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A TESTIMONY OF CAROLINGIAN RULE

The *Codex epistolaris Carolinus* as a product of its time

EEN GETUIGENIS VAN KAROLINGISCHE HEERSCHAPPIJ

De *Codex epistolaris Carolinus* als een product van zijn tijd

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

PROEFSCHRIFT

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ABBREVIATIONS

AHP	<i>Archivum Historiae Pontificiae</i>
ARF	<i>Annales Regni Francorum</i> (= Royal Frankish Annals), ed. Rau
AX	<i>Annales Xantenses</i> , ed. Von Simson
c.	chapter(s)
CC	<i>Codex epistolaris Carolinus</i> , ed. Gundlach
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis</i>
CHR	<i>The Catholic Historical Review</i>
DA	<i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters namens der Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
EME	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
Facsimile	<i>Codex epistolaris Carolinus</i> , facsimile edition, ed. Unterkircher
fol./fols.	folio / folios
FS	<i>Frühmittelalterliche Studien</i>
HZ	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
LP	<i>Liber Pontificalis</i> , ed. Duchesne
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
	Cap. <i>Capitula Regum Francorum</i>
	Conc. <i>Concilia</i>
	Dkar. <i>Diplomata Karolinorum</i>
	Epp. <i>Epistolae in quarto</i>
	Fontes <i>Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germani Historicis separatim editi</i>
	GPR <i>Gesta pontificum Romanorum</i>
	Ordines <i>Ordines de celebrando concilio</i>
	SRG <i>Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum</i>
	SRG NS <i>Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum. Nova series</i>
	SRLI <i>Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX</i>
	SRM <i>Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum</i>
	SS <i>Scriptores</i>
NA	<i>Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde</i>
ÖNB	<i>Österreichische Nationalbibliothek</i>
RB	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
s.a.	<i>sub annum / sub annos</i>
TdS	<i>Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental</i>

INTRODUCTION

It was with immense love of heart that we received your eminent royal letter, sweet as nectar and most delightful. After opening it and learning of your royal safety and of the good health enjoyed by our spiritual daughter, the lady queen, and by your most noble children, we offered great thanks to almighty God, Who, through the intercessions of your patron, the blessed Apostle Peter – and we too, though unworthy, pray constantly for you – will grant you unending and ubiquitous victories and will order everything around you, both the marches and the frontiers, to your advantage.¹

Pope Hadrian I's words to King Charlemagne, written at some point in the late winter or early spring of 788, express the general tone in other contemporary papal letters that were sent to the Carolingian court well. It only survives, like most other papal letters to the Frankish rulers, because it was included in a letter collection produced in Carolingian court circles of the late eighth century. To modern scholars it is known as the *Codex epistolaris Carolinus*.² If it were not for this collection, now only extant in a codex from the later ninth-century, the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449, the papal letters to the Frankish court from the period would, for the most part, have been lost.³

¹ Letter from Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne, after January 788: English translation by P.D. King, *Charlemagne. Translated Sources* (Kendal, 1987); *Codex epistolaris Carolinus*, ed. W. Gundlach, *MGH Epp.* III (Berlin, 1892), pp. 269-653, no. 83, p. 617.

² Edition as in n. 1. A facsimile edition has also been published: *Codex epistolaris carolinus*, ed. F. Unterkircher, *Codices selecti* 3 (Graz, 1962) (hereafter *Facsimile*). A number of letters dating to the reign of Charlemagne were (partially) translated in King, *Charlemagne*, pp. 269-307, but no other translation of the earlier half of the collection exists.

³ With the exception of one partial letter by Pope Hadrian I from 788, see T.F.X. Noble, 'Morbidity and Vitality in the History of the Early Medieval Papacy', *CHR* 81 (1995), pp. 505-540, at p. 513; and the letters in the Bonifatian corpus: T.F.X. Noble, 'The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*', in: C. Leonardi and G. Orlandi eds., *Biblical Studies in the Early Middle Ages. Proceedings of the Conference on Biblical Studies in the Early Middle Ages. Università degli Studi di Milano. Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino. Gargano on Lake Garda, 24-27 June 2001* (Florence, 2005), pp. 61-74, at p. 62, and n. 8 on the same page.

The *Codex Carolinus*, produced in 791, comprises ninety-nine letters, all sent from the Lateran palace between 739 and 791. They were mostly addressed to the Frankish rulers Charles Martel (r. 715-741), Pippin III (r. 751-768), Carloman (r. 768-772) and Charlemagne (r. 768-814), but there are also three letters sent by Pope Hadrian I (772-795) to Spanish bishops; emphatically placed at the end of the collection, one finds two letters sent by the antipope Constantine (767-768). Since the letters shed light on many aspects of the burgeoning Frankish-papal relations in this period, the *Codex Carolinus* is an indispensable source for the history of the Franks, Lombards and Rome in the second half of the eighth century. We read of the politics of Italy, the popes' bids for help against the Lombards, Hadrian I's territorial claims, and of popes emulating, praising but sometimes also reprimanding the Frankish rulers, all in order to establish and maintain their mutual bond. In doing so, the popes introduced a variety of new concepts into Frankish political discourse. Both the individual letters and their compilation into a collection are exceptional testimonies to this dynamic period in history. In consequence, it is highly valuable for both Roman and papal, as well as Carolingian, history. Crucially, it also reflects the interest of the Frankish court in preserving historical documents.⁴ The same could be said about the collection of papal biographies known as the *Liber Pontificalis*.⁵ Yet whereas the latter has enjoyed recent and thorough scholarly attention, the *Codex Carolinus* has attracted less attention from historians.⁶

⁴ R.D. McKitterick, *Charlemagne. The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 38.

⁵ *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, Introduction et Commentaire I & II*. (Paris, 1886-1892; republished by C. Vogel in 1955-1957) (hereafter *LP*). Vogel's re-republished volumes of Duchesne's work were supplemented by a third volume from the hand of Duchesne, in which he shared further thoughts and comments. For the English translations, see: R. Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis). The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715* (Liverpool, 2000); *idem*, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis). The Ancient Biographies of Nine Popes from AD 715 to AD 817* (Liverpool, 2007); *idem*, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis). The Ancient Biographies of Ten Popes from AD 817-891* (Liverpool, 1995).

⁶ Recent publications on the *Liber Pontificalis* include R.D. McKitterick, 'Die Überlieferung eines bestimmten Bildes der Stadt Rom im frühen Mittelalter: der *Liber Pontificalis*', in: H. Finger ed., *Bischöfe, Klöster, Universitäten und Rom: Gedenkschrift für Josef Semmler (1928-2011)* (Cologne, 2012), pp. 33-46; the volume F. Bougard and M. Sot eds., *Liber, Gesta, histoire. Écrire l'histoire des évêques et des papes, de l'Antiquité au XXI^e siècle* (Turnhout, 2009), with contributions of, among others, R.D. McKitterick, F. Bougard, H. Geertman and M. Sot.

This situation has improved somewhat since 1995, when Thomas Noble called for a reappraisal of the history of the early medieval papacy, citing the *Codex Carolinus* as an example of an important but under-researched set of documents.⁷ It should be added that papal letters in general have not always been taken seriously by historians as relevant sources for the history of the papacy and the Lateran palace, mostly because they used to be regarded as mere expressions of religious spirituality or Christian doctrine, and have consequently been used for this purpose.⁸ Since then, studies on letters and diplomacy have proven otherwise, and it is within this field of expertise that the *Codex Carolinus* has generated moderate scholarly interest, though research has focused mostly on the chronology of the letters.⁹ Other studies have treated the letters as a source of information for papal use of church law.¹⁰ The significance of the letters for a more general understanding of the early medieval papacy, however, was not very evident, according to Noble.¹¹ More recently, Richard Pollard has also emphasised the importance of the papal letters, and signalled the neglect of this type of source in older and recent scholarship.¹²

Meanwhile, some of Noble's admonitions have been heeded, and the interest in the *Codex Carolinus* has been revived. The most important study,

⁷ Noble, 'Morbidity and Vitality', pp. 511-512.

⁸ For instance see J. Haller, 'Die Karolinger und das Papsttum', *HZ* 108 (1912), pp. 38-237; and, to a lesser extent, M. Lintzel, 'Der *Codex Carolinus* und die Motive von Pippins Italienpolitik', *HZ* 161 (1939), pp. 33-41.

⁹ In the field of diplomacy and epistolography: G. Constable, 'Letters and letter-collections', in: *TdS* 17 (Turnhout, 1976); D. Jasper and H. Fuhrmann, *Papal letters in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington D.C., 2001); A. Gillett, *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West* (Cambridge, 2003). On the chronology of the letters: W. Gundlach, 'Ueber den *Codex Carolinus*', *NA* 17 (1892), pp. 525-566, from p. 548 onwards; P. Kehr, 'Ueber die Chronologie der Briefe Papst Pauls I. im *Codex Carolinus*', *Nachrichten von der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (1896), pp. 103-157; D. Bullough, 'The dating of *Codex Carolinus* Nos. 95, 96, 97: Wilchar, and the beginnings of the Archbishopric of Sens', *DA* 18 (1962), pp. 223-230.

¹⁰ Most importantly, among others, by H. Fuhrmann, 'Zu kirchenrechtlichen Vorlagen einiger Papstbriefe aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen', *DA* 35 (1979), pp. 357-367; and also H. Mordek, 'Kirchenrechtliche Autoritäten im Frühmittelalter', in: P. Classen ed., *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen, 1977), pp. 237-255.

¹¹ T.F.X. Noble, 'The intellectual culture of the early medieval papacy', *Roma nell'alto Medioevo. Settimane di studio del centro Italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 27 aprile - 1 maggio 2000* (Spoleto, 2001), pp. 179-213, at pp. 196-197.

¹² R.M. Pollard, 'The Decline of the *cursus* in the papal chancery and its implications', *Studi Medievali* 50 (2009), pp. 1-40, p. 1.

without doubt, is Achim Thomas Hack's monumental publication in the celebrated *Päpste und Papsttum* series, which has been aptly described by Noble as 'a stupendous achievement'.¹³ In this book, Hack has perceptively analysed the papal letters from the perspective of the epistolary genre as well as diplomatics.¹⁴ In the same series, Florian Hartmann has presented an in-depth and highly praised biography of Pope Hadrian I and account of his pontificate.¹⁵ Clemens Gantner has long been a student of the eighth-century papacy and the *Codex Carolinus*.¹⁶ Walter Pohl has examined one letter in the collection in particular, in search of strategies of identification in the papal rhetoric.¹⁷

So far, the revived interest in the *Codex Carolinus* has mostly occurred in the context of papal history and epistolography in general. Yet no-one has so far undertaken a new critical edition of the letter collection, for which there is a real need: the most recent edition by Wilhelm Gundlach dates from 1892 and is not exactly perfect.¹⁸ More importantly, for this should be a preliminary to any edition, is that the *Codex Carolinus* has not been considered in its own right as a Carolingian product: it was put together in court-connected circles in 791, and the only manuscript we now have dates from the late ninth-century, and most likely from the East Frankish kingdom. Until now, the collection has mostly been used as a compilation of papal writings with contents that tell us much about the papacy, but not all that much about the Franks. Or, as Donald Bullough decided: 'It is of marginal importance, although symptomatic, that 791 was the year in which

¹³ T.F.X. Noble, 'Book Review: *Codex Carolinus*: Päpstliche Epistolographie im 8. Jahrhundert', *EME* 18 (2010), pp. 233–236.

¹⁴ A.T. Hack, *Codex Carolinus: päpstliche Epistolographie im 8. Jahrhundert. Päpste und Papsttum* 35, I & II (Stuttgart, 2006–2007).

¹⁵ F. Hartmann, *Hadrian I. (772–795). Frühmittelalterliches Adelspapsttum und die Lösung Roms vom Byzantinischen Kaiser. Päpste und Papsttum* 34 (Stuttgart, 2006).

¹⁶ Most recently in the HERA-project 'The Popes as Cultural Brokers for the Latin West in the eighth century'. See C. Gantner, 'The label 'Greeks' in the papal diplomatic repertoire in the eighth century', in: W. Pohl and G. Heydemann eds., *Strategies of Identification: Ethnicity and Religion in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 303–349.

¹⁷ W. Pohl, 'Why not to marry a foreign woman: Stephen III's letter to Charlemagne', in: V. Garver and O. Phelan eds., *Rome and Religion in the Medieval World. Studies in Honor of Thomas F.X. Noble* (Farnham and Burlington, 2014). I am grateful to Professor Pohl for making his text available to me at an earlier stage.

¹⁸ Noble, 'The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*', p. 63; also see Noble, 'Morbidity and Vitality', p. 512, and n. 18 on this page.

the *Codex Carolinus* was written'.¹⁹ In short: when the *Codex Carolinus* has been studied or discussed, it has been a source of information about popes, not about Carolingians.

The Carolingian framework, within which the letters are transmitted, certainly merits more attention than it has so far generated. It is here that I want to make a contribution with this thesis, for it offers the first in-depth consideration of the *Codex Carolinus* as a Carolingian creation and artefact. Naturally, that the letters it contains are all papal documents remains undisputed; there are no other texts or text fragments of any sort in the compilation. There is, however, a preface to the collection, and the *lemmata* or headings summarising the content of the letters in the manuscript. These apparently less important additions to the main texts have been mostly ignored or overlooked, while in fact they offer a rare insight into both the late eighth-century context of the collection, as well as in the milieu of the later ninth century, still Carolingian, when it was copied into the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449. Questions as to why and for what purpose the collection was compiled and copied have not been asked, but precisely these help us to understand the contemporary concerns of the Carolingian courts of both periods within which the *Codex Carolinus* should be situated. From the outset, I should point out that this is a vast topic that cannot be covered in this one thesis. What I offer is a first exploration, in five chapters that approach the 'Frankishness' of the *Codex Carolinus* from different angles. The contents of the letters will come into it, especially in the last chapter, but most of what follows is about the way the collection was created and copied, and about the so-called 'additional material', that is, the preface in Charlemagne's name and the headings summarising the general drift of the papal letters. I should also warn that not many conclusive answers are forthcoming, but my hope is that this thesis will help future scholars to ask the right questions.

Before I provide a more detailed roadmap of this thesis, some more historical background is in order. At some point in the year 739, Pope

¹⁹ D.A. Bullough, 'Aula renovata: The Carolingian Court before the Aachen Palace', in D.A. Bullough (ed.), *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (Manchester and New York, 1991), pp. 123–160, at p. 143.

Gregory III (715-731) sent an embassy by sea to Merovingian Gaul, which carried the keys to St Peter's *confessio* in Rome, and a letter with an urgent request for help. In it, the pope stated that if Charles Martel, mayor of the palace (*maior domus*) to the Frankish king, wanted to secure admission to the Kingdom of Heaven, he should not dismiss the papal plea. As the first of many, it is the opening letter in the *Codex Carolinus*, and the first written testimony to burgeoning papal relations with the influential Carolingian family.²⁰ As *maior domus* and military leader to the Merovingian king, Charles does not seem to have been greatly impressed by the pope's words, nor does he seem to have felt the urge to reach out to the pope. Perhaps he already had his hands full at his home front, or maybe he felt he could rest on his laurels in the eyes of St Peter because of his victory against the Muslims in 732 in southern Francia. Either way, Gregory's plea fell on deaf ears. For now, the papacy had to stand on its own feet.

In the 750s, however, things changed, when Pippin III, son of Charles Martel, took over the Frankish throne in a coup. This period saw some decisive steps in the shaping of the papal-Carolingian rapprochement – not just for the future success of the Carolingian monarchy, but also for that of the papacy. This is what current textbooks still tend to call the 'Franco-Papal Alliance'. With the Carolingian support of the papacy, writes Noble, 'the continued existence of the [papal] Republic was assured'.²¹ *Mutatis mutandis*, the popes' active support of the new Frankish dynasty from 754, expressed by Stephen II's (752-757) anointment of Pippin III, provided the new royal dynasty with a form of legitimation that had never been obtained before in Frankish history. The papal letters in the *Codex Carolinus* attest to these formative years. From these letters, one gets the impression that in the second half of the eighth century, the popes were actively establishing authority outside Rome, and thereby also within their city.

With their groundbreaking work on the Carolingians and the early medieval papacy, Rosamond McKitterick and Noble have set a model for research that I intend to follow. They have effectively shown that, while the Carolingians and the papacy deserve to have their own history written,

²⁰ CC, no. 1, pp. 476-477.

²¹ T.F.X. Noble, *The Republic of St Peter. Birth of the Papal State, 680-825* (Philadelphia, 1984), p. xxi.

these histories should be studied both in conjunction *and* as distinct entities. As entwined as the Frankish North and papal South may have become in the course of traditional Carolingian-papal history that is the stuff of textbooks, the two entities had different backgrounds and did not (yet) necessarily share the same vocabulary, worldview, and mindset around the middle of the eighth century.

Noble has demonstrated that papal spiritual authority in the eighth century was not self-understood. Instead, it was something which was actively pursued by the popes, and the *Codex Carolinus* reflects the papal repertoire.²² The collection of papal biographies, known as the *Liber Pontificalis*, has been identified by McKitterick as a source that represents a Roman past, and is capable of altering perceptions of the city in the early medieval, especially the Carolingian, world.²³ This presupposes an active papal occupation with self-representation, aimed at Rome and Italy, as well as other parts of Europe north of the Alps.²⁴ In particular, the popes in this period devoted a large part of their attention to the kings and élite of the Frankish realm. Surely, they sought intensified contact for various reasons, both military and financial, and this is what we see reflected in their correspondence to the court. In essence, however, they provided an authoritative religious discourse, which appealed to Frankish expectations of Rome as the city of the apostles and martyrs. The Carolingian kings welcomed the papal connections, and the *Codex Carolinus* is one expression thereof; Frankish adaptations of the *Liber Pontificalis* were another.²⁵ Even more so, presentations of the Frankish past in narrative texts aimed to shape

²² Noble, *The Republic*; *idem*, 'Moribidity and vitality'; *idem*, 'Topography, celebration, and power: the making of a papal Rome in the eighth and ninth centuries', in: M.B. de Jong, F. Theuws and C. van Rhijn eds., *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 2001), pp. 45-91; *idem*, 'The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*'.

²³ R.D. McKitterick, 'Roman texts and Roman history in the early Middle Ages', in: C. Bolgia, R.D. McKitterick and J. Osborne eds., *Rome Across Time and Space. Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas c. 500-1400* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 19-35; *eadem*, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 2006), pp. 46-51.

²⁴ On the (self-)representation of popes in the Carolingian (and Ottonian) period, see S. Scholz, *Politik – Selbstverständnis – Selbstdarstellung. Die Päpste in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit. Historische Forschungen* 26 (Stuttgart, 2006).

²⁵ H. Reimitz, 'Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch aus Saint-Amand. Der *Codex Vindobonensis palat. 473*', in: C. Egger and H. Weigl eds., *Text-Schrift-Codex. Quellenkundliche Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (Vienna, Munich, 2000), pp. 35-77.

historical memory, wherein papal support for and legitimation of Carolingian royal power were emphatically postulated.²⁶ Carolingian interest in papal Rome as a treasure trove for authoritative texts may be illustrated by Charlemagne's request to Pope Hadrian I to have a copy of the original sacramentary of Gregory the Great²⁷ sent to the court in Aachen, and similarly the canon law collection known as the *Dionysio-Hadriana*.²⁸ After Charlemagne's successful take-over of the Lombard kingdom in Northern Italy in 774, which removed the Lombard threat that had distressed the papacy for many years, Rome more than ever blossomed under the patronage and support of the Carolingian kings, as witnessed especially by the long lists of donations included in the *Liber Pontificalis'* Lives of Hadrian I and Leo III (795-816).

From the perspective of intensifying contacts between the Carolingian family and the papacy from the early 750s onwards, the so-called 'Franco-Papal Alliance' culminated in Charlemagne's imperial coronation at the hands of Pope Leo III in Rome, which was also an expression of papal spiritual leadership. This view, however, relies heavily on the benefit of hindsight, creating a linear perception of events, and rendering them inevitable occurrences on the path of Carolingian and papal history. 'It is precisely this linearity', Noble stated, 'whose obituary I should like to write'.²⁹ Accordingly, Noble has advocated a non-linear approach to writing

²⁶ R.D. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004); *eadem*, 'The illusion of royal power in the Carolingian annals', *English Historical Review* 115 (2000), pp. 1-20; *eadem*, 'Constructing the past in the early Middle Ages: the case of the Royal Frankish annals', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th series, 7 (1997), pp. 101-153. Also see F.C.W. Goosmann, 'Memorable Crises. Carolingian Historiography and the Making of Pippin's Reign, 750-900', Unpublished PhD thesis (University of Amsterdam, 2013).

²⁷ See CC, no. 89, p. 626. The sacramentary sent by Hadrian is known as the *Hadrianum*. On the *Hadrianum*, see J. Deshusses ed., *Le sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, vol. I (Freiburg, 1979-1982), pp. 60-63; M. Metzger, *Les sacramentaires*, TdS 70 (Turnhout, 1994), pp. 78-80; on a reappraisal of – among others – the view that the *Hadrianum* should be seen as proof of a Romanisation of the Frankish liturgy, see (most recently) Y. Hen, 'The Romanization of the Frankish liturgy: ideal, reality and the rhetoric of reform', in: C. Bolgia, R.D. McKitterick, and J. Osborne eds., *Rome Across Time and Space. Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas c. 500-1400* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 111-123.

²⁸ On the *Dionysio-Hadriana*, see R. Kottje, 'Einheit und Vielfalt des kirchlichen Lebens in der Karolingerzeit', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 76 (1965), pp. 323-342, at pp. 334-340; Hen, 'The Romanization of the Frankish liturgy'.

²⁹ Noble, 'Moribidity and vitality', p. 511.

early medieval papal history and has warned the modern historian first to take into account 'the momentum of the papacy itself' before studying it in a wider context, especially when it comes to papal diplomatic relations with the Franks and Byzantines.³⁰ Noble has recently published an important study of papal-Frankish relations from the vantage point of Iconoclasm and its reception and discussion in the Carolingian world.³¹ All this important research feeds into my thesis, but I will concentrate especially on the Frankish side of the Franco-papal relations, by investigating how and why the papal letters were collated in the collection. In other words, my study on the *Codex Carolinus* will be about the Carolingian context in which the collection and its later copy originated, and much less about the popes who sent the letters and what they wrote about. The central focus of this thesis is therefore the extent to which the *Codex Carolinus* served as a testimony to Carolingian rule, and how.

I have been inspired by the idea of a text's social logic, a concept pioneered by Gabrielle Spiegel and, more recently, applied to the Carolingian period by Helmut Reimitz.³² This approach basically entails that a text should be studied as a product of its time, with the author actively shaping and reshaping its contents in order to present it to his contemporary audience. In the case of the *Codex Carolinus*, we are dealing with multiple texts and layers. There are both the individual papal letters, and their compilation into a Carolingian collection. In the collection, the letters are organised and presented, while a foreword written in the name of Charlemagne introduces them to the reader. Since the aim of this thesis is not to explore the papal letters, but to examine the letter collection as a Carolingian creation, it will focus on the social logic of the compilation as a whole. In practice, this means that I shall first study the circumstances surrounding its creation in the late eighth century, which is elucidated by its preface. Second, I shall

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 508-509. Similarly, see M. Costambeys, 'Review article: property, ideology and the territorial power of the papacy in the early middle ages', *EME* 9 (2000), pp. 367-396, at p. 367.

³¹ T.F.X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, 2009); Hartmann, *Hadrian I*.

³² H. Reimitz, 'The social logic of historiographical compendia in the Carolingian period', in: O. Kano ed., *Herméneutique du texte d'histoire* (Nagoya, 2012), pp. 17-28; G.M. Spiegel, 'History, Historicism and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 65 (1990), pp. 59-86.

focus on the genesis of the late ninth-century Cologne manuscript *Codex Vindobonensis* 449, in which the collection was uniquely preserved. This manuscript's context or social logic is thus constituted by the circumstances of the second half of the ninth century, a particularly turbulent period with politics were dominated by rivalries and conflicts. These involved not only the various rulers of the Carolingian subkingdoms, but also the Republic of St Peter, as Noble has called papal Rome.

This thesis has five chapters. Though organised as a uniform collection and handed down in a single manuscript only, the letter collection is a complex source with multiple layers that all need careful consideration. First of all, the letters were individually sent by popes in various years, roughly covering a period of some sixty years. Second, they were compiled in a single undertaking in the year 791. Third, the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 was copied in the second half of the ninth century. In what follows, I shall discuss the Carolingian aspects of the *Codex Carolinus* step by step, using these different levels as my lead. At this point, it is again important to underline that, although they will come up now and then, the individual papal letters and their contents are not the main focus of this thesis, since these have been investigated by Hack in his recent and comprehensive study. What I am exploring here is the *Codex Carolinus* in its two Carolingian contexts, the compilation of 791 and the manuscript copied about a century later. For obvious reasons, in spite of its shortcomings, I have chosen to work with Gundlach's edition, as it is still the most recent and accessible edition, with valuable comments on the texts and its contents. Where necessary, the facsimile edition by Unterkircher makes it possible to consult the text as it appears in the manuscript itself, *Codex Vindobonensis* 449.³³

In the first chapter of this thesis, I shall explore the *Codex Carolinus* as it was first composed, to come to grips with the historical background against which it was created, and also with the genre of letter collections. Mindful that the *Codex Carolinus* came into being because of Carolingian care for and eagerness to preserve the papal letters in a coherent compilation, officially commissioned by Charlemagne himself, this chapter takes into

³³ *Facsimile*, ed. Unterkircher, as n. 2 above.

account the developments and debates that dominated the Carolingian court at the time. Some codicological issues and paleographical issues will be addressed. Situated between two of the great ecclesiastical councils of the period, the Second Council of Nicea (787) annulling Iconoclasm and the Council of Frankfurt (794) where the heresy of Adoptionism was denounced, the collection testifies to an intensified concern for orthodoxy and its defence against heresies. Papal letters on these topics were included in the letter collection, and there are indications that these were of special interest to the Carolingian court. The *Codex Carolinus* may have been used as a source of information not only on particular issues such as Adoptionism, but also as a reference book for papal statements on doctrinal matters. As I shall demonstrate below, the *Codex Carolinus* may have served not only the interest of the Carolingian court, but also that of Hildebald, Charlemagne's archchaplain from 791 to 818/819, also archbishop of Cologne, who acquired his position at court in the same year as the *Codex Carolinus* first saw light. We also see Carolingian interest in papal texts reflected in the Lives of the *Liber Pontificalis*, which widely circulated in the Carolingian realm and were occasionally adapted for a specific Frankish audience. In many ways, the *Liber Pontificalis* as disseminated within Frankish frameworks shows similarities with the letter collection, and it will be discussed as such.

Written in Charlemagne's name, the preface to the *Codex Carolinus* uses specific terminology and will be explored and researched in view of its historical context in the second chapter. A mistranslation or, rather, a misinterpretation of the word *imperium* in it has persistently lingered on in historiography since the seventeenth century. By looking afresh at the foreword and situating it against common contemporary Carolingian vocabulary of the late eighth century, in chapter two I offer a new translation and interpretation of the foreword and the notion of *imperium*. This, I hope, will shed more light on the importance of the compilation in the eyes of those who assembled it in 791.

As a collection of papal missives, the *Codex Carolinus* also had various practical functions and uses. Leaping forward some eighty years in time, its late ninth-century copy (or should one say, recreation?) reflects the spirit of a period where rulers and bishops were together responsible for the wellbeing of the Christian realm, even more so than in the age of Charlemagne. For a

second time, one can observe a connection between a court-connected intellectual centre, the archbishopric of Cologne, and a Carolingian court, the one of Louis the German, when the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 came into being, possibly under the aegis of Archbishop Willibert (870-889) of Cologne, who owned the one extant copy. As I shall argue, the creation of the manuscript could very well have been sponsored by the Carolingian ruler Louis the German (King of East Francia from 840-876), who was one of Charlemagne's grandsons and competed with his fellow kings for legitimacy of rule. In other words, the historical background of the extant manuscript differs from that of the original compilation, but why the continued interest in the papal letters? The third chapter will therefore explore the *Codex Carolinus* and its manuscript within the context of the late ninth-century archbishopric of Willibert of Cologne. It will consider the significance of the tumultuous episcopate of his predecessor Gunthar (850-863), and Willibert's liaisons with his patron Louis the German and the papacy.

An interesting feature of the later Carolingian *Codex Carolinus* manuscript *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 is that it contains headings or *lemmata* preceding the letters and summarising the contents.³⁴ In modern scholarship, these have hardly ever been mentioned, let alone discussed. Yet they inform us not only about the way the correspondence was arranged and organised in the codex – perhaps for commemorative purposes, or to make information accessible to the reader – but also on the kind of information that was distilled from the letters. Compared to similar headings in comparable Carolingian manuscripts, the ones in the *Codex Carolinus* are exceptional in their amount of information and detail. To a certain degree, therefore, the headings provide us with insight into the Carolingian use of and perspective on these papal letters. This in itself means these shorter or longer summaries of the letters deserve more attention than they have previously received. But the crucial question is, who wrote these headings? Did they originate with the compilation of 791, or were they added to the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 as it was copied and perhaps amended about a century later? Or was there some stage of copying in between? There is something to be said for all these points of view, and in the fourth chapter I will go to the present limits of my

³⁴ See Appendix One.

understanding of the problem, dating, characterising and understanding these headings as reflections of Carolingian interest in the papal letters by examining their vocabulary and the kind of information they communicate.

Having explored the late eighth-century origins of the *Codex Carolinus*, its preface, its later ninth-century reproduction and the Carolingian *lemmata* in the codex, the fifth and last chapter will finally focus on the contents of the collection: the papal repertoire of key concepts employed in the individual letters. This is not a comprehensive discussion of the letters' entire contents, as this is not the aim of this thesis, but some of the outstanding papal vocabulary and expressions used to describe the concepts vital to the Franco-papal bond as forged in the 750s will be considered more closely, for they articulate the nature of the relations between the Carolingian dynasty and the papacy. Key concepts are, first of all, the title of *patricius Romanorum* and the spiritual bond of *compaternitas*. Also part of the papal terminology was the papal practice of comparing King Pippin III with various Old Testament rulers. This has elicited endless discussions in historical scholarship. Since these concepts represent papal efforts to forge close ties with the Carolingian family, I consider them to be important reflectors of the shared papal-Carolingian past represented by the *Codex Carolinus*. In this last chapter, I therefore evaluate them within the context of the letter collection and its Carolingian framework, and look at how the concepts and terminology employed by the popes are reflected in the *lemmata*. This tells us something about the imprint they made on Carolingian discourse.

In short, in this thesis, I intend to make a contribution to our understanding of the *Codex Carolinus* and its 'social logic', that is, its purpose and meaning in the two distinct phases of its history, in so far as we can now grasp these. The world in which papal letters became a collection was different from the one in which the one extant manuscript originated, but as I shall argue, in both periods it was indeed a purposeful and meaningful collection, meant to celebrate and remember the Franco-papal relations of the past that had helped shape and legitimise the Carolingian dynasty. In both cases, it was a testimony to Carolingian rule, meant to be preserved by future generations.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOURCES

The *Codex epistolaris Carolinus* and the *Liber Pontificalis*: papal sources within a Frankish framework

1.1 The *Codex epistolaris Carolinus*

Although the *Codex Carolinus* (hereafter referred to as *CC*) is a Carolingian compilation, its title is a seventeenth-century invention.³⁵ In it are ninety-nine papal letters, of which the great majority are addressed to the Frankish kings, and occasionally also to others present at court. Three letters by Pope Hadrian I were sent to Spain and deal with the Adoptionist controversy. One of these three is addressed to ‘all orthodox bishops throughout Spain’; the other two to the Spanish bishop Egila.³⁶ All the preserved letters in the collection were sent during the pontificates of Gregory III, Zachary (741-752), Stephen II, Paul I (757-767), Stephen III (767-772) and Hadrian I, respectively, to the rulers Charles Martel, Pippin III, Carloman, and Charlemagne. Two letters dispatched by the antipope Constantine are placed at the very end of the collection, which is chronologically incorrect but emphasises the illegitimacy of the pope in question.³⁷ The entire

³⁵ *CC*, introduction by Gundlach, p. 471.

³⁶ Specifically on the dating of these three letters on Adoptionism, see Bullough, ‘The Dating of *Codex Carolinus* nos. 95, 96, 97’, pp. 223–230. Although there are ninety-nine letters listed in the *CC*, the codex technically contains only ninety-eight letters, as letter number fifteen only survives as a summary: Noble, ‘The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*’, pp. 61–74. Also, in one letter both Pope Stephen II and the Romans act as dispatchers (*CC*, no. 9); another one is written in the name of the Apostle Peter himself (*CC*, no. 10); and in another one, the letter is sent in the name of the senate and people of Rome (*CC*, no. 13).

³⁷ These are *CC* nos. 98 and 99 respectively. The Roman synod of 769 condemned Constantine and annulled his works: Noble, *The Republic*, pp. 195–196; Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 74–76.

collection is introduced in a preface written in the name of Charlemagne, which also mentions 791 as the year of its composition.³⁸

Apart from the letters addressed to the individual Frankish rulers, the CC also includes some letters that were sent to groups of the secular and clerical élite. One is directed to Pippin the *maior domus*, all bishops and abbots and magnates in the Frankish realm³⁹; another is addressed at all the Frankish dukes⁴⁰; and yet another to the king and his sons, all bishops, priests, monks, dukes, counts, and everyone else who exercises power in the Frankish realm.⁴¹ This probably means that the contents of these letters must have been made known to the Carolingian nobility at gatherings such as councils, assemblies and courts. Perhaps duplicate letters were even distributed among the magnates. By means of such platforms, messages and political discussion points were actively diffused and ideas were circulated, as Noble has stressed in a recent publication.⁴² Accordingly, the contents of some letters were in all probability discussed at the aforementioned *podia*, allowing papal words, comments, suggestions, et cetera to influence Carolingian political discussion at the highest level.⁴³ This circulation of ideas that helped to form a Carolingian noble ethos should not be underestimated, and neither should the role of papal letters in this process.

What is in the letters in the CC? As Noble put it, they ‘show us the popes struggling to learn how to talk to the Carolingians’.⁴⁴ Although contacts between the Merovingians and the popes had been intermittent, from 739 onwards the political circumstances in Italy – the Lombards pressing Rome from the north combined with failing Byzantine support against them – forced the Roman bishops to look elsewhere for support. In this context, they turned their attention to the rising Carolingian family. The letters illustrate the various stages in the formative period of this Carolingian–papal bond. Covering a great variety of topics, their themes are

³⁸ Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 61–62 on the dating of the compilation.

³⁹ CC, no. 3, p. 479.

⁴⁰ CC, no. 5, pp. 487–488.

⁴¹ CC, no. 9, p. 498.

⁴² T.F.X. Noble, ‘Secular sanctity: forging an ethos for the Carolingian nobility’, in: P. Wormald and J.L. Nelson eds., *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 8–36, at pp. 26–30.

⁴³ Noble, ‘Secular sanctity’, pp. 20–21.

⁴⁴ Noble, ‘The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*’, p. 66.

summarized in the accompanying headings or rubrics. We read of popes seeking assistance from the Carolingians against the Lombards, asserting papal territorial claims in Italy, being seriously vexed by Byzantine behaviour, sending chapters on canon law, employing new forms of titlature (*patricius Romanorum*) and Old Testament parallels for the Carolingian kings, forming (spiritual) bonds with the royal family, and expressing their great mutual affection. Hadrian's last and lengthy letter to Charlemagne in the collection dates from 790 or 791, and reminds the king of his and his father Pippin's bond with St Peter.⁴⁵

Despite the fact that the letters are sent in the name of the pope in question, the identity of the actual sender is not always as straightforward as it may seem. Even though the popes, as senders of the letters, may count as their intellectual authors, some are written in the name of others as well. Letter number nine is written in the name of the pope, all Roman bishops, priests, deacons, dukes, *cartularii*, counts, tribunes, and the entire people and army⁴⁶, while the tenth letter in the collection is famously written by St Peter the Apostle himself.⁴⁷ Number thirteen is sent by the entire senate and people of Rome.⁴⁸

Intellectual author (*auctor intellectualis*) in this case does not refer to the person who drafted the letter. When the pope had dictated the contents, he would leave the scribe to prepare it in its final form. In the case of papal correspondence, however, Noble maintains that, although they surely did receive advice on the contents, the individual popes had an active role in composing their writings, making their letters personal productions.⁴⁹ Presumably, the papal letters can therefore be studied not only as expressions of the papacy as an institution, but also of the individual popes. Extensive research in this field has yet to be undertaken. That other high-ranking individuals could also exert control over the contents of the papal

⁴⁵ CC, no. 94, p. 635. The headings (or *lemmata*), which are all rubricated in red capitals, are exceptional compared to other early medieval headings in the sense that they comment specifically on the contents of the letters: Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, I, pp. 72–73; for a palaeographical description of the headings see the *Facsimile*, pp. xix–xx. The headings will be discussed in detail in the fourth chapter of this dissertation.

⁴⁶ CC, no. 9, p. 498.

⁴⁷ CC, no. 10, p. 501; chapter 4 discusses this letter in more detail.

⁴⁸ CC, no. 13, p. 509.

⁴⁹ Noble, 'The intellectual culture', pp. 190–191.

letters, however, is far from excluded. In some cases, there is a palpable and pronounced influence of the papal *primicerius* (head of the *scrinium* or writing-office) on the contents and tone of the correspondence.⁵⁰

Pope Gregory I (the Great, d. 604 AD) was exceptional with regard to the amount of personal input in his letters. Ernst Pitz has demonstrated that, in some cases, Gregory did more than just dictate his letters. There is strong philological evidence for him personally giving directions as to the contents of the letters and authenticated them himself. Comparing passages to the metrical and rhythmic sentences that the professional *notarii* at the chancery were trained in has allowed Pitz to filter out passages that show signs of Gregory's personal involvement.⁵¹ For the eighth- and ninth-century papal letters, this kind of philological research has not yet been undertaken, so we know little – if anything – of the possible contribution of individual popes in the various letters in the CC. All we can safely say is that the popes whose letters are included in the CC can be considered the intellectual authors of the epistles that were sent in their name. Their letters represent them and consequently can be studied as documents propagating the identity and (self-)portrayal of the popes and their pontificates.⁵²

Between those stages of dictation and the end result, there were many opportunities for textual corruption. However, the issuer would not see the letter before it was entirely finished and had to be authenticated or certified (placing a personal signature, or adding a salutation). Accordingly, he had practically no opportunity for making corrections or additions in the process. Unfortunately, we know very little about the stages of production between the dictation and the end product as original letters have very rarely been passed down.⁵³ Usually, modern historians have to make do with copies collected in cartularies or sections of letters included in or referred to in other textual sources. In fact, the most elementary aspect of

⁵⁰ See below, chapter 5.

⁵¹ E. Pitz, *Papstreskripte im frühen Mittelalter. Diplomatische und rechtsgeschichtliche Studien zum Brief-Corpus Gregors des Grossen* (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 256-261.

⁵² On the (self-)representation of popes in the Carolingian age, see Scholz, *Politik – Selbstverständnis – Selbstdarstellung*, pp. 24-264.

⁵³ Constable, 'Letters and letter-collections', pp. 42-46. Signing and adding salutations to letters by the issuer were antique types of certification: B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 35.

surviving medieval letters is that they were virtually always deliberately preserved through recopying into letter collections or miscellanies.⁵⁴ Papal letters from the late antique world to the eighth century were preserved in decretal collections, but also in diverse compilations, and generally had more chances of survival than non-papal letters.⁵⁵ Despite this intentional preservation, letters ultimately had very slim prospects of surviving the ravages of time, especially when they were not copied into specific collections. Epistles that are still extant nowadays are known to represent only a fraction of what was once written.

An excellent illustration of this problem is the collection of 20.000 letters in fourteen volumes from the register of Gregory the Great that was compressed into a selection of a mere 684 specimens on parchment during the pontificate of Hadrian I. Even though the original letters on papyri were still available in the papal archive, and there had been two earlier collections of excerpts made from Gregory's register, this Hadrianic edition of Gregory's letters became the future work of reference for this time and beyond. The originals from Gregory's personal register were lost or discarded sometime at the end of the ninth century.⁵⁶ Why exactly it is that Hadrian had Gregory's letters excerpted and collected is unknown, but it could have been an attempt to preserve the letters as the originals could

⁵⁴ Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 35; there is only one papal original from the year 788: Hack, *Codex Carolinus I*, p. 26.

⁵⁵ To name one of many: the *Collectio Avellana*, a sixth-century codex that mainly contains correspondence between popes and emperors from the period 367-533 AD. Pope Gregory I's epistles were collected in a register (now lost) that was organised on the Pope's own instigation. For these and more collections see Hack, *Codex Carolinus I*, pp. 26-28; for more details on papal letters and their transmission in decretals and other various collections see Jasper and Fuhmann, *Papal Letters*, *passim*. In general, it was customary in the ancient and medieval world to preserve incoming (known as *Empfängerüberlieferung*) and (drafts of) outgoing letters (known as *Absenderüberlieferung*) separately. As a result of this segregated storage, the survival of paired epistles and replies is very uncommon. M Garrison, 'Letters to a king and biblical exempla: The examples of Cathulf and Peregrinus', *EME* 7 (1998), pp. 305-328, at p. 320; and *eadem*, "'Send more socks": On the mentality and the preservation context of medieval letters', in: M. Mostert ed., *New Approaches to Medieval Communication* (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 74-75.

⁵⁶ M. Costambeys and C. Leyser, 'To be the neighbour of St Stephen: patronage, martyr cult, and Roman monasteries', in: K. Cooper and J. Hillner eds., *Religion, Dynasty and Patronage in Early Christian Rome 300-900* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 262-287, at pp. 267-268; Jasper and Fuhmann, *Papal Letters*, pp. 70-81. John the Deacon, the author of the *Vita Gregorii* (873-876) knew about the original papyri but exclusively used the compressed edition anyway.

have been in a state of deterioration. Here, an interesting parallel with the CC rises: Charlemagne's decision to compile the CC may be symptomatic of a similar concern for the preservation of authoritative papal epistles.⁵⁷

When the CC was compiled, some letters may not have made it into the collection because they were either completely destroyed, illegible or simply overlooked.⁵⁸ Entry no. 15 in the letter collection attests to this. It is not a full letter, but a summary made by the copyist, who stated that he could not transcribe the letter because it had partially disintegrated on account of its great age.⁵⁹ A deliberate omission of some letters has been suspected in some cases, but it is more likely that these never existed in the first place.⁶⁰ Pope Zachary's supposed approval of Pippin's proposed palace coup of 749/750 is a notorious case. The letter itself, though referred to in Carolingian sources, is not in the collection. Was it deliberately left out? For Pippin and his dynasty, a letter of this kind would have constituted the papal mandate for Carolingian kingship and a testimony to one of the most important events in Carolingian history, which makes it hard to believe that it was omitted from the collection. It probably never existed at all.⁶¹

Another case is the alleged letter from Pope Hadrian in 773 inviting Charlemagne to invade Northern Italy and to take care of the Lombard menace. We know, of course, that Charlemagne conquered Northern Italy in 774, taking over the Lombard kingdom in the same run. This letter, too, is not part of the CC, although Hadrian's Life in the *Liber Pontificalis* refers to papal letters containing admonitions directed at Charlemagne in the early

⁵⁷ Jasper and Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters*, p. 71. See chapter 2 of this thesis for further discussion.

⁵⁸ Some additional papal letters survived separately and were transmitted outside the CC (a letter from Hadrian I from 788 on papyrus in Saint-Denis, and one other extant epistle), meaning that either these letters were excluded from the collection, or may have escaped the attention of the compiler. Since the content of these letters does not appear particularly outstanding in comparison to the letters contained in the CC, it seems unlikely to me that they were deliberately omitted. CC, ed. Gundlach, appendix, pp. 654–657; M. Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne', in: Y. Hen and M. Innes eds, *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 114–161, at p. 123, n. 31, and p. 126.

⁵⁹ See chapter 4 in this dissertation.

⁶⁰ McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 66–67.

⁶¹ McKitterick, 'The illusion of royal power', *passim*; also see of the same author 'Constructing the past', *passim*; and *History and Memory*, pp. 84–119.

770s.⁶² Clearly, there had been correspondence of some sort. For Charlemagne, such a letter would have served as a papal authorization and, consequently, a sanctioned legitimization of the Carolingian take-over of the Lombard crown. But is this a case of deliberate suppression of particular letters? In other words: Are there any indications that the collection was the result of the work of Carolingian spin-doctors or propagandists controlling the content?⁶³ This is unlikely. Not all messages were committed to parchment, especially those that were highly secretive. Hadrian may have thought it safer to have all communication conveyed orally by his envoys with merely a brief note in writing; if his bid for a Carolingian invasion would have been intercepted by the Lombards, all hell would have broken loose. Hadrian's Life indeed mentions the papal envoys travelling by sea, implying that it was too dangerous to travel by land at this point. So, it seems likely that we are dealing with an hypothetical letter instead of a real one, and that there were no deliberate omissions on the orders of a mastermind.

1.1.1 The epistolary genre: letters and letter collections

Modern letters differ vastly from their medieval predecessors in production, style, composition, contents, transmission, essence, and preservation. Medieval letters generally were not private, even when addressed to one individual, but 'for the most part self-conscious, quasi-public literary documents, often written with an eye to future collection and publication'.⁶⁴ In other words, not just the addressee would read or hear the contents. The addressee could also be collective instead of an individual.⁶⁵ Letters were generally read out loud, often accompanied by an oral message from the

⁶² 'To send his [Hadrian's] envoys by sea with apostolic letters to His Excellency Charles, the God-protected king of the Franks and patrician of the Romans, to ask his Excellency to come, as his father Pepin of holy memory had done, to the aid of God's holy church and the afflicted province of the Romans and exarchate of Ravenna, and exact in full from King Desiderius St Peter's lawful rights and stolen cities'. Davis, *LP*, Life of Hadrian I (97), c. 22, p. 133. This life was written in the late 770s; see Davis's introduction to this life on pp. 107-108.

⁶³ B. Coffin, 'The Production of the *Codex Carolinus* in its Historical Context', Unpublished M.Phil. thesis (University of Cambridge, 2003).

⁶⁴ Constable, 'Letters and letter-collections', p. 11.

⁶⁵ Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, p. 18.

legates.⁶⁶ In the case of the papal letters that were sent to the Carolingian kings this meant that they were probably recited publicly at the royal court, with a considerable audience of lay and ecclesiastical magnates present, besides a variety of other personnel.

One CC letter in particular confirms the practice of delivering oral messages by papal legates who had returned to the Roman episcopal court, while other letters imply that they were read before the additional oral message was delivered.⁶⁷ I therefore disagree with Mary Garrison's statement 'that letters [of the CC] and ceremonies [royal anointing rituals] had limited public exposure'.⁶⁸ Since letters were public documents, their contents would be known to more people than the Carolingian ruler alone. Indeed, as Noble states, the preservation of papal letters is for the most part the result of the prestige that came with having them.⁶⁹ In order to gain prestige, however, one needs to inform one's associates of their existence and, at least in a general sense, of their contents.

Adding to the written content, the envoys could deliver the message to a wider public, reciting the text with eloquence, thereby emphasizing the message. In fact, the letter and its verbal delivery were seen as two

⁶⁶ R. Köhn, 'Latein und Volkssprache. Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit in der Korrespondenz des lateinischen Mittelalters', in: O. Fichte, K.H. Göller, and B. Schimmelpfennig eds., *Zusammenhänge, Einflüsse, Wirkungen. Kongressakten zum ersten Symposium des Mediaevistenverbandes in Tübingen* (Berlin and New York, 1986), pp. 340-356, at pp. 352-353. Also see G. Thoma, 'Papst Hadrian I. und Karl der Grosse. Beobachtungen zur Kommunikation zwischen Papst und König nach den Briefen des *Codex Carolinus*', in: K. Schnith and R. Pauler, *Festschrift für Eduard Hlawitschka zum 65. Geburtstag* (Kallmünz, 1993), pp. 37-58, at pp. 39-40.

⁶⁷ CC, no. 53 (from Hadrian I to Charlemagne), pp. 574-576, at p. 575 confirms the oral delivery: *Revertentes ad nos missi nostri (...) quorum series dum nostris recitaretur auribus*; Thoma, 'Papst Hadrian I. und Karl der Grosse', p. 40. Thoma remarks that the employment of the word *relegere* in the various CC letters (for instance in CC, no. 54, pp. 576-577, at p. 576: *epistolam primitus reserare ac relegere*) may point to a reading aloud of the letter before the oral message was delivered.

⁶⁸ Garrison, 'Letters to a king and biblical exempla', p. 326. A similar statement is repeated in her article 'The Franks as the New Israel?', for instance at p. 142, where she states that the texts in the CC had a restricted exposure, in contrast to the *laudes* that were performed to an audience. Also, she states that it is 'a reasonable assumption that they [letters in the CC] were scarcely known beyond the circle of the king's closest literate clerical associates', p. 126.

⁶⁹ Noble, 'The intellectual culture', p.185.

complementary parts of one message.⁷⁰ In Byzantine epistolary culture, the delivery and the handing over of the epistle constituted the most important phase in the whole communication process, for this was a visual ritual that signalled its political and social nature. Letters from Byzantium that have survived from the tenth century were meant to survive for posterity, for they were deliberately assembled in collections for their literary merit.⁷¹ A similar wish to preserve letters for posterity can be found in the preface to the CC collection, where it is stated that the letters should be preserved ‘in order that no testimony whatsoever of the Holy Church should seem lacking to his future successors’.⁷²

Although the written context and oral delivery of the letters were the most crucial elements of the diplomatic communication, the role of individual envoys as part of the ambassadorial communication should not be underestimated. Due to the delicate nature of the task, high-ranking envoys were carefully selected. As is shown by the papal letters, Carolingian legates were usually highly ranked lay magnates such as dukes or counts, but also clerics such as abbots or bishops. Papal legates were mostly bishops or papal officials. Correspondence in the CC reveals an interesting aspect regarding the importance of the legates in question: the more delicate or pressing the mission, the higher the rank of the envoys in charge.⁷³

Early medieval letters were almost always written in Latin, and the papal letters of the eighth century were no exception. This brings us to the issue of the level of Latinity of the audience present when the message was read aloud. The papal letters as included in the CC were read aloud at the Carolingian court. Carolingian courtiers, both secular and clerical, belonged to the higher echelons of Frankish society. Without digressing into a full debate regarding (lay) literacy in the early Middle Ages at this point, it may be assumed that aristocrats at court could understand written and spoken

⁷⁰ Hartmann, *Hadrian I*; Constable, ‘Letters and letter-collections’, p. 11; Köhn, ‘Latein und Volkssprache’, p. 352; M. Mullett, ‘Writing in early Mediaeval Byzantium’, in: R.D. McKitterick ed., *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 156-185, at p. 181.

⁷¹ Mullett, ‘Writing in early Mediaeval Byzantium’, pp. 172-185.

⁷² Chapter 2 discusses this statement and the rest of the preface in more detail.

⁷³ Thoma, ‘Papst Hadrian I. und Karl der Grosse’, pp. 40-49; Hack, *Papste und Päpstum I*, pp. 486-696, with an in-depth study of legates and embassies featuring in the CC. Chapter 4 below briefly discusses the identities of the legates in relation to the letters’ *lemmata* or headings.

Latin, meaning that the level of lay literacy among the Carolingian élite was high.⁷⁴ Even if this was not the case, we may assume that the original Latin would have been translated into the vernacular (which could have been Romance⁷⁵) on the spot, so that everyone in the room would be able fully to comprehend what was being said.⁷⁶ In a sense, largely because of the role of the messenger in conveying the written text as an oral message, and thus representing the sender with his voice, medieval correspondence could be typified as a fictive dialogue between sender and addressee, rather than as an exchange of written documents. Letters thus had a highly representative function. The sender of the letter was, when it was read aloud, having a quasi-conversation with the addressee, which transcended the physical distance between them.⁷⁷

1.1.2 Editions and historiography

A former *MGH* editor, Jaffé started his own series of editions in 1864, the *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*.⁷⁸ In his edition of the *CC*, the letters were placed in a chronological sequence, though Jaffé acknowledged the difficulties with the dating and order in his rather laconic preface.⁷⁹ The issues that Jaffé and his succeeding colleagues had with dating the letters derive from rather unfortunate circumstances: the transcripts or copies of the letters in the *CC* are not dated which makes all past and present editors and

⁷⁴ See for instance the groundbreaking work of R.D. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), but also the essential J.L. Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian Government', in: R.D. McKitterick ed., *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 258-296.

⁷⁵ Roger Wright believes Romance was the language that may have been spoken by scholars at the Frankish court. R. Wright, 'The conceptual distinction between Latin and Romance: invention or evolution?', in: R. Wright ed., *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages* (London and New York, 1991), pp. 103-113, at p. 109.

⁷⁶ Köhn, 'Latein und Volkssprache', pp. 349-353. Köhn describes what happened in practice when a letter was being delivered and recited, using an example from the high Middle Ages, but we may assume that the practice of conveying written messages in the early Middle Ages was not much different.

⁷⁷ Constable, 'Letters and letter-collections', p. 13; Köhn, 'Latein und Volkssprache', pp. 353, 356.

⁷⁸ P. Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum IV Monumenta carolina* (Berlin, 1867), pp. 1-306; There have been more printed editions (eleven in total) but some of them were reprints of editions that had been published before, see Hack, *Codex Carolinus II*, pp. 1060-1061.

⁷⁹ Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, pp. 6-12.

historians reliant on indications in the text.⁸⁰ Whether the absence of dates has to do with the originals not being dated, or the Frankish copyists' inability to date them, is unclear – yet it is likely that none of the original letters was dated.⁸¹ In the *MGH* edition, which took twenty-five years to appear, Wilhelm Gundlach included a conversion table which lists the assigned numbers of the papal letters in the editions of Gretser, Jaffé and his own.⁸² Scholars such as Martin Lintzel, Paul Kehr, David Bullough, Adelheid Hahn, Jan Hallenbeck, and Noble have further engaged in the debate regarding the dating of the papal letters, using both historical and linguistic criteria.⁸³ Hack has conveniently summarised their findings in a table.⁸⁴

Amazingly, Gundlach did not use the ninth-century manuscript for his edition. Rather, he employed seventy-year-old collations and notes, which he subsequently compared to Jaffé's work.⁸⁵ In the same year as the publication of his *MGH* edition, Gundlach not only revised some of its aspects, but also justified its publication with regard to Jaffé's monumental edition.⁸⁶ According to the editor, some repeated expressions in the letters belonged to the vocabulary of the early medieval papal chancery, which Jaffé had failed to recognise in his edition. Kehr and subsequently Fuhrmann have shown that many of the letters actually contain quotations from earlier papal letters.⁸⁷ All in all, the *MGH* edition is rather flawed and the *CC* is in

⁸⁰ Hartmann, *Hadrian I.*, p. 30.

⁸¹ Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 142; though other papal letters from the eighth century usually do have a dating formula: Hartmann, *Hadrian I.*, p. 30, n. 90.

⁸² *CC*, Gundlach's preface, pp. 469-474.

⁸³ The most critical recension of Gundlach's edition stems from P.F. Kehr, who basically labelled the work as a complete failure: P.F. Kehr, 'Rezension von Wilhelm Gundlach (ed.), *Codex Carolinus* (s.o.)', *Gelehrte Anzeigen* 2 (1893), pp. 871-898. See also Kehr, 'Ueber die Chronologie'; Lintzel, 'Der *Codex Carolinus*', pp. 33-41; Bullough, 'The dating of *Codex Carolinus* nos. 95, 96, 97'; A. Hahn, 'Das Hludowicianum. Die Urkunde Ludwigs d.Fr. für die römische Kirche von 817', *Archiv für Diplomatik. Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 21 (1975), pp. 15-135; J. J. Hallenbeck, 'Pavia and Rome. The Langobard Monarchy in the eighth century', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 72, 4 (1982), pp. 1-186; Noble, *The Republic*, *passim*.

⁸⁴ Dating table in Hack, *Codex Carolinus* II, pp. 1074-1079.

⁸⁵ Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 44-46. This is one of the things that Kehr deemed unforgivable: Kehr, 'Rezension von Wilhelm Gundlach', p. 876.

⁸⁶ Gundlach, 'Ueber den *Codex Carolinus*'.

⁸⁷ Fuhrmann, 'Zu kirchenrechtlichen Vorlagen'; Kehr, 'Ueber die Chronologie'.

need of a new edition, which would also offer a detailed account of the manuscript's features.⁸⁸

1.1.3 A unique manuscript witness: *Codex Vindobonensis* 449

The only known extant manuscript of the CC is, unfortunately, not the original from the early 790s but a later ninth-century copy now known to us as the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449, currently preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (ÖNB Codex 449). Consequently, all modern editions are based on this one text. Where the eighth-century original of the CC was produced, and what subsequently happened to it is unknown. Were the original letters all copied from one and the same court archive (perhaps in Regensburg, or Aachen)? Or were they copied from a number of archives in the realm? Original papal letters were probably kept in Saint-Denis after their arrival at court.⁸⁹ The original collection from 791, however, could also have been produced at Regensburg, since Charlemagne and his court resided there when it was created.⁹⁰

The study of the CC is therefore almost entirely dependent on *Codex Vindobonensis* 449. It is impossible to tell if it was copied from the 791 archetype or from a secondary copy: we simply do not know if more copies of the CC were ever made. Hack, however, confidently perceives the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 as a reliable copy of the original. Besides, the manuscript itself is complete and shows no signs of missing folios. With this in mind, he has ingeniously reconstructed the letters that are not incorporated in the CC (the so-called *deperdita*), but which undeniably once existed as they are referred to in other papal letters.⁹¹ Some papal letters may not have made it

⁸⁸ Noble, 'The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*', p. 63; also see Noble, 'Moribidity and Vitality', p. 512, and n. 18 on this page; *Facsimile*, p. xiv.

⁸⁹ On Saint-Denis: Bullough, '*Aula Renovata*', p. 133. This royal abbey had special significance for the Carolingian family as a royal burial place. Also, it was the location where Pippin III had been anointed by Pope Stephen II in 754.

⁹⁰ Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 78–82 on the location of its production. A more precise estimate of the exact time of the production of the CC would be somewhere between 25 December 790 and 8 October 791. Here, I choose 791, for this year is most commonly used by other scholars as well.

⁹¹ For the *regesta* of the lost letters see Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, pp. 952–956. For as far as possible, Hack has also reconstructed missing Frankish correspondence as revealed by letters in the CC and the letters of Pope Leo III as preserved in the *Codex Guelferbyitano Helmstadensis* 254 (Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel), see pp. 957–986.

to the CC for various reasons, but their existence is, as Hack shows, revealed by references or quotations in the epistles that are included in the letter collection.

The *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 contains references to its past owner. The inscription LIBER VVILLIBERTI ARCHIEPI(SCOPI), on the inside of the front cover in a ninth-century black rustica script, indicates that it was a copy owned by Archbishop Willibert of Cologne. Another reference to Willibert, in lower case, is found on the inside of the back cover. Both Jaffé and Gundlach thus dated the codex to the late ninth century.⁹² On palaeographical and codicological grounds, Franz Unterkircher supports this. In addition, he believes it was copied as a whole from an exemplar that was a book.⁹³ Also, in contrast to most early medieval manuscripts, which are rectangular (and taller in relation to their width), some ninth-century Cologne manuscripts have a recognisable and unusual square format. The *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 also has such a square shape (it measures 275/280 x 250/255 mm⁹⁴), even more so than other manuscripts which can be traced back to Willibert's scriptorium, wherefore it is likely that it was produced in Cologne.⁹⁵ Square-shaped manuscripts can also be found in Lorsch, and both their format and their layout may be interpreted as an effort to emulate late antique exemplars of history texts.⁹⁶ Paleographically and codicologically, therefore, the manuscript neatly fits Willibert's time and could indeed have been produced in Cologne. Whether this archbishop commissioned the manuscript himself is not known; ownership does not always correspond

⁹² *Facsimile*, p. x, xxiii. Jaffé was the first to identify Archbishop Willibert of Cologne; since then, scholars have agreed. Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, p. 2; CC, Gundlach's preface, p. 469; Gundlach, 'Ueber den *Codex Carolinus*', p. 529; Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 84-85.

⁹³ See the detailed introduction to Unterkircher's facsimile edition: *Facsimile*, pp. vii-xxvii, at p. vii.

⁹⁴ The text area on fol. 1-24 is 205/210 x 150/155 mm; on fol. 25-48 205 x 167mm; on fol. 49r-50v 205 x 177 mm; from fol. 51r onwards it measures 205 x 185 mm. *Facsimile*, p. xxii.

⁹⁵ *Facsimile*, p. xx. These other manuscripts are Codex 29 (Hilarius-codex) and Codex 137 (Sacramentarium), see the Kölner Dombibliothek website <http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de/>. Also see L. W. Jones, *The Script of Cologne - From Hildebald to Hermann* (Cambridge (MA), 1932), pp. 67-71. Jones links three manuscripts to Willibert: the aforementioned Codex 29 and Codex 137, but also Codex 80 (a theological collection of various letters written by and to St. Augustine).

⁹⁶ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 202-203.

with the origins of a manuscript. What we can be sure of is that the manuscript was at the library of Cologne in the time of Willibert's office.⁹⁷

All letters in the collection are written in a Carolingian minuscule, by four different hands in total. A ninth-century hand as well as a slightly younger hand have inserted quite a few corrections. In addition, the librarian Sebastian Tegnagel added his share of modifications in the early seventeenth century.⁹⁸ The manuscript features *lemmata* or headings, which mostly precede the individual letters in the manuscript, and summarise their contents. All are written by the same scribe in a *capitalis rustica*, probably one of the four scribes who also worked on copying the letters. Most headings are written in red ink.⁹⁹ The collection is introduced by a preface in red capitals, written in the name of Charlemagne.¹⁰⁰

From 791 onwards, the fate of the original CC manuscript remains obscure. Charlemagne's preface clearly states that the collection's purpose is to preserve the letters 'in order that no testimony whatsoever of the Holy Church (*testimonium sanctae ecclesiae*) should seem lacking to his future successors'.¹⁰¹ This statement could indicate that the original CC manuscript was kept in the royal court library at Aachen, ready to be consulted by Charlemagne's heirs when needed. There is no reason to assume it would have left this library before Charlemagne's death in 814, and no indication that it did so shortly after. Hack assumes that it did leave Aachen at some point, and sees the year 814 as the best candidate for a change of hand or library because Charlemagne's will of 811, which we can find in Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, orders the king's books to be sold after his death, and the revenues from the sale to be distributed among the poor.¹⁰² This could mean that the letter collection was sold to an interested party. Speculations as to the identity of the buyer have led to Archbishop Hildebald of Cologne, who

⁹⁷ In chapter 3, I discuss the historical circumstances in which the codex was created.

⁹⁸ *Facsimile*, pp. xvi-xxi.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. xix-xx. The headings will be discussed in detail below, in chapter 4. A handful of *lemmata* are partially written in lower case.

¹⁰⁰ This preface will be discussed in detail in chapter 2.

¹⁰¹ CC, p. 476: *ut nullum penitus testimonium sanctae ecclesiae profuturum suis deesse successoribus videatur (...)*.

¹⁰² Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SRG 25 (Hanover, 1911), c. 33, p. 37.

was archchaplain at the Frankish court at the time (from 791 to 818 / 819). Hildebald could be the missing link between the Carolingian court and Cologne. Admittedly, the Cologne library catalogue of 833 created under Hildebald's successor Hadebald (819-841) has no CC manuscript listed – but that does not mean that it definitely was not there.¹⁰³

When and how exactly the manuscript subsequently travelled from Cologne to the Vienna library remains a mystery. We know that Tengenagel, librarian in Vienna from 1608 to 1636, was the first to label the manuscript. It was not until 1673 that it was described as 'Codice epistolari Carolino' by Peter Lambeck, hence the present day name for the letter collection, *Codex epistolaris Carolinus*.¹⁰⁴

Hack has suggested that a manuscript at Wolfenbüttel from the second quarter of the ninth century, with shelf mark *Codex Guelferbytano Helmstadensis* 254, could be linked to the CC. Apart from two other texts, the *Capitulare de villis* and the *Brevium exempla ad describendas res ecclesiasticas et fiscales*, this manuscript contains ten letters from Pope Leo III (795-816) written between 808-814, all directed to Charlemagne.¹⁰⁵ *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 and the Wolfenbüttel codex may be closely connected, because Pope Leo III's letters in *Codex Guelferbytano Helmstadensis* 254 could be considered a sort of continuation of the CC. Although the Wolfenbüttel manuscript dates from the second quarter of the ninth century, it is certainly a copy of an older exemplar which is lost. It is likely that there were originally a few more letters by Leo III which would have filled the gap between the end

¹⁰³ Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 85-86; also see H. Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany. The View from Cologne* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 70-77.

¹⁰⁴ Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rerum germanicarum*, pp. 3-4; Gundlach's preface to the CC, p. 471.

¹⁰⁵ This manuscript is in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel; Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 94-95. See for the edition of and the preface to these letters of Leo III: ed. K. Hampe, *MGH Epp.* V (Berlin, 1899), pp. 85-104. The *Capitulare de villis*, which dates from c. 800, is a capitulary which describes the ideal management of royal estates: ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* I (Hanover, 1883), pp. 82-91 and a translation in H.R. Loyn and J. Percival, *The Reign of Charlemagne. Documents on Carolingian Government and Administration. Documents of Medieval History* 2 (London, 1975), pp. 64-73. The *Brevium exempla*, issued either by Charlemagne or his son Louis the Pious sometime between 800 and 817, contains models for making inventories of ecclesiastical and fiscal property; see ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap.* I, pp. 205-256. For more detailed information see H.J. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600-1000* (Cambridge and New York, 2005), pp. 82-84.

date of the last letter of Pope Hadrian in the CC (no. 94, written between 790 and 791) and 808, but these have not been transmitted. All three texts in it are exclusively disseminated through this particular codex.

All texts in both codices share a strong connection to the Carolingian court, which makes it even more tempting to speculate if they are somehow connected. The *Capitulare de villis* and the *Brevium exempla* both deal with the management of royal estates and property, while the majority of the papal letters (in both codices) are directed at the Carolingian kings. Also, both ninth-century manuscripts in all probability originated in Cologne. Last but not least, after both manuscripts had remained hidden for centuries, they were rediscovered by the same person, Caspar von Nidbruck, in the Cologne Dombibliothek in the sixteenth century, which suggests that they were somehow linked in the Cologne archive.¹⁰⁶ To sum up: we have two codices that show interesting parallels. They are two ninth-century Carolingian codices that are not *Urtexts* but copies, and both can be linked to Cologne. Their contents also show similarities, namely a connection between papal correspondence and the Carolingian court, revealing a Carolingian interest and investment in collecting papal letters. If indeed the two manuscripts were so closely linked, however, why did the compiler of the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 not include a copy of Leo III's epistles from the Wolfenbüttel codex to complete the CC collection? There definitely are interesting parallels to be drawn between the two codices, but this has to remain a matter of speculation.¹⁰⁷

1.1.4 A reference book for Archchapelain Hildebald of Cologne?

Archbishop Hildebald of Cologne, who was chief chaplain at the Frankish court at the time, could be the link between the Carolingian court and the surfacing of the CC in Cologne at the end of the ninth century. As I shall explain below, I believe that he either had the original manuscript from 791 in use himself, or he ordered a copy of it to be sent to Cologne. His acquisitions for the Cologne library reveal a propensity towards papal texts

¹⁰⁶ Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 94-96.

¹⁰⁷ Also, the *lemmata* to Leo III's letters in the *Codex Guelferbyitano Helmstadensis* 254 do not show any similarities with those in the CC; see chapter 4 below.

and works on the papacy, and his function at court would have assisted him in assembling such a collection.¹⁰⁸

Part of an archchaplain's responsibility was maintaining the relations between the Carolingian court and the papacy. Angilram, bishop of Metz, appointed archchaplain in 784, was killed accompanying Charlemagne in the Avar campaigns of 791.¹⁰⁹ Hildebald succeeded Angilram immediately in 791, the same year in which the *CC* was compiled. From this moment onwards, in his capacity as archchaplain, Hildebald thus became responsible for maintaining Carolingian-papal relations. Since he was new to the job, he needed to collect all information pertaining to his new responsibilities in order to learn the ropes; in other words, all diplomatic correspondence from the popes to the court from the earliest beginnings of Franco-papal relations to the present time. Hildebald could therefore have been interested and perhaps even involved in the *CC*'s composition.

Furthermore, in his new position he needed relevant information regarding current theological issues that were being debated at court. The 790s were a time of heightened awareness concerning matters of the correct faith: the Adoptionist heresy, especially, was a pressing concern.¹¹⁰ Consequently, the *CC* possibly functioned as a type of reference book for Hildebald in his new position as an archchaplain. For this reason, he probably wanted to make the papal letters attesting to the Carolingian-papal relations more accessible and easier to consult by having them assembled in a collection.

In addition, Hildebald's potential interest in the *CC* could reflect how the position of archchaplain enabled him to gain access to books and texts from the court library that he could have copied for his own library in Cologne. The manuscripts that Hildebald had brought to Cologne reveal an active policy of acquisition on his part, and a particular interest in texts that testify to Carolingian-papal relations. Or, as Henry Mayr-Harting outlined:

¹⁰⁸ See D. Bullough, 'Charlemagne's 'men of God'. Alcuin, Hildebald and Arn', in: J. Story ed., *Charlemagne. Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 136-150, at pp. 142-146 for a recent but brief overview of Hildebald and his position as Charlemagne's courtier.

¹⁰⁹ *Annales Laureshamenses*, ed. G. Pertz, *MGH SS I* (Hanover, 1826), s.a. 791, pp. 34-35; J. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der Deutschen Könige I, Die karolingische Hofkapelle, MGH Schriften XVI/1* (Stuttgart, 1959), p. 51.

¹¹⁰ See below, chapter 2.

'Whatever manuscripts were at Cologne previously, the effective history of the cathedral library begins with Archbishop Hildebald.'¹¹¹ Though not all of them were made in Cologne, most of the manuscripts he ordered to be composed featured an inscription in capitals saying CODEX SANCTI PETRI SUB PIO PATRE HILDEBALDO SCRIPTUS.¹¹² Interestingly, Hildebald's manuscript policy seems to have inspired his ninth-century successors, especially Hadebald (819-841) and Willibert, although after 833 the evidence for a particular acquisition strategy is lacking. Willibert is, however, identified as the owner of the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449, as we have seen. Thanks to Hadebald's catalogue of 833, we know that Cologne's library was medium-sized compared to other Carolingian libraries, with a good share of patristic texts, especially those of Gregory the Great. By this time, Cologne had almost all his works.¹¹³

Hildebald may have been responsible for ordering copies of the books presented to Charlemagne by Pope Leo III to be made in Cologne.¹¹⁴ Although this is now contested, he possibly also ordered a copy of the *Liber Pontificalis* to be made at Cologne. Specifically, this would have been the earliest Carolingian copy of the so-called Frankish recension of the *Liber Pontificalis* with additions that show specific interest in Frankish affairs.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, p. 70.

¹¹² Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, p. 70, referring to Jones, *The Script of Cologne*, and B. Bischoff, 'The Epinal, Erfurt, Werden and Corpus Glossaries', in: B. Bischoff, M. Budny, G. Harlow et al eds., *Early English Texts in Facsimile* (Copenhagen, 1988), pp. 18-19.

¹¹³ Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, pp. 71-74, 89, with reference (p. 71, n. 13) to Jones, *The Script of Cologne*, pp. 29-73, nos. 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 18, 19, 19, 20, 25 (Willibert's acquired manuscripts). Also see J.M. Plotzek, *Glaube und Wissen im Mittelalter: die Kölner Dombibliothek; Katalogbuch zur Ausstellung Glaube und Wissen im Mittelalter – die Kölner Dombibliothek, Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum Köln, 7. August bis 15. November 1998* (Munich, 1998).

¹¹⁴ Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?', p. 127; on Hildebald and his responsibilities as arch-chaplain, see Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der Deutschen Könige I*, pp. 39, 49-51, 55, 234, 238. Hildebald, for instance, was part of the greeting committee to greet Pope Leo in Paderborn (799) (the *Liber Pontificalis* prominently discusses Hildebald's role in 799 and 800) and Pope Stephen IV in Rheims (816).

¹¹⁵ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 195, with reference to J.J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930. Its Manuscripts and Masters. Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance Forschung* (Munich, 1978), pp. 50-51, who believes (following P. Lehmann, 'Erzbischof Hildebald und die Dombibliothek von Köln', in: P. Lehmann ed., *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze II* (Stuttgart, 1959-1962), pp. 139-144) this LP was produced not in Cologne under Hildebald, but in Laon under Bishop Wenilo (799-814). This copy may have been made from an exemplar that was sent as a gift from Pope Leo III to

What other texts, among others, can be traced back to Hildebald with certainty? These are mainly works from Church fathers, biblical commentaries, liturgical works, letters, canon law, texts on computation, natural history, and astronomy.¹¹⁶ There is his personal Homiliary (Codex 171) which contains sermons of Caesarius, selections of those of (Pseudo-) Augustinus, Rufinus of Aquileia's (after Eusebius of Caesarea) Church history in Latin, and – among others – texts by Sulpicius Severus, Gregory the Great, and Isidore of Seville. Its organisation, script and decorations point to the later period (811-818) of Hildebald's Cologne scriptorium.¹¹⁷ Another Homiliary (Codex 172) can also be linked to Hildebald, who probably had it brought to Cologne from the monastery of Mondsee, where he was abbot. Furthermore, two computational manuscripts from 805 and 819 (Codex 83^{II} and 103 respectively) reveal interest in calendar studies. One of these codices, namely Codex 83^{II}, contains the so-called Kölner Notiz on fol. 14v with the peculiar and (in)famous reference to Greek messengers from the Empress Irene handing over *imperium* to Charlemagne. The meaning of this reference has been debated in historiography since it has not been established what this *imperium* was or why Irene gave it to Charlemagne.¹¹⁸ Donald Bullough has cautiously speculated that Hildebald may have been involved in the creation of the so-called Dagulf-Psalter as a gift for the pope in 795. Bullough also believed that Hildebald, given his prominent position at court, may have played an important role in (the preparations for) Charlemagne's imperial coronation.¹¹⁹

Charlemagne (Cologne, Dombibliothek, Hs. 164). A – now lost – note on a leaf of parchment seems to confirm manuscript being a gift from Wenilo to Hildebald: Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, pp. 50-51; also see B. Bischoff, 'Die Kölner Nonnenhandschriften und das Skriptorium von Chelles', in: B. Bischoff ed., *Mittelalterliche Studien: ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte I* (Stuttgart, 1966), pp. 16-34, at pp. 18-19.

¹¹⁶ The Kölner Dombibliothek website, <http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de>, has a detailed and comprehensive database of all manuscripts at the library. I have used this website for the following information on manuscripts in Carolingian Köln under Hildebald. I follow the manuscript signatures as used on this website. Also see (available via this website) Jones, *The Script of Cologne*, and Plotzek, *Glaube und Wissen im Mittelalter*, pp. 17-21.

¹¹⁷ Jones, *The Script of Cologne*, p. 21. Jones does not discuss the CC as it is not attested in the 833 catalogue.

¹¹⁸ See chapter 2.

¹¹⁹ Bullough, 'Charlemagne's 'men of God'', p. 145. The signature of the Dagulf-Psalter is Vienna, ÖNB Cod. 1861.

Significantly, apart from the *Liber Pontificalis* (possibly) and the CC, Hildebald certainly displayed ‘curiosity, and no doubt a pride, in distinguished Popes.’¹²⁰ He had a copy made of the canon law collection called the *Dionysio-Hadriana* (Codex 115). This is a Roman collection of canons (conciliar acts) and decretals (papal letters with statements on questions concerning church law). It was probably made directly from the Aachener original that was sent from Pope Hadrian in 774 to Charlemagne as a gift. This manuscript in particular not only underlines Hildebald’s interest in texts that had associations with the papacy, but also illustrates the practice of ordering copies from codices in the Aachener court library for the benefit of its archiepiscopal counterpart in Cologne. It was probably copied between 800 and 810, during the so-called middle period of Hildebald’s scriptorium. There was also another collection of canons, the eighth-century *Dionysio-Hadriana concilia* (Codex 116).¹²¹ Additionally, the letters of Gregory the Great (Codex 92) were produced in Cologne somewhere between 801 and 810.¹²² This manuscript containing 253 of Gregory’s letters has the Hildebald inscription. Its spacious layout in columns, clear minuscule script, relatively large leaves of parchment of good quality and other features – such as a table of contents, letters that are numbered, and *lemmata* naming the addressee indicate that it was a manuscript that was easy to use – signifying that Cologne in Hildebald’s time was capable of ‘producing manuscripts which were effective instruments of study’.¹²³ There are interesting parallels between *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 and Hildebald’s Codex 92. Both manuscripts, for instance, feature *lemmata* which facilitate access to the letters. These *lemmata* shall be discussed in detail in chapter four of this thesis. Another similarity is found in the contents of Codex 92.

¹²⁰ Jones, *The Script of Cologne*, pp. 20-21, with the citation on p. 21. Anton van Eeuw, author of the description of this manuscript on the Kölner website, dates it earlier.

¹²¹ Jones, *The Script of Cologne*, pp. 20-21.

¹²² *Ibid.*; Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, pp. 90-91. As opposed to the letters in the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449, Gregory’s letters are organised in two columns per folio.

¹²³ Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, pp. 90-91 (quotation from p. 90). Two other manuscripts containing Gregory’s letters were at Cologne (Codices 93, a copy of 92, and 94), but these are dated 833-841 and first half of the tenth century respectively. Codex 94 is quite different as to organisation and arrangement from Codex 92 (for instance, it has no table of contents and *capitula*) and therefore represents a different tradition.

In total, this manuscript contains thirty to forty *nota* signs, used to draw attention to important passages in the text. Half of these signs – 16 in total (plus one other sign on fol. 146r I have not been able to identify) – relate to a letter that was sent to the Spanish bishop Quirichius and his colleagues regarding the Nestorian heresy. In this letter, Gregory addresses the Nestorian heresy using Trinitarian and Christological arguments to assert Christ's divinity. In relation to the Carolingian court's concerns regarding heresy and Adoptionism in the 790s, this letter would have been quite valuable to the discussion in which Hildebald himself was involved at the time. Unfortunately, the *notas* in Codex 92 are difficult to date precisely – they could stem from Hildebald's days, or from a later ninth-century hand.¹²⁴ *Nota* signs, in general, represent a ninth-century development,¹²⁵ but that does not rule out the possibility of earlier use in this particular case. If these *notas* accompanying Gregory the Great's letter were scribbled in the margins in Hildebald's time (by Hildebald himself, even?), they underline the authoritative role that Gregory's writing on theological debates played. In case the *notas* were added at a later stage in the ninth century, they would attest to the ongoing concerns and debates about Christological and Trinitarian issues.

In short, the manuscripts in Hildebald's Cologne library and the codex with Gregorian letters in particular point to a special interest in theological debates, papal works, and other texts that relate to Carolingian-papal history. This focus probably reflects Hildebald's combined position as archbishop of Cologne and archchaplain from 791 onwards. Having access to the Carolingian court library, he was in the position to supply his Cologne archiepiscopal library with these works. As a product of its time, the CC with its papal letters discussing matters of the faith – of which some are devoted to Adoptionism in particular – should be framed within a world where discussing heresy was high on the agenda: the Carolingian court of the 790s. This was a world in which Hildebald himself was one of the mayor

¹²⁴ Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, pp. 93-94. The letter in question is *Gregorii Magni Registrum*, eds. P. Ewald and L.M. Hartmann, *MGH Epp. II* (Berlin, 1890), Lib. XI, no. 52, pp. 324-327; fol. 145r-147r in the Cologne Codex 92 (see <http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de/>).

¹²⁵ P. Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, 1997), p. 75; with reference to E. Cou, 'Scrittura e cultura a Novara (secoli viii-x)', *Ricerchi Medievali* 6-9 (1971-1974), pp. 57-60.

players at court.¹²⁶ The CC, therefore, would have fitted nicely in Hildebald's collection, and it is not unlikely that this archbishop benefited most from its creation. Perhaps he even brought it to Cologne at some point, but this is mere speculation. It is especially unfortunate that we do not have the original CC manuscript to see if and where it had *nota* signs in the margins, indicating contemporary interest in specific passages. It would be very exciting to see if an in-depth codicological and paleographical study of Hildebald's manuscript collection could reveal more about potential relation to the CC.

1.2 The *Liber Pontificalis*

The papal biographies collected in the early medieval *Liber Pontificalis* (hereafter referred to as *LP*) represent the majority of textual sources available for eighth-century Rome and the papacy. Together with the CC, this makes them the most fundamental sources for studying the growing Franco-papal relations in this period. But there is more to the *LP*: An extensive Frankish manuscript tradition and dissemination points to a distinct Carolingian interest in Roman-papal history. A selection of *LP* Lives with their contents specifically adapted for a Frankish audience was even included into a manuscript celebrating the Carolingian dynastic tradition. Converted into a Frankish framework, just like the papal letters in the CC, the papal Lives allowed the Franks to insert themselves and their history into the Roman-Christian tradition, creating a shared past with the successors of St Peter at the same time.

1.2.1 Editions

Several *LP* editions have been published in the past centuries. The first two were produced in the seventeenth century, followed by three more in the eighteenth century.¹²⁷ Then followed Louis Duchesne's late nineteenth-century critical edition, which is still mostly used by modern scholars.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ I discuss the topicality of Adoptionism in more detail in the next chapter.

¹²⁷ Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, pp. li-lii: these are the editions by Busaeus and Frabrotti (seventeenth century), and by Bianchini, Vignoli, and Ugolini (eighteenth century). In 1852, Migne re-published Bianchini's edition in his *Patrologia Latina* series: *Anastasio abbatis opera omnia*, J.P. Migne ed., *Patrologia Latina* 127-128 (Paris, 1852).

¹²⁸ *LP* I & II, ed. Duchesne, as n. 5 on p. 8.

Subsequently, the *LP* appeared in the *MGH* series, but this edition only has the Lives running up to 715 and has no commentary from the editor.¹²⁹ Recently, Raymond Davis published his full translation of the entire early medieval *LP* with commentary.¹³⁰ Also, Herman Geertman has produced a new *LP* edition of the Lives from the period 311 - 535 on the basis of fresh interpretations regarding manuscript fragments of the first redaction.¹³¹

1.2.2 Genesis, genre, authorship and structure

Consisting of the corpus of papal biographies, the *LP* comprises one hundred and twelve Lives, running from the first Roman bishop Peter († 64/67) to Stephen V († 891). Because it consists of various biographies, the *LP* is first and foremost a composite source.¹³² As such, the *LP* with its array of biographies has a complicated genesis, for instance with regard to its authors, place of production, intended audience, manuscript dissemination, and its genre. The first proper collection of ninety papal biographies was written in a single enterprise, shortly after 536.¹³³ A second redaction, which revised the first and ran up to 537, was created around 540.¹³⁴ During the

¹²⁹ *Libri Pontificalis pars prior*, ed. T.H. Mommsen, *MGH GPR I* (Berlin, 1898).

¹³⁰ *LP*, Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*; *idem*, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*; *idem*, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes* (as n. 5 on p. 8) Since Davis's translations of and commentary to the *LP* Lives are excellent, I shall make use of both his translation and Duchesne's Latin edition.

¹³¹ H. Geertman, 'Le biografie del *Liber Pontificalis* dal 311 al 535. Testo e commentario', in: H. Geertman ed., *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome / Papers of the Netherlands Institute in Rome / Atti del colloquio internazionale. Il Liber Pontificalis e la storia materiale. Roma, 21-22 febbraio 2002*. Volume 60/61 (Rome, 2003), pp. 285-355.

¹³² T.F.X. Noble, 'A new look at the *Liber Pontificalis*', *AHP* 23 (1985), pp. 347-358, at p. 349.

¹³³ R.D. McKitterick, 'La place du *Liber Pontificalis* dans les genres historiographiques du haut Moyen Âge', in: F. Bougard and M. Sot eds., *Liber, Gesta, histoire. Écrire l'histoire des évêques et des papes, de l'Antiquité au XXIe siècle* (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 23-35. For the use of papal legends as a biographical source for the *LP*, see K. Sessa, 'Domestic conversations: households and bishops in the late antique papal legends', in: K. Cooper and J. Hillner eds., *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300-900* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 79-114, at p. 87.

¹³⁴ This second redaction is the one used for Duchesne's and Davis's edition, see Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs*, p. xii-xiii; K. Blair-Dixon, 'Memory and authority in sixth-century Rome: the *Liber Pontificalis* and the *Collectio Avellana*', in: K. Cooper and J. Hillner eds., *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300-900* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 59-76, at p. 65. For more details on the various sources that were used to compose the first ninety Lives, see *LP I*, ed. Duchesne, p. lxxix; R. Kaiser, 'Die *Gesta episcoporum* als Genus der Geschichtsschreibung', in: A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter eds., *Historiographie im Frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna and Munich, 1994), pp. 459-481, at pp. 464-465; M.R. Salzman, *On Roman Time. The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1990), pp. 43, 49, 50, 231; E. Caspar,

early seventh century, the final phase in the *LP*'s composition began as it started to be extended on an intermittent basis.¹³⁵ From this time onwards, and especially in the eighth century, the Lives were continued contemporaneously until 870. In practice, this mostly meant that a Life was included in the collection after the end of the subject's episcopate. However, it appears that in some instances the Lives were updated more continuously, so that an uncompleted Life could sometimes be consulted even if the pope in question was still very much alive and running his pontificate. Bede famously used material from the Life of Gregory II (715-731) to write his *Chronicle* that ran up to the year 724.¹³⁶ He therefore must have had access to a portion of an on-going *LP* text, which points to a regular diffusion of instalments from Rome.¹³⁷

It is possible that the *LP* was actively diffused from Rome, as Pope Leo III had a copy of it sent to Charlemagne sometime between 800 and 814 as a gift as part of a larger consignment.¹³⁸ This is the *LP* that archchaplain Hildebald potentially ordered to be copied for his archiepiscopal library in Cologne. Bougard cautiously suggests that the *LP* may have served as some kind of a potential calling card, to send to diplomatic contacts whenever a new pope ascended the papal see. After all, the biographies pay much attention to the personal qualities and abilities of the popes, as well as to their policy.¹³⁹

Some twenty-five years ago, Noble observed that proper research of the *LP* as a source was lacking.¹⁴⁰ Since then, scholars have responded to his appeal.

Die älteste Römische Bischofsliste. Kritische Studien zum Formproblem des eusebianischen Kanons sowie zur Geschichte der ältesten Bischofslisten und ihrer Entstehung aus apostolischen Sukzessionsreihen (Berlin, 1926).

¹³⁵ Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, p. xi.

¹³⁶ Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, xiii; Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, p. 2; *LP* I, ed. Duchesne, p. xxxiv; P.H. Blair, *The World of Bede* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 69; Noble, 'A new look', p. 348.

¹³⁷ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 75; Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, p. 2; McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, p. 51.

¹³⁸ Reimitz, 'Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch', at p. 35; McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 32-33, 195.

¹³⁹ F. Bougard, 'Composition, diffusion et reception des parties tardives du *Liber Pontificalis* romain (VIIIe-IXe siècles)', in: F. Bougard and M. Sot eds., *Liber, Gesta, histoire. Écrire l'histoire des évêques et des papes, de l'Antiquité au XXIe siècle* (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 127-152, at p. 134-136.

¹⁴⁰ Noble, 'A new look', p. 347.

Most recently, the discussion has been continued in a volume edited by François Bougard and Michel Sot.¹⁴¹ Part of the discussion quintessentially revolves around the question whether the *LP* accounts of the popes' pontificates should best be characterised as saints' lives (*vitae*), thus belonging to the hagiographical genre.¹⁴² The early medieval boundaries between *vitae* and historical works, however, were not so clearly demarcated.¹⁴³ Due to its composite character, it could be characterised as a collection of Roman episcopal *acta* and *gestae*, organised as a type of chronicle.¹⁴⁴ McKitterick's description of the work as a serial biography, a genre balancing between history and hagiography, probably works best. In this genre, the biography of the subject is imbedded into an institution and office. In the case of papal *gesta*, the pontifical accounts are connected to the office of the papacy, linking all the individual popes to a long tradition that goes all the way back to St Peter and the foundations of the Christian Church. Combining a secular and sacred past, christianised and reshaped, in the traditional format of the serial biography, the *LP* presented an alternative history of Rome and linked its bishops to the Roman emperors.¹⁴⁵

All of the papal biographies in the *LP* are constructed around a common underlying structure or framework and employ highly formulaic language.¹⁴⁶ It is therefore not difficult to trace a fixed template derived from several sources, including martyrological material (lists, dates), the *Liberian*

¹⁴¹ F. Bougard and M. Sot eds., *Liber, Gesta, histoire. Écrire l'histoire des évêques et des papes, de l'Antiquité au XXI^e siècle* (Turnhout, 2009).

¹⁴² F. Lifshitz, 'Beyond positivism and genre: 'hagiographical' texts as historical narrative', *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 25 (1994), pp. 103-108. Klaus Herbers sees the *LP* as distinct from the hagiographical genre: K. Herbers, 'Das Bild Papst Leos III. in der Perspektive des Liber Pontificalis', in: M. Niederkorn-Bruck and A. Scharer eds., *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 40 (Vienna, 2004), pp. 137-154, at p. 138.

¹⁴³ Lifshitz, 'Beyond positivism', pp. 103-108. Besides, the terms *gesta* and *historia* were both generally used to denote any type of 'historical' writing: B. Guenée, *Histoire et Culture Historique dans l'Occident Médiéval* (Paris, 1980), p. 203.

¹⁴⁴ M. Sot, 'Introduction. Auxerre et Rome: *Gesta Pontificum* et *Liber Pontificalis*', in: F. Bougard and M. Sot eds., *Liber, Gesta, histoire. Écrire l'histoire des évêques et des papes, de l'Antiquité au XXI^e siècle* (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 5-20, at p. 13.

¹⁴⁵ McKitterick, 'La place du *Liber Pontificalis*', *passim*. Also see McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, pp. 46-51.

¹⁴⁶ *LP* I, ed. Duchesne, pp. xxxiii, lxx. Also see M. Sot, *Gesta Episcoporum, Gesta Abbatum, TdS* 37 (Turnhout, 1981), pp. 32-33.

Catalogue (preserved as a component in a bishop's list named the *Codex Calendar of 354*), and Jerome's *De viris illustribus*.¹⁴⁷ Despite the formulaic and predetermined structure, the authors of the *LP* enjoyed considerable freedom to improvise. This trend becomes increasingly visible in the more elaborate contemporary *LP* biographies of the eighth and ninth centuries, where there is more attention for political narrative, such as dealings with the Franks and Lombards.

The authors of the *LP* are anonymous. Remarks in some of the earlier Lives indicate that composing them could have been a joint enterprise.¹⁴⁸ For some Lives of the Carolingian period, the author(s) can be identified.¹⁴⁹ Despite the uncertainties regarding their identity, a common feature that was shared by all of the anonymous authors throughout the centuries was their Roman affiliation.¹⁵⁰ Whether the authors worked from the papal *scrinium*¹⁵¹ or the *vestiarium* (treasury)¹⁵² has been lengthily debated in modern literature, and the issue has not yet been resolved to date. In view of the composite character of the *LP*, this underlines the complexity of the source.

As a result, one could say that the *LP* reflects – at least for the the sixth-century portions – an effort to create a papal self-definition in the sense

¹⁴⁷ Noble, 'A new look', p. 350; Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs*, pp. xii, xx-xxiv; D.M. Deliyannis, 'A biblical model for serial biography: the *Books of Kings* and the Roman *Liber Pontificalis*', *RB* 107 (1997), pp. 15-24, at p. 16; Salzman, *On Roman Time*, pp. 47-49; Sot, 'Introduction. Auxerre et Rome', p. 14.

¹⁴⁸ For instance *LP* I, ed. Duchesne, Life of Dionysius, c. 1, p. 70: *Dionisius, ex monacho, cuius generatione reperire non potuimus* (...). In the case of the ninth-century biography of Sergius II, Davis is convinced that we are dealing with two authors: Davis, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, p. 71.

¹⁴⁹ Davis, for instance, names John the Deacon as possible author of the Life of Hadrian II: Davis, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, p. 249. Also see Noble, 'A new look', p. 356, who believes that the *primicerius* Christopher was the author of Stephen III's biography.

¹⁵⁰ Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, p. xiv.

¹⁵¹ Noble, 'A new look', pp. 354-356; Kaiser concurs with the chancery as place where the *LP* was kept: Kaiser, 'Die *Gesta episcoporum*', p. 473.

¹⁵² *LP* I, ed. Duchesne, p. cxii; E. Caspar, *Das Papsttum unter Byzantinischen Herrschaft* II (Tübingen, 1933), pp. 732, 775; Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, xiv; Sot, 'Introduction. Auxerre et Rome', p. 15; Pollard, 'The Decline of the *cursus*', *passim*, but especially at p. 30. Pollard argues that there existed a well organised and functional chancery (*scrinium*) in the Lateran throughout the seventh century, which continued to employ the *cursus* (accentual prose-rhythm) in its documents. As there appears to be very little use of the *cursus* in the pre-700 period sections of the *LP*, however, the text cannot have been produced in the chancery in this period.

that the Roman Church revealed an interest in the written word as a tool in documenting and building its own traditions and history.¹⁵³ A particular goal of the *LP* could thus be to underline the continuity and legitimacy of the papacy as an institution that began with the Apostle Peter himself, linking it to the very roots of Christianity in Rome.¹⁵⁴

What exactly was it used for? In essence, the discussion focuses on two different audiences and corresponding categories of use; on the one hand the clerical audience, implying the employment of the source in a Lateran setting, on the other, a public of varied composition inside and outside Rome. Where some have perceived the *LP* as a kind of elementary textbook used in the education of young clerics,¹⁵⁵ or as a pragmatic record or reference book especially with regard to the donation lists,¹⁵⁶ Noble appreciates the variety of the *LP* texts best and opts for a combination of all the above.¹⁵⁷ Given the composite character of the *LP*, attributing multiple purposes to the source presents the best and most workable option.

1.2.3 Manuscripts

Since the *LP* is a composite collection of biographies that enjoyed heterogeneous popularity, the papal Lives were variously disseminated. A rule of thumb that applies is that the circulation and reception of the text is diverse in both time and space. Another trend is that the later the Life, the more limited its dissemination, for the simple reason that the Lives that left Rome at an early stage, that is the earliest Lives, had more opportunity of being copied and transmitted over time.¹⁵⁸

Surviving manuscripts containing eighth-century Lives mostly originated from within the Carolingian realm, which betrays a strong Frankish interest in the *LP* in this period and serves as evidence that the

¹⁵³ Costambeys and Leyser, 'To be the neighbour of St Stephen', pp 262-287, at p. 268.

¹⁵⁴ Sot, 'Introduction. Auxerre and Rome', pp.14.

¹⁵⁵ See Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, pp. 45-46; Costambeys and Leyser, 'To be the neighbour of St Stephen', p. 268; P. Riché (English transl. J.J. Contreni), *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West* (Columbia, 1976), p. 408.

¹⁵⁶ Caspar, *Das Papsttum II*, p. 316.

¹⁵⁷ Noble, 'A new look', pp. 352-356; Noble also emphasises that the *LP* was not just used for young clerics, but also served as a 'ready-reference' for the more experienced.

¹⁵⁸ Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, p. xvi.

accounts were being disseminated and read extensively outside Rome. Strikingly, there are no contemporary Roman manuscript witnesses – the first Roman manuscript dates from the eleventh century.¹⁵⁹ In the ninth century, the manuscript distribution is similarly predominantly Carolingian. The flexibility of the texts' contents is also a characteristic feature in the Carolingian period. Following Frances Parton, the *LP* was a text 'which could be very carefully modelled both by its authors and audiences to suit a myriad of contexts'.¹⁶⁰

Of the seventy *LP* manuscript witnesses in total, forty-four survive containing portions of the eighth- and ninth-century biographies. This high number reveals a popularity of the text that rivals works of authors such as Bede.¹⁶¹ For the Lives from Gregory II (715-731) to Stephen II (752-757) there are circa forty manuscripts that contain all or most of these biographies. From Paul (757-767) to Stephen III (768-772) there are about twenty-six; the Life of Hadrian I (772-795) has eighteen.¹⁶² There is only one manuscript, a late-eleventh century codex from Cava or Farfa (Vat.lat. 3764), which contains all Lives. Nearly every manuscript ends with the Life of Hadrian I, and another cluster finishes with the Life of Stephen II.¹⁶³ The Life of Leo III (795-816) is very meagrely represented with only six codices containing the original text.¹⁶⁴

It is highly significant that all extant manuscripts that predate the tenth century, with the exception of three or four, were produced in the Frankish realm. They originate from large and significant Carolingian hubs such as Rheims, Tours, Cologne (!), Laon, Saint Amand, Saint-Germain-des-

¹⁵⁹ This is manuscript Vat.Lat. 629 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana); Costambeys and Leyser, 'To be the neighbour of St Peter', p. 266, n. 24.

¹⁶⁰ F. Parton, 'The *Liber Pontificalis* and Franco-Papal Relations 824-891', Unpublished PhD thesis (University of Cambridge, 2009), p. 25, 38-59, but esp. at pp. 52-56, with the quotation from p. 52. Parton provides a helpful overview of all *LP* manuscripts and their families in the first chapter, pp. 24-89.

¹⁶¹ Bougard, 'Composition, diffusion et réception', p. 143.

¹⁶² See Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, pp. xvii – xxi for an excellent overview of all *LP* manuscripts for the Lives from 715 AD onwards.

¹⁶³ McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, p. 47; Davis, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, p. xiii.

¹⁶⁴ There is only one ninth-century Frankish manuscript of Life 98, namely Paris, BnF lat. 5516, written in Tours around 871. Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, p. 171.

Prés, Auxerre, and Beauvais.¹⁶⁵ Most of these manuscripts, that were produced between ca. 825 and 850, can be traced back to the aforementioned exemplar in the Carolingian court library.¹⁶⁶ Though we do not know how and when precisely the *LP* Lives were distributed from Rome, the text clearly circulated widely in the Frankish realm, revealing a distinct Frankish interest in the *LP*.

1.2.4 Carolingian interest in the Lives

Judging from the textual varieties in the various manuscript witnesses, the *LP* copyists had considerable freedom in modifying and editing the contents of the papal biographies. For that reason, Davis remarked that the *LP* evidently enjoyed no sacrosanct status.¹⁶⁷ It was clearly considered an ongoing set of texts which was kept up to date whenever required by an audience that was pro-active, either before or after it left Rome.¹⁶⁸ Even more so, in the case of some textual variants, we are dealing with actual recensions which clearly had the purpose to make the text more appropriate for a specific audience.

In one particular case textual adjustments were probably made to accommodate the Lombard public after the Frankish conquest of Lombard Italy in 774. The so-called 'Lombard recension' of the Life of Stephen II, recorded in the ninth-century manuscript *Lucensis* (Lucca) 490, omitted overtly negative comments regarding the Lombards to create a version that was more suitable to a Lombard audience.¹⁶⁹ Apart from the Life of Stephen II, the Lucca codex further contains Lives from Gregory II to Hadrian I, and canon law material from the decrees of the Merovingian and Visigothic councils (i.e. non-papal), plus an early Italian collection which is partly fifth-

¹⁶⁵ McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, pp. 50-51; Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, pp. xvii-xxi.

¹⁶⁶ R.D. McKitterick, 'The audience for Latin historiography in the early middle ages: text transmission and manuscript dissemination', in: A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter eds., *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna and Munich, 1994), pp. 96-114, at p. 98-99.

¹⁶⁷ Its authors' anonymity may have encouraged revisions and interpolations: Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, p. xvi.

¹⁶⁸ Parton, 'The *Liber Pontificalis* and Franco-Papal Relations 824-891', p. 52.

¹⁶⁹ See C. Gantner, 'Studien zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung des *Liber Pontificalis* am Beispiel der so genannten Langobardischen Rezension', Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Vienna, 2009). There are four manuscripts in total which contain the Lombard recension.

century and papal. Also, the codex contains works from Bede, Easter tables, and an extract from Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*.¹⁷⁰ The Lucca codex is therefore part historical and part legal in its assemblage, and unique in its pro-Lombard outlook.

Another far-reaching modification is a 'Frankish recension' of sections of some papal biographies, as contained in the well-studied Viennese codex designated ÖNB cod. 473, produced in the second half of the ninth century in the northern Frankish monastery of St Amand. The papal Lives of Pope Gregory III and Stephen II in particular, both dealing with Frankish affairs, have additions which focus on the Frankish perspective.¹⁷¹ As the *LP* Lives are the only non-Frankish sources, they were undoubtedly inserted with a special intention. The codex contains a selection of the most prominent texts on Frankish history: the papal Lives are first in line and are followed by the *Liber historiae francorum*, the Continuations to Fredegar's *Chronicle*, the *Annales regni Francorum* (*ARF*), a portion of Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, and an abbreviated version of the *Genealogia domus carolingicae*. This compilation betrays a Frankish compiler and audience. By combining the papal biographies with Frankish historical works in one book, the codex conveys a clear message: the popes and the Franks share a common background, with Rome and the Carolingian family inextricably intertwined.¹⁷² According to McKitterick and Helmut Reimitz, the codex in its entirety not only serves to link the papacy with the Carolingians historically: it was also designed to legitimate the Italian invasion in 774 and the rule of Charles the Bald, being in all likelihood compiled either for this ruler's royal (869) or imperial (875) coronation. In any case, it is certain that it was intentionally put together with a specific ideological and political purpose in the second half of the ninth century.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 52; Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, p. xvi-xvii; also see McKitterick, 'La place du *Liber Pontificalis*', pp. 33-34; and McKitterick, 'The audience for Latin historiography', pp. 108-109.

¹⁷¹ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 121-122, 146; also see the excellent case study of this manuscript Reimitz, 'Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch'; and McKitterick's article 'Political ideology in Carolingian historiography', in: Y. Hen and M. Innes eds., *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 162-174.

¹⁷² McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 121-122.

¹⁷³ McKitterick, 'Political ideology', pp. 162-169; Reimitz, 'Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch', pp. 60-64. Also see Goosmann, 'Memorable crises', pp. 85-87,

The versions of the *LP* Lives contained in Vienna ÖNB cod. 473 are related to three Frankish *LP* texts that were copied at Laon, of which one, in turn, could be the aforementioned copy of the *LP* text that was presented to Charlemagne by Pope Leo III.¹⁷⁴ The texts of the Lives of Gregory III and Stephen II were, however, altered considerably to suit a Carolingian audience. A strong emphasis on papal authority and its association with the Carolingian family has been added, the latter being portrayed as having Roman (and Trojan) roots. In the Life of Stephen II, especially, the emphasis in the text seems to be on the pope supporting the Carolingian rulers.¹⁷⁵

In this case, too, I believe that both the Frankish recension of the *LP* Lives and their codex in its entirety were intended to represent a Roman-papal authoritative past, which was, in this particular context, connected to the Carolingian kings, their accession, and their rule. What is more, the case studies of Vienna ÖNB cod. 473 and *Lucensis* 490 together illustrate the texts' variety in reader public and reception, its adaptability and topicality. In the case of Carolingian recension and manuscript dissemination, they become a testimony to a shared past. The Carolingian history-writers of the ninth century adopted and modified them whenever they saw fit, to shape the Carolingian past and interweave it with a Roman tradition.

Between the *LP* manuscript Vienna ÖNB cod. 473 and the *CC* manuscript *Codex Vindobonensis* 449, therefore, we can detect certain similarities in purpose and outlook. Both are datable to the second half of the ninth century and can be linked to a Carolingian court, as we will see in the next chapter. Both manuscripts share the same ideological message: they are a testimony to Carolingian rule, of which Rome and the papacy are an inherent component. Surely, the *LP* may have served as a papal calling card, a means to represent Rome and its bishop as the guardians of Christian (imperial) history, and was, as such, highly appealing to the Carolingian world. But it was the shared Frankish-Roman history that was at the heart of Carolingian interest in the papal biographies.

¹⁷⁴ This is *Coloniensis* 164 (in the Cologne Dombibliothek): see Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, pp. xvii-xviii; McKitterick, 'Political ideology', p. 162.

¹⁷⁵ Reimitz, 'Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch', p. 71.

Conclusion

Representing the contemporary concerns and interests of the Carolingian court in the early 790s, the CC is a unique expression of Carolingian care for communications with the successors of St Peter. If it were not for this collection, the letters of Popes Gregory III to Hadrian I would have been lost for good. For Charlemagne, ruler of the Christian kingdom of the Franks, publicly receiving messages from the leaders of the Catholic Church and preserving them in a collection was highly prestigious. With words of advice, admonition, friendship and spiritual leadership from the successors of St Peter, first of the Apostles, the letters narrated the rise of the Franco-papal alliance to the king, his family, and his close associates. As a collection celebrating the Carolingian dynasty's history, the CC ideologically suited Charlemagne and his family, for it was the popes who legitimised Carolingian kingship from the years 751/754 onwards.

To the king's courtier, Archbishop and Archchaplain Hildebald, whose accession to this position more or less coincided with the birth of the collection, it would have suited a more practical purpose. The letters would not only have been informative about this shared past, but also an instructive and useful tool to access papal statements and positions on various topics and contemporary matters. Whether Hildebald was the actual driving force behind the creation of the CC, or merely made practical use of it, we will probably never know. As archbishop of Cologne, however, he may be the missing link between the Carolingian court and the emergence of the, uniquely extant, Cologne manuscript *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 more than half a century later. He would have had the motive, opportunity, and the means to have the CC (or a copy of it) transported to the Cologne library. That this is not unlikely is supported by his interest in other texts such as the *LP* and the Gregorian letters, both of which he could have copied from the court library. In any case, his acquisition policy for the Cologne library points to a particular interest in texts that echoed the Carolingian-papal relations.

Although the *LP* is, in nature and genre, a very different source from the CC, they share common features. Just like the CC, the Lives are texts with Roman papal origins, but have a distinctive Frankish manuscript dissemination. As a result, they both should not merely be studied as Roman

sources representing the papacy. On a different level, both the *LP* Lives and the *CC* are sources with a decidedly Frankish varnish, and mutually attest to a Carolingian interest in texts recounting the growth and consolidation of Frankish-Roman connections. This holds even more true for the composition of ÖNB cod. 473, comprising the Frankish redactions in the Lives of Pope Gregory III and Stephen II, which displays a special interest in a shared Carolingian-papal version of history. Consequently, both the *LP* Lives disseminated in Frankish manuscripts, with ÖNB cod. 473 in particular, and the *CC* as a Carolingian composition can be regarded as testimonies to Carolingian rule.

As the next logical step in understanding the *CC* as a product of its time, we need to focus on the preface to the collection. The foreword, attributed to Charlemagne, will unveil additional motives for compilation of the collection in 791. Also, a close consideration of Pope Hadrian's letters on Adoptionism in it will help us understand how it could have been useful for Hildebald and his contemporaries in official discussions on heresy.

CHAPTER TWO

CHARLEMAGNE'S IMPERIUM AND THE CODEX CAROLINUS¹⁷⁶

Possibly commissioned by Charlemagne himself, and certainly written in his name, the Carolingian *praefatio* to the letter collection introduces the reader to the contents of the codex. The preface, written in red capitals¹⁷⁷, reads:

Regnante in perpetuum domino et salvatore nostro iesu christo, anno incarnationis eiusdem domini nostri DCCXCI. Carolus, excellentissimus et a deo electus rex francorum et langobardorum ac patricios romanorum, anno felicissimo regni ipsius XXIII., divino nutu inspiratus, sicut ante omnes qui ante eum fuerunt sapientia et prudentia eminent, ita in hoc opere utilissimum sui operis instruxit ingenium, ut universas epistolas, quae tempore bonae memoriae domni caroli avi sui nec non et gloriosi genitoris sui pippini suisque temporibus de summa sede apostolica beati petri apostolorum principis seu etiam de imperio ad eos directae esse noscuntur, eo quod nimia vetustatae et per incuriam iam ex parte diruta atque deleta conspexerat, denuo memorialibus membranis summo cum certamine renovare ac rescribere decrevit – incipiens igitur, ut supra diximus, a principatu praefati principis caroli avi sui, usque praesens tempus ita omnia exarans, ut nullum penitus testimonium sanctae ecclesiae profuturum suis deesse successoribus videatur, ut scriptum est: 'sapientiam omnium antiquorum exquiret sapiens' et cetera.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ A shorter version of this chapter has been published as 'A testimony of Carolingian rule? The *Codex epistolaris carolinus*, its historical context, and the meaning of *imperium*', *EME* 21 (2013), pp. 254-282.

¹⁷⁷ In the manuscript, there is a cross at the beginning of the text, which has an alpha and omega in the left and right bottom corner respectively. For the best palaeographical and codicological analysis of the manuscript, see Unterkircher's introduction to the *Facsimile*, pp. vii–xxvii.

¹⁷⁸ Translation (my own): 'Ruling in perpetuity our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord DCCXCI. Charles, most excellent and God-elected King of the Franks and Lombards and Patrician of the Romans in the most happy year of his reign XXIII, inspired by Divine will, as all those who went before him excelled in wisdom and prudence, so in this work he instructed his most useful mind of effort, so that all of the letters, which in the time of the Lord Charles his grandfather [i.e. Charles Martel] of blessed memory and also his glorious father Pippin and from his own time were known to be directed to them *de summa sede apostolica beati Petri apostolorum principis seu etiam de imperio*, that from great age and carelessness

As the preface relates, it was decided that the letters should be copied onto parchment in order to preserve for posterity the testimony of the Holy Church. It is explicitly stated that this happened in 791, in the twenty-third year of King Charlemagne's reign.¹⁷⁹ While most letters preserved in the CC were apparently sent to the Carolingian rulers from the highest Apostolic See of the blessed Peter Prince of the Apostles (*de summa sede apostolica beati Petri apostolorum principis*), some others, judging from the preface, came from the *imperium* (*de imperio*). This turn of phrase, though insignificant at first glance, has nonetheless stirred considerable scholarly debate. What does *imperium* refer to? The ensuing discussion, as I will explain below, has revolved around the question of whether the late ninth-century Vienna manuscript, *Codex Vindobonensis* 449, is a complete collection, or one that omits the letters *de imperio*. If these two words are translated as 'from the [Byzantine] empire', as is usually the case, then the collection as we have it is incomplete, as it does not contain any imperial letter whatsoever. This, in turn, has led historians to believe that the Vienna manuscript either contains only copies of a conscious selection of letters and thus is an incomplete version of the original collection from 791, or, alternatively, that the section with Byzantine letters once existed but was lost in the process of dissemination. 'That the collection in its present form is not complete is evident', says Garrison¹⁸⁰; '(...) by the time the Vienna manuscript was prepared, the imperial letters had vanished; or else the copyist had no interest in them', concludes Noble.¹⁸¹ In both cases, the collection would be deficient and therefore would need to be handled with care. The currently prevailing interpretation of the expression *de imperio* as referring to imperial letters has its roots in the seventeenth century¹⁸² and has been followed by

appeared partly destroyed and erased, and then he ordered to restore [the letters] with the utmost care and to write out again onto parchment which preserves memory – beginning therefore, as we said above, from the principate of the aforesaid ruler Charles his grandfather up to the present time, and so noting down everything, in order that no testimony whatsoever of the Holy Church should seem lacking to his future successors, for it is written: 'the wise man enquires into all wisdom of the ancients' and so forth.', CC, p. 476.

¹⁷⁹ Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 61–62 on the dating of the compilation.

¹⁸⁰ Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?', at p. 126, n. 42.

¹⁸¹ Noble, 'The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*', p. 62.

¹⁸² J. Haller, 'Einleitung', in: J. Haller ed., *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Entstehung des Kirchenstaates. Quellensammlung zur deutschen Geschichte* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1907), pp. iii–xv, at

most scholars since, without much consideration of the fact that the *CC* is transmitted in a unique codex without other manuscripts for comparison. Moreover, the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 itself does not appear to be missing any folios.

In what follows, I intend to contribute to an ongoing reassessment of the *CC*, starting with a review of the historical background against which it was composed. As is well known, the Carolingian court in the 790s went through a period of reform, resulting in a repositioning of the Frankish kingdom within the Christian world. Preceded by the major capitulary known as the *Admonitio Generalis* in 789, and followed by the Council of Frankfurt in 794, the *CC* reflects a Carolingian concern for orthodoxy and the identification of Charlemagne as guardian of the correct faith, who looked to Rome for authentic spiritual guidance. Obviously, the core of the *CC* consists of the papal letters, but those are not the main focus of this paragraph. Here, I intend to explore the *CC* as a product of the Carolingian court. The *praefatio* to the collection reveals this more clearly than has been hitherto assumed; as I shall argue, an alternative reading of the preface's statement about *de imperio* will shed a different light on the *CC* in its entirety. The expression *de imperio* does not refer to any missing letters from the Byzantine empire, but instead to those that *are* in the collection already, and that concern Carolingian rule or the realm. Accordingly, the nature of the *CC* changes from that of an incomplete collection into an essentially purposeful composition. In the second part of this chapter, therefore, I will present some thoughts on the exact translation of the word *imperium* and the rendering of the aforementioned entire phrase.

2.1 A foreword from the king himself

One of the most crucial questions as to the genesis of the *CC* as a whole is why, and in what context, the papal letters were collected together in 791, decades after the first letters in the collection were received. What do the collection and its preface reveal about the Carolingians' interest in the papal letters, and about their relations with the papacy? These questions have seldom been asked, with Charlemagne's preface hardly taken into account.

p. viii, points to Peter Lambeck as the first to interpret the sentence this way, in his *CC* edition of 1673 (I have not personally been able to consult Lambeck's edition).

My attempt to elucidate the preface is, therefore, a tentative exploration of so far uncharted territory.

According to Donald Bullough, the early 790s saw the rise of a new generation of court scholars aiming to transform Charlemagne's policies, with significant results. An instance of this is the reform of coinage, weights and measures during the years 792–794.¹⁸³ Additionally, it may be that the compilation of the CC coincides with the first production phase of the *ARF*, as has also been pointed out by Hack and McKitterick.¹⁸⁴ Although Bullough called the *CC*'s composition symptomatic of the period of Carolingian reform, he thought it only of 'marginal importance' to understanding what was going on at the time.¹⁸⁵

A close reading of the preface, however, offers more straightforward clues as to the motivation for ordering the duplication of the papal letters: it reminds the readers that 'wisdom of the ancients', in this case the testimony of the Holy Church in the form of papal letters, should be preserved. The overall goal, as stated, was to safeguard ancient knowledge and wisdom, which reveals an interest in a past that was associated with Rome and its history. Apparently, the papyrus of the letters was in such deteriorated state that they all needed to be renewed (or: restored) and copied (*renovare ac rescribere*) in order to achieve this objective. That some letters indeed had become illegible as the result of deterioration is confirmed by the scribe of the letters' *lemmata* in *Codex Vindobonensis* 449.¹⁸⁶ Restoring some of the letters, however, is one thing – copying *all* letters, including the most recent, into a collection, is another. In my view, the deterioration of some of the letters does not sufficiently explain the need to compile the entire collection, nor its timing around the year 791.

Although the preface expressly states that the collection was initiated by Charlemagne, the words may have been inspired by one or more scholars

¹⁸³ Bullough, '*Aula renovata*', pp. 143–144; P. Grierson, 'Money and Coinage under Charlemagne', in H. Beumann and W. Braunsfels eds., *Karl der Grosse I, Lebenswerk und Nachleben. Persönlichkeit und Geschichte* (Düsseldorf, 1965), pp. 501–536, at pp. 509–511 (on the dating of the reform) and 528–530 (on the object of the reform).

¹⁸⁴ McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 37–38. Also see Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 78–82.

¹⁸⁵ Bullough, '*Aula renovata*', pp. 143–144.

¹⁸⁶ Letter 15 in the collection is not a full letter, but merely a summary in the form of a *lemma*, which explains that the letter itself could not be copied because it had become illegible. See chapter 4 below, for a more detailed discussion of this *lemma*.

at court, but the identity of the organising mind behind it is unknown. The degree of Charlemagne's active involvement in formulating Carolingian policy in public documents such as the *Admonitio Generalis* has been debated for a long time; scholars currently tend to allow for more royal participation than was previously envisaged.¹⁸⁷ Charlemagne himself could indeed have been closely involved in the composition of the preface. Cooperation with at least one or more of his court scholars is conceivable. According to Hack, the person most likely to have initiated the project is Bishop Angilram of Metz, archchaplain from 784 onwards, and this is very plausible.¹⁸⁸ In 791, Angilram travelled to Charlemagne's court in Regensburg, so he was there at the right time and place. Other courtiers or people from the royal chancery may have played a primary or secondary role as well. Influential counsellors at the time were the aforementioned Bishop Hildebald of Cologne and Abbot Arn of St Amand (the future archbishop of Salzburg). As mentioned above, the former was potentially responsible for the CC being transported to Cologne after Charlemagne's death. Unfortunately, there is not a single text which can positively be attributed to Arn, which makes it very difficult to connect him to the production of the CC. Documentary evidence that can be associated with him is scarce, and most of what we know about him comes from Alcuin's letters to him.¹⁸⁹ Again, there are not

¹⁸⁷ *Admonitio Generalis*, eds. H. Mordek, K. Zechiel-Eckes and M. Glatthaar, *MGH Fontes XVI* (Wiesbaden, 2013) pp. 180-239 (with German translation); English translation King, *Charlemagne*, pp. 209-220. For the Carolingian ruler's role in doctrinal disputes, see T.F.X. Noble, 'Kings, clergy and dogma: the settlement of doctrinal disputes in the Carolingian world', in: S. Baxter, C. Karkov, J. Nelson, and D. Pelteret eds., *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald* (Aldershot, 2009), pp. 237-252. On the degree of royal participation in Anglo-Saxon and Frankish councils and synods, see C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils, c. 650-c. 850* (London and New York, 1995), pp. 49-59. On the king's personal involvement in formulating policy and the creation of public documents see McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 37-38, 56, 234; J.L. Nelson, 'The Voice of Charlemagne', in R. Gameson and H. Leyser eds., *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 76-88, at p. 80; and A. Freeman's introduction to the *Opus Caroli Regis Contra Synodum (Libri Carolini)*, *MGH Conc. II, Supplementum 1* (Hanover, 1998), pp. 1-93, at pp. 3-4, 13, 48-50.

¹⁸⁸ Hack, *Codex Carolinus I*, p. 81.

¹⁸⁹ Bullough, 'Charlemagne's 'men of God'', pp. 142-147. In the early 790s (790-793), Alcuin stayed in England and was thus not present at the Carolingian court, which rules him out as a potential compiler of the CC. Also see M. Diesenberger and H. Wolfram, 'Arn und Alcuin 790 bis 804 – zwei Freunde und ihre Schriften', in: M. Niederkorn-Bruck and A. Scharer eds., *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg 784/85-821. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 40 (Vienna and Munich, 2004), pp. 81-106.

enough clear indications to prove that any of these candidates were directly involved in the *CC*'s composition, although the evidence is strongest in the case of Hildebald. His involvement in the Council of Frankfurt (794), as we will see below, potentially also links him to the collection.

2.2 A time of reform: the Carolingian court in the 790s

As the copying of the letters into one collection preceded a particularly dangerous military campaign against the Avars in the south-east of the realm, it has been suggested by King that the *CC* was created as a result of Charlemagne being urged 'by a sense of pious responsibility to church and successors alike to set the record straight'.¹⁹⁰ This may be so, but in his career as king Charlemagne had engaged in many more campaigns without feeling the urge to explain himself by affirming the bond with the papacy. Besides, following King's line of reasoning, the year 774 would surely have been a better candidate for publishing the *CC*, as it was then that Charlemagne marched into northern Italy in response to the many papal appeals for help.

Certainly, it is no coincidence that the *CC* was put together roughly two years after the *Admonitio Generalis* was promulgated, and three years before the Council of Frankfurt (794) took place.¹⁹¹ Its creation certainly fits into the reform movement of the period. One of Charlemagne's leading courtiers and reformers, Alcuin of York, was probably involved in the composition of the *Admonitio*, although his influence on it has been debated. Most recently, Michael Glatthaar made a convincing case for Alcuin as the author, based on the parallels between Alcuin's works and the idiom of the *Admonitio*.¹⁹² As one of the great reform capitularies, its goal was to transform society according to Christian principles that were shaped in the

¹⁹⁰ King, *Charlemagne*, p. 36. For the campaign against the Avars, see T. Reuter, 'Charlemagne and the renewal of Rome', in: J. Story ed., *Charlemagne. Empire and Society* (Manchester and New York, 2005), pp. 183-194, at pp. 184-185.

¹⁹¹ *Synodus franconofurtensis*, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap. I* (Hanover, 1883), pp. 73-78; translation King, *Charlemagne*, pp. 224-230.

¹⁹² See Glatthaar's introduction to the *Admonitio Generalis*, pp. 47-63; also see Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, pp. 164-166. Alcuin's letters and part of the *Admonitio* show stylistic similarities that indicate Alcuin's involvement in the capitulary: F.C. Scheibe, 'Alcuin und die Briefe Karls des Grossen', *DA* 15 (1959), pp. 181-193, but Scheibe's arguments are considered unconvincing by R.D. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* (London, 1977), pp. 1-2, n. 2.

Roman fashion. This meant reading Christian works of learning, observing the Christian authors' wisdom, and passing the knowledge on to the whole of the Frankish people.¹⁹³ A great deal of this capitulary's content is concerned with canon law and clerical obedience to it. In its introduction, Charlemagne makes clear that he sees himself as 'rector of the kingdom of the Franks and devout defender and humble adjuvant of the Holy Church'.¹⁹⁴ The court-initiated idea that the king and his bishops were responsible for the salvation of the *ecclesia*, the community of Christian people (*populus christianus*) in the realm, by ensuring the proper worship of God, developed in this time of reform.¹⁹⁵ Rome served as a treasure trove for classical and Christian learning. As has been noted by Hack, the *renovare* of the CC's letters as mentioned in the preface echoes the core phrase in this Carolingian period, for *renovatio* (along with *correctio* and *emendatio*) was the guiding principle for Charlemagne and his court scholars.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ W. Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London, 1969), pp. 7, 21; McKitterick, *The Frankish Church, passim*; eadem, *Perceptions of the Past*, pp. 35, 59. Some scholars have stressed the limits of the so-called Carolingian Renaissance and prefer to employ a minimal definition, see for instance Nelson, 'On the Limits of the Carolingian Renaissance'; P. Lehmann, 'Das Problem der karolingischen Renaissance', *Settimane di Studio sull'alto medioevo* 1 (1954), pp. 310–357.

¹⁹⁴ *Ego Carolus, gratia Dei eiusque misericordia donante rex et rector regni Francorum et devotus sanctae ecclesiae defensor humilisque adiutor: Admonitio Generalis*, ed. Glatthaar, p.180; King, *Charlemagne*, pp. 209–220.

¹⁹⁵ This notion was further intensified under the rule of Louis the Pious. Doing penance in the form of public atonement was considered necessary in order to appease God: M.B. de Jong, 'Religion', in: R.D. McKitterick ed., *The Early Middle Ages. Europe 400–1000. The Short Oxford History of Europe* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 131–164, esp. at pp. 139–142; eadem, 'Charlemagne's Church', in J. Story ed., *Charlemagne. Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 103–135, *passim*; and eadem, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge, 2009), see esp. pp. 114–122 on the king's responsibility for the correct worship of God and his people. Also see for an appraisal of Carolingian models for the king's duties as *rector et praedicator*, M. Lauwers, 'La glaive et la parole. Charlemagne, Alcuin et le modèle du *rex praedicator*: notes d'ecclésiologie carolingienne', in: P. Depreux and B. Judic eds, *Alcuin de York à Tours: Écriture, pouvoir et réseaux dans l'Europe du haut moyen âge: Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* (Rennes, 2004), pp. 221–244.

¹⁹⁶ Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 65–66, 78–82. For more on the Carolingian Renaissance, see among others Brown, 'Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance'; J.J. Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance. Education and Literary Culture', in: R.D. McKitterick ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History II: c. 700 – c. 900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 709–757; R.D. McKitterick, 'Die karolingische *Renovatio*. Eine Einführung', in: C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff eds., 799. *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn. Katalog der*

Renovare and *renovatio* are words that deserve more attention. Difficult to translate without losing some of their original meaning, the commonest translations are 'to renew' and 'renewal' respectively, although these renditions simplify the Latin. The difficulty is that *renovatio* can mean a recovery or restoration, in the sense of bringing something back to its original state. It could, on the other hand, also imply an emendation or enhancement, which entails some level of alteration. In relation to the CC, however, the concept probably relates to unadulterated authenticity and authoritativeness.¹⁹⁷ It can be argued that the expression *renovare ac rescribere decrevit* did not just refer to a material renovation of the letters and the preservation of their contents: one could say that, on a higher level, the Carolingian bond with the papacy was also renewed and preserved.

Another theme that may have been inspired by the Carolingian *renovatio* of the 790s is the identification of Charlemagne as both the commissioner and the author of the papal letter collection, who is inspired by God (*divino nutu inspiratus*) in his task, and who possesses the Christian ruler's qualities of *sapientia* and *prudencia*. The *praefatio* concludes with a quotation from the biblical text Ecclesiasticus (*sapientiam omnium antiquorum exquiret sapiens*).¹⁹⁸ The emphasis on *sapientia* reinforces the king's *prudencia*, as both are royal virtues associated with Old Testament kings such as David and Solomon.¹⁹⁹ In order to be a proficient *rector*, moreover, a king had to be *sapientissimus*.²⁰⁰ This kind of association also features quite prominently in the papal letters in the CC, and represents Charlemagne as a most Christian king (*rex christianissimus*), ruling in the tradition of his Old Testament

Austellung in Paderborn 1999 (Mainz, 1999), pp. 668–685; Nelson, 'On the Limits of the Carolingian Renaissance'.

¹⁹⁷ *Authenticum* is the word that is used to indicate an authorized copy of a text: Bullough, 'Roman Books', pp. 16–20.

¹⁹⁸ Ecclesiasticus XXXIX.1–2: Translation: 'He seeks out the wisdom of all the ancients, and is concerned with prophecies; he preserves the sayings of the famous and fathoms the subtleties of parables' (*sapientiam omnium antiquorum exquiret sapiens et in prophetis vacabit, narrationem virorum nominatorum conservabit, et in versutias parabolarum simul introibit*).

¹⁹⁹ Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?', pp. 128–129; Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, p. 63. For uses of the Old Testament past in Charlemagne's reign, see De Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', esp. at pp. 112–116.

²⁰⁰ M.B. de Jong, 'The Empire as *ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and Biblical *historia* for Rulers', in: Y. Hen and M. Innes eds., *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 191–226, at p. 197.

predecessors, concerned with safeguarding and understanding the knowledge and wisdom of the ancients.²⁰¹ *Sapientia omnium antiquorum* may refer to the Old Testament ancients, but primarily, in this preface, to the popes as successors of the Apostle Peter, and as guardians of patristic orthodoxy. Similar language is adopted in Charlemagne's congratulatory letter to Leo III on the occasion of his recent election to the papal see in 795. After giving a lucid exposition of his vision of cooperation between the papacy and the Carolingian ruler, Charlemagne expresses the wish that 'the sagacity of your authority cleave to the rulings of the canons wherever you may be and ever follow the decrees of the holy fathers'.²⁰² Here, the king delicately affirms their joint authoritative role in guarding orthodoxy in the Christian West.²⁰³

Part of the king's responsibility for the salvation of the Christian people included recognising and using the correct texts to ensure the proper form of worship. Charlemagne's reign in the late 780s thus ushered in a phase of heightened concern for identifying and distinguishing between authentic texts and those that were not, as witnessed by the *Admonitio Generalis*.²⁰⁴ In one particular chapter, this capitulary deals with apocryphal writings and accounts of uncertain authorship (*pseudografia et dubiae narrationes*) which are expressly contrary to the catholic faith (*quae omnino contra fidem catholica sunt*). Especially suspect were the Letters from Heaven, believed by some to have been written by Christ, that apparently circulated and were influential enough to inspire a canon in the *Admonitio*. They are

²⁰¹ The best introduction to the papal employment of Old Testament typology specifically in the CC letters is Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?'. On the image of King Josiah in the *Admonitio Generalis*, see I. Rosé, 'Le roi Josias dans l'ecclésiologie du Haut Moyen Âge', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Moyen Âge* 115 (2003), pp. 683–709, and also the introduction to the *Admonitio Generalis* in Glatthaar's MGH edition on pp. 47–55.

²⁰² Letter from Charlemagne to Pope Leo III, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* IV (Berlin, 1895) pp. 136–138; translation King, *Charlemagne*, pp. 311–312, at p. 213. Although the letter is written in the name of Charlemagne, it is likely to have been composed by Alcuin.

²⁰³ C.J. Goodson and J.L. Nelson, 'Review Article: The Roman Contexts of the "Donation of Constantine"', *EME* 18 (2010), pp. 446–467.

²⁰⁴ On visionary texts in the Carolingian realm see P.E. Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (London and Lincoln, 1994), esp. at pp. 50–80; specifically on visionary texts and their role in the admonition of the Carolingian ruler, see De Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 135–141.

condemned as false.²⁰⁵ The chapter is particularly instructive in its closing sentence, that reads *sed soli canonici libri et catholici tractatus et sanctorum auctorum dicta legantur et tradantur*.²⁰⁶ This reveals a particular concern for correct and orthodox writings from holy, in other words spiritually authoritative, authors. Although the section in the *Admonitio* on *pseudografia* is merely one of many, and certainly not at the core of the entire capitulary, it underlines the issues raised in the document's preface and concluding paragraph. Outlining a vision for the Christian kingdom of the Franks, the preface is particularly concerned with following the correct teachings of the Fathers.²⁰⁷ As Bullough pointed out, the closing section of the *Admonitio* reflects an increased concern for orthodoxy. It mentions 'false teachers' (*pseudodoctores*), whose coming was predicted in the New Testament, and it stresses that knowledge of the truth in the heart is necessary (*toto corde praeparemus nos in scientia veritatis*) in order to resist those who oppose the truth (*ut possimus contradicentibus veritati resistere*).²⁰⁸ Statements of this kind are illustrative of the questions that occupied the minds of Charlemagne's inner circle: what are authentic and authoritative texts, and how are they to be classified? Against this background, with the search for *auctoritas* at the centre of attention, the *CC* is definitely a product of its time, for what could be more orthodox and authoritative than pontifical letters sent to the Carolingian court, written by the highest spiritual authority on earth, the successors of St Peter?

Indeed, the papal letters were considered to be carriers of truthful knowledge and therefore needed safeguarding, which is underlined by a revealing remark in the *CC*'s preface. The reason given for copying and preserving the papal letters is *ut nullum penitus testimonium sanctae ecclesiae profuturum suis deesse successoribus videatur* ('in order that no testimony at all

²⁰⁵ *Admonitio Generalis*, ed. Glatthaar, c. 78, pp. 228-230; King, *Charlemagne*, p. 218; on these Letters from Heaven see M. Innes, 'Immune from Heresy': Defining the Boundaries of Carolingian Christianity', in: P. Fouracre and D. Ganz eds., *Frankland. The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson* (Manchester, 2008), pp. 101-125, at pp. 114-115.

²⁰⁶ Translation King, *Charlemagne*, p. 218: 'And only canonical books and catholic treatises and the words of holy authors are to be read and expounded.'

²⁰⁷ McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 239-240.

²⁰⁸ Bullough, '*Aula renovata*', pp. 143-144; *Admonitio Generalis*, ed. Glatthaar, p. 238; translation King, *Charlemagne*, p. 220.

of the Holy Church should seem lacking to his future successors'). It is the first part of this phrase which gives a clue: it should be taken as a statement regarding Carolingian orthodoxy, for this was also a time of intensified concern for the correction of non-catholic religiosity. Around the late 780s and early 790s, the Carolingian palace encountered the heresy of Adoptionism and also had to deal with the aftermath of the Second Council of Nicaea held in Byzantium in 787. This surely had an effect on the creation of the letter collection. Since the Franks were claiming to be orthodox and unwavering in their Christianity, a claim articulated especially from the 760s onwards, correcting unorthodox teachings was high on the Carolingian agenda.²⁰⁹ Carolingian orthodoxy was established by making a clear stand against anything that was unorthodox.

This focus on orthodoxy is, as elsewhere, reflected in the *Admonitio Generalis* and the acts of the Frankfurt Council, of which the first chapter makes a clear stand against Adoptionism, and the second addresses the decisions of the Second Council of Nicaea.²¹⁰ Quite literally, therefore, Adoptionism 'headed the Frankish agenda', and it was the Franks who took charge in disputing it.²¹¹ Moreover, chapter after chapter reveals the king's concern for the proper practice of the *religio Christiana*, appropriate clerical behaviour, and the correct church service. Even more particularly, Charlemagne had a responsibility as Rome's protector, for in 754 Pope Stephen II had bestowed on him the dignity of *patricius Romanorum*. This meant that he was defender of the Roman church, and, in practice, also responsible for guarding orthodoxy. To this I shall return shortly.

Not long after the Council of Nicaea had ended, papal envoys returned to Rome with a copy of the Nicene *acta* in Greek. 'This most elegant prelate and most steadfast preacher of the true faith [Pope Hadrian]' had them translated into Latin and archived in the papal library, thus 'creating a worthy eternal memory of his own faith', as the Life of Hadrian in the *LP* recounts.²¹² Exactly how is uncertain, but the Latin translation found its way to the Carolingian court, where it arrived in 788 or shortly thereafter.

²⁰⁹ Innes, 'Immune from Heresy', pp. 101–103.

²¹⁰ *Synodus franconofurtensis*, ed. Boretius, pp. 73–74; translation King, *Charlemagne*, p. 224.

²¹¹ Noble, 'Kings, clergy and dogma', p. 244.

²¹² *LP* I, ed. Duchesne, pp. 511–512: *Hic elegantissimus praesul atque fortissimus rectae fidei praedicator (...) dignam sibi orthodoxe fidei memoriam aeternam faciens.*

Charlemagne had directed both Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans to study the *acta*. Owing to a misunderstanding in the translated text, the Franks were offended by parts of the contents regarding the worship of images and Theodulf produced a critique of the council's statements by drawing up the *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*, formerly known as the *Libri Carolini*. In 794, the aforementioned Council of Frankfurt officially refuted its Greek counterpart of seven years earlier.²¹³ The *Opus Caroli* was composed in either 790 or 791; the preface refers to the Nicaean council that had taken place three years earlier.²¹⁴

An equally pressing matter that the Carolingians felt they needed to settle sooner rather than later was the aforementioned heresy of Adoptionism, of which the prominent adherents were Bishops Felix of Urgell, and Elipandus of Toledo. Already in the mid-780s, Pope Hadrian had learned of these unorthodox teachings in Spain and had written a letter to the Spanish bishops, which is included in the CC, to rebuff what he had heard about these bishops' beliefs.²¹⁵ Measures against Felix and his followers were taken in the early 790s. The bishop was interrogated three times and a number of treatises rejecting the heresy were produced. Alcuin played an important role in suppressing the Adoptionist heresy, which was finally condemned at the Council of Frankfurt (or, rather, a general assembly in the midst of which a council took place) in the first chapter of the *acta*, as mentioned above.²¹⁶ Before Alcuin became involved in rebuking the

²¹³ Noble, *Images*, pp. 158–169; Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, p. 165, n. 191. For the edition of the text: Theodulf of Orléans, *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini)*, ed. A. Freeman, *MGH Conc. II, Supplementum 1* (Hanover, 1998). Also see C. Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era. Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge, 2001), chapter 2, pp. 14–74, on the *Opus Caroli regis*, Adoptionism, and Christological inquiries under Charlemagne.

²¹⁴ Noble, *Images*, p. 162; and Freeman in her introduction to the edition, *MGH Conc. II, Supplementum 1*, p. 4.

²¹⁵ Noble, *Images*, p. 174. See Hadrian's letter to the Spanish bishops: CC, no. 95, pp. 636–638.

²¹⁶ The ARF mention the Frankish dealings with Felix: *Annales regni francorum*, ed. R. Rau, *Quellen zur Karolingischen Reichsgeschichte I. Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* (Darmstadt, 1955), s.a. 792 and 794, pp. 60–64. Alcuin had a part in composing Charlemagne's letter to the Spanish bishops and possibly also that of the Frankish bishops to Spain. Both are very critical of Adoptionism. Noble, *Images*, p. 174; also see Noble, 'Kings, clergy and dogma', pp. 244–245. Also see Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era*, pp. 14–74; D. Ganz, 'Theology and the organisation of thought', in: R.D. McKitterick ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History II c. 700–c.900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 758–785, pp. 762–766; J.C. Cavadini, *The*

advocates of Adoptionism, Pope Hadrian had written two letters to Spain criticizing Elipandus, one of which certainly pre-dates the Council of Frankfurt. Hadrian interpreted Elipandus's teachings as Nestorian, which was not accurate but made sense from his perspective.²¹⁷ Both letters are preserved in the CC.²¹⁸

Initially, the presence of these letters in the CC is not surprising at all, given that they are part of the corpus of papal correspondence. Even though they were not directed to Carolingian rulers, they must have been available at the Frankish court and could have been included for that reason. From this perspective, 'they do not really belong to the *Codex Carolinus* in the strict sense.'²¹⁹ Yet there are compelling reasons to assume that their inclusion is not accidental and, in fact, quite illuminating. Their presence reveals a direct link between the topicality of Adoptionism and the creation of the CC collection: Despite the fact that they were not addressed to Charlemagne, and dealt with Spain instead of the Frankish realm, the letters were considered important enough to be incorporated. It seems that their relevance is a product not only of their author, Pope Hadrian I, but also of their specific topic: (un)orthodoxy. There are other indications in the codex that reinforce the idea that these letters were consciously included because of contemporary interest in Adoptionism. One is the exceptionally elaborate and comprehensive heading (*lemma*) that accompanies Hadrian's letter to the Spanish bishops.²²⁰ Fighting heresies was a Carolingian priority, as we have seen, and this particular version of unorthodoxy needed to be repressed.

2.3 Hildebald and the Council of Frankfurt

In this context of contemporary concerns for orthodoxy and the ensuing discussions about tackling heresies, we again encounter Archchaplain and Archbishop Hildebald. I have mentioned above that Hildebald added a collection of Gregorian letters to the Cologne library around 801-810,

Last Christology of the West. Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785–820 (Philadelphia, 1993), esp. on Alcuin and Adoptionism at pp. 71–102.

²¹⁷ Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West*, pp. 73–74, p. 135, n. 11, p. 185, n. 13.

²¹⁸ CC, nos. 95 (letter to the bishops of Spain) and 96 (letter to Egila), pp. 641–646.

²¹⁹ Noble, 'The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*', pp. 63–64, with the quotation at p. 64.

²²⁰ Chapter 4 discusses the headings to Hadrian's letter in more detail.

referred to as Codex 92, and that *nota* signs in the margins of this collection point to a particular interest in a letter regarding the Nestorian heresy sent by Gregory to the Spanish bishop Quirichius and his colleagues.

Since Adoptionism was mistakenly identified with Nestorianism by some contemporary observers, it is understandable that these Gregorian letters would have been interesting to Hildebald and his contemporaries. This also affirms the heightened interest in heresies and theological debates as underlined by the creation of the CC and the presence of the letters on Adoptionism in it. What is more, Hildebald himself was involved in the discussions on Adoptionism. We know for a fact that he himself attended the Council of Frankfurt, as attested by a letter of Charlemagne.²²¹ This letter was written to Hildebald and some of his fellow bishops, celebrating their active resistance to heresies and affirming the correct faith in the context of the 794 Council of Frankfurt. Moreover, the acts of the council mention that, like his predecessor Angilram, he had papal permission to be absent from his diocese in order to be able to fulfill his position as court chaplain.²²²

Was the CC perhaps used in preparation for the Frankfurt Council – or, even, as a type of reference book during the discussions about heresy at the Council? It is tempting to speculate. In the Council's documents there are no passages that hint to such a use of the CC specifically, but the eighth chapter does state that, as authoritative texts used in another discussion, 'letters of the blessed Gregory, Zosimus, Leo and Symmachus' were read.²²³ This shows that (papal) letters could be actively used and referred to at a council, and that they could be consulted on the spot. In fact, during every council, it was common practice to read out the *acta* of the preceding council, and probably also the papal letters that were germane to the topics on the council's agenda. The Visigothic *Ordines de celebrando concilio*, datable to the seventh century in relation to the Toledo Councils, illustrate this. Their manuscript dissemination in various compilations shows that they were used and applied throughout the Carolingian realm from the later eighth

²²¹ Letter from Charlemagne to Hildebald and other bishops, *Alcuini Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* IV (Berlin, 1895), letter no. 21, pp. 529-531.

²²² *Synodus franconofurtensis*, ed. Boretius, c. 55, at p. 78; also see McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 241.

²²³ Translation King, *Charlemagne*, p. 226; *Synodus franconofurtensis*, ed. Boretius, p. 75 : *lectae sunt epistolae beati Gregorii, Zosimi, Leonis et Simmachi*. The letters were used to settle a dispute between Ursio, bishop of Vienna, and the bishop of Arles.

century onwards. *Ordo 2* is the most interesting document here, since it explicitly mentions passages on the practice of reciting canons of preceding councils. It also contains a chapter that specifically mentions the custom of reading out authoritative papal letters that have ruled on matters pertaining to the debate at the council.²²⁴ From this it follows that it was common practice publicly to use and read out authoritative texts, both acts of former councils and papal letters, at episcopal gatherings. Since it was at such gatherings that the outlines of orthodoxy were established, and theology was, after all, based on the writings of the Church Fathers and the rulings of former ecumenical Church Councils, this is not surprising. Nor should we forget the importance of the Carolingian ruler, who was 'of necessity a theologian'.²²⁵ For this reason, Old Testament rulers and the Christian emperors served as models for the Carolingian kings and emperors, for they too were intermediaries between God and their people, and were responsible for their wellbeing and guidance. This notion is reflected in the CC's preface, where the CC is presented as Charlemagne's personal undertaking.

Though in both the Frankfurt Council and *Ordo 2*, the papal letters referred to are from popes who predate the Carolingian age, there is no reason to think that the CC could not have been employed in the very same way. Maybe the CC was brought to the meetings at Frankfurt to be used as a type of reference book for papal letters with binding precepts, or information on the topics – such as Adoptionism – discussed in the epistolary exchange between the popes and the Carolingian rulers. It could also have been used in a similar manner during the ninth century, when theological debates continued; the elaborate headings in the codex would have assisted the user of the manuscript and allowed them quick access to

²²⁴ *Pro his quoque causis, prout spatium diei permiserit, et epistolae papae Leonis ad Flavianum episcopum de erroribus Euticetis et mysterio trinitatis legendae sunt, canones quoque de unitate officiorum: Ordines de celebrando concilio*, ed. H. Schneider, *MGH Ordines 1* (Hanover, 1996), citation from *Ordo 2*, c. 9, at pp. 176-186; with Schneider's introduction to these Visigothic *ordines* and their history and dissemination at pp. 12-21, and their edition (plus manuscript details) at pp. 125-186. Specifically *Ordines 1* and *2* are of relevance here.

²²⁵ Ganz, 'Theology and the organisation of thought', pp. 760, 784, with the quotation from p. 784. Also see the recent study by F. Close on theological disputes about, and debates on, heresies during Charlemagne's reign: *Uniformiser la foi pour unifier l'Empire: contribution à l'histoire de la pensée politico-théologique de Charlemagne* (Brussels, 2011).

the contents of the letters.²²⁶ Due to the lack of further evidence, however, this suggestion must remain conjecture, but the contents of some of the letters in CC would have suited such a purpose.

2.4 Charlemagne's *imperium*

The *Admonitio Generalis*, portraying Charlemagne as guardian of the correct orthodox faith, is an image that is reinforced by the acts of the Council of Frankfurt of 794.²²⁷ The creation of the CC, in the period between these major milestones of reform and orthodoxy, indicates that these ideas gained momentum at the Carolingian court from the late 780s onwards, culminating in the middle of the 790s. I do not mean to suggest that the CC was intended to be read as a capitulary text such as the *Admonitio*. Instead, the similarity between the documents is found in their shared perception and representation of Charlemagne as the protector of orthodoxy. The compilation of the papal letters in 791 reveals an acute interest in Rome and papal authority on the part of Charlemagne and his entourage, but perhaps even more it illustrates an impulse to proclaim the Carolingian dynasty's commitment to the Catholic Church. The letters contain spiritual guidance and incentive, along with information on canon law. Coming from the highest ecclesiastical authority, the bishop of Rome, they carried wisdom and important knowledge that needed to be preserved and passed on to future Franks. This brings us back to the very purpose of the transcription of the papal letters as expressed in the CC's preface. In this sense, the CC as part of a Frankish reform movement has an unmistakable Carolingian imprint.

One should situate the preface's reference to the need for the *testimonium sanctae ecclesiae* within this wider context of building a polity based on a religious orthodoxy that was both royal and papal; the collection then becomes a statement of a Frankish defence of the correct Roman universal faith and Church. The writings of the bishops of Rome are thus

²²⁶ See chapter 4 in this dissertation.

²²⁷ Referring to the Council of Frankfurt, the *ARF* speak of a *synodus magna episcoporum Galliarum, Germanorum, Italarum: ARF*, ed. Rau, *s.a.* 794, p. 62. For an interpretation of this terminology, see De Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', pp. 109–110.

testimonies from the most orthodox institution and are preserved so that the documents showing the correct path of orthodoxy might lead future generations in the right direction. Even though it may not literally be stated in the *CC's praefatio*, the text, in combination with the circumstantial evidence recounted above, allows this interpretation. The *CC* is a witness to the Carolingians' effort and commitment to Rome, its pontiffs, and its Church. I would argue that the preface to the *CC* reflects the concerns of Charlemagne's court in the final decade of the eighth century. These fostered an interest in the papal epistles as documents that served the establishment of the Franks as a *populus christianus*, with an orthodox ruler who would be a true protector of Rome and its sacred resources. A closer look at a crucial sentence in the *praefatio* will reveal more of this Carolingian view of the *CC*, and of its purpose as a whole.

Having reflected upon the historical context of the *CC's* composition, I shall now consider the various options for the translation of the phrase in the preface in which the term *imperium* is used: *universas epistolas (...) de summa sede apostolica beati Petri apostolorum principis seu etiam de imperio ad eos directae esse noscuntur. De imperio* has been interpreted in various ways. In order to understand precisely what is meant by these words, we need to review both the grammatical rendering of the phrasing and the exact translation of *imperium*.

A fundamental misunderstanding of this sentence derives, in my view, from an incorrect translation. Since papal letters sent between 739 and 791 constitute the *CC* collection, most scholars have supposed that the first part of the sentence, *de summa sede apostolica beati Petri apostolorum principis*, refers to the papacy as the sender of these letters, since it is difficult to conclude otherwise. Consequently, according to this interpretation, if the first part of the sentence means that the letters came *from* the Apostolic See, *de imperio* in the second part must mean that the letters were sent *from* 'the empire'. In other words, it has been assumed that the preface to the *CC* summarizes the contents of the codex by simply referring to the senders of the epistles. This interpretation has gained consensus among scholars. Some alternative explanations have in fact been advanced, but none has gained much support. Long ago, Johannes Haller, for instance, suggested that *de*

imperio did not refer to an actual empire, but to 'the Romans' in the CC in whose name a few epistles (CC, nos. 9 and 13) were co-written. Since Rome and its people were formally still part of the Byzantine empire, there need not be any Byzantine letters missing from the CC, argued Haller.²²⁸ Another possibility has been suggested by Bullough, namely that *de imperio* refers to letters that are about the Byzantine Empire, not to epistles that were sent by the Greek emperors as such.²²⁹ Bullough was on the right track with his translation, although I do not agree with his idea that *de imperio* means 'about Byzantium'. Most recently, Hack has reserved judgement on this matter.²³⁰ A few years ago, Hartmann translated the words as 'from the emperor', but without further elaboration as to who this emperor might be.²³¹ In other words, the matter has clearly not yet been settled, and perhaps there is another possibility that has been too readily discarded. Being clearly on a par, the expressions *de summa sede apostolica* and *de imperio* are, deliberately or not, somewhat ambiguous: the preposition *de* could very well be rendered as 'about' or 'concerning' instead of 'from', which would yield the translation 'concerning' the apostolic See and 'concerning' the *imperium*.²³² This, I think, is the best option, but not for grammatical reasons alone. The key to a reassessment of this text lies in the multiple meanings of the term *imperium*. It is not just that the customary understanding is incorrect in my view: any reassessment of its translation should concentrate on the significance of the term *imperium*. In itself, the word *imperium* can mean a number of things, depending on the context in which it is employed. It has classical Roman, late antique, and biblical roots, and appears in a variety of early medieval settings, without necessarily denoting an empire in the strictest sense, that is a territorial entity headed by an emperor in

²²⁸ Haller, 'Einleitung', pp. viii. Haller thought it unlikely that the sentence referred to letters from the Byzantine Empire, as there would be no use for any such letters in the collection. The letters are CC, no. 9, p. 498; and no. 13, p. 509.

²²⁹ Bullough, 'Aula renovata', p. 152, n. 26.

²³⁰ Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 64–65. Jasper and Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters*, p. 104, also remain undecided, indicating that it has not been satisfactorily established if a 'lost' Byzantine share of the collection ever existed.

²³¹ Hartmann, *Hadrian I*, p. 29.

²³² For a helpful explanation of the various possibilities in rendering the preposition *de* governing the ablative, see P. Stotz, *Handbuch zur Lateinische Sprache des Mittelalters* IV. *Formenlehre, Syntax und Stilistik* (Munich, 1998), pp. 281–285.

general, or even the Byzantine empire in particular. In order to assess the significance of its connotations to the specific late eighth-century Carolingian setting of the CC collection, we need to evaluate its various possible meanings and translations. To begin with, from various Latin dictionaries we learn that the word *imperium* enjoys a great fluidity in translations, including various kinds of rule and authority.²³³ It is thus important to recognise that it is a very flexible and often ambiguous notion. This flexibility, however, is lost in most modern translations, where the strict territorial sense of the word dominates, with a general disregard for specific contexts and contemporary meanings.²³⁴ This has been precisely the fate of the CC's preface as well. As I hope to demonstrate here, the flexibility of the word *imperium* is maintained and reflected in various early medieval sources, and although its territorial meaning was certainly used, there are many other options that should be taken into account when we attempt a translation.

In pre-imperial Rome, *imperium* most commonly denoted the authority and power to command that was awarded to Roman magistrates. In Roman imperial times, the term acquired new meanings but essentially still indicated a certain degree of political and military power and (the right to) command, now principally exerted by the emperor. *Imperium Romanum* came to mean the 'Roman empire' in a territorial sense, but it also referred to the geographical area where *imperium* was wielded by the emperor (just like magistrates in pre-imperial days).²³⁵

Late antique uses of *imperium* can be found in patristic and biblical settings. The Vulgate offers a range of instances where the term is employed;

²³³ See for instance C.T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, which lists for instance (cf. A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français des Auteurs Chrétiens*): a command, order, direction; the right or power of commanding, authority, control; a dominion, realm, empire; chief command; the imperial government or government. J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, and A. Blaise, *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, show that *imperium* could be used for all kinds of 'rule', including that of a *maior domus*.

²³⁴ S. Patzold, 'Eine "loyale Palastrebellion" der "Reichenheitspartei"? Zur *Divisio imperii* von 817 und zu den Ursachen des Aufstands gegen Ludwig den Frommen im Jahre 830', *FS 40* (2006), pp. 43–77, at pp. 46–49; De Jong, *The Penitential State*, p. 27.

²³⁵ For a comprehensive evaluation of the concept in Roman times see J. Bleicken, 'Zum Begriff der römischen Amtsgewalt; *auspicium* – *potestas* – *imperium*', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen aus dem Jahre 1981. Philologisch-Historische Klasse* (1981), pp. 257–297, esp. at pp. 287–294.

not just in the New Testament referring to the Roman empire, but especially in the Old Testament texts that are about pre-Roman imperial times. It is, for example, often used to denote the commandment of the Lord (*imperium Domini* or *Dei*).²³⁶ One especially interesting use of *imperium* in the Old Testament occurs in Ecclesiasticus XLVI.16, the biblical text from which the quotation in the CC's preface is drawn: *dilectus a Domino suo Samuhel propheta Domini renovavit imperium et unxit principes in gente sua* ('Samuel, beloved by his Lord, prophet of the Lord, renewed the *imperium* and anointed the leaders/princes of his people'). *Imperium* in this sentence can be translated as commandment, authority, or rule. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* is a perfect example of a text where multiple meanings of *imperium* come together, underlining the flexibility of the word. At some points, Augustine certainly means the Roman empire when he refers to the *imperium*, but definitely also uses the terminology in the sense of rule or government. Both uses even appear in the same book.²³⁷ Different in the source's character but comparable in use is the way the term appears in King Chlotar II's Edict of Paris (614), promulgated shortly after his assumption of sole kingship of Merovingian Francia. Its prologue stresses Chlotar's rule (*imperium*) over a united Frankish realm.²³⁸

A highly relevant context regarding a Carolingian setting where *imperium* reverts to its original Roman connotations is the first chapter of Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, in which he describes the transfer of power from the Merovingian kings to the Carolingian mayors of the palace: *Nam et opes et potentia regni penes palatii praefectos, qui maiores domus dicebantur, et ad quos summa imperii pertinebat, tenebantur*.²³⁹ To the Carolingian mayors of the

²³⁶ For instance, the phrase *imperium Domini* (or a variation thereof) appears a number of times, for example: Exodus XVIII.23; Numbers IV.45; IX.18, 20, 23; X.13; Deuteronomy IX.23; Joshua XXI.3; XXII.3.

²³⁷ See for *imperium*, in the sense of rule or government, for instance Book IV, c. 29: *sub unius ueri Dei regimine atque imperio constitutae religiosum cultum*: Aurelius Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*, eds. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, CCSL 47 (Turnhout, 1955), p. 123.

²³⁸ (...) *principis Chlotacharii regis super omnem plebem in conventu episcoporum in sinodo Parisius adunata* (...) *suprascripti regis imperium*: ed. A. Boretius, MGH Cap. I (Hanover, 1883), p. 20.

²³⁹ Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, ed. Holder-Egger, c. 1, pp. 2–3; English translation D. Ganz, *Einhard and Notker the Stammerer. Two Lives of Charlemagne* (London, 2008), p. 19: 'For the wealth and power of the kingdom were in the possession of the governors of the palace, who were called mayors of the palace and the highest command in the kingdom belonged to them.' An alternative translation is provided by T.F.X. Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. Lives by Einhard, Notker,*

palace belonged, Einhard informs us, 'the highest command (or: highest authority) in the kingdom'. It appears that in this context, *imperium* is a word that denotes true power, an authority that supersedes that of the persons who are officially in charge. As the Merovingian kingdoms were by no means an empire, *imperium* here does not have imperial associations. Instead, Einhard actually uses the term in the classical Roman way, referring to an absolute political, but also military, command. Significantly, Einhard applies this particular expression in the very first chapter of his work to describe the situation in the Merovingian kingdom. The passage introduces the Carolingian family and essentially sets the tone for the rest of the narrative. The message is clear: the Merovingian kings are weak for their lack of *imperium*, and the Carolingian mayors, even though they did not occupy the highest-ranking position, were the ones in charge. Einhard would not have used *imperium* if there could have arisen any doubt as to its interpretation. It is reasonably safe to assume, therefore, that its denotation was clear to the court circles where the work circulated in the first half of the ninth century.²⁴⁰

A similar use can be found in another (possibly ninth-century) papal-Carolingian context, where the word appears in the so-called *Clausula de unctione Pippini*. This is a report on the papal anointing of Pippin, his wife Bertrada, and their two sons Carloman and Charles (the future

Ermoldus, Thegan, and the Astronomer (Pennsylvania, 2009), p. 24: 'Indeed, the resources and power of the realm were in the hands of the prefects of the palace, who were called mayors of the palace and to whom the highest authority belonged.'

²⁴⁰ As yet, no orthodoxy on the dating of the *Vita Karoli* has been reached. Strictly speaking, all that has been agreed is that the text originated between 817 and 836. The most recent and influential publications on the dating of the *Vita Karoli* include S. Patzold, 'Einhard's erste Leser: zu Kontext und Darstellungsabsicht der "Vita Karoli"', *Viator Multilingual* 42 (2011), pp. 33–55 (winter of 828/829); Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious*, pp. 7–18 (late 820s); D. Ganz, 'Einhard's Charlemagne: The Characterization of Greatness', in: J. Story ed., *Charlemagne. Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 38–51 (inclines towards the later 820s); M.M. Tischler, *Einhard's 'Vita Karoli'. Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption I&II*, MGH Schriften 48 (Hanover, 2001) (late 820s); P.E. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier. The Complete Einhard* (Peterborough, 1998) (late 820s); K.H. Krüger, 'Neue Beobachtungen zur Datierung von Einhard's Karlsvita', *FS* 32 (1998), pp. 124–145 (around 822); M. Kempshall, 'Some Ciceronian Models for Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*', *Viator* 26 (1995), pp. 11–37 (late 820s); R.D. McKitterick and M. Innes, 'The Writing of History', in: R.D. McKitterick ed., *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 193–220 (shortly after 817); McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 7–20 (814–817).

Charlemagne) at the monastery of Saint-Denis in 754.²⁴¹ Here, it is recorded that *Pippinus rex pius per auctoritatem et imperium sanctae recordationis domni Zachariae papae (...) in regni solio sublimatus est*.²⁴² In other words, Pippin is elevated as king on the authority and command (*imperium*) of Pope Zachary. It appears that both ecclesiastical and secular leaders can wield *imperium*.

From a papal Roman perspective, *imperium* also meant sovereignty, signifying the personal right to command and demand obedience from others. In eighth-century Rome, following Raymond Davis, the word had no territorial connotations in the sense of marking out a geographical area. The pope, as the successor of St Peter and the elected representative and spiritual leader of the Roman people, had *imperium*; and as a matter of fact, so would the Greek emperor of the time.²⁴³ To a certain extent, even the people of Rome had the right to *imperium*, as they had the ancient imperial privilege to choose their leader who exercised the right to command.²⁴⁴

Imperium, when used in a Carolingian context, could mean something other than command or authority; it is also used to describe a realm in a territorial sense of the word. Examples of this type of use can be found in the Annals of Metz, where Charles Martel is described as travelling *ad orientales partes sui imperii*, to the eastern part of the realm (Austrasia), in the year 717.²⁴⁵ Generally, Carolingian sources that were written under the Emperor Charlemagne or his son Louis the Pious (r. 814-840) do not distinguish strictly between *regnum* and *imperium*: when referring to the Carolingian Empire, the term *regnum* is often used, which is anachronistic in modern

²⁴¹ *Clausula de unctione Pippini*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1 (Hanover, 1885), pp. 465–466; also A. Stoclet, 'La "Clausula de unctione Pippini regis": mises au point et nouvelles hypothèses', *Francia* 8 (1980), pp. 1–42. The text was thought to be written in 767, but this date is debated. It could, in fact, be ninth-century composition: McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 140–141; Goosmann, 'Memorable Crises', pp. 196–198.

²⁴² ' (...) pious King Pippin had been raised to the throne of the kingdom by the authority and commandment of the lord Pope Zachary of holy memory (...)' . Transl. B. Pullan, *Sources for the History of Medieval Europe from the Mid-Eighth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 7–8.

²⁴³ Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, pp. xiii–xv.

²⁴⁴ Bleicken, 'Zum Begriff der römischen Amtsgewalt', p. 261.

²⁴⁵ *Annales Mettenses priores*, ed. B. von Simson, *MGH SRG* 10 (Hanover, 1905), *s.a.* 717, p. 25. See the years 687/688, p. 13, for a similar case.

eyes.²⁴⁶ In Charlemagne's charters and capitularies, *imperium* is employed in a way that reflects a more imperial territorial connotation as well. Practically as soon as Charlemagne was crowned emperor in 800, he reformulated his title to *Karolus serenissimus augustus a Deo coronatus magnus pacificus imperator Romanum gubernans imperium, qui et per misericordiam dei rex Francorum atque Langobardorum*.²⁴⁷ Here, it says that Charlemagne governed the Roman empire (*imperium*). Whether this is meant strictly geographically, or also refers to an empire in a more ideological sense, can be debated. One could argue that, if it refers to a Christian realm, it surpasses an earthly and thus territorial empire.²⁴⁸ Either way, it is the Carolingian world that is referred to. Often, however, the term encompassed more than a territorial notion. Steffen Patzold has convincingly demonstrated that the use of *imperium* in the context of the *Divisio imperii*, the document that was issued in 817 and dealt with the division of the Carolingian empire among Louis the Pious's sons, is everything but unambiguous.²⁴⁹ When *imperium* is coupled with *unitas* (unity), it reflects a notion of concord, or harmony, necessary to ensure stability in the realm. *Imperium* in this sense thus encompassed not just a realm *stricto sensu*, but also an idea of imperial rule.

A similar equivalence of *regnum* and *imperium* can be found in the Anglo-Saxon world, for instance in the *Vita Bonifatii*, written by the priest

²⁴⁶ For more on the uses of the word, see D.A. Bullough, 'Empire and Emperordom from Late Antiquity to 799', *EME* 12 (2003), pp. 377–387, at p. 383.

²⁴⁷ Translation (my own): 'Charles, most serene augustus, crowned by God, great, peace-loving emperor governing the Roman empire, and who is also by God's mercy king of the Franks and Lombards'; charter issued in May 801: *Die Urkunden der Karolinger I: Urkunden Pippins, Karlmanns und Karl der Grossen*, ed. E. Mühlbacher, *MGH DKar.* (Hanover, 1906), no. 197, p. 265; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 116. See for an extensive discussion of Charlemagne's imperial titles in charters H. Wolfram, 'Lateinische Herrschertitel im neunten und zehnten Jahrhundert', in: H. Wolfram ed., *Intitulatio II. Lateinische Herrscher- und Fürstentitel im neunten und zehnten Jahrhundert. Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 24 (Vienna, Cologne and Graz, 1973), pp. 19–77, at pp. 19–52.

²⁴⁸ Noble, *The Republic*, p. 296, and see n. 65 on this page for a variety of literature on Charlemagne's imperial titlature and ideas that will not be discussed here in this dissertation. Also see R. Schieffer, 'Karl der Grosse und der Ursprung des westlichen Kaisertums', in: W. Pohl ed., *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen: von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters* (Vienna, 2004), pp. 151–158, esp. at p. 157.

²⁴⁹ Patzold, 'Eine loyale Palastrebellion', pp. 61–77.

Willibald in 768.²⁵⁰ When Charles Martel died, the reins of power passed into the hands of his sons Carloman and Pippin, or so Willibald tells us: *Cumque Carli [Martelli] ducis gloriosi temporale finitum esset regnum, et filiorum eius Carlomanni et Pippini roboratum est imperium*, to use his exact words.²⁵¹ Charles Martel was no emperor, and neither were his sons. No modern scholar would consider translating *imperium* in this context with anything else but rule or reign (of the *maior domus*), or an equivalent thereof, avoiding any imperial connotations in the strict sense of the word. This also holds true for the phrase *Anglorum imperii scepra gubernanti Aethilbaldo regi* in the salutation of a letter from Boniface and other bishops to Aethelbald, king of Mercia, dated around 745–746.²⁵² Mercia, of course, was not an empire; *imperium* in this case again connotes the equivalent of *regnum*, realm.

There are many other instances in early medieval texts where *imperium* is used without necessarily referring to what we now call empire, with all its more formal connotations engendered by Charlemagne's imperial coronation of 800. As Bullough pointed out, in certain letters, including some to Charlemagne well before this momentous event, Alcuin referred to an empire or, more specifically, to a Christian empire, an *imperium christianum*, for which the Carolingian king was responsible.²⁵³ There has been much speculation as to what exactly Alcuin meant. Some

²⁵⁰ Nonn asserts the Anglo-Saxon roots of the two terms as employed by Willibald: U. Nonn, 'Das Bild Karl Martells in den lateinischen Quellen vornehmlich des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts', *FS* 4 (1970), pp. 70–137, at p. 80.

²⁵¹ Translation (my own): 'When the temporal kingdom of the glorious duke Charles came to an end, and the rule/reign of his sons Carloman and Pippin was validated (...)'. *Vita Bonifatii auctore Willibaldo*, ed. W. Levison, *MGH SRG* 57 (Hanover, 1905), pp. 11–57, at pp. 39–40.

²⁵² *S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, ed. W. Gundlach, *MGH Epp.* III (Berlin, 1892), no. 73, pp. 339–345, at p. 340; '(...) King Ethelbald, (...), above all other kings and holding glorious sway over the realm of the Anglians (...)'; transl. E. Emerton, *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (New York, 2000), p. 102.

²⁵³ For just a few examples, see *Alcuini sive Albini epistolae*, ed. Dümmler, no. 177 at p. 292: *quatenus per vestram prosperitatem christianum tueatur imperium* (from the year 799); no. 178 at p. 294: *terrenae felicitates imperio* (from the year 799); no. 202 at p. 336: *vestro vera sancta voluntas atque a Deo ordinate potestas catholicam atque apostolicam fidem ubique defendat; ac veluti armis imperium christianum fortiter dilatare laborat, ita et apostolicae fidei veritatem defendere, docere, et propagare studeat, ipso auxiliante, in cuius potestate sunt omnia regna terrarum, quatenus cum multiplicis laboris mercede ad perpetue regni beatitudinem pervenire merearis. Omnipotens Deus ad exaltationem et defensionem sanctae suae ecclesiae et ad christiani imperii pacem et profectum suam regalis gloriae potentiam augere, protegere, et conservare* (from June 800). Also see Bullough, 'Charlemagne's "Men of God"', p. 141.

think Alcuin had Anglo-Saxon overlords (*bretwaldas*) in mind, but others have discarded this particularly insular framework.²⁵⁴

Furthermore, in late Latin as well, *imperium* and *regnum* were used interchangeably. Bede came across the term in the Vulgate, as well as in the works of Eutropius and Orosius when writing his *Historia ecclesiastica*. As Judith McClure has argued, when Bede himself applied the word *imperium* it meant nothing more than rule.²⁵⁵ Besides a technical meaning of overlordship, Bullough has noted that Bede used *imperium* when he wanted to stress authority, and, more specifically, a lawful authority in a mostly Christian sense, which is also how Pope Leo I had used the term centuries earlier. Bede employed the word *regnum* whenever he meant to underline a more territorial meaning.²⁵⁶

When both Bede and Alcuin used *imperium*, it could also mean nothing more than simply the exercise of rule over the Romans, or multiple

²⁵⁴ *Bretwalda* literally means 'wide ruler' or 'Ruler of Britain': E. James, *Europe's Barbarians AD 200–600* (Edinburgh, 2009), pp. 236–239. On *Bretwaldas*, see P. Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins of the *Gens Anglorum*', in P. Wormald, D. Bullough and R. Collins eds., *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society. Studies presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 99–129. For argumentation as to the Anglo-Saxon background of *imperium*, see E.E. Stengel, 'Imperator und Imperium bei den Angelsachsen', *DA* 16 (1960), p. 15–72; S. Fanning, 'Bede, *imperium*, and the *Bretwaldas*', *Speculum* 66 (1991), pp. 6–14. See for an embedment of the word in Anglo-Latin origins M. Alberi, 'The Patristic and Anglo-Latin Origins of Alcuin's Concept of Urbanity', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 3 (1993), pp. 95–112. As to the meaning of *imperium*, Alcuin was influenced by both Bede and Willibald: M. Alberi, 'The Evolution of Alcuin's Concept of the *Imperium christianum*', in: J. Hill and M. Swan eds., *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe. Selected Proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 2–7 July 1994 / 10–13 July 1995* (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 3–17, and Nonn, 'Das Bild Karl Martells', pp. 79–82. Also see for remarks on Alcuin's English orientation J.L. Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire in the Carolingian World', in: R.D. McKitterick ed., *Carolingian Culture. Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 52–87, at p. 69. The insular link is rejected by L. Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature* (Ithaca and New York, 1959), p. 14, n. 35. Wallach opts for an Augustinian interpretation in the sense that Alcuin's ideal Christian emperor (Augustine's *felix imperator* of the *Civitas dei*) is embodied in Charlemagne.

²⁵⁵ J. McClure, 'Bede's Old Testament Kings', in: P. Wormald, D. Bullough and R. Collins eds., *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society. Studies Presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 76–98, at pp. 96–98; also see Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins of the *Gens Anglorum*', pp. 107–109.

²⁵⁶ Bullough, 'Empire and Emperordom', pp. 382–383. In Book II, chapter 5 of his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Bede lists *imperium*-wielding kings, *id est* 'overkings' with great power: *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum*, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1979), pp. 148–55.

gentes, peoples. This sense is one in which *imperium* was employed throughout the Middle Ages.²⁵⁷ This is how Alcuin used it in his *Vita Willibrordi*, written in about 796 at the behest of Bishop Beornrad of Sens. In this text, just as Einhard did in his *Vita Karoli*, Alcuin presents the Carolingians, who at that point were still mayors of the palace, as rulers exercising *imperium*, meaning command or authority.²⁵⁸ A bit further down the text, Charlemagne is described as a king (note that this is before his coronation in 800) ruling the *imperium* of the Franks²⁵⁹, which, in this context, seems to refer to a kingdom which is more defined by its inhabitants than its geographical borders. Whichever option, we see in these examples multiple uses of the word in one and the same source. In fact, although the word *imperium* is not used, the opening sentence of the first chapter of the Frankfurt Council paints an image of Charlemagne as a ruler under whose auspices gathered all the bishops and *sacerdotes* of the various parts of the Frankish realm.²⁶⁰ Here, the idea of imperial rule over multiple *gentes* is evoked, a geographical realm merging with a Christian unity culminating in the person of the king himself. In this context, the – in 791 – contemporary warfare with the Avars should also be brought to mind with regard to *imperium* in the sense of rule over multiple *gentes*.

²⁵⁷ McKitterick, 'Constructing the Past', p. 128; *eadem*, *History and Memory*, p. 115. See also Bullough, 'Empire and Emperor-dom', p. 383.

²⁵⁸ Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi archiepiscopi traiectensis*, eds. B. Krusch and W. Levison, *MGH SRM 7* (Hanover, 1920), pp. 81–141, at p. 127: *Qui multas gentes sceptris adiecit Francorum, inter quas etiam cum triumpho gloria Fresiam, devicto Rabbodo, paterno super addidit imperio*. Also see Alberi, 'The Patristic and Anglo-Latin Origins', pp. 106–107. The *Vita Willibrordi* is also extremely interesting given the repeated glorification of the Franks, noticeable in, for instance, the account of Willibrord prophesying a glorious future for the then newborn Pippin III (the future first Carolingian king) who was to be baptised by his hands; *Vita Willibrordi*, eds. Krusch and Levison, p. 133.

²⁵⁹ Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*, eds. Krusch and Levison, p. 133: *Caroli, qui modo cum triumphis maximis et omni dignitate gloriosissime Francorum regit imperium*.

²⁶⁰ *Synodus franconofurtensis*, ed. Boretius, p. 73: *Coniugentibus, Deo favente, apostolica auctoritate atque piissimi domni nostri Karoli regis iussione anno XXVI. principatus sui cunctis regni Francorum seu Italiae, Aquitaniae, Provinciae episcopis ac sacerdotibus synodali concilio, inter quos ipse mitissimus sancto interfuit conventui*; translation King, *Charlemagne*, p. 224: 'There being gathered together, with divine favour, by apostolic authority and at the command of our most pious lord king Charles, in the twenty-sixth year of his princely rule, all the bishops and *sacerdotes* of the kingdom of the Franks and of Italy, Aquitaine and Provence in synodal council, the most gentle king was himself among those present at the holy assembly.'

Yet there could be even more to the Alcuinian *imperium*. In emphasizing the greatness of Charlemagne and his father as spiritual patrons of the realm, Alcuin indicated that they rule(d) over the *imperium* for the protection of the Church and for the *opus evangelii*, or the spreading of God's word through the conversion of pagan nations (among whom were the Frisians, in whose conversion Willibrord naturally played an important part).²⁶¹ In this sense, Mary Alberi – who sees Anglo-Latin roots in Alcuin's use of the word – remarks, 'the Carolingian *imperium* becomes a type of *ministerium*, an office held by a Christian king in God's service'.²⁶² Alcuin's religious connotations thus breathe a sense of *imperium* that goes well beyond a realm that merely incorporates many peoples: the Carolingian empire is a polity serving God, headed by kings favoured by the Lord, who were responsible for the correct divine cult (*cultus divinus*).²⁶³ Two of Alcuin's letters can be read as elucidating this. In epistle 139, sent to Paulinus of Aquileia in 798, Alcuin elaborates on the role of liturgy and correct Latin in the struggle against heresy.²⁶⁴ In another letter to court, dating from the same year, he addresses the king (as elsewhere in some of his epistles) with *dilectissime David* and goes on to praise him on his cultivated erudition (*scholastica eruditio*), pious or devout discipline (*ecclesiastica disciplina*) and most illustrious wisdom (*clarissima sapientia*).²⁶⁵ Following this line of interpretation, Charlemagne is the ideal Davidic king, wise, righteously religious and firm, and thus the perfect leader of the

²⁶¹ *Vita Willibrordi*, eds. Krusch and Levison, p. 134: *Scit namque omnis populus, quibus nobilissimus victor celebrator triumphis, vel quantum terminus nostri dilatavit imperii, vel quam devote christianam in regno suo propagavit religionem, vel quid pro defensione sanctae Dei ecclesiae apud extraneos exercuit gentes.*

²⁶² Alberi, 'The Patristic and Anglo-Latin Origins', pp. 108–109, 111; for further use of the term in eighth- and ninth-century Carolingian sources, see Nonn, 'Das Bild Karl Martells', pp. 79–80, and n. 72. For a discussion of the essence of Carolingian nobility and their *ministerium*, see Noble, 'Secular Sanctity', esp. at pp. 13, 16, and 31.

²⁶³ As argued by De Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church'; see also *eadem*, 'Religion', esp. at pp. 139–142; Lauwers, 'Le glaive et la parole', ff; and De Jong, *The Penitential State*, esp. at pp. 23–24, 73–74, 83–84, 114–122, with reference to N. Staubach, 'Cultus divinus und Karolingische Reform', *FS* 18 (1984), pp. 546–581.

²⁶⁴ *Alcuini sive Albini epistolae*, ed. Dümmler, no. 139, pp. 220–222.

²⁶⁵ *Alcuini sive Albini epistolae*, ed. Dümmler, no. 143, pp. 224–227. For the portrayal of Charlemagne by Alcuin in his correspondence, see C. Veryard-Cosme, 'L'image de Charlemagne dans la correspondance d'Alcuin', in: F. Goyet and I. Cogitore eds., *L'éloge du prince de l'Antiquité au temps des Lumières* (Grenoble, 2003), pp. 137–167.

christianum imperium, as stated in other letters of Alcuin.²⁶⁶ He regularly used this expression after 799, when Pope Leo III sought help from Charlemagne in Paderborn, in reference to the Frankish territory that was inhabited by the Christian people, the *populus christianus*, which, spiritually speaking, belonged to Rome.²⁶⁷

Regarding the context in which *imperium* is used in the *CC*'s preface, this latter kind of interpretation would certainly fit Charlemagne's realm. Besides, I think that Johannes Fried's suggestion of Charlemagne having had foreknowledge of his future imperial coronation may be correct, but this is not the place to engage in the debate on the events of 800.²⁶⁸ Interesting at this point, nevertheless, is a Carolingian document relevant to Fried's argumentation, that employs the word *imperium*. This is the so-called Kölner Notiz, a short and rather puzzling Frankish text that was written in Cologne for Archbishop Hildebald (probably in 805). It is the closing passage to a text collection on computation, which correlates the beginning of the world and the incarnation of Christ to Charlemagne's regnal years. As such, it informs us – mysteriously – of Greek envoys representing the Empress Irene offering *imperium* to Charlemagne in the year 798, the thirty-first year of the kings reign, which equalled – according to the text – the 5,998th year of the world.²⁶⁹ Fried points out that, although we may not know precisely what

²⁶⁶ See for instance *Alcuini sive Albini epistolae*, ed. Dümmler, no. 177 to Charlemagne (p. 292): *Oh dulcissime, decus populi christiani, oh defensio ecclesiarum Christi, consolatio vitae presentis. Quibus tuam beatitudinem omnibus necessarium est votis exaltare, intercessionibus adiuuare, quatenus per vestram prosperitatem christianum tueatur imperium, fides catholica defendatur, iustitiae regula omnibus innotescat*. For other references see Alberi, 'The Patristic and Anglo-Latin Origins', pp. 111–112.

²⁶⁷ Bullough, 'Empire and Emperordom', pp. 386–387; for specifically on Alcuin's *imperium christianum*, see Alberi, 'The Evolution of Alcuin's Concept of the *Imperium christianum*'.

²⁶⁸ J. Fried, 'Papst Leo III. besucht Karl den Grossen in Paderborn oder Einhard's Schweigen', *HZ* 272 (2001), pp. 281–326. Although Fried's theory of Charlemagne's imperial aspirations before 800 has not been widely accepted, a recent evaluation of the events and accounts of the dawn of the imperial coronation shows that the idea is not implausible: M. Costambeys, M. Innes and S. MacLean, *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 160–170.

²⁶⁹ The relevant passage of the texts reads: *regni Karoli regis (...) accepit de Saxonia tertiam partem populi et quando missi uenerunt de Grecia ut traderent ei imperium – anni ŪDCCCCXCVIII, secundum uero LXX anni ŪCCLXVIII. anni ab incarnatione domini DCCXCVIII.*, ed. B. Krusch, *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie. Der 84jährige Osterzyklus und seine Quellen* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 197. The Kölner Notiz can also be found as the *Annales sancti Petri coloniensis* in ed. G. Pertz, *MGH SS* 16 (Hanover, 1859), p. 730. The text is preserved in Cologne, at the Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod. 83^{II}, fol 14v, and was a copy from an exemplar from St Amand that

Irene meant, it is obvious that Charlemagne interpreted it as the handing over of imperial power.²⁷⁰ But the question is not what Irene intended; it is what the Frankish author had in mind when he wrote about *imperium*. In this source, it does not necessarily indicate an official Byzantine position or titlature of any kind. Its exact meaning here remains ambiguous, especially since the other Frankish sources that recorded the visit of the Greek embassy in 798 do not mention a transfer of *imperium*.²⁷¹ In the Kölner Notiz, the meaning of *imperium* is as ambiguous as in the other early medieval texts already discussed.

As we have seen, Alcuin's influence on the Carolingian discourse is palpable in the text of the *Admonitio Generalis*. It is interspersed with words and expressions bearing his hallmark.²⁷² His ideas on a Carolingian Christian *imperium* must have also entered the discourse of Charlemagne's court, and may even have found their way into the *praefatio* to the CC. If so, the image of Charlemagne as the orthodox king and leader of the *imperium christianum* emerges; a king whose God-given task (*ministerium*) it was to care for his Christian kingdom and God's Church within it.²⁷³ Charlemagne appears as the guardian of the correct orthodox faith and cult of God, which is also echoed in the Council of Frankfurt and the *Admonitio Generalis*. This kind of interpretation makes sense in the context of its time and the repeated references to biblical typology or comparisons to biblical rulers in the papal correspondence.

This evaluation of the use of *imperium* is far from complete, as there are many other texts and contexts where it appears, but it demonstrates the point I want to make. In essence, this is that the word, especially when used

probably dated from 798; see W. Brandes, "'Tempora periculosa sunt'. Eschatologisches im Vorfeld der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Grossen', in: R. Berndt ed., *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794. Aktern zweier Symposien (vom 23. bis 27. Februar und vom 13. bis 15. Oktober 1994) anlässlich der 1200-Jahrfeier der Stadt Frankfurt am Main I Politik und Kirche* (Mainz, 1997), pp. 49-79, at p. 56-57.

²⁷⁰ Fried, 'Papst Leo III. besucht Karl den Grossen', pp. 308-314.

²⁷¹ As argued by McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 117-118. For the year 800, however, the Anglo-Saxon *Annales Nordhumbrani*, eds. J. Heller and G. Waitz, *MGH SS 13* (Hanover, 1881), p. 156, report: *Eo quoque tempore legati Graecorum cum magnis muneribus a Constantinopoli directi ad eum veniebant, rogantes, ut illorum susciperet regnum et imperium*. For further discussion of this text, see Schieffer, 'Karl der Grosse', esp. at pp. 153-158.

²⁷² See Glatthaar's introduction to the *Admonitio Generalis*, pp. 47-63.

²⁷³ De Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 37-38; Nelson, 'Kingship and empire', pp. 54-73.

in the Carolingian realm before 800, could have multiple 'emperor-free' connotations, depending on the context in which it was employed. *Imperium*, therefore, need not necessarily be translated as an empire headed by an emperor: it is a polyvalent word that is applied in many ways. It kept being used in a territorial sense, to indicate a geographical entity of rule, such as a kingdom (*regnum*). Such use resonated throughout the ninth century. West Bavarian charters dating from the reign of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious contained in the Freising cartulary, compiled between the 820s and 850s, also employed *imperium* as a means of indicating a higher-quality imperial rule than its royal counterpart.²⁷⁴

Additionally, however, the term *imperium* was also employed in a more ideological context, signifying the highest form of command and authority over peoples, or a realm as an entity. The passage in the *Vita Karoli* discussed above probably illustrates this best. In the last case, I think the word is perhaps best translated as imperial rule. Thus, returning to the *CC* and its preface, and having considered the various translations and meanings in different contexts, one could easily posit an interpretation of *imperium* that has nothing to do with any (Byzantine) empire. Instead, I would argue that it refers to Carolingian rule of the ideological kind. Accordingly, this would yield the following translation: '[all the letters that] were known to be directed to them concerning the highest Apostolic See of the blessed Peter prince of the Apostles and also concerning [Carolingian] imperial rule'. All the preface really states, then, is that the letters in the collection deal with apostolic authority on the one hand, and the [Carolingian] *imperium* on the other. From this perspective, imperial rule denotes any dealings within the Carolingian realm and government, but also outside its borders, pertaining to anything that is catholic Christian business. Situated against the *CC*'s historical context regarding the reform movement of the 790s, this interpretation makes a lot of sense. The majority of the letters in the *CC* fit into this context.

²⁷⁴ Yet in these charters, at the same time, *regnum* and *imperium* are not always distinguished precisely W. Brown, 'The Idea of Empire in Carolingian Bavaria', in: B. Weiler and S. MacLean eds, *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany 800–1500* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 37–55, esp. on pp. 42–8.

The events in the year 754 were essential for the connections between Rome and the Carolingian family, since Pippin and his sons Carloman and Charlemagne were anointed by Pope Stephen II in person. They were all endowed with the dignity of *patricius Romanorum* or patrician of the Romans. In fact, the CC shows us that in their letters the popes were quite consistent and persistent in addressing Pippin and his sons Carloman and Charlemagne as *patricii Romanorum*. For now, it suffices to say that as a patrician of Rome, Charlemagne was the protector of Rome in a military but also religious sense, a defender of the Roman catholic faith (*defensor ecclesiae*).²⁷⁵ Thus, the king himself was committed to defending Rome, its people (as part of the *populus christianus*), its church, and its bishops. Roman-papal business, therefore, was also business pertaining to the Carolingian *imperium* – perhaps even more so after 774 when northern Italy was included in Carolingian territory. In a way, as *patricius Romanorum* Charlemagne even enjoyed a certain level of authority in (but not over) Rome. Essentially, the CC with its preface should be understood as a statement on the fundamental co-operation and mutual respect between the papacy and the Carolingian rulers: partners in defending the orthodox faith and the well-being of Rome. A visual expression of this cooperation can be found in Leo III's *triclinium* mosaic, and is also reflected in the twofold character of the CC as a Carolingian codex that keeps its papal contents.²⁷⁶ The Carolingian *imperium* or rule was thus both deeply connected to Rome itself, and also committed to its self-image of being connected to Rome.

Conclusion

The 790s constituted an era of raised awareness of the need to guard orthodoxy, stirred by emerging deviant religiosities inside and outside the realm. A deepened concern for authentic and authoritative texts is reflected in the sources pertaining to this period, not only in the *Admonitio Generalis* and the acts of the Frankfurt Council, but also in the CC. Since the papal

²⁷⁵ In chapter 5, I discuss the title and its implications in more detail.

²⁷⁶ See for the most recent appraisals of the *triclinium* mosaic at the Lateran palace C. Goodson and J. Nelson, "The Roman Contexts of the "Donation of Constantine"", *EME* 18 (2010), pp. 460–467; C.J. Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I. Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation, 817–824* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 18–26; Costambeys, Innes and MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, pp. 163–165.

letters represented the highest source of orthodox authority in the Christian world, they were preserved for posterity. As such, the pontifical documents were testimonies of the close relations between the bishops of Rome and the Carolingian ruling family, whilst also functioning as witnesses to the latter's distinguished position as rulers of the Franks, supported by the successors of St Peter and, ultimately, by God. By tying these papal documents into a Frankish framework, the Carolingian past became part of Christian Roman history. Because they were also documents sent to the Carolingian rulers, they became, by default, documents on the Carolingian *imperium*. As a result, the *CC* in its entirety provides a history of Carolingian royal rule in Francia. The preface itself attests to this: the letters were collected 'from the principate of the aforesaid ruler Charles [Martel] his grandfather up to the present time'. Consequently, as suggested by the preface, the *CC* is a monumental account of Carolingian ideology, and a testimony to the Carolingians and their relationship with the papacy in Rome. Moreover, it is a proclamation of Charlemagne's protectorate over papal Rome, and a statement of his own position as the orthodox ruler governing the Christian realm and the Christian people in it. It therefore presents modern historians with a Carolingian perspective on the collected texts' importance, and how the compilation in its entirety was considered a testament to Carolingian history.

After decades of being out of sight, the collection surfaced again in Cologne, probably during the episcopate of Archbishop Willibert. Roughly eighty years after its original production, the Carolingian *imperium* still existed, but in a pluriform state: there were now competing kings, who fiercely vied to extend their influence. Papal authority had changed, too: the pontificates in this later Carolingian period were occupied by vigorous pontiffs who, perhaps more than ever before, were not afraid to voice their authority to secular rulers. Yet although the world had changed, the *CC* would once more serve a purpose for a ruler who aspired to be a legitimate heir to the Carolingian legacy.

CHAPTER THREE

THE LATE CAROLINGIAN CONTEXT OF THE *CODEX CAROLINUS* *Codex Vindobonensis 449*

The first chapter has briefly touched upon the provenance of the unique CC manuscript *Codex Vindobonensis 449*, which was owned by Archbishop Willibert of Cologne. Since the manuscript neatly fits Willibert's time on paleographical and codicological grounds, it is likely that it was commissioned by him as well. Consequently, it is possible that the manuscript was indeed produced in the Cologne scriptorium (or by one of its scribes) under Willibert's supervision. Why, however, did he have such an interest in this papal letter collection? This question has been largely ignored in historiography. To come closer to answering it, we need to look into Willibert's occupation of the Cologne archiepiscopal see, and into that of his predecessor Gunthar (850-863). Both archbishops were deeply involved in the complicated, at times even strained, Carolingian-papal relations of the later ninth century.

As explained in the Introduction, the historical and socio-political background of a source has been conveniently conceptualised by Gabrielle Spiegel as the 'social logic' of a text, or, in this case, a letter collection.²⁷⁷ Helmut Reimitz has applied this notion specifically to the Carolingian period, and has rightly emphasised the social dynamics in the politically tumultuous ninth century. He has shown that historiographical works functioned as a means for reworking various existing historical texts into a 'shared perspective (...) in efforts to legitimise the Carolingian family as new rulers of the Frankish kingdoms'.²⁷⁸ In the later ninth century, in particular, when Charlemagne's grandsons were competing for territorial dominions,

²⁷⁷ G.M. Spiegel, 'History, Historicism and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 65 (1990), pp. 59-86.

²⁷⁸ H. Reimitz, 'The social logic of historiographical compendia in the Carolingian period', in: O. Kano ed., *Herméneutique du texte d'histoire* (Nagoya, 2012), pp. 17-28, at p. 22.

the need for valorisation of their Carolingian legacy was high, so adapted and rearranged pasts were a greatly valued commodity.

Our manuscript's historical and socio-political context is that of the East Frankish kingdom in the second half of the ninth century, a turbulent period by any account, with conflicts and rivalries involving the various rulers of the Carolingian subkingdoms, but also the papal Republic of St Peter. The archiepiscopal see of Cologne had been the centre of controversy for several years, a focal point for Carolingian dynastic ambitions as well as for the exercise of papal power and authority. Decades after Hildebald had doubled as archchaplain and archbishop, other prominent archbishops of Cologne again played a crucial role in the history of the CC. Besides Willibert, who we have already met as the manuscript's commissioner, his predecessor Gunthar had played a part too. These bishops' engagements with and obligations to the Carolingian descendants Louis the German (r. 840-876), Lothar II (r. 855-869) and Charles the Bald (r. 843-877, emperor in 875) would turn out to be decisive factors in the CC's reappearance. Where Gunthar's episcopate had been turbulent, Willibert's was characterized by problems of his own, brought about by his disputed election to his see. As a result, Willibert was faced with pacifying and mending the destabilising forces that had dominated Cologne's episcopal see in the past years. During all this, the papacy, in particular Popes Nicholas I (858-867) and Hadrian II (867-872), played an important part in the triangle between themselves, the Carolingian kings and the bishops in Cologne. In comparison to their eighth-century predecessors, these popes were able to wield influence and authority in the Carolingian realm with a newfound sense of confidence, much to the dismay of the rulers.

Cologne's interest in the CC as a collection must also be viewed against a background of ninth-century developments in historiography and the usage of historically oriented texts. Kings and popes were all greatly interested in historical writing. Despite rivalries between the Carolingian heirs, 'they spoke in the language of power that a now waning Carolingian unity had made uniform. Each entity produced a historiography that argued its ruler's superiority but at the same time was interested in and informed

about its neighbors'.²⁷⁹ Here, Philippe Buc specifically refers to the so-called Annals of Fulda, the Annals of St Bertin, the *LP*, and the papal letters of the time. I propose to add another source to this list: the *CC* - not so much as a newly written piece of history writing, but as a historical source testifying to a Carolingian-papal past and therefore a source of legitimization for Carolingian rulers of the time. Also ranged alongside these texts should be the continuations of the *Annales Xantenses* for we may suspect Archbishop Willibert's involvement herein, as proposed by Steffen Patzold.²⁸⁰ This background and flanking sources may help us understand why and for what purpose the *CC* appeared in Cologne. Willibert himself was a loyal adherent of King Louis the German, one of Charlemagne's rivalling grandsons. With this background in mind, the *CC* may have functioned as a witness to more harmonious times in Carolingian-papal history, when the popes actively supported the Frankish rulers. Moreover, as a monumental testimony to these shared relations, it embedded Louis's rule into a long Carolingian dynastic tradition. The *CC* was, yet again, a highly intentional collection.

I find Patzold's identification of Willibert as the continuations' author convincing. It seems that both the Annals of Xanten and the *CC* sought to present a harmonious three-cornered relationship, as if there was never any discord between Carolingian Cologne under Willibert and the papacy. In reality, however, there had been much dissension. Even though the continuations present Willibert's election as smooth and unanimous, this had not been the case. In fact, there are indications that the Cologne clerics had been divided over Willibert's election.²⁸¹ They may have elected and consecrated him under pressure from Louis the German.²⁸² Immediate

²⁷⁹ P. Buc, 'Text and ritual in ninth-century political culture: Rome, 864', in: G. Althoff, J. Fried and P.J. Geary eds., *Medieval Concepts of the Past. Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 123-138, at pp. 123-124.

²⁸⁰ As proposed by S. Patzold, *Episcopus. Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts. Mittelalter-Forschungen 25* (Ostfildern, 2008); I discuss this later in this chapter.

²⁸¹ Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 333-353 (on Hincmar), 373. As late as in 865, it appears that clerics in Cologne sympathised with Gunthar.

²⁸² Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, ed. F. Kurze, *MGH SRG 50* (Hanover, 1890), pp. 1-153, *s.a.* 869, at pp. 98-100, where Regino describes how Hilduin of St Bertin was pushed forward to occupy the episcopal see, and how Louis the German interfered in order to get Willibert elected. Since it is unclear how accurate Regino's information is, his accounts are fairly problematic: see Patzold,

support from the papacy was not offered either. Even though Willibert was consecrated as bishop in the beginning of 870, he did not receive the *pallium* from the pope until 875. A number of papal letters offer insight into the matter. Two of those, addressed to Louis the German, were sent by Hadrian II in 870. In them, Hadrian II explained he could not invest Willibert with his archiepiscopal robes, for Gunthar's case had not yet been closed.²⁸³ There is a subsequent letter from Pope John VIII, dating from the end of 873, which was written in response to Willibert's request finally to grant him the *pallium*. In it, John VIII refused to send the vestment because Willibert's election had been challenged by someone in Cologne.²⁸⁴ Continuing the Xanten Annals, therefore, would have offered Willibert the perfect opportunity to present an account of the affairs that was more favourable to him and his cause, while repressing details that may have vindicated Gunthar or his supporters.

3.1 Carolingian-papal relations in the second half of the ninth century

Before moving on to the archbishopric of Cologne in the later Carolingian period, it is necessary briefly to recall the ninth-century papacy and its relations with Carolingian rulers in general. The second half of the eighth century had been characterised by papal aspirations to establish relationships with the Carolingian family, while relying greatly on Carolingian protection of and patronage over Rome. Carolingian rulers invested in Rome financially, politically and spiritually. This, combined with more forceful popes ruling the eternal city, resulted in a blossoming of Rome from the last quarter of the eighth century onwards.²⁸⁵ The city became truly

Episcopus, p. 374-381, also on Willibert's disputed appointment, which cannot be addressed here in full.

²⁸³ Letter from Hadrian II, ed. E. Perels, *MGH Epp.* VI (Berlin, 1925), letter no. 25, pp. 730-732. The contents of the second letter are known via Louis the German's response, see *Epistolae Colonienses*, ed. E. Perels, *MGH Epp.* VI (Berlin, 1925), letter no. 9, pp. 251-253. In this letter, Louis defends Willibert's appointment.

²⁸⁴ Letter from John VIII, ed. P. Kehr, *MGH Epp.* VII (Berlin, 1928), letter no. 1, pp. 313-315. Willibert was ordered to come to Rome to defend himself against the charges. The challenger is unknown but it probably was not Gunthar. See Patzold, *Episcopus*, p. 375, n. 96.

²⁸⁵ After Charlemagne had taken control over the Lombard kingdom in 774, Rome was not threatened or attacked by external enemies until the second quarter of the ninth century: J.

papal, with popes acting as sponsors of new churches and edifices, and papal rituals dominating public life. Elaborate donation lists, such as those in the *LP*'s Life of Leo III, are notorious for their length and detail, and bear witness to the papal interest in displaying their wealth and power in the city. Literally and figuratively, papal power grew in Rome and the surrounding papal lands.²⁸⁶ Yet as a negative side-effect, the increasing power and wealth associated with the papal see also stirred rising competition between Roman factions. The result of this was that politically oriented families and their allies clashed over control over the papal see and the rule of the Lateran palace, illustrated most notoriously by the attack on Pope Leo III perpetrated by relatives of the former Pope Hadrian I in 799.²⁸⁷ At the same time, from the reign of Louis the Pious onwards, papal authority in the Frankish realm grew, too. Frankish clerics emphatically underlined papal authority in the Church. This was especially true after the years 833/834 when the rebellion of Louis's sons was brought under control and the emperor was reinstated to his throne, events in which Pope Gregory IV had acted as a negotiator. It is worth mentioning that in these years, it was not the popes themselves who actively sought to interfere in Frankish business, but the Frankish ecclesiastics propagating papal authority who invited them to do so.

Osborne, 'Rome and Constantinople in the ninth century', in: C. Bolgia, R. McKitterick and J. Osborne eds., *Rome Across Time and Space. Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas c. 500-1400* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 222-236, at p. 225. Rome's wealth and blossoming is witnessed by Hadrian I's biography in the *LP*.

²⁸⁶ Extended use of and control over papal estates also played a major part in the rise of papal political supremacy and ecclesiastical resources for the benefit of the Roman Church see: Costambeys, 'Property, ideology and the territorial power', *passim*, but especially at pp. 378-379, where he characterises papal territorial power in the eighth and ninth centuries as a kind of lordship. Here, he follows F. Marazzi, *I Patrimonia Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae nel Lazio (secoli IV - X). Struttura Amministrativa e Prassi Gestionali. Nuovi Studi Storici 37, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo* (Rome, 1998), p. VII. Papal *domuscultae* enabled the popes, and Pope Hadrian I in particular, to tighten their grip on Rome's population and to gain its loyalty while expanding their authority and image as rulers of the city: Hartmann, *Hadrian I.*, pp. 51-53. For a study of Hadrian's renovation works in the light of his Life in the *LP*, see F.A. Bauer, 'Il rinnovamento di Roma sotto Adriano I alla luce del *Liber Pontificalis*. Immagine e realtà', in: H. Geertman ed., *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale. Il Liber Pontificalis e la Storia Materiale. Roma, 21-22 Febbraio 2002*, 60-61 (Rome, 2003), pp. 189-203.

²⁸⁷ *LP* II, ed. Duchesne, Life of Leo III, c. 11-15, pp. 4-5; also see Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, footnotes on pp. 181-184, for comments on the details of the events.

Additionally, the papacy in Rome became the authoritative source during episcopal conflicts in the Frankish realms.²⁸⁸

Of all the ninth-century popes, it is principally Pope Nicholas I who is most associated with the rise of papal authority due to his interference in Carolingian politics, most notably with regard to the divorce of Lothar II in the 860s, and his dealings with Constantinople.²⁸⁹ While still at loggerheads with Lothar, Pope Nicholas died in 867, and his immediate successor Hadrian II essentially agreed to a divorce between Lothar and Teutberga. Two years later, in 869, Lothar too died, and, despite protests from Pope Hadrian and the fact that Lothar's brother, Emperor Louis II, was the designated heir, his kingdom was quickly partitioned between his uncles Louis the German and Charles the Bald.²⁹⁰ The Treaty of Meerssen, signed on 8 August 870, officially concluded the division of Lotharingia between the two brothers Louis the German and Charles the Bald, placing Cologne in the hands of Louis.²⁹¹

Nicholas I and Hadrian II are regarded as forceful popes for their insistence on papal primacy and the expansion of papal authority in combination with their willingness to admonish (worldly) rulers in case of

²⁸⁸ M.B. de Jong, 'Pausen, vorsten, aristocraten en Romeinen. Van Gregorius de Grote (594-604) tot Adrianus II (872-882)', in: F.W. Lantink and J. Koch eds., *De Paus en de Wereld. Geschiedenis van een Instituut* (Amsterdam, 2012), pp. 53-70, at pp. 53-55, 64-70; also see De Jong's *The Penitential State* on the rebellion of Louis's sons in the 830s culminating in the penance of the Emperor Louis, and the ninth-century discussions (both lay and clerical) on (sources of) legitimate authority in the Frankish realm. Also see *eadem*, 'Pseudo-Isidorus en de (dis)continuïteit van het pausdom. Een zomers gesprek voortgezet', in: B. Roest ed., *De Last der Geschiedenis. Beeldvorming, Leergezag en Traditie binnen het Historisch Metier. Liber Amicorum bij het Afscheid van Prof. Dr. P.G.J.M. Raedts* (Nijmegen, 2013), pp. 78-91.

²⁸⁹ See Davis's introduction to the Life of Nicholas, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, pp. 189-204; H. Fuhrmann, 'Eine im Original erhaltene Propagandaschrift des Erzbischofs Gunthar von Köln', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 4 (1958), pp. 1-51, at p. 1. Also see K. Heidecker, *Divorce of Lothar II. Christian Marriage and Political Power in the Carolingian World* (transl. from the Dutch by T.M. Guest) (Ithaca and London, 2010), esp. at pp. 149-172 on Pope Nicholas' role in the conflicts surrounding Lothar's divorce and its aftermath. In what follows, I rely greatly on this book for all the ins and outs with regard to the divorce.

²⁹⁰ Heidecker, *Divorce of Lothar II*, pp. 149-151, 173-176.

²⁹¹ The treaty is considered a victory of Louis over Charles, as the former received important concessions of the latter as to the territorial allocation of the major estates and cities in the Lotharingian realm: E.J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire. Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817-876* (Ithaca and London, 2006), pp. 297-298.

wrongdoing.²⁹² These popes would prove to be key players in the political circumstances dominating Cologne around the time when the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 was created. Pope Nicholas's dealings with the Carolingian ruling families and the role of the archbishopric of Cologne during the divorce drama surrounding King Lothar II may be especially vital in understanding the context in which the CC made its appearance in the Cologne library. The episode in Carolingian-papal history relating to the divorce is complicated and cannot be fully recounted in this chapter, but some of the key events, especially those involving Cologne, are summarised here to provide a background.

3.2 A changing political climate: Lothar II's divorce and Archbishop Gunthar's involvement

Carolingian Cologne prospered and was raised to the status of archiepiscopal city when Hildebald was elevated to the position of archbishop in 794. Since Hildebald had also been archchaplain, the city now enjoyed the patronage and leadership of an influential clergyman who was close to the centre of power, the Carolingian court. Although this surely benefited Cologne (Hildebald's activities with regard to the cathedral's library are examples of his patronage), it also made the city and its episcopal see vulnerable to political intrigues, especially during a changing and turbulent political climate. Such circumstances occurred during the episcopate of Archbishop Gunthar (consecrated in 850, deposed in 863), the predecessor of Willibert, the owner of *Codex Vindononensis* 449. As a member of the Lotharingian élite, Gunthar doubled as archchaplain for Lothar II from 855 onwards. Although this made him a highly influential magnate in the realm, it eventually precipitated his downfall, for he became entangled in the affairs surrounding Lothar's divorce.²⁹³ This notorious divorce case dominated the political scene in the 850s and 860s, involving all Carolingian

²⁹² Scholz, *Politik-Selbstverständnis-Selbstdarstellung*, pp. 208-211 (on Nicholas) and pp. 212-224 (on Hadrian II), who explains their clout as a result of Charles the Bald's political weakness – which is an outdated view. Also see H. Fuhrmann, *Einfluss und Verbreitung der Pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen. Von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit. Schriften der MGH 24 II* (Stuttgart, 1973), pp. 237-240.

²⁹³ T. Farmer, 'The Transformation of Cologne: From a Late Roman to an Early Medieval City', Unpublished PhD Dissertation (University of Minnesota, 2011), pp. 213-220.

rulers, the papacy, and the episcopal see of Cologne. As a clerical magnate, Archbishop Gunthar became involved in the divorce drama as Lothar II's staunch supporter, but he eventually paid a heavy price for his loyalty.

Lothar II was a great-grandson of Charlemagne, king of what was later to become Lotharingia (the northern part of the Middle Kingdom), the son of Lothar I, brother to Emperor Louis II, and nephew to King Charles the Bald. His marriage to Teutberga, who came from a powerful aristocratic family, had remained childless. As a result, Lothar II tried to separate from her officially, so that he could wed his mistress Waldrada instead. In the years that followed, he went to extreme lengths to obtain a divorce, but was faced with constant papal opposition.²⁹⁴ Since this marriage conflict involved the highest echelons of Frankish society, namely the Carolingian dynasties, and the papacy in Rome, it touched almost all magnates, both lay and clerical, in the Carolingian kingdoms. In the meantime, underlying civil wars due to conflicting territorial claims between the three Carolingian rulers complicated matters even further.

The divorce conflict was messy and complicated. It ushered in years of strife, intrigues, and negotiations, and Lothar's reign, as well as his relations with his uncles Louis the German and Charles the Bald, were greatly affected by it. Both uncles, moreover, were keen to intervene in the conflict as Lothar had no male heirs to succeed him in his kingdom. Loyalties shifted periodically, but generally speaking it was Louis the German who supported his nephew Lothar in his actions, while Charles sided with the pope in condemning the divorce. Lothar's brother Emperor Louis II also supported his petitions for an official separation.

In an attempt to bypass papal opposition to the divorce, Queen Teutberga was ruled to be an unworthy wife by two consecutive synods at Aachen (860), in which Archbishop Gunthar played a leading role as Teutberga's confessor. The Lotharingian bishops at the synod officially consented to Lothar's divorce, and the king married Waldrada after consent from yet another synod in Aachen (862). However, not all bishops in the

²⁹⁴ The events surrounding Lothar's divorce are attested – in various versions – by the Annals of St Bertin, the Annals of Fulda, the *Liber Pontificalis*, and other sources. For a detailed account of the events and the various sources, see Heidecker, *Divorce of Lothar II*. Also see S. Airlie, 'Private bodies and the body politic in the divorce case of Lothar II', *Past and Present* 161 (1998), pp. 3-38.

Frankish realms agreed, including Charles the Bald's formidable Archbishop Hincmar of Reims, who wrote a critical treaty on the matter (*De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae*). Teutberga, moreover, asked Pope Nicholas to reassess the councils' verdicts. Meanwhile, Pope Nicholas also became involved in Charles the Bald's aggressive politics (his invasion of the realm of Charles of Provence) and his quarrels with his three children (who married against his will and sought papal support for their actions). The pope now saw himself tangled in a web of Carolingian politics. Also, when a meeting between Lothar, Charles and Louis II was convened at Savonnières in 862 to reconcile the three, Lothar was asked to adhere to Nicholas's judgement.²⁹⁵ It was at this point that one of the most interesting episodes of all concerning the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 began, one in which the involvement of the bishopric of Cologne was even more pronounced.

Having been asked to intercede in these complicated Carolingian political manoeuvres, Pope Nicholas called for a council in Metz (June 863) in order to have the divorce discussed by every bishop of all the Frankish realms. However, only the papal legates and bishops from Lotharingia were present. The council was led by Archbishops Gunthar of Cologne and Theutgaud of Trier. Much to the pope's dismay, it ruled that Lothar's divorce was indeed legal. Infuriated, he had Gunthar and Theutgaud excommunicated and deprived of their office. Technically speaking, therefore, on Gunthar's deposition in 863, Cologne's episcopal see became vacant – but Gunthar did not yield so easily.²⁹⁶

In order to persuade the pope to give them their offices back, Gunthar and Theutgaud sought support from Emperor Louis II. Louis sided with them and marched to Rome with his army with the intention of taking the pope prisoner. Nicholas, however, learned of his approach and hid in St Peter's basilica. Yet before the emperor could avenge his archbishops, he was forced, due to health problems and the interference of his wife, to abort his mission and to return home empty-handed. His involvement came more or less quietly to an end.²⁹⁷ Curiously, Nicholas' Life in the *LP* does not

²⁹⁵ Heidecker, *Divorce of Lothar II*, pp. 73-76, 100-104.

²⁹⁶ Heidecker, *Divorce of Lothar II*, pp. 166-168.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 149-151.

mention Louis's expedition to Rome at all – the author clearly did not want to affront Louis in any way.²⁹⁸

Gunthar and Theutgaud, however, did not give up so easily and planned to petition the pope to make him reconsider their excommunication and deposition. What subsequently happened in Rome is not entirely clear, but the bishops certainly did not obtain what they came for. The *LP* recounts that Nicholas already knew them to be 'the instigators of the great crime', and the document they presented 'was found to contain a profane baseness of language that many found unprecedented'.²⁹⁹ Following the narration of events in the *Annales Bertiniani*, with extraordinary boldness (or, desperation), Gunthar then forced his way into St Peter's basilica and placed his petition on the Apostle's grave. As a result of this daring act, he had to leave Rome quickly.³⁰⁰

Deposing a bishop was a serious matter. Against a larger later ninth-century Frankish-papal background, contemporary concerns about the legal protection of bishops against superiors' capriciousness were reflected in the Pseudo-Isidorian collection, and especially in the so-called False Decretals. These consisted of a mix of forged and authentic papal documents such as letters and decretals, combined with conciliar rulings. The False Decretals are especially relevant in this context. Debate is ongoing but they are datable to the second quarter of the ninth century and were a creation of a (group of) Frankish bishop(s), possibly as protection against the influence of one of the archiepiscopal powerhouses of the time, Hincmar of Reims. They circulated in the Frankish realm and were known in Rome from 864/865 onwards.

²⁹⁸ See Davis's introduction to the Life of Nicholas: *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, pp. 189-190.

²⁹⁹ *LP*, Davis, Life of Nicholas, c. 46 & 47, pp. 228-229; *LP* II, ed. Duchesne, c. 46 & 47, p. 160: *Theutgaudus et Guntharius archiepiscopi, quos sanctus auctores in tanto scelere iam papa compererat (...). Libellum (...) non pauca in eo reperta sunt profani et multis inauditi sermonis turpitudinem habentia (...).*

³⁰⁰ *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SSRG V* (Hanover, 1883), s.a. 864, pp. 70-71; F.W. Oediger ed., *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter I*, 1 (Bonn, 1915), no. 196, pp. 65-66; also see L. Bosman, 'Vorbild und Zitat in der Mittelalterlichen Architektur am Beispiel des Alten Domes in Köln', in: U.M. Bräuer, E.S. Klinkenberg and J. Westerman eds., *Kunst & Region. Architektur und Kunst im Mittelalter. Beiträge einer Forschungsgruppe. Clavis Kunsthistorische Monografieën XX* (Alphen aan de Rijn, 2005), pp. 45-69, at pp. 50. On the course of events, and ritual meaning of the act of placing these documents on St Peter's grave, see P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual. Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton and Oxford, 2001), pp. 67-79, esp. at pp. 70-71.

Popes Nicholas, Hadrian II and John VIII (872-882) all used the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals in their letters.³⁰¹

One aim of the False Decretals was to provide bishops with legal inviolability, for instance by setting unrealistic demands for proof in case of a public charge against a bishop in the form of an improbable number of witnesses. More importantly, they transferred the decisive fiat regarding episcopal depositions from the provincial councils, that were presided by the archbishop, to the hands of the pope, which enabled accused bishops to appeal to Rome in order to overturn their archbishop's verdict.³⁰² Essentially, therefore, the papacy in Rome became the authoritative source and highest court of appeal during episcopal conflicts in the Frankish kingdoms. Yet even archbishops appealed to Rome. This is what happened in the case of Gunthar after his deposition. When, however, the pope refused to hear Gunthar's plea, he apparently then decided to appeal instead to the highest authority of all: St Peter.³⁰³

When Gunthar returned from Rome, he blatantly refused to give up his office and openly defied the pope by carrying on his work as

³⁰¹ Jasper and Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters*, pp. 137-169; on the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, see most recently De Jong, 'Pseudo-Isidorus', with further references to the historiographical debate. Also see first and foremost H. Fuhrmann, *Einfluss und Verbreitung der Pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen. Von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit. Schriften der MGH 24, I, II, III* (Stuttgart, 1972-1974).

³⁰² Fuhrmann, *Einfluss und Verbreitung II*, pp. 278-280.

³⁰³ In 865, Gunthar contacted archbishop Hincmar of Reims for support, asking for documents that would help him in his defence, which he received (Hincmar's election to the episcopal see of Reims had also been disputed, since his predecessor Ebo was still alive at the time. For this occasion, Hincmar had written a document for his own defence). These documents, containing church law supportive of Gunthar's case, were discussed at the synod of Pavia in 865. The texts are preserved in a contemporary manuscript that further contains the *Canones conciliorum* (council rulings) that belong to the *Dionysio-Hadriana* tradition, and a penitential (with the pertaining canon law. The 'Gunthar-texts' are inserted at the very end of this manuscript. All three texts share a common denominator, which is church law. The manuscript itself, Codex 117 can be consulted at the Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek's website <http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de> (with a codicological introduction by A. van Euw). See for a discussion and edition of the document Fuhrmann, 'Eine im Original erhaltene Propagandaschrift' (with the edition on pp. 38-51 and a codicological and paleographical discussion on pp. 36-38).

archbishop.³⁰⁴ In the public eye of the Cologne clergy, he commissioned construction work to be done to Cologne's cathedral. Emulating St Peter's basilica in Rome, he added a Roman ring crypt to the altar dedicated to St Peter in the West apse. Gunthar may have had two goals in mind with this reference to St Peter: first, to appease the Apostle for his forceful entry into St Peter's basilica, and second, to create a direct relation between himself and the Apostle for support in his situation, thereby sidestepping the pope.³⁰⁵

All in all, the relations between Cologne and the papacy had certainly taken a turn for the worse during Gunthar's episcopate. Both Gunthar and Pope Nicholas brought the matter to a head, and the strained relations between Cologne and the papacy were not settled immediately. Cologne's archiepiscopal see would continue to participate in Carolingian politics at the highest levels.

3.3 Willibert's succession to the see of Cologne

From the time of Gunthar's deposition from his see in 863, Cologne officially remained without an archbishop until our Willibert assumed the office. Ahead of the new episcopal appointments, Pope Nicholas tightened the election rules in an attempt to prevent a renewal of conflict in Cologne. To avoid any hint of favouritism and influence from conflicting parties, Nicholas ordered Lothar II to observe closely the episcopal elections for the sees of Cologne and Trier: they should be performed legitimately and canonically by means of an official election by the clergy of the diocese. After such a canonical election, the archbishops could be consecrated and be given the *pallium*.³⁰⁶ In all probability, Lothar II also used this arrangement to erase

³⁰⁴ Heidecker, *Divorce of Lothar II*, pp. 166-168. In practice, Gunthar still dominated the see with the exception of the period 864-866, when he not only had serious trouble with Lothar, but also with the other bishops in the realm.

³⁰⁵ Bosman, 'Vorbild und Zitat', pp. 50-51; *idem*, 'Zur Baugestaltung des alten Domes in Köln und deren Nachwirkung', in: H. Schenkluhn ed., *Ikonographie und Ikonologie Mittelalterlicher Architektur, Hallesche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte I* (Halle, 1999), pp. 5-30, at pp. 5-9; Gunthar's alterations as to the building plans are also described by W. Weyres, *Die vorgothischen Bischofskirchen in Köln. Studien zum Kölner Dom I* (Cologne, 1987), pp. 154-155; see Farmer, 'The transformation of Cologne', pp. 223-227, for a brief but comprehensive archeological and historical overview of Cologne's cathedral in the Carolingian period.

³⁰⁶ Davis's introduction to the Life of Nicholas, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, pp. 200-201.

all memories of Gunthar's shameful deposition. Additionally, by emphasizing the canonical and legitimate election of Gunthar's successor, he would avoid a recurrence of the Gunthar-affair, with a pope removing an archbishop. Lothar II, however, died in 869, and his kingdom Lotharingia was seized by his two competing uncles Louis the German and Charles the Bald. 'These kings', as Stuart Airlie characterised them, 'were the senior members of the Carolingian house; experienced and unscrupulous, they were ambitious to expand their kingdoms'.³⁰⁷ This being the case, the archbishopric of Cologne became an important factor in their claims to power and dominance.

Willibert, as Louis the German's candidate, was promptly put forward in order to consolidate Louis's power against Charles the Bald, who had his own candidate named Bertulf for the position. After an official election, Willibert was ordained in 870.³⁰⁸ By the time Willibert officially succeeded Gunthar as archbishop, however, the reputation of the see of Cologne had suffered gravely. Not only had the relations between Cologne and the papacy been severely strained; the city had also been at the mercy of political vicissitudes. Willibert's appointment did not immediately restore peace: Even though his election appeared to have been unanimous and swift, in reality it had been enforced. Also, it would take another five years for Willibert to receive papal endorsement, as Pope Hadrian II initially opposed his ordination since he had not been consulted on the election.³⁰⁹ Eventually, though, Willibert did receive official papal approval as Pope John VIII sent him the *pallium* in 875.³¹⁰ The five years in between Willibert's ordination and official papal mandate would prove vital for the development of his perspective on the recent events in Cologne involving

³⁰⁷ Airlie, 'Private bodies', p. 9.

³⁰⁸ Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 296-297. As related, for instance, by the Annals of Fulda (transl. Reuter, s.a. 870, pp. 61-62): 'Archbishop Liutbert of Mainz with some of his suffragans came to Cologne, and there ordained the priest Willibert bishop at the order of King Louis and by the election of the whole clergy and people, and against Charles's will set him in Gunther's place'. Charles did succeed in appointing his own candidate, Bertulf, as bishop of Trier: J.L. Nelson transl. and ann., *The Annals of St Bertin. Ninth-Century Histories I* (Manchester, 1991) p. 168, n. 13.

³⁰⁹ Davis's introduction to the Life of Hadrian II, *Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, p. 256.

³¹⁰ Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 325, n. 80; Letters of John VIII, ed. P. Kehr, nos. 1-2, pp. 313-315.

his see. Interestingly, it may have been Willibert himself who has left us a narrative of the events in the form of the continuations to the *Annales Xantenses*.

3.3.1 An archbishop's perspective: the fall of Gunthar and the rise of Willibert in the continuations to the *Annales Xantenses*

The events that dominated Cologne in the 860s and 870s did not pass quietly: they were explicitly noted down in the continuations to the *Annales Xantenses*, which were produced in Cologne after 870.³¹¹ The continuations span the years 861/863 to 873.³¹² Significantly, the entries relating to the years 863-871 are dominated by the fall of Gunthar and the rise of Willibert. The events surrounding Gunthar's deposition, its aftermath (including his attempts for restitution), and Willibert's succession are all narrated in detail. Seemingly, the purpose of these entries was to prove that Gunthar's (and Theutgaud's) excommunication and deposition from his office by Pope Nicholas were both legitimate and final.³¹³

Almost as a matter of course, the continuator puts Gunthar in a bad light, comparing him to the devil and imputing pride (*elatio*) to him.³¹⁴ Conversely, Willibert is portrayed as the most suitable and honourable claimant to the see, elected according to canonical precept. The overall goal of the text, therefore, is to defend Willibert's appointment to the episcopal see of Cologne, supported by his patron Louis the German.³¹⁵

Indeed, justification for Willibert's appointment was needed. As Patzold stresses, the situation surrounding it was 'einer kirchenrechtlichen prekären Situation', for two main reasons: First, before Willibert was appointed bishop in 870, Charles the Bald had attempted to install Hilduin,

³¹¹ *Annales Xantenses*, ed. B. von Simson MGH SRG 12 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1909), with the continuations covering 861 to 873 at pp. 19-33. They belong to the episcopal annalistic genre, see Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 368-383. The best introduction to the text is H. Löwe, 'Studien zur den *Annales Xantenses*', DA 8 (1951), pp. 59-99.

³¹² Possibly the years 861-862 were still in basis produced by the continuator's predecessor, Gerward (but probably heavily reworked by the continuator: Patzold, *Episcopus*, p. 369, n. 48, referring to Löwe, 'Studien zur den *Annales Xantenses*', at p. 61f.

³¹³ Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 369-370.

³¹⁴ *Annales Xantenses*, ed. Von Simson, s.a. 864 (865), p. 22; and s.a. 866 (867), p. 24.

³¹⁵ Löwe, 'Studien zur den *Annales Xantenses*', pp. 76-80; and more recently Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 372-373.

Gunthar's nephew or cousin in the position. Second, although Gunthar had been excommunicated and deposed, he was still alive. Concerning all these issues, the continuations deftly narrate and argue in favour of Louis and his protégé Willibert. Either Willibert himself, or someone who supported him, was the author.³¹⁶ A more detailed consideration of this text provides us with some insight into Willibert's perspective.

If we follow the Xanten Annals' continuations, Gunthar had countered Nicholas' decision to depose him with the argument that he was equal to the pope, since the latter also a bishop and thus of the same *gradus* as Gunthar himself (*et in nullo gradum suum inferiorem gradu illius esse*). Needless to say, the continuator found this an empty argument: had Gunthar forgotten, he argued, from whom he had received the *pallium* (*non recordantes se ab eo pallium dignitatis accepisse*)?³¹⁷ Illustrating that Gunthar's excommunication was not just based on one moment of misbehaviour, the annals state that Gunthar was excommunicated not once, not twice, but three times: first after siding with Lothar on the divorce; second when he came to Rome with the petition to reconsider; and third, when he celebrated Easter in the Cologne cathedral despite his deposition.³¹⁸ Presenting Pope Nicholas as entirely within his rights in deposing Gunthar, the continuator defended papal authority. Also, the aptness of the excommunication is underlined by its twofold recurrence. In every conceivable way, the continuator shows evidence of harmony between Cologne under Willibert and the papacy. As such, the continuations convey a pacified portrayal of the relations between the see of Cologne and Rome, smoothing out all the signs of deeper seated troubles.

It is within this framework and perspective that we may interpret the appearance of the CC in Cologne under Willibert's episcopate. If we take Willibert's perspective on the events as presented in the Xanten Annals as a vantage point, it explains his interest in and benefits from the collection. As a testimony to the founding of the Carolingian dynasty and its prospering

³¹⁶ This Hilduin may or may not be the same as Gunthar's brother Hilduin, who ran the see most of the period during Gunthar's deposition: see Patzold, *Episcopus*, p. 371, n. 68 for a discussion of literature on this Hilduin. Whenever I refer to the *Annales Xantenses* from this point onwards, I mean the continuations specifically.

³¹⁷ *Annales Xantenses*, ed. Von Simson, s.a. 864 (865), p. 22.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

relations with Rome, it represented the harmony that Willibert tried to propagate. Creating and preserving the collection with its papal letters would have represented his effort to achieve accord between Cologne and the papacy. For Louis the German, it would have been evidence of the longstanding liaison between Carolingians and Rome, and papal support of his own dynasty.

Further, the Xanten Annals report that it was not until the year 869, the same year that Lothar II died, that Gunthar finally gave up his struggle to obtain official reinstatement to his office. From that moment onwards, it became clear how much the city and church of Cologne had suffered from Gunthar's manoeuvres and the resulting *sede vacante*, as the annals are keen to point out.³¹⁹ But then came Willibert, *Colonie filium, non elatum, non venatorem, non hypocritam, non mercenarium neque mercede conductum*, legitimately elected by the suffragan bishops, and supported by Louis the German, as is emphasised. Moreover, God's justice was revealed by this course of events.³²⁰ Here, too, the Xanten Annals put great effort into presenting Willibert as the rightful occupant of the see of Cologne and, hence, as Gunthar's (and Hilduin's³²¹) diametric opposite in his personal and professional conduct. Not only was he a son of Cologne, he had the full support of all legitimate authorities: the bishops, king Louis the German, and God. Finally, it was then that Gunthar realised there was no hope left for him and his cause, and left Cologne for good.³²²

Another hero in the annals is Louis the German, lauded and presented as the finest of the Carolingian rulers, among other reasons for his victories over the Moravians.³²³ Conversely, Lothar II, Charles the Bald, and Louis II all had major flaws. The first had unlawfully divorced his wife, the second

³¹⁹ *Annales Xantenses*, ed. Von Simson, s.a. 868 (869), pp. 27-28; also see Patzold, *Episcopus*, p. 370, emphasizing that the annals personify the church of Cologne as a mourning widow.

³²⁰ *Annales Xantenses*, ed. Von Simson, s.a. 870 (871), p. 29.

³²¹ See *ibid.* for why, according to their continuator, Hilduin was not a good candidate: he was a *mercenarius* and was only accompanied by one bishop to Cologne.

³²² *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30. Also see Patzold, *Episcopus*, p. 371 for a similar interpretation of these passages. When exactly Gunthar died is not known, but this passage indicates that he died in the year after Gunthar left Cologne.

³²³ *Annales Xantenses*, ed. Von Simson, s.a. 863 (864), p. 21; and s.a. 869 (870), p. 28. As such, the continuator is very critical of the other Carolingian rulers; Löwe, 'Studien zur den *Annales Xantenses*'.

had refrained from defending his realm against Norman attacks, and the third assaulted the pope in Rome for Gunthar's sake whilst he should have devoted his attention to defending Benevento from the Moors. One could therefore say that Louis the German is presented as the one and only true Carolingian king – of all of Charlemagne's heirs, he was the one who did things right.

The continuator presents various arguments as to why Willibert and Louis the German had acted correctly during the controversies that surrounded Cologne's episcopal see. These can be summarised as follows. First of all, Gunthar was rightfully deposed and excommunicated. Second, the *sede vacante* caused by Gunthar had impaired the church badly and it found itself in desperate need of a new bishop. Furthermore, Willibert's election and inauguration to the see had been performed legitimately, rendering him unassailable in his position. Last of all, he had the support of Louis, who outshone his fellow Carolingian rulers in competence and valour. Also, the text's line of reasoning is clearly aimed at a local audience, namely the clerics of Cologne, to win them over to Willibert's cause.³²⁴

As the Annals of Fulda inform us, a synod was gathered at Cologne under auspices of Louis the German almost nine months after Willibert's ordination, on 26 September 870. Presiding over this synod was Willibert together with his colleagues Archbishops Liutbert of Mainz and Bertulf of Trier, with all the Saxon bishops also present.³²⁵ The purpose of the synod was to address the difficulties that had dominated the archbishoprics of Cologne and Trier in the recent years. According to Eric Goldberg, this synod was meant to symbolize the unification of the East Frankish, Lotharingian, and Saxon Churches.³²⁶ Also, the dedication of Cologne cathedral to St Peter was talked about and performed: 'When they had discussed many things for the good of the Church they dedicated the church

³²⁴ Here I follow Patzold's summary of arguments as presented in the Xanten Annals: *Episcopus*, pp. 372-373.

³²⁵ *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. G. Pertz and F. Kurze, MGH SS I (Hanover, 1891), s.a. 870, pp. 382-383; transl. and ann. T. Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda. Ninth-Century Histories II* (Manchester and New York, 1992), s.a. 870, pp. 61-64; It could be that Willibert was in fact installed as bishop at this synod instead of in January: see W. Hartmann's introduction to the Cologne council acts of 26 September 870, ed. W. Hartmann, MGH Conc. IV (Hanover, 1998), p. 396 (with the report of the council at pp. 398-401). The report places great emphasis on Willibert's unanimous election.

³²⁶ Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 299.

of St Peter, previously unconsecrated'.³²⁷ Why this was considered necessary is not certain, but it may be related to the problems with Gunthar, who had desecrated the church by initially refusing to step down from his see after Nicholas had deposed him in 863.³²⁸ Under Willibert, Cologne proved a steady anchor for Louis the German, and the archbishop dedicated himself to Louis's cause and the East Frankish Church.³²⁹

It is against this background of Carolingian high politics involving Cologne and the papacy that the creation of the CC manuscript and its ownership by Willibert of Cologne should be situated. The Lotharingian realm played a key role in the tug of war between Louis the German and Charles the Bald. Concentrating on Louis's rule over Lotharingia and placing it against the canvas of a wider ninth-century interest in preserving history and memory provides us with the clues necessary to understand the purpose that the CC served in this age. In the previous chapter, I have shown that the original compilation of the CC in the early 790s reflected the spirit of Charlemagne's court and its contemporary concerns and should, as such, be regarded as a significant product of its time. In essence, the emergence of the CC in later ninth-century Cologne narrates a similar story. Just as much as it did in Charlemagne's day, it served a purpose in Louis the German's age. A closer characterisation of Louis's rule and time will demonstrate this. As we have seen, the continuations to the Xanten Annals present us with a highly purposeful narration of events – they leave out or downplay any hint of

³²⁷ Annals of Fulda, transl. Reuter, *s.a.* 870, pp. 63; *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. Pertz and Kurze, *s.a.* 870, p. 383. For more sources reporting on the council, see *MGH Conc.* IV, pp. 396-398.

³²⁸ Annals of Fulda, transl. Reuter, p. 3, n. 11, with reference to M. Untermann, 'Zur Kölner Domweihe von 870', *Rheinische Vierteljahrbblätter* 47 (1983), pp. 335-342. Weyres, *Die vorgothischen Bischofskirchen*, pp. 126-127, disagrees with Untermann and thinks the consecration of the Dom was not a result of the desecration by Gunthar, but simply due to the fact that the Dom had not been (fully) consecrated yet (*minime consecratam*, as stated in the *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. Pertz and Kurze, *s.a.* 870 p. 383). Another reason could be that the church had been rebuilt after it was partly or fully destroyed by lightning in 857. For the possible (partial) destruction of the Cologne cathedral, see Bosman, 'Vorbild und Zitat', p. 50.

³²⁹ For a discussion of the political role of bishops in Carolingian Francia, and specifically their role as to the drawing up and implementing of rules and regulations, see S. Patzold, 'Bischöfe als Träger der politischen Ordnung des Frankenreichs im 8./9. Jahrhundert', in: W. Pohl and V. Wieser eds., *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat – europäische Perspektiven. Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 16 (Vienna, 2009), pp. 255-268.

papal-Carolingian discord that resulted from the notorious deposition of Gunthar and the disputed election of Willibert himself. Accordingly, an image of undisturbed and peaceful relations between Cologne, the papacy and Louis the German arises.

3.4 'If that little boy of yours lives, he will know greatness'³³⁰: Louis the German and his *imperium*

As we have seen, Charlemagne's progeny all took an interest in and possessed connections with the episcopate of Cologne. Considering the CC and its preface's claim to legitimacy for Carolingian rulers as Charlemagne's successors, it would therefore make sense to extend the historical context of the CC beyond Cologne's episcopal milieu, to that of a later ninth-century Carolingian court where its ruler would have taken great care in portraying himself as a monarch in the tradition of his dynastic forefathers. Based on their Cologne connections, there are three potential candidates as patrons for the CC: Louis the German, his brother Charles the Bald and Charles the Fat (son of Louis the German). After Louis's death, for instance, Willibert of Cologne remained an important supporter of Charles the Fat's crown.³³¹

Charles the Bald was a ruler who put much effort into the representation and legitimation of his rule as a Carolingian. He, too, evoked associations with his grandfather Charlemagne's reign – not in the least because he was named after him.³³² Furthermore, the historiographical compendium known as Vienna, ÖNB cod. 473, with the so-called Frankish recension of the *LP* (up to Stephen II), was produced at his behest, probably at St Amand in 869. The foundations of the Carolingian dynasty are certainly at the core of this manuscript's interest.³³³ Moreover, it was probably created

³³⁰ Notker, *Gesta Karoli*, English translation Noble, *The Deeds of Emperor Charles*, book II, c.10, p. 101.

³³¹ Charles III (the Fat) was King of Alemannia from 876, King of Italy from 879, Emperor from 881, King of East Francia from 882 and of West Francia from 884. See for more on Charles the Fat's rule S. MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth-Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (New York, 2003).

³³² Also, Charles supposedly took after his grandfather physically. Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 13, 15, 84, 221-253.

³³³ See chapter 1. Also see McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 121-123; the most detailed and extensive study of this codex is Reimitz, 'Karolingisches Geschichtsbuch'. Also see Goosmann, 'Memorable crises', pp. 85-87, on this manuscript and its meaning for the memory of Pippin in

in relation to Charles the Bald's conquest and rule of Lotharingia (869-870), and therefore also served to legitimise his occupation of Lothar's kingdom.³³⁴

The strongest case, however, can be made for Louis the German. As we have seen, Willibert's continuations to the Annals of Xanten did their utmost to present Louis as the most glorious of Carolingian kings, who outshone all rivals when it came to embodying quintessential Carolingian values. Given the archbishop's bond with and loyalty to his patron Louis the German, therefore, I suspect that there was much interest in the CC at this ruler's court. Whether the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 was perhaps created at this court and subsequently brought to Cologne, or created in Willibert's Cologne scriptorium under the auspices of King Louis is difficult to determine (though a Cologne provenance is likely, as discussed earlier) – but the collection certainly must have been of interest to the king and his élite. That its 791 preface was written in Charlemagne's name gave it a royal stamp that must also have stimulated the interest in the collection.

Louis the German's share of Lotharingia, obtained in 870, was an extended realm, dotted with important places such as the two Lotharingian archbishoprics of Cologne and Trier. It also incorporated, among others, the episcopal city of Metz, the monasteries of Echternach, Stablo and Prüm, and the royal palaces of Nijmegen and Thionville. Crucially, it included the royal capital of Aachen too, the great Carolingian centre founded by Charlemagne.³³⁵ Strategically as well as symbolically, this was an important vantage point for Louis to operate from, as it provided him with a conspicuous practical and ideological connection to his grandfather's rule.

Twentieth-century historiography has, for the most part, deemed Louis's kingship inconsequential with regard to royal ritual and ideological representation, and has sharply contrasted his rule to that of Charles the

Carolingian historiographical writing. For Charles the Bald's court library, see R.D. McKitterick, 'Charles the Bald and his library: the patronage of learning', *EHR* 95 (1980), pp. 28-47, reprinted as chapter 5 in *eadem*, *The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1995).

³³⁴ Reimitz, 'The social logic of historiographical compendia', pp. 24-25; also see *idem*, 'Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch'.

³³⁵ *Divisio regni Hlotarii II* (Treaty of Meerssen), ed. H. Brunner and K. Zeumer eds., *MGH Cap. II* (Hanover, 1898), pp. 193-194; *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. Waitz, s.a. 870, pp. 109-110; also see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 298.

Bald.³³⁶ More recently, however, Louis has been placed in a more favourable light, and a strong case for this king's empire building has been made by Eric Goldberg. To underline his legitimacy as a Carolingian ruler in the imperial tradition, Louis sought associations with the rule of his father Louis the Pious, but also, more importantly, with that of his grandfather Charlemagne.³³⁷ Using various strategies, ranging from cultivating an aristocratic warrior culture to stressing the divine endorsement of his rule by employing carefully selected regalia, Louis was represented as a traditional Carolingian king, a Christian warlord in panoply, a new Constantine, even.³³⁸ Evidently, the Carolingian idea of empire not only survived the political fragmentation of the Frankish realm, but was revived to serve a political purpose, and certainly also resonated with Charles the Fat and Charles the Bald.³³⁹

One other substantial way to seek association with the first two Carolingian emperors was to create a library with works that 'stressed the Frankish and Carolingian foundations of Louis's kingship'.³⁴⁰ Grimald, Louis's archchaplain, had accumulated a book collection that, apart from multiple liturgical, hagiographical and biblical works, included the great monuments of Frankish-Carolingian history: Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, Thegan's

³³⁶ W. Hartmann, 'Ludwig der Deutsche – Portrait eines wenig bekannten Königs', in: W. Hartmann ed., *Ludwig der Deutsche und seine Zeit* (Darmstadt, 2004), pp. 1-26, at pp. 13-15; E. Goldberg, "'More devoted to the equipment of battle than the splendor of banquets': Frontier kingship, martial ritual, and early knighthood at the court of Louis the German', *Viator* 30 (1999), pp. 41-78, with an overview of historical works that have dismissed Louis the German as a king of marginal importance as to political representation and court ceremonial on pp. 43-44, n. 7 and 8.

³³⁷ Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 186-200; Goldberg, "'More devoted to the equipment of battle than the splendor of banquets'".

³³⁸ See for various means of royal representation as to political symbolism and ritual under Louis the German Goldberg, "'More devoted to the equipment of battle than the splendor of banquets'", pp. 41-78, with an historiographical overview of core publications on royal ritual in n. 5 at p. 42. As to Louis as a new Constantine, Goldberg refers to Hrabanus Maurus, who incited Louis to be more like Constantine (p. 72, n. 120, with reference to Hrabanus' remark in *MGH Conc.* III, p. 162). See I.H. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c.751-877)* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 82-86 who argues that there was no attempt to establish a uniform royal liturgy under Louis the German.

³³⁹ Nelson, 'Kingship and empire', esp. at pp. 69-73.

³⁴⁰ Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 188.

Gesta Hludowici imperatoris, the *ARF*, and the *Liber Historiae Francorum*.³⁴¹ In this line-up of works celebrating Carolingian rule, the CC would certainly strike the same note.

A similar revival of Carolingian ideas of empire is found in Notker's *Deeds of Emperor Charles the Great*. This biography of Charlemagne was written somewhere between 883 and 887, and was dedicated to Charles III (the Fat), son of Louis the German and emperor from 881 to 888.³⁴² Notker stressed the rule over multiple nations (*rector et imperator plurimarum erat nationum*) as something specifically pertaining to an emperor; an idea of empire that is also reflected in the *Annals of Fulda*.³⁴³ Furthermore, though Louis was never actually crowned as emperor, this certainly did not keep Notker from referring to him as one (*Hludowicus rex vel imperator*).³⁴⁴ These texts portray an idea of *imperium* that was strongly rooted in the Carolingian tradition and perception of all-encompassing lordship or imperial rule over many peoples, and texts presenting a collective memory of history were dedicated to this imperial cause. Or, as McKitterick observes: 'a sense of a

³⁴¹ B. Bischoff, 'Bücher am Hofe Ludwigs des Deutschen und die Privatbibliothek des Kanzlers Grimald', (reprinted) in B. Bischoff ed., *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte* III (Stuttgart, 1981), pp. 187-212, specifically at pp. 210-211; and for Grimald's 'E' version of the *ARF*, see McKitterick, 'Political ideology in Carolingian historiography', pp. 172-173. For Grimald's contribution to the monastic library of St Gall see H. Steiner, 'Buchproduktion und Bibliothekszuwachs im Kloster St. Gallen unter den Äbten Grimald und Hartmut', in: W. Hartmann ed., *Ludwig der Deutsche und seine Zeit* (Darmstadt, 2004), pp. 161-183.

³⁴² Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious*, introduction to Notker's *The Deeds of Emperor Charles the Great* on pp. 51-57. Also see (especially on the historiography concerning the dating of the work) MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 201-204.

³⁴³ 'so that he who was already the ruler and commander of many nations might obtain more gloriously by apostolic authority the name of the emperor'; English translation Noble, *The Deeds of Emperor Charles*, book 1, c. 26, p. 81; Notker, *Gesta Karoli*, ed. H.H. Haefele, *MGH SRG NS 12* (Berlin, 1962), book 1, c. 26, p. 35. The *Annals of Fulda* were, from the 860s onwards, continued in Mainz under supervision of Liutbert Archbishop of Mainz, who was also archchaplain (870-876) under Louis the German. The *Annals of Fulda* represent, however, a personal viewpoint from this archbishop and reflect, as such, not an 'official' standpoint of any court; MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 24-30. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 189 points to the *Annals of Fulda* and Notker for this idea of empire.

³⁴⁴ *Erat itaque Hludowicus rex vel imperator totius Germaniae, Rhetiarumque et antiquae Franciae (...)*, Notker, *Gesta Karoli*, ed. Haefele, book II, c. 11, p. 67.

shared past would have great value in forging bonds between the many peoples under Carolingian imperium.³⁴⁵

Though not written during his rule or dedicated to Louis the German himself, Notker's work contributes to presenting Louis, and therefore Charles III, as legitimate kings in the Carolingian tradition. Addressed to Charles III, the structure and outline of Notker's work skillfully present this legitimate continuation in lineage, and although the subject of the work is Charlemagne, it definitely has a much wider focus on the Carolingian dynasty. As Noble has it, 'The *Deeds* almost becomes a collective biography, treating as it does Charles [the Great] but also his son Louis and his grandson Louis the German, not to mention a few revealing asides about Charles III [the Fat].'³⁴⁶ Here, collective biography is skilfully merged with created collective memory.

Louis's position as a legitimate Carolingian heir is more than once emphasised in Notker's work, but there is one well-known passage that conveys this message best. In this story, Louis the Pious presents his then six-year-old son to the emperor Charlemagne, leaving the emperor struck and impressed by the boy's wits and conduct, saying in full admiration that 'If that little boy of yours lives, he will know greatness'.³⁴⁷ Here, Notker adeptly presented Louis the German as the principal and leading heir of the Carolingian crown, favoured by Charlemagne himself.³⁴⁸

The year 870, around the period when the CC was copied, had been a turbulent year for King Louis; for one, a new division of the Carolingian realm was concluded in the Treaty of Meerssen (8 August 870), after the death of Lothar II in 869. In the same year, Louis triumphed as the conqueror of Moravia. An assembly held in Regensburg was partly meant to celebrate this military victory, for it mirrored a Roman classical military triumph, with the defeated people (in this case, the Slavs) publicly paying homage to their new ruler. 870 also witnessed the production of one of the most important historical works of East Francia, the *Conversion of the Bavarians and the*

³⁴⁵ McKitterick, 'Political ideology in Carolingian historiography', p. 172.

³⁴⁶ Noble, in his introduction to his translation of Notker's *The Deeds of Emperor Charles the Great*, p. 55.

³⁴⁷ English translation by Noble, *The Deeds of Emperor Charles*, book 2, c. 10, p. 101; Notker, *Gesta Karoli*, ed. Haeefele, book 2, c. 10, p. 66: *Si vixerit puerulus iste, aliquid magni erit.*

³⁴⁸ Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 341-342.

Carantanians (Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum). This text, written in Salzburg, describes the life of the city's founding saint and the deeds of the Salzburger archdiocese's bishops and abbots in relation to the missionary works in its hinterlands (Bavaria and the eastern marches). Written for and presented to Louis, it glorified him 'as a second Charlemagne for upholding Frankish political and ecclesiastical control of the Eastland'.³⁴⁹ Both the Regensburg assembly and the *Conversion's* outlook echo the concept of Louis's rule of a Christian *imperium* encompassing multiple peoples and territories.

3.5 Historiography and collective memory

Under Charlemagne and his son Louis the Pious, there had been a vast increase in historiographical production, centred on their dynastic past and intended to legitimise contemporary rule.³⁵⁰ As we have seen, we can detect a similar awareness of past Frankish and Carolingian rule especially under Charlemagne's grandsons, the rulers Charles the Bald, Lothar II and Louis the German. This awareness is manifested in explicit interest in conveying a meaningful political message. This later Carolingian tendency is reflected in an increased production of annalistic and narrative texts. Texts produced during this period, in McKitterick's words, 'mirror an extraordinarily focused sense of the past which is of the utmost importance in any assessment of the strength, perceived or real, of Carolingian royal power at that time.'³⁵¹ As McKitterick has also observed, in this later ninth-century context of interest in texts narrating the Frankish and Carolingian past one could even speak of a historiographical campaign. The works that were copied, written and disseminated 'articulate a clear ideology of political power and a very particular presentation of the past that certainly achieved far wider currency than the more conventional treatises on kingship (...) The Carolingians created their own image of their past and offered it to posterity. But they also offered it to their contemporaries, who treated their own

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 299-301, with the quotation from p. 301. The text itself: *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, ed. H. Wolfram, *Das Weissbuch der Salzburger Kirche über die erfolgreiche Mission in Karantaniien und Pannonien. Böhlau Quellen Bücher* (Vienna, Cologne and Graz, 1979).

³⁵⁰ McKitterick and Innes, 'The writing of History', p. 193; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 36.

³⁵¹ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 154.

history as part of a larger progression of the history of the Franks.³⁵² Though using, rewriting or even creating texts to suit contemporary political needs was by no means a new phenomenon, linking up with the reign of the Frankish and Carolingian ancestors by creating a shared collective memory would provide an unmistakable claim to legitimacy of rule to kings governing a later ninth-century polity.³⁵³ Even more so, the CC added to this legitimacy by embedding the ancestors in a papal-Roman context. For Louis the German, this is precisely what he needed.

Interest in historiography, not only in the sense of preserving it but also creating it as part of a collective memory, is particularly apparent in a phenomenon that started in ninth-century East Francia: the creation of cartularies.³⁵⁴ These documents reflect a desire not only to collect history and memory, but also to organise it and make it accessible. Cartularies, as collections of (or, rather, transcriptions of) documents, were put together in a selective process, in which the copyists and 'authors' of the cartulary would determine its contents. Or, in other words, they decided what information should be remembered, and what should be forgotten. Therefore, each and every cartulary 'is the result of a process of neglect, selection, transformation, and suppression (...). This process of selection and emendation (...) determined what access to the past would be available to future generations.'³⁵⁵ Especially when a cartulary is chronologically

³⁵² McKitterick, 'Political ideology in Carolingian historiography', p. 173.

³⁵³ See Goosmann, 'Memorable Crises'; McKitterick, *History and Memory*.

³⁵⁴ For an in-depth study of the character of the first ninth-century cartularies, and of the question why the genre of cartularies came in to existence first in the East Frankish realm as opposed to in the West, see P. Geary, 'Entre gestion et gesta', in: *Les Cartulaires. Actes de la Table ronde organisée par l'École nationale des chartes et le G.D.R. 121 du C.N.R.S. (Paris, 5-7 décembre 1991). Mémoires et Documents de l'École des Chartes* 39 (Paris, 1993), pp. 13-26; also see in the same volume D. Lohrmann, 'Évolution et organisation interne des cartulaires rhénans du Moyen Âge', in: *idem*, pp. 79-90; also see G. DeClercq, 'Originals and Cartularies: The Organization of Archival Memory (Ninth-Eleventh Centuries)', in: K. Heidecker ed., *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 5 (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 147-170, at pp. 148-149. Specifically for the Carolingian cartularies at Fulda, see: E. Stengel, 'Über die Karlingischen Cartulare des Klosters Fulda (Fuldensia II)', in: E. Stengel, *Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Reichsabtei Fulda. Veröffentlichungen des Fuldaer Geschichtsvereins XXXVII* (Fulda, 1960), pp. 147-193.

³⁵⁵ P. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 83-84. For more on cartularies and their ideological value, see pp. 81-114.

ordered, this could point to a commemorative rather than a practical function.³⁵⁶

The later Carolingian world also saw episcopal interest in memorial texts and history, witnessed by the genre of *gesta episcoporum et abbatum* (deeds of bishops and abbots). This genre is related to the cartularies, which often provided the authors of the *gesta* with information on their subjects and their institutions (i.e. bishoprics or monasteries). Some cartularies were actually dedicated to a bishop.³⁵⁷ Conversely, several commemorative cartularies were, to a certain extent, influenced by the *gesta*.³⁵⁸ One monumental example of late Carolingian interest in episcopal history is Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle*, dedicated to Bishop Adalbero of Augsburg in 908. Regino, himself abbot of the monastery of Prüm, is considered (one of) the last great historians of the Carolingian empire.³⁵⁹

Not only cartularies could have a commemorative function. In this context, one might even think of letter collections, where some letters did and some did not make it to the compilation. The CC's preface fits with this general Carolingian interest in archiving, preserving the past and making knowledge accessible in an organised manner. It represents an attempt at completeness. After all, as the preface informs us, Charlemagne ordered the letters to be restored and written out again on parchment 'which preserves memory (...) in order that no testimony whatsoever of the Holy Church should seem lacking to his future successors'. For those commissioning or owning the CC, this statement would provide an unambiguous association

Also see DeClercq, 'Originals and Cartularies', esp. at pp. 147-149, who subscribes the role of cartularies in preserving memory.

³⁵⁶ P. Johaneck, 'Zur rechtlichen Funktion von Traditionsnotiz, Traditionsbuch und früher Siegelurkunde', in: P. Classen ed., *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter. Vorträge und Forschungen XXIII* (Sigmaringen, 1977), pp. 131-162, at pp. 144-145; Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, pp. 93-94; DeClercq, 'Originals and Cartularies', p. 155. DeClercq, as does Geary, acknowledges the commemorative function of cartularies with chronological structuring, but he – to my mind – rightly stresses that the presence of a chronological structure does not necessarily mean that the memorial function supersedes its practical functions.

³⁵⁷ Geary, 'Entre gestion et gesta', esp. at pp. 23-24. On the genre, see first and foremost Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, Gesta abbatum*.

³⁵⁸ DeClercq, 'Originals and Cartularies', pp. 157-159.

³⁵⁹ S. MacLean, 'Introduction', in: S. MacLean (transl. and annotated), *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe. The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg* (Manchester and New York, 2009), pp. 1-60, at p. 2.

with the Carolingian and papal past; for a Carolingian ruler of the later ninth-century, it would offer an opportunity to cast himself as the embodiment of Charlemagne's future successor, and would immediately evoke an aura of legitimacy. Moreover, even though a letter collection is not the same as a cartulary, the headings (*lemmata*) accompanying the largely chronologically ordered letters exhibit some characteristics belonging to the genre of cartularies. They distill the information from the letters' contents and present it as handles to the letters, thus guiding the reader through the collection. In the next chapter, therefore, I shall explore the *lemmata* in the CC further in this light.

Conclusion

As Gunthar of Cologne found to his cost, the ninth-century popes were certainly forces with which to contend. High winds blow on high hills – and Cologne was such a hill in the Lotharingian realm. As Lothar II's staunch supporter, standing by his side in his protracted and messy divorce, Gunthar had to deal with Pope Nicholas' clout, and eventually payed the price. Deposed from his archiepiscopal office, Gunthar did not give in easily, but eventually had to make way for Willibert, Louis the German's candidate for the strategic see of Cologne. But the archiepiscopal see of Cologne would remain at the centre of attention for some years to come.

The events dominating Cologne in the 860s and 870s attest to the fact that the archbishopric of Cologne was a stronghold of support for Louis's reign in Lotharingia, rendering Willibert the king's court ideologist *par excellence*. He was in the position to embed Louis's kingship in the Carolingian imperial tradition by presenting him favourably in the continuations to the Xanten Annals. The CC would have been another tool to do so, as it firmly rooted Louis's kingship in the tradition of his great forefathers and undeniably provided him with the legitimacy he sought for his own Carolingian *imperium*. For Louis, it forged links with his grandfather Charlemagne who, in his preface, expressed his hope that the papal letters would be preserved for posterity. Competing with other Carolingian rulers, Louis could have used his patronage of the CC to underline his legitimacy to rule as the designated heir of Charlemagne. Besides, in a period that witnessed an upsurge of Carolingian interest in preserving the past and in

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organising and making it accessible, the CC documented and underlined – yet again – Carolingian connections with papal Rome as collective memory.

Gunthar, Willibert and Louis had all suffered the consequences of papal dissatisfaction and interference during years of strained relations with the papacy. As a testimony to a papal-Carolingian past and his legitimacy, the CC would have provided Louis with solid documentation as proof of St Peter's approval and support of his kingship as lawful successor in the long dynastic line of Carolingian rulers. Dreams of empire were still relevant when Willibert was archbishop of Cologne, and he proved as loyal a supporter of Louis's rule as they came.

CHAPTER FOUR

CAROLINGIAN HEADINGS TO PAPAL LETTERS

Into uncharted territory

Besides Charlemagne's preface, the only other Carolingian texts in the *CC* manuscript are the *lemmata* or headings that accompany the individual papal letters. These headings not only mention the identity of the sender and recipient, but also summarise the contents of the letter in question.³⁶⁰ With the exception of a handful, almost all letters in the *CC* are accompanied by these headings. They are generally placed at the beginning of each letter.

It is not their presence in itself that makes them remarkable, for headings in early medieval letter collections are a common phenomenon. What is exceptional about them is that they are much more elaborate and informative than other contemporary *lemmata*. Where most headings in other letter collections merely mention the sender and addressee ('letter from x to y'), followed by, at the most, some summarising catchwords on the contents, those in the *CC* stand out with regard to the amount of detail they include.³⁶¹ For this reason, they rise above mere *précis*; they organise the letters in the collection, provide reading tools to assist the reader, summarise the contents of the individual letters, and sometimes even provide context to or information on how to interpret or handle the correspondence. It is especially this last feature which makes them significant, for they reveal at least some of the Carolingian reaction to and interpretation of the letters.

The crucial question, of course, is: what is their provenance? Did these *lemmata* already belong to the original 791 manuscript, to a potential, but lost, manuscript produced at some stage after 791, or were they added in

³⁶⁰ Gundlach (and others after him, for instance Hack, in *Codex Carolinus* I & II) referred to the headings as *lemmata*. All are printed in Gundlach's apparatus with the letter they accompany, but can also be found in Appendix One in this dissertation, where I refer to the folios in the manuscript using Unterkircher's *Facsimile*.

³⁶¹ Since the standard letter structure with the protocol, *inscriptio* and *intitulatio* would provide the reader with the same information on sender and addressee, more details on its contents would not usually need to be inserted into the headings: Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 72-73.

the later Carolingian manuscript *Codex Vindobonensis* 449? In other words: are the headings representative of a later eighth-century setting, or one that belongs to the later ninth century context from which the manuscript itself derives? Their general characteristics, paleographical features, and organisation in the manuscript are facets that could help us to answer this question, and their contents offer an alternative way of learning more about their provenance and the practical or ideological use of the collection. In what follows, therefore, I shall present my first attempt to come to grips with the *lemmata* and their context. First, I shall discuss the headings' technical aspects. What does the way in which they frame the letters reveal anything about their derivation? Are their paleographical and technical features representative of developments of an earlier or a later Carolingian period?

I shall then move on to a close examination of the *lemmata* based on their contents. Due to their sheer number, it has not been possible to study all of them in equal detail, and I have had to make a selection. My selection represents a careful choice, but is a selection nonetheless. I have paid special attention to those headings that stand out because they are exceptionally long, succinct, distinctly informative, employ a peculiar choice of words, and so on. Which information was inserted into the headings, and what was left out? Is there any attention paid to specific themes, or are there perhaps recurrent topics that are singled out? Whatever their precise date, the headings do indeed function as windows into their Carolingian context, for they are reflections of Carolingian interest in the papal writings, and may help us to find out more about their provenance and the circumstances in which they were created.

4.1 The *lemmata*

As touched upon in the first three chapters of this thesis, the unique manuscript witness to the CC is *Codex Vindobonensis* 449, once owned by Archbishop Willibert of Cologne. Based on its codicological and paleographical features, it probably also originated in this archbishop's scriptorium, but this is not entirely certain. The original manuscript of 791 is lost, and there are no other CC manuscripts, but these could very well have existed. It is not known whether the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 is a copy from

the original 791 manuscript, or from a later exemplar that we do not know of. On this basis alone, therefore, it is impossible to say anything about the provenance of the *lemmata*.

As with many other aspects of the CC, the headings have received surprisingly little attention in the historiography. In his MGH edition, Gundlach (like Jaffé before him) acknowledged the value of the headings (or *lemmata*, as he called them) by printing them in the second apparatus accompanying the letters, but he did not contextualise them or say much more about them in detail. The main discussion has centered on their dating. Since paleographical details suggest that they were added to the manuscript all at the same time, as opposed to someone adding headings to the original letters at the moment of their individual arrival, both Gundlach and Garrison have dated their provenance to 791. The headings' consistent formulaic nature supports the idea that they were probably inserted after the letters were copied into the collection in 791.³⁶² All headings are written by the same hand in an elegant *capitalis rustica*, and this hand probably corresponds with one of the four scribes who worked on copying the letters themselves. The majority of the headings are written in red ink, although some are written in black, and some feature a combination of both colours.³⁶³

While there are indeed indications that may point to the 790s, Archchaplain Hildebald's time, the *lemmata*, in some respects, have features that are more characteristic of a later ninth-century setting. They could also be a hybrid form, combining features of both eras. An interesting perspective on the copying process is offered by CC, no. 15. This 'letter' is not transcribed in full, but a summary of what it was about is provided instead. In the manuscript, the first line of this entry is, similar to the other headings in the manuscript, written in rustic capitals (*item (...) directa*). The rest is written in Carolingian minuscule. So, depending on one's point of view, it is either a *lemma* plus a summary, or one *lemma*.³⁶⁴ Because of the difference in lettering, I am inclined to think that the first line is the actual

³⁶² Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?', pp. 127-128, with n. 50 on p. 127 on the dating of the *lemmata*. Here, she follows Gundlach, 'Über den *Codex Carolinus*', pp. 525-566, at p. 531.

³⁶³ *Facsimile*, pp. xix-xx. A handful of *lemmata*, however, are partially written in lower case.

³⁶⁴ Gundlach, 'Über den *Codex Carolinus*', at pp. 529, n. 2, and p. 531; and see Gundlach's transcription in the second apparatus to letter no. 15 on p. 512. Also see Hack, *Codex Carolinus I*, pp. 71-72. See Appendix One for an image (A) of this *lemma*.

lemma. The summary contains crucial details and information with regard to the manuscript exemplar that the scribe was working from.

The entry no. 15 starts by summarising the contents of the letter, and then goes on to say: ‘and it [i.e. this letter] was not copied into this codex at all, because it had already partially disintegrated on account of the great age’ (*et ideo minime in hoc volumine est scripta, quia prae nimia vetustate iam ex parte erat diruta*).³⁶⁵ This sentence almost literally echoes the preface to the CC, where it is explained that the original papal letters were partly destroyed and erased, and were restored and copied into the collection for that reason (*eo quod nimia vetustatae et per incuriam iam ex parte diruta atque deleta conspexerat*). The rest of the *lemma* reads: *tamen alia capitula in eadem non continentur inserta; sed sicut in superiore epistola legitur, sic et in ista scriptum reperitur*. It is difficult to translate this sentence precisely because of the somewhat muddled Latin, but it seems to say ‘and also other *capitula* are not to be found included in this letter. However, the same, what one reads in the previous letter, is also found written in this letter.’ In other words, during the process of copying the letters, the copyist of the collection decided to leave out the letter (no. 15), because it was destroyed to the extent that it had become mostly illegible. This, however, was not a problem, since the previous letter more or less had the same contents.³⁶⁶ An interesting detail in

³⁶⁵ It reads: *item epistola eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum regem directa, in qua continentur lamentationes et tribulationes, eo quod desiderius rex consilium iniit cum georgio imperiali misso, qui hic franciae adfuit: ut imperator suum exercitum in italia contra ravennam vel pentapolim ac romanam urbem ad comprehendendum mittat, et ipse desiderius cum universi regno langobardorum in eius adiutorium vel solatium ea mala ad perpetrandum decertet; et quia cotidie scamaras et depraedationes in eorum finibus faciebant; cum nimiis adiurationibus postulans adiutorium obtinere contra ipsos langobardos; et ideo minime in hoc volumine est scripta, quia prae nimia vetustate iam ex parte erat diruta; tamen alia capitula in eadem non continentur inserta; sed sicut in superiore epistola legitur, sic et in ista scriptum reperitur*. Translation: ‘Likewise, the letter of the same pope that was sent to Lord King Pippin, is about many lamentations and trials, because King Desiderius entered into negotiations with Gregory the imperial envoy, who was here in Francia at the time, [proposing] that the emperor would send his army into Italy, in order to capture Ravenna and Pentopolis and the City of Rome, and that Desiderius himself with the entire kingdom of the Lombards would attempt to commit these evils, for his [the Byzantine emperor’s] aid and support; and because they inflicted violent struggle and robbery on their borders; and with a great many adjurations [the letter] beseeches and tries to get help against these Lombards; and it [i.e. the letter] was not copied into this codex at all, because it had already partially disintegrated on account of the great age, and also other *capitula* are not to be found included in this letter. However, the same, what one reads in the previous letter, is also found written in this letter.’

³⁶⁶ Which is no. 19 in Gundlach’s *MGH* edition (pp. 519-520).

this entry is the reference to the ‘other *capitula*’ that are not included in the summary of the letter. *Capitula* can be translated with ‘chapters’, a term which refers to sections on particular subjects in the letters. This is how it is used in some other *lemmata* in the collection. Occasionally, however, it refers more specifically to papal precepts, as is the case in the heading to CC, nos. 3 and 95.³⁶⁷ The term is not exclusively reminiscent of the Frankish idiom, as it is also employed in the papal letters to describe rulings of councils and Church Fathers.³⁶⁸

What can we conclude from this? Whoever prepared this summary must have been transcribing from the original papal letters that were in a bad shape, copying these in the collection. It therefore must have been the scribe working on the original CC in 791. Clearly, the information in the papal letters was valued to the extent that it had to be included in the letter collection, even when the letter itself could not be fully reproduced. The late eighth-century copyist, who transcribed the original CC, accurately executed his work, and so did the scribe who worked on *Codex Vindobonensis* 449. Not only did the latter include the letter copies from the manuscript exemplar he was working from; he also took account of the summary of a letter.

Whether the manuscript exemplar used for *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 was the original created in 791, or a copy that was possibly created some time between 791 and the later Carolingian period, is impossible to tell. Therefore, we still cannot know for sure during which stage in the history of the CC the *lemma* for entry no. 15 was added. In other words, did the original CC manuscript from 791 also have *lemmata* in the same form? Also, in what form the *lemmata* existed in the manuscript exemplar that was used for *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 remains a mystery. Did every letter have a *lemma*? Were they all as elaborate as the ones in the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449, or did the copyist insert information to and / or redraft them? There are indications that at least some the *lemmata* as we now have them in *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 were either copies of earlier ones, or hybrid versions of earlier *lemmata* combined with extra later ninth-century material. Others, however, may have been entirely created from scratch for *Codex Vindobonensis* 449.

³⁶⁷ These headings are discussed and translated below in this chapter.

³⁶⁸ See, for instance, Pope Zachary’s letter in the CC (no. 3).

A unique case which suggests that the person transcribing *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 was working with earlier examples is letter no. 88 (fols. 75r-76r). Intriguingly, this letter has two headings: one preceding the letter, the other placed at the end.³⁶⁹ Their contents and wording are almost exactly the same, only with slight variations in spelling. Also, they have different beginnings. Given their similarities, it is highly unlikely that these two were made totally independently of each other: I therefore suspect that the scribe had an exemplar or model, which he was working from. One and the same example for the two headings would account for the analogous wordings, and also for the slight variations in spelling which could be caused by variations in the copying process. The example could very well have been a *lemma* in the manuscript that was used as an exemplar. Again, whether this was the 791 original, or a later copy, is impossible to tell. Why this heading was copied twice must also remain speculation, but it probably happened by accident – a mistake that could easily occur in case a copyist was working with earlier headings.

There is a possibility that these potential earlier *lemmata* were organised differently in the manuscript. What could they have looked like? One way to find out is to look at other manuscripts from Archchaplain and Archbishop of Cologne Hildebald's scriptorium. One interesting case is Hildebald's *Codex 92*, which also contains papal letters, namely those of Gregory the Great. This manuscript is dated to the first decade of the ninth century. *Codex 92* has a register on folios 1v-4r that lists the names of each letter's addressee. Additionally, there is a more elaborate list summarising the *argumenta* of the letters at the end of the codex (fol. 169v - 180v).³⁷⁰ The headings in *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 are not listed at the beginning or end of the manuscript, but generally precede the letters. Yet the interesting parallel is that they combine the types of information which is found in the two lists as found in *Codex 92*. This similarity could be an argument to date the

³⁶⁹ See Appendix One for both headings. Gundlach remarked that the second one is a repetition of the first one, besides the difference at the beginning. In his transcription in his footnote he merged the two into one *lemma* (CC, p. 624, footnote a). The consecutive letter in the manuscript is letter no. 72 in Gundlach – and as I mentioned above, its heading is misplaced with letter no. 66.

³⁷⁰ Also see Plotzek, *Glaube und Wissen im Mittelalter*, pp. 94-95, and see the list of *lemmata* in the fully digitalised version of the manuscript on <http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de>.

origins of the contents of the headings in *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 to Hildebald's time. Maybe the original CC manuscript from 791 had lists of chapter headings similar to those in Codex 92, and the ninth-century Cologne copyist reworked them into headings that preceded each letter instead. But this must remain speculation only. There are, however, other indications that support this hypothesis: misplaced and blank spaces in the manuscript.

Apart from the muddled chronology of the letters, the process of adding the headings did not pass flawlessly either. Some letters have a misplaced heading which summarises another letter's contents (CC, nos. 73, 77), and therefore lack a proper heading. Judging from the number of missing headings and the way in which some are misplaced, they were not copied one-on-one from a manuscript exemplar, but were added afterwards. For example, a letter on fol. 77r-77v on the Saxons (which is no. 77 in Gundlach) is preceded by a heading about the falsely accused abbot of the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno. The letter on San Vincenzo's abbot which actually pertains to this heading is to be found on fols. 76-77 (which is no. 66 in Gundlach), and is itself preceded by yet another misplaced heading in the manuscript, which actually belongs to letter 72 in Gundlach.

Another confusion, but of a different nature, is to be found in the heading to letter no. 49 written by Pope Hadrian I in 774. This case neatly demonstrates the mixed-up chronology of the letters. Also, it illustrates how the headings relate not only to the letters, but also to each other, as the heading refers to a letter written by 'the same pope' (*eiusdem papa*) as the previous letter. Yet following chronology, the previous letter in the collection dates from 771 and was written by Hadrian's predecessor Stephen III. In the manuscript, however, letter 49 (on fol. 58v) is – chronologically incorrect – preceded by another letter from Hadrian I. The *lemma* referring to *eiusdem papa*, therefore, merely relates to the previous letter in the manuscript, not to a chronological sequence of letters.

One more typical feature that of the *lemmata* in the CC is that a handful of letters does not have a heading at all and is preceded by a blank space in the manuscript instead, presumably left to be filled in at a later

stage: CC, nos. 61, 67, and 85.³⁷¹ CC, no. 61 is a bit of a mystery: it is written down so closely following the preceding letter that it is almost impossible to judge whether there was a blank space left open in between these letters. In any case, it does not have a heading. All letters with blank spaces are sequentially localised on fol. 69v-72r of the manuscript, followed by the doubtful case no. 61. There are no other blank spaces of the same kind elsewhere in the manuscript. Interestingly, these folios correspond with the last pages of a single quire: they constitute the last four folios of the ninth quire. This could suggest that the blank spaces were accidentally left open by the scribe, who probably forgot to fill out the last few folios of the quire. Judging from these blank spaces, the *lemmata* were certainly (supposed to be) filled in only after the letters were copied into the manuscript, meaning that the original lay-out of the manuscript exemplar that he was working from was not followed. The exemplar could either have had *lemmata* that were organised differently (perhaps in lists comparable to Hildebald's Codex 92), or no *lemmata* at all.

Were the *lemmata* added only after the letters were copied into the manuscript? This could also account for the manner in which some headings fill out the space on the parchment. There was certainly space reserved for these headings at the time the letters were copied into the manuscript. This is, for instance, clearly visible on fol. 89r, where the heading needs more parchment than the left-open space allows: the last sentence 'runs' from the reserved text area.³⁷² Exactly the opposite happens on fol. 88v, where the copyist needed less space than was given: the spaces between the letters and between words are extended in order to fit the designated area as much as possible.³⁷³ Sometimes, when there is enough space left after the heading is finished, it is followed by one or two circular symbols, that fill out the reserved section on the parchment.³⁷⁴

³⁷¹ See Appendix One for an image (C) of such a blank space.

³⁷² A similar case can, for instance, be found on fol. 4v, 61r and 76r. I owe this suggestion to Dr. Irene van Renswoude and Dr. Janneke Raaijmakers. See Appendix One for an example (image B).

³⁷³ A similar case of this can be found on fol. 48 v.

³⁷⁴ These symbols look like three, four (a bit like the Audi-symbol), five or six attached rings or circles: oooo. These symbols are not consistently used but everywhere to be found throughout the manuscript. To name a few occasions: fols. 21v, 36r, 52r. See Appendix One for an example (image A).

In case the headings of *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 were indeed rearranged with the aid of earlier *lemmata* lists that were perhaps placed at the front and / or the back of a manuscript, as was the case in Hildebald's Codex 92, the copyist chose to reorganise them in such a way that the contents of the letters was easier to access and consult. Preceding the individual letters, the headings and their lay-out in the CC framed the letters to make them ready to be used for various purposes, and to make their general topics instantly discernible. The especially informative and elaborate headings, some of which shall be discussed below in more detail, such as the one pertaining to letter no. 95 on Adoptionism, allow the reader to scan quickly through the contents without having to read the entire letter. These detailed *lemmata*, but also the briefer ones that capture just the main themes of the letter, seem to have served a very practical purpose.

Aimed at facilitating access to information, the headings assist the manuscript's users to process the contents of the letters as efficiently as possible. In doing so, the headings of the CC stand in a Carolingian tradition. There are examples from as early as the later eighth century from the monasteries of Fulda and Sankt Gallen, where charters had dorsal notes on their back that – in a highly formulaic fashion – provided information on the issuer, beneficiary, et cetera, and briefly narrate their contents.³⁷⁵ These examples could, therefore, be (one of) the first of their kind. The contents of these dorsal notes are reminiscent of the character of the headings in the CC. They have in common that they assemble and organise incoming documents. This general tendency towards preserving historical knowledge is certainly also reflected in *Codex Vindobonensis* 449. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the urge to make history and knowledge more accessible by means of organising it and to make it available is characteristic of the ninth century. Ninth-century copies of older texts reveal adaptations in lay-out and arrangements to suit contemporary requirements, allowing new standards and needs to be met, and 'approaching the text within a cultural

³⁷⁵ Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 72-73. In relation to the dorsal notes and their formulaic character, that resembles the headings in the CC to a certain extent, Hack refers to E. Stengel, 'Untersuchungen zur Frühgeschichte des Fuldaer Klosterarchivs (Fuldensia IV)', in: E. Stengel, *Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Reichsabtei Fulda. Veröffentlichungen des Fuldaer Geschichtsvereins XXXVII* (Fulda, 1960), pp. 203-265, from p. 210 onwards.

framework and with technical training that has changed (...) sufficiently to warrant small adjustments to be made'.³⁷⁶ Accessibility of information and functionality seem to have been the primary concerns for the compiler of *Codex Vindobonensis 449* – and these correspond well with developments that gained momentum in the ninth-century.

Whether the headings in *Codex Vindobonensis 449* were created entirely by the later Carolingian copyist with or without using earlier examples, they reflect this trend with regard to the practical organisation of manuscripts. On the basis of their organisation and arrangement, therefore, framing them in the later ninth-century is justifiable. Furthermore, access to details of Franco-papal diplomatic communications, papal statements and knowledge of theological debates would harmonise equally well with the developments and needs of the later ninth century, and also those of archiepiscopal Cologne and the court of Louis the German.

As remarked above, one feature that characterises the headings is their formulaic nature, and some are more extensive than others. Most have a similar structure, starting with *item exemplar epistolae*, followed by the identity of the sender and recipient (i.e. name of pope and king respectively in question), then followed by *directa* and *in qua continetur*, subsequently followed by a summary of the contents. For example, the heading to letter 92 reads (see Appendix One): *item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur (...)*. This structure is more or less repeated in most headings, sometimes with a slight variation in choice of word (for instance *missa* instead of *directa*). Frequently, the name(s) of the *missus* or *missi* who delivered the letter is mentioned in this section.

An example of the most succinct type is the heading of the first letter in the collection that was sent by Gregory III to Charles Martel, dated 739, which reads *item epistola gregorii secunda ad carolum missa similiter pro defensione sanctae dei ecclesiae*. This brief type of heading is found a handful of times. It essentially only lists the sender, the addressee, and the general outline. Remarkable in this case is that the *lemma* states that this is Gregory's

³⁷⁶ R.D. McKitterick, 'The migration of ideas in the early middle ages: ways and means', in: R.H. Bremmer Jr and K. Dekker eds., *Foundations of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages. Storehouses of Wholesome Learning I* (Leuven, 2007), pp. 1-17, p. 9.

second epistle (*epistola secunda*) also (*similiter*) written by him, whereas it is, in reality, his first epistle to the *maior domus*. This inaccuracy can be explained by the fact that it is placed second in the manuscript at fol. 2r, after Gregory's second letter from 740. Evidently, the scribe working on the manuscript was not aware of the correct dating and order of the letters. This is characteristic of all of the letters in the *Codex Vindobonensis 449* – their chronological order is limited to the pontificates (with the exception of the letters by the antipope Constantine at the end of the collection); they are not arranged in sequence according to the years and dates they were sent. This may be explained by the fact that the letters themselves lack dating. Elsewhere, however, the copyist(s) seems very much aware of the historical order of things in relation to the letters in the manuscript. This awareness is apparent, for instance, in Pope Zachary's letter to Pippin, as I shall explain below.

Other brief headings usually contain a bit more information or details on the contents. This kind of heading merely summarises in a sentence the contents without elaborating much on the details, revealing little to nothing about the particular use or interpretation on the part of the Carolingian copyist. An example is CC no. 70, dated 781 (fol.74r): *item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de sacratione petri episcopi seu et de territorio sa[vi]nense.*

Finally, there is one more category which, for want of a better term, may be described as atypically comprehensive. In practice, there is one heading that outdoes all others as to length and amount of detail. It is the aforementioned *lemma* pertaining to letter no. 95 on Adoptionism.³⁷⁷ Compared to the other headings in the collection, it is positively lengthy and detailed. I shall discuss this specific heading to CC no. 95 below as it provides clues about the historical context and the practical use of the headings.

³⁷⁷ Letters 96 and 97 are paired with letter 95 and their headings are less elaborate (especially the one to 97), probably because there would be no need to repeat what had already been noted in the heading to no. 95. Also see Appendix One for the headings.

As Garrison noticed, the headings do not refer to the Old Testament ruler comparisons that feature so prominently in the papal letters to Pippin.³⁷⁸ The absence of such references in combination with other topics that are repeatedly addressed in the headings, notably the Lombard affairs and the Frankish involvement in them, has left Garrison to conclude that they ‘reveal a consistent interest in the Carolingian alliance with the papacy and Lombard affairs, but no concern with the past for its own sake’.³⁷⁹ She observed that ‘contemporary Carolingian reception of the letters of the *Codex Carolinus* seems overwhelmingly concerned with Lombard-papal politics and the spiritual alliance between the Franks and the papacy (...)’.³⁸⁰ Special attention in the headings indeed is paid to papal requests for establishing relations of spiritual kinship, in the form of a desire to baptise Pippin’s new-born son.³⁸¹

I concur with Garrison that the headings reveal a great deal about the Carolingian contemporary reception of the letters. Her observations with regard to the frequent inclusion of references to the Lombard affairs in the *lemmata* are also correct: they are hard to miss. At the same time, however, it makes sense that the headings pick up this theme; after all, Lombard business is one of the main themes in the letters, with praise of the Franks by means of *uberrimae laudes* and papal gratitude (*gratiarum actiones*) for their support forming an inherent part of it. In view of this, I think it is unlikely that the Lombard-papal politics were the main explanation for Carolingian interest in the letters.

As we have seen, the preface to the collection states that the papal letters are kept to preserve the memory of the glorious Carolingian rulers and as a testimony of the Holy Church to the future successors to the throne. Though this may not necessarily refer to every single letter with all its historical details in itself, the preface in Charlemagne’s name contains the key for how to read and understand the collection in its entirety: as a testimony to a glorious Carolingian history. In this sense, Garrison’s

³⁷⁸ See Chapter 5 for an in-depth discussion of the Old Testament comparisons.

³⁷⁹ Garrison, ‘The Franks as the New Israel?’, p. 128.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁸¹ The spiritual kinship as referred to is the relation of *compaternitas* or co-parenthood. This concept and the way it is referred to in the headings shall be discussed in more detail in the fifth chapter.

conclusion that the headings reveal ‘no concern with the past for its own sake’ is justified, but since this was just as much the case in a later eighth-century setting as for Charlemagne’s grandson Louis the German, we also need to take into account their possible later eighth- or ninth-century framework.

The headings may help us to determine to which period they belong. Whether some details featured in the headings, such as the amount of detail provided on the identity of legates, would still be relevant to a later ninth-century audience, for instance, is debatable. Yet if one keeps the purpose of the entire collection in mind, these details need not be so out of place some seventy years after the original collection was compiled in 791. The next step in determining the origins of the *lemmata*, therefore, is to study their contents to find out if they support the idea that they may be symptomatic of a later ninth-century context. A detailed assessment of the information they hold will provide more ground for discussion. On the whole, most headings do not offer an elaboration on the contents of their letters; they merely summarise them. In some cases, however, the copyist or author elucidates (however briefly), interprets, or puts the letter into perspective. For my discussion below, I have singled out some of the most striking cases that may also help us understand their specific context and function.

4.2 Concern for names and identities

In the preface to the *CC*, we have already encountered a demonstrable concern for remembering the illustrious members of the Carolingian dynasty, *id est* Charles Martel, Pippin, and Charlemagne, and I have proposed that the *CC* should be regarded as a testimony to a shared Carolingian-papal past.³⁸² A similar attention to specifying names and identities of not only the Frankish rulers, but also of the popes and the *missi* involved in the correspondence, is one type of historical information that is disclosed in the headings.

Detailed mention of both the sender’s and recipient’s names is not often found in manuscript *lemmata* in contemporary letter collections. This implies that letters which have headings that specifically mention the king as

³⁸² See chapter 2 in this dissertation.

their recipient were kept for their special significance for the ruler.³⁸³ An example can be found with a letter (dated 775) from the Anglo-Saxon priest Cathwulf to Charlemagne, kept at the monastery of Saint-Denis, where the original papal letters were possibly stored after their arrival at court. The letter is well-known for its comparisons between the king and Old Testament rulers. It has a *lemma* which mentions King Charles as recipient, without mentioning Cathwulf as the sender.³⁸⁴

From this, it is tempting to conclude that the papal letters in the CC were preserved because of their importance to the shared history between the royal family *and* that of the popes, since their headings include not only the names of the recipients (the kings) of the letters, but also those of their senders (the popes). This would further support the idea that the CC served as a testament to a shared Carolingian-papal past, representing the burgeoning liaisons between the Carolingian dynasty and the bishops of Rome, and remembering all of the kings' and popes' identities.

A similar concern for identities in the headings is reflected on a different level: information about the various embassies and ambassadors who were responsible for the exchange of letters between the papacy and the Carolingian court feature prominently in many of the papal letters in the CC, and names and identities of the *missi* are explicitly mentioned. Hack observed that more than half of the 95 full-text letters in the CC contain information on legacies and speculated why others do not.³⁸⁵ It is notable that the letters progressively contain less and less detail on ambassadors. It is also significant, moreover, that Frankish ambassadors are mentioned more often than papal ones. Furthermore, the letters reveal that there were mixed

³⁸³ Saint-Denis manuscript headings to Alcuin's letters, for instance, often mention their renowned author only, and not their royal recipient, which could suggest that these letters were first and foremost stored because of their contents and the high status of their sender: Garrison, 'Letters to a king and biblical *exempla*', pp. 316-321. The salutations in Alcuin's letters, however, always provide detailed information on the (royal) recipients of his letters.

³⁸⁴ See for more on this letter J. Story, 'Cathwulf, Kingship, and the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis', *Speculum* 74 (1999), 1-21; On Saint-Denis and books at the Frankish court: Bullough, '*Aula Renovata*', p. 133. This letter, however was kept in an early ninth-century formulary, not in a letter collection, in the monastery of Saint-Denis. Its *lemma* reads *Incipit epistola ad domno Carolo rege* (MGH Epp. IV, p. 501, in the apparatus).

³⁸⁵ Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 486-696.

embassies with both papal and Frankish *missi*. These two aspects may indicate that both parties entrusted each other's legates with their messages. Many other contemporary sources contain information on embassies as well, such as the *ARF* and the various papal biographies in the *LP*, indicating that this kind of information was found relevant.³⁸⁶

Details that are most commonly given about the legates (*missi*) in the letters, concentrate on their name, office, and status, though this information is not always unambiguous.³⁸⁷ An interesting fact is that, for the identities and/or names of 37 envoys, the letters (and headings) in the *CC* are our only source of information, as they are not mentioned in any other contemporary source. One example is the Frankish envoy Immo, most likely a layman since his status is not specified.³⁸⁸ He is mentioned in a letter sent in 757 by the Pope-elect Paul to notify Pippin of his predecessor's death and his own election. What becomes clear from the letter is that Immo was detained in Rome until the inauguration of Paul was performed.³⁸⁹ The *lemma* to this letter also identifies Immo as a *missus* and reads [*item*] *exemplar epistolae, ubi paulus diaconus et electus sanctae romanae ecclesiae significans de transsitu stephani papae, per imonem missum domni pippini regis*.³⁹⁰ So, in this case, we would never have known of Immo *missus* of Pippin were it not for the letter

³⁸⁶ Pope Stephen II's Life in the *LP* may serve as an example. It illustrates that in the early 750s the Lateran was a hub in a network of envoys between the Byzantines, Greeks, and Lombards. It was a coming and going of envoys, who are often identified with name and rank: *LP*, Davis, Life of Stephen II, for instance in c. 15-18, pp. 58-59; *LP* I, ed. Duchesne, pp. 444-445.

³⁸⁷ As a rule of thumb, clergymen, usually in the majority, are mostly identified as such; laymen, however, not always are. It is, therefore, difficult to conclude anything too strict about the composition of embassies. Most times, however, the clergymen are mentioned first, followed by the laymen, which helps in the process of identification: Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 486-696. Also see F.L. Ganshof, *De Internationale Betrekkingen van het Frankisch Rijk onder de Merowingen* (Brussels, 1960), pp. 8-23 on the various aspects concerning Frankish legations.

³⁸⁸ Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, p. 540, with a full list of the names; Hack (p. 550) assumes that Immo was a layman.

³⁸⁹ *CC*, no. 12, pp. 507-508: *Et dum haec agerentur, convenit Romam Immo, christianissimae excellentiae tuae missus. Et cum eo loquentes, una cum nostris obtimatibus aptum prospeximus: eum hic detineri, donec Dei providentia sacra apostolica benedictione inlustrati fuissetus (...).*

³⁹⁰ Heading to letter no. 12, by Pope Paul, dated 757. See Gundlach, 'Ueber den *Codex Carolinus*', pp. 530-531, n. 2, for a discussion on this heading in reaction to his colleague Karl Lamprecht as to when the letter was written (before or after the inauguration of Pope Paul). The heading was of special interest to them, since it contains more detailed information than can be deduced from the contents of the letter itself.

and heading in the CC. This example shows that identities of *missi* were apparently important enough to be remembered.

Other headings mirror this attention to names and identities as well. Many contain the names and offices of the legates who are named in the letters.³⁹¹ In general, names of both papal and Frankish ambassadors are inserted into the headings, but some omit the names of the papal envoys and only include those of the Frankish delegates. The heading to letter 53 (by Hadrian, dated 775) is the last one to include the identities of any legates. After this, they are no longer incorporated, which points to diminishing interest in embassies and ambassadors and corresponds with a similar trend in the letters.

How should this interest in identities and names of legates in the headings be explained? Are the names of envoys mentioned because they and their families were part of a Carolingian network? Or because they, like Immo, were witnesses to pivotal events in Franco-papal history and were therefore part of Carolingian history and memory? Was the name Immo characteristic for an aristocratic family? In the Carolingian world, the royal family was keen to cultivate the support of the aristocracy. Co-operation was a key word. So, the aristocracy, from whom the legates were largely chosen, were very much part of the Carolingian political community. Members of the highest echelons of Frankish society were as much part of Carolingian history as were the kings themselves.³⁹² This would explain why their identities were important enough to be remembered in the letters and headings: they formed an integral part of Frankish history.³⁹³ Evidently, in both a papal (the letters) and a Carolingian context (the *lemmata*), it was

³⁹¹ However, not all headings do; counting references to papal and/or Frankish legates who were directly involved in the embassies only (i.e. not references to, for instance, Greek envoys), there are twenty-two instances where these details have made it to the headings. Also, the headings do not always list the names of all envoys: in at least four letters (nos. 8, 14, 43, 50), the letters name more legates than the headings. The references in these headings are *per georgium et warnemarium similiter directa* (no. 8); *per vulfardum directa* (no. 14); *per haribertum abbatem en dodonem comitem directa* (no. 43); *directa per gausfridum abbatem* (no. 50).

³⁹² The co-operation in Carolingian society between the aristocracy and ruling family has been often underlined in recent years, for instance by S. Airlie, 'Charlemagne and the aristocracy: captains and kings', in: J. Story ed., *Charlemagne. Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 90-102; and, in the same volume, by Innes, 'Charlemagne's government', pp. 71-89.

³⁹³ McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 143, emphasises – in the context of the royal household – the fact that *missi* were important figures, specially selected for assignments.

important to remember the *missi*. It looks as if legates and their identities were also considered a significant part of the shared Carolingian-papal past. Of course, one may wonder if men like Immo were still important enough to be remembered in a later ninth-century context. It would make sense if his name was in an original heading or summary, and the later ninth-century copyist, working on *Codex Vindobonensis* 449, simply copied the information. Either way, names mattered.

4.3 *Lemmata* providing a historical framework

A number of headings stand out as they add bits and pieces of extra information about the concerned letter. These headings can be characterised as explanatory, as they aim to provide the readers with a context that helps them understand what it is they are reading. In some instances, it is almost as if they are meant to offer an historical aid or framework for the letters. Though a 791 audience may also have required such extra information, some of these headings give the impression that they were created for a later Carolingian public in view of the technical and historiographical developments in the ninth century. In both scenarios, they reflect a concern for the correct understanding and memorising of Carolingian history. In what follows, I shall discuss three headings that offer the most insightful case studies.

4.3.1 Pippin: king or *maior domus*? The heading to CC, no. 3

Hack has discussed in detail one heading, which accompanies Zachary's letter to Pippin before the latter's accession to the Frankish throne. Zachary's letter is chronologically misplaced in the manuscript, for it is positioned after two of his successor Stephen II's letters. This results in the confusing situation that Pippin is first referred to as king in Stephen II's letters, whereas he is addressed as *maior domus* in Zachary's letter. Having noticed the mistake, the copyist of the headings felt the need to help out the reader. In the heading, he explicitly states that Pippin is called *maior domus* here, in Zachary's letter, and not king, because he had not yet been elevated to royal

dignity.³⁹⁴ So, here we have a specific situation where a heading is not limited to summarising information from the letter, but actually provides the reader with extra information and details, explaining the historical content and context of the letter.

Though this is very striking, it does not necessarily shed light on when the heading was added. People using the *CC* in or around 791 may have needed to have had their memory refreshed on Pippin's (rise to) kingship, but the same applies to users in the later ninth century. What *can* be deduced from this particular situation is that when the ninth-century copy was made, the copyists apparently did not change the sequence of the letters into the correct chronological order, but instead followed the order of the letters as positioned in the manuscript exemplar from which they were making their copy.

One way or the other, the scribe who added the heading may have felt that his contemporary users of the *CC* needed extra information and a historical context. This leads me to believe that the concern of the copyist was not limited merely to the contents of the letter, which in this case mostly comprises chapters on canon law. Instead, he was also interested in the historical context of the letter in the collection. Why else would one need to know if Pippin was addressed by his correct title? This may be a revealing clue as to the (intended) use of the manuscript. Whatever audience the copyist had in mind, he tried to make sure that they had their Carolingian dynastic history straight. Here, the *lemma* functioned as an important tool in doing so.

4.3.2 A letter from St Peter himself: The heading to *CC*, no. 10

At the height of the Lombard threat – king Aistulf was besieging Rome early in the year 756 – Pope Stephen II decided to write a letter to Pippin, his sons

³⁹⁴ It reads: *item epistola zachariae papae ad dominum pippinum missa quae pretitulata est sub maiorum domus nomine eo quod nondum in regis dignitatem esset elevatus una cum capitulis suis consultis a iam dicto domno pippino vel sacerdotibus partibus franciae, qualiter respondendum, scripsit iam dictus pontifex*. Translation: 'Likewise, this letter was sent from Pope Zachary to Lord Pippin, who bore the title of *maior domus*, because he had not yet been elevated to royal dignity. Once there had been consultation on it and on its chapters by the aforesaid lord Pippin and his churchmen from Francia, on how to respond, the aforementioned pope wrote it.' Also see Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, p. 75 on this heading.

Charles and Carloman, and the Frankish high clergy and people.³⁹⁵ In order to underline his appeal and to exhort the Franks to free papal Rome swiftly from the oppression, Stephen II chose to do so in the person of Peter the Apostle himself, beginning his letter with *Ego Petrus apostolus*. As an isolated case in the collection, it has incited historians to describe it in dramatic terms. Characterised as ‘astonishing’³⁹⁶ and ‘one of the most fascinating [letters] in the whole CC’,³⁹⁷ it has received considerable attention from historians. Interestingly, it is not just the impersonation of St Peter that stands out: the heading carries notable features as well. In fact, it is one of the few in the collection that provides extra information that transcends a simple summary of the letter. The heading explains the circumstances in which it was written: *item epistola III [tertia], quam transmisit stephanus papa ad domnum regem pippinum et carolo vel carlomanno seu omni generalitati francorum, in nomine sancti petri comprehensa, postquam per semet ipsum iam dictus papa in frantia fuit, et secunda vice voluit adiutorium obtinere contra langobardos*.³⁹⁸

Since it is the only letter in the CC that has St Peter as the main actor and sender, it is indeed unique in the collection. In contrast, the message it conveys is very similar to the previous two letters from Stephen II.³⁹⁹ As the appointed successors of St Peter it was not uncommon for the popes to portray themselves as the representatives of the Apostle on earth, and they did not refrain from reminding the Carolingians of that fact over and over again in their epistles. Or, as Haller once evocatively put it, it is ‘St Peter und immer wieder St Peter’.⁴⁰⁰ Adopting his persona altogether, however, was a novelty that makes this letter stand out as a remarkable example of papal

³⁹⁵ CC, no. 10, pp. 501-503.

³⁹⁶ Garrison, ‘The Franks as the New Israel’, p. 125, n. 36.

³⁹⁷ Noble, *The Republic*, p. 92.

³⁹⁸ Translation: ‘This third letter, that Pope Stephen sent to Lord King Pippin and to Charles and Carloman and all the Franks in general, was composed in the name of Saint Peter, after the aforementioned Pope had been to Francia by himself, and wanted to obtain help against the Lombards a second time.’ See Appendix One for an image (B) of this *lemma*.

³⁹⁹ These are CC, nos. 8 and 9, pp. 494-498 and 498-500 respectively. On these letters and the political circumstances in the 750s building up to them, see Noble, *The Republic*, pp. 71-98, more specifically at pp. 91-92.

⁴⁰⁰ Haller, ‘Die Karolinger’, p. 57.

diplomatic ability.⁴⁰¹ Taking on St Peter's identity could be interpreted as the ultimate papal strategy in trying to induce the Carolingians into finally coming to Rome's aid. After all, Pippin could hardly refuse the Prince of the Apostles himself, without endangering his own salvation. This is precisely what 'St Peter' laid at the king's feet in this letter.

Another diplomatic act of persuasion is the representation of Pippin's coronation (or, rather, anointing) by Pope Stephen II in 754. In a particular section of this letter, the Franks are, once more, reminded of their duty to protect and liberate the Roman people and the Holy Church. Paraphrasing the Vulgate (2 Timothy), which reads *nam et qui certat in agone non coronatur nisi legitime certaverit*, it is at this point that Stephen II makes his point, stating *nullus enim accipit coronam, nisi qui legitime decertaverit* ('indeed, no one accepts the crown, except he who shall fight legitimately').⁴⁰² There is no doubt that Stephen II alluded to his personal anointing of Pippin and his sons in 754 and the obligations this brought forth. Basically, Stephen is telling Pippin to fulfil his role as a king, since he has been crowned by the hands of the representative of St Peter on earth, the pope. Only when he would do so, would he be proven to be a true and legitimate king.

Reading the letter, one gets the impression that Pippin was rhetorically pushed to act upon the pressing request – and with success. Other letters in the CC also stress Pippin's anointment by the pope. CC 45 – another (in)famous letter, which has been discussed above – further illustrates this, with Stephen III agitatedly writing to Pippin: 'do remember,

⁴⁰¹ The letter has, in the past, served as outstanding proof in the historiographical debate regarding Pippin's motivations for invading Italy. In the past, these have been characterised as solely religious. Lintzel argued, for example, argued that Pope Stephen II acted in the name of St Peter, because he was unable to produce any political arguments for the invasion. Due to the underdeveloped early medieval literary style, Lintzel stated, people could not grasp anything other than the world beyond reality, and were limited to writing about things that did not belong to the real world ('schriftloser Wirklichkeit', as he called it). Therefore, the pope chose to persuade Pippin to invade Italy by using the voice of St Peter, who, according to Lintzel, did not belong to the 'real world' and could therefore be used as a means of literary encouragement: Lintzel, 'Der Codex Carolinus', at p. 41.

⁴⁰² CC, no 10, p. 503. It is not the first time, nor the last, that a passage of 2 Timothy is either quoted or paraphrased in the letter collection, but it is certainly a highly meaningful passage of this New Testament book. Other instances where 2 Timothy is either quoted or paraphrased by Stephen II: CC, no. 8, p. 498; no. 9, p. 500 (twice); no. 10, p. 503; no. 11, p. 507.

who has anointed you!", and subsequently refers to his predecessor Stephen II.⁴⁰³

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the heading points out that the letter was composed in the name of St Peter (*in nomine sancti petri comprehensa*). Although it does not seem to make such a big thing of it, the person who wrote the heading decided specifically to mention it. Yet given the qualifications historiography has attributed to this letter, one would perhaps expect the heading to discuss St Peter's personal involvement at more length, or even to express more awe, astonishment or merriment. What kind of impression it made at Pippin's court the *lemma* does not convey. Yet it does contain extra information which reveals something about the copyist's mind.

The heading states that it is the 'third letter, which Pope Stephen sent to Lord King Pippin and Charles and Carloman and all the Franks in general, after the aforementioned Pope had been to Francia by himself'. This remark warrants some explanation. The reference to the third letter can be explained in various ways, but the *lemma's* author most likely assumed that CC no. 10 was the third letter that was sent to the Carolingians after Stephen II had visited them.⁴⁰⁴ Of course, the papal journey to which this heading refers can be no other than the one in 754, when the pope anointed Pippin and his family. Significantly, the copyist used 754 as the point of departure for his calculation regarding to the 'third letter'. This is, to my mind, the most interesting aspect of the heading. By taking 754 as a reference point in

⁴⁰³ CC, no. 45, p. 561: *Recordamini et considerate, quia oleo sancto uncti per manus vicarii beati Petri caelesti benedictione estis sanctificati (...)*.

⁴⁰⁴ In total, there are eight letters in the CC that were sent by Stephen II during his pontificate. They are chronologically mixed up in the manuscript. The heading to CC 10 elaborates on the fact that this is the 'third letter' that Pope Stephen II sent to Francia, 'after the aforementioned Pope had been to Francia by himself'. CC 10 relates to the previous two letters, CC 8 and 9, as they were simultaneously dispatched to Francia as a coherent group in 756 (see Noble, *The Republic*, pp. 71-98). This may explain the reference to it being the third letter. Another more likely option is that the copyist assumed that, just as it is stated in the heading, it was the third letter that was sent to Francia after 754. The copyist's line of reasoning, then, would have been that there are two letters from Stephen II to Francia from 755 (CC 6 and 7), rendering one of the letters from 756, either CC 8, 9 or 10, the 'third letter' that was dispatched to Francia after 754. Clearly, then, the copyist assumed that CC 10 was the third in line. If this scenario is correct, he was probably not aware of the simultaneous dispatching of CC 8, 9 or 10 since any of these, then, could have been labelled as the 'third' letter after 754.

relation to the letter, the scribe used the *lemma* to situate the letter in a historical frame of reference, thereby providing the reader of the manuscript with a distinct Frankish-papal context. Apparently, the copyist expected his contemporaries to require and appreciate such information, but whether he was writing for eighth- or ninth-century contemporaries remains an open question.

4.3.3 Adoptionism, a threat to orthodoxy: The heading to CC, no. 95

Created in the early 790s, the CC was produced against a background of enhanced concern for orthodoxy. This idea is supported by the cluster of three letters that are placed nearly at the end of the letter collection and deal with the Spanish Christological heresy referred to as Adoptionism. These are nos. 95, 96, and 97, and were all written by Hadrian between 785 and 791. The headings to these letters stand out and reinforce the significance of the letters as they are exceptionally elaborate and comprehensive. This holds particularly true for the one introducing letter no. 95, written to all the bishops of Spain: it is extraordinary for its sheer length as well as its detailed contents on various aspects of heresies and teachings on orthodoxy.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁵ It reads: *item exemplar epistolae hadriani papae, directae omnibus episcopis per universam spaniam commorantibus, maxime tamen eliphando vel ascarico cum eorum consentaneis⁴⁰⁵, pro heresia vel blasphemium, quod filium dei adoptivum nominant, cum multis capitulis sanctorum patrum eos reprehendens; nec non et de pascale festivitate seu et de sanguine pecorum et suillum et sanguine suffocato, quem in errore predicantes dicunt: ut, qui eis non ederit, rudis et ineruditus est, quos sub anathematis vinculo obligatos et ab ecclesia extraneos dicit; similiter et de predestinatione Dei, quod, si quis ad bonum predestinatus esset, contra malum resistere necesse illi non erat, si vero ad malum natus, bonum illi exercere nihil proderit, pro quo capitulo apostolicis adhortationibus eos castigans; nec non et de hoc, quia communem vitam cum iudeis et non baptizatis paganis tam in escis quam et in potis seu et in diversis erroribus nihil pollui se inquiunt; nec non et de filiabus eorum, quas populo gentili tradent, vel de sacrationibus eorum seu et de mulieribus, quae vivente viro sibi maritum sortiuntur, simulque et de libertate arbitrii vel alia multa, quod enumerare longum est, eos castigans cum sanctorum patrum traditionibus.* Translation: 'Likewise, a copy of this letter that was sent from Pope Hadrian to all the bishops residing in the entirety of Spain, but mostly to Eliphandus and Ascaricus with those in agreement with them, because of the heresy and blasphemy that they call the son of God adoptive, reproaching them with many chapters of the Holy Fathers, and also about the feast of Easter and about the sheep and pig blood and the choked blood, about which they have been said to have preached wrongly, namely that whoever does not eat them, is illiterate; he says they should be tied by the bonds of anathema and outsiders to the Church; and similarly about the predestination of God, that is, if someone is predestined for good, it is not necessary for him to resist evil; if someone is born for evil, however, it would be of no benefit to him to do good,

The contents of the entire heading are dedicated to summarising all aspects of what Hadrian conveyed in his letter about the vices of Adoptionism ('the heresy and blasphemy that they call the son of God adoptive'), and other heretical practices and beliefs. Some sentences in the heading are copied almost verbatim from the letter, while others are slightly more freely formulated. For example, the sentence which reads *communem vitam (...) quod enumerare longum est* is virtually taken word for word from the accompanying letter. The last part of this sentence states *quod enumerare longum est*, which is based on *quae longum est dici* as found in the letter. This case illustrates nicely how, throughout the letter collection, some parts are copied almost verbatim or with similar wordings, yet the scribe also occasionally took the liberty of rephrasing some sentences.⁴⁰⁶

Hadrian understood Adoptionism to be a branch of Nestorianism, and fervently rebuffed it in his letters. For the most part, letter no. 95 itself is a summary of existing teachings on orthodoxy. The letter castigates with the authoritative views of the Holy Fathers, as is also stated by the heading, which ends with: *eos* [i.e. the Spanish bishops but especially Eliphandus and Ascaricus] *castigans cum sanctorum patrum tradicionibus*. In other words, Hadrian boxed these bishops' ears with the traditional teachings of the Church Fathers. Although the pope was involved in opposing the heresy of Adoptionism, the main initiative in countering it came from the Carolingians, culminating in its official condemnation at the Council of

something for which the chapter castigates them with apostolic exhortations; and also about the fact that they deny that there is any pollution in a communal life with Jews and unbaptised pagans, with regard to eating and drinking as well as concerning various other errors; and also about their daughters, whom they give in marriage to non-Christians, and about their own consecrations [marriages?] and those of their women, who leave their husband while he is still alive; and likewise about Free Will and many other things, far too many to sum up, [the letter] is castigating them with the authoritative views of the Holy Fathers.'

⁴⁰⁶ Both the next letter (CC, no. 96) on Adoptionism and its heading (see Appendix One) are shorter. They pretty much describe, in more or less the same wording, the same things that are discussed in the previous letter and heading. Reduced in size even more are the third letter (CC, no. 97) written to Egila and its heading (see Appendix One) in line. Here, the scribe uses more of his own words to summarize the letter, but does not deviate in any way from the contents of the letter.

Frankfurt in 794, and the exile of one of its prominent leading figures, Felix of Urgell.⁴⁰⁷

From the exceptionally long and detailed heading to no. 95, it can be inferred that the copyist and his contemporaries were very interested in heresies, Adoptionism and the papal rulings (*capitula*). The copyist put much effort into noting down a great deal of detail, and used all this manuscript space to report on the various facets of heresies, as mentioned in the letter, in a meticulous fashion. Therefore, one could argue that the headings to Hadrian's letters on Adoptionism were composed at a time when it was relevant to know and learn about it and other heresies in great detail. This was certainly the case during the early 790s, when the original letter collection was first put together. After its successful censure in 794 and the death of Felix in 818, Adoptionism in itself lost topicality for the Carolingian world and ceased to be a pressing matter during the next two decades.⁴⁰⁸ Carolingian concern for debating and controlling heresies in the remaining ninth century was, however, never-ending – and it did not take long before it was back on the Carolingian political agenda.

In an effort to curry the Emperor Louis's favour and to secure his newfound position as archbishop, Agobard of Lyon wrote a treatise on the dangers of Adoptionism, called *Adversum dogma Felicis* (Against the Teachings of Felix), shortly after its subject's death in 818 or 819, which he presented to the emperor.⁴⁰⁹ As Irene van Renswoude has remarked, it is

⁴⁰⁷ Noble, *Images*, pp. 174-175; also see Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West*, who has reconstructed the actual teachings of Adoptionism as opposed to what its contemporary opponents described it to entail. Cavadini concludes that it is mostly Alcuin's perspective on Adoptionism that has shaped our modern idea of what the doctrine actually entailed (conclusion at pp. 103-106). Also see Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era*, chapter 2, pp. 14-74.

⁴⁰⁸ Innes, 'The boundaries of Carolingian Christianity'.

⁴⁰⁹ I. Van Renswoude, 'License to Speak. The Rhetoric of Free Speech in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages', Unpublished PhD thesis (Utrecht University, 2011), pp. 300-301. Agobard, *Adversum dogma Felicis (ad Ludovicum)*, in: *Agobardi Lugdunensis Opera Omnia*, ed. L. Van Acker, CCCM 52 (Turnhout, 1981). For more on Agobard and his position in Carolingian intelligentsia and court society, see De Jong, *The Penitential State*, esp. at pp. 142-147, 229-248. For a characterisation of Agobard on the basis of his writings, see S. Airlie, 'I, Agobard, unworthy bishop', in: R. Corradini, M. Gillis, R.D. McKitterick and I. van Renswoude eds., *Ego Trouble: Authors and Their Identities in the Early Middle Ages. Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 15 Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.hist. Klasse* (Vienna, 2010), pp. 175-183.

rather peculiar that Agobard wrote this treatise after Felix had died. But the death of Felix may have inspired a renewed awareness about Adoptionism that Agobard tapped into.⁴¹⁰ Since it had been discussed at length, everyone knew by now what it entailed. Agobard may have worried about potential threats to orthodoxy in the form of followers of Felix in his episcopal city. Yet what we may also detect here is a deepened episcopal unease regarding a lingering heresy, even after the immediate threat had been removed from the scene. During Trinitarian and Predestination debates in the 850s and 860s, archbishops such as Hincmar reverted to the Adoptionism debate and Felix's conviction as a model for how to deal with heresy and heretics. Felix was ranked with the principal heretics in history, such as Arius and Donatus.⁴¹¹

In the episcopal and royal discourse, the Carolingian ideal of orthodoxy was the opposite from pluriformity: uniformity in religion.⁴¹² Uniformity and consensus were essential and required in episcopal behaviour. From early on, but increasingly under Carolingian rule, councils – especially those crystallising around heresies – were the fundamental means to achieve and express unity and uniformity.⁴¹³ Calling to account Elipandus of Toledo and Felix of Urgell, whose bishoprics were located in places distant from the Frankish heartlands (Toledo lay within the Emirate of Cordoba; Urgell within the Spanish March), was necessary to eradicate dissent that was threatening the episcopal unity. Understanding and explaining the Creed was indeed one practical and crucial way to keep up (knowledge of) orthodoxy. At the councils of 794, 802 and 822, it was underlined that the Creed should be taught to the people. Also, drawing attention to and discussing heresies – in synods, but also in writings – was a means to demonstrate and articulate one's own orthodoxy.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹⁰ Van Renswoude, 'License to Speak', pp. 300-301, n. 26, with reference to E. Boshof, *Erzbischof Agobard von Lyon: Leben und Werk. Kölner historische Abhandlungen 17* (Cologne, 1969), p. 60.

⁴¹¹ See the forthcoming article of I. van Renswoude and E. Steinova, 'The annotated Gottschalk. Symbolic annotation and control of heterodoxy in the Carolingian age', to be published in *Collection des Études Augustiniennes*, special issue: *La controverse carolingienne sur la predestination. Histoire, textes, manuscrits* (2015).

⁴¹² Ganz, 'Theology and the organisation of thought', p. 761.

⁴¹³ M.E. Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom. Bishops and the Rise of Frankish Kingship, 300-850* (Washington, 2011), pp. 243-285.

⁴¹⁴ Ganz, 'Theology and the organisation of thought', esp. at pp. 758-760.

Some twenty years after Agobard wrote his treatise, a similar concern about Adoptionism flared up. In the 840s, the Empress Judith's private court chaplain, Walahfrid Strabo, reported that, as a 'medicine against the poison of heretics', the practice of reciting the Creed at Mass was encouraged more widely throughout the realm. In the eyes of Walahfrid, this increase in intensity was applied as a countermeasure against the feared spread of Felix's teachings.⁴¹⁵ Although Adoptionism itself was officially dispelled, it was still feared – or, at the very least, not forgotten – almost fifty years after its formal condemnation in Frankfurt. This goes to show that, whether Adoptionism was still an actual threat or not, discussions about it were ongoing. But it was not merely this Spanish Christology (i.e. doctrine concerning the second person of the Trinity) that came up for discussion. Theological debates about various unorthodox teachings never stopped and remained current in the Carolingian world of the ninth century. Other Christological debates, apart from Adoptionism itself, regularly arose, focusing on issues such as predestination, (images of) the crucifixion, and the Eucharist.⁴¹⁶

What all this underlines is that great value was attached to the principles of 'know thy self', and 'know thy enemy': by determining what constituted heresy and deviation from the correct faith, one establishes and pronounces, by default, one's own orthodoxy. Knowledge is power – and knowledge of heresies and controversies, both past and present, is crucial to determine one's own position as an orthodox polity. Furthermore, the Carolingian ruler, as defender of the church, carried a personal responsibility for the salvation of his people. This would explain why there

⁴¹⁵ (...) *et ut contra hereticorum venena in ipsis etiam sacramentorum celebrationibus medicamenta apud regiae suae urbis sedem confecta fidelium devotio replicaret. (...) sed apud Gallos et Germanos post deiectionem Felicis heretici sub gloriosissimo Karolo Francorum rectore damnati idem symbolum latius et crebrius in missarum coepit officiis iterari.*, Walahfrid Strabo, *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, ed. and transl. A. Harting-Côrrea, Walahfrid Strabo's *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum. A Translation and Liturgical Commentary* (Leiden, 1995), c. 23, pp. 136-13139. This work was written c. 840-842 (see p. 1 in Harting-Côrrea's introduction to the text). Also see Innes, 'Boundaries of Carolingian Christianity', pp. 123-124.

⁴¹⁶ See for instance Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era*; Ganz, 'Theology and the organisation of thought'; specifically on the debate on predestination in the ninth century see D. Ganz, 'The debate on predestination', in: M. Gibson and J.L. Nelson eds., *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom. Papers based on a colloquium held in London in April 1979* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 353-373.

was still interest in controversies of the past, such as Adoptionism, after they had been officially suppressed. The extensive attention devoted to the Spanish Christology in the heading to the letters on Adoptionism, therefore, is not an absolute indication that it was a product of the late eighth century. Although the topicality of Adoptionism in the 790s may explain why the letters on this heresy were inserted into the CC, it does not necessarily prove that the headings were part of the original letter collection as well. At any given time in the ninth century they would have served as a source of information on (past) heterodoxies and their theological shortcomings. However, though Adoptionism and heresy in general was a continual concern throughout the ninth century, its topicality was arguably greater in the 790s. A later Carolingian scribe copying and rearranging an original eighth-century heading could explain why it remained so detailed in the Cologne manuscript; yet a retained royal interest in the matter by a later Carolingian ruler, such as Louis the German, could account for it too.

Earlier in this thesis, I have briefly touched upon the practice of reading out loud conciliar acts and papal letters that were deemed relevant to the debates on the agenda. Especially in situations where papal rulings or declarations on certain matters of the faith or canon law had to be consulted, in discussions or at councils, the CC could have been put to such a use both in the 790s and in a later Carolingian Cologne context. As we have seen, the debates on heresy were current in both periods. Assuming that it already existed in some form in the original 791 manuscript, an elaborate heading such as the one on Adoptionism would also support the hypothesis that the CC manuscript could have functioned as a reference book for Hildebald in his new position as an archchaplain from the early 790s onwards.⁴¹⁷ To Archbishop Willibert, however, it could have served exactly the same practical purpose. Viewed against the ninth-century background of technological developments regarding the organisation and accessibility of information, Willibert may well have benefited from the *lemmata* in *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 that were meant to facilitate access to the information contained in the letters.

⁴¹⁷ See chapter 2 in this dissertation.

4.4 Terminology and rhetoric in the *lemmata*

Another way to capture the headings and to appreciate their composition is to see whether they remain close to the terminology used in the letters. As a rule of thumb, the answer is: yes, they do. Consequently, they give us little insight into the Carolingian scribes' interpretation of the letters as there are no definite signs of copyists using their own words to describe the letter contents. In turn, however, it does tell us something about the kind of information that was filtered out and selected to be put in the headings. It is notable that the many papal thanksgivings for Carolingian support of the Church against the Lombards almost always seem to make it to the *lemmata*, resulting in an image of glorious Christian Carolingian kings radiating from the manuscript pages. Recurrent phrases (allowing some variation as to precise wordings) include, for instance: *pro defensione sanctae dei ecclesiae*⁴¹⁸, *gratiarum actiones*, often combined with *uberrimae laudes* or *uberrimae benedictiones*.⁴¹⁹ Other frequent references are to the support or defence of the (orthodox) faith⁴²⁰, and to promises made (*pollicitus est*), which usually pertains to the kings who had promised aid against the Lombards, or oaths that the Lombards had broken. Since the papal letters constitute an avalanche of epistolary eulogies, it is only to be expected that this would be reflected in the headings to a certain extent.

Besides the abundant praise and expressions of gratitude, criticisms are rarely expressed in the letters; yet there are two well-known exceptions to this rule. The first is letter 45, which contains virtually unprecedented rhetoric and has come to be known as 'one of the most exquisitely intemperate letters ever written'⁴²¹. Pope Hadrian's persistent written attempts to obtain the Savinense territory from Charlemagne after the latter had conquered it from the Lombards form the second exception. The fact alone that these letters were kept in the collection and were not filtered out of it tells us that the letter collection itself did not represent a glorification or romanticised version of the papal-Carolingian relations. After all, great

⁴¹⁸ For instance CC, nos. 1, 2, 6, 8, to name but a few. Variations include *pro exaltatione sanctae dei ecclesiae*; *pro victoria et restitutione sanctae dei ecclesiae*; *pro liberatione sanctae dei ecclesiae*.

⁴¹⁹ To name a few instances: CC, nos. 4, 5, 18, 21, 22, 24.

⁴²⁰ For instance *orthodoxae fidei observationum* (CC, no. 38), *de fide vel constantia* or *dilectione* (CC, nos. 51, 69, 75), or *pro fide servanda* (CC, no. 13).

⁴²¹ Noble, *The Republic*, p. 121, and see pp. 116–127 for more context of this letter.

leadership – from kings and ecclesiastics alike – was characterised by the ability to give and receive criticism munificently.⁴²² Capturing the Carolingian experience, to what extent do the headings mirror the papal tenor in these letters?

4.4.1 An intimidating letter? CC, no. 45

Letter no. 45 in the collection stands out for its audacious and bold language. It is Pope Stephen III's zealous response to a rumoured marriage between King Charlemagne (or his brother Carloman – the pope was not sure at this point) and a daughter of the Lombard King Desiderius in 770. Shocked by the prospect of an alliance between his archenemy and primary ally, the pope employed rhetorical fireworks in an attempt to persuade the Carolingian kings to reconsider. To put it mildly, Stephen III expressed his vexation about the situation and, in the process of doing so, he used some of the worst 'xenophobic rhetoric' with regard to the Lombards, to quote Walter Pohl.⁴²³ It is not unique, however: similar language is also found in the *LP* from the sixth century onwards.⁴²⁴

The letter is not critical of the Frankish people – on the contrary, even –, but Stephen did make it clear that marrying a Lombard would be a bad decision for it would greatly pollute the *praeclara Francorum gens*. Though the letter may seem harsh and full of criticism in the first instance, it is in fact quite the opposite. By describing the Franks as the most noble of all nations and the Lombards as the worst⁴²⁵, the pope diametrically opposed these two

⁴²² Van Renswoude, 'Licence to speak', *passim*.

⁴²³ CC, no. 45, pp. 560–563; for a partial translation into English see P. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader* (Peterborough, 1993), pp. 23–24. See also Pohl's most recent discussion of this letter in 'Why not to marry a foreign woman'.

⁴²⁴ The Lombards are described as pestilential, wicked, treacherous, an unspeakable race, to name a few insults. See for such language, for instance, the Life of Stephen II, *LP* I, ed. Duchesne, c. 15, p. 444: *nefanda Langobardorum gente*. The language in the *LP* shocked O. Bertolini, 'Il Liber Pontificalis', *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 17 (1970), pp. 387–455, at pp. 417–523. See for the papal terminology used to describe Byzantines: Gantner, 'The label 'Greeks''.

⁴²⁵ CC, no. 45, p. 561: *Quae est enim, praecellentissimi filii, magni reges, talis desipientia, ut penitus vel dici liceat, quod vestra praeclara Francorum gens, quae super omnes gentes enitet, et tam splendiflua ac nobilissima regalis vestrae potentiae proles perfidiae, quod absit, ac foetentissimae Langobardorum genti polluat, quae in numero gentium nequaquam computatur, de cuius natione et leprosum genus oriri certum est.*

peoples against each other. It was rhetorically scathing towards the Lombards, therefore, and so indirectly but effectively praised the Franks at the same time, and vice versa. This was a rhetorical trick of *invectio*, using notions that would immediately also evoke juxtaposed meanings: paganism versus Christianity, Lombard *perfidia* versus Frankish *excellentia*, and so on.⁴²⁶ What makes this letter different from other texts where such expressive language occurs – in the Bible and the *LP*, for instance – is that it is essentially a diplomatic document on an important political issue.⁴²⁷ Given the use of such language in other texts, a certain familiarity with this rhetorical style could have rendered Carolingian court circles less susceptible to it than we might expect.⁴²⁸ In any case, the presence of letter no. 45 supports the idea that papal letters were not censured or banned from the *CC*, and that the collection was not meant to represent a sanitised version of events.

Stephen III warned the kings that they were not allowed to take foreign wives from other nations.⁴²⁹ Warnings of the same sort continue in the rest of the letter, while reminding the rulers of their promise to protect St Peter's Church.⁴³⁰ The closing passage displays the most intimidating language, threatening the kings with anathema if they should defy the pope's authority: 'Should either of you, which we do not wish, presume to disregard the thrust of our entreaty and exhortation, then know that by authority of my Lord St. Peter Prince of the Apostles you will be placed under the ban of the anathema, will become an alien from the kingdom of God, and will be doomed, with the devil and his most wicked ministers, and

⁴²⁶ J. Long, *Claudian's In Eutropium, Or, How, When and Why to Slander A Eunuch* (Chapel Hill, 1996), pp. 65-146 (on literary traditions of political invective).

⁴²⁷ Pohl, 'Why not to marry a foreign woman'.

⁴²⁸ Fierce rhetoric of this kind was politically acceptable, provided that it was aimed to improve the well-being of the polity and the person at whom the criticism was directed: Van Renswoude, 'Licence to speak', *passim*; De Jong, *The Penitential State*, esp. pp. 112-147.

⁴²⁹ *CC*, no. 45, p. 561: *et certae non vobis licet, eis dimissis, alias ducaere uxores vel extranae nationis consanguinitate immisci (...)*; English translation by Pohl, 'Why not to marry a foreign woman' (forthcoming): 'And certainly you are not allowed, having dismissed them, to marry others or to join yourself in consanguinity with another nation'.

⁴³⁰ Compare Hadrian's letter on Adoptionism (no. 95), as discussed above, where the practice of marriage to non-Christians is discussed in the context of heresies.

all impious men to eternal flames.⁴³¹ Surely, this was a serious threat that should not be taken lightly, but at the same time one which would only come to pass in the event of the Carolingian kings failing to honour their promise to St Peter.

On occasion, other letters in the collection also remind the kings of their alliance with and obligations to the Church of St Peter, but the language as employed in CC 45 is extraordinarily sharp. The general tone of the letter is reflected in its heading, but it also seems like a rather pragmatic and almost objective summary of the letter, almost pragmatically stating that it was sent to Charles and Carloman, 'prohibiting and also obliging with a great many adjurations (*cum nimis adiurationibus*) that they should not at all accept wives from the Lombard people.'⁴³² Yet while the heading omits the forthright papal threat of anathema, it betrays much of Stephen III's tenor at the same time by referring to the extreme reprimands. By doing so, it does not divert the reader from the letter's contents, and, without being too explicit, it does not tone down its terminology either.

Maybe the author of the heading to letter no. 45 used the expression *cum nimis adiurationibus* to make clear that the pope employed language in the letter that was excessive, and not particularly friendly, without explicitly mentioning the threat of anathema. It could also be that he just was not that intimidated by the display of papal rhetorical belligerence, or simply did not even consider the language as such. While the term *adiurationes* is used by the pope himself in the same letter, the expression *cum nimis adiurationibus* is not. Elsewhere in other *lemmata*, the same expression is used to describe the pope using a great many adjurations – that is, making a lot of noise – to move the kings to come into action. The contents of the letters to which these *lemmata* belong, however, employ milder – one could even say average –

⁴³¹ CC, no. 45, p. 563: *Et si quis, quod non optamus, contra huiusmodi nostrae adiurationis atque exhortationis seriem agere praesumserit, sciat se auctoritate domini mei, beati Petri apostolorum principis, anathematis vinculo esse innodatum et a regno Dei alienum atque cum diabolo et eius atrocissimis pompis et ceteris impiis aeternis incendiis concremandum deputatum.*; English translation by Pohl, 'Why not to marry a foreign woman' (forthcoming).

⁴³² The lemma reads: *item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad num [i.e. domnum] carolum et carlomannum regibus directa, prohibendo atque cum nimis adiurationibus obligando, ut de gente langobardorum uxores minimae acciperent.* Translation: 'Likewise, a copy of the letter that was sent from the same pope to Lord Kings Charles and Carloman, prohibiting and also obliging with a great many adjurations that they should not at all accept wives from the Lombard people.'

language compared to CC no. 45.⁴³³ The expression therefore reflects a Carolingian choice of words to describe instances where the pope pleads for help, both mildly and exceedingly, and suggests that the author of the *lemmata* was not particularly interested in the papal adjurations. Also, since the expression appears a number of times in headings throughout the collection, it reveals a specific vocabulary and supports the idea that there was one person who compiled all (or most of?) the headings.

4.4.2 Hadrian and the *patrimonium Savinense*: CC, nos. 60-71

Another issue that led to some of the more outspoken and critical letters in the collection concerns the territorial claims of the papacy in relation to the so-called Donation of Pippin and Charlemagne's confirmation of it after his Italian conquest in 774. Following Pippin's Italian expeditions in 754 and 756, the king officially donated lands to the papacy in the Treaty of Quierzy. As soon as Charlemagne had conquered Lombard Italy, he followed up to his father's promise during his visit to Rome in the same year and promised to donate lands to the papacy. Hadrian's *vita* in the *LP* recounts Charlemagne's pledge with much attention whereas the Frankish sources mostly ignore it.⁴³⁴ After spelling out the territorial arrangements, the *LP* states that the king ratified his donation by an oath and by placing a copy of the donation on St Peter's *confessio*.⁴³⁵ It was not until Charlemagne's visits to Rome in 781 and 787, however, that the territorial donations became

⁴³³ These are *lemmata* to CC, nos. 7 (but here adjurations were directed at the Lombard king, not the Frankish ruler); 9; 15; 24; and 57.

⁴³⁴ *LP* I, ed. Duchesne, *Life of Hadrian*, c. 41-42, pp. 498. See also pp. ccxxxvi, ff for Duchesne's discussion on the importance of these passages; also see Hartmann, *Hadrian I*, pp. 115-159. Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, eds. G.H. Perts and G. Waitz, *MGH SRG* 25 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1911), c. 6, pp. 8-9 merely reports that Charles restored what Desiderius had stolen, but does not mention Charlemagne's visit to Rome; also see Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, p. 137, n. 60, and Hartmann, *Hadrian I*, pp. 115-118.

⁴³⁵ *LP* I, ed. Duchesne, *Life of Hadrian*, c. 43, p. 498: *quam prius super altare beati Petri et postmodum intus in sancta eius confessione ponentes*. Though the *Vita Hadriani* describes the territorial donations in detail, it is unclear what exactly was promised: the donations made in 774 were supposed to be a reaffirmation of the promises made at Quierzy in 754, but we do not know exactly what the donation entailed back then. The *Life of Stephen II* describes, in very little detail, the territories donated by Pippin, but these are more limited than the promises as described in the *Life of Hadrian*. See Hartmann, *Hadrian I*, pp. 119-159 for the most recent and elaborate discussion on the donations of 754 and 774, their problems as to interpretation, and a historiographical overview.

definite.⁴³⁶ Despite these solemn promises in 774, therefore, their fulfilment was delayed.

As a result, the years between 774 and 781 represent a phase of uncertainty for Pope Hadrian, and his letters of this period show a change in tone, reflecting his growing impatience.⁴³⁷ From 774 onwards the pope acted, in Noble's words, as if he were 'almost bewildered' and became more detailed in the descriptions of his territorial claims.⁴³⁸ Hadrian also reverted to other strategies such as urging Charlemagne to emulate the Emperor Constantine, who had donated lands to Pope Sylvester.⁴³⁹

Of this bewildered language, very little is reflected in the headings to his correspondence (CC nos. 60-71). First of all, the reference to Constantine in CC 60 is not mentioned: all that is referred to in the heading are expressions of gratitude for the health of the king and his family, the exaltation of the Church, and the pope's request to baptise the king's newborn son.⁴⁴⁰ Apparently, this was the kind of information that the copyist valued most, as opposed to the allusion to the Emperor Constantine, or the references to the various territories, among which were the Sabine patrimonies (*patrimonio Savinensae*) to which Hadrian laid claim.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁶ See Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, pp. 106-119 (introduction to the Life of Hadrian I).

⁴³⁷ Noble stresses that Charlemagne was not unwilling to fulfil the promises and argues that Charlemagne's promises of 774 had been provisional, and it was only after some years that the king knew his Italian lands well enough to decide what he ought to do with them. As testified by his letters, the pope came to realise this in 778: after 778 he no longer refers to the general promise of 774: Noble, *The Republic*, pp. 146-183: 'Thus, between 774 and 784 Charlemagne learned what he could and ought to do in Italy, and Hadrian learned by 778 that the Roman promise had been provisional.' (p. 147). Again, also see Hartmann, *Hadrian I*, pp. 119-159, for an extensive discussion of the promises and their historiography.

⁴³⁸ Noble, *The Republic*, pp. 148; also see Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, pp. 110-112.

⁴³⁹ For instance, to the the Sabine patrimonies: CC, no. 68, p. 598; the Constantine reference is to be found in CC, no. 60, p. 587.

⁴⁴⁰ It reads: *item exemplar epistolae adriani papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones pro vita et sanitatae domni regis et uxoris vel filiorum eius nec non et pro exaltatione sanctae dei ecclesiae; et postolans, ut filium suum ex sacro baptismatis fonte suscipere mereretur.* Translation: 'Likewise, the copy of this letter that was sent from Pope Hadrian to Lord King Charles is about prayers of thanksgivings for the life and health of the lord king and his wife and his children, and also for the exaltation of the Holy Church of God; and [the pope] asks, that he may deserve to receive [the king's] son from the sacred baptismal font.'

⁴⁴¹ References to the various territories: CC, no. 60, p. 587: *in partibus Tusciae, Spoletio seu Benevento atque Corsica simul et Savinensae patrimonio beato Petro apostolo sanctaeque Dei et apostolicae Romanae ecclesiae concessa sunt (...).* Hadrian finally obtained the Sabine territories in

Second, while the headings refer to the territorial claims made by Hadrian, they do so without much further comment. Between 778-781, Hadrian was solely concerned with obtaining the Sabine territories, but this is testified only by the headings to letter nos. 68 (from early 781),⁴⁴² 70 (from May-September 781),⁴⁴³ 71 (from the end of 781 – early 782),⁴⁴⁴ and 72 (from 782).⁴⁴⁵ They rather matter-of-factly mention that the letters are about this territory which the king had promised, and that it should be delivered in its entirety (CC 68); that the letter is about the Sabine territory (CC 70); and that the king wanted to restore this territory but could not because of wicked men (CC 71 and 72), as reported in the letters. So, the papal bids to territorial restorations are reflected in the headings, but not as elaborately as might be expected.

781. On what the Sabine territories and the papal patrimonies in the Sabine region entailed, see Noble, *The Republic*, pp. 156-157; and M. Costambeys, *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy. Local Society, Italian Politics and the Abbey of Farfa, c.700-900* (Cambridge, 2007), esp. at pp. 281-282, 333, 337, 342: the LP Life of Zachary contains the first reference to a *territorium Sabinense*, but later papal sources – with the exception of Hadrian I's letters – use the term *patrimonium Sabinense*.

⁴⁴² It reads: *item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur gratiarum actiones pro exaltatione sanctae dei ecclesiae, et de territorio sabinense quemadmodum praedictus rex sancto petro pollitus fuerat, quod in integro contradere iuberet*. Translation: 'Likewise, the copy of this letter that was sent from the same pope to Lord King Charles is about prayers of thanksgivings for the exaltation of the Holy Church of God, and about the Sabine territory in so far as the aforementioned king had promised to Saint Peter, that he should order to hand it over in its entirety.'

⁴⁴³ It reads: *item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de sacratione petri episcopi seu et de territorio sanense*. Translation: 'Likewise, the copy of this letter that was sent from the same pope to Lord King Charles is about the consecration of Bishop Peter and also about the Sabine territory.'

⁴⁴⁴ It reads: *item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de territorio sabinense, qualiter itthereus et maginarius missi domni regis ipsum territorium in integro partibus sancti petri reddere voluerunt, sed propter iniquos homines minime potuerunt*. Translation: 'Likewise, the copy of this letter that was sent from the same pope to Lord King Charles is about the Sabine territory; how Itthereus and Maginarius, missi of the Lord King, wanted to restore the same territory in its entirety to Saint Peter, but could not because of wicked men.'

⁴⁴⁵ It reads: *item epistola ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur gratiarum actiones pro exaltatione sanctae dei ecclesiae et de terrio sabinensae, qualiter machinarius fidelissimus eiusdem praecelsae regis ipsum territorium cum integritate partibus sancti petri contradere voluit, sed propter iniquos adques perversos homines minime potuit*. Translation: 'Likewise, this letter that was sent to Lord King Charles is about prayers of thanksgivings for the exaltation of the Holy Church of God and concerning the Sabine territory; how Machinarius, the most faithful man of the same excellent king, wanted to deliver the same territory in its entirety to Saint Peter, but could not because of wicked and perverse men.'

What does this tell us? Is this merely a case of a copyist being overly selective? The details of Hadrian's repeated – and heated – claims were probably not tremendously memorable, certainly even less so in the later ninth century than in 791 when he was still pope. Besides, whoever created the headings – either in 791 or in the later ninth century – already knew the outcome of Hadrian's endless appeals: Charlemagne fulfilled his promise in the end. Maybe that is why the headings' copyist or creator decided not to go into too much detail.

Pippin's and Charlemagne's promises and donations to the papacy and St Peter, on the other hand, *were* to be remembered as a quintessential component of the Frankish-papal alliance between them. As markers to the Carolingian support of St Peter and his Church, they embodied the fulfilment of their bond and solemn oaths to protect the orthodox faith from enemies. They were a fundamental part of the letter collection, and a witness to the history of the Carolingian *imperium*.

4.4.3 Formerly perfidious Saxons: CC, no. 76

Usually, the headings stay close to the terminology which is used in the letters, even though they have to be selective in the kind of information they recount. On a few occasions, however, the copyist has taken the liberty to employ phrases of his own that cannot be traced back to the correspondence. There is one case of such an initiative which has caught my attention, as it reflects a particular mind set by using the arresting phrase *dudum perfida* to describe the Saxons. This is the heading to a letter from Hadrian, written in 786 (CC 76).⁴⁴⁶

This letter and its heading focus on Charlemagne's victorious struggle against the Saxons and his success in having them converted to the catholic faith. Describing the Saxon people, the heading uses the expression *de gente*

⁴⁴⁶ It reads: *item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad dominum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de gente dudum perfida scilicet saxonum, qualiter dominus ac redemptor noster per prefati regis laboriosa certamina ad dei cultum sue catholice et apostolice ecclesiae rectitudinis fidei seu ad sacrum baptismatis fontem usque perduxisset, et de letaniis et de ieiuniis et orationibus pro huiusmodi rei*. Translation: 'Likewise, the copy of this letter that was sent from the same pope to Lord King Charles, is about the formerly perfidious people known as the Saxons; how our Lord and Saviour through the laborious struggles of the aforementioned king had led them to God's worship and that of the catholic, up to the sacred baptismal font; and about the litanies and the fastings and the prayers for a king of this kind.'

dudum perfida scilicet saxonum, or ‘the formerly perfidious people known as the Saxons’. In the letter itself, the phrase *dudum perfida* is not used to describe the Saxons. Hence, the copyist has used these words on his own initiative in describing the Saxon people. Since *perfidia* is an expression which was sometimes used for describing the Saxon people in Carolingian texts, as we will see below, this heading is significant.⁴⁴⁷

When we take into account the timeframe of the intermittent Saxon wars during the years 772-804, the use of the word *perfidia* may hint at a late eighth-century genesis of the headings. Yet there are also compelling arguments to suggest that the heading reflects a later, ninth-century mindset. Even though the Saxons were, by that time, integrated and Christianised within the Carolingian realm (or, rather, part of the *imperium*), their Saxon identity was still remembered.

Known as the Saxon Wars, Charlemagne’s enduring struggle against the Saxons took place between 772 and 804, interspersed with peaceful times and even cooperation between the Franks and the Saxons.⁴⁴⁸ A major turning point came in the year 785, which ushered in a peaceful phase with the public surrender and subsequent baptism of the Saxon leader Widukind. At Attigny, Widukind, the former instigator of Saxon *perfidia* (*perfidie incensor*) was raised from the baptismal font by the hands of Charlemagne himself

⁴⁴⁷ In other papal letters in the CC, the notion *perfidia* is occasionally employed – so it was part of the papal vocabulary as well. See CC, nos. 36 and 48. *Perfidia*, as the opposite of *fides* (loyalty) denotes treachery, falsehood or anything of the like. It is a notion with classical roots, but in the Christian Carolingian world it became very much associated as the counterpart of Christian *fides* (faith). As used by Carolingian authors, *perfidia* came to imply heresy, disbelief or disloyalty to God and, in extension, its representative institutions such as the church and also the king. Saxon *perfidia* connoting infidelity is a common theme in Frankish historical writing such as the Annals of Lorsch and the ARF: R. Flierman, ‘*Gens perfida* or *populus Christianus*? Saxon (in)fideliy in Frankish historical writing’, forthcoming in the HERA volume *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, forthcoming); also see E. Shuler, ‘The Saxons within Carolingian Christendom: post-conquest identity in the translations of Vitus, Pusinna, and Liborius’, *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010), pp. 39-54, at pp. 42-43.

⁴⁴⁸ Some Saxon nobles actually fought alongside Frankish troupes against other Saxons and participated in royal assemblies; M.B. Gillis, ‘Noble and Saxon: the meaning of Gottschalk of Orbais’ ethnicity at the Synod of Mainz, 829’, in: R. Corradini, M. Gillis, R.D. McKitterick and I. Van Renswoude eds., *Ego Trouble. Authors and their Identities in the Early Middle Ages. Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 15 (Vienna, 2010), pp. 197-210, at p. 202.

(*domnus rex suscepit eum a fonte*).⁴⁴⁹ Peace with the recently converted Saxons would not last long, however. In 792 (maybe July), the Saxons renewed hostilities and assaulted Frankish forces.⁴⁵⁰

This period of peace between the conversion and surrender of Widukind in 785 and the renewed Saxon insurrection in 792 leads one to conjecture that the heading(s) belong(ed) to the original manuscript produced in 791. Given that the heading to Hadrian's letter speaks of formerly unfaithful Saxons, it could have been written during this time of peace with the Saxons. Also, it cannot have been written shortly after (July) 792, meaning that this date could serve as a *terminus ante quem*. Consequently, this could imply that the heading was produced simultaneously with the CC's composition in 791. Yet however reasonable this may seem, it is more likely that the use of the word *dudum* (formerly, or: at one time) hints at a later ninth-century Cologne environment, when the CC was copied into the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449.

The Saxon wars ended in 804 with the incorporation of Saxons, decisively overpowered by Charlemagne in 804, into the Carolingian *imperium*. In Archbishop Willibert of Cologne's time, some fifty to sixty years later, the Saxons could also be labelled as formerly perfidious, since they had by then been successfully integrated into the Carolingian world or *imperium* for a long time, and the Saxon wars would not have been a contemporary concern. The history of the conversion and inclusion of the Saxons by Charlemagne was, however, remembered as an intense and successful part of Carolingian history, for it had been a long and destructive struggle that ended in Carolingian victory.⁴⁵¹

Certainly, in the later ninth century, the Saxons and their Church as part of the larger Carolingian realm were still on the Cologne agenda. As

⁴⁴⁹ *Annales Laureshamenses*, ed. Pertz, s.a. 785, p. 32. Widukind's conversion, however, was no guarantee for permanent Saxon Christianity, as letter no. 77 (from 786, pp. 608-609), describes how the Saxons had returned to their pagan faith (*ad paganissimum reversi sunt*).

⁴⁵⁰ Flierman, 'Gens perfida or populus Christianus?', who also refers to the various sources that report on this Saxon assault.

⁴⁵¹ See Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, c. 7, pp. 9-10, which blames Saxon *perfidia* for the long duration of the wars: 'no other war undertaken by the Franks was longer, fiercer, or more difficult than this one (...). It was fought for thirty continuous years with great hatred on both sides (...). The war could have ended sooner had not the perfidy (*perfidia*) of the Saxons prevented this.'

discussed in the previous chapter, the synod held in Cologne nine months after Willibert's ordination, on September 26th 870, had all the Saxon bishops present. It symbolised the unification of the Churches of East Francia, Lotharingia, and Saxony.⁴⁵² One even wonders if the *CC* could have been used in this synodal context, just as it may have been used at the Council of Frankfurt in 794, as I have suggested. The timeframe of the manuscript's ownership by Willibert certainly shows congruence with the time and location of the council. Also, the council's inclusion of attendees from the various parts of Louis the German's Carolingian realm, including Saxony, represents a Frankish rule or *imperium* that is mirrored in the *CC*'s preface. These must, however, remain mere speculations.

Furthermore, the geographical area of Saxony belonged for the most part to the ecclesiastical church province of Cologne. Willibert's continuations to the *Annales Xantenses* refer explicitly to Saxony and the Saxons on several occasions.⁴⁵³ At one point, they mention an investigation into the alleged veneration of false saints in Saxony.⁴⁵⁴ Moreover, the Saxons are described as successfully countering Norman attacks (they did so as part of Louis the German's army)⁴⁵⁵, and the death of the Saxon count Liudolf (who also fought in the battles against the Normans) is reported.⁴⁵⁶ One could therefore say that, although the transformation of Saxon élites into the upper echelons of Carolingian society and the christianisation of Saxony had been in progress since the late eighth century, the Saxon identity and background were still part of Cologne's frame of reference and historical memory in the later ninth century.

From this perspective, the use of the term *imperium* in the *CC*'s *praefatio* may even have evoked the inclusion of the Saxons in the Carolingian realm in the 780s, suggesting a connotation of imperial rule over many peoples. Their conversion to the Christian faith had been an essential aspect of the Saxon capitulation, further supporting the idea of an *imperium* with a distinct Christian connotation, a *christianum imperium*. For Charlemagne's heirs, this component of Carolingian and Christian history

⁴⁵² Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 299.

⁴⁵³ Patzold, *Episcopus*, p. 372, pointing out the passages on the Saxons.

⁴⁵⁴ *Annales Xantenses*, ed. Von Simson, s.a. 866 (867), p. 23.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, s.a. 863 (864), p. 21.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, s.a. 865 (866), p. 23.

would have been memorable too. By adding one expression in describing the Saxons in the heading, *dudum perfid(i)a*, the entire connotation of the Saxon wars and Carolingian victory would have been evoked, not just for someone in the 790s, but certainly also for a later ninth-century Cologne audience of the manuscript. More importantly, mentioning the former perfidy of the Saxons immediately brought to mind their successful inclusion in the Christian Frankish world, which may have been particularly relevant in Louis the German's and Archbishop Willibert's Cologne: the Saxons once were treacherous, but not anymore. It is possible, therefore, that the word *dudum* represents a later insertion by the author of this heading, or that he created the entire heading himself.

Conclusion

The most crucial question in this chapter has been: what is the origin of the *lemmata* as found in the later ninth-century CC manuscript *Codex Vindobonensis* 449? This question is important to ask, since the headings are exceptional windows into the Carolingian reading and understanding of the papal letters, and allow the possibility to gain insight into contemporary use.

Although the individual case studies on the headings' contents that have been reviewed in this chapter are all noteworthy, but do not definitively settle the matter of whether the *lemmata* belonged to the original CC manuscript as produced in 791, or to a later ninth-century Cologne environment. The exceptionally long and comprehensive heading to Hadrian's letter on Adoptionism, for instance, confirms the role of the collection in providing detailed information on heresies. It is a tempting thought that *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 could have been consulted during debates on heresy, but this must remain speculation only. In any case, whether the original headings were, with regard to the contents and lay-out, similar to those as found in *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 or not, they would have served a practical purpose in both a later eighth- and later ninth-century timeframe.

Yet the headings' elaborate nature and choice of words, such as the word *dudum perfid(i)a* to describe the Saxons, justify a dating to a later ninth-century period. The codicological and paleographical features of the *lemmata* and the way they frame the letters in the manuscript support this

hypothesis. We have seen that, during the ninth-century, the trend towards functionality, accessibility, and organising knowledge and historical memory further grew. If the author of the headings in *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 used earlier versions that were organised differently, such as the ones found in Hildebald's Codex 92, he adapted them to meet the requirements of his time, combining the features of the examples with those characteristic of the recent technical developments and demands for the organisation and accessibility of knowledge.

In view of the hope expressed in the *CC*'s preface, *ut nullum penitus testimonium sanctae ecclesiae profuturum suis deesse successoribus videatur* ('in order that no testimony at all of the Holy Church should seem lacking to his future successors'), it seems as an important goal of the collection had been met. The *CC* had come full circle by the time it was copied into the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449: the headings rendered its contents ready for use and consultation for a contemporary audience.

CHAPTER FIVE

RECURRENT NOTIONS IN THE LETTERS

Patricius Romanorum, *compaternitas*, and Old Testament comparisons

Having considered the late eighth- and later ninth-century Carolingian socio-political framework of the CC as a compilation, it is now time to transfer our attention to its inner core, constituted by the papal letters. Whoever peruses these will notice the repetitive occurrence of various themes and notions. One can even speak of certain strategies – terminological, rhetorical or conceptual – wielded by the various popes in their correspondence.¹ Some of the more outstanding notions have generated an impressive amount of scholarly attention. Traditionally, it is the title of *patricius Romanorum*, the spiritual bond of *compaternitas* or co-parenthood, and the use of Old Testament ruler comparisons that have been at the centre of historiographical interest. The patrician title and the co-parental bond were introduced at the dawn of the Carolingian liaison with papal Rome in 754, against the background of Pippin's anointing by the hands of Pope Stephen II. They were subsequently maintained as fundamental elements in the papal discourse. Old Testament ruler comparisons were meant to flatter and incite King Pippin to dedicate himself to the papal cause, but were, oddly enough, not continued for his sons after Pippin's death in 768.

Since these concepts or notions were indeed, at least for the most part, the product of papal ingenuity and resourcefulness, they can be viewed as components of their strategy to strengthen and intensify their promising relations with the Carolingian court. Where the dignity of *patricius Romanorum* carried a secular responsibility with regard to the protection of Rome and its inhabitants, *compaternitas* – or, co-parenthood – represented a more personal and sacred relation forged between the pope and the

¹ Noble, 'The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*'.

Carolingian family. Alongside the Old Testament comparisons, these concepts have been studied extensively in the light of the Franco-papal relations in the second half of the eighth century. Accordingly, they do not need a full and in-depth reconsideration, and nor does Pippin's royal anointing at the hands of Stephen II.²

That these three notions are outstanding features in the papal correspondence is certain, but this is indicative of their papal employment only. How these themes or concepts were interpreted and understood from a Carolingian perspective, however, is a different matter. As outlines of the papal letters, the *lemmata* offer the most straightforward windows into the Carolingian mind. This chapter therefore studies to what extent these papal themes are featured in the *lemmata*, as a way to come to grips with what remained of these in a Carolingian setting. To my knowledge, such an approach has never been undertaken before. This chapter, therefore, offers a tentative exploration. It does not aim to present a wide-ranging evaluation of the overall reception and implementation of these concepts in the Carolingian discourse, but will mostly be limited to a Franco-papal framework only, with the *lemmata* as the key texts.

5.1 The title of *patricius Romanorum*

5.1.1 Interpretations and discussions in historiography

When researching communications and contacts between the early medieval Frankish realm and papal Rome, most scholars have concentrated on the official alliance that was forged between the two in the early 750s, when the first Carolingian king Pippin III usurped the Frankish throne with papal support, and the palpable expressions of this bond in the following decades. These included Pippin's anointing and his military expedition in Lombard Italy a few years later, his son Charlemagne's subsequent conquest of it in 774, and the latter's imperial coronation on Christmas day 800 in Rome. A

² The Frankish accounts on the anointing itself will not be discussed in this thesis, as Erik Goosmann has recently produced an in-depth study on the sources reporting on this ritual: Goosmann, 'Memorable Crises'.

library of secondary literature on these topics has been produced in the past century or so.³

Equally, the bestowing of the title of *patricius Romanorum* by Pope Stephen II on Pippin and his two sons at some point during the anointing ceremony in 754 has engaged the minds of modern historians. The sources commenting on this episode show that both parties created and developed different versions and memories of the event, since historiography was used as a pivotal instrument in communicating group identity, as Erik Goosmann has recently explained.⁴ Besides, the processes and means of remembering the past were subject to inventive processes of shaping and reshaping it.⁵

Neither of the contemporary papal sources – the *CC* nor the *LP* – comments in detail on the ritual in which the patrician dignity was granted. It is mostly thanks to three Frankish sources that record the ceremonies of 754 in more detail that we know a bit more about what happened. These sources describe the styling of Pippin as patrician of the Romans; the first is the conveniently named *Clausula de unctione Pippini*; the second are the better known *Annales Mettenses priores*; and the third is the *Chronicon Moissacense*.⁶ Surprisingly, the *ARF* merely make note of the fact that the pope came to

³ The publications are numerous - to name but a few of the most recent key publications: the groundbreaking study of Noble, *The Republic*; P. Classen, 'Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz', *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters IX* (Sigmaringen, 1988); Fried, 'Papst Leo III. besucht Karl den Grossen'; the volume J.M.H. Smith ed., *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden, Boston, London, 2000); McKitterick, 'The illusion of royal power'; J. Semmler, *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751 und die frankische Königssalbung* (Düsseldorf, 2003); the volume M. Becher and J. Jarnut eds., *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751: Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung* (Münster, 2004), with, for instance, R. Schieffer, 'Neues von der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Großen', at pp. 3-25; the volume J. Story ed., *Charlemagne. Empire and Society*, (Manchester, 2005).

⁴ Goosmann, 'Memorable crises', pp. 1-15, with reference to Innes and McKitterick, 'The Writing of History'; Nelson, 'History writing', and De Jong, *The Penitential State*.

⁵ Goosmann, 'Memorable crises', pp. 1-15, with reference to Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*; Pohl, *Werkstätte*; and McKitterick, *History and Memory*.

⁶ *Clausula de unctione Pippini*, ed. Stoclet, pp. 1-40; transl. B. Pullan, *Sources for the history of medieval Europe from the mid-eighth to the mid-thirteenth century* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 7-8; *Annales Mettenses priores*, ed. Von Simson, pp. 1-98. *Chronicon Moissacense*, ed. G.H. Pertz, *MGH SS I* (Hanover, 1826), pp. 282-313; *idem*, *MGH SS II* (Hanover, 1829), pp. 257-259. For details on the construction and interpretation of the versions of the events in these sources, see Goosmann, 'Memorable crises', with pp. 196-198, discussing the possibility that the *Clausula* may not be contemporary to the events but a ninth-century text instead; also see McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 140-141.

seek aid and comfort *pro iustitiis Sancti Petri*.⁷ All reports are brief and do not define the nature of the rank, nor any precise responsibilities or obligations attached to it. King Pippin must have been aware of the fact that he would be asked to be the protector of Rome.⁸

Despite the rather meagre and exclusively Carolingian testimonies on the conferment of the title it should, based on the consistent use in the papal letters, first and foremost be regarded as a vital aspect of the papal attempts to generate a Frankish attachment to Rome and its Church. But what did it entail precisely? Clearly, Pope Stephen II must have had a concept in mind when he conferred this rank on the Carolingian royal family – something which they could relate to and which would have been appealing to them. We therefore need to define what specific connotations the dignity contained from a papal perspective, before we can appreciate the Carolingian interpretation.

Given the sources' elusiveness, historians have debated what the title meant. The central issues that have been addressed primarily in the past decades are on whose initiative (i.e. papal or Byzantine) and authority Pippin and his sons were raised to the rank of *patricii Romanorum*; and the exact meaning, background, and implications of this Roman patriciate. For one, the addition *Romanorum* was, as is acknowledged by scholars, a novelty.⁹ Furthermore, the patrician position, either with or without the addition *Romanorum*, had never been conferred by a pope before, as it had up to that time been an imperial prerogative. This has inspired the notion that Stephen II may have been operating on behalf of the Byzantine emperor,

⁷ ARF, ed. Rau, s.a. 753, p. 14; *Eodemque anno Stephanus papa venit in Franciam, adiutorium et solatium quaerendo pro iustitiis sancti Petri*. Einhard's continuations to the ARF mention the pope seeking help against the Lombards: *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, ed. R. Rau, Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte I (Darmstadt, 1974), s.a. 753, p. 14: *Eodem anno Stephanus papa venit ad Pippinum regem in villa, quae vocatur Carisiacus, suggerens ei, ut se et Romanam ecclesiam ab infestatione Langobardorum defenderet*.

⁸ Noble, *The Republic*, p. 81.

⁹ See for instance the most recent expression of this notion: Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, p. 121. One of the key publications on the *patricius Romanorum* title remains A. Angenendt, 'Das geistliche Bündnis der Päpste mit den Karolingern (754-796)', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 100 (1980), pp. 1-94.

but the *communis opinio* nowadays mostly leaves Byzantium out of the equation, concluding that the pope acted independently.¹⁰

One of the most persistent debates has centred on the question whether the title was merely an honorific reward for Pippin's oath of protection, or whether it constituted an official position of sorts. Although François-Louis Ganshof asserted that the dignity was Byzantine in basis, and for the most part honorific, in other words an indication of status as opposed to an actual office with power, the discussion continued.¹¹ While scholars have not agreed on the exact meanings and responsibilities attached to the title, everyone seems to have acknowledged an undefined and rather vague position as 'lord of the Republic of St Peter'.¹²

It is the addition *Romanorum* that conveys the special relation to the papacy and Rome. It translates as an ethnic patriciate of the Romans, the inhabitants of Rome and of the papal lands surrounding Rome. In the CC, the Roman (or papal) people are often termed as Saint Peter's *peculiaris populus*, or peculiar people. St Peter's – and hence the pope's – peculiar people is equivalent to the people of Rome, St Peter's city.¹³ Also, St Peter's people are – in the letter in the CC that was written in his name – described as *populus meus Romanus*, and the city should have special protection as it holds the body of the Apostle. Therefore, the city of Rome geographically

¹⁰ J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983), p. 169; Noble, *The Republic*, p. 278, n. 3, for references to literature on this discussion. Noble points to C. Diehl as the first one to suggest that the pope acted as a Byzantine agent: *Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'Exarchate de Ravenne (568-751)*. *Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 53 (Paris, 1888), which I have not been able to consult personally. Also see J. Deér, 'Zur Praxis der Verleihung des auswärtigen Patriziats durch den byzantinischen Kaiser', *AHP* 8 (1970), pp. 7-23.

¹¹ F.L. Ganshof, 'Note sur les origines byzantines du titre 'Patricius Romanorum'', *Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales. Mélanges Henri Grégoire X* (1950), pp. 261-282; also see Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, p. 239; Noble, *The Republic*, p. 279. See for the most extensive discussion of what title may have entailed J. Deér, 'Zum Patricius-Romanorum-Titel Karls des Grossen', *AHP* 3 (1965), pp. 31-86.

¹² Noble, *The Republic*, p. 278; also see n. 1 on this page in which Noble provides us with an all-inclusive and comprehensive historiographical overview of secondary literature on the topic of the *patricius Romanorum* title and its implications. The most recent overview of historiographical debate regarding the Roman patriciate is offered by Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, p. 121, n. 121.

¹³ See E. Caspar, *Pippin und die römische Kirche. Kritische Untersuchungen zum Fränkisch-Päpstlichen Bunde im VIII. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1914), pp. 181-183.

embodied *christianitas*.¹⁴ Rome and St Peter, as Walter Ullmann recognised, coalesced into one notion by this statement.¹⁵ Or, as Noble phrased it, 'Roman' essentially meant 'papal' or 'Petrine' in the papal discourse.¹⁶ Therefore, I would say that *Romanorum* was distinctively added to indicate that the Carolingian kings were the pope's (and, consequentially, St Peter's) special *patricii*, and were, as such, different from 'normal' people of patrician standing.

There is a passage in the *LP* which underlines the honorific position that the king as *patricius* enjoyed, entitling him to exceptional treatment. Describing Charlemagne's invasion of Lombard Italy in 774 and visit to Rome while laying siege to the Lombard capital of Pavia, the *LP* paints a vivid picture of the glorious *adventus*-ceremony with which the king was received. As one of the many ceremonial aspects of this reception, Pope Hadrian I dispatched crosses or standards to greet the king on his way to Rome, 'just like greeting an Exarch or patrician' (*sicut mos est exarchum aut patricium suscipiendum*).¹⁷ The fact that the *LP* states that Charles was received *just like* an exarch or patrician was not strange given that he actually *was* a patrician.¹⁸ Even more so, he was a patrician who was honouring his promise to defend Rome, since he was on the eve of bringing down the pope's arch-enemies, the Lombards, once and for all. This *LP* passage indicates that there was, apparently, a specific version of the *adventus* reception ritual which was particularly developed for patricians and exarchs, being people of comparably high status.

As the honour of the *patricius*-rank must be regarded as an expression and confirmation of the vow to protect (the city of) St Peter and the orthodox

¹⁴ CC, no. 10, p. 502, lines 22-25. The employment of terminology referring to the pope's peculiar people, being the Romans, is not restricted to this one letter, but the explicit connection that is made between St Peter and Rome and its inhabitants is quite outstanding. The CC contains many references to the *peculiaris populus*, for instance also in CC, nos. 8, p. 496, and 10, p. 502.

¹⁵ W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages: a Study in the Relation of Clerical to Lay Power* (London, 1970), p. 63.

¹⁶ Noble, *Images*, p. 235.

¹⁷ *LP*, Davis, Life of Hadrian I, c. 36, p. 139; *LP I*, ed. Duchesne, c. 36, p. 497.

¹⁸ As opposed to what Caspar suggested: he has interpreted this passage as proof of the fact that Charlemagne and his father had indeed received the official position of patrician and had thus replaced the Byzantine exarch: Caspar, *Pippin und die römische Kirche*, p.182.

faith, and therefore must be perceived as part of a religious papal attempt to forge a strong bond with the Franks, Pippin and his sons were as much defenders of the geographical as the religious *christianum imperium*. The letters in the CC are replete with references to this deferential position. Pippin is routinely called *defensor et auxiliator, protector ac defensor, and defensor ac liberator*.¹⁹ And this is, in my view, precisely what Stephen II envisaged for his *patricii Romanorum*: kings who would defend, help, and liberate the city of Rome, its Church, and its special people.

This defence was twofold: protection against invaders and evil-doers, and against unorthodoxy. This principle is, as I have argued above, key to the creation of the CC in 791, for it served to display Charlemagne's role as champion of orthodoxy and the history of the Carolingian family's connection to and defence of Rome, the Roman faith and the papacy. A similar attitude is expressed in Charlemagne's letter to Leo III sent on the occasion of the latter's accession to the papal throne (796), in which the king conveys his hope that 'the most Holy See of the Roman Church may always, by God's gift, be defended by our devotion'. His task, he affirmed, was 'externally to defend Christ's Holy Church on every side by force of arms against the incursions of the pagans and the devastations of the infidels, internally to strengthen it in support of the catholic faith.'²⁰

5.1.2 The title in the CC

Letters in the CC show us that the popes were generally consistent in addressing Pippin and his sons Carloman and Charlemagne as *patricii Romanorum* in the *salutatio* of their letters. The first witness of this is the letter from Pope Stephen II dated 755, where the salutation reads *Dominis excellentissimis filiis, Pippino regi et nostro spiritali compatri seu Carolo et Carlomanno, idem regibus et utrisque patritiis Romanorum Stephanus papa*.²¹ In all – save two – subsequent letters in the CC that are addressed to Pippin, Charlemagne and/or Carloman, the salutations include the *patricius*

¹⁹ CC, nos. 12, 32, 34, 37, 42, 54 (Charlemagne), at pp. 508, 539, 541, 548, 555, 577.

²⁰ *Nostrum est: secundum auxilium divinae pietatis sanctam undique Christi ecclesiam ab incursu paganorum et ab infidelium devastatione armis defendere foris, et intus catholicae fidei agnitione munire.* Letter to Leo III, ed. Dümmler, pp. 136-138.

²¹ CC, no. 6, p. 488.

Romanorum-title, even those of the antipope Constantine.²² From papal perspective, therefore, the title had become part of the kings' official terms of address. Also, it seems it had been incorporated into the papal vocabulary. The continual use of *patricius Romanorum* by the various popes reveals a particular papal preference for it.

Its prevalence is also visible in the middle section of the letters, where it is used to refer to the kings on different occasions. A good example is found in a letter from Stephen III from 770 to King Charlemagne and his brother Carloman. The pope had received a letter from the kings, informing him about their reconciliation after periods of discord and disharmony. Stephen III expresses his contentment with their newfound concord and the mutual affection between the *praecellentissimi filii, magni, victoriosissimi reges et Dei providentia nostri Romanorum patritii*.²³ Apparently, the letter also reassured him as to their commitment to Rome. Treating it as proof of their dedication, the pope repeats their promise: 'that you will strive with all your might to exact the rights of your protector, St Peter, and of God's Holy Church (...) and will perform the full rights and the exaltation of God's Holy Church.'²⁴ Stephen here reiterates the kings' responsibilities as Roman patricians – responsibilities that are referred to throughout the CC, and also in its preface.

Another interesting case in point is to be found in a lengthy letter from Hadrian to Charlemagne, written in 790-791.²⁵ Here, Hadrian confirmed his trust in Charlemagne's loyalty to the Church, and stated that he knew without a doubt that the king will always strive for the exaltation of the Holy Church, his spiritual mother.²⁶ Furthermore, the Pope told the king

²² Exceptions are CC, no. 10, which is, as said above, one of the most outstanding letters in the collection as it is written in the name of St Peter himself, and CC, no. 61, which has no salutation.

²³ CC, no. 44, pp. 558-560, at p. 559.

²⁴ Translation King, p. 269 (with an alteration of my own); CC, no. 44, pp. 558-560, at pp. 559: *pro exigendis iustitiis protectoris vestri beati Petri et sanctae Dei ecclesiae (...) iustitias sanctae Dei ecclesiae atque eius exaltationem esse operaturos*.

²⁵ CC, no. 94, pp. 632-636.

²⁶ CC, no. 94, p. 633, *Procul dubio scimus vestram regalem potentiam (...) semper pro exaltatione spiritalis matris vestrae, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae*. Hadrian wrote this in response to a letter from

about the unrelenting uncanonical behaviour of the Lombard bishops and persisting simony in Tuscany and Ravenna. Hadrian also petitioned Charlemagne not to receive any men from the papal lands since they had no papal permission to go to him. In this context, the king is reminded of his patrician honour (*honor patriciatus*) which is confirmed by Hadrian himself. He is also asked to heed his father Pippin's sacrifice (*holocaustum*) to St Peter which was also confirmed by himself. Hadrian referred to this sacrifice as the patriciate of St Peter (*patriciatum beati Petri*).²⁷ I think it is fairly clear what is meant by the *patriciatum* of St Peter; namely that which the king as a *patricius* promised to protect.

Similar exhortatory language was employed earlier by Hadrian, in a letter from 788 or 789. In this letter, Hadrian addresses the issue of the election of the new archbishop of Ravenna, in which Charlemagne's *missi* had – not according to custom, in the eyes of the pope – participated, and Hadrian himself had not been consulted. Then, Hadrian asked the king to spurn those who work and talk deceitfully against the *sanctam Romanam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam*, since no one laboured harder through prayer than Hadrian on behalf of Charlemagne's patriciate and his royal excellence.²⁸ Another example of Hadrian referring to Charlemagne's patriciate is in letter no. 97, which is the third letter in the Adoptionism series. Here, the king is referred to with his full titlature (*spiritalis conpater noster, domnus Carolus, rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac patricius Romanorum*) in the context of correspondence about the correct and orthodox faith that was exchanged between Egila, Hadrian and Charlemagne.²⁹

Charlemagne, where he had asked the pope not to believe any rumours that suggested otherwise.

²⁷ CC, no. 94, p. 635: *Sed quaesumus vestram regalem potentiam: nullam novitatem in holocaustum, quod beato Petro sanctae recordationis genitor vester optulit et vestra excellentia amplius confirmavit, inponere satagat, qui, ut fati estis, honor patriciatus vestri a nobis inrefragabiliter conservatur etiam et plus amplius honorificae honoratur, simili modo ipsum patriciatum beati Petri fautoris vestri tam a sanctae recordationis domni Pippini, magni regis, genitoris vestri, in scriptis in integro concessum et a vobis amplius confirmatum inrefragabili iure permaneat.*

²⁸ CC, no. 85, pp. 621-622, at p. 622: (...) *quia, sicut in commonitorium illud referebatur, pro honore vestri patriciati nullus homo esse videtur in mundo, qui plus pro vestra regale excellentia decertari molietur exaltatione quam nostra apostolica assidue deprecatio.* Unfortunately, there is no heading to this letter.

²⁹ CC, no. 97, pp. 647-648, at p. 648.

Oddly enough, the Life of Stephen II (725-757) in the *LP* merely mentions the anointing and does not inform us of the conferment of the *patricius Romanorum*-status; nor does it hint at any specific ritual during which this could have taken place. This is not to say that it is doubtful whether the title was bestowed in the first place – the *LP* and *CC* attest to its usage directly after 754. It is in the Life of Stephen III (768-772) that Pippin and his sons are referred to as *patricii Romanorum* for the first time in the *LP*, followed by many more occasions throughout the diverse biographies in the *LP*.³⁰

There is another papal source that may shed light on the use of the *patricius*-title in the *CC*: the *Liber Diurnus*. This book, of which the greater portion was compiled in the seventh century, contains a collection of formulae or standardised formats to be used as models for letters that were used in the Lateran *scrinium*. It has about one hundred formulae that date mostly from 680 to 790. It contains formulae, which were to be employed in official correspondence for all kinds of occasions and for a variety of addressees.³¹ The *Liber Diurnus* has therefore made an imprint on specific components of papal epistolary style and culture. As a reference book, it provides a number of possibilities for standard epistolary salutations, depending on the function and status of the addressee. Comparing the *Liber Diurnus* to the papal correspondence, it appears that most salutations employed in the *CC* – in particular the rather standardised ones of Hadrian I – are, as expected, based on the instructions in this collection of formulae. The customary salutation given in the *Liber Diurnus* for letters *ad Patricium* (to a patrician) reads *Domino excellentissimo, atque praecellentissimo filio*

³⁰ *LP* I, ed. Duchesne, Life of Stephen III, c. 16, p. 473: *direxit Franciaie partes ad excellentissimos viros Pipinum, Carulum et Carulomannum et reges Francorum et patricius Romanorum (...)*.

³¹ *Liber Diurnus romanorum Pontificium*, ed. J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 105 (1851), pp. 22-119; *Liber Diurnus romanorum Pontificium ex unico Codice Vaticano*, Th. E. Von Sickel ed., *SB der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse CX-II* (Vienna, 1889); *Liber Diurnus romanorum Pontificium*, H. Foerster ed. (Gesamtausgabe) (Bern, 1958), pp. 77-454. On the *Liber Diurnus*, see the articles by L. Santifaller in H. Zimmermann ed., *Liber Diurnus: Studien und Forschungen von Leo Santifaller. Papste und Päpstum* 10 (Stuttgart, 1976); for the employment of the *cursus* in the formulae of the *Liber Diurnus* see Pollard, 'The Decline of the *cursus*', pp. 24-27; for a discussion of the *Liber Diurnus* and the specific formulas and their use in letters, see Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 143-154, who has described it as a text 'dessen Editions-geschichte beinahe einem Kriminalroman gleicht' (citation on p. 143).

[name], *Patricio* [...]. Such a letter should, according to the given format, end with the closing words *Incolumen excellentiam vestram gratia superna custodiat*³², a formula which is indeed often mirrored in the papal letters.

Among other categories of addressees which the *Liber Diurnus* features, there is the one *ad Principem*, or to an emperor, which begins as follows: *Domino piissimo et serenissimo, victori ac triumphatori filio, amatori Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi* [name] *Augusto* [...].³³ Another category that is indicated, for letters *ad Regem*, is not filled in.³⁴ Although letters to kings were clearly considered a separate category from the emperors, patricians and other officials (either secular or clerical), it was somehow never clarified what the appropriate salutation or form of address for a king should be like. Eighth-century popes (or the officials in the papal *scrinium*) writing to Carolingian kings, therefore, had to be creative and choose and adjust another model from the *Liber Diurnus*.

Though the papal salutations in the *CC* do exhibit a certain variety, the majority seem to be modelled on the instructions for letters to a *patricius*. Apparently, the letter format (*formula*) for salutations for letters to emperors was not considered suitable for the Frankish kings. Due to the lack of instructions for formulae used to address kings, here too the popes opted for the model provided for *epistolae ad Patricium*. As Pippin and his sons indeed bore this title after 754, this would have been the most fitting choice.

5.1.3 Carolingian uses and interpretations

Different sources often narrate dissimilar versions of the same events, using various terminologies. Philippe Buc has pointed out the tempting danger as to 'cutting and pasting' information from assorted documents in order to fill up gaps in descriptions. Differences in narrations are largely the result of the audiences of early medieval texts, who expected a certain representation of things, and they were usually not disappointed.³⁵ It is sometimes easy to

³² *Liber Diurnus*, ed. Migne, p. 23.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

³⁵ P. Buc, 'Nach 754. Warum weniger die Handelnden selbst als eher die Chronisten das politische Ritual erzeugten – und warum es niemandem auf die wahre Geschichte ankam', in: B. Jussen ed., *Die Macht des Königs: Herrschaft in Europa vom Frühmittelalter bis in die Neuzeit* (Munich, 2005), pp. 27-37; Goosmann, 'Memorable Crises'.

forget that recipients of information, such as the Franks in the case of the papal letters, may or may not always have fully understood papal messages or concepts in the first instance. Did they, for instance, fully grasp what Stephen II and his successors expected of their *patricius Romanorum*? Was it one hundred percent clear to everyone involved what the meaning of this title was when the popes used it? There had been patricians in Italy and Francia before in a not too distant past, which suggests that the *patriciate* cannot have been an entirely unknown phenomenon, especially since the patricians featured in some Frankish sources³⁶, but a Petrine or papal *patricius Romanorum* was new.

One should keep in mind that the eighth century saw the development of Frankish discourse on tradition, history, and worship, during which the Carolingian élite were assessing themselves, their positions and their actions.³⁷ Newly introduced papal terminology and concepts may have taken some time to be assimilated and incorporated into a Frankish mindset. To my mind, the contemporary Frankish sources and the *lemmata* in the CC are witnesses to this slow but steady amalgamation and subsequent transformation. At the same time, however, we must not forget that papal use and approval did not automatically mean that the title *an sich* was equally esteemed in the Carolingian world. Certainly, Carolingian documents and texts suggest that the title was not immediately and automatically adopted. A study of the *lemmata* in the CC manuscript could indicate that modern historians have generally been inclined to overemphasise the importance of the patrician title.

Since the CC does not incorporate Carolingian letters addressed to the papacy, it is difficult to tell whether the Carolingian kings used the title for themselves in their letters. Of all contemporary correspondence with the papal court before 791, only one letter has been preserved on parchment in

³⁶ For instance Gregory of Tours in his *Libri historiarum decem*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM I (Hanover, 1951), book V, c. 13, p. 207; and Fredegar, *Chronicorum Liber Quartus cum Continuationibus*, ed. and transl. J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with its Continuations* (Edinburgh, London, Melbourne etc., 1960), c. 5, pp. 4-5. Paul the Deacon, for instance, also mentions patricians in the pre-Carolingian Frankish West in his *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SRLI (Hanover, 1878), book III, c. 3, p. 94.

³⁷ Noble, *Images*, p. 8-9.

the form of a contemporary copy (an exemplar or 'Urabschrift') as a palimpsest.³⁸ It is a letter from Charlemagne, in which he informed Pope Hadrian I of the election of abbot Waldo of Reichenau as bishop of Pavia, and asked him to make sure this new bishop would be appropriately ordained and would receive the necessary ecclesiastical confirmation. In the salutation, Charles called himself *rex*, *patricius* and *compater*, mirroring the titlature as used for him in papal correspondence.³⁹ Although there are no other letters to the papacy to compare this one to, it is likely that this title was applied in his other letters to Rome, too. Besides, it was included in the preface (791) of the CC. It may therefore be assumed that Charles did use his *patricius* title in correspondence with the popes. The sequence of the titles mentioned, however, is different from that in the papal salutations. Where the popes always put a reference to *compaternitas* before the term *patricius Romanorum*, Charles gave priority to the latter. This may be explained by the fact that Charlemagne displayed, more so than his father Pippin, much interest in Rome. Even though he visited the city only four times, his political and spiritual aspirations were reflected in his lavish gift-giving to and personal patronage of the city and its churches, as commented upon by his biographer Einhard. Rome, moreover, was first and foremost St Peter's city for Charlemagne, who maintained a very personal relationship with the Apostle; during his visit in 774, for instance, he stayed at the Vatican hill with other pilgrims who visited St Peter's grave.⁴⁰

³⁸ It was discovered nearly a hundred years ago in a manuscript with 132 folios, all of which are palimpsests. Perhaps because it has been concealed for so long in such an isolated context, scholars occasionally tend to overlook the existence of this letter. Constable, 'Letters', p. 55; P.E. Munding ed., *Königsbrief Karls d. Gr. an Papst Hadrian über Abt-Bischof Waldo von Reichenau-Pavia. Palimpsest-Urkunde aus Cod.lat.Monac. 6333. Texte und Arbeiten* I, 6 (Beuron and Leipzig, 1920), pp. 5-18. As Noble for instance stated in his article 'The intellectual culture', p. 186: 'we possess none of the Frankish letters to Rome'. In any case, it was never included in Jaffé's or Gundlach's edition of the CC (or any other MGH edition), for the simple reason that it had not yet been discovered at the time the editions were published. Recently, however, it has been convincingly argued that it could very well be the original letter instead of a palimpsest. M. Mersiowsky, 'Preserved by destruction. Carolingian original letters and Clm 6333', in: G. Leclercq ed., *Early medieval palimpsests* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 73-98. See also McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 220.

³⁹ Munding, *Königsbrief*, p. 3: *Carolus, gratia dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac patricius Romanorum, compater idemque in Christo filius: Adriano pontifici atque universali pape, compatri in Christoque patri, salutem.*

⁴⁰ R. Schieffer, 'Charlemagne and Rome', in: J.M.H. Smith ed., *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in Honour of Donald. A. Bullough* (Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 2000), pp.

Other documents shed more light on the matter. Pippin never styled himself as *patricius Romanorum* in his official documents, at least not for as far as we can tell: none of his official documents issued between 754 and his death in 768 feature it. As Noble put it, ‘a new Roman title perhaps was something which Pippin could do without.’, and it seems that Pippin did not consider it significant. Moreover, according to Noble, the only importance of the title lay in the fact that Stephen II’s appeal and Pippin’s subsequent Italian intervention on behalf of the pope were successful.⁴¹ Charlemagne, on the contrary, introduced the title to official documents (charters, letters, capitularies), but only to those that were issued after his successful invasion of Lombard Italy, both in his charters and letters.⁴² Charlemagne’s capitularies form another large group of texts: there are more than one hundred known to us. Charlemagne is described as *patricius Romanorum* in capitularies that have an Italian context and postdate 774, but the title is also used in those that have no such Italian context.⁴³ His brother Carloman, co-ruler of the Frankish kingdom from 768-771, did not use it.

Given the brief and vague reports in the handful of Frankish sources, it is difficult to tell what the title meant or came to mean in Carolingian context. There is, however, an indication that it was primarily associated with an imperial protectorate over Rome. When we take a leap forward

279-298, at pp. 279-284; N. Christie, ‘Charlemagne and the renewal of Rome’, in: J. Story ed., *Charlemagne. Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 167- 182, at 167-168; De Jong, ‘Charlemagne’s church’, p. 116.

⁴¹ Noble, *The Republic*, pp. 87, 97-98.

⁴² According to Heinrich Fichtenau, and most recently followed by Garipzanov, the charters attest that the Italian affairs in this year have influenced Charles’s decision as to the employment of the title: those with *patricius Romanorum* in the *intitulatio* are mostly charters that were issued in an Italian context. In other regions in the Carolingian realm, the title was often omitted as it was irrelevant in those areas: H. Fichtenau, ‘Politische’ Datierungen des frühen Mittelalters’, in: H. Wolfram, *Intitulatio II. Lateinische Herrscher- und Fürstentitel im neunten und zehnten Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1973), pp. 453-540, at pp. 505-508; and Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language*, pp. 104-105, 124-125.

⁴³ An example of the use outside an Italian context is the *Epistola de litteris colendis* (‘On cultivating letters’), that was sent around 800 to abbot Baugulf of Fulda: *Karolus, gratia Dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac patricius Romanorum, Baugulfo abbati et omni congregationi, tibi etiam commissis fidelibus oratoribus nostris in omnipotentis Dei nomine amabilem direximus salutem*; ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Cap. I* (Hanover, 1883), no. 29, pp. 78-79; King, *Charlemagne*, p. 232. It was meant to promote the importance of education for the Christian faith: McKitterick, ‘The Carolingian Renaissance’, p. 153.

towards the start of the ninth century, we come across a remarkable description of Charlemagne's imperial coronation in the entry for the year 800/801 in the *ARF*.

These annals record the news of the imperial coronation as follows: 'On the most holy day of the Nativity of the Lord when the king rose from praying at Mass before the tomb of blessed Peter the Apostle, Pope Leo placed a crown on his head and all the Roman people cried out: 'To Charles Augustus, crowned by God, great and pacific emperor of the Romans, life and victory'. And, after the acclamations, he was adored by the *apostolicus* [pope] in the way of the rulers of old and, the name of patrician having been laid aside, was called emperor and Augustus (*atque ablato patricii nomine imperator et augustus est appellatus*).'⁴⁴ From this turn of phrase, it appears that the imperial title in effect rendered the patrician rank superfluous. In other words: the imperial dignity already included an authority over Rome. After all, Charlemagne, as *imperator*, ruled the entire Christian realm including Rome.⁴⁵

This brings us full circle to the interpretation of *imperium* in Charlemagne's preface in the *CC*, where he is also described as Roman patrician as part of the king's official titulature. In the light of this preface, imperial rule denoted the Carolingian realm, constituted not just by the geographical areas it encompassed (including Rome), but, more importantly, by the Christian world that was touched by Charlemagne's authority to rule. This language, combined with the brief remark in the *ARF* on the title of the patrician title being laid aside, definitely breathes a sense of imperial awareness. At least around the year 800, the title seemed to have carried an ideological message of a shared Carolingian-papal past expressed in a

⁴⁴ *ARF*, ed. R. Rau, s.a. 801, p. 74: *Ipsa die sacratissima natalis Domini, cum rex ad missam ante confessionem beati Petri apostoli ab oratione surgeret, Leo papa coronam capiti eius imposuit, et a cuncto Romanorum populo adclamatum est: 'Carolo Augusto, a Deo coronato magno et pacifico imperatori Romanorum, vita et victoria!'. Et post laudes ab apostolico more antiquorum principum adoratus est atque ablato patricii nomine imperator et augustus est appellatus*. I use King's English translation in *Charlemagne*, at p. 93 (but I translate *more antiquorum principum* differently).

⁴⁵ P. Classen, 'Romanum gubernans imperium. Zur Vorgeschichte der Kaisertitulatur Karls des Grossen', in: G. Wolf ed., *Zum Kaisertum Karls des Grossen. Beiträge und Aufsätze* (Darmstadt, 1972), pp. 4-29, esp. at pp. 24-25. See for a recent interpretation of Charlemagne's imperial intitulation Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language*, pp. 136-140.

mutual responsibility for the wellbeing of Rome, and also seems to have communicated a sense of leadership over the orthodox Christian world.

Should the CC accordingly be labelled as a document propagating imperial aspirations? Looking back from the perspective of a later ninth-century Carolingian court from (one of) Charlemagne's grandson(s): yes, perhaps. It certainly provided an ideological link to Charlemagne's rule. But from a late eighth-century perspective, when the CC was put together? I am not so sure. Wielding imperial language is not necessarily the same as having imperial aspirations, in the sense of claiming the exclusive use of an imperial title. We can, however, detect an air of awareness of the expansion of the Carolingian realm, and the increasing responsibilities of the Carolingian rulers towards the Church and the Christian faith. It is precisely this awareness that we see reflected in the CC's preface, where the term *imperium* is used to describe Carolingian rule. But we must not forget that this preface reflects a Carolingian, not papal, interpretation. Whereas the origins of the *patricius Romanorum* title are papal, the imperial language from the preface represents a later Carolingian understanding. Turning to the *lemmata*, we see this outlook echoed a second time; namely that the patrician title itself may have been less relevant than the Carolingian protectorate over Rome.

5.1.4 References in the *lemmata*

In view of the value attached to the *patricius Romanorum* title by the various popes, as attested by its high incidence in their letters, the corresponding attention it received in modern historiography is understandable, as we have seen above. Yet if we turn to the *lemmata* instead, this overall pattern is not repeated here. Despite the repetitive occurrence of the *patricius*-title in the letters, there is only one *lemma* in the entire collection that refers verbatim to the patrician status of the king. What can we infer from this? Does this mean that the Carolingian circle, for which the *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 was produced in the later ninth century, had little interest in the title?

The one *lemma* referring verbatim to the *patricius*-title pertains to letter no. 94, which has been discussed above in the context of Pope Hadrian's employment of the title in his correspondence and his reference to the

patriciatum beati Petri.⁴⁶ It does not mention the *patriciatum beati Petri* as referred to in the letter by Pope Hadrian, but instead it expounds on the responsibilities of the king as patrician. With regard to the other above-mentioned example of Pope Hadrian's reference to Charlemagne's patriciate in letter no. 97, its *lemma* makes no mention of Charles' responsibility as a patrician, but instead mentions that the letter is sent from the pope to Bishop Egila about keeping the orthodox Faith and the observance of fasting.⁴⁷ Clearly, the author's attention was fully devoted to these topics only.

Surely the lack of interest in the patrician title in the *lemmata* may be interpreted variably: maybe the title was not considered important enough, it had lost its relevance, or there simply was no need for more explanation on the patriciate since it was already understood perfectly. Either way, no need was felt to clarify the meaning of the patrician status in the heading, and the *patriciatum beati Petri* or protectorate over St Peter. Or, perhaps the responsibilities pertaining to the patriciate were considered more important than the actual title itself?

In all examples of the papal view on what the patrician title entailed, as discussed above, Charlemagne's patriciate was invoked in relation to the defence of the Church in the religious sense of the word, from 'within' – or, in other words, to the protection of the orthodox Faith. Even though the *lemmata* refer verbatim to Charlemagne's patriciate only once, they do in fact refer to it in another way; instead of literally mentioning the patrician title all the time, they regularly recount the responsibilities pertaining to it. These responsibilities, again, are expressed throughout the letters, articulating the king's work for the defence and exaltation of the church, as *defensor et auxiliator* (or a variation thereof). These responsibilities correspond to the frequently repeated expression in the headings (and letters), reading *pro*

⁴⁶ CC, no. 94, pp. 632-636: *item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de parrochiis episcoporum et de eorum sacratione et de honore patriciatu domni regis et alia capitula*. Translation: 'Likewise, a copy of the letter that was sent from the same pope to Lord King Charles, which is about the episcopal dioceses and about their consecration, and about the patrician honour of the lord king and other chapters.'

⁴⁷ CC, no. 97, pp. 647-648: *item exemplar epistolae adriani papae ad egilam episcopum pa[r]tibus spaniae missa pro fide orthodoxa tenendum et pro ieiunio VI. feria et sabbato celebrandum*. Translation: 'Likewise, a copy of the letter that Pope Hadrian sent to Bishop Egila in the region of Spain, for the keeping of the orthodox faith and the observance of fasting on Friday and Sunday.'

defensione or *exaltatione sanctae dei ecclesiae* (or a variation thereof). Of all the headings, this expression is used in roughly a quarter.⁴⁸

As I have briefly touched upon already in the second chapter, similar language is adopted in Charlemagne's congratulatory letter to Pope Leo III on his election to the papal see in 796. In this epistle, most likely drafted by Alcuin, the king explained his view on their joint role in guarding orthodoxy in the Christian West and conveys his hope that 'the most Holy See of the Roman Church may always, by God's gift, be defended by our devotion'. Subsequently, he states that it is his task 'externally to defend Christ's Holy Church on every side by force of arms against the incursions of the pagans and the devastations of the infidels, internally to strengthen it in recognition of the catholic faith.' The king consequently regarded himself as a defender of the Roman Church and the catholic faith from enemy attacks from the outside, whose task it also is to strengthen them from within.⁴⁹

Expressions that literally refer to the king as *defensor et auxiliator* or *protector* or *adiutor* are found in the CC and are especially plentiful in letters from Pope Paul I.⁵⁰ The task of defending the Church should be taken both literally and figuratively, as the words from Charlemagne in the letter to Leo III illustrate: there should be protection from within (heresy) and externally (from enemy attacks). In Alcuin's ideas on the ruler's responsibility for the *imperium christianum*, we come across similar interpretations of the king's duties. In describing these, Alcuin wielded the same kind of language that can be found in the papal letters and headings in the CC manuscript: Charlemagne should defend, support, exalt, and propagate the Apostolic faith.⁵¹ These expressions capture the essence of what was expected from

⁴⁸ Allowing some variation in the expressions.

⁴⁹ *Nostrum est: secundum auxilium divinae pietatis sanctam undique Christi ecclesiam ab incursu paganorum et ab infidelium devastatione armis defendere foris, et intus catholicae fidei agnitione munire.* Letter to Leo III, ed. Dümmler, pp. 136-138.

⁵⁰ CC, no. 34, pp. 540-542, at p. 541: *quia tu vere noster post Deum constas esse defensor et auxiliator.* Other examples are CC 12 (p. 508); 13 (p. 510); 20 (p. 522); 32 (p. 539).

⁵¹ Letters of Alcuin, *MGH Epp.* IV, ed. Dümmler, no. 177 (from 799), at p. 292: *O dulcissime, decus populi christiani, o defensio ecclesiarum Christi, consolatio vitae presentis. Quibus tuam beatitudinem omnibus necessarium est votis exaltare, intercessionibus adiuware, quatenus per vestram prosperitatem christianum tueatur imperium, fides catholica defendatur, iustitiae regula omnibus innotescat.* And: no. 202 (from before the imperial coronation, 800), at p. 336: *Vestra vero sancta voluntas atque a Deo ordinata potestas catholicam atque apostolicam fidem ubique defendat; ac veluti armis imperium*

patricians of the Romans. It is precisely these expressions, as we have seen, that are reflected in the headings of the manuscript, and were therefore clearly considered relevant to their contemporary audience.

In essence, we are dealing with two significant particulars in the *lemmata*: the relative absence of the actual title of *patricius Romanorum*, combined with a high incidence of expressions referring to the Carolingian kings' responsibilities regarding the defence and support of the Roman church. This suggests that the title itself was deemed less relevant to the socio-political milieu of the manuscript, whereas the duties associated with it, on the other hand, were considered all the more important. In view of the later ninth-century genesis and context of the CC manuscript, this may be explained by the fact that the patrician title itself had lost its meaning or had long become obsolete, but the Carolingian courts' connections to Rome and St Peter had not. This outlook corresponds to the collection's social logic. If indeed we may attribute the CC manuscript to the patronage of Louis the German and the circles of Archbishop Willibert's Cologne, the emphasis on the ruler's responsibilities as defender of the Church and the orthodox faith are not difficult to understand, since, from the ruler's perspective, the balance in the relations with Rome needed reaffirming and restoration.

Furthermore, the amount of consideration devoted to the title in modern literature bears no relation to the scant attention it received in the Carolingian world in practice. Maybe modern scholarship has relied too much on the papal perspective in this matter. The *lemmata* in combination with the title's limited employment in the Carolingian contemporary sources (with the exception of Charlemagne's titulature in official documents) show that, although the responsibilities towards St Peter and Rome were taken very seriously, the title itself was perhaps considered less consequential. These responsibilities exuded not only from the CC as a collection, but also from the letters and the *lemmata* repetitively referring to the Carolingian support and defence of the Church.

christianum fortiter dilatare laborat, ita et apostolicae fidei veritatem defendere, docere, et propagare studeat, ipso auxiliante, in cuius potestate sunt omnia regna terrarum (...).

5.2 The spiritual bond of *compaternitas*

5.2.1 Interpretations and discussions in historiography

Besides the patrician title, the spiritual connection of *compaternitas* (co-paternity) is another prominent feature in the papal letters from 755 onwards. These two concepts are often paired in sentences or passages, suggesting that the more secular patrician status was in some ways complemented by this spiritual bond. In modern historiography, there is less controversy about the precise denotations and implications of co-paternity, probably because it was a known Christian phenomenon in Frankish society, which makes it likely that the Carolingian family was familiar with it. Presumably, its connotations from a papal perspective were readily understood. Stephen II's introduction of it to the Franco-papal relations during the 754 ceremony, however, was yet another novelty, which makes it just as relevant and interesting as the introduction of the patrician title. From the papal letters it becomes apparent that the co-paternal bond was highly valued and sought after by the popes. Arnold Angenendt has been the principal scholar on this topic, who has written extensively on it. He underlined that it was an early phenomenon in the Frankish Church and, though propagated as a perpetual bond, was a quintessentially personal relationship which had to be renewed with the accession of each new ruler or pope.⁵²

5.2.2 *Compaternitas* in the CC

In early medieval Europe, baptism could potentially establish a new form of kinship, which has been called a 'spiritual kinship', or a 'godparent complex'.⁵³ The baptismal sponsor, *id est* the person lifting the person baptised from the font, was the key figure in this family-like relationship. Essentially, *compaternitas* or co-parenthood refers to a spiritual kinship between the biological parents (*commater* and *comptater*) of a baptised child and the child's spiritual parents. With Lynch, it may be defined as 'a

⁵² Angenendt's key publications include 'Das geistliche Bündnis'; and 'Pippin's Königserhebung und Salbung', in: M. Becher and J. Jarnut eds., *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751: Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung* (Münster, 2004), pp. 179-209.

⁵³ J.H. Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship. Ritual Sponsorship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ithaca and London, 1998), p. 7.

horizontal relationship between the sponsor and the natural parents of the baptizee'. In this context, the term first emerges in late sixth-century sources.⁵⁴ Bonds of co-parenthood could create family connections, which entailed comparable social and political obligations, loyalties and pacts of friendship. Various clergymen or otherwise religious persons who had religious virtue, like a holy man or martyr, could act as spiritual parents.⁵⁵

The Frankish liturgy did not incorporate *compaternitas* before the eighth century. In theology, the new spiritual parents of the baptizee should be the Church (mother) and God (father). Characteristic of many of the papal letters that are concerned with an appeal for protection is the emphasis on the function of the Roman Church as spiritual mother to the Carolingian kings. Besides the *compaternitas*-relationship, to which it is clearly linked, this represents another dominant aspect of expressing, in rather similar wordings, the spiritual alliance between the Franks and the papacy that was forged in the 750s. As this theme does not characterise the rhetoric found in the other papal literary sources, *id est* the *Liber Diurnus* or the eighth-century biographies in the *LP*, it may be an exceptional feature of the *CC*. With almost steadfast regularity, the kings are reminded of their spiritual bond with the Roman church; they are the sons of the 'Mother Church' (*sancta catholica et apostolica, universalis, mater vestra spiritalis, Dei ecclesia orthodoxa*).⁵⁶ Their duty to protect their spiritual mother is also regularly brought to their attention. They should do so in order to exalt the universal Roman church, and thereby to ensure the preservation of the orthodox Christian faith.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Lynch, *Godparents*, p. 165. Not to be confused with the spiritual bond of godparenthood between the godchild and his godparents, although both relations are created by baptismal sponsorship: Angenendt, 'Das geistliche Bündnis', *passim*.

⁵⁵ Angenendt, *Kaiserherrschaft und Königstaufe*, pp. 121-127.

⁵⁶ For instance *CC*, no. 43, p. 557, and no. 49, pp. 568-569.

⁵⁷ For instance *CC*, no. 55, pp. 578-579: *Dum in tanta securitatis laetitia spiritalis mater vestra, sancta Dei catholica et apostolica Romana ecclesia, consistens exultat (...). Per te enim, bone, victoriosissime rex, praefata sancta universalis Dei ecclesia de inimicorum impugnationibus erepta magno, ut dictum est, triumphat gaudio et orthodoxa christianorum fides vestro praesidio in pristino venerationis statu permanet inmutata*. References to the 'Mother Church' notion in the *CC* begin as early as 740, in the second letter in the collection, sent from Gregory III to Charles Martel, and continue throughout the collection: The first reference in *CC*, no. 2, p. 478 (Gregory III); following references in *CC*, nos. 5, 11 (Stephen II); 18, 19, 20, 28, 30, 32-38, 42-43 (Paul I); 44-46 (Stephen III); 49, 51-55, 58-60, 70, 72-74, 76, 82-84, 87, 89, 92, 94, 98 (Hadrian I); 98-99 (Constantine II). As

A competing interpretation of the 'second birth' through baptism, however, in which the persons who performed and sponsored the baptism took this parental role, gained importance.⁵⁸ Consequences for medieval society were far-reaching. The natural and spiritual parents, responsible for the carnal birth and spiritual rebirth respectively, were theologically related to each other, which prevented them from marrying one another.⁵⁹

For several reasons, the relationship that was created through sponsorship was highly valued. Even more so, it was often regarded as more binding than any other form of kinship, for baptismal grace lay at its foundation. Moreover, forming a spiritual kinship could socially benefit the involved families. Sponsors were therefore carefully chosen from socially desirable candidates.⁶⁰ Gregory of Tours' *History of the Franks* indicates that the ideas about the social consequences attached to sponsorship might also have spread from Rome to the Frankish West. Gregory reports on Pope Gregory the Great sponsoring the Byzantine emperor's son Theodosius.⁶¹ Baptismal liturgy, which tells us more about the role of the sponsors in the ritual, is, among other documents, described in the *Ordo Romanus XI*, which originated in Rome and is dated to the second half of the seventh century.⁶²

From the perspective of the popes, this horizontal relationship meant that they came to stand on the same footing as the kings of Francia, who became their 'friends'. In the salutations of the papal letters in the CC, the

the 'spiritual Mother Church' terminology was already employed before the official alliance of *comaternitas* was forged, it cannot have been a notion directly connected to the friendship alliance of 754. Nevertheless, it is clear that the popes attached great value and potential to the notion and found it useful, for they gave it a dominant place in their appeals to the Frankish kings.

⁵⁸ Lynch, *Godparents*, p. 194; W. Bedard, *The Symbolism of the Baptismal Font in Early Christian Thought* (Washington, 1951), pp. 17-36.

⁵⁹ Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship*, pp. 16-17, 138-140. Such prohibitions are to be found in Pippin's Capitulary of Compiègne from 757: *MGH Cap. I*, no. 15, pp. 37-39.

⁶⁰ Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship*, p. 20.

⁶¹ Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum decem*, ed. Krusch, book 10, c. 1, p. 478: *epistulam ad imperatorem Mauricium dirigeret, cuius filium ex lavacro sancto susciperet*; J.H. Lynch, 'Spiritale vinculum: the vocabulary of spiritual kinship in early medieval Europe', in: T.F.X. Noble and J.J. Contreni eds., *Religion, Culture and Society in the Early Middle Ages. Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan* (Kalamazoo, 1987), pp. 181-204, at p. 185.

⁶² *Ordo Romanus XI*, ed. M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines du Haut Moyen Age*, vol. 2 (Leuven, 1931-1961), pp. 365-447; B. D. Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism. From the New Testament to the Council of Trent* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2006), pp. 114-115.

spiritual and intimate *compater*-title always comes first, thereby overriding the secular titles of *patricius Romanorum* and *rex*. It is, therefore, not surprising that, in the historiography of the CC, scholars have noticed the frequency and consistency with which the popes addressed the Carolingian rulers with the term *compater*.⁶³ In any case, the papal letters attest amply to the popes being, at the very least, aware of the social consequences of the co-parental bond, being spiritual *compatres* to the Carolingian kings and queens, and spiritual fathers to the princes and princesses.

In addition to the salutations, the mid-sections of many letters are also filled with references to this sacred bond. In this respect, it is probably Stephen II who tops everything. In his letters after 754/755, Pippin was twelve times called *compater*, *rex* only four times, and never directly *patricius Romanorum*. The queen was, moreover, referred to as *commater* and the princess as *spiritales filii*.⁶⁴ This pope nevertheless referred quite often to Pippin's regal anointing of 754.⁶⁵

As the spiritual relations between co-parents were reminiscent of that of family kin, affection was an important aspect. Latin terminology employed for kinship reflects this perfectly: it includes *amor* (love), *affectio* (affection) and *amicitia* (friendship).⁶⁶ The papal letters convey this customary repertoire well. An unequivocal example of this can be found in Stephen III's letter to Carloman, where the pope stressed that he should wish for the *spiritus sancti gratia, scilicet compaternitatis affectio* to be forged between them.⁶⁷ Additionally, it was not uncommon for the kings – and their queens alike, in the female gender – to be called *amantissime fili(us)*, sometimes complemented with *spiritalis compater*.⁶⁸

Throughout the letter collection, the words *excellentissime fili(us)* are most frequently used in conjunction with *compater*. In this sense, it appears that the popes also retained the allusion to their religious authority in their

⁶³ See for instance Caspar, *Pippin und die römische Kirche*; Angenendt, 'Das geistliche Bündnis'; Lynch, *Godparents*, pp. 142-143.

⁶⁴ CC, nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11, pp. 488-507.

⁶⁵ For instance CC, nos. 6 and 7, pp. 489 and 493.

⁶⁶ Lynch, *Godparents*, p. 200.

⁶⁷ CC, no. 47, p. 565: *Ad vero, quia amoris vestri fervor in nostris firmiter viget praecordiis, magna nobis desiderii ambicio insistit, praecellentissime regum, ut spiritus sancti gratia, scilicet compaternitatis affectio, inter nos eveniat.*

⁶⁸ CC, nos. 18, 19, 36, pp. 518, 520, 544, 547.

capacity as bishops and / or priests, by referring to the kings as ‘sons’, indicating their task as spiritual fathers and leaders. Even so, it does not seem to downgrade the equalising force of the co-paternal alliance, as this very aspect of the sacred bond would be too favourable a diplomatic asset for the popes to tone down.

A sacred bond of co-parenthood would typically be set up through the act of baptism or confirmation. However, none of the contemporary sources – neither Frankish nor papal – mentions the actual rite that was performed in 754. Yet since from 755 onwards, Stephen II addressed Pippin with the term *spiritalis compater*, it is clear that some sort of ritual was performed for at least one of Pippin’s children. This is confirmed by Stephen II (and also by Pope Paul I later on) referring to Charlemagne (Charles) and Carloman as *filiu spiritalis*: they had become the pope’s spiritual sons. Angenendt has made a strong case for confirmation as opposed to baptism.⁶⁹ Moreover, after the mid-eighth century, Frankish sources report on the creation of co-parental relations through sponsorship at confirmation.⁷⁰ As we will see below, however, the headings to the papal letters in the manuscript suggest that the bond was established through the act of baptism. Either way, the end result was still the same. The letters in the CC attest to another significant feature of spiritual co-paternity: it was not transferable through succession. As opposed to the patrician title, which was given for life, co-paternity was a personal bond forged between individuals.

On 29 May 757, Stephen II was succeeded by Paul I. In his first letters to Pippin, the pope addressed him with ‘king of the Franks’ and ‘patrician of the Romans’, but did not make any reference to a bond of co-parenthood. Evidently, it had not been established yet. In a letter from early in 758, however, the title is introduced in the salutation.⁷¹ At some point between 757 and 758, therefore, the spiritual alliance was constructed. Paul I never visited Francia, nor did Pippin and his family travel to Rome. The pope himself could not, therefore, physically have taken part in any baptism or

⁶⁹ Angenendt, ‘Das geistliche Bündnis’, p. 42; Angenendt, *Kaiserherrschaft*, p. 155. Charlemagne was born in 748, and his brother Carloman in 751.

⁷⁰ Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship*, p. 139.

⁷¹ CC, no. 14, p. 511. Gundlach dates the letter at 758, whereas Kehr is more specific and proposes a date somewhere early in 758: Kehr, ‘Ueber die Chronologie’, at pp. 156-157.

confirmation ritual himself. In this case, however, we know what had established the spiritual kinship. Paul's letter comprehensively informs us about the ritual that was used. Paul I was very eager to underline his happiness about the situation: he explained to Pippin that his heart's desire had been fulfilled by the creation of this spiritual union (*in vinculo spiritualis foederis pariter sumus adnexi*), which had made Pippin his *compater* and his daughter Gisela his *spiritalis filia*.⁷² He then went on to describe that the king's *missus* had carried Gisela's christening cloth, with which she was elevated from the baptismal font, to the pope, who had subsequently received this cloth while celebrating mass for the consecration of the new sanctuary of Petronilla, in a chapel in St Peter's church. Through this act, Paul I had symbolically raised Gisela from baptism, and had therefore become her spiritual father and her parent's co-father.⁷³

Some years after the initial establishment of spiritual kinship, Paul I again stressed the importance of spiritual co-fatherhood to Pippin, and proposed to renew their bond by the baptism of his newborn son. By doing so, they both would enjoy double the grace of the Holy Spirit, as he put it.⁷⁴ It is significant that this pope wanted to reinforce a bond that was already forged. He obviously considered his *compaternitas* with Pippin of exceptionally high value, and something that should be established and confirmed at any opportunity.

⁷² CC, no. 14, p. 511: *Interea, christianissime, Dei providentia victor rex, gemina festivitatis peregrinus gaudia in eo, quod, optata cordis adepti desideria, in vinculo spiritualis foederis pariter sumus adnexi.*

⁷³ CC, no. 14, p. 511: *Praelatus nempe sodalitates vestrae inluster missus preciosissimum nobis supernae gratiae munus adferuit, sabanum videlicet, in quo nostra dulcissima atque amantissima spiritualis filia sacratissimo fontis lavacro abluta suscepta est. Quem et, cum magna iocunditate aggregata populi cohors infra aulam sacrati corporis auxiliatricis vitae beatae Petronellae, quae pro laude aeterna memoria nominis vestri nunc dedicata dinoscitur, caelebrantes missarum solemnia, cum magno gaudio suscepimus; et per allatum eundem sabanum eam tamquam praesentaliter nos suscepisse gaudemus.* Petronilla, the supposed daughter of St Peter, was venerated as a martyr and gained a particular position in the Frankish liturgy. According to a Frankish recension of Pope Stephen II's biography in the *LP*, this pope had promised king Pippin during his visit in Francia in 754 that he would place Petronilla's body in the sanctuary. Apparently, she had become a special saint of the Carolingian royal family, and as such formed a decisive connection between the papacy and the Franks: McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 146-147; McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, p. 48; *LP*, transl. Davis, *Life of Stephen II* (94), p. 76.

⁷⁴ CC, no. 18, p. 519: *Unde obnixe te petimus, ut a sacratissimo baptismatis lavacro eundem eximium vestrum filium suscipere mereamur, quatenus duplex spiritus sancti gratia fiat in medio nostrum et gemine festivitatis nobis oriatur laetitia.*

Stephen II and Paul I were not the only popes to desire co-parenthood with the Carolingian rulers. Not long after Stephen III was consecrated bishop of Rome, he found himself in a complicated situation. The new pope had many reasons to want to see the alliance between the Carolingians and the papacy officially reinforced: Pippin had died, and his sons waged war against each other. Furthermore, he had heard reports on a Carolingian-Lombard rapprochement. Carolingian protection of papal Rome could thus have been facing a shaky future. Pope Stephen III was keen to ensure the safeguarding of his episcopal city, and called on *compaternitas* to do so.⁷⁵ In a letter to Carloman, he offered to baptise or confirm his newborn son in order to make him his spiritual son, in order that *eadem Deo prosperante compaternitatis gratia in medio nostrum corroborata*.⁷⁶ Regrettably, Stephen III never accomplished the spiritual kinship he had hoped for, since none of his letters refers to the co-paternal bond to address the Carolingian kings. But that is not what is most important here. What matters is that he made an active effort to establish bonds of co-parenthood in order to reinforce the close connections between him and the Carolingian ruler in politically unstable times. Clearly, Stephen III felt that Carloman's and Charlemagne's Roman patriciate was not enough guarantee to secure these ruler's support and protection of Rome. The spiritual kinship must have been viewed as a tool to secure personal loyalty and support besides (or, with precedence over?) the already established protectorate over Rome.

As could be expected, Pope Hadrian I similarly strove to create this spiritual kinship with Charlemagne, who fathered a son in 777. Originally, the newborn child was meant to be baptised in Rome at Easter in 778, but wars within the Frankish realm prevented Charles from travelling to the city.⁷⁷ A letter from May 778 reveals Hadrian's joy at the prospect of personally baptising the new prince, but also his disappointment about the postponement of the visit. He urged Charles to make sure that it would take place in the future, so that the 'twofold grace of the Holy Spirit will emerge

⁷⁵ Angenendt, 'Das geistliche Bündnis', p. 64.

⁷⁶ CC, no. 47, pp. 565-566: *In nostris ulnis ex fonte sacri baptismatis aut etiam per adorandi chrismatis unctionem spiritalem suscipere valeamus filium; ut, eadem Deo prosperante compaternitatis gratia in medio nostrum corroborata.*

⁷⁷ Angenendt, *Kaiserherrschaft*, p. 157.

between us'.⁷⁸ Unmistakably, this is a reference to *compaternitas*. As much as had his predecessors, Hadrian strove to create the same spiritual kinship between him and Charlemagne. Even though the political situation in Northern Italy had stabilised after Charlemagne had truly fulfilled his role as *patricius Romanorum* and had annexed the Lombard kingdom in 774, Hadrian still considered it advantageous to strive for the formation of spiritual kinship. The benefits of being part of the same spiritual family clearly complemented those pertaining to the Carolingian protectorate. At this point in time, moreover, Hadrian still had no guarantee about the papal patrimonies that Charlemagne had promised to hand back to the papacy. As the letters in the *CC* show, the pope's mind was quite focussed on getting those secured. In 781, Hadrian finally managed to obtain *compaternitas* with Charlemagne. The *ARF* attest to the eventual baptism of Charlemagne's son Carloman (renamed Pippin) in 781 at the hands of Hadrian I, whereas the *LP* remains silent on these events.⁷⁹ Hadrian I's first letter of 781 in the *CC* indeed introduces the title in the salutation, which confirms the report of the annals.⁸⁰

Despite his efforts to conclude the sacred bond, Hadrian I seems to be the only pope who, apart from in the salutations, did not very often refer to Charlemagne as his *compater* in his letters. Strikingly, he did so only once in an epistle from 781, which was written a relatively short time after their bond was forged.⁸¹ At the same time, it is the only letter (that was written after the spiritual bond was established) where the title is not used in the salutation. In another letter to Charlemagne, dated 791, which is not

⁷⁸ *CC*, no. 60, pp. 586-587: *Sed obnixae te petimus, (...) ut, (...), pro ipso sancto baptisma nostrum adimplere iubeas desiderium de eundem eximium vestrum filium, quatenus duplex spiritus sancti gratia in medio nostrum ad crescat et gemina festivitatis laetitia nobis caelebretur.*

⁷⁹ *ARF*, ed. Rau, s.a. 781, p. 40: *Et ibi baptizatus est domnus Pippinus, filius supradicti domni Caroli magni regis, ad Adriano papa, qui et ipse eum de sacro fonte suscepit.* The establishment of copaternity between Pope Paul I and Pippin and his wife, for instance, is not reported in this source. It does mention the baptism of Charlemagne's daughter Gisela by the archbishop of Milan.

⁸⁰ *CC*, no. 64, pp. 591-592.

⁸¹ *CC*, no. 69, p. 599. Hadrian refers to Charlemagne's wife Fastrada as his spiritual *filia* or *commatre* more than once, for example in nos. 68 (p. 598), 69 (p. 599), 89 (626), 90 (p. 627), 91 (p. 628).

contained in the *CC*, the term does appear in the salutation.⁸² Elsewhere, the king's wife is called *commater* a few times more, and Charlemagne's son Pippin, king of Italy, is referred to as 'our spiritual son'.⁸³

In the same sentence in the letter from 781, in which he addressed the king as *excellentissime fili et magne rex atque spiritali compater*, he requested him to send *missi* to make sure the papal patrimony of the Sabina region was restored to the papal possessions at the king's command.⁸⁴ The pope thus petitioned Charlemagne to accede to his request and, perhaps, evoked the co-paternal bond for this reason to persuade him. Territorial negotiations between Hadrian and Charlemagne after the latter's conquest of Italy in 774 were, as explained earlier, complicated but mostly settled in 787-788 (although the region of Benevento was never restored to the papacy).⁸⁵ In this period, Hadrian I kept petitioning – and sometimes complaining – to Charlemagne about the papacy's claims to lands in Italy, as is reflected in the *lemmata* too. But other than that, papal Rome found itself in a reasonably safe position after 774. The Lombard threat had been removed, and Charlemagne was – to some extent – restoring papal possessions. After Hadrian I became Charlemagne's spiritual *compater* in 781 and the territorial settlements were arranged later that decade, it might have been unnecessary for him to remind the king of their spiritual equality as there were few pressing requests that needed to be granted. On a comparable note, the pope did remind the king several times of his duties as a kinsman.⁸⁶

⁸² Letter of Hadrian I to Charlemagne, ed. K. Hampe, *MGH Epp.* V (Berlin, 1899), pp. 5-57, at p. 6.

⁸³ *CC*, no. 72, p. 603.

⁸⁴ *CC*, no. 69, p. 599: *Sed petimus te, excellentissime (...)*.

⁸⁵ Noble, *The Republic*, pp. 175-179.

⁸⁶ For instance *CC*, nos. 72, 74, 94, pp. 602-603, 605, 632-636. Extending our view briefly beyond the popes in the *CC*, to Leo III's letters to Charlemagne, sent between 808 and 814, we come across no references to co-paternity. Relations of such nature had never been established between him and Charlemagne, probably due to a lack of legitimate children: Letters from Leo III, *MGH Epp.* V, pp. 87-104; Angenendt, 'Das geistliche Bündnis', p. 92, and see pp. 90-92 for a discussion (with references to historiography) on whether a bond of *compaternitas* in fact was or was not established between Leo III and Charlemagne.

5.2.3 Carolingian uses and interpretations

Clearly, the letters reveal that the bond of co-paternity with Carolingian kings was desired and actively sought after by the popes after it was first established in 754 between Pope Stephen II and Pippin and his wife Bertrada. Although we cannot say for certain on whose initiative this sacred kinship was introduced into the Franco-papal relations, its religious nature in combination with the papal emphasis on it in the letters suggest that it was the popes who were the driving force behind it. Since there are signs that forging bonds of *compaternitas* was becoming a recognised practice in eighth-century Francia, Stephen II chose to introduce a concept that was by now probably familiar to the Carolingian élite. On his part, he must have expected to benefit from it on a level that complemented Pippin's anointment and patrician responsibilities. How the Carolingian family interpreted and regarded this new bond is difficult to tell, for contemporary Frankish narrative and annalistic sources which cover events concerning the Carolingian-papal relations do not show much interest in it: there are no explicit or verbatim references to co-parenthood with the popes. Also, it is not referred to in the *CC*'s preface. However, for instance, as briefly touched upon above, the *ARF* do refer to Hadrian's baptism of Charlemagne's son Carloman (renamed Pippin) in 781, which indicates that it was considered relevant enough to be mentioned. *Compaternitas* is not used, but besides the baptism itself (*baptizatus est*), the expression *qui et ipse eum de sacro fonte suscepit* appears.⁸⁷

It is not so strange that contemporary Frankish historiographical sources remain silent. Since the bond of *compaternitas* was forged with the various popes on an individual level, it signified a personal relationship, and was therefore not a permanent and official title of any kind that could be included into documents employing official titulature, as we have seen happening with the patrician title. It was probably only relevant to employ it in cases where the personal bond was evoked, for instance in the letters. This does not explain, however, why it is not commented upon in other textual sources, Frankish or papal. I suspect, as I shall explain shortly, that this

⁸⁷ *ARF*, ed. Rau, s.a. 781, p. 40: *et baptizatus est dominus Pippinus, filius supradicti domni Caroli magni regis, ab Adriano papa, qui et ipse eum de sacro fonte suscepit*. The establishment of co-paternity between Pope Paul I and Pippin and his wife, for instance, is not reported on.

could be the case because the term itself may not have been standard Frankish vocabulary.

On the basis of Charlemagne's uniquely disseminated letter to Hadrian I, it has been suggested that Charlemagne preferred to salute the pope with *compater*, as it allowed him to address him on a horizontal level, evading the traditional Christian spiritual father-son language of subordination, but this conclusion is based on one extant letter only.⁸⁸ Furthermore, its salutation includes the traditional father-son language, where Hadrian I is *pater in Christo*, and Charlemagne himself is *filius in Christo*.⁸⁹

5.2.4 References in the *lemmata*

Another insight into contemporary and later Carolingian views on the copaternity bond is provided by the *lemmata* in the CC manuscript. These reveal that it was a topic that was picked up on; at least by the scribes who provided the letters with their headings.

In total, there are three headings that mention popes who are looking to establish baptismal sponsorship. These letters in question have all been reviewed above: one from Paul I to Pippin (759); one from Stephen III to Carloman (770-771); and lastly one from Hadrian to Charlemagne (778).⁹⁰ The expressions as used in all three headings are quite monotonous; all, with slight variations, state that the pope requested to be allowed to raise the child from the sacred baptismal font (*ut ex sacro baptismatis fonte suscipere*

⁸⁸ Lynch, *Godparents*, p. 195, and Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language*, pp. 108-110, for the most recent view on Carolingian alleged reluctance with regard to father-son language.

⁸⁹ The marble funerary epitaph that Charlemagne commissioned for Pope Hadrian is a visual and textual expression of the father-son bond between Hadrian and Charlemagne. If the king was indeed reluctant to call Hadrian 'father' in order not to be lower in hierarchy, he would not have used such language in an epitaph that was visible to all as a monument in Rome. See for this marble epitaph J. Story et al., 'Charlemagne's black marble: the origins of the Epitaph of Pope Hadrian I', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 73 (2005), pp. 157-190; S. Scholz, 'Karl der Große und das "Epitaphium Hadriani". Ein Beitrag zum Gebetsgedenken der Karolinger', in: R. Berndt ed., *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794. Kristallisationspunkt Karolingischer Kultur. Akten zweier Symposien (vom 23. bis 27. Februar und vom 13. bis 15. Oktober 1994) anlässlich der 1200-Jahresfeier der Stadt Frankfurt am Main I. Politik und Kirche* (Mainz, 1997), pp. 373-394; C. Treffort, *Mémoires carolingiennes: L'épithaphe entre célébration mémorielle, genre littéraire et manifeste politique (milieu VIII – début XIe siècle)* (Rennes, 2007).

⁹⁰ CC, nos. 18, 47, and 60 respectively.

mereretur).⁹¹ None of the headings employ the term *compaternitas*, but merely refer to the act of baptism. This expression mirrors the vocabulary found in the *ARF*.

Although these phrases do reflect the repertoire employed in the letters, the letters themselves contain more varied language, with Stephen III explicitly using the term *compaternitas*.⁹² In fact, the *lemmata* closely resemble the expression in Pope Paul's letter from 759 (*te petimus, ut a sacratissimo baptismatis lavacro eundem eximium vestrum filium suscipere mereamur*). In this case, the *lemma* stays true to the phrasing used in the letter.

The *lemmata* show less similarity with the more varied language in the contents of the other two papal letters, from Stephen III to Carloman (770-771) and from Hadrian to Charlemagne (778). This suggests that the recurrent language as used in all three *lemmata* is based on the contents of the first letter and its accompanying *lemma*. In other words, it looks like the first *lemma* referring to baptismal sponsoring was used as a model for the two. Furthermore, I think that this repetitive language strongly supports the idea proposed previously, that all headings were added to the manuscript in one go, and within one timeframe. As it appears, the scribe's usual way to refer to the co-paternal bond was to mention the act of being raised from the baptismal font, and this could be derivative of both a late eighth- and later ninth-century Carolingian context.

Another observation can be made. The letters from Paul I to Pippin and from Stephen III to Carloman are relatively short, whereas the letter from Hadrian to Charlemagne dated 778 is longer. More significantly, though, the latter also contains some interesting rhetoric as to

⁹¹ *Lemma* to CC, no. 18: *et in emboli postulat, ut filium eius, qui tunc natus fuit, ut ex sacro bapbismatis fonte excipere mereretur*; *Lemma* to no. 47: *et postulabat, ut filium suum ex fonte sacri baptismatis suscipere meretur*; *Lemma* to no. 60: *et postolans, ut filium suum ex sacro baptismatis fonte suscipere mereretur*.

⁹² CC, no. 18, p. 519: *Unde obnixae te petimus, ut a sacratissimo baptismatis lavacro eundem eximium vestrum filium suscipere mereamur, quatenus duplex spiritus sancti gratia fiat in medio nostrum et gemine festivitatis nobis oriatur laetitia*; CC, no. 47, p. 565: *Ad vero, quia amoris vestri fervor in nostris firmiter viget praecordiis, magna nobis desiderii ambicio insistit, praecellentissime regum, ut spiritus sancti gratia, scilicet compaternitatis affectio, inter nos eveniat (...) ut (...) in nostris ulnis ex fonte sacri baptismatis aut etiam per adorandi chrismatis unctionem spiritalem suscipere valeamus filium*; CC, no. 60, pp. 586-587: *Sed obnixae te petimus, (...) ut (...), pro ipso sancto baptisma nostrum adimplere iubeas desiderium de eundem eximium vestrum filium, quatenus duplex spiritus sancti gratia in medio nostrum ad crescat et gemina festivitatis laetitia nobis caelebretur*.

Charlemagne's promised (but not yet executed) restorations of papal territories, including an exhortation addressed to the king to emulate the Emperor Constantine.⁹³ Apart from some general expressions of papal gratitude for the health of the kings' family and the exaltation of the Holy Church, and the comment on the requested baptism, the *lemma* does not summarise anything else. So, of all the things that the heading could have included, it was decided to mention the papal request regarding the establishment of co-paternity. This, in itself, may be quite telling as to the value attached to the concept in a Frankish context.

Why the term *compaternitas* never made it to the headings remains unexplained but some options can be considered. Maybe the author of the headings in the manuscript merely mentioned the act of baptismal sponsoring, without using the term itself, because he assumed that this information was sufficient. Another possibility would be that the scribes may have been confused by or unaware of what the expression *ut ex sacro baptismatis fonte suscipere mereretur* entailed besides mere baptism: maybe they did not realise that this was a reference to *compaternitas* and not just 'plain' baptism. This seems unlikely, however, given the history of the term and its repetitive appearance in both the salutations and contents of the various letters. Some letters, as explained above, even specifically explain what *compaternitas* was and how it was established.⁹⁴ Besides, spiritual sponsorship itself remained an important factor in later ninth-century Carolingian politics: Lothar, for instance, became the spiritual sponsor of one of Charles the Bald's daughters, and therefore Charles' *compater*.⁹⁵

Interestingly, the term *compaternitas* itself is not employed in Carolingian political discourse. I therefore suspect that, just as is the case with the title of *patricius Romanorum*, the meaningful act of baptism may have been the common or preferred expression to describe the sacred bond.

⁹³ Hadrian applied this comparison to Constantine only once throughout his entire correspondence with the Carolingian court: CC, no. 60, pp. 585-587.

⁹⁴ For instance CC, no. 47, p. 565: *Ad vero, quia amoris vestri fervor in nostris firmiter viget praecordiis, magna nobis desiderii ambicio insistit, praecellentissime regum, ut spiritus sancti gratia, scilicet compaternitatis affectio, inter nos eveniat (...) ut (...) in nostris ulnis ex fonte sacri baptismatis aut etiam per adorandi chrismatis unctionem spiritalem suscipere valeamus filium.*

⁹⁵ *Lothariusque filiam Karoli a sacro fonte suscipit: Annales Bertiniani*, ed. Waitz, s.a. 853, p. 42. Charles the Bald himself became spiritual sponsor of Pippin of Aquitaine's son, who was also named Charles: Angenendt, 'Das geistliche Bündnis', p. 19.

The concept of *compaternitas*, as introduced and used by the various popes of the second half of the eighth century, therefore reflects a more papal discourse as opposed to Carolingian vocabulary.⁹⁶ This also explains why the term as such does not appear in any of the contemporary Frankish sources.

5.3 The allusions and comparisons to Old Testament rulers

Just like the previous two concepts, comparisons of King Pippin to Old Testament rulers feature extensively in the papal letters, but only until 768. These too were introduced by the papacy into the Franco-papal discourse. All of these were, to a certain extent, already familiar in the Frankish realm, rendering them identifiable and perhaps even appealing to the Franks. By using these biblical comparisons, the popes thus tapped into an existing practice. Allusions to Scripture were certainly no novelty to the Franks: several early eighth-century Frankish capitularies, for instance, describe the Frankish people as the *populus Dei*, the people of God.⁹⁷ Furthermore, in early eighth-century Francia, it was already suggested that a king should possess qualities of his biblical predecessors.⁹⁸ The royal anointings of Pippin in 751 (allegedly by Boniface in the capacity of papal legate) and 754 (by Pope Stephen II himself) do, however, seem to have caused a wider dissemination of these ideas in Carolingian culture.⁹⁹ In what follows, I shall discuss the uses of these Old Testament ruler models in the CC, while evaluating their potential role in inspiring such models during the Carolingian period.

⁹⁶ Consulting Niermeyer's *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* and Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, one quickly finds that no Carolingian source employs the term *compaternitas*, except for Walafrid Strabo's liturgical commentary (*Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, c. 27).

⁹⁷ Bullough, *The Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 21.

⁹⁸ In the *Liber historiae Francorum*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM II (Hanover, 1888), ca. 727: Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, pp. 197-199, 257; Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel', p. 123.

⁹⁹ M.J. Enright, *Iona, Tara and Soissons. The Origin of the Royal Anointing Ritual* (Berlin and New York, 1985), p. 135; J.L. Nelson, 'Kingship and royal government' in: R.D. McKitterick ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History II c.700-c.900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 383-430, at p. 427.

5.3.1 Interpretations and discussions in historiography

Noble and Garrison have most recently looked thoroughly at the Old Testament models in the *CC*, and their works have been fundamental for the understanding of the employment of this rhetorical device.¹⁰⁰ In his study on the Bible in the *CC*, Noble concludes that the papal letters 'show us the popes struggling to learn how to talk to the Carolingians'. Noble further concludes that biblical allusions were not indispensable in papal communications with the Carolingian court. Also, there was no fixed repertoire of biblical citations or references. Popes, therefore, 'generally did not turn to the Bible as a means of advancing their concerns and views'.¹⁰¹ It is, however, possible to distinguish certain patterns of biblical discourse in their communications.

Noble discerned four different strategies in the papal dialogue: pastoral, ecclesiological, didactic, and emotional-rhetorical. The ecclesiological strategy was mainly aimed at invoking the Petrine basis of the papacy, as we have encountered most plainly in *CC* no. 10 which is written in St Peter's name. Most interesting for this chapter is the so-called 'didactic' strategy that Noble has detected, in the sense that the Old Testament rulers served as models for appropriate conduct. The popes could urge a Carolingian ruler to emulate a biblical example; not just by explicitly drawing parallels to individual rulers, but also by quoting from or alluding to biblical books.¹⁰²

Mary Garrison's article 'The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an identity from Pippin to Charlemagne' has been groundbreaking in addressing Carolingian ideas about the Franks as being God's elect, and their appropriation of biblical models. Garrison has made a strong case for a vivid Carolingian reception of papally implanted Old Testament ruler comparisons, for her crucial observation is that it was the popes who initiated the practice of depicting the Franks as God's elect in imitation of the people of Israel, and their leaders such as Moses and David, and not the

¹⁰⁰ Noble, 'The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*'; Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel'.

¹⁰¹ Noble, 'The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*', pp. 64-66, with the quotations from p. 66 and p. 64 respectively.

¹⁰² See for explanations and examples pertaining to those four strategies Noble, 'The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*', *passim*.

Franks themselves. The Frankish appropriation of models of biblical rulership was therefore not an autonomous process, since ‘the seeds of this new Frankish self-representation were almost always planted by outsiders’. These ‘outsiders’ were, following Garrison, firstly, the popes in the 750s, followed by Insular émigrés in the mid 780s and 790s.¹⁰³ The popes, therefore, had a crucial role in implanting biblical ruler comparisons in the Frankish mindset during the second half of the eighth century. Following her observation, Noble has underlined that the popes called the Franks a holy nation twice,¹⁰⁴ precisely during a time when allusions to the Franks as God’s people began to occur in Frankish sources. Adding to this, Noble underlined a remarkable phenomenon that can be traced in the papal letters. ‘Mixing metaphors’, as Noble put it, the popes replaced the Carolingian kings’ responsibility for the popes’ special people (*peculiaris populus*) of Rome and central Italy with the broader notion of God’s people (*populus Dei*), thus linking Carolingian leadership over God’s people with their biblical predecessors.¹⁰⁵

Garrison evaluated possible practical motives for the papal adoption of the language and identifies the Lombard threat as one potential explanation. As the popes needed champions to liberate them from the Lombards, Garrison reasons, they attempted to persuade the Carolingians to come to their aid by hailing them as Old Testament rulers.¹⁰⁶

When it comes specifically to comparisons to Old Testament forebears, I agree with Garrison that the popes were certainly bearers of the seeds of Frankish self-representation, as their letters were highly valued at the Carolingian court, as attested by their composition into the CC. But papal Rome certainly was not the only source of inspiration, as Garrison has acknowledged herself. In Frankish Merovingian sources, for instance, we can already detect a trend to compare rulers with biblical model kings, as I shall demonstrate below. Also, we must not exclude Frankish inventiveness:

¹⁰³ Garrison, ‘The Franks as the New Israel?’, p. 123-124, with the quotation from p. 123.

¹⁰⁴ Noble, ‘The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*’, p. 70; in CC, nos. 39 (Paul I), p. 552, and 45 (Stephen III), p. 561, dated to around 760 and the end of 769 - beginning of 770 respectively (following Hack’s dating table in *Codex Carolinus* II, p. 1076).

¹⁰⁵ Noble, ‘The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*’, p. 70. For Noble’s earlier work on the *peculiaris populus* and the Frankish protectorate, see *The Republic*, pp. 15-60.

¹⁰⁶ Garrison, ‘The Franks as the New Israel?’, *passim*.

ideas to use Scripture as a source for inspiration on how rulers should behave and act could very well have developed in Carolingian Francia independently from other possible sources of inspiration.

According to Isabelle Rosé, there is another way of looking at things. She approaches the matter entirely differently from Garrison. In her study as to why Charlemagne chose king Josiah as his personal role model in the foreword to the 789 *Admonitio Generalis* (also featured in the *Libri Carolini*), which shall be elaborated upon below, Rosé has brought Byzantine Old Testament models into the equation. In her view, the implementation of Iconoclasm by Emperor Leo III in 726 caused the imperial court to abandon the traditional imperial model based on King David. This break in tradition provided the Carolingian dynasty with an opportunity to appropriate the imperial model from Constantinople, in imitation of the emperor. According to Rosé, it was imported by intellectual refugees from the Byzantine Empire. As a result, Charlemagne could apply the Old Testament model of Josiah, the legislator-king, for his own rule. Why Charlemagne chose Josiah instead of David, Rosé explains by the fact that it provided the king with a fresh ruler concept, with the king as a lawgiver of a religious polity, just like Josiah in Scripture. Furthermore, Josiah embodied a more historical and 'real' figure than King David who was of more mythical proportions.¹⁰⁷

There are some arguments against Rosé's notion of the course of events. First of all, innovation (that is, creating a new ruler model based on Josiah) is not always based on imitation – inspiration for Charlemagne may well have come independently from the Bible instead of an earlier (Byzantine) tradition. Also, one wonders why, following Rosé's line of reasoning, it took until 789 – which is the year of the *Admonitio Generalis'* promulgation – for Charlemagne to choose a new model, if indeed the Iconoclastic policy of 726 was the starting engine behind all this.

Also, where Garrison mainly looks to the popes as the primary source of inspiration for the Carolingian adaptation of biblical ruler models, Rosé

¹⁰⁷ Rosé, 'Le roi Josias', pp. 683-709. In addition, Rosé has also considered the use of Josiah with the Church fathers, and has concluded that there was no such thing as a uniform tradition, whereas he did feature more prominently in the Anglo-Saxon tradition (Bede, Cathwulf, Cuthbert). Since the *Libri Carolini* by Theodulf of Orléans also allude to the ruler model of Josiah, Rosé believes this proves that not Alcuin, but Theodulf was the mastermind behind the *Admonitio Generalis*.

points at the Franks themselves and claims that the Carolingian king Charlemagne had copied the Byzantine tradition. In all this, Rosé completely neglects any potential role of the papacy and its letters to the Carolingian court. Without pretending to include a complete study on Carolingian adaptations of biblical models for rulers, as this chapter is not the place to do so, I shall evaluate Garrison's and Rosé's ideas on the Carolingian adaptation of biblical ruler models and the potential role of the papacy in it by exploring both the older Byzantine and Frankish customs. First, however, I shall focus on the way the popes used such models in their letters.¹⁰⁸

5.3.2 The comparisons in the CC

The comparisons to biblical rulers may have been introduced in the Franco-papal discourse by the papacy.¹⁰⁹ In several letters in the CC, starting with Pope Zachary, King Pippin is compared to Old Testament figures: five times to David, twice to Joshua, and six times to Moses.¹¹⁰ Sometimes Pippin is called a new version (*novus*) of one, whereas elsewhere he is described as being like (*sicut*) one. In none of the LP biographies that cover the second half of the eighth century are such comparisons between Old Testament rulers and Carolingian kings used. In the Life of Zachary, however, the figure of Moses is evoked, but not mentioned specifically, and not in relation to the king but to the pope in question. It is important to stress that the

¹⁰⁸ Leading scholars in this field are H.H. Anton, *Fürstenspiegel des frühen und hohen Mittelalters* (Darmstadt, 2006), and *idem*, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit* (Bonn, 1968); and E. Ewig, 'Zum christlichen Königsgedanken im Frühmittelalter' and 'Das Bild Constantins des Grossen in den ersten Jahrhunderten des abendländischen Mittelalters', in: *idem* and H. Atsma eds., *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien. Gesammelte Schriften (1952-1973) I* (Munich, 1976), pp. 3-71 and 72-113.

¹⁰⁹ Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel', p. 124. Yet since we do not possess the Frankish letters to the papacy, it is impossible to tell with absolute certainty that the Franks did not employ similar language in return. However, since the allusions turn up so early in the letters, notably with Pope Zachary (CC, no. 3, dated c. 747), it is likely that the popes were the initiators.

¹¹⁰ CC, nos. 11, 33, 39, 43, 99, at pp. 505, 540, 552, 557, 652 (David; also Salomon in no. 33)); nos. 3, 33, at pp. 480, 540 (Joshua); nos. 3, 11, 33, 39, 42, 98, at pp. 480, 505, 539, 552, 554-555, 649 (Moses). As to biblical discourse in general, thirty-eight letters in the CC refer directly to the Bible; fifty-seven do not (excluding the three letters to Spain and number 15, which is a summary and not a full letter).

passage in question is an interpolation, inserted in the context of Franco-papal diplomatic contacts, and intended for a Frankish audience.¹¹¹

Zachary's Life describes how the pope, feeling intimidated by the advancing Lombards under king Liutprand's lead, left Rome for the oppressed city of Ravenna, to negotiate the liberation of the city with Liutprand. Leaving Rome, Zachary prayed to St Peter for protection, and then 'it was almighty God's will that, to prevent their being burnt by the heat, a cloud covered them by day.'¹¹² This passage alludes to the book of Exodus, where Moses and the people of Israel leave Egypt and travel through the desert, led by God in a pillar of clouds.¹¹³ Like a new Moses, Zachary is protected and guided by God on his journey.

In the papal letters, by contrast, Pippin III is addressed as a predestined protector of the church, and an instrument of the divine providence. The Franks as a whole are a predestined, God-protected, blessed, and exalted people.¹¹⁴ This type of terminology can be generally classified as Old Testament language relating the history of the exemplary Old Testament to the present time. Moses was the leader who led God's people out of Egypt by prayer; Joshua, Moses' successor, led the Israelites into battle; and David was also chosen by God and anointed like Pippin himself.

In the wake of Pippin's Italian successes in 756, and shortly before his own death at the end of April 757, Stephen II wrote a letter to the king, expressing his contentment with the arrangements made, but also reminding

¹¹¹ Bougard, 'Composition, diffusion et reception', p. 137; and Davis's introduction to the Life of Zachary, *Lives of the Eighth Century Popes*, p. 30.

¹¹² LP, Davis, Life of Zachary, c. 13, p. 40.

¹¹³ Exodus 13:21-22. Admittedly, the allusion is rather clumsily done, as Davis has remarked: Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, p. 30. Throughout Exodus and other books in the Bible, God's presence is sometimes revealed in a cloud, for instance in Exodus 19:9, 24: 15-18, but also 2 Chronicles 5: 13-14, and Luke 9: 34-35.

¹¹⁴ On Pippin, see for instance CC, no. 11 (Stephen II), p. 504: *Denique, amantissime et a Deo inspirate, victor, felix et divina providentia fortissime rex (...)*; CC, no. 16 (Paul I), p. 513: *Etenim, excellentissime fili et spiritalis compater, quoniam Deus omnipotens ex utero matris tuae te predestinatum habens (...)*. On the Franks as a blessed and exalted people, see for instance CC, no. 39 (Paul I): *Vere enim altatum est nomen gentis vestrae super multas generationum nationes (...). Et vos quidem, carissimi, 'gens sancta, regale sacerdotium, populus acquisitionis', cui benedixit dominus Deus Israhel, gaudete et exultate, quia nomina vestra regumque vestrorum exarata sunt in celis (...)*; CC, no. 45 (Stephen III), p. 561: (...) *vestra preclara gens, quae super omnes gentes enitet (...)*.

him of his responsibilities in guarding Desiderius' promise and the exultation of the Holy Church and its people.¹¹⁵ While praising Pippin's victory and successes in liberating the people of God, Stephen pondered: '*Quid enim aliud quam novum te dixerim Moysen et praeifulgidum asseram David regem?*'.¹¹⁶ Here, Stephen explicitly drew the line between Pippin and the Old Testament figures of Moses and King David. Pope Zachary actually was the first to make a reference to the Old Testament leaders Moses and Joshua in 747, but brought them up in a more exemplary way (*sicut*), and did not explicitly say that Pippin was a new version of them.¹¹⁷ Although they are both part of the same laudatory repertoire, with Claudia Rapp I would say that calling someone a new Moses, David, or any other biblical figure is even more powerful than simply making a comparison to someone.¹¹⁸ After all, to describe Pippin as a new Moses or a new David is to equate him with those Old Testament rulers. In that sense, Pippin would not just emulate and imitate them in his actions – in fact, he would embody a contemporary version of the biblical leaders. This would be, I imagine, the greatest compliment a Christian ruler could obtain.

Popes Zachary, Stephen II, Paul I, and the intruder-pope Constantine (767), clearly found the employment of Old Testament models meaningful and useful. In the past, a great deal of scholarly debate has revolved around the meaning of this biblical language, its relation to the anointing rituals of the 750s (and the imperial coronation of Charlemagne in 800) and its Carolingian adaptation. The Old Testament rulers, and likewise King David's son Solomon, were not only favourites of the Lord himself, but also of the people who had anointed them. Accordingly, a parallel could be drawn with the Carolingian kings and the ministers of their anointing, the popes.¹¹⁹ Besides, these biblical leaders all stood as models for (royal)

¹¹⁵ CC, no. 11, for instance at p. 505: *usque in finem permanere pro sanctae dei ecclesiae perfecta exultatione et eius populi liberatione (...)*.

¹¹⁶ CC, no. 11, p. 505.

¹¹⁷ CC, no. 3, p. 480: *Etenim vobis in vera confessione et simplici corde ad Deum accedentibus, sicut Moyses ille amicus Dei orando pugnabat et Iesu Nave, cum populo Israel bella Domini preliando, vincebat, ita et vos agere oportet (...)*.

¹¹⁸ C. Rapp, 'Comparison, Paradigm, and the Case of Moses in Panegyric and Hagiography', in: M. Whitby ed., *The Propaganda of Power: The Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 1998), pp. 277-298, at pp. 291-292.

¹¹⁹ Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, p. 167.

virtues, qualities and characteristics, and all were identified as legislators and strong leaders, both military and religious. King Josiah, for instance, though not mentioned in the papal letters, had banned idolatry, reorganised the priesthood, and renewed the pact between God and his people. This ruler was Charlemagne's personal ideal predecessor, to whom he tentatively compared himself in the prologue of the *Admonitio Generalis* of 789¹²⁰, even though he had not once been personally equated with this or any Old Testament king in the papal letters, since this custom had come to a halt with his father's death. Whether the *Admonitio* with its reference to Josiah originated with Alcuin or Theodulf is still under debate, although the most recent study convincingly argues in favour of Alcuin.¹²¹ But the fact remains that such notions made sense in Carolingian court circles of the 780s. Even though comparisons to biblical ruler models in the papal letters had ceased after 768, it had become part of (or: was reintroduced in) the Frankish political discourse some twenty years later. Although the papal feeds of portraying the Franks as God's elected people certainly contributed greatly to Frankish political discourse, I would resist crediting the popes with implementing the Old Testament ruler models on the Carolingian political agenda. Old Testament imagery gradually came to dominate the political discourse, but in the 790s it was Alcuin and Theodulf who played a major role in this.¹²²

With the death of Pippin in 768, however, the comparisons to rulers from the Old Testament in the papal letters ceased abruptly. In other words, Charlemagne and Carloman were never compared with a biblical ruler. Hadrian, however, once called Charlemagne a 'new Constantine' instead.¹²³ Overall, Hadrian's biblical discourse also diverged from that of his predecessors in other ways: his letters contain comparatively few references to the Bible. Hadrian also did not revert much to ecclesiological strategy

¹²⁰ *Nam legimus in regnorum libris, quomodo sanctus Iosias regnum sibi a deo datum circumeundo, corrigendo, ammonendo ad cultum veri dei studuit revocare (...)*, ed. Glatthaar, p. 182. For more on biblical ruler comparisons in the Carolingian world see De Jong, 'The empire as *ecclesia*', p. 200; McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, pp. 1-3.

¹²¹ See the introduction to the *Admonitio's* edition of Glatthaar, on pp. 47-55 where Alcuin is identified as the *Admonitio's* composer. Compare Rosé, 'Le roi Josias', who argues that Theodulf was behind the *Admonitio* and, consequently, the image of Josiah.

¹²² De Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', pp. 112-116.

¹²³ CC, no. 60, pp. 585-587.

either. Instead, as we have seen earlier in the discussion on the *lemmata*, he would continuously allude to Charlemagne's and his father Pippin's oaths to restore the papal territories.¹²⁴ More general allusions or references to Scripture and biblical rulers, however, remained in use after 768. Hadrian's letter from 781, for instance, opens with a reference to David in the Psalms.¹²⁵ It is just that the straightforward comparisons between the Carolingian king and Old Testament models are abandoned. What could have caused this sudden discontinuation? Could there be explanations related to the sphere of Lateran politics behind the scenes? For this, we return to the question: who could influence the contents of the papal letters?

5.3.2.1 Excurs: Christopher, the papal *primicerius*

To this date, no satisfactory explanation has been offered as to why the successors of Stephen III ceased to employ Old Testament models in their letters. Garrison has pointed to Lombard oppression as a possible decisive factor in the decision to adopt such models, but this explanation is insufficient since it was not until 774 that Charlemagne put an end to it. Another explanation would be the accession of Pippin's sons Carloman and Charlemagne in 768. It has been suggested that Pope Stephen III was unsure of these new kings' loyalty to the papacy, which prevented him from reintroducing Old Testament compliments for the new rulers. His successor Hadrian I may not have revived the rhetoric since he remained discontent with Charlemagne's policy as to the restoration of papal lands after 774.¹²⁶

Yet we could also look for an explanation from a different vantage point. All theories so far remain unsatisfactory given that they focus primarily on external factors and leave aside any internal causes, meaning dynamics within the Lateran. Political forces at work within the papal headquarters may not only give insight into why the Old Testament models were no longer employed in the correspondence; they also demonstrate that the contents of papal letters need not necessarily have been dictated by popes themselves. It is not always possible to determine whether a pope himself or his first official, the *primicerius*, dominated the contents of a letter.

¹²⁴ Noble, 'The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*'.

¹²⁵ CC, no. 68, pp. 597-598.

¹²⁶ Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel', pp. 143-145.

In some instances, however, one can, as in the case of Christopher, papal *primicerius* under Popes Paul (757-767) and Stephen III (769-772). Also, the political situation in Rome during these years may very well have affected the tone in papal letters. A case study of the political intrigues in the Lateran in this period, involving Christopher, illustrates these dynamic forces at work in papal Rome well.

Papal *primicerii* were among the highest papal dignitaries, as they were the chief officers of the papal administration, and the overseers of the papal writing-office and archives. In fact, there is a significant change in the position of *primicerius* between the years 753 and the first three years of Pope Stephen III's pontificate. As explained earlier, the Old Testament language emerges in the 750's, and makes its final appearance in Pope Paul's last letter in the CC dated 767. In the year 753, as the Life of Pope Stephen II informs us, the *primicerius* Ambrose died. His successor is not mentioned here.¹²⁷ The first time we hear of a *primicerius* again is during Pope Paul's pontificate. Under Paul's predecessor Stephen II, however, Christopher makes his entry into papal history. Stephen II's Life in the LP describes Christopher as a counsellor, or *consiliarius*, who is sent on a diplomatic mission to meet with the Lombard king Desiderius.¹²⁸ This same Christopher held the important position of *primicerius* under Popes Paul and Stephen III. Noble assumes that Christopher was already *primicerius* under Stephen II, but Davis sees no reason to follow him in this.¹²⁹ In any case, he became *primicerius* at some point under Paul. His success in papal politics involved him in political intrigues and betrayal, which ultimately led to his downfall.

Following the Life of Stephen III, the *primicerius* and the *secundicerius* were clearly highly valued and trusted officials, heroes almost, who were assigned the great responsibility of delivering letters to the Carolingian

¹²⁷ LP I, ed. Duchesne, Life of Stephen II, c. 23-24, pp. 446-447; Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, c. 24, p. 61, and see n. 55 on this page.

¹²⁸ LP I, ed. Duchesne, Life of Stephen II, c. 49, p. 455: *Christophorum consiliarium*; Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, p. 74, c. 49.

¹²⁹ Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, p. 74, n. 115. CC letter 36, written by Pope Paul, describes Christopher as a *primicerius et consiliarius*, so both qualifications could go together. Yet the Life of Stephen II merely mentions that Christopher is a *consiliarius*, suggesting that he was not yet *primicerius*, as that is the higher qualification and would thus have been mentioned otherwise. For this reason, I follow Davis in this matter.

court. Stephen's *vita* mentions Christopher in the position of *primicerius*, involved in high politics: 'This blessed pontiff took great care to send his envoys and letters of advice to his Excellency Charles king of the Franks and his brother Carloman, also king – Christophorus the *primicerius* and Sergius the *secundicerius* were involved and engaged in this – about exacting from Desiderius king of the Longobards St. Peter's lawful rights. This made Desiderius boil with indignation and fury against Christopher and Sergius, and he made efforts to snuff them out and destroy them.'¹³⁰ Christopher is featured very prominently in the Life of Stephen III; more so than the pope himself. Also, the Life breaks off not with the death of Stephen III in 772, but with Christophorus' in 771. Noble therefore assumes Christopher himself was the author of the pope's *vita*: 'This is not Stephen's *vita* at all; it is Christophorus'.¹³¹ So, here we have a *primicerius* in control of the contents of a papal biography that was most likely produced in the chancery, which makes it quite plausible that he may have been in command of the contents of papal correspondence as well.

Nowadays, it is widely accepted that Christopher to a great extent controlled Pope Stephen III's election. Apparently, he was so influential that – among other things – he is considered the brain behind the papacy's maximal territorial claims.¹³² His prominent presence in the LP's Life of Stephen III illustrates his leading position at the beginning of this pope's pontificate, although Noble, following Hallenbeck, maintains that Stephen III was not as weak a pope as he was made out to be.¹³³ Christopher's notorious career under the Popes Paul and Stephen III is complicated and

¹³⁰ LP, Davis, Life of Stephen III, c. 28, pp. 101-102; see n. 78 on this page for references to literature on this passage with regard to Desiderius' dealings with Christopher and Sergius. Also see LP I, ed. Duchesne, Life of Stephen III, c. 28, p. 478: *Nam sedule (...) nitebatur eos extinguere ac delere.*

¹³¹ Noble, 'A new look', p. 356.

¹³² Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, p. 74, n. 115, probably following Noble, *The Republic*, p. 101, n. 12, who in turn follows Duchesne (transl. A.H. Mathew), *The Beginnings of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes, A.D. 754-1073* (London, 1908), p. 72.

¹³³ Noble, *The Republic*, p. 196, and n. 196 on this page, following J.T. Hallenbeck, 'Pope Stephen III: Why was he elected?', *AHP* 12 (1974), pp. 287-299. Also see the introduction to Stephen III's life in Davis, *Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes* pp. 84-86: Davis does not agree and characterises Stephen III as a powerful pope, who was being dominated by Christopher.

cannot be fully examined here, but certainly needs elucidation at this point.¹³⁴

In the years 764-766, the papacy and the Franks were in the middle of peace negotiations with the Byzantines. In the course of these negotiations, the Franks suspected *primicerius* Christopher of sabotaging the process by negotiating autonomously with the Byzantines. In reaction to the accusations, Pope Paul, in a letter to Pippin, defended and praised Christopher (*et satisfacti sumus de eius [Christopher's] immaculata fide et firme cordis constantia*).¹³⁵ A few years later, at the death of Pope Paul in 768, duke Toto of Nepi performed a *coup* of the papal see, despite Christopher's attempts to stop him. Toto's brother Constantine¹³⁶ was subsequently proclaimed pope, but Christopher refused to swear loyalty to him and managed to gain support from the Lombard king Desiderius in his successful mission to bring Constantine down. After Constantine was arrested, however, Desiderius' agent and priest Waldipert managed to install a priest named Philip, favoured by the Lombards, as pope. This second coup did not last long, as Christopher and his allies managed to undo the appointment. He quickly arranged for a proper papal election, and Stephen (III) was chosen.

In the years to follow, Christopher not only maintained his position of *primicerius*, but also became even more powerful than before. Desiderius, however, wanted revenge and plotted to cause his downfall. For this purpose he allied himself with chamberlain Paul Afiarta. Eventually, eight days before Stephen III's own death, Christopher and Sergius were killed by Afiarta and his pro-Lombard faction in Rome. Stephen reports on his death to Charlemagne and his mother Betrada in what was to be his last letter in the CC.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ The following account of Christopher's career is based on Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages*, pp. 220-228, and J.T. Hallenbeck, 'Pavia and Rome: The Lombard Monarchy and the Papacy in the Eighth Century', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 72 (1982), pp. 106-136.

¹³⁵ CC, no. 36, pp. 543-547, at p. 546.

¹³⁶ Two of Constantine's letters are contained in the CC, notably nos. 98 and 99, pp. 649-653.

¹³⁷ CC, no. 48, pp. 566-567. For more on Paul Afiarta and his career in papal politics see J. T. Hallenbeck, 'Paul Afiarta and the papacy. An analysis of politics in eighth-century Rome', *AHP* 12 (1974), pp. 33-54, where Hallenbeck suggests that Afiarta was mostly acting independently from Desiderius in order to become pope himself.

In the meantime, politics in Francia had changed as well. As we know, Pippin had died in 768, and under Charlemagne and Carloman (died 771), there was a reported rapprochement between the Franks and the Lombards. This clearly distressed Stephen III and the Lateran greatly, as is testified by the (in)famous letter in the CC (no. 45, dated 770/771), in which the pope left little to the imagination as to what he thought of the Lombards and the marriage plans between Charlemagne and Desiderius' daughter.¹³⁸

Interestingly, there are compelling reasons to believe that Christopher was the author of this letter, and not Stephen. Hallenbeck lists a number of reasons why this is so. All the classical elements of a traditional 'whodunnit' indeed point to Christopher as a suspect. First, there are the circumstances: given his great power over Stephen III, and his position of head of the chancery, 'Christopher was in the opportunity to dictate the letter if he wished to do so', expounds Hallenbeck.¹³⁹ Secondly, Christopher had a motive. Desiderius was his enemy and the news that he was becoming friends with the Carolingians was very distressing, and something to be prevented. Lastly, the language and rhetoric used in the letter to describe the Lombards is quite outstanding, but would make sense for an anti-Lombard papal official such as Christopher. The Lombards are described as – among other things – pagans and lepers, and a terrible people; a marriage between Charlemagne and Desiderius' daughter would be devilish and would pollute the Frankish people.

I would add some arguments to those proposed by Hallenbeck, namely that Stephen III's letter refers to 'the most loyal nomenclator Sergius' (*Sergium fidelissimum nostrum nomenclatorem*) and 'other envoys of ours' (*alios nostros missos nobis*). As mentioned above, Sergius was Christopher's son and *secundicerius*, and the letter shows two remarkable things. First, he is the only papal envoy specifically mentioned by name and office. Second, the *secundicerius* is mentioned, but not the *primicerius* (who is higher in rank). That would only make sense, I propose, if Christopher himself indeed was

¹³⁸ CC, no. 45, pp. 560-563.; also see Pohl, 'Why not to marry a foreign woman' (forthcoming).

¹³⁹ Hallenbeck, 'Pavia and Rome', p. 120. Hallenbeck follows O. Bertolini, 'La caduta del primicerio Cristoforo (771) nelle versioni dei contemporanei e le correnti antilongobarde e filolongobarde in Roma alla fine del pontificato di Stefano III (771-772)', in: O. Banti ed., *Scritti Scelti di Storia Medioevale I* (Livorno, 1968), pp. 19-61, which I have not been able to consult personally.

the author of the letter, and therefore would not refer to himself by his rank. He was in the position, however, to single out his son, which is exactly what he did. Last but not least, if Christopher could direct the output of the papal chancery with regard to the *LP*, as Noble has suggested, there is reason enough to assume he could be in command of the papal correspondence.

If indeed Christopher could exert such control over the papal chancery, the reason for the discontinuation of the OT-models could be found with him. Around the middle of the 760s, Pippin had doubts about Christopher's loyalties and involvement with the Lombard king, which could have tempered the *primicerius'* future willingness to use such models. Moreover, once Pippin had died and his sons were getting on too well with the Lombards, as reports had it, maybe Christopher decided to disregard such models forever. Why they were never reintroduced in the papal-Franco correspondence after Christopher was removed from the scene remains unsolved so far, but for some reason the chancery never put them back into use.

5.3.3 Old Testament ruler models in Byzantine imperial ideology

As I mentioned earlier, it has been suggested by Rosé that Charlemagne imitated the Byzantine imperial tradition in taking Josiah as a model king for inspiration. Since the custom of using Old Testament ruler models for emperors had been in use for quite some time already, it is worthwhile to consider this imperial tradition in more detail.

It is hardly possible to overrate the significance of Scripture in early medieval Byzantine court circles: they were imbued with a biblical mindset, which determined the political and normative framework of society. It was not only imperial ideology that was influenced by this. Besides the emperor, other important figures in society, such as bishops, saints, and holy men, were associated with Old Testament models. The impact of this was visible on many levels, for instance in various literary texts, such as hagiographies and panegyrics.¹⁴⁰ It is fascinating to note, with Rapp, that the specific epithet of new Moses was, at first, only used for bishops in the Byzantine

¹⁴⁰ Rapp, 'Comparison, Paradigm, and the Case of Moses'; C. Rapp, 'Old Testament models for Emperors in Early Byzantium', in: P. Magdalino and R. Nelson eds., *The Old Testament in Byzantium* (Washington, 2010), pp. 175-197.

fourth and fifth centuries. Even more interesting is that Pope Sixtus III (432-440) was among those bishops: he was called a new Moses (*qui Moyses novus existens*) in a letter by the eastern bishops Eutherius and Helladius.¹⁴¹

With regard to imperial ideology, Eusebius of Caesarea describing the Emperor Constantine is an exception to this rule. He had much to do with the development of the custom of comparing the Greek emperor to Old Testament rulers. The beginnings of this tradition are therefore firmly rooted in the fourth century, when Eusebius wrote his biography of Constantine the Great, the *Vita Constantini*. Here, the emperor is described as God's favourite, an excellent ruler, whose task it is to guard the correct worship of God. Constantine's victories on both a political and military level were presented as the result of his devotion to God and the Christian religion. Eusebius modeled him on the Old Testament figure of Moses, who stood for the exemplary servant and prophet of God, and victorious leader of the people of God¹⁴² - an image that we have also encountered in the papal letters in the CC and in the Carolingian political discourse of the late 780s and 790s. In fact, one could say that the work is composed in such a way that 'the whole of Constantine's life as a ruler of God's people is now to be read in terms of the figure of Moses'.¹⁴³ After Eusebius, however, it seems that the image of David came to overshadow that of Moses.

¹⁴¹ As remarked by Rapp, 'Comparison, Paradigm, and the Case of Moses', p. 291. The passage reads: *Sicut etiam sub illo amaro Pharaone beatum Moysen contra Jamnes et Mambre (II Tim. III, 8), et sicut per Simonem Magum Petrum bene vincentem; sic et contra eos qui nunc insurrexerunt, inimicos tuam protulit sanctitatem, per quam bonae spei sumus et nos, quod orbis terrarum ab Aegyptio liberetur errore; qui Moyses novus existens, omnem quidem Aegyptium haereticum percuties, salvabis vero omnem Israelitam orthodoxum. Xysti III papae epistolae et decreta*, ed. J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 50 (Paris, 1844), ep. 4, (col. 595A).

¹⁴² I use this excellent English translation with a good introduction: A. Cameron and S.G. Hall transl., *Vita Constantini: Eusebius, Life of Constantine, Clarendon Ancient History Series* (Oxford 1999), pp. 34-39 (an introduction with specifics on Moses as model for the emperor), and see for Eusebius' striking description of Constantine as God's favourite and servant Book 1, c. 4-6, p. 69.

¹⁴³ Cameron and Hall, *Eusebius, Life of Constantine*, p. 36. Also see for the comparisons between Constantine and Moses by Eusebius: C. Rapp, 'Imperial ideology in the making: Eusebius of Caesarea on Constantine as "bishop"', *The Journal of Theological Studies* 49 (1998), pp. 685-695; and M. Hollerich, 'The comparison of Moses and Constantine in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Life of Constantine*', *Studia Patristica: papers presented to the International Conference on Patristic Studies* 19 (1989), pp. 80-95. Rapp, 'Comparison, Paradigm, and the Case of Moses', pp. 292-297.

It was probably not until the mid-fifth century that the image of King David was introduced as a ruler-model for those occupying the imperial throne. Specifically used in a comparison with an emperor as the new and contemporary embodiment of a past ruler, it surfaced at the Council of Chalcedon in 451. During this council, the Emperor Marcian (r. 450-457) was acclaimed by the attending Fathers as *novus Constantinus*, *novus Paulus*, *novus David*, and his wife Pulcheria as *nova Helena*. Here, the emphasis was on guardianship of orthodoxy.¹⁴⁴ In the supplication to the acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Bishop Sabinianus of Nicomedia also compared the Emperors Marcian and Valentinian to David. Dvornik has characterised this custom as 'Christianized Hellenistic ideas on kingship', which had 'penetrated the minds of the Byzantines, churchmen in particular'. Equating the emperor with King David centered on the idea that he was the one and only representative of God on earth.¹⁴⁵ The Emperor Heraclius even named his youngest son David.¹⁴⁶

From this time onwards, comparing the emperor to David, Solomon and Moses became commonplace in the Byzantine world. Greek emperors 'thus gained the reputation of being the successors of the kings of the Old Testament and heirs of their priesthood, whatever this implied'.¹⁴⁷

In their communications with the imperial see in Constantinople, several popes had written letters in which they made comparisons to David (and other biblical figures). Among these popes were Hormisdas (514-523), Agatho (678-681), and Leo II (682-683).¹⁴⁸ Popes of the pre-Carolingian period had therefore been familiar with this type of comparison. One could thus say that when their successors exemplified the Old Testament rulers in

¹⁴⁴ Ewig, 'Das Bild Constantins des Großen', pp. 76-77.

¹⁴⁵ Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy* II, p. 780-781. Rapp notes that, around the middle of the fifth century, Severus of Antioch is probably the first to introduce comparisons between emperors and King David, but he does so in a more implicit fashion: Rapp, 'Comparison, Paradigm, and the Case of Moses', p. 295.

¹⁴⁶ G. Ostrogorsky, 'Das Doppelkaisertum in Ostrom 474 bis 711', in: E. Kornemann ed., *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1930), pp. 155-165, at p. 163, as referred to by Ewig, 'Das Bild Constantins des Großen', p. 78, n. 39.

¹⁴⁷ As stated in F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy. Origins and Background* II (Washington and New York, 1966), p. 645. Also on this imperial ideology see G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le "césaropapisme" byzantin* (Paris, 1996), esp. at pp. 312-315; Rapp, 'Old Testament models', *passim*.

¹⁴⁸ Ewig, 'Das Bild Constantins des Großen', p. 78.

their correspondence with the Carolingian court, they joined an imperial-papal tradition which was now being presented to Francia in easily manageable chunks in the form of didactic examples in their letters, as Noble called them.

As for Rosé's argument about Carolingian adaptations of such biblical models, her theory reserves no role for the papacy in her evaluation. I would propose to add the papacy to Rosé's equation and to regard it as a missing link and connecting bridge of traditions between Byzantium and the Carolingian Empire. After all, it is in the papal correspondence with the Carolingian court that Old Testament ruler models feature reasonably prominently until 768. Having briefly explored the Byzantine tradition, it is now time briefly to evaluate pre-existing Frankish examples of such uses.

5.3.4 Carolingian uses and interpretations

Parallels between Old Testament figures and secular rulers were not confined to the Byzantine world and sphere of influence (Rome); they also occurred in pre-Carolingian Continental Europe as well as in Anglo-Saxon England, Ireland, and Visigothic Spain. Carolingian models of kingship may therefore have been influenced from multiple angles, besides, of course, direct inspiration from Scripture itself, and from the Church Fathers.¹⁴⁹

As Garrison and others have stressed, the biblical models and ideas that were adapted by the Carolingians in the second half of the eighth century coexisted with other models that developed not just from a Roman-classical and Christian tradition, but also from Frankish history itself.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Rosé, 'Le roi Josias', offers an evaluation of the use of such models with the Latin Church Fathers. Rosé argues that Ambrose used Josiah alongside other kings; Augustine preferred David and Salomon, but also considered Josiah for his role as lawgiver. Gregory the Great refrained from referring to Josiah completely.

¹⁵⁰ Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?', p. 119. The most recent and comprehensive studies of the Franks's perception and uses of the past, as reflected in the various Carolingian sources, are McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*, and *eadem*, *History and Memory*. Both underline the composite character (Roman-classical, Christian, and barbarian or non-Christian) of the Carolingian heritage of the past, as Garrison, and Hen in his 'The uses of the Bible', do. The volume Y. Hen and M. Innes eds., *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), contains a variety of articles of interest as to the mixed Carolingian heritage, for instance of Hen, 'The Annals of Metz and the Merovingian Past', pp. 175-190 on Merovingian heritage; De Jong, 'The empire as *ecclesia*'; on the uses of biblical *historia* and exegesis by Hrabanus Maurus in the

Acknowledging this multi-faceted heritage, Yitzhak Hen has drawn attention to two biblical models for Frankish kingship that were used alongside each other from the Merovingian period onwards, and were adopted and expanded by the Carolingians. One model, found in admonitory sources (letters), constitutes Old Testament kings as role models, whereas liturgical sources, conversely, focus on warlike or military ideals for Frankish kings.¹⁵¹ Hen signals a progressive employment of these biblical models from the seventh century onwards, combined with an increasingly expounded Christian message.¹⁵²

Insular examples are to be found with Bede, Alcuin, in his letters to Anglo-Saxon kings, and with Cathwulf, who wrote a letter of admonition and exhortation using biblical exempla to Charlemagne himself in 775.¹⁵³ Early medieval Irish kingship was also influenced by Old Testament models.¹⁵⁴ Cathwulf's letter stands out with regard to the sheer amount of biblical examples that are included, and how these are used in relation to Charlemagne. Cathwulf focused on military victories over enemies – in this context, he celebrated Charlemagne's victory over the Lombards, saying that the Psalms of the Old Testament are not only to be understood in reference to Christ and to David, but also to Charlemagne himself. Overall, the letter also has a striking 'prayerful' and devotional character.¹⁵⁵ Since there is little to no evidence for any Carolingian sources from the 770s or earlier displaying Old Testament allusions on the scale of later court poetry and legislation (f.i. as to be found in the *Admonitio Generalis*), or the Franks associating themselves with God's elect, Cathwulf's letter is of extreme

ninth century; and Innes, 'Teutons or Trojans? The Carolingians and the Germanic past', pp. 227-249, on non-Christian or 'barbarian' aspects of the Carolingian heritage.

¹⁵¹ Hen, 'The uses of the Bible', *passim*; also see Nelson, 'Kingship and empire', p. 61.

¹⁵² Hen, 'The uses of the Bible', p. 284.

¹⁵³ See for key studies: Bede on the Anglo-Saxon kings, McClure, 'Bede's Old Testament kings'; on Alcuin, see Lauwers, 'Le glaive et la parole'; and Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos*, pp. 80-131. On Cathwulf (and on another important letter with Old Testament ruler comparisons from the hand of Clemens Peregrinus, who wrote to Duke Tassilo of Bavaria in 772), see Garrison, 'Letters to a king and biblical exempla'; Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos*, pp. 75-79; Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance*, pp. 49-50. For Cathwulf's letter itself, see ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* IV, (Berlin, 1895), pp. 501-505.

¹⁵⁴ B. Jaski, 'Early medieval Irish kingship and the Old Testament', *EME* 7 (1998), pp. 329-344.

¹⁵⁵ *MGH Epp.* IV, p. 502; I am using Garrison's interpretation and translation of the passage in 'Letters to a king and biblical exempla', pp. 310-311.

relevance: it may reveal a transmission of such thoughts from the Anglo-Saxon world to the Continent.¹⁵⁶ Alcuin may have been influenced by Cathwulf's ideas on good kingship. The idea articulated by Cathwulf that a good king brings his realm affluence, is also found in Alcuin's letters to King Aethelred (793) and Charlemagne (799).¹⁵⁷ In this letter to Charlemagne, Alcuin explicitly called him David.

Rob Meens, too, acknowledges the strong insular influence of such ideas on Carolingian kingship; Frankish political discourse incorporated these views successfully as they fitted well with ideas already prevalent on kingship and correct behaviour.¹⁵⁸ Under Charlemagne and his son Louis the Pious, the idea that kings and their households were, through their behaviour, individually accountable for the wellbeing of the realm eventually became prevalent.¹⁵⁹

Such ideas may also have been inspired by examples from the Merovingian period. As early as the mid-fifth century, around the time of the Council of Chalcedon, some Merovingian kings were being associated with David.¹⁶⁰ Frankish authors such as Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus also applied Old Testament ruler models.¹⁶¹ In the seventh century, Chlodwig (Clovis) II, king of Neustria and Burgundy, was profiled on Old Testament kings as well.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶ Garrison, 'Letters to a king and biblical *exempla*', p. 308.

¹⁵⁷ Alcuin may also have gotten these ideas from reading Ps.-Cyprian, but the similarities with Cathwulf's work are manifest: Meens, 'Politics, mirrors of princes and the Bible', p. 354; Letter from Alcuin to Aethelred, *MGH Epp.* IV, ed. Dümmler (Berlin, 1895), no. 18, pp. 49-52; Alcuin's letter to Charlemagne (799), no. 177, pp. 292-293, esp. p. 293.

¹⁵⁸ R. Meens, 'Politics, mirrors of princes and the Bible: sins, kings and the well-being of the realm', *EME* 7 (1998), pp. 345-357.

¹⁵⁹ De Jong, *The Penitential State*, *passim*; Nelson, 'Kingship and Royal Government', pp. 422-424; Meens, 'Politics, mirrors of princes and the Bible'.

¹⁶⁰ F.R. Erkens, *Herscherrsakralität im Mittelalter. Von den Anfängen bis zum Investiturstreit* (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 133-134. Also see Y. Hen, 'The uses of the Bible and the perception of kingship in Merovingian Gaul', *EME* 7 (1998), pp. 277-289; F.C.W. Goosmann, 'The long-haired kings of the Franks: 'like so many Samsons?', *EME* 20 (2012), pp. 233-259.

¹⁶¹ Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?', p. 123; also see Noble, 'The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*', p. 70. For more Merovingian examples of authors drawing parallels between Old Testament kings and contemporary rulers, see Hen, 'The uses of the Bible', 283-285. Also see Nelson, 'Kingship and empire', p. 214; McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, p. 5; I. Wood, 'Incest, law, and the Bible in sixth-century Gaul', *EME* 7 (1998), pp. 291-304.

¹⁶² Anton, *Fürstenspiegel des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, p. 11.

In short, Carolingian use of Old Testament ruler comparisons did not appear out of the blue, but was already present in the eighth century. They certainly could find inspiration from many different sources and angles. When the popes applied their Old Testament ruler comparisons for Pippin in their letters, therefore, they tapped into pre-existing traditions. Additionally, their Roman and consequently Byzantine heritage rendered them important conduits for imperial concepts of Old Testament ruler models. As time passed and Carolingian ideas regarding the ruler's responsibilities and their imperium became more and more embedded in court ideology, papal statements on ideal kingship gained more ground, as testified by the *CC*'s foreword.

In conclusion, neither the popes, nor the Byzantines were the exclusive sources of inspiration for biblical ruler models. As we have seen, the Carolingians had access to examples of such kinds in their own Frankish past, whereas the papacy had for a very long time been part of the Byzantine Empire. It had consequently been acquainted with the Byzantine tradition of associating the emperor with biblical model rulers. So, when the popes finally started applying this practice to the Carolingian ruler in their correspondence, they were – from their perspective – tapping into predominantly eastern traditions. At the same time, these comparisons did not fall on deaf ears, given the already existing traditions in the Frankish past. It remains impossible to tell exactly to what extent Carolingian adaptations of this custom were either inspired by the Frankish or Byzantine past, or by the papal exhortations in their letters. It seems that multiple streams have formed one river, and in all scenarios, I think it would be safe to say that the papal letters stimulated or contributed to the already developing ideas in the Carolingian West.

5.3.5 References in the *lemmata*

Despite their prominence in the letters that pre-date 768, the employment of exemplary biblical rulers is not reflected in the manuscript's *lemmata* in any way. As briefly touched upon earlier in chapter four, this is one of the reasons why Garrison has characterised them as revealing 'no concern with

the past for its own sake'.¹⁶³ I disagree with this conclusion since, as I have explained above, the *lemmata* are, together with the CC collection in its entirety, expressions of Carolingian interest in a shared Frankish-papal past. Furthermore, the absence of references does not necessarily prove that the models were not considered relevant at all. At most, it reveals that other themes, such as the concepts I have discussed earlier in this chapter, gained more attention. In the grand scheme of things, that is to say the collection attesting to the Carolingian-papal relations of the past, the Old Testament comparisons were perhaps not so special a feature, as opposed to the *patricius* title and the *compaternitas* kinship. Moreover, the majority of the papal letters implicitly invoked Old Testament associations even when they did not explicitly include Old Testament comparisons.¹⁶⁴ By quoting and alluding to the Bible in a didactic manner, the popes held up a mirror of appropriate royal behaviour to the kings without necessarily having to draw personal parallels to their great biblical forebears. The same, I think, holds true for labelling the Franks as a holy nation, which did not make it to the headings either.¹⁶⁵

Again, this begs the question: how instrumental were the popes in relation to the introduction of terminology and concepts in the Frankish political discourse? In the case of the Old Testament comparisons, it is difficult to say. Inspiration certainly also came from other directions and there are definitely signs that such comparisons were contentedly received and applied in Carolingian court circles. The inclusion of Josiah's example in the *Admonitio Generalis*, for one, attests to this. The absence of any overt references in the *lemmata* to the models used in the papal letters, however, suggests that these were perhaps less inspirational than Garrison assumed, since the CC in its entirety presented the Frankish kings and their biblical examples as leaders and defenders of God's people. Furthermore, the parallels were merely comparisons and did not constitute any type of formal titlature as with the patrician status; nor were they markers of a personal bond between individual popes and kings as found with *compaternitas*. It is for these reasons, I suspect, that the Old Testament comparisons were less

¹⁶³ Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?', p. 128.

¹⁶⁴ Noble, 'The Bible in the *Codex Carolinus*', pp. 68-69.

¹⁶⁵ CC, nos. 39 and 45, pp. 552 and 561.

consequential for the *lemmata* of the CC, which specifically remembered and commemorated the shared Frankish-papal past.

Conclusion

Having concluded a spiritual bond of co-parenthood, and having entrusted Pippin and his progeny with a protectorate of Rome and its Church in 754, the papal contribution to a new Franco-papal tradition had planted its roots – one that became more and more embedded in both Roman and Carolingian history. Preserving the papal letters that narrated their shared history, the CC witnessed the growth of this tradition, strengthened by the oil of Pippin's anointing, the water of the baptismal sponsorship, and the sword of the *patricius Romanorum*.

But it was, to a certain extent, also an invented tradition, as the concepts which were already in existence – in the early medieval West, and in the Greek East – were fused and embedded into a Petrine setting in 754. Not only was Stephen II the first pope ever to anoint a Carolingian king while evoking biblical comparisons, he also coined the Roman patriciate and was the earliest bishop of Rome to establish *compaternitas* with the Carolingian family. Moreover, in the diplomatic correspondence it was the popes who probably initiated the Old Testament comparisons. From a Petrine point of view, these comparisons probably reminded Pippin of his royal anointment.

Yet although the concepts fundamental to the shaping of this tradition became part of the papal repertoire and were, as such, prominently present in the letters, it was not necessarily the terminology itself that resonated in the Carolingian world. In the *lemmata* to the letters, we read of popes requesting the privilege to raise the royal offspring from the baptismal font, but the term *compaternitas* itself is not used. Similarly, the *lemmata* inform us only once about the dignity of *patricius Romanorum* verbatim, whereas its pertaining responsibilities are recurring. At the same time, however, Charlemagne had introduced himself as such in the preface to the CC. Old Testament comparisons were not referred to at all, maybe because they did not constitute a formal relation, nor were they markers of a personal bond between individual popes and kings as found with *compaternitas*. Besides, such biblical allusions had also come from different sources. So, while the

notions pertaining to these concepts introduced from Rome certainly became part of the Carolingian discourse, the actual terminology was not always acquired, at least not as far as the *lemmata* tell us.

With new social, political and cultural structures, 'new identities were being forged, identities compounded not only of perceptions of contemporary circumstances but also, necessarily, of recollections of the past that could give meaning to the transformed present. The memory of the past then was fundamental to the understanding of the contemporary world. The right to speak this tradition (...) was a claim to a fundamental power. Those who could control the past could direct the future.'¹⁶⁶ Even though Patrick Geary, in his celebrated *Phantoms of Remembrance*, here refers to the eleventh century, these words suit the second half of the eighth century well. The CC bound past, presence and future together.

¹⁶⁶ Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p. 6.

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A few years after Leo III (795-816) began his pontifical reign, but probably before the imperial coronation of Charlemagne in 800, the pope commissioned multiple construction works at the Lateran palace. The *LP* records the construction of one of these new elements: a *triclinium* or formal triple-apsidal banqueting hall, featuring a mosaic.¹ Essentially, this was a secular space. The dining hall constituted one of the most important representational areas of the palace, and the mosaic that Leo had designed and placed in its apse accordingly had an equally important representational function.

Unfortunately, the original mosaic of the *triclinium Leoninum* has been lost due to damage, but a post-medieval reconstruction of what it may have looked like is still visible in the Lateran square in Rome.² In the half-dome of the apse, there is a depiction of the Pentecost scene, with Christ ordering his Apostles to spread the Christian message. The copy matches the original, as can be deduced from drawings that preceded the 1625 restoration.³ More problematic to interpret are the flanking scenes on the right and, especially, the left of the apse opening, as the degree of imagination used for their reconstruction cannot be determined exactly. These scenes comprise two groups of three figures, which are generally believed to be each other's antitype. To the onlooker's right of the half-dome, St Peter sits on a throne and passes the *pallium* (an ecclesiastical vestment to signify ecclesiastical authority) to Pope Leo III, who is kneeling on the onlookers' left (but right in reality), and the *vexillum* (a banner to signify secular authority) to King Charlemagne. All three persons can be identified by the captions *S(an)c(tu)s*

¹ *LP* II, ed. Duchesne, *Life of Leo III*, c. 10, pp. 3-4: *Fecit autem et in patriarchio Lateranense triclinium maiorem super omnes trilineos nomini suo mire magnitudinis decoratum.*

² F.A. Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom im Frühmittelalter. Papststiftungen im Spiegel des Liber Pontificalis von Gregor dem Dritten bis zu Leo dem Dritten* (Wiesbaden, 2004), pp. 109-111. See Appendix Two for images of the *triclinium* mosaic.

³ Drawing in Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City*, p. 115; and Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom im Frühmittelalter*, p. 68.

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Petrus, S(an)c(t)issimus D(omi)n(us) Leo p(a)p(a), and D(ominus) n(oster) Carulus rex. Below the scene as a whole is an inscription that reads ‘St Peter, give life to Pope Leo III and victory to King Charles’ (*Beate Petre donas / vita(m) Leon(i) p(a)p(ae) e(t) bicto/ria(m) Carulo regi donas*).⁴ With the military banner, Charlemagne is shown in his capacity of *patricius Romanorum*, or protector of Rome.⁵

Its mirror-scene on the onlooker’s left presents far more problems as to authenticity and identification. In the middle of the scene, we see Christ enthroned, handing the *labarum* (military standard) to the Emperor Constantine (with the caption *R(ex) Co(n)st(a)ntinus*) and keys to St Peter, who are kneeling at either side of the throne. The identification of the grouping Christ – Constantine – St Peter is most widely accepted, though not uncontested.⁶

It was a well-considered art programme that Leo III undertook. He may have been the first Roman pontiff to carry out politically charged programmatic art on such a grand scale.⁷ Both the location of the *triclinium* within the episcopal palace and its architectural form rivaled major courts in

⁴ Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom im Frühmittelalter*, p. 111. The inscription that begs St Peter for life for Leo and victory for Charlemagne is inspired by Frankisch *laudes regiae*: Scholz, *Politik-Selbstverständnis-Selbstdarstellung*, p. 123.

⁵ Belting, ‘Die beiden Palastaulen Leos III.’, p. 75; Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City*, p. 116.

⁶ Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City*, p. 115; Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom im Frühmittelalter*, p. 111; Scholz, *Politik – Selbstverständnis – Selbstdarstellung*, pp. 113-126. It has been suggested, for instance, that St Peter actually is Pope Silvester, but most scholars have rejected this suggestion. Another suggestion is that the Apostle Paul could have been in there as well, but this is unlikely: Belting, ‘Die beiden Palastaulen Leos III.’, pp. 65-67, 75 (n. 37 on pp. 65-66 for the discussion on Paul); *LP II*, ed. Duchesne, p. 35, n. 14. Scholars who agree on St Peter include, for instance: G.B. Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters 1* (Vatican City, 1941-1984), p. 120; J. Deér, ‘Die Vorrechte des Kaisers in Rom (772-800)’, in: G. Wolf ed., *Zum Kaisertum Karls des Grossen* (Darmstadt, 1972), pp. 30-115, at p. 71; H. Beumann, ‘Das Paderborner Epos und die Kaiseridee Karls des Grossen’, in: G. Wolf ed., *Zum Kaisertum Karls des Grossen* (Darmstadt, 1972), pp. 309-383, at p. 362 e.v.; Classen, *Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz*, p. 55; Fried, ‘Papst Leo III. besucht Karl den Grossen’, at p. 317. As to the figure of Constantine and doubts as to his identity: Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom im Frühmittelalter*, p. 111; H. Belting, ‘Papal artistic commissions as definitions of the medieval Church in Rome’, in: H. Hager and S. Scott Munshower eds., *Light on the Eternal City: Papers in Art History from the Pennsylvania State University 2* (University Park, 1987), pp. 13-30, p. 16.

⁷ Belting, ‘Die beiden Palastaulen Leos III.’, p. 55. Also see *idem*, ‘Papal artistic commissions’, on the employment and reception of papal figural art programs, with pp. 15-16 specifically on the *triclinium*.

Europe and, even, the imperial court at Constantinople. Leo's view on the papacy's weight was thus carefully articulated in the Lateran: the pope was second in rank to none of the contemporary secular rulers of his time.⁸

Despite the uncertainties regarding its composition, the mosaic has been much discussed in relation to Pope Leo's view on the Franco-papal relations and the balance of power and authority between the Carolingian king and the successor of St Peter. Richard Krautheimer, Peter Classen, Matthias Becher, Johannes Fried, and, most recently, Franz Alto Bauer, Sebastian Scholz and Caroline Goodson, to name but a few prominent scholars, have considered the *triclinium* mosaic in their appraisals of late eighth-century papal politics.⁹ The modern-day interpretations range from a declaration of independence from Leo via a preview of the imperial coronation of 800 to a full-scale reflection of the Donation of Constantine. All variations in interpretation, however, can be summarized in two trains of thought, which both strongly reflect a papal sense of self-representation and a statement regarding the Carolingian-papal relations.

One idea is that the mosaic scenes are a manifesto of papal claims of authority and independence. Scholars who have most recently advocated this theory include Becher and Goodson.¹⁰ Goodson takes it a step further and believes that with his Lateran architecture and mosaics, Leo meant not only to articulate his superior spiritual and secular authority over the Franks, but also to rival all courts, including that of the emperor in

⁸ Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I*, pp. 18-26; M. Becher, 'Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. Die Ereignisse der Jahre 799 und 800 aus der Sicht der Zeitgenossen', in: C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff eds., *799 - Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn 1* (Mainz, 1999), pp. 22-36, at p. 22-23.

⁹ Classen, *Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz*, pp. 54-57; Becher, 'Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III', pp. 22-23; Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City*, pp. 115-117; Fried, 'Papst Leo III. besucht Karl den Grossen', pp. 281-326; Scholz, *Politik – Selbstverständnis – Selbstdarstellung*, p. 113-15; Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom im Frühmittelalter*, pp. 113-115; Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I*, pp. 18-26.

¹⁰ Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal*, pp. 20-26. In his analysis of the mosaics, Matthias Becher sees the importance of Charlemagne's role in the scenes, but believes they emphasise the subservient position of the secular rulers in the church and the leading role of the popes, as Constantine and Charlemagne are kneeled at the left side of Christ and St Peter respectively, and St Peter and Leo III on their right. Becher, 'Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III', pp. 22-23.

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Constantinople.¹¹ The other influential interpretation of the mosaic has been advocated by Krautheimer, who believed that the mosaics are statements about papal-Carolingian co-operation. According to Krautheimer, the *triclinium* reflects the 'view of Charlemagne as Constantine's heir and the protector of the Church, and their [the papal diplomats'] view of the pope as Saint Peter's successor and the fountainhead of both Frankish and papal rule'.¹² Bauer also stressed this balance of power, and thinks that with the *triclinium* 'konzediert er [Leo III] ihm [Charlemagne] Gleichrangigkeit, führt diese jedoch auf den Apostelfürsten Petrus – und damit letztlich auf Christus – zurück, von dem Papsttum wie Kaisertum ausgehen'.¹³ Scholz recognises a statement on reciprocity as well: Charlemagne is represented as the protector of the Church, and in this function he enjoys the protection of St Peter. In fact, the mosaic constitutes the visual representation the papal repertoire as found in their letters to the Carolingian rulers.¹⁴

If we want to understand the meaning of the triclinium mosaic, three concepts are important: balance, legitimacy, and authority. The immediate feeling one gets from these scenes is the association between the past and present, in which all depicted figures play an equally important role, expressing the idea of a legitimate succession for both the papacy and the secular rulers. Christ mandates St Peter's spiritual rule and Constantine's leadership as benefactor of the Church; the Apostle Peter then transfers this authority with the *pallium* to his successor Leo III, and King Charlemagne, who, as a new Constantine and protector of Rome, carries the *vexillum* and balances the spiritual power and secular support of the Petrine Church. As Pope Hadrian I had already written in the late 780s: 'a new Christian emperor of God, Constantine, has risen in the present time'.¹⁵ In other words: the scenes are about celebrating the relations that were effectively established in the past and were continued in the present, and the mosaic

¹¹ Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I.*, pp. 25-26. Also see: E. Thunø. *Image and Relic: Mediating the Sacred in Early Medieval Rome. Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Supplementum 32* (Rome, 2002), pp. 157-160; M. Luchterhand, 'Famulus Petri. Karl der Grosse in den römischen Mosaikbildern Leos III.', in: C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff eds., 799 - *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn 3* (Mainz, 1999), pp. 55-70.

¹² Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City*, p. 115.

¹³ Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom im Frühmittelalter*, p. 114.

¹⁴ Scholz, *Politik – Selbstverständnis – Selbstdarstellung*, pp. 120-126.

¹⁵ CC, no. 60, p. 587: *novus christianissimus Dei Constantinus imperator in his temporibus surrexit.*

thus depicts an ongoing narrative. Having studied the CC as a testimony to the relations between the Carolingian dynasty and the Roman papacy in their formative period, I have come to understand the *triclinium* mosaic as a visual and papal counterpart to it. Like the letter collection, the mosaic is a witness to the flourishing of Franco-papal relations of the second half of the eighth century, but from a Roman point of view. What the CC narrates on parchment, the mosaic illustrates in glass and stone.

In this thesis, I have explored the CC and have attempted to uncover features of it which have hitherto received scant attention. This study has been, in many respects, a tentative exploration. To sum up, it has demonstrated that the CC was a collection of letters that was put together purposefully in 791, and then copied with equal care a century later. In both phases of its history it is an important source for the Carolingian dynasty's self-representation. In different ways, the bond with Rome and St Peter's successor remained a crucial source of royal and imperial legitimation. Hopefully, this study will inspire more interest in the CC in its contemporary context, as a typically Carolingian artifact. That the 791 preface was written in Charlemagne's name gave it a royal stamp that must also have stimulated the interest in the collection in the later ninth century, when the present manuscript was created. As I have tried to show, this manuscript (*Codex Vindobonensis* 449) was probably not just a simple copy, but a manuscript that involved more creativity on the part of its compiler and scribes. Certainly it was not an incomplete and almost arbitrary assortment of papal letters, as it has been made with care and consideration. I have studied it as an intentional collection representative of the spirit of the age, and as a document that is not only useful for the history of the papacy, but also for understanding the Carolingian world. In the 790s, as we have seen, the Carolingian court attached great importance to the defence of orthodoxy, since it was a period of heightened discussion regarding the sources of authority and the vices of heresy. As a monarch whose authority was bestowed by God, *Dei gratia*, Charlemagne was responsible for the renovation and correction of the faith, so that the *imperium christianum* would flourish. His polity of God needed a protector, defending it both externally and from within. It is precisely these principles that are echoed in

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the king's preface to the letter collection. It matches other monumental contemporary statements of the age such as the *Admonitio Generalis* and the acts of the Council of Frankfurt, and, from a papal perspective, the Lateran triclinium mosaic.

The ideological function of the CC is voiced clearly in its *praefatio*. This compilation ensured that papal letters to Carolingian rulers would be available for future reference, and, not unimportantly, it underlined the legitimacy of the Carolingian kings to rule. The dignity of *patricius Romanorum*, the bond of *compaternitas* and the anointing of King Pippin III in 754, all established on Stephen II's instigation, had symbolised and articulated in ritual the papal mandate to rule. The letters of the popes voiced this claim on parchment. Allusions to and comparisons with the rulers of the Old Testament in their letters reinforced the bonds between the successors of St Peter and the Carolingian king as leader of the Christian Franks. These biblical ruler models were not exclusively used by the popes and also came to the Carolingian court via other sources of inspiration. Likewise, neither the bond of co-parenthood nor the patrician status were unknown phenomena to the eighth-century Frankish world, but Pope Stephen II appropriated them as fundamental cornerstones for the shared Carolingian-papal alliance. That these were also highly valued by his successors can be detected from their letters, repeatedly reminding the kings of their status as defender and protector of Rome, and beseeching them to have the personal bond of co-parenthood reinstated through the baptism of royal offspring. The Carolingian understanding and uses of these features is not easy to outline, but the headings to the letters in *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 seem to indicate that the interpretations of the concepts were valued more than the actual terminology to describe them. The patrician titlature, but even more so the notion of *compaternitas*, may therefore reflect a more papal discourse as opposed to a Carolingian vocabulary. Remarkably, the Old Testament comparisons are not referred to at all in the *lemmata*, possibly because they were not official or unique markers linked to the bond with the papacy. They were merely comparisons and did not constitute any type of formal titlature comparable with the patrician status; nor were they markers of a personal bond between individual popes and kings as found with *compaternitas*.

On a different level, the uniquely informative character of the *lemmata* is revealing; not only about the Carolingian understanding of the letters, but also about the possible practical functions of the one manuscript that is now extant (*Codex Vindobonensis* 449). They show us what kind of information the Carolingian copyists distilled from the epistles, and what was found relevant to include in the ready-to-serve portions of detail to be handed to the users of the manuscript. Occasionally, this meant that the compiler inserted extra information to provide a context to the readers. Where the heading informing us of the ‘formerly perfidious Saxons’, for instance, and gives us some insight into the Carolingian vocabulary and mindset, the atypically detailed summary of Hadrian I’s letter on Adoptionism reflects the concerns of the period. Whether these headings were already present in some form or another in the original manuscript from 791, however, must remain a moot point, so neither can we be sure whether the headings as we now have them are later ninth-century insertions, or adaptations of pre-existing ones. In most cases, the information in the headings could match the needs and concerns of both times; yet some of their features seem to reflect a later Carolingian development and concern for accessibility of information and preserving memory. In any case, they are tools for accessing the information in the codex, and hence serve a practical function. The CC may also have served as a reference book for Hildebald of Cologne when it had just been created. In his new position as archchaplain, and during contemporary debates on heresy, Hildebald would have benefited from the exceptionally comprehensive *lemma* on Adoptionism. His dual position of archchaplain and archbishop of Cologne could explain why the CC surfaced in this archiepiscopal city decades later. It may have served a similar purpose for Willibert in the later Carolingian world, the period which provides the context of our manuscript *Codex Vindobonensis* 449. More importantly, however, for a second time in history it served to underline the shared Carolingian-papal past and the legitimacy of a Carolingian ruler, Louis the German.

In this later ninth-century era, the archiepiscopal see of Cologne became entangled in papal and Carolingian politics. This was, however, a very different world from Pippin’s and Charlemagne’s, with uncompromising popes insisting on their authority as Church leaders as

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never before. Having entered a political minefield by defying the authority of the pope, Archbishop Gunthar paid the price for his loyalty to Lothar II during the latter's divorce, and was deprived of his office as a result. Having acceded to an impaired archiepiscopal see of Cologne, Willibert sought to present a version of events in the form of the continuations of the Annals of Xanten which adeptly underlined the superiority of his patron, Louis the German, and the legitimacy of his rule as a Carolingian monarch. Suggesting close associations between Louis and his grandfather Charlemagne, the outlook of the CC suited Louis's claims to legitimate Carolingian rulership. This may explain why the manuscript was owned by Willibert, Louis's staunch supporter. At the same time, the collection demonstrated the shared Franco-papal relations during the formative period of the Carolingian dynasty, firmly rooting Louis's kingship, as Charlemagne's grandson, in this joint Roman-Carolingian past. A similar claim to legitimacy to rule by means of a shaped Carolingian-papal history is found with the contemporary Frankish adaptation of the *LP* in codex Vienna ÖNB 473, compiled for Charles the Bald, who was Louis the German's contender for the glittering prize of a successful Carolingian ruler: becoming an *imperator*. Louis, who died in 876, never managed, but his half-brother Charles did become emperor in 875.

Paraphrasing Charlemagne's own words in the introduction to the CC: parchment preserves memory. This is precisely what the compilation was intended to achieve: to create and preserve a memory of the rise of the Carolingian dynasty, firmly embedded in the Christian Roman past. The papal letters were presented in a Carolingian framework, uniting Roman papal and Frankish Carolingian history. As such, it was a monumental testimony of Carolingian rule.

APPENDIX ONE

THE LEMMATA IN CODEX VINDOBONENSIS 449

In the manuscript, the headings are written in elegant rustic capitals. They are printed in the second apparatus to Gundlach's *MGH* edition, but Gundlach has not always transcribed them in their original form, and has corrected the Latin as he saw fit. In this appendix, I have followed the manuscript (using Unterkircher's facsimile edition) and have reproduced the *lemmata* in their original form as much as possible. This means that I have also included the most outstanding misspellings and mistakes. Whenever in doubt about spelling, or other paleographic issues, however, I have followed Gundlach. In the table below, I have organised the *lemmata* according to the numbering of the letters in Gundlach's edition, with indication of the folio(s) in the manuscript. This appendix also features images of some the outstanding *lemmata*.¹

LETTERS ²	FOLIOS ³	LEMMATA
1	2r	<i>item epistola gregorii secunda ad carolum missa similiter pro defensione sanctae dei ecclesiae</i>
2	1r	<i>epistola gregorii papae ad ad carolum maiorem domus missa pro defensione sanctae dei ecclesiae</i>
3	6v	<i>item epistola zachariae papae ad dominum pippinum missa quae pretitulata est sub maiorum domus nomine eo quod nondum in regis dignitatem esset elevatus una cum capitulis suis consultis a iam dicto domno pippino vel sacerdotibus partibus franciae, qualiter respondendum, scripsit iam dictus pontifex</i>

¹ These images are taken from the *Facsimile*, ed. Unterkircher.

² Number of the letter as in Gundlach's *MGH* edition.

³ Folio(s) of the manuscript.

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4	20v	<i>item epistola eiusdem pape per droctegangum abbatem directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones ut uberrime benedictionum⁴</i>
5	20v	<i>item eiusdem epistola papae generalis, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones et uberrime benedictiones</i>
6	14v	<i>item epistola eiusdem stephani papae ad domnum pippinum regem et carolum vel carolomannum pro defensione sanctae dei ecclesiae, quia haistulfus irritum fecerat pactum, quot cum eis fecerat, et suum sacramentum non conservaverat, sicut pollicitus eisdem regibus fuerat</i>
7	18r- 18v	<i>item exemplar epistola eiusdem papae ad domnuim⁵ pippinum, carolum et carlomannum directum, in quo continetur, quod haistolfus irritum fecerat pactum et iuramentum, quod hisdem regibus de iustitia sancti petri pollicitus fuerat cum nimiis adiurationibus; iterum postulans adiutorium optere⁶ contra eundem</i>
8	11v	<i>[item?] epistola stephani papae ad domnum pippinum regem specialiter et singillatim pro defensione sanctae dei ecclesiae directa, ut in superiore eiusdem continetur epistola, adiutorium⁷ volens obtinere contra langobardos, per georgium et warnemarium similiter directa</i>
9	4v	<i>item epistola eiusdem papae ad domnum regem pippinum et carolum vel carlomannum seu omni generalitati in nomine ipsius papae comprehensa pro desolatione et devastatione sanctae dei ecclesiae et urbis romane, per georgium episcopum et warneharium abbatem seu thomaricum et comitam missis ipsius apostolici directa, postulando nimis cum adiurationibus adiutorium contra langobardos</i>
10	2v	<i>item epistola III, quam transmisit stephanus papa ad domnum regem pippinum et carolo vel carlomanno seu omni generalitati francorum, in nomine sancti petri comprehensa, postquam per semet ipsum iam dictus papa in frantia fuit, et secunda vice voluit adiutorium obtinere contra langobardos</i>
11	16r	<i>item epistola eiusdem ad domnum pippinum regem per folradum cappellanum et georgium episcopum atque iohannem sacellarium,</i>

⁴ Corrected by a later (Carolingian?) hand to *benedictiones*.

⁵ Instead of *dominum*.

⁶ *Op[ti]nere?*

⁷ A later hand (Tengnagel's?) has corrected it to *adiutorium*.

		<i>post mortem haistulfi directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones et benedictiones uberrime pro victoria et restitutione sanctae dei ecclesiae poscens in futurum ea quae deerant restituenda</i>
12	22r	<i>exemplar⁸ epistolae, ubi pauslus⁹ diaconus et electus sanctae romanae ecclesiae significans de transsitu stephani papae, per imomonem¹⁰ missae¹¹ missum domni pippini regis</i>
13	44r	<i>item exemplar epistolae generalis populi senatusque romani ad domnum pippinum regem directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones et de litteris, quas dominus pippinus rex eidem populo d[i]rexit pro fide servanda erga sanctam dei romanam¹² ecclesiam et domnum paulum apostolicum</i>
14	37v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum regem per vulfardum directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones et uberrime laudes pro defensione sanctae dei ecclesiae, poscens adiutorium contra langobardos, eo quod ipsi langobardi in magna arrogantia permanentes et iustitias sancta dei ecclesiae minime reddentes</i>
15	32v ¹³	<i>item epistola eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum regem directa, in qua continentur lamentationes et tribulationes, eo quod desiderius rex consilium iniit cum georgio imperiali misso, qui hic franciae adfuit: ut imperator suum exercitum in italia contra ravennam vel pentapolim ac romanam urbem ad comprehendendum mittat, et ipse desiderius cum universi¹⁴ regno langobardorum in eius adiutorium vel solatium ea mala ad perpetrandum decertet; et quia cotidie scamaras et depraedationes in eorum finibus faciebant; cum nimiis adiurationibus postulans adiutorium obtinere contra ipsos langobardos; et ideo minime in hoc volumine est scripta, quia prae nimia vetustate iam ex parte erat diruta; tamen alia capitula in eadem non continentur inserta; sed sicut in superiore epistola</i>

⁸ It is spelled *explar* with an *ē* written above it.

⁹ Instead of *paulus*.

¹⁰ Instead of *imonem*.

¹¹ Gundlach, p. 507, has omitted the word *missae*.

¹² A later hand has added *-q*: (*-que*) to *romanam*.

¹³ In the manuscript, the first line of this heading is written in rustic capitals (*item (...) directa*); the rest is written in Carolingian minuscule. So, depending on one's point of view, this entry is either a *lemma* plus a summary, or one entire *lemma*. Also see Hack, *Codex Carolinus* I, pp. 71-72, and Gundlach's second apparatus to letter no. 15 on p. 512, and *idem*, 'Über den Codex Carolinus', at p. 529, footnote 2, and p. 531.

¹⁴ Instead of *universo*.

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		<i>legitur, sic et in ista scriptum reperitur</i>
16	39r	<i>item exemplar epistola eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum regre¹⁵ per georgium episcopum et stephanum presbiterum seu radbertum missos directae, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones pro defensione sanctae dei ecclesiae, et praefatus papa poscens, ut domnus rex pippinus desiderio regi suos pites¹⁶ restituere¹⁷ et pacis foedera cum¹⁸ eo confirmaret</i>
17	23v- 24r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum regem pippinum missa pro defensione sanctae dei ecclesiae¹⁹, significans, quod desiderius pentapoli depredavit et omnia alimenta populi ferro et igne consumsit et quia alboinum ducem spoletinum in vinculis detrusit et quia, dux beneventanus in otorontana civitata retrusus, alium ducem argisem in be[ne]vento constituit et quia locutus est cum misso imperiali georgio et invitavit exercitum imperatoris in italia cont[ra] ravennam et exercitum de sicilia contra otoranam civitatem et professus est eam tradere partibus imperialibus vel aliis pluribus capitulis</i>
18	33r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum gloriosum regem per georgium episcopum directa in qua continentur gratiarum actiones pro liberatione sanctae dei ecclesiae; et in emboli postulat, ut filium eius, qui tunc natus fuit, ut ex sacro babtismatis fonte excipere mereretur</i>
19	31v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum regem per petrum presbiterum directa, in qua continentur abbasciatum remedii episcopi et degarii²⁰ comitis, qualiter iustitias beati petri apostolorum principis apud desiderium quondam regem ex parte receperunt, et reliquas iustitias faciendum pollicitus est.</i>
20	34r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eius²¹ papae ad domnum pippinum regem directa, in qua continetur, quod ex patii²² cum trecentis navibus et</i>

¹⁵ Corrected to *regem* by a later hand.

¹⁶ Corrected to *ospites* by a later hand.

¹⁷ Corrected to *restituere* by a later hand.

¹⁸ The original hand wrote *com*; a later hand corrected it to *cum*.

¹⁹ The first part of this *lemma* is, as usual, written in capitals; the words *pro defensione sanctae dei ecclesiae* are repeated in lower case, after which the rest of the *lemma* follows (in lower case).

²⁰ A much later hand (Tengnagel's?) has added the letters *aude* above *degarii*. Surely, the copyist indeed meant *audegarii*.

²¹ Instead of *eiusdem*.

²² Corrected to *[s]ex pa[tri]tiii* by a later hand.

		<i>stolum de siciliae partibus romae vel frantiae properant, et de iustitiis sanctae dei ecclesiae, quas desiderius coram missis suis facere promisit, quia nihil exinde, sicut pollicitus fuit, adimplevit</i>
21	22r- 22v	<i>item exemplar epistolae pauli sanctae recordationis romanae antestite per andream et gundricum missa, in qua continentur gratiarum acciones et postulationes, volendo adiutorium optinere contra langobardos</i>
22	28v- 29r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum regem per uuilharium episcopum atque dodonem et wichadum directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones, eiusdem papae fidei constantia, ut nullus favor aut terror ab eius amore aut caritate ullomodo posset separare</i>
23	21r	<i>exemplar praecepti, quod fuit factum a paulo, sanctae recordationis pontificae sanctae romanae ecclesiae et universali papae</i>
24	34v- 35r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum regem²³ per langbard directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones et uberrime benedictiones pro vita et incolomitate ipsius vel domni karoli et carlomanni, nobilissimis liberis eius; volens adiutorium obtinere cum multis adiurationibus contra langobardos; et in embolo continetur a praecepto, quod marino presbitero direxit de titulo chrisogoni, et de libris, quos ei transmisit</i>
25	46r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum regem directa de marino presbitero et eius iniquo consilio et de secratone²⁴ ipsius</i>
26	47v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum et carlomannum regibus directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones et uberrime benedictiones</i>
27	40v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum regem pippinum, in qua continentur benedictiones; et prefatus papa poscens, ut domnus rex pippinus suos missos partibus rome dirigeret et ei de salute vel sospitate sua innotesceret, et qualiter in itinere egisset, et quomodo dominus inimicos eius in manus ipsius tradidisset et sub pedibus eius humiliasset</i>
28	45v- 46r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum regem directa de sanitate vel incolomitate eius percunctandum, simulque et de missis suis, qui ad regeam fuerunt directi urbem</i>

²³ After this, the *lemma* is written in lower case.

²⁴ Instead of *consecratione*.

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29	41r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum regem, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones, et de sanitate ipsius seu caroli et de marinum presbiterum atque de ravennam, qualiter contra eandem mala machinantur consilia</i>
30	43r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum regem directae, in qua postulat adiutorum contra grecos consilia</i>
31	38v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum regem pippinum pro defensione sanctae dei ecclesiae directa, in qua continentur uberrime laudes; et in embolo continetur, ut prefatus domnus rex pippinus desiderio regi langobardorum suam preceptionem dirigeret, ut, si necesse exigeret, auxilium prestare deberet tam ravenne quamque aliis maritimis civitatibus ad dimicandum contra inimicorum inpugnationem</i>
32	45r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum regem directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones pro exaltatione sanctae dei ecclesiae, et ut missum suum romam dirigeret</i>
33	47v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum et carlomannum regibus directa, in qua continetur pro defensione sanctae dei ecclesiae dirigeret</i>
34	27r	<i>item exemplar epistolae ad domnum pippinum regem per uuitmarum et gerbertum abbates adque hugbaldum directa, in qua continentur gratiarum laudes pro exaltatione sanctae dei ecclesiae; et postulans, ut semper in id decertare debeat</i>
35	46v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum et carlomannum regibus directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones, et de litteris ab eis directis, et ut cum domno et genitore eorum semper pro defensione sanctae dei ecclesiae decertare debeant</i>
36	29v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum regem pippinum per flavinum cappellanum et iohannem subdiaconum et abbatem atque pampilum defensorem regionarium sanctae ecclesiae directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones de ipsis missis, qualiter una cum missis imperialibus honorificae suscepti sunt, et caetera</i>
37	36r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum regem per fardum²⁵ et socios eius directae, in qua continentur</i>

²⁵ Corrected by a later hand to *vulfardum*.

		<i>uberrimae laudes, et de missis apostolicis vel grecorum²⁶ hic francia morantes seu de georgio et petro</i>
38	39v& 42v ²⁷	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum regem pippinum pro defensione sanctae dei ecclesiae directae, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones et uberrimae benedictiones pro integritate orthodoxae fidei observationum; item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum regem directa pro defensione sanctae dei ecclesiae et de conlocutione cum desiderio rege in urbe ravenna</i>
39	32v	<i>item exemplar generale eiusdem papae ad cuntum²⁸ exercitum a deo protectum regni fracorum²⁹, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones et uberrime benedictiones pro certamen eorum, et ut magis in servitio dei omnipotentis et sanctae dei ecclesiae certando perseverent e[<i>f</i>] animum domni pippini regis ad hoc peragendum excitent</i>
40	43v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum regem directa de monacho quodam a cosma ab alexandrino patriarcha drecta</i>
41	48v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum regem directae de simeone vel monacho remegii episcopi</i>
42	25v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum pippinum regem directa pro defensione sanctae dei ecclesiae et pro monasterio quod ei concessit prope montem serapten situm, gratias magnas referendo</i>
43	28r	<i>item exemplar epistolae ad domnum pippinum regem per haribertum abbatem en dodonem comitem directa, in qua continentur uberrime benedictiones et gatiarum³⁰ laudes de firmo atque incommutabili pollicitationes verbo et magna perseverantia in perficiendis causis apostolicis</i>
44	52r- 52v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum et carlomannum regibus directa, in qua continentur uberrimae benedictiones et pro eorum fraternitatis concordia gratiarum actiones, et de iustitiis sancti paetri</i>

²⁶ Spelled *grecorūr* in the manuscript.

²⁷ This letter has two *lemmata*; see Gundlach, p. 550.

²⁸ Corrected by a later hand to *cunctum*.

²⁹ Corrected by a later hand to *francorum*.

³⁰ Instead of *gratiarum*.

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45	49v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad num³¹ carolum et carlomannum regibus directa, prohibendo atque cum nimiis adiurationibus obligando, ut de gente langobardorum uxores minimae acciperent³²</i>
46	49r	<i>item exemplar epistolae stephani papae ad domnum carolum regem et praecelsam genetricem directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones; et conlaudans Ittherium abbatem et postulans, ut ei digna retributio pro suo certamine fieret</i>
47	53r- 53v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carlomannum regem directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones; et postulabat, ut filium suum ex fonte sacri babtismatis³³ suscipere meretur</i>
48	51v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem et eius praecelsam genetricem directa de christophoro et sergio filio eius, qui cum dodone et caeteris francis stephanus papam interficere conati sunt</i>
49	58v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa in qua continetur de protervia leonis archiepiscopi ravennantium civitatis</i>
50	59v	<i>item exemplar epistolae ad domnum carolurolum³⁴ regem directa per gausfridum abbatem, in qua continetur de victoria ipsius praedicti regis et de episcopis pissano et lucano, ut ad proprias sedes adque ecclesias pro sua pietate remeare concederet</i>
51	54v- 55r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de fide et constantia ipsius, et de anastasio misso ipsius apostolici, qui hic frantia demoratus fuerat</i>
52	65r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua praedictus papa postolans, ut domnus rex revertens a saxoniam ad limina sancti petri properasset, quemadmodum ei pollicitus fuerat</i>
53	58r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa per andream et anastasium pro iustitia sanctae dei ecclesiae et de leone archiepiscopo, qui ad iam praefatum domnum regem properatus est</i>

³¹ Corrected by a later hand to *domnum*.

³² The words *uxores minimae acciperent* are written in lower case.

³³ *Baptismatus?*

³⁴ Corrected by a later hand to *carolum*.

54	57r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continentur uberrime benedictiones pro exaltatione sanctae dei ecclesiae, et de epistolae iohannis patriarchae gradense</i>
55	56r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum regem carolum directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones pro exaltatione sanctae dei ecclesiae, et de missis domni regis, qui autumno tempore romam venire debuerunt</i>
56	61v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa pro exaltatione sanctae dei ecclesiae et de possessore et rabigauo: ipsum apostolicum despicientes spoletum ad hildibrandum ducem perrexerant et inde benevento pervenerant</i>
57	62v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur, quod hildibrandus et arigis atque rodgaus nec non et gimbaldu³⁵ duces consilium inierant, qualiter se in unum conglobarent cum grecis et adalgis terrae marique ad dimicandum contra romam et italiam; et sub nimis adiurationibus postulans adiutorium contra eos</i>
58	63r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de transitu constantini imperatoris et de raginaldo duce clusianae; praefatus papa postulans, ut ipsum actum dominus rex ei habere non permetteret, eo quod multa mala in castello felicitatis indesinenter agere non desistebat</i>
59	66r- 66v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directum, in qua continetur de venundatione mancipiorum genti pagane saracenorum; et praedictus papa excusans romanis numquam tale scelus perpetrasse, sed a longobardis et graecis eos traditos esse dicit</i>
60	53v- 54r	<i>item exemplar epistolae adriani papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones pro vita et sanitate domni regis et uxoris vel filiorum eius³⁶ nec non et pro exaltatione sanctae dei ecclesiae; et postulans, ut filium suum ex sacro baptismatis fonte suscipere mereretur</i>
61	-	No lemma

³⁵ Corrected by a later hand to *regimbaldus*.

³⁶ Spelled *eiēs* in the manuscript.

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62	64v	<i>item ex³⁷ epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa pro exaltatione sanctae ecclesiae et de orationibus ipsius apostolici</i>
63	61r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua conti³⁸ de maricio³⁹ episcopo, quod histrienses ei oculos eruissent</i>
64	65v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directae, in qua continetur quod neapolitani cum grecis civitatem terracinensem invasissent</i>
65	64r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de camerado vel trabes seu lignamen, quod necesse erat ad ipsam ecclesiam sancte petri faciendum, et de corpore sancto quod fulratus petiit</i>
66	77r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de abbate venerabilis monasterii sanctii vincentii, qui apud domnum regem insons accusatus fuerat et inde ablatu, ut eum venusto vultu ac vibrantissimo animo clementissime susciperet, quia falsa crimina ei obbiebantur</i>
67	-	No lemma
68	68v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur gratiarum actiones pro exaltatione sanctae dei ecclesiae, et de territorio savinense quemadmodum praedictus rex sancto petro pollitus⁴⁰ fuerat, quod in integro contradere iuberet</i>
69	60v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de fide vel constantia ipsius apostolici erga predictum regem</i>
70	74r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de sacratione petri episcopi seu et de territorio sanense⁴¹</i>
71	68r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de territorio savinense, qualiter itthereus et maginarius missi domni regis ipsum territorium in integro</i>

³⁷ Instead of *exemplar*.

³⁸ Instead of *continetur*.

³⁹ Corrected to *mauricio* by a contemporary or later hand.

⁴⁰ Instead of *pollicitus*.

⁴¹ Instead of *savinense*, to which it has been corrected by a later (Tengnagel's?) hand.

		<i>partibus sancti petri reddere voluerunt, sed propter iniquos homines minime potuerunt</i>
72	76v	<i>item epistola ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur gratiarum actiones pro exaltatione sanctae dei ecclesiae et de terrio⁴² savinensae, qualiter machinarius fidelissimus eiusdem praecelsae regis ipsum territorium cum integritate partibus sancti petri contradere voluit, sed propter iniquos adques⁴³ perversos homines minime potuit</i>
73	-	No lemma
74	87v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem, in qua continetur de preda persarum in finibus grecorum facta et de discordia, quae inter ipsos erat</i>
75	73v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum carolum⁴⁴ regem directa, in qua continetur de fide vel dilectione, quam erga beatum apostolorum principem petrum habere pollicitus est, ut inconcussa et insolubiles permansisset et nulla callida versutia ab apostolico amore eius animun⁴⁵ disiungi potuisset</i>
76	85v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad dominum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de gente dudum perfida scilicet saxonum, qualiter dominus ac redemptor noster per prefati regis laboriosa⁴⁶ certamina ad dei cultum sue catholice et apostolice ecclesiae rectitudinis fidei seu ad sacrum baptismatis fontem usque perduxisset, et de letaniis et de ieiuniis et orationibus pro huiuscemodi rei</i>
77	-	No lemma
78	67r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de trabes maiores ad ecclesias restaurandum, quas dominus rex ei dare preceperat; et ipsi actores negligentes nihil exinde, sicut eis a iam dicto rege iniunctum fuerat, fecisse dicit; et de stagno ad ipsam ecclesiam sancti Petri recooperiendum</i>
79	77v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem</i>

⁴² Instead of *territorio*, to which it has been corrected by a later (Tengnagel's?) hand.

⁴³ Instead of *adque*?

⁴⁴ The copyist accidentally wrote *carolum* twice.

⁴⁵ Corrected to *animus* by a later hand.

⁴⁶ Corrected to *laboriosa* by a (later?) hand.

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		<i>directa, in qua continetur gratiarum actiones seu benedictiones pro cruce, qua ei miserat; et de territorio populoniense seu rosellen⁴⁷, ut dominus rex suos idoneos missos dirigeret, qui sub integritate ipsas civitates cum suburbana earum ei contrare⁴⁸ debuissent</i>
80	84v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum, in qua continetur de adventu adalchisi partibus calabriae; et ut grimualdum in benevento ducem non constitueret, et de civitatibus beneventanis et rosellis et populonio</i>
81	67v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de molivo⁴⁹ atque marmore palatii ravennatae civitatis; predictus papa domni reges dicioni, vel quicquid exinde facere voluisset, libenti animo se tribuere dicit</i>
82	86v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de missis grecorum cum diucitin, id est dispositore siciliae, pos⁵⁰ reversionem attoni diaconi missi domni regis a benevento cum relictis arichisi ducis consiliati sunt, qualiter ducato beneventano a potestate praedicti regis per insidias substrahere potuissent</i>
83	82v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de arachiso duce beneventano: qui postquam rex carolus a capuana urbe revertisset, praedictus arigisus, Deo sibi contrari⁵¹, apud imperatorem missos suos direxerat, petens auxilium et honorem patriciatus, cupiens fidem, quam pollicitus fuerat, irritam facere, promittens, se tam in tonsura quam in vestibus usu grecorum perfrui</i>
84	81r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones, et de rosellis et populonio et de civitatibus beneventanis vel de insidiis grecorum</i>
85	-	No lemma
86	78v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de veneticis, ut de ravenna seu pentapoli</i>

⁴⁷ Corrected to *rosellensi* by a (contemporary?) hand.

⁴⁸ Instead of *contradere*.

⁴⁹ Instead of *mosivo*.

⁵⁰ Corrected to *post* by a later hand.

⁵¹ Instead of *contrario*.

		<i>expellerentur, nec non et de garamanno duce, qui rebus possessionibus⁵² ravennatis ecclesiae violenter invasisset vel exspoliasset</i>
87	73r	<i>item exemplar epistolae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de monasterio sancti hilarii confessoris in calligata; seu hospitales, qui per calles alpium siti sunt in susceptione peregrinorum, ut a nulla magna parvaque persona invadere siniret</i>
88	75r& 76r ⁵³	<i>[75r] de episcopis vel presbiteris, ut non militatem induerent arma, sed spiritalem, id est ieiuniis et orationibus vacarent; seu de venalitate vel captivazione hominum vel aliis illicitis causis, quae a pravis hominibus⁵⁴ perpetrata erant, seu de vesione iohannis monachi, quae falsa vel inanis esse videbatur</i> <i>[76r] item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de episcopiscopis⁵⁵ vel presbiteris, ut non militare induerent arma, et spiritalem, id est ieiuniis et orationibus vacarent; seu de venalitate vel captivazione hominum vel aliis illicitis causis, quae a pravis hominibus perpetrata erant, seu de visione iohannis monachi, quae falsa vel inanis esse videbatur</i>
89	77v- 78r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur gratiarum actiones seu benedictiones pro exaltatione sanctae dei ecclesiae, et de sa[cra]mentorio⁵⁶ expositum a sancto gregorio inmixtum, quatenus ei domnus rex poposcerat, per iohannem monachum atque abbatem civitatis ravennantium miserat</i>
90	78v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de constantino seu palo⁵⁷ ducibus ipsius apostolici, qui apud prefatum regem a perversis hominibus gratis accusati fuerant, ut unum ex ipsis, scilicet paulum, eius obtutibus presentandum miserat, postulans, ut benigne eum suscipere dignaretur</i>

⁵² Instead of *possessionibus*.

⁵³ This letter has two *lemmata*: one preceding the letter; the other one after the letter. Gundlach has combined the two *lemmata*; here, I have noted down both headings.

⁵⁴ Instead of *hominibus*.

⁵⁵ Instead of *episcopis*.

⁵⁶ Instead of *sacramentorio*.

⁵⁷ *Pa[u]lo?*

APPENDIX ONE

91	82r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur gratiarum actiones pro exaltatione sanctae dei ecclesiae, et de hore⁵⁸ pallii sacerdotalis concessi ermenberti episcopi</i>
92	83v	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de missis offae regis anglorum, qui simul cum missis praefati regis caroli roma properarent, et qualiter praedictus papa ipsos missos anglorum honorabiliter suscepisset, quemadmodum ei praedictus rex carolus per suos legatos mandaverat, seu et de aliis capitulis</i>
93	87v- 88r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de diocesis vel parrochiis episcoporum partibus italiae atque tusciae, quas alterutrum invadentes, et de veste monachica, quam contra sanctos canones relinquentes, iterum secularibus vestibus induebant et sibi inlicito matrimonio sociabant</i>
94	79r	<i>item exemplar epistolae eiusdem papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continetur de parrochiis episcoporum et de eorum sacratione et de honore patriciatu domni regis et alia capitula</i>
95	91v	<i>item exemplar epistolae hadriani papae, directae omnibus episcopis per universam spaniam commorantibus, maxime tamen eliphando vel ascarico cum eorum consentaneis⁵⁹, pro heresia vel blasphemium, quod filium dei adoptivum nominant, cum multis capitulis sanctorum patrum eos reprehendens; nec non et de pascali festivitate seu et de sanguine pecodum et suillum et sanguine suffocato, quem in errore predicantes dicunt: ut, qui eis non ederit, rudis et ineruditus est, quos sub anathematis vinculo obligatos et ab ecclesia extraneos dicit; similiter et de predestinatione Dei, quod, si quis ad bonum predestinatus esset, contra malum resistere necesse illi non erat, si vero ad malum natus, bonum illi exercere nihil proderit, pro quo capitulo apostolicis adhortationibus eos castigans; nec non et de hoc, quia communem vitam cum iudeis et non baptizatis paganis tam in escis quam et in potis seu et in diversis erroribus nihil pollui se inquit; nec non et de filiabus eorum, quas populo gentili tradent, vel de sacrationibus eorum seu et de mulieribus, quae vivente viro sibi maritum sortiuntur, simulque et de libertate arbitrii vel alia multa, quod enumerare</i>

⁵⁸ Instead of *honore*.

⁵⁹ From this point onwards, the *lemma* is written in lower case.

		<i>longum est, eos castigans cum sanctorum patrum tradicionibus</i>
96	89r	<i>item exemplar epistolae⁶⁰ hadriani papae ad egilam episcopum seu iohannem presbiterum de eorum sacratione vel constantia in partibus spanie predicandum et de pascale festiuitate et de predestinatione hominis sive ad bonis sive ad malis et de coinquinatione eorum tam in escis quamque in potis seu et de diversis erroribus et de eorum pseudosacerdotes, qui vivente viro sortiuntur uxores, et de libertate arbitrii vel multa alia capitula in partibus illis contra fidem catholicam orta</i>
97	88v	<i>item exemplar epistolae adriani papae ad egilam episcopum partibus⁶¹ spaniae missa pro fide orthodoxa tenendum et pro ieiunio VI. feria et sabbato celebrandum</i>
98	96r	<i>item exemplar epistolae constantini papae neophiti ad domnum pippinum regem directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones, et de obitu domni pauli papae; et postulat, ut in gratia domni pippini regis permanere possit, sicuti antecessores sui fuerunt</i>
99	96v	<i>item exemplar epistolae constantini papae neophiti ad domnum pipinum⁶² regem directa, in qua continetur, quod a populo romano per violentiam electus et in sede apostolatus intromissus fuit, postulans, ut in gratia domni regis pippini permanere possit, sicut antecessores sui fuerunt; et inde epistola teodori patriarchae ierosolimitani et de aliis epistolis alexandrini et antioceni⁶³ patriarchis et in embolo de georgio, marino et petro</i>

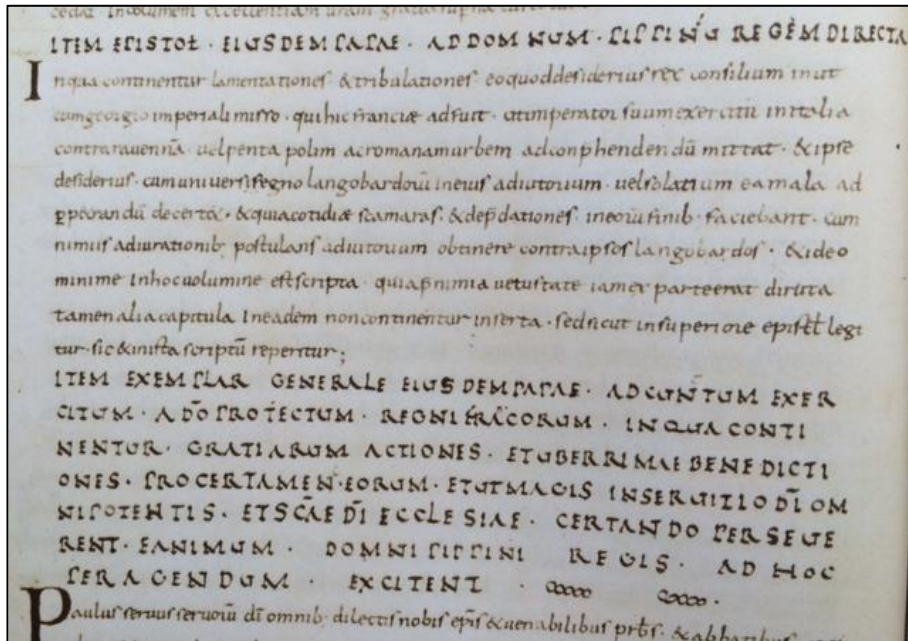
⁶⁰ Instead of *epistolae*.

⁶¹ Instead of *partibus*.

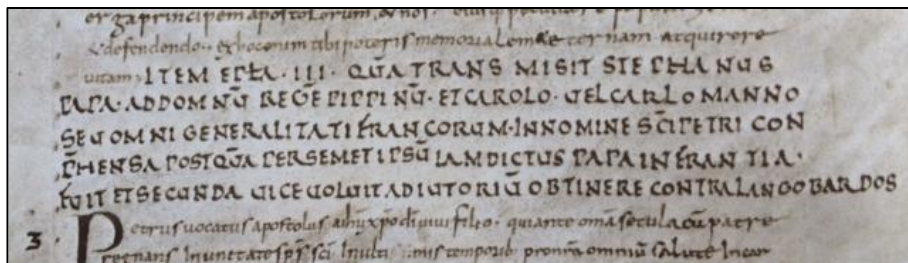
⁶² Spelling *pipinūn* in the manuscript.

⁶³ Instead of *antioceni*.

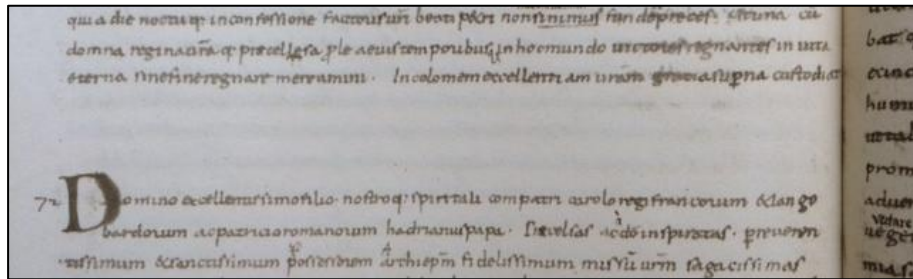
APPENDIX ONE



A. Fol. 32v: Entry no. 15, with the lemma to no. 39 below (featuring circular symbols to fill out the reserved section of the parchment)



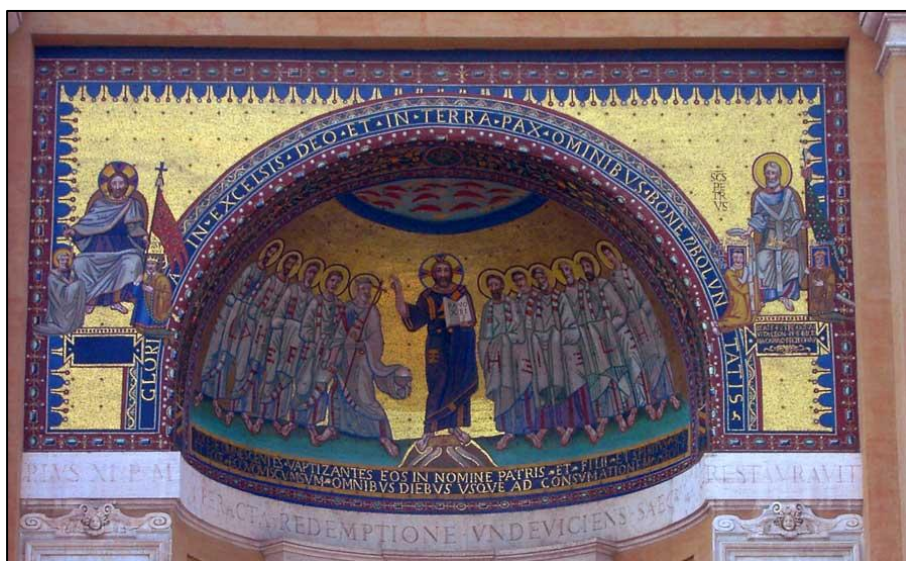
B. Fol. 2v: Lemma to no. 10, with text running from the reserved section of the parchment



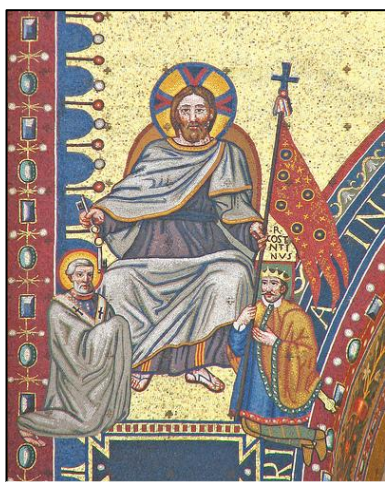
C. Fol. 70v: blank space to no. 67

APPENDIX TWO

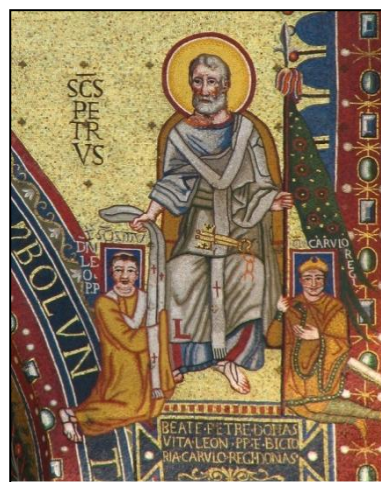
LEO III'S TRICLINIUM MOSAIC IN ROME



Leo III's triclinium mosaic, Lateran square, Rome (images from www.flickr.com)



Christ enthroned with St Peter and Constantine



St Peter enthroned with Pope Leo III and Charlemagne

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NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING/ SUMMARY IN DUTCH

Centraal in deze dissertatie staat de Karolingische collectie van pauselijke brieven, beter bekend als de *Codex epistolaris Carolinus* (CC). Deze werd in het jaar 791 samengesteld in opdracht van Karel de Grote, zoals blijkt uit een voorwoord dat de collectie inleidt. In deze briefverzameling bevinden zich afschriften van 99 brieven die gestuurd zijn vanuit het Lateraanse paleis naar het Karolingische hof in de dynamische periode van het jaar 739 tot en met 790. De brieven zijn hoofdzakelijk gericht aan de Frankische hofmeijer Karel Martel (r. 715-741), en de koningen Pippijn III (r. 751-768), Karloman (r. 768-772) en Karel de Grote (r. 768-814). Opvallend is dat er ook drie brieven van paus Hadrianus I (772-795), gericht aan de Spaanse bisschoppen met betrekking tot het Adoptionisme, in te vinden zijn. Twee brieven van de tegenpaus Constantijn (767-768) vinden we achteraan in de collectie. Helaas is de oorspronkelijke codex verloren gegaan, wat het onderzoek naar het gebruik en de compositie van de collectie bemoeilijkt. Het enige overgeleverde CC manuscript, *Codex Vindobonensis* 449, dateert uit de latere negende eeuw. Naast de brieven bevat het een inleidend voorwoord in naam van Karel de Grote en *lemmata* ofwel korte samenvattende kopjes die de brieven voorafgaan. Vanwege de geïsoleerde overlevering en het beperkte vergelijkingsmateriaal is lang aangenomen dat er enkel opdracht is gegeven om de CC samen te stellen om te voorkomen dat de pauselijke brieven, die op het vergankelijke papyrus waren geschreven, verloren zouden gaan. Daarnaast is verondersteld dat de CC in zijn huidige overleveringsvorm incompleet is, en dat is waarschijnlijk een belangrijke reden waarom de CC lange tijd een onderschoven kind is geweest in de historiografie van de vroege Middeleeuwen.

Dat de briefverzameling echter niet slechts pragmatisch is samengesteld maar juist uitermate doelbewust, vormt het grondbeginsel van dit boek. Naast dat het een praktisch nut diende, vervulde het ook een ideologische betekenis, in zowel Karel de Grote's tijd alsook in de latere Karolingische periode. Als product van zijn tijd is het veelzeggend over de periode(s) waarin het tot stand is gekomen en over de Karolingische

omgang met de pauselijke brieven. Het voorwoord van Karel de Grote, waarin specifieke terminologie wordt gebruikt, verschaft hierbij meer inzicht dan tot nog toe is aangenomen. De Karolingische *lemmata*, die tot op heden eigenlijk grotendeels genegeerd zijn in de historiografie, worden in deze dissertatie voor zover mogelijk geanalyseerd om meer te weten te komen over de Karolingische interpretatie van en omgang met de brieven.

Vanwege zijn inhoud is de CC een uitzonderlijk waardevolle bron met betrekking tot de geschiedenis van de Karolingische Franken, de Langobarden en Rome in de tweede helft van de achtste eeuw. In de brieven lezen we over politieke intriges, pauselijke smeekbeden om hulp tegen de Langobarden, Hadrianus' eindeloze pogingen om landerijen terug te krijgen en pausen die de koningen aanmoedigen, vleien, maar soms ook op hun vingers tikken; alles in het teken van het vestigen en versterken van de relatie tussen het Karolingische vorstenhuis en de opvolgers van Petrus. In het licht hiervan zien we dat de pausen concepten introduceerden in het politiek-religieuze discours; concepten met een oudere geschiedenis, die echter een nieuwe betekenis kregen in de context van de zogenaamde Frankisch-pauselijke alliantie.

Niet alleen de individuele brieven van de pausen zijn waardevolle bronnen. Als brievencollectie die is samengesteld in naam van Karel de Grote is de CC in zijn geheel een document dat de tijdsgeest van het Karolingische hof van de jaren 790 weerspiegelt. Tot op heden is dit aspect van de CC in de historiografische literatuur amper ter sprake gekomen, laat staan gedetailleerd onderzocht. Dit boek begint dan ook met een analyse van de CC als bron in het licht van zijn Karolingische ontstaanscontext en genre. Wat karakteriseert deze collectie? Kunnen we iets zeggen over de mogelijke functies die hij gehad zou kunnen hebben? Omdat de brieven bij ontvangst aan het hof zeer waarschijnlijk hardop werden voorgedragen, werd hun inhoud niet slechts kenbaar gemaakt aan de vorst aan wie de correspondentie was gericht, maar tevens aan alle andere aanwezigen. Daarmee hadden brieven een hoogst representatieve functie en waren dan ook belangrijke diplomatieke documenten. Ook zullen zij een praktisch nut hebben gediend, omdat de brieven cruciale informatie boden over de diplomatieke geschiedenis tussen het pausdom en de Karolingen. Degene die wellicht het meeste baat had bij een dergelijke brievencollectie was

aartsbisschop Hildebald van Keulen, die vanaf het jaar 791 bovendien doubleerde als als hoofd van de Akense kapel. Aangezien het één van de hoofdtaken van een hofkapelaan was om de (diplomatieke) relaties met de Heilige Stoel te onderhouden, zou een geordende verzameling van diplomatieke bronnen uit de afgelopen decennia in de vorm van de pauselijke brieven hem goed hebben gediend in zijn nieuwe functie. Dat Hildebald bovendien buitengewone interesse had in teksten met betrekking tot belangrijke pausen alsmede de relatie tussen de bisschoppen van Rome en de Karolingen, blijkt uit de verzameling die hij over de jaren heen aanlegde in de aartsbisschoppelijke bibliotheek van Keulen. Zo had hij waarschijnlijk een kopie van het *Liber Pontificalis* (de collectie van pauselijke biografieën) uit de Akense hofbibliotheek laten maken voor zijn eigen Keulse bibliotheek. Opvallend is ook Hildebald's codex met brieven van Gregorius de Grote (Codex 92), geproduceerd in eerste decennium van de negende eeuw. Deze codex vertoont op meerdere vlakken interessante inhoudelijke en structurele overeenkomsten met het unieke laat-negende eeuwse CC manuscript *Codex Vindobonensis* 449. Daarnaast bevatten Gregorius' brieven uitspraken over theologische kwesties, zoals ketteren gedachtegoed, die ook opvallend aanwezig zijn in de CC in de vorm van de drie brieven van paus Hadrianus aan de Spaanse bisschoppen over Adoptionisme. Aangezien het identificeren en onderdrukken van ketterijen hoog op de Karolingische hofagenda stond, kan dit verklaren waarom Hadrianus' brieven met dit thema, terwijl zij niet aan het hof waren gericht, toch toegevoegd zijn aan de collectie. Dit zou tevens een aanwijzing kunnen zijn met betrekking tot de praktische toepassing van de CC: misschien is er gebruik van gemaakt ter voorbereiding voor (of: tijdens?) het Concilie van Frankfurt in 794, waar Adoptionisme uitvoerig werd besproken en veroordeeld door de aanwezige bisschoppen, onder wie Hildebald.

Naast praktische doeleinden had de CC tevens een ideologische waarde. Als verzameling van pauselijke tijdingen, die voor het grootste deel gericht waren aan de Frankische vorsten, vormt de collectie een getuigenis van de opkomst van de Karolingische familie vanaf het vroegste begin en haar verbintenis met het pausdom en de Christelijke geschiedenis van Rome. Het attesteert niet alleen hun gedeelde geschiedenis, maar ook de steun en legitimatie van de pausen voor de Karolingische dynastie en, omgekeerd, de

rol van de vorsten als beschermheren van Rome en het katholieke geloof. Een vergelijkbare interesse in de verweving van de geschiedenis van christelijk en pauselijk Rome met dat van de Karolingen zien we terug in de, hoofdzakelijk Karolingische, manuscripttraditie van het *Liber Pontificalis*.

Deze ideologische waarde van de CC zien we verwoord in het eerder genoemde voorwoord bij de collectie. Hierin wordt benadrukt dat Karel de Grote, net als zijn voorgangers geïnspireerd door de Heilige wil en uitblinkend in wijsheid en inzicht, de opdracht had gegeven om de brieven, die vanaf zijn grootvader Karel Martel tot aan zijn eigen tijd gestuurd waren, 'met de grootste zorg te herstellen en opnieuw op te schrijven op perkament dat herinneringen bewaart, opdat geen enkele getuigenis van de Heilige Kerk zijn toekomstige opvolgers zal ontbreken'. In een paar zinnen wordt dus de betekenis en het belang van de collectie uitgelegd: de geschiedenis van de door God en de Heilige Kerk gesteunde Karolingische dynastie moet worden bewaard voor en doorgegeven aan het nageslacht. Zowel deze gedachtegang als het woordgebruik is typerend voor de latere achtste eeuw, de tijd van hervormingen, waarin de vorst persoonlijke verantwoordelijkheid droeg om het geloof te beschermen en daarbij naar Rome blikte voor spirituele begeleiding. Het was dan ook geen toeval dat de optekening van de pausenbrieven slechts enkele jaren na het grote hervormings-*capitularium*, de *Admonitio Generalis* (789) en voorafgaand aan het Concilie van Frankfurt (794), plaatsvond. Beide hadden het bevechten van ketters gedachtegoed (als reactie op het Tweede Concilie van Nicaea in 787 en het Adoptionisme) als speerpunten op de agenda. De CC, als verzameling van getuigschriften afkomstig van de hoogste spirituele autoriteit op aarde, het pausdom, weerspiegelt de tijdsgeest daarmee goed.

Het voorwoord biedt ook op andere wijze inzicht in de CC. Zoals eerder genoemd is door moderne historici lang aangenomen dat de collectie incompleet is. Deze aanname is grotendeels gebaseerd op één zin uit het voorwoord, die vermeldt dat men (i.e. Karel Martel en Pippijn) wist dat de brieven naar hen gestuurd waren *de summa sede apostolica beati Petri apostolorum principis seu etiam de imperio*. Deze zin werd tot nu toe altijd vertaald als 'van [of: door] de hoogste apostolische stoel van de Heilige Petrus, eerste der apostelen, en ook van [of: door] het *imperium*.' *Imperium* werd dan vervolgens vertaald met 'keizerrijk'. Aangezien er ten tijde van de

compositie van de CC slechts één rijk met een keizer aan het hoofd bestond, namelijk het Byzantijnse Rijk, is men er vanuit gegaan dat er oorspronkelijk brieven afkomstig van de Byzantijnse keizers in de collectie moeten hebben gezeten. Omdat daar geen enkel spoor van te bekennen is in de CC zoals hij is overgeleverd in de *Codex Vindobonensis* 449, is men er vanuit gegaan dat de collectie incompleet is en dat er dientengevolge weinig zinvols over te concluderen is.

Imperium hoeft echter niet per definitie ‘keizerrijk’ te betekenen. Vertaalt men de term *imperium* anders, namelijk als ‘rijk’ of ‘heerschappij’ zonder keizerlijke associaties, dan krijgt deze zin ineens een geheel andere betekenis. *Imperium* kon deze ‘keizer-vrije’ betekenissen namelijk hebben in de vroege Middeleeuwen en werd als zodanig veelvuldig toegepast. Vertaalt men daarnaast *de imperio* niet als ‘van het *imperium*’ maar als ‘over het *imperium*’ en past men dezelfde naamval toe in de rest van de zin, dan verdwijnt de aanleiding om de collectie als defectief te beschouwen: er staat dan dat er brieven in zitten die gaan *over* de apostolische stoel en *over* het *imperium* (= rijk). Met dit *imperium* of rijk kan alleen maar het Karolingische koninkrijk bedoeld worden, het *imperium christianum*, geleid door de vorst en gesteund door God.

Zoals eerder vermeld is de CC slechts overgeleverd in één manuscript (*Codex Vindobonensis* 449) dat dateert uit de latere Karolingische periode. We weten dat het eigendom is geweest van aartsbisschop Willibert van Keulen (870-889), omdat zijn naam in het manuscript staat geschreven. We weten niet zeker of Willibert ook degene is geweest die opdracht heeft gegeven om de CC te laten kopieëren hetzij naar Keulen te laten brengen. Gezien de eigendomsindicatie en het feit dat de codex zowel op paleografisch als codicologisch gebied goed aansluit bij Willibert’s tijd lijkt dit echter wel waarschijnlijk. Er zijn bovendien andere aanwijzingen dat hij ermee te maken gehad zal hebben. Dit komt voornamelijk doordat hij in zijn positie als aartsbisschop van Keulen onderdeel was geworden van een driehoeksrelatie tussen Keulen, de Karolingische vorsten en het pausdom. Gedurende zijn episcopaat toonde hij zich een loyaal adept van Lodewijk de Duitser (840-876). Bovendien waren de relaties tussen het pausdom en het aartsbisdom van Keulen onder Willibert, maar ook onder zijn voorganger Gunthar, behoorlijk verstoord geraakt. De CC zou opnieuw een praktische

functie kunnen hebben gediend als bron van informatie over de relaties tussen de Karolingische dynastie en Rome uit het verleden. Omdat het identificeren van ketterijen ook in de latere negende eeuw op de agenda stond, zou de inhoud van de pausenbrieven ook op dit gebied waardevol kunnen zijn geweest. Daarbij diende de CC, als collectie en getuigenis van de fundaties van de Karolingische heerschappij, waarschijnlijk ter legitimatie van één Karolingische vorst in het bijzonder, die tevens beschermheer van de Keulse aartsbisschop Willibert was: Lodewijk de Duitser.

De latere negende eeuw was een onstuimige periode waarin de pausen, met name Nicolaas (858-867) en Hadrianus II (867-872), hun spirituele autoriteit wilden doen laten gelden ten opzichte van de wereldlijke heersers in het Karolingische rijk. De Karolingische vorsten Lodewijk de Duitser, Karel de Kale (843-877, keizer in 875) en Lotharius II (855-869) waren daarnaast zelf verwickeld in een constante strijd om macht en legitimiteit. Het was tevens een periode waarin heersers zich geïnteresseerd toonden in historiografie en zetten deze ook in om hun legitimiteit als vorst te benadrukken en een bepaald beeld van zichzelf te neer te (laten) zetten. Karel de Kale, broer van Lodewijk, wordt traditioneel gezien als de heerser die zich veel gelegen liet aan zelfrepresentatie en het verankeren van zijn heerschappij en rijk in de Karolingische dynastieke traditie. Een voorbeeld hiervan kan gevonden worden in codex ÖNB 473 die hij liet samenstellen en waarin de belangrijkste teksten uit de Karolingisch-Frankische geschiedenis zijn opgenomen, waaronder het *Liber Historiae Francorum*, en Einhard's *Vita Karoli*. Deze codex bevat ook de pauselijke biografieën van Gregorius III en Stephanus II uit het *Liber Pontificalis*. De teksten van deze Levens zijn duidelijk aangepast op een Frankisch publiek. De collectie van teksten als geheel is een verheerlijking van de Karolingische dynastie. In het geval van de CC lijkt patronage door Lodewijk de Vrome echter waarschijnlijk, gezien zijn band met aartsbisschop Willibert van Keulen. Er zijn bovendien sterke aanwijzingen dat de voortzettingen van de *Annales Xantenses*, die Lodewijk presenteren als de meest glorieuze en legitieme Karolingische vorst boven al zijn rivalen, wel eens geproduceerd zouden kunnen zijn door Willibert. Sponsoring van de CC als getuigenis van Karolingische heerschappij, met Karel de Grote's voorwoord dat het belang van de collectie voor zijn opvolgers benadrukt, zou Lodewijk in zijn eigen

imperium en koningschap hebben neergezet als legitieme vorst in de lijn van zijn gevierde grootvader.

Naast dat deze dissertatie zowel het latere achtste- als het latere negende-eeuwse historische raamwerk van de CC onderzoekt, biedt het tevens een tentatieve analyse van de zogenaamde *lemmata* of kopjes die de brieven in het manuscript *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 begeleiden. In de moderne historiografie is hier nog amper aandacht aan besteed, ondanks dat zij een uniek inzicht in de Karolingische omgang met en interpretatie van de brieven bieden. Het bijzondere aan de *lemmata* in het CC manuscript is namelijk dat zij relatief uitgebreid en informatief zijn in vergelijking met contemporaine kopjes. Sommige vatten de brief bovendien niet slechts samen, maar geven ook toelichting of uitleg over de context. Een uitzonderlijk lang en gedetailleerd kopje behoort bij één van Hadrianus' brieven met betrekking tot Adoptionisme, wat het idee ondersteunt dat de CC als bron van informatie over pauselijke uitspraken met betrekking tot ketterijen diende. Het is echter onduidelijk of de *lemmata* in hun huidige vorm bij de brieven in de *Codex Vindobonensis* 449 zijn geschreven en dus toegevoegd zijn door de latere negende eeuwse kopiïst, of dat zij op die manier ook al aanwezig waren in het oorspronkelijke manuscript uit 791. De manier waarop de brieven in de codex zijn geordend, ingekaderd door de *lemmata*, weerspiegelt in ieder geval de negende-eeuwse ontwikkelingen met betrekking tot het organiseren en toegankelijk maken van informatie.

Het laatste hoofdstuk van dit boek richt zich tenslotte op de inhoud van de pausenbrieven zelf en dan met name op drie belangrijke concepten of thema's die in de brieven prominent aanwezig zijn: de titel *patricius Romanorum*, de *compaternitas*-band en de vergelijkingen met de Oudtestamentische vorsten. Alledrie zijn door de pausen geïntroduceerd in hun correspondentie met het Karolingische hof en zijn als zodanig relatief veelbesproken in de moderne literatuur. Gezien de frequentie waarmee de pausen in hun brieven refereerden aan deze thema's lijken zij er veel waarde aan gehecht te hebben en vaak wordt aangenomen dat dit voor de Karolingen evenzeer gold. In de *lemmata* wordt er echter amper naar gerefereerd en naar de Oudtestamentische vergelijkingen zelfs helemaal niet. Dit lijkt er dan ook op te wijzen dat de door de pausen gebezigde terminologie relatief beperkte ingang heeft gevonden in het Karolingische

politiek-religieuze vocabulaire. De invulling van, en associaties met, de verschillende thema's en de verantwoordelijkheden die erbij hoorden vonden echter wel hun weerklank in de Karolingische discours.

Om Karel de Grote's woorden uit het voorwoord bij de CC te parafaseren: perkament bewaart herinneringen. Herinneringen aan de opkomst en consolidatie van de Karolingische dynastie en haar *imperium*, haar grote koningen, haar mijlpalen en successen en haar verbondenheid met en steun van de plaatsvervangers van Petrus in Rome. Door de pausenbrieven te verzamelen en in te bedden in een samenhangende collectie werden de Karolingische en pauselijke geschiedenissen samengebracht. De *Codex Carolinus* mag dan ook met recht een getuigenis van Karolingische heerschappij worden genoemd.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Dorine Brigitte van Espelo was born on 30 March 1981 in IJsselstein, the Netherlands. She started studying History in Utrecht in 1999 and finished with a 'doctoraal' (*cum laude*) in Medieval History in 2005 under supervision of Prof. Mayke de Jong. Her thesis focused on the representation of the eighth-century papacy in the *Liber Pontificalis*. During the last two years of her studies, she worked as a student assistant for the Department of Medieval History. In 2006-2007, she studied at the University of Cambridge and obtained an MPhil degree in Medieval History (*cum laude*), with a thesis on the representation of the papacy in the *Codex epistolaris Carolinus*, supervised by Prof. Rosamond McKitterick. In 2008, she started a 'dual traject' at Utrecht University, combining a teaching position as Junior Assistant Professor with PhD research, which resulted in the present study. Her publications are on ritualised Carolingian-papal encounters, and on the meaning of *imperium* in the *Codex Carolinus*. She is currently employed as an Assistant Professor and postdoctoral researcher in a project led by Prof. Olivier Hekster at the Radboud University Nijmegen.