

# The New Middle Ages

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Edward M. Schoolman

# Rediscovering Sainthood in Italy

Hagiography and the Late Antique Past  
in Medieval Ravenna

palgrave  
macmillan

Edward M. Schoolman  
Department of History  
University of Nevada  
Reno, Nevada, USA

The New Middle Ages

ISBN 978-1-137-60271-8

ISBN 978-1-349-93225-2 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/978-1-349-93225-2

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016942661

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Printed on acid-free paper

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to a large number of institutions, friends and colleagues for their support during the writing of this book. Early research received financial support from the Scholarly and Creative Activities Grants Committee of College of Liberal Arts and the Noble Endowment of the Department of History at the University of Nevada, Reno, which enabled trips to Italy to consult manuscripts and charters. I am grateful for the help of the staff of the Mathewson-IGT Knowledge Center at UNR (and the members of the interlibrary loan offices, in particular) and those at Historical Studies-Social Science Library at the Institute for Advanced Study, as well as the archivists, librarians, and rare book specialists at the many archives and libraries that hold material on Saint Barbatianus and his cult, especially the staff of the Archivio Storico Diocesano di Ravenna-Cervia. Much of the writing and thinking about the project took place during the summer of 2014 at the National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar on “Reform and Renewal in Medieval Rome” led by Maureen Miller and William North, and during my time as the George William Cottrell, Jr. Member of the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

Further debts are owed to a number of colleagues and friends who labored to improve this work through careful reading of various sections of the manuscript, including Robert Bartlett, Amelia Thibault, Charles R. Stone, Nicholas Fossland, John Ott, Alison Perchuk, John Howe, Shane Bobrycki, Elena Boeck, Richard Schoolman and the anonymous readers for *The New Middle Ages* series. Others contributed by introducing

me to the various roles of hagiography in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, pointing me in the direction of new material, or discussing some of the more intriguing problems of the *Vita Barbatiani* and the larger project, including William North, Erik Inglis, Kostis Karpozilos, Nikos Tsivikis, Sarah Whitten, Claudia Rapp, Patrick Geary, the participants of the NEH summer seminar and especially the members of the IAS in medieval studies during the 2014–2015 academic year who provided regular feedback: Robert Bartlett, Giles Constable, David Crouch, Vincent Debiais, Ottó Gecser, Sara McDougall, Amy Singer, Vlada Stankovic, Andrea Sterk and Thomas Wallnig. Still others deserve thanks who shared their work on hagiography or Ravenna at various times during this project, including Deborah Deliyannis, Thomas Brown, Enrico Cirelli, Maya Maskarinec, Arthur Urbano and Kate Craig. Parts of chapters 4, 5, and 6 are derived from material originally appearing in “Engineered Holy Authority: The Creation and Diffusion of the vita of Saint Barbatianus of Ravenna,” in J. Leemans, B. Meijns and S. Boodts (eds.), *Shaping Authority* (Leiden, 2016). I ask forgiveness from those I inadvertently overlooked and claim the errors as mine alone.

Finally, this book could never have existed without the love and patience of Erica and Jack.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- BHL* *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vols, Bruxelles Société des Bollandistes, 1898–1901; BHLms: Index analytique des Catalogues de manuscrits hagiographiques latins publiés par les Bollandistes. <http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/>.
- LP* *Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, Paris 1955–1957; Trans. Raymond Davis, *The Book of the Pontiffs*, Liverpool 1989.
- LPR* Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravenensis*. Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis. edited by Deborah M. Deliyannis, Turnout, 2006; Trans. Deborah M. Deliyannis, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, Washington, D.C. 2004.
- MGH* *Monumenta germaniae historica*
- PL* *Patrologia cursus completus. Series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1844–1864.
- PLRE* *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I-III*, ed J. R. Martindale, Cambridge 1971–1992.
- VB* *Vita sancti Barbatani*, ed. Francesco Lanzoni. “Gli”Acta s. Barbatiani Presbyteri et Confessoris. *Rivista di Scienze Storiche* 6 (1909): 635–58; 712–34.



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## INTRODUCTION

The interior of the church of San Vitale in Ravenna, dedicated in 547, contains the most famous mosaics of Late Antiquity. There are depictions of the emperor Justinian and the empress Theodora with their retinues above either side of the altar, and in the apse, an enthroned, youthful Christ flanked on one side by Vitalis receiving his crown of martyrdom and the other by the bishop Ecclesius offering in miniature the very church he founded. Completed in the years following the Byzantine conquest of Italy in 540, its decorative scheme tied together the power of the imperial family, the important role of the bishops of the Church of Ravenna in political and religious spheres and the prominent position of Ravenna's saints, all in a work sponsored by wealthy local elites.

The messages conveyed in the mosaics of San Vitale were not unique in late antique Ravenna. The city had known imperial and royal power, from the empress Galla Placidia to the Ostrogothic king Theoderic, which left a lasting legacy in the building and patronage of churches, baptisteries, palaces and tombs; physical structures that made significant contributions to the urban fabric. The city had its share of powerful bishops (and archbishops after the Byzantine reconquest of the sixth century): Peter Chrysologus, who preached in the presence of Galla Placidia and the imperial family in the fifth century; Ecclesius, responsible for the foundation of many of the most lavish late antique churches; and Maximianus, handpicked by the emperor Justinian to lead the Church of Ravenna as its first archbishop. The saints from Ravenna were widely recognized too, perhaps none more visible than Apollinaris, claimed as a follower of the apostle Peter and founder of the Church of Ravenna, whose cult spread

north of the Alps in the early Middle Ages and even became relevant in Rome, where according to the *Liber Pontificalis* (hereafter, *LP*) in the seventh century, Pope Honorius built an oratory dedicated to him in St. Peter's Basilica.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the power of the city's elites, notably through the wealth of the banker Julianus Argentarius, was frequently put to use building churches to support the cults of these powerful local saints.<sup>2</sup>

The golden age of Ravenna faded even before the eighth century and the collapse of Byzantine rule in central Italy. In the seventh century, only renovations of existing structures are noted in the histories of the city under the Byzantine exarchs, a situation very different from the massive building projects completed during the reign of Emperor Justinian.<sup>3</sup> After the conquest of the city in 751 by the Lombards, the archbishops took over further administrative roles and focused more on survival and limited independence rather than the promotion of the city's glorious past. In the 840s, the cleric Agnellus wrote a history of the bishops and archbishops of Ravenna, known as the *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* (hereafter, *LPR*), in which he tried to explain how prominent the city had once been and how far it had fallen. In one of the last chapters of his work, he described the beating and mistreatment of the archbishop George at the hands of soldiers of the Frankish king Charles the Bald, the grandson of Charlemagne.<sup>4</sup> This episode was far removed from the close ties Ravenna's bishops previously held with imperial power, such as Peter Chrysologus's sermons in the presence of Galla Placidia or Maximianus's solidarity with Justinian. This change was also apparent in the treatment of Ravenna's monuments. While Galla Placidia and Justinian had sponsored and encouraged the construction of churches in Ravenna, Charlemagne himself contributed to the decline of the city and took part in its spoliation. Although the city would survive relatively intact into the eighth and ninth centuries, it did so as a shadow of its former self, with memorials to its once-imperial status only partially visible in the landscape of churches and monuments, texts and memories.

By the end of the tenth century, however, the position of Ravenna in the political sphere of Northern Italy had once again changed significantly. Due in part to its past roles, it became the object of renewed imperial interest and was home to powerful and well-placed archbishops, newly refurbished monuments and a local elite actively involved in the city's religious and political life. However, contemporary study of the history of Ravenna during this period has been relatively overlooked for at least four reasons. First, unlike the almost continuous projects of the fifth and sixth centuries,

no major new monuments were constructed in the city (although many older buildings were repurposed). Second, the central political figures of this period, in this case the Ottonian emperors, were more closely associated with other areas under their control. Third, the saints rediscovered and promoted in the second half of the tenth and first decades of the eleventh century never achieved the widespread popularity of cults and festivals outside of the region the way that Ravenna's patron saint and first bishop Apollinaris had. Finally, the various local leaders who had emerged from competing aristocratic families would never gain the levels of material wealth known by the elite in the late antique city. Although as a medieval city Ravenna recovered some of its relevance, it never regained its former status and glory as an imperial capital.

The story of Barbatianus, a hermit, monk, confessor to an empress, and holy healer whose cult was promoted through a Latin biography known as the *Vita Barbatiani*, composed in the tenth century and built on an ephemeral legend, ties together these two Ravennas: the well-studied late antique capital, home to the imperial family, the Ostrogothic kings, the Byzantine exarchs, magnificently constructed and decorated churches, famous bishops and wealthy bankers and the medieval city, with its long-reigning and imperially allied archbishops, new monastic institutions, fractious noble and aristocratic families and a temporary home to Ottonian emperors and church reformers.

The *vita* describes the travels of Barbatianus, an easterner, first to Rome and then to Ravenna, where he is responsible for miraculous cures of the sick and injured. It places him in the world of the empress Galla Placidia, who resided in Ravenna from 417 to 450, and Peter Chrysologus, who served as the city's bishop from ca. 431 to 450. As bishop, Peter was responsible for dedicating some of the early churches in Ravenna, but he is most famous for his many surviving sermons, which deal with biblical or liturgical topics. These works were known, although not commonly read, in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, Placidia was a far more important figure: the daughter of Emperor Theodosius I and mother of Valentinian III, she took an active role in supporting the construction of churches in Ravenna and Rome and wrote letters to members of her imperial family in Constantinople on behalf of Pope Leo in support of pro-Chalcedonian positions.<sup>5</sup> These facts were never forgotten, and her efforts continued to be celebrated. In many medieval histories and hagiographies, Galla Placidia was featured prominently, including the best-known work from early medieval Ravenna, the *LPR* of Agnellus.<sup>6</sup>

Unlike Peter Chrysologus and Galla Placidia, however, Barbatianus left only a shadow in the enduring memories and monuments of the late antique city. The only textual trace of his legend from before the creation of his *vita* appeared in *LPR* of Agnellus, which described his burial by Galla Placidia and Peter Chrysologus, composed more than 400 years after his death in the middle of the ninth century. As the fortunes of Ravenna faded in the eighth and ninth centuries, so did interest in Barbatianus.

With the resurgence of the fortunes of the city in the tenth century, new interest in the legend of the saint followed. The existence of a church dedicated in his honor and the brief mentions of Barbatianus by Agnellus became the kernels for a full biography, enhanced and expanded with additional material and crafted into a *vita* that firmly sets his life in the fifth century. In an effort to provide this new biography with a guise of legitimate spiritual power and place it historically in the final years of the Western Roman Empire and Ravenna's late antique past, the author appropriated elements from a variety of sources: miraculous stories from a seventh-century hagiographic text describing the wondrous healings performed by the relics of Saints Cyrus and John in Alexandria, composed in Greek by Sophronius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, historical material from the papal *LP* and other segments from the *LPR* and a *vita* of Pope Sylvester.<sup>7</sup> Combined with new material written specifically about Barbatianus, the integration of selections from these texts offered a sense of authenticity to the *vita*, a work composed more than four centuries after the events it purportedly describes.

In its final form, the *vita* highlights a number of Barbatianus's attributes; his eastern origins, eremitic and monastic lifestyle, humility, close relationship to Galla Placidia and miraculous cures, primarily set within the cities of Rome and Ravenna. These various elements of the *vita* would have appealed to a number of diverse groups in the resurgent city of tenth-century Ravenna. Those seeking recognition from the Ottonians by demonstrating the legitimate place of imperial patronage in the city would have been strongly attracted to the appearance of Placidia in the *vita* and her connection to the local holy man. This attraction coincided with the interest of the Ottonian dynasty in their own versions of an imperial revival, a *renovatio imperii*, and the powerful role of women in their court. Those with membership in revived urban monastic foundations would have been drawn to the fact the Barbatianus was portrayed as a monk interested in establishing order through rule, engaging with the community, and practicing hermit-like asceticism. Finally, for the aristocratic families in Ravenna,

Barbatianus was seen as an essentially Ravennate saint with connections to two local churches and a monastic community: a saint who appealed to their growing sense of local identity and pride, defined as *campanilismo*.<sup>8</sup>

The story of Barbatianus presented in his tenth-century *vita* was expanded to incorporate more than just his connection to the empress Galla Placidia noted in the *LPR*; it also elaborated qualities that addressed concerns of a newly resurgent and diverse city, such as his miraculous power to heal the sick, his travels from the East to Rome and then ultimately Ravenna, and his urban ascetic lifestyle. The core aim of this book is to connect these facets together to explore the world in which he may have lived; to explain the appeal and development of the *vita* of Barbatianus in the tenth century, and the means by which it appropriated and fashioned a useable view of the late antique past; and to examine the political, religious and cultural contexts of medieval Ravenna which produced it. The fact that the legend of Barbatianus was rediscovered and rehabilitated, and that his relics were recognized as sacred and worthy of a *vita*, coincided with important shifts in the political and cultural structures of Northern Italy at this time; most notably the decline of the Carolingian dynasty in the ninth century, and the rise of the Ottonians in the tenth and the growing power of the papacy, which had alternated between challenging Ravenna's episcopal-centered identity since Late Antiquity and supporting the city against greater threats in the early Middle Ages. The legend of Barbatianus, his *vita* and his cult bring into focus the challenges Ravenna faced in the tenth century and demonstrate how the city and its citizens relied on the lens of memory and the conceptualization of Ravenna's glorious past to cope with its newly (and ultimately temporary) regained position of relevance.

That an anonymous author wrote the *vita* of Barbatianus in the tenth century was in no way out of the ordinary. While early hagiography in the West and Italy in particular was generally the work of those who used their positions, often as bishops or abbots, to promote saints beneficial to their institutions, later *vitae* also grew organically out of the need to explain or promote various venerative practices or newly established institutions. Indeed, saints without hagiographers became trapped by the limited range of oral dissemination and the frequent modifications that come with that mode of promulgation.

Writing the lives of saints also takes on a critical importance in their cult. While the relics, the shrines and the days and festivals of commemoration made real the "*praesentia*, the physical presence of the holy ... the greatest

blessing that a late-antique Christian could enjoy,” as Peter Brown noted, it was through the recording of the *vita* that a saint’s power, *potentia*, could be continuously revisited, revived and ultimately controlled.<sup>9</sup> This phenomenon is put to use by Gregory of Tours, who frequently wrote about the conversion of sites associated with non-Christian practice in Gaul to places occupied by Christian saints as a means for celebrating and reliving the victory of Christianity over paganism by permanently fixing the new identities of these locations.

In the case of Italy, from the fourth century through the sixth century, specific hagiographic works were written to promote, elevate and commemorate the most important early leaders of the Church. Paulinus’s *vita* of Ambrose, Ennodius of Pavia’s *vitae* of Epiphianius and Antonius and Eugippius’s *vita* of Severinus contributed to a corpus of hagiographic literature focused on the spiritual and political *potentia* of their subjects.<sup>10</sup> In Rome, the anonymous sixth-century serial biography of the popes, the *LP*, played a similar role, although with a greater interest in the patronage, clerical appointments and euergitism of the popes.

Although Ravenna was home to a number of late antique authors, including Boethius, Cassiodorus and Peter Chrysologus, there was no concentrated effort toward composing hagiography specifically for the city. The closest approximation may have been the work of Peter Chrysologus, who composed sermons in celebration of the feasts of John the Baptist, Apollinaris, Cyprian of Carthage and Stephen; however, these are some of the shortest and least compelling of his works and demonstrate little interest in the cult of saints outside of their pastoral use.<sup>11</sup> The *LPR* of Agnellus, like its papal namesake, was fixated on the holders of the episcopal see and less concerned with miracles (although it does relate some of them) than with political maneuvering within the city and region, as well as the ultimate decline of Ravenna.

In the tenth century and into the eleventh century, the changes in the social, cultural and political situation in Ravenna led to a blossoming of hagiographic writing. The texts were authored anonymously and designed either to commemorate contemporary events or with other specific objectives in mind. Some hagiographies were written to promote bishops both long forgotten and already well known through the translations of their relics, as in the case of the tenth-century *vita et inventio* of the bishop Probus, a text which included descriptions of the discovery (*inventio*) of the saint’s relics, as well as their *translatio* or movement or transfer of relics, along with the relics of the other early bishops Aderitus and Calocerus, and the *translatio* of

Apollinaris. Other texts were written for martyrs with preexisting churches and shrines, including Vitalis and Valeria, the martyred parents of Gervasius and Protasius, and Ursicinus, all of whom had fictionalized biographies so as to offer a legitimate early Christian past for Ravenna.<sup>12</sup>

The facts concerning the actual life of a man living in the fifth century who became the model for the legend or sacred biography of Barbatianus, one who might even have had contact with Galla Placidia in both Rome and Ravenna, are ultimately unreachable, as what we know about his life is filtered, amended and recreated to such a degree that what is left is a product of the tenth century with inclusions from earlier periods. The life that is created, despite obvious reliance on earlier works, is not a forgery in the modern or even medieval sense; while we might understand it as fictional, it was created to explain practices, images and dedications extant in the tenth century but which had lost some of their memorializing purpose, and to react to new situations in Ravenna. Barbatianus proves to be exceptional within these contexts due to the fact that he was neither a martyr nor a bishop, but rather a healer who lived a hermit-like existence within the confines of the city; his “creation” was informed by both the limited surviving knowledge of the saint and the external pressures of the tenth century.

The following chapters focus on the history of Barbatianus; from his life in the fifth century through the various texts written about him and their afterlife, seeking to explore the history of the communities connected to both his cult and these texts. The first chapter examines the historic late antique setting of Barbatianus and his life: the world of saints and holy men in fifth-century Rome and Ravenna surrounding the empress Galla Placidia (especially during her regency from 425 to 437), and the appearances of others named “Barbatianus” in Italy. It provides contexts for the background of Barbatianus and his Syrian origins, which evoke many of the other early saints of Ravenna, notably Apollinaris, who first brought Christianity to the city. The chapter further examines the saint’s connection to the empress Galla Placidia; her piety, activities and patronage of the city; as well as the wider context of the circle of holy men with whom she surrounded herself in the years after the ascension of her son Valentinian III to the imperial throne, including Pope Leo I, Peter Chrysologus and Bishop Germanus of Auxerre. The inclusion of Galla Placidia is fundamental to the relevance, survival and ultimately the usefulness of the *Vita Barbatiani* in the tenth century. This connection cannot be understated, as the relationship elevated Barbatianus to the same status as the other well-documented church leaders and holy men connected to Galla Placidia’s patronage.

The second chapter focuses on the political, social and religious contexts of medieval Ravenna and begins by tracing the development of the cult of Barbatianus from Late Antiquity to the ninth century and the saint's appearance in the *LPR*. The chapter further considers the environment which led to the creation and promotion of the *vita*, including the emperors, archbishops and nobles as political actors and the growing number of urban monastic institutions in Ravenna (and early attempts at their reform). This may be especially true for the small monastic community attached to the church dedicated to both John the Baptist and Barbatianus, which was led by abbots belonging to some of the most important noble families in the city. The energies involved in creating a saint suited for imperial consumption, aristocratically inflected monastic interest and local pride were at play in the formation of the *vita* of Barbatianus.

In the third chapter, the aspects that make the *vita* of Barbatianus so atypical are highlighted through an investigation of the hagiographic landscape of medieval Ravenna, made up of the accumulation of other saints and cults within the region. Considering the lack of new hagiography written during the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries, the flourishing of these texts in the last half of the tenth century proves to be remarkable for both its volume and its variety. These texts include a *passio* of an early martyr Ursicinus, the *translatio* of the relics Ravenna's first bishop Apollinaris and the *vita et inventio* of Probus, an early bishop whose relics traveled across churches of the Ravennate landscape. (In the century after the *Vita Barbatiani* was written, new types of contemporary saints associated with local eremitic movements became the focus of hagiography; in the case of Ravenna, this was epitomized by the *vita* composed for Romuald.) These hagiographic texts illuminate the ways in which authors in Ravenna placed their emphasis on the power of relics translated into the city's cathedral, the role of the archbishop and the importance of reform in the tenth century, while in the eleventh, focused entirely on the latter. They offer another approach to explore how hagiography was constructed within the cultural and political framework of the period, but also highlight the *vita* of Barbatianus's unique reliance on the city's late antique heritage.

The fourth chapter delves into the text of the *vita* of Barbatianus as it has been preserved in the manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (a list of which appear in the appendix). It presents an overview of the history of the surviving sources on his life, from those that date before the *vita*, including the *LPR*, to those appearing after it, from the sermon offered by Peter Damian in the 1040s to the first critical edition of the

text in 1909, tracing the various ways in which the legend is preserved and accepted into larger hagiographic collections. The chapter also considers the many issues surrounding the dating of the *vita*, and considering both the internal and external evidence offers support for the last quarter of the tenth century.

The fifth examines the content and composition of the *vita*, focusing on the narrative arc of Barbatianus's life as it would have been understood by a tenth-century audience, and taking into consideration the miracles specific to the saint, including his part in obtaining a relic of John the Evangelist's sandal with Galla Placidia. In terms of the composition, the chapter surveys the original material alongside the various sources used to draft the tenth-century *vita*, including sections from the *LPR*, *LP* of Rome and miracles derived from a Latin translation of the *miracula* of Cyrus and John written by Sophronius.<sup>13</sup> Exploring the fashioning of the *Vita Barbatiani* illuminates the craft of writing hagiography in the tenth century and demonstrates the author's method of constructing a coherent narrative with limited and diverse material from the sources available.

The sixth chapter considers the later use and function of the *vita* of Barbatianus and the diffusion of his legend into a wide range of forms: the manuscript tradition of the *vita*, the sermon on his feast day by Peter Damian, his appearance in the *Agiographia* of Hugutius of Pisa and the *Tractatus edificationis*. The widespread appearance of the *vita* and the legend of Barbatianus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries suggest that the promotion of the saint in the tenth century created a large regional market for Barbatianus. Presented in the 1040s on the feast of Barbatianus, the sermon of Peter Damian focuses on his humility and healing miracles rather than his role as spiritual advisor to Galla Placidia, pointing to shift in the value of the saint away from his role as imperial supporter or monastic leader. Without the relevance of the imperial connection, the importance of the saint was challenged by others who were known for their skills in healing as well, leaving the relics and *vita* of Barbatianus as artifacts still valued due to his position in Ravenna, but lacking the practical potency of more established and more miraculous saints.

The connection between noble families and the patterns of distribution of manuscripts containing Barbatianus's *vita* are also explored in Chap. 6. The survival of the life in manuscripts from across Tuscany and Romagna, and even further afield, points to the adoption of the saint into a hagiographic corpus spread through monasteries established and supported by kin groups with roots in Ravenna. This is best demonstrated by the

appearance of the *vita* of Barbatianus in a manuscript from San Fedele in Poppi, one of the central fortified sites held by the Guidi family, whose origins are traced directly to tenth-century Ravenna. The chapter concludes by offering an assessment of the *vita* given the history of the legend of Barbatianus over a millennium.

Barbatianus was ultimately one of the more successful and widely known of Ravenna's "native" saints; the conclusion of this volume addresses the role that local saints can play in comparison to those with widely distributed cults and examines the problems of promoting previously uncelebrated or unknown saints within a wider community.

The rationale behind exploring the context of Barbatianus's *vita*, not simply as a text about a saint but as text connected to audiences across a temporal and geographic spectrum is simple: "not only the authoring of texts but also their copying and dissemination, was intentional action, even if its consequences, the uses to which these texts were put, were not intended by the producers."<sup>14</sup> The broad reading of hagiographic texts and their contexts has come to the fore as a means to understand the life and later impact of these literary texts in the creation of a "useable past" and the various concerns which generated them.<sup>15</sup> In this case, the world of late tenth-century Ravenna, its political climate, its monastic institutions, its hagiography and its history created the environment to foster the composition of the *Vita Barbatiani*; changes in the eleventh century would leave it as an artifact of its period.

This study takes a holistic approach to the *vita* of Barbatianus, using it as a tool to understand the ties between Late Antiquity and the tenth century in Ravenna, and the connection between history, the creation of hagiography and promotion of saints, and the communities and audiences they find. By analyzing the development of the life, its historical context and role as a "historiographic" text and its impact in Romagna, Tuscany and beyond, we are able to uncover the world surrounding the history of Barbatianus, his image and *vita* and the use of the memory of the saint after his life in the fifth century through the twelfth.<sup>16</sup> As designed, the book is both a "biography of a legend" in Late Antiquity and the history of a *vita*, its uses and diffusion in the tenth century and beyond, addressing the political, religious and social contexts in the development and life of a single text.

## NOTES

1. LP72.3-4.
2. S. J. B. Barnish, "The Wealth of Iulianus Argentarius: Late Antique Banking and the Mediterranean Economy," *Byzantion* 55 (1985).
3. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 277–99.
4. LPR 174.
5. On the life of Galla Placidia, see Stewart Irvin Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta: A Biographical Essay* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Hagith Sivan, *Galla Placidia: The Last Roman Empress*, Women in antiquity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Joyce E. Salisbury, *Rome's Christian Empress: Galla Placidia Rules at the Twilight of the Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015).
6. On the memory of Galla Placidia, see Mauro Donnini, "Galla Placidia nelle fonti latine medievali, umanistiche e rinascimentali," *Studi medievali* 35 (1994).
7. Sophronius became the patriarch of Jerusalem 634; he died in 638, the year after the conquest of the city by the Caliph 'Umar.
8. Thomas S. Brown, "Romanitas and Campanilismo: Agnellus of Ravenna's View of the Past," in *The Inheritance of Historiography, 350–900*, ed. C. Holdsworth (Exeter: University Publication, 1986). The connections between Ravenna's nobles and the city's hagiography point to the spread of cult veneration along with the support of specific monasteries in adjacent regions of Ravennate families; Barbatianus is just one of many "trans-appinine" saints whose cults and feasts are also established in Tuscany. Focusing primarily on Luca, Gianni Bergamaschi has demonstrated the regular importation of a vast range of saints from other areas of northern Italy and even beyond the Alps. Gianni Bergamaschi, "Culti transappenninici in Toscana: testimonianze liturgiche e agio-toponomastiche," in *Tra due Rome: Storia, itinerati e cultura del pellegrinaggio in val d'Orcia*, ed. Renato Stopani and Fabrizio Vanni (Rome: Centro studi Romei, 2014).
9. Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 88.
10. Ambrose and Epiphianus were bishops, and Antonius and Severinus were monks. Stéphane Gioanni, "Hagiographie d'Italie (300–550): II. Les Vies de saints latines composées en Italie de la Paix constantinienne au milieu du VIe siècle," in *Hagiographies V*, ed. Guy Philippart (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).
11. Peter Chrysologus, *Sermones* 127, 128, 129 and 154.
12. Ursicinus, Vitalis and Valeria, along with Gervasius and Protasius, are the only Ravennate saints (although with a Milanese connection) to appear in

a procession of saints and martyrs in the clerestory of the church of Sant'Apollinare; see Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, 167–8. In addition to these figures, the bishop Severus is the recipient of another edition of his *vita* in the eleventh century. This is complicated by the fact that the relics had been taken to Mainz, and that a body of hagiography, including an additional *vita* and a *translatio*, had been composed to celebrate the theft.

13. Remarkably, the *vita* preserves a seventh-century translation of the miracles by a papal official named Boniface Consiliarius once thought to be lost, rather than the ninth-century version of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. On the identity of Boniface, see: Walter Berschin, “Bonifatius Consiliarius: Ein römischer Übersetzer in der byzantinischen Epoche des Papsttums,” in *Lateinische Kultur im VIII. Jahrhundert* (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1990).
14. Patrick J. Geary, “Saints, Scholars, and Society: The Elusive Goal,” in *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. Sandro Sticca (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1996), 15.
15. For an overview of current scholarship with a focus on “how writings transformed stories of saints in order to serve the present,” see: Anna Taylor, “Hagiography and Early Medieval History,” *Religion Compass* 7 (2013): 4.
16. Although this book considers hagiography as a genre, the texts which incorporated the stories about saints and their relics served many purposes in the Middle Ages, not all of them relating to the saints at hand, and transforming their meanings over time. Indeed, “there can be no simple definition of ‘hagiography’ or of historiography that does not conscientiously take into account changing political contexts.” Felice Lifshitz, “Beyond Positivism and Genre: ‘Hagiographical’ Texts as Historical Narrative,” *Viator* 25 (1994): 97.