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François Bougard

‘Was there a Carolingian Italy?’ Politics, institutions, and book culture\*

‘The Carolingians in Italy’ is a literary myth. In order to account for the installation of the Franks on the Italian peninsula, our manuals have clung to a received vulgate. They assert that Pippin the Short and then Charlemagne allied themselves with the papacy, at the pope’s request, in order to stave off the Lombard threat against the Exarchate of Ravenna and defend the interests of the Holy See. But at the end of the tenth century, south of Rome, the story included other elements. The anonymous chronicler in Salerno said that around 770 relations were cordial between the Franks and the Lombards, who were united by marriage. But the Lombards quarreled among themselves and certain of their *proceres* sent ambassadors to Charles inviting him to take possession of Italy and chase away King Desiderius. Charles came, accompanied by Franks, Alemans, Burgundians and Saxons, with great success.<sup>1</sup> In other words, the responsibility for the Carolingian ‘liberation’ of Italy is credited to the Lombards themselves, regardless of the fact that in the mouth of Arechis, prince of Salerno, the expression *nefandus Karolus*<sup>2</sup> is an echo and riposte to the *nefandi Langobardi* in the papal lexicon. At about the same moment, a monk at S. Vincenzo al Volturno wrote an enthusiastic account of the supposed visit by ‘Emperor Charles’ to his monastery.<sup>3</sup>

Two centuries after the conquest, there was no question about a ‘Carolingian Italy’. It was an incontestable fact, a fact that no one needed to idealize, nor against which one could invent lively stories of moral or military resistance. Italy had been Carolingian. And so what? That the kingdom of Italy was ‘Carolingian’ was obvious to everyone in the ninth century. Every day in all its monasteries, prayers were said, or should be said, for the king or the emperor and for the salvation of the kingdom or the empire.<sup>4</sup> All the notaries mention it when dating acts to the years of the reigning Carolingian sovereign, whose name and, sometimes, the portrait, was inscribed on the coins in circulation. Anyone wanting a favour, which was endorsed by a written document, made a request to the king or emperor, because these diplomas did not shower down by virtue of the pre-established wishes of the prince or because of some governmental ‘strategy’, but reflect the demands coming up from below. Reciprocally, the generosity of the king could take the same form for everyone, thus creating a sense of belonging to the same world. What monastery, large or small, did not ask and obtain his immunity from the encroachments of government agents, just like establishments north of the Alps?

The question posed by the organizers of this volume, ‘was there a Carolingian Italy’, is thus surprising, as are others that it implies: how ‘Carolingian’ was Carolingian Italy after Charlemagne? How was it governed by the Carolingian sovereigns? How different were the aspirations from reality? Such queries seem to presuppose the existence of a ‘model’ reality north of the Alps. But this remains to be demonstrated, at a moment when historiography insists on permanent makeshift solutions, on fluidity, porosity or any equivalent term, and more precisely on the fact that the ‘disparity between aspirations and reality’ is true throughout the

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\* I thank Patricia Stirnemann for the translation of this article and the exchange of stimulating remarks that accompanied it. I would also thank [Winfried Rudolf](#), Giacomo Vignodelli and Giorgia Vocino for their critical reading.

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicon Salernitanum*, 9, ed. U. Westerbergh (Stockholm, 1956), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicon Salernitanum*, 10, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> G. Braga (ed.), *Il Frammento Sabbatini: un documento per la storia di San Vincenzo al Volturno* (Roma, 2003).

<sup>4</sup> R. S. Choy, *Intercessory Prayer and the Monastic Ideal in the Time of the Carolingian Reforms* (Oxford, 2016), chapter 5.

Empire. In this sense, Italy, which is understood in the following text as the area of the *regnum*, is an experimental political and institutional laboratory like others, be it Aix-la-Chapelle or any of the territories governed by the Franks. One must beware of the habitual Franco-centrism that considers it impossible to think of Italy as a distinct reality, standing apart from its enveloping political construction called the Empire.<sup>5</sup> Because of its geographic position it is seen as a borderline province (in the face of the Avars and the Slavs, Byzantium, *Langobardia minor*, and occasionally the Saracens) within a sort of aggregate all too readily perceived as resulting from a layout with a centre and peripheries. The responses ought to be bilateral and expressed more in terms of reciprocal acculturation and not as colonial borrowings and influences, as in ‘newer’ lands like Saxony or, to some extent, Bavaria. They also ought to account for the regional diversity within the different realms.

Keeping in mind these caveats, I will try to bend to the challenge with regard to political, institutions and culture as categories, fully aware that one can barely touch the surface.

### Political integration

From a bird’s eye view of the Carolingian century, we can take the pulse of the kingdom, as though we were drawing a curve of Italian ‘Carolingianity’.

It must be remembered from the outset that Italy was not like the others. It was a kingdom, the only one that was conquered by the Franks. Not that there were no other *regna*, but the others were Merovingian, and thus were integrated more easily into the larger Frankish assemblage. Charlemagne could have rescinded Italy’s status of kingdom, but he decided rather to appropriate for himself the title of King of the Lombards. In the absence of any possible comparison, it is useless to wonder if it would have been the same elsewhere. In the Carolingian political construction, Italy is different from the moment of its birth and is perceived as an entity apart. Furthermore, Italy is synonymous with the papacy, regardless the latter’s claims to territorial autonomy. When Charlemagne delegated the kingship to Pippin (781), another experiment began in what the historians call the ‘sub-royal’ regime, namely a country governed by a king with limited powers, whose filial relation with the man soon to become the emperor affects the condition of the region placed under his authority.

The years of Pippin’s reign (781–810) were those of the *baiuli*, well-trained administrators like Adalhard of Corbie, who built the foundations of a Carolingian regime. On Pippin’s death, their work was continued by the *missi* until 813, when Bernard took office. Officials outside the kingdom played a major role between 818 and 822, when, after the revolt of Bernard, Italy found itself without a sovereign.

The arrival of Lothar signaled the momentary end of kingship in Italy, because the man sent to govern already held an imperial title (817), and did not need that of King of the Lombards to assure his legitimacy. Whence the fact that historiography, including that of the time, lacked the figure of a sovereign to whom one could link the territory in an emotional manner, as had been the case with Pippin and Bernard. Lothar’s posterity suffered, he was relatively forgotten, except by Agnellus of Ravenna. With him the realm seems to distance itself a bit from Francia, without hostility or any lack of fidelity to the regime, but rather a relative indifference, which in the end was more beneficial to Louis the Pious than to his son and competitor.<sup>6</sup>

This did not prevent certain factions from taking action in the internal disputes of the Empire. Archbishop Angilbert of Milan (824–59), for example, had a hand in the coup d’état of

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<sup>5</sup> With the notable exception of J. R. Davis, *Charlemagne’s Practice of Empire* (Cambridge, 2015).

<sup>6</sup> F. Bougard, ‘*Italia infirma est patria et generat noxias <An non ?> Le royaume d’Italie et Louis le Pieux*’, in P. Depreux and S. Esders (eds.), *La productivité d’une crise. Le règne de Louis le Pieux (814–840) et la transformation de l’Empire carolingien*, forthcoming.

833. It was especially during the period 820 to 840 that signs of a greater integration in the Empire begin to show. After years of interruption, capitularies reappear regularly in Italy and the territory provides benefices for men of standing residing north of the Alps and vice versa. Eginhard controls S. Giovanni Domnarum in Pavia; the patriarch of Grado has his hand on Moyennoutier; Lothar's loyalists who were installed along with him in 833 are provided for in the kingdom. The link between the queen and S. Salvatore in Brescia is confirmed. A mixed aristocracy made up of marriages between the conquerors and the conquered slowly finds its place, as witnessed by the Count of Parma, Adelgis, who was the son of the Swabian count Suppo I and his Lombard wife.<sup>7</sup> As the prince is only occasionally present, those who wish to obtain diplomas must come in person or make their request by procuration at Aix-la-Chapelle, Frankfurt or Compiègne. But the increasingly forced mobility of the elites due to the absence of the prince highlights the link between the kingdom and the central heartbeat of the Empire.

Under Louis II there is a very different relationship. Italy once again has a king, who is physically present at least from 840. The *Liber pontificalis* describes his coronation (844) and resurrects the title of King of the Lombards.<sup>8</sup> Louis became emperor in 850 and manifested the alliance through marriage with local aristocracy, if one accepts the idea that his wife Engelberga, daughter of the aforesaid Adelgis, was partly of Lombard origin.<sup>9</sup> He is remembered as the man who unified the lords behind the military enterprise in the south and momentarily saved Benevento from the Saracens, and who was firm with Byzantium and governed in peace.<sup>10</sup> But there is a flip side to the coin. He was an emperor totally devoted to Italy for the first time, but he was enclosed in the peninsula and incapable of thinking about the fate of the Empire, except for trying belatedly to arrange his succession, although his wishes would not be respected. Must he be considered a prisoner of his surroundings? In reality the handicapped situation of Louis II was simply the result of the consequences of the Treaty of Verdun. His uncles Charles the Bald and Louis the German were no more able to leave their own regions, except for minor territorial gains at the expense of the *Francia Media*. Italy, in this sense, is neither more nor less 'Carolingian' than western and eastern Francia.

Beginning after Louis II's death (875) the kingdom is the object of the ambitions of several candidates for the throne, some of Carolingian blood, others not, or only partially; some are already head of a *regnum*, others not. These years of competition show how important the stakes were. Hincmar could of course write about Louis II saying that he was 'called the emperor of Italy', in an expression that seems to underline the incongruity between the title and the territory, but which does not necessarily merit over-interpretation, to judge by the way Florus of Lyon describes the destiny of the imperial dignity, then in the hands of Lothar, after 843.<sup>11</sup> The fact remains that at the announcement of Louis's death, Charles the Bald hastened

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<sup>7</sup> F. Bougard, 'Les Supponides: échec à la reine', in *id.*, L. Feller and R. Le Jan (eds.), *Les élites au haut Moyen Âge: crises et renouvellements* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 381–401, at 384–6.

<sup>8</sup> *Le Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, II (Paris, 1892), p. 89.

<sup>9</sup> Bougard, 'Supponides', pp. 388–9.

<sup>10</sup> *sanctissimus vir, salvator scilicet Beneventanae provinciae*: Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, c. 34, *MGH SSrL* (Hannover, 1878), p. 247; *suo autem tempore magnam pacem, quia unusquisque gaudebat de bonis suis: Catalogus regum Langobardorum et Italicorum Brixienensis et Nonantulanus*, *MGH SSrL*, p. 502.

<sup>11</sup> *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. F. Grat, J. Vielliard and S. Clemencet (Paris, 1964), a. 856 (p. 73), 863 (p. 96: *Italiae vocatus imperator*), 864 (p. 115: *imperator Italiae nominatus*). Before Hincmar, Prudence of Troyes adopted more neutral formulations, where geographic precision does not seem mixed with acrimony or sarcasm: *rex Italiae* (a. 853, p. 68 after the mention of his uncle Louis *Germaniae rex*), *imperator Italiae* (a. 856, p. 73, before the mention of his brother Lothar *rex Franciae*), *rex* (a. 858, p. 78), *Italarum rex* (a. 859, p. 82). After these first mentions for the years 863–864, Hincmar simply uses *imperator* or *imperator Italiae*. Cf. H. Zimmermann, 'Imperatores Italiae', in H. Beumann (ed.), *Historische Forschungen für Walter Schlesinger*, (Köln and Wien, 1974), pp. 379–99. — Florus, [*Querela de divisione imperii*] 75–76, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Poetae II* (Berlin, 1884), p. 561: *Induperator ibi prorsus iam nemo putatur, / Pro rege est regulus, pro regno fragmina regni*.

urgently to Italy to obtain the supreme dignity, fulfilling a desire sketched out in 871 when he heard the rumour of the death of the Emperor, held captive in Benevento. It is true that the king of western Francia assumed the imperial crown before being recognized as the ‘protector’ of Italy by the nobles assembled in Pavia. But one might suppose that he would not have failed to have himself designated as sovereign of the realm when he first came to the capital, if he had been sure of a consensus, which was not yet the case, at a moment when the troops of his nephew and competitor, the son of Louis the German, had advanced as far as Milan. The same observation holds for Arnulf’s brief passage through Pavia in 896.

Once more the indissoluble link between the peninsula and the Carolingians was made manifest, for without Italy they would be deprived access to Rome, which over time had become the necessary precondition for any large project. In the early 810s an imperial coronation was still unimaginable outside Italy. After the *Ordinatio imperii* in 817, and especially after the Treaty of Verdun, such an eventuality was inconceivable, except in territories that escaped the influence of Frankish power, like Christian Spain (Asturia–León) or England.<sup>12</sup> Since the emperor, like the kings, mastered only one *regnum*, it was necessary to embrace the universalism of the Church of Rome, which now held the balance of power, in order to give meaning to his title.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, the *Ordinatio imperii* was confirmed by the papacy, and the written oaths of the Treaty of Verdun were sent to the Holy See, confirmed by the synod, and preserved in the pontifical archives.<sup>14</sup>

### Men and institutions

The change of political domination in 774 led to substitutions in the elite laity, which have been studied many times over. The rhythm and speed of those substitutions are open to discussion, but by the 810s, one generation after the conquest, the ruling counts are Franks and Alemans. In the 830s the same phenomenon affects the viscounts, who replace the Lombard gastalds both in title and as an ‘ethnic’ group, whereas the supporters of Lothar in Italy swell the ranks of the immigrant administrators. Given that they maintain patrimonial and family links north of the Alps, most of them set their sights on the horizon of the Empire more than on that of the kingdom, which forestalls the risk of regional particularism, at least until the last third of the ninth century.<sup>15</sup> Concerning the relative impact of these institutions, historiography in the late 1960s was torn between two opinions, that of Paolo Delogu, for whom the count held only weak power over the territory, and that of Vito Fumagalli who, conversely, saw all the signs of a spreading influence of the power of the counts and their representatives.<sup>16</sup> Maybe we do not have to choose one side or the other, considering that the situation probably varied in different parts of the kingdom; for example the county of Piacenza was different from Tuscany, where the strong position of the duke eclipsed that of the counts, on whom we are not well informed.

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<sup>12</sup> H. Sirantoine, *Imperator Hispaniae: les idéologies impériales dans le royaume de León (IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Madrid, 2012); H. Kleinschmidt, ‘Die Titulaturen englischer Könige im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert’, in H. Wolfram and A. Scharer (eds.), *Intitulatio III. Lateinische Herrschertitel und Herrschertitulaturen vom 7. bis 13. Jahrhundert* (Wien, Köln and Graz, 1988), pp. 75–129.

<sup>13</sup> Zimmermann, ‘*Imperatores Italiae*’, p. 398.

<sup>14</sup> *Ordinatio imperii*: Agobard, *epp.* 15–16, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* V (Berlin, 1898–9), pp. 225, 227. — Treaty of Verdun: *MGH Epp.* VI (Berlin, 1902–25), no. 21, p. 724; *Epp.* VII (Berlin, 1912–28), no. 41, p. 297.

<sup>15</sup> F. Bougard, ‘Laien als Amtsträger: über die Grafen des *regnum Italiae*’, in W. Pohl and V. Wieser (eds.), *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat – europäische Perspektiven* (Wien, 2009), pp. 201–15.

<sup>16</sup> P. Delogu, ‘L’istituzione comitale nell’Italia carolingia’, *Bullettino dell’Istituto storico italiano per il Medioevo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 79 (1968), 53–114 (against which reacted H. Keller, *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 49 (1969), 554–6); V. Fumagalli, ‘L’amministrazione periferica dello stato nell’Emilia occidentale in età carolingia’, *Rivista storica italiana*, 83 (1971), 911–20.

The duchy of Spoleto offers yet another case. Not that the county of Piacenza was ‘more Carolingian’ for all that, because if it corresponds well with the ideal type, nothing tells us that all the northern territories reflected the model in like manner.

The replacement of the ecclesiastical elite cannot be considered in the same light. When substitutions were made, they took much longer, because while the king controlled the appointment of lay administrators, it was only when a bishop died that he might be replaced with one who perhaps better met the sovereign’s expectations. It was also less systematic. Some cities like Verona (with the Alemans Eginno, until 799, and his successors Ratoldus, †840 and Bilongus, †860) had non Lombard bishops early on, but Tuscany was quietly sheltered from the phenomenon. It must also be noted that Italy was more attached than other realms to the ‘free’ election of the bishop by the local clergy<sup>17</sup>. Bishops and abbots coming from the north were nonetheless effective instruments for binding the kingdom to the empire. The bishops of Verona assured the link with Alemania and Bavaria, with Reichenau and Freising. The career of a man like Waldo, who was a monk at St Gall, abbot of Reichenau, bishop of Pavia and Basel, and finally abbot of Saint-Denis – which, like Saint-Martin of Tours, received alpine valleys from Charlemagne in 774 –, is one of those who forged links among the regions. From the 820s at Ivrea, the Austrasian bishop Joseph, who was also the ephemeral abbot of Fontenelle, managed the see of Maurienne and latterly the abbey of Novalesa, thus wielding authority on both sides of the Alps.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the see of Chur in Raetia was annexed to the ecclesiastical province of Milan – under the Frankish archbishop Angilbert – until the 840s.

What should be noted is the role of the bishops in the political and institutional life of the kingdom, namely their decisive integration into the power structure, instead of maintaining a separate, parallel existence as in the former regime.<sup>19</sup> Although the evolution was already under way in the eighth century, especially during the reign of Liutprand, the association of prelates within the government can indeed be credited as one of the profound ‘Carolingian’ changes in Italy. But this affirmation is mitigated by two observations. On the one hand, this was merely a continuation of the preceding Merovingian tradition. And on the other, the participation of the Italian bishops in the ecclesiastical reform advocated by the Franks seems to have been distant, at least at first, to judge for example by the absence of any episcopal capitularies such as those found north of the Alps during the reign of Charlemagne. It is not until the episcopacy of Joseph at Ivrea that we find an isolated instance of such legislation, around 840–850.<sup>20</sup>

In any case, this association was reflected in the flowering and composition of the assemblies ‘of the kingdom’, and in the formulation and content of the texts that they produced. Even if the kingdom of Italy produced its own capitularies, their tone is no less ‘Carolingian’ than the general capitularies for the Empire, which were well distributed in the *regnum*, to judge by their manuscript tradition.<sup>21</sup> It should be recalled that it is in Lombard Italy that the word *capitulare* seems to appear first with regard to legislation, inscribed in 750 in the prologue of

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<sup>17</sup> J. Fischer, *Königtum, Adel und Kirche im Königreich Italien (774-875)* (Bonn, 1965), pp. 52–7; see also the diploma 157 (anno 819) of Louis the Pious for the church of Piacenza and the introduction to its edition: *MGH DD Kar. II* (Wiesbaden, 2016), pp. 390–3.

<sup>18</sup> S. Gavinelli, ‘Il vescovo Giuseppe di Ivrea nel circuito culturale carolingio’, in P. Chiesa (ed.), *Paolino d’Aquileia il contributo italiano all’Europa carolingia* (Udine, 2003), pp. 167–96.

<sup>19</sup> O. Bertolini, ‘I vescovi del *Regnum Langobardorum* al tempo dei Carolingi’ [1964], in *id.*, *Scritti scelti di storia medioevale*, I (Livorno, 1968), pp. 71–92; G. Tabacco, ‘Il volto ecclesiastico del potere in età carolingia’ [1986], in *id.*, *Sperimentazioni del potere nell’alto medioevo* (Torino, 1993), pp. 164–208.

<sup>20</sup> *MGH Capit. episc. IV* (Hannover, 2005), pp. 11–2; Davis, *Charlemagne’s Practice of Empire*, pp. 211–5. For Joseph of Ivrea, see *MGH Capit. episc. III* (Hannover, 1995), pp. 235–42.

<sup>21</sup> F. Bougard, *La justice dans le royaume d’Italie de la fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle au début du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Roma, 1995), pp. 36–9; H. Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta: Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse*, MGH Hilfsmittel, 15 (München, 1995). For the latest state of the question on Italian capitularies, see Davis, *Charlemagne’s Practice of Empire*, pp. 278–89.

the laws of Aistulf, whereas in the Frankish world it appears only at the end of the eighth century, with regard to the capitulary *de villis*. Nothing can be deduced from this chronology, which is tempered by the fact that the word *capitulare* was already part of the lexicon of Gregory of Tours, who uses it for the tax rolls.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, as of the eighth century, the word is used in liturgy (*capitulare lectionum*) and Frankish texts are explicitly organized in *capitula*. Nevertheless, this little detail of vocabulary reminds us that Italy, when it comes to creating norms, is not virgin territory and may even have been a source of inspiration.

The ‘culture of the assembly’ in the early Middle Ages,<sup>23</sup> echoed both in the capitularies and in the regular additions to the laws of the Lombards, promulgated by the king *cum iudicibus nostris et fidelibus*, goes hand in hand with the meetings of the courts (*placita*), a sign of the exercise of justice in the name of the king and with free men. Nothing could be more incorrect than to call this institution a ‘Carolingian innovation’. It is rather a continuing creation, springing sometimes from a Merovingian base, sometimes from a Lombard base, in which the contributions mix and crisscross. To read a judicial report written in the mid ninth century in Francia or in Italy gives the impression that they are easily interchangeable; it is impossible to say whether one is more Carolingian than the other, or whether they do not belong to a common ‘Carolingianization’. The professional judges (*scabini*) appear in Italy in the 780s. It was indeed a novelty, but one that had appeared in Gaul only a few years earlier; it was a shared novelty, rather than a question of northern influence. The *inquisition*, however, which developed during the ninth century is likely to be an Italian contribution, or at least based on a common late-antique matrix.<sup>24</sup>

As for the vocabulary and the formulary, the Frankish contribution is evident (witness the very word *placitum*, the lexicon of investiture, etc.). By the 810s, the Lombard judges and notaries from Pavia had assimilated what had been transmitted to them by personalities like Adalhard of Corbie.<sup>25</sup> But at the end of the ninth century, the invention of new formularies – offering four or five possibilities for writing procedures, as opposed to only one formerly available – is this time purely internal to Italy. Thanks to its documentary engineering, the kingdom distances itself emphatically from the practices in use north of the Alps. It is the result of an internal evolution, which cannot be judged in terms of flawed use or deviation from a supposed Carolingian model. Anyone wishing to defend this position ought to pursue it to its logical end, and admit that the one that is more Carolingian is not the one we thought. Charlemagne wanted to create a centralized public notarial profession, controlled by the *missi*, and which would rapidly become a lay profession, thus encouraging the formation of a group of writing professionals. If his reform was successfully applied in the kingdom of Italy, which offered a cultural terrain ready to receive it, it did not take hold north of the Alps, where the notaries, in the absence of qualified professionals, remained encrusted in the Church. In the ‘discrepancy between aspirations and reality’, Gaul finds itself on the negative side, and as a consequence Italy had at its disposal two types of writing, one documentary and deriving from the new ‘Lombard’ cursive, the other a book hand and Caroline, whereas north of the Alps one

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<sup>22</sup> *Decem libri historiarum*, IX, 30.

<sup>23</sup> C. Wickham, ‘Public court practice: the eighth and twelfth centuries compared’, in S. Esders (éd.), *Rechtsverständnis und Konfliktbewältigung. Gerichtliche und außergerichtliche Strategien im Mittelalter* (Köln, Weimar and Wien, 2007), pp. 17–30; *id.*, ‘Consensus and assemblies in the Romano-Germanic kingdoms: a comparative approach’, in V. Epp and C. F. Weber (eds.), *Recht und Konsens im frühen Mittelalter*, Vorträge und Forschungen 82 (Ostfildern, 2017), pp. 389–424.

<sup>24</sup> Davis, *Charlemagne’s Practice of Empire*, pp. 259–78; S. Esders, ‘Die römischen Wurzeln der fiskalischen Inquisitio der Karolingerzeit’, in C. Gauvard (éd.), *L’enquête au Moyen Âge* (Roma, 2008), pp. 13–28.

<sup>25</sup> Bougard, *La justice*, pp. 133–7; *id.*, ‘Tempore barbarici? La production documentaire publique et privée’, in S. Gasparri (ed.), *774. Ipotesi per una transizione* (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 331–351, at p. 339.

had to make do with only one.<sup>26</sup> Anyone looking through Italian private charters of the ninth century spots at a glance the subscriptions of clerics and the documents occasionally written by clerics – in case they are not able to use alternatively new cursive or Caroline script, depending on what they are writing –, for example the four pieces written in Caroline minuscule by the *clericus* Gumprandus concerning the rural church of Varsi, in the diocese of Piacenza, between 854 and 875, which stand out among the 300 others written in cursive by lay notaries.<sup>27</sup> The adoption of Caroline script for documents – obviously at different pace depending on the regions, the generational turnover of the scribes, and their practice of writing, frequent or occasional – or is late, partial, hybrid, and not slavishly based on models.<sup>28</sup> Italian notaries also adopted without any difficulty the routine of drafting rental contracts (*livellum*), while north of the Alps only oral agreements were used.

The most visible phenomena, which it is tempting to read as signs of particularism, can thus, in contrast, be considered as signs of a more complete integration, where the student surpasses the master. Other examples, however, testify to a common path. The obligation of the tithe, decreed at Herstal in 779, aroused universal resistance and encouraged ‘territorialization’ everywhere during the ninth century. This is a characteristic trait of the whole Carolingian world. The creation of canonical chapters is yet another example. Intended for the entire empire in 816, it took hold in Italy belatedly, with a time-lag of two or three generations depending upon the city. One could probably blame the slow pace with which prelates of the Lombard tradition were replaced. Even so, this reform did not excite the debates that took place north of the Alps. It is in the library of Nonantola that one finds the oldest manuscript of the *Institutio canonicorum* (816) copied around 825, which testifies to a marked interest for that ‘invention’.<sup>29</sup> Many other institutions could be invoked for which Italy offers a common experimental ground, or a welcome mat, such as the *beneficium*. Sometimes Italy offers the source of inspiration for institutions and traditions that are later returned to her, rethought, transformed by adaptations made in and for the Frankish world, such as the Roman liturgy.<sup>30</sup> The manorial system (demesne, tenures, work services) existed since the sixth century in Ravenna and since the eighth century or even before in Lombard lands, but it appears that it was taken to an unequalled degree of rationalization during the Carolingian century,<sup>31</sup> independently of the social consequences resulting from the expansion of the system,

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<sup>26</sup> F. Bougard, ‘Notaires d’élite, notaires de l’élite dans le royaume d’Italie’, in *id.*, R. Le Jan and R. McKitterick (eds.), *La culture au haut Moyen Âge: une question d’élites?* (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 438–60; R. G. Witt, *The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 61 s.

<sup>27</sup> *Chartae Latinae antiquiores*, LXVIII, ed. P. Degni (Dietikon-Zürich, 2006), no. 40, LXIX, ed. F. De Rubeis (Dietikon-Zürich, 2006), nos. 2, 4, 11.

<sup>28</sup> Among many other titles: M. Ferrari, ‘La biblioteca del monastero di S. Ambrogio: episodi per una storia’, in *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel Medioevo. Convegno di studio nel XII centenario: 784–1984* (Milano, 1988), pp. 82–164, at 82–3; F. Santoni, ‘Scrivere documenti e scrivere libri a Verona’, in C. Scaloni and L. Pani (eds.), *Le Alpi porta d’Europa. Scritture, uomini, idee da Giustiniano al Barbarossa* (Spoleto, 2009), pp. 173–212; G. De Angelis, *Poteri cittadini e intellettuali di potere: scrittura, documentazione, politica a Bergamo nei secoli IX–XII* (Milano, 2009), pp. 47–8; M. Marrocchi, *Monaci scrittori. San Salvatore al monte Amiata tra Impero e Papato (secoli VIII–XIII)* (Firenze, 2014), chapter 1.

<sup>29</sup> Roma, Bibl. Naz. Centrale, Vitt. Em. 1348; É. Kurdziel, *Chanoines et institutions canonicales dans les villes du royaume d’Italie du milieu du IX<sup>e</sup> au milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, unpublished thesis, University of Nanterre (2015).

<sup>30</sup> L. Albiero, ‘*Secundum Romanam consuetudinem*: la riforma liturgica in epoca carolingia’, in I. Paganì and F. Santi (eds.), *Il secolo di Carlo Magno. Istituzioni, letterature e cultura del tempo carolingio* (Firenze, 2016), pp. 151–76.

<sup>31</sup> P. Toubert, *L’Europe dans sa première croissance. De Charlemagne à l’an mil* (Paris, 2004), pp. 152–5; C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 278–9 (concerning Italian papyrus 3, ed. J. O. Tjäder, in *Chartae Latinae antiquiores*, XX [Zürich, 1982], no. 709, who provides the same type of information on the land, the men, and the fees as will the Carolingian polyptychs).



traditionally analysed on the basis of the contracts of *livellum*, which are still open to discussion.<sup>32</sup>

At the end of the period, one last example shows that it is still the Carolingian reference that can give legitimacy in an uncertain political context. Assemblies that produced capitularies lasted in Italy until 898, some fifteen years longer than north of the Alps. They were convoked by Wido of Spoleto and after him by his son Lambert, men who have no link with the family of Charlemagne. Better yet, and perhaps because of that, the content of their legislation is resolutely anchored in the Frankish tradition, just like the programmatic inscription *Renovatio imperii Francorum* on the imperial seal, as if nothing had changed since the opening years of the ninth century, or as if it was necessary to return to this already ideal past. Facing Wido and Lambert, Berengar, who could vaunt his descent from Louis the Pious through his mother, took no similar initiative, even after his accession to the imperial throne in 915, when at last he could govern unopposed.

It remains true that institutions more readily invite generalizations, but these do not exhaust the field of possibilities. Rather than search out in what manner Italy is or is not Carolingian, it is more pertinent to affirm: a) that on many points Lombard Italy is not different, because the ‘Carolingian world’ which took centre stage is founded on a shared *koinè*; b) that the *regnum* sometimes offered more advanced solutions, or put theory or imperial injunctions into practice in an unsuspected manner; c) that, like the rest of the Empire, Italy is not uniform, and there exist realities on both sides that are more or less close to the ‘model’.

### Intellectual production and reception

Concerning all the themes discussed up to now, one can argue for or against the fact that Italy is only one element among many in a shared Carolingian construction. By contrast, the area of culture offers a prime locus for illustrating the limits of integration.

The numbers speak for themselves. Of the 7,650 manuscripts attributed to the ninth century and summarily catalogued by Bernhard Bischoff, a little under 9% are of Italian origin or presumed so; or to put it differently, not even one book in ten during that period was copied in the peninsula.<sup>33</sup> This is a very weak contribution when one realizes that Italians furnished 20% of the subsisting production for the seventh and eighth centuries, and nearly 90% of the manuscripts preserved in the West for the fifth–sixth centuries. The decline, already perceptible in the eighth century, only accelerated sharply.<sup>34</sup> As for the authors represented, one in ten,

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<sup>32</sup> V. Fumagalli, ‘Le modificazioni politico-istituzionali in Italia sotto la dominazione carolingia’, in *Nascita dell’Europa ed Europa carolingia: un’equazione da verificare*, Settimane di studio del CISAM 27 (Spoleto, 1981), pp. 293–317; A. Sigoillot, ‘Destins d’hommes libres à l’époque carolingienne d’après les chartes de Saint-Sauveur de Monte Amiata’, *Journal des savants*, janvier-juin 2013, 155–74; Bougard, ‘*Tempore barbarici*’, pp. 349–50.

<sup>33</sup> B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1998–2014). [Manuscripts in private collections are not taken into account.] The estimation of 9% is very optimistic, because it is based on the systematic attribution to Italy of all items for which an Italian origin is indicated, regardless the alternatives proposed for other places or the measure of reasonable doubt expressed by Bischoff with a well nuanced palette (question mark, ‘wohl’, ‘vielleicht’, ‘vermutlich’, ‘möglichlicherweise’, ‘scheint möglich’, ‘ist Oberitalien möglich?’, ‘wahrscheinlich’, ‘nicht ausgeschlossen’). On the other hand, we must restore to Italy the manuscript Bern, Burgerbibl. 363, from Milan, which Bischoff attributed to St Gall, cf. S. Gavinelli, ‘Per un’enciclopedia carolingia (codice Bernese 363)’, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 26 (1983), 1–25; a few discoveries can also be added, such as Intra (Verbania), Arch. Cap. 12 (10) and 14 (12), cf. *ead.*, ‘Testi agiografici e collezioni canoniche in età carolingia attraverso codici dell’Ambrosiana’, in M. Ferrari and M. Navoni (eds.), *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell’Ambrosiana* (Milano, 2007), pp. 53–78, at 53–8; see also below, notes 72 and 75.

<sup>34</sup> E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini antiquiores: a Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the Ninth Century*, 12 vols. (Oxford, 1934–71); Addenda by B. Bischoff, V. Brown, J. J. John, *Mediaeval Studies*, 47 (1985),

regardless where he was working, is Italian.<sup>35</sup> It is always possible to question dating and origin concerning this or that manuscript, to invoke the vagaries of conservation or the incompleteness of the survey, especially for the fragments. But that only changes things marginally.

The gap could be explained in part by the inflationary production of the newly founded Carolingian centers and the rise of other European libraries; in part, too, by the fact that Italy was smaller, not as rich, and had fewer large monasteries. In short, there was less demand, even if Italy, and particularly the kingdom, did not lack great centres of writing, with chapters and monasteries at Verona, Ivrea, Vercelli, Novara, Nonantola, Bobbio, Milan, and Monza. I confess that the comparison would perhaps have been more appropriate between Italy and regions like Aquitania or Bavaria. But the divide was not just quantitative, and it would be risky to think in terms of 'per capita production'.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, we could have also compared the production of private charters in the ninth century, which would have demonstrated the absolute preeminence of Italy.

The texts that were copied remained traditional: the Bible, patristic literature, liturgy, and law, as well as medicine, grammar, poetry, glossaries and miscellanea for teaching. There were a fair number of classics but, apart from Flavius Josephus and Ps. Hegesippus, who are part of the Christian canon and widely diffused<sup>37</sup>, they were copied less intensively than at north of the Alps.<sup>38</sup> Not that the classics are lacking in the libraries, even if many fifth to seventh-century manuscripts of these texts had been taken north: the list of titles in the manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibl. Diez B Sant. 66, which is linked to Verona or Bobbio, is sufficiently long and varied to indicate the contrary, especially for rare texts.<sup>39</sup> But apart from those needed for teaching or found in thematic miscellanea, e.g. extracts from Pliny the Elder in computus manuscripts,<sup>40</sup> they are not Italy's main interest or, to say it in a different manner, the need for books was less urgent here than in the north.

The type of intellectual production in Italy was different from what was being done elsewhere. After the contribution furnished by the generation of the *grammatici*, who came to

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317–66; 54 (1992), 286–307. A listing of manuscripts and bibliography can be consulted on the regularly up-dated site *Earlier Latin Manuscripts*, dir. M. Stansbury and D. Kelly, <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie>

<sup>35</sup> Tallying made by B. Valtorta, *Clavis Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi. Auctores Italiae (700-1000)* (Firenze, 2006). I do not distinguish between the place of composition, for example in the case of the *History of the Lombards* and *The Book of the Bishops of Metz* by Paul the Deacon, one written at Monte Cassino, the other during his stay at the Frankish court at the request of Archbishop Angilramn.

<sup>36</sup> E. Buringh, *Medieval Manuscript Production in the Latin West. Explorations with a Global Database* (Leiden and Boston, 2011).

<sup>37</sup> Flavius Josephus: Bamberg, Staatsbibl., Class. 78 (Bischoff, 'wohl'); Basel, UB, N I 3 no. 11; Cologne, Bibl. Bodmeriana, 98 and 99 (from Nonantola); Kassel, Gesamthochschulbibl., 2<sup>o</sup> theol. 285 (Bischoff, '?'); Monza, Bibl. Capitolare, b 20/136; Weissenburg in Bayern, Stadtarchiv, 806 (Bischoff, 'wahrsch. Oberit.'). — Hegesippus: Cherbourg, Bibl. municipal, 51 (from Verona); Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., Aug. perg. 101 (Bischoff, 'wahrsch. Oberit.').

<sup>38</sup> Witt, *Two Latin Cultures*, p. 53. See Bischoff's catalogue (including south-Italian mss) for Cato Minor (no. 2630), Celsus (nos. 1238, 6927), Cicero (nos. 968, 1164, 3815, 6416-17, 6866, 7232; Glossae, no. 80), Dares (nos. 208, 1236), Horace (no. 2651), Hyginus (no. 3088), Justin (nos. 1235, 2333, 7014), Juvenal (nos. 1236, 1987), Livy (nos. 208 [Florus], 209, 1232), Lucan (no. 5115), Lucretius (no. 1984), Quintilian (nos. 213, 2633), Seneca (nos. 680, 5313, 6581, 6781), Virgil (no. 3352; Servius, nos. 988, 1201, 6150).

<sup>39</sup> C. Villa, 'Die Horazüberlieferung und die 'Bibliothek Karls der Großen'', *Deutsches Archiv* 51 (1995), 29–52; T. Licht, 'Additional note on the 'Library catalogue of Charlemagne's court'', *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 11 (2001), 210–2; R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne. The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 365–8.

<sup>40</sup> M. Ferrari, 'La trasmissione dei testi nell'Italia nord-occidentale. I. Centri di trasmissione: Monza, Pavia, Milano, Bobbio', in *La cultura antica nell'Occidente latino dal VII all'XI secolo*, Settimane di studio del CISAM 22 (Spoleto, 1975), pp. 303–56: p. 305–7, 309, 314; *ead.*, 'La biblioteca del monastero di S. Ambrogio', pp. 84–97 (*excerpta* of Pliny the Elder in the mss Milan, S. Ambrogio, Arch. Capitolare, M 15 and Montecassino, Arch. dell'Abbazia, 3; see also Lucca, Bibl. Capitolare, 490); Paris, BnF, lat. 7900A (Terence, Horace, Lucan, Juvenal, Martianus Capella); Bern, Burgerbibl., 363 (Horace, *excerpta* of Ovid).

the court of Charlemagne to lay the foundations of the program of education in Gaul, the genres considered as ‘typically’ Carolingian – the exegetical commentaries whose breadth is still being discovered,<sup>41</sup> the mirrors of princes, the theological and doctrinal treatises – these are decidedly not the work of Italy, or of Italians.

**Exegesis:** during his sojourn at the court of Charlemagne, Peter of Pisa abridged the commentary of Jerome on the book of Daniel, which survives only in a manuscript copied for the king.<sup>42</sup> But in the ninth century, Italian exegesis was the work of personalities coming from the north, whose intellectual formation was already complete: the Visigoth Claudius (†827/8), who was sent to Turin by Louis the Pious in 816, and the Frank Hildemar of Corbie (†850 ca), who wrote a commentary on the Gospel of Luke, of which only a small fragment remains.

**Specula principum:** Paulinus of Aquileia (†812) composed a *Liber exhortationis* for his protector and friend Erich, Duke of Friuli. After this *speculum*, the only moralizing literature one can cite is the treatise by Hildemar *De octo vitiis principalibus*, which is known only in a late manuscript.

**Liturgy:** after his return to Italy in 786, Paul the Deacon impressively accomplished the mission to which Charlemagne entrusted him concerning the liturgy by composing the *Homiliarium*, which was adopted throughout the Carolingian world for the readings of the nocturnal office. After him one can only cite, for works that can be attributed to an author, the, the “sermon” on the Assumption attributed to Bishop John of Arezzo (†900), which is an assembly of Greek sources without any direct practical aim.

**Theological and doctrinal treatises:** again Paulinus of Aquileia spear-headed the battle against adoptionism with his *Contra Felicem*. His successor Maxentius (†837) wrote a response to the questionnaire that Charlemagne sent to several bishops in the empire concerning baptism. Yet another response to the same questionnaire was endorsed by Archbishop Odilbertus of Milan (†812)<sup>43</sup>. Thereafter, the only debate that would have any impact concerned the iconoclastic position of Claudius of Turin and its consequences. It was treated by the abbot of Novalesa, Eldradus (†840), whose monastery was in the diocese of Turin, but only a few lines of his text have survived and its original length is unknown.<sup>44</sup> The affair was treated especially in the *Responsa* of Dungal (flor. 825) ‘against the perverse assertions’ of Claudius, composed in 827 at the request of Louis the Pious and Lothar. But it would be hard to make this Irishman, who had recently arrived in Pavia from the abbey of Saint-Denis, a representative of Italian culture.

Italy seems to have been fertile ground for the partisans of predestination. The ideas of Gottschalk, who was present at the court of Duke Eberhard of Friuli (†864/6) in the 840s and corresponded with a bishop named Lupus, perhaps of Chieti, spread far enough that they cause some worry at the council at Pavia in 850 and are reflected in two passages in the Milanese *Expositio missae canonicae*.<sup>45</sup> But the debate itself seems absent, or left to the northerners. Bishop Noting of Verona (†863) consulted Hrabanus Maurus (†856) for arguments necessary to refute the heterodoxy; and when the archdeacon Pacificus (†844) was interrogated on the question by one of his students, he went to Hildemar to seek help for an answer.<sup>46</sup> Everything

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<sup>41</sup> R. Guglielmetti, ‘Un’esegesi incontenibile’, in Pagani and Santi (eds.), *Il secolo di Carlo Magno*, pp. 177–200.

<sup>42</sup> M. M. Gorman, ‘Peter of Pisa and the *Quaestiunculae* copied for Charlemagne in Brussels II 2572’, *Revue bénédictine*, 110 (2000), 238–50.

<sup>43</sup> S. A. Keefe, *Water and the World. Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, II (Notre Dame, 2002), pp. 154–70, 462–6.

<sup>44</sup> *Monumenta Novalicensia vetustiora*, ed. C. Cipolla, I, Fonti per la storia d’Italia, 31 (Roma, 1898), p. 403.

<sup>45</sup> F. Brovelli, *La Expositio missae canonicae: edizione critica e studio liturgico-teologico*, in *Ricerche storiche sulla chiesa ambrosiana VIII*, Archivio Ambrosiano 35 (Milano, 1979), pp. 5–151, at pp. 137–41.

<sup>46</sup> *MGH Epp.* V (Berlin, 1897–8), no. 22 (a. 840), p. 428; no. 33, pp. 355–7 (a. 841–846 ca). P. J. E. Kershaw, ‘Eberhard of Friuli, a Carolingian lay intellectual’, in P. Wormald and J. Nelson (eds.), *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 77–105, at 91–7; M. B. Gillis, *Heresy and Dissent in the Carolingian*

leads us to believe that Pacificus, the Lombard specialist of computus, was not at ease with this type of theological discussion, although he quoted several passages on predestination on two manuscripts. Is this a clever maneuver in order to remain neutral on a sensitive subject? Or is it that the intellectual preparation, or appetency for the ‘public debate’, is not the same?

**Hagiography:** little was produced in the Lombard period, in striking contrast to Merovingian logorrhea. Conversely, the Carolingian period marks an ‘explosion’ of hagiographical writing in Italy. The importance of the genre for political competition was well perceived by ecclesiastical elites in the kingdom. But the production remains quantitatively limited, with some thirty entries in the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* for the ninth century including the north, Tuscany, and Umbria.<sup>47</sup> North of the Alps, however, several dozens of texts were composed during that period. Italy is also the land where northerners came to collect relics, but she received very little in return, which, perhaps, explains the delay in compiling passionaries (with the notable exception of Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, XCV), again in contrast with northern initiatives where greater care was taken to gather materials about saints whose relics have been brought from many different places.<sup>48</sup>

Nor is **contemporary historiography** overabundant in Italy. After the works of Paul the Deacon and the brief anonymous history of the Lombards probably written between 806 and 810,<sup>49</sup> one had to wait until the late 870s for the composition of an *Historia* by Andrea of Bergamo. The most significant contribution is on the fringes of the kingdom, with the *Liber pontificalis* by Agnellus of Ravenna, conceived as a pendant to that of the Roman popes. One searches in vain for annals in the Frankish mode. As regards to monastic chronicles, if we except the *Chronicae Sancti Benedicti Casinensis*, which was written out of the kingdom, we can only cite the *Constructio Farfensis*.<sup>50</sup>

In short, as literary historians have long noted, the ‘unfurling wave’ of the Carolingian renewal is but a ripple in Italy.<sup>51</sup> One must admit that Italy (the *regnum*) does not participate in whole sectors of culture known as ‘Carolingian’. One must wait until the 910s when the panegyric of Berengar I gave the wake-up call to literary production in the tenth century, which Atto of Vercelli, Raterius of Verona, Liudprand of Cremona, Gezo of Tortona, Stephen of Novara, and Gunzo responded. If authors like Stephen of Novara and Gunzo remain quite ‘Italian’ in their works (poetry, grammar), one also notes a timid thematic renewal with the treatise of Gezo on the Eucharist and the commentary of Atto on the epistles of Paul, the first ‘Italian’ contribution to biblical exegesis since Hildemar and Claudius of Turin (to whom Atto owes so much).

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*Empire: the Case of Gottschalk of Orbais* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 90–106; W. Pezé, *Le virus de l’erreur. La controverse carolingienne sur la double prédestination. Essai d’histoire sociale* (Turnhout, 2017), pp. \*\*\*.

<sup>47</sup> G. Vocino, *Santi e luoghi santi al servizio della politica carolingia (774–877). Vitae e Passiones del regno italico nel contesto europeo*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Venezia (2009); *ead.*, ‘Under the aegis of the saints. Hagiography and power in early Carolingian northern Italy’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 22 (2014), 26–52. Syntheses on northern and central Italian hagiography are to be published in the volumes 7 and 8 of *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550* (Turnhout).

<sup>48</sup> F. Dolbeau, ‘Naissance des homéliaires et des passionnaires. Une tentative d’étude comparative’, in S. Gioanni and B. Grévin (eds.), *L’Antiquité tardive dans les collections médiévales. Textes et représentations, VI<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Roma, 2008), pp. 13–35, at p. 32.

<sup>49</sup> *Historia Langobardorum codicis Gothani* [Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Memb. I 84, fols 335r-337v], ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SSrL* (Hannover, 1878), pp. 7-11; ed. and tr. L. A. Berto, *Testi storici e poetici dell’Italia carolingia* (Padova, 2002), pp. 1–19.

<sup>50</sup> *Chronicae Sancti Benedicti Casinensis*, ed. and tr. L. Berto (Firenze, 2006); *Constructio monasterii Farfensis*, ristampa anastatica with foreword by U. Longo (Rome, 2017).

<sup>51</sup> F. Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine du Moyen Âge, I/2: L’époque carolingienne* (Turnhout, 1991; 1st German edn 1975), p. 246.

Patronage is surely a key factor. Frankish rulers and intellectual circles in the north were having many books made. Peter of Pisa, Paul the Deacon and Dungal wrote at the request of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and Lothar. The court of Pippin can be accredited with a short history of the Lombards and the celebration in verse of the victory over the Avars.<sup>52</sup> After Pippin the only Frankish king who was durably attached to the kingdom, Louis II, also preferred military adventure to religious and theological debates. But apart from a panegyric that has recently resurfaced, and which confirms the relative strength of the Italian laudatory poetry, a ‘discipline’ anchored in the schools of Late Antiquity, he did not particularly inspire creation.<sup>53</sup> As elsewhere, Italian literary production owes something to politics, but in the kingdom politics made few requests and only in limited areas. Creativity and diversity found refuge in the Beneventan and Neapolitan south, with history (Erchempert), hagiography and translations from Greek, and in Rome at the papal court (Anastasius Bibliothecarius, Iohannes Diaconus). It is an abbot of Monte Cassino, Bertharius, who composed verses for Empress Engelberga when she came to the monastery in 866. As for the *Rhythmus de captivitate Hludovici* (872?), only partially preserved in a manuscript copied in Verona at the end of the ninth century, it was perhaps presented to Louis II, if one accepts the idea that it was not written to mock the misadventures of the emperor in southern Italy, but in any case it is a Beneventan work.<sup>54</sup>

If Italy was not producing much, was it very receptive to what was going on elsewhere? Judging from the ninth-century manuscripts of supposed or certain Italian origin and the inventories and lists of books prior to the early eleventh century (see Appendix), about ten Carolingian authors are known south of the Alps. Among them, Alcuin (†804) – who had a huge success in the northern libraries (Reichenau, St Gall, Lorsch, Murbach, Fulda), where his works were arranged into separate sections like those of the Church Fathers – has an incontestably good transmission, especially if one thinks of the two Italian manuscripts copied very early on: Roma, Bibl. Casanatense, 641 and more notably Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, LXVII; the manuscript of Verona, however, was taken to Freising already in the early ninth century. One notes the association in *miscellanea* of the *De fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis*, the *Quaestiones de Trinitate*, the *De anima*, and computus texts all coming from the same textual tradition.<sup>55</sup> Texts for grammatical and moral teaching are well represented (*De dialectica*, *De rhetorica*, *Ars grammatica*). Not surprisingly, the library of Eberhard of Friuli contains the *De virtutibus et vitiis*, suitable for the moral instruction of the great laymen.

After Alcuin, who belongs to the generation of Charlemagne,<sup>56</sup> come Smaragdus (†830 ca) and Hrabanus Maurus. Smaragdus is represented by his liturgical vademecum (*Expositio libri Comitis*) and grammar (*Liber in partibus Donati*) and does not seem to have had much immediate success with his commentary on the Rule of St Benedict or the *Diadema monachorum*, except perhaps with the Frankish readers, if one suggests that the volume bequeathed by Eberhard of Friuli to his son Rodulfus, abbot of Saint-Bertin, Saint-Vaast and Cysoing (†892), was one of these two texts. The *Diadema* is present at Novalesa and S. Liberatore alla Maiella in the eleventh century, and perhaps in Friuli in the tenth century.

<sup>52</sup> *De Pipini regis victoria Avarica* [Berlin, Staatsbibl., Diez B Sant. 66, pp. 127–8], ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Poetae I* (Berlin, 1881), pp. 116–7; ed. and tr. Berto, *Testi storici e poetici dell’Italia carolingia*, pp. 67–71.

<sup>53</sup> P. Orth, ‘Fragment einer historischen Dichtung über Kaiser Ludwig II. († 875)’, *Mittelaltinisches Jahrbuch*, 52 (2017), pp. 362–75.

<sup>54</sup> *Rhythmus de captivitate Hludovici imperatoris* [Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, XC (85), fols 76r–7v], *MGH Poetae II* (Berlin, 1884), pp. 404–5; ed. and tr. Berto, *Testi storici e poetici dell’Italia carolingia*, pp. 73–7, with presentation p. XXXIV–VII. See T. Granier, ‘La captivité de l’empereur Louis II à Bénévent (13 août–17 septembre 871) dans les sources des IX<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> siècles: l’écriture de l’histoire, de la fausse nouvelle au récit exemplaire’, in C. Carozzi and H. Taviani-Carozzi (eds.), *Faire l’événement au Moyen Âge* (Aix-en-Provence, 2007), pp. 13–39.

<sup>55</sup> See Appendix. Ferrari, ‘La biblioteca del monastero di S. Ambrogio’, pp. 103–4.

<sup>56</sup> M.-H. Jullien, ‘Alcuin et l’Italie’, *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l’Ouest*, 111 (2004), 393–406.

One might also suggest that the other Smaragdus bequeathed by Eberhard to Berengarius was the *Via regia*. As for Hrabanus, the other Carolingian Father in the eyes of the northern librarians, he may seem under-represented, given the prolific nature of his work, with the exception of the library of Farfa.

The reception of the other authors is less assured, when it is not confidential. One of the two preserved copies of the *Collectanea* on the Pauline Epistles of Florus of Lyon (†860 ca) was copied in Milan, probably during Florus's lifetime.<sup>57</sup> The treatise of Paschasius Radbertus (†865) on the Eucharist is only transmitted in the ninth century by one manuscript; it is the only witness south of the Alps of that reflection on the real presence. Eginhard (†840) is – remarkably – present at Vercelli and Bobbio in his *Libellus de psalmis*, but the *Vita Karoli*, which was probably sent to Rome, remains isolated until the end of the tenth century.<sup>58</sup> This indifference to contemporary history extends, moreover, to works of the preceding period relating to the Franks. Paul the Deacon brought Gregory of Tours's *Ten Books of History* to Monte Cassino. The manuscript, which preserved the original version of the work, was recopied under Abbot Desiderius, around 1086–7.<sup>59</sup> But apart from the '*Gesta Francorum*' owned by Eberhard of Friuli, which is possibly also a copy of the *Ten Books*, there is only one other ninth-century manuscript of Gregory<sup>60</sup>. Fredegarius is also known through only one manuscript.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, Bede was sought after not for his *Ecclesiastical History*,<sup>62</sup> but for his computistical and exegetical works.

It is always difficult to draw definitive conclusions from the numbers of manuscripts in the early periods – *teste* the *History of the Lombards* by Paul the Deacon, which subsists in only three copies of Italian origin, whereas we cannot doubt the local interest that the work must have had.<sup>63</sup> Nonetheless, the few remarks just made are not useless. In some cases the reception also seems to be late: it is only in the early eleventh century that the works of Amalarius, Haimo of Auxerre (†875/878 ca), Hrabanus Maurus and Remigius of Auxerre appear on the shelves of the library at Nonantola.<sup>64</sup> Similarly, the library of Farfa is not badly supplied with Carolingian authors according to a list of the early eleventh century (Alcuin, Hrabanus, Haimo and Remigius of Auxerre, and perhaps Benedict of Aniane for the *Concordia regularum*), which should come as no surprise given the monastery's links with the Frankish world, but it is not known when

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<sup>57</sup> Below, note 81.

<sup>58</sup> T. Licht, 'Einharts *Libellus de psalmis*', *Revue bénédictine*, 122 (2012), 217–231; M. Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli: Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption*, MGH Schriften, 48 (Hannover, 2001), pp. 436 s.

<sup>59</sup> P. Bourgain, in P. Chiesa and L. Castaldi (eds.), *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo. TE. TRA. I*, (Firenze, 2004), p. 154; ms. Montecassino, Arch. dell'Abbazia, 275 (M. Inguanez, *Catalogi codicum Casinensium antiqui (saec. VIII–XV)* [Montecassino, 1941], p. 7).

<sup>60</sup> Bruxelles, KBR, 9403.

<sup>61</sup> Milan, S. Ambrogio, Arch. Capitolare, M 13 (ca s. ix<sup>3/3</sup>).

<sup>62</sup> *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*: Roma, Bibl. Naz. Centrale, Vitt. Emm. 1452, from Nonantola; part of book i in Bern, Burgerbibl., 363. The *HEGA* was used by Paul the Deacon for his *Historia Langobardorum*, and copied for S. Liberatore alla Maiella under prior Theobaldus about 1010: E. Carusi, 'Intorno al *Commemoratorium* dell'abate Teobaldo (1019–1022)', *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo*, 47 (1932), 173–90: 185. It was also at Vercelli in the tenth century (Bibl. Capitolare, Fragm. 50; see R. Winfried, 'A tenth-century booklist in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Vercelli', forthcoming; I thank R.W. for sharing his paper before the publication) and perhaps at Novalesa at the beginning of the eleventh century: *Cronaca di Novalesa*, ed. and tr. G. C. Alessio (Torino, 1982), pp. LVII–VIII (entry untitled *Regum Anglorum*).

<sup>63</sup> L. Pani, 'La trasmissione dell'*Historia Langobardorum* di Paolo Diacono tra Italia e *Regnum Francorum* nel IX secolo', in Chiesa (ed.), *Paolino d'Aquileia*, pp. 373–403.

<sup>64</sup> G. Gullotta, *Gli antichi cataloghi e i codici della abbazia di Nonantola*, Studi e Testi 182 (Città del Vaticano, 1955), p. 6 = M. Branchi, *Lo scriptorium e la biblioteca di Nonantola* (Nonantola, 2011), p. 387: acquired under Abbot Rodulfus (1002–1035). See also the entry 'Haimo' at Monte Amiata, s. xi<sup>in</sup>: M. M. Gorman, 'Codici manoscritti della Badia amiatina nel secolo XI', in M. Marocchi and C. Prezzolini (eds.), *La Tuscia nell'alto e pieno medioevo. In memoria di Wilhelm Kurze*, Millennio medievale 68 (Firenze, 2007), pp. 15–102: p. 39.

they entered the collection<sup>65</sup>. One can think that the library of Fonte Avellana, the foundation of Pierre Damien, drew from it during its constitution<sup>66</sup>. Not infrequently importation is due to external forces, laymen like Eberhard of Friuli, or monks coming from abroad. In the early tenth century, Bobbio would not have received any Carolingian works without Dungal and other bequests like that of Theodorus, Adelbertus and Peter, or those of great prelates such as Liutward. Liutward came from a different cultural space: formerly a monk at Reichenau, he was sent to Vercelli in 880 by Charles the Fat, whom he served as arch-chancellor, and was then briefly abbot of Bobbio (885–6). Notker the Stammerer dedicated his *Gesta Karoli* to him, but this did not guarantee the diffusion of the work in Italy.

Reception depends on those who order books or have them copied, or on the men who write them. Without a personality like that of Bishop Joseph of Ivrea, the library of the chapter would not have had Alcuin or the liturgical and juridical books coming from Saint-Amand, from southern Francia, and Lyon, books that still exist today.<sup>67</sup> Archbishop Angilbert of Milan invited Hildemar of Corbie to his see, thanks to whom the library at SS. Faustino e Giovita in Brescia boasts two of his works (*‘Dicta’*) in the tenth century.<sup>68</sup> In Verona, Pacificus not only imported books from Luxeuil,<sup>69</sup> he also made copies of the works of Alcuin (the aforesaid *De dialectica* and *De rhetorica*), and the commentary of Hrabanus on the books of Judith and Esther.

There are more anonymous happenings. For the liturgy, the *Homiliarium* of Paul the Deacon is not alone. If Amalarius had only a modest echo in Italy, the Franco-Carolingian sacramentary is adopted very soon at Verona, and there are also several copies of sacramentaries with the masses composed by Alcuin.<sup>70</sup> The *romanum carmen* encountered resistance in the kingdom in the face of the so-called *cantus ambrosianus*. According to a legend that may be partially true, Paulinus of Aquileia submitted two *pueri* to an ordeal in order to obtain God’s judgment – hence the supposed diffusion of the Franco-Roman practice to the *plebs Itala*.<sup>71</sup> There are also less famous, but no less important contributions that show a reception of Carolingian catechetical works and interests, with the commentaries of the mass, as the *exposition missae ‘Primum in ordine’*, and, moreover, the *Expositio missae canonicae*,

<sup>65</sup> G. Brugnoli, ‘La biblioteca dell’abbazia di Farfa’, *Benedictina*, 5 (1951), 3–17: 10–1.

<sup>66</sup> C. Pierucci, ‘Inventari dell’antica biblioteca di Fonte Avellana (secc. XI–XVIII)’, in *Fonte Avellana nella società dei secoli XIII e XIV* (Urbino, 1980), 141–234: 163–4 (Remigius, Amalarius, Haimo, Paschasius, in a list dated 1045–50).

<sup>67</sup> M. Ferrari, ‘Libri e testi prima del Mille’, in G. Cracco (ed.), *Storia della Chiesa di Ivrea dalle origini al XV secolo* (Roma, 1998), pp. 511–33, at 517–25; Gavinelli, ‘Il vescovo Giuseppe di Ivrea’.

<sup>68</sup> B. Bischoff, ‘Das Güterverzeichnis des Klosters SS. Faustino e Giovita in Brescia aus dem Jahre 964’, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 4 (1972), 53–61: 57–8. The library of the chapter of Vercelli had also a *Liber Ildemari* in the tenth century (Winfried, ‘A tenth-century booklist’).

<sup>69</sup> Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, XL (38), *CLA* IV.497-499, Bischoff 7038c (Gregory, *Moralia*, on the palimpsest of Virgil, Livy, Euclid).

<sup>70</sup> Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, XCI (86) (s. ix<sup>1/4</sup>), linked to Pacificus. — Firenze, Bibl. Med. Laur., Aedil. 121 (s. ix<sup>3/3</sup>); London, BL, Add. 16605 (s. ix<sup>4/4</sup>); Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, LXXXVI (81) (s. ix<sup>2/3</sup>). Three Gregorian sacramentaries copied in France also arrived in Italy: Modena, Bibl. Capitolare, O.II.7 (ca. s. ix<sup>2/4</sup>), Monza, Duomo, 89, now in the Bibl. Capitolare (ca. s. ix<sup>3/4</sup>, donated by King Berengar, who perhaps inherited it from Eberhard of Friuli) and Padova, Bibl. Capitolare, D 47 (s. ix<sup>med</sup>). J. Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d’après les manuscrits: édition comparative*, I (Fribourg, 1971), p. 35–43 for a listing of the mss; M. Ferrari, ‘Libri liturgici e diffusione della scrittura carolina nell’Italia settentrionale’, in *Culto cristiano e politica imperiale carolingia* (Todi, 1979), pp. 265–79.

<sup>71</sup> Montecassino, Arch. dell’Abbazia, 318 (s. xi<sup>2/2</sup>), pp. 244–5; A. Rusconi, ‘L’ordalia della croce per il primato del *cantus romanus* sull’*ambrosianus* nel cod. 318 di Montecassino’, *Musica e storia*, 13 (2005), 5–23; M. Winkelmüller, ‘Politische Unifikationsbestrebungen im Konflikt mit der Wahrung lokaler Tradition: *Gallia tota* im Gedicht *Olim romulea* (Montecassino 318)’, in F. Hentschel (ed.), *Nationes’-Begriffe im mittelalterlichen Musikschritttum. Politische und regionale Gemeinschaften in Musikbezogenen Quellen, 900–1400* (Berlin, 2016), pp. 41–50.

which witnesses the effort to adapt local uses to the Romano-Carolingian reform, while managing to safeguard particularism.<sup>72</sup>

On a more mundane level, materials for teaching are another stimulus. The necessities for learning lead to the making of compendia that mix elements of computus and astronomy, theology and exegesis, chronology and history in a pot-pourri that not only provides a mixture of extracts from classical texts and contemporary pieces, but also makes visible a working method. Without being different from what is done in the north, the practice is taken here to the outer limits.<sup>73</sup> As for alphabetic encyclopedias, Italy can boast a solid position in the direct ancient textual transmission of the *Liber glossarum*, and many other glossaries were copied in the ninth century.<sup>74</sup> The arrival of the *Liber glossarum* in Italy may even be more precocious than the earliest surviving Italian witness, if we note that the *baiuli* of Pippin, Waldo of Reichenau, Adalhard of Corbie, and Angilbert of Saint-Riquier, were abbots of monasteries that each had a copy.<sup>75</sup>

Law is well represented: at Novara, Brescia and Verona; at Ivrea thanks to Bishop Joseph; at Vercelli thanks to Liutward; and at Bobbio thanks to Abbot Agilulf (†896).<sup>76</sup> Both ancient and contemporary legislation are copied: we find Roman law (*Epitome Iuliani*, *Breviarium Alarici*);<sup>77</sup> the ‘national’ laws so necessary in a country where individuals profess widely varying laws; and the capitularies, either like those made for the Frankish assemblies of 813 and 816, or gathered in collections, although without going so far as copying compilations like that of Ansegisus, which had a later reception.<sup>78</sup> Canon law, with around fifty manuscripts,

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<sup>72</sup> D. Mazzuconi, ‘La diffusione dell’*expositio missae* “*primum in ordine*” e l’*expositio orationis dominicae* cosiddetta milanese’, in *Ricerche storiche sulla chiesa ambrosiana* XI, Archivio Ambrosiano 45 (Milano, 1982), pp. 208–66; Brovelli, *La Expositio missae canonicae*.

<sup>73</sup> Milan, S. Ambrogio, Arch. Capitolare, M 15 (above, note 40); Monza, Bibl. Capitolare, c 9/69 (s. x, a copy of a ms. reflecting Dungal’s teaching; Ferrari, ‘La trasmissione dei testi’, pp. 306–7).

<sup>74</sup> *Liber glossarum* (<http://liber-glossarum.huma-num.fr/>): Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, B 36 inf. [Milan?, s. ix<sup>2/4</sup>]; Monza, Bibl. Capitolare, h 9/164 [s. ix<sup>4/4</sup>]; Vercelli, Bibl. Capitolare, 2 (LXII) [s. ix<sup>4/4</sup> or x<sup>in</sup>, from Bishop Atto]; another fragment is in Udine, Arch. di Stato, 132 [late 9th c.], and two others unknown to Bischoff are in Bazzano-Bologna and Modena, cf. G. Barbero, ‘*Credo sit Papias integer*: la ricezione del *Liber glossarum* in Italia presso gli Umanisti’, *Les dossiers d’Histoire Épistémologie Langage*, 10 (2016), 321–56: 325 (<https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01473157>). Another fragment from the early 10th c. is in Cremona (Arch. di Stato, Notarile, G. 1), and comes from a volume given by Bishop Odelricus to the cathedral in 984 (G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* [Bonn, 1885], p. 81 no. 72; V. Tirelli, ‘Gli inventari della biblioteca della cattedrale di Cremona (sec. X-XIII) e un frammento di glossario latino del secolo X’, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 7 (1964), 1–76, at 48–50). — Other glossaries: Milan, B. Ambr., B 31 sup., C 243 inf., Montecassino, Arch. dell’Abbazia, 316, Montserrat, Bibl. del Monastero, 1038; München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Clm 29670/2; Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3320, 6018.

<sup>75</sup> A. Grondeux, ‘Introduction’, *Les dossiers d’HEL*, 10 (2016), 3–8: 6 (<https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01419929>).

<sup>76</sup> Ferrari, ‘Libri e testi prima del Mille’, p. 522–5; Gavinelli, ‘Il vescovo Giuseppe di Ivrea’; *ead.*, ‘Transiti di manoscritti attraverso le Alpi occidentali in epoca carolingia: gli episcopati di Ivrea e Vercelli’, in Scalon and Pani (eds.), *Le Alpi porta d’Europa*, pp. 381–408; *ead.*, ‘Una raccolta canonica a Livorno restituita al sec. IX’, *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 60 (2006), 375–89; *ead.*, ‘Modelli librari e formazione ideologica centralizzata’, in *Carlo Magno e le Alpi* (Spoleto, 2007), pp. 105–40, at pp. 114–6; M. Pantarotto, ‘La (ri)costruzione di un manoscritto nello scriptorium di Bobbio al tempo dell’abate Agilulfo (887-896)’, *Scriptorium*, 61 (2007), 46–73.

<sup>77</sup> *Epitome Iuliani*: Guttaring, Pfarrarchiv; Milano, Bibl. Trivulziana, 688; Paris, BnF, lat. 4568; Wien, ÖNB, lat. 2160; see also the *Institutiones*, Verona, Bibl. Cap., CLXXIII A + Bibl. Civica, 3035 + New Haven, Yale Univ., Beinecke 744 (Beinecke 744 not listed in Bischoff’s catalogue; see C. M. Radding and A. Ciaralli, *The Corpus Iuris Civilis in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2007), p. 51. — *Brev. Alarici*: Klagenfurt, Bibl. des Kärtner Geschichtsvereins, 10/2, from Nonantola. Two copies from southern France of the *Breviarium Alarici* are also at Ivrea, Bibl. Capitolare, XXXV (17) and XXXVI (18).F. Patetta, ‘Il Breviario alariciano in Italia’ [1891], in *id.*, *Studi sulle fonti giuridiche medievali*, Torino, 1967, pp. 601–44.

<sup>78</sup> Canons of 813: Novara, Bibl. Capitolare LXXI (18). — 816: Genf, BPU, lat. 28, from Aosta; Roma, Bibl. Naz. Centrale, Vitt. Em. 1348, from Nonantola (see note \*\*). — Ansegisus: Vercelli, Bibl. Capitolare, CLXXIV (15) and the remarks of Bougard, *La justice*, pp. 41–2. — For a recent hypothesis regarding the personal lawbook of Joseph of Ivrea (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Blankenburg. 130), S. Esders, ‘*Deux libri legum* au



is not lacking. The *Dacheriana* arrives from the south of France, which is its centre of diffusion. But the Decretals of Pseudo Isidore are also successful, and the nine copies made in Italy – which represent nearly half the manuscript tradition for the ninth century – compete on equal footing with the *Dionysio-Hadriana*. It is in the area of law, where rare new and ancient works were keenly sought out (such as the acts of the eighth ecumenical council of 869–870, the *Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum* or *Lex Dei*, the *Liber Diurnus*)<sup>79</sup>, that Italy finally produces something original of its own. Among these are the *Lex romana canonice compta*, the *Dionysiana Bobiensis*, the *Excerpta Bobiensia* and, at the end of the ninth century, the *Anselmo dedicata*. Excerpts of the *Anselmo dedicata* are to be found immediately in a contemporary manuscript copied in Reims, which also contains the brief and polemical compilation of Florus on episcopal jurisdiction based on the Sirmondian Constitutions.<sup>80</sup> This manuscript ended up in Milan, admittedly at an undetermined date. Might it have been a gift, like the Hrabanus Maurus, sent by Hincmar to Liutward of Vercelli?

Philology, a powerful vector for the circulation of books and texts, also played a role. Pacificus undertook a veritable exchange with Lyon, as illustrated by notes in his hand alongside notes by Florus in an Italian copy of Origen's commentary on the Psalms.<sup>81</sup> Eldradus of Novalesa sent Florus his copy of Jerome's version of the Hebraic Psalter, asking him to correct it for his abbey.<sup>82</sup> These endeavors go well beyond the *emendatio* of the *libri catholici* requested of priests in the *Admonitio generalis*. Among the contemporary authors whose activities were known in Italy, it is Florus, who was geographically close to the kingdom, who excited the most interest. He is also revelatory for the circuits that link the plain of the Po and St Gall; the Milanese manuscript of the *Collectanea* on the Pauline Epistles testifies to a 'textual reservoir' close to St Gall that owned another copy of the work (Stiftsbibl., 279–81).<sup>83</sup> We have already seen that the ecclesiastical province of Milan had long since turned its gaze toward the Alps.<sup>84</sup> One must also cite the books that Liutward of Vercelli received from St Gall, among which the *Liber sequentiarum* of Notker the Stammerer and the bilingual (Latin-Greek) Pauline Epistles, and the influence that the style of St Gall exercised on the decoration of the manuscripts made in Vercelli.<sup>85</sup>

The example of philology shows that, in the field of erudition, one searches in vain to establish who influences whom. One must speak rather of a community of intellectuals who play across borders, in a zone that links the centers along the Po River with St Gall, Reichenau and Lyon, and even further north with Auxerre and Reims in the second half of the ninth century. The teaching of grammar and law implies the same actors and triggers the same

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service des fonctionnaires du royaume d'Italie à l'époque carolingienne', in C. Denoël, A.-O. Poilpré and S. Shimahara (eds), *Imago libri. Représentations carolingiennes du livre*, forthcoming.

<sup>79</sup> *Collatio*; Zadar, Državni Arhiv, Misc. CLXXVI Poz. b. z. — *Liber diurnus*: Egmond, Klosterbibl., G. II; Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, I 2 sup. (Bobbio, bequeathed by the priest Theodorus); Vatican, ASV, Arm. XI. 19. — Eighth ecumenical council: Vat. lat. 5749; M. Palma, 'Antigrafo/apografo. La formazione del testo latino degli atti del Concilio Costantinopolitano dell'869–870', in C. Questa and R. Raffaelli (eds.), *Il libro e il testo* (Urbino, 1984), pp. 307–35.

<sup>80</sup> Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, A 46 inf., fols. 51r–2v; K. Zechiel-Eckes, 'Florus Polemik gegen Modoin. Unbekannte Texte zum Konflikt zwischen dem Bischof von Autun und dem Lyoner Klerus in den dreißiger Jahren des 9. Jharhunderts', *Francia*, 25 (1998), 19–38.

<sup>81</sup> Lyon, Bibl. municipale, 483 (13); *CLA* VI.779, Bischoff 2564a.

<sup>82</sup> *Cronaca di Novalesa* IV, fragm. 6, p. 198–217 [= *MGH Epp.* V (Berlin, 1898–9), pp. 340–3].

<sup>83</sup> S. Gavinelli, 'Tradizioni testuali carolingie fra Brescia, Vercelli e San Gallo: il *De civitate Dei* di s. Agostino', in A. Manfredi (ed.), *L'antiche e le moderne carte: studi in memoria di Giuseppe Billanovich* (Roma, 2007), pp. 263–84, at 278–80.

<sup>84</sup> Above, p. \*\*.

<sup>85</sup> Gavinelli, 'Tradizioni testuali carolingie', pp. 275–7. Liutward also received a copy of the *Vitae patrum* and the *Epistles* of Jerome. He may have been the recipient of the ms. of Eginhard's *Libellus de psalmis* (Vercelli, Bibl. Capitolare, CXLIX), which according to T. Licht (above, note 58) presents some characteristics of the late St Gall style, but we do not know precisely when the ms. arrived at Vercelli.

mobility, as shown by the investigation into the anonymous poet of the *Gesta Berengarii imperatoris*. He was probably a disciple of Remigius of Auxerre, educated in Verona and in the Lombard schools, but drew most of his material from north of the Alps, especially for the glosses that accompany his text.<sup>86</sup> All share with liturgy and medicine<sup>87</sup> the concrete side of applied science which, in contrast, is not present in the great authors, except for certain works devoted to those disciplines that knew a certain success in Italy, such as those of Alcuin and Smaragdus.

It is because the culture of the kingdom of Italy is *different*. It is a culture that is practical, juridical, and educational. It has a strong secular stamp, which distinguishes it from that of all the others.<sup>88</sup> Italy lacks the production coming from the churchmen, who are so numerous in the northern regions, while she remains attached to her traditional specialities linked with the liberal arts. It bears repeating that if Italy makes her own personal contribution to the Carolingian renewal and provides many of the foundations that this 'renaissance' did not formerly possess, as she does for so many architectural, artistic and graphic<sup>89</sup> forms, she takes little back, or rather she takes only what serves her direct interests, inherited from a system well established during the Lombard period. Indeed the originality of Italy is this cultural generosity or, to say in a more detached manner, 'asymmetry'.<sup>90</sup> The kingdom is seen as a storehouse for correct texts from the past and for technical resources, books one can go to and consult, copy, or take to the other side of the Alps, either at the price of a learned quest, or in batches (as in 774 with the capture of Pavia and the Lombard treasure).<sup>91</sup> Even if this is a long-term proposition – from sixth to the eleventh century –, this difference became all the more acute in the ninth century when innovations proliferated in the north, without convincing the south that they were worth reading and copying. This element of imbalance obliges the rejection of any idea of complementarity between 'regions', each with a different genius but supposedly harmoniously integrated in the heart of the same empire. Yet, with regard to cultural fundamentals, Italy enthusiastically adheres to the values and productions of the Carolingian age, especially thanks to the stimulation induced by the presence of immigrant members of the ecclesiastical elite. That is why Florus of Lyon hated the Treaty of Verdun: because of the cultural fragmentation implied by political compartmentalization.<sup>92</sup> This indeed justifies our asking whether there was a Carolingian Italy.

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<sup>86</sup> F. Duplessis, *Réseaux intellectuels entre France et Italie (IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> s.): autour des Gesta Berengarii imperatoris et de leurs gloses*, unpublished thesis, École pratique des hautes études (2015).

<sup>87</sup> On medicine, M. Ferrari, 'Manoscritti e cultura', in *Atti del 10<sup>o</sup> Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1986), pp. 242–75, at pp. 255–6; Bischoff, *Katalog*, nos. 224, 1238, 1239, 1650, 2116, 2525, 2796, 2805.

<sup>88</sup> Witt, *Two Latin Cultures*. This observation would no doubt have been reinforced had the documentation from Pavia survived. Almost nothing has come down to us.

<sup>89</sup> P. Supino Martini, 'Aspetti della cultura grafica a Roma fra Gregorio Magno e Gregorio VII', in *Roma nell'alto medioevo*, *Settimane di studio del CISAM* 48 (Spoleto, 2001), pp. 921–68; F. De Rubeis, 'Sillogi epigrafiche: le vie della pietra in età carolingia', in Chiesa (ed.), *Paolino d'Aquileia*, pp. 93–114; *ead.*, 'La capitale damasiana a Tours: esperimenti ed effimere primavere', *Scripta*, 3 (2010), 57–72.

<sup>90</sup> P. Chiesa, 'Le vie della cultura attraverso le Alpi fra VII e XI secolo', in Scalon and Pani (eds.), *Le Alpi porta d'Europa*, pp. 1–21, at 20.

<sup>91</sup> Jullien, 'Alcuin et l'Italie'; C. Villa, 'La produzione libraria, prima e dopo il 774', in Gasparri (ed.), 774, pp. 387–401; B. Bischoff, 'Italienische Handschriften des neunten bis elften Jahrhunderts in frühmittelalterlichen Bibliotheken ausserhalb Italiens', in Questa and Raffaelli (eds.), *Il libro e il testo*, pp. 170–94.

<sup>92</sup> Florus, [*Querela de divisione imperii*] 49-50, *MGH Poetae* II (Berlin, 1884), p. 561.

**Appendix: A provisional list of contemporary northern authors copied or received in Italy during the ninth century (with the datings and origins according to Bischoff), or mentioned in book inventories up to the beginning of the eleventh century.**

**Alcuinus (†804)**

- Ivrea, Bibl. Capitolare, XXX (16) ('Frankreich', ca. s. ix<sup>med</sup>): *De psalmis poenentialibus, De fide s. et individuae Trinitatis, De virtutibus et vitiis*.
- Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, M 1 sup. ('wohl Oberitalien', ca. s. ix<sup>3/4</sup>): ep. 143 (*computus*).
- Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, O 95 sup. ('Frankreich?' ca. s. ix<sup>3/3</sup>): *Ars grammatical*; in Italy in the 10<sup>th</sup> c.
- Milan, S. Ambrogio, Arch. Capitolare, M 15 ('Oberitalien', s. ix<sup>3/3</sup>): *De Trinitate, Quaest. de Trinitate, carm.* 85,3.
- Montecassino, Arch. dell'Abbazia, 3 (Montecassino, 874–92 [879?]): *De fide s. et individuae Trinitatis, Quaestiones de Trinitate, De anima, carm.* 85,3 + *computus*.
- München, BSB, Clm 6407 (Verona, s. ix<sup>in</sup>; marg. of Pacificus): *De rhetorica, De dialectica, ep.* 134 (*de baptisate*).
- Paris, BnF, lat. 2849A (fols. 1-23: 'Frankreich?', Italien?', ca. s. ix<sup>3/4</sup>; fols. 24-76: [wohl südl.] Frankr. Italien? ca. s. ix<sup>4/4</sup>): *De fide s. et individuae Trinitatis, Quaestiones de Trinitate, De anima*.
- Roma, B. Casanatense, 641 (Montecassino, 811–2): *De fide s. et individuae Trinitatis, Quaestiones de Trinitate, De anima, carm.* 85,3 + *computus*.
- Roma, B. Naz. Centrale, Sess. 71 (1349) (Nonantola, s. ix/x): *De psalmorum usu*.
- Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 3850 ('Italien', ca. s. ix<sup>4/4</sup>): *De dialectica, De rhetorica*.
- Verona, B. Cap., LXVII (64) (Verona, s. viii/ix): *De fide s. et individuae Trinitate, De anima*.
- Libraries:
  - Eberhard of Friuli, 863/4: *De virtutibus et vitiis* (bequeathed to his daughter Judith [Becker 12.47]).
  - Bobbio, s. ix/x: *In Genesim; In Iohannem* (from Dungal [Becker 32.492, 493]); versus (from Dungal [Becker 32.526]); *De fide s. et individuae Trinitatis* (from the priest Theodorus [Becker 32.569]); *De rhetorica* (two copies, one from the priest Theodorus [Becker 32.587], one from the monk Peter [Becker 32.610]).
  - Farfa, s. xi<sup>in</sup>: '*alcuinum de trinitate*'.
  - Vercelli, s. x<sup>2/2</sup>: '*Liber domni Alcuini*'; '*Quaterni d<e Fra>nco et Saxon*' (= *De grammatica*) [Winfried, 'A tenth-century booklist'].
  - Cremona, Bishop Odelricus, 984: *De dialectica* (bequeathed to the cathedral, 983).
- For the masses, see above, note 68.

**Amalarius Mettensis chorep. (†850)**

- Libraries:
  - Vercelli, s. x<sup>2/2</sup>: '*Liber officiorum*' [Winfried, 'A tenth-century booklist']; if the title fits with Amalarius, the ms. is Vercelli, Bibl. Capitolare, CCXLVI (s. x), but it could be also Ambrosius, or Isidorus.
  - Odelricus, bishop of Cremona, 984: '*Libri officiorum Amesarii*' [Becker 36.93].
  - Nonantola, s. xi<sup>in</sup>: '*Amellarius*' = Roma, BNC, Sess. 30 (1570) (s. 11) [Branchi, *Nonantola*, pp. 208, 387].

**Benedictus Anianensis (†821)**

- Library:
  - Farfa, s. xi<sup>in</sup>: '*concordia regularum*'.

**Eginhardus (†840)**

- Vercelli, Bibl. Capitolare, CXLIX (136) ('Eichstätt? St Gallen?' s. ix/x) [Licht, 'Einwarts *Libellus de psalmis*', but with some uncertainty concerning the date of the arrival of the ms. at Vercelli].
- Library of Bobbio, s. ix/x: *Libellus de psalmis* (2 copies, one from the priest Benedictus, one from the priest Peter [Becker 32.600]).

**Florus Lugdunensis diac. (†860 ca)**

- Brescia, Bibl. Civ. Queriniana, G.III.2 ('Milan?' s. ix<sup>3/3</sup>): *Collectanea in epistulas Pauli*.
- Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, A 46 inf. (Reims, s. ix<sup>3/3</sup>), fols. 51r–2v: *Collectio 'Ex synodo Lugdunensis Ecclesiae'*; poss. S. Dionigi of Milano in the xvth c.
- Bischoff also considers the ms. BAV, Reg. lat. 240, a copy of Florus's *Liber adversus Iohannem Scotum*, as Italian, but the ms. is rather from France, or from Fulda: K. Zechiel-Eckes, *CCCM* 260, pp. XXXIII–V.

**Haimo Autissiodorensis mon. (†875/878 ca)**

- Budapest, UB, U.Fr.I.m.2 (fragm., ‘Oberit.? Nonantola?’), ca. s. ix/x): *Annotatio libri Isaiae Prophetae*.

- Libraries:

• Cremona, Cathedral and Bishop Odelricus, 984: *Homiliarium*, 2 vol. [Becker 81.61, 68; Tirelli, ‘Gli inventari della biblioteca della cattedrale di Cremona’, 66-67 nos. 69, 76].

• Farfa, s. xi<sup>in</sup>: ‘*super genesim; super esaiam; super epistulas pauli; super apocalypsin*’.

• Nonantola, s. xi<sup>in</sup>: *Expositio in Isaiaam* = Roma, BNC, Sess. 36 (1270) (s. xi); *Homiliarium* [Branchi, *Nonantola*, pp. 209, 387].

• Monte Amiata, s. xi<sup>in</sup>: ‘*Aimo*’, i.e. *Expositio in s. Pauli epistolas?* [Gorman, ‘Codici manoscritti della Badia amiatina’, p. 39].

### **Halitgarius Cameracensis ep. (†830 ca)**

- Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, L 28 sup. (‘Oberit.?’ s. ix<sup>2/2</sup>): *Liber paenitentialis*.

- Novara, Bibl. Cap., LXXI (18) (‘Oberit.’, s. ix<sup>3/3</sup>): *Liber paenitentialis*.

- Library of Bobbio, s. ix/x: ‘*canones*’ (two copies, one from the priest Benedictus [Becker 32.538], one from the monk Adalbertus [Becker 32.556]).

### **Hrabanus Maurus (†856)**

- Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., Aug. perg. 115 (‘Oberit.?’ s. ix<sup>3/4</sup>): *Commentarius in librum Numerorum*. Hrabanus’s text is preceded by verses sent to Dungal by Donatus Scottus.

- Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, I 35 inf. (Bobbio, s. x<sup>in</sup>): *Commentarius in Genesim*; = copy from the priest Benedictus?

- Vercelli, Bibl. Cap., CLIII (151) (Reims, s. ix<sup>3/3</sup>): *Commentarius in Deuteronomium* (bequeathed by Hincmar to Liutward of Vercelli).

- Verona, Bibl. Cap., LXVIII (65) (Verona, s. ix<sup>1/2</sup>): *Commentarius in libros Iudith et Hester*.

- Libraries:

• Eberhard of Friuli, 863/4: *De laudibus sanctae crucis* = Torino, BNU, K II 20 (Fulda, s. ix<sup>1/2</sup>); cf. *MGH Epp.* V, no. 42, p. 481.

• Bobbio, s. ix/x: *In Genesim* (from the priest Benedictus [Becker 32.605]).

• Farfa, s. xi<sup>in</sup>: ‘*super psalmos; suoer ecclesiasticum; in treniis hieremiae; super regum; super xxcim prophetas; exposition in machabeorum librorum*’.

• Montecassino, sub Theobaldo abate (1022–6; 1023): *De rerum natura* (Inguanez, *Catalogi codicum Casinensium antiqui*, pp. 5–6; ms. Montecassino, Arch. dell’Abbazia, 132, from a Carolingian copy, but we do not know when it entered the library).

• Nonantola, s. xi<sup>in</sup>: ‘*Liber Rabani*’ = Roma, BNC, Sess. 44 (1473) (s. xi) [Branchi, *Nonantola*, pp. 210, 387].

### **Notkerus Balbulus (†912)**

- Library of Odelricus, bishop of Cremona, 984: ‘*Sequentiarum libelli volumen unum*’ [Becker 81.80] could be Notker’s *Liber sequentiarum*, as hypothesized by Tirelli, “Gli inventari... di Cremona” (see *supra* Haimo), p. 68. Notker dedicated the work to Liutward of Vercelli (884).

### **Paschasius Radbertus (†865)**

- Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 5767 (‘Oberit.’, s. ix<sup>4/4</sup>?): *De corpore et sanguine domini* (bequeathed by the priest Theodorus; the ms. was used by Ratherius and Gezo).

### **Remigius Autissiodorensis mon. (†908)**

- Libraries:

• Farfa, s. xi<sup>in</sup>: ‘*super ecclesiasticum*’.

• Odelricus, bishop of Cremona, 984: *In Donatum* [Becker 36.79].

• Nonantola, s. xi<sup>in</sup>: *Homiliae* = Roma, BNC, Sess. 45 (1364) (s. xi) [Branchi, *Nonantola*, pp. 212, 387].

### **Smaragdus Sancti Michaelis abbas (†830 ca)**

- Fulda, Hessische Landesbibl., Fragm., with other fragments in New York, PML and Stuttgart, Württ. LB (Bischoff 1335; ‘Oberit.’, s. ix/x): *Expositio libri Comitis*.

- Heidelberg, Universitätsbibl., Heidelb. 3965 with other fragment in Karlsruhe, Bad. LB (Bischoff 1511; ‘Oberit.?’ s. ix<sup>3/3</sup>): *Expositio libri Comitis*.

- Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl., Aug. perg. 241 (‘Oberit.?’ s. ix<sup>3/3</sup>): *Liber in partibus Donati* (exc.).

- Monza, Bibl. Cap., c 3/63 (‘Oberit.’, s. ix<sup>2/3</sup>): *Expositio libri Comitis*.

- München, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Clm 3234, 3235, 3245 (fragm.; ‘vermutlich Oberit.’, s. ix<sup>2/3</sup>): *Expositio libri Comitis*.

- München, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Clm 6214 (‘Oberit.’, s. ix<sup>2/3</sup>): *Expositio libri Comitis*.

- Libraries:

- Eberhard of Friuli, 863/4: '*Smaragdum*' (bequeathed to his son Rodulfus [Becker 12.33]).
- Cremona, Cathedral, 984: '*Smaragdi volumen unum*' [Becker 36.52].
- A monastic Friulan library (Sesto al Reghena?), s. x<sup>med</sup>: '*L(iber) Smaragdo*' [Scalon, *Produzione*, p. 137 n° 6; perhaps the *Diadema monachorum*].
- Novalesa, s. xi<sup>in</sup>: '*Diadema*' [*Cronaca di Novalesa*, p. VII].
- S. Liberatore alla Maiella, 1014/19: *Diadema monachorum* (written on the order of prior Theobaldus [Carusi, 'Intorno al *Commemoratorium*', p. 185]).