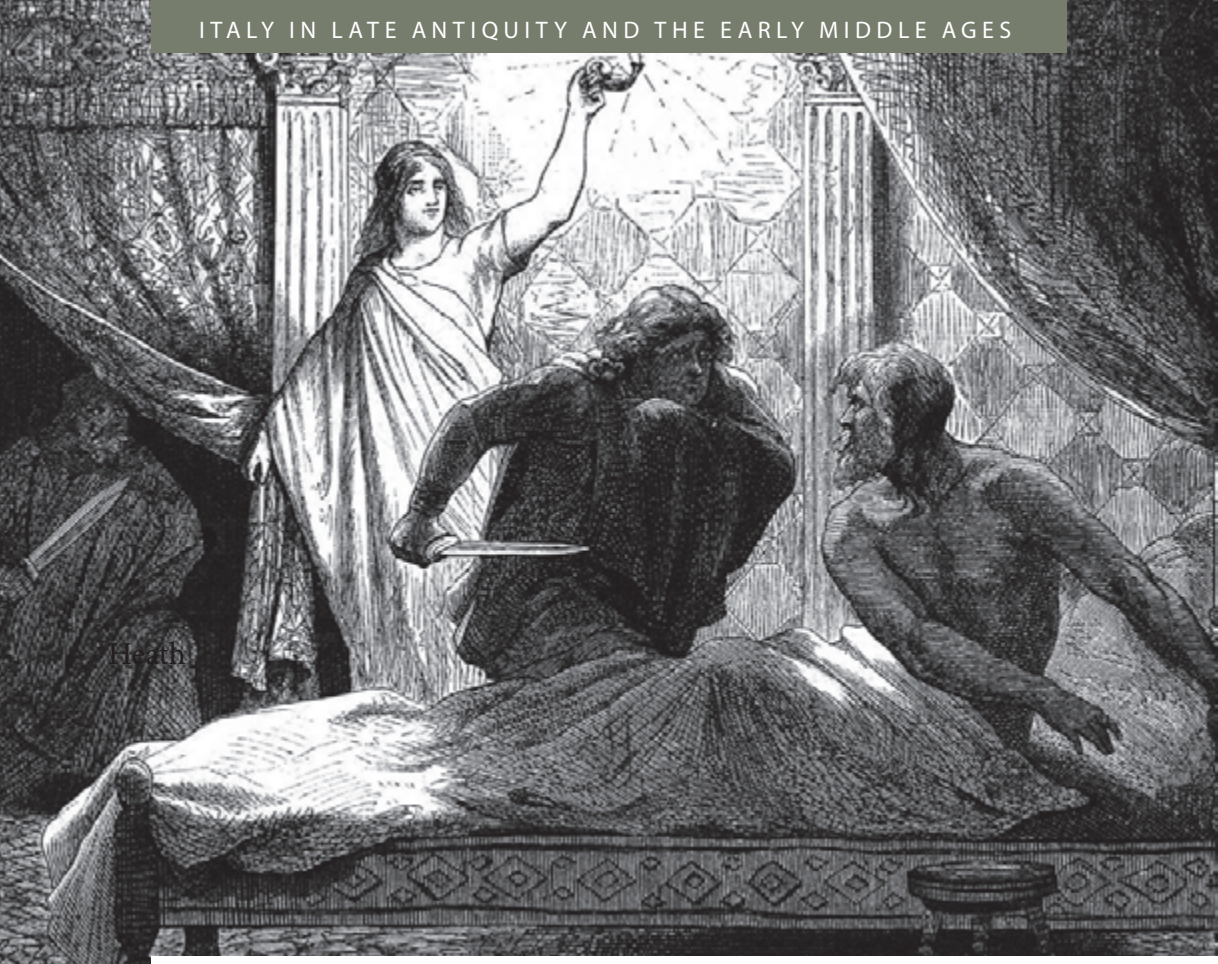

Edited by Christopher Heath and Robert Houghton

Conflict and Violence in Medieval Italy 568–1154

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Abbreviations

AB	*Annales de Saint-Bertin*, Félix Grat, Jeanne Vielliard and Suzanne Clémencet (eds.) (Paris: Klincksieck, 1964).
CISAM	Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1952-).
CDCaj	*Codex diplomaticus Cajetanus* (2 vols.) (Montecassino: Typis Archicoenobii Montis Casini, 1887-1891).
CDCav	*Codex diplomaticus Cavensis* (8 vols), Michaele Morcaldi, Mauro Schiani, Sylvano De Stefano (eds.) (Napoli: Piazzi, 1873-1888).
CDL	Codice Diplomatico Longobardo.
CMC	*Chronica Monasterii Casinensis / Die Chronik von Montecassino*, Harmut Hoffmann (ed.) (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1980) (MGH: Scriptores, vol. 34).
CSBC	*Chronica Sancti Benedicti Casinensis*, Georg Waitz (ed.), in *MGH SrL* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1878), pp. 468-488.
CV	*Chronicon Vulturnense del monaco Giovanni*, Vincenzo Federici (ed.) (3 vols.) (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1925-1938) (FSI, vols. 58-60).
DBI	*Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, 1960-).
EHR	English Historical Review
EME	Early Medieval Europe
Erch.	*Erchemperti Ystoriola Longobardorum Beneventum degentium / Erchemperto, Piccola Storia dei Longobardi di Benevento: Introduzione, edizione critica, traduzione, note e commento*, Luigi Andrea Berto (ed.) (Napoli: Liguori Editore, 2013).
FSI	Fonti per la Storia d'Italia (Istituto storico per il medio evo) (1887-).
Ioh. VIII epp.	*Iohannis VIII. papae epistolae* (*Registrum Iohannis VIII papae*), *Fragmenta registri Iohannis VIII. papae*, Erich Caspar (ed.) in *MGH:Epistolae VII Karolini Aevi V* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1928), pp. 1-312.
LP	*Liber Pontificalis / Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire* (3 vols.) Vols I and II,

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	Louis Duchesne (ed.); Vol III, Cyrille Vogel (ed.) (Paris: De Boccard 1955-1957).
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
MGH AA	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctores Antiquissimi* (15 vols.) (Berlin 1877-1919).
MGH Capit.	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Capitularia, legum sectio II Capitularia Regum Francorum,* A. Boretius and V. Krause (eds.) (2 vols.) (Hannover, 1883-97).
MGH DD	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Diplomata*
MGH Epi.	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistulae*
MGH LL	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Leges*
MGH SrG	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi* (63 vols.) (Hannover, 1871-1987).
MGH SrL	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX,* G.Waitz (ed.) (Hannover, 1878).
MGH SrM	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*
MGH SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores in folio* (30 vols.) (Hannover, 1824-1924).
ÖAW	Österreichische Akademie für Wissenschaften
QFIAB	*Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*
PL	*Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina,* J.P. Migne (221 vols.) (Paris 1841-64).
PLRE	John R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
RI	*Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter den Karolingern 751-918 (987)*, vol. 4: *Papstregesten 800-911*, part 3: *872-882*, Veronika Unger *et alii* (eds.) (Wien: Böhlau, 2013) (Johann Friedrich Böhmer, Regesta Imperii, vol. I,4,3).
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society

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Preface

The papers published in this volume were originally presented at the International Medieval Congress in a surprisingly hot July in Leeds in 2016. The theme of the two sessions held on the Wednesday morning of the congress was 'Murder and Mayhem: Disorder and Violence in Italy, 568-1154'. Seven of the contributions presented for the first time on that day are seen here in considerably revised form. The editors also sought and acquired additional papers from Guido Berndt, Kordula Wolf and David Barritt.

The nine essays collated here represent ongoing research and work into the mechanisms and mechanics of the socio-cultural worlds of Italy from the advent of the Lombards in *c.*568 up to the ascendancies of the Normans in Sicily and the Staufen emperors in the Kingdom of Italy through the prism offered by violence, disorder and discontent. As we indicate in the Introduction which follows, and which considers the essays themselves and the historiographical landscapes, this volume is not a 'grammar' of violence, and in most respects, it is not the violence *per se* that holds interest, but rather the methods by which Medieval Italian societies coped, contained and continued despite that violence.

Since 2016, the essays have been refined, amended and re-amended. It is to the eternal credit of the contributors, who submitted their work on time and to schedule, that they patiently endured the lacuna between presentation, preparation and production with such equanimity as the editors strove to bring forward the complete manuscript. In this respect the volume rests upon a cumulative value where, whilst all the contributions consider issues in particular contexts, the accumulated aspects of the issues tackled reveal both the fluidity and the inventiveness of Italian societies as they grappled with the impact of violence on the ground.

Our thanks then must go to the contributors here in the first place; secondly, to Professor Balzaretti who in the midst of considerable responsibilities as Head of History at the University of Nottingham completed the Afterword; thirdly, to the Commissioning Editor at Amsterdam University Press, Dr Erin Dailey whose gentle but effective management of the project brought the end-product to its' conclusion; and to Dr Vicki Blud who has efficiently assisted the editors in the final stage of production in the midst of a pandemic that shows no sign of dissipation.

Christopher Heath
Robert Houghton

June 2021

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1 Introduction

Discordant Minds and Hostile Nations

Christopher Heath and Robert Houghton

In his *Études sur l'histoire des principautés lombardes de l'Italie méridionale et de leurs rapports avec l'empire franc*, René Poupardin observed that the Lombard *Mezzogiorno* of the early Middle Ages encapsulated '*un récit de lutte intestines aussi stérile qu'obscures*'.[1] A concentration on the dismal and often convoluted picture painted by monastic chroniclers, would prompt a belief that 'these rough and violent times' do no merit serious study. Yet analysis of the processes, problems and potentialities that both conflict and violence created, allows an engagement with fundamental issues that affected early medieval Italy. Yet, one may adopt a viewpoint that sees in the apparent violence and conflict of this period an opportunity to understand how individuals and societies grappled with and resolved the issues they faced and withstood.[2] Conflict and violence were vital forces in the formation of polities, and the management of such tells us more about the underlying processes of societal formation and cohesion, instead of being a mere grammar of violence.

This book is concerned with understanding the vital forces at work on the ground by identifying how tensions between conflict and stasis were worked out through the witness of a variety of source material – textual in all formats, both normative and narrative, and where relevant archaeological. It is not, however, concerned with what might be called the mechanics of

1 René Poupardin, *Études sur l'histoire des principautés lombardes de l'Italie méridionale et de leurs rapports avec l'empire franc* (Paris: Honore Champion, 1907), p. v.

2 See for instance, Barbara Kreutz, *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), pp. xxiii-xxv. For useful discussion, see Kordula Wolf and Klaus Herbers '(Re-) Thinking Early Medieval Southern Italy as a Border Region', in Kordula Wolf and Klaus Hebers (eds.), *Southern Italy as Contact Area and Border Region during the Early Middle Ages: Religious-Cultural Heterogeneity and Competing Powers in Local, Transregional and Universal Dimensions* (Böhlau: Wien, 2018), pp. 9-20.

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violence, in other words violence in and of itself, but rather in the impact of this violence on societies and elites. In short, did such activity prompt significant, systemic and substantive change? How does violence shape Italian society in this period? What were the short- and long-term consequences of such violent activity? The ten contributions in this volume seek to interrogate, at specific points chronologically in the trajectory of early medieval Italy, the experience, the impact and the containment or management of social, political, and religious violence. It should not be assumed, however, that there is any teleological inclination in this volume, to suggest that the early Middle Ages in Italy were any more or less violent than the periods that preceded or that followed. This would be an undertaking of doubtful empirical value, let alone one which could be demonstrated in any objective sense.[3]

Of course, the association of the early Middle Ages with conflict and violence has a long pedigree. The narratives of this transformational period from the commentators of the eighteenth-century onwards contrast a supposedly tranquil and peaceful period with that of one shattered by the unwelcome irruptions of outsiders apparently only concerned with destruction and plunder.[4] In the processes, on the ground, the cumulative geo-political result in Europe was the end of one over-arching political structure with its replacement by a variety of locally focussed regional entities. Recently, historians have argued over whether the Western Roman Empire succumbed from its own internal shortcomings and contradictions or whether it was pushed into a thousand ends by the attentions of mathematically indeterminate but no doubt superior 'hordes' of barbarians.[5] A

3 Wolf Liebeschuetz, 'Violence in the Barbarian Successor Kingdoms' in H.A. Drake (ed.), *Violence in Late Antiquity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 38-46. See also the comments of Paul Fouracre, 'Attitudes to Violence in Seventh- and Eighth-century Francia' in Guy Halsall (ed.), *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1998), pp. 60-1. On quantification of violence (associated with war) and the difficulties for interpretation this causes, see Justine Firnhaber-Baker, *Violence and the State in Languedoc 1250-1400* (Cambridge: CUP, 2014), pp. 17-20

4 For the development of responses to the period, see Ian Wood, *The Modern Origins of the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), pp. 1-18 and pp. 52-73. Essays on Gibbon's responses are also illustrative, see Rosamond McKitterick and Roland Quinault (eds.), *Edward Gibbon and Empire* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), pp. 12-33 and pp. 137-61; Francois Furet, 'Civilisation and Barbarism in Gibbon's History', *Daedalus* 105:3 (1976), pp. 209-216; E. Badian and Pierre Ducrey, *Gibbon et Rome à la lumière de l'historiographie moderne: dix exposés suivis de discussions*, (Genève: Droz, 1977); G. Giarrizzo, *Edward Gibbon e la cultura europea del settecento* (Napoli: Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, 1954).

5 Such imagery has a lengthy hold on the imagination. Gibbon, for instance remarked that 'armies of unknown barbarians issuing from the frozen regions of the North (…) established their

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beguiling symmetry arises between those who favoured the latter impulse as an explanation of structural change and the notion that the early Middle Ages was the inheritor and the continuator of a chaotic and violent politico-social landscape. In social and economic terms, the apparent result of these changes were considerable and apparent reductions in both societal complexity and economic specialisation were evident.[6] An alternative reading is possible. On the other hand, considerable effort has been made to seek out and identify continuities between and across the centuries of Late Antiquity. In this context, it even becomes possible to consider whether to all practical intents the Western Roman Empire stopped, or if it instead inexorably withered away into irrelevance to subsequently be remodelled on more modest bases. Here one thinks of the Ostrogothic kingdom of Theoderic the Great (493-526) as an exemplar of this reconstitution; at one stage the extent of his kingdom nearly encompassed the whole of the western Mediterranean.[7] The reality, so far as one can reduce these processes to generalisations, was that the situation on the ground was somewhere between these two positions.[8]

Violence and conflict were inextricably linked with these transformational processes. This volume engages with societal violence to attain an effective interpretative balance that will permit historians to make sense of the inheritance of Late Antiquity, and the subsequent re-engineering of medieval societies which sought to manage the challenges of discordant minds and

victorious reign over the fairest provinces of Europe and Asia', J. B. Bury (ed.), *Edward Gibbon: the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London: Methuen, 1897-1901), (III), p. 415. See the essays in Thomas F.X. Noble (ed.), *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms: Rewriting Histories* (London: Routledge, 2006).

6 Both Peters, Drew and Harper furnish pithy and helpful summaries of the processes at work: Kyle Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World 275-425* (Cambridge: CUP, 2015), pp. 500-2; Katherine Fischer Drew, *The Lombards Laws* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973), pp. 4-6; and, Edward Peters, 'Foreword' in Drew, *The Lombard Laws*, pp. v-ix. One measure that Ward-Perkins uses is the management of urban public buildings, see Bryan Ward Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy, AD 300-850* (Oxford: OUP, 1984).

7 Guy Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007); Peter Heather, *The Fall of Rome: a New History of Rome and the Barbarians* (Oxford: OUP, 2007); and Bryan Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilisation* (Oxford: OUP, 2005). For Ostrogothic Italy, see Jonathan J. Arnold, M. Shane Bjornlie and Kristina Sessa (eds.), *A Companion to Ostrogothic Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), and Jonathan J. Arnold, 'Ostrogothic Provinces: Administration and Ideology' in the same volume, pp. 73-97.

8 Walter Pohl, 'Social Cohesion, Breaks, and Transformations in Italy 535-600' in Ross Balzaretti, Julia Barrow and Patricia Skinner (eds.), *Italy and Early Medieval Europe* (Oxford: OUP, 2018), pp. 20-1.

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hostile nations, through the prism that the Italian experience offers. Slotting Italy into a binary narrative of the early Middle Ages, in the same way as that of Europe writ large also fails to address or provide adequate light on the complexity of the legacy of Late Antiquity. The fundamental inheritance for the Italian peninsula was more than either a kaleidoscope of unmitigated instability and visceral, non-directive and unadulterated violence or a seamless and felicitous tranquillity. The lengthy period of focus in this volume from the Lombard period (proper) (i.e. 568-774) to the rule of the Salian and Staufen Emperors and Kings of Italy (1027-1125 and 1128-1254 respectively) encompasses varied political and socio-economic landscapes; throughout, the persistence of violence in various contexts is noticeably prevalent. Our longer focus allows commentators and readers to cut across traditional periodisations, and to identify key commonalities through and across the lengthier chronological timeframe. One example of this useful cross-periodisation are the contrasts between the Lombard period and the Carolingian period that follows it, and then the so-called National Kingdom (888-962).[9] One can then perceive why, given the violent imprint upon Italian history, one commentator has described Italy as 'the enduring culture' which has been transformed by and survived cathartic change caused by both its own inhabitants and by outsiders.[10] Historians, and the contributors in this volume, can enunciate a nuanced picture; in terms of both how Italians managed the potentiality of violence; and also how those at the sharp end, both as individuals and in groups, reconstituted a societal equilibrium that could prosper, often with a new implicit grammar of socio-political norms and standards.

In this introduction, we shall not tread the well-trodden path of endeavouring to prove the actuality of violence. Instead, the purpose of this introduction is, in conjunction with the second section which sets out the historiographical footprint, to tackle three key issues. First, we address issues with the sources at our disposal; secondly, we set out the definitional continuum of conflict and violence; before we conclude the first section with commentary on specific aspects of violence in the Italian peninsula, in particular judicial violence, violent activity in urban contexts and religious violence. We should point out, at this point, that whilst there is not a specific contribution that foregrounds the issues of gender and violence in this volume, that all the

9 See the chapters by Heath, Berndt, Borri and Manarini in this volume.

10 Jonathan Charles White, *Italy: The Enduring Culture* (London: Continuum, 2001). Gilmour in his appraisal of Italian history suggests that rather than a blessing, the geographical position of Italy qualified it as 'one of the most easily and frequently invaded places in the world'. David Gilmour, *The Pursuit of Italy: A History of a Land, its Regions and their Peoples* (London: Allen Lane, 2012), p. 8.

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ten contributions herein touch upon the relationships between violence and gendered action (see for instance Manarini's chapter) and thereby, show the direct need for further layered engagement and research in this area which can build on the studies of Skinner, Balzaretti and many others in this regard.[11] One example from the *Historia Langobardorum* demonstrates how these issues intersect with the concerns of this volume, for it demonstrates the chameleonic nature of violence in this period which crosses definitional boundaries, as we shall see. This is the unpalatable report of the treatment of the wife and the daughters of the *dux* of Friuli by the victorious Avar *Qaghan* as reported by Paul the Deacon (*c.*735-96). During an invasion of the Avars into Friuli, Paul tells us that Romilda, the wife of Gisulf I contrived to betray the city of *Forum Iulii* (modern Cividale di Friuli) due to her desire for the Avar leader. The *Qaghan* promised marriage but once he was in control of the city, ordered Romilda to be raped and then impaled. The daughters avoided a similar fate by placing 'the flesh of raw chickens' under their breasts so that the meat putrefied and the odour that developed put off the Avars from further mistreatment of the women. Paul evidently uses the story as a salutary moral on the evils of (feminine) lust.[12] The violence depicted intersects with several categories of violence, i.e. that between outsiders and Italians; that between political agents; that between men and women; and that between competing social-cultural entities. This volume does not intend to present the final definitive word on this and other inter-linked issues but rather seeks to encourage and develop ongoing research activity which connects with the contributions presented.

The footprint of the sources is a significant concern of all the contributions here. Historians must of course deal with the paradox of their sources – being both at the mercy of the content, and carrying the risk of crafting extrapolated arguments that do not represent a 'true' and measured reality.

11 Patricia Skinner, *Studying Gender in Medieval Europe: Historical Approaches* (London: Palgrave, 2018); Patricia Skinner, *Women in Medieval Italian Society 500-1200* (Harlow: Longman, 2001); Ross Balzaretti, 'These are things that men do, not women': The Social Regulation of Female Violence in Langobard Italy' in Guy Halsall (ed.), *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1998), pp. 175-192; Julius Kirschner (ed.), *Women of the Medieval World: New Perspectives on the Past* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), Holly S. Hurlburt, 'Women, Gender and Rulership in Medieval Italy', *History Compass* 4 (2006), pp. 528-35; Kate Cooper and Jamie Wood (eds.), *Social Control in Late Antiquity: The Violence of Small Worlds* (Cambridge: CUP, 2020) all furnish useful perspectives on these issues. See the chapters by Manarini and Wolf in this volume for further discussion.

12 William Dudley Foulke, *History of the Langobards* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania: 1907), pp. 180-6 and Lidia Capo, *Paolo Diacono: Storia dei Longobardi* (Vincenza, Lorenzo Valla, 1992), pp. 212-7.

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Source criticism and what may be termed the 'rhetorical patterning' of the sources is a particularly vibrant issue for discussion of both conflict and violence.[13] One short contrast will suffice to demonstrate this. If one considers Paul the Deacon's appraisal of the ten years of the Lombard *inter-regnum* (i.e. 574-84) with that of the rule of Authari (584-90) one can discern a deliberate rhetorical contrast sketched by Paul.[14] In the *inter-regnum*, we are told that 'many of the noble Romans were killed [...] the priests killed, the cities overthrown...' ('*sacerdotibus interfectis, civitatibus subrutis*'). Yet in the time of Authari 'there was no violence ('*nulla erat violentia*'), no ambuscades were laid, no one constrained another unjustly, no one took spoils, there were no thefts, no robberies, everyone proceeded whither he pleased, safe and without fear' ('*unusquisque quo libebat secures sine timore pergabat*').[15] It is more than improbable that this passage reflects the reality on the ground, and more so when one then recalls that Paul writes from a distance of two centuries.[16] The reality in terms of violence is harder to discern, not least because of the fundamental reliance we still have on the *HL* as a key narrative for the Lombard kingdom.[17] Each of the contributions in this volume have cause to engage with the evidential foundations of

13 We owe this phrase 'rhetorical patterning of the sources' to one of the anonymous reviewers of the work. This is one of the concerns that links all the chapters in this collection.

14 Foulke, *History of the Langobards*, pp. 86-93 and 114-7 and Lidia Capo, *Paolo Diacono*, pp. 114-7 and 144-7.

15 Foulke, *History of the Langobards*, pp. 86-93 and 114-7 and Lidia Capo, *Paolo Diacono: Storia dei Longobardi*, pp. 114-7 and 144-7. For discussion, see Christopher Heath, *The Narrative Worlds of Paul the Deacon: Between Empires and Identities in Lombard Italy* (Amsterdam: AUP, 2017), pp. 171-7. On the inter-regnum see Andreas Fischer, 'Money for Nothing? Franks, Byzantines and Lombards in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries in Stefan Esders, Yaniv Fox, Yitzhak hen and Laury Sarti (eds.), *East and West in the Early Middle Ages: The Merovingian Kingdoms in Mediterranean Perspective* (Cambridge: CUP, 2019), pp. 108-26; and S. Dick, 'Longobardi per annos decem regem non habentes sub ducibus fuerunt: Formen und Entwicklung der Herrschaftsorganisation bei den Langobarden. Eine Skizze' in W. Pohl and P. Erhart (eds.), *Die Langobarden: Herrschaft und Identität* (Wien: OAW, 2005), pp. 335-43.

16 One may contrast this passage with the rather laconic entries in more contemporaneous sources from this period such as the Continuation of Prosper, John of Biclar and Marius of Avenches or the later letters of Gregory the Great (590-604) which do not bear out the idea that this was a period of tranquillity. Foulke notes that 'the golden age is not borne out by the facts'. See Foulke, *History of the Langobards*, p. 117 who follows Pabst (i.e. Heinrich Pabst, 'Geschichte des langobardischen Herzogthums' in *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte* (Vol. II) (Göttingen: Dieterichschen 1862), p. 425 n. 2). For discussion and contrast between Paul and sources of the late sixth century, see Edoardo Fabbro, *Warfare and the Making of Early Medieval Italy* (*568-652*) (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 67-107.

17 See Patrick Geary, '*Longobardi* in the Sixth Century without Paulus Diaconus' in Balzaretti et al., *Italy and Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 50-9.

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their source materials, to be alive to the construction of a narrative, a set of responses and impulses. By understanding and considering the agency of the actors depicted and the matter of their depiction, we can create a more realistic interpretative balance. Even so, commentary requires empirical evidence that points the way to an understanding of the processes at work on the ground and the responses of sources and their writers and compilers to those changes. Clearly, violent activity, conflict and violence were subjects that motivated the production of history because these actions prompted change, necessitated explanation and provided appropriate subject matter for the construction of narratives. At the same time such commentary signalled variances in 'a' given perceived normality that was known to both the author and his/her audiences. Given the geographical landscapes of Italy, one episode or set of events did not have concurrent and contemporaneous impact for all parts of the peninsula.[18] In the ninth century, for instance, as Kordula Wolf shows in her contribution, we can clearly identify the variant rhythms at work, for example, between the far south-west in modern Calabria and the north-east in Friuli.[19] Whilst the kingdom of Italy (proper) was not directly affected by Islamic invaders, it was not a stranger to political violence connected to both indigenes and outsiders. What binds these regions together, however, using a broader temporal focus, were violent activities by 'invaders' – for Friuli, the Magyars, and for the *Mezzogiorno*, 'Saracen' raiders, pirates and armies to highlight just one set of protagonists. There is then no single response to all of these processes and events, hence the exploratory and heuristic nature of the contributions assembled here.

A common concern of the structural foundations of the sources is also matched by the need to engage with the definitional continuum of conflict and violence. The two terms are not simply synonymous. Whilst conflict may be defined as an 'argument or disagreement' that may be protracted, it need not inevitably lead to physical violence. The use of violence may be part of more prolonged oppositions between sets of protagonists but violence, whilst it may be part of a pattern of behaviour or action, is not an activity

18 Notwithstanding Metternich's observation from 1847 that Italy is '*une expression géographique*'.

19 For Friuli, see Mario Brozzi, *Il ducato longobardo del Friuli* (Udine: Graffiche Fulvio, 1981); Harald Krahlwinkler, *Friaul im Frühmittelalter: Geschichte einer Region vom Ende des Fünften bis zum Ende des zehnten Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Böhlau, 1992), and for Calabria, see Ghislaine Noyé, 'Les premiers siècles de la domination byzantine en Calabre' in J.M. Martin and Ghislaine Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et Culture dans l'Italie Byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Roma: École Française de Rome, 2001), pp. 445-69.

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that continues in perpetuity. In this sense, if one recalls a shorter definition of conflict as arising when 'two or more actors pursue incompatible, yet from their individual perspectives, entirely just goals', we may understand how dispute and conflict may rapidly migrate to the use of violence by a certain 'interest group' should such conflict remain in tension.[20] In this volume then, we consider conflict *and* violence rather than conflict *or* violence.[21]

Violent activity in historical contexts reveals how protagonists sought to resolve that 'tension'. Such violence that arose was both multivalent and multi-functional. Whilst we may adopt working definitions of violence such as 'behaviour involving physical force intended to hurt, damage or kill someone or something' [the Oxford English Dictionary] or 'action or words that are intended to hurt people', these can only scratch the surface of this definitional minefield.[22] As a first step, commencing with the contrasts in the nature of violence will be useful. These may be physical, symbolic, sexual or psychological – although it does not necessarily manifest clearly in only one category at one time. We saw this above in the report of the death of Romilda, and it is also discussed in Barritt's contribution where he unpicks the symbolic violence suffered by the corpse of Pope Formosus; and in Houghton's chapter which carefully sets out the landscape of the tensions which pitched protagonists into political violence. Secondly, the target(s) of violence, if one deploys a typology of violent action, may include self-directed, interpersonal or collective violence. In this volume, violence is generally something that is done to you, and for specific reasons. It is not sufficient, for instance, to suggest or assume that 'Saracen' violence was non-directive and without purpose. Violence undertaken at this time crossed categories and could be political, religious and social, conducted by individuals, or carried out collectively as Wolf shows in her chapter. Thirdly, the arena in which violence occurs should be considered. It may be

20 Naturally, the literature on conflict is extensive. As a starting point see Karl Cordell and Steffan Wolff (eds.). *Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 4. The essays in Anthony de Reuck and Julie Knight (eds.), *Conflict in Society* (London: J & A. Churchill, 1966) are useful.

21 In this way, one may talk of a continuum of conflict that merges with violence. As Brown and Gorecki make clear, conflict may be defined as 'several kinds of interpersonal or intergroup tension with several modes of managing that tension'. In this way, a conflict may commence as a dispute and then progress to threats, promises, negotiations, ritual and the use of force. The opportunities for variance in the progress of the dispute/conflict are myriad. See Warren C. Brown and Piotr Górecki (eds.), *Conflict in Medieval Europe: Changing Perspectives on Society and Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003), p. 1.

22 For discussion of the difficulties of definition see Mark Jürgensmeyer, Margo Kitts and Michael Jerryson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence* (Oxford: OUP, 2015), p. 15.

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undertaken in a public or private context; it may be considered legitimate or illegitimate by either those that conduct the violence or those that experience the impact of the violent activity. The boundaries and definitions of what constitutes private and public spheres will vary and will link into concepts of legitimate and illegitimate violence. Thus, the murder of Alboin in 572 undertaken in the *palatium* in Verona was doubly illegitimate since it was undertaken covertly, and in the space which was reserved for kings. The opposite, public opposition to kings was no less fraught with risk but this insurgency in a public sphere forms important dimensions in the discussion of both Berndt's and Houghton's chapters. Fourthly, the social profile of the actors, protagonists and victims could have a significant impact on the representation of violence. It may be either vertical or horizontal violence – in other words conducted by equals against equals or between socio-economic groups of different status.[23] Collective violent action encompasses all these categories of social, economic, political and religious violence. It will be seen that tensions between interpersonal violence and collective violence are amplified by the rationale behind the activities of protagonists and their position in the societal frameworks within which they operate. The complexity of coining a definition that satisfies all these pertinent elements is obvious. It is important at this stage then to both understand and consider the complexities of the socio-political landscapes that medieval Italian society inherited, grappled with and moulded to elicit a grammar of violence. In concert with the section below which considers in greater detail the historiographical footprint, let us briefly look at three areas of key focus with reference to the place of violence in Italian legal and judicial sources; secondly, violence in urban contexts; and thirdly, religious violence.

The management [though not the elimination] of violent activity forms a significant part of Lombard law.[24] Titles 14 to 143 of the *Edictum Rothari* are concerned with a rather gruesome catalogue of physical injuries and the tariffs of compensation they attract.[25] Forty-six of the clauses carefully calibrate the (theoretical) compensatory sums to be paid dependant upon the part of the victim's body affected; the gravity of the injury; and the

23 For discussion, see H.A. Drake, *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Practices* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) and Guy Halsall (ed.), *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1998).

24 Claudio Azzara and Stefano Gasparri, *Le Leggi dei Longobardi: Storia, memoria e diritto di un popolo germanico* (Roma: Viella, 2005) and Katherine Fischer Drew, *The Lombard Laws* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973).

25 Azzara & Gasparri, *Le Leggi dei Longobardi* pp. 18-43 and Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, pp. 55-75.

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status of both the perpetrator and the victim. Thus, we have clauses that deal with hitting a man on the head;[26] or hitting a man on the head causing bone trauma;[27] to gouging out eyes;[28] cutting off noses or lips;[29] and specific remedies for each and every finger, thumb and toe. One might be tempted to perceive that Lombard society was peculiar in its propensity for the physical application of violence, but it should not be imagined that in an early medieval context this catalogue signified that such injuries were commonplace.

Whereas the operative law codes were anxious to stifle unrestrained violence and to provide a framework for its restriction, on a juridical level 'official' judicial violence was an inheritance of Late Antiquity. As Wickham has noted, 'judicial violence was normal' in a 'Roman world [...] habituated to violence and injustice'.[30] Those at the lower end of society were more likely to suffer at the hands of the system. Harries in her work on law in Late Antiquity indicates that 'traitors, murderers, magicians and other criminals were routinely burned alive, the public floggings of slave and free inflicted both pain and social humiliation, judicial torture was extended up the social scale'.[31] In theory at least, unrestrained violence even against slaves had its limits. Kyle Harper in his survey of slavery in Late Antiquity quotes from the laws of Constantine the Great (306-37) in which status directly affected an individual's treatment by the law. A master should, it is said, have his 'right' moderately, but a charge of homicide could be brought. If a slave, for instance, was intentionally 'killed with a stick or a stone or [...] if the master inflicts a lethal wound with a spear or orders him hanged by a noose, or by a monstrous order commands him to be thrown to his death or fills him with a mortal poison or has his body torn apart by public punishments' an intervention

26 Clause 46: Azzara & Gasparri, *Le Leggi dei Longobardi* pp. 26-7 and Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, p. 61.

27 Clause 47: Azzara & Gasparri, *Le Leggi dei Longobardi* pp. 26-7 and Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, p. 61.

28 Clause 48: Azzara & Gasparri, *Le Leggi dei Longobardi* pp. 26-7 and Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, p. 61.

29 Clauses 49 and 50: Azzara & Gasparri, *Le Leggi dei Longobardi* pp. 26-7 and Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, p. 62. For contrast see, for instance, title XLVIII of the *Liber Constitutionum* in Katherine Fischer Drew, *The Burgundian Code* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), p. 55; and, Ludwig Rudolf de Salis, 'Leges Burgundionum' in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Leges Sectio I Legum Nationum Germanicarum*, (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani, 1892), pp. 79-80 and Alamannic law title LVII in Theodore John Rivers (ed.), *Laws of the Alamans and Bavarians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), pp. 85-90, and, Karl Lehmann, 'Leges Alamannorum' in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Leges Tom V Pars I: Legum Nationum Germanicarum*, (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani, 1962), pp. 116-28.

30 Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome*, p. 21.

31 Jill Harries, *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity*, (Cambridge, CUP,) p. 118.

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could be envisaged. Further punishments were described in gratuitous detail in the reminder of the law.[32] Akin to the situation in Late Antiquity, status not only prompts variance in treatment but also marks variance in the potentiality of violence that different social groups could experience.

Such hierarchical impulses remained widespread in Lombard law. A single comparison in Lombard law will be illustrative of this. Should either one individual or an accomplice beat a freeman (unless it is noted the king has commanded it) they would be required to pay half of the *wergild* as if they had killed him (a far from modest sum), but were one to strike either an *aldii* or a household slave, one finds that if there are no broken bones a composition of 2 solidi for one blow and 4 solidi for 2 blows should be provided. No further extension of the sum is directed should there be more than 2 blows.[33] Clearly, it should not be expected that lower penalties equate with a greater risk of violence, or that the presence of these extensive penalties signify a violent society *ipso facto*, but they do suggest that normative sources were dealing with what was possible rather than what was exceptional.

Violence remained an abiding feature of urban life. The difficulties for historians, particularly for the early period under discussion here, is the effective identification of violence in urban contexts when significant settlements at this time were modest in their physical extent and population level. The two clear exceptions in the first half of this volume's chronological range were Rome and Ravenna where one can identify activity which may be termed urban violence. In Ravenna, for instance, Agnellus of Ravenna (*fl.* 805-46) reported a 'wicked custom' which, he said, persisted up to his own time (i.e. the ninth-century). He tells us that:

> On every Sunday or day of the Apostles, the citizens of Ravenna, not only the illustrious but men of different ages, youths and adolescents, middle-aged and young, of both sexes [...] after lunch, go out through the various gates as a body and proceed to fight. They are delirious and insane, for no reason they put each other to death.[34]

32 Harper, *Slavery in the late Roman World*, pp. 232-3.

33 Clause 41: Azzara & Gasparri, *Le Leggi dei Longobardi* pp. 24-7 and Fischer Drew, *Lombard Laws*, p. 60.

34 Deborah Deliyannis, *Agnellus of Ravenna: The Books of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), p. 248; J. M. Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna: The Liber Pontificalis of Andreas Agnellus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), pp. 141-58; Tom Brown, 'Urban Violence in Early Medieval Italy: The Cases of Rome and Ravenna' in Guy Halsall (ed.), *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), pp. 83-5.

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Thereafter Agnellus details one occasion during the pontificate of Damian (692-708) where this conflict escalated out of control. As a recorded episode of 'urban' violence outside Rome in the seventh-century, this account has received considerable attention. For Brown, for instance, one of the arresting features of the narrative of Agnellus is that there was an 'acceptance of violence' which is 'almost incidental'. As he remarks, it is tempting to see this as an integral part of everyday urban life. What can we make of this episode? On the one hand, we could see it as custom dressed up into a ritualistic forum to release latent tensions and pressures that engendered a cathartic renewal, or at least a cynical management of these pressures by an elite. Both impulses are redolent and beloved of modern dystopian film depictions that identify violence as a cleansing – even a positive feature of the future. In this view 'civilisation is born from violence'.[35] On the other hand, we may see these reports as references to what are fundamentally more visceral and primitive rhythms that allows us to penetrate beyond elite political violence to social conflicts at more mundane levels.

The report of Agnellus reminds us that urban violence could be mediated through and by religious festivities. On a much broader scale, the Early Middle Ages saw, in tandem with the unravelling of the western Roman Empire, a concomitant process of increasing Christianisation of elites and institutions.[36] Whilst Christian communities were not immune to the events of their time, it is perhaps curious that even at the end of the fourth century, Ambrose of Milan (*c.*340-97) could associate with the Roman empire a vision of peace and concord when discussing Psalm XLV 9-10: 'Come and behold the works of the Lord making wars to cease, even to the end of the Earth.' He remarked:

> Indeed, before the Roman Empire had time to spread, not only did the kings of every city war against each other, but the Romans themselves

35 See J.W. Burton, 'Conflict as a Function of Change' in Anthony de Reuck and Julie Knight (eds.), *Conflict in Society* (London: J & A. Churchill, 1966), pp. 370-401; David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler and Froma I. Zeitlin (eds.), *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 367: 'fundamental building blocks of the human experience are love, aggression and conflict'. See also, Georg Simmel, 'The Sociology of Conflict I', *American Journal of Sociology*, 9 (1903), pp. 490-515, and discussion in Conrad Leyser, 'Introduction: Making Early Medieval Societies' in Kate Cooper and Conrad Leyser (eds.), *Making Early Medieval Societies: Conflict and Belonging in the Latin West 300-1200* (Cambridge: CUP, 2016), pp. 6-12. Rural and urban conflict and rebellion is also discussed in Justine Firnhaber-Baker (ed.), *The Routledge History Handbook of Medieval Revolt* (London: Routledge, 2019).

36 For discussion see Kate Cooper, 'Property, Power and conflict: re-thinking the Constantinian revolution' in Cooper & Leyser (eds.), *Making Early Medieval Societies*, pp. 16-27.

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> frequently burst into civil war. It thus happened that weary of civil strife the Roman Empire was handed over to Julius Augustus when intestine warfare ceased. The result was that the apostles could be sent throughout the world at the command of the Lord Jesus [...] at the same time as the apostles spread over the earth, the power of the Roman empire followed in the wake of the Church, whilst discordant minds and hostile nations settled down in peace.[37]

Orosius (fl.375-420), a contemporary of Ambrose could also argue that the new Christian religion was born when 'there was peace far and wide', so that the apostles, in his words 'should have peace and freedom to meet with others and spread their message'.[38] It was trickier, however, to stretch this period of felicitous concord beyond the Augustan period and into the fourth and fifth centuries. Indeed, as Orosius concluded his seventh and final book with the observation that he had set down 'the lusts and punishment of sinful men, the conflicts of our age and the judgements of God',[39] it is clear from a careful reading of his final book that his earlier assertion that 'the barbarians foreswore their swords and turned to the plough and cherished the remaining Romans as allies of a kind and friends' is more hopeful than accurate in historical terms.[40] Orosius repeatedly depicts both the violence and physical harm that accompanied political change in the western Roman Empire, together with further layers of conflict engendered by religious dispute, dissent and violence.[41] It was not, however, only rulers that were in conflict. One example of pagan and Christian violence concerns the death of three Christian priests in the Val di Non in May 397.[42] In the letters

37 Damian Bracken, 'Columbanus and the Language of Concord' in Alexander O'Hara (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe* (Oxford: OUP, 2018)), p. 34 with references.

38 Andrew Fear (ed.), *Orosius: Seven books of History against the Pagans* (Liverpool: LUP, 2010), p.262. Orosius claims that the gates of Ianus had been closed three times during the rule of Augustus (the actual total was five).

39 Fear, *Orosius*, p. 414 (VII: 43).

40 Fear, *Orosius*, p. 407 (VII: 41).

41 A few examples here: from the time of Valens (VII: 33) 'battalions of the saints were killed', Fear, *Orosius,* p. 381; Caesarea in Mauretania was 'filled with fire and slaughter' (VII: 33}, Fear, *Orosius*, p. 382; improbably, on the other hand, in discussing the conflict between Magnus Maximus and Theodosius I, 'how in Christian times and under Christian rulers civil wars are waged, when they cannot be avoided' (VII: 35), Fear, *Orosius,* p. 389; and finally his discussion of the Battle of the River Frigidus of 394 between the same combatants is equally interesting for his gloss on the outcome since 'Divine Aid' had provided 'such good-will and forgiveness' that the victory of Theodosius 'did not produce much slaughter nor victory blood-stained vengeance' (VII: 35), Fear, *Orosius,* pp. 391-2.

42 Michele Renee Salzman, 'Rethinking Pagan-Christian Violence' in Drake, *Violence in Late Antiquity*, pp. 267-73.

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of Vigilius of Trento (353-405) we are told that these priests were lynched and then burned. Vigilius reports that the three priests were in the Val di Non on an entirely benign mission, but conflict arose between the Pagans who were 'unwilling to allow the three Christian outsiders to change the local status quo'.[43] For our purposes in this introduction, we need not enter into the debates about the veracity of the events depicted but we should simply note the additional potentiality of violence occasioned by religious change and conflict, albeit in a relatively marginal part of Italy. By this time, of course, so far as governmental and institutional assistance was concerned the late Roman state supported the Christian church. This could, however, cause disquiet for Christian thinkers. Augustine is perhaps the best embodiment of this Christian ambivalence towards the state and the violence that the state undertakes. In his *Contra Faustum*, for instance, Augustine indicates that the 'real evils of war are love of violence (*nocendi cupiditas*), revengeful cruelty (*ulciscendi crudelitas*) fierce and implacable enmity, wild resistance and the lust of power (*libido dominandi*).'[44] But, for Augustine there are legitimate reasons to undertake war and to commit violent acts. In his letter to the count of Africa, Bonifatius (d. 432) in 418, he suggested that 'violence is appropriate in dealing with rebels who reject peace'.[45] Here one should understand 'appropriate' as both the authorisation of violence and the conflation of God's will which permitted the agents of the Roman state to act.[46] Thus Augustine indicates that 'when war is undertaken in obedience to God [...] it must be allowed to be a righteous war, for even the wars which arise from human passion cannot harm the eternal well-being of God'.[47] Legitimate violence was perceived to be an acceptable part of the fabric of life. This obviously begs many questions which returns us to the complex panorama of the experience of violence

43 Salzman, *Rethinking Pagan-Christian Violence*, p. 269.

44 Philip Schaff (ed.), *St Augustine: The Writings against the Manicheans and against the Donatists* (Buffalo: Christian Literature Co, 1887), p. 301. For discussion see John Langan, 'The Elements of St Augustine's Just War Theory', *Journal of Religious Ethics* 12 (1984), pp. 19-38.

45 John Langan, 'The Elements of St Augustine's Just War Theory', *Journal of Religious Ethics* 12 (1984), p. 26 based on Letter CXXXIX of Augustine: '(L)et necessity therefore and not your will slay the enemy who fights against you'. John George Cunningham (ed.), *The Letters of St. Augustine* (Altenmünster: Jazzybee, 2015), p. 360.

46 As Malegam remarks, 'Augustine and Jeremiah pray for secular regimes because their peace will be your peace'. On the other hand, Hippolytus of Rome writing some two centuries before Augustine viewed the Roman empire as an 'engine of war'. See Jehangir Yezidi Malegam, *The Sleep of Behemoth: Disputing Peace and Violence in Medieval Europe 1000-1200* (New York: Cornell University, 2013), p. 12 with references.

47 Schaff, *St Augustine: The Writings against the Manicheans*, p. 301.

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and the multivalence of the term in our period with which we commenced this Introduction.

Within a century of Ambrose, Augustine and Orosius, both discordant minds and hostile nations had come home to roost in Italy. Whilst it might be a modern inclination to relativise the real violence and harm individuals on the ground experienced in this period, such relativity must be balanced against the witness of the sources. Setting aside the very real issues that arise from taking our sources at face value, one does not need to consult a wide range of materials to identify similar processes at work on the ground in the early Middle Ages. In this sense it is possible to be convinced when reading the letters of Gregory the Great (590-604) which describe the visceral violence of the-end-of-times demonstrated by the Lombards, rather than exercise caution when Gregory engages in his eschatological impulses.[48] Accepting this caution should not necessarily mean that episodes discussed by commentators did not happen and did not have important consequences, but we need to ensure that they do not acquire a disproportionate influence on the overall perception of Italian society and the place of violence within it. In considering the practicalities of violent activity on the ground, this volume determines whether new political landscapes, with altered socio-economic foundations, deployed a new grammar of violence and in such praxis modelled and manifested new forms of societal equilibrium and cohesion.

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The State of the Field

Discussion around violence in early medieval Italy is complex. As outlined above, even at the start of the medieval period Italy housed a substantial variety of social, cultural and political realities. Additional divergence occurred throughout the period. In the north, the kingdom of Italy was drawn into the Carolingian world and remined tied to the kingdoms across the Alps throughout the early tenth century until it became caught in the orbit of the Ottonian, Salian, and Staufen dynasties in Germany. In the south, Byzantine influence lingered well into the central Middle Ages and

48 Pohl, 'Social Cohesion, Breaks, and Transformations in Italy 535-600' in Balzaretti et al. (eds.), *Italy and Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 32-5.

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was joined by the Lombard duchies, the Emirate in Sicily and ultimately the Normans. The centre was caught between these competing influences alongside that of the increasingly autonomous and active Papacy. Further divisions existed at local and regional level as bishops, secular magnates, and the cities asserted their competing political and ideological claims, which were often accompanied by the threat or reality of violence. In addition to this the academic study of medieval Italy is the product of the interaction and synthesis of a range of schools, traditions and approaches drawn from Italy itself, but also from a substantial range of German, French and Anglophone scholars. Scholarship regarding violence in Italy in the early Middle Ages has formed a part of many of these broader trends and study has been undertaken on a substantial array of topics ranging from systems of military organisation,[49] and the construction of fortifications,[50] to the etymology of military terms.[51]

As such, it is very difficult to make any truly universal claims regarding the history and historiography of violence in early medieval Italy beyond the most superficial of sweeping statements. However, the specific circumstances of the region and the broader historiographical traditions surrounding the study of medieval Italy have led to a concentration of scholarship around four key areas: urban violence within the proto-communes and communes; violence because of, or in reaction to, external powers; the

49 Ottorino Bertolini, 'Ordinamenti militari e struttare sociali dei Longobardi in Italia', *Settimane di studio* 15, no. 1 (1968), pp. 429-607; Giovanni Tabacco, 'Il regno italico nei secoli IX-XI', in *Ordinamenti militari in Occidente nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 15 (Spoleto, 1968), pp. 763-90; Hagen Keller, 'Militia. Vasallität und frühes Rittertum im Spiegel oberitalienischer Miles-Belege des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 62 (1982), pp. 59-118; Maria Elena Cortese, *Signori, castelli, città: l'aristocrazia del territorio fiorentino tra X e XII secolo*, Biblioteca storica toscana 53 (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 2007); Paolo Grillo, *Cavalieri e popoli in armi: le istituzioni militari nell'Italia medievale*, 1st ed., Quadrante Laterza 142 (Roma: GLF editori Laterza, 2008).
50 Fabio Cusin, 'Per la Storia del Castello Medioevale', *Rivista Storica Italiana* 4 (1939), pp. 491-542; R. Morretta, 'L'apparato difensivo dei signori di Canosa nell'Appennino reggiano', *Atti e memorie, Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie modenesi* 4-5 (1965 1964), pp. 489-500; Maria Bertolani del Rio, *I Castelli Reggiani* (Reggio-Emilia, 1965); Pierre Toubert, *Les Structures du Latium médiéval: le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IXe siècle à la fin du XIIe siècle* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1973); Giuseppe Caciagli, *Il Castello in Italia. Saggio d'interpretazione storica dell'architettura e dell'urbanistica castellana* (Firenze: Giorgi e Gambi, 1979); Edward Coleman, 'Incastellamento on the Po Plain. Cremona and Its Territory in the Tenth Century', *Reading Medieval Studies* 17 (1991). pp. 77-102; Tiziana Lazzari, 'Aziende fortificate, castelli e pievi: le basi patrimoniali dei poteri dei Canossa e le loro giurisdizioni', in *Matilde e il tesoro dei Canossa: tra castelli, monasteri e città*, ed. Arturo Calzona (Milano: Silvana, 2008), pp. 95-115.
51 Carlo Battisti, 'I nomi longobardi delle armi e le loro sopravvivenze nella lingua e nei dialetti italiani', *Settimane di studio* 15 (n.d.), pp. 1067-99.

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role of the Church and clergy in instigating and conducting violence; the place of violence within Italian legal and rhetorical sources. This list is far from comprehensive but connects strongly with the broader approaches surrounding the history of Italy in this period.

The communal systems of rulership which emerged within many Italian cities over the course of the Middle Ages has been discussed extensively as reflected in a number of detailed historiographical surveys of the subject.[52] The vision of medieval Italy – and northern Italy in particular – as a heavily and uniquely urbanised region is almost ubiquitous and has formed the basis for a plethora of volumes addressing individual centres[53] and the Italian cities in general.[54] This narrative of exceptionalism has some grounding: Italy was undeniably one of the most densely urbanised regions of Europe in the early Middle Ages, this certainly influenced the life and politics of the region, and the widespread appearance of urban communes is a unique phenomenon within this period. Furthermore, the surviving chronicles, charters and other literary sources of this period focus on the cities.[55] There have been numerous important and somewhat justified attempts during the last half century to challenge and provide nuance to this narrative, either by highlighting similarities between the social, political and economic structures of Italy and the rest of Western Europe,[56] or by emphasising the

52 Giorgio Cracco, 'Social Structure and Conflict in the Medieval City', in *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy*, eds. Anthony Molho, Kurt A. Raaflaub, and Julia Emlen (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), pp, 302-99; Renato Bordone, 'La storiografia recente sui comuni italiani delle origini', in *Die Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt im 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jörg Jarnut and Peter Johanek, Städteforschung, Bd. 43 (Köln: Böhlau, 1998), pp. 45-61; Edward Coleman, 'The Italian Communes. Recent Work and Current Trends', *Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999), pp. 373-97.

53 Luigi Bonazzi, *Storia Di Perugia: dalle origini al 1860*, 2 vols (Perugia, 1875); Andrea Castagnetti, *Società e politica a Ferrara dall'età postcarolingia alla signoria estense* (*sec. X-XIII*) (Rome: Pàtron, 1985); Steven Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=24599; Gian Pietro Brogiolo and Sauro Gelichi, *La città nell'alto Medioevo italiano: archeologia e storia*, Quadrante 93 (Roma: Laterza, 1998).

54 Sergio Bertelli, *Il potere oligarchico nella città-stato medievale* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1978); Renato Bordone, *Città e territorio nell'alto Medioevo. La società astigiana dal dominio dei Franchi all'affermazione comunale* (Torino: Biblioteca Storica Subalpina, 1980); Roberto Celli, 'Il principio del potere populare nella genesi dei comuni italiani', in *Poteri assemblee autonomie: Il lungo cammino verso la sovranità populare: Miscellanea in memoria di Roberto Celli* (Udine: Del Bianco, 1989), pp. 41-45.

55 Ottavio Banti, '"Civitas" e "comune" nelle fonti italiani dei secoli XI e XII', in *Forme di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel Medioevo*, ed. Gabriella Rosseti (Bologna: Il mulino, 1977), pp. 217-32.

56 Jacques Le Goff, 'L'Italia fuori d'Italia. L'Italia nello specchio del Medieovo', *Einaudi Storia d'Italia* 2 (1974): 1935-2088; Hagen Keller, *Adelsherrschaft und städtische Gesellschaft in Oberitalien*

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importance and influence of the Italian rural communities within these systems.[57] Other authors have moderated this response, acknowledging the similarities between the political systems of Italy and the rest of Europe, but reasserting a strong degree of exceptionalism.[58] In general, Italy is seen as distinctively urban, and each of the cities of the region tend to be portrayed as individual and exceptional. There was no single schema for the emergence of the communes and, as Wickham argues, they emerged largely organically.[59]

This urban focus within the historiography of medieval Italy has naturally extended to the study of violence in some key areas around the emergence of the communes. There is substantial work on revolt and rebellion within urban centres – against kings and emperors, or against local secular or ecclesiastical magnates – whether in the context of expanding communal power or as part of broader political issues.[60] This has emerged alongside

(*9-12. Jahrhundert*) (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1979); Philip Jones, 'Economia e società nell'Italia medievale: la leggenda della borghesia', in *Dal feudalismo al capitalismo*, ed. Ruggiero Romano and Corrado Vivanti, Storia d'Italia, Annali/(coordinatori dell'opera Ruggiero Romano e Corrado Vivanti); 1 (Torino: Einaudi, 1992), pp. 185-372; François Menant, *Lombardia feudale: studi sull'aristocrazia padana nei secoli X-XIII*, Cultura e storia 4 (Milano: Vita e pensiero, 1992); François Bougard, *La justice dans le royaume d'Italie: de la fin du VIIIe siècle au début du XIe siècle*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 291 (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1995).

57 P. Cammarosano, 'Città e campagna: rapporti politici ed economici', in *Società e istituzioni dell' Italia comunale: l'esempio di Perugia* (*secoli XII-XIV*) (Perugia, 1988), pp. 303-49; Giuseppe Sergi, 'Dinastie e Città Del Regno Italico nel Secolo XI', in *L'evoluzione Delle Città Italiane nell'XI Secolo*, ed. Renato Bordone, Jörg Jarnut, and Istituto storico italo-germanico, Annali Dell'Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico 25 (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1988), pp. 151-73; Chris Wickham, *The Mountains and the City: The Tuscan Appennines in the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1988); François Menant, *Campagnes lombardes du Moyen Age: l'économie et la société rurales dans la région de Bergame, de Crémone et de Brescia du Xe au XIIIe siècle*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 281 (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1993).

58 Giovanni Tabacco, 'Fief et seigneurie dans l'Italie communale, L'évolution d'un thème historiographique', *Le Moyen Age* 75 (1969), pp. 5-37, 203-18; Giovanni Tabacco, 'Vescovi e comuni in Italia', in *I Poteri Temporali dei Vescovi in Italia e in Germania nel Medioevo*, ed. Carlo Guido Mor and Heinrich Schmidinger (Bologna: il Mulino, 1979), pp. 253-82; Cracco, 'Social Structure and Conflict in the Medieval City'.

59 Chris Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a New World: The Emergence of Italian City Communes in the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015).

60 Emilio Nasali Rocca, 'Il patriziato piacentino nella eta del comune e della signoria', in *Scritti storici e giuridici in memoria di Alessandro Visconti* (Milan, 1955), pp. 185-306; Pier Andrea Maccarini and Giovanna Borziani, 'Il Patto tra Matilde di Canossa e il Doge Veneziano Vitale i Michiel nell ambito della politica di Venezia verso il papato e l'impero', in *Studi matildici, Atti e Memorie del II Convegno di Studi matildici* (*Reggio Emilia, 1-3 maggio 1970*) (Modena: Aedes

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a subfield of study into the military obligations of the various elements of urban society tied to the discussion of the socio-political composition of the communes and their leaders but also to the emergence of new systems of ideology and legitimacy of authority.[61] The conquest of the *contado* by urban centres remains a disputed topic of discussion between the traditionalist school of urban dominance over rural magnates[62] and the more recent consideration of a quiet reorganisation of dominant families moving their centres of power from the countryside to the city,[63] but while these complex and varied changes encompassed economic, political and legal elements, studies of this development are almost inevitably drawn to discuss the recourse to violence at some point. The emergence of the Italian city communes was by no means exclusively or even extensively violent, but the use or threat of force was nevertheless a factor within this phenomenon and has understandably emerged within the historiography.

The focus on the city communes is a common thread throughout the studies of medieval Italy and this almost all-encompassing emphasis has created something of a gap in the study of Italy beyond the communes: there is comparatively little work which addresses pre-communal Italy or southern and central Italy. When these periods and regions are discussed, it is almost always as an addendum to the study of external polities. Italy's position

Muratoriana, 1971), pp. 361-73; Thomas S. Brown, 'Urban Violence in Early Medieval Italy: The Cases of Rome and Ravenna', in *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Guy Halsall (Rochester: Boydell Press, 1998); Giuliana Albini, 'Vescovo, comune: il governo della citta tra XI e XIII secolo', in *Il governo del vescovo: chiesa, città, territorio nel Medioevo parmense*, ed. Roberto Greci (Parma: Monte Università Parma, 2005), pp. 67-85.

61 Hannelore Zug-Tucci, 'Il Carroccio nella vita communale italiana', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 65 (1985), pp. 1-104; Ernst Voltmer, *Il carroccio*, trans. Giuseppe Albertoni, Biblioteca di cultura storica 205 (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1994); Cortese, *Signori, castelli, città*.

62 Giorgio Chittolini, 'The Italian City State and Its Territory', in *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy*, ed. Anthony Molho, Kurt A. Raaflaub, and Julia Emlen (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), pp. 589-602; Giorgio Chittolini, 'A Geography of the "contadi" of Medieval Italy', in *Portraits of Medieval and Renaissance Living: Essays in Memory of David Herlihy*, ed. Samuel Kline Cohn and Steven A. Epstein (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 417-38.

63 Giuseppe Galasso, 'Le città campane nell'alto medioevo', in *Mezzogiorno medievale e moderno*, ed. Giuseppe Galasso (Turin, 1965), 63-135; Gino Luzzatto, 'Città e campagna in Italia nell'età dei comuni', in *Dai servi della gleba agli albori del capitalismo* (Bari, 1966), pp. 207-28; Ljubov Kotel'nikova, *Mondo contadino e città in Italia dall'xi al xiv secolo* (Bologna, 1975); Paolo Brezzi, 'Le relazioni tra le città ed il contado nei comuni italiani', in *Paesaggi urbani e spirituali dell'uomo medievale* (Napoli: Liguori Editore, 1986).

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within the Carolingian world has, with a few exceptions,[64] been considered as an afterthought: the historiographical focus normally remains on the North of the Alps, addressing East Francia and West Francia with occasional ventures into Lotharingia and Burgundy.[65] Italy's post-Carolingian rulers were traditionally presented as incompetent, insignificant and constantly beset by foreign invaders,[66] and this account remained prevalent into the late twentieth century.[67] This narrative has been increasingly challenged by more recent authors who have highlighted continuity of patterns of rule into the post-Carolingian period,[68] the evolution of new but effec-

64 Giuseppe Albertoni, *L'Italia Carolingia*, 1a ed, Studi Superiori NIS, 347. Le Italie medievali (Roma: NIS, 1997); François Bougard, 'La cour et le gouvernement de Louis II (840-875)', in *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne: (début IXe siècle aux environs de 920)*, ed. Régine LeJan, Histoire et littérature régionales 17 (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Centre d'Histoire de l'Europe du Nord-Ouest, 1998), pp. 249-68; Simon MacLean, '"After His Death a Great Tribulation Came to Italy…" Dynastic Politics and Aristocratic Factions After the Death of Louis II, *c.*870-*c.*890', in *Millennium – Jahrbuch (2007)*, ed. Wolfram Brandes et al., vol. 4 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), pp. 239-60, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110192797.239.

65 Emile Amann, *L'époque carolingienne*, Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours 6 (Paris, 1937); Carlrichard Brühl, *Deutschland--Frankreich: die Geburt zweier Völker* (Köln: Böhlau, 1990).

66 Albert Dresdner, *Kultur-und Sittengeschichte der Italienischen Geistlichkeit im 10. Und 11. Jahrhundert* (Breslau, 1890); Augustin Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne: Tome I La formation des idées grégoriennes*, vol. 1, 3 vols, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 6 (Louvain, 1926); Emile Amann and Auguste Dumas, *L'eglise au pouvoir des laïques* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1940); Gina Fasoli, *I Re d'Italia (888-962)* (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1949).

67 Giovanni Tabacco, 'L'ordinamenti feudale del potere nel pensiero di Heinrich Mitteis', *Annali della Fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa* 1 (1964), pp. 83-113; Gabriella Rosseti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo: Cologno Monzese, 1: Secolo VIII-X*, Archivio della Fondazione Italiana per la Storia Amministrativa 9 (Milan: Giuffré, 1968); Gabriella Rosseti, 'Formazione e carratteri delle signorie di castello e dei poteri territoriali dei vescovi sulle città nella Langobardia del secolo X', *Aevum* 49 (1975), pp. 243-309; Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Atto of Vercelli: Church State and Christian Society in Tenth Century Italy*, Temi e Testi 27 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e Letteratura, 1979); Aldo A. Settia, 'Gli Ungari in Italia e i mutamenti territoriali fra VIII e X secolo', in *Magistra barbaritas: i barbari in Italia*, ed. Maria Giovanna Arcamone and Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, Antica madre 7 (Milano: Garzanti, 1984).

68 Giancarlo Andenna, 'Grandi patrimoni, funzioni pubbliche e famiglie su di un territorio: Il "comitatus plumbiensis" e i suoi conti dal IX all'XI secolo', in *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel medioevo: Marchesi, conti e visconti nel regno italico (secc. ix-xii), Atti del primo convegno di Pisa, 10-11 May 1983,* Nuovi Studi Storici 1 (Rome, 1988), pp. 201-27; Roberto Ricci, *La Marca Della Liguria Orientale e Gli Obertenghi, 945-1056: Una Storia Complessa e Una Storiografia Problematica*, 1. ed, Istituzioni e Società 8 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2007); François Bougard, 'Charles le Chauve, Bérenger, Hugues de Provence: action politique et production documentaire dans les diplômes à destination de l'Italie', in *Zwischen Pragmatik und Performanz: Dimensionen mittelalterlicher Schriftkultur*, ed. Christoph Dartmann et al., Utrecht studies in medieval literacy 18 (Turnhout, Belgium:

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tive systems of rule,[69] or reassessed the careers of Berengar I,[70] and Hugh and Lothar II.[71] But in general works, it is still typical to find a depiction of Italy descending into anarchy following the death of Charles the Fat, only to return to a semblance of order with the arrival of the Ottonians in the middle of the tenth century.[72] From this point onwards, Italy is again relegated to a historical footnote until the emergence of the communes and is mentioned primarily in the context of German processions.[73] In southern Italy a similar narrative plays out through a series of invasions by the Byzantines, Lombards, Arabs, Franks, Germans and Normans, with the area itself often portrayed as a peripheral region until the establishment

Brepols, 2011), pp. 57-83; François Bougard, 'Le royaume d'Italie (jusqu'aux Ottons), entre l'Empire et les réalités locales', in *De la mer du Nord à la Méditerranée: Francia Media, une région au cœur de l'Europe (c.840-c.1050) ; actes du colloque international (Metz, Luxembourg, Trèves, 8-11 février 2006*, ed. Michèle Gaillard, Publications du CLUDEM 25 (Luxembourg: CLUDEM, 2011), pp. 487-510.

69 Igor Santos Salazar, 'Crisis? What Crisis? Political Articulation and Government in the March of Tuscany through Placita and Diplomas from Guy of Spoleto to Berengar II', *Reti Medievali Journal* 17, no. 251-279 (12 September 2016), https://doi.org/10.6092/1593-2214/527.

70 Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'The Family Politics of Berengar I, King of Italy (888-924)', *Speculum* 71, no. 2 (1996), pp. 247-89; Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Friends and Family, Politics and Privilege in the Kingship of Berengar I', in *Portraits of Medieval and Renaissance Living: Essays in Memory of David Herlihy*, ed. Samuel Kline Cohn and Steven A. Epstein (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 91-106; Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1999).

71 Emilio Cristiani, 'Note sulla feudalità italica negli ultimi anni del regno di Ugo e Lotario', *Studi Medievali* 4 (1963), pp. 92-103; Ross Balzaretti, 'Narratives of Success and Narratives of Failure: Representations of the Career of King Hugh of Italy (*c.*885-948): Representations of King Hugh of Italy', *Early Medieval Europe* 24, no. 2 (May 2016), pp. 185-208, https://doi.org/10.1111/emed.12140; Giacomo Vignodelli, 'Berta e Adelaide: la politica di consolidamento del potere regio di Ugo di Arles', in *Il patrimonio delle regine: beni del fisco e politica regia fra IX e X secolo*, ed. Tiziana Lazzari, vol. 2, Reti Medievali Rivista 13 (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2012), pp. 247-94, https://doi.org/10.6092/1593-2214/369; Giacomo Vignodelli, 'La Competizione per i Beni Fiscali: Ugo Di Arles e Le Aristocrazie Del Regno Italico (926-945)', in *Acquérir, Prélever, Contrôler: Les Ressources En Compétition (400-1100)*, ed. G. Bührer-Thierry, Vito Loré, and Régine Le Jan, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 25 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 151-69; Robert Houghton, 'Hugh, Lothar and Berengar: The Balance of Power in Italy 945-950', *Journal of Medieval History* 46, no. 1 (2020), pp. 50-76.

72 Gerd Althoff, *Otto III*, Gestalten Des Mittelalters Und Der Renaissance (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996), pp. 59-89.

73 Stefan Weinfurter, *The Salian Century: Main Currents in an Age of Transition*, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Herwig Wolfram, *Conrad II, 990-1039: Emperor of Three Kingdoms*, trans. Denise Adele Kaiser (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006).

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of Norman dominance in the second half of the eleventh century.[74] This is not to besmirch these works or deny the importance of viewing Italy in the context of the broader world, but it must be underlined that most of the academic material addressing pre-communal Italy does so with a focus outside the region.

Several themes relating to violence have emerged within this canon of external domination. The most obvious of these are the studies of these invasions, expeditions, and interventions, sometimes as dedicated pieces, but more frequently as part of broader biographical works.[75] Other authors have highlighted the importance of access routes into and across Italy to maintain control of the region,[76] and references to strategic military concerns appear as frequent elements of the analysis of charters and exchanges of land. A substantial volume of scholarship has considered the impact of these invasions and expeditions on the social, political and economic landscape of Italy – and the Italian cities in particular.[77] There is also a substantial body of work relating to resistance and rebellions in the

74 Rudolf Hiestand, *Byzanz und das Regnum Italicum im 10. Jahrhundert* (Zürich, 1964); G. A. Loud, 'The Church, Warfare and Military Obligation in Norman Italy', *Studies in Church History* 20 (1983), pp. 31-45.

75 Cinzio Violante, 'Aspetti della politica italiana di Enrico III prima della sua discesa in Italia (1039-1046)', *Rivista storica italiana* 64 (1952), pp. 157-76; Gian Piero Bognetti, 'Tradizione longobarda epolitica bizantina nelle origini del ducato di Spoleto', in *L'età longobarda*, vol. 3 (Milano: Giuffré, 1967), pp. 441-57; Stefano Gasparri, *I Duchi Longobardi*, Studi Storici dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo 109 (Rome: La Sapienza, 1978); Tilman Struve, 'Matilde di Toscana-Canossa ed Enrico IV', in *I Poteri dei Canossa, da Reggio Emilia all'Europa: atti del convegno internazionale di studi* (*Reggio Emilia-Carpineti, 29-31 ottobre 1992*), ed. Paolo Golinelli, Il mondo medievale (Bologna: Pàtron, 1994), pp. 421-54.

76 Pietro Vaccari, *La Territorialità Come base dell'ordinamento giuridico del contado. Italia Superiore e Media*, 2nd ed. (Milan, 1963); Giuseppe Sergi, 'I poteri dei Canossa: Poteri delegati, poteri feudali, poteri signorili', in *I Poteri dei Canossa, da Reggio Emilia all'Europa: atti del convegno internazionale di studi* (*Reggio Emilia-Carpineti, 29-31 ottobre 1992*), ed. Paolo Golinelli, Il mondo medievale (Bologna: Pàtron, 1994), pp. 29-39; Wilhelm Störmer, 'Alpenübergänge von Bayern nach Italien. Transitprobleme zwischen Spätantike und Hochmittelalter', in *Bayern und Italien: Politik, Kultur, Kommunikation* (*8.-15. Jahrhundert*)*: Festschrift für Kurt Reindel zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Kurt Reindel et al., Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte. Beiheft ; Reihe B 18 (München: C.H. Beck, 2001), pp. 37-54.

77 Gina Fasoli, Raoul Manselli, and Giovanni Tabacco, 'La struttura sociale delle città italiane dal V al XII secolo', *Vorträge und Forschungen* 11 (1966), pp. 291-320; Stefano Gasparri, 'Strutture militari e legami di dipendenza in Italia in età longobarda e carolingia', *Rivista storica italiana* 98 (1986), pp. 664-726; Albertoni, *L'Italia Carolingia*; Stefano Gasparri, 'Les relations de fidélité dans le royaume d'Italie au IXe siècle', in *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne:* (*début IXe siècle aux environs de 920*), ed. Régine Le Jan, Histoire et littérature régionales 17 (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Centre d'Histoire de l'Europe du Nord-Ouest, 1998), pp. 145-57.

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face of these external interventions, including a substantial and growing volume of material addressing the military role of Matilda of Canossa[78] and her family.[79]

The role of the Church and clergy within the political and social structure of early medieval Italy also forms a key element of the study of this period. The changes in the structure and ideologies within and around the Papal court is naturally of significance to the study of the centre of the peninsula but is also of immediate concern to scholars of northern and southern Italy. Beyond work addressing the changing religious ideologies and rhetoric of the period (see below), discussion has focused on the interactions between popes and the kings, secular magnates, bishops, and cities of these regions.[80] The

78 Giuseppe Sissa, 'L'azione della contessa Matilde al papato nella lotta per le investiture', *Deputazione di storia patria per le antiche provincie modenesi. Atti e memorie Ser. 9* 3 (1963), pp. 295-303; Lino Lionello Ghirardini, 'Il Convegno di Carpineti (1092) e la sua decisiva importanze nella lotta per le investiture', in *Studi matildici, Atti e Memorie del II Convegno di Studi matildici* (*Reggio Emilia, 1-3 maggio 1970*) (Modena: Aedes Muratoriana, 1971), pp. 97-136; Matteo Schenetti, 'La Vittoria di Matilda di canossa su Arrigo IV', in *Studi matildici, Atti e Memorie del III Convegno di Studi matildici* (*Reggio Emilia, 7-9 ottobre 1977*) (Modena: Aedes Muratoriana, 1978), pp. 235-42; Valerie Eads, 'The Geography of Power: Matilda of Tuscany and the Strategy of Active Defense', in *Crusaders, Condottieri, and Cannon: Medieval Warfare in Societies around the Mediterranean*, ed. Donald J. Kagay and L. J. Andrew Villalon, History of Warfare, v. 13 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 355-86; David J Hay, 'Canon Laws Regarding Female Military Commanders up to the Time of Gratian: Some Texts and Their Historical Contexts', in *A Great Effusion of Blood?: Interpreting Medieval Violence*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson, Daniel Thiery, and Oren Falk (Toronto : Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 287-313; David J Hay, *The Military Leadership of Matilda of Canossa, 1046-1115* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

79 Antonio Falce, *Bonifacio di Canossa, padre di Matilda* (Reggio-Emilia, 1927); Margherita Giuliana Bertolini, 'Bonifacio, marchese e duca di Toscana', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Alberto Maria Ghisalberti, vol. 12 (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1971), pp. 96-113; Hans Hubert Anton, 'Bonifaz von Canossa, Markgraf von Tuszien, und die Italienpolitik der frühen Salier', *Historische Zeitschrift* 24, no. 3 (June 1972), pp. 529-56; Vito Fumagalli, 'Mantova al Tempo di Matilde di Canossa', in *Sant'Anselmno, Mantova e la lotta per le Investiture. Atti del Convegno Internazi*, ed. Paolo Golinelli, Il mondo medievale (Bologna: Pàtron, 1987), pp. 159-67; Harald Zimmermann, 'Canossa e il matrimonio di Adelaide', in *Canossa prima di Matilde. Atti del Convegno di Reggio Emilia* (Milano: Camunia, 1990), pp. 141-55; Harald Zimmermann, 'I Signori di Canossa e l'Impero (da Ottone I a Enrico III)', in *I Poteri dei Canossa, da Reggio Emilia all'Europa: atti del convegno internazionale di studi* (*Reggio Emilia-Carpineti, 29-31 ottobre 1992*), ed. Paolo Golinelli, Il mondo medievale (Bologna: Pàtron, 1994), pp. 413-19; Elke Goez, *Beatrix von Canossa und Tuszien: eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte des 11. Jahrhunderts* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1995); Rossella Rinaldi, 'Da Adalberto Atto a Bonifacio. Note e riflessioni per l'edizione di un Codice Diplomatico Canossano prematildico', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 101 (1997), pp. 13-91.

80 Girolamo Arnaldi, 'Papato, archivescovi e vescovi nell'età post-carolingia', in *Vescovi e Diocesi in Italia nel Medioevo Atti del II Convegno di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* (*Roma, 5-9 Sett. 1961*), ed. G. G. Maccarrone, E. Meersseman, and P. Sambin (Padua, 1964), pp. 27-53; H. E. J. Cowdrey,

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interactions of the papacy with external powers, including the Carolingians and the German emperors,[81] has also served as a rich vein for research into political and social change in Italy. In particular, the Investiture Contest has received substantial attention for its impact on the role of the northern Italian bishops and coincidence with the appearance of clear evidence for political activity within many Italian cities,[82] but also for its concurrence with the firm establishment of the Normans in the south.[83] Beyond the papacy, the secular and sacral nature of the Italian bishops and archbishops has been analysed alongside their roles as administrators of royal and imperial lands and within the selection of kings.[84] Perhaps most notably (and predictably), the interaction of these bishops and archbishops with the urban communes and proto-communes has formed a central part of the Italian historiographical tradition.[85] The Church and the ecclesiastical

The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); Ruggero Benericetti, 'La cronologia dei papi della seconda metà del secolo XI nelle carte Ravennati e Romagnole', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 40 (2002), pp. 37-52.

81 Ottorino Bertolini, 'I vescovi del "regnum Langobardorum" al tempo dei Carolingi', in *Vescovi e Diocesi in Italia nel Medioevo Atti del II Convegno di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* (*Roma, 5-9 Sett. 1961*), ed. M. Maccarrone et al. (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1964), pp. 1-26; Heinz Thomas, 'Gregors VII. imperiale Politik und der Ausbruch seines Streites mit Heinrich IV', in *Festschrift für Eduard Hlawitschka: zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Karl Rudolf Schnith and Roland Pauler, Münchener Historische Studien 5 (Kallmünz Opf: Lassleben, 1993).

82 Reinhold Schumann, *Authority and the Commune, Parma 833-1133* (Parma: Presso La Deputazione Di Storia Patria Per Le Province Parmensi, 1973); Roberto Celli, *Pour l'histoire du pouvoir populaire: L'experience des villes-états italiennes* (*XIe-XIIe siècles*) (Louvain, 1980); Maureen C. Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy*, Conjunctions of Religion & Power in the Medieval Past (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).

83 Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius*; Louis I. Hamilton, 'Desecration and Consecration in Norman Capua, 1062-1122', in *The Haskins Society Journal 14: 2003*, ed. Stephen Morillo, NED-New edition, Studies in Medieval History 14 (Boydell & Brewer, 2005), pp. 137-50, https://doi.org/10.7722/j.ctt6wp8t9.14; G. A Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

84 H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Archbishop Aribert of Milan', *History* 51 (1966), pp. 1-15; Vito Fumagalli, 'Il potere civile dei vescovi italiani al tempo di Ottone I', in *I Poteri Temporali dei Vescovi in Italia e in Germania nel Medioevo*, ed. Carlo Guido Mor and Heinrich Schmidinger (Bologna: il Mulino, 1979), pp. 77-86; Carlo Guido Mor, 'Sui poteri civili dei vescovi dal IV al secolo VIII', in *I Poteri Temporali dei Vescovi in Italia e in Germania nel Medioevo*, ed. Carlo Guido Mor and Heinrich Schmidinger (Bologna: il Mulino, 1979), pp. 7-33.

85 A. Solmi, 'Le leggi più antiche del comune di Piacenza', *Archivio storico italiano* 73, no. 2 (1915), pp. 3-81; Eugenio Dupré Theseider, 'Vescovi e città nell'Italia precomunale', in *Vescovi e Diocesi in Italia nel Medioevo Atti del II Convegno di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* (*Roma, 5-9 Sett. 1961*), ed. M. Maccarrone et al. (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1964), pp. 55-109; Giovanni Cassandro, 'Il bilancio storiografico', in *Forme di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel Medioevo*, ed. Gabriella Rosseti

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magnates were a central element of early medieval Italian society, politics and economics.

This focus on the Church is reflected within work conducted on violence in early medieval Italy. Although the military role of the Italian bishops and other clergy has not been explored to the same extent as that of their counterparts in some other areas of Europe,[86] there are nevertheless a number of studies on this varied and changing issue.[87] The conflicts within and around the Investiture Contest have recently formed a focus for the study of warfare in Italy,[88] and the concurrent emergence of the Paterene movement and its frequently violent attempts to achieve its goals has long been studied in the context of Church reform and the emergence of the communes.[89] The

(Bologna: Il mulino, 1977), pp. 153-74; Annamaria Ambrosioni, 'Gli archivescovi di Milano e la nuova coscienza cittadina', in *L'evoluzione delle città italiane nell'XI secolo*, ed. Renato Bordone and Jörg Jarnut, Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico 25 (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1988), pp. 193-222; George W. Dameron, *Episcopal Power and Florentine Society, 1000-1320*, Harvard Historical Studies 107 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991); Maureen C. Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950-1150* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); Albini, 'Vescovo, comune'; Roberto Greci, ed., *Il governo del vescovo: chiesa, città, territorio nel Medioevo parmense* (Parma: Monte Università Parma, 2005).

86 Leopold Auer, 'Der Kriegsdienst Des Klerus Unter Den Sächsischen Kaisern', *Mitteilungen Des Instituts Für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 80, no. 1-2 (January 1972), pp. 48-70 https://doi.org/10.7767/miog.1972.80.12.48; Benjamin Arnold, 'German Bishops and Their Military Retinues in the Medieval Empire', *German History* 7, no. 2 (1989), pp. 161-83; Boris Bigott, *Ludwig der Deutsche und die Reichskirche im ostfränkischen Reich* (*826-876*), Historische Studien, Bd. 470 (Husum: Matthiesen Verlag, 2002), pp. 124-35.

87 Pietro Rasi, *'Exercitus Italicus' e milizie cittadine nell'alto medioevo* (Padua, 1937); Cowdrey, 'Archbishop Aribert of Milan'; Giancarlo Andenna, 'Carolingi, vescovi e abati in Italia settentrionale (secolo IX). Riflessioni sul "militare servitum" degli ecclesiastici', in *Le origini della diocesi di Mantova e le sedi episcopali dell'Italia settentrionale, IV-XI secolo*, ed. Gian Pietro Brogiolo, Giancarlo Andenna, and Renata Salvarani, Antichità altoadriatiche 63 (Trieste: Editreg, 2006), pp. 3-34; Robert Houghton, 'Italian Bishops and Warfare during the Investiture Contest: The Case of Parma', in *Between Sword and Prayer: Warfare and Medieval Clergy in Cultural Perspective*, eds. Radosław Kotecki, Jacek Maciejewski, and John S. Ott, Explorations in Medieval Culture, volume 3 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2018), pp. 274-302.

88 François Menant, 'Aspetti Delle Relazioni Feudo-Vassallatiche Nelle Città Lombarde Dell'XI Secolo: L'esempio Cremonese', in *L'evoluzione Delle Città Italiane Nell'XI Secolo*, ed. Renato Bordone and Jörg Jarnut, Annali Dell'Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico 25 (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1988), pp. 223-39; Glauco Maria Cantarella, *Pasquale II e il suo tempo*, Nuovo Medioevo 54 (Napoli: Liguori, 1997), esp. 82-105; Eads, 'The Geography of Power'; Hay, *The Military Leadership of Matilda of Canossa*.

89 Cinzio Violante, *La Pataria milanese e la riforma ecclesiastica. I. Le premesse* (*1045-1057*) (Rome, 1955); H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Papacy, the Patarenes and the Church of Milan', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 18 (1968): 25, pp.25-48; https://doi.org/10.2307/3678954; Hagen Keller, 'Pataria und Stadtverfassung, Stadtgemeinde und Reform: Mailand im "Investiturstreit"', in *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein, Vorträge und Forschungen 17

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role of northern Italians in the crusades and other campaigns supported by the Church have received some attention,[90] but, understandably, this is usually overshadowed by studies of the more successful Southern Italian Norman crusaders.[91]

A final key element within the historiography surrounding early medieval Italy is the consideration of law and rhetoric. The common narrative of exceptionalism surrounding medieval Italy incorporates a sub-narrative of the early emergence of complex and nuanced legal thought and rhetoric,[92] and this is often presented as a contributing factor in the emergence of the city communes.[93] This legal acumen is frequently connected to the construction of complex and involved political rhetoric by the authors of

(Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1973), pp. 321-50; Olaf Zumhagen, *Religiöse Konflikte und kommunale Entwicklung: Mailand, Cremona, Piacenza und Florenz zur Zeit der Pataria*, Städteforschung 58 (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2002).

90 H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Mahdia Campaign of 1087', *English Historical Review* 92 (1977), pp. 1-29; Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*; Christopher Marshall, 'The Crusading Motivation of the Italian City Republics in the Latin East, 1096-1104', in *The Experience of Crusading*, ed. Marcus Graham Bull et al. (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 60-79.

91 Natasha Hodgson, 'Reinventing Normans as Crusaders?: Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi*', in *Anglo-Norman Studies 30*, ed. C. P. Lewis, vol. 30, Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2007 (Boydell & Brewer, 2008), pp. 117-32, https://doi.org/10.7722/j.ctt81wq7.12; Alan V. Murray, 'The Enemy Within: Bohemond, Byzantium and the Subversion of the First Crusade', in *Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Norman World*, ed. Kathryn Hurlock and Paul Oldfield, NED-New edition (Boydell & Brewer, 2015), pp. 31-48, https://doi.org/10.7722/j.ctt13wzt6d.10; Luigi Russo, 'Bad Crusaders?: The Normans of Southern Italy and the Crusading Movement in the Twelfth Century', in *Anglo-Norman Studies XXXVIII*, ed. Elisabeth van Houts, NED-New edition, Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2015 (Boydell & Brewer, 2016), pp. 169-80, https://doi.org/10.7722/j.ctt19x3j5h.16.

92 Antonio Padoa Schioppa, 'Aspetti della giustiza milanese secolo dal X al XII', in *Milano e il suo territorio in età comunale* (*XI-XIII secolo*)*: atti dell'XI congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto Medioevo, Milano 26-30 ottobre 1987* (Spoleto: Centro di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1989), pp. 503-49; Dick Harrison, 'Political Rhetoric and Political Ideology in Lombard Italy', in *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800*, ed. Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz, The Transformation of the Roman World 2 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 1998), pp. 241-54; Mario Ascheri, 'Formes du Droit dans l'Italie Communale: Les Statuts', *Médiévales* 39 (Autumn 2000), pp. 137-52; Giovanni Chiodi, 'Roma e il diritto romano: Consulenze di giudici e strategie di avvocati dal X al XII secolo', *Settimane di studio* 49 (2002), pp. 1141-1254; Mario Ascheri, 'Il Consilium Dei Giuristi Medievali', in *Consilium: teorie e pratiche del consigliare nella cultura medievale*, ed. Carla Casagrande, Micrologus' library 10 (Firenze: Sismel, Ed. del Galluzzo, 2004), pp. 243-58; Marios Costambeys, 'Disputes and Courts in Lombard and Carolingian Central Italy', *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007), pp. 265-89.

93 Giovanni Tabacco, 'Ordinamento pubblico e sviluppo signorile nei secoli centrali del Medioevo', *Bullettino Dell'Istituto Storico Italiano* 79 (1968), pp. 37-51; Chris Wickham, 'Land Disputes and Their Social Framework in Lombard-Carolingian Italy, 700-900', in *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge, 1986),

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the narrative sources of early medieval Italy. Paul the Deacon is an early example of this,[94] and extensive studies of the use of classical and theological rhetorical techniques within the work of many of the authors of the post-Carolingian period have been produced: Liutprand of Cremona is the most prominent and graphic example of this,[95] but a number of other chroniclers of this period have been studied for their construction of elaborate and often fanciful rhetoric to further their political and personal goals.[96] Towards the end of the eleventh century, the Investiture Contest sharpened this rhetoric and has formed the basis for a substantial range of study.[97]

pp. 105-24; Chris Wickham, 'Justice in the Kingdom of Italy in the Eleventh Century', *Settimane Di Studio Del Centro Italiano Di Studi Sull' Alto Medioevo* 44 (1997), pp. 179-250.

94 Donald Bullough, 'Ethnic History and the Carolingians: An Alternative Reading of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*', in *The Inheritance of Historiography, 350-900*, ed. Christopher Holdsworth and T.P. Wiseman, 1st ed. (Liverpool University Press, 1986), pp. 85-106, www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vjmgk.12; Walter A. Goffart, 'Paul the Deacon's "Gesta Episcoporium Mettensium" and the Early Design of Charlemagne's Succession', *Traditio* 42 (1986), pp. 59-93; Christopher Heath, 'Hispania et Italia: Paul the Deacon, Isidore, and the Lombards', in *Isidore of Seville and His Reception in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood, Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge (Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 159-76, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1d8hb6s.11; Christopher Heath, 'Vir Valde Peritus: Paul the Deacon and His Contexts', in *The Narrative Worlds of Paul the Deacon*, Between Empires and Identities in Lombard Italy (Amsterdam University Press, 2017), pp. 19-38, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1zkjxs1.6.

95 Germana Gandino, *Il vocabolario politico e sociale di Liutprando di Cremona*, Nuovi Studi Storici 27 (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1995); Ross Balzaretti, 'Liutprand of Cremona's Sense of Humour', in *Humour, History and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Guy Halsall (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 114-28; Philippe Buc, 'Political Rituals and Political Imagination in the Medieval West from the Fourth Century to the Eleventh', in *The Medieval World*, ed. Peter Linehan and Janet L Nelson (London; New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 189-213; Cristina La Rocca, 'Liutprando da Cremona e il paradigma femminile di dissoluzione dei Carolingi', in *Agire da donna: modelli e pratiche di rappresentazione, secoli VI-X: atti del convegno, Padova, 18-19 febbraio 2005*, ed. Cristina La Rocca, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 291-307.

96 Wemple, *Atto of Vercelli*; Edoardo Manarini, '10th Century Italy through the Voices of Atto of Vercelli and Liutprand of Cremona: True Political Catastrophe or Just a Perception?', in *Studies on Disasters, Catastrophes and the Ends of the World in Sources*, ed. Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska, 2013, pp. 195-200; Giacomo Vignodelli, *Il Filo a Piombo: Il Perpendiculum Di Attone Di Vercelli e La Storia Politica Del Regno Italico*, Prima edizione, Istituzioni e Società 16 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2011); Giacomo Vignodelli, 'Politics, Prophecy and Satire: Atto of Vercelli's *Polipticum Quod Appellatur Perpendiculum*: Atto of Vercelli's *Polipticum Quod Appellatur Perpendiculum*', *Early Medieval Europe* 24, no. 2 (May 2016), pp. 209-35, https://doi.org/10.1111/emed.12141.

97 I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century* (Manchester: New York: Manchester University Press; Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1978); I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Tilman Struve,

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A core element of these explorations of law and rhetoric has been the use of violent incidents and language as a political tool. Liutprand's work has become a particular focus for the study of violence, warfare and rebellion as a tool of rhetoric,[98] but various other works have been examined from this perspective, including Vignodelli's extensive work on Atto of Vercelli's *Perpendiculum*.[99] Legal and moral justification of violence within Italy during the earlier Middle Ages has also formed a frequent element of recent studies and the emergence of the doctrine of Church directed violence against Christian rivals has a particular relevance within studies of the whole of Italy: in the South against or alongside the Normans, Byzantines and Lombards;[100] in the centre against ambitious Roman families and the short lived commune in Rome;[101] and in the North against the Emperor and his supporters.[102] The development of

'Le trasformazioni dell'XI secolo alla luce della storiografia del tempo', in *Il secolo XI: una svolta? Atti della XXXII settimana di studio, 10-14 settembre 1990*, ed. Cinzio Violante and Johannes Fried, Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico in Trento Quaderno 35 (Bologna: Società Ed. Il Mulino, 1993), pp. 41-72; Arnaud Knaepen, 'Le recours à l'Antiquité dans les écrits de la Querelle des Investitures', in *L'autorité du passé dans les sociétés médiévales*, ed. Jean-Marie Sansterre, Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome 333 (Rome : Bruxelles: Ecole française de Rome ; Institut historique Belge de Rome, 2004), pp. 369-84.

98 Jon N. Sutherland, 'The Idea of Revenge in Lombard Society in the Eighth and Tenth Centuries: The Cases of Paul the Deacon and Liudprand of Cremona', *Speculum* 50, no. 3 (1975), pp. 391-410; Antoni Grabowski, 'Liudprand of Cremona's *Papa Monstrum* : The Image of Pope John XII in the *Historia Ottonis*', *Early Medieval Europe* 23, no. 1 (February 2015), pp. 67-92, https://doi.org/10.1111/emed.12088.

99 Vignodelli, *Il Filo a Piombo*; Vignodelli, 'Politics, Prophecy and Satire'.

100 Michele Fuiano, 'La battaglia di Civitate (1053)', *Archivio storico pugliese* 2 (1949), pp. 124-33; Loud, 'The Church, Warfare and Military Obligation'; Wilfried Hartmann, 'Verso il centralismo papale (Leone IX, Niccolò II, Gregorio VII, Urbano II)', in *Il secolo XI: una svolta? Atti della XXXII settimana di studio, 10-14 settembre 1990*, ed. Cinzio Violante and Johannes Fried, Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico in Trento Quaderno 35 (Bologna: Società Ed. Il Mulino, 1993), pp. 99-139.

101 Brezzi, 'Le relazioni tra le città ed il contado nei comuni italiani', pp. 317-39; Ingrid Baumgärtner, 'Rombeherrschung und Romerneuerung: Die römische Kommune im 12. Jahrhundert', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 69 (1987), pp. 27-79; Tommaso Di Carpegna Falconieri, *Il clero di Roma nel Medioevo: istituzioni e politica cittadina* (*secoli VIII-XIII*), 1st ed., I libri di Viella 30 (Roma: Viella, 2002); Chris Wickham, *Medieval Rome: Stability and Crisis of a City, 900-1150*, First edition, Oxford Studies in Medieval European History (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 385-457.

102 Ernst-Dieter Hehl, *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert: Studien zu kanon. Recht u. polit. Wirklichkeit*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 19 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1980); Edith Pásztor, 'Lotta per le investiture e "ius belli": la posizione di Anselmo di Luca', in *Sant'Anselmno, Mantova e la lotta per le Investiture. Atti del Convegno Internazi*, ed. Paolo Golinelli, Il mondo medievale (Bologna: Pàtron, 1987).

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this rhetoric within the papal[103] and Canossan courts has likewise formed a focus of study.[104] This has been accompanied by the consideration of the development of counter-rhetoric within the imperial party, but most especially from the court of Guibert of Ravenna – the antipope Clement III.[105]

This brief overview is in no way comprehensive. It serves primarily as an illustration of the varied and changing approaches to the study of violence in early medieval Italy within the context of broader historiographical trends and tendencies. The study of violence in this period is not restricted to the areas highlighted above and these themes are intricately nuanced and subject to substantial differentiation across the region and period. Nevertheless, these trends are visible within much of the work conducted

103 A. M. Stickler, 'Il potere coattivo materiale della chiesa nella riforma gregoriana secondo Anselmo di Lucca', *Studi Gregoriano* 2 (1947), pp. 235-85; I. S Robinson, 'Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ', *History* 58 (1973), pp. 169-92; Karl Leyser, 'On the Eve of the First European Revolution', in *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London: Hambledon Press, 1994); Kathleen G. Cushing, *Papacy and Law in the Gregorian Revolution: The Canonistic Work of Anselm of Lucca*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Patrick Healy, 'Merito Nominentur Virago: Matilda of Tuscany in the Polemics of the Investiture Contest', in *Victims or Viragos?*, ed. Christine Meek and Catherine Lawless, Studies on Medieval and Early Modern Women 4 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005).

104 Ludovico Gatto, 'Matilde di Canossa nel Liber ad Amicum di Bonizone da Sutri', in *Studi matildici, Atti e Memorie del II Convegno di Studi matildici* (*Reggio Emilia, 1-3 maggio 1970*) (Modena: Aedes Muratoriana, 1971), pp. 307-25; Mario Nobili, 'L'Ideologia Politica in Donizone', in *Studi matildici, Atti e Memorie del III Convegno di Studi matildici* (*Reggio Emilia, 7-9 ottobre 1977*) (Modena: Aedes Muratoriana, 1978), pp. 263-79; Elke Goez, 'Matilde ed i suoi ospiti', in *I Poteri dei Canossa, da Reggio Emilia all'Europa: atti del convegno internazionale di studi* (*Reggio Emilia-Carpineti, 29-31 ottobre 1992*), ed. Paolo Golinelli, Il mondo medievale (Bologna: Pàtron, 1994), pp. 325-34; Paolo Golinelli, 'Le origini del mito di Matilde e la fortuna di Donizone', in *Matilde di Canossa nelle culture europee del secondo millennio: dalla storia al mito: atti del convegno internazionale di studi* (*Reggio Emilia, Canossa, Quattro Castella, 25-27 settembre 1997*), ed. Paolo Golinelli, 1st ed., Il mondo medievale 8 (Bologna: Pàtron, 1999), pp. 29-52; Eugenio Riversi, 'Note Sulla Rappresentazione Del Lignaggio Dei Canossa Nella "Vita Mathildis" Di Donizone', *Geschte Und Region/Storia e Regione* 11/2 (2002), pp. 101-33; Eugenio Riversi, *La memoria di Canossa: saggi di contestualizzazione della Vita Mathildis di Donizone*, Studi medioevali, nuova ser., 2 (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2013).

105 Robert Somerville, 'Anselm of Lucca and Wilbert of Ravenna', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 10 (1980), pp. 1-13; Jürgen Ziese, *Wibert von Ravenna, der Gegenpapst Clemens III. (1084-1100)*, Päpste und Papsttum 20 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1982); Ingrid Heidrich, *Ravenna unter Erzbischof Wibert (1073-1100)* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1984); Orazio Francabandera, 'La Chiesa Ravennate sotto l'arcivescovo Guiberto', in *Le carte ravennati del secolo undicesimo*, ed. Ruggero Benericetti, Studi della Biblioteca Card. Gaetano Cicognani, nuova ser. 13 (Faenza: Biblioteca Cicognani, 2003), vii-xii; Healy, 'Merito Nominentur Virago: Matilda of Tuscany in the Polemics of the Investiture Contest'.

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on Italy in the early Middle Ages and form elements of the discussion within each of the chapters of this volume.

This Volume

Both the historical contexts and the historiographical responses set out above prompt the impulses behind the contributions in this volume. The detailed discussions here seek to understand the role of violence in the specific contexts in which that violence occurs. The nine contributions that follow range from the dawn of the Lombard period through to the twelfth-century election of Honorius II (1124-30) as pope. Geographically, as we noted above, the essays stretch from the far northeast – the impact of the Carolingian conquest in Borri's contribution – to the far south where Wolf considers the re-shaping of the political configuration in terms of the impact of external protagonists and how the indigenous inhabitants experienced these challenges; with how they lived through instability and violence.

The first two chapters (Heath and Berndt) form a duo considering aspects of elite violence in the Lombard kingdom proper between 568 and 774. As Heath remarks, 'the elusive reality' of Lombard kingship is often rendered obscure by the pithy and occasionally gnomic commentary of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* which remains the principal narrative source for the early medieval Lombard kingdom. Even Paul's silence about issues of significance for modern historians has elicited analysis of '*I silenzi del diacono*' as a trope in the historiography. In terms of political violence, Paul's comments on the activities of the Lombard King Cleph (572-4) are one of the strongest illustrations of this approach. Paul provides somewhat ambiguous notices that have served to inspire an impressive historical industry seeking to understand what the situation on the ground was really like at this time; in particular, concerned with understanding the impact of Lombard settlement and rule on the majority of the Italo-Roman population. Can one see through the violence described and identify the commencement of a process that resulted in the gradual fusion of populations as the kingdom develops and sustains itself beyond the *inter-regnum* period (i.e. 574-84)? Here, of course, the historian is at the mercy of the evidential platforms available. Naturally, the synthesis between the extant narrative materials and the rather limited normative sources we have for this period cannot entirely clear away the miasma and reveal the full complexity of Lombard political culture. Commentators prompted by the primary sources have concentrated on the skulduggery evident in Pavia (and to a lesser extent

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in Spoleto and Benevento) without fully integrating the context at large. Both Heath, with his three short case studies, and Berndt, who tightens his focus to the period 600 to 700, tackle these issues. Berndt considers both insurgency and counterinsurgency in the Lombard kingdom. One common impulse noted in both chapters is the tendency of commentators to suggest that the kingdom was, as Berndt puts it 'bound alone to the selfish interests of the powerful Lombard dukes'. Similar but tangential conclusions are reached. For Heath whilst the links that bound protagonists together remain uncertain, sufficient cohesion was both maintained and obtained in the *regnum* to allows its continuance across the caesura represented by the Carolingian conquest. Berndt is alive to the issues that flow from the absence of a clear Lombard *stirps regia* (unlike Merovingian Gaul), but he concludes that rather than evidence of 'eroding power structures and the displacement of loyalties' one may actually see an element of significant cohesion in the competition for pre-eminence as the head of the Lombard kingdom. It was, perhaps paradoxically, this cohesion that facilitated the attachment of the kingdom to Carolingian Francia.

Borri considers this new political constellation that relegated Lombard Italy to a component entity. He considers the period from 774 to 818 and analyses the Lombard/Italian kingdom as it moved from hostile opponent (prior to 774); to an important segment of Frankish power; to finally a 'rebellious and treacherous realm', all in the space of one generation. Borri's chapter straddles this period from the initial conquest period (774 to 810) through the supervised rule of Charlemagne's son Pippin of Italy (formerly Carloman) (781-810), to the circumscribed kingship of Pippin's son Bernard (810-8), before his blinding and death on the orders of Louis the Pious (814-40). Borri aims to illuminate both the Frankish narratives of this period and those that are 'in tension' with the dominant approach. In so doing, Borri is able to discuss the real impact of political change for those inhabitants who were at the sharp end of Frankish attentions. Unlike the Lombard period, Borri tells us that 'these years […] are blessed with many […] sources'. He undertakes a forensic scrutiny of what is said in the *Liber Pontificalis* (usually opposed to the Lombards); the *Codex Carolinus* (whose responses to the Lombards are less than positive); the Royal Frankish Annals; Einhard and others. Subsequently he sets out the sources for the revolt of Hrodgaud of Friuli in 776 and also materials for the rule of Pippin and Bernard, the latter of whom was brought to power as a result of Pippin's demise courtesy of the 'Adriatic swamps'. Bernard, as Borri notes, was moved to rebel by 'Satan' – or so at least Frothar of Toul suggested, and the Italians/Lombards were once again cast as perfidious and unworthy; a characterisation that has had a

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long history in some circles. Borri is thus able to conclude that the accounts he considers were far from being 'positive depictions' but rather carefully constructed narratives of conflict with distinctive biases.

Wolf also considers the construction of narratives. Her point of focus are depictions of Muslims and Christians in the south of Italy, principally in the ninth century. The Islamic presence in the south, for Wolf, influenced what she calls 'new dimensions of violence' which had in turn a plethora of demographic, economic and political effects. One of these effects was the creation of 'violent' communities who were propelled into competition for both resources and power. One of the key drivers for Wolf's analysis is a careful and systematic analysis of the language used by commentators. Here we find that the repertoire of Christian writers deployed a wide range of verbs, nouns, adverbs and adjectives to encompass the dimensions of violence and the apparent activities of Islamic protagonists. It is significant, suggests Wolf, that both aggressors and victims in this arena remain incognito. The depiction of Christian 'counter-violence' Wolf tells us, is 'always represented as justified'. Setting these depictions beside each other in this way allows Wolf to clearly understand that new forms of violence 'initiated new dimensions' in terms of duration, intensity and regional focus. Historians can then differentiate between 'zones of all-out violence' and areas that are 'permeated with violence'.

Wolf's final observation that new opportunities can be created by violence as part of 'integrative [...] complex processes' is a useful means of approaching the notorious events that David Barritt considers in his chapter on Formosus and the synod of the corpse. Barritt's chapter considers both the real and also the conceptual religious violence that occurred as a result of the posthumous degradation of the Pope in January 897 when his corpse was exhumed and put on public trial. Condemned, his body was mutilated and thrown into the river Tiber. Whilst this gruesome story may be rather notorious, Barritt seeks to unpick the contexts in Rome of the late ninth century. This period, with interesting resonances for an earlier period of crisis in Carolingian Italy, is often depicted as one of chronic instability with the ongoing 'quasi' civil war of Guy of Spoleto and Berengar. The synod, it is usually said, represents a nadir in the political culture of both Rome and Italy. As we have seen with the contributions of Borri and Wolf, Barritt considers the contextual foreground of the events but also identifies the constructed discourse that Liudprand of Cremona developed. Accordingly, Barritt suggests that the absence of recorded opposition to the pontificate of Formosus' pre-mortem is significant when one considers the violent opposition that occurred post-mortem. Edoardo Manarini's contribution also

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delves into the murky political theatre of late-post Carolingian Italy but shifts his focus to the representation of elite competition between two aristocratic kindreds. As Manarini tells us the 'concept of competition' amongst the *potentes* has shifted perceptions of the management, manipulation and maintenance of elite groups both at the regnal level and at the local level. This is reminiscent, as we noted above, of the characteristically amorphous relationships between kings, dukes and elite groups in Lombard Italy. Yet, Manarini is able to dissect the competition for pre-eminence between the Hucpoldings and the Supponids through the narratives supplied by the *Epitome chronicarum Cassinensium*. As Manarini shows, this narrative describes a fictional episode of 'lewdness, violence and injustice' during the rule of Louis II (844-75). In comparing the *Epitome* narrative with available documentary sources Manarini reveals the genesis of the passage and more broadly frames the conflict within the local political contours of Emilia.

Looking back from the eleventh-century, elements of elite identity characterised by Manarini in his chapter remained part of the socio-political landscape. One of these, proximity-to-power, or to use the convenient German term, *königsnahe*, becomes a fundamental aspect of the Italian kingdom for the final three contributions in this volume. The first of these, the chapter by Nash, investigates the impact upon Italy of the Emperors Otto III (996-1002) and Frederick Barbarossa (1155-90). Nash is concerned with interrogating the legitimacy of their rule considering their acts of violence in the peninsula. Crucial in this context for Nash is how these two rulers sought to present themselves in terms of both action and appearance in written works. Nash focusses on the two appearances of Otto III in 996 and 997/8 and two later visits of Frederick in 1154/5 and 1158/62. In this sense the 'Roman holidays' of Otto and Frederick signify the direct application of a geographically external rule on the Italians, rather than the ultimately naturalised Carolingian rule (post Charlemagne) and the often-contested rule of the 'Italian' kings within the so-called National Kingdom between 888 and 962. The contextual panorama has clearly shifted. As a way into this nexus of issues, Nash considers three aspects; the *adventus* of emperors; the legacy of Pippin I (III) (751-68); and the regalian rights of Italian kings. With this in mind, and notwithstanding what in Nash's view was their 'vindictive and cruel' activities, both Otto and Frederick sought not to destroy their support base but to ensure reverence and obedience.

The responses of Italians to emperors is the key feature of Houghton's contribution. He considers another German emperor, the Salian, Conrad II (1027-39) spending Christmas in Parma. Whilst resident in that city, a disturbance developed into a sustained confrontation between the *Parmigiani*

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and the imperial party. As Houghton notes, and as Nash implied, seamless harmony between the emperors from north of the Alps and the Italians was rarely achieved without some effort and struggle. Yet there are differences in both the context and scale for Houghton which allows him to offer an alternative viewpoint on aspects of the socio-political situation in Italy in the first half of the eleventh century. Crucially, he is able to identify the complexities behind the tensions that erupted into violence. This was not a simple binary paradigm, but rather a series of layered inter-connections and relationships between the emperors, the bishops, key magnates and the *cives* of Parma. No longer then can the sinews of elite control simply be described as connections to the king as *primus inter pares* with his *potentes*, and those who may also enjoy the prestige of *königsnahe.* As we have seen portrayed for the Lombard kingdom, local or regional dimensions have risen (once again) to a primordial level. Houghton concludes that these disturbances need to be viewed as constituent elements of the broader socio-political networks existing in Italy.

In the volume's final chapter Enrico Veneziani returns us to the papal *cosmopolis* and to the accounts of the election of Honorius II in 1124. For Veneziani, as for many of the historians in this volume, the depiction of these events in starkly opposite ways is illustrative. This is, of course, the opposite problem for many early medieval historians who are forced to grapple with clearly biased materials (which are not challenged by extant sources). Veneziani extracts from his sources the links between violence and social and political change in Rome with particular reference to the Frangipani family. It is common to characterise Italian politics in Anglophone circles as a quagmire which is best avoided – and we have seen that the projection of perfidy and treachery has a long provenance. It is also often suggested that the dangers that affect the un-wary who meddle in the cauldron of Roman politics, is often magnified by a papal connection. Here one must not only manage the perils of papal politics but also local elites, interested parties and trans-regional factors. If we return to Veneziani's case study, we find that he demonstrates that, rather as Deusdedit suggested, we do not have a 'divine act of love', but an election of dispute and division that also featured lay violence.

We have travelled far both in terms of chronology and geography, from the moment when Alboin's (568-72) army first arrived in Italy in 568/9 to the election of a pope in 1124. There are, however, interesting threads which link all the contributions to this book, not least that while Italy may have been 'a' theatre of violence, that it experienced violence done to it by outsiders and indigenes alike, it was more than simply a zone of perpetual dystopian violent action – unadulterated, undifferentiated and chaotic. Behind the

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violent acts, there were rules of engagement, there were motivations, and most of all there were individuals with their own impulses, responses and their own histories.

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