POST-ROMAN TRANSITIONS

Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West

Edited by

Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann

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WHO WERE THE ROMANS? SHIFTING SCRIPTS OF ROMANNESS IN EARLY MEDIEVAL ITALY

Maya Maskarinec*

In early medieval Italy 'Roman' was an ambiguous term that could have various significations: civic — Romans as inhabitants of the city of Rome —, regional — the Romans as inhabitants of Italy, or other former Roman provinces, in contrast to the Lombards and other newer 'barbarians' —, and the Romans of the progressively regionalized Roman Empire (or, as it is called today, the Byzantine Empire), increasingly, however, referred to as *Gr(a)eci*.¹ This multiplicity of meanings was not new, but the fact that these categories no longer coincided was. The overarching framework of the Roman Empire as a monolithic supra-ethnic category encompassing the vast extent of the Mediterranean world belonged to the past; the remaining fragments of 'Romaness' no longer fit together so neatly. In this article, I wish to bring out some of the texture of this change with an example of how Roman history was written and reconfigured in early medieval Italy to reflect contemporary perceptions of 'Romaness'. I will look at various reworkings of Eutropius's *Breviarium*, which were among

* This paper has seen many versions and I would like to thank Gerda Heydemann, Helmut Reimitz, Walter Pohl, Francesco Borri, and Michael Maas for their support. I am grateful to the Institut für Mittelalterforschung in Wien for their funding as well as for the many thought provoking comments I have received there.

¹ Although it is anachronistic, I generally use the conventional term 'Byzantine' for the sake of clarity when referring to the Roman Empire post-Justinian. These different meanings of 'Roman' are found in Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz — Romans as inhabitants of Rome: VI. 34, pp. 175–76; Romans as inhabitants of Italy: II. 4, p. 74; Romans as inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire: IV. 36, p. 128 (For an English translation see Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke).

the most widely circulating Roman histories in the medieval West, considering their shifting historical conceptions of 'Romanness'.

Eutropius's ten-book Roman history, written in the late fourth century, was subsequently modified and continued in the eighth by Paul the Deacon, who turned it into a sixteen-book Roman history. Although Paul had promised that he would continue his Roman history, he did not, instead writing a *History of the Lombards*. Roughly by the end of the ninth century, however, excerpts from Paul's *Lombard History* were turned into a seventeenth book that was added to the *Roman History*. The Appendix to this paper summarizes these texts and indicates their relationships.²

I will begin by considering how Paul the Deacon modified Eutropius's text; Section 1 examines Paul the Deacon's new opening to Eutropius's text wherein the focus of Roman history is shifted towards the Romans as a people (not, as for Eutropius, a city). Although by doing so Paul the Deacon does not deny the exceptionality of the Roman Empire stressed by Eutropius, he presents the Romans in their origins as more similar to other peoples, past and present, of the Mediterranean world, explaining their formation, as a unified Roman people and an Empire, as a process. Paul the Deacon supplements Eutropius's nearly secular text by adding an ingredient he considers key to the Romans' success: their chosen role in God's plan for the spread of Christianity. Section 2 addresses Paul the Deacon's Christianization of the Romans, demonstrating how, although fundamentally Christianizing Roman *history*, Paul layered Christianity lightly onto the Roman *Empire*, leaving it easily imaginable that the two could become disentwined. In his *Lombard History*, Paul does precisely this, severing the bond between the Byzantines and Christianity and introducing a discontinuity between the Roman Empire of the past and the Byzantines of his day; this is the subject of Section 3. Thus for Paul the ancient Roman Empire retains its unique exceptionality. At the same time, *Romani* are left to inhabit Italy. Finally in Section 4, I turn to an alternate reading of the Roman Empire, examining how the seventeenth book, although almost exclu-

² Eutropius's *Breviarium* is cited here according to Eutropius, *Breviarium*, ed. by Santini, and is available in English: Eutropius, *Breviarium*, trans. by Bird. There are two standard editions which consider Paul the Deacon's modifications of Eutropius's text: *Eutropi Breviarium et Pauli Landolfique additamentis*, ed. by Droysen, and Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, but no English translation of Paul the Deacon's expanded *Historia Romana* exists. I am grateful to Marianne Pollheimer for helping me with the Latin translations throughout. For the *Historia Langobardorum*, I have followed Foulke's translation, though I have used 'Lombard' rather than 'Langobard' and have translated *gens* as 'people', rather than 'nation' or 'heathen'.

sively excerpted from Paul's *Lombard History*, posits a much longer lasting, but regionally restricted, Roman Empire in the East, whose relationship with the Christian church headed by the pope is increasingly strained. Nonetheless the Empire is prolonged up to iconoclasm in the early eighth century, at which point the text leaves us hanging.

From Eutropius to the seventeenth book, I will follow the tug between the interpretation of the Romans as something exceptional — a unique world *imperium* — and the contemporary early medieval reality of a Christianized world populated by diverse peoples within which it was increasingly questionable if and where the Romans and their distinctiveness were to be found.

1. Paul the Deacon's New Beginning for the *Historia Romana*

How did the Roman people, the *populus Romanus*, come to be? This was a process that Eutropius took for granted in the fourth century, but was no longer so clear to Paul the Deacon in the eighth. Here I focus on how the beginning of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana* modified the fourth-century text of Eutropius on which Paul the Deacon's history was based in order to explain the formation of the Roman people.³ I will first examine Eutropius's text to understand its model of Roman history and the reasons Paul the Deacon may have chosen it as the basis for his history, before addressing the ways in which Paul the Deacon found it inadequate.⁴

Eutropius's *Breviarium*, written between 364 and 375, is a perspective on Roman history from within.⁵ Dedicated to the Emperor Valens, the text serves

³ A version of this section was presented at the Text and Identities Workshop in Auxerre, 17–19 October 2008, and I am grateful to the participants for their suggestions. Naturally the formation of Roman identity was a much more complex process. See Giardina, *L'Italia romana*, and Dench, *Romulus' Asylum*.

⁴ The most thorough recent work on Paul the Deacon's modifications of Eutropius is Cornford, 'The Idea of the Roman Past'. Also fundamental is Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*.

⁵ For an introduction to Eutropius see Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity*, pp. 49–59, and Den Boer, *Some Minor Roman Historians*, pp. 114–72; for a more optimistic reconstruction of what we can know about Eutropius contrast with Bird, 'Eutropius: His Life and Career', and Bird's introduction to Eutropius, *Breviarium*, trans. by Bird, pp. vii–lvii. The dating is derived from Eutropius's dedication of the text to the Emperor Valens. Bird suggests he presented the work to Valens when Valens celebrated his triumph over the Goths and assumed the title *Gothicus Maximus* in late 369 (p. xiii). Although little about Eutropius's life is

as a guide for the emperor to follow the examples of his illustrious predecessors.⁶ As the opening lines of his text explain, Eutropius understands Rome as a unique phenomenon: 'The Roman Empire — human memory is scarcely able to recall anything smaller in its beginning nor greater in its growth in the whole world — had its beginning from Romulus.'⁷ This model of Roman history — Rome as a unique power — is developed by Eutropius in his sparse summary of the Romans *ab urbe condita* up to the late fourth century. In his history, Eutropius almost completely eliminates Roman religion.⁸ In a way that would have been unimaginable for Livy, Eutropius's primary source, Eutropius manages to tell Roman history with rarely any mention of religious events.⁹ For example, when telling of the Romans' victory in the Second Punic War, Eutropius does not mention how the Magna Mater was brought to Rome, an event crucial to Livy's narrative.¹⁰ In Eutropius's text the model emperor is a successful general and an astute politician acting in cooperation with the senatorial elite: the Roman gods are not lurking in the background.¹¹

verifiable, as mentioned in the *Breviarium*, he certainly accompanied the Emperor Julian on his Persian campaign in 363 and served as *magister memoriae* under the Emperor Valens, to whom he dedicated his history.

⁶ For the dedication: Eutropius, *Breviarium*, ed. by Santini, *praefatio*, p. 2. This dedication was at times, but not consistently, included in manuscripts containing Paul the Deacon's expanded version of Eutropius's *Breviarium*. Eutropius's text is based primarily on Livy and Suetonius — these two authors explain the difference in the feel between the two halves of Eutropius, with the latter (based on Suetonius) being more focused on suggesting the model for an ideal emperor. For the structure of Eutropius see Bird, 'Structure and Themes in Eutropius' *Breviarium*'.

⁷ Eutropius, *Breviarium*, ed. by Santini, I. 1. 1, p. 3: 'Romanum imperium, quo neque ab exordio ullum fere minus neque incrementis toto orbe amplius humana potest memoria recordari, a Romulo exordium habet'.

⁸ In general, 'pagan' historiography of the fourth century was characterized by its lack of religious content, a phenomenon which Momigliano addresses, demonstrating how easily such texts could be Christianized, though his emphasis is on how fourth-century Christian historiography disregarded political history, instead following the models of ecclesiastical history created by Eusebius: Momigliano, 'Pagan and Christian Historiography'.

⁹ Only infrequently does Eutropius mention the construction of temples and when he does these are remarked upon as urban constructions, not religious occurrences, see for example regarding Domitian: 'Romae quoque multa opera fecit, in his Capitolium et Forum transitorium, Divorum porticus, Isium ac Serapium et Stadium' (Eutropius, *Breviarium*, ed. by Santini, VII. 23. 5, p. 49).

¹⁰ Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, ed. by Foster, XXIX. 10–11 and 14, VIII, pp. 243–49 and 256–63.

¹¹ Augustus (Eutropius, *Breviarium*, ed. by Santini, VII. 8–10, pp. 43–44) and Trajan

Eutropius's text traces the successive territorial expansion of what began as a small city founded by Romulus. He begins with Rome's foundation, which he dates threefold: as eleven days before the Kalends of May, the third year after the sixth Olympiad, and three hundred and ninety-four years after the fall of Troy.¹² It is an event that predates the development of Roman laws or customs, or even a fully formed Roman people. Throughout his history Eutropius continues to emphasize the importance of the city of Rome, characterizing the foundation of Constantinople as a dangerous attempt to rival Rome.¹³ For Eutropius, Roman history is that of the rise of a world *imperium*, centred on the city of Rome and held together by the emperor.¹⁴

Eutropius's text became a standard of Roman history in late Antiquity and continued to circulate on its own in the Middle Ages, while also constituting the basis for Paul the Deacon's text in the late eighth century and then of Landolfus Sagax's around 1000.¹⁵ Eutropius's text was certainly popular on

(VIII. 2–5, pp. 50–51) are presented as ideal emperors, lauded for their temperament and cooperation with the elite, but particularly for their military accomplishments. Emperors such as Caligula (VII. 12, p. 45), Vitellius (VII. 18, p. 47) or Domitian (VII. 23, p. 49) are described as despised by all and subsequently die gruesome, and in Eutropius's opinion, deserved, deaths.

¹² Eutropius, *Breviarium*, ed. by Santini, I. 1. 2, p. 3: 'Is cum inter pastores latrocinaretur, decem et octo annos natus urbem exigua in Palatino monte constituit, XI Kal. Maias, Olympiadis sextae anno tertio, post Troiae excidium, ut qui plurimum minimumque tradunt, anno trecentesimo nonagesimo quarto'.

¹³ Eutropius, *Breviarium*, ed. by Santini, x. 8. 1, p. 67: 'primusque urbem nominis sui ad tantum fastigium evehere molitus est, ut Romae aemulam faceret'. Constantinople is understood as a rival to Rome, but neither as the new capital of the Empire and replacement for Rome, nor even as another, second capital. Rome remains the point of reference through which this city's new status is referenced and understood. Constantinople has yet to acquire significance on its own terms. Throughout Eutropius notes the senatorial aristocracy's role in ratifying new emperors through whom Rome's expansion occurred.

¹⁴ The expansion of the Empire is recorded only in terms of military conquest. Eutropius shows little interest in the subsequent Romanization of provinces. For example, he makes no mention of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in AD 212 granting all freemen in the Empire citizenship; indeed he writes that apart from the construction of baths in Rome Caracalla did nothing memorable (Eutropius, *Breviarium*, ed. by Santini, VIII. 20, p. 56).

¹⁵ A valuable list of *Historia Romana* manuscripts has been compiled by Mortensen, 'The Diffusion of Roman Histories', though for descriptions of the manuscripts themselves see Crivellucci's notes in preparation for his edition: Crivellucci, 'Per l'edizione della *Historia Romana*'. For an overview of the textual transmission of Eutropius see Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, pp. 159–63. Recently completed is a close analysis of one particularly interesting compilation which includes the *Historia Romana*: Kretschmer, *Rewriting Roman History*.

account of its brevity and its easily accessible style, but the text also allowed Roman history to be read as a model for a uniquely successful military and political *imperium*.¹⁶ Alternate models of Roman power existed and competed with Eutropius's secular optimism, particularly Orosius's *Historiae Adversum Paganos*, a Christian universal history, which included a critical view of the Romans' pagan past.¹⁷

The abundance of surviving manuscripts of Eutropius testifies to the popularity of Eutropius's narrative.¹⁸ Even in northern Italy, almost contemporary with Paul the Deacon, the compilers of the famous *Epitome Phillipsiana* from Verona,

For the medieval production and use of Latin 'classics' (though not including Eutropius) see the essays in Chavannes-Mazel and Smith, eds, *Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics*, and Olsen, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques latins*.

¹⁶ Regarding the *Historia Romana* in the twelfth century, Mortensen, 'The Texts and Contexts of Ancient Roman History', and Mortensen, 'Working with Ancient Roman History', argue on the basis of the manuscripts that it was used as a reference book, a quarry for historical, geographical and military knowledge. Chiesa, 'Storia romana e libri di storia romana', in contrast, emphasizes the literary aspect of Roman history in the ninth- to eleventh-century manuscripts, suggesting that they were read as romance-like literature, primarily at court, rather than in the monastery. Regarding historical culture in the ninth century, see Werner, 'Gott, Herrscher und Historiograph', who stresses history's function as the continuation of the Old and New Testament's demonstration of the works of God in the world, in particular to provide examples of behaviour and the interpretation of signs for Christian rulers. That classical Antiquity could provide both models for admonition as much as for emulation is brought out in Nees's study of uses of Hercules at the Carolingian court: Nees, *A Tainted Mantle*. For introductions to the understanding and use of the past in the Carolingian world see Goetz, 'Vergangenheitswahrnehmung'; McKitterick, *History and Memory*; and McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past*. The nuanced use of history for the construction of identity is brought out in Reimitz, 'The Art of Truth', as well as by the essays in Hen and Innes, eds, *The Uses of the Past*.

¹⁷ For the popularity of Orosius, see Mortensen, 'The Diffusion of Roman Histories', as well as Hillgarth, 'The *Historiae* of Orosius'. For Orosius' negative interpretation of Roman history see Chiesa, 'Storia romana e libri di storia romana'. Regarding Orosius as *historia* and its implications for our understanding of the concept, see Werner, 'Gott, Herrscher und Historiograph', pp. 7–16.

¹⁸ From the ninth century there survive an equal number (3) of manuscripts of Eutropius's and Paul the Deacon's Roman history. Eutropius: Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibl., MS Memb. 1. 101; Leiden, Bibl. der Rijksuniv., BPL. 141-IV; *Epitome Phillipsiana*: (St Petersburg, Nat. Libr. Russia, Class. Lat. Q.v.9, St Petersburg, Nat. Libr. Russia, Class. Lat. Q.v.IV.5, Berlin, Staatsbibl., Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Phillipps 1885 (a), Berlin, Staatsbibl., Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Phillipps 1896 (b)). Paul the Deacon: München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Clm 3516; Lucca, Bibl. Capitolare Feliniana, MS 27; BnF, MS Baluze 270 (fragments). No earlier manuscripts survive.

chose Eutropius's — not Paul the Deacon's — *Historia Romana*, though they made use of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*.¹⁹ Particularly telling is a ninth-century manuscript, now in Gotha, that combines Eutropius's text with that of his contemporary, Rufus Festus, who wrote an even shorter *Breviarium*, similarly focused on Rome's military exploits (but concentrating on the Empire's eastern half).²⁰ The combination of Eutropius and Festus reemphasizes the presentation of the Romans as an exceptional world *imperium*.²¹ In addition, this manuscript includes excerpts from Frontinus's *Strategemata*, a handbook of military stratagems, thus uniting the example of a militarily successful Roman Empire with a technical guide of how to achieve the Romans' feat.²²

When Paul the Deacon undertook to write a Roman history in the mid-/late eighth century, he added to Eutropius's text six new books that brought Roman history up to the age of Justinian, inserted about two hundred brief interpolations into it (disproportionally in the first book), and added a section preceding Eutropius's history that extended the beginning of Roman history to back before Rome's founding (see the Appendix).²³ According to the account that Paul the Deacon gives in his work's dedication, he sought to improve the text after he had recommended it to Adalperga, the daughter of

¹⁹ The *Epitome Phillipsiana* is a historical compendium of sorts, most probably from ninth-century Verona, which assembled a wide variety of excerpts from Jordanes, Eusebius, and Isidore, among others. See McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 52–57.

²⁰ Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibl., MS Memb. 1. 101: see Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 1, p. 297; Schipke, *Die Maugérard-Handschriften*, pp. 59–60.

²¹ The conflation between 'Rome' and 'Empire' that often occurred in medieval perceptions of the Roman past is brought out by Lhotsky, 'Das römische Altertum', III, pp. 9–25.

²² Frontinus explains the function of the *Strategemata* as a handbook for military commanders in the preface to Book 1 (included in the Gotha manuscript): '[...] deberi adhuc institutae arbitror operae, ut solertia ducum facta, quae a Graecis una στρατηγημάτων appellatio comprehensa sunt, expeditis amplectar commentariis. Ita enim consilii quoque et providentiae exemplis succincti duces erunt, unde illis excogitandi generandique similia facultas nutriatur' ('I still feel under obligation, in order to complete the task I have begun, to summarize in convenient sketches the adroit operations of generals, which the Greeks embrace under the one name *strategemata*. For in this way commanders will be furnished with specimens of wisdom and foresight, which will serve to foster their own power of conceiving and executing like deeds'). Frontinus, *Strategemata*, ed. by Bennett, 1. *praefatio*, pp. 2–3. The selections used in the Gotha manuscript are primarily the introductions to each of Frontinus's four books.

²³ Composed after the poem dedicated to Adalperga when she had only one child (at the time of the *Historia Romana*, she had three) and before the *Historia Langobardorum*: Cornford, 'The Idea of the Roman Past', p. 10. For a summary of Paul the Deacon's life and work, see Pohl, 'Paulus Diaconus', and Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, Chapter 5.

King Desiderius, who found Eutropius's text unsatisfactory — that is, too short and lacking in Christianity.²⁴ From his additions to Eutropius's text, it is clear that Paul the Deacon had access to a variety of other texts, including Orosius, as well as older Roman historians, such as Livy; yet Paul the Deacon preferred Eutropius, despite finding parts, including its beginning, insufficient.

Paul the Deacon's new beginning to Eutropius's Roman history, derived primarily from Jerome's *Chronicle*, is not extensive, but with it Paul the Deacon expands Roman history by more than four hundred years, narrating the mythical prehistory of the Romans, the reign of Janus, the arrival of Saturn, Aeneas's flight from Troy and the many kings who preceded Romulus.²⁵

An interpolation in the second chapter of Eutropius's text suggests the reason for this expansion. Eutropius explains that: 'When the city was founded, it received its name Rome, from his name [Romulus]'.²⁶ Paul the Deacon however expands this explanation, adding 'and it is from that that the name for the Romans is derived'.²⁷ The naming of the city Rome is unsatisfactory for Paul the Deacon; significant for him is how the Roman *people* acquired their name. Whereas most of Paul's interpolations are lifted directly from his sources, there does not seem to be any direct precedent for this explanation.²⁸

This interest in the Romans as a people — in contrast to Eutropius's focus on Rome as a city — is found throughout Paul the Deacon's beginning. Paul explains the origins of the Romans in terms similar to those used for contemporary peoples, such as the Lombards. In addition, using Jerome's *Chronicle*, Paul

²⁴ See section II below.

²⁵ Paul the Deacon's other sources include: Orosius, Jordanes's *Historia Romana*, Virgil's *Aeneid* or Servius's commentary on Virgil, Augustine's *City of God*, Isidore's *Etymologiae*, and perhaps Aurelius Victor's *Origo Gentis Romanae* and *De viris illustribus*. For a complete list, see Crivellucci's edition (Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci). In Crivellucci's edition this beginning encompasses eighty-six lines of new text. Paul the Deacon also adds approximately thirty-four lines of text within the first two chapters of Eutropius's first book, thus roughly doubling their former length. In no subsequent chapter of the *Historia Romana* does Paul the Deacon include such extensive interpolations.

²⁶ Eutropius, *Breviarium*, ed. by Santini, I. 2. 1, p. 3: 'Condita civitate, quam ex nomine suo Romam vocavit [...]'.
²⁷ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, I. 2, p. 11: 'Condita ergo civitate, quam ex nomine suo Romam vocavit, a qua et Romanis nomen inditum est [...]'. (italics are my own).

²⁸ Cf. the editor's comment: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, I. 2, p. 11, with n. 2. Authors such as Virgil, *Aeneid*, ed. by Conte, I. 277, p. 12, do, however, express similar ideas.

the Deacon's new beginning synchronizes the Romans with the history of other world peoples of the past. Thus the Romans are made more comparable to other peoples, both those of the past as well as the regionally restricted ethnic identities of the eighth century. Yet, as we shall see, in modifying Eutropius's text, Paul does not deny the exceptionality of the Romans. Unlike other peoples past and present, the Romans managed an extraordinary feat, coalescing to form a unified people, the basis for empire.

Paul's new beginning explains who the Romans were before they became Romans and how they were melded together to become one people. Thus, Paul reaches into a mythical — and pagan — past, a period that Roman historians, such as Livy, had traditionally treated as more legend than fact.²⁹ It is a time when humans mingle with the divine. Janus and Saturnus, the first kings of Rome, were gods worshipped by the Romans; King Picus is transformed into a bird by the renowned sorceress — *famosissima maga* — Circe. While he includes these mythical associations, Paul introduces them with qualification: 'First in Italy, as it pleases some — *ut quibusdam placet* — Janus ruled', or, as he tells of Picus's transformation into a bird, he writes, 'Picus, about whom it is reported *fabulously* [...]'.³⁰ Once Eutropius's text begins, Paul even adds additional scepticism. Where Eutropius had already expressed doubt that Romulus was the son of Mars, Paul additionally questions whether Rhea Silvia was Romulus's mother.³¹

Although Paul the Deacon treats these stories as unbelievable, he appears to regard them as necessary components of Roman history. A similar technique is found in Paul the Deacon's *Lombard History*, in which he characterizes as a *ridicula fabula* the story of how the *Langobardi* acquired their name, but proceeds nonetheless to narrate it.³²

²⁹ Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, ed. by Foster, 1. *praefatio* 6, pp. 4–5: 'Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est. Datur haec venia antiquitati ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat [...]' ('Such traditions as belong to the time before the city was founded, or rather was presently to be founded, and are rather adorned with poetic legends than based upon trustworthy historical proofs, I purpose neither to affirm nor to refute. It is the privilege of antiquity to add dignity to the beginnings of cities [...]').

³⁰ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, 1^a, p. 5: 'Primus in Italia, ut quibusdam placet, regnavit Ianus'. 1^a, p. 6: 'Picus [...] de quo fabulose dicitur [...]'.
³¹ Adding 'ut praemissum est' (Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, 1. 1, p. 10).

³² Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, 1. 8, p. 52: 'Refert hoc loco antiquitas ridiculam fabulam'. See Pohl, 'Tradition, Ethnogenese und literarische Gestaltung'.

There are further similarities between Paul the Deacon's narrative of the beginnings of the Romans in his *Historia Romana* and that of the Lombards in the *Historia Langobardorum*. Considering these two origin stories in contradistinction reveals similarities not only between Paul's narrative technique in both texts, but also in how he understands the two peoples, Romans and Lombards. Many of the same elements appear in both: earlier names, the naming of the people, their geographical location, migration, crossing of boundaries, and the development of customs and culture. These similarities may be more generally associated with Herwig Wolfram's criteria of an *origo gentis*, motifs frequently found in the explanation of the origins of people.³³ Roman ethnographers interpreted 'barbarian' *gentes*, both inside and outside the Empire, as tightly knit groups of people defined by genealogical descent — in supposed contrast to the 'civilized' *populus Romanus*, a category defined politically by citizenship.³⁴ The model that they developed for describing these peoples provides a framework for analysing the commonalities of the origins of the Lombards and the Romans.

Examining Paul the Deacon's beginning in terms of these criteria suggests the extent to which the categories once used by the 'universal' Roman Empire for describing barbarians who had not advanced to the political 'sophistication' of the Romans have been turned around and used to describe the Romans themselves. The Roman *populus*, defined by citizenship — attachment to the city of Rome in Eutropius's model — are interpreted by Paul as similar to a *gens*, that is, a people bound by genealogical ties. This inversion evidences the instability of 'Romanness' in the eighth century, which Paul the Deacon combats with his attempt to define more precisely who the Romans are.

Paul the Deacon's beginning fulfils the criteria of an *origo gentis* well. At its core, it is an explanation of the origins of the Romans. The Romans did not always

³³ Wolfram, 'Origo Gentis'; Plassmann, *Origo gentis*, especially pp. 191–242, regarding Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*; see further Pohl, ed., *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen*. Regarding earlier Greek and Roman interpretations of the origins of barbarians, see Bickerman, 'Origines gentium'.

³⁴ This is particularly the case for Tacitus's *Germania*. On the terminology and ideology of *populus* and *gens*, see Adams, *The 'Populus' of Augustine and Jerome*, esp. pp. 109–21; Zientara, 'Populus — Gens — Natio'; Geary, *The Myth of Nations*; Pohl, 'Gentilismus'. Geary in particular emphasizes that *gens/populus* should not be seen as clear distinguishing markers between biologically versus constitutionally organized peoples, but rather terms that viewed the world from a Roman perspective — the Romans as a people produced through a historical process and held together by law, in contrast to the 'static' peoples outside the Empire.

exist, nor did they suddenly appear. The Romans, like the Lombards, slowly gained their identity. In his *Historia Langobardorum*, Paul tells of the Lombards, that they were formerly known by another name, the Winnili, who had their origins among distant Germanic peoples;³⁵ their population slowly increased with freed slaves and adopted strangers, including even one of their kings, Lamissio, during their migration south.³⁶ Similarly, for the Romans, Paul the Deacon tells of a time *ante urbem conditam*, when kings ruled who were not yet Romans, but from whom the Romans originated, and he presents the Romans as constituted by an astonishing abundance of peoples melded together by intermarriage, including the Latins, Etruscans, Phrygians, Arcadians, and Sabines.

Paul the Deacon shows considerable interest in geographically locating the prehistory of both the Lombards and the Romans. In the *Historia Langobardorum*, Paul begins by describing the northern regions and the abundance of peoples this cold climate produced, locating the origins of the Lombards (then still the Winnili) in the far northern *Scadinavia*.³⁷ In the *Historia Romana*, Paul the Deacon similarly orients the reader from the first line of the text: 'Primus in Italia'. Describing the reign of Saturn, the second of the early kings, he writes that Saturn ruled in the city of Saturnia, the ruins of which can still be seen 'today' not far from Rome itself.³⁸ Similarly Paul the Deacon pinpoints the foundations of other early kings, thus constructing an archaeology of the pre-Roman past.³⁹

The story of many *gentes*, such as the Lombards, is one of migration. Paul the Deacon records the migration of the Winnili (who became the Lombards)

³⁵ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, I. 1, p. 48: '[...] Winnilorum, hoc est Langobardorum, gens, quae postea in Italia feliciter regnavit, a Germanorum populis originem ducens [...]']

³⁶ A slave, in return for fighting against the Assipitti in single combat, is freed: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, I. 12, pp. 53–54; slaves are freed to increase the number of warriors: I. 13, p. 60; I. 15, pp. 54–55: Lamissio is the son of a prostitute, abandoned and discovered by King Agelmund who becomes king of the Lombards.

³⁷ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, I. 1, pp. 52–53. The *Historia Langobardorum* also contains a description of the Italian provinces, similarly attesting to Paul's interest in the later geographical location of the Lombards: II. 14–24, pp. 81–86.

³⁸ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, I^a, p. 5: 'Deinde Saturnus, Iovem filium e Grecia fugiens, in civitate, quae ex eius nomine Saturnia dicta est, cuius ruinae actenus cernuntur in finibus Tusciae haut procul ab Urbe'.

³⁹ The later King Aremus Silvius positions a 'praesidium' among the Alban mountains, 'ubi nunc Roma est' (Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, I^a, p. 9); Aventinus Silvius is buried 'in eo monte, qui nunc pars Urbis est' (I^a, p. 9).

south from the *insula Scadinavia*, locating their progress along the way.⁴⁰ Particularly significant is a river-crossing made possible by the mythical Lombard King Lamissio's victory over the Amazons.⁴¹ Paul's Roman prehistory too includes migrations, although in the Roman case this process is better described as waves of immigration, as peoples congregated in Italy and became integrated, forming a new people. Both Saturn and later Aeneas migrate across the Mediterranean to become kings of Italy.

How a people acquires its name is significant for Paul the Deacon. As we have seen, Paul added to Eutropius's explanation of the derivation of the name of Rome from Romulus in order to explain that it was from this that the Romans were named. Of Lombards he tells at length of the tale whereby the god Godan bestows the name of Lombards (*Langobardi*) and victory on the women dressed up with long beards who appear before him at dawn, though Paul proceeds to scorn the tale as a ridiculous fable.⁴²

Even with the foundation of Rome — and the beginning of Eutropius's text — Roman identity is not yet stabilized. In the second chapter of Eutropius's text, Eutropius describes briefly, in two sentences, how the Romans had invited neighbouring peoples (*nationes*) to games in Rome, seized their wives and conquered their neighbours. Paul expands this story considerably: 'then the Romans established friendship with the Sabines so that the king of the Sabines, Tatius, ruled equally with Romulus, and the Sabines and the Romans were caused to be one people, *unus populus*'.⁴³ The rape of the Sabine women forms the basis for the expansion of Roman identity. This specific interest in *unus populus* does not appear to come from any of Paul's sources. Although Jerome, Jordanes, and

⁴⁰ From the *insula Scadinavia* (Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, I. 1, p. 48) they depart to *Scoringa* (I. 7, p. 52). Then they continue to wander through *Mauringa*, *Golanda* (I. 11–13, pp. 53–54), cross a river (I. 15, p. 55) and come to *Rugiland* (I. 19, p. 57).

⁴¹ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, I. 15, p. 55. This passage has often been remarked upon as a crucial point in Lombard history. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, p. 383, calls it 'the symbolic dividing line between, one might say, their mythical and their heroic periods'. Though Paul tells the story, he follows it quickly with his own scepticism: 'Constat sane, quia huius assertionis series minus veritate subnixa est. Omnibus etenim quibus veteres historiae notae sunt, patet, gentem Amazonum longe antea, quam haec fieri potuerint, esse deletam'.

⁴² Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, I. 8–9, pp. 52–53.

⁴³ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, I. 2, p. 12: 'Pepigere tamen Romani cum Sabinis, quorum filias rapuerant, amicitias, adeo ut Sabinorum rex Tatius pariter regnaret cum Romulo Sabinique et Romani unus populus efficerentur'.

Aurelius Victor all tell of the friendship of the Sabines and Romans, none use this expression: 'Sabinique et Romani unus populus efficerentur'.⁴⁴ The Sabines do not diminish the 'Romaness' of the 'original' inhabitants. On the contrary, not only are the Romans and Sabines together *unus populus*, but the Romans acquire many of their 'Roman' customs from the Sabines. Paul explains, again supplementing Eutropius, that the Romans proceeded to exchange names and 'it held from that custom that no Roman is without a praenomen'.⁴⁵

The Romans even acquire another name for themselves, *Quirites*, from their association with the Sabines. *Quirites*, Paul explains, now using Jerome's chronicle, is derived from the Sabine word for a particular type of spear which Romulus customarily carried and from this spear — or from the Sabine name for Romulus, Quirinus (similarly derived from the name for the spear) — the Romans are called *Quirites*. Unlike for Eutropius, the foundation of the city itself is not the defining moment of Roman history: the city has been established, but the Romans as a people are still developing their identity.

Throughout these migrations, before and after the founding of Rome, the Romans are acquiring their customs and civilization. It is from Saturn that they learn agriculture, the minting of coins, and acquire civilization (*humanis moribus*) — having before been *semiferi*. It is the mother of Faunus, Carmentis Nicostrata, who invented the Latin letters/language (*litteras*), while King Latinus improved/reformed the Latin language (*Latinam linguam correxit*).⁴⁶ Thus Paul's beginning of the *Historia Romana* also explains the development of the Romans as a people in terms of the gradual acquisition of their culture.

Paul the Deacon does not invent any of these components of Roman pre-history; all have a precedent, many in the most renowned of Roman myths, Virgil's *Aeneid*. But by selecting, reorganizing and supplementing Eutropius's text with them, Paul the Deacon has subtly reconfigured the identity of the

⁴⁴ Jerome, *Chronicon*, ed. by Helm, aa. 729–35 a. Chr., p. 90a; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, ed. by Pichlmayr, II, 10, p. 26; Jordanes, *Romana*, ed. by Mommsen, c. 92, p. 11.

⁴⁵ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, I, 2, p. 12: 'et ex illo consuetudo tenuit, ut nemo Romanus sit absque praenomine'. Paul's source here is unclear. Crivellucci (nn. 10–13), suggests that Paul may have had Valerius Maximus's text on which Iulius Parrus's epitome *De Praenominibus* was based, since Iulius Parrus suggests but does not explain how the Romans acquired a *praenomen*.

⁴⁶ Paul has no need to explain how the Romans acquired other laws and customs as Eutropius already explained that Numa Pompilius established *leges Romanis moresque*, as well as organizing the year into twelve months and founding temples and sacred spaces (*sacra ac templa*) throughout the city: Eutropius, *Breviarium*, ed. by Santini, I, 3, 2, p. 3.

Romans, or to be more precise, the pre-Roman Romans. He has made these people understandable in comparable terms to those used in reference to other contemporary 'barbarian' peoples, regionally restricted *gentes* around the Mediterranean. To be sure, in name the Romans never become a *gens*; in both the *Historia Romana* and *Historia Langobardorum*, Paul the Deacon continues to use *populus* to describe the Romans and *gens* to describe the Lombards, Vandals, or other non-Roman peoples, but the Romans, at least in their origins, have become more comparable to other *gentes*.⁴⁷

By the end of the *Historia Romana* and in the *Historia Langobardorum*, the similarity between the Romans (or as we know them, the Byzantines) and other peoples, such as the Lombards again becomes more pronounced. I will discuss this in more depth in Sections 2 and 3, but one example indicates the phenomenon. In Paul the Deacon's sixteenth and last book, describing Justinian's treaty with the Lombards in 548, he writes: 'At this time the *gens Langobardorum* in Pannonia were living in friendship with the *populus Romanus*'.⁴⁸ The Romans are still a *populus* and the Lombards a *gens*, but these categories, *populus* versus *gens*, and the peoples, Lombards v. Romans, have become comparable.

As well as telling of the prehistory of the Romans, Paul the Deacon's new beginning also expanded the scope of his history in another way. Using Jerome's *Chronicle*, Paul the Deacon synchronized Roman history with biblical history and contextualized his Roman history within world history. This framework embeds the Romans, as one of many peoples, in a Christian world.

Paul the Deacon situates the reign of Latinus among an impressive selection of eleven comparative chronological events:

Troy was captured by the Greeks, Labdon was in the third year of his rule among the Hebrews, Tautanes ruled among the Assyrians, Thous among the Egyptians, it was 4019 years from the beginning of the world, 777 years since the flood, 835 years since the birth of Abraham and the forty-third year of the reign of Ninus among the Assyrians, 310 years from the birth of Moses, 303 years before the founding of the city of Rome, [and] 306 years before the first Olympiad.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Most often, however, Paul the Deacon prefers to refer to the Romans simply as *Romani*: Cornford, 'The Idea of the Roman Past', p. 195.

⁴⁸ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xvi. 20, p. 236: 'Hac etiam aetate gens Langobardorum amica tunc populi Romani apud Pannonias degebat, quibus in regni gubernaculo Audoin praeerat'. Paul the Deacon is referring to Justinian's *foedus* with the Lombards in 548. This treaty is one of many fifth-/sixth-century treaties by which the Lombards were integrated into Italy, although the Byzantine Empire formally continued to consider the territory part of its empire until Constantine IV. See Pohl, 'The Empire and the Lombards'.

⁴⁹ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, i, pp. 6-7: 'Regnante tamen

In part, this passage, with its mention of the capture of Troy by the Greeks, transitions nicely to the subsequent section which narrates how Aeneas came to Italy after the fall of Troy. But such a narrative technique does not suffice to explain the eleven comparative chronological events from world history, including those from the past, such as the beginning of the world, and those in the future, such as the founding of Rome, among which Paul situates the reign of Latinus. Rather than simply reading Jerome's *Chronicle* for a specific year, Paul the Deacon has looked back and also forward so that he can include various peoples from Jerome's chronicle. He has chosen primarily, but not exclusively, biblical events. Thus he positions the Romans within a universal history, among the various other peoples of the world that existed before and contemporaneously with the Romans.

Describing the foundation of Rome, which Eutropius had triple-dated, Paul the Deacon adds an alternate Orosian calculation for the years since the fall of Troy ('419 years after the fall of Troy, or, as it pleases Orosius, 404 years'),⁵⁰ as well as synchronizing the date with Old Testament history ('six years before the ten tribes of Israel were transferred by Sennacherib, the King of the Chaldeans, into the mountains of the Medes').⁵¹ By using Orosius's dates, Paul introduces uncertainty into the date of Rome's foundation. Whereas in Eutropius's text this was the crucial moment when Rome's history began, for Paul it is an event in the distant past difficult to situate precisely among the other significant events of world history.

As with the founding of Rome, so too during the reigns of the first kings of Rome, Paul supplements Eutropius with concurrent world history, usually, but not exclusively, biblical history. During the reign of Numa Pompilius, Paul

Latino, qui latinam linguam correxuit et Latinos de suo nomine appellavit, Troia a Grecis capta est, cum apud Hebreos Labdon tertium sui principatus annum ageret et apud Assyrios Tautanes, apud Aegyptios Thous regnaret, expeletis a mundi principio annis quattuor milibus decem et novem, a diluvio annis mille .DCCLXXVII., a nativitate Abraham et quadregesimo tertio anno Nini regis Assyriorum annis .DCCCXXV., a nativitate Moysi annis .CCCCX. ante Urbem autem conditam annis .CCCCIII., ante primam quoque olympiadem annis .CCCVI.'

⁵⁰ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, I. 1, p. 10: 'anno .CCCCXIX. post Troiae excidium, sive ut placet Orosio, .CCCCIII.'. Neither 419 years, nor 404 years corresponds to Eutropius's text which gives 394 years. Nor does it correspond to Jerome who records the fall of Troy in 835 and the foundation of Rome in 1261 or 1263, which would give 428 or 426 years from the foundation of Rome. Other manuscripts variously have 414 for the former or later date, but this does not resolve the dating either.

⁵¹ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, I. 1, p. 10: 'ante sex annos, quam decem tribus Israel a Sennacherib, rege Chaldeorum, transferrentur in montes Medorum'.

records that Hezekiah was ruling among the Hebrews; during that of Tullus Hostilius he notes that, 'in these times the city of Byzantium was founded which afterward was called Constantinople'.⁵²

Thus, Paul's new beginning reduces the exceptionality of the people who would later become the Romans. They are portrayed as one strand among the many peoples who constitute world history. What distinguishes the Romans from other peoples — past and present — is the feat that they accomplished; the formation of a unified people, the basis for empire. Although as the Lombards migrate south they come into contact with other peoples, such as the Suebi, these different groups never coalesce into one entity.⁵³ And though the Lombards arrive in Italy as a group of mixed peoples, Paul the Deacon claims that the names of the villages in Italy still preserve their diverse identities.⁵⁴ The Saxons, who are said to have come to Italy with the Lombards, even decide to return to Gaul, since the Lombards will not let them live under their own rule.⁵⁵

The Romans, however, do succeed. As Paul the Deacon describes, using Jordanes's *Roman History*:

The Latin and the Etruscan herdsmen, and even from across the sea the Phrygians under Aeneas and the Arcadians under the leadership of Evander, all flowed in. Thus congregated a body, as if out of different elements, and made the Roman people.⁵⁶

Here we have the recipe for Roman identity; the *populus Romanus* are not homogeneous in origin, but are composed out of various pre-existing peoples

⁵² Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, I. 4, p. 14: 'His temporibus Bizantium civitas est condita, quae postea Constantinopolis est appellata'.

⁵³ One such integration is when King Wacho conquers the Suebi (Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, I. 21, pp. 59–60). Later, however, the *Historia Langobardorum* describes a Suebian man, Droctulf, who though he grew up with the Lombards, is said to have remembered his Suebian identity and accordingly deserts to the Romans (III. 18, pp. 101–02).

⁵⁴ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, II. 26, p. 87: 'Certum est autem, tunc Alboin multos secum ex diversis, quas vel alii reges vel ipse ceperat, gentibus ad Italiam adduxisse. Unde usque hodie eorum in quibus habitant vicos Gepidos, Vulgares, Sarmatas, Pannonios, Suavos, Noricos, sive aliis huiusmodi nominibus appellamus'.

⁵⁵ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, III. 5–6, pp. 94–95.

⁵⁶ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, I. 2, p. 11: 'Latini denique Tuscique pastores, etiam transmarini Friges, qui sub Aenea, Arcades, qui sub Evandro duce, influxerant. Ita ex variis quasi elementis congregavit corpus unum populum Romanum efficit' (= Jordanes, *Romana*, ed. by Mommsen, c. 90, p. 10).

that have been mixed together. Yet their varied origins do not undermine their unity; the Romans became *unus populus*, a body of distinct elements integrally connected. Whereas Eutropius had taken Roman unity for granted, Paul did not; on the contrary, his new beginning explains this process.

It is worth returning to the beginning of the *Historia Romana* once more to consider how Paul's recipe for Roman unity works. Most of the legends Paul relates can also be found in the first book of Livy's Roman history, and yet a brief comparison between these texts brings out some significant differences in their relative conceptions regarding the formation of the Roman people. The 'ingredients' suggested by Livy's history are numerous, including the migration of the Trojans, the opening of an asylum to collect inhabitants for the early city, and the rape and marriage of the Sabine women.⁵⁷ But without question the crucial components for unifying the city are in Livy's text the physical city of Rome, religion, custom and, perhaps most importantly, law. After Romulus founded the city and as his first act fortified the Palatine, Livy relates that 'when Romulus had duly attended to the worship of the gods, he called the people together and gave them the rules of law, since nothing else but law could unite them into a single body'.⁵⁸ Indeed, Rome's rise to greatness could be seen in the state's flexibility in giving citizenship to meritorious foreigners.⁵⁹ Paul's model of unification, in contrast, has a much stronger emphasis on the organic, biological formation of a people. The early kings and the migrations of people indicate the Romans as a people interrelated by blood. Distinctly missing is the legalistic emphasis of Livy; religion, customs, and the physical city are also of minimal importance. In the early chapters of Eutropius's history, Paul adds the story of the opening of the asylum and the tale of the rape of Sabine women that paves the way for the subsequent incorporation of the whole Sabine peo-

⁵⁷ Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, ed. by Foster, I. 1, pp. 8–11; I. 8, pp. 30–33; I. 9, pp. 32–39.

⁵⁸ Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, ed. by Foster, I. 8. 1, p. 30: 'Rebus divinis rite perpetratis vocataque ad concilium multitudo quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, iura dedit' (trans. by Foster, p. 32). The importance of the physical city of Rome is particularly emphasized by Camillus's plea, after the sack of the city, not to abandon Rome for Veii (end of Book v).

⁵⁹ For example, as the plebeians advocate for the right of intermarriage with the patricians, Livy gives a long speech to a Canuleius, a tribune of the plebs, who begins by emphasizing that plebs and patricians alike dwell in the same city, then turns to Roman history to demonstrate how Rome's power grew by allowing meritorious foreigners into the city and giving them citizenship: 'Ergo dum nullum fastiditur genus in quo eniteret virtus, crevit imperium Romanum' (Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, ed. by Foster, IV. 3, p. 266). This is, however, a plebeian and not Livy speaking; there are patrician speeches with different viewpoints.

ple. Thus Paul imagines the formation of a unified Roman people as the processual mixing and melding together of peoples, not the institutionalization emphasized by Livy.

Whatever the ingredients needed to form a people, there was no doubt that for the Romans the mixture had been just right. It is no longer prominently placed at the forefront of the history, but Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana* still includes Eutropius's beginning — that human history can remember nothing greater in its growth, in the whole world, than the Roman Empire: the Roman Empire remains unique. Situated after the description of Rome's pre-history, Eutropius's explanation of the Romans has taken on a different nuance of meaning. No longer does the Roman Empire appear out of nowhere with Romulus; rather the migration of peoples was a slow, continuous process forming *unus populus*. Like any other people, the Romans are a constructed entity, a mixture of various peoples. Unlike others, the Romans managed to coalesce to form one people; otherwise there is nothing fundamentally different between them and any other, such as the Lombards.

Paul the Deacon's Romans are a model of empire achieved through the unity of peoples. It is a recipe for how to turn ethnic identity into a politically and militarily successful unity, how to become *unus populus* and how to become a world *imperium*, a feat to which none of the peoples in Paul the Deacon's contemporary world could lay claim.⁶⁰ But why, according to Paul the Deacon, did the Romans succeed? To understand this, we must turn to Paul the Deacon's Christianization of the Roman Empire.

2. Paul the Deacon's Christianization of Eutropius's Roman Empire

The Romans, as presented in Eutropius's *Breviarium* and in the modifications of Paul the Deacon, are an unparalleled success story. What enabled the Romans to establish a unified people and expand into an astounding Empire, an endeavour in which other peoples had and would continue to fail? To understand this phenomenon and its consequences, I turn in this part to how Paul the Deacon integrated Christianity into the Roman Empire he had inherited from Eutropius's text.⁶¹ As I will show, although for Paul the Deacon Christianity

⁶⁰ Here it should be emphasized that Paul the Deacon was certainly writing the *Historia Romana* before Charlemagne's coronation in 800 and most probably also before the Carolingian conquest of Italy in 774: Pohl, 'Paulus Diaconus', p. 529.

⁶¹ Sestan, 'Qualche aspetto della personalità', remains the most thorough study of Paul's

is the key to the expansion of the Roman Empire, Paul layered Christianity subtly onto the Roman Empire. In particular, heresy begins to unravel the bond between the two, threatening the success of the Roman Empire (and perhaps even its very existence). This possibility becomes increasingly plausible towards the end of the *Historia Romana*, as the Roman Empire shrinks and a power vacuum develops in the West, while Christianity becomes increasingly detached from the Roman Empire.

In his continuation of Eutropius's Roman history, Paul the Deacon retained Eutropius's focus on empire as the basis for his understanding of Roman history. Although Paul the Deacon concentrates on events in the western half of the Empire, like Eutropius, he structures his text around Roman emperors. When there are two emperors, Paul the Deacon reports on both. After the deposition of Romulus Augustulus (476) he reverts to the emperor in the East.

Although upholding Eutropius's structure, what Paul the Deacon considered lacking in the text, as he relates in the work's dedication, was Christianity. Having given Adelperga the text of Eutropius to read, he tells us that she complained to him of its brevity and its lack of any mention of the history of 'our religion', recommending that he expand the text and add 'something from the text of the sacred scriptures, by which the times of his [Eutropius's] narration would be manifest more clearly'.⁶² Paul the Deacon tells us that he complied and added congruences from divine law (*ex divina lege*) and thus 'I rendered it

interpolations, particularly with respect to their Christian content. The shadows of Eusebius, Jerome, and Augustine and their repositioning of Rome with respect to Christianity loom large throughout this section, although I will not pursue the question of Paul's links with them here. The bibliography regarding the relationship of Romanness and Christianity is vast. Some useful introductions include Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*; Inglebert, *Les Romains chrétiens*; Schott, *Christianity, Empire, and the Making of Religion*.

⁶² Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, *Epistula dedicatoria*, pp. 3–4: 'Cum ad imitationem excellentissimi comparis, qui nostra aetate solus paene principum sapientiae palmarum tenet, ipsa quoque subtili ingenio et sagacissimo studio prudentium arcana rimeris, ita ut philosophorum aurata eloquia poetarumque gemmea tibi dicta in promptu sint, historiis etiam seu commentis tam divinis inhaereas quam mundanis, ipse, qui elegantiae tuae semper fautor extiti, legendam tibi Eutropii historiam tripudians optuli. Quam cum avido, ut tibi moris est, animo perlustrasses, hoc tibi in eius textu praeter immodicam etiam brevitatem displicuit, quia utpote vir gentilis in nullo divinae historiae cultusque nostri fecerit mentionem; placuit itaque tuae excellentiae ut eandem historiam paulo latius congruis in locis extenderem eique aliquid ex sacrae textu Scripturae, quo eius narrationis tempora evidentius clarescerent aptarem. At ego, qui semper tuis venerandis imperiis parere desidero, utinam tam efficaciter imperata facturum quam libenter arripui'.

[Eutropius's history] harmonious with the most sacred history'.⁶³ As we have seen in Section 1, this harmonization meant inserting temporal correspondences between Roman and biblical events. However, Paul's Christianization of Eutropius's text was not limited to meshing Roman and Christian time. His aim was more ambitious.

In the seventh book of Eutropius's Roman history, in the midst of lavish praises of Augustus's reign, Paul the Deacon undertook a fundamental Christianization of Eutropius's text:

During these days, across the Tiber, out of a lodging inn, a spring of oil overflowed from the earth and for the whole day it flowed with an enormous stream signifying out the people for the favour of Christ. Then indeed there appeared to the sight a circular rainbow in the sky around the sun. Therefore in the forty-second year of the most firm and true peace brought about by Caesar, the lord Christ was born in Bethlehem, whose arrival that same peace served.⁶⁴

'Christianization' for Paul the Deacon did not mean merely indicating what Christian events had occurred during Roman history. Instead, by compressing these passages of Orosius and Jerome, Paul the Deacon incorporates their views into Eutropius's distinctly secular text: the city of Rome, the Roman Empire, and Christianity are inextricably stitched together.⁶⁵ The Empire created through the Augustan peace was there to spread Christianity; Christ in turn manifested his birth through miracles in the city of Rome. Thus the Roman Empire and Christ are shown to be part of the same fabric of history preordained by God.

⁶³ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, *Epistula dedicatoria*, p. 4: 'Ac primo paulo superius ab eiusdem textu historiae narrationem capiens eamque pro loci merito extendens, quaedam etiam temporibus eius congruentia ex divina lege interserens, eandem sacratissimae historiae consonam reddidi.'

⁶⁴ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, vii. 8, pp. 100–01: 'His diebus trans Tiberim de taberna meritoria fons olei e terra exundavit ac per totum diem largissimo rivo fluxit significans ex gentibus gratiam Christi. Tunc etiam circulus ad speciem caelestis arcus circa solem apparuit. Igitur cum quadragesimo secundo anno firmissimam verissimamque pacem Caesar composuisset, Christus dominus in Bethleem natus est, cuius adventui pax ista famulata est'; translation based on Cornford, 'The Idea of the Roman Past', p. 120. Cf. Orosius, *Historiae adversum paganos*, ed. by Zangemeister, vi. 18. 34, p. 223; vi. 20. 5, p. 226; vi. 22. 5, p. 231; Jerome, *Chronicon*, ed. by Helm, a. 41 a. Chr., p. 158; a. 1 a. Chr., p. 169.

⁶⁵ The Christian idea of Roman universalism, 'the firm belief that somehow the *oikoumene* and the *basileia* shared common space' (Olster, 'From Periphery to Center', p. 94), had a long tradition and continued in Byzantium. See Markus, *Saeculum*, pp. 47–53; Inglebert, *Les Romains chrétiens*, pp. 153–295 (Eusebius and Jerome), pp. 507–99 (Orosius).

From Paul's perspective the Romans succeeded in building an empire because they were meant to. Roman exceptionality was part of God's plan.

Although Paul adds the dimension of Christianity to the Roman Empire, it is astonishing how few other modifications Paul made to the subsequent chapters of Eutropius's text. There is little to describe the process through which the Roman Empire became Christian. We hear of Christ's death during the reign of Tiberius, the martyrdom of Peter and Paul under Nero, and the persecutions under Decius.⁶⁶ Astonishingly, using Eutropius verbatim, Paul the Deacon makes no mention of Constantine's conversion, and even retains Eutropius's comment that '[Julian] persecuted the Christian religion too much, but nevertheless in such a manner that he abstained from bloodshed'.⁶⁷

We find the same, rather unstable and at times even ambiguous Christianization of the Roman Empire in Paul's six-book continuation of Eutropius. On the one hand, it becomes clear that, from Paul's perspective, Christianity has become integral in defining the Romans; it is the 'glue' that keeps their Empire together. And yet, as quickly becomes evident in the *Historia Romana*, Paul does not regard the Roman Empire and the Christian *oikoumene* as so straightforwardly identical.

When Paul the Deacon's continuation of Eutropius's Roman history opens with the reign of Valentinian in 364, Paul seemingly takes for granted that a unique bond between Christianity and the Roman Empire has been established.⁶⁸ We hear that Valentinian maintained his undiminished Christian faith, while Gratian returns Italy, plagued by the Arian heresy, to the true faith.⁶⁹ Often the Roman people and the Christian people are presented as

⁶⁶ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, VII. 11, p. 106; VII. 15, p. 108; IX. 4, pp. 126–27.

⁶⁷ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, x. 16, p. 147 = Eutropius, *Breviarium*, ed. by Santini, x. 16.3, p. 70: 'nimius religionis Christianae insectator, perinde tamen, ut cruore abstinere' (English translation from Eutropius, *Breviarium*, trans. by Bird, p. 69). Eutropius's description of Constantine: *Historia Romana*, x. 5–8, pp. 142–44 = *Breviarium*, x. 5–8, pp. 66–67.

⁶⁸ Cornford, 'The Idea of the Roman Past', p. 222, writes that the subject of the *Historia Romana* is the 'Catholic *oikoumene*, of which Italy and Africa essentially form the Western half, and in which Italy is treated as an entity on a par with the eastern Empire itself'. I am much indebted to Cornford's work on Paul the Deacon's continuation of the *Historia Romana* in this section, though I would suggest a more complex view of the relationship between the Roman Empire and the Christian *oikoumene*.

⁶⁹ Valentinian: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, XI. 1, p. 151: 'Qui [Valentinianus] cum sub Iuliano Augusto christianitatis integram fidem gereret, cum, ut dictum

one and the same, while enemies of the Romans are enemies of the Christian faith. The most straightforward example of this equation whereby Empire and Christianity are opposed to barbarism, heresy, and paganism is Africa. The Vandals are most often portrayed as cruel heretical barbarians persecuting true Christians and working to ruin the Empire.⁷⁰ Elsewhere we find usurpers frequently described as perfidious, while the terror of the Roman world, the Scythians, who set into motion the inundation of Italy by Radagaisus and his Goths, are described as barbarians who have vowed to furnish their gods with all the blood of the Roman *genus*.⁷¹

The 'Christianization' of the Roman Empire is particularly evident in Paul's presentation of emperors. Along with a narrative account of the significant events of an emperor's reign, as in Eutropius's text, Paul the Deacon often presents short biographical sketches of the emperors that include an account of their character, death, and the span of their reign. But now the most significant aspect of a Roman emperor is his Christian faith.

Good emperors are idealized as the servants of Christ on earth, conquering under the sign of the cross. An example of a Roman emperor *par excellence*, Theodosius, can demonstrate the extent to which the well-being of the Empire is shown to depend on the Christian piety of the emperor. Theodosius trusts

est, scutariorum tribunus esset, iussus ab imperatore sacrilego aut immolare idolis aut militia excedere, sponte discessit; nec mora Iuliano interfecto Iovianoque mortuo, qui pro nomine Christi amiserat tribunatum, in locum persecutoris sui accepit imperium'. Gratian: xi. 13, pp. 157–58.

⁷⁰ In particular, Geiseric and his capture of Carthage are presented in dramatically negative terms as working to destroy both the Roman province as well as the Christian faith: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xiii. 14, pp. 186–87. Negative portrayals of Vandals also include: xiii. 6, p. 179; xiii. 10–11, pp. 18284; xiii. 14–15, pp. 186–87; xiv. 1, p. 190; xiv. 16–18, pp. 200–02; xv. 19, p. 223; and xvi. 3–4 and 7, pp. 226–28. Cf. Cornford, 'The Idea of the Roman Past', pp. 202–04, 223.

⁷¹ *Perfidia* used to describe heretics and usurpers: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xi. 11, p. 156, xi. 13, pp. 157–58; xii. 11, p. 169; xv. 19, p. 223; xvi. 3, p. 226. The description of Rufinus neatly ties together barbarism, heresy, and usurpation (xii. 11, p. 169: 'Interea Rufinus, cui a Theodosio Orientalis aulae cura commissa est, malo perfidiae depravatus, cum barbarorum solaciis regnum temptaret invadere, morte iustissima poenas luit'), as do the descriptions of the usurper Maximus (xi. 16, p. 160), and Ricimer (xv. 3, p. 207). Scythians: xii. 12, pp. 169–70: 'Inter haec omnium antiquorum praesentiumque hostium longe inmanissimus Radagaisus rex Gothorum totam repentino inundavit Italiam impetu. Nam fuisse in eius populo plus quam ducenta milia Gothorum ferunt. Hic supra hanc incredibilem multitudinem indomitamque virtutem barbarus erat et Scythia qui omnem Romani generis sanguinem diis suis propinare devoverat'.

to the mercy of God to repair an empire afflicted by the wrath of God and places all his trust in the work of Christ. Seeing the virtue and benevolence of Theodosius, all the Gothic peoples give themselves to the Roman Empire. Even the Parthians and the barbarian nations who had up to then been enemies of the Roman name send embassies requesting peace.⁷² In battle against the usurpers Eugenius and Arbogastes, although overwhelmed in numbers, Theodosius joins battle under the sign of the cross and a holy wind turns away the enemy and gives him the victory.⁷³

Yet most emperors are not ideal Christians like Theodosius, and the Roman Empire is shown to suffer the consequences. In the process, Paul the Deacon makes clear that the Roman Empire is not the bulwark protecting Christianity which, from Paul's perspective, it ideally should be. Throughout Paul's continuation there is an emphasis on the effects of Christian impiety and heresy on the Empire's well-being. Emperor after emperor strays from the path of true Christianity and usually suffers the consequences — military defeats or gruesome deaths. Most dramatic is the case of Valens, who after the disastrous defeat of the Battle of Adrianople burns to death ignobly in a hut. Paul, following his source, Orosius, characterizes these calamities as just punishment for Valens, since he had sent Arian bishops to the Goths, thus corrupting them with the Arian heresy.⁷⁴

Throughout Paul's six-book continuation heresy never lurks far away, continually threatening the relationship between God and the Roman Empire. Paul shows that through their heretical thinking and impiety, the emperors cause the Roman Empire to fragment and lose its distinctiveness. The Romans are again becoming, as they had appeared in Paul's account of their origins, more similar to other *gentes*. As the Roman Empire shrinks, barbarian 'imperial' figures take power, often described in more depth than the Roman emperors themselves. Christian piety remains crucial for success, but a particular bond between the dwindling Roman Empire and Christianity is ever more elusive.

Particularly from Book XIII onwards, the borders of the Roman Empire contract dramatically. Geiseric and his Vandals capture Carthage, a scene of devastating destruction.⁷⁵ With the Anglo-Saxon invasion, the whole island

⁷² Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, XI, 15, pp. 158–59.

⁷³ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, XII, 4, p. 164.

⁷⁴ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, XI, 11, p. 156: 'Iusto itaque Dei iudicio ab illis igne crematus est, quos ipse perfidiae succenderat igni'.

⁷⁵ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, XIII, 14, pp. 186–87.

of Britain, from east to west, is irrevocably lost to the Romans.⁷⁶ Non-Roman 'imperial' figures rivalling the Roman emperors enter the picture — most prominently Attila. As the powerful king of the Huns and many other conquered peoples, Attila is described as having set his mind on demolishing the Empire in the West.⁷⁷ The battle of the Catalaunian Plains, where Attila and his Huns fight the Romans commanded by Aëtius to a standstill, is an encounter between near equals: 'There assembled from here and there the strongest peoples, the battle lines were set, and there was a battle so harsh and pertinacious such as scarcely is narrated by any history.'⁷⁸

The figures of both Attila and Aëtius are profiled in considerably more depth than their contemporary emperors Marcian and Valentinian. When Attila dies (after deciding not to advance to Rome, swayed by the intercessions of Pope Leo), his death becomes known to the emperor in Constantinople through a dream of a fractured bow; of Aëtius's death, quoting Bede, Paul writes that, 'thus Aëtius, a most warlike man and formerly the terror of the most powerful King Attila, lay dead, with which equally the Empire of the West and the safety of the Republic collapsed and thus far it has not had the power to rise up again'.⁷⁹ No longer are the Roman emperors so distinctively unique. Hand in hand, one can trace the rise of military commanders similar to the emperor (whether fighting for or against the Romans) and, correspondingly, the

⁷⁶ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, XIII. 17, pp. 187–88. Paul the Deacon's rather isolated references to Britain have been variously interpreted. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, p. 264, writes, 'The apparent function of each entry is, as type to antitype, to offer a capsule summary of the next book. The British event anticipates in miniature what would take place on a large scale in the heartland of the Empire'. Cornford, 'The Idea of the Roman Past', pp. 154–55, suggests that Paul included all the information on Britain that was available to him, pointing out that Paul includes all but one of the entries about Britain found in Bede's *Chronicle*.

⁷⁷ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, XIV. 2, p. 191: 'fultus itaque fortissimarum gentium, quas sibi subiugarat, praesidio ad Occidentale demoliendum animum intendit imperium'.

⁷⁸ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, XIV. 6, pp. 193–94: 'Conveniunt hinc et inde fortissimae nationes, conseruntur acies, fit bellum acre nimis et pertinax, quale vix ulla narratur historia'.

⁷⁹ Dream of a fractured bow announcing Attila's death: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, XIV. 13, p. 198. Aëtius's death: XIV. 15, pp. 199–200: 'Ita vir bellicosissimus Aetius et quondam Attilae regis potentissimi terror occubuit, cum quo pariter et Occidentis imperium salusque reipublicae corruit nec ultra actenus valuit relevari' (translation by Cornford, 'The Idea of the Roman Past', p. 206).

decreasing importance of the Roman emperor, who now rules his patch of the Mediterranean like any other ruler.

As various provinces fall away from imperial control, even the old heart of the Roman Empire, Italy and Rome herself, do not remain unscathed. Although Rome was no longer the Empire's capital, Paul the Deacon treats the sacks of the city as highly significant, at times emphasizing these events more than his sources. Of Alaric's sack of Rome in 410, Paul writes that the city was burned and devastated, even supplementing a precise date of the event dated from Rome's foundation.⁸⁰ When Geiseric and the Vandals sack Rome in 455, though Pope Leo's pleading mitigates their plunder, the devastation is nonetheless underlined.⁸¹ A crucial caesura is Odovacer's deposition of Romulus Augustulus. Paul boldly proclaims, having dated the event from Rome's foundation, that this is the end of the power of the Romans in Rome.⁸²

The sack prompts Paul, beginning in Book XVI, to switch, explicitly, his dating schema. This is an independent decision on Paul's part, not done by any of his sources: 'With the cessation already of the Empire of the city of the Romans it appears expedient and suitable to me, to deduce the line of counting from the years of the incarnation of our Lord, by which it is more easily possible to recognize the time than that which had been used.'⁸³ Even time itself, the fabric onto

⁸⁰ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, XII. 13, p. 171: 'Capta itaque Roma est anno millesimo centesimo sexagesimo quarto conditionis suae. Die sane tertia sponte Gothi Urbe discedunt, facto aliquantulum aedium incendio, sed ne tanto quidem, quantum olim a Caesare factum est.'

⁸¹ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, XIV. 16–17, pp. 200–01.

⁸² Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, XV. 10, p. 215: 'Ita Romanorum apud Roman imperium toto terrarum orbe venerabile et Augustalis illa sublimitas, quae ab Augusto quondam Octaviano cepta est, cum hoc Augustulo periit, anno ab Urbis conditione millesimo ducentesimo nono, a Gaio vero Caesare, qui primo singularem arripuit principatum, anno quingentesimo septimo decimo, ab incarnatione autem Domini anno quadringentesimo septuagesimo quinto. Igitur deiecto ab Augustali dignitate Augustulo Urbem Odovacer ingressus totius Italiae adeptus est regnum'. Cornford, 'The Idea of the Roman Past', pp. 208–10, emphasizes how although Paul the Deacon follows his sources (the chronicle of Marcellinus and Jordanes's *Historia Romana/Getica*) in describing the events of 476 he gives it particular emphasis. The *Historia Romana* makes a clear step in the direction of treating the date as a caesura of Roman history. Regarding the creation of 476 as a turning point see Croke, 'AD 476', who shows that this tradition originated in Constantinople, not in the West.

⁸³ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, XVI. 1, p. 225: 'Cessante iam Romanae urbis imperio utilius aptiusque mihi videtur ab annis dominicae incarnationis supputationis lineam deducere, quo facilius quid quo tempore actum sit possit agnosci' (Cornford, 'The Idea of the Roman Past', p. 209).

which history is mapped, must be changed to reflect the changed circumstances: Christian time has superseded Roman time. Paul's switch to dating from Christ's birth rather than from the founding of Rome is indicative of the relationship between the Roman Empire and Christianity that is developing. Roman history occurs within Christian time, but the Romans no longer define this time.

Nowhere in Paul's text is an explicit, or even implicit, break between the Roman Empire and the Christian *oikoumene* portrayed. However, the Roman Empire is less and less a universal empire and the similarities between the Roman emperor and 'barbarian' kings, such as Odovacer, become more explicit. The Romans are one of many peoples in the Mediterranean world. They are Christians, but neither the only Christian people, nor necessarily God's favourite. Meanwhile the papacy in Rome is given a more pronounced role, pleading with these new barbarian leaders or influencing the emperor. For example, Pope Leo uses his influence to provide for the safety not only of Rome, but all of Italy, while the Emperor Justinian having lapsed into the Euthycian heresy is corrected by Pope Agapitus.⁸⁴

Yet the tensions in the text should not be exaggerated. Throughout the most turbulent times in the *Historia Romana*, the persistence of the Roman Empire is not questioned. Difficulties were, after all, nothing new in Roman history; in the second to last chapter of his text, Eutropius wrote of Jovian's ignominious defeat and treaty with the Persians: 'before his time this had never happened in practically one thousand one hundred and eighteen years since the Roman Empire had been founded'.⁸⁵ Still Paul the Deacon managed to continue the history of the Roman Empire for over a century past this point. The division into eastern and western parts of the Empire with two emperors, Honorius and Arcadius (395), is seen as just that: *one* empire with two seats.⁸⁶ Although

⁸⁴ Leo: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xvi. 12, p. 197. Agapitus: xvi. 13, p. 232.

⁸⁵ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, x. 17, p. 148 = Eutropius, *Breviarium*, ed. by Santini, x. 17. 1, p. 70: 'Qui iam turbatis rebus exercitu quoque inopia laborante uno a Persis atque altero proelio victus pacem cum Sapore, necessariam quidem, sed ignobilem, fecit, multatus finibus ac nonnulla imperii Romani parte tradita. Quod ante eum annis .MC. et duobus de viginti fere, ex quo Romanum imperium conditum erat, numquam accidit' (Eutropius, *Breviarium*, trans. by Bird, p. 69).

⁸⁶ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xii. 9, p. 168: 'Anno ab Urbe condita millesimo centesimo quadragesimo nono Archadius Augustus in Oriente, Honorius frater eius in Occidente quadragesimo secundo loco commune imperium, divisus tantum sedibus, tenere coeperunt'. As Cornford, 'The Idea of the Roman Past', p. 247, writes: 'It soon becomes clear that for Paul, though the Empire might have two thrones, the Republic is a single body'.

Odovacer is presented as an enemy conquering Roman territory and with the deposition of Romulus Augustulus (476) the power of the Roman Empire is said to cease in Rome, Theodoric is presented as an ally of the Roman people. He is commended to the *senatus populusque Romanus* by the emperor and restores the province to the Empire. Only subsequently, as an Arian heretic, does he lose his legitimacy.⁸⁷

Most significantly, Paul's Roman history ends with a snippet that re-emphasizes the unique success of the Romans as a Christian empire: a brief summary of the restored Roman-Christian Empire of Justinian.⁸⁸ Paul describes how, as soon as he came to power, Justinian turned his attention to restoring the *respublica*. Paul reports Belisarius's victories against the Persians, the defeat of the Vandals, the reconquest of Carthage, and, in greater depth, the Gothic wars in Italy.⁸⁹ Justinian's success is undeniable, and through his restoration the Roman Empire is shown, to an extent, to regain its earlier splendour.

3. The 'Romans' in Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*

Paul the Deacon had introduced Christianity into Eutropius's almost secular text, explaining the success of the Roman Empire through its chosen role in spreading the Christian message. By the end of the *Historia Romana*, what persists is undoubtedly still a Roman-Christian Empire. But its borders have contracted and its relationship to Christianity — only tenuously linked by Paul the Deacon to the Empire to start with — has become increasingly detached. After Justinian, though, what comes next?

At the end of the sixteenth and last book of the *Historia Romana*, Paul the Deacon promises, as he had already done in his dedication, that he will con-

Mortensen, 'Impero romano', argues forcefully against Goffart that Paul the Deacon did not see the Roman Empire as having come to an end.

⁸⁷ Cornford, 'The Idea of the Roman Past', p. 222.

⁸⁸ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xvi. 23, p. 238: 'Is ad Italiam veniens magno cum Gothis certamine confligit. Quibus ad internicionem poene consumptis regem Totilam, qui ultra iam decem annos regnaverat, interfecit universamque Italiam ad reipublicae iura reduxit'. Cornford, 'The Idea of the Roman Past', p. 226, points out that though the conclusion of book sixteen is based for the most part on the *Liber Pontificalis*, 'it is Paul, however, who introduced the concluding remarks about the restoration of the Republic, and thus he who introduced the terms *reduxit* (to bring back, or to restore) and *Respublica*'.

⁸⁹ Victories against the Persians: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xvi. 11, p. 231. Victories in Africa: xvi. 15–19, pp. 233–36; and xvi. 22–23, pp. 237–38.

tinue his Roman history with a forthcoming book.⁹⁰ Instead, Paul chose a different subject for his subsequent historical work: the history of the Lombards — a text which, as I discussed in Section 1, begins by telling of the origins of the Lombard people.⁹¹ It also continues their history up to the death of Liudprand in 744 (see Appendix B). That is, Paul's *Lombard History* covers the very time period, post-Justinian, that Paul had promised he would narrate in a subsequent book of *Roman* history and even contains much material that would

⁹⁰ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, *Epistula dedicatoria*, p. 4: 'promittens, Deo praesule, si tamen aut vestrae sederit voluntati, aut mihi, vita comite, ad huiusmodi laborem maiorum dicta suffragium tulerint, ad nostram usque aetatem eandem historiam protelare'; xvi. 23, p. 238 (end of Book xvi): 'Quia vero restant adhuc quae de Iustiniani Augusti felicitate dicantur, insequenti Deo praesule libello promenda sunt'.

⁹¹ The bibliography on the *Historia Langobardorum* is vast; fundamental are Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, pp. 378–431, and Pohl, 'Paulus Diaconus und die *Historia Langobardorum*'. Two recent volumes about Paul the Deacon include much material: Chiesa, ed., *Paolo Diacono*. Various hypotheses have been devised to explain why Paul did not continue the *Historia Romana*. In his dedication to the *Historia Romana*, Paul the Deacon had promised to continue granted his text was pleasing to his patroness and that he found sufficient sources to continue. Mortensen, 'Impero romano', pp. 364–66, has hypothesized that the latter had applied: Paul was unable to find sources to continue his text and thus abandoned the task until he was motivated to begin on a different project, the *Historia Langobardorum*. Most ingeniously Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, p. 378, has posited that the two texts should be read together as the history of Italy: 'As Paul's first instalment is Roman mainly because of Eutropius, so the Lombards of the second instalment are prominent rather than fundamental: the subject of both is Italy'. There is certainly a close connection between the two texts; after all, the *Historia Langobardorum* does tell of the reign of Justinian as Paul the Deacon had promised he would. However, as already the name, *Historia Romana*, attested to in most manuscripts, indicates, the two works have different *foci* — the Roman Empire and the Lombard people — although both emphasize events occurring in Italy, and both include much material not directly related to their primary subject. (For the way in which the *Historia Langobardorum* situates Lombards into the larger contours of the past see especially Pohl, 'Paolo Diacono'.) Certainly the shift must lie in the changing circumstances of Paul's life. The precise dating of the *Historia Langobardorum* is uncertain, but as Pohl, 'Paolo Diacono', p. 376, has demonstrated, it was certainly completed before 795/6. Whereas the *Historia Romana* was written for Adelperga, the daughter of King Desiderius and the wife of Arichis II, duke of Benevento, it is unclear for whom or why the *Historia Langobardorum* was written. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, pp. 344–47, who firmly believes that the text is unfinished, suggests that it was written for a Beneventan audience and in particular Grimoald III. In contrast McKitterick, 'Paul the Deacon and the Franks', argues that the *Historia Langobardorum* is not unfinished and should be seen in relation to, even written for, a Frankish audience, in particular Pippin of Italy. Undoubtedly, as Walter Pohl demonstrates, Paul had a complex personality, and his diverse texts bear witness to different registers of identity: Pohl, 'Paul the Deacon'.

seem suitable for such a continuation. But, rather than attempting to continue his Roman history, Paul shows the Roman Empire fading away; 'Byzantine' history post-Justinian is less and less interpreted as 'Roman' history. Though the Romans were not Paul's primary focus in the *Historia Langobardorum*, in the process of telling the history of the Lombards, he shows a change occurring: the 'Byzantines' cease to be the Romans. Through their heresies the Byzantines complete their transformation into a regionalized identity — one of the many coexisting *gentes* of the early medieval world.

One way to observe this shift occurring in the *Historia Langobardorum* is Paul's changing terminology for the framework of the 'Empire'. Justinian is described as ruling over the *imperium Romanum*, the Roman Empire; in 602, Phocas — and all subsequent emperors — controls the *regnum Romanorum*, the Kingdom of the Romans.⁹² After Phocas we do still hear of an *imperium*, but we never find it coupled with *Romanus*; we only hear of a *regnum Romanorum*.⁹³ Unlike the framework of empire under Justinian, where vast territories and peoples are described as coexisting under the umbrella of the *imperium Romanum*, by the end of the *Lombard History* it is the *kingdom of the Roman people* that coexists alongside various others of the Mediterranean world.

The first Roman emperor discussed by Paul in the *Historia Langobardorum* appears towards the end of Book I: Justinian, about whom Paul had promised to tell in his forthcoming book of Roman history. Consistent with this promise and his brief summary of Justinian's reign at the end of the sixteenth book of Roman history, Paul praises Justinian and presents his reign as a restoration of the Roman Empire. Justinian conquers the *gens Wandalorum*, the *gens Gothorum*, and other *gentes*. Thus the Roman Empire is presented as a comparable entity to that found in the *Historia Romana*. The Empire is an umbrella encompassing a wide array of different *gentes*. The reason for Justinian's success in restoring this imperial framework is stated clearly: 'This Emperor [Justinian]

⁹² Phocas: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, iv. 36, p. 128. *Regnum Romanorum*: iv. 36, p. 128; v. 30, p. 154; vi. 11–12, p. 168. Already in the fourth century, *regnum* had been used to describe the Roman Empire. Significant here is not the term *per se*, but the shift in progress within Paul's text.

⁹³ We always continue to hear of an *imperator*; he never slips into a *rex* like kings who are described ruling their *regna* on the territory of the former Roman Empire. *Respublica* is also used infrequently in the text (e.g. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, ii. 4, p. 74). The choice of terminology seems also to reflect, in part, Paul's choice of sources; where Paul quotes Gregory of Tours almost verbatim he uses Gregory's terminology, that is, *imperium* (Tiberius and Maurice). When using Bede's *Chronicle*, which does not specify either term, he most often inserts *regnum Romanorum* (Phocas, Constans II, Justin II, Leo III).

in fact was Catholic in his faith, upright in his deeds, just in his judgments, and therefore to him all things came together for good': Christian piety brings about imperial success.⁹⁴

Already under Justinian's successor, Justin II, however, the orthodoxy and the unity of the Roman Empire begin to falter and here, for the first time in the *Historia Langobardorum*, the Byzantines, for specificity's sake, are referred to by a new category of reference, the 'Greeks':⁹⁵

Now the whole people of the Goths having been destroyed or overthrown, as has been said, and those also of whom we have spoken having been in like manner conquered, Narses, after he had acquired much gold and silver and riches of other kinds, incurred the great envy of the Romans although he had laboured much for them against their enemies, and they made insinuations against him to the Emperor Justin and his wife Sophia, in these words, saying, 'It would be advantageous for the Romans to serve the Goths rather than the Greeks wherever the eunuch Narses rules and oppresses us with bondage, and of these things our most devout emperor is ignorant: Either free us from his hand or surely we will betray the city of Rome and ourselves to those peoples'. When Narses heard this he answered briefly these words: 'If I have acted badly with the Romans it will go hard with me'.⁹⁶

In their anger, in order to articulate the distinction between the non-Gothic inhabitants of Italy and the state in the east that is supposed to represent their interests, but no longer does, the enemies of Narses reach for the term *Greci*.

⁹⁴ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, I. 25, pp. 62–63: 'Erat enim hic princeps fide catholicus, in operibus rectus, in iudiciis iustus; ideoque ei omnia concurrebant in bonum' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 47).

⁹⁵ Paul does use *grecus* earlier in the *Historia Langobardorum* in reference to the Greek language, as in describing that Justinian had built the church called in Greek Hagia Sophia: 'Extruxit quoque idem princeps intra urbem Constantinopolim Christo domino, qui est sapientia Dei patris, templum, quod greco vocabulo Agian Sophian, id est sanctam sapientiam, nominavit' (I. 25, p. 63).

⁹⁶ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, II. 5, p. 75: 'Igiture deleta, ut dictum est, vel superata Narsis omni Gothorum gente, his quoque de quibus diximus pari modo devictis, dum multum auri sive argenti seu ceterarum specierum divitias adquisisset, magnam a Romanis pro quibus multa contra eorum hostes laboraverat, invidiam pertulit. Qui contra eum Iustiniano augusto et eius coniugi Sophiae in haec verba suggesserunt dicentes quia: "Expeditur Romanis Gothis potius servire quam Grecis, ubi Narsis eunuchus imperat et nos servitio premit; et haec noster piissimus princeps ignorat. Aut libera nos de manu eius aut certe et civitatem Romanam et nosmet ipsos gentibus tradimus". Cumque hoc Narsis audisset, haec breviter retulit verba: "Si male feci cum Romanis, male inveniam"' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, pp. 58–59).

Narses' enemies in Italy seek to demonstrate that the state in the east no longer pays heed to the well-being of all its Roman citizens. It is no longer acting as the *Roman* Empire, but as a regional power. These Easterners, the *Greci*, are placed parallel to the *gentes*, the surrounding world of Goths, and other 'barbarians' whom the inhabitants of Italy claim it would be equally advantageous for them to serve, if they are to serve, rather than be (free) members in an imperial framework. The administrators of the Roman Empire are expected to act in the interests of the whole overarching Empire; since they do not behave accordingly, they face the moral consequences, losing their claim to represent the Empire. Thus they lose their Romanness and the former Roman Empire shrinks into a narrower category of reference: *Greci*.

Grecus was an outside denomination, with derogatory potential, that by the ninth century had become the predominant western term of reference for the 'Byzantines'.⁹⁷ (From the Byzantine perspective though *Grecus* would always remain an insult as the Byzantine Empire strove to retain the term 'Roman'.)⁹⁸ In the *Historia Romana*, Paul the Deacon had used the term *Greci* once before with respect to the Romans.⁹⁹ The Ostrogoths complain to Theoderic, who is tarrying in Constantinople, that while they are nearly starving he is stuffing himself with Greek delights.¹⁰⁰ Here the term clearly refers to regional special-

⁹⁷ See the contribution by Gantner, 'The Label "Greek"'; cf. Borri, 'Neighbours and Relatives', p. 20, with n. 78; Duboisson, '*GRAECVS, GRAECVLVS, GRAECARI*'; Wickham, 'Ninth-Century Byzantium', p. 248, points to Einhard's *Vita Karoli* (where the Byzantine emperors, the 'Roman emperors', are jealous of the title of emperor that Charlemagne has received) and the Council of Paris in 825 as some 'of the very few times a western writer uses the word "Roman" for the Byzantines after 800'. Regarding Western perspectives of the Byzantines more generally see Arbagi, 'Byzantium in Latin Eyes', with a discussion of Paul the Deacon's Lombard history at pp. 15–17.

⁹⁸ Wickham, 'Ninth-Century Byzantium', argues that, while during the ninth century the Byzantines were willing to address the Frankish emperor as *basileus* or *imperator*, they strived to keep 'Roman' to themselves, as demonstrated by the title *basileus ton Romaion*, which starting with Michael I (811–13) was put on coins: 'It appears, that is to say, that as long as Romanity belonged to the east, the west could have emperors too' (p. 246). The 'Byzantine' attachment to Romanness should not, however, be overemphasized: Mango, *Byzantinism*, esp. Chapter 1, emphasizes that in Byzantium the 'main links of solidarity were two: regional and religious' (p. 30).

⁹⁹ A reader of the *Historia Romana* would also have encountered *Grecus* earlier in Eutropius's text in a neutral sense: the Greek-speaking inhabitants of Greece (Eutropius, *Breviarium*, ed. by Santini, III. 12. 2, p. 19; x. 8. 3 p. 67). Paul the Deacon also uses *Greci* in this sense in his new introduction to Eutropius's text, reporting that 'Troia a Grecis capta est' (Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, I*, p. 6).

¹⁰⁰ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xv. 14, p. 218: 'qui dicerent quas,

ties. When the enemies of Narses reach for the term, they likewise intend it as a regional specification with similarly pejorative overtones that, at its core, avoids linguistic confusion. With *Romani* it would not have been clear to whom Narses' enemies were referring. As a result, though, it becomes more evident that the Mediterranean world is fragmenting into various groups that include Goths, Greeks, and Romans who no longer have an overarching structure holding them together.

Slowly the term *Greci* begins to creep into the *Historia Langobardorum* to describe the Byzantines. Of the Emperor Maurice, late sixth century (582–602), Paul the Deacon relates that he was the first Greek emperor.¹⁰¹ This phrase 'primus ex Grecorum genere' is particularly significant in that it is Paul's addition to what is otherwise an almost verbatim quotation from Gregory of Tours.¹⁰² From this point on in the *Historia Langobardorum*, the 'Byzantines' are generally referred to as *Greci*, though the term does not lose its pejorative overtones.¹⁰³ This linguistic transformation is indicative of the shift that has occurred, whereby, from Paul's perspective in the late eighth century, the eastern emperors become regionalized, losing their prerogative to rule over a Roman Empire.

For Paul the Deacon the reasons for the Empire's increasing fragmentation are nothing new. The change is the result of the same processes that had been at work in the later books of Paul's Roman history whereby heresy causes ter-

dum ipse Grecorum epulis superflueret, inopiae miserias sustinerent'. The passage comes from Jordanes, who, however, uses the term *Romanus* in the passage: 'quam ipse otiose frui regni Romani bona et gentem suam mediocriter victitare' (Jordanes, *Romana*, ed. by Mommsen, c. 290, p. 133).

¹⁰¹ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, III. 15, p. 100: 'Quo defuncto, Mauricius indutus purpura, redimitus diademate, ad circum processit, adclamatisque sibi laudibus, largita populo munera, primus ex Grecorum genere in imperio confirmatus est'.

¹⁰² Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, ed. by Krusch and Levison, VI. 30, pp. 298–99. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, p. 41, points out that the label is Paul's doing, suggesting that it is the result of Maurice being from Cappadocia, rather than a European town. He, however, also points to the fact that Evagrius makes him a Roman, although from a family residing in Cappadocia.

¹⁰³ As noted above, n. 93 the term *regnum Romanorum* does continue to be used. Also during Phocas's reign we hear of Roman provinces (Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, IV. 36, p. 128) and Constans II is described as the foremost of the Romans, v. 30, p. 154: 'Romanorum regnum Constantinus, Constantii augusti filius, suscepit regendum, Romanisque principatus est annis decem et septem'. *Greci*: IV. 46, p. 135; v. 7, pp. 147–48; v. 10, p. 190; v. 11, pp. 149–50. These passages all are negative portrayals of the *Greci*, but generally very little positive, or even neutral, material is related about the Byzantine Empire in the seventh and eighth centuries.

ritorial and political regionalization. The bond between the eastern Empire and Christianity, already presented in Paul's *Roman History* as tenuous, unravels further. The Byzantines relinquish their position as defenders of the Christian church. It is the increasingly independent papacy in Rome which heads the Christian church and preserves Christian orthodoxy, even at times in opposition to the Easterners. Meanwhile the power vacuum in Italy that had been shown developing in Paul's *Roman History* is, in part at least, filled by others, such as the Lombards.¹⁰⁴ Like the Lombards, or any other people, the Byzantines are now liable to succeed or fail in accordance with their Christian piety (or impiety). No longer are they accorded any unique Christian advantage.

The Lombards' invasion of Italy demonstrates clearly how the Byzantines become a regional player as a result of their Christian impiety. The Emperor Justin II, described as having lapsed into the Pelagian heresy as well as being a 'man given to every kind of avarice, a despiser of the poor, a despoiler of senators', quickly credits Narses' enemies' accusations against him.¹⁰⁵ Consequently, motivated by hate and fear, Narses invites the Lombards into Italy, tempting them with gifts of Italian fruit. The arrival of the Lombards is foreshadowed in ominous terms: 'In Italy terrible signs were continually seen at night, that is, fiery swords appeared in heaven gleaming with the blood which was afterwards shed'.¹⁰⁶

The fragmentation of the Roman Empire is not blamed on Narses or the Lombards, about whom the text assures us that, 'during all the time the Lombards held Pannonia, they were the allies of the Roman state against its rivals'; it is the emperor who is implicitly blamed for turning against Narses.¹⁰⁷ Narses receives

¹⁰⁴ Neither the Lombards nor the papacy are, however, portrayed as successors to the Romans in Italy. In particular, Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, p. 419, notes the comparative absence of the popes from the second half of the sixth book of the *Historia Langobardorum* despite the fact that Paul undoubtedly had the sources (esp. *Liber Pontificalis*). In a sense the *Historia Langobardorum* (as well as the later books of the *Historia Romana*) could also be characterized as emphasizing the power vacuum.

¹⁰⁵ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, III. 11, p. 97: 'Vir in omni avaritia deditus, contemptor pauperum, senatorum spoliator' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 106).

¹⁰⁶ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, II. 5, p. 75: 'Continuo apud Italiam terribilia noctu signa visa sunt, hoc est igneae acies in caelo apparuerunt, eum scilicet qui postea effusus est sanguinem coruscantes' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 61).

¹⁰⁷ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, II. 1, p. 72: 'Omni tempore quo Langobardi Pannoniam possiderunt, Romanae rei publicae adver-

lavish praise, in particular for his Christian virtues, with a description far more elaborate than that which even the well-liked Justinian had received: 'For he [Narses] was a very pious man, a Catholic in religion, generous to the poor, very zealous in restoring churches, and so much devoted to vigils and prayers that he obtained victory more by the supplications which he poured forth to God, than by the arms of war'.¹⁰⁸ In contrast, about Justin II we hear that 'when he turned away the ear of his heart from the divine commands he became mad, having lost the faculty of reason by the just judgement of God'.¹⁰⁹ It is the heresy of the emperor that has led Italy to be severed from the Empire.

From Paul's perspective, the Byzantines no longer have a monopoly on Christianity. The 'Roman Empire' in the East would continue to claim a unique bond with Christianity. In the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 681–82, Constantine IV asserted that the Empire existed wherever 'Christ established his church as if it were his own house'.¹¹⁰ No matter its actual boundaries, the Byzantine Empire as the Christian Empire maintained a theoretical claim to all Christian lands. Paul the Deacon would not have agreed. Pious emperors are able to harness Christian energy into preserving the Roman Empire. Tiberius, for example, as he is particularly generous in his almsgiving, repeatedly discovers hidden treasures.¹¹¹ But when Constans II attempts to (re)conquer Italy, a prophecy states in no uncertain terms that the Romans do not have a monopoly on divine favour. Since John the Baptist is interceding for the Lombards, they will momentarily retain Italy.¹¹² The Byzantine Empire must compete with the Lombards and other peoples both for land and for divine favour.

sum aemulos adiutores fuerunt' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, pp. 53–54).

¹⁰⁸ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, II. 3, pp. 73–74: 'Erat autem vir piissimus, in religione catholicus, in pauperes munificus, in recuperandis basilicis satis studiosus, vigiliis et orationibus in tantum studens, ut plus supplicationibus ad Deum profusis quam armis bellicis victoriam obtineret' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 56). Compare with the description of Theodosius's victory, section II.

¹⁰⁹ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, III. 11, pp. 97–98: 'Hic cum a divinis mandatis aurem cordis averteret, iusto Dei iudicio amisso rationis intellectu amens effectus est' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 107).

¹¹⁰ Quoted in Olster, 'From Periphery to Center', p. 99.

¹¹¹ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, III. 12, p. 98.

¹¹² Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, V. 6, pp. 146–47: 'Gens Langobardorum superari modo ab aliquo non potest, quia regina quaedam ex alia provincia veniens basilicam beati Iohannis baptistae in Langobardorum finibus construxit, et propter

One of the most climactic demonstrations of the transformation the former Romans have undergone is the description of the Byzantine expedition to Italy in 663–68.¹¹³ From their arrival on Italian soil the Byzantines are referred to almost exclusively with reference to the Emperor Constans II. When the group is referred to collectively *Greci* is used, or referring to one specific Byzantine, *Greculus*. At one point, a certain Lombard, Sesuald, is captured by the Greeks, but chooses nonetheless to carry out his task and announce to the besieged Lombards in Benevento that aid is on its way. Sesuald adds a plea for his family, since this faithless people (*perfida gens*) — that is, the Byzantines — will surely now kill him.¹¹⁴ In the West, perfidy was becoming an increasingly common epithet for the Byzantines.¹¹⁵ Nonetheless, the phrase stands out. Two terms, *gens* and *perfidia*, which the Roman-Christian Empire had traditionally used to characterize its enemies in contrast to its own Christian Empire — *gens* as a sub-imperial, usually barbarian, grouping; *perfidia* as a trait characteristic of usurpers and heretics — have now been turned around and thrown back at the Byzantines.¹¹⁶

When the Emperor Constans II is militarily unsuccessful against the Lombards, he heads to Rome where the Byzantines, referred to as *Greci*, are greeted by the population of Rome, the *populus Romanus*, headed by the pope. This is anything but a joyful reunification of different Roman peoples. Instead the Byzantines spend the next twelve days looting the ancient ornamentation of the city. Disregarding even the sanctity of the Christian church, they strip the tiles off the church of the Holy Virgin, the Pantheon.¹¹⁷ The situation is clear; these are not Romans looting Rome, but impious and perfidious foreigners.

hoc ipse beatus Iohannes pro Langobardorum gente continue intercedit'. See also n. 126.

¹¹³ Regarding Constans II and the expedition see Corsi, *La spedizione italiana*, and Corsi, 'La politica italiana di Costante II'.

¹¹⁴ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, v. 8, p. 148: 'Tantum obsecro, ut misericordiam exhibeas cum mea uxore et filiis, quia gens ista perfida me vivere non sinebit'.

¹¹⁵ Along with a whole host of other derogatory qualities including *invidia*, *fraus*, *falsitas*, *sublimitas*: Wickham, 'Ninth-Century Byzantium', p. 248. On perceptions of difference between Greco-Romans and Italo-Byzantines (primarily attributed to nature or language) see Hunger, *Graeculus perfidus, italos itamos*.

¹¹⁶ Regarding *perfidia* in the *Historia Romana*, see n. 71.

¹¹⁷ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, v. 11, pp. 149–50, loosely following *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. by Duchesne, Vitalianus, I, pp. 343–45. The *Liber Pontificalis* does not use the term *Greci* here, which also explains in part why Paul does not use the term *Greci* for the Byzantines while they are in Rome. However Paul, when describing

Yet, as this passage well demonstrates, for Paul the shift from a Roman Empire to eastern Greeks inhabiting a kingdom does not mean the end of the Romans. Or rather, to be more precise — with 'Roman' being such an ambiguous term — it does not mean the end of the *Romani*. *Romani* still appear in Paul's text as inhabitants of Rome and the Byzantine (non-Lombard) territories in Italy more generally.¹¹⁸

In the first two books of the *Historia Langobardorum* we still meet *Romani* as the 'native' inhabitants of Italy. During the Lombard invasion, Paul the Deacon tells that 'the Romans had then no courage to resist because of the pestilence which occurred at the time of Narses [...]'.¹¹⁹ Two passages about the fate of the Romans after the Lombard invasion have been much discussed. First, of the Lombard King Cleph, Paul remarks that 'of many powerful men of the Romans some he destroyed by the sword and others he drove from Italy'; and in the following chapter, in the time of the Lombard dukes, Paul writes: 'In these days many of the noble Romans were killed from love of gain, and the remainder were divided among their "guests" and made tributaries, that they should pay the third part of their products to the Lombards'.¹²⁰

Constans II's plundering of the western provinces, has added the phrase 'Grecorum avaricia'.

¹¹⁸ My interpretation here is much indebted to the analyses of Cornford, 'Paul the Deacon's Understanding of Identity'; see Cornford, 'The Idea of the Roman Past', pp. 196–97, and Pohl, 'Le identità etniche nei ducati di Spoleto e Benevento', esp. p. 95, which looks at the meaning of 'Roman' in Paul the Deacon. Apart from the specific references to 'Romans' that I discuss here, 'Roman' also is used in a generic sense, as in referring to customs of dress (Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, I. 4, p. 54; IV. 22, p. 155), as well as with reference to the ancient Romans (I. 1, pp. 47–48; I. 9, pp. 52–53; II. 14, p. 81; II. 23, pp. 85–86). Regarding the description of the city of Rome in the *Historia Langobardorum*: Gatto, 'Città e vita cittadina', pp. 201–04.

¹¹⁹ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, II. 26, pp. 86–87: 'Nec erat tunc virtus Romanis, ut resistere possint, quia et pestilentia, quae sub Narsete facta est' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 80).

¹²⁰ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, II. 31, p. 90: 'Hic multos Romanorum viros potentes, alios gladiis extinxit, alios ab Italia exturbavit' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 86); II. 32, pp. 90–91: 'His diebus multi nobilium Romanorum ob cupiditatem interfecti sunt. Reliqui vero per hospites divisi, ut tertiam partem suarum frugum Langobardis persolverent, tributarii efficiuntur' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, pp. 87–91). Regarding Roman/Lombard relations: Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 67–73; Delogu, 'Longobardi e Romani'; Capo, 'Paolo Diacono'. These passages seem to all derive from Secundus of Trento. See Gardiner, 'Paul the Deacon'; Pohl, 'Heresy in Secundus and Paul the Deacon'.

From Book III onwards, *Romani* appear as the inhabitants of Byzantine (non-Lombard) territories in Italy more generally.¹²¹ As the Narses episode demonstrates, these *Romani* are not equal members of the Empire, but subjects of the Byzantines. But Paul's *Lombard History* does not emphasize this relationship of the *Romani* to the *Greci*; the *Romani* are most often portrayed as a substantially independent collective waging war and making treaties with the Lombards in Italy. Yet, though presented as distinct from the *Greci*, they are not presented in more favourable terms. In fact, arguably the opposite is true. The *Romani* are frequently presented as malicious, treacherous and cunning, if generally unsuccessful in their scheming. For example, Gregory, patrician of the Romans, kills the sons of Gisulf by 'crafty treachery' (*dolosa fraude*); or in Ravenna 'a drink was given him [the Lombard Aio] by the malice of the Romans which made him lose his reason, and from that time he was never of full and sound mind'; even in the last (sixth) book of the *Lombard History*, telling of events of the early eighth century, we hear of Romans 'swollen with accustomed pride' attempting to attack the Lombards.¹²² All in all the Italian *Romani* are a regional identity in Italy, rather equivalent to other regional identities, though quite similar in temperament at least to their Greek masters.

A narrower, more particular, but little mentioned group of *Romani* are the inhabitants of Rome, who, as in the episode of Constans II's visit to the city, are referred to as the *populus Romanus*.¹²³ Headed by the pope, these *Romani* show

¹²¹ Passages referring to the inhabitants of Byzantine territory: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, III. 19, pp. 102–03; IV. 3, p. 117; IV. 8, pp. 118–19; IV. 16, pp. 121–22; IV. 28, pp. 125–26; IV. 32, p. 127; IV. 33, p. 127; IV. 38, pp. 132–33; IV. 42, p. 134; IV. 45, p. 135; V. 27, p. 154; V. 28, p. 154; V. 37, p. 157; VI. 27, p. 174; VI. 40, pp. 178–79; VI. 49, pp. 181–82; VI. 51, pp. 182–83; VI. 54, pp. 183–84; VI. 56, p. 185. McCormick, 'The Imperial Edge', addresses the question as to what extent there existed a distinct 'Italo-Byzantine' identity, arguing that there was a difference in outward appearance, names, language, and even perhaps genetics, but also pointing to the movement of peoples, communication, and processes of static integration (in particular, imperial ceremonies and church services) that knit Italy into the Empire at large.

¹²² Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, IV. 38, pp. 132–33; IV. 42, p. 134: 'Ad hunc regem Arichis dux Beneventi filium suum Aionem direxit. Qui cum Ravennam venisset, Ticinum pergens, ibi ei Romanorum malitia talis potio data est, quae eum mente excedere faceret; atque ex eo tempore numquam pleni sanique sensus fuit' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 198). VI. 54, p. 184: 'Insequenti quoque tempore Romani, elatione solita turgidi, congregati universaliter, habentes in capite Agathonem Perusinorum ducem, venerunt ut Bononiam comprehenderent, ubi tunc Walcari, Peredeo et Rotcari morabantur in castris' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 298).

¹²³ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, III. 24,

greater independence from the East. When Philippicus Bardanes (711–13) sends 'letters of perverted doctrine' to Pope Constantine, the Pope rejects them and:

The Roman people determined that they would not take the name of the heretical emperor upon their documents, nor his likeness upon their coins. Hence his image was not brought into the church, nor was his name mentioned in the solemnities of the mass.¹²⁴

Here the *populus Romanus* as a collective act forcefully and determinedly, emphasizing their opposition to the Emperor — and it is worth emphasizing again that Paul gives them, and not the Emperor, the adjective Roman. Apart from this incident, however, the *populus Romanus* are given little agency in Paul's text. Elsewhere we hear of them dying of the plague and being divided into seven parts by Pope Gregory.¹²⁵ Thus, throughout the *Lombard History*, even the *Romani* who inhabit the city of the pope do not appear remarkably distinctive from other civic or regional identities in Italy.

In a sense we could parallel the Roman situation in Italy to that of the 'death' of the Lombard *gens* as foretold by a hermit's prophecy in the *Historia Langobardorum*: 'But a time shall come when this sanctuary [the church of John the Baptist] will be held in contempt and then the people itself (*gens ipsa*) shall perish', the accuracy of which Paul confirms.¹²⁶ As Walter Pohl has argued,

pp. 104–05; v. 11, pp. 149–50; vi. 31, p. 175; vi. 34, pp. 175–76. *Populus* is generally used throughout to describe the inhabitants of other cities. Much more frequent than references to the city of Rome are those more specifically regarding the Roman church: i. 25, pp. 62–63; ii. 10, pp. 78–79; iii. 20, p. 103; iii. 26, pp. 105–06; iv. 36, p. 128; vi. 4, pp. 165–66; vi. 29, pp. 174–175; vi. 43, pp. 179–80.

¹²⁴ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, vi. 34, pp. 175–76: 'Hic Filippicus Constantino papae litteras pravi docmatis direxit, quas ille cum apostolicae sedis concilio respuir'. vi. 34, p. 176: 'Statuit populus Romanus ne heretici imperatoris nomen aut chartas aut figuram solidi suscipere. Unde nec eius effigies in ecclesia introducta est, nec nomen ad missarum sollempnia prolaturum' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 227).

¹²⁵ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, iii. 24, pp. 104–05; v. 31, p. 154.

¹²⁶ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, v. 6, pp. 146–47: 'Veniet autem tempus, quando ipsud oraculum habebitur despectui, et tunc gens ipsa peribit. Quod nos ita factum esse probavimus, qui ante Langobardorum perditionem eandem beati Iohannis basilicam, quae utique in loco qui Modicia dicitur est constituta, per viles personas ordinari conspeximus, ita ut indignis et adulteris non pro vitae merito, sed praemiorum datione,

this death of the Lombard *gens* is not the end of the Lombard people, but the end of the Lombards as a political identity. With the Frankish conquest, the rule of the *regnum* of Italy and the Lombard people has passed into the hand of the *gens Francorum*. In this kingdom, 'the *gens Langobardorum* was not its subject any more but its object; still, the Lombards retained their ethnic identity and some of the political potential that history had created'.¹²⁷

Similar, but rather more complicated, is the situation of the *Romani* in Italy. Likewise, they are no longer politically autonomous; rather, they are ruled over by the Byzantines. The *Romani* are now the objects of rule, not co-subjects of an Empire. In this transition with *Romani* — one regional identity — subordinated to the *Greci* — another regional identity — we can locate the end of the Roman Empire. Still, as in the case of the Lombards, loss of political authority is not equated with the end of the *Romani*: *Romani* still persist in Italy, thus retaining their 'political potential' and 'regional' identity.

Yet one should not push the comparison too far. In the end, examining the passages referring to Romans in the *Historia Langobardorum* establishes fewer conclusions about these Romans and the nature of Roman identity than emphasizing that the text is a history of the Lombards, not of the Romans. Paul's focus throughout is not on telling the story of the Romans. Perhaps Paul even purposely minimizes the 'Romanness' in his history, offering less of a resource of Roman identity for any of the contemporary powers of his day (Byzantines, Franks, or papacy) to assert themselves as the successors of the Roman Empire. Nonetheless he does not go so far as to eliminate *Romani* from his text.

To summarize; by the end of Paul's Lombard history, the rather less remarkable eighth-century Byzantines are no longer presented as the unique Roman Empire of the past. Instead, they are a regional power; they are Christians, but without an exclusive bond to Christianity. There remain civic and regional 'Roman' identities in Italy, but Paul the Deacon does not allow the survival of a Roman imperial identity. Naturally, even in Italy, this was only one way to interpret Roman history. In my final section, I will turn to an alternate reading of Roman history; the so-called seventeenth book, a text that, remarkably, uses excerpts of Paul's *Historia Langobardorum* to tell a different story.

isdem locus venerabilis largiretur' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 219). See also n. 112.

¹²⁷ Pohl, '*Gens ipsa peribit*', p. 75.

4. *Prolonging the Roman Empire: A Seventeenth Book to the Historia Romana*

Sometime before 900, that is, roughly within the century after Paul the Deacon, an anonymous compiler undertook the task of continuing Paul the Deacon.¹²⁸ Stitching together passages of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* that discuss the Romans, the compiler constructed a continuation of the *Historia Romana* from Justinian (527–65) to 730. Placed after Paul the Deacon's sixteen books of Roman history, this text, assembled from the words of Paul himself, became the seventeenth book of the *Historia Romana*. This remarkable text, although constructed almost exclusively from Paul's Lombard history, manages to offer an alternative reading of the history of the Roman Empire. The compiler accomplished this by selectively choosing passages and combining them into a self-sustaining text added on to Paul's Roman history.¹²⁹ As I will show in this section, the seventeenth book manages to prolong the Roman Empire up to what the text characterizes as the start of Byzantine iconoclasm in 730, even as it restricts this Empire, politically and territorially, to the East and, in the words of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*, shows the religious and political dimensions of this constricted Roman Empire visibly unravelling. As the Roman Empire becomes more elusive, so do its Romans, leaving it questionable whether and where Romans can still persist without an empire to contain them.

It is difficult to contextualize the seventeenth book. The oldest manuscript that includes this text has been dated to the late ninth or early tenth century, and

¹²⁸ More substantial and well-known is the continuation of the *Historia Romana* by Landolfus Sagax around 1000, which expanded the *Historia Romana* into twenty-six books that continue the history up to 813. Landolfus probably worked in southern Italy. His primary source for the later history was Anastasius Bibliothecarius's Latin version of Theophanes Homologetes. Recently discussed in Chiesa, 'Storia romana e libri di storia romana', pp. 247–50.

¹²⁹ The text of the seventeenth book is included in the edition of the *Historia Romana* by Crivellucci. Martini, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts*, n. 26, corrects some of Crivellucci's readings of the oldest manuscript. The passages of the *Historia Langobardorum* include: i. 25–26 (up to 'virtutibus effulsit'); ii. 1–3, 4 (only beginning 'Inter haec Iustiniano')–5, and 11; iii. 11–12, 15, 17–18, 20, 22–26; iv. 26, 33, 36, 49–50 (only up to 'suam patriam repedavit'); v. 6–14, 30; vi. 4, 11–14, 23, 31–32, 34, 36, 41, 47, 54, 49 (the ending has been rearranged by the compiler). Apart from minor wording changes (in cc. 10, 39, 51–53) the only text not from Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* is a sentence in c. 49, taken from Bede, *Chronica*, ed. by Mommsen, a. 589, pp. 319–20, and the incipit and first half sentence of the text. I will discuss these changes in more depth below.

its production has been located in a northern Italian scriptorium.¹³⁰ In this manuscript, immediately following the sixteenth book, the text segues: 'Here begins the seventeenth book, which we have excerpted from the history of the Winnili [that is, the Lombards], which certainly was composed by the author earlier mentioned'.¹³¹ We know little more to anchor the context or circumstances of the text's formation than the indications the text itself gives. It presents itself as the little book (*libellus*) that Paul the Deacon promised but never completed, self-consciously using the text of Paul the Deacon's Lombard history.

As the likely north Italian provenance of the earliest manuscript suggests, the origins of the text are most probably to be placed in ninth-century north Italy. In particular, the excerpts of the seventeenth book are extremely similar, though not identical, to the excerpts of Paul the Deacon's Lombard history found in a well-known and fascinating miscellany, the *Epitome Phillipsiana* from ninth-century Verona.¹³² As Laura Pani has demonstrated, these two texts must be related since both share a short excerpt from Bede (located at precisely the same point in the text) — one of the two lines in the seventeenth book not taken from Paul the Deacon.¹³³ But since both the excerpts in the Verona miscellany and the seventeenth book contain passages of the *Historia Langobardorum* not included in the other, both compilers must have had access to more complete versions of the Lombard history and it is impossible to postulate securely which of the two textual versions came first. In any case, this relationship suggests that the seventeenth book was constructed in northern Italy. Similar excerpts, again including the sentence from Bede, but also not identical to either those of the

¹³⁰ Virginia, Private Collection (formerly Oslo, Schøyen, MS 50). The most thorough description is found in Martini, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts*, no. 26; also see Kraus, *Cimelia*, pp. 138–39. Bernard Bischoff consulted by Kraus hypothesized that it was written in ninth-/tenth-century north Italy. I am grateful to David Ganz, Richard Corradini, and Laura Pani for examining some plates. They agree that this dating/localization is probable. A north Italian provenance is also made more probable by the fact that this manuscript is listed in the Nonantola catalogue of 1355 and possibly already in that of 1002–35: Gullotta, *Gli antichi cataloghi*, p. 82, n. 100, and pp. 161–63.

¹³¹ Virginia, Private Collection (formerly Oslo, Schøyen, MS 50), fol. 93^v: 'INCIPIIT LIBER .XVII. QUEM EX VVINILORUM [historia] DECERPSIMUS | A PRAEFATO QUAE CONSTAT AUCTOR E EDITA'. Above 'winilorum' there is an explanatory note: '.i. langobardorum'.

¹³² See above nn. 18–19.

¹³³ Pani, 'La trasmissione dell'*Historia Langobardorum*', pp. 399–403, includes a comparison of the excerpts in both, but does not offer her own hypothesis, noting only that the passage from Bede excludes the possibility that the two compilations were entirely unrelated (pp. 383–84).

seventeenth book or the Verona miscellany, are likewise found in another north Italian text, John the Deacon's *Chronicon Venetum*.¹³⁴ A north Italian context for the seventeenth book's formation is further supported by the half sentence seemingly independently composed by the compiler — a half sentence not included in the Verona miscellany. Here the term *Pelasgum* is used to refer to the Greeks.¹³⁵ This is an unusual term neither found in Paul the Deacon nor in most other texts of the period. Agnellus of Ravenna does, however, use the term *Pelasgi* for Byzantines twice in his *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, written in the 830s/840s, again suggesting a north Italian origin of the text.¹³⁶

The underlying logic of the seventeenth book is easily identifiable. The text assumes the imperial model of the earlier books of the *Historia Romana* and attempts to situate the text of Paul's *Lombard History* within such a framework. As a result the compiler forms a continuous, if sometimes rather staccato, narrative that includes an assortment of material. The Byzantine Empire is understood as the continuation of the Roman Empire, the rise of which had been traced by Eutropius and the continuation of which had been followed by Paul the Deacon. As the earlier sixteen books had done, the seventeenth book arranges itself according to the succession of emperors. Like the earlier books of the *Historia Romana*, the result is a text punctuated at marked intervals by the depositions, deaths, and ascensions of new Roman emperors. In the earliest surviving manuscript, this framework of imperial succession was particularly reinforced by a list of Roman emperors, from Augustus to Leo III (717–41), immediately following the seventeenth book.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum*, ed. by Pertz, pp. 4–38. These excerpts also do not include the seventeenth book compiler's independent half sentence nor the compiler's other textual changes.

¹³⁵ The Pelasgians were considered to be the inhabitants of Greece before they were Hellenized. There also existed a legend, however, that inhabitants of Italy, especially the Etruscans, were descended from the Pelasgians. See Briquel, *Les Pélasges en Italie*.

¹³⁶ Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. by Deliyannis, c. 143, p. 321: 'Post mortem uero Iustiniani augusti leuauerunt super se Pelasgi nouum imperatorem, et constituerunt eum dominum uniuersae terrae, ac imperium confirmatum fuit in manu eius'. Agnellus also uses *Bizantini* (e.g. c. 153, p. 331), *Greci* (e.g. c. 86, p. 253), *Danai* (c. 140, p. 317) and *Mirmidoni* (c. 143, p. 322) for the Byzantines. These diverse terms seem to be part of Agnellus's use of classical sources, in particular Virgil, to lend rhetorical weight to his text. Virgil uses the term *Pelasgi* for the Greeks throughout the *Aeneid* and even tells that they were the first to have held the Latin borders ('qui primi finis aliquando habuere Latinos'): Virgil, *Aeneid*, ed. by Conte, VIII. 600–03, p. 252. I am grateful to Francesco Borri for alerting me to Agnellus of Ravenna's use of *Pelasgi*.

¹³⁷ Virginia, Private Collection (formerly Oslo, Schøyen, MS 50), fols 107^r–109^v:

To construct this continuation of the Roman Empire, the compiler excerpted, generally speaking, only those passages of the *Historia Langobardorum* referring to Byzantine history. He omitted most of the *Lombard History* with its descriptions of Lombards, Franks, and other peoples of the Mediterranean. The resulting text is about a fifth of the size of the *Lombard History*. Nonetheless, the seventeenth book is still on the long side in comparison to the earlier books of the *Historia Romana*; it is more than double the length of any of books eleven to sixteen. Not surprisingly, given that the text is constructed out of a Lombard history, it necessarily focuses, even more so than Paul the Deacon's continuation of Eutropius, on events occurring in the West, and in particular in Italy (although as I will argue the compiler's interest was not Italy *per se*).

Although upholding the 'Byzantine' Empire as the continuation of the Roman Empire, the compiler had a very particular understanding of this Empire — restricting it, territorially and politically, to the East. This is already signalled in the opening line of the seventeenth book, which is also the compiler's only independent half-sentence:

Thus as it was described, when the Empire of the Romans had already ceased among the *Itali* and many peoples were raging against them [the *Itali*], so that it [the Empire] had gone over to Greek jurisdiction (*ius...Pelasgum*) at this time by good fortune, Justinian Augustus was ruling this same Roman Empire.¹³⁸

[**Bold** = Compiler; Regular = Paul the Deacon]

With 'ut premissum est' the compiler refers back to the passage in the fifteenth book of the *Historia Romana* where Paul had described how the power of the Romans ceased in Rome.¹³⁹ Unlike Paul, however, the compiler does not refer to Rome, but to the *Itali*, the inhabitants of Italy. Thus the compiler has regionalized and broadened the category over which Roman power is said to have ceased. The compiler also similarly shifts Roman identity, referring to an *imperium Romanorum*, the empire of the Romans, not the *imperium Romanum*, the

'Augustus regnavit annis .LVI. uixit annos LXXV obit morte communi in opido campaniae attel-lac | Tiberius regnavit [...] Leo regnavit annos constanter VIII'.

¹³⁸ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xvii. 1, p. 239: '**Quum iam, ut premissum est, Romanorum desineret apud Italos imperium plurimeque gentes irruerent contra ipsos ad iusque pertransierat Pelasgum, hac tempestate Iustinianus Augustus Romanum eundem felici sorte regebat imperium**' [in part Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, i. 25, p. 62]. **Bold** = Compiler; Regular = Paul the Deacon.

¹³⁹ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xv. 10, pp. 214–15. Discussed above n. 82.

Roman Empire Paul had described Justinian ruling. This is done even as the compiler emphasizes by inserting 'eundem' ('the very same') that the empire Justinian rules over is the very same — though to a reader of the *Historia Romana* it may appear rather different — as the Roman Empire which has irrevocably lost power among the *Itali*. These modifications indicate the phenomenon of the seventeenth book: although interpreting the 'Byzantines' as Romans, the compiler considers this Empire in much narrower terms, as comprising a particular people and, from the start, relegated to the *Pelasgi*.

Where the compiler came across passages in Paul's *Historia Langobardorum* that discuss *Romani* in Italy, he generally chose *not* to include them, only excerpting the passages referring to eastern Byzantine history. It seems that when the compiler came across *Romani* in Italy, he 'translated' them as *Itali*, and thus not part of the Empire of the Romans (the Byzantines) nor relevant to a Roman history. This is the case already at the beginning of the seventeenth book. During the reign of Justinian, the *History of the Lombards* includes a long description of a plague in Liguria, concluding that, 'these evils happened to the Romans only and within Italy alone, up to the boundaries of the peoples of the Alamanni and the Bavarians'.¹⁴⁰ But the seventeenth book does not include any of this passage. Instead the compiler chose to excerpt only the text that immediately follows: 'Meanwhile, the Emperor Justinian departed from life and Justin the younger undertook the rule of the state (*respublica*) in Constantinople'.¹⁴¹

During the reign of Justinian, the compiler even, in one of very few instances, modified the text of Paul the Deacon for the purpose of eliminating *Romani* from the text. In the Narses episode (which I discussed above),¹⁴² the compiler has changed *Romani* in their first occurrence to the vaguer 'them': '[...] Narses, after he had acquired much gold and silver and riches of other kinds, incurred the great envy **of them** (*ab his*)' [changed from 'of the Romans (*ab Romanis*)'].¹⁴³ The change, however, makes the passage harder to under-

¹⁴⁰ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, II. 4, p. 74: 'Et haec quidem mala intra Italiam tantum usque ad fines gentium Alamannorum et Baioariorum solis Romanis acciderunt'; (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 58).

¹⁴¹ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, XVII. 9, p. 243: 'Inter haec Iustiniano principe vita decedente, Iustinus minor rem publicam apud Constantinopolim regendam suscepit' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 58). Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, II. 4, p. 74; Bede, *Chronica*, ed. by Mommsen, a. 521, p. 308.

¹⁴² See above n. 96.

¹⁴³ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, XVII. 10, pp. 243–44: 'Igitur

stand and it would seem that the compiler too recognized this, choosing not to change the subsequent uses of *Romani* in the passage.

As the seventeenth book continues it tells of the Lombards' entrance into Italy. However, the compiler does not include the passages (from Book II) of Paul's *Lombard History* that tell of the Romans' lack of courage to resist the invasion, nor of how the Lombards destroy and expel the Romans from Italy.¹⁴⁴ Instead, having told of Narses' death and the transport of his body and wealth to Constantinople, the compiler picks up with a passage from Book III of the *Historia Langobardorum* with Justin ruling in Constantinople.¹⁴⁵

Throughout the rest of the seventeenth book, the compiler continued, quite comprehensively, to eliminate passages referring to *Romani* in Italy.¹⁴⁶ Thus we neither hear of strife nor treaties between the Lombards and Romans. For example, we do not hear of Rothari capturing 'all the cities of the Romans which were situated upon the shore of the sea from the city of Luna in Tuscany up to the boundaries of the Franks'.¹⁴⁷ Nor do we hear of any of the treacherous deeds of the Romans, nor does the compiler tell us when the Roman people are dying from pestilence. More generally, the compiler excluded passages of Paul's *Historia Langobardorum* that refer to the history of Italy, such as the description of the reason for its name as well as the description of the Italian

deleta, ut dictum est, vel superata Narsis omni Gothorum gente, his quoque de quibus diximus pari modo devictis, dum multum auri sive argenti seu ceterarum specierum divitias adquisisset, magnam ab his [changed from *ab Romanis*] pro quibus multa contra eorum hostes laboraverat invidiam pertulit' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 58). Cf. Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, II, 5, p. 75; cf. Bede, *Chronica*, ed. by Mommsen, a. 523, p. 308; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. by Duchesne, Iohannes III, pp. 305–07.

¹⁴⁴ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, II, 26, pp. 86–87; II, 31–32, pp. 90–91. See nn. 119–20.

¹⁴⁵ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xvii, 12, pp. 244–45 [Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, III, 11, pp. 97–98].

¹⁴⁶ Passages referring to the 'Italo-Byzantines' in Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, that are excluded in the seventeenth book: III, 19; IV, 3; IV, 8; IV, 16; IV, 28; IV, 32; IV, 38; IV, 42; IV, 45; V, 27; V, 28; V, 37; VI, 27; VI, 40; VI, 44; VI, 49; VI, 51; VI, 54; VI, 56. Included is Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xvii, 24, p. 254 = *Historia Langobardorum*, VI, 33, p. 127, which probably refers to the 'Italo-Byzantines': in Gradus, Candidianus is ordained bishop by the Romans. Yet it is somewhat ambiguous whether this refers to the Byzantines or the church in Rome.

¹⁴⁷ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, IV, 45, p. 135: 'Igitur Rothari rex Romanorum civitates ab urbe Tusciae Lunensi universas quae in litore maris sitae sunt usque ad Francorum fines cepit' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 199).

provinces.¹⁴⁸ In another of the few subtle changes to Paul's text, the compiler eliminated a mention of Italy: 'While these things occurred [in Italy (*in Italia*) is omitted], a heresy arose in Constantinople [...].'¹⁴⁹ This is a textual change that makes the narrative flow more smoothly since the previous line in the seventeenth book does not refer precisely to Italy (it relates how the Archbishop Theodore and the Abbot Adrian are sent by Pope Vitalian to Britain and how Theodore described the penance necessary for sinners) — but this in itself is yet another indication that the compiler's interest is not Italy *per se*.

As a result, what we have is a rather paradoxical situation; to constitute a *Roman* history the compiler incorporates text that discusses *Greci*. At the same time, insistent that this Roman Empire exists only in the East, the compiler has omitted many of the western *Romani* that could be found in Paul the Deacon's *Lombard History*, as well as 'Italian' history more generally. So whereas Paul in his *Lombard History* maintained civic and regional 'Roman' identities in Italy, the compiler eliminated these. Instead the compiler constructed a Roman *Empire* that is remarkably long lasting, but which, composed only of rather ineffectual *Greci* in the East, in its geographical extent and political ability is rather unremarkable. This is the result of the interpretation of the inhabitants of Italy as *Itali*, not *Romani*, but also suggests a particular relationship between Empire and Romanness: Romans inhabit an Empire. Romans, the compiler implies, can exist only where there is an empire to contain them.

The seventeenth book does not set itself an easy task and unsurprisingly struggles in its attempt to keep the Roman Empire alive. As the compiler never modified the text of Paul's *Lombard History* by inserting text, the seventeenth book inevitably charts a dissolute and dissolving Empire. Particularly strained, however, is its effort to retain the Christian dimension of the Roman Empire. This is especially the case since the pope in Rome — and not the emperor in Constantinople — is acknowledged as the guardian of the Christian faith.

This leads us to the highly significant dimension of the seventeenth book, which I have not yet addressed: the compiler's inclusion of Roman religious

¹⁴⁸ Excluded passages: reason for Italy's name, Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, II. 24, p. 86; description of Italian provinces: II. 14–23, pp. 81–86; generic references to the Romans and references to Roman history: I. 1, pp. 47–48; I. 4, p. 49; I. 9, pp. 52–53; II. 14, p. 81; II. 23, pp. 85–86; IV. 22, p. 124.

¹⁴⁹ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, XVII. 38, p. 262: 'Dum haec [*in Italia* omitted] geruntur, heresis apud Constantinopolim orta est' (Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, VI. 4, pp. 165–66; Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 253).

history. Whereas Paul was content to separate imperial and Christian history and portray the Christian church with its authority, the pope in Rome, as overlapping less and less with the Empire, the compiler continues to regard Christianity as integral to the Roman Empire and relevant to a Roman history. Put another way, the seventeenth book interprets both the Byzantine Empire and Christianity as 'Roman', but recognizes the Roman emperor as the Romans' political authority and the pope in Rome as the Romans' religious authority. The compiler struggles to tell both tales of Romanness, since, despite the tensions between the two, he refuses either to conflate them or eliminate one as a category of Romanness.

In order to tell Roman religious history the compiler included, interspersed among the passages about the Byzantines, numerous excerpts that refer primarily, or exclusively, to important Christian events and persons, in particular the papacy.¹⁵⁰ Not surprisingly given that most of Paul's passages about the papacy had been taken from the *Liber Pontificalis*, correspondingly they often strive to legitimize and praise the papacy.¹⁵¹ The compiler makes no attempt to smooth over this growing divergence between Constantinople and Rome. For example, in a passage that makes no reference to the eastern Empire, the compiler includes excerpts about Gregory the Great organizing all the people of Rome into a sevenfold litany to exterminate the pestilence and sending missionaries to Britain.¹⁵² Described in depth is the Three Chapters Controversy — which may again be an indication of the text's north Italian's provenance, since these passages make reference to north Italy. Although, as Walter Pohl has demon-

¹⁵⁰ Passages focusing on Christian events include: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xvii. 5, p. 241 [Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, i. 26, pp. 63–64]; xvii. 17, p. 250 [*Historia Langobardorum*, iii. 20, p. 103]; xvii. 19–22, pp. 251–53 [*Historia Langobardorum*, iii. 23–26, pp. 104–08]; xvii. 24, p. 254 [*Historia Langobardorum*, iv. 33, p. 127]; xvii. 37, pp. 261–62 [*Historia Langobardorum*, v. 30, p. 154]. However, not all passages about the papacy from the *Historia Langobardorum* are included. References to popes *not* included are ii. 10, pp. 78–79; iv. 5, p. 117; vi. 29, pp. 174–175; and vi. 43, pp. 179–80.

¹⁵¹ For an overview of shifting papal ideology and foreign relations in the seventh to ninth centuries see Noble, 'The Papacy in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries'; Delogu, 'The Papacy, Rome and the Wider World'.

¹⁵² Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xvii. 20–21, pp. 251–52 (Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, iii. 24–25, pp. 104–05; iii. 24 = much shortened version of Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, ed. by Krusch and Levison, x. 1–2; *Historia Langobardorum*, iii. 25 = *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. by Duchesne, Gregorius I, pp. 312–14, also quoted in Bede, *Chronica*, ed. by Mommsen, a. 531, p. 309).

strated, Paul the Deacon has misrepresented the issue, presenting passages both in support and against the schism, the compiler included all the relevant passages, thus further propagating Paul's confusion.¹⁵³ Close details of the event and establishing their accuracy were not the compiler's interest, but rather he sought out all the passages that tell of the controversy. Again it is the pope who is portrayed in the most favourable light as the upholder of orthodoxy.

Thus the seventeenth book's primary subjects, the Byzantines, are presented in an increasingly unfavourable light, while the papacy is accorded respect and authority. As the seventeenth book progresses, the passages incorporated by the compiler show the growing independence of the papacy from the eastern Empire.¹⁵⁴ When Rome is besieged, we see that Pope Pelagius can be ordained *pontifex Romanae Ecclesiae* without the authority of the emperor.¹⁵⁵ Upon Pope Boniface's request, the emperor confirms that Rome as the 'see of the Roman and Apostolic Church should be the head of all churches'.¹⁵⁶ Constans II's expedition to Italy and his 'sack of Rome' are described in full detail, as are the Roman people's refusal to follow the orders of Philippicus Bardanes.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ Pohl, 'Heresy in Secundus and Paul the Deacon', pp. 243–64. Passages included are Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xvii. 17, p. 250 [Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, iii. 20, p. 103] (from a papal perspective, but misunderstands the events); xvii. 22, pp. 252–53 [*Historia Langobardorum*, iii. 26, pp. 105–07] (Secundus of Trento, a schismatic view); xvii. 44, p. 264 [*Historia Langobardorum*, vi. 14, pp. 168–69] (Bede's *Chronica/Liber Pontificalis*).

¹⁵⁴ There is a vast literature regarding the development of ideas of papal primacy. A useful place to begin is Noble, *The Republic of St Peter*. See also Mordek, 'Der Römische Primat', and other essays in the same volume.

¹⁵⁵ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xvii. 17, p. 250 [Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, iii. 20, p. 171; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. by Duchesne, Pelagius II, pp. 309–11].

¹⁵⁶ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xvii. 25, p. 254: 'Hic rogante papa Bonifacio statuit sedem Romanae et apostolicae ecclesiae ut caput esse omnium ecclesiarum, quia ecclesia Constantinopolitana prima se omnium ecclesiarum scribebat' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, pp. 177–78). Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, iv. 36, p. 128; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. by Duchesne, Bonifatius III, p. 316, also quoted in Bede, *Chronica*, ed. by Mommsen, aa. 535–36, p. 310.

¹⁵⁷ Constans' expedition to Italy: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xvii. 28–34, pp. 256–61 [Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, v. 6–12, pp. 146–50]. Philippicus Bardanes: xvii. 46, p. 265 [*Historia Langobardorum*, vi. 3, p. 165].

The growing tension comes to the fore in the last chapter, which describes the start of Byzantine iconoclasm. Unlike in the rest of the excerpts, however, the compiler does not follow the exact order of Paul's *Lombard History*:

[*Historia Langobardorum*, VI. 49 (second half)]: At this time the Emperor Leo burned the images of the saints placed in Constantinople and ordered the Roman pope to do the like if he wished to have the emperor's favour, but the pope disdained to do this thing.¹⁵⁸ Also the whole of Ravenna and of Venetia resisted such commands with one mind, and if the pope had not prohibited them they would have attempted to set up an emperor over themselves. [VI. 49 (first half)]: At this time King Liudprand besieged Ravenna and took Classis and destroyed it. Then Paul the Patrician sent his men out of Ravenna to kill the Pope, but as the Lombards fought against them in defence of the pope and as the Spoletans resisted them on the Salarian bridge as well as the Tuscan Lombards from other places, the design of the Ravenna people came to naught. [VI. 54 (near end)]: Again when Hildeprand the nephew of the king and Peredeo the duke of Vincentia got possession of Ravenna, the Venetians suddenly attacked them. Hildeprand was taken by them and Peredeo fell fighting manfully. [VI. 49 (end)]: During the same time the Emperor Leo went on to worse things so that he compelled all the inhabitants of Constantinople either by force or by blandishments, to give up the images of the Saviour and of his Holy Mother and of all the saints wherever they were, and he caused them to be burned by fire in the midst of the city. And because many of the people hindered such wickedness from being done, some of them were beheaded and others suffered mutilation in body. As the Patriarch Germanus did not consent to this error he was driven from his see and the presbyter Anastasius was ordained in his place.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ It is worth noting that Paul the Deacon was clearly writing with hindsight here. For a reassessment of iconoclasm in the East see Haldon and Brubaker, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*.

¹⁵⁹ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xvii. 51–53, pp. 267–68: '[Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, VI. 49, pp. 181–82 (second half)]: Hac tempestate Leo imperator apud Constantinopolim sanctorum imagines depositas incendit Romanoque pontifici similia facere, si imperialem gratiam habere veller, mandavit. Sed pontifex hoc facere contempsit. Omnis quoque Ravennae exercitus vel Veneciarum talibus iussis uno animo restiterunt, et nisi eos pontifex prohibuisset, imperatorem super se constituere sunt adgressi. [VI. 49, p. 181 (first half)]: Eo tempore rex Liutprandus Ravennam obsedit, Classem invasit atque destruxit. Tunc Paulus patricius extra Ravennam misit qui pontificem interimerent; sed Langobardis pro defensione pontificis repugnantibus, Spoletanis in Solario positibus et ex aliis partibus Langobardis Tuscis resistentibus, consilium Ravennantium dissipatum est. [VI. 54, pp. 183–84 (near end)]: Rursus quum Ravennam Hildeprandus, regis nepos et Peredeo Vicentinus dux optinerent, inruentibus subito Veneticis, Hildeprandus ab eis captus est, Peredo viriliter pugnans occubuit. [VI. 49, p. 182 (end)]: Per idem tempus Leo Augustus ad peiora progressus est, ita ut compelleret omnes Constantinopolim habitantes tam vi quam blandimentis, ut deponerent ubicumque haberentur imagines tam Salvatoris quamque

[**Not Included: Middle of VI. 49:** Also king Liudprand attacked Feronianum, Mons Bellius, Buxeta, and Persiceta, Bononia and the Pentapolis and Auximum, fortresses of Emilia. And in like manner he then took possession of Sutrium but after some days it was again restored to the Romans.¹⁶⁰]

The compiler's rearranging is not dramatic, but it has reoriented Paul's text. First the compiler switched around the order of two passages of Paul's text to increase the emphasis on Byzantine iconoclasm. He describes Leo's iconoclasm and then he tells how the Lombard King Liudprand fought in defence of the pope, rather than vice versa.¹⁶¹ This suggests that the Lombards' actions were in response to Leo's iconoclasm, rather than an unrelated event that preceded it. Then, as done throughout the seventeenth book, the compiler omitted a passage referring to *Romani* in Italy: how Liudprand and his Lombards attacked the *Romani*. Instead the compiler jumped forward to include a passage about Ravenna and the Venetians; this likely reflects the interests and context of the north Italian compiler. In the last line of the seventeenth book, the compiler returns to events in Constantinople and tells of the increasing wickedness of the Emperor Leo and the unwillingness of both the people and the church of Constantinople to comply with the heretical emperor. The Roman Empire, it seems, is falling apart. In Constantinople the final shreds of its Christian legitimacy are now under attack by the emperor.

What we are left with is no longer an empire as a reader of the *Historia Romana* would have come to recognize it. It is an empire neither as a framework encompassing various territories and peoples, nor as the upholder of orthodoxy encompassing all Christians. Instead, there are heretical *Greci* in the East. At this point, we can almost see the compiler visibly throwing up his hands in despair. *Imperium* has given way to *regnum*, Romans to Greeks; now

eius sanctae genitricis vel omnium sanctorum, easque in medio civitatis incendio concremare fecit. Et quia plerique ex populo tale scelus fieri praepediebant, aliquanti ex eis capite truncati, alii parte corporis multati sunt. Cuius erroris Germanus patriarcha non consentiens, a propria sede depulsus est, et eius in loco Anastasius presbiter ordinatus est' [*Historia Langobardorum*, VI. 49, pp. 181–82; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. by Duchesne, Gregorius II, 1, pp. 396–410] (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, pp. 289–93; 297–98).

¹⁶⁰ **Not Included: Middle of Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, VI. 49, pp. 181–82:** 'Rex quoque Liutprand castra Emiliae, Feronianum et Montembellium, Buxeta et Persiceta, Bononiam et Pentapolim Auximumque invasit. Pari quoque modo tunc et Sutrium pervasit. Sed post aliquot dies iterum Romanis redditum est' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, pp. 290–93).

¹⁶¹ A useful overview of events is provided by Anastos, 'Leo III's Edict'.

the emperor himself has renounced the Roman church. What is left to hold a Roman history together?

After this point, there were no more passages about the Byzantines in Paul's *Lombard History* for the compiler to excerpt, so on one level the end of the seventeenth book is simply due to the lack of a source. (Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* only carries on for another decade or so. There was one more episode involving Romans that the compiler could have included: 'the Spoletans uniting with the Romans brought great disasters on the king's [Liudprand's] army'.¹⁶² But again the compiler chose not to include *Romani* in Italy as part of Roman history.) Nonetheless, it is tempting to suggest that, with iconoclasm, even the compiler, who unlike Paul was willing to prolong the Roman Empire into the eighth century, identified a breaking point — with the papacy significantly positioned.

What comes next? One passage in the seventeenth book would seem to offer a very subtle hint as to what might succeed the Roman Empire. Earlier in the narrative, before the iconoclastic struggles between the pope and the emperor had begun, the compiler retained a tantalizing sentence of Paul the Deacon's text about the Franks: 'At this time in Gaul, in the kingdom of the Franks, Anschis, the son of Arnulf, who is believed to be named after Anchises the former Trojan, conducted the sovereignty under the title of steward of the palace'.¹⁶³ Since the Franks claim to possess an eponym that, like the lineage of the Romans, can be traced back to Troy, might not they be legitimate successors of the Roman Empire? However, the seventeenth book, quite noticeably, does not elaborate or expand on this idea. On the contrary, quite pointedly, the Franks are not shown as the successors of the Roman Empire, either in the text itself or in the list of emperors that follows the text in the oldest manuscript.

The absence of the Franks is especially evident when the seventeenth book is contrasted with the excerpts included in the *Epitome Phillipsiana*. Although almost identical in every other respect, the *Epitome Phillipsiana* continues past

¹⁶² Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, vi. 56, p. 185: 'Spoletini se cum Romanis sociantes, magna incommoda regis exercitui intulerunt' (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 301).

¹⁶³ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, xvii. 43, p. 264: 'Hoc tempore apud Gallias in Francorum regnum Anschis, Arnulfi filius, qui de nomine Anschise quondam Troiani creditur appellatus, sub nomine maioris domui gerebat principatum' [Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, vi. 23, p. 172] (Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 266). On the reuse of the Trojan origin myth, see Reimitz, 'Die Konkurrenz der Ursprünge', and Anton, 'Troja-Herkunft'.

Leo's iconoclasm, subsequently including an excerpt that shows Charles Martel sending his son Pippin to the Lombard King Liudprand and the Franks and Lombards waging war together against the Saracens.¹⁶⁴ By including passages that emphasize the relationship between the Franks and the Lombards, the *Epitome Phillipsiana* acknowledges the Franks. By not including them, the seventeenth book pointedly chooses not to acknowledge the Franks as the successors of the Romans.¹⁶⁵

Instead, what the seventeenth book has done, in a delicate manoeuvring act, is use the text of the *Historia Langobardorum* to prolong a much less exceptional Roman Empire (and the *Historia Romana*) all the way up to the start of Byzantine iconoclasm in 730. The relationship of this Empire with the Christian church headed by the pope becomes increasingly strained. Yet the compiler continued to emphasize the Christian dimension of 'Romanness'. Simultaneously, however, from the start the compiler has restricted the Roman Empire exclusively to the East, interpreting the Italian *Romani* whom he found in Paul's text as neither part of this Empire nor relevant to a Roman history (that is, not Romans). Yet as the text ends iconoclasm appears to break apart the Roman Empire in the East, leaving only narrower regional and civic identities in its wake.

¹⁶⁴ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, vi. 53–54, pp. 183–84 (up to 'ad Italiam rediit'). Noticeably the *Epitome Phillipsiana* does not include the subsequent passage, also not included in the seventeenth book, which shows Liudprand waging war against the *Romani*, nor the sentence that is included in the seventeenth book in which Hildeprand and Peredeo, taking possession of Ravenna, are killed by the Venetians.

¹⁶⁵ Another telling contrast is a comparison of the seventeenth book with an 871 letter from Louis II to Basil I, transmitted only in the so-called tenth-century *Chronicon Salernitanum*, though generally considered, at least in its outlines, authentic: for an edition of the letter alone, see *Ludovici II. imperatoris epistola*, ed. by Henze; cf. *Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. by Westerbergh, c. 107, pp. 101–21. Discussion: Wickham, 'Ninth-Century Byzantium', pp. 253–54; Musca, *L'emirato di Bari*, pp. 118–23. In this letter Louis II defends his use of the title of Roman emperor at length using many themes similar to the seventeenth book: the 'Greekness' of the Byzantines, the Byzantine emperors' loss of legitimacy through their heresies, and the pope's authority in legitimizing a Roman emperor. The Greeks, the letter argues, have themselves to blame for their loss of the Roman Empire. Had it not been for their heresies, all the external challenges they faced would have been negligible. Their wrong opinions (*kacodossia*), their abandonment of the seat of Empire, Rome (*sedes imperii*), the Roman people (*gentem Romanam*), and the Roman language, Latin, have resulted in the transfer of the Roman Empire elsewhere. The parallel is especially intriguing in that the Byzantine emperor is advised to consult history, mainly biblical, but also Roman. Yet, though much of the logic resounds with the text of the seventeenth book, the letter uses these examples to support the Frankish claim to have become the new Roman emperors.

In the end, the seventeenth book does not seem to establish any basis for the continuation of the Roman Empire. None of the peoples of the seventeenth book are presented in wholly favourable terms.¹⁶⁶ The papacy is certainly presented most favourably, but as the upholder of orthodoxy, not as a political power capable of establishing a new empire.¹⁶⁷ The compiler, as the task of continuing the *Historia Romana* suggests, was on the search for Romanness. But in the end he seems unable to find many Romans. Nowhere does the compiler leave many resources of 'Romanness' in place for a continuation or reconstruction of a Roman Empire.¹⁶⁸ Already in the opening line we are told that the power of the Romans had ceased in Italy, and throughout the text no *Romani* are left in Italy upon which a new Empire could build. 'Romanness' has vanished from the West: it is not still lurking there for a new western Roman Emperor to associate himself with. With iconoclasm and the corresponding loss of legitimacy of the Byzantines as the Roman Empire, Romanness seems also to have vanished from the East. The seventeenth book does not suggest that the Roman Empire will be resurrected in either East or West; the Roman Empire has irretrievably faded.

In the collapse of the Roman Empire, as understood by the seventeenth book, the peculiarity and uniqueness of imperial Roman identity comes most clearly into perspective. As I argued above, we could compare the 'death' of the

¹⁶⁶ Much material regarding Lombard strife with the Byzantine Empire (or with the papacy) is excised, and when discussing the Lombards the seventeenth book could be said generally to have a pro-Lombard attitude. However, it seems more accurate to characterize the seventeenth book as uninterested in them. There is a relative abundance of material relating to Benevento, but it seems probable that this is more the result of an interest in Constans II's expedition to Italy, than an interest in Benevento *per se*. About the interest in Benevento, see the introduction in Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, pp. I-li.

¹⁶⁷ Paul the Deacon does not include much in the *Historia Langobardorum* that could be construed as establishing the Roman church as the new Roman state, nor does the compiler seem to have made an effort to include what little there was. For example he omits a passage showing Liudprand confirming the patrimony of the Cortian Alps to the Roman church (Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, vi. 43, pp. 179-80). However, not all passages referring to the papacy are included (see n. 150). The favourable treatment of the papacy, however, did lead Crivellucci to hypothesize that perhaps the seventeenth book was the product of a clergyman; see his introduction in Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci, p. li.

¹⁶⁸ It should be noted for clarification that, of course, an Empire need not be Roman: although the Romans were firmly entrenched as the prototype for Empire, there also circulated throughout the Middle Ages 'Rome-free' imperial ideologies: Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire'.

Lombards and of the Romans in Paul's *Historia Langobardorum*.¹⁶⁹ Ruled over by different peoples (Franks/Byzantines), the Lombards and Romans cease to operate as a political body, though Romans and Lombards still continue to populate Italy. The compiler of the seventeenth book, however, does not maintain such a reservoir of Roman potential. 'Romanness' belonged to a certain mode of imperial belonging; without an *imperium* to inhabit, the Romans too disappear.¹⁷⁰ The *populus Romanus* does not have the same durability as other forms of identity. Instead of remaining Romans without an empire, the inhabitants of the former Empire retain only their non-Roman, ethnic, civic, or regional identity — with the significant exception of the inhabitants of Rome, who, as still today, remain Romans in a much more limited civic sense of the word.

Thus, the seventeenth book could be characterized as delegitimizing 'Romanness' as a potential resource for political organization. As a delegitimizing text, the seventeenth book resonates well with the cultural climate of ninth-century north Italy, where definite sympathies are hard to pin down. For example, one could compare it with Agnellus's *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, in which the Byzantines, the papacy, and the Lombards all receive their share of abuse.¹⁷¹ For a more specific context of the seventeenth book's formation two speculations present themselves:

- 1) An early ninth-century date, with the seventeenth book as a reaction against Frankish attempts to use Romanness and the Empire.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ See end of section III above.

¹⁷⁰ For the sixth century see Greatrex, 'Roman Identity in the Sixth Century', who points to empire as the key to Romanness, 'the fundamental definition of a Roman in the empire of Justinian was that of loyalty to the Emperor', as well as noting the importance of Christianity (p. 268). On account of these two factors Greatrex argues for the elasticity of the category of Romanness, suggesting that 'ethnicity' is peculiarly unhelpful in coming to grips with the notion of Romanness or Roman identity in the sixth century (p. 278).

¹⁷¹ See the introduction to Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. by Deliyannis, pp. 3–19; Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna*. Regarding Byzantine and Roman traditions in Ravenna see Brown, 'The Interplay between Roman and Byzantine Traditions'. For the situation in Italy more generally see Classen, 'Italien zwischen Byzanz und dem Frankenreich'; Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*; Brown, 'Byzantine Italy'. Regarding how peoples in the West, in particular in Italy, came to perceive themselves as inhabiting a post-Roman world, see Moorhead, 'The West and the Roman Past'.

¹⁷² As suggested by Peter Brown, perhaps the text could even be imagined as reacting to Charlemagne's taking of *spolia* from Ravenna after 787 (when Pope Hadrian I gave permission for Charlemagne to take mosaics, marbles, and other materials from the palace at Ravenna). See Brenk, 'Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne', pp. 108–09; Kinney, 'Roman Architectural

- 2) A second possibility would be a much later date towards the end of the ninth century, at the time of Louis II or later, as it became clear that the Frankish experiment of a Roman Empire would not hold.

I cannot find concrete evidence for either of these ideas. However, the earliest manuscripts associated with the excerpts that constitute the seventeenth book do indicate the way in which the seventeenth book was involved in an ongoing and ever more pressing search to legitimize the post-Roman world constituted of ethnic kingdoms.

The ninth-century *Epitome Phillipsiana*, whose excerpts from Paul's *Historia Langobardorum* are otherwise almost identical to those of the seventeenth book, continues further to show the Lombards and Franks collaborating for the defence of Italy against the Saracen threat.¹⁷³ This and the other historical selections included in the miscellany tell of a post-Roman world of *gentes* (which includes the Franks) in the West, whose responsibility it now is (following the end of the Roman Empire) to act in defence of Christianity. The oldest manuscript including the seventeenth book as such, from the ninth century, evidences a similar urge to legitimize this post-Roman world of *gentes*.¹⁷⁴ Following the seventeenth book and the list of Roman emperors up to Leo III (717–41) is an exceedingly brief summary (roughly three hundred and thirty words) of Lombard history from the *Historia Langobardorum*. This overview of the Lombard migrations and kings, from their origins up to Rothari, provides historical material relevant to a compilation focused on Italy and presents the Lombards as among the *gentes* that replaced the Roman Empire.¹⁷⁵ Both manu-

Spolia, esp. pp. 147–49.

¹⁷³ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, vi. 53–54, pp. 183–84 (up to 'ad Italiam rediit').

¹⁷⁴ See n. 130.

¹⁷⁵ This epitome is included in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* volume: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Bethmann and Waitz, p. 195. Like the seventeenth book, this summary is extracted from Paul's Lombard history. It is entitled *De Regibus qui prae-fuerunt winolis et statione eorum* ('Regarding the Kings Who Ruled Over the Winnili and their Places of Residence'). The text, having clarified that the Winnili are the Lombards, enumerates the kings of the Lombards and describes the locations through which the Lombards migrated on their path southward from Scandinavia to Italy. Also provided are such details as the kings' lengths of rule, their relationships, and their deaths. This brief text summarizes the basic outlines of Lombard history which are entirely absent elsewhere in the compilation. The Lombards are not, however, positioned as the successors to the Roman Empire. The Lombard leaders are consistently referred to as kings, not emperors, ruling a *regnum*, not an *imperium*, nor is any other

scripts show a more articulated expression and legitimization of a post-Roman world whose potential outlines are already discernible in the seventeenth book. So who were the Romans?

In the first century CE, even before the establishment of the Roman Empire of Augustus, Cicero wrote of Romanness as a second layer of identity:

I do indeed think that all municipal men have two homelands, one by nature and the other by citizenship. [...] So we too regard that place where we were born and that place where we have been enfranchised as our homeland. But it is necessary for the latter to stand first in our affection, to which the name 'Republic' has attached itself to us all. For this we must die, for this we must give ourselves entirely, and for this we must give all our possessions as though for sacrifice. But that homeland which raised us is not much less sweet than that which has adopted us. Thus I shall never say that this is not my homeland, though that one is greater and this is contained in it.¹⁷⁶

Roman identity, as described by Cicero, had a particular, almost paradoxical, quality. Although one's acquired, externally received identity, not one's 'inborn' identity, one's *patria*, the homeland to which one was assured to feel a natural bond, 'Romanness' (here defined as Roman citizenship in particular) over-arched and overrode other forms of identity.

Throughout the centuries, the Roman identity described by Cicero had changed dramatically. As Eutropius's *Breviarium* indicates, by the late fourth century Roman identity had lost its emphasis on citizenship and had become closely bound up with the emperor and empire. By the eighth century when Paul the Deacon came to rework Eutropius's text, Roman identity had changed contours yet again. The Roman Empire had become a Christian Empire and a Christian dimension could not be omitted when telling Roman history. Yet as the former Romans in the East came to be understood by Westerners as 'Greeks',

attempt made to assert their primacy. By ending with Rothari (636–52) and not Liudprand, the last king described in Paul's Lombard history and even mentioned in the seventeenth book, the compilation further re-enforces its presentation of the Lombards as a historical phenomenon, not as a contemporary power with which to be reckoned.

¹⁷⁶ Cicero, *De legibus*, II. 5, quoted and trans. by Farney, *Ethnic Identity and Aristocratic Competition*, pp. 6–7: 'ego mehercule et illi et omnibus municipibus duas esse censeo patrias, unam naturae, alteram civitatis [...] sic nos et eam patriam ducimus, ubi nati, et illam, a qua excepti sumus. Sed necesse est caritate praestare, qua rei publicae nomen universae civitatis est; pro qua mori et cui nos totos dedere et in qua nostra omnia ponere et quasi consecrare debemus. Dulcis autem non multo secus est ea, qua genuit, quam illa, quae exceptit. Itaque ego hanc meam esse patriam prorsus numquam negabo, dum illa sit maior, haec in ea contineatur'.

and post-Roman kingdoms that defined themselves in non-Roman terms established themselves in the West, 'Romanness' became increasingly difficult to find — as is demonstrated by the so-called seventeenth book of Roman history added on to Paul's *Historia Romana*. In the East, the Byzantines continued to vaunt themselves as Romans; in the city of Rome the inhabitants remained Romans and, at times, 'Roman' was still used in contrast to the newer elites in the ethnic kingdoms built out of former Roman provinces. But 'Romanness' as a second overarching layer of identity had essentially slipped away.

Where Romanness survived, and even thrived, was in the manuscripts of Roman history which continued to be copied throughout the Middle Ages. They indicate that the peculiarity of Roman identity continued, despite (or perhaps even because of) the changed world, to captivate readers. The different layers and interpretations of Roman history which were built onto Eutropius's text did not supplant each other, but offered a plurality of interpretations from which medieval western audiences could choose. Eutropius's ten-book Roman history, Paul's sixteen-book Roman history, Paul's Lombard history, and the seventeen-book Roman history all provided similar but differently nuanced interpretations of the Roman past. They offered a profusion of Romans to choose from, from mythic prehistory up to the eighth century: areligious pagans, Christians, and heretics, in Rome, Italy, Constantinople, and the wider Roman Empire. They more or less stressed the exceptionality of the Roman Empire and reconfigured its relationship to Christianity. A range of readings of the Roman Empire was made possible, from understanding the Roman Empire as contemporary history, the history of the neighbouring Byzantine Empire, to ancient history, an unparalleled singular achievement of the past. Nor were these texts the only versions of Roman history available. Eutropius, Paul the Deacon, or the seventeenth book could be expanded or contracted and situated in diverse manuscript combinations — and naturally other Roman histories circulated too, such as Orosius, Livy, Lucan, or Josephus. These remind us that the Roman Empire possessed and brought forth many histories. In the fourth century, the pace of historical writing began to quicken, as a changing world knotted itself more firmly to the Roman past, producing a vast and ever growing corpus of Roman histories onto which later authors would continue to build. Roman identity, in a plurality of interpretations, remained tangible and actual, a force delineating the construction of past communities and offering potentials for the future.

APPENDIX: SUMMARY OF TEXTS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIPS

Texts:

Eutropius, *Breviarium* (10 Books) (AD 364–75)

Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana* (16 Books) (AD c. 770)

= New Beginning + Eutropius's *Breviarium* (Bks 1–10) + Bks 11–16

Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* (before AD 795/96)

Anonymous north Italian compiler, *Historia Romana* (17 Books)
(ninth century)¹

= Paul's *Historia Romana* (Bks 1–16) + 17th book
(excerpts of Paul's *Historia Langobardorum*)

*Appendix A: Versions of the Roman History*²

Bold: Eutropius; Regular: earlier sources; Underlined: Paul the Deacon;
Underlined and Bold: 17th book (anonymous compiler)

Dedication: Paul the Deacon to Adalperga (often missing)

Preface: New Beginning of Book 1: Janus, Saturn > Romulus
Jerome's *Chronicle*

Dedication: Eutropius to Valens (often missing)

Book 1: Foundation of Rome > Gallic Sack of Rome

Book 2: > End of the First Punic War (c. 241 BC)

Book 3: > The Defeat of Carthage in the Second Punic War (c. 201 BC)

¹ A number of arguments suggest a ninth century north Italian compilation: the earliest surviving manuscript containing this text, an Italian history book regarding the Roman past, Virginia, Private Collection (formerly Oslo, Schøyen, MS 50), seems to be from ninth-century north Italy; the similarity of the excerpts to those found in the *Epitome Phillipsiana* from ninth-century Verona; the use of *Pelasgi* for the Greeks in the compiler's only independent half sentence, a term also found in Agnellus of Ravenna's early ninth century *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*.

² Based in part on: Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. by Crivellucci; Cornford, 'The Idea of the Roman Past'.

Book 4: > Jugurthine War (c. 105 BC)

Book 5: Sulla and Marius (81 BC)

Book 6: Pompey and Caesar (AD 44)

Bks 1–6; Livy

Book 7: > Death of Domitian (AD 96)

Book 8: > Severus Alexander (AD 235)

Book 9: Maximus > Diocletian (AD 303)

Book 10: > Jovian (AD 364)

Bks 7–10; Suetonius, Enmann's *Kaisergeschichte*
(hypothesized as common source for Aurelius Victor/Eutropius)

In Books 1–10, Paul the Deacon adds interpolations to Eutropius roughly 200 times (c. 3000 words)

Orosius' *Historiae Adversos Paganos*, *Epitome de Caesaribus*, Jerome's *Chronicle*

Book 11: Valentinian I > Theodosius I (AD 364–92)

Book 12: > 'Barbarians' cross into the Spanish Peninsula (AD 392–409)

Bks 11–12; Orosius (Bk 7), *Epitome de Caesaribus*

Book 13: > Death of Theodosius II (409–50 AD)

Orosius (Bk 7), Prosper

Book 14: > Marcianus (450–57 AD)

Prosper, Jordanes' *Getica*

Book 15: > Zeno Augustus (457–91 AD)

Jordanes' *Getica*

Book 16: > Justinian: 'Quia vero restant adhuc quae de Iustiniani Augusti felicitate dicantur, insequenti Deo praesule libello promenda sunt.' (AD 491>552)

Liber Pontificalis

Book 17: Justinian > Leo III (Byzantine Iconoclasm) (>AD 730)

Excerpts of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*³

³ See n. 129, above.

Appendix B. Paul the Deacon's Historia Langobardorum

Book 1: Winnili (who become the Lombards) in Scandinavia > Alboin's rule, his victory over the Gepids and marriage with Rosamund

Book 2: > Death of Alboin and the time without kings (AD 574–84)

Book 3: > Agilulf (AD 615)

Book 4: > Grimoald (AD 662)

Book 5: > Cunincpert (AD 700)

Book 6: > Death of Liudprand (>AD 744)

Unfinished?

Sources: *Origo Gentis Langobardorum*, Gregory of Tours's *Historiarum Libri Decem*, *Liber Pontificalis*, Secundus of Trento's *Historiola de Gestis Langobardorum* (lost)

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