

# APPENDIX I: TRANSLATION OF THE *VITA* *BARBATIANI*

This translation is based predominantly on the 1909 edition of Lanzoni; however, a few alternative readings from the manuscripts have been used and sections have been renumbered.

Here begin the deeds of St. Barbatianus, the Presbyter and Confessor<sup>1</sup>

1. I think it only proper, as I embark upon this story of miracles, first to explain in which localities of the imperial cities the wonderful struggle of the saints took place. That way, the miracles which occupy the beginning of the narrative might inspire faith in what will be related subsequently, because a great people and a great and mighty city proclaim that they truly happened. Now, when Zosimus, Pope of the city of Rome, had by God's will ceased to hold the episcopate [upon his death], there was conflict among the clergy over the apostolic see, and they chose two bishops, one named Boniface and the other Eulalius.<sup>2</sup> They ordained Boniface in the basilica of Constantine. The empress Galla Placidia with her son, the emperor Valentinian, hearing this while they were staying in Ravenna, brought the news to the emperor Honorius who had remained in Milan. The two emperors sent a warrant ordering that both men should leave the city, so that both (popes) left the city of Rome. After they had been expelled, the holy day of Easter approached. Then Eulalius with daring boldness came into the city

of Rome, and baptized and he celebrated Easter in the basilica of Constantine. Upon hearing this, the emperors cast out and turned Eulalius away from the city of Rome and sent him to Campania, and there he finished out his life. They recalled Boniface and then invested him as Pope.

2. At this time, the empress Galla Placidia together with the emperors Honorius and Valentinian came to Rome before the doorway to the church of the Holy Apostles, where they presented many gifts. Then news spread to them that two men had arrived in Rome from Antioch, one by the name of Timothy and the other named Barbatianus, performing as presbyters with honor, God-fearing, workers of wonders, Furthermore, they were healing the sick through their holy prayers, and for this reason were surrounded by all types of men. When they were summoned by the empress, at which point, the most holy presbyter Timothy had already departed to the Lord before the fourth day after the request. His body, rendered sweet with incense, was then buried by a certain noble widowed woman, and carefully entombed with great praise and honor, as would be fitting for saints on the Vatican Hill, which is called *Aureus*. At his tomb, the men who were ill were saved and demons were driven away. And at that place every day, many marvels were performed for the praise and honor of our Lord Jesus Christ.
3. Barbatianus, the most holy presbyter and confessor of Christ, came to the cemetery of Callixtus and there he stayed hidden. The empress, having sought out the holy man, seeing as he did not want to reveal himself to the princes, they found him hiding secretly in his cell, and they led him before the empress with great honor. After she had seen him, she gave thanks to God, because she had been allowed to find him. Then the most holy man Barbatianus offered to her this acclamation: "Peace to you, Empress Galla Placidia, handmaiden of Christ, and victory for you son the emperor." And after all those there responded "amen," the glorious emperors addressed him in turn, and when they asked him from which land he had come to Rome, and the same confessor of Christ stated that had come from Antioch with the most holy man Timothy.
4. And after offering a prayer, the empress asked him to aid with his support for her handmaiden, who was afflicted with an incapacitat-

ing ailment of the eyes. She did this not so much for the reason stated, however, but rather to test his growing reputation. But he said nothing other than “let Him do what is good in her eyes”. After he had left her and returned to his cell, prostrating himself in prayer, he beseeched the Lord. And lifting himself up, he gave to the girl his face-towel, which he had moisten with water, so that she might wipe her eyes. As soon as she had followed his command and wiped her eyes dry, all the bloody swelling and blindness disappeared as everyone present looked on. And immediately she was made healthy, so that it was as if she had never had afflictions of her eyes, and continually with hymns and praises she did not cease from giving thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ. But let us discuss other marvels that this most holy man performed in order to illuminate the hearts of all the faithful.

5. There was a man named Gallogenis, a Greek by birth, who upon the command of the emperor Valentinian quickly descended a ladder, and catching his feet, he fell from there to the ground. With his foot crushed, he was in peril, and his feet, shins and bones were shattered. After he had looked for the help of doctors to improve his ailments, and after his own feet and, gradually, the bones of his shins had wasted away little by little with his flesh liquefied with puss flowed; having been carried he appealed to the most holy man Barbatianus, praying that he might discover a cure for this. After consideration, the most holy confessor of Christ examined him, gazing up to the heavens and prostrating himself, he prayed with tears to the Lord. And after he lifted himself up from praying, he ordered that the crippled man be brought to him, and offering a prayer upon him and making the sign of the holy cross, the injured bones which had broken to pieces were restored and “he was healed at the same hour” (Matt. 8:13).
6. After this miraculous cure of illness had been accomplished, there was a man named Isidore, who had suffered violently on account of his lungs. No doctor had been able to provide him with a cure for his illness, but every effort made turned out to be adverse to his health, and after that he suffering from putrefaction, gradually expelling what had loosened in phlegm and blood. Thanks to this he was expecting the end of his life to come. And then in this state Isidore looking over himself and realizing that there was no

remaining hope of health for him from [the cures of] men, he went to the blessed Barbatianus in the morning silence, so that he might receive a blessing from his hand, and might find a cure for his health. When the most holy man had examined him, and heard about the sickness that the ill man described, tears coming down his face, and kneeling on the ground, he begged for assistance from the Lord, so that the ill man might return to his former state of health. As he lifted up from his prayer, he offered to him a small piece of citron.<sup>3</sup> The sick man gratefully accepted it from him and ate it willingly. After he finished the very last piece of the citron, and as he was chewing, he immediately became nauseous and dizzy, and he threw up with the food a worm which had been eating his lung and organs. After he vomited it out, his illness altogether left him and at once he regained the strength of his health.

7. After the miraculous healing of Isidore, let us mention publicly the sickness of Minas, so that hearing it with your ears you might glorify our Lord Jesus Christ through praise and hymns. This Minas, whom we have mentioned, was gravely sick with a case of a severe fever that violently and rapidly came upon him. And it nearly destroyed all the fluids in his entire body that it led to a blockage and to desiccation.<sup>4</sup> To combat the desiccation of his stomach, the medical students were offering cures and foods which loosened his stomach, but he got worse and these things sickened him seriously. After two weeks of enduring this danger and being unable to bear it further, he sought out the most holy man Barbatianus in the cell where he stayed, putting his life and death into the saint's hands. And when he came, it was not by foot nor by litter in which the sick are carried, nor was he able to sit nor walk, but lying down on a couch he was carried by 16 men in shifts.<sup>5</sup> When they came to that most holy man Barbatianus, those who had carried him prostrating themselves on the ground praying asking him to make him well. As soon as he saw the sick man, he felt pity on him and raising his eyes to heaven, he prayed all day; and after the prayer was finished, raising up a dried Carian fig, he made the sign of the holy cross above it and offered to the sick man so that he might eat it.<sup>6</sup> As soon as the sick man had accepted it with great joy and had eaten it, he returned to his previous state of well-being and acquired perfect health. And as a faithful herald, he was sent

away from that place greatly praising the grace of that most holy man, and taking up on his shoulders the couch on which he had arrived being carried up, he left. And in this was he was imitating that very deed in which a man lay listless by the pool called Probatca, to whom Christ saved after 38 years and said: “Rise up from your bed and walk!”<sup>7</sup> In that man, he revealed the indescribable power and miraculous healing that he was accomplishing.

8. At that same time, there was a man named Geddeus, who had a fistula in his groin. He draws us to the consideration of this spectacle. And he had pain caused by the disease of the fistula, which he had in his groin; from this reason he continually endured its scourging, the fluids flowing out by the jugful at that same place it accumulated from his entire body. Deeply desiring to be made free of this torment, he often hung about the doctors’ court, hounding them and regularly coming to those who were said to have helped many. For a long time, he had endured every attempt, and spending all he had, he was still not being freed from his fistula, he came to the most holy man Barbatianus in the night, not having a doctor who had provided a cure for him, nor having gold or silver. So he came to this very man who not being needy in respect to payment, but rather he nurtures the weak and supplies help to the sick. Once he had arrived, he showed his wound to the most holy father. Barbatianus prostrated himself in prayer, and entreated the Lord. Rising up from his prayer, he extended to him by his hand a prepared poultice in which to fill up the wound, which the sick man took in order to eradicate the fistula. After it was placed on top, the fistula dried up and the cavity was immediately filled in, and to the honor and praise of the holy confessor of Christ, he was made healthy.
9. But let me mention aloud yet more miracles that were performed by Barbatianus, the most holy confessor of Christ the Lord, and his method of divine medicine and grace of virtue, which was conceded to him by God, offering praise, we will touch upon the bandy-legged Minax, with a miracle fashioned by the celebrated Barbatianus. This Minax was fleet of foot, like a goat in a field, on par with Asahel described in the Holy Scripture, who for the speed of his feet was admirable in the Scriptures.<sup>8</sup> While he being supremely quick would make use of his speed, during the course of

a long illness he was turned bowlegged from being swift-footed. And after a length of time when he finally emerged from his illness, he did not escape its effects, but he remained immobile on a couch and was not able to stand on account of his disease. Although the doctors had even cured his enduring illness, nevertheless they despaired for the ailment which had proceeded from that disease. In dreams, a vision appeared to him of the holy man Barbatianus, freeing him with his prayers. And waking up immediately, he was carried to that man's cell by the feet of others during the night. Since that man had gone forth with faith, the confessor of Christ upon seeing him prayed to the Lord and he drove off that weakness and he recovered his former speed in our Lord Jesus Christ.

10. After this miracle, let the curing of Theodorus proceed next aloud, that very Theodorus who was afflicted with blindness of the eyes of his body. For indeed Theodorus suffered from them, and he did not find sufficient care, as in both his eyes there were dark blemishes. After he had gone to the doctors, and when he had learned that his condition was incurable, he ordered that he be carried to holy Barbatianus the one hope left to him, and quoted this expression of belief: "if I will be able to be brought together before him, I will become well."<sup>9</sup> But when he had hurried to cell, he asked the most holy man to be allowed to say for several days in his cell with him. The most holy father did not want to refuse him, and ultimately the sick man tarried there for just a brief spell before he attained his reward. After a while Barbatianus the most holy confessor of Christ told him to go out to a spring to fetch water in a jug. He responded to him: "Since I am blind and I cannot see, how will I be able to fetch water for you?" The blessed Barbatianus responded to him: "Go anyway." Once he had set out, nevertheless he could still not see where he was going. The most holy confessor of Christ prostrated himself in prayer, pleading to God on behalf of that man, so that he might again receive light in his eyes. But by means of his mercy, which inspired that man to approach him and taught where to go, the man brought to him the jug filled with water. Barbatianus blessed it, and giving to him the jug, he ordered him to wash his face, and once he had washed, immediately (the illness, like) so many fish scales, fell away from his eyes. And he raised up a great shout with tears, giving thanks to God, who through the prayer of the most holy man he was brought to

sight. And this miracle was reported in every region of the city of Rome to the honor of our Lord Jesus Christ of whom it is honor and the glory for all the age of ages. Amen.

11. At this time, the empress Placidia and her son the emperor Valentinian returned to Ravenna; they brought with great honor the most saintly presbyter Barbatianus with them. The emperor Honorius returned to Milan. Once they had gone into the palace in the city of Ravenna, she immediately told that venerable man about her clinic.<sup>10</sup> In this place, that servant of God built from the foundations a monastery and dedicated it in honor of the blessed John the Baptist, and in which he secured a monastic rule, and he never ceased fasting and prayers, serving the Lord day and night. After these things were done, there was a man named Julianus, born from noble stock, who having heard that the most holy man was offering blessings to individuals, he went carrying offerings to arrange that ceremonies of the mass could be performed in order to heal the man's son through his prayers; because scrofula had enveloped his neck and having stretched his skin, he did not have enough strength to raise his neck to such a degree that ulcers appeared on the outside, and festering pus leaked out. After the end of the solemn masses, the father made his prayer, and prostrated himself at the feet of the most holy man Barbatianus, and with tears he began to ask him to provide a cure for his son's health because not one of the medical skills of others had prevailed to free him from the illness. At this point, the most blessed man raised his eyes to heaven and after offering a prayer, he went into his cell, and selecting a bandage smeared with wax and pieces of bread mixed with oil in his hand, ordered this man's son to be brought forth. And making the sign of the cross above the bandage, he placed it on top of the very hard wound, and instantly there was clattering and in the presence of all standing there, as out of the afflicted area more than 67 dead worms appeared as reckoned by those counting them. And all of those were collected together by his father and put up for display for many days, revealing to all for the benefit of belief, because this was done by the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the miracles were performed through that most holy man.
12. At the same time, when with divine guidance the empress Galla Placidia had built a church to saint John the Evangelist, Christ's

beloved disciple, the empress together with her son came into great consternation because of the fact that no relics of that apostle's body had been uncovered. Then with the most holy confessor of Christ Barbatianus being summoned, a plan was formed to use vigils and prayers to the Lord in order to reveal where the holy relics of the holy disciple of Christ might be acquired. This accomplished, though continuous night vigils they scarcely ceased beseeching the Lord. After the prayer had been given, they left to rest for a little while, and then just as if deep sleep fell upon the most holy confessor of Christ, although neither sleeping soundly nor entirely awake, he saw a man in wondrous garments with an angelic expression walking toward him, and a censer filled with incense being swung in his hand for the Lord, and rousing himself, he considered the vision he saw. With open eyes, he was clearly familiar with him, and he proceeded silently to where the Empress was sleeping and he gently touched her so that she might wake up. After she had awoken, with his finger the same most holy Barbatianus had pointed out the empress the man he saw, and she herself was engulfed by her spirit in the Lord. She stood up from the spot in which she lay, and hastening with great joy, she wished to hold him, prostrating herself at his feet. Right before her eyes he was quickly carried off, but his sandal, which had been on his right foot, remained in her hands. As she considered it to be a miraculous mystery, the empress, with great joy raised her voice, praising the Lord Jesus, who performs miracles through his holy apostle. From this point, the empress was full of excessive joy and her son, together with all those who had heard, remained in the city of Ravenna that was beloved by God. And after this mysterious sacrament, that very church was consecrated in praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, in honor of the most blessed evangelist John. The most holy Barbatianus became even more venerated by all men. And all the things which had been done by that confessor of Christ, the miracles were described to everyone by the very Empress herself. As for the venerable man himself, he then returned to his cell.

13. After a short while, when the servant of God was living in his monastery, there was a certain noble woman named Theodora living in the same city of Ravenna who, becoming incredibly sick, fell into great weakness having a flux of blood, for which none of the doctors or any single man could fashion cures for her that were of any

help; in fact each one of them had proved to be so bad for her that she did not have the health to lift herself up or to walk. When she heard about those miracles of the most holy man Barbatianus, that many had been healed by him, she put her confidence in the Lord, and said to herself: “what should I do? I believe in the God almighty, if I will go up before him, I will be saved.”<sup>11</sup> So she called to her relatives to bring her to the door of the monastic cell of the blessed Barbatianus. While they were setting out by night, the arrival of the sick woman became known to the most blessed man Barbatianus and he raised himself from prayer, going to the door of the monastery with some of the servants of that venerable place. And when he had caught sight of her, offering up a prayer, he said to the woman: “our Lord Jesus Christ, who brought health to the woman Veronica, and saved her from the bloody flux, in his name and in faith of him I say to you ‘rise and go to your home.’”<sup>12</sup> Then immediately in her ears there was a loud noise, she was made healthy and she departed for her home in the greatest health, just as if she had never had a malady, and praising the Lord, who had performed the miracle through this most holy man.

14. When the crowds heard this, they developed great wonder for the servant of God. So from that very day, Theodora would regularly come with offerings, imploring him to celebrate holy mass for her, and begging for the benediction of that most holy man. And when she had continued for some time to perform that worthy work, her husband, named Ursicius, a violent and spiteful man urged on by a demonic spirit, was carried away by jealousy for his wife, this very woman. And in the early morning hours when Barbatianus went from the church of the blessed John the Baptist, and distributed alms that had been given by the empress to the poor, and just a short time later he came to a bridge over the river, where the wicked man stood nearby next to the wall of a house, hiding behind a stone column so that he could stab the holy man with an unsheathed blade when he passed. But as soon as he lifted his hand, he could neither strike nor drop the blade, but his arm withered and he held still his stiff hand, and his mind was changed. This most blessed man passed by carrying out his duties just as when he had set out. In the morning at the break of dawn, the crowds coming discovered that man standing still, and just as mute, and his arm held stiff, and in his hand a blade. All the people were amazed,

and no one realized what had happened to him. After the third hour of the day had passed, and the servant of Christ God was returning to his church, he had become aware of what had occurred, and raising his eyes filled with tears up to heaven, he groaned, and offering a prayer, and immediately the man returned to his original state and his speech was restored, and straight away he fell at the feet of the most holy man Barbatianus, begging him to forgive this sin. The holy man offered him a benediction, and proceeded to his cell. This very Ursicius revealed everything about the evil deed that he planned, and the whole crowd gave thanks to God, who accomplished such miracles for a servant of God. This news came to the palace, and was announced before the empress Galla Placidia, and her son the emperor Valentinian, who also gave thanks to God. After that very day, he no longer strayed from the cell of his monastery, but in his holy monastery he remained in vigils and with little held back, he gave thanks to God through prayers, and many people who secretly came to him received benefits and the gift of health. At this time, the empress desired to have his benediction, and every day she partook of the blessing through the holiness of that man.

15. And while the empress was building a church to blessed Stephan the protomartyr within the bulwarks behind the walls of the city of Rimini, she remained there with her son the emperor there to supply the church; at that time the most holy man and confessor of Christ, who had been watchful throughout the night and during this vigil, had become ill. As the end of his life approached, by the command of the omnipotent Lord God, word was brought to the most holy bishop of Ravenna, father Peter "Librificus," when he was himself in his vigil in the holy church that Barbatianus, that the most holy confessor of Christ was going to the Lord. With all speed he sent a message to the Empress so that he might inform her of the man's death. Moving quickly with her son, the empress came and entered the cell in which the servant of God and the confessor of Christ lay. Truly the holy man then looked at them, offering a prayer and benediction for them and for all those who believe in the Lord, as he had been able, and just after he exhaled three last times he left for the Lord. That most holy bishop, father Peter, washed (Barbatianus's) body and embalmed it with the greatest care with spices from the furthest lands, following the

ancient custom by which the saints were embalmed, together with the empress Galla Placida and her son the emperor Valentinian. They interred him in the best location in a new tomb, in a wonderful marble stone vessel that he had recently commanded to be engraved, next to the altar of the most blessed John the Baptist. They interred him on the day following the Kalends of January (January 2), and where many of the noble and lowly came, and many sick obtained health by his sacred prayers.<sup>13</sup> That handmaid of God, the empress Galla Placidia, together with her son the emperor, returned to the work of building up the holy church, which they had sworn to God they would fulfill for the praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, who rules with God the Father in heaven in oneness with the Holy Spirit, and forever, and through every age of the ages. Amen.

## APPENDIX 2: TRANSLATION OF PETER DAMIAN'S *ON THE FEAST OF ST. BARBATIANUS*

This translation is based on the edition of Giovanni Lucchesi.

1. Dearest brothers, we have recently celebrated the indescribable birth of our savior; now, as we double our joy upon this solemn occasion, we honor the venerable assumption of his most blessed priest. In that feast, our Savior, with the appearance of his majesty obscured, descended to earth; in this one, his most glorious servant, with the corruptible weight of his flesh cast aside, he ascended to heaven. In that feast, God's only begotten Son received the form of our humanness for our salvation; in this one, his blessed confessor came to the presence of angelic beatitude through a happy death. On that solemn day, our Redeemer, covered in a trophy of flesh, came ready to do fight against and the forces waging war on the world. On this day, his eminent soldier, after his princely triumph over the earth, arrived victorious into the celestial palace. Therefore, just as God descended so that man could ascend, in the same way, he deemed it worthy to come down so that he might raise man up.

Upon the Lord's nativity, an angelic voice resounded: "Glory to God in the highest place, and on the earth peace for those men of good well."<sup>14</sup> Today, with his love, the sweet voice of divine majesty proclaims: "Well done, good and faithful servant, because you have been faithful concerning a few things, I will place you above many things."<sup>15</sup> In that feast, the Lord emerged from the womb of the Virgin, while in this feast, his venerable servant escaped from the

prison of the flesh. In that one, Christ was swaddled on our behalf, while in this one, his priest was clothed with a stole of immortality. Christ did not refuse to go through the narrows of the womb, so that the expanse of heaven could receive the saint's soul. Clothed by flesh, Christ descended so that the other might ascend, wrapped in the cloak of his glory.

2. Consider, beloved brothers, what sort he man he was, who well and truly made himself a dwelling of the Holy Spirit, and who shined in the church's peace with a number of miracles. In the beginning of the church, they who were not worthy made miracles, and excelled not by the virtue of their morals, but through the signs. For which reason, this truth is spoken "many will say to me on that day: 'Lord Lord, did we not prophesy in your name? Did we not perform many miracles in your name?' and then I will reveal to them: Because I never knew you, depart from me, evildoers!"<sup>16</sup> Just as the holy church thrived in faith and was nurtured through miracles, so we, when we plant an orchard, we provide it water until we see that it has become strong in the earth; but once it has established its roots, we stop irrigation. From this, it is as Paul said: "Tongues are not a sign for the faithful but the unbelievers."<sup>17</sup>

Although we assert these things, we see without any difficulty that this inquiry does not start with us. If indeed those signs are said to have been provided for the unfaithful, what does it mean then that our Redeemer was believed to be able to make just a few miracles in his own land because of man's incredulity? Thus, Mark the evangelist stated: "Many hearing him were astonished by his teaching, and said: 'From where did all these come? And what is the nature of this knowledge that has been given to him? And what great miracles did he do by his own hand? Is he not the son of a carpenter and Mary? Is he not the brother of James and Joseph and Judas and Simon? And are not his sisters with us?' and they were offended by him."<sup>18</sup> Where it is also written a little later: "And he was not able to perform a miracle there, except that he cured a few sick people by laying his hands on them. And on account of their disbelief he was astonished."<sup>19</sup> What should we make of this, brothers, that Paul asserts that a sign was given to convert the unbelievers, on the other hand, Mark asserts that signs were held back because they were faithless. Could they who were filled with the selfsame Spirit ever pronounce two entirely contradicting doctrines? But note

that among those very disbelievers there is a difference. All guilt is equal among those who do not believe but there is a great distinction to be made among the deserving: it is one thing if man is deceived by ignorance alone, but another thing entirely if he sins willfully. Paul had been in sin out of ignorance, as he said: "Before I was a blasphemer and a persecutor and a wrongful man, but for that reason I subsequently received mercy because I was acting in ignorance."<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, Judas sinned willingly, and for that reason, he never merited leniency. Therefore, signs were given to those without faith whom divine providence judged to receive salvation. But signs were taken away from those who were chosen by fate, on their own merit, justice pushed back the severity of their chastisement.

3. In these Christian times, however, when almost the entire world stands together in Catholic faith, and hardly any of the violence of the persecutors troubles the peace of the holy church, why then did the most blessed confessor of Christ, Barbatianus, become known by the virtues of his many miracles, if not to shine forth by virtue of his exceptional merits before the eyes of divine majesty? As was said about John, "He was an oil lamp, burning and shining,"<sup>21</sup> burning by the love of his heart, shining with the brilliance of extraordinary conduct. But then this lamp (Barbatianus) wished to be partial hidden, as the story of his most holy life recounts, so he hid in his cell, and avoided being revealed to the authorities. He refused to become known to the kings of the world, so that he might be able to remain within the family of the king of kings. He refused to accept temporal glory from men, in order that he might deserve to obtain eternal life with the angels.

Namely, this pertains to those he wished to restore to health, to whom he would often bring a plaster to be put upon them or give them something to eat, as a medicinal antidote. For this reason the power of herbs or the potency of medicinal treatments is given credence, so that the restoration of health would not be ascribed to the strength of his holiness. And so if his medicine is accepted, he seems more a physician than a saint.

But tell me, good doctor, speak to me, venerable physician: how is it that you brought for our mortal state this compound of such potency, and of such fast-acting strength, that not in three days, not in two days, nor even in the space of a single moment, but immedi-

ately after it was applied at once all feebleness vanished and our wounded flesh returned to pristine health? Accordingly, an application is not able to cure unless it is placed directly upon the swollen injury for some time or it pours its vigor through secret channels into the inside of the body, or it transfers the pestilent humor to the outside of the body through the strength of its effect. When an antidote is taken through the mouth, there is a necessary delay before it penetrates the hidden parts of the organs through the veins and pores, or solidifies the corrupted parts of the body, or purges the swollen limbs of harmful humors. But your miraculous treatment requires no delay, nor does it seek to monitor a patient's diet, which is scrutinized by doctors: but as soon as it hits, all health is restored. I beg you, father untie, father, untie these bindings, and deliver to us the knowledge of your unparalleled treatment. Let us see the inestimable varieties of your curative spices, let us smell the most delightful sweetness of the blazing aromatics.

4. Now, brothers, hear this: let the little book of his most holy life reveal to us all of the types of spices that his method of treatment involves, let his story stand for us as most healthful remedy through those aromatics. It states among other things that a certain swollen goiter wretchedly weighted down the son of a certain Julian. The son was then brought to the holy man, after his father beseeched him tearfully on behalf of his son. The venerable man, making a compound of bread, wax and oil placed it upon his wounds, and made the sign of the cross.<sup>22</sup> Immediately, in that very moment, it miraculously drove out every pestilence from his throat.

Have you heard, dearest brothers, of the kinds of curative spices our eminent doctor possessed with which a mortal wound is cured with the utmost speed? He brought forth the as a medicinal cure bread, wax and oil, which he kept on hand for sustenance; and by means of his daily nourishment he rebuffed another's death. Clearly by making use of the household ingredients, he reduced the cost for the pilgrims. One time he offered a piece of lemon to a sick man, at another a dried fig, and by such a manner of care, he restored them to their original health and drove out every type of illness. Unless I am deceived, he did this with the following intention: since both these fruits are thought to be rarer among certain people in Roman lands, they would be believed to be in some way medicinal, and afterward they would attribute the restoration of health to med-

ical treatment, and in the estimation of men his sanctity would be diminished.

5. Therefore, what will we unfortunate men say, we who will be accounted in the great judgment of the awesome Judge, we who have no miraculous powers, but nevertheless vaunt over the excellence of our merits in human eyes? Is not from desire that we strive for sanctity before the eyes of the conscience, and rejoice to falsely take the name of sanctity according to human judgment? Today, can we see such a number of men who are able to reach the incredible virtues of this remarkable man, who are able to touch the furthest part, who elevate themselves toward heaven by the strengths of their spirit? These are men who often perform with their own ability, but they strive for earth and not heaven. Certainly those desiring the praises of men, they squander for themselves the fruits of their labor; whenever they seek to exhibit themselves to other eyes, they discredit all that they do before of the sight of divine majesty.

They always instructed others with knowledge of the sacred law, everything that they observed they furnished as evidence, and still they did not seek out a life of obedience but rather their own favor. Because they did not desire to advance by another way, except to search out for repeated praise in the hearts of their listeners, they came to nothing but tears. When the mind is occupied with external thoughts, it is not warmed by the flame of divine love, and therefore their words are brought forth by a cold heart, are unable to kindle heavenly desire in those hearing them. For that which does not kindle itself cannot ignite another. Words of hypocrites do not kindle those listening and they render worse the same man who sought to be elevated by praise. Even Paul confirms this: “knowledge puffs up, charity builds up.”<sup>23</sup> So when charity fails to arouse those hearing the words to building them up, knowledge ruins those uttering pronouncements by puffing them up.

The majority of the hypocrites, my brothers, afflict themselves with impressive abstinence, as they wear down the bodies's strength, and as it were, while living they completely destroy the life of flesh. And through abstinence, they approach death, so that they may live almost every day as if near dying. But they seek this out on account of human attention, they desire the glory of admiration, as confirming the truth which declares: “they ruin their faces so that they may appear as those fasting to men.”<sup>24</sup> Their faces grow pale, their bodies

are shaken by weakness, and their chests are beset by a shortness of breath. But amidst these things, they seek a word of admiration from those nearby, and think about nothing else with so much care as they do about human estimation.

6. Carefully take note, my most beloved brothers, how wretchedly foolish it is to do toilsome things and to desire praise from the mouth of men; how laborious it is to put in practice heavenly teachings but to strive for the reward of earthly repayment. Thus as blessed Gregory said, "he who strives for the acclamation of men rather than for virtue, counts a thing of worthless value as a great merit. Where it is possible to have earned the kingdom of heaven, there he seeks the coin of temporary favor."<sup>25</sup> Within us, my brothers, within us, let the good things that we do be preserved, if we are to expect recompense for our good deeds from our conscience.

For in fact it is this way that the truth is said in the gospel: "let your left hand be ignorant of what your right hand does, so that your alms may be given in secret; and your fathers see that what was in secret and will reward you."<sup>26</sup> For in fact the Psalmist says this about the church of the elect: "from within the daughter of the king is all glory."<sup>27</sup> Obviously, the daughter of the king is the holy church, which is a benefit of foremost spirituality which was born by proclamation, which cultivates itself in the virtues of holy life, because it strives through this to please God alone, it does not have glory outside but in. As to this Paul says: "For our glory is this, the testimony of our conscience."<sup>28</sup> The apostle speaks of his glory as a testimony of conscience, because in not seeking the favor from the mouth of another, he does not enjoy life beyond himself. Let the good which we do stay concealed, dearest brothers, lest by conducting them incautiously during the course of this life we are damned with the collapse of the souls like bandits, lest we carried by an unexpected journey in this life, we are led to destruction by the shock of rapacious souls.

Behold this most blessed man Barbatianus, whose festival illuminates today for us, who did not seek the glory of human praise, who did not desire the attention of men, who did not wish to appear himself admirable on account of the many miracles he performed, and who did not expect to receive earthly reward for carrying out so many services for the infirm. Rather he went far beyond the kind of typical medical practice, so that he was able to hide the clearest bril-

liance of his character. So that star of heaven might break through great clouds with its strength, so that the rays of his light might shine less outwardly, and seem everywhere to be concealed, it radiated that much more fully in the face of the eternal sun.

7. Let it be pleasing, my dearest ones, to carefully examine the beautiful arrangement of divine order: clearly in this way, omnipotent God, to give light to the night of the present life, set his stars in heaven and through these he ordained them to illuminate the darkness over the entire world. In this manner, we discern through the region of the heavens the beaming of shining stars, by the uninterrupted foot of work, that we might walk our road by night. That is to say, the early morning star, preceding the sun, rises first from the eastern land, then ascends to its highest in the region of midday, at the end it lays prone in the western sky; as it is evident, the most blessed confessor of Christ Barbatianus left the territory of Antioch, where he had been born, and passing through Rome where performed many of his miracles by daylight, he finally came to Ravenna, and he introduced Christ, he who is the sun, to the many minds of men by his righteousness.<sup>29</sup> So it follows that he first sprung forth in splendor in Antioch, he sprinkled many little sparks of miracles in Rome, and in the city of Ravenna, his death truly illuminated through the setting of the most holy man. So it is clear on account of the merits of this most holy man, as if through the splendor of a new morning star, three regions of the world were cast in a rosy glow, so that in one part of the word his “sunrise” is seen, in a different way in another his highest point is visible, and in a third his “sunset” is celebrated.

And as we have said before in another sermon about his fellow countryman the most holy Apollinaris,<sup>30</sup> where his name combined him with the morning star, in his coming to Rome Barbatianus performed his first miracle by making light visible! The empress Galla Placidia, as you all heard, humbly demanded his help for her female attendant, who was suffering from intolerable pain in her eyes.<sup>31</sup> He immediately instructed her to wipe her eyes with his pallium, and so immediately it cleared off all of the pestilential disease that had troubled her.

8. Since I am investigating your excellence, O happy city of Ravenna, in an interpretive mode, I examine the ways you are enriched by the most bountiful privileges of the divine mercy. For I see that because

you are an original spring of the Christian religion, you earned the honor to drink from the cup of salvation forever. In Antioch, on the other hand, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, the disciples were first called “Christians.” From this foundation of the holy church, you received hewn stones, on which firm bases were erected, and with steadfast of faith and sanctity you were solidly established. Just as you hold the apostolic martyr Apollinaris, you also hold the confessor, the extraordinary Barbatianus. It is clear that he is one of the two most excellent cedars of paradise that shelter you with their protective branches. So that as long as you wish to endure humbly under them, they will save you from the raging storm’s every gale. And as they would not neglect their duty that may restrain the accumulation of your happiness, they next left Antioch for Rome, which was in no uncertain measure the head and principal seat of the entire holy church, as it has remained. Without a doubt at first they would have learned in the school of Peter, which they taught you afterwards about the true doctrine. And as they drank abundantly from the purest spring which they decanted, pouring forth magisterially into you the doctrine of salvation. Following after Paul, and later Apollinaris, the first set to propagate in faith, the second was watered by the abundant rain raining of miracles and preaching. But because “neither he who plants from himself is anything, nor he who waters,” likewise we say the following apostolic words: “God causes things to grow.”<sup>32</sup>

Dearest brothers, therefore for the love of your heart choose the noble senators of the heavenly curia, and seek to imitate every aspect of their model with the devotion of your soul. For if you wish to be what they are, it is necessary for you to do as they do. Now, you most faithful, approach the ragged and poor life of labor in this age with the saints, so that in the future you shall prevail in reaching to the level of their praise.<sup>33</sup> As “he who says that he remains in Christ, he should then himself walk just as he walked.” On the one hand, he who shuns poverty departs from the footsteps of Christ through doubt, and tramples the life of that level. On the other, the most blessed man, of whose festival we rejoice in celebrating today, did not wish for earthly honors, nor collect spurious riches, nor desire worldly glory, nor increase lands with transitory property. He scorned his relatives, abandoned his native land and completely denied himself anything for the love of Christ.

9. Therefore, let no one say that they who are killed in the name of Christ by the swords of persecution are alone held to be worthy of heavenly awards. God defines every opportunity for them to turn away from the challenge, and he barricades the refuge of human excuse for each one. Behold now we are not able to move death for God as did the blessed Apollinaris, but we are able to lead a life pleasing to God as the blessed Barbatianus did. Obviously, it is great to die for Christ, but it is not lesser to live for Christ. In either instance the scales of Paul weighs them equally, as he asserted: "No one lives by himself alone and no one dies alone; in fact as we live, we live with the Lord, and as we die, we die with the Lord. Therefore whether we live or we die, we are of the Lord."

Consequently, whoever loves martyrdom, and maintains for himself the dignity by martyrdom, in the end he will acquire the reward of martyrdom without doubt. Is it possible to establish this without blood? It is possible to strike oneself with a spear of penance, and to sacrifice in the grief of the heart. If the throat is prepared for the blow, the reward would not be lost if the sword would miss. If the executioner misses, who cuts through the outside of the neck? The judge who renders the reward of good-will is at hand.

O most beloved, following the example of the most blessed confessor of Christ Barbatianus, let us strive to shun the delights of the world, to avoid the profusion of temporal things, to repress the stimulation of the flesh and to bear the cross after Christ in the peace of the church. Since now we strive to lead a life in imitation of him, after let us be lead to the desired glory through him, as our Lord Jesus Christ grants, who lives with the Father and the Holy Spirit and is glorified through the infinite ages of the ages. Amen.

## APPENDIX 3: MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *VITA* *SANCTI BARBATIANI*

### COMPILATIONS FOR LITURGICAL USE

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Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 3129 (64) <sup>34</sup>		(11th c.)
fol. 26r–29v	<i>Acta S. Barbatiani confessoris</i>	
	Tuscany-Emilia	
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatensis 718 (alias B. 1. 3) <sup>35</sup>		(11th c.)
fol. 43r–45v	<i>Acta S. Barbatiani ep. et conf.</i>	
	Pistoia	
Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 6073 <sup>36</sup>		(late 11th/12th c.)
fol. 72v–76v	<i>Acta S. Barbatiani presb. et conf.</i>	
	Ravenna	
Ravenna, Achivio Arcivescovile di Ravenna cod. VI (2) <sup>37</sup>		(late 11th/12th c.)
fol. 92v–96	<i>Vita . Barbatiani confessoris</i>	
	Ravenna	
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laureziana, Aed. 137 <sup>38</sup>		(late 11th/12th c.)
fol. 60r–62r	<i>Vita et obitus sancti Barbatiani</i>	
	<i>presbyteri et confessoris</i>	
	Florence, S. Maria del Fiore (S. Salvi)	
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laureziana, Conv. soppr. 230 <sup>39</sup>		(12th c.)
fol. 1 [extract]	<i>Vita sancti Barbatiani Ravennae presb.</i>	
	Poppi, San Fidele	

(continued)

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laureziana, Conv. soppr. 300 <sup>40</sup>	(2nd q. of the 12th c.)
fol. 136v–140r	<i>Acta et vita sancti Barbatiani confessoris</i> Emilia-Romagna
Fiesole, Archivio Capitolare	Cod. XXII, 1 <sup>41</sup> (12th c.)
pp. 132–138	<i>Vita s. Barbatiani confessoris</i> Fiesole
Cividale di Friuli, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. XVII <sup>42</sup>	a. 1252
ff. 118r–126v	<i>Vita et conversatio Barbatiani prb. et confess.</i> Bologna
Admont, Stiftsbibliothek Admont	Cod. 1 <sup>43</sup> (12th c.)
94r–98v	<i>Vita s. Barbatiani prb. et confessoris</i> Bologna
Gorizia, Sem. Ms. 8 <sup>44</sup>	(13th–14th c.)
289v–296r	<i>Vita s. Barbatiani</i> [cofess. Xpi] Bologna
New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.373 <sup>45</sup>	(first half of 14th c.)
234r–234v	<i>In sci barbatiani prs et conf</i> Bologna Includes only abridged selections from the third and fourth chapters of the <i>Vita Barbatiani</i> in the Sanctoral

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## HAGIOGRAPHICAL AND NON-LITURGICAL COMPILATIONS

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Paderborn, Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek, Ba 2	(15th c.)
fol. 193r–195v	<i>Acta S. Barbatiani confessoris</i> Copied from Brussels 3129
Venice, B. N. Marciana, lat. IX 16 (2943)	(15th c.)
fol. 352r–354r	Manuscript of the <i>Legendae de Tempore</i> of Petrus Calo Includes only the epitome of the <i>vita</i>
Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod. Lat. 371	(15th c.)
X. P.4.9 ( <i>Codex Estensis</i> ) <sup>46</sup>	
fol. 60r–62r	<i>Vita et actus sancti Barbatiani sacerdotis atque confessoris</i> Ravenna Likely copied from the manuscript in the Achivio Arcivescovile

(continued)

(continued)

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Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 3527 (8990–91)	(17th c.)
Collectanea Bollandiana <sup>47</sup>	
fol. 161r–171r	<i>Vita S. Barbatiani</i> (ex Bodecensis coenbii ... passionali pergameno ms insigni mensis decembris)
	<i>Vita S. Barbatiani</i> (ex codice bibliotheca vaticane no 6073)
	<i>Prologus in vitam S. Barbatiani</i> (ex ms. Langobardo monasterii monialium S. Ioannis ordinis S. Benedicti Capuae) <sup>48</sup>

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## VERNACULAR TRANSLATIONS

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Venice, B. N. Marciana, ital. V.32 (5647) <sup>49</sup>	(15th c.)
fol. 41r–44v	<i>L'istoria da san Baruzian, Arziveschovo de Revena</i> Veneto

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## NOTES

1. Rome, Bib. Casanat. Ms. 718: “Here begins the deed of St. Barbatianus, bishop and confessor.”
2. Boniface I, 418–422.
3. In an epigram of Eugenius of Toledo, “On the Quality of Citrus,” he writes: “Pulchra cute, carne duclis, et acerba medullis.” (Lovely in skin, sweet in flesh, and bitter in pith) *MGH AA* 14, p. 261; in John Hymmonides the Deacon’s poem on the Cena Cypriani, he notes that it is the *citrum* that Adam eats (rather than the *fructus* as it appears in the Vulgate). *MGH Poetae* 4, p. 876, line 40: *Adam citrum manducavit*. Peter Damian’s sermon uses the same phrase of *citri pectiam* (4).
4. The Latin texts here are quite corrupted and provide a number of different rendering of the passage. The problem lies in the interpretation of the Greek “ἔμφοραξις” a stoppage or blockage (used in Sophronius), and rendered as *empsicheam* in the Lanzoni’s edition, *empreisineam* in Bacchini’s edition, *enfraxin* in Anastasius. The *Glossarium mediae et infimae latininitis*, derives the term *empsicheam* from the Greek ἔμψυχος, “having life in

- one, animate,” perhaps “full of vitality”; the explanation is that “ubi *Empsichea Emensitas* tantam videtur aegrotantis maciem indicare, ut solus in eo spiritus superesse videatur, quales fere sunt, qui laborant ectica” (III.43).
5. The term for litter used here, *furibum*, appears rarely in medieval sources. There is no comparable phrase in Anastasius’s translation.
  6. That is, a dried fig from the Aegean. Most of its appearance in Latin manuscripts points to its medicinal use such as in the fifth century *De medicina* of Cassius Felix.
  7. John 5:8.
  8. Asahel was the nephew of David; 2 Sam 2:18.
  9. “dicebat enim quia si vel vestimentum eius tetigero salva ero.” Mark 5:28.
  10. Lanzoni suggests that it should be read as *ergodosium*, the Greek term ἐργοδόσιον for workshop; the term is a Byzantine Greek term; the other solution offered by Lanzoni is that this is a misreading of *ergasterium*, a “medical office or surgery” (*officina del medico*) ἐργαστήριον. This meaning of *ergasterium* is preserved by Anastasius in his translation of the miracles of Cyrus and John: *ergasterium, id est locus medicinalis*.
  11. Mark 5:28; Matt 9:21.
  12. Described in the Acts of Pilate and the *Vita Veronicæ*.
  13. Some manuscripts give the date as December 31.
  14. Luke 2:16.
  15. Matt. 25:21.23.
  16. Matt. 7:22–3.
  17. 1 Cor 14:22.
  18. Mark 6:2–3.
  19. Mark 6:5.
  20. 1 Tim. 1:13.
  21. John 5:35.
  22. *VB* 11.
  23. 1 Cor. 8.1.
  24. Matt. 6.16.
  25. Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* VIII.43.
  26. Matt. 6.3–4.
  27. Ps. 44.14.
  28. 2 Cor. 1.12.
  29. This progression from Antioch, to Rome, and Ravenna, is equally promoted in Damian’s second sermon on Apolloniaris: “Gaudeat Antiochia, quae talem meruit gignere filium; exultet Roma, quae talem potuit habere discipulum: praecipue urbs Ravenna, quae tantum meruit referre patrum.” Peter Damian, *Sermo* 31.1.9–12.

30. Peter Damian has three sermons dedicated to Apollinaris (*sermo* 30, 31, and 32).
31. Here, Damian uses the term *regia* rather than *augusta* found in the *VB* and the *LPR*; this event is recorded in Chap. 4 of the *VB*.
32. 1 Cor 3.7.
33. I John 2.6
34. *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae regiae bruxellensis: pars I. codices latini membranei*, (Bruselles 1886), 3–23.
35. Albertus Poncet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanarum* (Brussels: Society of the Bollandists, 1909), 231–43. This manuscript is the first part of a two volume passionaries dating to the second quarter of the twelfth century. The manuscript was bought in Pistoia in 1744, and likely also was connected to the purchase of a giant two-volume bible and a two-volume homiliary. What is clear from the hagiographic program is that the work was created with Tuscany, and especially Pistoia, in mind. The connection with Rufinus is argued as “a clear indication that the manuscript was made for Pistoiese use, so is Mustiola of Chiusi, who in Northern Tuscany is only found in Pistoiese works.” Knut Berg, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination* (Oslo: Scandinavian University Books, 1968), 302–3.
36. Poncet, *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Vaticanarum*, 159–64.
37. Giovanni Nino Verrando, “Due leggendarî ancora inediti conservati a Ravenna e a Fano,” *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 53 (1999): 503.
38. Guglielmetti, *I testi agiografici latini nei codici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, 85–93.
39. *Ibid.*, 237–42. This is a single-sided leaf which conserves only the first page of the text.
40. *Ibid.*, 298–321.
41. Giovanni Nino Verrando, “I due leggendarî di Fiesole,” *Aevum* 74 (2000): 474–91. The text follows Florence, Biblioteca Madicea Laurenziana, Aed. 137 without variation.
42. Cesare Scaloni and Laura Pani, *I codici della Biblioteca Capitolare di Cividale del Friuli* (Florence: SISMEL, 1998), 127–29.
43. Jakob Wichner, “Catalogus codicum manu scriptum Admontensis,” (Admont 1888), 2.
44. Emidio Goi, “Catalogo dei codici liturgici aquileiesi ancora esistenti,” *Quaderni di cultura* 19 (1966): 13. Goi offers the label of the manuscript as “passionale latino 3<sup>o</sup>” of the Archivio della Chiesa Metropolitana in Gorizia. This manuscript is the second volume in a two-part lectionary containing hagiographical texts not partial calendrical order beginning with the *passiones* of Euphemia, Dorothea, Thecla and Erasma, virgin mar-

tyrs from Aquileia (feast on September 3) and the *passio* of the apostle Matthew (September 21) and ends with vita of Victor Maurus of Milan (May 8). Clearly part of the Aquileian liturgical tradition, the sole description of this manuscript suggests that it belongs to the thirteenth or fourteenth century (based on its gothic miniscul). This manuscript is the last of the *legendaria* that was designed to be used in liturgical settings (as opposed to those created as exhaustive or inclusive hagiographic compilations in the fourteenth to seventeenth century or the *Codex Estensis*). It is exceptional in this regard, as well as that it marks the shift in script, as it was the first in a Gothic hand.

45. According to the curatorial record of the manuscript, and based on the inclusion of the Offices of Corpus Christ and some of the dates in the calendar, the manuscript dates from first half of the fourteenth century. Morgan Library, "Curatorial Description of M. 373: Breviary for Ravenna Use, preceded by a Kalendar for the Carmelite Church of Santa Maria in Porto." The feast for Barbatianus is included in the calendar which begins the manuscript: "IIII nonas (January 2) Barbatiani conf. et. ste."
46. The contents of the *Codex Estensis* were published in the editions of the *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna by Testi-Rasponi, Holder-Egger and Daliyannis, with the latter providing the locations of the editions and publications, primarily in the *RIS* of Muratori. "Codex Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis," vi–viii; Holder-Egger, "Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis," 264–66; Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 91–92.
47. J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, t. 5: Histoire – Hagiographie* (Brussels: H. Lamertin, 1905), 637.
48. This is an incorrect attestation; it refers to a vita of a bishop of Benevento named Barbatus.
49. Dalarun and Leonardi, *Biblioteca Agiografica Italiana II*, 83–4.

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# INDEX

## A

Adomnan of Iona, 106  
Ado of Vienne, 58  
Alberic, count of Tusculum, 36  
Ambrose of Milan, 13, 55  
Anastasius Bibliothecarius, translator,  
5, 12, 99  
Andrew, 114  
Apollinaris of Ravenna, 2, 51, 52, 66,  
130  
inventio of 1173, 24  
ninth-century translation of, 52,  
142  
passio, 54, 60, 82  
relics of, 24, 51, 53  
translatio, 51, 56, 59

## B

Baduarius, Byzantine official, 22  
Barbatianus, 21  
church dedicated to, 22, 34, 81, 86,  
91, 104, 129  
inscription relating to, 23, 81

monastery of, 34, 38, 40, 91  
name, 13  
relics of, 23, 24  
sermon on, 126  
vita, 77; date of composition, 28,  
80; editions of, 78  
Basilica Ursiana (Cathedral of  
Ravenna), 24, 58, 62, 63  
Berner, abbot of Homblières, 146  
Bologna, 130  
Bonifatius Consiliarius, 99  
Bruno of Querfurt, 66

## C

Camaldoli, 67  
Carolingians, 83  
Charlemagne, 83  
Cluniac reform, 67, 85  
Cluny, 34  
Codex Estensis, 50, 65, 77  
Constantius III, 3, 6, 7  
Constantius of Lyon, 1, 9  
Conti Guidi, noble family, 133

**D**

Dominic of Sora (saint), 148

**E**

easterners in Italy, 4  
     Syrians, 3  
 Ecclesius, bishop of Ravenna  
     (522–532), 112  
 Eleuchadius, bishop of Ravenna, 128

**F**

Faenza, 39  
 Ferrara, 28, 130  
 Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople, 8  
 Fonte Avellana, 67

**G**

Galla Placidia, 2, 5, 127  
     imperial family of, 94  
     in the letters of Leo I, 7  
     medieval depiction of, 109  
 Gebhard, archbishop of Ravenna  
     (1027–1044), 40  
 George, archbishop of Ravenna  
     (ca. 837–846), 83  
 Gerald of Aurillac (saint), 148  
 Gerbert d'Aurillac, archbishop of  
     Ravenna (998–999), 26, 30, 33  
 Germanus of Auxerre, 1, 6, 9  
     relics of, 10  
 Gervasius and Protasius, 25, 51, 55, 57  
     passio, 55, 82  
 Gregory I, pope (590–604), 14, 35  
 Gregory of Tours, 11, 21, 144

**H**

Honestus, archbishop of Ravenna  
     (971–983), 26, 29, 58  
 Honorius, emperor, 3, 6

Hugutius of Pisa, 129  
 Hunegund (saint), 145, 146

**I**

Imola, 38

**J**

Jacobus de Voragine, 11, 144  
 John Fécamp, 36  
 John the Evangelist, 95, 108  
     relic (sandal) of, 12, 105  
 John VII, archbishop of Ravenna  
     (850–878), 26, 59  
 John IX, archbishop of Ravenna  
     (905–914), 26  
 John X, archbishop of Ravenna  
     (983–998), 30  
     Justinian  
     depiction of, 112

**L**

Legenda Aurea. *See* Jacobus de  
     Vorgaine  
 Leo I, pope (440–461), 1, 6, 7  
 Leone, archbishop of Ravenna  
     (999–1001), 29  
 Liber pontificalis, 2, 8, 13, 93  
 Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis,  
     2, 3, 6, 7, 11, 21, 35, 50, 56, 60,  
     142  
     as source for hagiography, 56, 62  
     sources for, 81  
 Liudprand of Cremona, 26

**M**

Maiolus of Cluny, 37  
 Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, 12.  
     *See* Santa Croce

Maximian, archbishop of Ravenna  
(546–556), 54  
Milan, 3, 25, 51, 55, 147  
miracula of Cyrus and John, 2, 79, 80,  
92, 98. *See also* Sophronius,  
patriarch of Jerusalem and  
hagiographer

## N

Naples, 14

## O

Odo of Cluny, 36, 147  
Otto I, 28, 30, 141  
  depiction of, 111  
Otto II, 31  
  depiction of, 111  
Otto III, 31

## P

Paul the Deacon, 12  
Pavia, 29  
Peter, apostle, 52  
Peter Chrysologus, bishop of Ravenna  
(426–450), 2, 6, 7  
  relic (sandal) of, 143  
  sermons of, 7  
  vita, 56, 64  
Peter Damian, 31, 34, 66, 126,  
148  
Peter IV, archbishop of Ravenna  
(927–971), 26, 28, 31, 33,  
63  
Pomposa, 31, 34, 37, 38  
Probus, bishop of Ravenna, 30,  
56  
  relics of, 30, 62, 63  
  vita et inventio, 56  
proskynesis, 110

## R

Rainaldo da Concorezzo, archbishop  
of Ravenna (1303–1321), 115  
Ravenna, 24  
  canals of, 105  
  Carolingians in, 83  
  hagiographic traditions in, 51, 130,  
141–142  
  Ottonian court in, 29, 31, 32, 141  
  reform efforts in, 34, 36, 65  
  rivalry with Milan, 25, 51, 55, 57  
relics, 114, 139  
  imperial interest in, 10  
  sandal, 106. *See also* John the  
  Evangelist  
Rome, 3, 52, 55  
  monasteries in, 36  
Romuald, 31, 34, 35, 66, 148, 149  
  vita, 66

## S

San Bartolomeo in Pistoia, 133  
San Fidele di Strumi, 133  
San Giovanni Evangelista, 12, 95, 97  
San Michele in Africisco, 22  
San Paolo fuori le mura, 3, 6, 8  
  decoration, 8  
San Salvi, 133  
San Severo, 31  
Santa Croce, 8, 12  
Santa Euphemia, 61  
Santa Maria Antiqua, 98  
Santa Maria in Cereseo, 31  
Sant'Apollinare in Classe, 22, 37, 59  
  decoration, 53  
  monastery of, 29, 31, 34, 35, 62,  
66, 84  
Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, 24, 52, 53, 59  
  monastery of, 59  
San Vitale, 22, 38  
  decoration, 112

sarcophagus, 63, 149  
 Sergius, archbishop of Ravenna  
   (744–769), 62  
 Severus, bishop of Ravenna, 55, 130  
   translatio, 83  
   vita, 56  
 Sidonius Apollinaris, 4  
 Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem and  
   hagiographer, 5, 99  
 Sylvester, pope (314–335), 92  
   vita, 92, 93

**T**  
 Theodora, senatrix of Rome, 26  
 Theodoric, 53, 60  
 Theodosius I, 7, 8  
 Theodosius II, 6, 7  
 Theophano, 32  
 Tractatus constructionis Ecclesie Sancti  
   Iohannis Evangeliste, 107. *See also*  
   John the Evangelist  
 translation, 99, 103

**U**  
 Ursicinus, bishop of Ravenna  
   (533–536), 58  
 Ursicinus, martyr, 25, 57  
   passio, 56–58  
   relics of, 30

**V**  
 Valentinian III, 3, 7  
 Valeria. *See* Vitalis, martyr  
 Valerius, archbishop of Ravenna  
   (ca. 789–810), 62  
 Vallombrosian order, 134  
 Verona, 147  
 Vitalis, martyr, 55, 57, 130