

IBRĀHĪM IBN YA'QŪB AṬ-ṬURṬŪŠĪ IN PAVIA: THE 'REGISOLE' (A RE-READING)

Lutz Richter-Bernburg

University of Tübingen

Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī (fl. 960s) has long been identified as one of the, albeit indirectly used, sources of Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī's geographical dictionary, *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'tār*, compiled in 1461. Al-Ḥimyarī's 'Italian' entries – without prejudice to others – present textual composites of clearly heterogeneous provenance, from which at times a noticeably factual, detail-rich strand can be described. Most recently, Giuseppe Mandalà argued for their attribution to Ibrāhīm (Mandalà 2014: 351–361).¹ In a conference paper of 2017, written before I became aware of Mandalà's study, I reached the same conclusion about a number of al-Ḥimyarī's anonymous quotations concerning places in Italy.²

1 Ibrāhīm's entry on Pavia

In the hope of refining my earlier argument, I here want to return to al-Ḥimyarī's, or rather his predecessor Ibrāhīm's, entry on Pavia. It may not be out of order to preface the discussion to follow with al-Ḥimyarī's text (*ar-Rawḍ*, 115b:11–116a:6):

Pavia—it is the 'principal' of the cities of Longobardia³ (*qā'idat mudun Lunqubardiya*), a city built of stone, brick, and lime-mortar, very big, with a large population; within it water-springs gush forth. It lies on a river which joins another river half a mile below it. In this city there is a beautiful 'castle' (*qaṣr*), at the gate of which the copper image of a rider (*ṣūrat fāris*) stands, of exceeding bulk—in ancient times the king of Constantinople sent it to the country of Longobardia. In this town (*balda*), there are three hundred jurists, Muslims (*faqīh min al-muslimīn*), and before them the people of Longobardia argue their suits against each other; they also settle the bills of their purchases and sales for them. In [the town] live rich Muslim merchants (*min al-muslimīn*

¹ Cf. Ashtor 1983: 665–668; Ducène 2018: 163–194, esp. 192f.

² Richter-Bernburg 2019b (in manuscript submitted to the editor[s] in June 2017).

³ The Arabic grapheme *lḡbrdyh* has here been rendered in historicizing fashion in order to distance it from modern Lombardy.

tuğğār aḡniyā'), whose number exceeds four hundred; they own magnificent buildings and highly profitable merchandise (*matāḡir qawiyya*). Therefore the merchants and pilgrims headed for Rome just cannot bypass Pavia.

The points dealt with in my previous study (Richter-Bernburg 2019b), beginning with the identification of the place as Pavia, will not be taken up again,⁴ notwithstanding some supplementary comments. Instead, my focus will be trained on the equestrian bronze.

Typically, Ibrāhīm takes note of the city's prevalent building materials and water supply.⁵ The fact that a 'beautiful castle' (*qaṣr ḡasan*), which he undoubtedly took to be the seat of the town's lord or governor, was located *intra muros* also drew his attention. His qualification of the structure as 'beautiful' does not permit any inference as to whether or not he had access to its interior. Similarly, Ibrāhīm's apparent silence regarding the respective venues of his audiences with the eponymous Ottonian Otto (I) (r. 936–973) in Merseburg – assuming this was the place instead of Magdeburg – and Rome may just result from the vagaries of transmission. As for Pavia, he cannot serve as witness pro or con on Berengar II's alleged demolition of the palace before his evacuation of the city in 961.⁶ However, as Mandalà has aptly emphasised, the salient point in Ibrāhīm's otherwise fairly unexceptional account is his mention of a monumental equestrian bronze before the castle gate. The comment that Ibrāhīm adds on the statue's provenance cannot but reproduce a local tradition.⁷ After all, his position was that of a disinterested outsider who merely passed on what he heard, and which can thus be paraphrased: in times of old, an East Roman emperor

⁴ However, *pace* Adalgisa De Simone and in her wake, by way of hypothesis, Mandalà 2014: 357, n. 141, the Arabic grapheme of the town's name in al-Ḥimyarī, *bwnyh*, cannot, considering its *rasm* (its undotted 'skeleton'), simply be approximated to the *rasm* of the transmitted *bnbnt* for Benevento. Textual corruption of foreign names in al-Ḥimyarī is graphically illustrated by the two variant renditions of 'Glemona'; in the pertinent lemma, it adequately figures as *ḡlmwnh*, whereas in the lemma *'nqwl'yh* (Aquilaia), it is distorted to *'lmyh* (*ar-Rawḡ*, 429a:26 and 39b:23). As for an identification of Ibrāhīm's subject as Benevento, it founders on topographical incongruities. Also, the Beneventan equestrian statue, only vaguely localisable, was of marble instead of the Pavian bronze; Rotili 2017: 250a. Further, Mandalà or his sources blithely gloss over Benevento's unsettled conditions in the 9th century – at that a full hundred years before Ibrāhīm's travel – in order to accommodate his observations on the flourishing legal profession and commercial activity; cf. Wolf 2012. However, in a later passage Mandalà too athetizes as *pia fraus* the dual qualifier *mina l-muslimīn* of jurists and merchants; Mandalà 2014: 361.

⁵ This is not to imply that the unique position among geographical authors which Ibrāhīm does occupy (as I hope to show elsewhere) derived from his observations of these basic features of urban settlements; on al-Muqaddasī and Nāṣer-e Ḥosrow, to name just two representative writers, cf. Richter-Bernburg 2019a.

⁶ [Otto...] *palatium a Berengario destructum reaedificare praecepit* (as noted by others, the damage inflicted cannot have been too bad); [Adalberti] *Continuatio Reginonis*, 171:11f.

⁷ Cf. Mandalà 2014: 360: "una tradizione, una diceria più o meno locale".

had the statue transported to Longobardia. Regardless of the final verdict – if such can be achieved at all – on this piece of Pavian urban lore, it articulates a collective perception of the actual ‘classical’ statue.

2 Ibrāhīm on Pavia’s equestrian bronze (‘the Regisole’)

2.1 *The import of his testimony*

Before continuing, I may be permitted to restate the basic assumption of my earlier study: on the threshold of the Ottonian period, Ibrāhīm’s witness unequivocally attests the presence of Pavia’s latterly much-treasured Regisole.⁸ If, taking the position of devil’s advocate, the identification of ‘Ibrāhīm’s statue’ as the Regisole were rejected, that would effectively cast aside the cumulative evidence of the entire textual tradition. Also, it would mean that an unknown ‘cousin’ of the Regisole had, as it were, a cameo appearance in Ibrāhīm’s account, vanishing without a trace just before a ‘successor’, of well-nigh identical pedigree, was reported to have entered the scene.⁹ Instead of simplifying matters, the task of explanation would be gratuitously redoubled, leaving aside for the moment all consideration of historical verisimilitude once two instead of one, monumental Roman bronzes had to be accounted for. Thus the present argument will proceed on the assumption of the two statues’ identity.

⁸ In Richter-Bernburg 2019b, I simply took the identity of Ibrāhīm’s ‘copper’ rider and Pavia’s renowned Regisole for granted – as Mandalà had done earlier. Generally on the Regisole, see, from a disciplinarily ‘Western’ – here used as an exclusively descriptive term – perspective, Lomartire 2008. He, in turn, acknowledges his debt to Saletti 1997; cf. Thomas 2018: 170 and Weinryb 2016: 184–187, 255.

⁹ In 1551, Girolamo Scaruffo/[i], *vicarius* at the Pavian episcopal court, emphasises the statue’s having stood – and being accorded almost sacred honour – before the cathedral for more than five hundred years; for text and discussion see Saletti 1997: 145–147 and 25 (on the basis of Saletti, Scaruffi’s text has also been made available online through the “Census of antique works of art and architecture known in the Renaissance [CensusID: 235617]” [accessed 06 January 2020 at <http://census.bbaw.de/index>]). While the sources or authorities on which Scaruffi based his dating are not known, he deserves credence as witness to an urban tradition which Saletti suggestively relates to the Pavians’ destruction of the royal-imperial *palatium* in 1024 (Saletti 1997: 31). Up to this point, Saletti’s reasoning appears persuasive; moreover, it is not contingent on his erroneous interpretation of the oft-quoted *placitum* (reign of Berengar I, 906–911) that was issued in the major portico of the palace, the premises called ‘underneath Theoderic’ (Saletti 1997: 26; see *Reg. Imp.* I, 3, 2:221, no. 1250, and cf. Richter-Bernburg 2019b: 246 with n. 36): reference is to the mosaic recorded by Agnellus Ravennas, *Liber Pontificalis* (see below, fn. 12), and which decorated an upper wall of the, likely apsidal, dais in a ceremonial hall on the *piano nobile*. Clearly, our reading of the *placitum* does not agree with Mandalà’s, who localises the Regisole in the palace courtyard; Mandalà 2014: 359.

Pavian collective memory of the Regisole, as transmitted by Ibrāhīm, is a bundle of contradictions if measured against historical reality or plausibility. Admittedly, such a realistic construal of the text under discussion as a, however distorted, reference to actual history might be challenged as fundamentally mistaken. What has just been termed a bundle of contradictions, may be nothing more than a groping attempt to make sense of something wondrous and well-nigh inexplicable – which would also seem to imply the absence of epigraphic evidence; most likely no inscription on the statue base recorded its erection. The text recombines fragments from some vague historical memory into a semblance of plausibility – plausibility by period standards, not by those of contemporary readers. At any rate, it is worth scrutinising Ibrāhīm's or his interpreter's – the blurring effect of translation will be addressed below – rendition once again, not least because it predates all other narrative or visual attestations of the Regisole.

In Ibrāhīm's single sentence three parts call for comment: the subject ('the king of Constantinople'), the prepositional object ('to the country of Longobardia'), and the temporal adverbial phrase (*fī d-dahri l-qadīm*, 'in ancient times'). As noted above, the proposition is counterfactual. Actual relations between the emperor in Constantinople and the Longobard kingdom (568–774) were simply not such as to render possible the transport of a monumental bronze to the Longobard royal city. If, on the other hand, the intended time-frame really was pre-Longobardian 'antiquity', a Longobard nomenclature would be anachronistic – but then, anachronisms abound in popular traditions.

2.2 *The Regisole in focus*

Although Theoderic (r. 474–526) did construct *a* – or, more likely, restore *the existing* – *palatium* at Ticinum (later Pavia) and attend to urban renewal, the town ceded in importance to Ravenna and Verona, if the enumeration of Theoderic's building activities in the *Theodericiana* suggests an order of precedence.¹⁰ Should Theoderic nevertheless have placed a statue at the gate of his Pavian palace, as he did in Ravenna, in subsequent popular transmission he might have become assimilated to an 'emperor' although, for all his ambition, he did not assume imperial rank.¹¹

Agnellus's – negative, i.e. silent – testimony from 837–838 is of limited import; ever the committed Ravennate, he focussed on matters Theoderician at Pavia as

¹⁰ *Theodericiana*, 84f, 172–175/c. 70–72 (= Anonymus Valesianus II, 324:23–31); his building activities at Ravenna and Verona are retailed in this order, whereas, in third place, construction sites at Ticinum are reduced to a mere list; then follows a summary reference to benefices *per alias civitates*. For chronological reasons, the *Theodericiana* have here been given preference to Fredegar (differently handled by Mandalà 2014: 357f, n. 146).

¹¹ See Wiegartz 2004: 43–45, on the vagaries of attribution of portraits, absent epigraphical identification.

well.¹² Provided that by the time of his visit the Regisole had already been in place, he might well have noticed the statue on his way to the Pavian palace and still have promptly forgotten it if it did not impress itself on him as Theoderic's likeness. If, on the other hand, considering later narrative testimony, the Ravennate provenance of the Regisole were accepted, Agnellus's failure to record its presence at Pavia might approximate a positive denial. Regrettably, this remains pure speculation: undeniably, and especially when confronted with acts of princely or episcopal spoliation, Agnellus displays a certain Ravennate local patriotism (Deliyannis 2004: 79 with n. 40 [ch. 113]), nor is he devoid of some broader art-historical sensibility beyond a merely ecclesiastical focus. Nevertheless, he does not in any discernible way aim at descriptive comprehensiveness (Deliyannis 2004: 66–90, pointedly 67ff).

Proceeding in time from Theoderic's reign to the advent of the Longobards in Northern Italy, during Justinian's protracted wars against the Ostrogoths, Pavia – being in enemy territory – could not have served as stage for a symbolic assertion of imperial authority as expressed by the equestrian bronze.

Returning to the mid-10th-century Pavian tradition recorded by Ibrāhīm, its dating of the statue's advent to a distant, conceivably pre-Longobard past cannot, taken at face value, be categorically rejected. However, its alleged 'antiquity' would seem to make much better sense if taken as a reflection of the Regisole's unmistakably 'classical' size and style. The oddly vague phrase 'country of Longobardia' for the statue's destination, instead of naming Pavia itself,¹³ possibly reflects a similar loss of concrete historical record and a concomitant sense of bewilderment, as if adumbrating the – centuries-later – tradition that the transport of the Regisole on Charlemagne's orders had accidentally come to an end in Pavia (Saletti 1997: 19–22; cf. Deliyannis 2004: 74ff). At first sight, the 'Caroline' tradition, to borrow Saletti's term, would appear to be a mere doublet of a corresponding, yet factual, Ravennate tradition related by Agnellus (as in note 12 above); here the equestrian bronze which Theoderic put up in front of his palace in Ravenna so impresses Charlemagne that

¹² Judiciously observed by Saletti 1997: 18 (cf. *ibid.*, 28: [Agnello,] *da buon ravenenate*); reference is to Agnellus Ravennas, *Liber pontificalis*, ch. 94 (ed. Holder-Egger 337:15f [cf. 338:17–21 for chronology]; ed. Deliyannis 258:21ff, 259f:55–62; [transl.] Deliyannis 2004:74ff, 78, 205ff, 299).

¹³ *Balad Lunqubardiya*; *balad* can – conveniently or in-, as the case may be – cover either meaning, 'town' and 'country', but here, given the contrast to *qā'idat* mudun *Lunqubardiya* in the opening sentence, the context supports the meaning 'country'. Further, unless territorial names denote the respective capitals or central places at the same time, the latter are often simply distinguished by prefixing *madīnat* to the territorial name; merely by way of example, see *madīnat as-Suḡd* in al-Ḥalīl b. Aḥmad's *Kitāb al-'ayn* VI, 261:6 (cf. his definition of *madīna* as a 'country's central enceinte' [*wa-kullu arḍin yubnā bi-hā ḥiṣnun fī uṣṭummatihā fa-huwa madīnatuhā*], *ibid.* VIII, 53:11) and *madīnat Miṣr* in Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'ḡam al-buldān* IV, 454:1 – 455:4, 551:5f, 675:14f, 1044:15–17.

he orders it removed to his own favourite residence at Aachen.¹⁴ What must have felt like a void in Pavian historical memory was conveniently filled with recourse to the Ravennate Caroline tradition – up to a point, since the statue's arrival precisely at Pavia was attributed to freak chance, as also intimated by Ibrāhīm. In either version, an emperor is the primary agent, be it the Charlemagne of the contrafactual Pavian tradition or the anonymous sovereign in Ibrāhīm's rendition. As regards the latter, the unanswerable question presents itself of whether he was already anonymous in Ibrāhīm's oral source or only had his name suppressed in translation, possibly in order to accommodate ignorant foreigners.

2.3 'The king of Constantinople'

At this juncture, and especially in view of the thus-termed Caroline tradition, it is worth addressing a further doubtful point in Ibrāhīm's report, namely the alleged seat of the mentioned emperor. Medieval Arabic authors, not just Ibrāhīm or his fellow countrymen from al-Andalus, frequently referred to the *basileus* as 'king of Constantinople', when they did not call him 'king of the Romans' (*malik ar-Rūm*) or simply 'master (*ṣāhib*) of Constantinople'.¹⁵ However, as I pointed out (Richter-

¹⁴ Walahfrid Strabo (writing in 829), *De imagine Tetrici* vv. 28–88, 258ff (ed. Dümmler 371ff, 378; ed. Herren 123ff, 139; Goltz 2008: 600–604; Smolak 2001: 92–95; Falkenstein 1966: 53–61).

¹⁵ Generally, see at www.alwaraq.net; (not only) concerning al-Andalus, numerous passages, whether by way of direct or indirect transmission, from writers contemporaneous with or only slightly later than, Ibrāhīm, attest the variant usages. Here only a few examples will be cited, roughly in chronological order by author, but without tracing the remote sources of every single secondary testimony: Ibn Ḡulḡul, *at-Taḥṣīn* Arab. 7:5 (*Armāniyūs* [sic lege] *al-malik*, *malik Qusṭanṭīniyya*, s. a. 337/948, quoted by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Badawī in *Ūrūsiyūs – Ta'rīkh al-'ālam*, 11:2; Ibn Ḥayyān *apud* al-Maqqarī, *an-Naḥḥ* I, 366:13ff: *mulūk ar-Rūm wa-l-Ifrānḡ wa-l-Maḡūs... wa-min ḡumlatihim ṣāhib al-Qusṭanṭīniyya al-'uẓmā*; Ibn Ḡālib al-Ġarnāṭī [fl. c. 553/1158] *apud* Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Muḡrib* I, 222:10: *malik al-Qusṭanṭīniyya* (but *ṣāhib al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*, *ibid.* I, 48:10 [s. a. 210/825–826]; II, 57:12 [s. l(emma) al-Ġazāl, fl. c. 230/845]; but in the same context *malik al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*, *apud* al-Maqqarī, *an-Naḥḥ* I, 346:15); Ibn 'Idārī, *al-Bayān* I, 17:5 (*Hiraql*, *malik al-Qusṭanṭīna* [sic] *al-'uẓmā wa-Rūma*); *ibid.* II, 213:5f, s. a. 334/945–946: *malik ar-Rūm al-akbar Qusṭanṭīn b. Liyūn, ṣāhib al-Qusṭanṭīna* [sic] *al-'uẓmā* (cf. *kitāb malikihim* [i. e. *malik ar-Rūm*] *ṣāhibi l-Qusṭanṭīniyyati l-'uẓmā Qusṭanṭīn b. Liyūn*, *apud* al-Maqqarī, *an-Naḥḥ* I, 367:15f); nearly identically Ibn 'Idārī, *al-Bayān* II, 215:15, s. a. 338/949–950: *malik ar-Rūm al-akbar, ṣāhib al-Qusṭanṭīna* [sic]; *ibid.* 231:15, s. a. 325/936–937, and 237:–5, –2f, s. a. 354/965[or later]: *malik ar-Rūm*; *ibid.* 296:–3, s. a. 386/996: *mulūk ar-Rūm* [i. e. non-Muslim Hispanic princes; similarly *ibid.* 299:–5, s. a. 392/1002 (?): *'uẓamā' ar-Rūm*; cf. al-Maqqarī, *al-Azhār* II, 258:14, s. a. 338/950–951: *ṣāhib al-Qusṭanṭīniyya 'aẓīm ar-Rūm*]; al-Ḥimyarī, *ar-Rawḍ*, 158a:16, 20f (s. l. Ġarḡarāyā, mid-5th/11th c.), 454:18 (s. l. Qubrus, pre-587/1191[?]), 486b:–10 (s. l. Qayrawān, c. 50/670) (in addition to *lemma Būbiya*); Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-A'māl* 37:–6, s. a. 327/939: *malik al-Qusṭanṭīniyya al-'uẓmā* and 42:5, *sine dato* during al-Ḥakam (II) al-Mustanṣir's reign (961–

Bernburg 2019b: 243), the mentioned princes' East Roman identity should not be taken for granted; for example Ibrāhīm's account of continual imperial deference to the Aquileian patriarchs becomes entirely plausible once it is construed as referring to Western, rather than Eastern, emperors.¹⁶

The most likely cause of the slippage is the mistranslation of a vernacular term for 'emperor'; *caesar* would seem to suggest itself, in Arabic as well as in contemporary Latin and possibly proto-Italian. In Arabic, *qaysar* was of venerable age as the title or quasi-name of Roman and subsequently East Roman emperors. If Ibn Ḥurdādbih (d. 300/911?) be trusted, it remained in popular use even after being replaced by *basileus* in imperial style.¹⁷ In 10th-century Italy, *caesar*, in Latin or ver-

976): *malik al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*; Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Ibar* [www.alwaraq.net (accessed 20 May 2019)], s. aa. 610–641 CE (reign of Heraclius), [2]25/841, 305/918, 327/938–939, 597/1200, 681/1282: *malik al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*; al-Maqqarī, *an-Nafḥ* I, 364:7, s. a. 336/947–948: *ṣāhib Qusṭanṭīniyya*; *ibid.* 366:15, s. a. 338/949: *ṣāhib al-Qusṭanṭīniyya al-'uzmā*. *Malik* and *ṣāhib* appear to be interchangeable in these phrases without prejudice, as in al-Maqqarī, *an-Nafḥ* I, 527:5 vs. 541:4 (parallel in *al-Azhār* II, 272:10); cf. *ibid.* 372:6: *malik ar-Rūm ṣāhib al-Qusṭanṭīniyya* (parallel in *al-Azhār* II, 272:13: *malik ar-Rūm al-a'zam ṣāhib al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*). In some diplomatic detail, and with minimal religio-polemical editing al-Maqqarī, or rather his source Ibn Ḥayyān, describes the chrysobull that 'Abd ar-Rahmān III received from Constantine Porphyrogenetos at the embassy's reception on 11 Rabī' I – 336 or 337/30 September 947 or 18 September 948, not 338/8 September 949 (Dölger 2003: 90; al-Maqqarī, *an-Nafḥ* I, 367:–6–368:6/*al-Azhār* II, 260:2–13). As noted by Lévi Provençal 1950: 152, n. 1, the quoted styles of sender(s) and addressee approximate the formulary found in Constantine's *De cerimoniis* I, 686:18–22, 689:14–18, cap. II 48, for correspondence with the caliph, including the quadruple-solidus chrysobull: ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα [lege: Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Ῥωμανὸς, as in the sample for the *amīr* of Egypt] πιστοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ αὐτοκράτορες αὐγουστοὶ μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ, εὐγενεστάτῳ καὶ περιβλέπτῳ ὁ δεῖνα πρωτοσυμβούλῳ καὶ διατάκτορι τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν. The Arabic version reads *Qusṭanṭīnu wa-'Rūmānus, al-mu'mināni bi-l-Masīḥ, al-malikāni l-'azīmān, malikā r-Rūm...* *al-'azīm ali-stihqāqi li-l-faḥr, aṣ-ṣarīf an-nasabi 'Abd ar-Rahmān, al-ḥalīfa al-ḥākim 'alā l-'arabi bi-l-Andalus, aṭāla llāhu baqā'ah* (Dölger 2003: 89–90, no. 657; *varia lectio*: *al-mufahḥar* for *li-l-faḥr*).

¹⁶ Without aiming for completeness, the following references will make the point: *MGH, DD Lo I/DD Lo II*, 70–73, no. 9 (Pavia 832: confirmation of earlier diplomata by Charlemagne and Louis the Pious), 192f, no. 76 (Gondreville 843); *DD L II*, 98f, no. 17 (Pavia 855); *DD LD/DD Kn/DD LJ*, 316–318 (Karlmann no. 22, Ötting 879); *Reg. Imp. I*, 3, 2, 151f, no. 1116 (Trieste 900, Nov 10), 184f, no. 1178 [904 before Sept], 185, no. 1179 (Pavia 904 [before Sept]), 276, no. 1370 (Pavia 921, Oct 3), 282f, no. 1377 (Verona 922, Mar 25); *MGH, DD K I/DD H I/DD O I*, 563–565, no. 413 (Pavia 972: confirmation of earlier royal and imperial privileges). Later grants, which also included confirmations of earlier benefits, have not been included here.

¹⁷ Well-informed civil servant that Ibn Ḥurdādbih was, he was able to distinguish between popular usage and official styles; *Kisrā* and *Qaysar* were the popular designations of the – pre-Islamic – rulers of al-'Irāq and the 'kings of the Romans', whereas their actual titles

nacular form, enjoyed some currency as imperial title, although – certainly in chancery usage –, *imperator*, alone, alternating or combined with *augustus*, took precedence.¹⁸ In the contemporaneous Pavian tradition, the attribution of the transportation and *a fortiori*, the erection, of the Regisole to an ‘emperor’ suggests that only a

(*alqāb*) were *šāhānšāh* and *basīlī* (*BGA* IV, 16:5–7; the chronological differential between the Sasanians and contemporaneous emperors need not concern us here). Regardless of the *terminus ad quem* of his work – extending nearly half a century after 232/847 –, his information tallies well with that of al-Qalqašandī (*aṣ-Ṣubḥ* [<28 Šawwāl 814/12 February 1412] V, 483:8f [cf. *ibid.* 401:10f]); according to him, the last emperor to be styled *qayṣar* was Staurakios (*Istabraḡ* [sic lege] *Qayṣar malik al-Quṣṭanīniyya*; deposed on 2 October 811).

¹⁸ Again, no exhaustive listing is intended here; an illustrative sample in roughly chronological order, from the late ninth century to (after) the end of Otto I’s reign, will have to do. The *Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma* uses *caesar* for ancient emperors (*Constantino magno Caesare*, [post-Constantinian] *Caesares*, 191:9, 14) as well as for recent and contemporaneous ones (always in the – generic or individual – singular, 192:21 [*caesaris eleemosyna*], 199:16, 22 [*caesaris ... clementiae*], 200:5 [*intimantes caesari*], 15), although *imperator* (192:8, 24, 195:6, 197:9, 199:3, 12, 15, 23, 200:1, 6, 203:14, 18, 205:3, 207:5) and in adjectival constructions, *imperialis* (191:1,6, 192:3,23, 196:4,9,14, 197:7f, 199:1, 205:5f) by far predominate (cf. *imperium*, 193:4f). Derivatives of *reg-* are nearly synonymous (199:19, 201:6, 12, 205:2); perhaps most telling is *nemo imperatorum, nemo regum acquisivit; quia aut virtus defuit aut scientia pro multis regni contentionibus* (210:1ff).

The period of rivalry between Guido (II of Spoleto, emperor 891–894) and his son Lambert ([co-]emperor 892–98) on the one hand and Berengar I (king from 888, emperor 915–24) on the other is represented by chancery and poetic usage; from among Guido’s charters one stands out for its use of *caesar* in *intitulatio*: *Vuido caesar imperator augustus*, *signum formula*: ... *Vuidonis caesaris et imperatoris augusti*, and date: ... *Vuidonis serenissimi caesaris augusti*, see Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Guido*, 54ff, no. XXI (AD 894). In his son’s, Lambert’s, altogether first precept, *ibid.*, 71ff (January [895]), the *intitulatio* corresponds exactly to the just-quoted formula, *signum* adds *serenissimi*, and the date omits *caesar* and *augustus*. Lambert’s second diploma (February 895) reduces the *intitulatio* to *imperator augustus*, but in *signum* and date has the identical formula *serenissimi caesaris et imperatoris augusti* (*ibid.*, 73–76). In the following, third, deed (6 December 895), *caesar* only occurs in the context: *nostram caesaream flagitavit clementiam* (*ibid.*, 77:7). As for this and corresponding adjectives, Lambert’s first diploma appears not to differentiate between *augustal-*, *caesare-*, and *imperial-*; the first qualifies *auctoritat-*, *clementia*, *magnificentia-*, the second *sublimitat-* (cf. *clementiam* as just quoted), the third *auctoritat-* and *largitat-* (71:3, 7, 72:3, 23, 28, 73:2). Posthumously, Lambert was titled *caesar* in his epitaph (*MGH, Poetae* IV, 1:402, no. II). For Berengar, the only witness to *caesar* appears to be the so-called *Gesta*, an epic panegyric evidently governed by different rules than chancery documents (*MGH, Poetae* IV, 1: 357–401). Without underestimating the author’s resources – cf. *induperatorem*, I 8 – nor yet metric constraints, in the very title, in Greek he proclaims Berengar as Καῖσαρ, which might be echoed by *solus in hocciduo caesar vocitandus in orbe*, IV 99 – but here the question will have to be left open (cf. *caesar-*, IV 177, 190, with *august-*, I 6, IV 165, 188, and *imperi-*, I 22, IV 84, 98, 164). Liutprand of Cremona clearly avoids *caesar* altogether in *Antapodosis* (writing begun in 958), in contrast to *imperator-*, which on occasion, he employs

in the ancient meaning 'commander in chief' (I 1/Chiesa I:100ff, II 49/Chiesa II:807f, and cf. *Berengarius et Wido imperatores ob regnum Italicum conflictabantur*, I 5/Chiesa I:177f [=Cavallero 10:2f]). In *Antapodosis* I-V, *imperator*- exclusively refers to the Greek emperors (cf. *imperator* glossing βασιλεύ[ς], I 12/Chiesa I:386 and app.), whereas Western rulers in the period covered, since 880, are mere *reges*, including Charles (III) the Fat (wrongly called *calvus*, I 5/Chiesa I:174 [=Cavallero 7:9]). Only in the later, incomplete conclusion (VI 4/Chiesa 57f: *domini nostri, tunc regis, nunc imperatoris*) is Otto's elevation to imperial dignity reflected in *Antapodosis*. In *Legatio* (after 968), Liutprand, articulating Ottonian ambitions vis-à-vis Byzantine claims to exclusivity, spells out the equivalence of *imperator* and βασιλεὺς in contrast to *rex* vs. ῥήξ (2/Chiesa 36-40); again, he avoids *caesar*. The title *caesar* exceptionally appears in *Liber de rebus gestis Ottonis* (964-65), in highly marked contexts; of the four occurrences, three, of identical formulation, figure in the account of the papal 'invitation' to Otto in 961, and the fourth in a solemn oath the Roman citizenry swore to Otto in late 963 (ed. Chiesa 159:9f: ... *tunc regi, nunc augusto caesari Ottoni*; *ibid.*, line 18f: *Otonis tunc regis nunc caesaris augusti*; p. 160:3f: *Ottone, tunc rege nunc augusto caesare*; p. 164:29: *domni imperatoris Ottonis caesaris augusti filiiue ipsius regis Ottonis*). Elsewhere in *Res gestae*, Liutprand maintains his regular use of *imperator*. In Otto's diplomas *c[a]esar*- only appears in some Italian eschatocols between 2 December 966 and 22 April 972, and moreover, less often in the *signum* line than in the *datum* (MGH, *DD K I/H I/O I*, 448-556). A telling exception occurs in Otto's Roman *pactum* of 2 December 967 with the Venetians; the date following the opening *invocatio* reads *anno... imperii vero domni Ottoni* [sic] *piissimi cesaris* (*ibid.*, 478-483, no. 350, esp. 480:30f).

From the period around Otto's death, Benedict of S. Andrea (writing in 972) offers additional testimony, although he also reflects his sources' usage. Julian the Apostate is the only *cesar* mentioned (ed. Zucchetti 4:3), while ancient and modern emperors figure as *imperator*- or *august*-. Notwithstanding Benedict's open aversion to Saxon rule, he does note Otto's investiture as *Augustus* (*ibid.*, 175:14ff; cf., for his classical predecessors, *ibid.* 5:10f, 11:7f, 17, 12:2, 5f, 13:6). Overall, in his references to Otto, he wavers between *imperator*- and *reg*- (*ibid.* 174:7f, 176:4, 5, 7f, 178:2, 4, 183:5, 8f), before, in his final lamentation over the decline of Rome, he reverts to 'Saxon king' (*ibid.* 186).

For comparison, a few 'transalpine' attestations may also be cited. Hrotsvit pointedly contrasts *reg*- with *august*- to mark the difference between royal and imperial rank (*Opera* 273, 296, 304, 328: *Gesta Ottonis*, prol. I:2-4, vv. 593f, 1477-1480/1483-1486; *Primordia coenobii Gandeshemensis*, v. 566f). *August*- generally takes precedence (*ibid.* 274, 305, 309: *Gesta*, prol. 2, v. 1507/1513, *Primordia*, v. 71); *çesar*- only occurs, coupled with *august*-, in the prose preface to *Gesta*, but is once, in the Pelagius drama, also applied to the Saracen 'king' (*rex*) (*ibid.* 71, v. 224f). Possibly for metrical problems, *imperator* appears only in prose (p. 274 - other than *imperium*, e. g. *ibid.* 273, 274, 277). In adjectival form, all three terms are used, in the present context, most saliently perhaps in *urbs çesariana* and *imperii... çesariani* (*ibid.* x and 273: *præfatio* to entire collection and *Gesta*, *prologus* I:1). In Ruotger's *Vita Brunonis* (c. 969) *çesar*-, *august*-, or *çesar- august*- denote imperial rank in contrast to the less restricted *imperator*-; *ibid.* xv (introd.), 3:34 (cap. 2), 11, n. 1 (cap. 10), 43:13 (cap. 41), 45:5 (cap. 42). Once more the difference between more and less formal levels of diction appears to be reflected in a speech by bishop Arnulf of Orléans at the synod of Verzy in 991 - as recorded by Gerbert of Aurillac, *Acta concilii Remensis*; *Otonem, quem augustum creaverat* is, in the following narrative, immediately replaced by (*Otto*[n-]) *caesar*(-) (*ibid.* 672:26-33).

powerful ruler could be credited with such an ambitious undertaking. Moreover, notwithstanding Ibrāhīm's vague wording, the action can be assumed to have been prompted by a strong motive.

Here the *caesar* Berengar (emperor 915–924) comes to mind, rather than his rivals Guido and Lambert (r. 891–898), since he is known to have had a special bond with Pavia as his capital. Right after winning the city back from Louis III (subsequently 'the Blind') in 902, he called it *caput regni nostri*. In the autumn of 911, in order to bolster Pavia's status as *regni sedes*, he requested – and obtained – ceremonial privileges for its bishop from Pope Anastasius III.¹⁹ In 915 he finally succeeded in garnering a papal 'invitation' to Rome in order to be crowned emperor.²⁰ In Rome, on his way to the pope's palace at the Lateran, the venue of the coronation banquet,²¹ he must have noticed the subsequently famous *caballus*, the equestrian bronze of Marcus Aurelius.²² It would not stretch credulity to have the apparent ensemble of palace and statue impress itself on Berengar as an appropriate visualization of sovereign power, to be emulated as soon as an opportunity arose.

To continue a bit further along the path of speculation, it may indeed have been Ravenna, as the later tradition would have it, that furnished Berengar the coveted object.²³

The cumulative evidence appears to indicate a limited vernacular currency of *caesar*, largely excluding its integration into imperial style.

¹⁹ *Reg. Imp.* I, 3, 2, 220, no. 1249. Referring to the time immediately after Berengar's murder, Liutprand also speaks of *ipsam regni caput Papiam* (*Antapodosis* III 8/Chiesa III 225).

²⁰ *Reg. Imp.* I, 3, 2, 242f, no. 1298f; earlier, in 911, Pope Sergius III had conducted negotiations about Berengar's elevation to the imperial dignity, see *ibid.* 215, no. 1238f.

²¹ Schneidmüller 2007:49; Eichmann 1942: I, 76f, 218–221, II, 32, 35ff, 211f; Diemand 1894: 94–102.

²² Admittedly, the earliest attestation of the supposed Constantine at the Lateran only dates from the pontificate of John XIII (965–972); *Liber pontificalis* II, 252, 254b, n. 8 (cf. *ibid.* 259, regarding John XIV, 972–974); Falkenstein 1966: 61, n. 63f. However, to have it transported there from an unknown earlier location would raise more questions than it would answer.

²³ In or after 1318 Ricobaldus Ferrariensis ('Riccobaldo Ferrarese'), who first came to Ravenna in 1296, wrote about Charlemagne's removal of the Pavian bronze from its original place in Ravenna: *Ereum quoque equum aureatum quem ponte austri /Ravenne locavit [sc. Theodericus], quem ut legi in libro Pontificali ecclesie Raven-/[atis] Karolus rex Francorum et augustus inde substulit ut /transferet in Franciam, sed Papie nunc visitur; Compendium* 647:12ff. Evidently, this does not represent Agnellus's wording as preserved, but Ricobaldus might still have derived his reference from a Ravennate source – as his contemporary Bencius Alexandrinus ('Benzo d'Alessandria') may have done. The exact filiation of their concordant testimony as to the Ravennate provenance cannot be examined here; see Berrigan 1967: 168f and Piccinini 1992: 47–49, 73 (generally on Benzo see Ragni 1966). Cf. another, slightly later (<1334) version of Charlemagne's transport of Theoderic's Ravennate equestrian bronze in Iacobinus de Aquis ('Iacopo da Acqui'), *Cronica*, col. 1429f (see Saletti 1997: 17, n. 9, 19, and generally on Iacopo, Chiesa 2004).

An opportunity arose during his sojourn there in June 916;²⁴ all he needed to do was to requisition the bronze reported to have stood at *pons austri*.²⁵ Actually, whether or not the tradition about this statue be accepted, Ravenna apparently is still considered the most likely provenance of the Regisole.²⁶

3 Conclusion

The interpretation just outlined is contingent upon a somewhat loose construal of the temporal marker 'in ancient times' in Ibrāhīm's report²⁷ – unless, as suggested earlier, the phrase referred to the statue's size and style. This would resolve the apparent anachronism implicit in situating Berengar's age, just over half a century past, in ancient times. Coincidentally, attributing the erection of the Regisole to Berengar would agree with the post-Charlemagne date proposed by Bernardo Sacco in 1565.²⁸ Trecentist authors presented the seizure from Ravenna of the Regisole and – perhaps concomitantly – of the relics of St. Eleucadius for Pavia in terms of the continual feuds between *comuni* and *signorie* in their own time. If they thus retrojected familiar conditions into the period before the turn of the second millennium, the disguise might still not completely conceal the reality of the period of the 'national' kings.²⁹

REFERENCES

²⁴ He granted privileges to the diocese of Arezzo on 22 June; see *Reg. Imp.* I, 3, 2, 252, no. 1320: *in civitate Ravenna*.

²⁵ Saletti 1997: 17, n. 8, suggests an emendation to the better attested *augusti*, following Fantuzzi, *Monumenti Ravennati* I, 190, no. 51: *iuxta pontem Augusti* (9 November 975), and 395, no. 74: *prope Pontem Augusti* (15 July 1103); a *Cruce Pontis Austri* occurs in a document from the latter 14th century (1370?); see *ibid.* II, 403, no. 22. *Pons Augusti* also agrees with Iacopo da Acqui's alternative localization *iuxta forum platee*, *Cronica*, col. 1429.

²⁶ Saletti 1997: 17–24; cf. Lomartire 2008: 32–37, but also Hoffmann 1962: 322.

²⁷ Al-Ḥimyarī, or rather his unnamed source on Tarragona, al-Idrīsī, applies the phrase 'in ancient time' (*fī qadīmi z-zamān*) to the 9th–10th centuries, when the area was continually fought over by Muslims and Christians (*ar-Rawḍ*, 392a:18f = al-Idrīsī, *an-Nuzha*, 734:9f); thus the antiquity alluded to was not limited to the pre-Islamic period.

²⁸ Bernardo Sacco, *De Italicarum rerum varietate* ... X, cap. v [*sic* for vi], fols. 105v–106r [*sic* for 105r–v], esp. "106r:" 3ff: *quoniam post Caroli Magni tempora contentione exorta inter Papienses, & Ravennates exportata à Papiensibus Ravennam ingressis Statua fuit*; see Saletti 1997: 21, 23f, and A₂₂. In view of Sacco's fictitious historical reconstruction, the plausibility of his dating can hardly be considered more than fortuitous.

²⁹ Saletti 1997: 21f, 23f, 26–30; for source texts, cf. *ibid.* 102 (Benzo of Alessandria) and 153 (Opicino de Canistris).

A. Primary sources

[Adalberti] *Continuatio Reginonis*. In: *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*. Edited by Friedrich Kurze. (MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum ... separatim editi* [SS rer. Germ.] [50]). Hannoverae: Hahn, 1890. 154–179.

Agnellus Ravennas, *Liber pontificalis* = Agnellus Ravennas, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*. Edited by Oswald Holder-Egger. (MGH, *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX.*) Hannoverae: Hahn, 1878. 265–391.

Agnellus Ravennas, *Liber pontificalis* = Agnelli Ravennatis *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*. Edited by Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis. (*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio mediaevalis* [CCCM], 199). Turnhout: Brepols 2006.

Agnellus Ravennas, *Liber pontificalis*. See Deliyannis under B.

Anonymus Valesianus II. Edited by Theodor Mommsen as *Anonymi Valesiani pars posterior*. In: MGH, *Auctores antiquissimi*, 9: *Chronicorum minorum saec. IV, V, VI, VII* vol. I. Berolini: Weidmann, 1892. 259, 306–328.

Anonymus Valesianus. See: König.

Benedict of S. Andrea, *Chronicon*. Edited by Georg Heinrich Pertz as *Benedicti Sancti Andreae monachi chronicon*. (MGH, *Scriptores* III). Hannoverae: Hahn 1839. 695–719.

Benedict of S. Andrea, *Chronicon*. Edited by Giuseppe Zucchetti as *Il Chronicon di Benedetto monaco di S. Andrea del Soratte e il Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma*. (*Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, 55). Roma: Istituto storico italiano, Palazzo dei Lincei, 1920. 3–186.

Constantin[us] Porphyrogenit[us], *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*. Edited, translated by Io[annes] Iac[obus] Reiski[us] [Reiske] as *Constantini Porphyrogeniti Imperatoris De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo*. 2 vols. Bonnae: Weber 1829–1830.

Excerpta Valesiana. See: König.

Fantuzzi, Conte Marco. *Monumenti Ravennati de' Secoli di mezzo* – per la maggior parte inediti. 4 vols. Venezia: Stampe di Francesco Andreola, 1801–1804.

Gerbert of Aurillac, *Acta concilii Remensis ad S. Basolum*. Edited by Georg Heinrich Pertz. (MGH, *Scriptores* III). Hannoverae: Hahn 1839. 558–686.

Guido [king, emperor]. See: Schiaparelli.

al-Ḥalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī, Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, *Kitāb al-'ayn*. Edited by Maḥdī al-Maḥzūmī and Ibrāhīm as-Sāmarrā'ī. 8 vols. Bayrūt: Mu'assasat al-A'lamī, 1408/1988.

al-Ḥimyarī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im, *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'tār fī ḥabar al-aqṭār*. Edited by Iḥsān 'Abbās. Bayrūt: Maktabat Lubnān, 1975.

- Hrotsvit, [*Opera omnia*]. Edited by Walter Berschin as *Hrotsvit <Gandeshemensis> Opera omnia*. [*Bibliotheca Teubneriana*]. Monachii et Lipsiae: K. G. Saur, 2001.
- Iacobinus de Aquis [Iacopo da Acqui], *Cronica imaginis mundi*. Edited by Gustavo Avogadro as *Chronicon imaginis mundi*. (*Monumenta historiae patriae, Scriptorum* t. III [t. V of entire collection]). Augusta Taurinorum: E Regio Typographeo, 1848.
- Ibn Ġulġul, Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān, *Tafsīr asmā' al-adwiya al-mufrada min kitāb Dīs-qūrīdis*. Edited, translated by Ildefonso Garijo Galán as *Libro de la explicación de los nombres de los medicamentos simples tomados del libro de Dioscórides*. Córdoba: Área de Estudios Árabes y Islámicos, Facultad de F^a y Letras de la Universidad de Córdoba, 1992.
- Ibn Ḥaldūn, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-'Ibar wa-dīwān al-mubtada' wa-l-ḥabar*. [In the absence of a standard edition, see www.alwaraq.net].
- Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb, Lisān ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh b. Sa'īd, *A'māl al-a'lām*. Edited by Évariste Lévi-Provençal as *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane/Tārīḥ Isbāniya al-islāmiyya*. Bayrūt: Dār al-Makšūf, 1956.
- Ibn Ḥurdāqbih, 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*. Edited by Michael Jan de Goeje. (*Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum [BGA]*, 6). Leiden: Brill, 1889.
- Ibn 'Idārī, Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, *al-Bayān al-muġrib fī aḥbār al-Andalus wa-l-Maġrib*. Eds. G[eorges] S[éraphin] Colin, É[variste] Lévi-Provençal as *Histoire de l'Afrique du nord et de l'Espagne musulmane intitulée Kitāb al-Bayān al-muġrib*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1951.
- Ibn Sa'īd, 'Alī ibn Mūsā, *Kitāb al-muġrib fī ḥulā l-Maġrib*. Edited by Šawqī Ḍayf. 2 vols. (*Ḍaḥā'ir al-'Arab*, 10). Miṣr [al-Qāhira]: Dār al-ma'ārif, 1953.
- al-Idrīsī, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *Nuzhat al-muštāq fī ḥtirāq al-āfāq*. Edited by Enrico Cerulli, Alessio Bombaci et al. as *Al-Idrīsī Opus geographicum sive «Liber ad eorum delectationem qui terras peragrarare studeant»*. 9 fasc. [continuous pagination]. Neapoli – Romae: Istituto universitario orientale, Leiden: Brill, 1970–1984 [reprint Leiden: Brill, 1987].
- König, Ingemar, *Aus der Zeit Theoderichs des Großen*: Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar einer anonymen Quelle [Anonymus Valesianus/*Excerpta Valesiana/Theodericiana*]. (*Texte zur Forschung*, 69). Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997.
- Libellus de imperatoria potestate...* Edited by Georg Heinrich Pertz. (*MGH, Scriptores* III). Hannoverae: Hahn, 1839. 719–22.
- Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma*. Edited by Giuseppe Zucchetti as *Il Chronicon di Benedetto monaco di S. Andrea del Soratte e il Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma*. (*Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, 55). Roma: Istituto storico italiano, Palazzo dei Lincei, 1920. 191–210.

Liber pontificalis. Edited by Louis Duchesne and Cyrille Vogel. 3 vols. (*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*: Série 2, 3, 1–3). Paris: Thorin; de Boccard, 1886, 1892, 1957.

[Livdprandus Cremonensis,] *Livdprandi Cremonensis Opera omnia [Antapodosis, Historia Ottonis, Legatio]*. Edited by Paolo Chiesa. (*Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis*, 156). Turnhout: Brepols 1998.

al-Maqqarī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, *Azhār ar-riyād fī aḥbār 'Iyād*. Edited by Muṣṭafā as-Saqqā [sic], Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, 'Abd al-Ḥafīz Šalabī. 3 vols. Al-Qāhira: Maṭba'at Laḡnat at-ta'līf wa-t-tarḡama wa-n-našr, 1358, 1359, 1361/1939, 1940, 1942.

al-Maqqarī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, *Nafḥ at-ṭīb min ḡuṣn al-Andalus ar-raṭīb*. Edited by Iḥsān 'Abbās. 8 vols. Bayrūt: Dār Šādir, 1388/1968.

MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

(MGH, *Antiquitates*.) *Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, IV, 1. Ed. Paul von Winterfeld. Berolini: Weidmann, 1899.

(MGH, *Auctores antiquissimi*, 9). *Chronicorum minorum saec. IV, V, VI, VII vol. I*. [Anonymi Valesiani pars posterior.] Edited by Heinrich Mommsen. Berolini: Weidmann, 1892.

(MGH, *Diplomat[a] Karolinorum III*.) *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. diplomata [DD Lo I/DD Lo II]*. Edited by Theodor Schieffer. Berolini et Turici: Weidmann, 1966.

(MGH, *Diplomat[a] Karolinorum IV*.) *Ludovici II. Diplomata [DD L II]*. Edited by Konrad Wanner. München: MGH, 1994.

(MGH, *Diplomat[a] regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum I*.) *Ludowici Germanici, Karlomanni, Ludowici Iunioris diplomata [DD LD/DD Kn/DD LJ]*. Edited by P[aul Fridolin] Kehrer. Berolini: Weidmann, 1934.

(MGH, *Diplomat[a] regum et imperatorum Germaniae I*.) *Conradi I. Heinrici I. et Ottonis diplomata [DD K I/DD H I/DD O I]*. Edited by Th[eodor von] Sickel. Hannoverae: Hahn 1879–1884.

Monumenti Ravennati. See: Fantuzzi.

Orosius. See: Ūrūsiyūs.

al-Qalqašandī, Aḥmad ibn 'Alī, *Kitāb ṣubḥ al-a'sā*. Edited by Muḥammad 'Abd ar-Rasūl Ibrāhīm. 14 vols. al-Qāhira: al-Maṭba'a al-Amīriyya. 1331–1338/1913–1920. [reprint al-Qāhira: Wizārat at-ṭaḳāfa (*ilḥ*) – al-Mu'assasa al-miṣriyya al-'amma li-t-ta'līf wa-t-tarḡama (*ilḥ*), (1383/1963)].

(*Regesta Imperii [Reg. Imp.] I: Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751–918 (926/962); Bd. 3: Die Regesten des Regnum Italiae und der burgundischen Regna;*) *T. 2: Das Regnum Italiae in der Zeit der Thronkämpfe und Reichsteilungen 888 (850)–928*. Edited by Herbert Zielinski. Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 1998.

Ricobaldus Ferrariensis [Riccobaldo Ferrarese], *Compendium romanae historiae*. Edited by A. T[eresa] Hankey. 2 vols. [contin. pagination]. (*Fonti per la storia*

dell'Italia medievale, no. 108*–108**). Roma: Nella Sede dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, Palazzo Borromini, 1984.

Ruotger[us], *Vita Brunonis archiepiscopi coloniensis*. Edited by Irene Ott as *Ruotgers Lebensbeschreibung des Erzbischofs Bruno von Köln*. (MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series [SS rer. Germ. N.S.]*, 10). Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger 1951.

Sacc[us], Bernard[us] [Bernardo Sacco], *De Italicarum rerum varietate et elegantia libri X*. Papiæ: apud Hieronymum Bartholum, 1565.

I diplomi di Guido e di Lamberto. Edited by Luigi Schiaparelli. (*Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, 36). Roma: Forzani e C. Tipografi del Senato, 1906.

Theodericiana. See: König.

Ūrūsiyūs, [*at-Ta'rīḥ*]. Edited by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Badawī as *Ūrūsiyūs – Ta'rīḥ al-'ālam: at-tarḡama al-'arabiyya al-qadīma*. Bayrūt: al-Mu'assasa al-'arabiyya li-d-dirāsāt wa-n-našr, [1979?].

Walahfrid Strabo, *De imagine Tetrici*. Edited by Ernst Dümmler. (MGH, *Antiquitates. Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, 2). Berolini: Weidmann 1884. 370–378.

Walahfrid Strabo, *De imagine Tetrici*. Edited by Michael W. Herren as “The ‘De imagine Tetrici’ of Walahfrid Strabo: Edition and Translation”. *Journal of Medieval Latin* 1 (1991). 118–139.

Yāqūt ibn 'Abdallāh ar-Rūmī al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'ḡam al-buldān*. Edited by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld as *Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*. 6 vols. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1866–1873.

B. Secondary Sources

Ashtor, Eliyahu. 1983. “La geografia dell'Europa nelle opere di Persiani e Arabi nell' undicesimo secolo”. In: *Popoli e paesi nella cultura altomedievale*, 23–29 aprile 1981. (*Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, 29). 2 tomi. Spoleto: presso la sede del Centro [italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo]. II 647–699 (discussione, 701–708), esp. 665–668.

Berrigan, Joseph R. 1967. “Benzo d'Alessandria and the Cities of Northern Italy”, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 4. 125–192. (see “Census of antique works of art and architecture known in the Renaissance” at <census.bbaw.de/index>, under CensusID: 236603 [last accessed 29 April 2019]).

Chiesa, Paolo. 2004. “Iacopo da Acqui,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 62. Edited by Mario Caravale [et al.]. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana. 24b–27b. [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/iacopo-da-acqui_(Dizionario-Biografico) (last accessed 15 January 2020)].

- Deliyannis, Deborah Mausekopf. 2004. *Agnellus of Ravenna, The book of pontiffs of the church of Ravenna* [transl., introd., annot.]. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press.
- Diemand, Anton. 1894. *Das Ceremoniell der Kaiserkrönungen von Otto I. bis Friedrich II.* München: Lüneburg Verlag [reprint Paderborn: Salzwasser, 2013].
- Dölger, Franz. 2003. *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565 bis 1453. (Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit, A I: 1-5).* 5 parts in 6 vols. Second edition by Andreas E. Müller and Alexander Beihammer. München: Beck.
- Ducène, Jean-Charles. 2018. *L'Europe et les géographes arabes du Moyen Âge (IX^e-XV^e siècle).* «La grande terre» et ses peuples: Conceptualisation d'un espace ethnique et politique. Paris: CNRS Éditions, esp. 163–194, 404–414 (notes).
- Eichmann, Eduard. 1942. *Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland.* 2 vols. Würzburg: Echter.
- Falkenstein, Ludwig. 1966. *Der „Lateran“ der Karolingischen Pfalz zu Aachen. (Kölner historische Abhandlungen, 13).* Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau.
- Goltz, Andreas. 2008. *Barbar – König – Tyrann: Das Bild Theoderichs des Großen in der Überlieferung des 5. bis 9. Jahrhunderts. (Millennium-Studien 12).* Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.
- Hartmut Hoffmann. 1962. “Die Aachener Theoderichstatue”. In: *Das erste Jahrtausend: Kultur und Kunst im werdenden Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr*, Textband I. Edited by Victor H. Elbern. Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1962. 318–335.
- Lévi-Provençal, É[variste]. 1950. *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane – tome II: Le califat umayyade de Cordoue (912–1031).* Paris: Maisonneuve & Leiden: Brill.
- Lomartire, Saverio. 2008. “La statua del Regisole di Pavia e la sua fortuna tra Medioevo e Rinascimento”. In: *Praemium Virtutis III: Reiterstandbilder von der Antike bis zum Klassizismus.* Edited by Joachim Poeschke, Thomas Weigel, Britta Kusch-Arnhold. (*Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme. Schriftenreihe des Sonderforschungsbereichs 496*, 22). Münster: Rhema. 31–73.
- Mandalà, Giuseppe. 2014. “La Longobardia, I Longobardi e Pavia nei geografi arabo-islamici del Medioevo”. *Aevum* 88/2. 331–386.
- Piccinini, Piero. 1992. “Immagini d'autorità a Ravenna.” In: *Storia di Ravenna II,2: Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana—ecclesiologia, cultura e arte.* Edited by Antonio Carile. Venezia: Marsilio. 31–78.
- Ragni, Eugenio. 1966. “Benzo d'Alessandria”. In: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 8. Edited by Alberto M. Ghisalberti [et al.]. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana. 723b–726a. [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/benzo-d-alessandria_(Dizionario-Biografico) (accessed 17 January 2020)].
- Richter-Bernburg, Lutz. 2019a. “Caesarea's Mosque with Sea-View and Other Amenities in the Fāṭimid and Crusader Periods”. In: *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras IX [CHESFAME] (Proceedings of the 23rd*

- and 24th International Colloquium Organized at the University of Leuven in May 2015 and 2016). Edited by Kristof D'hulster, Gino Schallenberg†, Jo Van Steenberghe. (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 278). Leuven, Paris, Bristol, CT: Peeters. 1–32.
- _____. 2019b. “Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb from Tortosa as a source of Arabic *Itala* – the case of Friuli and Lombardy”. In: *Re-defining a Space of Encounter. Islam and Mediterranean: Identity, Alterity and Interactions (Proceedings of the 28th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Palermo 2016)*. Edited by A[ntonio] Pellitteri, M[aria] G[razia] Sciortino, D[aniele] Sicari & N[esma] Elsakaan. (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 282). Leuven, Paris, Bristol, CT: Peeters. 227–237.
- Rotili, Marcello. 2017. “Spazi monastici a Benevento”. *Hortus artium medievalium* 23/1. 240–261.
- Saletti, Cesare. 1997. *Il Regisole di Pavia*. (*Biblioteca di Athenaeum*, 35). Como: Edizioni New Press.
- Schneidmüller, Bernd. 2007. *Die Kaiser des Mittelalters: Von Karl dem Großen bis Maximilian I.* Second ed. München: C. H. Beck.
- Smolak, Kurt. 2001. „Bescheidene Panegyrik und diskrete Werbung: Walahfrid Strabos Gedicht über das Standbild Theoderichs in Aachen“. In: *Karl der Große und das Erbe der Kulturen*. Edited by Franz-Reiner Erkens. Berlin: Akademie Verlag. 89–110.
- Thomas, Brittany Marie. 2018. “Ravenna as a Capital: Art and Display as Discourse in Late Antiquity and Beyond” [PhD thesis], Leicester [UK]: University of Leicester, School of Archaeology and Ancient History 2018. [<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/719c/aa2a69d723977a3a2c36a20810507c418019.pdf> (last accessed 5 January 2020)].
- Weinryb, Ittai. 2016. *The bronze object in the Middle Ages: sculpture, material, making*. Cambridge [UK]: Cambridge University Press.
- Wiegartz, Veronika. 2004. *Antike Bildwerke im Urteil mittelalterlicher Zeitgenossen*. (*Marburger Studien zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte*, 7). Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften.
- Wolf, Kordula. 2012. “Auf dem Pfade Allahs. Ġihād und muslimische Migrationen auf dem süditalienischen Festland (9.-11. Jahrhundert)”. In: *Transkulturelle Verflechtungen im mittelalterlichen Jahrtausend – Europa, Ostasien, Afrika*. Edited by Michael Borgolte and Matthias M. Tischler. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. 120–166.