THE PONTIFICATE OF
HADRIAN I (772-795):
PAPAL THEORY AND POLITICAL REALITY
IN THE REIGN OF CHARLEMAGNE

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Papal Theory and Political Reality
in the Reign of Charlemagne**

presented by

David Stevens Sefton

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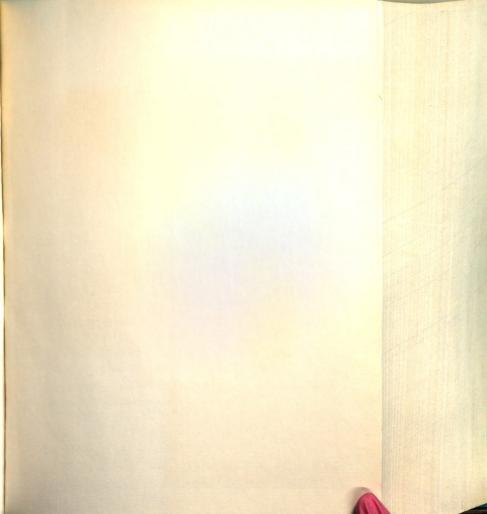of the requirements for

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ABSTRACT

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liarly lacking in specialized studies of individual popes.
This work seeks to focus on Pope Hadrian I in an attempt to
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This concentration on the activities of Hadrian neces-
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completed shortly after his death, supplied additional

information on the pope's early life and first years of his pontificate. In order to overcome the one-sided nature of this material, it was necessary to consult Frankish and Italian chronicles and charters. What emerged was a picture of an ambitious pope with designs on ruling most of Italy in the wake of the Lombard kingdom's collapse.

In several respects, the conclusions which emerged from this study differ radically from traditional views of papal activities in the eighth century. It was found that the papal-Carolingian union was by no means an alliance of equals. Hadrian's aspirations for sovereign rule in Italy were overwhelmed by the growing power of the Franks. Additionally, Frankish interest went beyond political affairs in Italy and forced Hadrian's concurrence with the Frankish position on the iconoclastic issue.

The early years of Hadrian's pontificate were filled with attempts to convince the papal protector, the Frankish king, to honor papal claims to large amounts of land in Italy. These papal claims were originally expressed in the papal version of the donation of 774. Yet, while Hadrian never abandoned his attempts to gain more land, he was continually frustrated by the Frankish king's insistence on proof of the validity of papal claims before any transfers of land could take place. The insistence on proof compelled Hadrian to shift his aspirations from whole duchies in Italy to the restoration of lost church patrimonies and to supply

the Frankish king with documents, probably including the Constitutum Constantini, to verify the papal claims. Yet, by the end of his pontificate, Hadrian had received far less land than he had desired and he was totally dependent on the Frankish king in virtually every situation.

This study also found that, in part, Hadrian was responsible for the growth in the Frankish king's conception of his own authority. To persuade the king to honor papal desires Hadrian had continually referred to him as the protector and defender of the Roman Church and the beloved of St. Peter. The Frankish king took these labels seriously and applied them not only to a military defense of the pope, but also to a defense of the doctrinal purity of the church. The pope found that his cooperation with the Byzantines in healing the iconoclastic schism was damaged by the Frankish attack on the decisions of the council of Nicaea. As he had done in every political crisis during his pontificate, Hadrian was forced to comply with the wishes of the Frankish king on the problem of iconoclasm.

Finally, this study argues that at the beginning of Hadrian's pontificate, the papacy had been in a position to free itself from the political dangers posed by both Lombards and Byzantines in Italy. The pope had attempted to deal with these dangers in an independent fashion, but he had been increasingly forced to rely on the aid of the Frankish king, whose conceptions of his own authority collided with the

pope's aspirations for independence. Virtually all of the pope's plans were shattered by the power of the Franks. For the Carolingian era, papal dreams of independence in Italy died with Hadrian.

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A DISSERTATION

To Jan

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During my years of graduate study, I have accumulated many debts of gratitude. A number of people have helped me not only in the preparation of this study, but also in my training as an historian. To express sufficiently my thanks is not an easy task, since words alone are adequate neither to describe the extent of their help nor to state my gratitude. However, since words are still the tools of the historian, I must make the attempt to use them to express my thanks.

I owe my greatest debt to my mentor, Dean Richard E. Sullivan. Dean Sullivan introduced me to the intricacies of the medievalist's craft and had a fundamental influence on my formation as an historian. His diligence and patience over the past six years has provided me with an example of scholarly dedication which I shall always try to emulate. His suggestions and criticisms concerning this study have made it a far better work than it would otherwise have been. I consider it a great privilege to be in that unique association of "Dean Sullivan's students."

Further, I must thank the other members of my guidance committee, Professors Stanley Chojnacki and Marjorie Gesner, for their help over the last several years. Both led me along the paths of the discipline of history and both read this dissertation in its entirety. Their careful comments

iii

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

Abel-Simson	Sigurd Abel and Bernhard Simson, _Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches unter Karl dem Grossen_
BM^2	J.F. Böhmer, E. Mühlbacher _et al_, _Regesta Imperii I_, 2nd ed.
BLE	_Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique_
DA	_Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters_
EHR	_English Historical Review_
FdG	_Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte_
FSI	_Fonti per la Storia d'Italia_
HJb	_Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft_
H-L	C.J. Hefele and H. Leclercq, _Histoire des conciles_
HZ	_Historische Zeitschrift_
JE	P. Jaffé _et al_, _Regesta Pontificum Romanorum_
MAH	_Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire_
Mansi	J.D. Mansi (ed.), _Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio_
MGH	_Monumenta Germaniae Historica_
___, Cap.	_Capitularia_

___, Conc.	Concilia
___, DK	Diplomata Karolinorum
___, Epp.	Epistolae
___, SS	Scriptores
___, SS rer. Germ. in usum schol.	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum
___, SS Lang.	Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX
___, SS Merov.	Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
MIÖG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung
NA	Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde
PG	J.P. Migne (ed.), Patrologia cursus completus, series Graeca
PL	J.P. Migne (ed.), Patrologia cursus completus, series Latina
QFIAB	Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken
RBén	Revue Bénédictine
RHEF	Revue d'histoire de l'église de France
RH	Revue Historique
Spec.	Speculum
Trad.	Traditio
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte

ZRG, GA   Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, germanistische Abteilung

ZRG, KA   Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, kanonistische Abteilung

INTRODUCTION

During the course of the eighth century, the cohesive elements of Western European life quickened to form the first distinctive Western European civilization. Perhaps no development was more important to this process than the emergence of the bishop of Rome as a leader in the new political life of Europe. With the rise of the Papal States in Italy and the restructuring of the Church in the West, a series of political events transformed the nature of the Western Church from a subordinate of the Eastern Empire to an institution of paramount importance in Western Europe. This phenomenon has fascinated Western generations and, in consequence of the vast literature concerning various aspects of papal history, even examination of the subject has become a massive undertaking. Confronted with the wildly conflicting opinions on the eighth-century papacy, one could easily despair of ever finding clarity in the midst of such confusion, and thus abandon the entire period. Yet, a new and paradoxically traditional approach could clear away some of the wreckage of scholarly opinion and clearly outline the process in terms of the personalities who participated in the events. In other words, specialized studies of the individual popes could supply some substance to scholarly theories. So, in addition to presenting "old wine in

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icipated in the events. In other words, specialized studies
of the individual popes could supply some substance to schol-
arly theories. So, in addition to presenting "old wine in

new bottles," an approach concentrating on individual popes could also alter the nature of the wine.

Such an approach to history is by no means revolutionary, but it is striking to note that the historiography of the eighth-century papacy is distinctly lacking in examinations of individual popes.[1] Perhaps blinded by the brilliance of the Carolingian kings, scholars have failed to provide thorough studies of the other partners in the Frankish-papal union. We are certainly not lacking in such studies of Charles, or of some of the important personalities of his reign.[2] In contrast, however, the popes often appears as shadowy figures engaged in plots, plans and policies which were motivated by seemingly unseen forces. In many cases the conflict of conclusions concerning the nature of these plans and policies has blurred the outlines of the issues themselves. Yet, it is clear that individuals, and not unseen forces, formulated the policies which propelled the bishop of Rome into a position of political influence in Western Europe. The subject of this work, Pope Hadrian I, was such an individual.

Hadrian, whose long pontificate encompassed most of the years of the reign of Charles before the elevation of the

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[1] About the only attempt is H.K. Mann, The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages (London, 1925). The volumes in the series are characterized by a solid narrative and little interpretation.

[2] Cf. for example Joseph Calmette, Charlemagne, sa vie et son oeuvre (Paris, 1945); A. Kleinclausz, Charlemagne (Paris, 1934); Thomas Hodgkin, Charles the Great (London, 1921); A. Kleinclausz, Alcuin (Lyon, 1958); and many others.

Frankish king to the imperial dignity, was an heir to the aspirations of the Roman Church in the eighth century. If it is accurate to view papal history in terms of a long-range policy, it was Hadrian's lot to preside over the greatest triumph of that policy and over its most bitter dis-illusionment. During his years, the major threat to papal territorial security in Italy, the Lombard kingdom, was destroyed by the papal protector, the King of the Franks. Yet, Hadrian's hopes of harnessing the protector to insure papal sovereignty in Italy were frustrated over the years by the monarchical ideas of Charles. Even worse, Hadrian had to face the danger that the papal protector could become a master. The pope's ultimate frustration and defeat ended papal efforts in the Carolingian period to achieve an inde-pendent position in Italy and anticipated the beginning of the papal-imperial clashes which so dominated the history of the Middle Ages. However, since so much of what Hadrian attempted to accomplish was an outgrowth of the efforts of his predecessors, no study of his pontificate can begin without a glance backward to the mid-eighth century.

establishing a territorial entity in Italy, independent of direct Byzantine or Lombard control and ruled over by the

[1] Ferdinand Gregorovius, Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter vom V. bis XVI. Jahrhundert (Basel, 1953), I, 376. See also E. Delaruelle, "L'église romaine et ses relations avec l'église franque jusqu'en 800," in I problemi dei regni dell'Europa occidentale e i loro rapporti con Roma sino all'800, Vol. VII: Settimane di studio del centro italiano di Studi sull'alto Medio evo (Spoleto, 1960), pp. 167ff.

CHAPTER ONE

THE FOUNDATION OF THE CAROLINGIAN PAPACY

By the beginning of the eighth century, the uneasy
truce between Byzantines and Lombards in Italy had broken
down under the renewed efforts of Lombard kings to unite the
entire peninsula under their rule. The Roman Church, threa-
tened by Lombard military might and pressured by Byzantine
religious measures, began to formulate plans to extricate
itself from the impending crisis. The key element of this
policy was the establishment of a secure territorial foun-
dation in Italy to supplement and to solidify the papal
spiritual claims.[1] It has been correctly shown that these
ideas were generated within the papal Curia, staffed for the
most part by a select group of noble Roman families, during
the first half of the eighth century and were devoted to
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Prince of the Apostles, represented by the pope.[2] The people within this entity would be set apart from the rest of Italy, particularly from the Lombards, and would be the chosen people of God.[3] This idea of the "chosen people" was an indication that the Church of Rome was no longer willing to assume a purely passive role in the political affairs of Italy.[4]

The positive political action under the leadership of the popes had taken the form, under Pope Zachary (741-752), of direct negotiations with the Lombards in an effort to bring peace to Italy and security to the areas around Rome and Ravenna. Zachary had been quite successful in restraining the ambitions of King Liutprand of the Lombards. But the possibility for peaceful negotiations was seemingly removed by the conquest of Ravenna by the Lombard King Aistulf in 751. The newly consecrated pope, the Roman Stephen II, attempted to continue the policy of negotiation and was

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[2] O. Bertolini, "Il problema della origini del poteri temporale dei Papi," *Miscellanea Pio Paschini* (Rome, 1948), I, 122-123.

[3] The phrase *ecclesia Dei et peculiaris populus* appears in the first letters from Rome to the Frankish *subregulus*, Charles Martel. Cf. *Codex Carolinus* 1 and 2, *MGH Epp.* III, 477, 478. Here the inference is clear that the chosen people are those living under the protection of St. Peter and his vicar.

[4] Peter Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal States in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1972), p. 2: "Christianity is the religion of the people of God, or as the fathers of the Church claimed: 'We are the true people of Israel.' As the fathers read the Old Testament, Israel was a human society as well as a religious ideal; when God said that he would defend his people, he was talking politics. The city of God is not of this world, but the people of God are truly and corporeally a people, a social group, and not a metaphorical expression.

initially able to secure a peace for forty years with
Aistulf.[5] Yet, as the papal biographer lamented, Aistulf
only kept the peace for four months and then began moving
south toward Rome, demanding tribute from the citizens of
Rome and refusing to negotiate further.[6] It was clear at
this point that the territorial position of the papacy in
Italy was in the gravest danger. Even the appearance of an
envoy from Constantinople and a joint papal-imperial mission
to Ravenna failed to persuade Aistulf to relinquish his con-
quests of Ravenna and other erstwhile Byzantine districts in
Italy. Still hoping for Byzantine aid, Stephen II then dis-
patched his own appeals for support to accompany the imperial
envoy back to Constantinople.[7]

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[5]*Vita Stephani II*, in *Le Liber Pontificalis*, edited by
L. Duchesne (Paris, 1955), I, 441. All future citations of
the *Liber Pontificalis* will be from the Duchesne edition.

[6]*Vita Stephani II*, c. 6-7, pp. 441-442: At vero isdem
protervus Langobardorum rex, antiqui hostis invasus versutia,
ipsa foedera pacis post poene IIII menses, in periurii inci-
dens reatu, disrupit; multas iamfato sanctissimo viro vel
cuncto populo Romano ingerens contumelias, varias illi minas
dirigens. Cupiens quippe, Deo sibi contrario, cunctam hanc
provinciam invadere, honerosum tributum huius Romanae urbis
inhabitantibus adhibere nitebatur; per unumquemque scilicet
caput singulos auri solidos annue auferre iniabat et seu
iurisdictione civitatem hanc Romanam vel subiacentes ei cas-
tra subdere indignanter asserebat. Cernens vero isdem sanct-
issimus papa valide praefati regis perniciosa inminere ser-
vitia, magnopere ad se accersitis venerabilium monasteriorum
sanctorum Vincentii et Benedicti religiosis abbatibus, sua
vice eidem cruderissimo misit regi, obnixe per eos postulans
pacis foedera et quietem utrarumque partium populi Dei ob-
tinere confirmandam. Quos nempe suscipiens, omnino contemp-
tui habens, eorum monita et ad suae animae detrimentum sine
effectu causae condusos ad propria absolsit monasteria, ob-
testans eos minime ad praefatum sanctissimum papa declinari.

[7]*Ibid.*, c. 9, p. 442: Tunc praelatus sanctissimus vir,
agnito maligni regis consilio, misit regiam urbem suos missos

The appearance of the imperial envoy in Rome, the re-
newed attempts to negotiate with Aistulf, and Stephen's plea
for help from Constantinople all demonstrate that continued
reliance on the Byzantines for protection and the impulse to
achieve a secure territorial position in Italy were not
mutually exclusive policies.[8] Yet, the pope's dispatch of
envoys seeking aid from Constantinople should not lead to
the conclusion that Stephen was still operating within the
traditional boundaries of papal policy. That policy, based
upon direct papal negotiation and what little aid the Byzan-
tines could provide, had demonstrated its shortcomings in
dealing with Aistulf. Stephen II, undoubtedly aware that
substantial support from Constantinople was not likely, also
sent appeals for aid to the new Carolingian king, Pepin the
Short, in Francia.[9] While not insuring a positive response

et apostolicos affatos cum imperiale praefato misso, depre-
cans imperialem clementia ut iuxta quod ei sepius exercit-
andis has Italiae in partes scripserat, modis omnibus ad-
veniret et de iniquitatis filii morsibus Romanam hanc urbem
vel cunctam Italiam provinciam liberaret.

[8] Walter Mohr and many others have viewed papal partici-
pation in the Frankish dynastic change and Gregory III's
initial appeal for aid to the Franks as part of a consistent
policy directed primarily against the Byzantines. However,
this does not adequately explain the fact that even after
the fall of Ravenna in 751, Rome continued in contact with
Constantinople, hoping for continued aid from the Byzantines.
Cf. Walter Mohr, Studien zur Charakteristik des karolingi-
schen Königtums im 8. Jahrhundert (Saarlouis, 1955), pp. 188ff.

[9] Vita Stephani II, c. 15, p. 444: ...; et dum ab eo
nihil hac de re optineret, cernens praesertim et ab imper-
iale potentia nullum esse subveniendi auxilium, tunc que-
madmodum praedecessore eius beate memoriae domni Gregorii
et Gregorius atque domnus Zacharias beatissimi pontifices
Carolo excellentissime memorie regi Francorum direxerunt,
petentes sibi subveniri propter oppressiones ac invasiones

from Pepin, the fact that Rome had given its approval for Pepin's usurpation of the Frankish throne considerably improved Stephen's chances of obtaining a more sympathetic hearing than Gregory III had received in 739. Stephen's actions demonstrate that the major issue for him was the acquisition of a protector. For the moment, the source of the protection was secondary.

The initial contact with the Franks brought a Frankish abbot to Rome with the message that Pepin stood ready to fulfill the wishes of the pope.[10] In reply Stephen sent two letters, one to King Pepin and the other to the Frankish nobles, emphasizing in both the rewards the Frankish protectors would receive from St. Peter for fulfilling papal desires.[11] It was only when the pope's letters to the Franks brought two Frankish envoys to Rome with instructions to accompany the pope to Francia, and when his requests for support from Constantinople only provoked a directive that he

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uas et ipsi in hac Romanorum provincia a nefanda Langobarorum gente perpessi sunt, ita et modo et ipse venerabilis ater, divina gratia inspirante, clam per quendam peregrinum uas misit litteras Pippino, regi Francorum, nimio dolore uic provinciae inherenti conscriptas.

[10]Ibid., c. 16, p. 444: Et dum valide ab eodum Langoardorum rege civitates et provincia ista Romanorum opprimerentur, subito coniunxit missus iamfati regis Francorum, omine Trottigangus abbas, per quem misit in responsis omnem oluntatem ac petitionem praedicti sanctissimi papae adimplere.

[11]Codex Carolinus 4 and 5, MGH Epp. III, 487-488. The reforms of Boniface had created a situation where religious ewards had become important to the Franks. On the subject of the reforms of Boniface see T. Schieffer, Winfrid-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas (Freiburg i. B., 1954).

renew his efforts to negotiate with Aistulf, that Pope Ste-
phen II decided to rely on the Franks for protection. Both
the Frankish and Byzantine envoys must have arrived in Rome
at approximately the same time and the differences in their
answers to the same request could not have been lost on a
pope determined to secure the territorial position of the
papacy in Italy.[12] Only then did the policy emerge which
was to be followed until the end of the eighth century. The
Church of Rome would attempt to create a dominion in public
law, ruled by the popes as sovereigns and defended by the
Frankish king, who would occupy a position secondary to that
of the pope.[13] However, it is unlikely that Stephen II
could have foreseen the consequences of his decision to turn
to the Franks. The involvement of the Franks in an already
complex situation in Italy, the bitter disputes between
landed aristocrats and papal officials in the Papal States,
the legal foundation of papal rule in Byzantine possessions,
and the danger that the Frankish protector could become a
master were all problems barely discernible in the autumn of
753 as Stephen made preparations to travel to Ravenna and
Francia.

As the pope approached Ravenna, accompanied by the two
Frankish envoys and the Byzantine official, he was undoubtedly

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[12]Cf. Pauli _Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium_, _MGH SS_ II, 268.

[13]Walter Ullmann, _The Growth of Papal Government in the
Middle Ages_, 3rd ed. (London, 1970), pp. 51-52. Ullmann's
ideas, useful in this instance, must be viewed with a great
deal of caution due to his tendency to overestimate the con-
sistency of what he terms the papal "blueprint."

certain that this last attempt to negotiate with Aistulf
would be no more successful than the previous efforts.[14] In
the virtual certainty that Aistulf would refuse papal demands,
Stephen was determined to seek his protection from the Franks
and Aistulf was powerless to prevent the continuation of the
pope's journey to Francia. While some scholars have correc-
tly pointed out that Stephen's journey to Francia did not
mean an open break with Constantinople, one cannot conclude
from this that the pope turned to the Franks following ins-
tructions from the Byzantines. The whole idea of Stephen
acting in Francia on imperial instructions and enlisting the
aid of the Franks in a Byzantine cause is simply not sup-
ported by the evidence.[15] This view is based upon the fact
that the Byzantine official lodged no protest about the con-
tinuation of Stephen's journey and that he quietly journeyed
back to Rome. Without exploring the issue in detail, it is
clear that these views of the pope acting in an imperial
charge in Francia do not take into account the possibility
of revolutionary action on the part of Stephen II. On the
contrary, it is clear that, as the pope arrived in Gaul, he
was acting, legally or otherwise, as the representative of
the "chosen people."

[14]L. Duchesne, Les premier temps de l'Etat pontifical
(754-1073) (Paris, 1898), p. 20.

[15]The theories of the pope acting in an imperial charge
are expressed by C. Bayet, "Remarques sur la caractère et
les conséquences du voyage d'Etienne III en France," RH, XX
(1882), 89-94, and H. Dannenbauer, "Das römische Reich und
und der Westen vom Tode Justinian bis zum Tode Karls des Gros-
sen," Grundlagen der mittelalterlichen Welt (Stuttgart, 1958).

After the failure of negotiations with Aistulf, Stephen continued on to Francia, where he was greeted upon his arrival by Pepin's elder son, Charles, who was sent to conduct the pope to Ponthion.[16] Stephen's meeting with Pepin in early 754 initiated a series of negotiations which culminated in the creation of a papal-Frankish union, two campaigns in Italy by the Franks, and donations to the Roman Church. Yet, what actually transpired during the pope's stay in Francia and the nature of the agreements between the pope and the Frankish king have been issues in a scholarly dispute which has endured for generations. While the exact nature of the donations will form an essential part of a later section of this work, it is important to establish certain facts about the nature of this initial Frankish-papal union.

One group of Frankish sources merely report the presence of the pope in Francia. He is portrayed as coming to Pepin to seek aid against the Lombards, the oppressors of the Roman Church.[17] The Royal Annals are particularly terse,

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[16]Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici libri IV cum continuationibus, MGH SS Merov., II, 183: Haec audens rex, cum gaudio et laetitia et ingente cura recipere eum praecipit et filio suo Carlo ei obviuo ire praecepit, qui usque ad Ponteugone villam publicam ad eius praesentiam adducere deberet. Similar reports on Stephen's arrival and his reception by Charles are in Chronicon Moissiacense, MGH SS I, 292; Vita Stephani II, c. 25, p. 447; Annales Mettenses priores, a. 753, MGH SS rer. Germ. in usum schol., p. 44.

[17]Annales Fuldenses, a. 753, MGH SS rer. Germ. in usum schol., p. 6: Stephanus papa Romanus auxilium contra Haisulfum regem Langobardorum petens ad Pippinum in Franciam venit;.... Cf. Annales Alamannici, MGH SS I, 26-26; Annales Guelferbytani, MGH SS I, 27, 29.

mentioning only that the pope came to Francia requesting aid
and defense.[18] Even the most ardent scholars have been un-
able to uncover oaths, gifts, or conspiracies in these ac-
counts. Such, however, is not the case with other, more de-
tailed, reports of the meetings.

The major difficulty has arisen from sharply contrasting
narratives. In the words of the papal biography, Stephen II
was met a few miles outside Ponthion by Pepin, who descended
from his horse and prostrated himself before the pope. Pepin
then walked alongside the pope's horse, performing the
"strator" service, which was to become a sharp issue in later
meetings between popes and emperors in the Middle Ages.[19]
Later, in their discussions at Ponthion, Stephen pleaded
that Pepin should intervene in a pact of peace to "arrange
the cause of St. Peter and the republic of the Romans."
Pepin then swore to satisfy the pope's wishes and to restore
the Exarchate of Ravenna and the other places and rights of
the republic.[20] If one was forced to rely solely on this

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[18]Annales regni Francorum, a. 753, MGH SS rer. Germ. in
usum schol., p. 10. See also Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi,
a. 753, Ibid., p. 11.

[19]Vita Stephani II, c. 25, p. 447: Ipseque in palatio
suo, in loco qui vocatur Ponticone, ad fere trium milium spa-
tium, descendens de equo suo, cum magna humilitate terrae
prostratus, una cum sua coniuge, filiis et optimatibus, ean-
dem sanctissimum papam suscepit; cui et vice stratoris usque
in aliquantum locum iuxta eius sellarem properavit.

[20]Ibid., c. 26, pp. 447-448: Ibique intus oratorium
pariter cosedentes, mox ibidem beatissimus papa praefatum
christianissimum regem lacrimabiliter deprecatus est ut per
pacis foedera causam beati Petri et reipublice Romanorum dis-
poneret. Qui de praesenti iureiurando eundem beatissimum
papam satisfecit omnibus eius mandatis et ammonitionibus sese

account, the meaning would be unmistakable. The Frankish king was clearly subservient to the papal wishes and seemed to be the sought-after protector.

But, some Frankish sources present an entirely different scene. In these Frankish sources, rather than Pepin prostrating himself before the pope, Stephen II appeared before Pepin in sackcloth and ashes, prostrated himself and beseeched the Frankish king to free him and the Roman people from slavery at the hands of the Lombards. The pope refused to rise from the ground until Pepin and his sons extended their hands and raised him from the ground, indicating future support and liberation.[21] No mention is made of Pepin's subservience and the pope is clearly presented as a petitioner of the Frankish king, not unlike any other such petitioner. The difference between these two reports is striking and the conclusions derived from them reflect their divergence.

One hypothesis has combined both accounts to produce a situation whereby the pope commended himself into the Frankish royal protection. According to the major proponent of

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otis nisibus oboedire, et ut illi placitum fuerit exarchatum Ravennae et reipublice iura seu loca reddere modis omnibus.

[21]Annales Mettenses priores, a. 753, p. 45: Sequentique die una cum clero suo, aspersus cinere et indutus cilicio, in terram prostratus per misericordiam Dei omnipotentis et merita beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli Pippinum regem obsecrat, ut se et populum Romanum de manu Longobardorum et superbi regis Haistulfi servitio liberaret. Nec antea a terra surgere voluit, quam sibi predictus rex Pippinus cum filiis suis et optimatibus Francorum manum perragerent et ipsum pro indicio suffragii futuri et liberationis de terra levaret. Cf. Chronicon Moissiacense, MGH SS I, 293.

this thesis, Johannes Haller, the report of the Frankish
narratives, in indicating this commendation, was unmistak-
able for contemporaries.[22] On the other hand, Haller utili-
zed the papal source to propose the hypothesis that Pepin
swore to become the vassal of St. Peter.[23] The first part
of the hypothesis rests upon a literal acceptance of the
scene in the Frankish sources and upon the exact assumption
of a Frankish legal relationship by a Roman pope. The se-
cond part of the theory relies on a literal interpretation
of the usage _amicus amicis, inimicus inimicis_ in a later
papal letter.[24] Neither part of the theory has gained wide
acceptance and both parts seem to rely on an overly-legal
interpretation of certain words in the sources. It is
highly unlikely that either side took such an oath to the
other.[25]

Yet, most scholars have recognized that certain obli-
gations were undertaken at Ponthion. Leaving aside the ter-
ritorial arrangements, the varying views can be grouped in-
to categories. One group has postulated that there was only
one promise given at Ponthion, a pledge by Pepin to protect
the Church and to struggle for the rights of St. Peter.

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[22] J. Haller, "Die Karolinger und das Papsttum," _HZ_, CVII
(1912), 65-66. See also _Das Papsttum. Idee und Wirklichkeit_,
5 vols. (Urach, 1962), I, 305.

[23] J. Haller, "Die Karolinger und das Papsttum," pp. 67-
68; _Das Papsttum_, I, 306.

[24] Cf. _Codex Carolinus_ 45, _MGH Epp._ III, 562.

[25] Peter Partner, _The Lands of St. Peter_, pp. 19-20.

For these scholars, however, a presupposition to Pepin's pledge was a formal commendation by the pope into the Frankish royal protection.[26] In addition to describing a relationship where the pope would be in a distinctly inferior position to the Frankish king from the beginning, certainly not the pope's intention, once again a logical analysis has been complicated by the inclusion of the idea that a Roman pope would involve himself in a strictly Frankish legal relationship. Further, it remains doubtful that the pope, searching for a protector of his independent territorial position in Italy, would avail himself of such a constricting relationship.

Another group of scholars has come closer to reality by partially ignoring a complicated legal interpretation. Here two promises are postulated: a bond of affection between pope and king and an obligation on the part of the Frankish king to protect the Roman Church.[27] This certainly seems closer to what Stephen was attempting to accomplish, but the idea of a firm protection obligation undertaken by the

[26]Wilhelm Gundlach, Die Entstehung des Kirchenstaates und der curiale Begriff Res publica Romanorum (Aalen, 1969), p. 5. See also C. Rodenberg, Pippin, Karlomann und Papst Stephan II (Berlin, 1923); L. Saltet, La lecture d'un texte et la critique contemporaine, les prétendues promesses de Quierzy (754) et de Rome (774) dans le Liber Pontificales," BLE, 1940, pp. 176-206.

[27]W. Sickel, "Die Verträge der Päpste mit den Karolingern und das neue Kaiserthum," Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft, XI (1894), 301-351; XII (1894/5), 1-43; O. Bertolini, Roma di fronte Bisanzio e al Longobardi (Rome, 1941), pp. 529-540; Gustav Schnürer, Die Entstehung des Kirchenstaates (Köln, 1894, p. 43.

Frankish king does not take into account the fact that Pepin's involvement in Italy was confined to two campaigns. Indeed, the threats to the papacy certainly continued beyond the time of the direct Frankish interventions. Perhaps the whole problem, which will have a direct bearing on the pontificate of Hadrian, will become clearer by a brief consideration of the events.

On the basis of both Frankish and papal sources, it would not be unreasonable to postulate that Pepin did promise to come to the defense of the Church of Rome and to recover the rights of St. Peter, by negotiation if possible and by force of arms if necessary. It is not necessary to view in this a formal commendation of the pope into the Frankish royal protection or an elaborate relationship of oaths between pope and king. Pepin undoubtedly was motivated by religious veneration for St. Peter and by a certain feeling of obligation to the Church of Rome for its approval of his usurpation of the Frankish throne. He may even have had firm political reasons for a show of force in Italy,[28] but neither his religious veneration nor his sense of obligation were to make him the pliant tool of the pope.[29] In this sense, Stephen has succeeded in obtaining his protector, but he was soon to experience that his protector had a will of his own.

[28]Cf. Albert Hauck, _Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands_ (Berlin, 1954), II, 19-20; Robert Holtzmann, _Die Italienpolitik der Merowinger und des König Pippins_ (Darmstadt, 1962), pp. 37-42.

[29]Martin Lintzel, "Der Codex Carolinus und die Motive von Pippins Italienpolitik," _HZ_, CLXI (1940), 38.

The rather informal arrangements of Ponthion were hardened in the course of two assemblies, where Pepin's plans to intervene in Italy encountered opposition from certain Frankish nobles.[30] Further complicating the situation, and perhaps the source of the noble opposition to Pepin's plan, was the appearance of the Frankish king's brother, Carloman, at the Frankish assembly. Carloman's purpose was to encourage the opposition to the Italian adventure. It is not at all unlikely that Aistulf, aware of the dangers to him in the pope's appeal to the Franks, directed Carloman to Francia to disrupt Stephen's plans.[31] The attempt of Carloman failed, Pepin received the initial support of the Franks for his plans, and preparations were made to undertake action against Aistulf, both diplomatically and, if need be, militarily. In the meantime, the pope re-anointed Pepin as king, anointed both his sons as kings, and invested all three with the title _patricius Romanorum_.[32] Thus, the relationship between the pope and the Frankish king was solidified, but the nature of the relationship was quite different that the pope had hoped.

The re-anointment of Pepin as king and the papal threat to anathematize the Franks should they ever select anyone

[30]_Einhardi_ _Vita_ _Karoli_ _Magni_, c. 6, MGH SS rer. Germ. in usum schol., p. 8.

[31]_Benedicti_ _sancti_ _Andreae_ _monachi_ _chronicon_, MGH SS III, 705.

[32]_Annales_ _regni_ _Francorum_, a. 754, p. 12; _Chronicon_ _Moissiacense_, MGH SS I, 293; _Vita_ _Stephani_ _II_, c. 27, p. 448; _Annales_ _qui_ _dicuntur_ _Einhardi_, a. 754, p. 13.

outside the family of Pepin for their king were undoubtedly directed against the family and supporters of Carloman.[33] The situation with the _patricius_ title is more complex. Despite its similarities with an earlier Byzantine dignity, the title undoubtedly was the creation of Stephen II, who awarded it to the Frankish princes on the basis of the claim he made to rule the papal lands in Italy.[34] A search for the legality of the pope's actions in this regard would be futile. In Byzantine eyes, the actions of the pope were clearly illegal, but those were no longer the eyes of importance for Stephen II. The title did not involve a specific office, but it did imply a Frankish protectorate of Rome. In this way, the Frankish _patricius_ was to replace the Byzantine _patricius_, the old Exarch in Ravenna. One scholar has accurately assessed the situation by stating that Stephen gave the title to the Franks to express the Frankish protectorate of the new order of things in Italy. Further, the pope used the title to dispense with the necessity of reviving the Exarch in Ravenna and the duke in Rome. Stephen had managed to replace them both with a new title, that of _patricius Romanorum_, and had attached that title to what

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[33]Engelbert Mühlbacher, _Deutsche Geschichte unter den Karolingern_ (Stuttgart, 1896), pp. 65-66.

[34]F.L. Ganshof, "Notes sur les origines byzantines du titre Patricius Romanorum," _Mélanges H. Gregoire_ (Bruxelles, 1950), II, 274ff.; Peter Classen, _Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz_ (Düsseldorf, 1968), p. 16; Wilhelm Martens, _Die römische Frage unter Pippin und Karl dem Grossen_ (Stuttgart, 1881), p. 81. Cf. also Peter Llewellyn, _Rome in the Dark Ages_ (London, 1971), p. 212.

the pope felt was a man sufficiently removed from the sit-
uation.[35]

It cannot be our concern here to discuss in detail the
attempts of Pepin to achieve a peaceful solution to the Ital-
ian problem, or to analyze the Frankish campaigns in Italy.
When faced with a prolonged siege with little hope of vic-
tory, Aistulf submitted to the Franks. Apparently he pro-
mised to restore the lands which he had seized and to leave
the Roman Church in peace.[36] Almost immediately, however,
Aistulf refused to honor his promise, provoking the pope to
appeal again to his Frankish protector. In this appeal a
new expression appeared, _sancta Dei ecclesia rei publice
Romanorum_, which the pope used to describe the new entity
in Italy, over which he claimed dominion.[37] The pope, as
the leader of this entity, felt he had the right to demand
protection from the Frankish king, whose task it was to se-
cure this Papal State.[38] After some delay, Pepin complied
with papal wishes and undertook a second campaign.

Following a repetition of the events of the first cam-
paign, Pepin again forced a surrender from Aistulf and a

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[35]L. Duchesne, _Les premier temps de l'État pontifical_,
p. 26.

[36]_Vita Stephani II_, c. 36-37, pp. 450-451; _Chronicarum
quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici libri IV cum continu-
ationibus_, p. 184; _Pauli continuatio tertia_, _MGH SS Lang_.,
p. 210.

[37]_Codex Carolinus_ 6, _MGH Epp_. III, 489.

[38]J.A. Ketterer, _Karl der Grosse und die Kirche_ (Munich,
1898), pp. 16-17.

treaty was signed among Romans, Franks and Lombards.[39] By
the close of the year 756, a firm relationship had been est-
ablished between the Frankish king and the pope. But, the
nature of the relationship, still not completely clear to
either side, already seemed far from what Stephen had initi-
ally desired.

Throughout this entire succession of events, Stephen
had been acting in the political interests of the Roman
Church. Aistulf had represented no real threat to the fab-
ric of the Christian religion, but Stephen's desire for in-
dependence had led him to extraordinary measures. He had
succeeded by political actions, if not totally legal ones,
in bringing about the creation of the Papal States.[40] But,
several other things are equally clear in all this. Stephen
had presided over a true revolution within the Church. With-
out pressing such terms as _sancta Dei ecclesia rei publice
Romanorum_ too far for precise legal meanings, it is clear
that the political interests of the pope had become closely
associated with his religious authority. The pope was
claiming political sovereignty over an essentially religious

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[39] _Fredegarii scholastici libri IV cum continuationibus_,
p. 185; _Annales Mettenses priores_, pp. 48-49; _Vita Stephani
II_, c. 46, p. 453. Once again, the problem of the territor-
ial restitutions will be considered later in this work.

[40] Cf. W. Sickel, "Kirchenstaat und Karolinger," _HZ_,
LXXXIV (1900), 393. One scholar has recently demonstrated
that the Lombard kings were actively involved in religious
foundations and not the true enemies of religion as they
were often portrayed in papal correspondence. Cf. Karl
Schmid, "Zur Ablösung der Langobardenherrschaft durch die
Franken," _QFIAB_, LII (1972), 1-36.

entity. In so doing, he made the Church of Rome even more vulnerable to the uncertainties of political life. More specifically, the creation of the Papal States had made the office of pope more attractive for political reasons and the rule of those "lands of St. Peter" would become the object of strife within the city of Rome.[41]

Further, the introduction of the Franks into the political scene of Italy brought another complication to an already complex legal situation. The Frankish king was now the determining factor not only in the continued existence of the Papal States, but also in the affairs of the Lombard kingdom. Pepin's attitude after 756 demonstrated that he had no intention of remaining the compliant tool of the pope. The events of 754 and 756 had clearly shown that, rather than creating a removed protector, Stephen had actually engineered a situation where he was totally dependent on the power of the Frankish king for the furtherance of his political designs. The relationship created by Stephen's actions, therefore, was by no means an equal one.[42] For his part, even though he revered St. Peter and his vicar, Pepin clearly intended to head the Frankish Church and to involve himself in Italy as little as possible.[43] What was undoubtedly at issue after 756 were differing ideas on the duties

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[41] Cf. Peter Partner, The Lands of St. Peter, pp. 20-21; Léon Homo, Rome médiévale (Paris, 1934), p. 44.

[42] Abel-Simson, I, 62.

[43] A clear exposition of Pepin's ideas and actions is found in Albert Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II, 1-70.

of the protector. The papal idea, to create a protector to serve at the behest of the Church, was opposed by a Frankish idea of an autonomous protector, acting on his own initiative. As one scholar has expressed it, "The former conception denotes control of the protector; the latter denotes control of the protected."[44] All of these things, political factions within a religious institution, continued difficulties with the Lombards, increased papal dependence on a Frankish protector, and the fragility of the entire situation, were to become painfully obvious in the years following Pepin's second Italian campaign.

Almost immediately, Stephen made it clear that he considered Pepin's work incomplete. In a letter of March 757, the pope pleaded for the Frankish king to persevere in the liberation of the "people of God" and in the acquisition of the full justice of St. Peter. In addition, a transfer of the "remaining cities" was requested, indicating that Stephen did not regard Pepin's transfer of twenty-two cities in the Exarchate of Ravenna to St. Peter to be a complete fulfillment of the territorial agreements between pope and Frankish king.[45] After 756 the constant reference to

[44]Walter Ullmann, The Growth of Papal Government, pp. 71-72.

[45]Codex Carolinus 11, MGH Epp. III, 505: ..., ut iubeas firmiter in hoc bono opere, sicut certe confidimus, usque in finem permanere pro sancte Dei ecclaesiae perfecta exultatione et eius populi liberatione et integra securitate et plenariam iustitiam eidem Dei ecclaesiae tribuere digneris atque optimum et velocem finem in causa fautoris tui beati Petri adhibere iubeas: ut civitates reliquas, quae sub unius dominii ditione erant connexe atque constitutas, fines,

plenaria _iustitiae_ and to the _civitates_ _quae_ _remanserant_ became the cornerstones of papal demands on the Franks.

However, at the same time, an accident created another means for the Church of Rome to realize its objectives. In the same letter, Stephen informed Pepin that the divine judgment had been exercised on King Aistulf, the "destroyer of the churches of God."[46] Aistulf had been killed in a hunting mishap in late 756 and the ensuing scramble for power demonstrated the predominant influence of the Frankish king in Italy. Two candidates for the Lombard throne quickly emerged: Ratchis, the brother of Aistulf who had previously relinquished the Lombard throne to take monastic vows, and Desiderius, identified in one source as the duke of Tuscany.[47] Despite the fact that Ratchis, as the weaker of the two, may have been preferred by factions within the Lombard kingdom, Desiderius became the new king of the Lombards.[48]

territoria, etiam loca et saltora in integro matri tuae spiritali, sanctae ecclesiae, restituare praecipiatis; ut populus Dei, quaem a manibus inimicorum redemisti, in magna securitate et delectatione tuo auxilio adiutis vivere valeat.

[46]_Ibid._, pp. 505-506: Etenim tirannus ille, sequax diaboli, Haistulfus, devorator sanguinum christianorum, ecclesiarum Dei destructor, divino ictu percussus est et in inferni voraginem demersus: in ipsis quippe diebus, quibus hanc Romanam urbem devastandum profectus est, post anni spatii circulum ita divino mucrone percussus est, ut profecto in eo tempore, quo, fidem suam temptans, diversa piaculi scelera perpetratus est, in eo suam impiam finiret vitam. The hunting accident is mentioned in _Chronicarum_ _quae_ dicuntur _Fredegarii_ _scholastici_ _libri_ _IV_ _cum_ _continuationibus_, c. 122, p. 186.

[47]_Pauli_ continuatio _Lombarda_, _MGH_ _SS_ _Lang._, p. 217.

[48]Cf. A. Gasquet, "Le royaume Lombard, ses relations avec l'empire grec et avec les Francs," _RH_, XXXIII (1887), 86.

Desiderius was supported by Stephen and was the apparent candidate of the Franks. He had turned to Rome for support and, in return for certain promises from him, Stephen had persuaded Pepin, through the Frankish king's envoy, Fulrad, to approve of Desiderius as King of the Lombards.[49]

The motives of Stephen in this episode are rather transparent. The pope had extracted from Desiderius a promise to transfer certain cities to St. Peter in return for papal aid against Ratchis. Desiderius swore to give these cities to Rome in the presence of the deacon Paul, who was Stephen's brother and successor, the _consiliarius_ Christopherus, and Fulrad.[50] Stephen's goal was to extend papal holdings in Italy and, to do so, he required the support of the Frankish king. This Frankish help was crucial since the Lombard dukes of Spoleto and Benevento had seized the opportunity provided by the succession struggle to attempt to free themselves from Lombard royal authority. The pope tried to combine the transfer of the cities, the pact of peace with Desiderius, and the independence of the two duchies from Lombard control under the general protection of Pepin. In his appeal the pope attempted to persuade Pepin to guarantee the entire arrangement.[51]

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[49] _Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii_, c. 122, p. 186: Langobardo una cum consensu praedicto rege Pippino et consilio procerum suorum Desiderio in sedem regni instituunt. Cf. also _Annales Lobienses_, a. 756, _MGH SS_ XIII, 228; _Vita Stephani II_, c. 49-51, p. 455.

[50] _Vita Stephani II_, c. 49-50, p. 455.

[51] _Codex Carolinus_ 11, _MGH Epp._ III, 506: Atque fidelem erga Deo protectum regnum vestrum esse testatus est et petiit

By now Pepin's influence was most important in Italy even in his absence. It soon became apparent, however, that Pepin had no intention of undertaking any further Italian campaigns. Emboldened by the Frankish king's apparent refusal to accept the Lombard duchies in his royal protection, Desiderius quickly subdued their rebellions.[52] If papal designs in Italy were to be realized, it was now clear to Rome and to the new Lombard king that papal territorial demands were totally dependent on the actions of the Franks. Further, by the time of his death in 757, it was obvious to Stephen and to his brother and successor, Pope Paul I, that their Frankish protector did not intend to comply with all their demands.

In many ways the pontificate of Paul I can be viewed as a continuation of Stephen's years. Indeed, since Paul was Stephen's brother and chief aide, it would be surprising had it been otherwise. Paul had often acted as Stephen's envoy and had probably contributed to the shaping of the Frankish-Papal union.[53] In the years after 757 it was Paul's chief

nos, quatenus bonitatem tuam deprecaremur, ut cum eo et cuncta gente Langobardorum magnam pacis concordiam confirmare iubeas. Nam et Spolaetini ducatus generalitas per manus beati Petri et tuum fortissimum brachium constituerunt sibi ducem. Et tam ipsi Spolitini quamque etiam Beneventani omnes se commendare per nos a Deo servate excellentiae tuae cupiant....

[52]Chronicon Salernitanum, c. 9, MGH SS III, 475-476: Tantum in initio sui regni Spolitini et Beneventani rebelles fuerunt; qui hiemis tempore cum suo exercitu pergens, per pugnam ad suum reduxit servitium. Cf. also Codex Carolinus 17, MGH Epp. III, 515.

[53]An admirable summary of Paul's pontificate is David Miller, "Papal-Lombard relations during the Pontificate of Paul I," Catholic Historical Review, LV (1968-69), 358-376.

concern to consolidate his brother's territorial gains, but this involved a recognition of the fact that both Franks and Lombards had to be guarantors of the status quo in Italy.[54]

Yet, in addition to requests for continued Frankish aid, another fear appeared in Paul's letters. Early in 758, Desiderius had struck a temporary union with the Byzantines in Naples, vowing to help a Greek army recapture the city of Ravenna.[55] Throughout the remainder of the eighth century the fear of a Greek invasion of Italy, real or imagined, became a factor in papal policy. Consequently, Paul's task of consolidation became even more difficult. To forestall the possibility of a Greek-Lombard alliance in Italy, which would have been disastrous for papal territorial designs, Paul turned to Pepin. The pope hoped that through negotiations Pepin could persuade Desiderius to aid the Church of Rome in the event of a Greek invasion.[56] This again indicates the influence of the Frankish king in Italy and even more vividly illustrates that without the protection of the Frankish king, the papacy was relatively defenseless. Finally, in 760, Frankish diplomatic pressures effected a

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[54] Ibid., p. 367.

[55] Codex Carolinus 17, MGH Epp. III, 515: Et ipse Desiderius cum universo Langobardorum populo professus est, Deo ibi contrario, auxilium prelatis imperialibus exercitibus impertire, quatenus--ex una parte ipse imperiatoris exercitus et ex alia isdem Desiderius cum universo Langobardorum populo--utrique dimicantes Ravennantium civitatem conprehendere queant, suamque imperator, quod Dominus non permittat, adimplere valeat in quodcumque voluerit voluntatem.

[56] Cf. Codex Carolinus 30, MGH Epp. III, 536.

recognition of the <u>status</u> <u>quo</u> by both pope and Lombard king.[57] Apparently the pope renounced his claims to the territories not yet delivered by Desiderius as part of his initial agreement with Rome in 756. In return, the Lombard king vowed to recognize the existence of the Papal States.[58] But this did not mean that Desiderius was to be a passive partner of the papacy in Italy.

Since his accession in 757 Desiderius had been carefully solidifying his position. He had replaced the rebellious dukes of Spoleto and Benevento with his own candidates and had attached Duke Arichis of Benevento to himself through a marriage of his daughter to Arichis.[59] He certainly had not given up the Lombard plans for bringing all of the peninsula under Lombard royal control, but it is fair to say that Desiderius was considerably more cautious than had been Aistulf. He probably never had any intention of fulfilling the promises he had made to Stephen II, but he was also very careful to avoid an open break with the Franks.[60] His policy was to continue pressure on Rome and to wait for his opportunity, which was to appear initially with the death of Paul I in 767.

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[57] Cf. <u>Codex Carolinum</u> 19, <u>MGH</u> <u>Epp.</u> III, 520.

[58] Cf. L.M. Hartmann, <u>Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter</u> (Leipzig, 1900), II, 2, pp. 215-216.

[59] <u>Chronicon Salernitanum</u>, c. 9, <u>MGH</u> <u>SS</u> III, 476.

[60] Peter Classen, <u>Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz</u>, p. 5.

By the time of Paul's death, it could well have become obvious in Rome that the papacy's achievement of a territorial position in Italy was similar to the act of opening Pandora's box. In addition to continued difficulties between Romans, Greeks and Lombards, the attempts of the Church to control the areas of the Papal States were creating animosities in the countryside. Two centuries of Byzantine rule in these areas had brought about a situation where military authority had been combined with local land ownership to create a relatively powerful and autonomous landed aristocracy. The outlines of this process are not very clear, but this landed aristocracy became increasingly independent as Byzantine power in Italy declined.[61] Only within the city of Rome was the change from a Byzantine bureaucracy to a papal one easily accomplished.

The growing power of papal government in Rome in the eighth century had made it clear to noble families in the city that their sole opportunity for a realization of talent and ambition lay within the ranks of the clergy.[62] Consequently, offices in the papal bureaucracy became the private preserve of a select number of Roman families and, eventually, noble aspirations centered on the papal throne itself. It was no coincidence that all the popes in the eighth

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[61]Cf. L.M. Hartmann, "Grundherrschaft und Bureaukratie im Kirchenstaate vom 8. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert," Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, VII (1909), 143-144.

[62]Cf. Peter Llewellyn, Rome in the Dark Ages, p. 109.

century devoted to the idea of papal territorial expansion
came from this Roman nobility. In addition, the eighth-
century popes rose through the ranks of a papal bureaucracy
which was becoming an increasingly closed _familia_.[63] This
was already evident in the pontificates of two brothers,
Stephen II and Paul I, and would be continued in the nepo-
tism practiced by Hadrian I. The nepotism extended beyond
the eighth century until one family produced three popes,
Stephen IV, Sergius II and Hadrian II.[64] This familial and
noble nature of the papal bureaucracy was a primary reason
why the Church of Rome began formulating territorial designs
in the eighth century. It is also an explanation of the re-
markable consistency of papal policy in territorial questions
after the removal of the Exarchate of Ravenna in 751. But,
as a result, conflict between this closed bureaucracy and
the landed aristocracy in the Papal States was inevitable.

As Paul I lay dying, a group of these landed nobles
burst into the city of Rome to usurp the papal throne. The
leader of the group, Duke Toto of Nepi, a city in Tuscany,
engineered the election of his brother, Constantine, as the
new pope.[65] As has been demonstrated by Peter Classen, Toto

[63]Ibid.

[64]C. Bayet, "Les élections pontificales sous les carol-
ingiens," RH, XXIV (1884), 61.

[65]Vita Stephani III, c. 3, p. 468: At vero nondum adhuc
spiritum exalaverat, ilico Toto quidam dux, Nepesinae civi-
tatis dudum habitator, cum suis germanis Constantino, Pass-
ibo et Paschale, aggregantes tam ex eadem Nepesina quamque
ex aliis Tusciae civitatibus multitudinem exercitus atque
catervam rusticorum, ingredientesque per portam Beati

and his brothers realized that whoever wished to exercise authority in the Roman duchy had to control the throne of St. Peter. With that accomplished, all other offices and positions of power would automatically fall into his hands.[66] For the first time, the simmering dispute between landed aristocrats and papal bureaucrats had boiled over into open conflict. As a direct outgrowth of the papal policy to achieve territorial power, the prize in the struggle had become the papal throne. The Church of Rome and those Roman nobles who had gained a monopoly of power within the Church were confronted in the most direct fashion with the fact that those living within the boundaries of the Papal States demanded a voice in the direction of affairs.[67] For the moment, as can be seen in the testimony of the _primicerius_ Christopherus before the Lateran synod of 769, the papal bureaucracy had been surprised and overwhelmed.[68]

Constantine managed to remain pope for only one year. Despite the irregularities of his election, he apparently intended to continue in the Frankish-papal union, since both of his letters to Pepin requested continuation of the Frankish friendship and fulfillment of the Frankish promises to

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Pancratii in hanc Romanam urbem, adque in domo antedicti Totonis armati adsistentes, elegerunt ibidem subito Constantinum fratrem eiusdem Totonis, laicum existentem.

[66]Peter Classen, _Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz_, pp. 8-9.

[67]C. Bayet, "Les élections pontificales sous les carolingiens," pp. 54-55.

[68]Cf. _Concilium Romanum_ a. 769, _MGH Conc._ II, 84.

St. Peter.[69] However, it is unnecessary to see in this any-
thing more than an attempt by Constantine to legitimize his
position in the face of certain opposition from the papal
bureaucrats. Further, it is erroneous to state that Pepin's
acceptance of the situation forced the chief opponents of
Constantine, the primicerius Christopherus and his son, Ser-
gius, to turn to the Lombards for military assistance.[70]
The fact remains that Pepin's response, if any, to this sit-
uation is not known. When Christopherus and Sergius eventu-
ally turned to Desiderius, it was because they needed armed
assistance to expel Duke Toto and his puppet pope from Rome.
The experience of the last ten years had demonstrated to
Christopherus that diplomatic support might be expected from
the Franks, but not the needed military force.

With the assistance of Duke Theodicus of Spoleto and
the Lombard king, Christopherus and Sergius were successful
in overthrowing Constantine and eliminating his Tuscan sup-
porters.[71] Desiderius undoubtedly felt that this confusion
in Rome had produced his awaited opportunity to bring the
Papal States directly under his own control. Therefore,
after Constantine was captured, the Lombard Waldipertus at-
tempted to force the election of a certain priest named
Philip as the new pope.[72] But the ease with which

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[69]Codex Carolinus 98 and 99, MGH Epp. III, 649-653.

[70]As does A. Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II, 74.

[71]Vita Stephani III, c. 5-9, pp. 469-470.

[72]Ibid., pp. 470-471.

Christopherus frustrated this attempt and brought about the election of his own candidate as Stephen III demonstrates that the primicerius had probably anticipated a forced seizure by the Lombards and was prepared to deal with it. Desiderius had been duped and he was forced to await another opportunity, and to nurse his hatred of Christopherus. However, like Toto, the Lombard king now realized the importance of controlling the occupant of the papal throne. For their part, Christopherus and Stephen III moved quickly to legitimize their own positions through the convocation of a council to pass sentence on the usurper Constantine.

The seizure of the papal throne by the layman Constantine had violated long-standing custom, which had stipulated the election of the pope by the Roman clergy in consultation with the citizenry of Rome, but until 769 there was no text which gave that custom the force of law.[73] Thus, the council convened in the Lateran in April of 769 was summoned for the purpose of remedying this lack of election decrees, in addition to dealing with Constantine. By the decisions of the council, no one could be elected henceforth to the See of St. Peter who was not a deacon or a cardinal priest.[74] In addition, the direct involvement of the individuals

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[73]E. Amann, L'époque carolingienne, Vol. VI of Histoire de l'Eglise, ed. A. Fliche and V. Martin (Paris, 1947), p. 42.

[74]Concilium Romanum, a. 769, MGH Conc. II, 86: Oportebat, ut sacrosancta domina nostra Romana ecclesia, iuxta quod a beato Petro et eius successoribus institutum est, rite ordinaretur et in apostolatus culmen unus de cardinalibus aut diaconibus consecraretur.

outside of the Church administration was limited to an acclamation of the election as decided by the clergy, who had the exclusive right to vote in the elections.[75] That these decisions were the product of the papacy's new territorial situation is quite clear. Combined with noble control of the church offices, the limitation of participation in papal elections to those within the ranks of the clergy insured a certain continuity in papal policies. The destiny of the Papal States was thus to be determined by the papal bureaucracy and not the aristocrats of the countryside. The limited stability, therefore, which had characterized the pontificate of Paul I, could have been continued had not events in the Frankish kingdom drastically altered the effectiveness of the Frankish protector and further emboldened Desiderius.

The envoys sent to Francia by Stephen III and Christopherus to invite the participation of Frankish bishops in the Lateran council found King Pepin dead and his two sons ruling as kings of the Franks. This fact alone should not have altered the basic union between the papacy and the Franks, since both sons had been included in the bonds created during Stephen II's trip to Francia in 754. Soon, however, animosities between the two brothers, Carloman and Charles, threatened to plunge the Frankish kingdom into a

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[75]Ibid.: Sed et hoc sub anathematis interdictionibus decernimus ut nulli unquam laicorum sive ex manu armata vel ex aliis ordinibus praesumant inveniri in electione pontificis, sed a cunctis sacerdotibus atque proceribus ecclesiae et cuncto clero ipsa pontificalis electio proveniat.

renewal of the civil wars so characteristic of the old Mero-
vingian monarchy. The danger of civil war motivated Pepin's
widow, Bertrada, to work for the reconciliation of her two
sons. Her method was a system of marriages which would not
only bring peace between her two sons, but also create a
lasting equilibrium between Franks, Lombards and Bavarians.

Bertrada's motives in manufacturing the equilibrium
based upon marriage ties have been debated at great length.
To see no political motivation to her actions is rather
pointless, since one is then left without reasonable expla-
nations for her actions.[76] Further, to see her actions
motivated solely by a fear of a Lombard-Bavarian alliance
is to underestimate the vision of Pepin's widow.[77] To be
sure, as part of his plans to secure his own position, Desi-
derius had married another of his daughters to Duke Tassilo
of Bavaria and the danger of combined Lombard-Bavarian action
was doubtlessly in Bertrada's mind. But, the Frankish
queen was more interested in establishing a general stabi-
lity, one which would heal the split between her sons, bind
the Lombards and the Franks closer together, and bring Tas-
silo of Bavaria closer to the entire arrangement.[78]

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[76]As does Wilhelm Martens, Die römische Frage unter
Pippin und Karl dem Grossen, p. 24.

[77]L.M. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens, II, 2, pp. 251-
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[78]E. Delaruelle, "Charlemagne, Carloman, Didier et la
politique du mariage franco-lombard," RH, CLXX (1932),
217.

To implement her designs, Bertrada first met with Carloman in the cause of reconciliation.[79] Subsequently, on her way to Italy, the queen travelled through Bavaria and probably met with Tassilo to insure peace and to obtain the duke's agreement to the plans.[80] Finally, Bertrada continued to Pavia and Rome, completed negotiations with Desiderius, and brought back another of the Lombard king's daughters as a bride for her elder son, Charles.[81] During her pause in Rome, Bertrada tried to assure Pope Stephen III that the marriage was not intended to be a threat to Rome. She probably felt that marriages binding Franks, Lombards and Bavarians together would act as a pacifying force, thus removing any direct threats to the Papal States.[82] As proof of her intentions, Bertrada apparently convinced Desiderius, as part of the general agreement, to make restitution of several cities to St. Peter.[83] However, the pope's

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[79]*Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, a. 771, p. 31: Berhtrada vero, mater regum, cum Carlomanno minore filio apud Salusiam locuta pacis causa.... See also *Annales Mettenses priores*, a. 770, p. 57.

[80]*Annales regni Francorum*, a. 770, p. 30: Et in eodem anno perrexit domna Berta regina per Baioariam partibus Italiae. Cf. Abel-Simson, I, 65, 79. Here the journey through Bavaria is portrayed as an attempt to make a lasting peace with Tassilo.

[81]*Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, a. 770, p. 31; *Annales Fuldenses*, a. 770, p. 8.

[82]W. Mohr, *Studien zur Charakteristik des karolingischen Königtums im 8. Jahrhundert*, p. 59.

[83]*Annales Laureshamenses*, a. 770, MGH SS I, 30: Fuit Berta regina in Langobardia ad placitum contra Desiderio rege, et reddite sunt civitates plurime ad partem sancti

subsequent reaction to the marriage arrangements shows that he did not share Bertrada's optimism. The pope probably recognized that this Frankish policy was really one of abandonment. The marriage between Charles and the Lombard princess created a situation where the older Frankish king renounced any influence in Rome and left Desiderius in total control of Italian affairs.[84] Stephen reacted violently against the proposed marriage in a letter famous for its vituperative characterizations of the Lombards.[85]

That all the caustic criticism of the marriage by Pope Stephen III was to no avail is shown by the fact that the marriage took place in early 770. Of even greater importance, however, the marriage gave Desiderius a golden opportunity to enjoy his revenge on Christopherus and to enforce his authority in Rome. Despite the consistency of papal policy and the monopoly of papal offices by the Roman nobility, it would indeed be surprising to find the papal bureaucracy free of factions. This is not to say that there was a clash between military and clerical interests in Rome; the two had become too closely intertwined for that.[86] But, just as Christopherus himself had once used Lombards to make

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Petri,.... Cf. _Annales Mosellani_, _MGH_ _SS_ XVI, 496; _Annales Maximiniani_, _MGH_ _SS_ XIII, 21; _Chronicon Moissiacenses_, p. 295; _Annales Lobienses_, p. 228; _Annales Petaviani_, _MGH_ _SS_ I, 13.

[84]F.L. Ganshof, "Charlemagne," _Spec._, XXIV (1948), 520. Cf. also J.A. Ketterer, _Karl der Grosse und die Kirche_, p. 20.

[85]_Codex Carolinus_ 45, _MGH_ _Epp_. III, 560-563.

[86]Cf. Peter Partner, _The Lands of St. Peter_, pp. 25-26.

his position supreme in Rome, others could follow the same precedent. For his part, Desiderius realized that this time his intervention had to be more direct and personal. With the aid of a papal bureaucrat, the cubicularius Paul Afiarta, Desiderius brought about the destruction of Christopherus and Sergius, thus momentarily making his power supreme in Rome.

Two contradictory reports of the drama in Rome have survived and both demonstrate that fear of Frankish reaction was still paramount in the mind of Desiderius. According to the papal biography, the Lombard king approached Rome under the guise of coming to pray. Christopherus and Sergius, apparently not convinced by the Lombard king's religious motives, gathered troops in the city and shut the gates. Desiderius then requested the pope to meet with him outside the walls to discuss the problems posed by the restitutions to the Holy See as a part of the recent marriage agreement. When the pope re-entered the city, he began plotting with Paul Afiarta and, as a result, both Christopherus and Sergius were blinded.[87]

The second report is contained in a papal letter to Bertrada and Charles, possibly dictated by Desiderius himself. Here Stephen III complains that Christopherus and Sergius were plotting with Carloman's agent, Dodo, to kill the pope.[88] Only the intervention of Desiderius, who had

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[87]Vita Stephani III, c. 29-32, pp. 478-480.

[88]Codex Carolinus 48, MGH Epp. III, 566: ...nefandissimus

come to implement the restitutions to the Holy See, saved
the life of the pope.[89] In the first report the responsi-
bility remained with Desiderius; in the second the respon-
sible ones were Dodo and the Franks. Based upon the events
of the previous twenty years and the later occurrences in
the pontificate of Hadrian, the papal biography is probably
more reliable.[90]

Viewed from yet another perspective, Stephen III had
very little choice. His Frankish protection had been crip-
pled by Bertrada's marriage arrangements and he was left to
face Desiderius almost alone. The presence of Carloman's
envoy in Rome indicates that he, at least, was willing to
fulfill his obligations, but Carloman had problems more im-
portant to his own survival in Francia. As is shown in the
papal letter, Desiderius was hoping to use the activities
of the Frankish envoy to drive a greater wedge between the
two brothers. Stephen's choice was simple: submission or
probable destruction. Desiderius had made it clear that
the price for Stephen's continuance as ruler in Rome was
the elimination of the Lombard king's hated enemies,

Christopherus et Sergius, nequissimus eius filius, consilium
inientes cum Dodone, misso germani tui, Carlomanni regis,
nos interficere insidiabant.

[89]Ibid.: ...nos excellentissimus filius noster, Desi-
derius Langobardorum rex, pro faciendis nobis diversis
iustitiis beati Petri existeret,....

[90]L. Halphen, "La papauté et la complôt Lombard de 771,"
originally published in RH, CLXXXII (1938), 238-244; re-
printed and cited here in A travers l'histoire du Moyen Age
(Paris, 1950), p. 55.

Christopherus and Sergius. Stephen did submit, but he did not have long to suffer with the consequences of his decision as he died early in 772.

Other factors, however, brought about a more radical change in the hopes of Desiderius. Sometime in 771, Charles sent his Lombard wife back to Desiderius, thus beginning the dismantling of Bertrada's carefully constructed system.[91] The motives of Charles in this action, barely one year after his marriage, have been debated for years. His rejection of his Lombard wife was probably induced by his realization of the growing Lombard power.[92] It would not be difficult for Charles to perceive the dangers to himself in a strong Lombard-Bavarian-papal alliance, nor could he have failed to see how Desiderius was hoping to create a wider breach between the two Frankish kings. His first reaction to those dangers was to disentangle himself from an alliance which prevented his pursuit of any active policy. Further, his situation was made much easier by the fact that Carloman died in December of 771, preceding Pope Stephen III in death by only two months.

In some ways, the situation in February of 772 was more simple. Carloman's widow and her two sons had fled to the

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[91]Contrary to the hypothesis of Walter Mohr that Charles only repudiated his Lombard wife following the death of Carloman, it is probable that he divorced her before the death of his brother. Cf. Walter Mohr, Studien zur Charakteristik des karolingischen Königtums im 8. Jahrhundert, pp. 65-71.

[92]A. Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II, 78; J.A. Ketterer, Karl der Grosse und die Kirche, p. 25.

protection of Desiderius, probably from fear of Charles, although Einhard used the word "scorn."[93] The Frankish-Lombard union had been shattered, but few of the other difficulties facing the Church of Rome had been solved. Despite the activities of these twenty years, the papacy was still threatened by the Lombard king and dukes. Little had been done to protect the Papal States from almost continual Lombard incursions. Further, within the Papal States themselves, the relationship of the pope as temporal ruler of the nobility and the other churches had not been clarified. Granted the papacy had achieved a territorial position, but it was by no means secure. The threat of future Greek intervention in Italy remained to haunt the minds of those interested in freeing the church territories from Byzantine control. In addition, the religious issue of Iconoclasm threatened to make impossible any accomodation with the Greeks. Finally, and most important, in its search for a protector the papacy had demonstrated its almost total dependence on the Franks. A way had to be found to make the Frankish protector less than a master and to create a legal foundation for papal territorial claims. All of these problems demanded solutions and this was the situation facing the new pope, Hadrian I, who was consecrated on 9 February 772.

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[93]Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni, c. 3, p. 6: Sed in hoc plus suspecti quam fuisse ipse rerum exitus ad probavit, cum defuncto Karlomanno uxor eius et filii cum quibusdam, qui ex optimatum eius numero primores erant, Italiam fuga petiit et nullis existentibus causis, spreto mariti fratre, sub Desiderii regis Langobardorum patrocinium se cum liberis suis contulit.

CHAPTER TWO

ROMANS, FRANKS AND LOMBARDS, 772-774

Although the papal biographies never supply an abun-
dance of information about the early lives of the popes, it
is clear that Hadrian was born to a family belonging to the
Roman aristocracy.[1] For several generations this Roman aris-
tocracy had been monopolizing the offices of the papal
bureaucracy and Hadrian's family is a good example of this
process. After the deaths of his parents Hadrian was raised
and educated by his uncle, Theodotus. His uncle was once
consul et dux and later primicerius, or first minister of
the papal bureaucracy.[2] Thus, Theodotus was an aristocrat
who also occupied one of the highest offices of the Church.
Further, by the eighth century, the consul et dux had be-
come a papal official and Hadrian was later to place his own
nephew in that position.[3] Of even greater importance, it

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[1]All of the information about the pope's early life
comes from the Vita Hadriani, c. 1-4, p. 486. As will be-
come evident, many portions of this biography are suspect
to some historians, but there are no grounds for doubting
the accuracy of the portions relating to Hadrian's early
years.

[2]Vita Hadriani, c. 2, p. 486.

[3]Louis Halphen, Études sur l'administration de Rome au
moyen age (Paris, 1907), pp. 34-35. See also E. Amann,

is clear that Theodotus held the office of _primicerius_ some-
time between 753 and 764, or during the crucial years of the
papal drive for independence. So, despite the scarcity of
the evidence, it is certain that Hadrian was raised within
the closed circle of families devoted to the idea of papal
territorial independence.

In the eighth century it was not at all unusual for a
boy to enter the ranks of the Roman clergy at a very early
age.[4] His parents presented him at one of the city churches
to receive minor orders, or, as an orphan, he was raised
and educated in one of the departments of the papal adminis-
tration. This admittance of young boys into the ranks of
the Roman clergy tended to reinforce the closed nature of
the clergy.[5] Hadrian, although educated as a layman by his
uncle, also served in the church of S. Marco, situated on
the Via Lata near his home.[6] But, early on it became clear

L'Époque carolingienne, p. 50. Amann places great impor-
tance on the fact that Hadrian's heritage was both aristo-
cratic and devoted to Church service.

[4]Information on the recruitment of the Roman clergy
and the organization of the Roman bureaucracy is scanty at
best. Good summaries of what information exists are pro-
vided by Ferdinand Gregorovius, _Geschichte der Stadt Rom_,
Vol. I; Louis Halphen, _Études sur l'administration de Rome
au moyen age_; and Peter Llewellyn, _Rome in the Dark Ages_.
Gregorovius outlines the shape of the bureaucracy, but most
of Halphen's information concerns Roman administration sub-
sequent to the tenth century. Llewellyn's observations are
the most detailed, but he fails to provide the reader with
any source citations.

[5]Peter Llewellyn, _Rome in the Dark Ages_, pp. 110-111.

[6]_Vita Hadriani_, c. 2, p. 486.

that the boy was marked for a lifetime of service in the papal administration.

Because of his pious spirit, the boy Hadrian came to the attention of Pope Paul, who received him into the ranks of the clergy, quickly advancing him from notarius to sub-deacon. During the pontificate of Stephen III, Hadrian advanced to the rank of deacon.[7] This made him an important official in the papal administration, in charge of one of the seven ecclesiastical regions of Rome. Clearly he was destined for higher office and, six days after the death of Stephen III, he was elected pope without opposition. The apparent ease with which Hadrian was elected and his subsequent actions have presented problems for historians. These problems must be resolved, since Hadrian's actions during the first two years of his pontificate were indicative of the approach he would take to the range of problems confronting the Roman Church.

Immediately upon election, on the same day, according to the papal biography, Hadrian recalled all those from the ranks of the clergy, as well as from the militia, who had been exiled during the pontificate of Stephen III by the Cubicularius, Paul Afiarta. The new pope also freed those who had been imprisoned, although it is not clear whether this was just an emancipation of those who had opposed Afiarta or a general amnesty.[8] That this was all

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[7]Ibid., c. 3, p. 486.

[8]Ibid., c. 4, pp. 486-487: Hic namque in ipsa

accomplished with no apparent resistance has recently led one scholar to postulate that Hadrian seized the papal throne by force.[9] According to this hypothesis, at the time of Stephen III's death, the "Lombard party" was in complete control of Rome, all the leaders of the "Roman party" were dead and the opponents of Afiarta were either in exile or in prison. Consequently, the only way Hadrian, clearly opposed to the "Lombard party," could have been elected was by some irregular procedure; in fact a forced seizure of power.[10]

Several key issues are overlooked by this hypothesis. To begin with, as has been demonstrated, it is more accurate to view the activities of Afiarta in the light of internal Roman factions, rather than clearly defined Lombard, Roman or Frankish parties. Therefore, the theory overestimates the strength of a definite party connected to the Lombards. Of even greater importance, for the moment Paul Afiarta continued in the papal service. In fact, it is probable that he was actually promoted.[11] If Hadrian forcibly seized the

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electionis suae die, confestim eadem hora qua electus est, reverti fecit iudices illos huius Romanae urbis, tam de clero quamque militia, qui in exilium ad transitum domni Stephani papae missi erant a Paulo cubiculario cognomento Afiarta et aliis consentaneis impiis satellitibus; sed et reliquos qui in arta custodia mancipati ac retrusi erant absolvi fecit; et ita, omnibus pariter cum eo exultantibus, pontificalem, Deo auspice, suscepit consecrationem. It is important to note here that Paul Afiarta is referred to only as cubicularius.

[9]Jan Hallenbeck, "The Election of Pope Hadrian I," Church History, XXXVII (1968), 266-267.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Paul Afiarta is first mentioned as cubicularius. Shortly

papal throne by defeating Afiarta's "Lombard party" and then
continued to employ Afiarta, even promoting him, it must
mean that the forced seizure was carried out without the
knowledge of Paul Afiarta. The only other alternative is
that Afiarta was incredibly foolish, which was not a charac-
teristic he had previously displayed. Therefore, the idea
that Hadrian became pope by some irregular procedure is
highly unlikely.

Another kindred attempt to assess the meaning of the
pope's election was to emphasize that Hadrian was "pro-
Frankish" from the beginning.[12] This view also emphasized
the defeat of the "Lombard party" by stating that Hadrian
clearly saw the danger in continued reliance on Desiderius.
Therefore, the pope immediately recalled all the exiles and
assumed a hostile posture toward Desiderius. While all this
may be true, it is difficult to deduce Hadrian's Frankish
leanings from this evidence. In fact, for an individual so
disposed toward the Franks, Hadrian committed a serious
diplomatic error. Without indicating any Frankish right to
approve or disapprove his election, one of the first actions
of Pope Paul I had been to send a letter to Pepin, informing
the Frankish king of his election.[13] Even the usurper

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thereafter he is titled _cubicularius_ and _superista_. This
last office was evidently a military one. Cf. _Vita Hadriani_,
c. 6, p. 487.

[12]Abel-Simson, I, 133-135: "So arbeitete denn Hadrian
vom ersten Tage seines Pontifikats an darauf hin, die nähe-
ren Beziehungen zu den Franken wieder anzuknüpfen."

[13]_Codex Carolinus_ 12, _MGH Epp._ III, 508.

Constantine followed the same path, although it is true that he had some compelling reasons to do so.[14] Finally, Pope Stephen III not only informed the Franks of his election, but did so on the same day he was consecrated and also invited Frankish participation in the Roman synod of 769.[15] It is quite striking to note that Hadrian not only failed to inform the Franks of his election, but that his first communication with them was some months after his election. As will become evident, it is more accurate to view Hadrian's Frankish disposition as something forced upon him by necessity.

Finally, another attempt to explain the election has appeared, based upon some questionable methodology. Walter Mohr solves the problem of no resistance to Hadrian's election by postulating that the new pope adhered temporarily to the Lombard policies of his predecessor. In order to demonstrate the validity of his thesis, Mohr was forced to reshuffle the order of the early chapters in Hadrian's biography.[16] Mohr's ideas have been criticized and it has

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[14]Codex Carolinus 98, MGH Epp. III, 649.

[15]JE 2376. Cf. Vita Stephani III, c. 16-17, p. 473.

[16]Walter Mohr, Studien zur Charakteristik des karolingischen Königtums im 8. Jahrhundert, pp. 72-86. The most disturbing element of Mohr's hypothesis is the methodology which dictates that if the sources will not support a certain theory, the historian is justified in altering the nature of the sources until they do support the hypothesis. This is not to imply that one should blindly accept the papal biographies as written, but I am not convinced by Mohr's justifications for the new order in the Vita Hadriani. A plausible explanation of the election emerges without such sleight-of-hand.

been suggested that after his election Hadrian acted within the boundaries of papal policy, as it had been shaped during the previous twenty years.[17] The pope's initial actions toward Afiarta and Desiderius were only indications of his desire to live in peace with Lombards and Franks. Mohr has responded to the criticism by stating that Hadrian's persistence in attempting to negotiate with the Lombards indicated his desire to pursue a "pro-Lombard" policy.[18] It would seem that Mohr's response did little to support his own hypothesis.

It is clear that a reordering of the sections of Hadrian's biography is not necessary to explain the fact that Hadrian pursued a policy of negotiation with Desiderius. The most plausible way to explain Hadrian's election is to draw attention to the fact that the new pope intended to pursue the ideal of papal territorial independence. He initially intended to rule free of faction, as evidenced by his recall of exiles and his retention of Afiarta.[19] Examining his pre-papal career one can see that his election did not provoke a split in Rome, as long as one does not overestimate the rigidity of Frankish and Lombard parties.

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[17]Heinz Löwe, "Zur Vita Hadriani," DA, XII (1956), 494-495.

[18]Walter Mohr, "Ein weiteres Wort zum Vita Hadriani," Archivum latinitatis Medii Aevi, XXVI (1956), 252.

[19]Peter Classen, Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz, pp. 11-13. See also Johannes Haller, Das Papsttum, I, 325.

Hadrian stemmed from the circle of aristocratic Roman families, but he was also close to Pope Stephen III.[20] Immediately after his election, the only thing Hadrian demonstrated was a dogged determination to pursue the cause of papal independence.

While the accuracy of this view will be borne out in an examination of Hadrian's actions subsequent to 772, there is one piece of immediate evidence which supports the hypothesis. Barely three weeks after his election, Hadrian issued a charter to the monastery of S. Maria in Farfa, giving jurisdiction over that foundation to Miccio, "the _notarius_ _regionarius_ and first _vestiarius_ of the Holy Church and to all his successors, first _vestiarii_ of the Apostolic See."[21] Several things are striking about this charter. To begin with, Hadrian was clearly claiming temporal jurisdiction and sovereignty over a monastery situated within the boundaries of the duchy of Spoleto. Secondly, the charter is dated by imperial years, not either by Spoletan ducal years or by papal years. This could indicate that Hadrian, in his quest for independence, had still not eliminated the Byzantines as potential sources of aid. However, despite the importance of this charter, the dangers of basing a theory on the

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[20]Peter Classen, _Karl_ _der_ _Grosse_, _das_ _Papsttum_ _und_ _Byzanz_, p. 11.

[21]_JE_ 2395. Cf. P.F. Kehr, _Italia_ _Pontificia_ (Berlin, 1906), I, 19. A copy of the charter is contained in _Chronicon_ _Farfense_, ed. Ugo Balzani, _FSI_ XXXIII, 156-158. I agree with Ewald that the proper dating on the charter is "X. kal. Mart.," or 20 February 772.

one surviving charter from this period have been recently pointed out.[22] Therefore, the best way to demonstrate Hadrian's desire to rule independently in Italy is to examine his actions during the first two years of his pontificate.

Hardly had Hadrian been consecrated pope when he was confronted with the Roman Church's most pressing problem: King Desiderius of the Lombards. The Lombard king's connection with Stephen III had solidified his position in Italy and Desiderius was anxious to continue the relationship with the new pope. He immediately dispatched three envoys to Rome, including Duke Theodicus of Spoleto, offering to renew the "bond of affection" between himself and the pope."[23] Hadrian's response revealed several things about the attitudes of the new pope. He told Desiderius that he wished to live in peace with all Christians and that he would strive to continue the pact of peace which had been completed between Romans, Franks and Lombards.[24] This obvious reference

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[22]H. Fichtenau, "'Politische' Datierungen des frühen Mittelalters," in _Intitulatio II_, ed. H. Wolfram, _MIÖG_ Ergbd. XXIV (Wien-Köln-Graz, 1973), p. 489. Fichtenau is most concerned with the transfer of certain imperial priviliges from the hands of the Byzantine emperors to other hands, a problem which will be considered later in this work.

[23]_Vita Hadriani_, c. 5, p. 487: Itaque in ipso exordio consecrationis eius direxit ad eius beatitudinem suos missos Desiderius Langobardorum rex, id est Theodicum, ducem Spolitinum, Tunnonem, ducem Eburegias, et Prandulum, vestararium suum, suasionis per eos mittens verba, sese quasi cum eo in vinculo caritatis velle collegandum. Again, virtually the sole source for these negotiations is the papal biography.

[24]_Ibid._: Ego quidem cum omnibus christianis pacem cupio habere, etiam et cum eodem Desiderio rege vestro; in ea foederis pace quae inter Romanos Francos et Langobardos confirmata est studebo permanendum.

to the agreements of 754 and 756 indicated that Hadrian was interested in pursuing the policies of Pope Stephen II; that is, relying on the agreements as the cornerstones for papal territorial independence. But, the agreements of 754 and 756 were not the only foundations for that papal policy.

Hadrian continued in his response to the Lombard king by making reference to the fact that Desiderius had not fulfilled the promises he had made to Stephen III. In addition to revealing that he had been close to Stephen III, Hadrian also mentioned that Desiderius had promised restitutions to St. Peter during the Lombard king's visit to Rome in 771.[25] It will be recalled that this visit had resulted in the destruction of Christopherus and Sergius and it is tempting to see in this an agreement of restitution between Stephen III and Desiderius in exchange for the destruction of the two papal officials. In any event, Hadrian's position was that he would discuss Lombard-papal friendship as soon as Desiderius made good the promises he had given to Stephen III.

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[25]Ibid.: Sed et hoc isdem meus predecessor, pro dilectione quam erga me suum pusillum habuit, mihi retulit, quia dum ad eum postmodum suos missos direxisset, videlicet Anastasium primum defensorem et Gemmulum subdiaconum, adortans eum ut ea quae praesentaliter beato Petro pollicitus est adimpletet, taliter ei per eosdem missos direxit in responsis: "Sufficit apostolico Stephano quia tuli Christophorum et Sergium de medio, qui illi dominabantur, et non illi sit necesse iustitias requirendum. Nam certe si ego ipsum apostolicum non adiuvavero, magna perditio super eum eveniet. Quoniam Carulomannus, rex Francorum, amicus existens praedictorum Christopheri et Sergii, paratus est cum suis exercitibus, ad vindicandum eorum mortem, Roma properandum ipsumque capiendum pontificem."---Ecce qualis est fides Desiderii regis vestri et qua fiducia ille credere possim.

If, as one scholar suggested, Desiderius had been trying to substitute himself for the Frankish king as the guarantor of the papal position, his attempt had failed.[26] Hadrian had already indicated that the territorial question in Italy was paramount in his own mind and that he was unwilling to attach the resolution of that question solely to the good will of the Lombard king.

Nonetheless, the pope was still not willing to abandon his attempts to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the Lombards. He dispatched an embassy to Desiderius, which included Afiarta, believing the Lombard king was sincere in his "oaths" and his intent to negotiate. Yet, even before the papal envoys reached Pavia, Desiderius seized the cities of Faenza and Commachio, and the duchy of Ferrara, all situated within the boundaries of the old Exarchate of Ravenna and all specifically mentioned in the transfer of territory from the Lombards to Rome in 756.[27] In an obvious attempt to pressure Hadrian into compliance with his own wishes, Desiderius continued his attacks, forcing Archbishop Leo of

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[26]Karl Lamprecht, *Die römische Frage von König Pippin bis auf Kaiser Ludwig den Frommen* (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 7-8.

[27]*Vita Hadriani*, c. 6, pp. 487-488: Quorum iuramentis credens eius beatitudo, direxit ad eundem Desiderium regem suos missos pro his omnibus perficiendis, scilicet Stephanum, notarium regionarum et sacellarium, atque Paulum cubicularium et tunc superistam. Quibus egredientibus ab hac Romana urbe et Perusiam coniungentibus, coniunxit mandatum quod iamfatus Desiderius abstulisset civitatem Faventinam et ducatum Ferrariae seu Comiacclum de exarchato Ravennate, quae sanctae memoriae Pipinus rex et eius filii Carulus et Carulomannus, excellentissimi regis Francorum et patricii Romanorum, beato Petro concedentes offeruerunt.

Ravenna to appeal to the pope for relief. Three messengers
came to Rome from Ravenna stating that if the areas were not
returned, Ravenna would not survive.[28] Consequently, Had-
rian directed his own two envoys to continue to Pavia, de-
manding from Desiderius the fulfillment of his previous pro-
mises and the restoration of the recently seized areas.
The reply from the Lombard king revealed part of his plans:
he refused to return the areas unless the pope came to
speak with him in person.[29] Desiderius had a good reason
for wanting Hadrian in his own grasp.

To clarify fully the plan of Desiderius, it must be re-
called that the Lombard king did possess a potentially power-
ful weapon. Upon the death of Carloman, his widow and two
sons had fled to the protection of Desiderius.[30] Even
though Charles had taken over the kingdom of his dead bro-
ther with apparent ease, Carloman's two sons remained a

[28]Ibid., c. 7-8, p. 488.

[29]Ibid.: Tunc ipse almificus pontifex dum adhuc prae-
nominati eius missi, Stephanus sacellarius et Paulus super-
ista, ad prenominatum pergerent regem, direxit eidem regi
suas deprecatorias litteras ut easdem redderet civitates,
increpans ei fortiter per sua scripta, cur de promissione
illa quam per suos missos pollicendo, direxerat mutatus
fuisset, etiam quia iustitias beati Petri iuxta ut repro-
miserat non reddidit, insuper et civitates illas quas ante-
cessores eius beatissimi pontifices domnus Stephanus, Paulus
et idem Stephanus detenuerunt abstulisset. Dum vero talia
eidem protervo Desiderius antefatus sanctissimus pontifex
deprecando, ammonendo et coniurando direxisset, ita illi
remisit in responsis, quod nisi prius secum eo ipse almi-
ficus praesul coniungeret pariter loquendum, minime easdem
redderet civitates. Cf. Pauli continuatio tertia, c. 48,
MGH SS Lang., p. 212.

[30]Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni, c. 3, p. 6. Cf. Annales
Lobienses, a. 771, MGH SS XIII, p. 228.

source of potential strife in the Frankish kingdom. The danger for Charles could have become particularly acute if Desiderius had succeeded in his plan of forcing Hadrian to crown the young sons as Kings of the Franks. The papal biography makes it clear that Desiderius, with his refusals to negotiate unless Hadrian should come to him, was hoping to intimidate the pope into compliance with his wishes, as he had once done with Stephen III.[31] Apparently aware of the Lombard king's intentions, Hadrian refused to comply, bringing about a stalemate. Desiderius refused to negotiate unless it was personally with Hadrian, and the pope refused to go to the Lombard king. At this point, the new pope was beginning to realize that his hopes of peaceful negotiations with the Lombards were simply not going to be realized.

It was within the context of the pope's growing realization that negotiations with the Lombards were not going to succeed that the destruction of Paul Afiarta must be

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[31]_Vita Hadriani_, c. 9, p. 488: In ipsis vero diebus contigit uxorem et filios quondam Carulomanni regis Francorum ad eundem regem Langobardorum fugam arripuisse cum Autcario; et nitebar ipse Desiderius atque inianter decertabat quatenus ipsi filii eiusdem Carulomanni regnum Francorum adsumpsissent; et ob hoc ipsum sanctissimum praesulem ad se properandum seducere conabatur ut ipsos antefati quondam Carulomanni filios reges ungueret, cupiens divisionem in regno Francorum inmittere ipsumque beatissimum pontificem a caritate et dilectione excellentissimi Caruli regis Francorum et patricii Romanorum separare, et Romanum urbem atque cuncta Italia sub sui regni Langobardorum potestate subiugare. Sed, favente Deo, hoc nullo modo potuit inpetrare; quoniam sicut lapis adamans ita firmus atque fortissimus in suo corde antefatus beatissimus Hadrianus extitit Pontifex. See also E. Amann, _L'époque carolingienne_, p. 52. All this must have happened during March and April of 772.

placed. According to the papal biography, once Afiarta was away from Rome certain individuals came forward to accuse him of complicity in the murder of Sergius, who had been kept in a Roman prison after his blinding. Apparently afraid that word of the ensuing investigation might reach the ears of Afiarta, the pope sent secret instructions to Archbishop Leo of Ravenna to detain Afiarta upon his return from Pavia.[32] The subsequent investigation reveals several important factors in the whole Italian situation, but a word must be said about this sudden accusation of Afiarta. If one were to accept the papal biographer's notions, the idea that Afiarta might have been involved in the murder of Sergius was completely new to Hadrian. This is a little difficult to believe in the light of Hadrian's position prior to his election.[33] Another explanation suggests it-self; Afiarta had now become excess baggage for Hadrian. If it is true that Hadrian honestly pursued a policy of nego-tiation with the Lombards to bring about papal territorial security, Afiarta would have been an important tool for the pope. As the policy of negotiation obviously began to fail, Afiarta's usefulness was at an end and the pope could take steps to remove a potentially dangerous foe. Hadrian un-doubtedly knew about Afiarta's complicity before this, but

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[32]Vita Hadriani, c. 9, p. 489.

[33]As he often did, H.K. Mann blindly accepted the ex-planation of the Vita Hadriani. Cf. H.K. Mann, The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages (London, 1925), I, 2, pp. 402-403.

he could not afford to eliminate him. Yet, removing Afiarta proved to be far from a simple matter.

The pope's investigation into the murder of Sergius found that a number of people, including Afiarta, were involved in the crime. One group, nobles from the city of Anagni, actually murdered Sergius at the behest of Afiarta, his supporters, and Duke John, the brother of Stephen III.[34] Obviously the animosities between the inhabitants of the countryside and papal bureaucrats had not subsided after the removal of the usurper Constantine and Duke Toto. It will be recalled that Sergius had been a prime mover in the expulsion of Constantine and his supporters. It is also clear from this short passage in the papal biography that nepotism was becoming even more prominent in papal affairs, as is illustrated by the mention of the pope's brother occupying the office of duke. But most revealing was the punishment and the manner in which it was administered to some of the murderers, initially including Paul Afiarta.

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[34]Vita Hadriani, c. 10, p. 489: Tunc isdem beatissimus pontifex cepit curiose antefati Sergii secundicerii mortem inquirere. Convocansque cunctos cellararios subtilius eos perscrutavit quomodo ipse Sergius ab eodem cellario abstractus fuisset. Qui respondentes dixerunt "quia prima noctis hora veniens Calventzulus cubicularius cum Lunissone presbitero et Leonatio tribuno, habitatoribus Anagnine, ipse eundem Sergium abstulit, vivente domno Stephano papa, ante octo dies quod de hac luce migrasset, et praefatis Campaninis illum tradidit." Confestimque deductus est ad medium isdem cubicularius; et inquisitus quis illi praecepisset eundem Sergium a praefato abstrahendi cellario et praenominatis Campaninis tradendum, respondit a Paulo cubiculario, cognomento Afiarta, seu Gregorio defensori regionario et Iohanne duce, germano domni Stephani pape, adque Calvulo cubiculario sibi hoc fuisse praeceptum, quoram eisdem Campaninis.

Upon conviction the accused were turned over to the prefect of the city, an officer long unmentioned in the sources for the city of Rome.[35] Some were subsequently executed, but, more importantly, the rest were to be exiled to Constantinople. Exile to Constantinople was also the sentence for Paul Afiarta, who was by this time in the hands of Archbishop Leo of Ravenna. Hadrian apparently wrote to the emperor, informing him of the murder of Sergius and the results of the investigation. He also requested that Paul Afiarta be held in exile in the lands of the Greek Empire "for the correction of all his deeds."[36] Accordingly, the pope directed Leo of Ravenna to send Afiarta to Constantinople, but Leo refused to obey. The archbishop's reasons, as stated in the papal biography, were that Desiderius was holding captive the son of Duke Mauricius of Venice and the duke hoped to use Afiarta in a prisoner exchange. For reasons not completely clear, Leo was unwilling to see this prisoner exchange completed and began steps to eliminate Afiarta.[37] Alarmed at Leo's refusal, Hadrian directed the

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[35]Ibid., c. 9, p. 490. The prefect was undoubtedly a judicial official, but the office appears here for the first time in centuries. Despite the efforts of Theodor Hirschfeld, we know practically nothing about civil and criminal jurisdiction in eighth-century Rome. Cf. Theodor Hirschfeld, "Das Gerichtswesen der Stadt Rom vom 8. bis 12. Jahrhundert Wesentlich nach stadtrömischen Urkunden," Archiv für Urkundenforschung, IV (1912), 419-562.

[36]JE 2398. Unfortunately the letter is not extant. Cf. Vita Hadriani, c. 15, p. 490.

[37]Vita Hadriani, c. 15, p. 491: Ipse vero archiepiscopus, insidians vehementer eidem Paulo, adhibuit impiam

archbishop to insure Afiarta's safety, but Leo had Paul Afiarta executed in Ravenna.[38]

In addition to the problem of Leo of Ravenna's disobedience, Hadrian's actions in the prosecution of Afiarta revealed another portion of the pope's plans. Like the charter dating in February of 772, the attempt to send criminals in exile to Constantinople illustrates that Hadrian had not totally broken relations with the Byzantines. He was still interested in help from wherever he could obtain it and his actions demonstrate that he cannot be placed in a role of being either consistently pro-Lombard, pro-Frankish or pro-Greek. Similar in some ways to Stephen II and Paul, Hadrian was pursuing papal independence and to do so required that avenues to a number of alternatives remained open. This is far from stipulating that Hadrian was acting in the tradition of popes during the Byzantine period, totally recognizing the sovereignty of the Byzantine emperor and exercising the functions of a Byzantine official.[39] It merely

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accoasionem, dirigens eidem praecipuo pontifici in responsis expedibile minime esse eundem Paulum illuc dirigi; in eo quod Desiderius Langobardorum rex filium Mauricii ducis Venetiarum apud se captum detineret, ne ipse Mauricius filium suum cupiens ab eodem rege recipere, eundem Paulum ille vicaneum traderet. See also Ferdinand Gregorovius, Geschichte der Stadt Rom, I, 397.

[38]Vita Hadriani, c. 16-17, p. 491.

[39]Wilhelm Gundlach, Die Entstehung des Kirchenstaates und der curiale Begriff Res publica Romanorum, p. 110: "Aus diesem Verhalten Hadrians ergiebt sich unzweideutig, dass er in dem beregten Falle für den Strafvollzug nicht sich, sondern den Kaiser als zuständig erachtete, aber doch auch für das Strafurtheil, da der Kaiser nur der Scherge

illustrates that the possibility of Byzantine influence in Italy had not been ruled out as a potential source of support for the papacy. As for Archbishop Leo, Hadrian refused his request for absolution in the death of Afiarta and the problem of relations between the archbishop of Ravenna and the pope in Rome would continue to afflict Hadrian in future years.[40]

Of more immediate urgency for the pope were the actions of Desiderius after the execution of Afiarta. Afiarta had also been useful for Desiderius, but he had not been essential for the continuance of the Lombard king's plan to force Hadrian to crown the sons of Carloman. Continuing the pressure on Hadrian, Desiderius seized numerous cities in the old Exarchate, including Senigallia, Iesi, Montefeltro, Urbino and Gubbio, all of which, the biography points out, belonged to the Romans. From there the Lombard armies moved into Tuscany and into the duchy of Rome, "devastating the regions by the sword and fire."[41] Repeatedly Hadrian

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des Papstes gewesen wäre, wenn er das Erkenntnis Hadrians nicht hätte genehmigen, abwandeln oder verwerfen dürfen: es bekundet sich also hier nicht bloss die Souveränetät des Kaisers, sondern zugleich auch in dem Vorbehalt der Strafsgerichtsbarkeit für denselben die unter byzantinischer Hoheit ausgeübte Immunitätsherrschaft des Papstes über den Römischen Ducat."

[40]Vita Hadriani, c. 17, p. 491.

[41]Ibid., c. 18, pp. 491-492: Siquidem praenominatus Desiderius Langobardorum rex, superbiae iactantia elevatus, qua hora praefatas civitates exarchatus Ravennantium abstulit, confestim direxit multitudinem exercitum et occupare fecit fines civitatum, id est Synogaliensis, Esis, Monteferetre, Orbino, Egubio, et ceterarum civitatum Romanorum,

tried to stop the raids through envoys to Desiderius, but
the Lombard king was interested only in negotiating with Had-
rian in person.[42] Finally, in response to one of the papal
messengers Desiderius threatened that he would besiege the
pope in Rome to force compliance with his wishes. Conse-
quently, Hadrian prepared the city and the surrounding areas
for defense. In addition, compelled by necessity, he called
on Charles for help.[43]

That Hadrian finally turned to the Franks only when
compelled by necessity is clear not only from the words of
the papal biography, but also from the pope's actions in
this entire sequence of events. The communication with the

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plura homicidia et depraedationes atque incendia in ipsis
finibus perpetrantes. Nam et civitates Blerana dirigens
generalem exercitum partium Tusciae, dum ipsi Blerani in
fiducia pacis ad recolligendas proprias segetes generaliter
cum mulieribus et filiis atque familiis egrederentur, irru-
erunt repente super eos ipsi Langobardi, et cunctos primatos,
quanti utiles in eadem civitate erant, interfecerunt; et
praedum multam tam de hominibus quamque de peculiis abstul-
erunt, ferro et igne cuncta in circuitu devastantes. Sed et
in finibus Romane urbis seu ceterarum civitatum multa mala
ac depraedationes isdem Desiderius perpetrare iussit. Etiam
et castrum Utriculum occupare fecit.

[42]The several attempts are briefly sketched in the _Vita
Hadriani_, c. 19-21, pp. 492-493. One embassy included the
abbot Probatus and twenty of his monks from the monastery of
S. Maria in Farfa. Again, this was a strange relationship
to a Spoletan abbot and monastery. The raids and the nego-
tiations occurred during the last months of 772. Cf. E.
Amann, _L'époque carolingienne_, p. 53.

[43]_Vita Hadriani_, c. 22, p. 493: Et dum in magna angustia
ac tribulatione consisteret, necessitate compulsus, direxit
suos missos marino itinere cum apostolicis litteris ad ex-
cellentissimum Carolum, a Deo protectum regem Francorum et
patricium Romanorum, deprecans eius excellentiam ut sicut
suus pater sanctae memoriae Pippinus, et ipse succurreret
atque subveniret sanctae Dei ecclesiae ad adflictae Romanorum

Franks, the pope's first since his consecration, occurred nearly one year after he became the bishop of Rome. During that time Hadrian had attempted to steer an independent course, relying exclusively on no one and attempting to keep a number of alternatives open. Gradually it became evident that something more persuasive than negotiation was needed to remedy the problem with Desiderius and the only remaining course of action was to turn to Charles. This again illustrates that papal plans for territorial independence would only remain plans unless a forceful means was found to bring them to fruition. It also brought to the surface the danger that the papal protector, even if he cooperated with the pope's wishes, could possibly become the master of Rome. However, for the moment it appeared as if Hadrian might have waited too long to summon assistance.

Due to the previous Lombard raids all the land routes from Rome across the Alps to Francia were blocked by the forces of Desiderius. Consequently, the papal envoys were forced to proceed by sea on their journey to Charles. Also, almost immediately, Desiderius began to implement his threats by gathering an army and marching on Rome. Accompanying the Lombard king were the widow and sons of Carloman, since Desiderius still hoped to create difficulties within the Frankish kingdom by forcing the pope to crown

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seu exarchatus Ravennantium provinciae, atque plenarias beati Petri iustitias et abstultas civitates ab eodem Desiderio rege exigeret. See also Pauli continuatio tertia, c. 49, MGH SS Lang., p. 212.

the boys.[44] Hadrian's reaction was immediate: gathering within the walls of Rome people from Tuscany, Campagna, Perugia and the cities of the Pentapolis, he fortified the city and armed the populace to defend the city and the churches of Rome. In addition, he sent a final message to Desiderius, threatening him with anathema should he and his army continue their attacks on the Roman duchy. Undoubtedly to Hadrian's surprise, Desiderius retreated.[45]

It is difficult to concur with the papal biography that Desiderius retreated from Rome due to fear of reverence, although it is true that this was the first time a threat of anathema had been employed in the papal pursuit of temporal power.[46] There are indications of more tangible reasons for the Lombard king's hesitation. To begin with, although it is not explicitly mentioned in the biography, as soon as the pope was sure his envoy was safely enroute to Francia, he probably announced in unmistakable terms what he had done to Desiderius. That is the only way to explain the fact that upon his arrival in Francia, probably in February of 773, the papal envoy was joined at the Frankish court by a Lombard messenger, whose purpose it was to deny all the papal charges.[47] It is plausible that Desiderius was wary

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[44]Vita Hadriani, c. 23, p. 493.

[45]Ibid., c. 24-25, pp. 493-494. See also Pauli continuatio tertia, c. 50, MGH SS Lang., p. 212.

[46]L. Duchesne, Les premier temps de l'État pontifical, pp. 67-68.

[47]Cf. Vita Hadriani, c. 26, p. 494; Abel-Simson, I, 136.

of immediately provoking Charles to action. In addition, there are indication that Lombard opponents of Desiderius were also trying to involve the Franks against the Lombard king and that Desiderius was well aware of these attempts.[48] All these things probably convinced Desiderius that the deciding power was now in the hands of Charles and that his plans to have the sons of Carloman crowned kings of the Franks had failed. He probably felt that he would not be able to force Hadrian to comply with his wishes before help from the Franks arrived. The primary task of the Lombard king now seemed to be to deal with the renewed Frankish threat.

Hadrian's envoy, Peter by name, was received by Charles at the king's winter residence in Thionville (now Diedenhofen). According to papal sources, Charles immediately dispatched _missi_ to ascertain the truth about the situation in Italy, since a Lombard agent was also with the Frankish king, contradicting papal claims that Desiderius was not

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[48]_Chronicon Salernitanum_, c. 9, _MGH SS_ III, 476: Set dum iniqua cupiditate Langobardi inter se consurgerent, quidam enim e proceribus Langobardis clam legationem mittunt Karolo, Francorum regi, quatenus veniret cum valido exercitu et regnum Italiae sub sua ditione optineret, asserentes, quia istum Desiderium tyrannum sub potestate eius traderent vinctum, et opes multas cum variis indumentis auro argentoque intextis in suum committerent dominum. That some of these attempts were not very secret is verified by a charter of 11 November 772 of Adelgis, the son of Desiderius, by which he had the confiscated possessions of one "Augino, qui in Francia fuga lapsus erat" and other "vel de alii consentaneis eorum, quam ipsi pro sua perdiderunt infidelitate" transferred to the monastery of S. Salvatore in Brescia. Cf. L. Bethmann and O. Holder-Egger, "Langobardische Regesten," _NA_, III (1878), no. 492, p. 313.

observing the rights of St. Peter.[49] Some Frankish sources

provide additional detail on the nature of the pope's re-

quest for aid. In one, Desiderius is labelled the Lombard

king by the permission of King Pepin. Assistance was re-

quested from Charles, since he was the legitimate defender

of the Roman people. Consequently, he should hasten to ful-

fill the wishes of the pope.[50] However, both the Royal An-

nals and the so-called annals of Einhard infer that the ini-

tial papal envoy left Francia without a clear decision from

Charles. The Frankish king, aware of the things which were

always going on between the Romans and the Lombards, first

deliberated with his nobles about the proper action.[51]

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[49]*Vita Hadriani*, c. 26, p. 494.

[50]*Chronicon Moissiacense*, *MGH SS* I, 295: Adrianus, papa
urbis Romae, legatos suos ob defensionem Romanae ecclesiae
ad Karolum, regem Francorum, misit, quia valde affligebatur
a rege Langobardorum Desiderio, qui Haistulfo successerat,
ac per donationem Pippini regis Francorum regnum tenebat
Langobardorum. Eratque tunc Karolus rex in loco qui dicitur
Teudonis-villa. Veniens ibi domni apostolici missus Adriani,
nomine Petrus, precibus apostolici id ipsum ad defendendam
sanctam ecclesiam postulavit, ut ipsum Romanum populum super-
bi regis Desiderii liberaret, adiungens quod ipse legitimus
tutor et defensor esset illius plebis, quoniam illum prae-
decessor suus, beatae memoriae Stephanus papa, unctione sacra
liniens, tunc regem ac patricium Romanorum ordinarat. Karo-
lus igitur rex per consilium optimatum suorum, voluntatem
domni apostolici se adimpleturum esse cum Deo auxilio, devota
mente spopondit. See also *Annales Mettenses priores*, a. 773,
pp. 59-60.

[51]*Annales regni Francorum*, a. 773, p. 34: Tunc domnus
ac praecelsus Carolus rex consiliavit una cum Francis, quid
perageret; et sumpto consilio, ut ita, sicut missus aposto-
lici per verbum domni Adriani apostoloci, ita fieret,....
Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi, a. 773, p. 35: Rex vero re-
bus, quae inter Romanos ac Langobardos gerebantur, diligenti
cura pertractatis bellum sibi contra Langobardos pro defen-
sione Romanorum suscipiendum ratus cum toto Francorum exer-
citu Genuam Burgundiae civitatem iuxta Rhodanum sitam venit.

Charles conceivably did send an embassy to ascertain the truth and, upon discovering that the papal accusations were true, began plans to intervene. It is highly doubtful, however, that Charles hesitated at any great length to intervene.[52]

It has been correctly argued that Charles did not have a great deal of choice whether or not to intervene in Italy. The threat of the pope's being forced to crown Carloman's sons was a very real one for Charles and one which directly affected his own position within the Frankish kingdom.[53] Therefore, Charles probably quickly decided to undertake a campaign in Italy, as much in his own interest as that of St. Peter. Additionally, it must be mentioned that Charles was quite different from his father. Once the campaign was undertaken, it is clear that Charles would be content with nothing less than the conquest of the Lombard kingdom.[54] Here was the greatest danger for the aspirations of Hadrian.

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[52]Abel-Simson, I, 140, note 3.

[53]Peter Classen, Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz, p. 13. Classen's most recent pronouncement on the problem precisely summarizes his argument: "Mit dem Verlangen an Papst Hadrian, die beiden Söhne des gesalbten Karlmann gleichfalls zu Frankenkönigen zu salben, brachte Desiderius Karls Herrschaft in die grösste Gefahr. Karl hat nicht wie sein Vater vor der freien Entscheidung gestanden, ob er dem heiligen Petrus zu Hilfe kommen wollte, sondern um des eigenen ungeteilten Erbes am Frankenreich willen war er gezwungen, dem Hilfsgesuch des Papstes nachzukommen." Peter Classen, "Karl der Grosse und die Thronfolge im Frankenreich," Festschrift für H. Heimpel (Göttingen, 1972), III, pp. 130-131. See also Engelbert Mühlbacher, Deutsche Geschichte unter den Karolingern, pp. 96-97.

[54]Cf. Louis Halphen, Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien (Paris, 1947), p. 97; J. Calmette, Charlemagne, pp. 64-65.

The interests of a Frankish king determined to conquer the Lombards were bound to collide with those of an ambitious pope, who was equally determined to control as much of Italy as possible, despite the religious proclivities of the former and the defensive needs of the latter.

The final result of Hadrian's requests for aid was the gathering of an army by Charles and the beginning of a march toward Italy. Undoubtedly aware that a Frankish campaign was imminent after Hadrian's pleas, Desiderius moved immediately to fortify the passes leading into Italy. Dividing his forces into two parts, one led by himself and the second by his uncle, Bernhard, Charles overcame the forces of Desiderius after a hazardous crossing of the Alps.[55] Aware that their cause was practically hopeless, Desiderius and Adelgis both fled, the Lombard king fortifying himself in Pavia and his son taking refuge with Carloman's widow and sons in Verona.[56] As Desiderius had undoubtedly had the time to strengthen the fortifications of Pavia before the appearance of the Franks, the siege of the Lombard city proved

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[55]For reasons which escape me, there has been a difference of opinion over which pass was utilized by Charles to enter Italy. Cf. W.A.B. Coolidge, "Charles the Great's Passage of the Alps in 773," EHR, XXI (1906), 493-505, and Georgine Tangl, "Karls des Grossen Weg über die Alpen im Jahre 773," QFIAB, XXXVII (1957), 1-15.

[56]Cf. Annales regni Francorum, a. 773, p. 36. The only real difference in the narratives of the Royal Annals and that of the papal biography is that the papal source gives credit for the successful crossing of the Alpine passes to the intervention of God, and not to the forces of Uncle Bernhard. Cf. Vita Hadriani, c. 31, p. 495.

to be a difficult undertaking, consuming the whole winter.[57]
It is significant to note that, unlike the events of twenty
years before, there were no papal pleas for peace and the
avoidance of bloodshed. If Charles was intent on conquering
the Lombard kingdom, he seemingly had an enthusiastic sup-
porter in Pope Hadrian.

While all of this was transpiring in the north of
Italy, Hadrian was by no means inactive in Rome. Just as
the Lombard defense of the Alpine passes collapsed, an event
of major importance occurred in Rome. Taking advantage of
the fact that Desiderius and Duke Theodicus were otherwise
occupied, a number of nobles from Spoleto came to Rome, re-
questing that Hadrian accept them into the service of St.
Peter and that the pope should name their new duke. The
pope was more than happy to comply. The Spoletans were ton-
sured in the style of the Romans, which could have signalled
their acceptance into the ranks of the chosen people, and
all of them took oaths to remain faithfully in the service
of St. Peter and his vicar. Hadrian then gave them the
duke which they had chosen for themselves, Hildebrand. The
Spoletans were quickly joined by inhabitants of the duchy
of Fermo, Humana and Ancona, as well as those of Città di
Castello, all of whom submitted to the same oaths of service.[58]

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[57]Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi, a. 773, p. 37.

[58]Vita Hadriani, c. 32-33, pp. 495-496: Nam Spolitini
et Reatini, aliquanti eorum utiles personae, antequam Desi-
derius seu Langobardorum eius exercitus ad clusas pergerent,
illi ad beatum Petrum confugium facientes praedicto

These areas were all situated outside the boundaries of the duchy of Rome and the entire procedure was done without the knowledge of Charles, who was still involved in the siege of Pavia.

In many ways the submission of Spoleto was the realization of papal aspirations stretching back to the pontificate of Gregory III in the third decade of the eighth century. Both Gregory and Paul had made concerted efforts to detach both the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento from

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sanctissimo Adriano papae se tradiderunt et in fide ipsius principis apostolorum atque praedicto sanctissimi pontificis iurantes, more Romanorum tonsorati sunt. Etiam et reliqui omnes ex eodem ducatu Spolitino inianter desiderabant se tradendum in servitio beati Petri sanctaeque Romanae ecclaesiae. Sed metuentes suum regem hoc nequaquam ausi sunt perpetrare. Unde dum a clusis fugam arripuissent omnes qui exinde de diversis civitatibus ducati Spolitini reversi sunt, confestim generaliter ad praefatum almificum pontificem confluentes advenerunt, eiusque provoluti pedibus, obnixe sanctam ipsius ter beatitudinem deprecati sunt ut eos in servitio beati Petri sanctaque Romanae ecclesiae susciperet et more Romanorum tonsorari faceret. Quos suscipiens profectus est cum eis in ecclesia beati Petri, et omnes unianimiter a magno usque ad parvum sub indiculo sacramenti iureiurando promiserunt eidem Dei apostolo in servitio eius atque antedicti vicarii ipsius sanctissimi Adriani papae atque omnibus successorum eius pontificum fideliter permansuros cum filiis et cuncta eorum generatione. Tunc post prastitutum sacramentum omnes more Romanorum tonsorati sunt, et confestim ipse ter beatissimus bonus pastor et pater cum omnibus exultans constituit eis ducem quem ipsi propria voluntate sibi elegerunt, scilicet Hildiprandum nobilissimum, qui prius cum reliquis ad apostolicam sedem refugium fecerat. Et ita, Deo annuente, praedictum ducatum Spolitinum generaliter suo certamine isdem praecipuus pontifex sub iure et pptestate beati Petri subiugavit. Sed et omnes habitatores tam ducatus Firmani, Auximani et Anconitani simulque et de castello Felicitatis, et ipsi dum a cluses Langobardorum fugientes reversi sunt, ad praefatum sanctissimum pontificem concurrentes, eius se ter beatitudini tradiderunt, praestitoque sacramento in fide et servitio beati Petri atque eius vicarii antefati almifici Adriani papae successorumque eius pontificum fideliter permansuros, more Romanorum tonsorati sunt.

Pavia.[59] Rome had finally been successful, but the fact remains that Hadrian was attempting to regulate affairs in central and southern Italy without taking into account the possible wishes of Charles. In this regard, the pope was acting as a sovereign.[60] Certainly the new duke of Spoleto initially conducted himself as if he recognized the supremacy of Rome. One of Hildebrand's charters for the monastery in Farfa carried the pope's name as if Hadrian was the duke's true overlord.[61] However, by this time the intentions of Charles to conquer the Lombard kingdom were quite clear to everyone. It remained to be seen how the Frankish king would react to a substantial portion of his new conquest transferring its allegiance to another overlord.

The Frankish siege of Pavia was continuing to close the circle around Desiderius in the first months of 774. Charles demonstrated the urgency of his major concern by leaving Pavia with a force of men, besieging Verona, and taking the widow and sons of his dead brother captive.[62] Adelgis,

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[59]Cf. E. Amann, L'époque carolingienne, p. 55.

[60]E. Dupré-Theseider, "Sur les origines de l'État de l'Église," Actes du colloque international sur les origines des Etats européens aux IXe-XIe siècles (Warsaw, 1968), p. 98.

[61]The charter is undoubtedly from 773 and it begins "In nomine domini....Temporibus ter beatissimi et coangelici domini Adriani pontificis et universalis papae. Ego in dei nomine Hildeprandus gloriosus dux." While the charter is still not dated by pontifical years, it is clear that Hildebrand considered himself a vassal of the pope. Cf. H. Fichtenau, "'Politische' Datierungen des frühen Mittelalters," p. 490.

[62]Vita Hadriani, c. 34, p. 496.

however, managed to escape and took refuge in Constanti-
nople.[63] With the approach of Easter the siege of Pavia
was undoubtedly secure enough to allow Charles to travel to
Rome. Quickly gathering a number of his churchmen and
nobles, the Frankish king began his journey south through
Tuscany. Apparently he neglected to keep the pope informed
of his plans and Hadrian was quite surprised by the news of
the Frankish king's arrival. Hadrian organized his own re-
ception and sent the leaders of the twelve military regions
of Rome and their banners to greet Charles.[64] The reception

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[63]Agnelli liber pontificalis, c. 160, MGH SS Lang., p.
381. This is the only source which provides any detail on
the escape of Adelgis. From later events it is certain that
Adelgis took refuge in Constantinople, but Agnellus is often
confused and never totally trustworthy. See also Einhardi
Vita Karoli Magni, c. 6, p. 8.

[64]Vita Hadriani, c. 35-36, pp. 496-497: Et dum per sex
mensuum spatium ipse Francorum rex Papiam demoraretur in ob-
sessione ipsius civitatis, magnum desiderium habens ad lim-
ina apostolorum properandum, considerans quod et sacratissima
paschalis festivitus adpropinquasset, tunc abstollens secum
diversos episcopos, abbates etiam et iudices, duces nempe et
grafiones cum plurimis exercitibus, hic Romam per Tusciae
partes properavit. Ita enim festinenter adveniens ut in
ipso sabbato sancto se liminibus praesentaret apostolicis.
Cuius adventum audiens antedictus beatissimus Adrianus papa
quod sic repente ipse Francorum advenisset rex, in magno
stupore et extasi deductus, direxit in eius occursum univer-
sos iudices ad fere XXX milia ab hac Romana urbe, in loco
qui vocatur Nobas: ibi eum cum bandora susceperunt. Et dum
adpropinquasset fere unius miliario a Romana urbe, direxit
universas scolas militiae una cum patronis simulque et pueris
qui ad didicendas litteras pergebant, deportantes omnes ramos
palmarum adque olivarum, laudesque illi omnes canentes, cum
adclamationem earundem laudium vocibus ipsum Francorum sus-
ceperunt regem; obviam illi eius sanctitas dirigens vener-
andas cruces, id est signa, sicut mos est exarchum aut pat-
ricium suscipiendum, eum cum ingenti honore suscepi fecit.
See also L. Duchesne, "Les régions de Rome au Moyen-Age,"
MAH, X (1890), 130-131.

afforded Charles by the pope was similar, but not identical to that given to the old Exarch.[65]

It has been suggested that Charles journeyed to Rome before the capture of Pavia because word had reached him of what had transpired between Spoleto and the papacy.[66] However, it is doubtful that the Spoletan affair was the Frankish king's only reason for travelling to Rome. If he considered the submission of the Lombard duchy to the papacy an illegal act, the illegality of it would not be changed by the capture of Pavia. In fact, the capture of Pavia would necessarily increase the illegality of the submission in Frankish eyes. Yet, it is plausible that Hadrian's surprise on receiving the news of the Frankish king's arrival was due to his fear about the reaction to the Spoletan affair.[67] After all, Charles did gather a substantial force and was advancing toward Rome in some haste. In any event, Charles was approaching Rome and the events of Easter week in 774 must be examined in great detail.

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[65]Cf. Josef Deer, "Die Vorrechte des Kaisers in Rom," *Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte*, XV (1957), 44. Deer illustrates the differences between the Exarch's traditional reception and the one given to Charles. Rather than viewing it as the Exarch's reception, one should view it as the reception afforded to a foreign *patricius*.

[66]S. Abel, "Papst Hadrian I. und die weltliche Herrschaft des römischen Stuhls," *FdG*, I (1860), 457.

[67]This has been stated several times. Cf. Abel-Simson, I, 154-155; W. Martens, *Die römische Frage unter Pippin und Karl dem Grossen*, pp. 144-145; A. Kleinclausz, *Charlemagne*, pp. 23-24.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DONATION OF 774

As King Charles arrived in Rome shortly before Easter
in 774, it was evident that he had come for other reasons
than just to pray at the tomb of St. Peter. At this point,
the fall of Pavia was only a matter of time and several is-
sues had to be settled between pope and Frankish king. What
actually transpired between the two during the Frankish king's
stay in Rome has been hotly debated for generations, parti-
cularly in reference to the territorial settlement of 774.
Despite the detailed explanations of numerous scholars a
clear explanation of the negotiations has not appeared.
Yet, a solution to the puzzle of the donation of 774 is
crucial to an understanding of relations between Charles
and Hadrian, since the territorial question was uppermost
in the pope's mind during his entire pontificate. There-
fore, the effort must be made to explain what did happen in
Rome during the first weeks in April.

Upon his arrival Charles, along with his nobles, dis-
mounted from their horses and approached St. Peter's on
foot. There, as a mark of reverence and piety, he climbed
the steps of St. Peter's on his knees, kissing each step.

At the entrance of the church he was met by Pope Hadrian and the two entered St. Peter's together.[1] It is significant to note that this time, despite the display of piety by Charles as he climbed the steps of St. Peter's, the Frankish king did not prostrate himself before the pope. Without pressing the point too far, it would seem that, on this occasion, Frankish reverence was reserved for St. Peter, and not necessarily for his vicar. Further, by his actions, it would seem that Hadrian was not greeting the successor to the Exarch of Ravenna, since the pope met Charles at St. Peter's and not in the palace on the Aventine.[2]

In any event, after the completion of their prayers, Charles requested the permission of the pope to enter Rome to offer prayers in the various churches. Of even greater importance, the pope and the Frankish king then, in the

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[1] Vita Hadriani, c. 37-38, p. 497: Ipse vero a Deo institutus benignissimus Carolus magnus Francorum rex et patricius Romanorum, qua hora easdem sacratissimas cruces ac signa sibi obviam advenisse conspexit, descendens de eo quo sedebat equo, ita cum suis iudicibus ad beatum Petrum pedestris properare studuit. Quod quidem antedictus almificus pontifex diluculo surgens in eodem sabbato sancto cum universo clero et populo Romano ad beatum Petrum properavit ad suscipiendum eundem Francorum regem, et in gradibus ipsius apostolicae aulae eum cum suo clero prestolavit. Coniungente vero eodem excellentissimo ac benignissimo Carulo rege, omnes grados singillatim eiudem sacratissimae beati Petri aecclesiae deosculatus est et ita usque ad praenominatum pervenit pontificem, ubi in atrio super grados, iuxta fores ecclesiae adsistebat. Eoque suscepto, mutuo se amplectentes, tenuit isdem christianissimus Carulus rex deteram manum antedicti pontificis et ita in eandem venerandam aulam beati Petri principis apostolorum ingressi sunt, laudem Deo et eius excellentiae decantantes universus clerus et cuncti religiosi Dei famuli, extense voce adclamantes: 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini' et cetera.

[2] Cf. Josef Deer, "Die Vorrechte des Kaisers in Rom," p. 44.

presence of the Frankish and Roman nobles, "secured them-
selves by mutual oaths."[3] The nature and meaning of these

oaths is not completely clear from the papal biography.

Nonetheless, attempts have been made to define the nature

of these oaths in clear and unmistakable legal terminolo-

gies.

The most recent effort is that of Wolfgang Fritze, who

tried to explain the legal relationship of the Frankish

kings to the popes during the most active segment of Carol-

ingian history.[4] The thrust of Fritze's argument, drawing

on materials in the papal biographies as well as passages

from papal letters, is that the entire range of papal-

Frankish relations can be explained in the context of a

Frankish "Schwurfreundschaft."[5] This arrangement was an

element of Frankish private law, having its origins in the

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[3]*Vita Hadriani*, c. 39, p. 497: Expleta vero eadem ora-
tione, obnixe deprecatus est isdem Francorum rex antedictum
almificum pontificem illi licentiam tribui Romam ingrediendi
sua orationum vota per diversas Dei ecclesias presolvendu.
Et descendentes pariter ad corpus beati Petri tam ipse
sanctissimus papa quamque antefatus excellentissimus Fran-
corum rex cum iudicibus Romanorum et Francorum, seseque
mutuo per sacramentum munientes, ingressus est continuo
Romam cum eodem pontifice ipse Francorum rex cum suis iudi-
cibus et populo.

[4]Wolfgang Fritze, *Papst und Frankenkönig. Studien zu
den päpstlich-fränkischen Rechtsbeziehungen von 754 bis 824*
(Sigmaringen, 1973).

[5]*Ibid.*, p. 62: "Begründet wurde es durch wechselsei-
tige, eidlich bekräftige, auf *fides* et *caritas* lautende
Promissionem, wie wir als Begründungsakte der fränkischen
Schwurfreundschaft kennen. Der Bund zwischen Papst und
König von 774 ist mithin nunmehr als Schwurfreundschaft
fränkischen Rechts zu bezeichnen--so anstössig diese Fest-
stellung auch dem modernen Betrachter erscheinen mag."

Merovingian period. It was an artifical, as opposed to a
kin-based, relationship founded on mutually sworn promises
of love and fidelity, which bound the parties in peace.
The bond stipulated that each party was of an equal rank in
terms of Frankish law and it secured the help of one party
when the other was in distress.

There are several difficulties with Fritze's thesis
which must be mentioned. For substantiation of his ideas
Fritze drew on specific references in Hadrian's letters to
Charles in 775, after the Frankish king had left Italy.
Fritze placed great importance on the pope's usage of the
word _caritas_ to describe the bond which existed between pope
and Frankish king.[6] This emphasis on such words as _dilectus_,
fides and _caritas_ as clear descriptive terms is misleading.
The idea that a Roman pope would be sufficiently familiar
with Frankish legal terminology, much less enter into such
an exclusively Frankish relationship, is difficult to ac-
cept. Usages of the words appeared in papal correspondence
to the Franks before any personal meetings between Stephen II

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[6]_Codex Carolinus_ 51, _MGH_ _Epp_. III, 571: Sed cognoscit
omnipotens Deus noster,...., neque nulla nos posse huius mun-
di transitorii ac labentibus opibus vel humani suasioni
blandimentis ab amore et dilectione vestrae inclytae sub-
limitatis vel ab ea, quae vobis polliciti sumus, declinari,
dum hic advixerimus, sed firmi et stabiles in vestra per-
manemus caritate. Absit namque a nobis, carissime et nobis
dulcissime filii, ut ea, quae inter nos mutuo coram sacra-
tissimi corpus fautoris tui, beati apostolorum principis
Petri, confirmavimus atque stabilivimus, per quovis modum
irritum facere adtemptemus, quoniam et nos satisfacti sumus,
qui et vos in nostra caritate firmiter esse permansuros.
Cf. Wolfgang Fritze, _Papst_ _und_ _Frankenkönig_, pp. 52-53.

and Pepin.[7] Since the relationship, according to Fritze, was founded upon a personal and mutual exchange of oaths, it would seem that such a rigorous interpretation of the usages in papal letters is not justified. Further, according to the same papal sources, Desiderius used caritas to describe the friendship bond which had existed between himself and Stephen III.[8] It certainly cannot be thought that a pope and a Lombard king had entered into a private, Frankish legal relationship. Fritze began his investigation with a valid theory: to investigate the actual meanings of the words used to describe the relations in the belief that the problems involved might have been those of different interpretations of the words by popes and Franks. It would seem that by his rigorous emphasis on the words as part of Frankish law and by his insistence that the popes understood the intricacies of that Frankish law, Fritze fell into the very trap he was attempting to avoid. But, the fact remains that oaths were exchanged and their meaning is not yet clear.

Others have also attempted to explain the initial oaths of 774 by analyzing the legal terminologies involved and by binding the oaths of 754 with those of 774. Erich Caspar

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[7]Codex Carolinus 5, MGH Epp. III, 488.

[8]Vita Hadriani, c. 5, p. 487: Itaque in ipso exordio consecrationis eius direxit ad eius beatitudinem suos missos Desiderius Langobardorum rex, id est Theodicium, ducem Spolitinum, Tunnonem, ducem Eburegias, et Prandulum, vestararium suum, suasionis per eos mittens verba, sese quasi cum eo in vinculo caritatis velle colligandum.

also reached into the realm of Frankish law, determining
that the entire range of oaths in 754 and 774 can best be
described under the name of <u>fides</u> <u>facta</u>.[9] This was a sec-
urity arrangement which could be applied to any king of
obligation, including the restoration of lost goods. Des-
pite the emphasis on Frankish law, Caspar was correct in
emphasizing the flexibility of the oaths involved. The
bond sworn between Charles and Hadrian on Easter Sunday in
774 was a general one of security, stipulating mutual guar-
antees against violence in Rome during the Frankish king's
visit. Undoubtedly included in it was a continuation of
the friendship pact between the papacy and the Carolingians.[10]
This was most appropriate for a situation not yet solidified
in terms of fixed territorial arrangements and obligations.
Those territorial questions were to be discussed three days
after Easter Sunday and any attempt to state that the Fran-
kish king had already assumed the position and responsi-
bilities of the old Exarch or the Byzantine emperor is, to
say the least, premature.[11]

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[9]Erich Caspar, <u>Pippin</u> <u>und</u> <u>die</u> <u>römische</u> <u>Kirche</u> (Berlin,
1914), pp. 150-152.

[10]In the papal letters immediately after the events in
Rome, both <u>amore</u> and <u>caritas</u> are used to describe the bond.
At least in papal eyes, the bond was more than a strictly
Frankish agreement and it established a relationship based
upon mutual esteem and affection. Cf. <u>Codex</u> <u>Carolinus</u> 50,
<u>MGH</u> <u>Epp</u>. III, 570, line 10; no. 51, p. 571, line 35; no. 52,
p. 574, line 17; no. 56, p. 580, line 20; no. 56, p. 580,
line 24.

[11]As does Walter Mohr, <u>Studien</u> <u>zur</u> <u>Charakteristik</u> <u>des</u>
<u>karolingischen</u> <u>Königtums</u> <u>im</u> <u>8</u>. <u>Jahrhundert</u>, p. 88.

The territorial discussions were the event of greatest importance during the Frankish king's first visit to Rome. However, territorial restitutions were not new for the See of St. Peter in 774. As early as the first decade of the eighth century, the Lombard King Aripert restored some of the Roman Church's possessions in Liguria, in northwestern Italy, as a sign of his friendship. According to Duchesne, the restitutions made in these districts to John VII and Gregory II were in the area of Genoa and only concerned the Church's patrimonial possessions.[12] Further, in the reign of the Lombard King Liutprand, the papacy made significant gains in terms of territorial restitutions. In the course of his expansionist drives in 728, Liutprand had seized the castle of Sutri, which was scarcely thirty miles from the city of Rome. Significantly, when Liutprand gave back this castle in return for gold, he did so to the pope and not to the Exarch.[13] Also, during the pontificate of Zachary, the papal policy of negotiation resulted in the return of Narni, Osimo, Ancona, Humana, and other districts in Sabina.[14]

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[12]Cf. Vita Johannes VII, p. 387, note 8, and Vita Gregorii II, c. 4, p. 398. See also Karl Lamprecht, Die römische Frage von König Pippin bis auf Kaiser Ludwig den Frommen, pp. 89-90; L.M. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens, pp. 75-76. This is not to say that restitutions to the Roman Church only began in the eighth century. Donations by private individuals had been going on for generations, but these were all patrimonial in nature. Cf. E. Dupré-Theseider, "Sur les origines de l'État de l'Église," pp. 94ff.

[13]Cf. L.M. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens, II, 2, pp. 96-97.

[14]Vita Zacharias, c. 9, p. 428.

Some of these "donations" seemed to go beyond the priniciple of patrimonial restitutions, but the question of sovereignty was not yet clear. It was with the donation of Charles that the issue of sovereignty became crucial.

Unfortunately for the historian, only papal sources provide any substantive information on the negotiations between Charles and Hadrian after Easter. Hadrian's biography states that on the fourth day of the Frankish king's stay in Rome, Hadrian met with Charles and begged him to fulfill in total the promise which Pepin, Carloman and Charles made to St. Peter and Stephen II during that pope's stay in Francia. The purpose of Stephen II's journey to Francia was for the transfer of the cities and territories of that province of Italy to St. Peter and his vicars to be possessed in perpetuity. Charles then caused the charter, which had been prepared in Kierzy, to be read aloud and he agreed to fulfill everything it contained. The Frankish king then had another promise of donation prepared where he ceded cities and territories to St. Peter; namely from Luna with the island of Corsica to Sarzana, from there to Monte Bardone, to Verceto, from there to Parma, to Reggio, to Mantua and Monselice. Included with this was the entire Exarchate of Ravenna, as well as the provinces of Venetia and Istria, and also the entire duchies of Spoleto and Benevento.[15]

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[15]*Vita Hadriani*, c. 41-43, p. 498: At vero quarta feria, egressus praenominatus pontifex cum suis iudicibus tam cleri quamque militiae in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli, pariter-que cum eodem rege se loquendum coniungens, constanter eum

The problem would be a simple one if other contemporary sources verified the existence of such a charter of donation. However, the Royal Annals and the so-called annals of Einhard only state that the Frankish king celebrated Easter in Rome and then returned to his army in Pavia.[16] Einhard

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deprecatus est atque ammonuit et paterno affectu adhortare studuit ut promissionem liiam, quam eius sanctae memoriae genitor Pippinus quondam rex et ipse praecellentissimus Carulus cum suo germano Carulomanno atque omnibus iudicibus Francorum fecerant beato Petro et eius vicario sanctae memoriae domno Stephano iuniori papae, quando Franciam perrexit, pro concedendis diversis civitatibus ac territoriis istius Italiae provinciae et contradendis beato Petro eiusque omnibus vicariis in perpetuum possidendis, adimpleret in omnibus. Cumque ipsam promissionem, quae Francia in loco qui vocatur Carisiaco facta est, sibi relegi fecisset, conplacuerunt illi et eius iudicibus omnia quae ibidem erant adnexa. Et propria voluntate, bono ac libenti animo, aliam donationis promissionem ad instar anterioris ipse antedictus praecellentissimus et revera christianissimus Carulus Francorum rex adscribi iussit per Etherium, religiosum ac prudentissimum capellanum et notarium suum; ubi concessit easdem civitates et territoria beato Petro easque praefato pontifici contradi spopondit per designatum confinium, sicut in eadem donationem continere monstratur, id est: a Lunis cum insula Corsica, deinde in Suriano, deinde in monte Bardone, id est in Veceto, deinde in Parma, deinde in Regio; ex exinde in Mantua atque Monte Silicis, simulque et universum exarchatum Ravennantium, sicut antiquitus erat, atque provincias Venetiarum et Istria; necnon et cunctum ducatum Spolitinum seu Beneventanum. Factaque eadem donatione et propria sua manu eam ipse christianissimus Francorum rex eam conroborans, universos episcopos, abbates, duces etiam et grafiones in ea adscribi fecet; quam prius super altare beati Petri et postmodum intus in sancta eius confessione ponentes, tam ipse Francorum rex quamque eius iudices, beato Petro et eius vicario sanctissimo Adriano papae sub terrible sacramento sese omnia conservaturos qui in eadem donatione continentur promittentes tradiderunt. Apparem vero ipsius donationis eundem Etherium adscribi faciens ipse christianissimus Francorum rex, intus super corpus beati Petri, subtus evangelia quae ibidem osculantur, pro firmissima cantela et aeterna nominis sui ac regni Francorum memoria propriis suis manibus posuit. Aliaque eiusdem donationis exempla per scrinium huius sanctae nostrae Romanae ecclesiae adscriptam eius excellentia secum deportavit.

[16]Annales regni Francorum, a. 773, p. 36; Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi, a. 774, p. 39.

states that after the capture of the Lombard kingdom, every-
thing which had been stolen from Hadrian by the Lombard kings
was returned. Unfortunately, Einhard provided no additional
detail.[17] One minor Frankish annal states that Charles joy-
fully surrendered to St. Peter the "cities which he owed."[18]
Again the details necessary either to support or to refute
the account of the papal biography are missing. Therefore,
the historian is left with the papal account and must come
to a decision based almost exclusively on one source.

The first step in making any such decision must be to
establish the value of the biographer as a contemporary wit-
ness. For some historians, the great amount of minute de-
tail supplied by Hadrian's biographer concerning the first
two years of his pontificate has led them to doubt the value
of the narrative as a contemporary witness. These suspicions
are based on the assumption that papal lives were always
composed after the pope's death. Therefore, the writer of
the biography was separated from the events of 774 by "at

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[17]Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni, c. 6, p. 9: Finis tamen
huius belli fuit subacta Italia et rex Desiderius perpetuo
exilio deportatus et filius eius Adalgisus Italia pulsus
et res a Langobardorum regibus ereptae Hadriano Romanae
ecclesiae rectori restitutae. Another source mentions the
inclusion of Spoleto and Benevento, but, as the chronicle
is largely a compilation of papal lives, it should be used
with a great deal of caution. Cf. Pauli historia Langobar-
dorum continuatio tertia, c. 57, MGH SS Lang., p. 214.

[18]Annales Petaviani, a. 774, MGH SS I, 16: Hoc anno
reddita est civitas Papia Francis, et Desiderius rex
directus est in Franciam, et domnus rex Karolus, missis
comitibus per omnem Italiam, laetus sancto Petro reddidit
civitates quas debuit, dipositisque omnibus, alacer venit
in Franciam,....

least a generation."[19] If this were the only reason for
doubting the contemporary value of the biography, one could
argue that the detail itself, substantiated in several ins-
tances by other materials, would lead one to believe the
biographer was actually a witness to the events he described.
However, in a later section of the work, reference is made
to the <u>domus</u> <u>cultae</u> of St. Edistus "as it is named to the
present day."[20] This usage seems to imply clearly that the
author was writing about things which had occurred in the
past. But, even if the later portion of the biography was
written after Hadrian's death, that does not lead to the
conclusion that the entire work was composed only after 795.

Those who have doubted the worth of the papal biographer
as a witness to the events described have correctly main-
tained that the latest possible date for the completion of
the work is the first decade of the ninth century. A copy
of the biography is found in the <u>Codex</u> <u>Lucensis</u>, written in
an uncial style which subsequently disappeared from use.[21]
Yet, this does not rule out the possibility that the bio-
graphy was written in sections, some of which were done
while Hadrian was still alive. In fact, a brief glance at
the entire biography seems to indicate that two or more

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[19]Heinrich von Sybel, "Die Schenkung der Karolinger an
die Päpste," <u>HZ</u>, XLIV (1880), 66.

[20]<u>Vita</u> <u>Hadriani</u>, p. 505: Quae et domocultam sancti
Edisti vocatur usque in odiernum diem.

[21]H. von Sybel, "Die Schenkungen der Karolinger an die
Päpste," pp. 66-67.

authors worked on the life, writing at different times.[22]
Consequently, it is not outside the realm of possibility
that the biographer was a witness to the events of 772-774.
For Duchesne, the editor of the Liber Pontificalis, there
was no doubt: only a contemporary could have supplied the
great amount of detail on the negotiations with Desiderius,
the prosecution of Afiarta, the political correspondence
with Constantinople, the submission of the Spoletans to the
pope, and the journey of the Frankish king to Rome.[23] With
these things in mind and without any judgment yet on whether
the biographer lied, it must be assumed that he was a wit-
ness to the events he reported in 774. Therefore, one must
deal with the narrative in the biography on that basis.

One of the first problems relating to the Donation of
774 is its relation to prior donations, particularly the
one at Kierzy in 754. According to Hadrian's biography,
Charles caused to be read aloud that promise which had been

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[22]The last section dealing with the visit of Charles,
c. 44, ends with the statement that Desiderius and his wife
were taken by Charles to Francia. The very next sentence
begins a list of Hadrian's gifts and restorations of the
churches of Rome. The break is sharp and unmistakable.
Cf. Vita Hadriani, c. 44-45, p. 499.

[23]Cf. L. Duchesne, Le Liber Pontificalis, p. ccxxxvi.
See also L. Duchesne, "L'historiographie pontificale au
huitième siècle," MAH, IV (1884), 232-273. Another scholar
has drawn attention to the fact that the biographer men-
tioned Charles was received "sicut mos est ad exarchum aut
patricium suscipiendum." Since the last Exarch was received
in Rome prior to 751, the year 774 was probably the latest
time one who had seen the reception of the Exarch could have
been still alive. Cf. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, "Pipins und
Karls des Grossen Schenkungsversprechen," MIOG, V (1884),
200. See also Abel-Simson, I, 161-162.

made at Kierzy. He then caused another promise of donation
to be written ad instar to the prior one.[24] The words ad
instar have led several to stipulate that Charles merely re-
newed the promise which had been made twenty years previously
in Francia.[25] So the donations of Kierzy and Rome were iden-
tical and both stipulated the transfer of easdem civitates
et territoria to St. Peter, as described by the Luna-
Monselice line, the Exarchate of Ravenna, the provinces of
Venetia and Istria, and the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento.
Needless to say, this interpretation presents a range of
difficulties, since the donation of Kierzy occurred before
Pepin and the Franks ever entered Italy.

Substantiation for the idea that the donations of
Kierzy and Rome were identical necessitates a glance back-
ward to the events of 752-754. In his negotiations with
Aistulf, Stephen II had made demands on the Lombard king

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[24]Vita Hadriani, p. 498: Cumque ipsam promissionem,
quae Francia in loco qui vocatur Carisiaco facta est, sibi
relegi fecisset, conplacuerunt illi et eius iudicibus omnia
quae ibidem erant adnexa. Et propria voluntate, bono ac
libenti animo, aliam donationis promissionem ad instar an-
terioris ipse antedictus praecellentissimus et revera chri-
stianissimus Carulus Francorum rex adscribi iussit per
Etherium,....

[25]Ernst Sackur, "Die Promissio Pippins vom Jahre 754 und
ihre Erneuerung durch Karl den Grossen," MIÖG, XVI (1895),
409-410; Ernst Sackur, "Die Promissio von Kiersy," MIÖG,
XIX (1898), 55-74; H.K. Mann, The Lives of the Popes in the
Middle Ages, I, 2, pp. 410-411; P. Scheffer-Boichorst,
"Pipins und Karls des Grossen Schenkungsversprechen," pp.
194-195; Walter Mohr, Studien zur Charakteristik des karol-
ingischen Königtums im 8. Jahrhundert, pp. 42-43; Karl Lamp-
recht, Die römische Frage von König Pippin bis auf Kaiser
Ludwig den Frommen, pp. 24-25; S. Abel, "Papst Hadrian I.
und die weltliche Herrschaft des römischen Stuhls," p. 460.

pro universo exarchato Ravennae atque cunctae istius Italia provinciae populo.[26] It would seem that Stephen II was making a differentiation between the Exarchate and the rest of the "Italian province." When combined with the later statement of Aistulf that the pope should say no more about the return of the city of Ravenna and the Exarchate as well as the remaining "places of the republic," it seems clear that papal demands surpassed merely the restoration of the recently-conquered Exarchate.[27] These papal claims have led some to equate the demands made on Aistulf with the "diverse cities and territories of this Italian province" mentioned in the _Vita Hadriani_. Therefore, the pope had been demanding a boundary from Aistulf, which was ultimately granted by Pepin at Kierzy in 754.[28] Yet, the fact remained that the agreement of Kierzy was apparently not fulfilled. Pepin did make a later donation in 756, but it only consisted of twenty-three cities.[29] With the exception of Narni, all the

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[26]_Vita Stephani II_, c. 15, p. 444.

[27]_Ibid._, c. 21, p. 446: ...petendi Ravennantium civitatem et exarchatum ei pertinentem vel de reliquis rei publicae locis, quae ipse vel eius praedecessores Langobardorum reges invaserant.

[28]E. Sackur, "Die Promissio Pippins vom Jahre 754 und ihre Erneuerung durch Karl den Grossen," pp. 393-410; H.K. Mann, _The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages_, I, 2, pp. 410-411; P. Scheffer-Boichorst, "Pipins und Karls des Grossen Schenkungsversprechen," pp. 194-195.

[29]_Vita Stephani II_, c. 47, p. 454. The cities listed are Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Conca, Fano, Cesena, Senigallia, Iesi, Forlimpopoli, Forli with the Sassubio, Montefeltre, Acerreagium, Montelucati, Sera, the castle of St. Marinus, Vobio, Urbino, Cagli, Lucioli, Gubbio, Comacchio, and Narni.

cities were situated within the boundaries of the old Exar-
chate and Pentapolis.

The obvious nonfulfillment of Kierzy has made the argu-
ment more difficult for those who equate Kierzy with the
narrative of 774. If the two were identical, it would seem
that Pepin made promises which he had no intention of imple-
menting in their entirety. To avoid this problem, one
scholar views Kierzy as a "conditional agreement."[30] Ste-
phen II and Pepin met at Kierzy and drew up a document to
partition the Lombard kingdom in the event that Pepin would
be successful in conquering it. Everything south of the
Luna-Monselice line would belong to the pope, but the agree-
ment became a dead issue, since its prerequisite, the con-
quest of the Lombard kingdom, did not occur in 754 or in
756.[31] Unfortunately, there is not one shred of evidence
to support this idea of an eventual partition.

In fact, one of the greatest problems for those equating
the two donations is a lack of evidence that negotiations
ever took place at Kierzy. The references in the Royal
Annals and the so-called annals of Einhard about a meeting
between Pepin and Stephen II at Kierzy are not very clear.[32]
Further, one could infer from the biography of Stephen II

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[30]Gustav Schnürer, Die Entstehung des Kirchenstaates,
p. 53.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Annales regni Francorum, a. 753, p. 10; Annales qui
dicuntur Einhardi, a. 753, p. 11.

that the pope was not even present at Kierzy.[33] This has
led some to question the equation of Kierzy and Rome, deny-
ing that any such agreement, as related in the Vita Hadriani,
ever took place in 754. In comparing the reports of Ste-
phen II's and Hadrian's biographies, Wilhelm Martens con-
cluded that Stephen was not present at Kierzy and that his
biography made no mention of a written document.[34] There-
fore, Martens concluded, among other things, that the report
in the Vita Hadriani referred to a document which never exis-
ted. Looking beyond the biographies, however, there is one
piece of evidence, which Martens overlooked, which does indi-
cate the presence of Pope Stephen II at Kierzy.[35] But, this
neither proves nor disproves the identity of the documents
of Kierzy and Rome.

Consequently, before an examination of the actual con-
tents of the pact of 774 can proceed, the investigator is
confronted with a complex problem about the relationship of
the grants of Kierzy and Rome. Despite the elaborate argu-
ments indicated above, the issue actually hinges on the

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[33]Vita Stephani II, c. 29, p. 448.

[34]Wilhelm Martens, Die römische Frage unter Pippin und
Karl dem Grossen, p. 286. See also L.M. Hartmann, Geschi-
chte Italiens, II, 2, pp. 183-185; H. von Sybel, "Die
Schenkungen der Karolinger an die Päpste," HZ, XLIV (1880),
53-54.

[35]In the introduction to a number of questions concer-
ning dogma and discipline is found the following statement:
Responsa Stephani papae II quae cum in Francia esset in
Carisiaco villa Brittanico monasterio dedit ad varia con-
sulta, de quibus fuerat interrogatus, anno Christi DCCLIV.
Mansi, XII, 558.

interpretation of the words ad instar anterioris. It is
clear that the words can mean either "identical to the prior
charter" or "similar to the prior charter." The first inter-
pretation would force one to conclude that Charles merely
renewed the document of Kierzy, but this would bring with
it an almost insurmountable number of problems when one pro-
ceeded to the contents of the charter. The second alterna-
tive would allow one to conclude that the pact of 774 was
fashioned on the model of the earlier agreement. This would
permit an examination of the pertinent sections in the Vita
Hadriani, which could lead to an analysis of the agreement
of 774 in the light of the prior agreement, but which would
not directly tie the earlier agreement to the later one.

Aside from the fact that the second alternative is the
more attractive of the two, one can safely argue that the
two agreements were not identical. In supporting this view
the key element is the inclusion of Spoleto. If one were
to insist that the documents were identical, one would prob-
ably have to insist that Spoleto was included in 754. Yet,
in a letter from 757, Stephen related that the Spoletans
wished to commend themselves into the protection of Pepin.[36]
From his subsequent actions it would seem that Pepin refused
and all of this would hardly have been necessary if Spoleto
had been a part of the Kierzy agreement. On the other hand,
it is just as easy to argue that, in papal eyes, Spoleto
was included in the agreement of 774. Scarcely a year after

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[36]Codex Carolinus 11, MGH Epp. III, 506.

the Frankish king had left Italy, Hadrian reminded him that he had offered Spoleto to St. Peter.[37] Therefore, it would seem that Kierzy and Rome were not identical and the best explanation of ad instar anterioris is "similar to the prior charter."[38] But the only way to unravel the problem completely is to examine the contents of the agreement itself.

The contents of the pertinent chapters of the Vita Hadriani fall into two large areas of consideration. The first is the way in which the contents of the donation are described before the donation is actually delineated.[39] The second is the actual delineation of the donation. Each part has been subjected to careful scrutiny and both parts

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[37]Codex Carolinus 56, MGH Epp. III, 581.

[38]Cf. Louis Halphen, Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien, p. 100; A. Funk, "Die Schenkungen der Karolinger an die römische Kirche," Theologische Quartalschrift, LXIV (1882), 630-635; Theodor Lindner, Die sogenannten Schenkungen Pippins, Karls des Grossen und Ottos I. an die Päpste (Stuttgart, 1896), p. 76; B. Niehues, "Die Schenkungen der Karolinger an die Päpste, eine Replik gegen H. von Sybel," HJb, II (1881), 230.

[39]Vita Hadriani, c. 41-41, p. 498: ...beato Petro et eius vicario sanctae memoriae domno Stephano iuniori papae, quando Franciam perrexit, pro concedendis diversis civitatibus ac territoriis istius Italiae provinciae et contradendis beato Petro eiusque omnibus vicariis in perpetuum possidendis, adimpleret in omnibus. Cumque ipsam promissionem, quae Francia in loco qui vocatur Carisiaco facta est, sibi relegi fecisset, conplacuerunt illi et eius iudicibus omnia quae ibidem erant adnexa. Et propria voluntate, bono ac libenti animo, aliam donationis promissionem ad instar anterioris ipse antedictus praecellentissimus et revera christianissimus Carulus Francorum rex adscribi iussit per Etherium, religiosum ac prudentissimum capellanum et notarium suum; ubi concessit easdem civitates et territoria beato Petro easque praefato pontifici contradi spopondit per designatum confinium, sicut in eadem donationem continere monstratur, id est:.... For the sake of clarity, I have underlined the most troublesome phrases.

must be considered in any judgment on the validity of the report. Particularly troublesome has been the phrase that Stephen II had come to Francia pro concedendis diversis civitatibus ac territoriis istius Italiae provinciae. This can be compared to the statement in Stephen II's biography that Pepin had agreed exarchatum Ravennae et reipublice iura seu loca reddere modis omnibus.[40] On the basis of a comparison some have concluded that both phrases were referring to the same things: the one-time Byzantine districts of the Exarchate and those of the Roman duchy.[41] A direct equation of the agreements of 754 and 774 would then lead to the result that both Pepin and Charles had only agreed to restore the Byzantine cities in the Exarchate and the duchy of Rome to the papacy. Therefore, the massive areas delineated in the Vita Hadriani would have to be forgeries.

On the other hand, more extensive examinations of the usages have demonstrated that neither ista Italia provincia nor res publica Romanorum possessed such strictly limited meanings.[42] The first could have been used merely as a synonym for Italy and the second could have referred to the

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[40]Vita Stephani II, c. 26, p. 448.

[41]P. Scheffer-Boichorst, "Pippins und Karls des Grossen Schenkungsversprechen," pp. 201-204. Erich Caspar also concluded that they refer to Byzantine districts, but that these districts were not clearly defined. Cf. Erich Caspar, Pippin und die römische Kirche, pp. 146-147.

[42]Theodor Lindner, Die sogenannte Schenkungen Pippins, Karls des Grossen und Ottos I. an die Päpste, pp. 17-19; Abel-Simson, I, 156-158.

non-Lombard parts of the peninsula. In any event, it is clear that both were used to describe the areas over which the popes claimed dominion. That these areas were not clearly defined in the eyes either of the Franks or of the popes is evidenced by the continuous claims both after 754 and 774 that the promises of restitution had not been fulfilled. Further, the agreements of 754 and 774 were not identical in content. Therefore, it is not justifiable to dismiss the delineation of the areas in 774 as a forgery based on limited interpretations of _ista Italia provincia_ and _res publica Romanorum_. At least in the Roman perspective, all the delineated areas could conceivably have been gathered under the heading of either of the two terms.

Another serious problem is posed by the statement that Charles had another charter prepared _ubi concessit easdem civitates et territoria beato Petro easque praefato pontifici contradi spopondit_. For some, this is even further proof that the charters of 754 and 774 were identical and that both related only to the Exarchate and the duchy of Rome.[43] Actually two answers can be supplied to this interpretation. First, it has been suggested that _easdem_ can either be translated as "the same" or merely as a definite article. Examinations of other contemporary usages yield both interpretations.[44] Secondly, if it cannot be maintained

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[43]Erich Caspar, _Pippin und die römische Kirche_, p. 102; P. Scheffer-Boichorst, "Pippins und Karls des Grossen Schenkungsversprechen," pp. 203-204.

[44]Abel-Simson, I, 158.

that the cities and territories involved relate only to former Byzantine possessions, the whole phrase is open to conflicting interpretations. This becomes even clearer when the words following spopondit are included: per designatum confinium, sicut in eadem donationem continere monstratur. By now it is simply not clear whether these boundaries are those contained in Pepin's charter or in the one of Charles.[45] It is quite possible that the lack of clarity on the part of the biographer was deliberate, but more will be said about that later.

Before examining the delineation of the donation itself, the explanation of the first part can be summarized. Despite the initial appearance of the passage, the donations of 754 and 774 were not identical. Also, the phrases ista Italia provincia and res publica Romanorum did not refer only to Byzantine possessions in Italy and they seem to lack any precise definition. Further, the usages easdem civitates et territoria and eadem donationem continere monstratur are not completely clear in the passage and are open to conflicting interpretations. Finally, the fact that all of the first portion is a little muddled may have been deliberate. Possibly the only way to clear away some of the confusion is to examine the delineations to which the first part of the passage makes reference.

On first glance, this second portion of the passage, beginning with id est, seems to be an extract from the

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[45]Abel-Simson, I, 159.

charter of 774 itself.[46] The vast extent of the areas in-
volved has led some historians to dismiss the entire thing
as a forgery.[47] Yet, it would seem that the claims of for-
gery only cause more problems than they actually solve.
One must then create imaginative explanations for the terri-
torial restitutions which were made subsequent to 774. Of
greatest importance, no one who subscribes to the theory of
forgery has ever been able to explain adequately the time
the forgery was composed and its purpose. It must have
been done prior to the first decade of the ninth century,
due to the manuscript in the Codex Lucenses, and therefore
it had to have been composed while Charles was still alive.
One example will suffice to demonstrate the difficulties
involved in explaining the forgery. Since it was unlikely

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[46]Vita Hadriani, c. 42, p. 498: ...ubi concessit easdem
civitates et territoria beato Petro easque praefato ponti-
fici contradi spopondit per designatum confinium, sicut in
eadem donationem continere monstratur, id est: a Lunis cum
insula Corsica, deinde in Suriano, deinde in monte Bardone,
id est in Veceto, deinde in Parma, deinde in Regio; ex
exinde in Mantua atque Monte Silicis, simulque et universum
exarchatum Ravennantium, sicut antiquitus erat, atque pro-
vincias Venetiarum et Istria; necnon et cunctum ducatum Spo-
litinum seu Beneventanum.

[47]The strongest claims of forgery were voiced by Wilhelm
Martens, Die römische Frage unter Pippin und Karl dem Gros-
sen; Neue Erörterungen über die römische Frage unter Pippin
und Karl dem Grossen (Stuttgart, 1882); "Die drei unächten
Kapitel der Vita Hadrians I.," Theologische Quartalschrift,
LXVIII (1886), 601-620. Similar claims were voiced by
L. Saltet, "La lecture d'un texte et la critique contem-
poraine. Les prétendues promesses de Quierzy (754) et de
Rome (774) dans le Liber Pontificalis," BLE, 1940, pp. 176-
206; 1941, pp. 61-85; E. Griffe, "Aux origines de l'Etat
pontifical: Charlemagne et Hadrien Ier (772-795), BLE,
1954, pp. 65-89, among others.

the forgery occurred between 774 and the first decade of the
ninth century, one scholar has theorized that the forging
was actually done on the agreement of Kierzy sometime be-
tween 772 and 774. Upon his arrival in Rome, Charles re-
newed this interpolated document because he "forgot," or
someone failed to remind him, what had happened twenty years
before.[48] Aside from the views arguing for the authenticity
of the passage in the _Vita Hadriani_ and despite the diffi-
culties in explaining it, there are no convincing grounds
to dismiss it as a forgery, especially in the light of this
type of explanation.

The first problem in explaining the extent of the dona-
tion is the mysterious line extending from Luna to Monselice.
Since this line involved territories possessed neither by
Charles nor by Hadrian, it could denote the boundary be-
tween papal and Frankish "spheres of interest" in Italy.[49]
The difficulty with this idea is not related to the fact
that Charles was ceding something to Rome which he did not
possess, since the fate of Desiderius was practically sealed.
In the light of the Frankish king's actions immediately
upon his departure from Rome, however, he could not have
so partitioned the Lombard kingdom. A search for the

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[48]Adolf Schaube, "Zur Verständigung über das Schenkungs-
versprechen von Kiersy und Rom," _HZ_, LXXII (1894), 203-
206.

[49]G. Schnürer, _Die Entstehung des Kirchenstaates_, pp.
45-47; Louis Halphen, _Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien_,
pp. 101-102.

origins of the Luna-Monselice line has led to the conclusion that it was the boundary between Byzantines and Lombards after the latter's first conquests in Italy.[50] But the evidence necessary to support such a theory is quite vague. No more persuasive is the idea that the line represented the boundary of the church province of Ravenna. Since the pope exercised the immediate metropolitan authority in Ravenna, the line represented the papal attempt to transform metropolitan authority into sovereign rights.[51] Yet, founding claims of sovereignty on all of the territorial details in the passage is reading into it more than it will bear.

Several syntactical explanations of the passage have demonstrated that the places mentioned in the Luna-Monselice line are all in the locative ablative case; thus, it clearly denotes a boundary of some sort.[52] The problem then is to distinguish the grammatical antecedent of the phrase. Kehr insisted on per designatum confinium, thereby differentiating between the Luna-Monselice line and areas like Spoleto and Benevento. The latter areas, all in the accusative case, grammatically depend on contradi spopondit.[53] This led him

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[50]E. Sackur, "Die Promissio Pippins vom Jahre 754 und ihre Erneuerung durch Karl den Grossen," pp. 401-402.

[51]Wilhelm Gundlach, Die Entstehung des Kirchenstaates und der curiale Begriff Res publica Romanorum, pp. 56-60.

[52]P. Kehr, "Die sogenannte karolingische Schenkung von 774," HZ, LXX (1893), 412-415; E. Caspar, Pippin und die römische Kirche, pp. 100-102; Karl Lamprecht, Die römische Frage von König Pippin bis auf Kaiser Ludwig den Frommen, p. 105.

[53]P. Kehr, "Die sogenannte karolingische Schenkung von 774," pp. 413-414.

to conclude that two different types of lands were involved: certain areas within the Luna-Monselice boundary and the entire areas of Spoleto, Benevento, the Exarchate, and the provinces of Venetia and Istria.[54] Erich Caspar disagreed on the grounds that the passage does not explicitly refer to areas south of the Luna-Monselice line. For him, if such areas were to be included, it is striking that they are not mentioned. He also introduced the idea that the biographer might have been engaging in some deliberate deception.[55]

It would seem that Kehr was close to the truth in making a differentiation in the parts of the donation. The Luna-Monselice line did indicate a boundary, south of which the papacy was making patrimonial claims.[56] In addition, it would seem that the passage involved two types of claims, patrimonial and sovereign. All those areas not marked by universum or cunctum seem to indicate claims for patrimonial restitutions; specifically, the areas south of the Luna-Monselice line, including Corsica and the provinces of Venetia and Istria.[57] The other areas, the Exarchate of Ravenna and the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, were claimed as

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[54]Ibid., p. 413

[55]Erich Caspar, Pippin und die römische Kirche, pp. 105-111.

[56]Karl Lamprecht, Die römische Frage von König Pippin bis auf Kaiser Ludwig den Frommen, pp. 105-107.

[57]Cf. the detailed explanation of T. Sickel, Das Privilegium Ottos I. für die römische Kirche vom Jahre 962 (Innsbruck, 1883), pp. 133-137.

the rightful possessions of St. Peter in their entirety.
This hypothesis can be supported from other evidence. The
Roman Church certainly possessed patrimonies in the Tuscan
areas south of the Luna-Monselice line, as Hadrian would
later complain.[58] Further, there are indications that the
papacy was already concerned about its possessions in Vene-
tia and Istria during the pontificate of Stephen III.[59]
Finally, papal rights to the Exarchate of Ravenna were based
on Carolingian and Lombard donations during the 750s.
Claims to Spoleto were doubtlessly founded on the submission
of 773 and Hadrian could have been advancing a claim to
Benevento on the basis of an earlier Beneventan submission
to Stephen II.[60] This, then, is a plausible explanation of
the passage in the Vita Hadriani, but the intentions of
Charles are still another matter.

One still cannot be sure that the passage reported the
actual contents of the agreement, but the passage relating
to the donation has an even larger meaning. After piecing
the puzzle together, one is confronted with a clear state-
ment of papal aspirations. Hadrian was putting forth claims
to large extents of the Italian peninsula and he also hoped
to receive back all the confiscated patrimonies in Lombard
and Byzantine Italy. These hopes were pursued in the years

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[58]Cf. Codex Carolinus 87, MGH Epp. III, 623.

[59]See the letter from Stephen III to the Patriarch John
of Grado, MGH Epp. III, 715.

[60]Cf. supra, p. 87, note 36.

following 774 and a clear statement of them is just as valuable as the question of the donation itself. It can only be conjectured with a relatively high degree of certainty that Hadrian's biography actually reflects the contents of the agreement. The simple fact remains that the document has not survived. However, based on the analysis of the papal biography and the events following 774, it would seem that, in the papal view, Charles promised things which, in large part, he never fulfilled.[61]

Several explanations have been forwarded to avoid the conclusion that the Frankish king broke his promises to the Roman Church. To some, the agreement of 774 was only a program to be followed in future years which bound neither party to strict fulfillment.[62] Another explanation was to create artificial distinctions between promises and donations. Charles could well have promised everything in the papal biography, but this did not bind him to donate all of it if certain conditions were not fulfilled.[63] All of these arguments needlessly complicate the issue without really explaining it. Yet the problem remains that, according to papal sources, Charles prepared a document of donation for

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[61]Peter Classen, Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz, pp. 15-16.

[62]W. Mohr, Studien zur Charakteristik des karolingischen Königtums im 8. Jahrhundert, p. 89.

[63]Karl Lamprecht, Die römische Frage von König Pippin bis auf Kaiser Ludwig den Frommen, pp. 24-25; T. Sickel, Das Privilegium Ottos I. für die römische Kirche vom Jahre 962, pp. 115-116.

the Roman Church and then he and the rest of the Franks swore oaths to fulfill the agreement.[64] This second oath undoubtedly also included a continuance of the Frankish obligation to protect the Roman Church.[65]

Once again the problem stems from the fact that all the materials relating to the agreement come from papal sources. As has been illustrated, the answer is certainly not to be found in the idea of a forgery. However, the words of Erich Caspar should be kept in mind that even though Hadrian's biographer did not lie, he might not have revealed the whole truth.[66] Beyond a shadow of a doubt, the biographer, as a contemporary witness to the events he described, faithfully recorded what Hadrian felt were the rightful possessions of the Roman Church. However, as the years following 774 would demonstrate, those views were not shared by Charles. It is entirely plausible that the Frankish king had already made the limitation on those claims which he was later to follow.

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[64] *Vita Hadriani*, c. 42, p. 498: Factaque eadem donatione et propria sua manu eam ipse christianissimus Francorum rex eam conroborans, universos episcopos, abbates, duces, etiam et grafiones postmodum intuo in sancta eius confessione ponentes, tam ipse Francorum rex quamque eius iudices, beato Petro et eius vicario sanctissimo Adriano papae sub terrible sacramento sese omnia conservaturos qui in eadem donatione continentur promittentes tradiderunt.

[65] This protection obligation was later expressed by Hadrian when he referred to Charles as the *defensor* and *protector* of the Roman Church. Cf. *Codex Carolinus* 52, *MGH Epp.* III, 574, line 7, and no. 54, p. 577, line 9, among others.

[66] Erich Caspar, *Pippin und die römische Kirche*, pp. 109-111.

Charles would restore the rightful possessions of St. Peter, so long as the Church could prove its rights to the areas.[67] One must conclude, then, that the Vita Hadriani portrayed accurately papal claims in Italy and the way in which Hadrian hoped those claims would be implemented in the donation of 774. One must also conclude, however, that the biographer deliberately left out the Frankish stipulation that the Roman claims must be proven before any such transfers would take place.

Therefore, the problem can best be described as one of conflicting interpretations, not only for modern researchers, but also for the parties involved. Hadrian certainly felt the papacy was the rightful ruler of the Exarchate, the Pentapolis, and the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. In addition, the Church could claim the patrimonies illegally seized either by Lombards or Byzantines. For his part, Charles was willing to restore all the real possessions of the Church, if the papal claims could be proven. This does not make the report in the Vita Hadriani either a forgery or a bold deception. It merely means that the agreement of 774 did not mark the end of a process which had begun with the journey of Stephen II north of the Alps. This conflict of ideas about the nature of the agreement actually marked

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[67]Cf. Theodor Lindner, Die sogenannte Schenkungen Pippins, Karls des Grossen und Ottos I. an die Päpste, pp. 78-86. See also Abel-Simson, I, 211: "Karl verstand es ganz anders als Hadrian, brachte es wenigstens nicht in der Weise zur Ausführung wie Hadrian erwartete."

the beginning of a long and sometimes bitter dispute be-
tween the Frankish king and Hadrian. The resolution of
this conflict, hopefully in favor of Rome, would consume
most of the energies of the pope in the remainder of his
pontificate.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT, 774-778

The conflict between Hadrian and the Frankish king over
the meaning of the agreement of 774 commenced almost as soon
as the agreement itself was concluded, but the entire arran-
gement was soon to take on an added dimension with the col-
lapse of the Lombard kingdom. During the stay of Charles
in Rome the Frankish army continued the siege of Pavia,
slowly wearing down the forces of Desiderius. As soon as
the celebration of Easter ended and the negotiations with
the pope were concluded, the Frankish king left Rome and
rejoined his army. By this time the city of Pavia had been
under siege for at least five months and the supporters of
Desiderius were gradually abandoning him.[1] Finally, in June
of 774, Desiderius surrendered Pavia and himself to the
Franks.[2] Charles apparently distributed the treasure found

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[1]We have already seen the actions of the Spoletans,
who were joined by the inhabitants of Fermo, Osimo, Ancona
and Città di Castello. Cf. Vita Hadriani, c. 32-33, pp.
495-496.

[2]The fall of Pavia is dated June 774 by one annal. Cf.
Annales Laureshamenses, a. 774, MGH SS I, 30. See also Vita
Hadriani, c. 44, p. 499; Annales regni Francorum, a. 774,
p. 38; Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi, a. 774, p. 39; Einhardi
Vita Karoli Magni, c. 6, p. 8. Notation of the Lombard

in the Lombard city to his army and Desiderius was taken captive back to Francia. Although several possibilities are mentioned as places of exile for the defeated Lombard king, one cannot be certain where he lived out the remainder of his life.[3] In any event, Hadrian's most dangerous enemy had been removed.

No revolutionary measures were initiated in 774 by the new king of the Lombards to change the ruling structure of his conquest. There is evidence that Charles did receive the submission of most Lombard cities.[4] However, the notion that Charles immediately established Frankish counts throughout the Lombard kingdom is highly suspect. It would seem that most Lombard dukes were initially left in their offices with few arrangements made to control them.[5] Of even

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city's fall ends the portion of the Vita Hadriani which has supplied detailed information on the political developments of Hadrian's first years as pope. The papal biography now shifts abruptly into a long description of Hadrian's work in restoring churches within the city of Rome.

[3]Cf. Annales Laurissenses minores, a. 775, MGH SS I, 117; Annales Fuldenses, a. 774, p. 9. One source mentions Lüttich as the place where Desiderius was sent in Francia and another mentions Corbey. However, neither is reliable. Cf. Annales Lobienses, a. 774, MGH SS XIII, 229; Annales Sangallenses maiores, a. 774, MGH SS I, 75.

[4]Annales regni Francorum, a. 774, p. 38: Ibique venientes omnes Langobardi de cunctis civitatibus Italiae, subdiderunt se in dominio domni gloriosi Caroli regis et Francorum.

[5]Only one annal mentions an immediate dispatch of Frankish counts throughout Italy. Cf. Annales Petaviani, a. 774, MGH SS I, 16. It would seem that Rodgaud of Friuli, Stabilinus of Treviso, Gaidus of Vicenza, Gudibrand of Florence, Reginbald of Chiusi, Hildebrand of Spoleto and Arichis of Benevento were all initially left in possession of their

greater importance, the direct heir to the Lombard throne, Adelgis, escaped from Italy and made his way to Constantinople, where he was made a _patricius_.[6] What arrangements Charles did make for his new kingdom were only temporary, the most strategic one being the establishment of a Frankish garrison in Pavia, and the Frankish king was soon to regret the fragility of the Frankish presence in Italy.[7] Ultimately, pressed by the urgency of the Saxon wars, Charles quickly left Italy with his army and his captives, making his way back to Francia.

However, this is not to say that the conquest of 774 took place with no discernible effects in Italy. Almost immediately, Charles displayed a new title: _Carolus gratia dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum_.[8] Also, if it is true that Charles took no immediate actions toward the Lombard dukes, the same is not true for other forces in Lombard Italy. There are indications that Charles placed heavy reliance on Lombard abbots to counterbalance the continuing

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ducal offices. See E. Hlawitschka, _Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien, 774-962_ (Freiburg i. B., 1960), p. 23.

[6]_Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi_, a. 774, pp. 39, 41.

[7]_Ibid._ See also _Annales regni Francorum_, a. 774, p. 40.

[8]_BM_[2] 165; _MGH DK_ I, no. 80, pp. 114-115. However, there is no direct evidence that Charles was formally crowned king of the Lombards. The report from the chronicle of Farfa, _Carolus rex Francorum et Romanorum imperator filius Pipini regis Francorum coronatus_ 774, stems from the eleventh century and is not trustworthy. Cf. Abel-Simson, I, 192-193.

power of the Lombard dukes.[9] A primary example of this re-
liance was Anselm of Nonantola, a dangerous enemy to Desi-
derius, whom Charles recalled from exile, reestablished in
his abbatial office, and then proceeded to favor with numer-
ous privileges.[10] The same reliance can be seen in grants
to the monasteries of Farfa and Bobbio.[11] Further, it
could be argued that Charles tried to tie Lombard monastic
foundations to monasteries in Francia in order to cement his
control over this section of the Lombard ruling structure.
Grants of Italian possessions to Frankish monasteries exist,
some dating from the period before the Frankish king's de-
parture for Francia.[12] Consequently, even if measures to-
ward Lombard dukes were only made pro tempore, the new Lom-
bard king was taking steps to lay a solid foundation for
rule in his conquest. It may be that Charles hesitated to
institute drastic measures toward the Lombard dukes in fear
of a violent reaction which would necessitate his continued
presence in Italy.

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[9]K. Schmid, "Anselm von Nonantola. Olim dux militum-
nunc dux monachorum," QFIAB, XLVII (1967), 114-116.

[10]Vita Anselmi abbatis Nonantulani, MGH SS Lang., pp.
566ff. Charles issued at least four privileges for Nonan-
tola, beginning in July 776. Cf. BM²203; MGH DK I, no. 113,
p. 159. See also K. Schmid, "Anselm von Nonantola. Olim
dux militum-nunc dux monachorum," p. 104; Abel-Simson, I,
186.

[11]For Farfa see BM² 187 and 188; Chronicon Farfense, pp.
161-163. For Bobbio see BM² 165, MGH DK I, no. 80, p. 114.

[12]BM² 181; MGH DK I, no. 94, p. 135. See also BM² 167
and E. Hlawitschka, Franken, Alemannen, pp. 30-31.

Other parts of Lombard Italy were also affected by the conquest, although not directly by Charles. The two Lombard dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, already the heirs of a tradition of independence toward the royal authority in Pavia, were drastically affected by the events of 774. As we have seen, the Frankish invasion had given the Spoletans the opportunity to turn toward Rome and Pope Hadrian for protection. But, the conquest of Pavia was soon to bring another change for Duke Hildebrand. As for Duke Arichis of Benevento, the elimination of Desiderius and the flight of Adelgis to Constantinople made Arichis the heir of continued Lombard prospects.[13] It has been argued that the status of Hildebrand, holder of a ducal office under papal suzerainty, motivated Arichis to find a new title to express his own standing. Since the assumption of a royal title was not possible, due to the Beneventan duke's loyalty toward his brother-in-law, Adelgis, Arichis settled for the title of princeps.[14] To the discomfort of both pope and Frankish king the Beneventan problem was to remain unsolved for a number of years after 774. Finally, and of greatest importance, it is clear from the analysis above that Charles was taking steps in Italy, albeit temporarily, without

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[13]E. Amann, L'époque carolingienne, pp. 58-59.

[14]E. Garms-Cornides, "Die langobardischen Fürstentitel (774-1077)," Intitulatio II, pp. 368-369. See also R. Poupardin, Étude sur les institutions politiques et administrative des principautés lombardes de l'Italie meridionale, IXe-XIe siècles (Paris, 1909), pp. 7-9.

considering the possible desires of Hadrian in Rome. The following years would show clearly that Charles intended to be master in Italy.

For his part, Hadrian immediately faced a problem with Archbishop Leo of Ravenna which not only revealed the tenuous nature of papal control over the districts Rome claimed, but also demonstrated Hadrian's total reliance on Charles to fulfill papal plans. Problems between Rome and Ravenna had a rather long history by the time of Hadrian's disagreement with Archbishop Leo. Archbishop Sergius of Ravenna had had a lengthy dispute with Rome prior to 769, stemming in part from the archbishop's having been a layman when elected to his office.[15] Since Rome possessed the metropolitan authority over the church of Ravenna, Pope Paul refused for a time to consecrate Sergius as archbishop, although the pope eventually did perform the consecration.[16] Of greater import for the papacy's hopes to control lands in Italy was the fact that in the confusion following the collapse of the Byzantine Exarchate, Sergius might actually have ruled a large part of the Exarchate and all of the Pentapolis.[17]

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[15]Agnelli liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis, MGH SS Lang., pp. 377-378.

[16]Ibid., pp. 378-379. Agnellus was quite confused about the dispute, laying blame both on the archbishop's enemies in Ravenna and on the jealousy of the pope. That Sergius was eventually recognized as archbishop is evidenced by the statement in Codex Carolinus 14, MGH Epp. III, 512: Sergium vero archiepiscopum iuxta id quod vestrae innotuit excellentiae, indesinenter inminemus, ut suae restituatur ecclesie.

[17]Agnelli liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis, p. 380:

The chronology for this seizure of areas in the Exarchate
by Sergius is never clear, nor is it apparent what happened
in consequence of Pepin's intervention in Italy. Nonethe-
less, the actions of Sergius did reveal a source of strife
between Ravenna and Rome and undoubtedly had a direct bear-
ing on the later claims of Archbishop Leo.

The problems were only further complicated by the fact
that, following the death of Sergius, a disputed archiepis-
copal election brought the scriniarius Michael to power,
quite probably with the aid of Duke Mauricius of Venetia
and King Desiderius. The archdeacon Leo, having been
canonically elected, was temporarily held captive by Mau-
ricius.[18] Yet, when Michael appealed to Rome for consecra-
tion, Pope Stephen III refused, probably as much in fear of
the influence of Desiderius as he was alarmed about the vio-
lent seizure of the see of Ravenna by Michael.[19] Despite
the refusal of Stephen, the usurper was able to control
Ravenna for over a year, again illustrating the helplessness
of Rome to enforce its wishes without external support. It
is highly significant that Michael was forced out of Ravenna

Igitur iudicavit iste a finibus Persiceti totum Pentapolim
et usque ad Tusciam et usque ad mensam Walani, veluti exar-
chus, sic omnia disponebat, ut soliti sunt modo Romani
facere. See also Abel-Simson, I, 212.

[18]Cf. Vita Stephani III, c. 25, p. 477.

[19]Ibid. See also Agnelli liber pontificalis ecclesiae
Ravennatis, p. 381. Despite the confusion apparent in both
papal and Ravennan sources, this episode probably took
place in 769.

only when Frankish *missi* intervened.[20] Although it is mentioned that Leo was again elected archbishop, the question of whether Frankish *missi* took an active role in the election is not clear. Pope Hadrian was later to react quite violently against a Frankish suggestion that Frankish *missi* did intervene in the archiepiscopal election.[21] In any event, Leo became archbishop, due as much to Frankish force as to favor from Rome.

Consequently, it was only inevitable that when trouble arose between Leo of Ravenna and Pope Hadrian, the Franks again would be involved. The very first words of Hadrian's initial letter to Charles after the conquest of Pavia state that Leo has sent envoys to the Frankish king with lies against the pope.[22] The pope implied that, as a result of the conversations between Leo's messengers and Charles, the archbishop had seized Faenza, Forumpopuli, Forli, Cesena, Bobbio, Comacchio, the duchy of Ferrara, Imola and Bologna as soon as the Frankish king had left Italy. Further,

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[20]*Vita Stephani* III, c. 26, p. 478. See also H.J. Schmidt, "Die Kirche von Ravenna im Frühmittelalter," *HJb*, XXXIV (1913), 751-754. It has been suggested that the deposition of Michael was a demand of Pope Stephen's which the Franks fulfilled in order to obtain papal approval for Bertrada's marriage project in 770. Cf. Abel-Simson, I, 85-86. However, from Stephen's subsequent reaction to the marriage, such an agreement is highly doubtful.

[21]Cf. *Codex Carolinus* 85, *MGH Epp.* III, 621.

[22]*Codex Carolinus* 49, *MGH Epp.* III, 568: Pervenit ad nos, eo quod protervus et nimis arrogans Leo archiepiscopus Ravennantium civitatis suos ad vestram excellentissimam benignitatem ad contrarietatem nostram, falsa suggerendo, direxit missos.

Hadrian complained that Leo claimed to do this with the per-
mission of Charles, since the Frankish king gave those areas
to Ravenna.[23]

It is striking to note that Hadrian's claims to the
areas were not founded clearly on the agreement of 774.
When the pope made reference to the areas being given to
St. Peter by the Franks, his reference was to an agreement
between the Franks and Pope Stephen II.[24] In fact, Hadrian
mentioned Frankish promises on three occasions in this
letter and in all three places the reference was clearly
to an agreement between Pepin and Stephen II. The second
reference to Pepin was when the pope lamented that the ene-
mies of himself and Charles were taunting, "What has it pro-
fited you that the nation of the Lombards was abolished and
subjugated to the kingdom of the Franks? Behold how nothing
of that, which they had promised, has been fulfilled; and

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[23]Ibid.: Etenim, praecellentissimae, magne rex, post-
quam vestra excellentia a civitate Papia in partes Frantiae
remeavit, ex tunc tyrannico atque procacissimo intuitu re-
bellis beato Petro et nobis extitit. Et in sua potestate
diversas civitates Emiliae detinere videtur, scilicet Faven-
tias, Forumpopuli, Forolivi, Cesinas, Bobio, Comiaclum,
ducatum Ferrariae seu Imolas atque Bononias, asserens, quod
a vestra excellentia ipse civitates una cum universos Pen-
tapoli illi fuissent concessae,.... See also Abel-Simson,
I, 212.

[24]Codex Carolinus 49, MGH Epp. III, 568: Sed ipsi
nullo modo sese illi humiliare inclinati sunt nec a servi-
tio beati Petri et nostro recedere maluerunt, magis autem
firmi in nostris apostolicis mandatis, quemadmodum extit-
erunt sub nostro predecessore, domno Stephano papa, cui
sanctae recordationis genitor tuus simulque et praeclara
excellentia tua ipsum exarchatum sub iure beati Petri per-
manendum tradidutum est, in omnibus firmiter permanere
noscuntur.

moreover, that which was conceded previously to St. Peter by the lord King Pepin of holy memory is now known to be taken away."[25] The final mention also included that the agreement had taken place when Stephen II was in Francia.[26]

The initial mystery about why Hadrian did not make clear reference to the "donation" of 774 is solved if it is recalled that the agreement of 774 was probably founded on the principle that Charles would restore everything to St. Peter where the papacy could prove its rights. On first glance, the status of the cities seized by Leo was quite confused. Five of the cities, Forumpopuli, Forli, Cesena, Bobbio and Comacchio, were mentioned in the transfer of cities to Rome in 756.[27] The remaining areas were apparently donated to St. Peter by Desiderius in 757.[28] However, the transfer of Imola and Bologna was probably never completed. Consequently, Charles was not presented with a clear issue regarding all the cities and the only way to settle the question would seem to be a Frankish examination of the conflicting claims.

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[25]Ibid.: "Quid vobis profuit, quod Langobardorum gens est abolita et regno Francorum subiugata? Et ecce iam nihil de his, quae promissa sunt, adinpletum est; insuper et ea, quae antea beato Petro concessa sunt a sanctae recordationis domno Pippino rege, nunc ablata esse noscuntur."

[26]Ibid.: ...nos, excellentissimae fili, quemadmodum tempore domni Stephani papae, qui illuc Franciam profectus est, cui et ipsum exarchatum traditum est, ita et nostris temporibus eum sub nostra potestate disponere atque ordinare volumus.

[27]Cf. Vita Stephani II, c. 47, p. 454.

[28]Cf. Codex Carolinus 11, MGH Epp. III, 506; Vita Stephani II, c. 51, p. 455.

At this point in the dispute there is no evidence to indi-
cate that an agreement was reached between Charles and Leo
to transfer the disputed cities to Ravenna.[29]

On the contrary, there are indications that both Roman
and Ravennaten envoys, possibly even Archbishop Leo himself,
travelled to Francia in 775 for a judgment in the dispute.[30]
The decision of the Frankish king can be inferred from the
subsequent events. Yet, Hadrian was not content merely to
await the Frankish king's judgment; he also tried to dis-
credit Leo in the eyes of Charles. The pope complained to
Charles that a letter sent from the Patriarch John of Grado
to Rome had been opened and read by Archbishop Leo. Even
more serious, Hadrian accused Leo of revealing the contents
of the letter to Arichis of Benevento "as well as to the
other enemies of yours and ours."[31] The contents of the
letter are not known, but Hadrian was clearly attempting to
implicate Leo in some treasonous plot against Charles. The
pope now revealed that his method of dealing with opponents

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[29]Cf. S. Abel, "Papst Hadrian I. und die weltliche Herr-
schaft des römischen Stuhls," pp. 480-489. Equally un-
founded is the assertion that Charles favored Leo by doing
nothing to satisfy Hadrian's demands, cf. H.J. Schmidt,
"Die Kirche von Ravenna," pp. 755-756.

[30]Codex Carolinus 53, MGH Epp. III, 575: De eo vero,
quod innotuistis: ad vos properasse Leonem archiepiscopum,
nos quippe testatur veritas, libentissimae acceptamus eos,
qui ad vestra regalia accelerant vestigia, quoniam una di-
lectio, una caritas eademque puritatis affectio inter nos
consistit. Et si praefatus archiepiscopus nobis direxisset,
ad vestri se praesentiam velle proficisci, gratuito animo
nostrum missum cum eo direxissemus.

[31]Codex Carolinus 54, MGH Epp. III, 576-577.

was to accuse them of treason against Charles. Had Leo been

removed by an involvement in such a plot, it could have been

easier for the pope to achieve his goal in regard to the

disputed cities.[32]

As for those cities, it would seem that Charles decided

Hadrian did have a valid claim to most of them, except for

Imola and Bologna. When the pope next complained about the

situation in a letter from October 775, Leo seemed to be

forwarding claims only to Imola and Bologna. Even more il-

luminating is the fact that Hadrian now clearly connected

those two cities to a promise from Charles, even though Leo

also claimed the cities from a donation by the Frankish

king.[33] The pope did not have as clear a claim to those two

cities as he had possessed in relation to the other areas.

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[32]It has been suggested that Leo did open the letter be-
cause of his enmity toward Hadrian, but the thought that Leo
revealed its contents to Arichis was only conjecture on the
part of the pope. Cf. Abel-Simson, I, 239-240. Actually,
whether or not the archbishop revealed the contents of the
letter to anyone is of no great consequence. The important
fact is the beginning of Hadrian's plan to deal with his op-
ponents by accusing them of treachery.

[33]Codex Carolinus 54, MGH Epp. III, 577: ...; at vero
de civitatibus Imulense seu Bononiense ita profanizat dicens,
quod vestra excellentia ipsas civitates minime beato Petro
et nobis concessit, sed sibi ipse archiepiscopus a vobis
fuisse concessas ac traditas asserit sub sua potestate per-
manendas. Unde nullum hominem ex eisdem civitatibus ad nos
venire permisit, sed ipse ibidem actores quos voluit sine
nostra auctoritate ordinavit et in sua eas detinet potestate.
Et non itbi placeat, excellentissimae fili, ut tanto despectui
hanc apostolicam habeat fidem, non reputans de sua promissione,
quam beato Petro et eius vicariis iurieurando adibuit, sed
sicut transgressor mandarotum Dei in periurii reatus incidit.
Etenim nos firmiter credimus et magnam habemus fiduciam, quod
omnia, quae beato Petro per vestram donationem offerenda
promisistis, adinplere pro magna regni vestri stabilitate et
aeterna vobis conferenda retributione studeatis.

His only option was to refer to the Frankish king's promise
to restore to St. Peter all those areas to which the papacy
had a valid claim. Rome did have a claim to Imola and Bolo-
gna, stemming from the confused donation of Desiderius, and
Hadrian probably felt that Charles was now obligated to re-
store the cities to St. Peter.

The cessation of papal demands over the other cities,
except for Imola and Bologna, strongly suggests that Charles
did order the seven other cities transferred to Rome. It
would also seem that the Frankish king did not issue a clear
judgment about Imola and Bologna, since Hadrian now made the
effort to connect those two cities with a promise from Char-
les. This interpretation is borne out by the fact that when
Hadrian complained about the actions of Leo for the last
time, he stated that the archbishop continued to hold Imola
and Bologna illegally, but papal complaints about the other
cities only centered on the fact that Leo continued to deny
entry to papal officials into those cities and not that Leo
was claiming the cities for himself.[34]

On the basis of an analysis of this first issue con-
cerning problems in Italy, it must be concluded that Charles
sided with the pope, even though it took him some time to do
so. After the letter of November 775, the pope did not con-
tinue his complaints about the actions of Leo of Ravenna.
Judging from Hadrian's actions in other disputes, it is

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[34]Codex Carolinus 55, MGH Epp. III, 579-580.

clear that he would not have ceased his complaints had he not been satisfied.[35] Eventually, even Imola and Bologna were transferred to Rome, although it is true that the time when this transfer took place is not known.[36] Since Leo died in February 777, it is not unlikely that the final satisfaction of papal wishes took place shortly after that date.

The whole episode between Rome and Ravenna is quite revealing about the powers of the Frankish king, as well as about the nature of the agreement of 774. Charles clearly intended to rule as sovereign in Italy, even in regard to some of the areas claimed by Rome. He had not made Hadrian a sovereign ruler by any of his actions and he apparently had no intention of doing so.[37] As for the nature of the agreement of 774, the episode is the first indication that Charles would only transfer to Rome the areas to which the pope had a valid claim. Therefore, the Rome-Ravenna dispute further demonstrated that the agreement of 774 marked the beginning of a long process of claims and judgments in Italy. In that light it is not possible to dismiss the agreement of 774 as an invention of the papal biographer's imagination, since then to explain the Rome-Ravenna dispute necessitates a long series of renunciations and new agreements between

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[35]T. Lindner, Die sogenannte Schenkungen Pippins, Karls des Grossen, und Ottos I. an die Päpste, pp. 47-48; J.A. Ketterer, Karl der Grosse und die Kirche, pp. 47-49.

[36]Abel-Simson, I, 264-265.

[37]A. Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II, 88; H.J. Schmidt, "Die Kirche von Ravenna," pp. 754-755.

774 and 781.[38] Nor is it necessary to postulate that Charles either broke his promise or changed his mind, since his actions in the dispute were in line with his demands for proof before any transfer would take place.[39]

Yet, if Hadrian thought that all such claims would be decided in favor of the papacy, he was to be abruptly disillusioned. On two separate occasions in 775 the Frankish king apparently announced to the pope his plans to come to Italy later in the same year. For Hadrian the intent of the visits was clear: Charles was to travel again to Italy to fulfill the promises he had made to St. Peter.[40] However, probably due to the continuing pressures of the Saxon wars, Charles was unable to realize his plans and resolved to send missi instead of going to Italy himself. Again, it was Hadrian's understanding that the missi would fulfill the

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[38]Which is precisely the method of Wilhelm Martens, Die römische Frage unter Pippin und Karl dem Grossen, pp. 172-181.

[39]See Ernst Sackur, "Die Promissio Pippins von Jahre 754 und ihre Erneuerung durch Karl den Grossen," pp. 419-411; H.K. Mann, The Lives of the Popes in the early Middle Ages, I, 2, pp. 418-419; S. Abel, "Papst Hadrian I. und die weltliche Herrschaft des römischen Stuhls," p. 465.

[40]Codex Carolinus 51, MGH Epp. III, 572: Interea continebatur series vestrae excellentiae, quod, accedente proximo mense Octobrio dum Deo favente in partibus Italiae adveneritis, omnia, quae beato Petro regni celeorum clavigero et nobis pollicit estis, ad effectum perducere maturatae;.... Codex Carolinus 52, MGH Epp. III, 574: Continebatur quippe in ipsis vestris regalis seriem apicibus, quod, Domino protegente, remeante vos a Saxonia, mox et de presenti Italiam vel ad limina protectoris vestri, beati apostolorum principis Petri, ad implendis quae ei polliciti estis, propere desideraretis.

promise made by Charles to St. Peter.[41] One must question

whether all of the papal concern about either the Frankish

king or Frankish _missi_ coming to Italy before any fulfill-

ment of the promise of 774 could take place would have been

necessary unless Charles had clearly reserved for himself

the right to judge the papal claims before making any trans-

fer of territory to Rome.

Under the circumstances it was not at all surprising

that Hadrian became alarmed when the promised Frankish _missi_

did not appear. After vainly waiting until November, the

pope sent an inquiry about the _missi_ to the Frankish nobles

in Pavia, only to receive a reply that they knew nothing

about the arrival of any such Frankish envoys in Italy.[42]

Now undoubtedly thoroughly alarmed, Hadrian immediately

sent two messengers north to Francia. Their mission was to

urge Charles to fulfill the promises which he and his father

had made to St. Peter.[43] It would seem that the pope was

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[41]_Codex Carolinus_ 55, _MGH Epp_. III, 578: Itaque, prae-
cellentissime fili, recordare credimus, a Deo protectam
christianitatem vestram nobis direxisse in responsis per
Andream reverentissimum et sanctissimum fratrem nostrum,
episcopum, quod hoc autumno tempore vestros ad nostri prae-
sentiam studuissetis dirigendum missos, qui nobis omnia
secundum vestram promissionem contradere deberent.

[42]_Ibid_.

[43]_Ibid_., p. 579: Eosque benignae atque hilari vultu a
vobis suscipi petimus, eorumque sermonibus, quos nostra vice
protulerint, credere et aurem benignitatis vestrae adcommo-
dare cunctaque perficere et adimplere dignemini, quae sanctae
memoriae genitor vester, domnus Pippinus rex, beato Petro
una vobiscum pollicitus est et postmodum tu ipse, a Deo ins-
titutae, magnae rex, dum ad limina apostolorum profectus es,
ea ipsa spopondens confirmasti eidemque Dei apostolo

uneasy not only over the problem with Ravenna, but also over the relationship between Spoleto and Rome. If so, Hadrian's inquietude was well-founded.

The papal desires for the appearance of Frankish _missi_ finally materialized when the bishop Possessor and the abbot Rabigaudus came to Italy late in 775. Yet, much to Hadrian's horror, the _missi_ went directly to Spoleto to deal with Hildebrand, bypassing the roads to Rome and ignoring papal demands to proceed immediately to Rome. To make matters even worse, upon completion of their business with Duke Hildebrand, Possessor and Rabigaudus then travelled to Benevento, again ignoring papal demands that they go to Rome.[44] Even though

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praesentaliter manibus tuis eandem offeruisti promissionem. As for the urging by the pope for Charles to receive the papal envoys benignly, it appears to be merely a stylistic formality which was used frequently in papal correspondence. Cf. Wilhelm Gundlach, "Ueber den Codex Carolinus," _NA_, XVII (1892), 536-538.

[44]_Codex Carolinus_ 56, _MGH Epp_. III, 581: Illi nempe, dum Perusiam coniunxissent, relaxsantes recto itinere ad nos doniungendum--secundum qualiter a vestro a Deo protecto culmine directi fuerunt et ut vestros honorandos apices relegentes invenimus--, nos despicientes apud Hildibrandum in Spoletium perrexerunt, dirigentes nobis per nostros missos: "eo quod tantummodo cum Hildibrandum loquimur; et deinde, ut directi sumus, una vobiscum apud domnum apostolicum coniungemus." Postmodum enim, dum cum praedictum Hildebrandum locuti fuissent et apud cum diucius norarentur, nostris apostolicis eis adiurantes direximus syllabas: "Per Deum omnipotentem et vitam excellentissimi filii nostri, domni Caroli, magni regis, ut directi estis, apud nos coniungere satagite, ut unanimiter pertractantes, quod ad exaltationem sanctae Dei ecclesiae pertinuerit et ad laudem regni nostri praecellentissimi filii, agere studeamus; et tunc per dispositum, ut eius praecellentiae decet missos, apud Beneventum vos proficiscere disponimus." Sed illi, nescimus quid pertractantes, statim a Spolecio in Beneventum perrexerunt, nos in magnam derelinquentes ignominium, et Spolitinos ampliaverunt in protervia.

we do not know what was discussed between the Frankish _missi_ and the Lombard dukes, the meaning of the embassy to the two duchies was evident to Hadrian: Charles did not recognize the validity of papal claims to the areas. Initially Hadrian felt that the _missi_ were acting in disobedience of the Frankish king's orders, but such independent action by Frankish royal messengers was hardly possible.[45]

Hadrian certainly believed, on the basis of the Spoletan submission of 773, that he possessed a valid claim to the duchy. Yet, the pope was also well aware that his claim was practically worthless unless it was recognized by Charles. Consequently, a letter sent to the Frankish court from the pope contained an unmistakable reference that Spoleto had been given by Charles to St. Peter in the agreement of 774.[46] If the agreement of 774 did contain the proviso that papal claims would be individually examined and judged by the Frankish king, the pope's attempt to combine the

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[45]Abel-Simson, I, 240-241. We know virtually nothing about Possessor and Rabigaudus, but Hadrian learned to dread the appearance of the former in Italy as he often acted against papal wishes in consequence of the Frankish king's commands.

[46]Codex Carolinus 56, MGH Epp. III, 581: Sed, tamquam presentaliter coram vestris mellifluis regalis optutibus assistentes, obsecrantes petimus vestram a Deo fundatam regalem potentiam, ut de tanta et talia tribulatione, in qua nos ipsi vestri dereliquereunt missi, velociter per fidelissimos et benignissimos vestros missos nos consolari et laetificare iubeatis, quia et ipsum Spoletinum ducatum vos praesentaliter offeruistis protectori vestro beato Petro principi apostolorum per nostram mediocritatem per animae vestrae mercaede. Et ita obnixe quaesumus, praecellentissime fili, ut nostram deprecationem de predicta afflictione et prenominatum Spoletinum ducatum celerius effectui mancipetis,....

Spoletan submission of 773 with the agreement of 774 was only logical. Only through confirmation of the papal claims could Hadrian hope to have his authority over the duchy recognized by the new king of the Lombards.

The events that followed demonstrated decisiverly, however, that Charles did not recognize the validity of the papal claims to the duchy of Spoleto. Undoubtedly in consequence of the Frankish missi's discussions with Hildebrand, the Lombard duke submitted to the sovereignty of the new Lombard king.[47] The rights of Charles were also demonstrated in two charters for the monastery of Farfa. The second of these charters granted an immunity to Farfa which was explicitly equated with immunities granted to several Frankish monasteries.[48] This again illustrates the attempts of Charles to use monastic foundations to counterbalance the continuing power of the Lombard dukes. Also, the dispatch of Frankish missi to deal directly with Hildebrand meant that, in the eyes of the new Lombard king, the submission of Spoleto to Rome in 773 was a purely political act which did not impart any rights of possession to the pope.[49] If Charles meant to rule as king of the Lombards, he had no other choice

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[47]Abel-Simson, I, 242. Hildebrand's charters, beginning in early 776, bore the name of Charles instead of Hadrian's. Cf. H. Fichtenau, "'Politische' Datierung des frühen Mittelalters," Intitulatio II, pp. 491ff.

[48]BM² 188, 201; MGH DK I, nos. 99 and 111. See also Chronicon Farfense, pp. 161-163.

[49]T. Lindner, Die sogenannte Schenkungen Pippins, Karls des Grossen und Ottos I. an die Päpste, pp. 40-41.

but to enforce his own rights to the duchy at the expense
of those of the pope.

Consequently, Hadrian lost the duchy of Spoleto. It
is tempting to see in the problems with Ravenna and Spoleto
an attempt by Charles to force the pope into renouncing
papal claims to Spoleto by favoring Leo of Ravenna in the
archbishop's dispute with Rome.[50] In fact, some scholars
have postulated a formal renunciation of Spoletan claims by
Hadrian in return for a written confirmation of papal rights
to the Exarchate and the Pentapolis from Charles.[51] The
problems with such ideas of renunciation and confirmation
result from a rigid insistence that the passage in the <u>Vita
Hadriani</u> relating to the agreement of 774 was a complete
forgery. As the result of such an interpretation, one is
forced to create, without the slightest shred of evidence,
two other formal agreements between 774 and 781 to explain
the problems with Ravenna and Spoleto. If, however, it is
kept in mind that the agreement of 774 was only the beginning
of a long investigation, predicated upon individual exami-
nations of papal claims, the need for additional agreements
to explain what happened disappears. In the dispute be-
tween Rome and Ravenna Charles decided in favor of the
papacy, but with Spoleto the decision was in favor of the

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[50]W. Gundlach, "Ueber den Codex Carolinus," pp. 559-560.

[51]W. Martens, <u>Die römische Frage unter Pippin und Karl
der Grosse</u>, p. 160; E. Griffe, "Aux origines de l'Etat pon-
tifical," <u>BLE</u>, 1954, p. 74; W. Martens, "Die drei unächten
Kapitel der Vita Hadrians I.," pp. 605-606.

Frankish king. Hadrian was left with no alternative but to comply with the wishes of the Frankish king, a clear indication of the dominance of Charles in Italian affairs.

For Charles, one problem with the Lombard dukes had been solved. Several years later, Hildebrand travelled north to Francia and met with the Frankish king, although the purpose of the visit is not clear.[52] It may be that Hildebrand felt the need to cement his relationship with Charles by a personal visit, due to the enmity of Hadrian. Yet, Frankish difficulties with the other Lombard dukes were not so easily eliminated and the fragility of arrangements in Italy became apparent after 775. As an aftermath of the Frankish missi's attempts to detach Spoleto from Rome and then to mollify the enmity between Hildebrand and Hadrian, the pope informed Charles of a plot to overthrow Frankish rule in Italy and to reestablish Adelgis as king of the Lombards, with the aid of Greek forces. Hadrian named Hildebrand of Spoleto, Arichis of Benevento, Rodgaud of Friuli, and Reginbald of Chiusi as conspirators and announced that the rebellion would begin in March 776, when Adelgis would arrive in Italy with a Greek army.[53]

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[52]Annales regni Francorum, a. 779, pp. 52, 54: Tunc domnus Carolus rex iter peragens partibus Niustriae et pervenit usque in villa, quae dicitur Conpendio, et tunc iterum revertendo partibus Austriae, obtulit se Hildebrandus dux Spolitinus cum multa munera in praesentiam supradicti magni regis in villa, quae vocatur Viriciniacum. See also Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi, a. 779, pp. 53, 55; Annales Mettenses priores, a. 779, p. 67; Annales Fuldenses, a. 779, p. 10.

[53]Codex Carolinus 57, MGH Epp. III, 582: Reminiscere consideramus a Deo protectam excellentiam vestram: sepius

It has been suggested, in the light of the limited extent of the rebellion in 776, that Hadrian simply invented the list of conspirators in order to implicate his enemies in a plot against Charles.[54] Yet, how the pope obtained this information is not important and it is evident that the plot was not just a figment of the papal imagination. His information was partially correct, although it is true that the list of conspirators coincided suspiciously with the names of Hadrian's most bitter foes. One could, however, also postulate other reasons for the limited extent of the

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vobis innotuendum direxissemus de Hildebrandum Spoletinum ducem seu Arighisidem Beneventanun ducem atque Rodcausum Foroiulianum de sevissimum consilium, quod erga nos atque vos gerendum non differunt. Nunc vero dum fidelissimi vestri missi, re vera sanctissimus frater noster Possessor episcopus atque Rabigaudus relgiosus abbas, a Benevento repedantes, per praedictum Hildibrandum apud nos properati sunt, nimis nos obsecrantes pro prenominati Hildebrandi noxa, ut ei veniam tribuissemus, adserentes, ut apud eum nostrum indiculum et obsides pro sua dubitatione (mitteremus) et Hildibrandis nostris se praesentasset optutibus: nos quippe secundum fidelissimi missi vestri dictum illus usque Spoletio direximus Stephanum nostrum fidelissimum dudum saccellarium, qui cum eum affatus fuisset et tunc nostros ibidem destinassemus obsides. Ipse nempe noster missus, cum apud eum coniunxisset, in magna eum invenit protervia, eo quod missi Arigisi Beneventani ducis seu Rodcausi Foroiulani nec non et Reginbaldi Clusinae civitatis ducum in Spoletio cum praefatum repereit Hildibrandum, adibeutes adversus nos perniciosum concilium: qualiter, Deo eis contrario, proximo Martio mensae adveniente utrosque se in unum conglobent cum caterva Grecorum et Athalghis Desiderii filium et terrae marique ad dimicandum super nos irruant, cupientes hanc nostram Romanam invadere civitatem et cunctas Dei ecclesias denudare atque ciborium fautoris vestri, beati Petri, abstollere vel nosmet ipsos, quod avertat divinitas, captivos deducere nec non Langobardorum regem redintegrare et vestrae regali potentiae resistere.

[54]Abel-Simson, I, 244; F. Hirsch, "Papst Hadrian I. und das Fürstenthum Benevent," FdG, XIII (1873), 42.

rebellion when it did take place. It has been suggested that Possessor and Rabigaudus managed to detach the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento from the revolt centered in Friuli.[55] Of greater interest is the idea that several of the conspirators abandoned the rebellion upon receiving news of the Byzantine emperor's death.[56] Finally, the notion that the pope knew of the plot but only imperfectly perceived its extent cannot be dismissed, since several individuals not named by Hadrian did take part in the revolt. The problem will never be solved, but the fact remains that rebellion did break out in early 776.

Despite his preoccupations north of the Alps, which had led to the initial dispatch of missi to Italy instead of another personal visit, Charles was forced to march into Italy again to suppress the revolt. Most Frankish sources state that the rebellion was led by Rodgaud of Friuli, whom Charles had personally confirmed as duke.[57] The Friulian duke was killed in battle by Charles and the only other military action in this short campaign was the Frankish seizure of Treviso, held by Rodgaud's father-in-law,

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[55]E. Amann, L'époque carolingienne, p. 59. It has been recently postulated that the rebellion was the last manifestation of Lombard strength, which traditionally had been centered in Friuli. Cf. K. Schmid, "Zur Ablösung der Langobardenherrschaft durch die Franken," QFIAB, LII (1972), 24-25.

[56]Codex Carolinus 58, MGH Epp. III, 583. See also L. Duchesne, Le Liber Pontificalis, p. ccxxxix.

[57]Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi, a. 776, pp. 43, 45; Annales Mettenses priores, a. 775, p. 64.

Stabilinus.[58] The only other participant in the revolt
named by any of the narratives was Duke Gaidus of Vicenza,
who, along with Stabilinus, also lost his office as a result.[59]
As soon as the revolt was crushed Charles hastened north and
made no attempt to meet with Pope Hadrian.

Although it was brief in duration, the Frankish king's
campaign to crush the Friulian rebellion had extensive con-
sequences for the future of Carolingian rule in Italy. All
the rebel cities were given over to Frankish counts and the
rebellion in 776 marked a distinct shift in Frankish poli-
cies.[60] The rebel Lombard dukes were immediately replaced
by Frankish counts and, after 776, as Lombard dukes died
they were almost all replaced by Frankish officials.[61] This
is not to say, however, that all Lombard officials were
replaced; one finds Lombard counts named next to Frankish
counts as late as the 780's.[62] Yet, clearly, permanent

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[58]Annales Petaviani, a. 776, MGH SS I, 16; Annales regni
Francorum, a. 776, p. 44; Annales Laureshamenses, a. 776,
MGH SS I, 30.

[59]Andreae Bergomatis Historia, c. 4, MGH SS Lang., p.
224; cf. E. Hlawitschka, Franken, Alemannen, p. 182.

[60]Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi, a. 776, p. 45; Annales
regni Francorum, a. 776, p. 44.

[61]K. Schmid, "Zur Ablösung der Langobardenherrschaft
durch die Franken," pp. 3-4; K.F. Drew, "The Carolingian
military frontier in Italy," Trad., XX (1964), 441; A. Hof-
meister, "Markgrafen und Markgrafschaften im italischen
Königreich in der Zeit von Karl des Grossen bis auf Otto dem
Grossen," MIOG, Ergbd. VII (1907), 247, although Hofmeister
explained this increase in Frankish counts first from 774.

[62]MGH Cap. I, no. 91, p. 191; cf. E. Hlawitschka, Franken,
Alemannen, p. 24; Gerd Tellenbach, "Der grossfränkische Adel

Frankish arrangements to rule Italy can be dated from 776. Although the point has been disputed, it is probable that the first Frankish capitulary for Italy was issued in 776.[63] But the steps taken by Charles to bring a semblance of order to Italy should not be viewed as a type of foreign occupation. Throughout the years from 774 to 781, the Frankish king tried to preserve Lombard law. By renewing prior Lombard royal privileges much in the same way he did prior Frankish ones, Charles tried to present himself as the successor of previous Lombard kings. There was no attempt forcibly to assimilate the Lombard kingdom into the Frankish realm, as was demonstrated in the title _Carolus gratia dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum_.[64] Had Charles wished merely to absorb his new conquest into the Frankish kingdom there would have been no need for the addition "King of the Lombards" to his title.

Unfortunately, an explanation of the Frankish king's relations with the pope and the papal territories in Italy is not so easily found. Less than a month after the capture of Pavia, Charles displayed yet another new title: _Carolus gratia dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum atque patricius_

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und die Regierung Italiens in der Blütezeit des Karolingerreiches," _Studien und Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte des grossfränkischen und frühdeutschen Adels_ (Freiburg i. B., 1957), pp. 48-51.

[63]_MGH Cap._ I, no. 88, pp. 187-188; Abel-Simson, I, 255.

[64]Herwig Wolfram, _Intitulatio I: Lateinische Königs- und Fürstentitel bis zum Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts_, MIOG Ergbd. XXI (Graz-Wien-Köln, 1967), pp. 219-220.

Romanorum.[65] For the first time a Carolingian king began

regularly to use the title of patricius Romanorum, originally

conferred on Pepin and his two sons in 754 by Pope Stephen II.

To see in this sudden assumption of a long-neglected title

an attempt by Charles to place himself in the position of

the Byzantine emperor is quite unfounded.[66] Nor is it com-

pletely accurate to argue that the Frankish king's avoidance

of the title prior to 774 was a result of his ties with

Desiderius, since that union had been shattered in 771.[67]

On the contrary, it is evident that the assumption of the

patricius title possessed a close connection to the conquest

of the Lombard kingdom by the Franks. The title had a

meaning both for Charles and for Hadrian, but their ideas

were not in accord.

To discern plainly the differing ideas about the pat-

ricius title for both pope and Frankish king is not an easy

task, particularly since neither individual made pronounce-

ments about his own power and position. Hadrian's notions

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[65]MGH DK I, no. 81, pp. 115-117. After June of 774 both
forms of the title were used interchangeably and there is
no logical reason why the patricius title was either inclu-
ded or left out in the subsequent charters. Cf. H. Wolfram,
Intitulatio I, p. 218.

[66]As do W. Ohnsorge, "Der Patricius-Titel Karls des
Grossen," Byzantinische Zeitschrift, LIII (1960), 310-311;
J. Haller, "Die Karolinger und das Papsttum," pp. 46-47; and
Walter Mohr, Studien zur Charakteristik des karolingischen
Königtums im 8. Jahrhundert, p. 88.

[67]As does Josef Deer, "Zum Patricius-Romanorum-Titel
Karls des Grossen," Archivum Historiae Pontificae, III (1965),
50.

can be gleaned from an examination of the papal letters, in which the pope occasionally made reference to the responsibilities of the Frankish king. The earlier identification of the _patricius_ as the "strong arm" of the church had largely disappeared by Hadrian's time.[68] On the one hand, Hadrian made constant references to the promise made by Charles in 774 and to the oaths sworn between them, but even in most of the references to the promises, a clear indication of the Frankish king's responsibilities is not to be found.[69] Those responsibilities are suggested by the pope's constant use of the phrase _sancta Dei ecclesia Romana, spiritalis mater tua_.[70] In addition to the notion that the Church of Rome was the Frankish king's "spiritual mother," other papal usages emphasized to Charles that St. Peter was his special benefactor.[71] Obviously, in the papal conception, the _patricius_ had certain obligations toward both his "spiritual mother" and his "benefactor."

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[68]Cf. _Codex Carolinus_ 6, _MGH Epp._ III, 489; no. 7, p. 493; no. 13, p. 510. The only time Hadrian used the expression was in _Codex Carolinus_ 58, p. 584. Walter Ullmann implies that _brachium_ was the consistent reference of the popes about the _patricius_ title, but his idea is not borne out by an examination of all the papal letters. Cf. W. Ullmann, "The Origins of the Ottonianum," _Cambridge Historical Journal_, XI (1953), 115.

[69]Cf. _Codex Carolinus_ 51, _MGH Epp._ III, 571; no. 53, p. 575.

[70]_Codex Carolinus_ 49, p. 569; no. 51, p. 572; no. 52, p. 573; no. 59, p. 585.

[71]Generally _fautoris tui_ or _protectoris tui_. Cf. _Codex Carolinus_ 51, p. 571 and 572; no. 52, p. 573 and 574; no. 55, p. 578.

The papal view of those obligations was clearly articulated in two of the letters, as Charles was named the "defender and protector" of the Holy Church of God.[72] As the defender and protector of the Church it was the function of the Frankish patricius to struggle endlessly for the justice of St. Peter, for the security of the pope, and for the exaltation of the Holy Church of God.[73] In other words, Charles was to be the long-sought champion of the papacy. Obviously, the papal ideal of a malleable protector, responsive to the wishes and needs of Rome, had not changed a great deal since the days of Stephen II.

This is far from stating that the papal notion of the pliable defender was one shared by Charles.[74] It has been suggested several times that the obligation of defensio

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[72]Codex Carolinus 54, MGH Epp. III, 577: Tu enim, dulcissimae, magnae, a Deo inlustratae rex, noster cum Deo defensor et protector existis, quia per te sancta Dei ecclesia, spiritalis mater tua, exaltata magno exultat gaudio, confidentes, cuncta a vobis beato Petro promissa velociter effectui mancipanda.

[73]Codex Carolinus 56, MGH Epp. III, 581: Sed recordare te credimus, dulcissimae atque amantissime fili, qualiter nobis benignissimo vestrum ore affati estis, dum ad limina beatorum principum apostolorum Petri et Pauli properati estis: quia, non aurum neque gemmas aut argentum vel litteras et homines conquirentes, tantum fatigium cum universo a Deo protecto vestro Francorum exercitu sustinuissetis nisi pro iustitiis beati Petri exigendis et exaltatione sanctae Dei ecclaesiae perficienda et nostram securitatem ampliare certantes.

[74]Walter Ullmann, The Growth of Papal Government, pp. 88-93. Ullmann brilliantly sketched the derivation of the papal ideal of a defender, but he then stated, with no supportive evidence, that this ideal was one shared and put into practice by Charles.

was one which Charles indeed undertook.[75] Yet, the Frankish

king's ideas about the role of the defender were vastly

different from those of the pope. It is even more diffi-

cult, actually impossible, to glean the Frankish king's con-

ceptions about his role in the lands of St. Peter and to-

ward the pope from his own pronouncements, at least for the

period prior to 781. Yet, contained in the papal letters

are descriptions of several steps taken by Charles which

raise grave suspicions about his susceptibility to papal

demands. It has already been shown that Charles was not

willing to confirm immediately all the papal territorial

demands in Italy. Further, the papal protector actually

imprisoned Anastasius, a messenger from Hadrian, when Anas-

tasius apparently elaborated upon demands in a papal letter

to a degree which Charles found offensive. This seizure

of the papal envoy caused Hadrian to object indignantly

that no nation, great or small, had ever detained the missi

of St. Peter.[76] It is not difficult to deduce the reason

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[75]F.L. Ganshof, "Charlemagne," Spec., XXIV (1948), 520-521; J. Deer, "Zum Patricius-Romanorum-Titel Karls des Grossen," pp. 61-63; Herwig Wolfram, Intitulatio I, pp. 225-232.

[76]Codex Carolinus 51, MGH Epp. III, 572: Illud vero, quod de Anastasium missum nostrum nobis indicastis, quod aliqua inportabilia verba, que non expediaebat, vobis lo-cutus fuisset, unde valde tristi effecti fuistis et pro hoc adhuc apud vos eum detinetis, nimis noster fraglat animus; dum Langobardi et Raviniani fatentur inquientes, quia nullo modo rex in apostolico permanet caritate, dum eius missum apud se detinet. Sed neque ab ipsis mundi exordiis cognos-citur evenisse, ut missum protectoris tui, beati Petri, magnus vel parvus a quacumque gente detentus fuisset; sed iubeat nobis eum vestra sollicitudo dirigere, et,

for the hostility of Anastasius, as the dispute with Ravenna was being decided at a more leisurely pace than Rome would have desired.

If the seizure of the papal envoy had been the only action taken by Charles, one could not conclude that he was exercising sovereign rights in papal areas, since Anastasius was later released. Yet, Hadrian also complained that Charles had received two "criminals," who had fled from Rome to avoid the papal wrath. The pope implied that he had returned similar Frankish expatriates to Charles and he requested the Frankish king to send the men back to Rome.[77] It would seem that Charles felt he had the right to intervene in Roman jurisdictional matters, a problem which would emerge periodically throughout the remainder of Hadrian's pontificate.[78] This was a clear indication that the Frankish king's conception of his own role in the areas of St. Peter far surpassed the papacy's notions.

Transcending even the issue of criminal jurisdiction, Hadrian revealed in a letter from 776 that he had been informed by Charles of the Frankish king's concern over slave traffic in the Papal States. Hadrian vehemently denied that

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severissimae eos sciscitantes, iuxta noxam ei repertam eum corripiemus.

[77]Ibid., p. 573.

[78]G. Tellenbach, "Der grossfränkische Adel und die Regierung Italiens," p. 47; F. Gregorovius, Geschichte der Stadt Rom, I, 401-402; A. Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II, 89-90.

Romans were involved in any slave trade and placed the blame on the Greeks, who were taking advantage of a famine to gather many Lombard slaves.[79] Of most serious consequence for the pope, however, was the fact that Charles apparently instructed Hadrian to remove the corruption in the ranks of the Roman clergy which had come to the Frankish king's attention.[80] Despite Hadrian's angry protestations about the matter, it would seem that the Frankish patricius felt his competency also extended to disciplinary matters within the ranks of the Roman clergy.

Yet, even from all these actions it is difficult to deduce that Charles was conducting himself as the sovereign lord over all Italy. As has been suggested, he was certainly exercising his functions as king of the Lombards to the fullest degree.[81] Further, it was evident that he was exercising a degree of control over the papal areas in Italy, in terms of criminal jurisdiction as well as clerical discipline. Quite possibly the Frankish king's conceptions of defensio included ideas of more control than defense. But even this control did not make Charles a rex Romanorum, as

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[79]Codex Carolinus 59, MGH Epp. III, 585. The Frankish king's concern over the slave traffic was also shown in his first capitulary for Italy in 776 in which most of the slave agreements were declared void. Cf. MGH Cap. I, no. 88, pp. 187-188.

[80]Codex Carolinus 59, MGH Epp. III, 585.

[81]Abel-Simson, I, 174; W. Gundlach, Die Entstehung des Kirchenstaates und der curiale Begriff Res publica Romanorum, pp. 98-100; A. Kleinclausz, Charlemagne, pp. 118-119.

has been suggested.[82]

It is just as illuminating to consider what Charles did not do in regard to the papal territories. There is no evidence to suggest that any Frankish attempts were made to collect taxes or tolls in the areas claimed by Rome, nor are there indications that those areas were ever to contribute levies to the Frankish army. Aside from the later dispute over the election of the archbishop of Ravenna, there is nothing to indicate that the Franks had the right to intervene in episcopal elections in the papal territories. Also, prior to the ninth century, there was never a clearly articulated intent on the part of the Frankish king to take any active role in the election of the pope. Finally, Hadrian apparently did have the right to appoint judicial officials for those cities where his claims were recognized by Charles.[83]

Consequently, from the analysis above one must conclude that the lines of authority and responsibility between Charles and Hadrian were by no means plainly marked. The Frankish king did seem to be intent on jealously guarding his rights as king of the Lombards, but he also exercised an authority over the papal lands, undoubtedly based upon the _patricius_ title, which was not yet clearly articulated.

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[82]H. Wolfram, _Intitulatio I_, pp. 232-236.

[83]_Codex Carolinus_ 49, _MGH Epp._ III, 568; no. 54, p. 577. See also J.A. Ketterer, _Karl der Grosse und die Kirche_, pp. 69ff.

Painfully obvious to the pope, however, was the fact that
Charles would not be the submissive tool of Rome. For his
part, Hadrian did possess certain rights in the papal lands,
including the receipt of oaths of fidelity fidelity from
some of the inhabitants of the Exarchate, but even those
oaths seemed to be connected to a fidelity toward Charles.[84]
Thus, the issue of sovereignty within the papal territories
was still an open one, despite the papal claims. Above all,
it was clear that in order to achieve his goals, Hadrian
would have to find a new method, a new program of action,
for his relations with Charles.

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[84]Codex Carolinus 55, MGH Epp. III, 579: Unde dirigentes
ibidem nostrum missum, id est Gregorium saccellarium, qui
iudices earundem civitatum ad nos deferre deberet et sacra-
menta in fide beati Petri et nostra atque excellentiae
vestrae a cuncto earum populo susciperet;.... The nature
of these oaths is not clear and it would seem certain that
papal sovereignty was not implied. Cf. E. Hlawitschka,
Franken, Alemannen, p. 38.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE NEW PROGRAM, 778-785

Following the intensive correspondence between the pope

and the Frankish king over the Ravennaten and Spoletan prob-

lems during the years 774-776 there is a gap in the papal

letters which extends for almost two years. Although it is

tempting to see in this lacuna evidence of deterioration in

papal-Frankish relations, the reasons for Pope Hadrian's

silence are not that clear. Granted the pope had been frus-

trated in his designs on the duchy of Spoleto, still it

would have indeed been foolhardy for Hadrian to turn his

back on the only person who could fulfill his desires, espe-

cially in the light of the continued existence of forces in

Italy hostile to papal plans. On the one hand, Hadrian

could have been disappointed in the attitudes of his Fran-

kish protector, but there is no evidence to suggest that

the pope refused to communicate with Charles for two years

because of that disappointment. Ultimately, the reasons for

the papal silence must remain a mystery.

When Hadrian broke the silence in early 778, it was to

inform Charles of his sorrow that the Frankish king had not

followed his initial idea to come to Rome for Easter 778 to

have his youngest son baptized by the pope.[1] Hadrian had

been informed of the plan of Charles by returning papal en-

voys, an indication that contacts were maintained between

Francia and Rome during the years from 776 to 778 despite

the lack of letters. The pope's disappointment was quite

genuine, since it seemed that only the presence of Charles

in Italy would bring about the territorial transfers desired

by the pope.

In the same letter, Hadrian continued to exhort Charles

to fulfill his promises to St. Peter, but now coupled with

the pope's encouragements was a statement indicating the

direction of Hadrian's new program to convince Charles to

conform to papal wishes. The pope compared himself and

Charles to Pope Sylvester and the emperor Constantine the

Great, making reference to the largesse of Constantine in

bestowing power in the West on the Church of St. Peter. He

urged Charles to follow the example of Constantine and

labelled the Frankish king the "new Constantine."[2] The

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[1]Codex Carolinus 60, MGH Epp. III, 586: De vero illud,
unde vestrae eximiatetati per iam dictos nostros missos,
scilicet reverentissimum fratrem nostrum Philippum, episcopum,
et dilectissimum nostrum Megistum, archdiaconum, dignati estis
nobis repromittere, ut in sanctum diem Pascae ad limina beati
apostolorum principis Petri una cum spiritale filia nostra,
regina, Domino auxiliantae properare debuissetis, ut filium,
qui nunc vobis procreatus est, a sacro baptisma in ulnis
nostris suscipere debuissemus: sicut terra sitiens imbrem,
ita et nos exspectabiles fuimus mellifluam excellentiam vestram;
et dum adpropinquasset ipsum diem sanctum Pascae et nullum
mandatum de adventum vestrum suscaepissemus aut de missis
vestris secundum placitum, quod inter nos extiterat, valde
tristes effecti sumus.

[2]Ibid., p. 587: Et sicut temporibus beati Silvestri
Romani pontificis a sanctae recordiationis piisimo Constantino,

pope then outlined the contents of his new program:

> Further and all that, which was granted to the apos-
> tle St. Peter and to the Holy and Apostolic Roman
> Church of God in the lands of Tuscany, Spoleto,
> Benevento and Corsica, likewise in the patrimonies
> of Sabina, by diverse emperors, patricians, and
> others, fearing God, for the reward of their souls
> and the indulgence of affection, and which were
> stolen through the years by the abominable nation
> of the Lombards, should be restored in your times.
> Whence we have many donations stored in our sacred
> scrinium of the Lateran. We sent these to be shown
> to you for the satisfaction of your most Christian
> majesty by the men already mentioned. On that ac-
> count we beg your most noble excellency that you
> should command to restore those patrimonies in
> total to St. Peter and to us.[3]

Therefore, in 778 Hadrian shifted his pleas to the Franks

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magno imperatore, per eius largitatem sancta Dei catholica et
apostolica Romana ecclesiae elevata atque exaltata est et
potestatem in his Hesperiae partibus largiri dignatus, ita et
in his vestris felicissimis temporibus atque nostris sancta
Dei ecclesia id est beati Petri apostoli, germinet atque ex-
ultet et amplius quam amplius exaltata permaneat, ut omnes
gentes, quae hec audierint, edicere valeant: "Domine, salvum
fac regem, et exaudi nos in die, in qua invocaverimus te;
quia ecce novus christianissimus Dei Constantinus imperator
his temporibus surrexit, per quem omnia Deus sanctae suae
ecclesiae beati apostolorum principis Petri largiri dignita-
tus est."

[3]Ibid.: Sed et cuncta alia, quae per diversos impera-
tores, patricios etima et alios Deum timentes pro eorum anime
mercedae et venia delictorum in partibus Tusciae, Spoleto seu
Benevento atque Corsica simul et Saviensae patrimonio beato
Petro apostolo sanctaeque Dei et apostolicae Romanae eccle-
siae concessa sunt et per nefandam gentem Langobardorum per
annorum spatia abstulta atque ablata sunt, vestris temporibus
restituantur; unde et plures donationes in sacro nostro scri-
nio Lateranensae reconditas habemus. Tamen et pro satisfac-
tione christianissimi regni vestri per iam fatos viros ad de-
monstrandum eas vobis direximus. Et pro hoc petimus eximaim
praecellentiam vestram, ut in integro ipsa patrimonia beato
Petro et nobis restituere iubeatis. Cf. Abel-Simson, I,
317-318. In the light of this evidence, Ullmann's statement,
that Charles repeatedly demanded to be shown the documents
in the papal archives and that Hadrian refused to comply, is
somewhat mystifying and completely without foundation. Cf.
W. Ullmann, A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages
(London, 1972), p. 79.

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from the transfer of sovereign areas, like the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, to patrimonial demands, which were substantiated by documents.

Yet, in addition to proclaiming the new papal program, this important letter is of great interest for several other reasons. To begin with, the comparisons of Charles with Constantine and the references to the largesse of the first Christian emperor seem to be clear indications of Hadrian's knowledge of the forged Donation of Constantine, or more appropriately, the Constitutum Constantini. Yet, if the letter made reference to the Constitutum Constantini, the pope's emphasis on patrimonial restitutions would seem to be a contradiction with the universalist claims in the Constitutum Constantini.[4] To understand clearly the meaning of this letter, such issues must be discussed in some detail.

It will not be our task here to probe in detail the vexing question of when the CC was composed.[5] In the light of previous discussions of the problem, it would seem certain that the CC was composed sometime during the second-half of the eighth century in Rome.[6] Within that fifty-year period,

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[4]Horst Fuhrmann's edition of the Constitutum Constantini will be used in this discussion, abbreviated as CC. Das Constitutum Constantini Text, Fontes iuris Germ. Ant. in usum schol., ed. H. Fuhrmann (Hannover, 1968).

[5]See the excellent and detailed bibliographic discussion of this problem by Wolfgang Gericke, "Wann entstand die Konstantinische Schenkung?" ZRG, KA, XLIII (1957), 1-88.

[6]Despite the efforts of Grauert, Brunner, Lamprecht, Ohnsorge and others who argue for a ninth-century composition.

several possibilities suggest themselves. The forgery may
have been done before the journey of Stephen II to Francia
in order to provide justification to Pepin for the papal
territorial claims in Italy.[7] On the other hand, a compari-
son of some of the usages in the CC with papal correspon-
dence yielded the theory that the forgery was done during
the pontificate of Paul.[8] Finally, the similarity of Had-
rian's statement, that Constantine gave to the Roman Church
potestatem in his Hesperiae partibus,[9] and the statement in
the CC, that Constantine gave to Sylvester and all his suc-
cessors the potestas and dicio in Romae urbis et omnes
Italiae seu occidentalium regionum provincias, loca et
civitates,[10] has led some to postulate that Hadrian either
composed or certainly knew of the CC.[11] Obviously, none of

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[7]Cf. A. Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II, 23-
26; H.v. Schubert, Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im
Frühmittelalter (Tübingen, 1921), pp. 320ff.; W. Ullmann,
The Growth of Papal Government, pp. 58-59; L. Halphen,
Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien, pp. 34-35; and others.

[8]See especially P. Scheffer-Boichorst, "Neuere Forsch-
ungen über die Konstantinische Schenkung," MIÖG, X (1889),
302-325; XI (1890), 128-146; E. Mayer, "Die Schenkungen
Konstantins des Grossen und Pippins," Deutsche Zeitschrift
für Kirchenrecht, XIV (1904), 1-69; L.M. Hartmann, Geschichte
Italiens, II, 2, pp. 223-224; E. Caspar, Das Papsttum unter
fränkischer Herrschaft (Darmstadt, 1965), pp. 28-33; and
others.

[9]Codex Carolinus 60, MGH Epp. III, 587.

[10]CC, c. 17, p. 93.

[11]Cf. Peter Classen, Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und
Byzanz, pp. 7-8; Peter Llewellyn, Rome in the Dark Ages,
p. 210; J. Langen, "Entstehung und Tendenz der Konstantini-
schen Schenkungsurkunde," HZ, L (1883), 413-435; E. Loening,
"Die Konstantinische Schenkung," HZ, LXV (1890), 193-239;

these theories excludes the possibility that Hadrian was making reference to the CC in his letter of 778.

However, all of these theories run aground on the same problem. No one seems to have been able to relate all the claims in the CC to a definite set of historical circumstances within the eighth century. In confronting this problem, Wolfgang Gericke argued persuasively that the CC was composed in stages between 754 and 796.[12] To be sure, one need not agree with Gericke's divisions in the composition of the CC, but it would seem most probable that the forgery was not done at one time and that it may well have gone through several revisions prompted by the changing needs of the papacy in the eighth century. One can argue with some degree of security, then, that Hadrian did know of the CC, or of an early version of the forgery, when he wrote to Charles in 778.[13]

L. Duchesne, Les premier temps de l'État pontifical, p. 90; and others.

[12]W. Gericke, "Wann entstand die Konstantinische Schenkung?" ZRG, KA, XLIII (1957), 1-88. The criticisms of Horst Fuhrmann, "Konstantinische Schenkung und Silvesterlegende in neuer Sicht," DA, XV (1959), 523-540, were founded mainly on Gericke's idea of the changing use of the first-person pronoun as the basis for delineating the different versions of the CC. Fuhrmann did little, however, to discourage the fundamental notion that the CC might have been composed in stages.

[13]Cf. Peter Classen, Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz, p. 21. The flat denial of Griffé that Hadrian had no knowledge of the CC serves no purpose, since one then must resort to fantastic explanations to clarify the references in Hadrian's letter about Constantine. Cf. E. Griffé, "Aux origines de l'État pontifical," BLE, 1954, p. 82.

Hadrian's use of the CC and his reference to Constantine were part of the new program which the pope hoped would persuade Charles to conform to the papal demands. But this new program had little to do with a Roman "imperial ideal" in the eighth century. It has been suggested that Hadrian's only alternative, when faced with the Frankish king's reluctance to act as the submissive papal protector, was to convince Charles to assume the imperial dignity in the West, following the model of Constantine.[14] This would have been a complete reversal of the plans of a pope intent upon being master in his own house.[15] As it will become clear from his subsequent actions, the pope's new program and the CC seemed to be designed to substantiate the assumption of sovereign powers by the Roman bishop in certain provinces of Italy.[16]

The plan of the pope far surpassed the hope that Charles, acting as the "new Constantine," would spiritually exalt the Roman Church.[17] Clearly the pope intended Charles

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[14]Helmut Beumann, "Das Paderborner Epos und die Kaiseridee Karls des Grossen," reprinted in Zum Kaisertum Karls des Grossen, ed. G. Wolf (Darmstadt, 1972), pp. 375-380. See also W. Mohr, Studien zur Charakteristik des karolingischen Königtums im 8. Jahrhundert, p. 91.

[15]E. Ewig, "Das Bild Constantins des Grossen im abendländischen Mittelalter," HJb, LXXV (1956), 30-34.

[16]Peter Classen, Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz, pp. 7-8; Peter Partner, The Lands of St. Peter, pp. 23-24.

[17]Cf. Josef Deer, "Die Vorrechte des Kaisers in Rom, 772-800," Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte, XV (1957), 38-39. Deer was correct in pointing out that Hadrian's comparison of Irene and Constantine VI to Helena and

to follow the precedent of Constantine in bestowing largesse on the church and this is directly related to patrimonial claims in diverse areas of Italy. It is significant to note that the Exarchate and the Pentapolis were not included in the pope's demands, a further indication that papal wishes had been satisfied in those areas. Also, among the patrimonies claimed were those in the Sabina. Since this area was located within the boundaries of the duchy of Spoleto, it would seem that Hadrian had abandoned his attempt to control the entire Spoletan duchy. Most importantly, the patrimonies were claimed <u>in integro</u>, on the basis of documents forwarded to Charles. The papal program, then, was to demand patrimonies rightfully belonging to the church and to incorporate those patrimonies into a sovereign Church State.[18]

Yet, it still remains to reconcile these patrimonial claims and the image of Constantine with the universal claims to dominion in the <u>CC</u>. Most troublesome is Hadrian's phrase that the emperor Constantine had given to the church <u>potestatem in his Hesperiae partibus</u>.[19] It is clear, within the context of Hadrian's prior claims, that this could only

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Constantine the Great concerned only the exaltation of the Roman Church, yet the comparison in Hadrian's letter to Charles had a far different intent. Cf. <u>JE</u> 2448, <u>Mansi</u> XII, 1057.

[18]Cf. T. Lindner, <u>Die sogenannte Schenkungen Pippins, Karls des Grossen, und Ottos I. an die Päpste</u>, p. 49.

[19]<u>Codex Carolinus</u> 60, <u>MGH Epp.</u> III, 587.

have meant Italy. But the whole text of the <u>CC</u> explicitly stated that Constantine gave power to the church in all the provinces, places and cities of Rome, Italy and the western regions.[20] Despite the efforts of several scholars, there is a contradiction between these two phrases. If one follows the hypothesis of Gericke, however, the contradiction disappears. According to his argument, the version of the <u>CC</u> known in the pontificate of Hadrian only stated that Constantine gave to the church the <u>potestas</u> in <u>omnes Italiae provintiae loca et civitates</u>.[21] If Gericke is correct, and his argument is most persuasive, Hadrian could well have used a version of the <u>CC</u> as part of his documentary proof for the patrimonial claims.

Thus, in sum, the new program of the pope, exhibited in his letter to Charles in 778, was a claim on the rightful patrimonies of the church, the restoration of which was an obligation of the Frankish king. The program was a partial retreat from the earlier claims based upon the promise of 774, since the pope announced his intentions to conform to the wishes of Charles for proof before any transfers of territory could take place. Stated simply: Charles had been demanding proof from the pope about the territorial claims of the papacy and Hadrian supplied that proof in the form of documents, possibly even including a version of the

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[20]<u>CC</u>, c. 17, p. 93.

[21]W. Gericke, "Wann entstand die Konstantinische Schenkung?" pp. 30-33.

CC.[22]   In papal eyes, it was now the obligation of Charles
to transfer these patrimonial areas _in integro_ to the sover-
eign rule of the pope. Indeed this was a retreat from the
earlier posture of the papacy, but not a total abandonment
of Hadrian's desire to create a secure territorial founda-
tion for the Roman Church. The pope now conformed to the
stipulations of Charles, which the Frankish king made in
regard to the original agreement of 774.

Yet, it was still evident in Rome that only the per-
sonal presence of Charles in Italy could bring about the
desired restitutions. Hadrian had been disappointed that
Charles had not come to Rome for Easter 778 as planned, but
the pope was informed that the necessities of the Spanish
campaign had forced Charles to change his plans.[23] In the
meantime, Hadrian was still confronted by hostile forces in
Italy. He complained to Charles in late 778 that the Bene-
ventans, in league with the Neapolitans and the Greek pat-
rician of Sicily, had seized several cities in the Campagna.
The pope's initial impulse was to force his enemies to send
delegations to the Frankish king for arbitration of the
dispute. When that was refused by the Beneventans, Hadrian
sent forces to seize the city of Terracina, one of the first
instances of the papacy using armed force in pursuit of

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[22]E. Caspar, _Das Papsttum unter fränkischer Herrschaft_,
pp. 45-46; E. Amann, _L'époque carolingienne_, p. 61.

[23]_Codex Carolinus_ 61, _MGH Epp._ III, 588.

temporal desires.[24]

The papal success in Terracina was short-lived, however, as the Neapolitans and the patrician of Sicily combined to throw the papal forces out of the city. Prior to that, Hadrian had attempted to negotiate with his enemies, offering to take fifteen hostages and the patrimonies of the church in the Neapolitan lands in return for the release of Terracina.[25] Apparently apprehensive of the Frankish king's reaction to this independent papal activity, Hadrian assured Charles that he would have done nothing without the Frankish king's consent. What followed was an obvious attempt by the pope to connect the restitution of papal patrimonies with the best interests of the Frankish king. The attempts to negotiate with the Neapolitans failed because of the activities of one man: Duke Arichis of Benevento, the last real threat to the Italian holdings of the king of the Franks and Lombards.[26] It was the pope's hope that Charles

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[24]Ibid., pp. 588-589. Cf. Abel-Simson, I, 320; J. Gay, "L'État pontifical, les Byzantins et les Lombards sur le littoral Campanien," MAH, 1901, pp. 495-496.

[25]Codex Carolinus 64, MGH Epp. III, 591: Placitum quidem cum ipsi fallaces Neapolitani per missum eorum nomine Petrum in istum sanctum Pasche habuimus--patrimonium nos beati Petri apostoli, quod ibidem in Neapoli ponitur, exquirentes et in vestro servitio eos subiugare desiderantes--: ut, quindecim obsides ex nobilissimis eorum filiis nobis dantes, ipsam civitatem Terracinensem illi colligerent, sub ea videlicet ratione, ut issent ad patricium eorum in Sicilia et, si nostrum patrimonium reddere voluissent, ipsam civitatem et obsides reciperent.

[26]Ibid., pp. 591-592: Sed nos sine vestro consilio neque obsides neque ipsam civitatem reddere habuimus, eo quod vestro servitio ipsos obsides apprehendere cupiebamus, quia

would take action against the Frankish king's Beneventan
enemy and thereby insure the southern patrimonies of the
church.[27]

The southern boundaries of the papal lands were not
the only areas, however, where threats to papal authority
emerged. Hadrian also complained to Charles that the bishop
Mauricius in Istria had been blinded and expelled from his
see by the Greeks. The apparent cause of the action was
the bishop's collection of revenues which the pope claimed
were the rightful possessions of St. Peter. Hadrian pleaded
with Charles that he should direct Duke Marcarius of Friuli,
the successor of the rebel Rodgaud, to restore the bishop
to his see.[28] Thus, both in the north and south, Hadrian
was faced with problems which he could not solve alone.
The fact that Rome was virtually helpless without the aid

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eorum malignum concilium aliud non est, nisi una cum infi-
delissimo Arighis duce Beneventano tractantes. Et cotidie
missos nefandissimi patricii Silicie ipso Arighis suscipi-
ente, impedimentum iam fatus Arighis solus fecit, ut minime
nos obsides a iam dictis Neapolitanis reciperemus, quia
cotidie ad istam perditionem filium nefandissimi Desiderii,
dudum necdicendi regi Langobardorum, expectat, ut una cum
ipsum pro vobis nos expugnent. Cf. E. Caspar, Das Papsttum
unter fränkischer Herrschaft, pp. 47-48.

[27]Codex Carolinus 64, MGH Epp. III, 591. The pope re-
quested the dispatch of Tuscan and Spoletan troops, under
the command of Vulfuinus, to retake Terracina and conquer
Gaeta and Naples. According to Hlawitschka, Vulfuinus was
the first Frankish count of Verona. See E. Hlawitschka,
Franken, Alemannen, pp. 292-293; I Placiti del Regnum
Italiae, ed. C. Manaresi, FSI XCII (Rome, 1955), no. 18,
p. 57.

[28]Codex Carolinus 63, MGH Epp. III, 590. See also E.
Hlawitschka, Franken, Alemannen, p. 235.

of the Frankish protector was being impressed ever more clearly on the pope's mind. Under the circumstances, it is scarcely surprising that Hadrian placed so much importance on the personal presence of Charles in Italy.

To the great delight of the pope, Charles again made plans to travel to Rome. Freed from the Spanish campaign, which had not exactly been a successful Frankish venture, Charles set out for Rome in 780, accompanied by his wife and two younger sons. As Frankish sources reflect, Charles certainly had good reasons to make this third trip to Italy. Undoubtedly he was following his desire to pray in Rome and celebrate Easter in the Holy City.[29] Yet, events in Italy since his suppression of the Friulian rebellion also made it clear to the Frankish king that his presence in Italy was necessary. So, in addition to prayer, one annal mentions that Charles traveled to Italy to deal with the Roman question.[30] Finally, Frankish actions in Rome would indicate that the issues of negotiation with the Byzantines and the coronations of his two younger sons were also among the reasons for the Italian journey.

Charles arrived in Italy in late 780, celebrating Christmas in Pavia. After spending the remainder of the winter in the Lombard capital, he proceeded on to Rome where he was received with great honors by the pope and

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[29] Annales regni Francorum, a. 780, p. 56; Annales Mettenses priores, a. 780, p. 68.

[30] Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi, a. 780, p. 57.

the clergy.[31] Information about what transpired in Rome

during the Frankish king's visit is far more scanty than

was the case for the meeting in 774. The papal biography

does not provide any information about the negotiations and

one is forced to rely on gleanings from the Frankish sources

and the papal letters. It is certain, however, that more

serious arrangements were made during 781 than had been done

during the hurried visit of 774.

Undoubtedly paramount in Hadrian's mind was the question

of territorial restitutions to the Roman Church. Even

though, in consequence of the pope's new program, those

restitutions only concerned patrimonies, the consent of

Charles was necessary for the transfer of any lands to the

papacy. Accordingly, one could conjecture that the pope

did receive satisfaction concerning the Neapolitan patri-

monies which had triggered the papal disaster in Terracina.[32]

More certain, despite the lack of a contemporary document,

was the transfer of the Sabine patrimony to the pope. A

written donation of the Sabine patrimony is expressly men-

tioned in the agreement between Louis the Pious and the

papacy either in 816 or 817.[33] Yet, as the pope was soon

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[31]*Annales regni Francorum*, a. 781, p. 56; *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, a. 780, p. 57; *Annales Mettenses priores*, a. 780, 781, pp. 68-69.

[32]J. Gay, "L'État pontifical, les Byzantins et les Lombards sur le littoral Campanien," p. 495.

[33]*Pactum Hludowici Pii (Ludovicianum)*, MGH *Cap*. I, 353: Eodem modo territorium Sabinense, sicut a genitore nostro Karolo imperatore beato Petro apostolo per donationis

to realize, there was a vast difference between the agreement to give certain lands to the papacy and the actual transfer of those lands.

That the negotiations of 781 bore a relationship to the promises of 774 is quite clear. Nevertheless, the nature of that relationship to the events of 774 is not so evident. It will be recalled that in 774 Charles made a promise to transfer to St. Peter the lands in Italy where the papacy could prove its claims. Further, it must be kept in mind that a wide divergence had existed between the Frankish and papal conceptions of the extent of those lands. In 774 the papacy had forwarded claims to most of central Italy, but Charles had insisted on proof of the claims before any transfers of land could take place. As was demonstrated in the examination of the original agreement of 774, a great deal of confusion has existed among scholars who have analyzed the problems concerning this initial Frankish promise. The confusion and complications stem, in large part, from the insistence that the document of 774 is a forgery. Not surprisingly, an equal amount of confusion exists in the treatments of the arrangements of 781. In fact, one scholar, as a result of his insistence that parts of the papal biographer's report of 774 were forgeries, has postulated the existence

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scriptum concessum est sub integritate, quemadmodum ab Itherio et Magenario abbatibus, missis issius, inter idem territorium Sabinense atque Reatinum definitum est. Cf. Codex Carolinus 68-72, MGH Epp. III, 597-603. See also T. Sickel, Das Privilegium Ottos I. für die römische Kirche, p. 175.

of two promises, three donations, five pacts, four forgeries and two renunciations between 754 and 824 in an effort to find his way out of this labyrinth.[34] It is clear that such gymnastics are not necessary to explain the agreements between the Franks and the papacy.

It cannot be doubted that a separate charter of donation concerning the Sabine patrimony was issued during the Frankish king's sojourn in Rome.[35] The pope himself later made a veiled reference to such a charter in a letter giving thanks to Charles for his many gifts to the See of St. Peter.[36] Yet, it is not so certain that this charter was granted in return for a formal renunciation by Hadrian of papal claims on Tuscany, Spoleto and Benevento.[37] Clearly Charles had never recognized papal claims to those areas and one could argue, therefore, that the areas were never a part of the agreement of 774 in the eyes of the Franks. It would hardly seem likely that Charles would have demanded a formal renunciation of claims by the papacy,

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[34]Karl Lamprecht, Die römische Frage von König Pippin bis auf Kaiser Ludwig den Frommen, pp. 133-135.

[35]Cf. supra, p. 147, note 33.

[36]Codex Carolinus 68, MGH Epp. III, 597: ...quas, detera Dei cooperante et protegent, multis documentis de vestris allatis muneribus ecclesia beati Petri enituit, tam de civitatibus quam de diversis territoris sub integritate eidem Dei apostolo a vobis offertis.

[37]Cf. the arguments for a formal renunciation in L. Duchesne, Les premier temps de l'État pontifical, pp. 76-77; L.M. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens, II, 2, pp. 290-291; G. Schnürer, Die Entstehung des Kirchenstaates, pp. 100-109; J. Haller, Das Papsttum, I, 333.

particularly since the Spoletan claim had not been mentioned in papal letters since 775. Further, claims to Tuscany, Spoleto and Benevento as the sovereign lands of the papacy were not part of the papal program expressed in the letter of 778. It would seem more likely that Charles simply refused to recognize the papal demands on those areas and that put an end to the issue.

In any event, the agreement of 781 amounted to a compromise for the papacy, even in the light of the new program.[38] Certainly the papacy received far less than it had expected. The relationship established in 774 now conformed to the Frankish idea, concerning the restitutions of land, much to the detriment of Hadrian's territorial designs.[39] Even though the pope ruled, under Frankish protection, the Exarchate, the Pentapolis, the duchy of Rome, the Sabine lands, and scattered patrimonies, this was still far from the original papal designs on most of Italy. Once again, Hadrian had no alternative but to agree.

Moreover, the territorial restitutions were not the only issue of importance in 781. The Frankish king's son, Carloman, was baptized by Hadrian and the boy's name was changed to Pepin. Further, both Pepin and his brother, Louis, were anointed and crowned kings by the pope. Pepin

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[38]H. Beumann, "Das Paderborner Epos und die Kaiseridee Karls des Grossen," p. 373.

[39]Peter Classen, Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz, p. 22; J. Lavigne, "Les origines de l'Etat pontifical," Revue ecclesiastique de Liege, 1953, pp. 372-373.

was made king of the Lombards, a title which Charles also
continued to bear, and Louis was made king of Aquitaine.[40]
This is not to say that Charles relinquished rule over those
areas in favor of his sons, nor did it mean that the two boys
became kings of specific areas through the papal coronation.[41]
The creation of Pepin and Louis as kings of the Lombards and
of Aquitaine was an act of Charles alone.

Charles plainly had several good reasons for initiating
this action, particularly in regard to the Italian kingdom.
The anointing and coronation of Pepin as king of the Lombards
could well have been motivated by the fact that Arichis of
Benevento had taken the same steps in regard his own son,
Romuald.[42] The Beneventans still remained a threat to Fran-
kish interests in Italy, one which had not yet been elimin-
ated. Even more importantly, one can see in the raising of
Pepin as king a clear act of statesmanship on the part of
Charles. The Lombard kingdom possessed a long tradition of

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[40]Annales regni Francorum, a. 781, p. 56; Annales
Mettenses priores, a. 781, p. 68; Annales Laurissenses
minores, a. 782, p. 118; Chronicon Moissacense, p. 297;
Annales Fuldenses, a. 781, p. 10. Although it is only men-
tioned in two sources, the coronations certainly did take
place. Cf. Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi, a. 781, p. 57;
Vita Hludowici Pii ab Anonymo, c. 4, MGH SS II, 608.

[41]The report in the Annales sancti Amandi, MGH SS I, 12:
rex divisit sua regna inter filios suos, is only to be under-
stood in the light of an eventual partition which reserved
the regnum Francorum exclusively for the king's eldest son,
Charles. Cf. P. Classen, "Karl der Grosse und die Thron-
folge im Frankenreich," pp. 109-134.

[42]Cf. Peter Classen, Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und
Byzanz, p. 21; E. Garms-Cornides, "Die langobardischen
Fürstentitel (774-1077)," Intitulatio II, pp. 361-362.

independence and Charles may have hoped to reconcile the
Lombards to Frankish rule by giving them their own king,
even though their new king was still a Carolingian.[43]   One
final fact is discernible in the coronation of the young
Pepin. It could be argued that the events of 781 marked
the beginnings of a serious Frankish interest in Italy, one
which surpassed the Frankish obligation to the Roman Church.[44]
It goes without saying that such a Frankish interest, as
represented by Pepin's kingdom of the Lombards, only further
damaged the territorial designs of the papacy. The pope
had not been very successful in persuading Charles as patri-
cian of the Romans and king of the Lombards to fulfill papal
desires. It would seem that he would have even less success
with King Pepin, since the sons of Charles never displayed
the _patricius_ title. Of even greater importance, Pepin had
never been a participant in the promises given by his father,
Charles, to the papacy. Therefore, Hadrian could not make
claims on Pepin as a _patricius_, nor could the pope complain
that Pepin refused to fulfill any promises.

Yet, very little is known about Pepin's actions as king
of the Lombards. It would seem that his kingdom only encom-
passed the northern Lombard provinces, Tuscany and Spoleto,

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[43]H. Wolfram, _Intitulatio I_, p. 222; A. Kleinclausz,
Charlemagne, pp. 113-114; G. Eiten, _Das Unterkönigtum im
Reiche der Merowinger und Karolinger_ (Heidelberg, 1907),
pp. 20-23.

[44]Cf. L. Halphen, _Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien_,
pp. 104-105; L. Duchesne, _Les premier temps de l'Etat pon-
tifical_, p. 77.

without any relationship either to the papal lands or to the duchy of Benevento.[45] From the evidence of private charters, it would seem that Pepin began to rule in April of 781.[46] But practically nothing is known of the way in which he ruled his kingdom. The report of one source, that so many people went from Francia to Italy in 781 that the Frankish palace was empty, is scarcely to be taken seriously.[47] The elevation of Pepin as king seems not to have materially affected the gradual replacement of Lombard dukes by Frankish counts, even though Lombards continued to occupy positions of importance in the Lombard kingdom.[48] But certainly evident to Hadrian was the fact that Pepin's Lombard kingdom formed a northern barrier to any future papal territorial demands in that direction.

In addition to the territorial arrangements and the coronations of the Frankish king's sons, another event of crucial importance took place in Rome during the same time.

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[45]H. Wolfram, Intitulatio I, pp. 220-221; G. Eiten, Das Unterkönigtum, pp. 19-20.

[46]Codice diplomatico Longobardico, ed. E. Schiaperelli, FSI LXII (Rome, 1956), no. 67, p. 125; no. 76, p. 146; no. 79, p. 150.

[47]Arevaldi Floriacensis miraculis Sancti Benedicti, c. 18, MGH SS XV, 486. The statement in the Vita Adalhardi, c. 16, MGH SS II, 525, that Adalhard was left behind as regent for the young king in 781 is not reliable. Cf. Abel-Simson, II, 436. Further, Alcuin's reference, in MGH Epp. IV, no. 11, p. 37, to Angilbert as primicerius palatii regis is highly suspect. See Abel-Simson, II, 435, note 6 and note 1, p. 37 of Dümmler's edition of Alcuin's letters.

[48]E. Hlawitschka, Franken, Alemannen, p. 25.

Byzantine envoys appeared to negotiate a marriage alliance
with the Franks, founded on the marriage of Charles's daugh-
ter, Rotrud, to Constantine VI, the young son of Irene.[49]
For Charles, part of the motivation for agreeing to the al-
liance was that it was a way to prevent a Lombard resurgence
in Italy, led by the son of Desiderius, Adelgis, with Greek
help. As is evidenced by his later actions, Charles was
cognizant of the threat posed to the Frankish hold on Italy
by Adelgis, who finally did return to Italy with a Greek
army.[50] For Hadrian, the alliance opened the way for the
eventual healing of the Iconoclastic schism. Intricately
combined with the healing of that schism, in the papal view,
was the return of southern Italian patrimonies once seized
by the Byzantines. Finally, it is quite possible that part
of the alliance was a Byzantine renunciation of any future
claims on Italy.[51]

But, of even greater importance was an indication of a
change in Hadrian's relationships to temporal authority.

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[49]The initiative for this alliance apparently came from
the Byzantines, cf. _Theophanis_ _chronographia_, a. 6274, _PG_
CVIII, 918-919. Several Frankish sources also mention the
marriage project, cf. _Annales_ _Laureshamenses_, a. 781, p. 32;
Annales _Mosellani_, a. 781, p. 497; _Gesta_ _abbatum_ _Fontanell-_
ensium, c. 16, _MGH_ _SS_ _rer_. _Germ_. _in_ _usum_ _schol_., ed. S.
Loewenfeld (Hannover, 1886), p. 46; _Einhardi_ _Vita_ _Karoli_
Magni, c. 19, p. 24.

[50]Cf. _Codex_ _Carolinus_ 80, _MGH_ _Epp_. III, 612.

[51]Cf. among others W. Gundlach, _Die_ _Entstehung_ _des_
Kirchenstaates _und_ _der_ _curiale_ _Begriff_ _Res_ _publica_ _Romanorum_,
pp. 111-112; E. Amann, _L'époque_ _carolingienne_, pp. 62-63;
A. Kleinclausz, _Charlemagne_, p. 125.

First visible in 781, at the latest, was a change in the dating of papal charters. The traditional dating form, mentioning Byzantine imperial years, was last exhibited in 772.[52] The new form, first discernible in a document conferring privileges on the monastery of St. Denis, was dated according to Hadrian's pontifical years, with no mention of the Byzantines.[53] Of equal significance is the fact that the papacy also began minting coins, which only carried the names of the pope and St. Peter.[54]

The meaning of both the change in charter dating and the assumption of minting rights by the papacy is clear. Both belong under the heading of imperial prerogatives and, prior to 772, both charters and coins expressed Byzantine sovereignty in Rome. Now Hadrian was clearly claiming those prerogatives for himself.[55] The pope obviously considered

[52]JE 2395; Chronicon Farfense, p. 158: Data X. Kalendas Martii, imperantibus domno nostro piisimo augusto Constantino a Deo coronato magno imperatore anno XIII, et post consulatum eius anno XXXIII, sed et Leone magno imperatore eius filio XXI, indictione X.

[53]JE 2435: Data Kal. Decembris, regnante domino et salvatore nostro Iesu Christo, qui vivit et regnat cum Deo patre omnipotente et spiritu sancto per immortalia saecula, anno pontificatus nostri in sacratissima beati apostoli Petri sede sub die Deo propitio decimo, indictione quinta. Cf. H. Fichtenau, "'Politische' Datierungen," p. 492.

[54]R. Gaettens, "Münzen Karls des Grossen sowie der Päpste Hadrian I. und Leo III. von historischer, staatsrechtlicher und währungsgeschichtlicher Bedeutung," Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte, II (1950-51), 60-67.

[55]J. Deer, "Die Vorrechte des Kaisers in Rom," pp. 8-11. There is no evidence to support Schramm's argument that these prerogatives were transferred to Charles prior to 800. Cf. P.E. Schramm, "Die Anerkennung Karls des Grossen als

himself the sovereign ruler of the papal lands, but the
paucity of papal charters presents a problem. The time when
Hadrian began to consider himself a sovereign is not comple-
tely clear. No charters have survived for the years between
the 772 document for Farfa, which exhibited traditional
dating forms, and the privilege for St. Denis, which con-
tained the new form. Looking for reflections of the new
dating form in private charters has not provided any addi-
tional information, since the first Tuscan charters contai-
ning papal dating came only after 787.[56]

It has been argued that the change to papal dating came
as a result of an agreement with the Byzantines in 781
whereby the Greeks renounced all claims on Italy and Hadrian
assumed sovereign rights over the erstwhile Byzantine parts
of Italy.[57] But it would seem strange for the pope, not
totally mindful of Byzantine rights prior to 781, to require
a special agreement to assume such sovereign rights. Much
more logical would be the notion that the pope began to take
on sovereign rights shortly after 774.[58] This assumption

Kaiser," _HZ_, CLXXII (1951), 449-515.

[56]Heldmann cautiously dated the private charters between
774 and 796, cf. K. Heldmann, _Das Kaisertum Karls des
Grossen_ (Weimar, 1928), p. 165, note 2. Yet it would seem
certain that all the extant charters are dated after 787,
cf. H. Fichtenau, "'Politische' Datierungen," p. 489.

[57]Peter Classen, _Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz_,
p. 23.

[58]J. Deer, "Die Vorrechte des Kaisers in Rom," p. 10.
H. Fichtenau stated only that the change came sometime
between 772 and 781 and probably did not require Byzantine

of sovereign rights by the pope in 774 would certainly be in
line with the sovereign claims voiced by the papacy in the
papal-Frankish agreement of that same year. Beyond doubt,
however, the pope's actions revealed a temporal independence
from the Byzantine empire, an action which was also directed
against Frankish Italy.[59] Even though his territorial
designs had been severely limited, the pope considered him-
self the sovereign ruler of the Papal States throughout the
remainder of his pontificate. It remained to be seen how
much the new program of 778, the events of 781, and the
assumption of sovereign rights by the pope would materially
affect the position of the papacy in Italy after 781.

After Charles left Rome in 781, it must have seemed to
the pope that his new program was not working any better
than had the old one. To be sure, it would seem that the
personal bonds between the pope and the Frankish king had
been strengthened by Hadrian's sponsoring of the young Pepin
at his baptism. Nevertheless, to see in this personal bond
a unique relationship is to overestimate the singularity
of Hadrian's actions for the son of Charles. On his return

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approval, cf. H. Fichtenau, "'Politische' Datierungen," pp.
488-493.

[59]Ohnsorge insists, without a convincing argument, that
Hadrian remained loyal to the Byzantines throughout his
pontificate, cf. "Der Patricius-Titel Karls des Grossen,"
Byzantinische Zeitschrift, LIII (1960), 318-319. One must
ask, then, why the change in charter dating? As Deer points
out, an "imperial vacancy" theory is untenable, since
Irene only became sole ruler after 797. Cf. J. Deer, "Die
Vorrechte des Kaisers in Rom," p. 10.

journey to Francia, Charles had his daughter Gisela baptized
by Archbishop Thomas of Milan and it would seem that Thomas
was also the sponsor of the girl.[60] Further, there are indi-
cations that Hadrian also baptized the son of Duke Tassilo
of Bavaria, and if this act created some sort of special
bond between Hadrian and Tassilo, it will become evident
that the bond did little to benefit the Bavarian duke, since
Hadrian later threatened Tassilo with anathema.[61]

Furthermore, the new program did little to expedite the
transfer of lands to the papacy. Even though Charles agreed
to transfer the Sabine lands to Rome, the execution of that
transfer took quite some time, much to the discomfort of
Hadrian. Almost as soon as Charles left Rome, Hadrian made
a plea that the Frankish king should hasten to transfer the
Sabine patrimonies _in integro_ to Rome.[62] But rather than
proceeding with haste, Charles dispatched _missi_, the abbots
Itherius and Maginarius, to investigate the papal claims.
The subsequent events allow a rare glimpse into the process
probably followed by the Franks in most cases involving trans-
fers of land to St. Peter. The Frankish envoys, along with

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[60]_Annales regni Francorum_, a. 781, p. 56: Et inde re-
vertente domno Carolo regi, Mediolanis civitate pervenit,
et ibi baptizata est filia eius domna Gisola ab archiepis-
copo nomine Thomas qui et ipse eam a sacro baptismo manibus
suscepit. Cf. _Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi_, a. 781, p. 57;
Annales Mettenses priores, a. 781, p. 69; _Annales Lauris-
senses minores_, a. 782, p. 118.

[61]_Annales Admunt._, MGH SS IX, 572; _Annales S. Rudberti
Salisburgenses_, MGH SS IX, 769.

[62]_Codex Carolinus_ 68, MGH Epp. III, 598.

papal agents, travelled to Sabina where they heard the sworn

statements of some of the residents about the past history

of the area. According to the pope, those sworn statements

verified the papal claims and the transfer should have taken

place without further delay.[63]

That the delay in the transfer of Sabina was the occasion

for despair on the part of the pope is shown by his lament

to Charles that he was making no unreasonable demands on the

Frankish king, but only wished the restoration of the right-

ful patrimony of the church in its old extent.[64] Hadrian

continued his pleas with Charles for the Sabine patrimony,

once blaming the failure to complete the promised donation

on the actions of evil men.[65] There must have been some

difficulty in effecting the transfer, since the Frankish

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[63]Codex Carolinus 69, MGH Epp. III, 599: Dumque vero
nostri vestrique illuc peregerent missi, inventi sunt ibidem
fidelissimi atque seniores testes annorum plus minus centum,
qui testificantes super altere intus ecclaesiam sanctae Dei
genetricis Mariae, in loco quidem Forobono, coram sancta
Christi evangelia in praesentia fidelissimis ac nobilissimis
vestris missis, scilicet Itherium et Magnarium--tantummodo
vestri missi, absque praesentia nostris missis--adfirmantes
dixerunt, quod et ipsi vestri missi vobis subpliciter, sicut
testes illi iurate patefecerunt, referre possunt, quomodo
antiquitus ipse beatus Petrus sancatque nostra Romana eccle-
sia eundem detinuit patrimonium. Et minime ipsum suscepimus
in integro patrimonium vel nostris missis contraditus est,
sicut iste testes adfirmantes, coram sancta Christi evangelia
testificantes, dixerunt.

[64]Ibid.: Testem enim invoco Deum, quia nullorum fines
inrationabiliter indigeo; sed, sicut ex antiquitus fuit ipse
iam fatus patrimonius, cum in integro beato Petro apostolo
concessistis ita suscipere optamus. Cf. Abel-Simson, I,
406-407.

[65]Codex Carolinus 71, MGH Epp. III, 601-602.

envoys returned to Francia without satisfying the papal
wishes. Finally, Hadrian hinted at the problem in stating
that the Sabine patrimonies had once been seized by Desiderius.
On some unknown occasion, possibly in consequence of the
Lombard-Frankish marriage alliance of 771, Desiderius agreed
to restore the area to Rome, but apparently only did so in
pieces.[66] This may have been the cause for the hesitation
of the Frankish missi, although the pope again ascribed it
to the actions of evil men. The papal wishes about Sabina
were finally satisfied, most probably sometime in 783, but
the actual transfer had taken almost two years. For Hadrian,
this was not a vast improvement on what had taken place in
the years prior to 778.

Several other occurrences in the years immediately fol-
lowing 781 reveal the pope's growing subjugation to the
Frankish king, despite the papal claims to sovereignty. A
dispute within the monastery of St. Vincent on the Volturno
particularly revealed Hadrian's dependence on Charles. The

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[66]Codex Carolinus 72, MGH Epp. III, 603: Qualiter vero
ei praecepit vestra a Deo promota triumphatorissima excel-
lentia pro Savinense territorio, ut nobis sub integritate
contraderet, sicut beato Petro clavigero regni caelorum tri-
buistis, minime propter malignos ac perversos homines potuit.
Totam enim iustitiam, quam beatus Petrus apostolus, protec-
tor vester, ex ipso territorio habet, presentaliter iam fatus
Maginarius missus vester vidit tam per donationes imperiales
quam per ipsorum protervorum regem Langobardorum, ipsum
territorium cum masis sibi pertinentibus enucleatius desig-
nantes. Si vero perfidus Desiderius dudum rex non sub
integritate, sed tantumodo masas nobis, quantum reperiri
potuit, quas ex antiquitus sancta Romana ecclesia tenuit,
ut nullus ex illis partibus Langobardorum ausus est resis-
tere: quanto magis, vestrae a Deo protectae regali poten-
tiae in omnibus oboedientes existentes, iussa vestra adim-
plere debuerant.

dispute was a dual problem, concerning a conflict between the one-time abbot Autpert, apparently a Frank, and the current abbot Potho, who had also been accused of infidelity toward Charles. Potho had been removed from his abbatial office, probably on the orders of Charles. In response, Hadrian appealed to the Frankish king for justice, defending Potho against the charges of infidelity.[67]

The resolution of the problem in Volturno is most revealing for a number of reasons. To begin with, the monastery was situated within the boundaries of the duchy of Benevento, but it could have been part of the disputed Beneventan patrimonies. In either case, the fact that part of the dispute concerned accusations of infidelity would seem to indicate that oaths of fidelity to the Frankish king were taken by individuals not living within the boundaries of the Lombard kingdom. Also, the problem indicates that the Frankish king's conception of his own authority extended to intervention in a monastic dispute. Further, it would seem that Hadrian could only follow the orders of Charles in unraveling the problem. An investigation of the dispute was

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[67]Codex Carolinus 67, MGH Epp. III, 594. See also Chronicon Vulturnense, ed. V. Federici, FSI LVIII (Rome, 1925), I, 125ff., 178ff. The date of this dispute and investigation has been a matter of some disagreement. The editor of the Codex Carolinus argued that the dispute took place in 781, while Charles was still in Italy, cf. W. Gundlach, "Ueber den Codex Carolinus," NA, XVII (1892), 561-562. However, it would seem that the affair occurred in 783. See the arguments of J. Winandy, "Les dates de l'abbatiat et de la mort d'Ambroise Autpert," RBén, LIX (1949), 206-210; Abel-Simson, I, 465-468.

ordered by Charles and one can follow the progress of that investigation in papal letters.

Hadrian, following Frankish instructions, called both Autpert and Potho to Rome to face a commission of inquiry, but Autpert died on the journey to Rome.[68] The major issue then became the accusation of infidelity against Potho. Hadrian described the investigation in some detail to the Frankish king, including in his report a list of those who participated in the judgment about the alleged infidelity. It is interesting to note that the list included, in addition to various abbots and papal officials, Duke Hildebrand of Spoleto.[69] Ultimately, the accusations against Potho were based on the testimony of one monk, who apparently harbored a grudge against his abbot, and Potho was exonerated of all blame after taking an oath that he had never been unfaithful to Charles.[70]

Several conclusions emerge from this episode. In the entire investigation the pope played a secondary role to

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[68]Codex Carolinus 67, MGH Epp. III, 595: Et quoniam ad nostrum iudicium canonice simulque regulariter contentiones inter monachos venerabilis monasterii sancti Vincentii et abbatibus eiusdem monasterii, scilicet Autbertum et Pothonem, discuti atque examinari vestra direxit precelsa regalis excellentia, ipse quippe prefatus Autbertus dudum abba, calle itineris peragratus, repetina morte occupatus, minime nostris apostolicis valuit se manifestare presentiis. The Volturnen chronicle mistakenly placed Autpert's death in 778, cf. Chronicon Vulturnense, I, 201. See also J. Winandy, "Les dates de l'abbatiat et de la mort d'Ambroise Autpert," pp. 206-210.

[69]Codex Carolinus 67, MGH Epp. III, 595.

[70]Ibid., pp. 595-597.

that of the Frankish king. The affair also demonstrated that the enmity between Hadrian and the Spoletan duke had in no way disappeared, since Hildebrand took the side of those accusing Potho, in opposition to Hadrian's defense of the abbot. Finally, the authority of the Frankish king now seemed to extend to matters of discipline within monasteries which lay outside the Lombard kingdom. Clearly Charles was the dominant force in Italy and there was little the pope could do in the face of Frankish authority.[71] While it might be an overstatement to view the bishop of Rome as merely a Frankish metropolitan,[72] it cannot be denied that the papal authority was being increasingly subjugated to the Franks.

The final episode following the announcement of the pope's new program was a problem by now familiar to Hadrian. It will be recalled that the pope had earlier complained to the Frankish king about the reception by Charles of individuals fleeing north to escape papal prosecution for criminal activities. Once again Hadrian had occasion to complain that criminals were fleeing to the Frankish court to avoid the papal wrath. This time the culprits were two officials of Ravenna, Eleutherius and Gregory, who were accused by the pope of selling people into slavery and perpetrating

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[71]Cf. Abel-Simson, I, 467-468; A. Hauck, <u>Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands</u>, II, 92-93; A. Kleinclausz, <u>Charlemagne</u>, p. 120.

[72]As does W. Gundlach, <u>Die Entstehung des Kirchenstaates und der curiale Begriff Res publica Romanorum</u>, pp. 115-116.

murders within the papal lands.[73] It is not clear whether the men were initially papal officials, but the Frankish king's continued intervention in the affairs of the papal lands was evident. Even when demanding the return of the fugitives Hadrian offered to examine their crimes in the presence of Frankish *missi*. Nothing could more vividly illustrate the increase of Frankish power even within the sovereign papal areas.

Thus, the result of the pope's new program was a series of minor victories and major setbacks. The papal territorial design had been drastically reduced in scope, the Frankish king was still slow to make the desired restitutions to Rome, and the Frankish intervention in both the jurisdictional and disciplinary affairs of Rome continued unabated. To be sure, Hadrian considered himself the sovereign ruler of certain lands in Italy, but the Frankish interest in the peninsula continued to limit the papal power. Only in the realm of patrimonial restitutions could the pope achieve any results from his exhortations to the Frankish king and Hadrian was still confronted by one major enemy in Italy, Duke Arichis of Benevento. By the end of 785 negotiations over the implementation of the new program assumed a secondary role to the threat posed both to Charles and Hadrian by the Beneventan duke. Beginning in 786 both Frankish and papal interests turned toward the south.

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[73]*Codex Carolinus* 75, *MGH Epp.* III, 606-607.

CHAPTER SIX

THE FINAL ORDER, 786-795

By the year 785 Hadrian's efforts to secure his long-desired territorial foundation for the papacy had achieved some minor successes. However, the extent of those successes fell far short of his initial plans. In the north, he considered himself the sovereign ruler of the Exarchate and the Pentapolis, but the actions of Charles in raising his son Pepin as king of the Lombards had seemingly prevented further papal territorial gains in northern Italy. In the areas around Rome, Hadrian was the ruler of the city itself and of the duchy of Rome, but his claims to the duchies of Tuscany and Spoleto had been denied by the Frankish king. Perhaps only in the south could the pope have hoped to gain additional territory, as was demonstrated by his efforts to control the Beneventan patrimonies and by his ill-fated seizure of the city of Terracina. Yet, south of Rome was Hadrian's most powerful enemy, Duke Arichis of Benevento. If papal designs were to be realized regarding the Beneventan patrimonies, a confrontation with Arichis was unavoidable.

Papal interest in the duchy of Benevento was by no means a new phenomenon in the pontificate of Hadrian. Ever

since the beginning of independent papal action in the early eighth century, control of Spoleto and Benevento had formed important parts of papal policy. Both Gregory III and Zachary had used the two duchies to achieve far different results, but papal interest in the areas was particularly evident after the initial Frankish intervention in the mid-eighth century. In 757 Stephen II had attempted to detach the two duchies from the control of the Lombard government in Pavia. He had hoped that by persuading Pepin to take the two duchies under his protection the southern papal boundary would be more secure.[1] To the pope's great disappointment, Pepin refused to be drawn more deeply into Italian affairs and the duchies returned to Lombard control.

Certainly the most successful papal action regarding the two duchies had occurred in 773, when the Spoletans submitted to Hadrian.[2] Claims on both Spoleto and Benevento had formed part of papal wishes as expressed in the agreement of 774, but Charles had made it clear after 774 that he had no intention of honoring papal claims. Yet, for over ten years nothing had been done by either pope or Frankish king about the continued independence of the duchy of Benevento. Spoleto had become a Frankish duchy after 774, but there is no evidence to indicate that Benevento had ever belonged to Rome or to the Franks.

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[1]Codex Carolinus 11, MGH Epp. III, 506.

[2]Vita Hadriani, c. 32-33, pp. 495-496.

On the contrary, after 774 Benevento had become the center of continued Lombard aspirations to control all of Italy. Duke Arichis was clearly the focus of Lombard power and aspirations following the fall of Pavia.[3] Arichis had been made duke by Desiderius in 758 and the Lombard king had hoped to cement his control over the duchy by marrying one of his daughters to the new duke. Yet, even before 774 Arichis had been steering an independent course, modeling his court on Byzantine practices and resisting the efforts of Desiderius to make Benevento a true royal duchy.[4]

With the collapse of the Lombard kingdom, the independent actions of Arichis became even more manifest. Almost immediately he began to display a new title, princeps, which could have been motivated by the fact that the old ducal title, as used by the Spoletans, implied subjection either to the papacy or to the Franks.[5] Further, it is certain that Arichis had himself anointed and crowned prince, an action apparently distressing to Charles, since the title was an expression of Beneventan independence from the Franks.[6]

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[3]H. Belting, "Studien zum beneventanischen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, XVI (1962), 143; E. Garms-Cornides, "Die langobardischen Fürstentitel (774-1077)," Intitulatio II, pp. 355-357.

[4]H. Belting, "Studien zum beneventanischen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert," pp. 144-145.

[5]E. Garms-Cornides, "Die langobardischen Fürstentitel," pp. 361-362.

[6]Chronicon Salernitanum, c. 12, MGH SS III, 478; Chronicon Casinense, c. 8, MGH SS VII, 586; H. Belting, "Studien zum beneventanischen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert," pp. 154-155.

It is possible that Charles may have concluded a type of
"non-aggression" pact with Arichis after 774, but in fear
of a future Frankish attack, the Beneventan duke continued
to solidify his ties to Byzantium.[7] Thus, the Frankish-
Byzantine accord of 781 posed a grave threat to Arichis in
that he was then somewhat isolated in the face of the Franks.
In response, the Beneventan duke attempted to cement his
own position in southern Italy by attacking the duchy of
Naples.[8] The acquisition of Naples would have given Arichis
a much more powerful position, but by 786 his efforts had
been largely unsuccessful.

In 786 Charles began preparations for yet another jour-
ney to Italy, only this time it was clear that he intended
on "putting in order the Italian affairs."[9] This could only
have referred to the duchy of Benevento, the last remaining
Lombard stronghold independent of Frankish control. It has
been suggested that Charles undertook this Beneventan cam-
paign on the urging of Pope Hadrian, who harbored a deep
hatred for Arichis.[10] It is beyond doubt that the pope

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[7]E. Garms-Cornides, "Die langobardischen Fürstentitel
(774-1077)," p. 371; H. Belting, "Studien zum beneventani-
schen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert," p. 147.

[8]Hadrian complained of the attacks of Arichis in the
Neapolitan lands sometime between 783 and 786, cf. Codex
Carolinus 78, MGH Epp. III, 610.

[9]Annales regni Francorum, a. 786, p. 72; Annales
Mettenses priores, a. 786, pp. 73-74; O. Bertolini,
"Carlomagno e Benevento," in Karl der Grosse, ed. H.
Beumann (Düsseldorf, 1965), I, 632-633.

[10]F. Hirsch, "Papst Hadrian I. und das Fürstenthum

wished the Beneventan independence destroyed, since his
chances of obtaining the desired Beneventan patrimonies were
infinitely greater if Charles ruled the duchy. Yet, the
thought that Charles undertook the campaign solely on the
urging of the pope is difficult to accept. During the pre-
vious fourteen years, Hadrian had not been particularly
successful in urging Charles to act in any situation. It
would seem doubtful that papal exhortations would have been
any more effective in the Beneventan problem than they had
been in other Italian territorial questions.

The Frankish king clearly had reasons of his own for
advancing on Benevento in late 786. As is evidenced by his
later actions, Charles had not forgotten that the son of
Desiderius, Adelgis, was still in Constantinople awaiting
his opportunity to return as king of the Lombards. Even the
Frankish-Byzantine marriage alliance had not completely re-
moved that danger. Further, Arichis was married to a daugh-
ter of Desiderius, thus making the Beneventan duke the
brother-in-law of Adelgis. In the eyes of the Franks this
continued Lombard center of power in southern Italy could
no longer be ignored. One Frankish annal mentions that
Charles felt it appropriate to subjugate this southern part
of Italy.[11] After all, in the eyes of Charles as king of

Benevent," FdG, XIII (1873), 37-38; L.M. Hartmann, Geschichte
Italiens, II, 2, p. 303.

[11]Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi, a. 786, p. 73: Rex
pace undique parte statuit Romam proficisci et partem
Italiae, quae nunc Beneventus vocatur, adgredi conveniens

the Lombards, the duchy of Benevento was still a part of the Lombard kingdom. Finally, and possibly of greatest importance, Charles was freed temporarily from his Saxon wars in 786 and may have decided to seize the opportunity to undertake a protracted campaign in Italy.[12]

In any event, moving south with his army, Charles celebrated Christmas 786 in Florence and then hastened on to Rome.[13] It is mentioned in the Frankish annals that Hadrian also urged Charles to attack Benevento during their discussions in Rome.[14] Indeed, it would have been surprising if Hadrian had not urged action against Benevento. The pope had never been reluctant to suggest such campaigns to Charles in the past, even though he had never been totally successful in provoking the Frankish king to take action. Clearly the pope preferred to take his chances with his Frankish protector rather than with his Lombard enemies. As for the Beneventan duke, Arichis immediately concluded

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esse arbitratus, ut illius regni residuam portionem suae potestati subiceret, cuius caput in capto Desiderio rege maioremque partem in Langobardia iam subacta tenebat. See also Abel-Simson, I, 543, note 2.

[12]Ibid. Cf. Annales regni Francorum, a. 786, p. 72; Annales Mettenses priores, a. 786, p. 74.

[13]Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi, a. 786, p. 73; Annales Mettenses priores, a. 787, p. 74; Annales regni Francorum, a. 787, p. 72.

[14]Annales regni Francorum, a. 787, p. 74: Sed hoc minime apostolicus credebat neque obtimates Francorum, et consilium fecerunt cum supramoninato domno Carolo rege, ut partibus Beneventanis causas firmando advenisset; quod ita factum est. See also Annales Mettenses priores, a. 787, p. 74.

a pact of peace with the Neapolitans and began to fortify the city of Salerno.[15] Further, the Beneventan duke, undoubtedly convinced that he could not resist the Franks without aid, sent his son Romuald to Charles as a hostage in the hope of persuading the Frankish king not to invade the duchy.[16]

The pleas of Arichis went unheeded as the Franks marched south, arriving in Capua in early 787. Unable to resist the Franks by force of arms, Arichis retreated and closed himself up inside the city of Salerno.[17] The Beneventan duke then repeated his attempts to negotiate with Charles and sent his younger son, Grimoald, to Capua with gifts and hostages. According to the Royal Annals, Charles accepted the submission, on the advice of his priests and nobles, since he had no wish to devastate the countryside.[18] After

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[15]*Erchemperti Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, MGH SS *Lang.*, pp. 235-236; H. Belting, "Studien zum beneventanischen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert," p. 145; L.M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens*, II, 2, pp. 285ff.

[16]*Annales regni Francorum*, a. 787, p. 74: Et Arighis dux Beneventanus misit Romaldum filium suum cum magnis muneribus, postolare de adventu iamdicti domni regis, ut in Benevento non introisset, et omnes voluntates praefati domni regis adimplere cupiebat. Cf. *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, a. 786, p. 75; *Annales Mettenses priores*, a. 787, p. 74.

[17]*Annales regni Francorum*, a. 787, p. 74; *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, a. 786, p. 75; *Annales Mettenses priores*, a. 787, p. 74; *Annales Fuldenses*, a. 787, p. 11. It is probable that the Frankish king made a brief stop at Monte Cassino on his way to Capua, cf. *Annales Laureshamenses*, a. 786, p. 33; *Pauli continuatio Romana*, MGH SS *Lang.*, p. 202. See also the charter for Monte Cassino, BM² 285; MGH DK I, no. 158, pp. 213-216.

[18]*Annales regni Francorum*, a. 787, p. 74.

forcing Arichis and the Beneventans to take oaths of fidelity and after exacting tribute from the duchy, Charles returned to Rome, taking Grimoald and twelve other hostages with him.[19] As will become evident, the Frankish king had good reason for not destroying the Beneventan duchy. Undoubtedly he felt satisfied with the submission, since he thought this placed Benevento on the same footing as the duchy of Spoleto. Whether or not it satisfied the pope is another matter.

Of primary importance with the return of Charles to Rome was the question of territorial restitutions to the papacy. The pope had claims on patrimonies in the Beneventan lands, claims which had led him to take matters into his own hands in 779 with the seizure of Terracina. That a territorial settlement was made in 787 is evidenced indirectly in several places. According to the later pact of Louis the Pious with the papacy, Charles promised to transfer several Tuscan and Beneventan cities to the See of St. Peter.[20] Further, in the dealings with the Beneventans subsequent to 787, the Frankish *missus* Maginarius made

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[19]*Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 10, pp. 13-14; *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, a. 786, p. 75; *Annales Laureshamenses*, a. 786, p. 33; *Pauli continuatio tertia*, MGH SS Lang., p. 214; *Chronicon Salernitanum*, c. 10, 11, p. 477.

[20]The cities included, among others, Città di Castello, Urbieto, Bagnorea, Viterbo, Toscanella, Populonia and Rosella in Tuscany; Sora, Arce, Aquino, Arpino, Teano and Capua in the Campagna and in Benevento. Cf. *Pactum Hludowici Pii (Ludovicianum)*, MGH Cap. I, 353. See also L.M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens*, II, 2, p. 304; A. Kleinclausz, *Charlemagne*, pp. 125-126; O. Bertolini, "Carlomago e Benevento," p. 635.

reference to transfers of unspecified Beneventan cities to
Rome in a letter written to Charles.[21] Hadrian himself men-
tioned receiving the submissions of the Capuans,[22] but as
had happened so often in the past, the pope was again to
realize that there was a difference between the Frankish
promise to transfer certain areas and the actual deliverance
of those areas into the hands of the pope. Moreover, al-
though Hadrian was not aware of it at the time, these piece-
meal restitutions formed the end of Carolingian bequests of
land to Rome during his pontificate.

In addition to the territorial restitutions, another
problem occupied the attentions of pope and Frankish king.
Two envoys from Duke Tassilo of Bavaria, bishop Arn of Salz-
burg and the abbot Hunricus, appeared in Rome to beg the
pope to intercede in the dispute between Charles and the
Bavarian duke.[23] Bavaria had once been an area of active
papal interest and it will be recalled that Hadrian had ap-
parently baptized the son of Tassilo.[24] Yet, during the
earlier visit of Charles to Rome in 781 the Frankish king
and the pope had sent a joint embassy to Tassilo to remind
him to observe the oaths he had once made to Pepin and then

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[21]Codex Carolinus App. 2, MGH Epp. III, 656; Abel-
Simson, I, 570-572.

[22]Codex Carolinus 83, MGH Epp. III, 617.

[23]Annales regni Francorum, a. 787, p. 74; Annales qui
dicuntur Einhardi, a. 787, p. 75; Annales Mettenses priores,
a. 787, p. 74.

[24]Cf. supra, p. 158, note 61.

to Charles.[25] Thus, already in 781 Hadrian was conforming
to the wishes of the Frankish king in rendering support with
Frankish political problems.

In 787, however, the actions of the pope were much more
threatening to Tassilo. According to the Royal Annals,
Hadrian responded to the pleas of Arn and Hunricus by plea-
ding with Charles for peace. The Frankish king responded
that peace had always been his goal, but he had never been
able to obtain it from Tassilo, despite the Frankish-papal
embassy of 781. Hadrian then turned to the two Bavarian
envoys, apparently expecting them to secure the peace with
Charles immediately. When they hesitated, the pope threat-
ened Tassilo with anathema if he did not immediately fulfill
the oaths he had made to the Franks. Further, if Tassilo
should continue in his obstinance, necessitating a campaign
by the Franks, the pope decreed that all blame for any
bloodshed would be on the head of Tassilo.[26]

This Bavarian episode illustrates most vividly that
after fifteen years as pope, Hadrian was almost completely
dependent on Charles in virtually any situation. The pope
must have known, based upon his own experience with Frankish
missi, that the Bavarian envoys would not be able to conclude

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[25]Annales regni Francorum, a. 781, p. 58; Annales qui
dicuntur Einhardi, a. 781, p. 59; Annales Mettenses priores,
a. 781, p. 69; Annales Fuldenses, a. 781, p. 10.

[26]Annales regni Francorum, a. 787, p. 76; Annales qui
dicuntur Einhardi, a. 787, p. 77; Annales Mettenses priores,
a. 787, p. 75; Annales Laurissenses minores, a. 787, p.
118.

peace with the Franks during their visit in Rome. Their
only purpose was to obtain the intercession of the pope in
the dispute and further action would undoubtedly have gone
beyond their instructions. Nevertheless, Hadrian demanded
that they immediately secure the peace and then threatened
the Bavarians with anathema, even though the duchy of Bavaria
represented no real threat to the peace of Christendom.
Tassilo had been quite active in promoting church reform
in Bavaria, and, thus, scarcely deserved the threat of papal
anathema. In the light of this episode, it is quite diffi-
cult to view the initiative firmly in papal hands.[27] On
the contrary, the papal will was now clearly subjugated to
the monarchical power of the Frankish king.[28]

For his part, Tassilo submitted to Charles after the
Frankish king returned north of the Alps and gave hostages,
including his own son, to Charles.[29] This action was stri-
kingly similar to the steps taken by Charles toward Duke
Arichis of Benevento. Both dukes had been forced to take
oaths, both had surrendered their own sons as hostages, and
both continued to rule as dukes.[30] The Frankish king may

[27]As does Walter Ullmann, The Growth of Papal Government,
p. 51.

[28]Erich Caspar, Das Papsttum unter fränkischer Herrschaft,
pp. 74-75; Abel-Simson, I, 602-603.

[29]Annales regni Francorum, a. 787, p. 78; Annales qui
dicuntur Einhardi, a. 787, p. 79; Annales Maximiniani, a. 787,
MGH SS XIII, 21.

[30]E. Garms-Cornides, "Die langobardischen Fürstentitel,"
pp. 371-372.

have been satisfied to allow both dukes to continue their
rule as Frankish vassals, even though that had been the
status of Tassilo in Frankish law. Unclear, however, is
whether the oaths taken by Arichis and the Beneventans in
787 were oaths of vassalage similar to the ones apparently
taken by the duke of Spoleto.[31] If it was the Frankish
king's plan to treat Benevento and Spoleto in the same
fashion, allowing each duke to continue his rule under Fran-
kish suzerainty, then Charles badly mistook the nature of
the situation in southern Italy.

During this same period, there occurred an event of
great importance not only for the Frankish king but for the
entire Italian situation. Although the exact time and place
are not completely clear, it is certain that sometime in
787 or 788 the Frankish-Byzantine marriage project broke
down. Frankish annals mention that Charles held discussions
about the future marriage with Byzantine envoys during his
stay in Italy.[32] Yet, the reasons for the collapse of the
marriage alliance are not completely clear. It is probable
that Charles, and not the Byzantines, broke off the intended
marriage between the Frankish princess and the Byzantine
emperor, but his reasons for doing so will probably always
remain a mystery.[33] Completely clear, however, were the

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[31]O. Bertolini, "Carlomagno e Benevento," pp. 623-624.

[32]Annales regni Francorum, a. 786, p. 72; Annales qui
dicuntur Einhardi, a. 786, p. 75.

[33]Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi, a. 788, p. 83. It is

effects of the alliance's collapse. Almost immediately, the Byzantines began negotiating with Arichis, promising to supply the Beneventan duke with the support he desperately needed against Charles. This potential Beneventan-Byzantine alliance was to pose a grave threat to Charles and was to determine, in large part, his future actions toward the duchy of Benevento.

Charles began his return journey to Francia shortly after Easter 787, taking his Beneventan hostages, including Grimoald, with him and probably making a stop in Ravenna.[34] Yet, almost immediately negotiations between the Byzantines and Arichis commenced. Hadrian found out about the "conspiracies" in southern Italy from the Capuans and wrote to Charles in 788. Apparently Arichis offered to support Byzantine efforts to retake Italy, led by the Greek patrician of Sicily and Adelgis, in return for the award of patrician rank from the Byzantines and their surrender to him of the duchy of Naples.[35] From their subsequent actions, it would

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suggested elsewhere, with no apparent justification, that Irene ended the alliance, cf. Theophanis chronographia, a. 6281, PG CVIII, 931; Abel-Simson, I, 569.

[34]Cf. Annales Laureshamenses, p. 33. The visit to Ravenna is mentioned in Agnelli liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis, MGH SS Lang., pp. 383-384, but, as usual, it is laced with fantastic tales.

[35]Codex Carolinus 83, MGH Epp. III, 617: ...et dum a nobis enucleatis sciscitatus fuisset, retulit nobis dicens: "Quia dum domnus Carolus, magnus rex, preterito anno a Capuana urbe reversus fuisset, Arichis dux suus aput imperatorem, Deo sibi contrario, emisit missos, petens auxilium et honorem patriciatus una cum ducatu Neapolitano sub integritate, simul et suum cognatum Athalgisum cum manu valida

seem that the Byzantines were more than happy to make Arichis a <u>patricius</u>, but that they had no intention of giving the duchy of Naples to the Beneventan duke.[36]

It is possible that the Beneventan duke might have been satisfied with just the patrician dignity, but the Byzantine envoys sent to Benevento to make him a <u>patricius</u> found both Arichis and his son, Romuald, dead. Romuald had died in July 787 and Arichis followed his son in August of the same year.[37] Nevertheless, this was not the end of the danger for Hadrian and Charles. The Frankish king apparently had asked the pope if it was true that Adelgis was in Italy and Hadrian confirmed the report, revealing that Adelgis was near the duchy of Benevento.[38] Yet, even in the face of the long-feared Byzantine invasion of Italy, Charles held a supreme advantage: the heir to the Beneventan duchy, Grimoald, was a hostage at the Frankish court.

That Charles was aware of his advantage is demonstrated by his initial refusal to release Grimoald to become the

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in adiutorium dirigendi, promittens ei, tam in tonsura quam in vestibus usu Grecorum perfrui sub eiusdem imperatoris dicione. Haec audiens autem imperator, emisit illi suos legatos, scilicet spatarios duos cum diucitin Siciliae, ferentes secum vestes auro textas, simul et spatam vel pectinae et forcipes patricium eum constituendi, sicut illi predictus Arichisus indui et tondi pollicitus fuerat, petentes Romualdum eiusdem Arichigisi filium in obsidiatum. Cf. Peter Classen, <u>Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz</u>, p. 24.

[36]O. Bertolini, "Carlomagno e Benevento," p. 644.

[37]<u>Chronicon Salernitanum</u>, c. 17, p. 481.

[38]<u>Codex Carolinus</u> 80, <u>MGH Epp</u>. III, 612.

duke of Benevento, despite the pleas of a Beneventan embassy.[39] What followed this initial refusal was a series of complicated intrigues, involving Charles, Hadrian, the Byzantines, and the widow of Arichis, Adelperga. Not surprisingly, the pope urged Charles not to release Grimoald, stating that the Beneventan heir would only follow in the footsteps of his father in creating a dangerous Beneventan-Byzantine alliance. For the pope, the real force behind the Beneventan negotiations was Adelperga, whom Hadrian scarcely could forget was a daughter of Desiderius.[40] In the pope's view, the problem was quite simple. Charles should retain Grimoald and give the Beneventans until May 788 to conform to the wishes of the Franks. If they still refused, Charles should gather an army and march again on Benevento, disposing of Adelgis at the same time.[41]

Nevertheless, the problem was not so straightforward for the Frankish king. It must be recalled that Charles was

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[39]*Chronicon Salernitanum*, c. 21, p. 483.

[40]*Codex Carolinus* 80, *MGH Epp*. III, 613: Quapropter nimis poscentes quaesumus vestram prerectissimam excellentiam, ut nullo modo pro causa Grimualdi filii Arichisi credere plus cuiquam iubeatis quam nobis; nam pro certo sciatis, quia si ipsum Grimualdum in Benevento miseritis, Italiam sine conturbatione habere minime potestis, eo quod Leo episcopus secreta nobis sic fatus est: quia Adalperga relicta Arighis tale habet concilium, ut, dum ipse Grimualdus filius eius Beneventanis finibus introierit, ingeniose cupit duas filias suas secum deferri et quasi orationis causa in Sanctum Angelum in Gargario pergere et deinde in Tarantu, ubi et thesauros suos reconditos habet, quia tantum octoginta milia distat a Sancto Angelo usque Taranto.

[41]*Ibid*. See also E. Amann, *L'époque carolingienne*, pp. 65-66.

involved in his dealings with Tassilo of Bavaria at the time
when Arichis died. An immediate campaign, which would have
no guarantees of success, was out of the question for Char-
les. Moreover, he may have had suspicions that the pope was
again raising the spectre of Byzantine invasion in order to
convince Charles to conform to the papal notion of the right
order in Italy.[42] In order to ascertain the truth and to
begin negotiations with the Beneventans, the Frankish king
sent a group of five _missi_ to Italy and it is possible to
follow the fates of the Frankish messengers in the papal
letters.[43]

For some reason, the five Frankish _missi_, Atto, Goter-
amnus, Maginarius, Joseph and Liudericus, arrived in Rome at
different times. Atto and Goteramnus arrived first, and
despite Hadrian's urging that they await the arrival of the
other three _missi_, the two proceeded on to Benevento.[44]
Beyond doubt, Hadrian was apprehensive about the attempts
to negotiate with the Beneventans, yet he still hoped to be

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[42]Hadrian twice denied that he was complaining about
Byzantine intrigues in order to hasten the transfer of Bene-
ventan cities to Rome, cf. Codex Carolinus 80 and 84, MGH
Epp. III, 613, 619-620. The question must arise, then, of
whether the pope had been accused by Charles of doing so.
Cf. Abel-Simson, I, 616-620.

[43]Unlike most occasions, the papal reports receive con-
firmation from another source, a fragmentary letter sent from
one of the _missi_, Maginarius, to Charles. Cf. Codex
Carolinus App. 2, MGH Epp. III, 655-657.

[44]Codex Carolinus 82, MGH Epp. III, 615-616. This is
confirmed in a fragment of a letter sent from Hadrian to
the Frankish _missi_, cf. Codex Carolinus App. 1, MGH Epp.
III, 654-655.

the dominant force in the Beneventan-Frankish discussions.[45]
The following events were to show that the pope's fears of
a Beneventan-Byzantine alliance were well-founded. When
Atto and Goteramnus arrived in Salerno to treat with Adal-
perga they caused the Beneventans some discomfort. Byzan-
tine envoys were also within the duchy at the same time and
the Beneventans tried to keep the Frankish missi in Salerno
while they negotiated with the Byzantines in Naples.[46]

The other three missi, Maginarius, Joseph and Liuderi-
cus, remained one day behind the other two in their travels.
Ultimately joining the others, Maginarius led three of the
missi with him in a flight back to the duchy of Spoleto,
with Atto left behind in Salerno. According to Hadrian, the
four fled because of a Beneventan plot to kill them.[47] Ac-
cording to the account of Maginarius, however, the four fled
because the Beneventans were planning on holding all five
missi hostage until the Frankish king fulfilled their wishes.
Above all, the Beneventans wanted Charles to release Grimo-
ald and allow him to assume the Beneventan ducal dignity.
Further, it would seem that the Beneventans were unhappy
with the Frankish plan to transfer several Beneventan cities

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[45]Cf. J. Gay, "L'État pontifical, les Byzantins et les
Lombards sur le littoral Campanien," MAH, 1901, pp. 499-500.

[46]Codex Carolinus 83, MGH Epp. III, 618. Hirsch, who
maintained that the Byzantine threat was a figment of the
papal imagination, seemed to overlook the clear evidence of
Byzantine envoys in Benevento, cf. F. Hirsch, "Papst Hadrian
I. und das Fürstenthum Benevent," pp. 64-65.

[47]Codex Carolinus 83, MGH Epp. III, 618.

to the jurisdiction of Rome. Thus, in addition to Grimoald, they wanted the return of those Beneventan cities.[48] Although the papal account was correct in most details concerning this Frankish embassy, it would have been foolish for the Beneventans to kill the missi. Consequently, the account of Maginarius is the more plausible of the two, since Adelperga may well have decided to hold the missi hostage to force Charles to release Grimoald.

At this point, the activities of the Frankish missi are again enshrouded in darkness. However, the outcome of the negotiations is not difficult to discern. In a letter from late 788, Hadrian complained bitterly that the missi sent to complete the transfer of the Beneventan cities to Rome only gave over to Rome the bishoprics, monasteries and assorted revenues, retaining jurisdiction over the inhabitants for the Franks.[49] It would seem that a compromise had taken place, since the cities were certainly not transferred to the pope in integro. Realizing that papal desires had been sacrificed in the face of political necessities and that once again he had received less than he had been promised, Hadrian was moved to admonish Charles that he should not treat Grimoald better than he did St. Peter.[50] Although it could be

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[48]Codex Carolinus App. 2, MGH Epp. III, 655.

[49]Codex Carolinus 84, MGH Epp. III, 620. See also J. Gay, "L'Etat pontifical, les Byzantins et les Lombards sur le littoral Campanien," p. 500; O. Bertolini, "Carlomagno e Benevento," p. 651.

[50]Codex Carolinus 84, MGH Epp. III, 620: Unde petimus

argued that this refusal to complete the transfer of Bene-
ventan cities strained relations between the pope and the
Frankish king almost to the breaking point, it must be remem-
bered that for a number of years the pope had had no alter-
native but to agree when faced with such Frankish actions.
Despite his complaints, Hadrian apparently again complied.

To make matters even worse for Hadrian, Charles decided
to release Grimoald to become the duke of Benevento, despite
the papal urgings to the contrary. Before allowing him to
leave Francia, Charles exacted an oath of fidelity from
Grimoald and stipulated that Beneventan charters were to
carry the name of Charles and his regnal dates in their
protocols, Beneventan coins were to be minted with the name
of Charles, and tribute was to be paid yearly to the Franks.[51]
In Frankish eyes, then, Grimoald would be just another _dux_,
much in the same tradition as the duke of Spoleto. Undoubt-
edly, the release of Grimoald was, as one scholar stated,
"a calculated risk."[52] Yet, Charles must have had reason
to believe that Grimoald would not just follow the policy

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vestram excellentiam, ut nullus hominum sit, qui vestra sacra
vota inpediri valeat, et ne meliorem faciatis Grimualdum
filium Aragisi quam fautori vestro, beato Petro clavigero
regni celorum,....

[51]_Chronicon Salernitanum_, c. 28-29, pp. 485-486;
Erchemperti Hist. Lang. Ben., p. 236; H. Belting, "Studien
zum beneventanischen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert," p. 147; E.
Garms-Cornides, "Die langobardischen Fürstentitel", pp. 375-
376. In the light of this, the statement in Erchempert,
that Grimoald was given "ius regendi principatus," must be
attributed to the enthusiasm of Erchempert.

[52]O. Bertolini, "Carlomagno e Benevento," p. 653.

of his father in regard the Byzantines.

Neither the adventures of the Frankish missi nor the release of Grimoald had removed the danger from the Byzantines, especially since Adelgis remained in Italy. But when the fighting started in southern Italy, it was Duke Hildebrand of Spoleto and Duke Grimoald of Benevento who led the forces which crushed the Byzantine invaders.[53] It is quite possible that Charles knew Grimoald would not conclude a Byzantine alliance and that he would resist the Byzantines as much in his own interest as in that of the Franks.[54] As a result, the hopes of Adelgis to be his father's heir as king of the Lombards disappeared forever. He returned to Constantinople where he died as a dependent of the Byzantine government.

But Grimoald soon made it evident that he had no intention of remaining a Frankish duke. By 791 he had begun to steer a course independent of both Franks and Byzantines, despite a possible marriage to a Byzantine princess.[55] In reality, Grimoald resumed the political direction first pointed out by his father. Carolingian regnal dates disappeared from Beneventan charters almost as soon as they

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[53]Annales regni Francorum, a. 788, p. 82; Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi, a. 788, p. 83; Annales Mettenses priores, a. 788, p. 77; Annales Fuldenses, a. 788, p. 11.

[54]One Byzantine source clearly labels Grimoald a rebel, cf. Theophanis chronographia, a. 6281, PG CVIII, 931. See also Peter Classen, Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz, p. 24.

[55]Erchemperti Hist. Lang. Ben., c. 5, p. 236.

first appeared and Grimoald began to build on to the princi-
pate of Arichis. There are hazy references in later Frankish
annals of renewed campaigns in southern Italy, but all re-
mained without result. Charles had solved his immediate
roblems caused by the Byzantine invasion, but, like his
Lombard predecessors, he was forced to live henceforth with
an independent Beneventan principate to the south.

Once again, Hadrian's advice had been ignored and his
attempts to manipulate his Frankish protector along lines
decided by Rome had been frustrated. To be sure, through
his efforts, the Church State had achieved the boundaries
which it was to maintain for over a thousand years and Rome
was no longer plagued with Lombard armies encamped outside
the walls of the city.[56] But the pope was learning that
his Frankish protector had no intention of awaiting a papal
call to action. In fact, Charles had demonstrated in the
past an alarming tendency to involve himself in the internal
affairs of the papal lands and, sadly for Hadrian, that Fran-
kish tendency increased during the last years of Hadrian's
pontificate.

In early 788 or 789 the archbishop of Ravenna, Gratiosus,
died, necessitating a new election. As a result, Charles
apparently mentioned to Hadrian that there was a precedent
for the intervention of Frankish <u>missi</u> in archepiscopal elec-
tions in Ravenna. It must be recalled that Frankish <u>missi</u>

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[56]E. Amann, <u>L'époque carolingienne</u>, pp. 66-67.

had taken part in the confusion surrounding the removal of the usurper Michael and the installation of the canonically-elected Leo in 770.[57] Hadrian carefully pointed out to the Frankish king that the actions of the Frankish *missi* had been confined to removing the usurper and that they had had nothing to do with the election of Leo.[58] The pope continued to state that no one, including the Frankish king, had the right to intervene in any archepiscopal election. Archbishops were elected in conformance with church law and then sent to Rome for examination and confirmation.[59] Yet, that Charles even suggested such a precedent is a clear indication of his growing conception of his own authority in the lands of the papacy.[60] Even though the pope's reply was couched in the usual polite superlatives, his heated denial of such Frankish precedents and his alarm about the Frankish king's suggestions cannot be mistaken.

Moreover, the interventions of Charles in the internal affairs of the papal lands were not confined solely to the

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[57]Cf. supra, p. 108, note 20. See Agnelli liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis, p. 386, for the possible dates of this second dispute in 788.

[58]Codex Carolinus 85, MGH Epp. III, 621.

[59]Ibid.: Nam nos nullo modo meminimus: neque a predecessoribus nobis, sanctis pontificibus, neque a sanctae recordationis precellentissimi genitoris vestri, domni Pippini, magni regis, neque a vestra in triumphis regalis victoria missum ad electionem Ravenne directum esse tam in electione Iohannus archiepiscopi quam in electione Gratiosi archiepiscopi eiusdem.

[60]E. Amann, L'époque carolingienne, p. 69; Abel-Simson, I, 541.

issue of elections in Ravenna. Sometime between 787 and 791, the Frankish king informed the pope that Venetian merchants trading in the Exarchate and in the Pentapolis were to be expelled immediately. Hadrian wrote to Charles that he had complied with the royal orders and that the archbishop of Ravenna had been instructed by the pope to seize Venetian possessions in the papal lands.[61] The issue provoking the Frankish king to insist on the expulsion of the merchants is not completely clear, but one could conjecture that it concerned the earlier problems with slave traffic. In any event, it is striking to note that Charles had again directly interfered in a matter within the papal areas and that Hadrian could only comply.

By now, the interference of the Frankish king in Italian matters was nothing new for the pope, nor was another problem he faced following the visit of Charles to Italy in 787. Hadrian had cause to complain, in the same letter in which he mentioned his compliance with Frankish instructions about the Venetian merchants, that one Garamannus had seized church possessions in the area around Ravenna. Charles was asked to correct the matter, not so much because the possessions seized belonged to the church, but because they were situated within what the pope termed his own lands.[62] Even

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[61]Codex Carolinus 86, MGH Epp. III, 622.

[62]Ibid.: Quid autem contigit Garamanno duci? Subito inruit super predia et possessiones sanctae Ravennatae ecclesiae nostris territoriis sitae et non solum eas occupavit, sed et omnes fruges a predicta abstulit ecclesia seu

though one cannot find evidence of large numbers of Frankish officials within the boundaries of the papal lands, the supremacy of Charles in both Lombard and papal Italy cannot be denied. When faced with seizures of lands by either Franks or Lombards,[63] Hadrian was helpless unless he received the assistance of the Frankish king.

Probably the cause of greatest papal anxiety was the continued intervention by Charles in strictly disciplinary matters within the Roman Church. In a letter written sometime after 787 Hadrian revealed that he had been instructed by Charles to take back the monk John, who had fled to the Frankish court bearing tales of serious corruptions within the ranks of the Roman clergy.[64] Significantly, the pope was instructed not to punish the monk for violating his monastic vows by leaving his monastery without permission to go to Francia.[65] It must have been difficult for the

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et de aliis piis locis. Nos quippe statim eum adhortari studuimus, ut, si fideles vester exstitisset, ipsas possessiones piorum locorum reddere prosus non omitteret, quia et iure ecclesiae Ravennantium seu et aliorum piorum locorum esse videntur et nostris territoriis sitae existunt;.... See also E. Hlawitschka, Franken, Alemannen, pp. 38-39.

[63]Hadrian complained of a similar seizure of land by the Lombard Duke Gudibrandus of Florence. Cf. Codex Carolinus 87, MGH Epp. III, 623; E. Hlawitschka, Franken, Alemannen, pp. 23-25.

[64]Later Hadrian vehemently denied an accusation of simony in Italian episcopal elections which could well have been brought to the attention of the Frankish king by the fugitive monk. Cf. Codex Carolinus 94, MGH Epp. III, 633-634.

[65]Codex Carolinus 88, MGH Epp. III, 625. See also S. Abel, "Papst Hadrian I. und die weltliche Herrschaft des römischen Stuhls," FdG, I (1860), 509ff.

pope to accept the instructions that he was not to punish
a Roman monk in a matter which exclusively concerned monastic discipline. Nevertheless, the pope agreed and the monk
was allowed to return to his monastery in peace.

In the light of these repeated interventions, it is not
at all surprising that Hadrian might have given credence to
the rumors that Charles was planning to depose him and replace him with a Frank. In a strange letter, Hadrian told
Charles that he had heard of the deposition plan from several
sources and that he had been assured that no such plan had
ever been discussed by the Frankish king.[66] Yet, Charles
had been quite active in placing Frankish bishops in his
Lombard kingdom and that activity may have provided the
impetus for the rumor that Charles had the same thing in
mind for the bishopric of Rome.[67] In any event, it was an
indication of the Frankish king's influence in both the Lombard kingdom and the papal areas that the pope mentioned the
deposition rumors at all.

Finally, by the end of his pontificate, Hadrian realized
that all his pleas to the Frankish king about individuals
fleeing to the Frankish court to avoid papal judgment had

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[66]Codex Carolinus 92, MGH Epp. III, 629-630.

[67]E. Hlawitschka, Franken, Alemannen, p. 32. The suggestion that Hadrian did not deny the right of Charles to
depose him is rather pointless, since the only right Charles
could have had for such an act was the strength of his own
right arm. Cf. R. Weyl, Die Beziehungen des Papstthums zum
fränkischen Staats-und Kirchenrecht unter den Karolingern
(Bresslau, 1892), p. 61.

gone unheard. Ever since the conquest of the Lombard kingdom in 774, Charles had received fugitives from papal justice, often intervening directly with the pope in the cases. On one occasion, involving two officials of Ravenna,[68] Hadrian had even offered to hear the cases in the presence of Frankish missi. Nonetheless, the pope had continually demonstrated that he was quite concerned about this violation of sovereign papal rights and it was evident to him that his previous references to promises and donations had not had effect on the Frankish king.

In the closing years of his pontificate, Hadrian again returned to the problem of fugitives from papal justice in a letter which probably concerned the two Ravennaten officials, who remained unpunished at the Frankish court. Despite the fact that Charles had informed the pope that he had found no guilt in the two men, Hadrian insisted on their return, since the Frankish king had apparently returned such fugitives to the duke of Benevento.[69] Unstated but clearly implied was a repetition of the papal complaint that Charles should not treat the Beneventan duke better than he did the

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[68]Cf. supra, p. 128, note 73.

[69]Codex Carolinus 94, MGH Epp. III, 635: Interea repperimus in ipsis regales apicibus vestris exaratum, sicut preterito anno vobis direximus, pro hominibus Ravinianis et Pentapolenses, de quos scripsimus, ut eos nobis dirigi, sicut Beneventano duci fecistis; et, ut fertis, de parte apostolatus nostri nihil mali, sed magis quae bona sunt retulerunt; sed neque eis neque quolibet homino nullatenus in nostra adversitate praeberemini consensum, sed statim, si tales repperissetis, et hominem et causam ad nostrum iudicium mitteremini.

vicar of St. Peter. Clearly apparent to the pope, by now, was the fact that the Frankish king intended to assume a political role in all of Italy which allowed little room for sovereign aspirations on the part of the papacy.

To combat the Frankish tendency to ignore papal claims, the pope coined a new phrase to express his own rights to the papal lands. Hadrian stated that he had always honored the patriciate of the Frankish king, particularly in returning to Francia individuals who had sought refuge within the papal lands to avoid Frankish prosecution. The pope then claimed that St. Peter also possessed a "patriciate" which had been conferred originally on Rome by Pepin and subsequently confirmed by Charles and which should be respected by the Franks.[70] The pope's meaning is rather transparent. For at least ten years he had been expressing his sovereign rights to certain lands in Italy through charter dating and the minting of coins. Now in an attempt to persuade the Frankish king to honor those sovereign rights, the pope used the phrase of a patriciate of St. Peter to express temporal rights to the Exarchate and the Pentapolis.

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[70]Ibid.: Sed quaesumus vestram regalem potentiam: nullam novitatem in holocaustum, quod beato Petro sanctae recordationis genitor vester optulit et vestra excellentia amplius confirmavit, inponere satagat, quia, ut fati estis, honor patriciatus vestri a nobis inrefragabiliter conservatur etiam et plus amplius honorificae honoratur, simili modo ipsum patriciatum beati Petri fautoris vestri tam a sanctae recordationis domni Pippini, magni regis, genitoris vestri, in scriptis in integro concessum et a vobis amplius confirmatum inrefragabili iure permaneat. See also Abel-Simson, I, 174.

Obviously, in his own eyes, Hadrian felt he had achieved his independent position in Italy. The pope's problem, however, was that the Frankish king did not completely recognize that position.

Moreover, it is striking to observe the changes in papal demands since Hadrian became pope in 772. In the early years of his pontificate, Hadrian had advanced claims to substantial portions of Italy. During the years of his relations with the Frankish king, the pope had been repeatedly frustrated in realizing those claims and had been forced to reduce his claims in substantive fashion. By the year of the letter referring to the patriciate of St. Peter, either 790 or 791, those papal claims had been reduced to defending papal rights to the Exarchate and the Pentapolis. Gone forever were the hopes of ruling the duchies of Tuscany, Spoleto and Benevento, gone also were the notions that the Frankish protector would immediately fulfill papal demands on territories throughout Italy. Hadrian had been made a petitioner of the Frankish king for most of his desires and his exercise of independent action in virtually every aspect of his rule had been reduced in the face of a growing Frankish monarchical ideal.

Only in one remaining area of activity had the pope been able to take steps independent of the Franks. The papal-Byzantine negotiations about the healing of the Iconoclastic schism, to which we must now turn, had been going on since 785. The Byzantine rulers, Irene and Constantine VI,

had initiated the discussions about the restoration of the images in the eastern church and Hadrian had proved most receptive to their suggestions. Yet, that the Frankish king did nothing about these discussions prior to 787 was probably due to the fact that he did not, as yet, know about them.[71] After 787, the inaction of the Frankish king in regard to the images was to change in ways which were fundamentally destructive to the principles of the papacy.

[71]E. Amann, L'époque carolingienne, p. 64; Erich Caspar, Das Papsttum unter fränkischer Herrschaft, pp. 83-85.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

HADRIAN, CHARLES AND THE IMAGES

In all of his dealings with Charles concerning the res-
titutions of land to the papacy, the relations of the papacy
with the other powers in Italy, and the papal jurisdiction
over the lands of the Papal States, Hadrian repeatedly had
been forced to retreat. Yet, one would suppose that there
was still one area in which the pope's authority would remain
unchallenged. That area was the determination of orthodox
doctrine in the church. Even while he had been suffering
political and jurisdictional reversals at the hands of the
Franks, Hadrian had continually insisted on the primal posi-
tion of the Roman See and the papal obligation to maintain
right order in the doctrines of the church. On numerous
occasions the pope told Charles that the Roman Church was
the Frankish king's "spiritual mother"[1] and that the Roman
Church was the head of all the churches of God.[2] However,
during the closing years of Hadrian's pontificate even this

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[1]Cf. for example Codex Carolinus 49, MGH Epp. III, 568;
no. 52, p. 573; no. 55, p. 578.

[2]Cf. Codex Carolinus 53, MGH Epp. III, 575; no. 60,
p. 587.

Roman supremacy concerning orthodox teaching was put to the test by the Frankish king. The occasion for the struggle of wills on doctrinal issues between the pope and the Frankish king was the question of the veneration of images.

The initial dispute over the proper place of holy images within the church did not, of course, originate during the pontificate of Hadrian. Ever since the early decades of the eighth century a schism between eastern and western churches had continued because of the image-breaking policies of the Byzantine emperors. Both Gregory II and Gregory III had reacted violently against the attempts of the emperors Leo III and Constantine V to enforce their iconoclastic decrees in Byzantine Italy.[3] The papal resistance to the decrees and to the Byzantine attempt to tax papal patrimonies had provoked Leo III in 732 to seize the southern Italian patrimonies of the Roman Church and to transfer the metropolitan authority over dioceses in Calabria, Sicily and Illyricum from Rome to Constantinople.[4] As a result of both

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[3]See the letters of Gregory II to Leo in Mansi XII, 960-981. Cf. also Erich Caspar, "Papst Gregor II. und der Bilderstreit," ZKG, LII (1933), 29-89.

[4]Theophanis chronographia, a. 6224, PG CVIII, 827. See also M.V. Anastos, "The transfer of Illyricum, Calabria and Sicily to the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople in 732-33," Silloge Bizantina in onore di S.J. Mercati, vol IX: Studi Bizantini e neoellenici (Rome, 1957), pp. 14-31; H. Hubert, "Étude sur la formation des états de l'église," RH, LXIX (1899), 21-22; G. Every, The Byzantine Patriarchate (London, 1962), pp. 88-89; L. Bréhier, La querelle des images (Paris, 1904), p. 17. There is no evidence to support Gay's hypothesis that no action was taken by the Byzantines prior to 753-4, cf. J. Gay, L'Italie meridionale et l'empire byzantin (Paris, 1904), pp. 11-12.

the iconoclastic decrees and the Byzantine seizure of papal lands, Gregory III convened a council in 732, attended by the archbishop of Ravenna, the patriarch of Grado and ninety-three bishops, which condemned those who destroyed the sacred images against the ancient traditions of the Apostolic Church.[5] Undoubtedly the iconoclast posture of the Byzantines contributed to the gradual turning of the papacy from the East to the West and little was done for almost fifty years to heal the split in the church.

Yet, to view the entire question of image veneration as merely a part of Byzantine politics is to underestimate the importance of the issue within the Byzantine church. The traditional view of the iconoclastic troubles has been to juxtapose oriental iconoclasts with Hellenic iconodules in a struggle for supremacy within the empire.[6] Scholars have recently recognized, however, that the disputes involved with the veneration of images had their roots in the Christological debates of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries.[7] The arguments of the iconoclasts, clearly stated in the council of Hiereia in 754, condemned the manufacture and veneration of holy images.[8] The iconoclasts protested

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[5]_Vita Gregorii III_, c. 3, p. 416.

[6]Most recently by G. Every, _The Byzantine Patriarchate_, pp. 75-76.

[7]Peter Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis: aspects of the Iconoclastic controversy," _EHR_, LXXXVIII (1973), 1-34; Karl Morrison, _Tradition and Authority in the Western Church_ (Princeton, 1969), pp. 168-170.

[8]The acts of the council have been lost, but long sections

especially against the images of Christ, since they felt that Christ is not only man, but God, and as such cannot be represented. According to the iconoclasts, Christ has two natures, divine and human. Whoever should attempt to portray only His human nature would violate the doctrine of the inseparability of His two natures and thus fall into the Nestorian heresy, which emphasized the human nature of Christ at the expense of the divine. On the other hand, if one attempted to portray both natures, he would violate the doctrine that Christ's two natures are not confused and thus would espouse Monophysitism, which stressed the divine nature of Christ.[9] Therefore, the iconoclasts argued that representations of Christ in images were not possible since they would conflict with fundamental Christian beliefs.

The position of those in favor of image veneration is no less intricate. The "orthodox" view of the images carefully differentiated between veneration and adoration. The first is due to the images, but the second is reserved for God alone. Further, if the Son of God really became man, then he could be portrayed in images. Whoever would dispute the idea that images of Christ could be made would deny the

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of them were quoted during the synod of Nicaea (Nicaea II) in 787, cf. Mansi XIII, 208-356.

[9]H-L, III, 2, pp. 697-703; G. Ostrogorsky, "Rom und Byzanz im Kampfe um die Bilderverehrung," Seminarium Kondakovianum, VI (1933), 81-82; M. Anastos, "The argument for Iconoclasm presented by the Iconoclastic Council of 754," Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert M. Friend, Jr. (Princeton, 1955), pp. 177-188.

reality of Christ's humanity and thereby undermine the foundation of Christian belief.[10] One participant of Nicaea II stated that the iconoclasts were worse than all heretics, since, by rejecting the holy images, they denied the "incarnate dispensations" of Christ.[11] Obviously, then, the question of the images was one which deeply concerned the eastern church. Yet, as will become evident, the issue was not so critical in the West.

Little or nothing was done in Rome concerning the iconoclastic measures after Gregory III's condemnation of the image-breakers. Finally, late in 784 a letter bearing the names of Constantine VI and his mother Irene arrived in Rome, inviting the participation of Pope Hadrian in a council to restore the veneration of images in the eastern church.[12] Neither this letter, nor the one which followed from the new patriarch, Tarasius, announcing his election, has survived intact.[13] The council was initially to be convened in Constantinople in 786 and Hadrian was invited to preside over the meetings. In response, Hadrian sent letters both to Irene and Constantine VI and to Tarasius,

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[10]G. Ostrogorsky, "Rom und Byzanz im Kampfe um die Bilderverehrung," p. 81.

[11]Mansi XIII, 167.

[12]Cf. Theophanis chronographia, a. 6277, PG CVIII, 927; E. Amann, L'époque carolingienne, p. 114; L. Bréhier, La querelle des images, p. 24.

[13]Fragments of the letters are reproduced in the acts of Nicaea II, cf. Mansi XII, 984; H-L, III, 2, pp. 743-747.

announcing his joy that the images were to be restored and
promising the dispatch of learned papal legates to partici-
pate in the council.[14] However, it is significant to note
that Hadrian made no attempt to inform his Frankish protec-
tor about the convocation of the council, nor was Charles
invited to send Frankish bishops to participate. Part of
Hadrian's reasons for not informing Charles stemmed from
the demands he was to make on the Greeks for the restitution
of lands in Italy. Clearly the pope was interested in ex-
panding papal holdings and he may well have felt that the
Frankish king would not approve of the papal plan to obtain
the southern Italian patrimonies. But, as one scholar has
pointed out, the neglect to inform Charles was to result,
in the years following 787, in an impossible situation for
the pope.[15]

Hadrian's response to the Byzantine invitation illus-
trates the western position concerning the veneration of
images. In addition to joyful exclamations about the restor-
ation of the images, the pope's letter reveals that he ap-
parently had no knowledge of the Christological import of
the image question. His justification of image veneration
relied on the doctrine accepted in the West since the ponti-
ficate of Gregory the Great.[16] Gregory's ideas, expressed

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[14]JE 2448, 2449; Mansi XII, 1055-1076, 1077-1084.

[15]E. Amann, L'époque carolingienne, p. 64.

[16]JE 2448, Mansi XII, 1060.

in letters to bishop Serenus of Marseille at the turn of the seventh century, condemned both the adoration and the destruction of images. The images served the purpose of being the alphabet of Holy Scripture for the illiterate and, thus, had a place within the church.[17] To be sure, Hadrian was aware of the danger of idolatry in the western position and he carefully pointed out to Irene and Constantine that he in no way wished to deify the images.[18] Yet, for the eastern church in 787 the question no longer concerned idolatry but the humanity of Christ. Hadrian's response did not address this fundamental problem for the eastern church in any substantive fashion.

This is not to say necessarily that Hadrian was backwards or ignorant concerning the intricate theological arguments on the images. Hadrian's response simply indicates that the union of the image question with Christological doctrine was somewhat alien to the Roman Church.[19] The pope

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[17]MGH Epp. II, 195: Et quidem zelum vos, ne quid manufactum adorari possit, habuisse laudamus, sed frangere easdem imagines non debuisse iudicamus. Idcirco enim pictura in ecclesia adhibetur, ut hi qui litteras nesciunt saltem in parietibus videndo legant, quae legere in codicibus non valeant. Tua ergo fraternitas et illa servare et ab eorum adoratu populum prohibere debuit....

[18]Mansi XII, 1061: Nam absit a nobis, ut ipsas imagines (sicut quidam garriunt) deificemus; sed affectum et dilectionem nostram, quam in Dei amorem et sanctorum ejus habemus, omni modo praeferimus. Et sicut divinae scripturae libros, ipsas imagines ob memoriam venerationes habemus, nostrae fidei puritatem servantes.

[19]G. Ostrogorsky, "Rom und Byzanz im Kampfe um die Bilderverehrung," pp. 82-83; Peter Classen, Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz, p. 25; Karl F. Morrison, Tradition

was clearly in accord with western emphasis on the images
as didactic devices. But his response was so far from the
eastern position on the veneration of images that additions
were made to Hadrian's letter before it was read during the
second session of Nicaea II. A comparison of the Greek and
Latin versions of the papal letter yields the fact that the
Byzantines added a phrase about the humanity of Christ to
Hadrian's citation of Gregory the Great.[20] This phrase
about Christ's humanity is not found in Pope Gregory's ori-
ginal pronouncements. Thus, in effect, the papal pronounce-
ments on the question of the images had to be supplemented
by the Byzantines in order to bring it closer to the eastern
orthodox position.

Moreover, image veneration was not the only question
dealt with in Hadrian's letter to Irene and Constantine
which displeased the Byzantines. After his justification
of image veneration the pope turned to the non-doctrinal
matters which had also contributed to the split in the
church. He informed Irene and Constantine that if they
should truly desire to return to the orthodox faith they
should immediately give back the patrimonies once seized
by Leo III. Additionally, the southern Italian dioceses
should be restored to the jurisdiction of Rome "so that no

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and Authority, pp. 169-170.

[20]G. Ostrogorsky, "Rom und Byzanz im Kampfe um die
Bilderverehrung," pp. 78-80.

schism would be able to survive."[21] To reinforce this idea

of restitution the pope mentioned the triumphs and rewards

bestowed by St. Peter on the pope's son Charles, king of the

Franks and Lombards and patrician of the Romans. According

to the pope, Charles had restored to St. Peter provinces,

cities and territories, as well as the patrimonies once

seized by the Lombards.[22] Obviously, this was a practice

the pope hoped the Byzantines would emulate.

Seen in the light of his actions during his entire pon-

tificate, it is not surprising that Hadrian seized the oppor-

tunity presented by a healing of the church schism to make

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[21]JE 2448, Mansi XII, 1073: Porro et hoc vestrum a Deo
coronatum ac piissimum poscimus imperium: ut si veram et
orthodoxam sanctae catholicae ecclesiae Romanae nitimini
amplecti fidem, sicut antiquitus ab orthodoxis imperatoribus,
seu a ceteris Christianis fidelibus oblata atque concessa
sunt patrimonia beati Petri apostolorum principis, fautoris
vestri, in integrum nobis restituere pro luminariorum con-
cinnatoribus eidem Dei ecclesiae, atque alimoniis pauperum.
Imo et consecrationes archiepiscoporum, seu episcoporum,
sicut olitana constat traditio, nostrae diocesis existentes
penitus canonice sanctae Romane nostrae restituantur eccle-
siae, ut nequaquam schisma inter concordiam perseverare valeat
sacerdotum, sicut in vestra serenissima jussione exaratum
est:.... See also G. Every, The Byzantine Patriarchate,
p. 102; H-L, III, 2, p. 751.

[22]Mansi XII, 1075-76: ...sicut filius et spiritualis
compater noster dominus Carolus rex Francorum et Langobar-
dorum, ac patricius Romanorum, nostris obtemperans monitis,
atque adimplens in omnibus voluntates, omnis Hesperie occidue-
que partis barbaras nationes suo suis prosternens conculcavit
pedibus, omnipotentatum illarum domans, et suo subjiciens
regno adunavit. Unde per sua laboriosa certamina eidem Dei
apostoli ecclesie ob nimium amorem plura dona perpetuo ob-
tulit possidenda, tam provincias, quam civitates, seu castra
et cetera territoria, imo et patrimonia que a perfida Lango-
bardorum gente detinebantur, brachio forti eidem Dei apos-
tolo restituit, cujus et jure esse dignoscebantur. See also
Paul J. Alexander, The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople
(Oxford, 1958), p. 104.

demands for territorial restitutions on the Byzantines.
Indeed, there is a striking similarity between the wording
of this request to the Byzantines and the ones made to Char-
les, especially the reference to St. Peter as the "protector."
Yet, if the pope expected a complete restoration of the
status quo ante for his cooperation in restoring the images,
he was again to be disillusioned. The Byzantines simply
ignored his requests, since even Irene and Constantine were
not ready to surrender the southern Italian patrimonies to
Rome.[23] But it should be borne in mind that Hadrian consi-
dered both the image question and the seized patrimonies as
parts of the schism.

Equally irritating to the Byzantines must have been
Hadrian's insistence on the doctrine of the Roman primacy.
The pope stated that he had been surprised to find Tarasius
named the "universal" patriarch, and Hadrian responded with
a clear statement of the primacy of Rome:

> Because if he is universal, then he is recognized
> to hold the first see of our church, which appears
> ridiculous to all faithful Christians: since in
> all the lands the principate and power were given
> by that Redeemer of the world to the apostle St.
> Peter; and through that apostle, whose place we
> bear unmerited, the Holy Catholic and Apostolic
> Roman Church holds the principate and the auth-
> ority of power continuously from then to eter-
> nity: since (which we do not believe) if any-
> one pronounced him universal, or gave assent,
> he should know himself to be alien to the orth-
> odox faith, and a rebel to our Holy Catholic and

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[23]G. Ostrogorsky, "Rom und Byzanz im Kampfe um die
Bilderverehrung," pp. 75-76; G. Ostrogorsky, History of
the Byzantine State (New Brunswick, 1957), p. 163.

Apostolic Church.[24]

Even though Hadrian may have conformed to Byzantine direc-
tions in the restoration of the images, it is clear that he
was intent on preserving the rights of St. Peter with the
Byzantines. It is scarcely surprising, then, that passages
referring both to territorial restitutions and to the Roman
primacy were suppressed at Nicaea II.[25]

Despite his claims, the pope dispatched his two legates,
the archpresbyter Peter and the abbot Peter of S. Saba, to
Constantinople in early 786. The Byzantines hoped to con-
vene the council in the spring of 786, but the council's
first meeting was disrupted by angry soldiers who were still
predominantly iconoclast.[26] The attacks forced a recess

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[24]Mansi XII, 1074: Quia si universalis est, etiam eccle-
siae nostrae sedes primatum habere dignoscitur, quod ridicu-
lum omnibus fidelibus Christianis apparet: quia in toto orbe
terrarum ab ipso redemptore mundi beato Petro apostolo prin-
cipatus ac potestas data est; et per eumdem apostolum, cuius
vel immeriti vices gerimus, sancta catholica et apostolica
Romana ecclesia usque hactenus et in aevum tenet principatum,
ac potestatis auctoritatem: quatenus (quod non credimus) si
quispiam eum universalem nuncupaverit, vel assensum tribuerit,
sciat se orthodoxae fidei esse alienum, et nostrae sanctae
catholicae et apostolicae ecclesiae rebellem.

[25]F. Dvornik, Byzantium and the Roman Primacy (New York,
1966), p. 96; L. Serraz, "Les lettres du pape Hadrien Ier
lues au IIe concile de Nicée," Échos d'Orient, XXIX (1926),
407-418. Whether the offensive passages were actually omit-
ted in the Greek translations of the letter or not is not
important here. Cf. L. Wallach, "The Greek and Latin ver-
sions of II Nicaea and the Synodica of Hadrian I (JE 2448),"
Trad., XXII (1966), 103-125. It is certain that the irri-
tating issues raised by Hadrian were ignored during the
eight sessions of Nicaea II.

[26]Theophanis chronographia, a. 6278-6279, PG CVIII, 929-
930; Mansi XII, 989-992; E. Amann, L'époque carolingienne,
pp. 116-117.

until late in 787 and, during the interim, Irene took steps to remove the troublesome soldiers and to transfer the council to Nicaea.[27] Ultimately, the first session of Nicaea was held on 24 September 787, attended by Byzantine bishops, representatives of the churches of Alexandria and Antioch, and the two papal legates. It is significant to note that the two papal legates were apparently the only participants in the council from the West.

It is not our task here to describe in detail what occurred during the eight sessions of Nicaea II.[28] Nonetheless, it must be emphasized that, according to the Byzantines, the council had been summoned to re-establish the "ancient tradition concerning the venerable images."[29] In the eyes of the bishops at Nicaea II, the iconoclastic council of 754 had introduced novelties concerning the destruction of images into the doctrines of the church. The iconoclastic position on the images was not in accord with the teachings of the church and, further, iconoclasm had been repudiated by the bishop of Rome, whose legates had not been in attendance in 754. Therefore, it was the task of Nicaea II to establish and follow the patristic teachings on the images.[30]

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[27]Theophanis chronographia, a. 6279, PG CVIII, 930; H-L, III, 2, pp. 758-759.

[28]See H-L, III, 2, pp. 760-775.

[29]Mansi XII, 985: ...ascendat huc in stabilitatem et firmitatem antiquae traditionis super venerabilis imaginibus: debitum enim illi est hoc facere:....

[30]Ibid., 1004. See especially the masterful study by

Certainly there was nothing objectionable in these intentions
for the papacy.

Of more immediate concern for the papal legates at
Nicaea II, however, was the condemnation of the council of
754. In his letters both to Irene and Constantine and to
Tarasius Hadrian had insisted that one of the conditions
for papal participation in the council was anathematizing
the iconoclastic decrees in the presence of the papal leg-
ates.[31] As a result, all the acts of 754 were anathematized.
Indeed, the fifth and sixth sessions of Nicaea II were oc-
cupied with detailed refutations of the decrees of 754 and
discussions of patristic literature cited by the iconoclasts
in defense of their own position.[32] In all these proceedings
the papal legates played a secondary role, occasionally
being called upon to approve what they had heard.

Finally, in the seventh session the council made its
profession of faith and articulated the eastern orthodox
position on the veneration of images. After carefully
stating a differentiation between veneration of the images
and actual worship, which was given to God alone, the Nicene
position affirmed that images could be venerated in the same

Karl Morrison, Tradition and Authority, pp. 177-180.

[31]Mansi XII, 1073: ...in primis pseudosyllogum illud,
quod sine apostolica sede enormiter et irrationabiliter,
nequiterque contra sanctorum venerabilium patrum traditionem
de sacris imaginibus est, anathematizetur praesentibus missis
nostris:.... See also a similar demand made by the pope to
Tarasius, Mansi XII, 1081.

[32]Mansi XIII, 158-363.

fashion as other symbols, like the Cross and the Gospels. As was stated in the seventh session, "He who venerates an image venerates the substance depicted in it."[33] All those who did not conform to the Nicene decrees were to be anathematized and the papal legates were called upon to subscribe the decrees, which they did in the name of Hadrian.[34] For the moment it seemed that the schism between the eastern and western churches was ended and, after a reading of the conciliar decrees in the presence of Irene and Constantine VI, the council was closed.

After the adjournment of the council of Nicaea II the papal legates returned to Rome with a copy of the council's acts written in Greek. According to Hadrian's biography, the pope had the acts translated into Latin and placed in the archives.[35] Unfortunately for the pope, the Latin

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[33]Ibid., 378-379: Non tamen ad veram latriam, quae secundum fidem est, quae que solam divinam naturam decet, impartiendam: ita ut istis, sicuti figurae praetiosae ac vivificae crucis, et sanctis evangeliis, et reliquis sacris monumentis, incensorum et luminum oblatio ad harum honorem efficiendum exhibeatur, quemadmodum et antiquis piae conseutudinis erat. Imaginis enim honor ad primitivum transit: et qui adorat imaginem adorat in ea depicti subsistentiam. Sic enim robur obtinet sanctorum patrum nostrorum doctrina, id est traditio sanctae catholicae ecclesiae, quae a finibus usque ad fines terrae suscepit evangelium. See also H-L, III, 2, pp. 772-774; G. Every, The Byzantine Patriarchate, pp. 95-96.

[34]Mansi XIII, 379.

[35]Vita Hadriani, c. 88, p. 512: Quam synodum iamdicti missi in greco sermone secum deferentes una cum imperialibus sacris manibus propriis subscriptis, praedictus egregius antistes in latino eam translatari iussit, et in sacra bibliotheca puriter recondi, dignam sibi orthodoxe fidei memoriam aeternam faciens.

translation was virtually incomprehensible. The translator
made no differentiation between adoration and veneration
and adhered strictly to the Greek word order.[36] As a result,
the original Latin translation of the Nicene acts, now lost,
differed in essential places with the Greek version. To
make matters even worse, the pope only sent the Latin ver-
sion to Charles, who never saw the Nicene acts in Greek.[37]

The arrival of the Nicene decrees in Francia was prob-
ably the first notification Charles had received about the
convocation of a council in the East. Frankish bishops had
not been invited to participate in the council and there is
no evidence that Hadrian informed Charles of the meetings
prior to 787. In fact, it could be argued that the pope
tried to steer a politically independent course between the
Franks and the Greeks, hoping to regain the papal patri-
monies in southern Italy in addition to ending the schism.[38]
As his disappointment over Frankish restitutions of land

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[36]See the preface to the ninth-century translation of
Anastasius Bibliothecarius, Mansi XII, 981-984. As Anas-
tasius pointed out, part of the problem stemmed from the
fact that Hadrian could neither read nor write Greek.

[37]The theory of Albert Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutsch-
lands, II, 282, that Charles received the faulty translation
from iconoclasts in Constantinople, was based on a confused
Northumbrian annal and has not been generally accepted. Cf.
W. von den Steinen, "Entstehungsgeschichte der Libri Caro-
lini," QFIAB, XXI (1929-1930), 11-18.

[38]Cf. Erich Caspar, Das Papsttum unter fränkischer
Herrschaft, p. 76; H. Barion, "Der kirchenrechtliche Char-
akter des Konzils von Frankfurt 794," ZRG, KA, XIX (1930),
141; H. Bastgen, "Kapitulare über der Bilderstreit oder der
sogenannte Libri Carolini," NA, XXXVI (1911), 631-634.

increased, the pope may have hoped to secure promises of restitutions from the Greeks. Therefore, as we have seen, Hadrian carefully combined the solution of the image question with the return of the lands once seized by Leo III in the early eighth century. However, as will become evident, rather than steering an independent course between the Franks and the Greeks, the pope found himself trapped in an almost impossible situation.

However, before proceeding to an explanation of the exchange between the Franks and the pope, it is important to establish the chronology of the documents involved in the exchange. In a masterful study, Wolfram von den Steinen demonstrated that Hadrian sent the Nicene decrees to Charles in 789. The initial Frankish objections, now lost, were immediately sent to Rome, probably arriving in the same year. Hadrian's long letter defending the decrees was then written and sent to Francia in 790. But the formal Frankish refutations of the Nicene decrees, the <u>Libri Carolini</u>, were already complete and the pope's letter had little effect on Frankish attitudes.[39] Therefore, the initial Frankish response and the <u>Libri Carolini</u> were not identical, as was once thought.[40] Thus, the issue was debated in four documents:

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[39]W. von den Steinen, "Entstehungsgeschichte der <u>Libri Carolini</u>," pp. 87-93. See also A. Freeman, "Theodulf of Orleans and the <u>Libri Carolini</u>," <u>Spec.</u>, XXXII (1957), 666-668.

[40]H. Bastgen, "Kapitulare über der Bilderstreit oder der sogenannte Libri Carolini," <u>NA</u>, XXXVII (1912), 475ff.

the Nicene decrees, the Frankish objections, the papal de-
fense, and the Libri Carolini.

If Hadrian expected joyful agreement from Charles on
the victory of orthodox tradition at Nicaea II, he must have
been horrified by the Frankish response. Upon receipt of
the translated Nicene decrees the Frankish king submitted
them to the court theologians. The Franks apparently found
the decrees so unacceptable that a series of objections were
written and immediately sent to Rome.[41] The initial Fran-
kish response to the Nicene decrees, usually termed the
capitulare adversus synodum, was couched in a series of
eighty-five specific objections to ideas expressed at Nicaea
II. The Frankish objections focused on specific statements
and decrees from Nicaea II, probably in the form of a cita-
tion from the translated Nicene acts. The Franks apparently
posed their objections in order to obtain further expla-
nation of the decrees from the pope. If the papal expla-
nation proved unsatisfactory, the Frankish king apparently
did not feel bound to accept the Nicene decrees as part of
the orthodox teachings of the church.

That Charles perceived it as his duty to intervene in
the doctrinal issue is clearly articulated in the preface
to the Libri Carolini. The Frankish king had been charged
by God with the defense of the church and the orthodox faith.[42]

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[41]H-L, III, 2, pp. 1061-1062; Jules Maréchal, Les livres
carolins (Lyon, 1906), pp. 35-39.

[42]Libri Carolini, MGH Conc. II Supp., p. 2. See also

Moreover, to see in the Frankish reaction only the expression of political hostility toward Byzantium is to disregard totally the Frankish king's concern with maintaining right order in the church.[43] To be sure, Charles had good reason for hostility toward the Byzantines, since in 788 they had supported the attempts of Adelgis to regain his father's Lombard kingdom. Yet, the Frankish king's reaction against Nicaea II, both in the capitulare and the Libri Carolini, revealed his alarm that the eastern councils were introducing heresy into the orthodox teaching of the church.[44]

Of greatest interest here, however, is the pope's reaction to the Frankish criticisms of the Nicene decrees. In his long reply the pope acknowledged that he had received the capitulare adversus synodum from Charles. Hadrian was sending his answer, as he said, "not defending the men in any way, far from it, but holding to the revealed tradition of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church, we follow the ancient doctrines of our predecessors the holy pontiffs."[45]

J. Maréchal, Les livres carolins, pp. 35-39; H-L, III, 2, pp. 1065-1068.

[43]Political reasons for the Frankish response are expressed by A. Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, II, 326, and J. Haller, Das Papsttum, II, 10. Further, the issue was more complex than just a refusal to recognize Nicaea II as an ecumenical council, cf. H. Barion, "Der kirchenrechtliche Charakter des Konzils von Frankfurt 794," p. 155.

[44]Cf. E. Delaruelle, "Charlemagne et l'Église," RHEF, XXXIX (1953), 188-189.

[45]MGH Epp. V, 7: Inter quibus edidit nobis capitulare adversus synodum, quae pro sacris imaginibus erectione in Nicea acta est. Unde pro vestra melliflua regali dilectione

This emphasis on the teachings of earlier popes revealed a difference between the papal and Frankish conceptions. As has been illustrated by Karl Morrison, even though the <u>Libri Carolini</u> acknowledged the primacy of the Roman See, the Frankish author placed more emphasis on tradition than on papal pronouncements in determining the orthodox doctrine of the church.[46] Thus, in Frankish eyes, as Morrison summarized, "the interpretation of the writings of the Fathers was subject to the judgment of the entire Church, not to the approval of one see."[47] Obviously, the papal emphasis on its own discretionary authority and the Frankish stress on the judgment of the entire Church were heading for a most serious collision.

This emphasis on tradition was further reflected in Frankish attacks on the ecumenical claims of Nicaea II. For Hadrian the decrees of Nicaea II should belong to the body of church doctrine not only because the decrees re-established what the pope considered the orthodox position on the images, but also simply because he accepted them.[48]

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per unumquemque capitulum responsum reddidimus, non qualibet, ut absit, hominem defendentes, sed olitana traditione sanctae catholicae et apostolicae Romanae ecclesiae tenentes, priscam predecessorum nostrorum sanctorum pontificum sequemur doctrina, recte fidei traditione modis omnibus vidicantes.

[46]<u>Libri Carolini</u>, I, 6, pp. 20-21; Karl Morrison, <u>Tradition and Authority</u>, pp. 180-185.

[47]Karl Morrison, <u>Tradition and Authority</u>, pp. 160-161.

[48]<u>MGH Epp</u>. V, 56: Et ideo ipsam suscepimus synodum.

For the Franks, however, acceptance of Nicaea II was placed
on an entirely different basis. Ecumenical status for
Nicaea II did not depend on the acceptance of its decrees
by any part of the church, nor did it stem from the numbers
of bishops present in Nicaea. Much more important was the
fact that Nicaea's teaching was not universal and was not
in accord with the universal faith.[49] Therefore, on the
basis of the conflict between the Nicene acts and the ortho-
dox tradition of the church, the Franks refused to accept
Nicaea II as the seventh ecumenical council.

Finally, from a comparison of the Nicene decrees, Had-
rian's defense of the conciliar decrees, and the Libri Caro-
lini, it would seem that Hadrian did not understand the
issues involved in either the eastern position or the Fran-
kish reaction.[50] One example will suffice to illustrate
the pope's lack of comprehension. A part of the Nicene acts
particularly irritating to the Franks, since it was mentioned
both in the capitulare adversus synodum and in the Libri
Carolini, was a statement from one bishop in the third
session of Nicaea II. The bishop proclaimed that the images

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[49]Libri Carolini, IV, 28, p. 227: Inter cetera delera-
menta, quae in eadem synodo vel gesta vel scripta dicuntur,
hoc quoque non omnibus eorum deleramentis minus est, quod
eandem synodum universalem nuncupant, cum neque universalis
fidei inconculsam habeat puritatem neque per universarum
ecclesiarum gesta constet auctoritatem. See also H. Barion,
"Der kirchenrechtliche Charakter des Konzils von Frankfurt
794," pp. 155-156.

[50]Cf. G. Ostrogorsky, "Rom und Byzanz im Kampfe um die
Bilderverehrung," pp. 83-84; A. Freeman, "Theodulf of Or-
leans and the Libri Carolini," pp. 663-664.

should receive the same adoration as the Holy Trinity.[51]
. To the initial Frankish criticism of this statement Hadrian
could only restate the conciliar decree, which stipulated
that the images were to be venerated in the same fashion as
the Cross and the Gospels.[52] In contrast, the Libri Carolini
attacked the Nicene identification of the images and the
Holy Trinity with numerous Scriptural passages and a de-
tailed argument which dismissed the Nicene statement as
"insane babbling."[53] In the Frankish view the images were
neither to be venerated nor adored nor broken. They were
ornamental and mnemonic devices; only as such did they have
a place in the church.[54] In reaction, the pope offered
little defense of the Nicene decrees and it is probable
that his letter had minimal effect on the final formulation
of the Libri Carolini.[55]

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[51]Mansi XII, 1148: ...suscipiens et amplectens honora-
biliter sanctas et venerabiles imagines: atque adorationem
quae per latriam, id est, Deo debitam servitutem efficitur,
soli supersubstantiali et vivificae Trinitati impendo. See
also L. Wallach, "The unknown author of the Libri Carolini,"
Didascaliae. Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda (New
York, 1961), pp. 472-473; W. von den Steinen, "Entstehungs-
geschichte der Libri Carolini," pp. 84ff.

[52]MGH Epp. V, 17-18.

[53]Libri Carolini, III, 17, pp. 138-140.

[54]Cf. Libri Carolini Praef., p. 5; III, 27, p. 161; L.
Bréhier, La querelle des images, p. 59; H-L, III, 2, pp.
1078-1080; G. Haendler, Epochen karolingischer Theologie
(Berlin, 1958), pp. 68-72.

[55]W. von den Steinen, "Entstehungsgeschichte der Libri
Carolini," pp. 50-59; A. Freeman, "Theodulf of Orleans and
the Libri Carolini," pp. 666-668.

Yet, it could be argued in Hadrian's defense that he was trapped in an impossible situation. He had sent legates to Nicaea II in the hope of healing the church schism and regaining the rightful papal possessions. Expecting joyful approval from the Franks for his actions, the pope had actually received a detailed criticism of the Nicene decrees, to which the papal legates had affixed their signatures. Subsequently involved in a theological debate with the Franks, the meaning of which he only dimly perceived, Hadrian faced a difficult choice. One alternative was to support completely the Nicene decrees against the Franks, thereby running the risk of alienating the papal protector. The other clear choice was to abandon the acts of Nicaea II altogether, which not only involved the danger of renewed schism with the Byzantines, but also had serious implications for the position of the papacy as the font of church authority. Obviously, Hadrian could follow neither of these paths.

Caught in this dilemma, the pope actually found a third alternative. At the close of his long letter defending Nicaea II, Hadrian mentioned to the Frankish king that he had not yet sent his response about the council to the Byzantines, fearing that they might return to their error. But, according to the pope, if the Greeks had returned from one error in the re-establishment of the images, they persisted in two others. Hadrian had warned Irene and Constantine VI that if they wished to return to the true faith, they should endeavor to restore the seized patrimonies to the pope and

return the bishoprics in Sicily, Calabria and Illyricum to the jurisdiction of Rome.[56] As we have seen, the Greeks ignored these papal demands, even though Hadrian had made the seizure of the papal lands a part of the schism separating East and West. Therefore, the pope informed Charles that, if the Frankish king would agree, he would declare the emperor a heretic for his persistent refusal to restore the papal lands.[57]

The traditional view of Hadrian's offer to excommunicate the Byzantine emperor is one of total defeat for the papacy. Even the learned Albert Hauck lamented the fact that Hadrian had submerged the critical theological issues of the problem

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[56]Cf. supra, p. 200, note 19.

[57]MGH Epp. V, 57: Nos vero adhuc pro eadem synodo nullum responsum usque actenus eidem imperatori reddidimus, metuentes, ne ad eorum reverterentur errorem. Dudum quippe, quando eos pro sacris imaginibus erectione adortavimus, simili modo et de diocesi tam archiepiscopum, quam et episcoporum sanctae catholice et apostolice Romane ecclesiae, quae tunc cum patrimoniis nostris abstulerunt, quando sacris imagines deposuerunt, commonentes, restituere eidem sanctae catholicae et apostolicae Romane ecclesiae quaesivimus, et hec responsum qualibet exinde dederunt. Et in hoc nimis palam ostenditur, quia ex uno capitulo ab errore reversi sunt, ex aliis duobus in eodem permanent errore. Si enim ubique Christianorum ecclesiae canonice intactas suas possident dioceses, quanto amplius sancta catholica et apostolica Romana ecclesia, que est caput omnium Dei ecclesiarum, sua diocesi, videlicet archiepiscoporum et episcoporum, immo et patrimonia pro luminariorum concinnantione atque alimoniis pauperum inrefragibili iure et tenere et possidere modis omnibus debetur! Unde si vestra annuerit a Deo protecta regalis excellentia, eodem adortamur imperatore, pro sacris imaginibus in pristino statu erectione gratiam agentes et de diocesi sanctae nostre Romane ecclesie tam archiepiscoporum, quam episcoporum seu de patrimoniis iterum inerepantes commonemus, ut, si noluerit ea sanctae Romane ecclesiae restituere, hereticum eum pro huiusmodi erroris perseverantia esse decernimus.

in the pursuit of temporal gain.[58] For others the problem
did not even concern theology: the pope simply surrendered.[59]
Yet, these notions of surrender contain two misconceptions.
To begin with, they make an artifical differentiation between
papal theology and papal politics, postulating that the pope
made a political decision which conflicted with his doctrinal
position. Secondly, traditional scholarship has overlooked
the fact that Hadrian had carefully combined the restoration
of the images with the restitution of the patrimonies as
conditions for healing the schism. The pope had not suddenly
invented this union in his letter to Charles, since he had
stated his conditions to the Byzantines as early as 785.
In papal eyes, the Byzantines had actually remedied only one
of their three errors.

On the other hand, even if it is a misconception to view
Hadrian's offer of excommunication as a capitulation, it is
difficult to deny that Hadrian did retreat in the face of
Frankish opposition. To be sure, in the optimum situation
the pope would have been successful in restoring the images
in the eastern church, in regaining his lost patrimonies
and jurisdictions, and in obtaining Frankish approval for
his actions. Since that had not transpired, Hadrian was

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[58]A. Hauck, _Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands_, II, 341-343.

[59]J. Haller, _Das Papsttum_, II, 15; G. Ostrogorsky,
History of the Byzantine State, pp. 163-164. Other treat-
ments attempt to find traces of a compromise, cf. Erich
Caspar, _Das Papsttum unter fränkischer Herrschaft_, pp.
83-85; G. Haendler, _Epochen karolingischer Theologie_, p.
43.

forced to find a middle road. In this light, Hadrian's offer
to excommunicate the Byzantines for not returning his patri-
monies was the "cautious diplomatic enterprise" of one faced
with an almost insoluble problem.[60] Lending credence to
this view is the fact that the political situation had chan-
ged between the initial reception in Rome of the Byzantine
announcement of the council in 784 and Hadrian's letter to
Charles in 790 or 791. By the year 790 the Franks and the
Byzantines had assumed hostile postures toward each other
in southern Italy and Hadrian had, as always, sided with the
Franks. The change in the political situation in Italy
could well have contributed to Hadrian's decision to retreat
diplomatically in the face of Frankish opposition to Nicaea
II.[61]

Unfortunately for the historian, however, it is pre-
cisely at this point that the relationship between Charles,
Hadrian and the Greeks is again enveloped in darkness. The
Frankish king ordered the collection of the papal letters
into the Codex Carolinus in 791.[62] It is virtually certain
that letters were exchanged between pope and Frankish king
after this date, but none survive from the remainder of

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[60]Karl F. Morrison, Tradition and Authority, pp. 190-
191; Karl Hampe, "Hadrians I. Vertheidigung der zweiten
niceanischen Synode gegen die Angriffe Karls des Grossen,"
NA, XXI (1895), 93-94.

[61]Peter Classen, Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz,
p. 27.

[62]Cf. the preface to the Codex Carolinus, MGH Epp. III,
476.

Hadrian's pontificate. Even worse, the record of the Frankish council convened in Frankfurt in 794 is not extant. It is probable that the Nicene decrees and Hadrian's defense of them were discussed at Frankfurt in some detail.[63] The historian is left with only pieces, which themselves are somewhat contradictory.

According to Frankish annals, Charles summoned a council to Frankfurt in 794 which was attended by the bishops of "Gaul, Germania and Italy." Also in attendance were the legates of Pope Hadrian, the bishops Theophylactus and Stephen.[64] The annals leave no doubt as to the outcome of the council's deliberations. The Royal Annals explicitly state that the Greek pseudo-synod, falsely called the seventh, was rejected by the popes, while the so-called annals of Einhard relate that the Greek synod was rejected by everyone

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[63]Another issue, the Adoptionist heresy in Spain, was also discussed during the meetings of the council of Frankfurt. While it is true that Hadrian directed letters of admonition to the Spanish bishops, the pope's role in the struggle against the Adoptionist heresy was completely secondary to that of Charles. Cf. Codex Carolinus 95-97, MGH Epp. III, 636-648; MGH Conc. II, 110-165. Even when bishop Felix of Urgel was compelled to abjure his adoptionist teachings, he did so in the presence of Frankish bishops first and only then was he sent to Rome to repeat the renunciation before the pope, cf. Annales regni Francorum, a. 792, p. 90; Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi, a. 792, p. 91; and others. For a most recent treatment of the adoptionist heresy, see Knut Schäferdiek, "Der adoptianische Streit im Rahmen der spanischen Kirchengeschichte," ZKG, LXXX (1969), 291-311; LXXXI (1970), 1-16.

[64]Annales regni Francorum, a. 794, p. 94; Annales Mettenses priores, a. 794, p. 80; Annales Fuldenses, a. 794, pp. 12-13, and others.

as "totally unnecessary."[65]   If one were forced to rely on this evidence alone, the conclusion would be obvious: Hadrian completely reversed his position on the images between 787 and 794.

A slightly different picture, however, is presented in another place. Even though the record of Frankfurt does not survive, the capitulary issued after the conclusion of the council does. No mention is made in this capitulary of a condemnation of everything connected with Nicaea II. Specifically condemned at Frankfurt, according to the capitulary, was the Nicene identification of the images with the Holy Trinity and the Nicene anathema against all who refused to "adore" the images.[66] Obviously a contradiction exists between the terse reports of the annals and the explanation in the Frankfurt capitulary.

It is tempting to see traces of a compromise between Charles and Hadrian in the wording of the Frankfurt capitulary.

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[65] Annales regni Francorum, a. 794, p. 94: Pseudosynodus Grecorum, quam falso septimam vocabant, pro adorandis imaginibus fecerunt, reiecta est a pontificibus. Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi, a. 794, p. 95: Synodus autem quae ante paucos annos in Constantinopoli sub Herena et Constantino filio eius congregata et ab ipsis non solum septima, verum etiam est appellata, ut nec septima nec universalis haberetur diceretur ve, quasi supervacua in totum ab omnibus abdicata est.

[66] Capitulare Francofurtense, MGH Conc. II, 165: Allata est in medio questio de nova Grecorum synodo, quam de adorandis imaginibus Constantinopolom fecerunt, in qua scriptum habebatur, ut qui imagines sanctorum ita ut deificam trinitatem servitio aut adorationem non inpenderent, anathema iudicaverunt: qui supra sanctissimi patres nostri omnimodis adorationem et servitutem rennuentes contempserunt atque consentientes condempnaverunt.

Had the pope stubbornly maintained his position that the Nicene decrees belonged with the orthodox teachings of the church simply because they had been accepted by the bishop of Rome, a catastrophic schism in the western church could well have developed. It could be argued that both Hadrian and Charles realized that, if they adhered to their initial positions concerning the acceptance of the Nicene decrees, such a western schism would have been unavoidable. Therefore, a compromise solution, acceptable to both, but which still condemned some of the teachings of Nicaea II, was probably created during the council of Frankfurt.

It would seem, then, on the basis of the Frankfurt capitulary, that the idea of Hadrian's capitulation to the Franks on the question of the images should be slightly modified. Beyond any doubt, statements to the effect that the Frankish king's "victory" over the pope was so complete that Hadrian never again opposed the will of Charles in doctrinal matters seem a little silly and more than a little misleading.[67] The fact remains that we simply do not know what Hadrian's reaction to the decrees of Frankfurt was after 794. Further, the pope was dead within a year and, therefore, his time for renewed opposition to Charles in doctrinal matters was somewhat limited.

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[67]H. Barion, "Der kirchenrechtliche Charakter des Konzils von Frankfurt 794," p. 142; H. Barion, Das fränkisch-deutsche Synodalrecht des Frühmittelalters (Köln, 1931), pp. 282-283.

Yet, despite the compromise at Frankfurt, it must be maintained that the pope had indeed retreated. We know of no further communication between Hadrian and Constantinople, and Nicaea II was not actually recognized in Rome as the seventh ecumenical council until late in the ninth century.[68] As had been the case in the continual territorial adjustments in Italy, Hadrian had indeed conformed to Frankish wishes on the image question. The fact that those Frankish wishes might not have involved a total repudiation of Nicaea II cannot vitiate the conclusion that Hadrian was increasingly being drawn into the orbit of the Frankish king, even in the realm of determining the orthodox teachings of the Church. Once again it would seem that the pope had been frustrated.

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[68] Paul Alexander, The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople, pp. 104-105.

CONCLUSION

On Christmas Day in the year 795 Hadrian died after
serving as the vicar of St. Peter for more than twenty-
three years.[1] He had been the leading spirit in the drive
to create an independent territorial foundation for the
papacy in Italy. In an absolute sense, Hadrian's efforts
had been crowned with success. The papacy seemed to be in
control of the Exarchate, the Pentapolis, the duchy of Rome
and scattered patrimonies in Tuscany and Sabina. For the
moment a semblance of peace reigned in the Italian peninsula
which had been plagued by conflict throughout most of the
eighth century. In that light, Hadrian, along with Stephen
II, deserves to be called the creator of the Papal States.

The pope had also been successful in finally eliminating
the political threat to the papacy posed by King Desiderius
of the Lombards. After his efforts to deal independently
with Desiderius had failed, Hadrian had been able to per-
suade King Charles of the Franks to undertake a campaign in
Italy. This campaign had ended in 774 with the total des-
truction of the Lombard monarchy and the creation of a
Frankish kingdom in northern Italy. In 774 it appeared as

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[1]*Vita Hadriani*, c. 97, p. 514.

if the struggles of those popes drawn from the Roman nobility
to create a sovereign state in Italy for the church had
finally succeeded.

Yet, after 774 Hadrian had experienced a series of re-
versals, primarily at the hands of Charles. If it had been
Hadrian's plan to harness Charles, the papal protector, to
the papacy's plans for independent rule, it is clear that
his plan had totally failed. From the Frankish victory over
the Lombards in 774 to the end of Hadrian's life in 795
Charles demonstrated repeatedly that he had no intention of
meekly following papal dictates.

Therefore, Hadrian's activities must also be judged in
the light of his original intentions. As expressed in the
papal biographer's report of the 774 agreement between Char-
les and Hadrian, the pope had wanted to control almost all
of central Italy, including the duchies of Spoleto and Bene-
vento, as a sovereign ruler. This was expressed in terms
of what the pope felt were the rightful possessions of the
Roman Church, which the papal protector was obliged to re-
store to St. Peter and his vicars. Yet, Charles, equally
determined to exercise power in Italy, probably agreed only
to restore those lands to which the papacy had a valid claim.
Since the arbiter of those claims was to be the Frankish
king, the years following 774 witnessed a series of conflicts
between Hadrian and Charles over the extent of the lands
belonging to St. Peter.

It was Hadrian's misfortune to lose virtually all of
the battles with Charles over the meaning of the 774 agreement.

After obtaining the Frankish king's approval for the papal claim to the Exarchate and the Pentapolis, Hadrian saw his designs on the duchy of Spoleto shattered by the Frankish king's assumption of the Lombard monarchy's traditional right to rule the duchy. By 776 Duke Hildebrand of Spoleto recognized Charles as his overlord and not the pope. Ultimately, in 788-89, the Frank Winigis became the duke of Spoleto.

Even Hadrian's "new program" based on the <u>Constitutum Constantini</u>, which shifted papal claims to patrimonial restitutions, failed to have the desired effects on the Frankish king. Granted the pope obtained patrimonies in Sabina, but most of his claims to patrimonies in Tuscany, Spoleto, Benevento and Corsica were ignored by Charles. The Sabine patrimonies themselves were only given to Rome after a lengthy process of investigation, which caused Hadrian to doubt whether the lands would ever be restored to the papacy. By 781, the year in which the pope crowned the son of Charles as king of the Lombards, it was clear that the relationship between the pope and the Frankish king was an unequal one.

Within the sphere of territorial restitutions, Hadrian's greatest defeat had concerned the duchy of Benevento. Since 774 Duke Arichis had been able to avoid total submission to Charles, despite the constant enmity of the pope. Beginning in 786, however, the position of Arichis as duke was seriously threatened by a Frankish campaign in southern Italy. When Arichis died, Hadrian tried to convince Charles not to release the Beneventan duke's son, Grimoald, to become the new duke, undoubtedly in the hope of gaining more land for

the papacy. Once again Hadrian's wishes were ignored and it is probable that some of the promises to restore Beneventan patrimonies to Rome were withdrawn by Charles in 788. It was an indication of Hadrian's frustration during the years 774-788 that he was moved to admonish Charles that the Frankish king should not treat the Beneventan duke better than he did St. Peter.

But territorial restitutions were not the only areas in which the pope experienced the growing power of the Frankish king. Hadrian had hoped to heal the Iconoclastic schism with the Byzantines and to receive back lands in Italy once seized by the Greeks. But not only were his demands for restitutions ignored in Constantinople, the eastern council of Nicaea II was severely criticized in Francia. While Hadrian did manage to find a compromise solution with the Franks on the issue of the images, which preserved the primatial position of the See of St. Peter, it was clear by the time of Hadrian's death that the pope had been almost completely subjected to the will of the Frankish king.

Yet, the pontificate of Hadrian I has an even larger significance. Throughout his pontificate Hadrian had been confronted by the growing power of Charles. The Frankish king's conceptions of his own authority, never clearly articulated during Hadrian's lifetime, were plainly stated in 796 to Hadrian's successor, Leo III. Charles told Leo that it was the task of the Frankish king "to defend with arms the Holy Church of Christ from without in every respect from the incursion of pagans and from the devastation of infidels,

and within to protect the knowledge of the Catholic faith."
The pope's function was equally clear: "It is yours, most
Holy Father, with hands raised like Moses to God, to support
our struggle."[2] Nothing could more clearly indicate the
change in the papacy's position during these twenty-five
years. Instead of the sovereign lord of most of Italy, the
pope was now just the prayerful auxiliary of the Frankish
king.

Further, it must be stated that, in part, Hadrian had
contributed to the Frankish king's ideas of his own compe-
tence. When Hadrian turned to Charles for aid against the
Lombards in 774, the Frankish king's victory over the Lom-
bards not only removed a serious threat to the papacy, but
it also brought about a unique relationship between the pope
and Charles. After 774 Hadrian was forced to turn to Charles
for assistance in virtually every situation. The papal letters
are full of characterizations of the Frankish king as the
"protector and defender of the Church of God," "the beloved
of St. Peter," and the "strong right arm" of the Church, all
of which were used by Hadrian to persuade the Frankish king
to follow papal dictates. It could be argued that Charles
believed the blandishments in those letters. As a result,
where Hadrian had sought a pliable protector, he actually

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[2]MGH Epp. IV, 137: Nostrum est: secundum auxilium
divinae pietatis sanctam undique Christi ecclesiam ab in-
cursu paganorum et ab infidelium devestatione armis defen-
dere foris, et intus catholicae fidei agnitione munire.
Vestrum est, sanctissime pater: elevatis ad Deum cum Moyse
manibus nostram adiuvare militiam,....

created a master. By the end of his life, Hadrian realized
that he could no longer control his creation.

In the larger scope of papal history, Hadrian's ponti-
ficate was, to use the well-worn phrase, a turning point.
During his years the papacy had completed its turn toward
the West. From the uncertainties of the mid-eighth century
the papacy moved toward more solid relations with the Fran-
kish kingdom. Yet, those relations carried with them the
seeds of the discontent between the papacy and the western
empire which were to characterize so much of papal history
in the Middle Ages. A large number of the issues which were
to divide the popes and the emperors are discernible in Had-
rian's pontificate, including traces of the major issue:
the wielding of ultimate authority in Christendom. In that
light, it must be recalled that exactly five years after
Hadrian's death, Charles became the emperor.

In the more limited context of papal history during the
Carolingian era, Hadrian's pontificate witnessed the subju-
gation of the papacy to the will of the Frankish king. In
many respects, the difficulties encountered by his successor,
Pope Leo III, were the bitter fruits of Hadrian's efforts.
Leo faced the power of the Frankish king in its full extent.
As a result, it could be argued that the papacy's role in
the elevation of Charles to the imperial dignity in 800 was
a last attempt by Rome to control its creation. Of course,
by 800 the Frankish king certainly had his own ideas about
the imperial dignity, but the papal attempt to control Char-
les by its participation in the act of 800 is clear. If

the papacy regained part of its lost authority during the
ninth century, that later success speaks more to the fate
of the Frankish kingdom after the death of Charles than it
does to the new papal victories. In the middle of the eighth
century the papacy had had the opportunity to become the tem-
poral ruler of Italy. At least for the Carolingian era,
that opportunity died with Hadrian.

All this is not to say, however, that Hadrian was either
weak or ineffectual. Despite the setbacks, one never reads
of surrender in Hadrian's letters to Charles. Despite the
reversals, it would be a grave error to dismiss Hadrian as
a mere Frankish bishop. His coins and charter datings gave
expression to his strivings for independence. The only prob-
lem was that Charles exercised power where the pope demanded
rights. As a forceful and energetic personality, it was
Hadrian's lot to be the contemporary of an even more force-
ful and energetic one.

Finally, we are told by Einhard that, on receiving the
news of Hadrian's death, Charles wept as if he had lost a
brother or a beloved son.[3] Even with the continued disagree-
ments between them, it would not be surprising that Charles
did have a genuine affection for the pope. They met three
times and, on the second of these occasions, Hadrian had
been the sponsor of the Frankish king's son at his baptism.
There is no better way to describe the relationship between

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[3]Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni, c. 19, p. 24.

the two, despite their sometimes stormy conflicts, than to
refer to a part of the epitaph sent by Charles for the tomb
of Pope Hadrian I: "I join our names in this inscription:
Hadrian and Charles, I the king, you the Holy Father."[4]

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[4]*Vita Hadriani*, p. 523.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

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The sources for the study of eighth-century papal history are both a blessing and a curse. In contrast to earlier periods, the student of papal history in the eighth century is blessed with a relative abundance of sources, primarily letters and biographies. The richness of the material allows the historian to piece together a narrative with few gaping holes. On the other hand, one must constantly be aware that the largest portion of these sources come from the popes themselves and the papal curia. Such is the curse for the historian; he can never be sure if the sources accurately reflect the attitudes and problems of the papacy or if they merely present the picture desired by Rome. Fortunately, for the pontificate of Hadrian sufficient materials are available from other sources so that the historian can control his papal sources in most instances.

By far the most important material for the pontificate of Hadrian comes from the forty-eight letters of the pope to the Frankish king, which Charles caused to be gathered in 791 into the <u>Codex</u> <u>Carolinus</u>. The best edition of the <u>Codex</u> <u>Carolinus</u> is that of Wilhelm Gundlach, done in 1891 for the <u>MGH</u>. While one can argue with Gundlach's ordering of the letters for some of the earlier pontificates, it would seem

that his chronology of the letters for Hadrian's pontificate was completely accurate. Additional letters from Hadrian to Frankish missi, Spanish bishops, the Byzantine emperors and Charles were also used to obtain valuable information for this study.

Presenting a more "official" version of the pontificate is the biography of the pope, the Vita Hadriani, completed shortly after Hadrian's death in 795. The most detailed information on the first two years of Hadrian's pontificate is to be found in his biography, which probably was compiled by an eye-witness to the events described. The editor of the series of papal lives, entitled the Liber Pontificalis (Paris, 1886), was Abbé Louis Duchesne. Thanks to his penetrating analyses, both in the preface to the Liber Pontificalis and in numerous journal articles, there are few solid reasons to distrust the accuracy of Hadrian's biography, despite the attempts of several scholars to rearrange it.

For many aspects of Hadrian's pontificate, particularly his relationships with powers outside of Rome, the papal sources are supplemented by annals and chronicles. A careful scrutiny of Frankish annals, particularly the Royal Annals and the so-called annals of Einhard, yielded important information on the Frankish campaigns in Italy. Yet, the same caution with which one approaches the Frankish annals must also be exercised when examining local Italian chronicles. The history of the Ravennaten church by Agnellus, for instance, is permeated by fantastic tales and a definite bias in favor of the Ravennaten archbishops in their struggles

against the popes. Local monastic histories of Farfa and
Volturno and the chronicles concerning Salerno and Benevento
were used cautiously to supplement the more detailed papal
accounts.

Secondary surveys of the period are numerous, but of
uneven value. Benefit can still be derived from reading the
old study by Engelbert Mühlbacher, Deutsche Geschichte unter
den Karolingern (Stuttgart, 1896), but the best survey of
the entire period is Louis Halphen, Charlemagne et l'empire
carolingien (Paris, 1947). No other surveys can compare
with the ones of Mühlbacher and Halphen, although it should
be mentioned that the greatest amount of detail on the reign
of Charles is still to be found in the two volumes of Sigurd
Abel and Bernhard Simson, Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches
unter Karl dem Grossen (Leipzig, 1888). When combined with
the registers of Jaffé, Böhmer-Mühlbacher, and Bethmann-
Holder-Egger, the Jahrbücher present a detailed guide to
source material, which contains important interpretations of
the material involved.

There are several good surveys devoted to the general
history of the papacy. Johannes Haller, Das Papsttum. Idee
und Wirklichkeit (Basel, 1951), provides a solid narrative
of papal history, even though several of Haller's interpre-
tations have been discredited. Probably the best survey of
papal history would have been that of Erich Caspar, had he
lived to complete it. After finishing two volumes, which
brought his narrative into the eighth century, Caspar died
and his notes for a third volume were published originally

234

in the _Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte_. The work later
appeared as a book entitled _Das Papsttum unter fränkischer
Herrschaft_ (Darmstadt, 1965), but it is obviously incomplete,
lacking most of Caspar's critical apparatus. Recently, how-
ever, a study of fundamental importance was done by Peter
Classen. Classen's work appeared originally in the four
volume commemorative collection entitled _Karl der Grosse._
Lebenswerk und Nachleben (Düsseldorf, 1965), and was later
revised and published under separate cover with the title
Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz (Düsseldorf, 1968).
It is clear from the title that Classen's study was not in-
tended to be a survey of papal history, but for the pontifi-
cate of Hadrian Classen's work is critical. Additionally,
the work of Walter Ullmann has provided important insights,
albeit one-sided, into papal developments. Regrettably,
Ullmann's obsession with the papal "blueprint" caused him
to take considerable license with his evidence. Finally,
the development of papal institutions has been studied by
Louis Halphen, _Études sur la administration de Rome au moyen_
age (Paris, 1909). Despite the paucity of source materials,
Halphen's study and articles by Hartmann and Hirschfeld pre-
sent as complete a study of papal institutions as possible.

General histories of the church also touch in great
detail on papal developments. Still very readable and highly
valuable is Albert Hauck, _Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands_
(Berlin, 1954), 5 volumes. H. von Schubert, _Geschichte der_
christliche Kirche im Frühmittelalter (Tübingen, 1921) is
usable and good overviews of church history in the eighth

century are contained in the articles collected by Hubert
Jedin in the Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, vol III (Freiburg-
Basel-Wien, 1966). It is to be lamented that the articles in
Jedin's collection are lacking in detail, but such is the
nature of Handbücher. The work of E. Amann, L'époque
carolingienne (Paris, 1947), is still unsurpassed in several
respects.

Supplementing papal and church histories are several
good studies of Italy and Rome. Still valuable is L.M. Hart-
mann, Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter (Leipzig, 1900), 3
volumes, as is Ferdinand Gregorovius, Geschichte der Stadt
Rom im Mittelalter (Basel-Stuttgart, 1953), also 3 volumes.
The work of O. Bertolini, Roma di fronte a Bisanzio e al
Longobardi (Rome, 1941), is thorough but incredibly verbose.
Little detail is to be found in Leon Homo, Rome médiévale
(Paris, 1934), and the recent work by Peter Llewellyn, Rome
in the Dark Ages (London, 1971), is highly disappointing in
its superficial treatment of many important problems.

Of all the assorted aspects of Hadrian's pontificate,
by far the creation of the Papal States and the Carolingian
donations to the papacy have received the most attention.
The journal literature on the topic is immense. The most
valuable articles are those by Paul Scheffer-Boichorst and
P. Kehr. Among the books on the subject probably the most
balanced is that of Louis Duchesne, Les premier temps de
l'État pontifical (Paris, 1898). Although most of these
works have received comment during the course of this study,
several must be mentioned here. Theodor Lindner, Die

sogenannte Schenkungen Pippins, Karls des Grossen und Ottos I. an die Päpste (Stuttgart, 1896), makes an admirable attempt to clear away the wreckage of overly-legalistic interpretations of the pertinent documents. The thrust of Lindner's argument is to view the agreements of 754 and 774 as the beginning of a long series of conflicts between popes and Frankish kings. Wilhelm Martens, Die römische Frage unter Pippin und Karl dem Grossen (Stuttgart, 1881), is intent on finding evidence of forgeries in the documents, but the arguments of Martens are not completely persuasive. Perhaps the most blatant example of searching for non-existent forgeries is Karl Lamprecht, Die römische Frage von König Pippin bis auf Kaiser Ludwig den Frommen (Leipzig, 1889). Lamprecht's intention was to compare all the extant reports of agreements between the Carolingians and the papacy in order to discern what was added with each new agreement. However, Lamprecht only succeeded in leading the reader on a merry chase through a series of pacts, agreements, forgeries and renunciations, which arrived at no solid conclusions. Finally, the ambitious study of Peter Partner, The Lands of St. Peter (London, 1972), promised much but delivered little. Although Partner's intent was to examine the history of the Papal States from the Middle Ages to the Early Renaissance, his study is heavily weighted in the direction of the later period. As a consequence, he ignored many crucial problems concerning the origins of the Papal States in the second-half of the eighth century.

Not surprisingly, the development of Carolingian-papal relations has received a great deal of attention. The topic is treated in some detail in the numerous biographies of Charles, of which probably the best is A. Kleinclausz, Charlemagne (Paris, 1934). Of the more specialized studies, the articles by F.L. Ganshof and E. Delaruelle are always precise in their analyses and interpretations. The studies of Josef Deer on the assumption of the patricius title by Charles and the problem of the imperial prerogatives in late eighth-century Rome are extremely valuable, despite Deer's tendency to view everything in eighth-century history as a reaction to events in Byzantium. This preoccupation with Byzantine history has made the works of Werner Ohnsorge on Carolingian-papal relations and the patricius title of little real value. Also, the works of G. Tellenbach and of his student, E. Hlawitschka, Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgundern in Oberitalien (Freiburg i. B., 1960), have provided critical information on the penetration of Frankish officials and institutions into Lombard Italy after 774. The work of Hlawitschka especially is fundamental to the study of Frankish Italy.

Although the pontificate of Hadrian has never been the subject of a complete analysis, several aspects of the pontificate have been examined. The pope's relations with the Lombard duchies have been studies by Ferdinand Hirsch and H. Pabst in lengthy articles which are quite outdated. Other studies, particularly those of J. Gay and R. Poupardin, are more balanced and still useful. Hadrian's relations with

the elements geographically closer to Rome have never re-
ceived adequate attention, despite the efforts of O. Vehse
in examining papal rule in the Sabine districts. The article
by H.J. Schmidt is the only satisfactory treatment of rela-
tions between Rome and Ravenna. Recently, however, two ex-
cellent articles have appeared from the pen of Karl Schmid
on the problems involved with the collapse of the Lombard
kingdom and Hadrian's role in its destruction. Further, the
recent work of David Miller has shed some light on relation-
ships between the papacy and the Lombard monarchy. It is to
be hoped that more attention will be devoted in the future
to the relationships of the eighth-century papacy with other
forces in Italy.

As should be evident from the analysis in this study,
the problem of the fabrication of the Constitutum Constantini
has probably received more attention than it really deserves.
Despite the efforts of generations of scholars and the con-
tinuing contemporary efforts, the creation of the Constitutum
Constantini remains an unsolved problem, and one which pro-
bably has no solution. The articles of Wolfgang Gericke
contain admirable summaries of past literature on the subject
and also offer some interesting notions on the actual fabri-
cation of the forgery, although Gericke's theories have not
been benignly received.

Hadrian's involvement in the first phase of the icono-
clastic problem has been the subject of several examinations.
The study of Louis Bréhier, La querelle des images (Paris,
1904), is still useful as an overview of the whole iconoclastic

issue. But the old study of Jules Maréchal, <u>Les</u> <u>livres</u> <u>carolins</u> (Lyon, 1906), has been significantly corrected by the more recent articles of L. Wallach and A. Freeman. The debate between Wallach and Freeman on the authorship of the <u>Libri</u> <u>Carolini</u> is still not settled. Although it contains errors in several places, the survey by C.J. Hefele and H. Leclercq, <u>Histoire</u> <u>des</u> <u>conciles</u> (Paris, 1910), is still very valuable. Finally, the masterful study by Karl Morrison, <u>Tradition</u> <u>and</u> <u>Authority</u> <u>in</u> <u>the</u> <u>Western</u> <u>Church</u> (Princeton, 1969), has brought the whole issue of iconoclasm back into the realm of theology. Along the same lines, the very recent article by Peter Brown hints that there was a critical dialogue between the Franks and the Byzantines on theological matters, in which Hadrian took very little part.

Finally, it must be mentioned that in recent years attempts have been made to examine some of the problems of papal history from new perspectives. Even though it is one-sided and based on some suspect evidence, the study of W. Fritze, <u>Papst</u> <u>und</u> <u>Frankenkönig</u>. <u>Studien</u> <u>zu</u> <u>den</u> <u>päpstlich-fränkischen</u> <u>Rechtsbeziehungen</u> <u>von</u> <u>754</u> <u>bis</u> <u>824</u> (Sigmaringen, 1973), does approach the problem of papal-Frankish relations from a new vantage point. Further, the two works of Herwig Wolfram entitled <u>Intitulatio</u>, both of which appeared in the series of supplemental volumes to the <u>Mitteilungen</u> <u>des</u> <u>Instituts</u> <u>für</u> <u>österreichische</u> <u>Geschichtsforschung</u> (1967 and 1973), are extremely stimulating. The first volume, exclusively the work of Wolfram, examines the development of charter titles until the end of the eighth century. The

second volume, a collection of essays to which Wolfram also contributed, extends the examination into the tenth century. Both volumes include critical analyses of papal charter titles, which, in some respects, overtake the work of Percy Ernst Schramm. Above all, the works of Fritze and Wolfram demonstrate conclusively that the history of the eighth-century papacy is still a field for fruitful investigation.

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258

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