation of Qur'ānic manuscripts in medieval and early modern Europe, as well as data about published and unpublished European editions and translations of the Qur'ān in Arabic, Greek, Latin and the European vernaculars. The database will also document anti-Qur'ānic polemical tracts written and published in Europe between 1143 and 1800. The EuQu database will become an important research tool, allowing scholars to trace the development, spread and transformation of the European Qur'ān from the Middle Ages to the modern period, and from Spain to Russia and to the borders of the Ottoman Empire.

The European Qur'ān database will support and generate new insights in a number of areas. It will offer new understandings of the social history of oriental manuscript collections, providing comprehensive information about the uses of Qur'ān manuscripts, the social spaces in which they moved and the different actors involved in their production and procurement. It will make available information on the Arabic manuscripts European scholars had at their disposal and the reading(s) of the Qur'ān they were acquainted with; as well as on how they approached the challenges posed by different scripts and the numerous formal devices they employed (verse divisions, partitions of the Qur'ān, indications of variant readings, recitation signs, etc.) when reading, copying or printing the manuscripts. The information collected in the database will also permit new insights into the acquisition of manuscripts through travelers, diplomats, merchants, soldiers, and missionaries as well as through Muslims and converts. This will help us gain a better understanding of the role of Muslims and converts in producing copies of the Qur'ān in Spain, in the Habsburg borderlands, and in other parts of Christian Europe where Muslim slaves and captives often acted as scribes. The inventory compiled for the database will also allow us to assess the process of copying Qur'ān manuscripts by Europeans, including Christians.

The database will also foster better knowledge of the relationship of Latin, vernacular and *aljamiado* (vernacular written in Arabic script) translations. Only in the context of a comprehensive project like the EuQu database will it be possible to establish whether and how European translations and traditions of translations constitute a new text – i.e., the European Qur'ān. The chain of vernacular translations of Bibliander's Latin edition into Italian and from Italian into German, from German into Dutch, can serve as a case in point: Salomon

Schweigger's seventeenth-century German translation of Castrodardo's Italian text, which was edited multiple times, served as the basis of a Dutch translation published in 1641 and informed the image of the Qur'ān of a wide Northern European readership, is so far removed from the standard Arabic versions that it can be considered to be a different text. At the other end of the spectrum of the European Qur'ān are translations and editions that were produced in close collaboration with Muslim agents or converts. These were often intended for the use of Muslim minorities or crypto-converts (i.e., Muslims who had nominally converted to Christianity but still practiced Islam clandestinely) and might virtually converge with the Qur'ān tradition dominant in the Dar al-Islam.

EuQu's research spans the period from 1143 to 1850. This article for *Medieval Worlds* will concentrate on our ongoing research concerning the Middle Ages. We chose 1143 as the symbolic starting date of the European Qur'ān, because in that year Robert of Ketton produced, in Spain, the first full translation of the Qur'ān into Latin: this was the most widely-known translation in medieval and early modern Europe, extant in over 20 medieval manuscripts and published in Basel in 1543 with a preface by Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon. In March 2020, Cándida Ferrero Hernández and I organized a conference on Ketton's translation and its legacy at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona; we have recently published the proceedings of this conference.¹

»*Lex Mahumet pseudoprophete, que arabice Alchoran, id est, collectio preceptorum uocatur*«, »The law of the false prophet Muhammad, which in Arabic is called the Qur'ān, which means collection of precepts.« This is the title that the scribe of the earliest extant manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal MS 1162) gave to Robert of Ketton's Latin translation of the Qur'ān. The title crystallizes some of the principal ways in which European Christian intellectuals, from the twelfth century onward, understood the Qur'ān and Islam. The Qur'ān is first and foremost a *lex*, a word which in twelfth-century Latin means both *law* and *religion*. For European jurists and theologians, human history is marked by a succession of legal configurations. From the time of Adam to that of Moses was the period before the Law (*ante legem*), ruled by natural law. From the revelation of the Law to Moses on Mount Sinai to the birth of Christ was the period under the Law (*sub lege*). Finally, Christ came and initiated the period under grace (*sub gratia*), proclaiming »Think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill.« (Matthew 5.17). These three periods were associated with three types of law: natural law (*lex naturalis*), Mosaic Law (*lex Moysis*, codified in the Old Testament), and Christian Law (*lex Christi*, grounded in the New Testament). Confronted with another *lex*, that of Muhammad (or of »the Saracens«, as it is often called *lex Sarracenorum*), medieval European intellectuals tried to understand how it might fit into this schema.

The Qur'ān, according to this title, is the law of a false prophet. Whereas Moses received the Law from God on Mount Sinai and Christ, God's word incarnate, fulfilled and transformed the Law, Muhammad's law by contrast is illegitimate. The de-legitimizing of the Muslim prophet plays a central role in Christian responses to Islam. Robert of Ketton had been studying astronomy along the banks of the Ebro river when Peter, abbot of the rich and powerful Burgundian monastery of Cluny, hired him to translate the Qur'ān. Peter hired

1 Ferrero Hernández and Tolan, *The Latin Qur'an*.

a team of translators to translate, alongside the Qur'ān, various Arabic works (mostly by Christian authors) about Islam: the resulting compilation is known as the *corpus cluniacense* or *corpus islamlatinum*. Whereas for Muslims the Qur'ān is the word of God, the reader of Ketton's translation and the other Latin works in the *corpus cluniacense* would learn that it is merely a »collection of precepts« of a false prophet. Muhammad, for Ketton and for those who will read his translation, is the sole author of this *lex*, an illegitimate law based on feigned revelations. The choice of the term »collection« also emphasizes the human origins of this law, the hand of the false prophet who gathered diverse »precepts« into a single volume.

Roberto Tottoli and Reinhold Gleis have published a book on »Marracci at work«, and our collective volume could be put under the rubric »Ketton at work«.² Olivier Hanne provides a close comparative study of the translation methods and strategies of Robert and of Adelard of Bath and shows how each of these twelfth-century translators sought to comprehend the texts and to adopt their translation methods to the specificities of the texts and of the intended readership. Reinhold Gleis explores the problems of trying to produce a »literal« or »word-by-word« translation of the Qur'ān in Latin and the choices that Robert of Ketton makes in trying to render the sometimes quite foreign concepts of the Qur'ān into comprehensible Latin.

Ketton's text cannot be understood without taking into account the manuscripts through which it was known, and in particular the rich and complex set of glosses. We await the coming critical edition of the translation by José Martínez Gázquez and Fernando González Muñoz. Oscar de la Cruz examines several examples of glosses showing hostile readings of the Qur'ān, involving *res turpissima* (sodomy) and the use of *velamen* (veil): in these cases Qur'ānic words are given specific Latin significations that facilitate their polemical use.

Central to many of the studies in the volume is Paris Arsenal MS 1162, which Marie Thérèse d'Alverny recognized as the source manuscript of the *corpus cluniacense*. Anthony Lappin's close study, notably focusing on Peter of Cluny's letter to Bernard Clairvaux, shows how the *corpus* is to be understood first as part of Peter's rhetorical defense of Cluny against a formidable spiritual and institutional adversary. When it was no longer necessary to defend the Cluniacs against the Cistercians, the *corpus* fell into relative neglect (reflected in the state of the Arsenal manuscript), only to be revived later. Fernando González's meticulous study of the deleted and corrected passages in the Arsenal manuscript confirms that it was a working copy, original of the collection, but not of any of the constitutive texts. Florence Ninitte's work dovetails nicely with that of Lappin and González. Her study of Vincent of Beauvais' use of the Latin *Risālat al-Kindī* shows that Vincent had access to a more complete version than the one in the Arsenal manuscript (and the other manuscripts of the *corpus cluniacense*), which confirms that this pre-Arsenal version of *Risālat al-Kindī* circulated independently (and was sent by Peter of Cluny to Bernard of Clairvaux.) Other studies in the volume compare Robert's translation with other medieval Latin translations (notably by Mark of Toledo in the 13th century and Egidio da Viterbo at the turn of the 16th century) and trace the use of Ketton's translation (and the other texts in the *corpus cluniacense*) by later medieval authors. In sum, *The Latin Qur'ān, 1143-1500* represents an important new synthesis on the first and most influential European translation of the Qur'ān.

2 Gleis and Tottoli, *Ludovico Marracci at Work*.

In March, 2021, EuQu hosted a conference in collaboration with the University of Notre Dame on »Qur'ān and Bible«: the conference was organized by Thomas Burman and Gabriel Said Reynolds for Notre Dame and Jan Loop and myself for EuQu. Originating in similar but not identical linguistic, geographical, cultural, and religious contexts, the Qur'ān and the Bible stand in a complex relationship to each other. They share stylistic, narrative and cultic features, but also differ in fundamental ways. The Qur'ān invokes the Bible and biblical stories repeatedly and positions itself in a relationship of confirmation and fulfillment to the Judeo-Christian tradition, occasionally amending what it claims was distorted and manipulated by Christians and Jews. This relationship of the Qur'ān and the Bible has intrigued and at times scandalized Muslim, Jewish and Christian scholars alike. The shared narratives of the Bible and the Qur'ān were both starting points for polemical interactions and platforms for dialogue. As products of the same linguistic family and of a similar cultural context, Qur'ān and biblical literature offers relevant information for Muslim, Jewish and Christian exegetes. They could function as linguistic archives, and provide historical information about the natural, geographical, cultural and religious world in which the Bible and the Qur'ān originated. Even stylistic and aesthetic characteristics of the Qur'ān and the Bible could be understood through the style of the other revelation. Our workshop explored the changing ways in which medieval and early modern Jewish, Christian and Muslim readers relate biblical literature and the Qur'ān, looking at how the relationship between the Qur'ān and the Bible was understood and exploited for apologetical, polemical and missionary purposes. Yet rival scriptures can also be a heuristic exegetical tool: Jewish, Christian and Muslim readers have made use of the Bible and the Qur'ān in order to better understand their own Scripture: biblical texts play a role in Muslim exegesis (*tafsīr*), just as the Qur'ān is used in Christian biblical studies. The topics ranged from ninth-century Basra to sixteenth-century Valencia and Basel to twentieth-century Novochoerkassk. A number of the studies involved the medieval period.

Medieval Latin Christian readings of the Qur'ān were often guided by earlier Arabic Christian apologetical and polemical responses to Islam. David Bertaina, in his contribution to our conference, looked at two examples of how debates between Muslim theologians of the Abbasid period were taken up by Arab Christian polemicists and subsequently made their way into Latin Christian readings of the Qur'ān. He looked in particular at the question of the practice of idolatry associated with Muhammad's parents and with the young Muhammad himself, before his calling to prophethood at the age of about 40. Qur'ān 9.113 reads: »It is not for the Prophet and those who have believed to ask forgiveness for the polytheists, even if they were relatives, after it has become clear to them that they are companions of Hellfire.« Some hadith, in the tradition of providing occasions of revelation (*asbāb al-nuzūl*), explain that Muhammad was seen weeping at his mother's grave and said that he had wanted to offer prayers for the salvation of her soul, but that God had refused. Muhammad himself had been rescued from idolatrous practice by God's grace. Mu'tazilī activists created a series of polemical and apologetical responses to these questions. In particular, the *Book of Instigation* (*Kitāb al-Taḥrīsh*) by the hadith critic Ḍirār ibn 'Amr al-Ghaṭafānī (d. 815) included a chapter on Muhammad before his revelation, criticizing hadith supporters. Later, the respondent Ibn Qutayba (d. 889) responded to claims that certain hadiths were contradictory because they claimed that Muhammad had been both rightly guided by angels since his youth while also being a polytheist until he was forty years of age.

This Islamic debate about the status of Muhammad's parents and his state of grace prior to prophethood had implications for Medieval Latin theologians, due in large part to the Muslim convert to Coptic Orthodoxy known as Būluṣ ibn Rajā' (writing c. 1012) in his work *Clarity in Truth*. Having studied these polemical texts in Fatimid Cairo as a Muslim, Ibn Rajā' repurposed the Qur'ānic debate by agreeing that Muhammad (prior to his prophethood) and his parents were polytheists but doubting that his prophethood could have been authentic since he was not preserved from sin as was the case with Mary. Indeed, the Gospels assert the purity and freedom from sin of Mary and Jesus (in particular Luke 1-2) and the Qur'ān concurs (suras 3 & 19). Ibn Rajā' contrasts the purity of Jesus and his family with the sinful idolatry of the young Muhammad and his family in order to cast doubt on his status as a prophet. Ibn Rajā''s text made its way through Christian Arabic networks to Latin-speaking Spain and to the Italian Peninsula. Eventually the substance of his arguments was utilized by Latin writers such as Ramon Martí and Riccolodo da Monte di Croce in their assessments of the alleged earthly origins of the Qur'ān and its purportedly flawed Prophet.

Gabriel Said Reynolds examined another Arab Christian writer who had contact with Latin Christendom: Paul of Antioch, the Melkite Bishop of Sidon, who wrote an apologetic *Risālat ilā aḥad al-muslimīn* »A Letter to a Muslim«. Paul's letter provoked a response from the Egyptian legal scholar al-Qarāfi (d. 1285) but also an expanded Christian version known as the letter from Cyprus (written around 1316), which itself provoked two Muslim responses: from Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭālib (written in 1321) and from Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328; his *al-Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, the longest classical Islamic anti-Christian polemic). Intriguingly, Paul opens his treatise by discussing a visit to Byzantium and Europe and the arguments advanced by Christians there defending their choice not to accept Muhammad as a prophet. While it is possible that the European twist is a literary device (very little is actually known about Paul's life) the arguments which follow show a unique engagement with the Qur'ān and, in particular, a Christianizing exegesis of the text. Remarkably, it anticipates certain later European approaches to the Qur'ān which imagine (as Paul does) that Muhammad played a providential role in bringing monotheism to pagans.

In the Latin Church, the Dominican order played an important role in promoting the study of the Qur'ān and in forging apologetic and polemical responses to it. Pierre Courtain, EuQu PhD candidate at the Université de Nantes and the Université Catholique de Louvain, is writing a dissertation on the »Dominican Qur'ān«, studying the engagement of the Order of Preachers with the Muslim holy book, including prominent figures such as Riccolodo da Montecroce. He is producing a new critical edition of Ramon Martí's texts on Islam. In his contribution to our conference in March, Pierre Courtain examined the use of the Qur'ān in Martí's *De Seta Machometi*. Martí relies on the works of earlier Christian polemical tracts, such as those of Paul of Antioch, the 9th-10th-century *Risālat al-Kindī* and *Al-Saif al-Murhaf fī al-Radd 'alā al-Muḥaf*, an anonymous tract by an Egyptian Copt. Like these and other Christian authors, he has a double and apparently paradoxical approach to the relations between the Bible and the Qur'ān: he uses the Bible to discredit the Qur'ān, then uses the Qur'ān to legitimate the Bible (and his Christian reading of it).

In the first part of the *De Seta Machometi*, Martí provides a biographical sketch of Muhammad in order to defame the Prophet of the Muslims, assigning him a life that is contrary to the life of a true and virtuous prophet. In the second part of this work, which is called the »fourfold reprobation of Muhammad«, he divides the law of the Muslims between what is true or false, criticizing the »errors« of the Qur'ān while also citing some fragments that he considers truthful. Then he underlines the »impurity« of Muhammad's life with anecdotes

from the Muslim holy book. The next parts, about the fact that the Prophet of Islam did not perform any miracle and about the impure laws that he left for his worshippers also make thorough use of the Qur'ān. Yet Martí also mines the Qur'ān for proofs of the truthfulness of the Bible and of Christian doctrine, illustrating his propensity to use a book of authority among the Muslims in order to serve his missionary objective. He refutes the Muslim accusation of *tahrif*, the corruption of Jewish and Christian scriptures, which, he affirms would have been impossible, since Jews and Christians worldwide disagree on the interpretation of their holy books but agree on the text.

Another thirteenth-century Dominican took a very different approach to the Qur'ān, as Rita George Tvrtković's contribution to the conference showed. William of Tripoli (d. 1273) devotes about 40% of his anti-Islamic book *Notitia de Machometo* to verbatim quotes of Qur'ānic verses on Mary, with comparisons to their biblical counterparts. Another text associated with William (possibly written by an associate), *De statu Sarracenorum*, similarly devotes eleven out of 55 chapters to Qur'ānic Mariology. The Qur'ān thus plays an ambiguous role in these works: it confirms the central place of Mary and Jesus in sacred history and suggests that Islam is close to Christian truth. This sentiment is confirmed by William's admiration for Muslim piety, for their heartfelt prayers and tears and their pious admiration of Mary, Jesus, and other biblical figures: their piety pleases God, William affirms.

My contribution to this conference focused on the Bible and the Qur'ān at the Council of Basel (1431-1449). Basel is at the center of any map of the European Qur'ān: it is the city where the Qur'ān was first published, in Latin translation, in 1543, before it was ever printed in Arabic. The Swiss protestant Humanist Theodor Bibliander had at his disposal in Basel a number of manuscripts containing the Qur'ān and other texts concerning Islam. At least two of those manuscripts had come to Basel during the Council of Basel in 1431-1449, participants at which (or »Church fathers«) took an interest in the Islamic holy book. The Council of Basel represented the high-water mark of the conciliar movement, which sought to achieve peace and unity through collective governance of the Church. The Gospels and Epistles provided conciliarists with a model of collective authority to oppose the papal notions of the pope as the vicar of Christ. Two of the most fervent advocates of the conciliar model, Juan de Segovia and Nicolas of Cusa, met at Basel and studied the Qur'ān together. We know of at least six manuscripts of the Qur'ān that circulated in Basel during the Council: one in Arabic, and five containing all or part of Robert of Ketton's Latin translation.

While the Latin Christian authors who read and discussed the Qur'ān in Basel often reproduced standard polemical and apologetical approaches, they also read it in new and surprising ways. Heymericus de Campo, representative of the University of Cologne (where he had taught Nicolas of Cusa), uses citations from the Muslim holy book to provide arguments for the superior authority of the Council over the pope. In theological debates over the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, Jean de Rouvroy and Juan de Segovia cite the Qur'ān among their proof texts of the purity of the Virgin Mary: Juan defines the Qur'ān as »*scripturas Sarracenorum*«, »Saracen scriptures«, an unusual use of the term »scripture«. The Dominican Juan de Torquemada, Pope Eugene IV's envoy to the council, would have none of this: he correctly accuses his opponents of citing these Qur'ānic passages out of context and says that his opponents have deployed a »*turpissimum argumentum*«, »most shameful argument«: one should cite saints, not Saracens.

These examples show how the Council of Basel witnessed the emergence (timid and tentative) of a very new approach to Islam and to the Qur'ān. The protagonists of this story obtained Qur'ān manuscripts, exchanged them, copied them, and discussed them. They also read other polemical texts that guided their reading of the Qur'ān, in particular the 12th-century Latin translation of the *Risālat al-Kindī* and Riccoldo da Montecroce's *Contra sectam Sarracenorum*. In part, their readings reflect an interest in Islam, which was useful to their reflections on how a council that purports to represent the Church universal might unite Christendom against the Ottoman threat and eventually reach out to Muslims in dialogue (as both Nicolas of Cusa and Juan de Segovia would subsequently suggest). But even more telling is that as these churchmen and scholars stripped away the layers of canon law and exegesis to ground, in citations from the Bible, their idea of collective conciliar Church government and their definition of doctrine (including the Immaculate Conception), they also looked to the Qur'ān to find passages that confirmed their ideas.

The papers dealing with the early modern period revealed important continuities and new departures. Theodore Bibliander's publication of Robert of Ketton's Latin translation in Basel in 1543, along with the *corpus islamolatinum* (including in particular the *Risālat al-Kindī*), and along with other works including Riccoldo da Montecroce's *Contra sectam* and Nicolas of Cusa's *Cribratio Alkorani*, assured the continuing influence of medieval Latin approaches to the Qur'ān. This is clearly seen in the works of seventeenth-century Catholic missionaries writing of the Church's *Propaganda Fide*, such as Tomas de Jesus, Bonaventura Malvasia and Filippo Guadagnoli, as Javier de Prado Garcia showed. This is even true in the Greek world: as Octavian-Adrian Negoită demonstrated, the Athonite monk Pachomios Rousanos (1508-1553) relied heavily on Riccoldo for his anti-Islamic polemics. Arabic-speaking Christians such as the Syriac Orthodox priest Moses of Mārdīn (d. 1592, discussed by Sara Fani) and converts from Islam such as Baldassarre Loyola Mandes (1631-1667, the object of Federico Stella's research) also played a key role: as teachers of Arabic, purveyors of manuscripts, and as transmitters of *tafsīr*. The Qur'ān could also be of use to European Jews such as the Venetian rabbi Leon Modena (1571-1648), who deployed Qur'ānic arguments against Christianity, as Aleida Paudice showed.

Those European Christians who studied the Qur'ān continued to read it »through Biblical glasses«, as Maxime Sellin showed in his analysis of the Qur'ān of Bellus, an Arabic Qur'ān copied in Bellus (near Valencia) in 1518 containing annotations and glosses in Latin, Catalan and Castilian. These glosses showed that what most interested the annotator was the relation of the Qur'ānic text with that of the Bible, either as a confirmation of biblical truth or as a rejection of it. The German orientalist Levinus Warner (the subject of Kentaro Inagaki's presentation), whose 1643 *Compendium historicum* relies on an array of sources in Arabic and Persian, also offers a Christian reading of the Qur'ān: he questions the convergences and divergences between biblical and Qur'ānic narratives, but also made a pioneering use of Zamakhshari's *tafsīr* in his reading of the Qur'ān. Biblical scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries increasingly saw the Qur'ān as an exegetical tool, a key to understanding the »oriental« civilization that produced both the Bible and the Qur'ān: Christian Benedict Michaelis, for example, sees the Qur'ān as an ethnographical document shedding light on the habits and foibles of oriental Arabs and Hebrews (as Asaph Ben-Tov and Jan Loop demonstrated). At the same time, other orientalists, while not forsaking their preference for

what they see as biblical truth, revel in the literary, poetic and folkloristic dimensions of the Qur'ān, as we saw in Emmanuelle Stefanidis' analysis of Michel Baudier's *Histoire générale de la religion des Turcs* (1625). The nineteenth-century Danish orientalist Nikolai Frederick Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872) similarly viewed the Qur'ān as a fount of fairy tales reflecting the »Arabian spirit«, as Thomas Hoffman showed.

European orientalists brought their erudition to bear on processes of contact and exchange in the far-flung empires of the Dutch, French, British and others. Naima Afif looked at the fascinating example of how the Qur'ān, translated first from Arabic to French by André de Ryer (1647) then from French into Dutch by Jan Hendrik Glazemaker (1657), was finally translated from Dutch into Hebrew in the mid-eighteenth century by Jacob von Dort, a Jewish merchant in Cochin (Kochi), India. Von Dort was apparently a convert from Judaism to Christianity, as he often reshaped his translation according to stylistic and even theological elements from the Bible. Vevian Zaki looks at how the Arabic-speaking convert Nathaneal Sabat and the Anglican missionary Henry Martyn translated the King James Bible into Arabic, using Qur'ānic language to present Christianity in a familiar and acceptable guise to Arabic-speaking potential converts from Islam to Christianity in the early nineteenth-century British Empire.

In the nineteenth century, Jewish and Muslim »reformers« and »modernizers« looked to scripture, the Bible and the Qur'ān, to give solid new foundations to religious understanding and practice. Abraham Geiger, a rabbi and in many ways founder of reform Judaism in 19th-century Germany, saw the Qur'ān as an expression of purified monotheism that had borrowed extensively from rabbinical sources, particularly Midrash, though, as Michael Pregill shows, some of those sources were, in fact, written later than Geiger had thought and may have been influenced by Islam. Rather than attempt to determine chronological priority to establish who borrowed from whom, Pregill emphasizes the common concerns and shared exegetical culture of Jews and Muslims in Late Antiquity. Jewish reformers like Geiger, inspired in part by German Protestantism, looked to scripture as the fount of religious reform. Gulnaz Sibgatullina places Mūsā Bigī's 1911/12 Turki-Tatar translation of the Qur'ān into the context of this same »biblical turn«: reformist Muslims, like their Jewish and Christian counterparts, sought to bring scripture (in this case, the Qur'ān) to the people in the vernacular. Scholars such as Bigī also used their knowledge of biblical texts to help them understand the Qur'ān, as we see in their works of *tafsīr*.

I have given detailed descriptions of these two conferences held in 2020 and 2021 to give an idea of the scope and diversity of the scholars associated with EuQu and of the subjects we take on. In the coming years, until the end of the project in 2025, we will organize conferences, workshops, and other events across Europe. We are also planning on bringing the fruits of our research to a broader, non-academic audience, through collaborations with associations of schoolteachers, through publications aimed at non-academic audiences, and through a series of exhibitions on the Qur'ān in European culture to be held in participating museums across Europe.

EuQu's PhD students and postdoctoral researchers will continue on their individual research projects, which will lead to the publication of dissertations and monographs in our European Qur'ān series with De Gruyter. Here I will briefly describe the projects of those working on the medieval period. Pierre Courtain will continue his research on the »Dominican Qur'ān«. He is producing a critical edition of two key works on Islam: *Explanation*

simboli apostolorum and *De seta Machometi*, by the thirteenth-century Dominican friar Ramon Martí. He is also studying the reception of the Qur'ān among Dominicans, including Ramon Martí and Riccoldo da Montecroce. An important part of his work involves the study of Qur'ānic manuscripts, in both Arabic and Latin, from Dominican collections, which often offer clues as to how they were read and what elements of the text interested its readers.

Postdoctoral researcher Octavian-Adrian Negoită's project is entitled *The Holy Book of the Ishmaelites in the World of Greek Christianity (XIIth-XVIIIth Centuries)*. He is studying the place occupied by the Qur'ān in Greek discourse, in writings by authors ranging from emperors to simple monks, who attempted to discuss, refute and engage with the Islamic holy book, while pursuing their own religious and political agendas. Negoită is conducting a diachronic analysis of the place of the Qur'ān within the cultural and religious history of the Greek world from Byzantine times until the dawn of modernity, with particular attention to understanding how the Qur'ān was conceptualized by the Greek intellectuals, and how it has been embedded in the polemical discourse. Part of the project will involve assessing the availability of the Qur'ānic text (in the original Arabic or translation). All these research directions will bring to light the specifics of Greek engagement with the Qur'ān. Hence, the project addresses a wide range of sources, from theological treatises to chronicles or hagiography, in both modern editions and manuscript form. It also aims to evaluate the role that the Qur'ān played in the Greek world in order to enrich our understanding of how this fits in the larger historical and cultural context of the intellectual developments concerning oriental studies in Europe.

Florence Ninitte is studying the knowledge of the Qur'ān in medieval French texts. So far her work has focused principally on two French texts containing Qur'ānic material, Jean de Vignay's *Miroir historial* and Jean Germain's *Trésor des simples* (also known as the *Débat du Chrétien et du Sarrasin*). She is undertaking an analysis of the various stages of translation and rewriting of the Qur'ānic material from the Arabic *Risālat al-Kindī* to their French rendition in Jean de Vignay and Jean Germain's texts. Her work shows how the Qur'ān was often received through multiple filters in Europe: first, the 9th- or 10th-century Christian author of the *Risālat al-Kindī*, which deploys selected verses from the Qur'ān to defend Christian belief and practice and to provide polemical arguments against Islam: questioning the prophethood of Muḥammad, denying the divine origin and nature of the Qur'ān by turning the accusation of *tahrīf* (textual corruption) against the Qur'ān itself, and demonstrating the inadequacy of its content. Peter of Toledo then translates this text into Latin in the twelfth century (as part of the *corpus cluniacense*). Peter's Latin text, the *Epistula Saraceni et rescriptum Christiani*, is then used by Vincent de Beauvais for his encyclopedic *Speculum historiale* (mid-13th century), which Jean de Vignay translates as the *Miroir historial* (c. 1332), and by Jean Germain for his *Trésor des simples*. Florence Ninitte's close textual analysis of the transmission and transformation of Qur'ānic passages between these texts provides examples of how the Muslim holy book was understood by medieval readers and how they made sense of what partial and partisan information was available to them.

Irene Reginato is producing a critical edition of Jean Germain's *Trésor des simples* (1448-1451). Germain was the bishop of Chalon sur Saône and a close advisor to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, whom he represented at the council of Basel. There he probably discussed the Qur'ān with fellow council-participants Nicolas of Cusa and Juan de Segovia, and may have seen Robert of Ketton's translation. Reginato has so far been working principally on the first two books, which offer the first French translation of Peter of Toledo's *Epistula sarraceni et rescriptum christiani*, enriched with a number of Latin sources, including Petrus

Alfonsi, Thomas Aquinas, Vincent of Beauvais and many others. Reginato will provide a much-needed critical edition of a key source in the fifteenth-century European response to Islam. She will accompany the edition with a study of Germain's use of his sources and of the manuscript tradition of the *Trésor des simples*, showing its diffusion and impact in fifteenth-century Europe.

Davide Scotto's research project is entitled *The Rise of a Christian Hermeneutics of the Qur'ān: The Medieval Latin Debate (Twelfth to Fifteenth centuries)*. He is tracing the origins and the early development of the Christian theological debate on the Qur'ān in Europe by closely comparing a variety of Latin sources (theological treatises, handbooks for missionaries, travel books, letters, prefaces and annotations to Qur'ān translations) produced from the early twelfth to the late fifteenth century in territories ranging from the Iberian Peninsula to Savoy, and from southern Germany to the Near East. He tries to overcome the static historiographic concept of religious polemics by looking at the Christian reception of the Qur'ān from a different angle. To do so, a series of transreligious or Abrahamic narratives which, with different variants and meanings, Christian scholars identified in the Qur'ān and understood through the lens of the Bible, will be detected and analyzed. Investigations will be shaped according to three lines of research: 1) Defining the Qur'ān and post-Qur'ānic materials (*hadīth*, *tafsīr*, popular narratives) starting from the Christian concept of revelation as a divinely inspired book; 2) Interpreting the Qur'ān resorting to four types of biblical exegesis (literal, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical); 3) Christianizing the Qur'ān by adopting a comparative perspective based on the competition, conflict, or coexistence between salvation histories. Ultimately, the goal is to see how the translation and the dissemination of the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom urged Christian scholars to acknowledge – in order to either contest it or incorporate it – the Abrahamic legacy behind the Qur'ān, thus urging contemporary scholars to question a monolithic view of European/Western religious history and cultural identity.

Other PhD students and postdoctoral researchers are pursuing projects on the Qur'ān in European culture between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries: on the circulation of Arabic Qur'ān manuscripts, on the edition and publication of the Arabic text of the Qur'ān, on translations into Latin and various European vernaculars, on the use of the Qur'ān in religious polemic, biblical studies, and in other fields of the humanities. What I have traced in these pages is only the beginning of the story of the European Qur'ān, a subject that the EuQu team of scholars will be studying over the coming years. We are organizing conferences and workshops across Europe and beyond, our European Qur'ān database will soon be online, and the successive volumes in our European Qur'ān series with De Gruyter will be published in the coming years. Readers can track the progress of our research via our website: euqu.eu.

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