

NICCOLÒ CANUSSIO

**ON THE RESTORATION OF THE FATHERLAND (DE
RESTITUTIONE PATRIAE)**

TRANSLATED WITH A COMMENTARY

BY

ANDREW F. STONE

ARCHIVIO DEL LITORALE ADRIATICO IX

Niccolò Canussio, *De Restitutione Patriae* (On the Restoration of the Fatherland), translated with a commentary by Andrew F. Stone

Archivio del Litorale Adriatico IX

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Vittorio Canussio, dando vita nel 1998 ad una Fondazione dedicata agli studi sul mondo classico, decise di intitolarla all'umanista Niccolò Canussio, suo antenato, del cui *De restitutione patriae* egli aveva curato, con viva passione e sicura competenza, una edizione con traduzione italiana.

La famiglia Canussio ne continua oggi l'opera con rinnovato impegno, realizzando annualmente i propri convegni internazionali, che si distinguono sia per il loro prestigio scientifico, sia per l'attualità delle tematiche studiate.

È quindi con vivo compiacimento che la Fondazione Niccolò Canussio, accoglie questa traduzione inglese del *De restitutione patriae*, esprimendo al prof. John Melville-Jones, che l'ha ideata e ne ha curato attentamente la realizzazione, i più sinceri e sentiti ringraziamenti.

Carla Canussio

NICCOLÒ CANUSSIO

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PREFACE: NICCOLÒ CANUSSIO

Before considering the background of this brief but significant work, it is worth recording some details about the life of its author, whose name is not widely known (and who has been omitted from the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*). The date of his birth is unknown, but we may guess that it was about 1440. As Cesare Scalon points out in his introduction to the Italian edition, Niccolò's father Antonio was for several years master of the school of Cividale, and then chancellor of the commune. His mother Rivignana was the heiress of the Canussio family, and she gave her son Niccolò her own surname. Two letters written in 1469 attest that at that time Niccolò was a scribe and a notary in the service of the patriarchal chancellery (Scalon, p. 31, note 14: they are datable to July 8 and October 21 1469 respectively; the details and secondary literature are cited in Scalon's note). In 1489 he entered the council of Cividale, a post he held uninterruptedly for ten years. In 1492, in the first semester, he was also joint *provveditore*, together with Niccolò Conti. From 1495 to the first months of 1500 (Grion, *Guida Storica di Cividale e del suo distretto*, Cividale 1899, p. 167) he was chancellor, resigning at the end of that time, for reasons unknown (Cividale, *Diffinitiones, s.a.* 1500, fol. 21v), but perhaps because of failing health. He died on August 13, only months after his resignation.

Canussio's position as chancellor gives his work a semi-official status, and it should in the first place be regarded as a genuine and appropriate official defence of the antiquity and original high status of the city of Cividale. At this time rivalry between Udine and Cividale had become greatly inflamed, even though the peace which had been imposed upon that area by the Republic of Venice had transformed the competition between them from being a military one to one of legal wrangles and cultural altercations.

We are dealing here, however, not merely with a piece of parochial polemic, but also with an attempt to rescue the historical tradition of an entire region, which went back fifteen centuries in time, without any break in continuity. For this reason, the documentary value of this work is infinitely greater than it would be if we thought only of the first motive for its creation.

Rivalry between Cividale and Udine

Rivalry between the two principal cities of Friuli, Cividale and Udine, began in earnest at the beginning of the fourteenth century when Udine was made the capital of the region at the expense of Cividale, the former capital, because it was felt that a more central capital was required (Grion, pp. 53-4). Scalon (p. 20) passes comment on Udine's favoured position for traffic between Venice and Austria. He notes that out of the total tax from Friuli, 2495 marks, 1000 marks were contributed by Udine, and only 355 by Cividale: Cividale, *Diffinitiones*, s.a. 1452, fol. 28r.

The genesis of Canussio's work 'On the Restoration of the Fatherland', written in defence of his native city, is as follows. The humanist Marcantonio Coccia or Coccio, better known by his Latin pen name of Sabellus (Italian form Sabellico), had denied a Roman origin for Cividale, and had claimed that it was the Lombard historian Paul the Deacon who was the first to identify Cividale with *Forum Iulium* (in his *De vestutate Aquileiae et Foriulii Libri VI, Marciano lat. X 106* (3276 128r)). He also claimed that the *Forum Iulii* mentioned by Ptolemy in his *Geography* was in fact *Iulium Carnicum*, or Zuglio Carnico. The burning of Cividale in 610 by the Avars offered Sabellico the chance to claim that they had also burned the true *Forum Iulium* (Zuglio Carnico). It was these propositions to which Canussio objected, and this was the reason for his writing his *Restoration of the Fatherland*, to 'restore' the historical origin of his city which he believed had been wrongfully stolen from it. Since his opponent was an established figure in the scholarly world of that time, he was in this respect like a David opposing himself to the Philistine Goliath.

Following the publication of Canussio's tract, a heated debate ensued. Giovanni Candido in 1544, in his *Commentarii de' fatti d'Aquileia*, opposed Canussio's thesis, while Giovanni Francesco Palladio and Giovanni Giuseppe Capodagli tried specifically to identify *Forum Iulii* with Udine. However, archaeological excavations, from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries attest to the antiquity and Roman origin of Cividale.

The Date of the Composition of Canussio's Work

In chapter VIII of the second book of his work, Canussio records that Niccolò Donato became patriarch in 1493. The passage dealing with him is in fact also in the nature of an epitaph, for Donato died on September 3 1497. Since the preface was by Emiliano Cimbriaco, who died in 1499, the *De Restitutione Patriae* must have been composed between 1497 and the beginning of 1499 (so Scalon, pp. 22-23).

Literary Influences

Apart from quotations of Virgil and Ovid, the two greatest influences on Canussio which may be identified are, as Paolo Mantovanelli has shown, the second century A. D. authors Apuleius and Gellius. Where there are echoes of these authors in the text of Canussio, I shall draw attention to them, as Mantovanelli did in his introduction.

Style of Language

Mantovanelli also discusses some notable features of the style of Canussio: there was the form of hyperbaton known as *traiectio*, in which syntactically connected elements are separated by an intervening word, e.g. I.1 *prisca appellant antiquas*. Other examples of this are listed by Mantovanelli, on p. 13 of his introduction to the published version of Canussio's work. This is also, as Mantovanelli points out, a feature of the writings of Apuleius.

There is also alliteration (e.g. I.6 *passim profligatae*), anaphora (I.3 *quoad pro incolis fera, pro turre ...*) and the figura etymologica (e.g. II.12 *otium est in negotio*), to say nothing of metaphor (*Ilium nomen hians exhalaret*).

Modern Publications of the Text

The text of the *De Restitutione Patriae* was first published in print in 1990 by Casamassima, using a transcription of the surviving manuscript which had been made by Mario d'Angelo. It was accompanied by an introduction and commentary, which had been prepared by Paolo Mantovanelli, Cesare Scalon and Cristina Moro. This volume included a photographic reproduction of all the pages of the best specimen of the original manuscript. Ten years later, in 2000, the Fondazione Niccolò Canussio published a second edition of the work, revised by Orio Canussio. This second edition was formally launched at the international conference 'Integrazione, Mescolanza, Rifiuto. Incontro di populi, lingue e cultura in Europa dall'Antichità all'Umanesimo', which took place at the Cividale centre of the Foundation on September 20-23 in that year. It was intended to honour the memory of the late Vittorio Canussio, who had undertaken the publication of the first edition of the *De Restitutione Patriae* and had given Niccolò Canussio's name to the research foundation that he had created. An electronic version of this edition is available on the Foundation's web site:

<http://www.fondazionecanussio.org/>

Finally, I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the encouragement given to me by John Melville-Jones, who suggested that I should undertake this work and has edited it for publication. In addition, it would not have been possible for me to complete this project without the assistance which has been provided by the interloan service which is maintained by the Reid Library of the University of Western Australia.

Andrew F. Stone

QUINTUS AEMILIANUS CIMBRIACUS,¹ POET LAUREATE: VERSES IN
PRAISE OF NICCOLÒ CANUSSIO

If you wish to examine these elegant booklets
of my divine Canussio and, as is necessary,
to contemplate everything in them scrupulously and well,
I beseech you to read with a lingering ear, since these books
cannot give pleasure if you look at them cursorily;
being drawn from the sacred stores of the sister Muses,
these verses do not speak in the vernacular, as often happens,
but with a pure style, far removed from that of the crossroads,
and in a tongue to which the ancient Romans
paid more respect than even their sacred empire.
If you do this now, kindly reader,
you will be able to learn of the ancient origins of the city,
and which families are more illustrious
than others, and which sites of the Julian
land² are more favourable.
Nor let your trust be lacking, which is everywhere
to the fore, as it should be, in a writer on this rich city
who employs great limpidity, elegance and polish,
and who is mindful of all former things;
for whom, if his work does not sound well
in being heard, then may the critic
go to perdition from the evil ringing in his ears;
may you live a hundred times as long as the Sybil.³

NICCOLÒ CANUSSIO OF CIVIDALE
THE RESTORATION OF THE FATHERLAND

INTRODUCTION

Marcus Antonius Sabellus (Marcantonio Sabellico),⁴ prefacing his history with a description of the location of his fatherland, after begging for support from the whole province, strives to glorify the Huns; and since he is not ignorant of the fact that any argument for their antiquity was totally lacking, he denies that Iulium⁵ has existed since the beginning, and he professes that Aquileia alone has any share in antiquity.⁶ In order therefore to spread the fame of Hunnium,⁷ he suppressed that of Iulium, thinking that in the future there would be no one to unravel at any time the deceit of this version of history. Read me, Sabellus: I am present to oppose your history, both as a scion of Iulium and as a partisan of the hereditary praises of my fatherland, which you yourself, ignoring them with your head turned away, have hamstrung.⁸ Further, concerning the location of the land of Iulium, whether the alpine part or the plain, which is discussed in another work of ours village by village, the abundance of material which you, Sabellus, had cut short, has been interwoven by us in our account, so that it may vie equally with the rest of the province in the extent of its boundaries. Now let us begin our account by discussing the antiquity of the town.

BOOK ONE

Chapter I: the Origin and Antiquity of Iulium

The city of *Cividatum*,⁹ as Pliny testifies, was called by the ancients Iulium after its founder.¹⁰ Julius Caesar founded it near the Natisone as a military camp to oppose the Germans, when the unbridled barbarians, due to the ease of passage through this entry to the province, were ravaging it with frequent incursions.¹¹ It is generally agreed that it lost the name of Iulium as a result of no force except war, combined with the destruction of the town. For when buildings are being rebuilt, and trenches are being dug, remains from a triple destruction prove the city to have been well populated, just as elsewhere we have discovered marble slabs inscribed with the names of Romans,¹² whose occupation of the place no passage of time could obliterate. Elsewhere there emerge floors decorated with cut stones of different colours as testimony to a Roman origin,¹³ and in another place you see the highest glory of the sculptor's art, images carved from stone,¹⁴ imitating living men. Finally, after boring into the soil at every point, we have uncovered the boundary wall of the town, and you can see its skilfully engineered massiveness, undeservedly buried because of multiple disasters, while on an estate near the town we have excavated stone caskets which preserve for eternity in a funereal display the ashes of the people of antiquity.¹⁵ There is also another estate close to the town which has been set apart for burial to those who bear the name of Hebrews,¹⁶ because the false Hebrew faith, from the time of the desolation of the flood, established this as a principle for itself with the utmost scrupulosity. There indeed, among the epitaphs, the oldest of all may be read, carved on the stone in Hebrew letters, which indicates that two thousand years before the birth of Christ a man was buried in that place.¹⁷ There also remains in our time an example of very great antiquity, comparable with the earliest remains of Aquileia, a wall of immense size, which, starting from the church of S. Silvestro¹⁸ and encircling the town to the west, ends at the rocks bordering the Natisone, where the famous convent of S. Francesco is located.¹⁹ Who will deny that Iulium was a Roman colony, when it is so overflowing with so many monuments of antiquity? Surely, it was improper for Sabellus to overlook these indications of age from envy of such things, and was he not ashamed to have profaned the history of Iulium, and denied it with pitiable fables? Our fatherland must therefore be restored to us, at least insofar as historical truth permits.

Chapter II: the Origin of Hunnum

After Aquileia had been destroyed,²⁰ and after the fortresses of the Romans along the Natisone had been overcome, Attila ravaged the town of Iulium; and so far as we read in the sparse annotations of chronicles, it is likely that Iulium Carnicum²¹ and the other places scattered everywhere around the province perished at the same time, just as Concordia,²² a city rich in its possessions, suffered the same stroke of destruction. Then, when the whole state had been

annihilated, Hunnum was established on a hill by the Huns led by Attila, to provide an imperishable memorial of this universal slaughter, its name being from the first an evil omen for the province.

Chapter III: The Total Devastation of Iulium

After the province had been destroyed by the slaughter carried out by the enemy, a small number of persons who, fearing death, had betaken themselves in flight to the Alps to dwell among wild beasts, survived the destruction, leaving behind their fatherland which had been devastated by their foes. Later these same persons, descending from the Alps, and seeing how within the walls the enemies of the people of Iulium had torn down their dwellings, on their own initiative, without being commanded to do so by anyone, settled in the territory of Iulium for several centuries, in small villages scattered here and there, because they were few in number. These harsh times lasted until in the end wild animals replaced the inhabitants, and instead of a tower an aged oak grew, and instead of a house, bramble bushes; and when the appearance of a town had been transformed into a shadowy wood, then the open mouth of Iulium breathed its name for the last time.

Chapter IV: The Death of Attila

Encouraged by the success of his affairs to make himself a ruler, Attila, because he was displeased by the fact that up to that time he had no children, was imbued with a great desire to have a son who could become his heir, and was joined in wedlock. When the matrimonial festivities took place, he reclined among the chieftains at table, and after guzzling down a splendid repast from the viands that were available, in the intervals of drinking down foaming goblets in an excess of drunkenness, as is the barbarian custom, he rose from his meal in an inebriated state and sought to bed his newly-wed bride; and at this point, as a result of his excessive intoxication combined with his desire for sexual intercourse, he was overtaken insidiously and unexpectedly by death. From his nostrils, as he slept, the whole of his supply of blood was drained away, and he died without speaking a word.²³ When the Huns who had campaigned with him learned of the death of their leader, they departed from Italy and retired to Pannonia. There King Alboin²⁴ welcomed them, and because the area under his rule was so large, he gave them a share of his country. The rest of Attila's forces, because no other leader arose to take his place, followed them out of Italy, in separate straggling groups.²⁵

Chapter V: The First Reconstruction of the Town

In those times, after Orestes, who had been serving as regent for Romulus Augustulus who was still a child,²⁶ had been put to death by his soldiers, Odoacer the king of the Ruthmanni had succeeded him in the position of rule.²⁷ The latter, to avoid any opposition to his rule, promised all²⁸ the communities of Italy freedom to manage their affairs as they wished, and so the desire rose among those who were dwelling in the area around Iulium to restore their city under such leadership; they considered it preferable to be enclosed within walls

and to live with an urban life style, rather than to live outside in squalor among the beasts of the field. They therefore began its reconstruction, and each of them built himself a new house from the ruins that remained. When the city was restored in this way, a committee of ten decurions was chosen to administer public affairs. When this election had taken place, because of the fact that freedom had been granted, they gave the well-omened name of *Cividatum*²⁹ to the town.

Chapter VI: The Arrival of the Goths in Italy and the Battle at the River Isonzo

While Odoacer was governing in Italy with considerable gentleness, the king of the Goths,³⁰ Theodoric,³¹ deciding that because of the unproductive nature of the soil he needed to expand the boundaries³² of Thrace, brought together a very strong army, and ravaged and occupied the surrounding territories in the neighbourhood.³³ Because of his successes, Zeno, the ruler of Byzantium, considered him to be a danger, and so, with the aim of withdrawing such a large force of men from his own borders, he suggested to Theodoric that he should invade Italy.³⁴ Theodoric accepted this proposition, and withdrew his army from Thrace,³⁵ with its unproductive land, together with their wives and an undisciplined rabble of both sexes.³⁶ Passing through the middle of the Greeks,³⁷ and then overcoming the Illyrians first and then the Liburnians³⁸ in war, he established his camp in the Iapidan territory of the Timavo near the Isonzo.³⁹ Meanwhile Odoacer, because the news of this was spreading widely and the arrival of the Goths in Italy had been made known by scouting expeditions, marshalled his forces from every quarter of Italy and, with the addition of a contingent⁴⁰ from Iulium, placed his forces on a rocky outcrop on the nearer side of the river, in approximately the same place as that in which a compacted earthwork of the Venetians was later placed to ward off the incursions of the Turks.⁴¹ I remember that when this earthwork was being constructed, I was one of the supervisors of the work. And when the turf was being dug up for the construction, we saw half-buried bones belonging to that slaughter sticking out,⁴² lying in corroded heaps from the ford of the river opposite Fogliano as far as Gradisca.⁴³ Theodoric, who could not delay for any length of time in that area because of the great number of people that he had with him, tested the ford across the river, then led his armed forces to the other side. Once the river had been crossed, and the troops on each side drawn up and their battle standards raised, the two armies attacked each other from both directions, and from the moment that they met, because the victory remained in doubt for a long time, the fighting was very fierce. In the course of the fighting the men of Iulium, who had courageously entered the battle in the front line, fell, overcome by the number of those opposing them. The other troops of Odoacer, fleeing defeated in all directions, were cut down until Odoacer was forced to yield to the enemy and retreat from that place. Fleeing with a small number of others, after a long and costly march, he retreated to Ravenna.⁴⁴

Chapter VII: The Second Destruction of the Town

Theodoric, swollen with pride on account of the slaughter in Italy, after Odoacer had been routed and his army destroyed,⁴⁵ since from the destruction of the province inflicted by Attila (with the exception of the citadel of Hunnium which was established as a small outpost), no other town had been restored, attacked Iulium with all his forces, finding it drained of all its strength, since its entire force of armed men had perished in battle at the Isonzo with the troops of Odoacer;⁴⁶ therefore it was captured without there being any resistance, pillaged and at the same time destroyed, and the enemy thought that this doorway to Italy must not be left with any force to threaten his back, lest it impeded a free retreat. The elderly, along with those of the female sex and the tender youth, whom the enemy spared on account of their weakness, having evaded destruction, were permitted to betake themselves to lodgings in houses in the countryside near Iulium, where they had to spend their time until the gods wished them better things.

Chapter VIII: The Sharing of Power between Theodoric and Odoacer

After the Goths had subordinated the province of Iulium, and had conquered some cities throughout Italy, with others deprived of their defences and surrendering, they acquired the upper hand in affairs. With Theodoric as their commander they set about attacking the city of Ravenna, which had been fortified very strongly by the garrison of Odoacer; and when they saw that it could be captured by no warlike force except by being besieged, they set up their camps arranged around it in order to besiege it. And when for three years that siege was frustrated on account of victuals being imported by sea on ships,⁴⁷ Theodoric took the decision to settle a peace with Odoacer. The siege ended accordingly and an alliance was struck up, and a sharing of power between the two kings was agreed upon so that both should rule together. With equality of power settled upon in this way, Theodoric and Odoacer ruled together.⁴⁸

Chapter IX: The death of Odoacer Accomplished by a Plot of Theodoric, and the Second Rebuilding of the Town

Unable to endure sharing power with Odoacer any longer, Theodoric set in motion a plot to murder him. When Odoacer had been invited to a dinner, a cupbearer skilled in poisons presented him with cups with a lethal⁴⁹ content, and upon their consumption, Odoacer fell lifeless, overtaken by sudden death.⁵⁰ Theodoric thereupon ruled alone everywhere in Italy, nor was his rule, even though it was administered by a barbarian, intolerable.⁵¹ Subsequently, when Theodoric had carried out his life, the rule of Italy passed from son to son for thirty-seven years.⁵² Justinian, who was ruling at Byzantium in that period, who thought that it was unseemly that Italy should be occupied by barbarians, through the valour of both Belisarius⁵³ and Narses⁵⁴ drove out the barbarians, and recovered it.⁵⁵ Italy was restored to its ancient liberty, and the youth of Iulium who matured after its destruction, having striven for the refounding of the homeland of their birth for a long time, migrated from the hinterland to the walls, where the efforts of them all restored, fortified and populated the town.

The administration of the state was entrusted to the foremost of the high-born nobility, and the town was then given the new name of *Cividatum*;⁵⁶ this was because the favourable nature of the location is such that it attracts men to it, and accordingly, it does not allow itself to be abandoned.

Chapter X: Roman Literature is Exiled from Italy

Italy, tossed about by the whirlwinds of war, and accordingly stripped of its ancient customs, now that the barbarians were in command, had begun to be tainted with alien ones, and therefore from this time its Academy was exhausted of its treasures, and the Roman language took refuge in exile until our age, because it could not be fully recovered through the craft of the printers, since it is agreed that the books of Marcus Varro⁵⁷ and Nigidius⁵⁸ and many other ancients had perished; and the history of Livy, consisting in a number of decads, and many other aids to the art of rhetoric seem to have expired at that time, a thing truly unworthy of every epoch. Indeed, for whatever remains, thanks are due to the craftsmen of the art of writing, thanks to whose skill the works of genius that were destroyed have been raised up to life again.

Chapter XI: Alboin is Called by Narses into Italy

Justinian, ruling in succession to Zeno at Byzantium,⁵⁹ drove out the Goths,⁶⁰ and assumed power in Italy, and, completely oblivious of the ease with which fortune can be reversed, removed the administration of the Roman Empire from Narses to whom it had been entrusted, and granted it instead, on the request of the Romans, to Longinus,⁶¹ so that, if one empire were being watched over, the other should not be without defences on account of its great distance. Narses therefore, bloated from the immense amount of money that he had made from selling the booty from the victory against the Goths, when the edict of Justinian granted the administration of the empire to Longinus,⁶² withdrew with all his money to Naples, and while he resided there, slighted by the injury received from his dismissal by Justinian, sent ambassadors to Alboin, king of the Lombards,⁶³ who at that time occupied Pannonia, and persuaded him to invade Italy,⁶⁴ pledging that he would support him with all his money and all his forces; and in order to entice that people to beset that province in every way,⁶⁵ the ambassadors distributed different kinds of fruit that they had brought with them among the chieftains,⁶⁶ so that their taste should give added credibility to what they said about the situation of Italy and its climate, which was the most pleasant and sunny of the regions of Europe.

Chapter XII: The surrender of Iulium to Alboin

King Alboin of the Lombards, assenting to the proposals of the embassy of Narses, and after tasting the sweetness of the fruit of Italy with its mild climate, steeped in a strong desire to change his country of residence, gathered his forces from everywhere in Pannonia and mustered a very large army for the purpose of invading Italy with the addition of twenty thousand armed Saxons who joined him in the capacity of his allies,⁶⁷ and they began their march together with their wives and a disorderly rabble of other persons, and all the rest of their baggage.

When his forces had traversed the territory of the Carinthians, and subsequently of the Norican Taurisci,⁶⁸ crossing the valley where the Natisone flowed, he beset Iulium with all his forces with a view to conquering it, because it was the first place which presented itself. The townsfolk, not yet recovered in strength from the destruction wrought by the Goths, in consternation at so many armed troops lying before them and destitute of a friendly source of defence, because they had experienced in the past a conquest which led to a slaughter of the population, settled a peace with Alboin and surrendered themselves and the town to him.

Chapter XIII: Alboin Instituted the duchy of Iulium

Alboin, taking occupation of the town as a result of its surrender to him, so that he might refresh his army, and the disorderly rabble of followers, and those other hindrances consisting of the female sex, with rest and food, because they were affected by their march, decreed that they should stay a few days there, and at that time was very well pleased at its favourable site.⁶⁹ He initiated a plan to appoint a duke to be in command of this entrance to the entire province of Italy, and in order better to survey the region to be assigned to him, he ascended a lofty mountain with a few men,⁷⁰ and then ordered that as much as could be measured by the sight⁷¹ of the eye as far as the boundary of the Veneto should be subject to the duke.⁷² Returning thereupon to the town, discussing the virtues of each man according to his merits, from among the gathering of chieftains he appointed Gisulf, his nephew,⁷³ who excelled in greatness of spirit and good counsel, to the position, with the applause and consent of all. Gisulf, on his promotion to the dukedom,⁷⁴ with the right to choose from the more noble men of the army the households⁷⁵ that he wanted as his co-inhabitants, accepted the title from his uncle. Then, after this selection of households had been made, and in addition after the swiftest herds of mares had been removed out of the multitude by Gisulf,⁷⁶ Alboin, in his eager desire for the rest of Italy, terminated his sojourn there.

*Chapter XIV: The Surrender of Taurisium*⁷⁷

When Gisulf had acquired the ducal seat of Iulium, and the town was filled by the most splendid households, Alboin, delighted at the favourable omen, hastened directly with the rest of the army to reach Taurisium; here, having set up his camp, he demanded the voluntary surrender of the townsfolk as quickly as possible: should they not surrender, he threatened a slaughter of the people and at the same time to overthrow the town from its foundations. When the inhabitants delayed from surrendering while they were debating this matter, Alboin, incensed with anger, drew up his battle-lines, and prepared to conquer it. Seeing that its destruction was imminent, Felix, the bishop of the town,⁷⁸ of whose advice the people were making use, when it was learned that war was being prepared, accompanied by a few citizens, with the assent of them all descended into the camp and appeased Alboin by offering to surrender it. Then, when peace was concluded, and the din of armed men was stilled, Alboin, with a picked handful of men, was taken into the town, where he accepted the promise

of loyalty from each man, and fortified it with a garrison which he left there, since he intended to invade the remaining regions of Italy.

Chapter XV: The establishment of the royal seat at Verona

After Alboin had established an administration at Taurisium under his control, moving camp, Alboin passed through the territory of the Cimbri,⁷⁹ who surrendered to him, and reached Verona. After capturing it, on account of its size he established his royal court there. There he subsequently left his rabble of camp followers and the hindrances of the female sex under a guard, and after selecting an army one man at a time, girded himself for the invasion of the whole of Liguria. Thereupon moving camp from there, he soon took by storm Brixia,⁸⁰ then Pergamum⁸¹ next to Comum⁸² by conquest, taking their respective garrisons one by one, and finally take Mediolanum⁸³ also by assault. Then, after increasing the territories of his kingdom in this way, with Alboin returned to Verona⁸⁴ with immense glory, and there on account of the victory that he had gained determined that public games should be established; and his soldiers, melting into the embraces of their wives,⁸⁵ for a few days relaxed in leisure from the labours of war. It has been pleasing to have run over this history of Alboin, albeit briefly, so that homage may be paid to him, the man who extended the boundaries of the town of Iulium to greater dimensions.⁸⁶ And this man restored the town, which had been profaned first by Attila, then by the Goths, after he had instituted a large duchy, and endowed it with dignity and with more powerful forces.

Chapter XVI: The Third Destruction of Iulium Brought About by the Bavarians

Paul, the native historian of Iulium,⁸⁷ by origin a Lombard (as he himself testifies in a chapter about his genealogy), who wrote a history of the Lombards, reports that after a quarrel had arisen between King Authari⁸⁸ and Gisulf Duke of Forum Iulii⁸⁹ (for he called Cividale 'Forum Iulii' everywhere in his history), the town was subjected by King Cakanus of the Bavarians (*i.e.* the khagan of the Avars) to a third destruction.⁹⁰ Since Gisulf had defected from the king because of a secret hatred, the king himself, in order to gain his revenge, sent ambassadors to Cakanus of the Bavarians⁹¹ with a repeated request that he attack Gisulf of Iulium by every means within his power, saying that he would carry off much booty from there. Cakanus, greedy for booty in the manner of barbarians, drawing his forces from all of Swabia and Bavaria, gathered a great throng together, entered Italy via the Norican Alps and devastated the territory of Iulium. When Gisulf learned of this, he made hasty plans to gather as many of the Lombards and men of Iulium as he could to accompany him, and leading them against the Bavarians in the night, set himself down in their path. As the light of dawn was breaking, in order to excite and stimulate⁹² their spirits, the blare of trumpets called both armies to battle. Nor, when night, upon the dispelling of the shadows, became day, were they slow to rush at each other from the battle lines on one side and the other. The men of Iulium therefore entered battle resolutely and inflicted no small slaughter upon the enemy. Thereupon Cakanus, renewing battle, made good the losses with other troops

here and there, for his army greatly surpassed in its size that of Gisulf. With victory wavering in the balance, this most bloody battle was drawn out until midday, with a slaughter of the Bavarians. Then at last then, the Lombards, overcome by the large number of the enemy and worn out by the harshness of the fighting, were no longer able to endure the labours of battle, and yielded to the enemy and were forced to withdraw from that place. And while they were withdrawing, Gisulf, resisting with a few men, was intercepted by the enemy and cut down.⁹³ Cakanus, even though he had emerged victor only after great slaughter had been inflicted on his army in the battle in the open countryside, nevertheless approached the province of Gisulf with the intention of taking the town, placing camps near the Natisone hard up against the town itself. While he was in full view on a swift horse, trying to determine from which part the walls might be demolished, Romulida, the duchess of the town, forgetting her partner Gisulf, saw her foe from the height of the wall, a remarkably well formed man, in the prime of his life, with heaving breast, his crisp hair flowing over his shoulders as he spurred on his horse, a majestic spectacle indeed, and was soon inflamed with desire for him, and consumed by the most extreme urges of lust. With no thought in her mind except that of lying together upon an unholy bed, she prepared herself for the wickedness that she had conceived, so that she might give free rein to pleasure. She sent a messenger to Cakanus to tell him that she would give her riches, herself and the town, if he were willing to be joined in marriage with her. Cakanus, as he was by nature inclined to break alliances and the most wicked of all men due to his base barbarian nature, and considered that no one would look to see whether there was any difference between deceit and valour,⁹⁴ when an enemy was in question, after concluding an alliance with the messenger of Romulida, promised that he would marry her, and that he would follow the wishes of Romulida in everything. When the messenger reported these words, Romulida, made wild by the fancies inspired by her lust, and longing urgently for the embraces of the man, removed every cause of delay, and after the guards had been dismissed from the ramparts and their arms laid down, ordered that all activities should cease. So when the turmoil in the town had been calmed down, the enemy and his whole army was led in, and after he had made his entrance, Cakanus celebrated the rites of a deadly marriage-bed. Then straight away with a chosen group of soldiers he himself invaded Romulida's royal chamber, took her children and kept them under guard, and at the same time seized all her wealth. The remainder of the army, raging through the villages of the city, cut down all who stood in their way, took possession of the houses and looted them all. Some of the people of Iulium, jumped from the walls headlong, others left the city by the gates, and some, since every other hope of salvation was denied to them, took up arms and cleared a way through the enemy with steel to remove themselves from the slaughter, and after escaping the fate of death for which they were marked down saved their lives through flight. Cakanus, after destruction had been wrought everywhere in the city, and the booty and spoils had been removed to his camp, in order to satisfy the extreme cruelty of his barbarian nature in accordance with his heart's desire, set the city on fire and burned it completely. And so a siege lasting only one day of assault removed everything that had been constructed in that city with a great

expenditure of labour from the time of its destruction by the Goths until that day. As for that unspeakably wicked and polluted woman, who had been the cause of the destruction of her ruined homeland, he gave her as common property to be raped by his soldiers, and so a most shameful death overtook her. As Cacanus left the town in which he had raged far and wide, he saw that nothing but ashes remained, and then, breaking up camp, he set about returning as a victor with his booty and spoils to his homeland. During that journey Taso and Caco, sons of Duke Agisulf,⁹⁵ who had been taken into custody, while their guard was buried in sleep,⁹⁶ in the silence of the night rapidly and secretly mounted horses and escaped from the enemy squadrons; and once free, they spurred on their steeds,⁹⁷ and sped away at a swift gallop. Overcome by tiredness from their long journey, at last, exhausted, they found their paternal home, and on their arrival, as the population of the province gathered, with the assent and applause of all, they succeeded their father Agisulf. Cacanus, upon learning of the flight of the dukes, was agitated and angry, and sold by auction those among the booty of either sex who were in their tender youth, and ordered that the rest of the men who formed a part of the booty should be picked out and have their heads cut off.

Chapter XVII: How Taso and Caco were Restored to their Ancestral Home

The young men Taso and Caco, freed from the yoke of the enemy by flight, were received into the protection of their native land and restored to their ancestral home. When they arrived there, seeing with tears before the very vestibule⁹⁸ and at the very door (oh, wickedness!) the putrefying slaughter of the members of their household following its destruction, they entered the interior of their abandoned and ruined home. They examined it from end to end, noting where the ceiling coffers and gilded beams still remained half burnt in some places, and in others were consumed by fire, that the painted walls were obscured by shadowy smoke in some places, and in others a part of the house had collapsed, and in others again it had been consumed by fire, and bewailing the fact that the wealth of the people of Iulium had been laid waste and the lamentable state of their realm,⁹⁹ they grieved with ever-welling tears. There was present at this wretched and miserable spectacle, together with the young chieftains themselves, a tumultuous throng from either of the classes of society that had escaped destruction, mourning the overthrow of their country and sobbing with grief. And at that time the whole palace resounded on every side with groans and weeping. When enough time had been given for grief, a command for silence was given and the sobbing ceased, and a senior member of the senate,¹⁰⁰ who excelled all others in good counsel and authority, cried out that it was right to give thanks to their Maker Above,¹⁰¹ because their leaders had been preserved. Their return, he said, was an omen that their native town must be rebuilt, and he then ordered that it should be purged of putrefaction, that the corpses of the dead should be interred in the earth, and that no one should continue to smite his breast in sorrow; a brave and constant spirit would not be disquieted by harsh circumstances,¹⁰² nor cast down from the position that it occupied by disturbances, rather the duty of restoring the city should be eagerly undertaken, help would be forthcoming from its subjects without even being requested, and in place of those who had been laid low and buried, others would not be lacking

who make a claim to be received as replacements into their ranks, and join in taking part in our affairs.¹⁰³ The advice of this senior person met with general approval, and the people agreed to follow his advice and so, falling upon their knees, they begged their Maker Above with suppliant¹⁰⁴ prayers to lend a favourable ear to their vows, and give them a favourable outcome in accordance with what they had said.

Chapter XVIII: How Grasulf Acquired the Dukedom, which at length came as a Gift from the Queen to the Citizens

With the aid and assistance of craftsmen and with the assistance of labourers, who streamed in from each province, the town was rebuilt. Every street, every cross-roads, was filled with rivals who were seeking to dwell in houses which had been abandoned after the destruction. Meanwhile Grasulf, a member of the same family with the same ancestors, the only brother of Agisulf, who was one of the leading men among the ruling class, was appointed, because of his close relationship, to undertake the guardianship and direction of his nephews. As soon as he set foot in the city he ingratiated himself with all the different groups and the people under their control, with their different languages, and then set about becoming their ruler rather than simply an administrator.¹⁰⁵ His nephews Taso and Caco, because they were repressed, bore the injustice inflicted upon them by their uncle badly, and fled to Beneventum, to its duke Arachis,¹⁰⁶ who received them with kindness and brought them up in his home for a long time. I have omitted to relate the length of Grasulf's reign, and those of his successors¹⁰⁷ so that I do not have to cover every act of theirs individually because of the excessive detail involved, although an account of this kind would redound to the honour of the city. At all events, either from the chronicles, or from the history of Paul, I have discovered that eighteen dukes ruled in succession in the town of Iulium over several centuries, the last to occupy this position being Queen Rosimunda, of Austrian origin. She was the widow of Liudprand the king of the Lombards, and when Aldebrand then succeeded to that position, at his suggestion, she retired and established herself at Iulium. As soon as the queen was installed as its ruler, she noticed the presence of a number of citizens of noble breeding, of whose advice she availed herself in moments of difficulty, and so, deciding that she would live the rest of her life free from cares, she handed over the administration of the duchy to its citizens. A defined number of senators was therefore prescribed, chosen from the mass of nobles, to administer the state. When the senate first met, because an opportunity of a double kind offered itself, a decree of the senate was passed, so that posterity might be reminded of the situation, that the name of the town should be changed, and another compound name, taken from the title of the queen and the distinction of being a bishopric, that of *Austria Civitas*, was conferred upon the town. Because of its being denominated in this way, the whole province was called by a halved form of this, 'Austria', for several generations.

Chapter XIX: The Area of Jurisdiction of the Dukes of Iulium

Now that the history of the dukes has been dealt with, although summarily, let us now define the boundaries of their area of rule and their jurisdiction. The historian Paul reports that Alboin king of the Lombards, when he first entered Italy, increased the size of the territory ruled by Iulium by a considerable amount, and after appointing a new duke, departed and left him there. He left written orders that the boundaries of this duchy should include two separate provinces, one of them, in the Alps, being called the province of the Slavs, the other, in flat country, being that of the people of Iulium. At the beginning of this work we wrote that the part lying in the plain, as it is today, is bounded in length by the famous river Isonzo and extends as far as the Livenza, and in length it begins with the last Alp at Croce dei Carni and extends as far as the Adriatic Sea at Marano.¹⁰⁸ The same Paul has written that the Alpine province of the Slavs has its boundary in the Tarvisian Alps, which join the Carnic ones at a narrow angle where the valley of Plezzo is, and that it extends for a great distance to the promontory of Medaria which overlooks the Adriatic Sea, on the lower slopes of which there is the well populated village of Medalino¹⁰⁹ which takes its name from the promontory. The promontory is said to have formed the boundary between the Liburnians and the Illyrians. Within these boundaries on one side and the other there are the Norici first, then the Iapides and finally the Liburni. In his famous poem Virgil has confirmed this by mentioning their kingdom, 'Antenor was able, after escaping through the midst of the Achaeans, to enter the Illyrian gulf and safely reach the kingdom of the Illyrians and pass over the source of the Timavo.'¹¹⁰ It was therefore certainly not right for Sabellus to suppress the splendour of the government of the people of Iulium, passing over, contrary to the established chain of events, these signs of antiquity, worthy of fame, such as past centuries have never removed from this country, and perhaps future centuries will never again grant to them.¹¹¹

COMMENTARY

ON

THE FIRST BOOK

¹ This was the *nom de plume* of Giovanni Stefano Emiliano, *littérateur* and poet, probably born in Vicenza (hence his humanistic name Cimbriacus, derived from the Cimbri, the people supposed to have founded Vicenza) in the fifteenth century. His paternity is disputed, as is the exact year of his birth. His first *Encomiasticon* for the emperor Frederick III can be interpreted as saying that only four *lustra* had passed prior to his crowning with the laurel, *i.e.*, his completion of a first university degree (*et me palladio quondam induit auro / annorum lustris nondum mihi quatuor actis*, verses 28-9). This work was composed in 1469, suggesting either a birth date of 1449 or 1450, or the passage of four *lustra* since his admission to the degree (so G. Liruti, *Notizie delle opere e delle vite scritte da letterati del Friuli*, I, Venice, 1760, pp. 386-7). In any case, Cimbriacus received his literary training at his city of birth before moving to Friuli, where he was a professor of Latin successively at Pordenone (where he received his laurels), San Daniele (1469-70) and Gemona (1470). At the last named city he married Giacomina Montegnacco Fantoni of the local nobility, who bore him three sons. We find him back at Pordenone in 1482-6, and in summer of the latter year in Venice, where Sabellico wrote to him congratulating him on his success. He was then invited by the governing council of Sacile to direct the school there in 1486-8, whereafter he went back to Gemona. After being a professor of Latin there for many years, he moved to Lintz to the court of the emperor Maximilian, where he was ‘crowned with laurel’ for a second time (1489). On October 3 1489 he was granted the title of Count Palatine. In 1490 he moved for a final time to Cividale, where he remained until his death (1499). On his life, G. G. Liruti, *Notizie delle vite ed opere scritte da letterati del Friuli*, I, Venice 1760, pp. 382-394; more recently, M. Monchella, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 42, pp. 613-15. Of his oeuvre (comprising some 5000 verses, composed in a variety of metres), the most celebrated works were the five *Encomiastica*, although some of his letters survive, together with three sonnets in the vernacular and a poem about the Ottoman ruler Mehmed II's expedition against Rhodes, entitled the *Asteride*.

² Numerous landmarks were named after Julius Caesar, in Cisalpine Gaul. One thinks of the Julian Alps, Julian Venetia (Venezia Giulia), Forum Iulium Carnicum, and of course, Forum Iulii, the subject of this treatise.

³ This was the name given to a divining prophetess by the Greeks and the Romans. Although there was originally only one, the number was expanded. The most famous was located at Cumae on the west coast of Italy.

⁴ This was the *nom de plume* of Marcantonio Coccia or Coccio, who was born at Vicovaro *ca.* 1436, and died at Venice in 1506. The name which he adopted

reflects his supposed Sabine origin. On him, see F. Tateo's article in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 26, Rome, 1982, pp. 511-5. Other sources for the history of his life are A. Zeno, "M. A. Cocci Sabellici Vita", in *Degl'istorici delle cose veneziane i quali hanno scritto per pubblico decreto*, I, Venice 1718, pp. xxix-lxxi; G. Mercati, "Attorno a M. A. Sabellico", in *Ultimi contributi alla storia degli umanisti*, II, Vatican City 1939, pp. 1-23; M. Zorzi, *La libreria di San Marco*, pp. 96-7; other sources for Sabellico's life and work are given by Tateo and P. Gaeta, "Storiografia, coscienza nazionale e politica culturale nella Venezia" in *Storia della Cultura Veneta* 3 (1980), pp. 65-75. His father was a blacksmith, but Coccia studied the liberal arts under acclaimed teachers such as Porcari, Gaspare of Verona and Porcellio, being subsequently educated by Domizio Calderini (1470-1) then Pomponio Leto, at the latter's Roman Academy, under whom he completed his humanist training. He subsequently received a lectureship in rhetoric at Udine (1473-83), where he developed an interest in dialectic and mathematics, and was prompted to learn Greek. The major historical events of these years, as we shall see, were invasions by the Turks. Coccia celebrated the Venetian defeat of this foe in two poems, *De caede Sondiaca* and *De incendio Carnico*.

Some years later he wrote a history on the origins of Aquileia (*De Vetustate Aquileiae et Fori Iulii libri VI*). This work is in the form known to the Latins and Greeks as a *Chronographia*, and it praises both Udine and Venice. In 1483 he moved to the latter city, where he was for a certain time to teach, with a stipend of 200 ducats, and to direct, from 1488, the public library (M. Zorzi, Venice, 1987, p. 89). However, an outbreak of the plague led him to move to Verona (1484). Most significantly, in his time at Verona, he produced two voluminous historical works. The first was the *Rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita ad Marcum Barbaricum Venetiarum principem libri xxxiii* (1487), taking him three years, and as the title suggests, dedicated to the doge Agostino Babarigo. The haste with which it was written, due to the urging of the public, did not allow Sabellico as polished a style as he would have liked (modern commentators have pointed out the defects of this work as a history; Zorzi, p. 96). The larger part of this was written at Verona, but he finished it at Venice. After this came the *Enneades sive Rapsodiae Historiarum*, a universal history in 92 books, published for the first time in 1504 shortly before his death, which took place in 1506. His career coincided with the high water mark of the Renaissance in Italy, and, not surprisingly, he shows humanist attitudes in his works, the rest of which are listed in order of the date of publication in the biography of Tateo. Despite his own brand of humanism, in his opinion the Florentine humanists were "vulgar", for he was concerned to maintain the purity of the Latin language.

⁵ The Latin name of Cividale, derived from Julius Caesar, who was credited with founding the city.

⁶ Founded in 181 B.C. as a frontier town against the Cisalpine Celts; see note 11.

⁷ This is a name which Canussio takes from the *Enneades* of Sabellico, who supported a derivation of the name of Udine from the Latin *Hunnum* (*Hunnum*

pro Utino scripsi). In another tradition, the name Udine is to be derived from Uldin, the name of a Hunnish king prior to Attila. The tradition was that Attila had been the founder of the city, placing it on an artificial hill created from earth brought by barbarian soldiers in their helmets: Sabellico, *Rapsodiae Historicae Enneadum*, Basle 1508, p. 328.

⁸ The Latin, *subnervasti*, is a rare word found (in an identical form) first in Apuleius *De Magia*.

⁹ *Civi-datum*, "given to the citizens".

¹⁰ Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 3, 130.

¹¹ The precise enemies in question were the Celtic Iapydes and Taurisci, who made incursions into Roman Friuli (not yet of course known by that name) in 52 B.C., while Caesar had his base at the Roman colony of Aquileia (founded previously in 181 B.C.), with 3000 infantry, 250 cavalry and their dependants. For the earlier Ligurian, then Veneto-Illyrican, then Celtic (the Carni) habitation of these parts (particularly the last named, who warred with the Romans, and were defeated by M. Aemilianus Scaurus) see P.S. Leicht, *Breve Storia del Friuli*, 2nd ed., Udine, 1970, pp. 20-27; Menis, *History of Friuli: The formation of a people*, tr. M.A. Caruso, 6th ed., Udine, 1987, pp. 17-49. Due to the Celtic invasions Caesar sent the Fifteenth Legion to counter the menace, and both military camps and public markets (*fora*) were founded in the region. One such *forum* was *Forum Iulii* (founded 56 B.C.), bearing Caesar's name and ultimately giving rise to the name of the duchy of Friuli. For this, see G. C. Menis, p. 56; P. Paschini, *Storia del Friuli*, 3rd edition, Udine, 1975, p. 24. Another *forum* was Iulium Carnicum or Zuglio. For the Iapydes and Taurisci, see notes 39 and 68.

O t h e r e n e m i e s t h r e a t e n i n g

the area in the following years included the Pannoni, Liburni and Dalmati, which is what prompted Octavian (the future emperor Augustus) to conquer Pannonia and Dalmatia. Octavian subsequently used *Forum Iulii* as a site for settling war veterans (*coloni*: G. Grion, *Guida storica di Cividale e del suo distretto*, Cividale, 1899, p. 15; Fogolari, *Cividale del Friuli*, Bergamo, 1906, p. 12; the geographer Ptolemy calls it a *colonia*). Indeed, G. Chilver considers *Forum Iulii* an Augustan foundation (see *Cisalpine Gaul: Social and economic history from 49 B.C. to the death of Trajan*, Oxford, 1941, p. 16. There is no evidence that there was a stronghold on the site before the time of Caesar, even though coins as early as 88 B.C. have been found in the vicinity (S. Stucchi, *Forum Iulium (Cividale del Friuli): Regio X – Venetia et Histria* in the series *Italia Romana: Municipi e Colonie*, Series I, Vol. XII, Rome, 1951, p. 20). The *Forum* was elevated to the status of *municipium* due to increasing wealth (Stucchi, p.22). Evidence of this is the inscription *CIL V, 1767* of a quattuorviral magistracy including one T. Vettidius Valens.

In later times the incursions of the Quadi and Marcomanni (2nd century A.D.) must have caused the people of Cividale some consternation. The third century brought the invasion of the Alamanni (238) and the Juthungi (271, or later). These invasions, particularly of the Alamanni, led to the fortification of

Forum Iulii or Iulium. Stucchi believes that this happened in 168 in response to the Quadi and Marcomanni.

¹² Noteworthy among these is a slab naming the emperor Caracalla (211-7) and another naming Gallienus (255). Gallienus was the victor over the Alamanni, For these, Fogolari, p. 12, A. Rieppi, *Cividale: l'antica Forum Iulii – monumenti ed opere d'arte*, Udine, 1956, p. 10. Other inscriptions are described by Grion, p. 17.

The original Latin phrase which is used here, *inscriptas Romanorum nomina*, is remarkable, with its internally limiting accusative, as Prof. J. Willis, has pointed out to me, and may be inspired by the phrase which is found in Virgil's *Eclogue 3*, 106, *flores inscripti nomina regum*, "flowers inscribed with the names of kings".

¹³ Fogolari, p. 16, comments on some of these mosaics, which are extant today. Stucchi, pp. 62-6, goes further in enumerating those Roman houses in Cividale which had mosaic floors, eight in all. The existence of such floors suggests that Forum Iulii or Iulium was a resort for the rich of Aquileia during the summer.

¹⁴ These could be likenesses of notable persons, or of Roman gods such as Jupiter, Fortuna Augusta, Eros and Sylvanus, whose cults were well established in this area; bronze statues of Mercury and Venus have also been recovered.

¹⁵ Michele della Torre described the graves of the necropolises that he excavated in the early nineteenth century (1817-1824) as Greek and Gothic (those of S. Giovanni and Cella). The celebrated and so-called "Tomb of Gisulf", supposedly the tomb of the first Lombard duke of Friuli, was excavated in the Piazza Paolo Diacono within the city walls in 1874 (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1879), 374ff.). It is unclear whether this is a Gothic or Lombard burial. Mengarelli published a description of the Cividalese and Lombard cemetery that he named after Castel Trosino, and Pasqui published one more major cemetery, which he knew as Nocera Umbra. M. Brozzi discusses these cemeteries in "Topografica e struttura dei cimiteri langobardi in Forum Iulii" in *Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema "la civiltà dei Langobardi in Europa"*, Rome, 1974, pp. 471-9, and in his work *Il ducato longobardo del Friuli*, Udine, 1981, pp. 28-30, though he names the cemeteries outside the walls after local churches (S. Giovanni to the north, S. Stefano to the south-west and S. Martino to the south-east).

¹⁶ This lies in the vicinity of the church of San Silvestro, below it on the Emiliano brook.

¹⁷ Cristina Moro has an interesting note on this question. In 1465, in the Jewish cemetery of Cividale, an ancient epitaph was found; in the same year a celebrated inscription in Hebrew in quadrate characters on a stone was also found, and taken to the atrium of the Gate of St Peter, where it is still visible: according to the text it dates to the year 3156 of the Hebrew calendar (604 BC), the year of the capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldean Babylonians, publicly confirmed in 1568 by the rabbi Elias. Canussio, however, and other Cividalesi, believing the creation of the world to have been 5199 BC (not in 3760 BC like the Jews) therefore dated the inscription to 2043 BC. The most likely

explanation for the inscription is that it was a forgery to legitimise the presence of a Jewish community in Cividale. On the inscription, *see* Grion p. 287.

¹⁸ A well-known church, one of a former complex of churches, which also has the name of S. Valentino; it faces the via Carlo Alberto, on the corner of the Stretta S. Valentino, in the east of the town. It was refounded in 1282 and subjected to numerous restorations and renovations in the eighteenth century (Grion pp. 389-391). As Grion tells us, in former times this church and the contiguous buildings bounded the fortified part of the town to the west. The original church had been burnt by the Portis-Villalta faction on 2 May 1272. The bishop of Concordia, Fulchero Spilimbergo-Zuccola, laid the first stone of the new foundation. A second fire damaged it in the eighteenth century, and there were further renovations in 1811, in the Ionic and Corinthian orders. Inside, in the choir there are some frescoes by Quaglia, symbolically representing the Divine Persons, the Evangelists and the four Doctors. Further frescoes by Quaglia behind the great altar and above the cornice depict the Annunciation, and there are fine *puttini* by Colussi, supporting the pavilion behind the altar. Rieppi (p. 29) mentions a painting of the Madonna and Child attributed to Titian. The carved wooden crucifix once belonged to the church of S. Domenico. Associated with S. Silvestro were the church of S. Marco di Rubignaco, with its votive chapel dedicated to S. Mauro, now in ruins; the convent of the Predicatori founded in 1252-6, abolished in 1810, with its church destroyed and its chattels and documents transferred to Udine; a monastery for the Dama della Cella founded in 1267 under the Rule of St Augustine, suppressed in 1810, but with its votive chapel restored in 1850; and finally, on the hillock of Malbergia of Rubignaco, the small church of S. Elena, consecrated in 1296.

¹⁹ Once again, Grion's historical guide provides much background information on the foundation. Within twenty years of the death of St Francis of Assisi, there were Franciscan friars on the left bank of the Natisone. From 1241 there were Augustinian nuns on the opposite bank at S. Giorgio di Vado. A widow named Isabella donated a *casetta* to the Benedictines who lived at S. Pietro di Poloneto, near the hill of Pantaleone, on the condition that they would erect a monastery there. So the prioress bought from the provost of S. Pietro of Carnia certain houses in the locale called Ortal, precisely opposite S. Chiara on the right bank of the river, to cede them to the friars in return for their place on the left bank. Thus the Franciscans moved to the right bank, but found themselves uncomfortably close to the sanctuary of S. Maria in Valle. The Patriarch Raimondo made them move to a new location opposite S. Lazzaro, and laid the first stone of their new monastery on 4 February 1285 (noted also by Fogolari, p. 84). In modern times the monastery faces, to the north, onto the piazza of the same name (S. Francesco), whereas on the south it faces onto the River Natisone. It is on the western bank of the Natisone, to the south of the main bridge.

The monastery's façade has suffered damage many times, and the bell tower fell in the earthquake of August 1511. The decorations of the monastery, described by Grion pp. 395-6, are for the most part later than Canussio, with the

exception of the frescoes on the walls of the choir, sacristy and ground floor of the bell tower, which are of the fifteenth century. Cimbriaco was buried in this church (Grion p. 286).

²⁰ Although Aquileia had withstood the siege of Alaric the Visigoth, and was by then the fourth city of Italy, it was besieged and then plundered by the Huns under their leader Attila in AD 452 (or a little earlier, in late August/early September 451 if one can give any credence to the report of Priskos that Attila saw the storks leaving with their young, encouraging him to persevere until the city fell). A Gallic chronicle of 511 says that the destruction of Aquileia happened after the Hunnic hordes returned from their incursion into Gaul (given they were on horseback, they would have come by the more manageable passes of the Julian Alps, which would mean an approach from the east). Paul the Deacon claims that the siege lasted three years, though we should emend this to three months. The city was plundered, the inhabitants massacred or led into captivity; the suggestion of Jordanes that the city was razed to the ground is an exaggeration, for there was a bishop present there once again in 458 (*Patrologia Latina* 54, col. 1136 – a letter from the Pope of March 21). On the capture of Aquileia in the secondary literature, see E. A. Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns*, Oxford, 1948, pp. 144-5; J. O. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns*, ed. M. Knight, Berkeley / Los Angeles / London, 1973, pp. 132- 6; P. Howarth, *Attila, King of the Huns: Man and Myth*, London, 1988, pp. 121-124; P. S. Leicht, pp. 52-3; L. Bosio, *Cividale del Friuli: La Storia*, Udine, 1977, p. 46; Paschini, pp. 83-4. The last named notes that Forum Iulii was spared because it was not on Attila's route.

The result of the devastation of Aquileia was that its name was used less, and the name of Friuli, a corruption of *Forum Iulii*, began to gain currency. In 610 the clerics elected a patriarch, Giovanni, who resided at Cormons.

²¹ Cristina Moro notes that this was a Roman fortress situated at the entry of the valley of the River But, which corresponds to the modern-day Zuglio Carnico. On this there is the recent publication by ALEA (Udine), *Iulium Carnicum. Vicende di un antico insediamento*, Udine, 1990. Also see Menis, *History of Friuli*, p. 76, and especially, on the episcopal seat there, F. Quai, *La sede episcopale del Forum Iulium Carnicum*, Udine, 1973.

²² Concordia is listed as one of the cities in the Po valley sacked by Attila and his Huns in 452, along with Altino and Padua, in the history of Paul the Deacon on the Romans (see note 87 below), who in turn drew on Jordanes, who in his turn drew on Priskos Rhetor, who went on an embassy to Attila, and Cassiodorus, secretary to Theodoric and who twenty years earlier wrote a history, now lost, of the Goths in 12 volumes. According to A. Momigliano, "Cassiodorus and Italian Culture of his Time", in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 4 (1955), pp 204-45, this was completed in or before 533, whereas Jordanes' work was finished in 551. See also P. S. Leicht, p. 53. W. Goffart argues that, rather than parroting Cassiodorus, Jordanes transformed his work to suit his own end (*The Narrators of Barbarian History*, Princeton, 1988, p. 106; cf. pp. 23-4).

²³ This is the tradition preserved by Priskos Rhetor, a contemporary of Attila, who had personal dealings with the Huns (fr. 23), as recorded in Jordanes' *Getica* 49, 254 (Jordanes followed the tradition of Cassiodorus, but with less literary skill). He says that after a banquet to celebrate his nuptials with a new wife, Attila, in a drunken stupor, fell asleep on his back and a flow of blood from his nostrils choked him to death. Jordanes also relates the manifestation of a god in a dream who appeared at the side of the eastern emperor Marcian with a broken Hunnish bow. Canussio, in his account, probably drew on Paul the Deacon: see note 82 below). The Byzantines could not believe that Attila had died from natural causes, so accordingly Count Ammianus Marcellinus says that Attila's bride (who is named by Jordanes Ildico) had killed Attila with her own hand. A motive of bribery is elaborated in other versions of Attila's death, such as that provided in the notoriously unreliable Syrian Malalas, and one of revenge in the Germanic tradition. The different versions of the death of Attila are discussed by Gy. Moravcsik in his article "Attilas Tod in Geschichte und Sage" in *Körösi Csoma Archivum* 2 (1932), pp. 83-116. He argues that Jordanes drew on Priskos Rhetor for the account of his death. E. A. Thompson, on the contrary, passes cursorily over the events surrounding Attila's death (p. 149).

²⁴ According to Paul the Deacon, historian of the Lombards (see note 87 below), in his *Historia Langobardorum* (1, 27), Alboin was the son of Audoin, and was the tenth Lombard king. He probably succeeded in A.D. 565. The Lombards were in Pannonia between 546 and 568 (see the translator of Paul, W. D. Foulke, *History of the Langobards by Paul the Deacon*, Pennsylvania, 1907, p. 62). Canussio seems to have confused the Huns with the Avars, hence the anachronism. On the agreement between the Lombards and Avars, see note 64 below.

²⁵ The Huns were defeated by a combined army of peoples previously subject to them, led by the Gepids, on the River Nedao, in A.D. 452 or 453.

²⁶ Orestes was the name of a patrician who had been appointed *Magister Militum* (Master of the Soldiers) of the western Roman Empire by the western emperor Julius Nepos (474-5), after previously serving, most notably, as the *notarius*, or private secretary, of Attila the Hun. After possibly being offered the throne by his soldiers (so A. Cantarelli, *Annali di Italia*, Rome, 1896, p. 78), he marched on Ravenna, then the capital, effectively ousting Julius, who fled to Salona in Dalmatia; Orestes replaced him with his own son Romulus Augustus, who is now more commonly known by the diminutive form of his name, Augustulus (Jordanes, *Getica* 45. 241; *id.*, *Romana* 344; *Anonymus Valesianus* 7. 36, s. a. 474; *Actuarii Hauniensis ordo prior* s. a. 475; *Actuarii Hauniensis ordo posterior* s. a. 475; *Fasti vindobonenses priores* no. 615 s. a. 475; Ammianus Marcellinus *Chronicle* s. a. 475; Cantarelli, p. 79). Orestes governed for his son (Cantarelli, p. 79), who was fourteen years of age or thereabouts, and tried to appease his barbarian troops through the issuing of gold *solidi* at Rome, Milan and probably Ravenna. However, his refusal to grant his Heruli, Rugians, Scirians and Torcilingi a third of the land of Italy, due to the illegality of this move, resulted in a coup by the half-Scirian, half-Hunnic Odoacer, who

promised to accede to this request (Cantarelli pp.81-4). Orestes fled at first to Ticinum (Pavia), before being captured and beheaded at Piacenza on 28 August 476, five days after Odoacer's accession (Cantarelli, pp. 84-5). Augustulus was granted his life by Odoacer and allowed to go into exile in Lucullus' castle in Campania, on the Bay of Naples (Cantarelli, pp. 85-6), once he had written to the eastern emperor Zeno saying that a western emperor was no longer required. K. Hoßner, in *Programm der k. k. Staats-Oberrealschule in Bielitz* 24 (1899/90), pp. 26-9, also writes on these events.

It need hardly be said that this event is commonly considered to mark the end of the Western Roman Empire. However, in the last years there had been a series of interregna between the emperors, and it may not have actually become apparent to those Romans in Italy that their empire had "ended" until the 530s (as Brian Croke amongst others has noted; see "A. D. 476: the Manufacture of a Turning Point", in *Chiron* 13 (1983), pp. 81-119), under the Ostrogothic kingdom which succeeded that of Odoacer. The Roman bureaucratic apparatus and the senate of Romans of patrician rank continued under the immediate successor kingdoms of Odoacer and Theodoric. Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 104 (see note 24) says that it is Marcellinus who first presents the event as the fall of the Western Roman Empire.

²⁷ As we have seen in note 26 above, Odoacer (c. 435-493) became the half-Hunnic, half-Scirian king of Italy following the rebellion of the Germanic soldiers (Rugians, Sciri, Heruli, Torcilingi) in the Roman army against Orestes, and his deposition of the last western Roman emperor, Orestes' son, Romulus Augustulus (476). Odoacer had probably entered Italy ca. 465 and served under the barbarian emperor-maker Ricimer. Ricimer died August 18 472, so Odoacer must have aspired to a similar position: in fact he surpassed Ricimer by being made king himself. By the time of his accession the extent of the empire embraced little more than Italy itself and a toehold in southern Gaul. In 476, moreover, Odoacer gained Sicily through a treaty with the Vandal kingdom (Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 106 (see note 31), *et alibi*). Zeno had reluctantly acknowledged Odoacer's *fait accompli*, even granting him patrician status, but Julius Nepos, Augustulus' predecessor, continued to have pretensions to holding the *imperium*, and indeed Odoacer even allowed him to issue coins in that capacity. Although Odoacer granted his followers one third of Italy to settle on, the Roman administration continued to function. Odoacer ruled for thirteen years, and waged war on the Rugians in their own territory of Rhaetia (between the Alps and the Danube) over 486-8. Hodgkin, *Italy* (see note 31 below), pp. 156-173; *id.*, *Theodoric*, p. 110, believes (p. 129; *id.* *Theodoric*, p. 109) that he may even have annexed Dalmatia to avenge the death of Nepos. Zeno in subsequent years found himself having to contend with the threat to his empire posed by the Goth known subsequently as Theodoric the Great. Zeno's solution was to offer him the kingship of Italy in place of Odoacer, an offer that the Goth accepted, causing the emigration of the Ostrogoths from Thrace and the Balkans to Italy. Our primary sources for Odoacer are scanty, with scattered notices in Procopius, Jordanes and Ennodius primarily, but also in the *Anonymus*

Valesianus and in the letters of Cassiodorus. Malchus and John of Antioch also disclose knowledge of his relations with the east (see note 31 below).

²⁸ In fact the construction in the Latin is one of an adverb with the noun, *cunctim*, which is a favourite construction of Apuleius (*Florida* 9).

²⁹ Again, the suggested meaning of the city is Civi-datum, *i.e.*, 'given to the citizen(s)'.

³⁰ The so-called Ostrogothic people was polyethnic, consisting not only of Ostrogoths (based on the Greuthungi population, as opposed to the more westerly Tervingi), but Rugians, Vandals, Alans, Heruli, Sarmatians, Taifali, Alamanni and even some Gepids. The early history of the Gothic peoples, who migrated from modern-day Poland to the Black Sea and, after much fighting, who were settled as *foederati* of Constantine I the Great in Dacia some time before their conquest by the Huns, is fascinating, but too complex to discuss here.

³¹ Theodoric or Theoderic, "the Great", who lived *ca.* 454-526, king from 471, was of the Amal dynasty of Gothic kings and the founder of the Ostrogothic kingdom which succeeded the Italian kingdom founded by Odoacer. Our sources for Theodoric's deeds and his life are Cassiodorus' *Variae*, Ennodius, the *Anonymus Valesianus*, Jordanes (who draws on Cassiodorus' lost twelve-volume history of the Goths), and Procopius, who was involved in the reconquest of the Gothic kingdom for the Roman empire. Theodoric was the nephew of king Valamer, and son of king Thiudimer (by a concubine called Erelieva), both of whom were kings of those Goths who had been settled in Pannonia by the Huns (for the Goths had lived under Hunnic domination for eighty years); Theodoric had first to contend with a rival Gothic king of the same Christian name, with the soubriquet "Strabo", "the squinter", who was lord of those Goths who had settled in Thrace. The Byzantine emperor Zeno at first attempted to play the two Theodorics off against one another, with minimal success, for it only encouraged Theodoric son of Thiudimer to ravage Macedonia and Illyria. The accidental death of Theodoric Strabo paved the way for the unification of the two groups of Goths to become the Ostrogoths, under the rule of Strabo's Amal namesake. Our chief source for the three-way struggle is Malchus, *ca.* 500, preserved in fragments by the Byzantine scholar-emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. John of Antioch (610-650?) and Eustathius, as quoted by Evagrius, augment Malchus, and Procopius is helpful in presenting the dealings of Zeno in relation to Italy. For English translations of the Greek of the first two, see C. D. Gordon, *The Age of Attila: Fifth-century Byzantium and the Barbarians*, Ann Arbor 1960, pp. 159-180). Jordanes' *Getica* has been translated from Latin into English by C. C. Mierow. An additional source which by contrast displays the Byzantine perspective is the later Count Marcellinus. Among the secondary sources, see P. Heather, *The Goths*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 151-166. Also in English there is T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders 476-535*, Vol. III, Book 4, *The Ostrogothic Invasion*, Oxford, 1896 (henceforth Hodgkin, *Italy*), pp. 75-113, as well as the same author's work *Theodoric*, New York and London, 1891, pp. 62-90, with many useful other works cited there. Other publications that might be noted are J. Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy*, Oxford,

1992, pp. 15-16, W. Ensslin, *Theoderich der Grosse*, Munich, 1947, pp. 43-57; L. Schmidt, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Germanischen Völker bis zum Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts*, Munich and Berlin, 1909, pp. 91-92; *id.* *Die Ostgermanen*, Munich, 1941, pp. 278-86; H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, Berkeley, 1983, pp. 268-276; T. S. Burns, *A History of the Ostrogoths*, Bloomington, 1984, pp. 57-64 and *id.* *The Ostrogoths, Kingship and Society*, Wiesbaden, 1980, pp. 63-72.

³² The Latin word which is used here, *proterminare*, is also found in Apuleius (*Metamorphoses* 9, 38).

³³ This refers to the war which erupted due to the rivalry between the two Theodorics who have been mentioned in note 31 above. Unlike their previous masters, the Huns, the Goths wanted land for themselves to farm. During the course of the game played by Zeno, Theodoric the Great had been created a Byzantine (East Roman) *generalissimo* and was appointed consul of the eastern Roman Empire for the year 484. Peter Heather estimates the strength of the Pannonian Goths at 10 000 – 15 000 men, which combined with the Thracian Goths would have created a body of an order of 20 000 – 30 000 men (Heather, p. 164); the two forces combined to become the so-called Ostrogoths (the popular perception of the Ostrogoths' being a united people during the time of their migration from the northern coast of the Black Sea was a fiction created by the official Gothic historian Cassiodorus, the main source for Jordanes' surviving *Getica*). Theodoric the Amal, or the Great, did ravage Byzantine territory in retaliation for Zeno's compact with Strabo, attacking in particular Macedonia and Epirus between 479 and 484 (Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, pp. 80-89, *et al.*)

³⁴ Zeno's strategy, mentioned in note 31 above, led Theodoric (the Great) to develop a quite reasonable suspicion of him, with the result that Theodoric rebelled in 486 and advanced on Constantinople itself, with the suburbs being harried by his Goths. The agreement was reached that Theodoric should take his Ostrogoths to Italy (the main source for this is John of Antioch, frag. 214.4-9; other sources are listed by Heather, *Goths and Romans 332-482*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 304-5). Jordanes, on the other hand, stresses that the initiative for the migration and conquest came from Theodoric, and ignores Zeno (*Getica* 57, 290-1). This may, however, reflect the propaganda of Cassiodorus, Jordanes' source. Procopius, Jordanes' *R o m a n a* and the *Anonymus Valesianus* agree that it was Zeno's idea. For a discussion of the question, see Heather, *The Goths* (1996), pp. 217-8. Moorhead, "Theodoric, Zeno and Odoacer", in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 77 (1984), pp. 261-6, esp. 261-3, believes that the incentive came from Zeno, though arguably it was an arrangement which suited both parties.

³⁵ Theodoric left Sistova on the Danube, together with his people, in the autumn of 488.

³⁶ The combined population of Ostrogoths, Heather estimates, may have come to some 100 000 souls. Moorhead supports this estimate (pp. 19, 68), as does Wolfram (p. 279). Hodgkin, *Italy* (p. 182) thought that it might have been as many as 200 000. Schmidt 1909 and 1941, p. 94, was not prepared to believe in

more than 100 000. Burns, however, thinks that there were no more than 40 000 people. The population of men, women and children would have travelled on wagons. Theodoric may also have been accompanied by Rugians, Huns and Romans. The Goths would remain a tiny minority in Italy. M. Kazanski, *Les Gothes (I^{er} – VII^e siècles ap. J.C.)*, Paris, 1991, p. 65, claims, on the basis of archaeological evidence, that the Gothic migration was purely one of an army rather than of a whole people. I have not come across anyone else who shares this view.

³⁷ This is said of Antenor in Virgil's *Aeneid* 1. 242.

³⁸ The Liburnians dwelt on the eastern coast of the Adriatic and on islands in the Ionian Sea. However this is an anachronism, for the enemy that blocked his path was actually that of the Gepids under their king Traustila, who refused Theodoric's request for passage and provisions (Moorhead p. 201; Hodgkin, *Italy* pp. 184-9; *id.*, *Theodoric*, pp. 113-15; Schmidt 1941, p. 294; Wolfram, p. 280); they were routed at the Ulca river (which is actually a swamp).

³⁹ The Ostrogothic invasion began in 489: P. S. Leicht, p. 56; Paschini, p. 85. The Iapydes (Iapides, Iapodes) in Roman times dwelt between the Rasha and the *Tedanum* (? The Zrmanja), so their territory formed part of modern Croatia. According to Strabo, they were a mixed race of Illyrians and Celts (see Strabo 7. 5. 2-4), though the *Neue Pauly* denies any Illyrian component. The Iapydes were warlike, tattooed themselves, and went on many plundering raids, until Augustus crushed them in 34 B.C. The *Neue Pauly* includes references to other authors of classical times who mention them: Caesar, *Gallic War* 8.3.2; also Appian and Dio Cassius.

⁴⁰ Prof. James Willis has wondered whether the original reading might have been *comitatu* (not *conatu* as in our manuscript).

⁴¹ This is a reference to the battle of Pons Isontii (the Isonzo bridge), 28 August 489, which took place at the end of the pass through the Julian Alps. Odoacer (note 26) and his forces were driven back in defeat. Not mentioned here is a second defeat near Verona on 30 September. Odoacer retreated to his capital, Ravenna. The Turks crossed the Isonzo near this point in their incursion of 1472, in which they reached the gates of Cividale and Udine (P. S. Leicht, p. 411; Grion, p. 198). In 1477 they defeated the Venetian general Giovanni Novello, and much Friulan territory was laid to waste (as far as the River Livenza; P. S. Leicht, p. 212; Grion, p. 212-3). 4000 prisoners were taken (Grion). In 1479 a twenty-years' peace treaty was negotiated (Grion, p. 214). When the treaty expired there was another incursion (1499), with the burning of 132 villages (P. S. Leicht, p. 212; Grion, pp. 215-7), but Canussio may have had no knowledge of this, since the event occurred so close to the time of his death. Menis summarises the Turkish incursions (pp. 252-3), commenting on the ineffectiveness of Venetian protection.

⁴² *Semisepulta virum curvis feriuntur aratris ossa* (Ovid, *Heroides* 1. 55), is close to this.

⁴³ Gradisca is a city located in the province of Gorizia. The Venetian senate, on the request of the people of Cividale, authorized in 1472 and 1474 various fortificatory works as a provision against a possible Turkish invasion. The remains of these may be seen there today. See P. S. Leicht, *Breve Storia del Friuli*, Tolmezzo 1987, p. 211.

⁴⁴ Ravenna was a difficult city to attack, because it was protected by impregnable walls and surrounding marshes.

⁴⁵ On the struggle between Odoacer and Theodoric, see Ensslin, pp. 62-78; Hodgkin, *Italy*, pp. 189-212; *id.*, *Theodoric*, pp. 116-125; Moorhead, pp. 21-6; Schmidt 1909, p. 94; *id.* 1941, pp. 291-300; Wolfram, pp. 281-284; Burns, *History*, pp. 72-74. Although Theodoric conquered Milan, there were reverses; Odoacer had the upper hand in a battle of 490, in which he drove Theodoric back to Pavia. However, on 11 August 490, on the road between Lodi and Rimini, Theodoric prevailed, driving Odoacer back to Ravenna again; Theodoric, with some Visigothic reinforcements, settled down for a three year siege of this impregnable city, eventually breaking the resistance by blockading Classis, the port of Ravenna. In 493, the two kings decided to treat with each other.

⁴⁶ This is a reference to the battle on the River Isonzo contested by Theodoric and Odoacer on August 28, 489, which has been mentioned above, in which the latter was defeated; Hodgkin, *Italy* pp. 190-1; *id.*, *Theodoric*, p. 116; Moorhead, on the other hand (p. 21), mentions the appearance of the Ostrogoth army on the River Isonzo, but speculates that rather than being an actual battle, this took place in the context of a strategic retreat by Odoacer to Verona.

⁴⁷ Odoacer retreated from Verona to the security of Ravenna, with its walls and surrounding marshes, a good defensive position because its port, Classis, ensured its revictualisation. Ravenna was in fact finally blockaded by a fleet in the third year of the siege (493) by Theodoric. It was on account of the resulting famine that Odoacer agreed to treat on February 25 (see Hodgkin, *Theodoric*, p. 207, *et al.*)

⁴⁸ The pact was made on February 27, 493. On the brevity of the power-sharing arrangement that followed, see note 50 below.

⁴⁹ Latin *virulenta*. This word appears in the work of another favourite author of Canussio, Aulus Gellius (16, 11, 12).

⁵⁰ This is an alternative tradition; the version which is best known is that ten days after the making of the treaty, and in response to news of planned treachery on the part of Odoacer, Theodoric slew him at a banquet with his sword, cutting him in half and proclaiming that his erstwhile rival did not have a bone in his body. For this, John of Antioch, fr. 214a (see Gordon, *Age*, pp. 182-3).

⁵¹ Menis devotes only one page (p. 114) to the Ostrogothic occupation of Friuli (*cf.* Paschini, p. 85; Bosio, p. 47; on p. 48 he claims that there are no Gothic remains at Cividale, whereas Burns, *History*, p. 192, claims that Theodoric maintained Forum Iulii as a Gothic outpost). The Ostrogoths, who made a full-scale immigration into Italy, left a lasting impression only in the form of certain loan-words in the local dialect. However, the main concentrations of Ostrogoth

occupation were in the vicinity of Pavia, Ravenna and Picenum. Worthy of note is the fact that Theodoric conquered Pannonia Sirmensis, Dalmatia and Provence as far as the Rhone. Although the Ostrogoths formed a small ruling caste in his kingdom, the Roman bureaucracy continued to function. Indeed, Moorhead asserts that the Romans had a virtual monopoly on the high posts in the bureaucracy. Ensslin had already said so: Theodoric appointed Romans to civil posts (pp. 92-4). Indeed, Burns, *History*, maintains that Roman senators had more power than their Constantinopolitan counterparts, p. 202. It was only late in his reign that Goths were created consuls: cf. A. H. M. Jones, "The Constitutional Position of Odoacer and Theodoric", in *Journal of Roman Studies* 52 (1962), pp. 126-30, esp. p. 129. The Goths held military positions. The supreme military position, *magister militum*, was held by Theodoric himself, his subordinates being *duces* and *comites*. Effectively then, the arrangement was one of federation between Goths and Romans rather than a fusion of the two peoples. Theodoric may also have issued a code of law, modelled on that of Theodosius II (if it is this Theodoric to whom we should assign it). It was accordingly more Roman than Gothic. There were separate laws for the Goths and Romans. Disputes between a Goth and a Roman could only be settled by two judges, one of each nationality (Ensslin, pp. 216-7). On this code see also Moorhead, p. 76. On the whole, apart from the strife of the Laurentian schism in the papacy between rival candidates, Symmachus and Laurentius, Theodoric's rule was a peaceful and prosperous one for those times. Indeed E. A. Thompson goes so far to say that Theodoric strove for harmony between Goth and Roman (*Romans*, cit. note 55, pp. 92-3). The Byzantine emperor Anastasius ratified Theodoric's rule as king of the Romans and Goths in 497. For a map of Theodoric's Italian kingdom and its associated territories, see Corbanese, p. 116.

⁵² This is not the case. Theodoric's chosen heir, Eutharic, an Amal previously living among the Visigoths and his son-in-law, predeceased him, and this forced Theodoric to designate his grandson Athalaric to succeed him (Jordanes *Getica* 59, 304). This led to dynastic struggles between the Visigothic and Ostrogothic portions of Theodoric's empire (for he had succeeded in briefly uniting the two by a match between another daughter, Theodogotho, and the Visigoth Alaric II, which produced the future Visigoth king Amalaric: Wolfram, p. 310). The Visigothic kingdom was administered in the name of the young Amalaric by one Theudis, to whom this task had been entrusted by Theodoric.

⁵³ Belisarius was the most talented of Justinian I's generals. Appointed Master of the Soldiers of the East in April 529 (Procopius, *Wars* 1, 13) and accompanied on his campaigns by Procopius, his legal adviser from 527-540, Belisarius had been born in Germania, on the border of Thrace and Illyricum, ca. 505. In 540 he had no less than 7000 *buccellarii* (private guardsmen) in his service, such was the faith that Justinian had in him. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, Vol. II, Amsterdam 1968, has much to say about him (pp. 285-93, 312-24 and 346-55). See also *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. A defeat in the Persian war led Justinian to recall him in 531. Thereupon he engaged in the Vandalic war, in collaboration with the Praetorian Prefect (the chief civil post) Archelaus. Justinian allowed him to celebrate a triumph as a result of his success (Stein, p.

320). He even received the title *strategos autokrator* (*Wars* 5, 5; see T. S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: imperial administration and aristocratic power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554-800*, British School at Rome, 1984, p. 51). His invasion of Italy, when the Byzantines were hailed as liberators by the southern Romans, began in 346. Once again he was accompanied by Procopius. Procopius usually hails him as a hero in the *Wars*, but in his *Secret History*, in a moment of disillusionment, saw fit to vilify him, (see A. Cameron, *Procopius*, London, 1985, pp. 51-5). For his subsequent history, see the following note.

⁵⁴ Born, according to tradition, in 480, the patrician eunuch Narses was as much a confidant of Justinian as his wife Theodora. He helped to quell the famous Nika riot in Constantinople (532). In 535 he was appointed as commissioner to Alexandria, and then, *ca.* 537, became the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (warden of the sacred bedchamber). Sent to Italy to assist in the Gothic War, there was antagonism between himself and Belisarius due to their totally different temperaments. For the career of Narses as the supreme Byzantine commander in Italy from 551-568, see Stein, pp. 356-362, 522-3, 597-615 and 671-2. Narses is also discussed by L.M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens in Mittelalter*, Vol. 1, Leipzig 1897, pp. 273-6, 320, 57; Vol. 2, Gotha, 1900, pp. 24-5. See also Brown, pp. 1-2, 6, 9-11, 46, 84, 87-9, 121, 154 (the last two pages contain comments on the cupidity of Narses and the oppressive nature of his government). For the history of this Gothic War, see the following note.

⁵⁵ The conquest of Italy by Belisarius and Narses took some twenty-five years to complete, such was the tenacity of the Goths in the northern part of Italy. This reconquest is described by Peter Heather on pp. 259-276 of his book, *The Goths* (see note 31 above). Stein describes it on pp. 346-62 and 599-608. Paschini mentions it on p. 90; Schmidt (1909) deals with the war on pp. 103-110. Theodoric had died in 526 leaving a minor, his grandson Athalaric, as king, and the boy king's mother Amalasuenda ruled for him (Procopius *Wars*, 5, 2). So precarious was her position that she appealed for help to the eastern emperor (Procopius, *Wars*, 5, 3). Procopius claims that she offered to hand all Italy over to Justinian (*Wars*, 5, 3). Although she had her principal opponents murdered, she was ultimately banished to a small island in Lake Bolsena and, in her turn, murdered in her bath (30 April 535; Procopius, *Wars*, 5, 4). She had offered the East Roman general Belisarius logistical support in his war on Vandal Africa, and the general succeeded in conquering not only the Vandal kingdom but Sicily as well. Theodahad, the last member of the Amal family to rule as Ostrogothic king, assumed power after the death of Amalasuenda, and was on the verge of surrendering to Belisarius, when news of a Gothic victory in Dalmatia against the encroaching East Romans bolstered him, and the result was the twenty-five year long war described by Procopius in his *Wars* (see 5, 6-7 of this work). Procopius claims that 150 000 - 200 000 Gothic fighters opposed Belisarius, but Ensslin says it will have been more like 20 000 - 25 000 (p. 66; see Hannestad below). Theodahad was overthrown because of his inactivity in the face of the advancing East Romans (Procopius, *Wars*, 5,11), who had advanced up the coast as far as Naples (which they took by infiltrating through an aqueduct, 536), and the Goths elected Wittigis (who tried to legitimise his rule

by marrying a granddaughter of Theodoric). Wittigis, on receiving news of the approach of Belisarius and Narses from one side, and a certain Martin from the other, chose to muster and equip forces at Ravenna (Procopius 5, 11). Belisarius moved into Rome on 9/10 December 536 with 5000 troops (Wolfram, pp. 344-5). Wittigis laid siege to the city (Procopius 5, 21 - 6, 10). Belisarius responded by advancing on Picenum, and by threatening the wives and children of the Goths. Wittigis and his army retreated, lifting the siege one year and nine days after it had begun (Procopius 6, 10). Belisarius now captured cities in Liguria. He wished to join with his underlings John and Justin and take Orvieto, and then winter in Rome. Since they would not obey without Narses' approval, Justinian recalled Narses for undermining Belisarius' authority. Belisarius moved slowly on Ravenna, taking Osimo in particular, the key to capturing the former city. Although Urais, the nephew of Wittigis, recaptured some of the Ligurian cities, many Goths deserted the cause, and Wittigis resorted to diplomacy, with embassies to the Lombards, the Franks (Procopius, 6, 12) and even the Persians (requesting that they attack the Byzantine eastern frontier). In the end Wittigis and Belisarius treated, and it was decided that the Goths could continue to live north of the Po, that is, in the Veneto and Liguria (Wolfram, p. 348). In *Wars* 6, 30 it is even claimed that the Goths urged that Belisarius should receive the eastern *imperium* or imperial prerogative. War subsequently opened on the Persian front in 540 and Belisarius was recalled by Justinian. When the Gothic war recommenced, the leadership of the Goths was contested, until finally a worthy commander by the name of Totila, the nephew of one of the interim rulers, prosecuted the war strongly (Procopius 7, 2), taking advantage of the Persian war in the east to achieve a string of Gothic victories in the 540s. Totila employed even slaves and serfs in his army, swelling it to 20 000 men. But since he carried the war as far south as Rome, and then to Naples, Gothic manpower was stretched thin, and he ceded Venetia to King Theudebert of the Franks (Procopius 8, 24). Belisarius returned to Italy in the winter of 544/5, but without reinforcements. Rome was reconquered by Belisarius, only to be taken by the Goths again (546: Totila refused to destroy it, and surrendered it back to Belisarius). These years were unsuccessful for Belisarius (see E. A. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians: the Decline of the Western Roman Empire*, Madison, 1982, p. 88). Totila conquered Rome a second time in 549/50. He then tried treating with the emperor, Justinian, but the latter wanted only unconditional surrender. So the Gothic commander had a fleet constructed, which was put under the command of a Byzantine deserter called Indulf. It succeeded in ravaging Dalmatia (Procopius 7, 35), and in recapturing Sicily, and achieved other victories before it met its destruction in summer of 551. Narses (see note above) marched through the Balkans to Italy and Totila responded by flooding the land south of Verona. Narses advanced on a coastal route on Ravenna, and a second East Roman force landed in Calabria. Narses defeated Totila, who was mortally wounded, at Busta Gallorum, near Ravenna (*Wars* 8, 28-32), and the fight was carried on by pockets of Gothic resistance and Frankish assistance until Narses conquered Tuscany in 553, the Franks in 554 and the war finally ended when Liguria, Histria and Venetia were subjected to East Roman rule

during the period 558-561. Count Widin in East Venetia was the last Gothic leader to be brought to heel.

Hodgkin (*Theodoric*, pp. 319-20; see also Thompson, *Romans*, p. 78) attributes Byzantine success to the employment of mounted archers of Hunnic origin, the *hippotoxotai*. The Goths, on the other hand, relied on the broadsword, a large wicker shield and the javelin. The numbers of the Byzantines (who had a motley army with many mercenaries) and the Goths at the different battles, and the total figures, are estimated by K. Hannestad, "Les forces militaires d'après la Guerre Gothique de Procope", in *Classica et Medievalia* 21 (1960), pp. 136-183. He concludes that Procopius' figures for the Byzantines are plausible, but the numbers of the forces of the Goths, and the extent of their losses, may both be exaggerated.

Incidentally, another achievement of Narses which may be mentioned was his refounding of Aquileia (P. S. Leicht, p. 59).

⁵⁶ See note 9 above.

⁵⁷ Marcus Terentius Varro was the most important of all Roman scholars, belonging to the time of the late Republic, born probably at Reate in the land of the Sabines in 116 B.C. (Symmachus, *Epistles* 1,2). He died in 27 B.C., and therefore lived under both triumvirates, although his interest in politics was slight (even if he did serve under Pompey). He received his training at the hands successively of the grammarian and tragic poet Lucius Accius, the philologist Lucius Aelius Stilo, and, at Athens, the Platonist Antiochus of Ascalon. He was appointed by Julius Caesar as the director of his proposed library in 47 B.C., and was honoured in his lifetime with a bust in the public library of Pollio. Varro is known to have composed at least 74 works, in some 620 books. As Canussio laments, most of these are lost: surviving to this day are *Res Rusticae*, in three books, dealing with farming, most of six out of ten books of his philological work *De Lingua Latina* and nearly 600 fragments of his *Saturae Menippeae*, which emulate the Cynic philosopher Menippus of Gadara of the 3rd century B.C. A lamentable loss is that of his historical-antiquarian *Antiquitates Rerum Humanarum et Divinarum*. Other lost works include the *Disciplinae*, for educational purposes (embracing what became known as the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, i.e. grammar, dialectic, rhetoric; and geometry, arithmetic, astronomy and music), and the *Logistorici* in 76 books, which discussed such matters as education, history, health, fortune and so on. He was the most far-ranging polymath of the Roman world, writing historical, philological (both linguistic and literary), encyclopaedic and even poetic works, although he was more a scholar than a creative writer. A full list of Varro's works, extant and lost, is provided by *Der Neue Pauly*, Vol. 12/1 (Stuttgart-Weimar 2002), pp 1131-41. This encyclopaedia also cites references to the ancient authorities who mention the works that are lost.

⁵⁸ Publius Nigidius Figulus was a Roman student of nature and grammar of the late Roman republic. Cicero and Suetonius between them reveal that he was born to a plebeian family ca. 100 B.C. He opposed Catiline in the Catiline affair,

supported Pompey in the Civil War and was banished by Caesar, where he died in 45 B.C.

Cicero appreciates him above all as a student of nature: a major trilogy composed by Nigidius was *De Dis*, *De Hominum Natura* and *De Animalibus*. He also wrote on meteorology and astronomy (*De Ventis* and *Sphaera*), on divination (*De Extis*, *De Augurio Privato* and *De Somniis*); finally we know of a calendar based on lightning and an extensive collection of *Commentarii Grammatici*. Nigidius was an influence and possibly a source for later writers such as Pliny and Macrobius.

⁵⁹ In fact, the reigns of Anastasius I (491-518) and Justin I (518-527) intervened.

⁶⁰ See note 55 above on Totila's resistance.

⁶¹ This passage of Canussio's work seems to have been taken from Paul the Deacon, 2, 5. Paul relates how Narses was recalled to Constantinople from Italy (A. D. 566 or 567), and Longinus sent out instead (in the capacity of praetorian prefect). For a bibliography on Longinus, Brown directs us to Agnellus, 95-96; *OGL* c. 5; C. Diehl, *Etudes sur l'administration byzantine de l'exarchat de Ravenne*, Paris 1888, pp. 7-13; E. Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte der Byzantinische Reiches*, Stuttgart, 1919; McGail in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 89 (1969) pp. 87-91. Brown, p. 10, writes of his supreme authority, his building of fortifications and his diplomacy at the time of the Lombard invasions; see also pp. 44 and 64-5 of the same work.

Longinus retired to Ravenna and pursued a defensive policy. The idea that Narses called in the Lombards in revenge, is (according to W. D. Foulke, p. 60) doubtful. L. Schmidt (1909, p. 82), says that it is completely unhistoric. Paul probably found this tradition in the earlier Fredegarius (A. D. 642-658), except for the reference to the sending to the Lombards of the fruits of Italy. Isidore of Seville says that Narses called the Lombards into Italy out of fear of the threats of the empress Sophia, wife of the successor of Justinian, Justin II. For other traditions, see Foulke; note that the best contemporary sources, Marius of Avenches and Gregory of Tours, do not speak of Narses' invitation of the Lombards.

⁶² It was Justin II, not Justinian, who sent out Longinus.

⁶³ This episode is widely regarded as fictitious. The Lombards who served in the Byzantine army against the Goths will have seen Italy for themselves. Justinian had granted the Lombards permission to settle in southern Pannonia (Procopius *Wars* 6, 33), but pressure from other peoples, most notably the Gepids and the Avars, led them to seek a more secure home.

On the other hand, N. Christie, "Invasion or Invitation? The Lombard Occupation of Northern Italy, A. D. 568-9" in *Romanobarbarica* 11 (1991), pp. 79-108, believes that there may be a kernel of truth in the Narses story, which is first mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis, Ioannes III*, I, p. 157: the aged Narses may have invited the Lombards in to defend the territory denuded by his troops of Gothic warriors.

⁶⁴ On the Lombard invasion of Italy, see P. S. Leicht, p. 60; Menis, pp. 118-123 (where he quotes Paul the Deacon, 2, 9-10); Paschini, pp. 92-3. N. Christie, *The Lombards*, Oxford, 1995, p. 3, relates how at the time of the composition of Strabo's *Geography* (29-27 B.C.; Strabo 7, 1, 3), the Lombards were dwelling on the lower reaches of the River Elbe. See also Tacitus, *Germania* 44; *Annals* II. 63 (they fought in A.D. 17 on the side of Arminius) and Velleius Paterculus (an officer under Tiberius) 2, 106; among the later sources, Ptolemy, *Geography* 2,11,3 and Dio Cassius say that 6000 Lombards crossed the Danube in 166 (71,3,1). For more on early Lombard history, see N. Christie, *The Lombards*, pp. 1-30. Also useful is W. Menghin, *Die Longobardi: Archäologie und Geschichte*, Stuttgart, 1985, as is I. Ducej, "Bizantini e Longobardi" in *Atti (cit. supra)*, note 15), pp. 45-78. For 300 years after the first references quoted above the Lombards are not mentioned. By the late fifth century, however, they had emigrated into Bohemia, where they stayed *ca.* 470-520 (*cf.* Schmidt, 1941, p. 576). They were in Moravia and on the Danube from 526, and in 489 arrived in Rugiland (on the Danube, west of the Heruli), where according to a history known as the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum* (which was prefixed to the Edict of the king Rothari) they stayed many years. In the early 500s, it is claimed, the Lombard king Tato moved south of the Danube into an area known as the Feld. This led to a battle with the Heruli in 508 with a decisive Lombard victory, making the Lombards the dominant power in Moravia. Pannonia superior was annexed in 526/7 (an area corresponding to modern north-west Hungary). The Lombard king Wacho, who had Tato killed (giving rise to a blood feud; Schmidt, 1941, p. 578), was expansionist, cementing marriage alliances with the Thuringians, Heruli and Franks. He assisted in the Gothic War (Procopius, *Wars* 6, 26) The Lombards were 42 years in Pannonia before they invaded Italy. On the Lombard presence in Pannonia there is an article by I. Bona, "I Longobardi e la Pannonia", pp. 241-54, in *Atti (cit. supra)* note 15); The Lombard king Audoin led the Lombards into southern Pannonia, for which he had Justinian's permission, since it had been Gothic territory, as well as a treaty against the Lombards' arch-enemies, the Gepids, who had allied themselves to the Franks. In 546-7 Audoin plundered Pannonia, Dalmatia and Illyria. After fighting the Gepids, he supplied the Byzantine general Narses with 2500 warriors and 3000 auxiliaries for the Gothic War (see, besides Stein, Barni, p. 240; Schmidt, p. 618). In 553 the Lombards were helpful in Justinian's Persian War. At this stage Christie estimates that there were 70 000 - 100 000 Lombards altogether (see on numbers below). Apart from fighting the Heruli, the Lombards under Audoin's son and successor Alboin fought the Gepids, with Avar aid. Tradition has it that Alboin personally slew the Gepid king Cunimund, and made a drinking goblet from his skull (Deloglu, p. 12; Schmidt, p. 583). Cunimund's daughter, Rosemunda, was taken into captivity and was to become Alboin's second wife. The Avars were granted one tenth of the Lombard livestock and one half of the booty from the war. The Avars then directed their energies against the Byzantine empire.

⁶⁵ The Latin, *atque atque*, is unusual, and perhaps invites emendation, but "in every way" seems to be the sense required.

⁶⁶ This statement, which does not occur in the account given by Fredegarius, a writer on Lombard history in the early seventh century, could possibly be an invention of another source used by Canussio's source, Paul the Deacon. As S. M. Cingolani has observed, *Le Storie del Longobardi dall'origine: Paolo Diacono*, Rome, 1995, there is parallelism here between Paul's account, and the Bible, namely *Exodus* and *Numbers*. Alboin is therefore a parallel figure to Moses and Joshua, leading the Lombards into their own personal land of "milk and honey" (pp. 178-9, 183).

⁶⁷ So Paul the Deacon, 2, 6. Paul says that not only the Lombards, but also the Saxons, brought their wives and children (coming to a total of 20 000 Saxons, Christie, p. 63): Paul the Deacon numbers the total force at 80 000 to 200 000 adult males and 400 000 all told: a figure of 60 000 - 80 000 fighting men may be more realistic; Barni puts the number of warriors (Lombards and allies, including the 20 000 Saxons) at 100 000 (pp. 27-8); indeed some suggest only 40 000). C. Wickham points out that many Gepids, Bulgars, Sarmatians, Suevi, Thuringians and Pannonian Romans may also have joined the confederacy (*Early Medieval Italy*, London, 1985, p. 32). Paul says that they departed from Pannonia on the day after Easter, 569 (Foulke, p. 63). Foulke discusses the question of whether the Lombards invaded Italy in late 568 or in 569. An edict of the Lombard king Rothar of November 643 says that it was decreed in the 76th year since the arrival of the Lombards in Italy (*MGL IV*, p. 1), indicating a date prior to Nov. 568 for the invasion, whereas a fragment of the historian Secundus datable to June 580 says that the Lombards entered Italy in the second indiction, *i.e.* September 569 to August 570. Further sources are discussed by Foulke, who believes that Secundus is a reliable source and has the greatest weight, and I concur with his adjusted date of May 569. Sources other than Paul mentioning the entry of the Lombards into Italy include Marius of Avenches, Gregory of Tours, the Continuator of Prosper of Aquitaine and the *Excerpta Sangallensia*.

Alboin made another agreement with the Avars: namely, if they desired to return from Italy, the Avars were to give them free passage. Alboin's first marriage was with Chlodswinda, daughter of the Frankish king Clothar I. His second wife was the daughter of the Gepid king Cunimund, Rosemunda. Like the Gepids, those Lombards who were Christian were Arians.

Paul the Deacon (2, 9-10, 12, 14) claims that the Lombard takeover, with a concentration of them in Friuli, was peaceful, but this is not borne out by other sources (chiefly Pope Gregory the Great; see P.S. Leicht, p. 60; Menis, p. 118-19; Paschini, p.99). If the invasion by Alboin was relatively peaceful, it was certainly more bloody under his successor Clef (572-4) and during the ensuing interregnum. Alboin conquered all of Liguria and made Verona his capital in 572 (see *e.g.* Deloglu, p. 16), only to be murdered in a plot hatched by Rosemunda and her lover, Helmichis, in retaliation for the humiliation of Rosemunda being forced to drink from her father's skull (or so the story goes: Paul the Deacon, 2,28; Menghin, p. 99; Deloglu, p. 72; Hartmann, 2/1, pp. 36-7; G. Barni, *La conquête d'Italie par les Lombardes*, pp. 19-20).

As for the Saxons, after plundering Lombard territory during the interregnum which followed Clef's death, they enlisted themselves under Sigebert I of the Frankish kingdom of Austrasia, and were then told to go home (Menghin, pp. 97, 102).

⁶⁸ The Taurisci were Celts who lived between the Alps and the Danube. They had established themselves there by 600 B.C. First mentioned as living on the southern edge of the western Alps, they are later known as living on the eastern side and forming part of the Norici (who gave their name to the Roman province of Noricum, occupied by the Romans over the years 35-33 B.C.). For this, see Strabo, 4, 6, 9.

⁶⁹ *Forum Iulii* was a natural choice for the capital of the new province due to its location and fortifications. In fact it formed part of a *limes* or line of fortifications which also included Cormons, Nimis, Osoppo, Artegra, Ragogna, Gemona and Invillino.

⁷⁰ As Foulke points out in his commentary on Paul the Deacon (p. 64), who is most probably the source for this, the mountain, which Paul calls "King's Mountain", (2. 8; see L.M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*, Vol. 2, Leipzig, 1900), has been identified by R. Virchow, who followed the route taken by the Lombards, as Monte Maggiore, to the north of Cividale. There will not have been enough time to climb the other claimants to this title, Matajür or Königsberg. A popular local tradition claims that Satan tempted Jesus from this "Monte de Re".

⁷¹ *Tuor*, 'sight', is found elsewhere only in Apuleius (*De Deo Socratis*, 11).

⁷² The Lombard duchy of Friuli consisted of the four Roman *municipia* of Aquileia, Concordia, Iulium Carnicum (Zuglio Carnico) and Forum Iulii (Cividale): the latter was selected as the capital, Chapter xiv; Hartmann, 2/1, p. 35; M. Brozzi, p. 13. It was a part of the old Roman region of Histria (*regio X*). Mor has commented, in *Italia longobarda*, Venice, 1991, p. 56, that subsequent Lombard duchies tended to correspond to Roman *municipia*.

⁷³ Gisulf, according to Paul the Deacon, 2, 9, was Alboin's Master of Horse. Some believe that his father, Grasulf, was in fact the first Duke of Friuli (see Foulke p. 66, note 2). In Grion's time, this, which was also the opinion of A. Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, 2, Venice, 1884, p. 1079), was the view of the majority (Grion, p. 20), but Paul's account has received credence among modern scholars such as Brozzi (pp. 31-2) and Christie (pp. 76-77). Since it defended the northern border of the kingdom, Friuli was the premier duchy of Lombard Italy, with its capital at Cividale. As we have seen, the latter was the first city to be taken by the Lombards. See also Barni, pp. 240-1; Schmidt, p. 589.

⁷⁴ The duchy had four main regional centres as related above: Forum Iulii/Iulium (Cividale), Concordia, Aquileia and Iulium Carnicum (Zuglio Carnico). G. P. Bognetti, "L'influsso delle istituzioni militari Romane sulle istituzioni longobarde del secolo VI e la natura della 'fara'" in *L'età longobarda*, Vol. III, 1967, pp. 37-8 suggests that the Lombards organised their hierarchy of dukes and counts on the Roman model of *duces* and *comites*.

⁷⁵ The Lombard term is *fara*. Each *fara* consisted of soldiers known to the Lombards as *arimanni*, each of whom, in the course of Lombard history would be granted an *arimannia*. For a discussion of this, see G. Bognetti, *L'età Longobarda*, Vol. 1, pp. 3-32.

⁷⁶ These details on the selection of highbred families and the mares, are also taken from Paul the Deacon, 2, 9. The importance of horses to the Lombards is shown by the fact that they were sometimes buried with their masters (*cf.* P. Deloglu, "Il regno Longobardo" in *Storia d'Italia*, Vol. I, Turin, 1980, p. 5).

⁷⁷ Treviso.

⁷⁸ This bishop of Treviso succeeded in placating Alboin and prevented the destruction of his city, as Paul the Deacon (note 87 below) comments in his *Historia Langobardorum*, 2, 12. In relation to this event, Moro refers us to F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra sive de Episcopis Italiae et Insularum Adiacentium ...*, 5, Venice, 1720, p. 490.

⁷⁹ The Cimbri were the Germanic people originally inhabiting the Cimbric Chersonese. The chief city in this region was Vicenza, taken by Alboin after Treviso (Paul the Deacon 2,14).

⁸⁰ Brescia.

⁸¹ Bergamo.

⁸² Como.

⁸³ Milan. According to Paul the Deacon (2, 2), Alboin entered the city on the 3rd of September.

⁸⁴ According to Paul the Deacon, Alboin ruled in Italy for a total of 3 years and 6 months before being killed by the treachery of his wife Rosemunda.

⁸⁵ *Coniuga* is a word known only from Apuleius and Latin inscriptions. The regular third declension noun *coniunx* (used of both parties to a marriage) has become a first declension feminine noun.

⁸⁶ Alboin, despite his achievements, met with an ignominious end, murder at the hands of his wife Rosemunda, in a failed coup. Clef then succeeded him, but was himself murdered, so that the dukes (35 of them, says Paul the Deacon) elected to have no king. However, so pressing were the threats from the Franks and the Byzantines (the emperor Maurice's alliance with Chilperic of Austrasia) that Authari son of Clef was elected king after a ten-year interregnum.

⁸⁷ Moro provides a sketch of Paul's career, as does Goffart, *Narrators*, 334-347. Paul the Deacon lived ca. 730-799 (and therefore may have been old enough to remember the quarrel between Duke Pemmo and the patriarch Callixtus: see Book 2), and was the son of Warnefrit and Theudelina, and therefore belonged to a noble Lombard family settled in Cividale from its initial conquest (for his family history, Paul 4,37; this has some fantastic elements, such as his great-grandfather being guided by a wolf). From Cividale he went to Pavia and received training in grammar from a certain Flavian (here he learned a little Greek: see the reference to Morghen below); the conventional wisdom is that following this he went to the courts of kings Ratchis and Desiderius and by the

latter he was charged with the education of his daughter and he accompanied her to Benevento. Goffart believes that he spent twenty years as a monk rather than as a courtier. (pp. 336-7). With the fall of the Lombard kingdom he retired to the abbey of Montecassino. In 782 he went to the court of Charlemagne to obtain a pardon for his rebellious brother (his plea was made in verse), where he applied himself to teaching and composition of poetry. He stayed there a while at the Palatine academy of France, befriending not only Charlemagne but Alcuin. In 786 he returned to Montecassino whereupon he compiled a biography of Gregory the Great and the *Expositio super Regulam Sancti Benedicti*. The *Historia Langobardorum* probably belongs to his final years, a continuation of his *Historia Romana* (which ends with the death of Justinian I in 565), and this latter work deals with the Lombard kingdom from its earliest years to the death of Liutprand. It is therefore incomplete. The *Historia* is more than a simple chronicle: it contains anecdotes, local and oral traditions, outright myth and legendary deeds of prowess. In writing it, Paul must have drawn on earlier authors such as the lost *Historiola Laingobardorum* of Secondo di Non of Trent, and may have been influenced by Gregory of Tours, the historian of the early Frankish kingdom. The rationale behind writing his own history, as R. Morghen discerns ("La civiltà dei Langobardi nella *Historia Langobardorum* di Paolo Diacono," pp. 9-23 of *Atti del convegno ecc.*) was to save the memory of Lombard history, curtailed by the Carolingian Franks, from oblivion (p. 13). Bognetti, *L'età ecc.*, Vol. 3, pp. 159-184, appraises Paul as a historian. His verdict is that although Paul is simplistic, for the time he was a good practitioner of his craft. Bosio lists some of Paul's other works, including a biography of Gregory the Great. Paul died *ca.* 800.

⁸⁸ King of the Lombards between 584 and 590. He would have caused the magnates of his kingdom resentment by ordaining that they should cede part of their territory (part of his programme of reform was that Lombard magnates should cede territory, Roman subjects should pay tribute). Note that Paul the Deacon says that the pact between the Lombard king and the Avars was made by Authari's successor Agilulf (4, 12, 4, 20, 4, 24); Bosio, p. 58. However, as Grion points out, Grasulf (rather than Gisulf) made a pact with the Frankish king Childebert. Authari elected to ally himself to the Franks by marrying the Austrasian king Childebert's sister Chlodoswintha (Menghin, p. 106). Authari defeated the Frankish expedition sent against him in 588. Authari was also victorious later over a league of twenty Frankish dukes who were induced to campaign against him by the Byzantine Exarch of Ravenna, Romanus (Menghin, pp. 113-16).

⁸⁹ As Moro notes, not Gisulf I, but his namesake Gisulf II, third duke of Friuli, who was killed in the sack of Cividale by the Avars. For the invasion route of the Avars, see Corbanese, p. 139. He was living in 575 (so Foulke, p. 87). The legend, is, as we have seen, that his wife, Romulida, opened the gate of the city to the enemy after becoming enamoured of the Avar khagan (which is latinised as the name "Cacanus" by Canussio). The legend is reported by Giovanni Boccaccio in his *De casibus virorum illustrium* (9,3). Moro refers us to M. Brozzi, *Il ducato longobardo del Friuli*, Udine, 1981, pp. 32-5 and G.G.

Corbanese, *Il Friuli, Trieste e l'Istria dalla preistoria alla caduta del patriarcato di Aquileia*, Udine, 1983, p. 128. See also Menghin, p. 120; Hartmann, 2/1, p. 211; Barni, p. 248. Bosio suggests that Romulida betrayed her city for the sake of her eight children (p. 59).

⁹⁰ The account of the destruction of Iulium which follows, which included the desecration of churches and graveyards, is based largely on Paul the Deacon, 4, 37, a lengthy chapter which includes the accounts of the battle between Gisulf and the Avar Khagan, the treachery of Romulida and the escape of Gisulf's sons Taso and Caco. Interestingly, a poignant little episode, dealing with the martial prowess of the latter's little brother Grimoald, does not receive a mention.

⁹¹ These are the Avars, a pagan nomadic people who first appear in European history in the sixth century A.D. on the steppe to the north of the Black Sea. They probably spoke Altaic. At first employed as *foederati* of the Byzantines in their struggle with Slavic Antes and the Kotrigurs, they turned against the Byzantines, and nearly succeeded in capturing Constantinople (626). The episode described here took place in 611, when the Avars were established in Pannonia, having defeated the Gepids. The invention of the stirrup gave the Avars, good horsemen, a tactical advantage.

⁹² Latin *evibrarentur*, an unusual word found in Gellius 1, 11, 1.

⁹³ On the death of Gisulf II (who left four sons), P. S. Leicht, p.67; Menis, p. 132; Paschini, p. 123.

⁹⁴ Cf. *Aeneid* 2, 390, *dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat*, "Who would ask, when the enemy is in question, whether it is deceit or valour?"

⁹⁵ That is, Gisulf II.

⁹⁶ Cf. *Aeneid* 2, 265, *urbem somno vinoque sepultam*, "the city buried in sleep and wine."

⁹⁷ *Sonipedes*, literally 'with sounding feet', a highly poetical word used by classical authors to describe horses.

⁹⁸ Cf. *Aeneid* 2,4 69, *Vestibulum ante ipsum*, a verbatim quotation.

⁹⁹ Cf. *Aeneid* 2, 4, *Opes et lamentabile regnum*, a verbatim quotation. The author is inviting a comparison through these last three quotations between the sacked Iulium and the sacked Troy.

¹⁰⁰ As in the preceding Ostrogothic kingdom and the contemporary Visigothic kingdom, there was coexistence between Roman and barbarian law, including institutions. The most famous attempt of a Lombard king to codify Lombard law and its implications for Romans was the Code of King Rothar (early seventh century). See G.P. Bognetti, "Longobardi e Romani" in *L'età longobarda*, Vol. 1, Milan, 1966, p. 98.

¹⁰¹ The natural interpretation of this passage is that the Lombards were all Christians adhering to the church of Rome. That was not the case, for in 610 those Lombards who were not still pagan were Arian Christians, *i.e.*, subscribing to the doctrine of Arius, who was condemned at the Council of Nicaea in A. D. 325.

¹⁰² *Tumultuate* is a rare word, not found in surviving classical texts.

¹⁰³ Brozzi, p. 39, believes that the reconstruction of Cividale probably took place under the duke Wechtar (Wechtari) (663-671).

¹⁰⁴ The adjective *suplicuus* is not found in surviving classical authors, although we have the adverb *supplicue*, found, not surprisingly, only in Apuleius.

¹⁰⁵ Grion says that this is unlikely (p. 24).

¹⁰⁶ Paul the Deacon preserves an alternative tradition, saying that it was Radoald and Grimoald, the younger brothers of Taso and Caco, who fled to Arachis (4,41), since the latter two had been slain by treachery at the instigation of Gregory the patrician at Oderzo (4,38); Grion, p. 24. In any case, Arachis died in 641, to be succeeded as regent for the young son of Arachis, Ajo, by Grimoald, who in turn became duke of Benevento.

¹⁰⁷ Christie, p. xxvi, pointing out that Grimoald became king, gives the line of successors to the duchy of Friuli: after Caco and Taso (c. 610-25), Grasulf II (c. 625-53), Ago (c. 653-62), Lupus (c. 662-3), Wechtar and Landar (663-71), Rodoald (671-c.700), Ado, Ferdulf, Corvolus, Pemmo (720-37), Ratchis (737-44), Aistulf (744-9), Anselmus, Petrus (749-56), Hruodgaudus (775-6). In any case, the line of Lombard dukes was brought to an end by the Frankish conquest directed by Charlemagne (P. S. Leicht, pp. 74-6; Paschini, p 145).

¹⁰⁸ These were the limits of the duchy of Friuli already in 1221, as a document of that time testifies (Menis p. 188).

¹⁰⁹ This is known today as Capo Promontore, which lies south of the Istrian port of Pola (now Pula), and in the vicinity of the village of Medolino.

¹¹⁰ These three lines are a direct quotation of Virgil's *Aeneid* 1,242-4.

¹¹¹ The last two lines form, either by design or by accident, an elegiac couplet:

Qualia non unquam patriae sic prisca tulerunt
saecula, non unquam forte futura dabant.

SECOND BOOK

Introduction

In the preceding book, without exhibiting any prejudice,¹¹² we have completed the account of the way in which the city of Iulium began to replace Aquileia as the capital of the area, a history which has either been diminished because of the envy of certain writers, or distorted out of laziness. We have decided that it will not be without value to develop in this second and final book an account of the dignity of the Church of Iulium, and of the moving of its seat from Aquileia, and also of its history in modern times, so that its history may not come to an end in an incomplete state.

Chapter I - The Importance of the Bishop of Iulium.

Since Fate had not yet been satisfied by the calamities that Attila first inflicted upon Aquileia and then upon the province, and that the Goths subsequently brought through a slaughter of the populace, and by the invasion of the Lombards that assailed it most recently, the patriarch Paul, in order to escape the hands of the enemy, departed from Aquileia with the treasures of the church and withdrew into the little town of Grado, set apart on all sides from the mainland by the washing of the sea.¹¹³ He passed his life living there in voluntary exile for many years until, losing its name of "Aquileiensis", his seat came to be called "Gradensis". Subsequently, at a time when the Goths had been driven out and the Lombards were occupying Italy, Gisulf, Duke of Iulium, to whom the whole province of Iulium came as his lot, unable to endure the translation of the seat of Aquileia to so humble a place, tried hard to recall it from Grado, so that he might establish it himself as a decoration and ornament of his city for the future together with him within the walls of Iulium. When, because of the obstinacy of the bishop (of Aquileia/Grado), he was unable to achieve his intention, Gisulf, contriving a new plot against him, besought from the Pope a new seat for the bishopric of Iulium as a necessity. And the first pastor to be instituted in it, Maxentius,¹¹⁴ administered the diocese for him until his rule of the duchy came to an end. There have survived indeed to the present time the undeniable traces of this bishopric, standing out in indelible memory in a public place. To this day the bishop's throne with its marble steps stands there intact near the altar, which was built in those days, of an ancient church; this confirms what has been written. When Maxentius completed his life, Fidentius succeeded him,¹¹⁵ who was far advanced in years and did not linger long in life; Amator was the third and the last to acquire the same seat and preside upon it.

Chapter II: The Growth of the Bishop of Iulium.

Amator, bishop of Iulium, with the support of the duke, made the patriarchal seat (since the splendour of the name of Aquileia had faded, and the name of Grado had become obsolete because it was overclouded in the waves of the sea and reduced to a small town) subject in all respects to his diocese.¹¹⁶ With the seat thus being tossed about by storms of this kind, desire came upon Callixtus, a man stubborn by nature and constant in his sanctity, to attain it while it was vacant; and while Fidentius was preparing himself to assume the seat in question, he (Callixtus), assisted by the powerful help of the king of the Lombards, Liutprand, who held the reins of power, had acquired from the apostolic seat (*i.e.* Rome) that of Aquileia itself, and when, after he had left the city, on account of his clear interest in the bishopric of Iulium, residence in any place around the diocese was forbidden by the dukes, this bishop, reaching Cormons, at his first approach and going among the rural population, began lodging himself among them. This could not happen without the displeasure of the bishopric of Iulium. When the patriarchal authority, since its honours had been removed, was relegated to a humble situation and was defiled, and the bishop of Iulium, competing against it, accompanied by an entourage of nobles, entered the heavily-populated city, and strove for the diocese itself with its patriarchal throne, during all this time Callixtus, wishing to use this forum for doing great deeds, waited in obstinate silence for an opportune moment to arise; and then, when Pemmo,¹¹⁷ the Duke of Iulium, had gone riding with his household towards the Alps for recreation, the energetic Callixtus, learning of the absence of the duke, came swiftly riding with an escort of his own household from Cormons to Iulium. Thereupon he took the bishop Amator and removed him from his seat and selected his house as his own to live in.¹¹⁸ When Pemmo was faced with the intrusion of this man and the ejection of Amator, he became wild with anger, and put Callixtus, bound, into custody.¹¹⁹ Thereupon, with the rumour about the seizure and detention of the patriarch of Aquileia growing, King Liutprand, who was the protector and defender of Callixtus, regarding the capture of Callixtus as a grave offence, pressed so hard on Duke Pemmo for the latter's sake that he was forced to exile himself, and take refuge as a private person far away from the province in the Alps of Sclavonia.¹²⁰ Then, when Callixtus was restored to Iulium, he demolished the house of the expelled Amator, and in keeping with the dignity of a patriarch he rebuilt it skilfully anew with expert care next to the church;¹²¹ and he was the first man to decide to establish the transference of the seat from Aquileia to Iulium.

Chapter III: The Beginning of the Temporal Dominion of the Seat.

While Callixtus presided at Iulium, and Duke Pemmo had been driven into exile by King Liutprand on account of the injury of incarceration that he had inflicted upon Callixtus, and the king also himself had ended the span of his life and departed from human affairs not long after, his consort, Queen Rosimund of Austria, widowed at the same time of her husband and her kingdom, was appointed to the duchy of Iulium, as we have written in the preceding book. She was held in the greatest honour by Callixtus as long as she lived, and when she

herself passed away, while the town itself had been handed to its citizens to govern as a gift from her, Callixtus took the rest of the power of the duchy for himself; and from that time the patriarchate of Aquileia began to exercise its power of (temporal) rule.

Chapter IV: The Death of Callixtus and of his Successors.

Callixtus, who administered the patriarchal seat with abundant zeal, sat upon it for forty two years. When he came to his last days, and was snatched away by death, he was buried in the church¹²² which adjoined the house which he himself had restored. Now that the seat had been made vacant by the death of Callixtus, with the assent of the Pope, Signoald of Iulium was elected to be his successor as patriarch,¹²³ whose sanctity and advanced stage in life seemed to vie equally with his very noble ancestry, since he was descended in a direct line from the royal stock of Grimoald.¹²⁴ In fact, elsewhere, in chapter XIV of the preceding book, we have written that, at the first institution of the duchy of Iulium, Duke Gisulf acquired a selection from the most noble families as a retinue from the most aristocratic members of the entire army of the Lombards, after having royal permission. Among these families the household of Signoald was especially prominent, and, when he had acquired the patriarchal seat, he heaped great honours upon it and made it illustrious with his great merits and by the example that he set. When at length Signoald departed from life, Paulinus was elected patriarch,¹²⁵ the sanctity of whose life, which defies description, cannot be incorporated in our account, either with spoken words or the pen, because of the poverty of human speech, without totally detracting from the praises which are due to him. So this man, abounding in miracles at Iulium, had the reputation while he lived of being a star on earth of the Christian religion. When at length he had discharged his life in the Lord, he was conveyed in a swift flash of light to a dwelling among the stars, and he joined the celestial bodies, and his miraculous remains, secreting the sweet odours of myrrh, are venerated with the greatest reverence in the church of Iulium.¹²⁶ And so, with the sacred seat of Aquileia left vacant, from the divine Paulinus to the patriarch Poppus¹²⁷ there intervened fourteen occupants, admitted one after the other to the same seat. All these preferred to make Iulium their residence.

Chapter V: The Translation of the Seat back to Aquileia.

The patriarch Poppus, as soon as he acquired power over this see, because the ruins of Aquileia had collapsed from the destructive effect of great age, brought together craftsmen with manual skills from everywhere in the province, so that the city might be inhabited, and he rebuilt it within as large a circuit as he could with the utmost urgency, and he restored with skilful care a palace for himself, and next to it a church, and in order that those persons who came for the purpose of seeking indulgences might be received with appropriate magnificence, he built this anew with expert care. Then, when the seat of Grado¹²⁸ was brought into subjection, and had been granted to him as a parish by the apostolic see, he sought to bring about a second translation of the seat of Aquileia from Iulium, and to have it reestablished in its former place, thinking that that site, although it

was poisonous because it was inhabited by venomous serpents, and made putrid by swampy mud, could, in spite of inclemency of the air, be cleansed by the few people who lived there. As to whether he completed his work according to the dictum "the result is the test of what has been done":¹²⁹ for from that time to this, no people could ever be brought there for a period longer than two or at the most three years, nor would any person unless he was insane and mentally incapable, or on the verge of dying, allow himself to be stationed in that abandoned place. Alas, how many times have we heard it said that the inhabitants, on retiring to bed, were preceded by snakes that had curled up swiftly and had hidden beneath the covers. In addition, you see these people approaching you at the crossroads with their leaden faces, short of breath and creeping with groaning steps, and you see them swollen like bladders, while you observe with nausea their stinking legs luring swarms of flies, while the hedged fields are filled with farm animals, whose backs have been laid bare by the bites of mosquitoes. Finally, an infectious fever, which cuts short abruptly the span of human life, supplies a basis for the building of nests of only the lowest animals; so it happened that, with the thwarting of the plan of Poppus to inhabit it, the subsequent patriarchs found it necessary to return to the more clement air of Iulium. Among them the third patriarch, Everard,¹³⁰ from a famous Lombard family, of Iulian origin, conducted the patriarchal years of his life in a religious manner at the house of Callixtus. Nor could I say without praising the people of Iulium, that in our age Everard Cristallus, propagated from his stock, is descended from him, who has also acquired Premariacco, the natal home and estate of the patriarch, of which he enjoys the usufruct, by the law of succession.

Chapter VI: The Translation of the Seat to the Town of Hunnium.

After the incursions of the enemy had been overcome, at first the castles, then the towns began to be restored to the province with renewed strength.¹³¹ The citadel of Hunnium also grew, due to the influx of people there, who were drawn by the favourable location of the place into a town, to which some patriarchs, because they were angry with the people of Iulium, transferred their residence.¹³² For this reason an innate arose between the two peoples, although some prefer to think that the beginning of this hatred was derived from the Huns, who founded Hunnium, a name which augured badly for this province;¹³³ I would say that it arose for both reasons. Therefore the last of all the patriarchs, the German Ludwig of Teck, who with a barbarian disgust had become weary of the liberty of the people of Iulium, left it, and preferred to reside with the people of Hunnium.¹³⁴ In order to please them, he had the temerity to provoke the people of Iulium, whom he hated, with disputes and to molest them in a hostile way. The people of Iulium, when they perceived that this had happened due to the hatred of the Hunnians, shaking off the yoke of obedience to the bishop, rebelled and regained their former liberty in order to avenge the injuries that they had received, and they opposed the patriarch and declared war on the people of Hunnium at the same time.

Chapter VII – The Attack of the German Patriarch on the People of Iulium and his Flight

With hatred swelling day by day, the minds of those on each side were preparing themselves for war. The patriarch himself, infuriated by the news of the people of Iulium and seduced by the deceitful counsel of the Hunnians, and supported by the reinforcements that they provided, eagerly set about making war against the people of Iulium on his own account.¹³⁵ And so, from the entire province, first of all the foot soldiers from the countryside were gathered, and then from the towns and castles the feudatory cavalry was collected to form a squadron, with the addition of a force belonging to the count of Noricum, and of soldiers enrolled from Pannonia, and he put together a large and numerous army. Then the people of Iulium, who had learned of these preparations for war from spies, at once removed the inhabitants of the countryside within the walls of Iulium to protect them from raids, and drove their herds of cattle and flocks to the protection of the Alps, to save them from becoming booty for the enemy; then, after protection had been provided for the city by stationing troops along the walls and at every point along its defensive rampart, drawn from every available source, and they had prepared themselves in earnest to engage in battle, they fearlessly longed for the warfare to begin. In addition, a large number of foot soldiers was chosen from among the men of fighting age who were the fittest, who were to drive the enemy away when they attacked and keep them a considerable distance from the walls. Also, the ambassadors who had gone to Venice to seek assistance, had received a reinforcement of cavalry, and it was received within the walls to general applause. Meanwhile the patriarch, in the course of conducting a muster of his troops, brought all his encampments closer to Iulium with a view to taking it by storm, and in the village of Bottinico,¹³⁶ two miles distant from the city, he put up his tents and began to harass the city with raids from there. A picked group of the men of Iulium on the other side, resisting strenuously, kept the enemy at a good distance from the ramparts, and took a number of captives whom they had overcome in battle back within the walls. Incursions of this kind were repeated nearly every day, with the Hunnians repeating them frequently out of inborn hatred. The Iulian foot soldiers rushed out aggressively to follow them in order to scatter them and cut them to pieces, after which they carried back into the city in view of everyone the booty and spoils that they had won in accordance with their wishes. An old man, who had been a combatant at that time, told me that in that war a man of Hunnium, clothed in a cuirass and protected by a buckler from missiles, had his foot pinned to the ground by a missile thrown from the place where the men of Iulium were located, and was not able to move from that location until the man who told the story leaped over the fortifications, took hold of him, and dragged him to the place where he was stationed. The patriarch, now that two months had passed, seeing that he was achieving nothing by fighting, and that he was frustrated in every hope of conquest, asking for counsel from his commanders, raised the siege lest he be intercepted by the enemy, and withdrew unarmed from his encampment, leaving it at night with the entire army of the people of Hunnium, and soon afterwards left the province, with a view to gaining help from Germany, and sought again the native soil from which he had come. A deadly

hatred subsequently kept war alive for several years, with incursions of each of the two peoples against each other. The Venetians, taking advantage of this outcome, which was in accordance with their desires, and the opportunity of the time, since they had long desired to dominate the province, allying themselves with the men of Iulium, sent a senior man of keen intelligence, who was feared by the Hunnians, with a force of soldiers, to assist in the conquest of Hunnium. So a camp was erected near the city, and the matter was settled by a siege. For the Hunnians were bereft of an external defence force, and terrified by the daunting forces of the enemy, and surrendered themselves and the town. Thus and in this way the Venetians, who had begun the war simply to aid the people of Iulium, obtained both towns and the whole province in which handed itself over to them.

Chapter VIII: The Recent Regaining of the Patriarchal Seat.

With the expulsion of that German patriarch, and the senate of the Venetians entering into command of the province, the people of Iulium, who had established the freedom to make their own laws, emerged as victors. So that the Venetians should not seem to be going against the law of the Church, an annual contribution, with the assent of the Pope, was paid for several years thereafter to the seat of Aquileia, based on a census of the population; and the right to assign this seat indeed remained for nearly fourteen lustra (*i.e.* seventy years) from the exile of that German as a matter of commendation and was assigned to the City (*i.e.* Rome), until the Venetian patrician Nicolò Donato,¹³⁷ a man of the highest virtue and authority, was chosen to fill the position of patriarch, and brought it back from exile to its own country. There, because of the rivalry which arose between the people of Iulium and those of Hunnium over the question of his residence there, the good patriarch was uncertain for a few days to which request of these peoples he should accede, but was at length persuaded by the entreaties of the people of Iulium, and withdrew from those of Hunnium, preferring to remain with those of Iulium. It was with his help that the people of Iulium rebuilt at public expense the episcopal temple dedicated to the divine Virgin, a noble example for the town, worthy of eternal fame.¹³⁸ And so, by public decree, they put the name of the patriarch before the entrance to the temple¹³⁹ to bring it to mind to future generations, so that it might be remembered forever.

Chapter IX: The Importance of the Church of Iulium and its Decoration.

The people of Iulium now made the church building, already of great size and age, into a larger shrine with enormous dimensions.¹⁴⁰ For apart from their wish to beautify their city and its being a gift of the Blessed Virgin, a twofold necessary occasion drove them to complete the work: first, because of the occupation of the college by a large number of priests, so that the great multitude, which is surpassed nowhere in Italy, might be accommodated at divine services; secondly, so that a great multitude of people might be comfortably admitted in the capacious ambulatories of the church. Because of the size of this priestly college, their preaching spread village by village in the direction of the Alps, as far as the boundaries of Iulium extended; and the same

preaching embraced the part of Iulium which lay on the plain, the boundaries of which ended elsewhere, in the same manner as the more elevated part, and also approximately three other other parishes, those of Faedis, Fagana and Reuna, all of which were included in the same group.¹⁴¹ As for the wealth or the annual tribute that is collected in full granaries so as to support¹⁴² this well-populated college, I would be so bold to say that nowhere else in the province, if we except the riches of the patriarchate, do there exist any riches to match them. And I would affirm the same opinion in relation to the treasures of the altar, over which a sacristan of the church watches by day and by night. There is there the bust of the divinely-inspired father of his country, St Donatus, worked in pure silver and tawny gold and executed with great skill, from whose neck and shoulders hang a necklace sparkling with jewels. This is displayed on view to the public only on special days;¹⁴³ and images fashioned in silver also accompany it on either side. And some crosses cast in silver and partly in gold, patens, vases, pyxes, other utensils and cups without number, made in silver, are kept on the higher part of the altar, and the greatest thing of all, as far as value is concerned, is what you see standing in front of the altar itself, a wide table cast with great richness of ornamentation from pure silver, completely covered with gleaming gold. Golden cloths, called in the common tongue *paramenta* ('draperies'), are added as a decoration to this altar,¹⁴⁴ and other vestments stiff with an interweaving of gold,¹⁴⁵ with which the bishops are clothed during the sacred rites. I must, however, omit an account of the meetings of the college and the extent of its authority and not discuss these matters, lest I be accused of prolixity.¹⁴⁶

Chapter X: The Bridge with the Double Arches Joined Together

After we have dealt up to this point with sacred things connected with the town, and incidentally discussed its monumental church, a larger monument, which stretches over the river, presents itself to us, built to serve the urgent needs of the town and also to adorn it felicitously, which is an initiative of the people and built at public expense, a work and enterprise of great difficulty even for a province.¹⁴⁷ For the city is divided by a steep cliff on each side, between which flow the broad waters of the river Natisone.¹⁴⁸ Here Julius Caesar had once set up camps accordingly on either side on each bank against the Germans, and in order to open an approach for both armies, and to make the forbidding torrent passable, had joined the two banks with a bridge resting on piles, which posterity has restored with the same hasty method as a memorial in our own age, imitating antiquity. But our forefathers, in order to rival the reputation of great antiquity, a reputation which had, because of what had been accomplished, become celebrated in history, demolished the Caesarean bridge, built on piles of holm-oak¹⁴⁹ and extended from the middle of the depths of the river a rising structure of masonry, on which to rest the whole of the weight¹⁵⁰ of the bridge, cutting from the stone a continuous double arch, to produce a bridge made with such expense and craft that you may think it as worthy to marvel at as the prodigious spectacle of the pyramids.¹⁵¹ To achieve so huge a structure, the judgement of a most talented¹⁵² range of architects was obtained on the question of the cost of completing the bridge, and their answer was, that if the materials, consisting of lime and stones, were omitted, the cost of labour of a professional standard for

the bridge would be two thousand gold coins. Then, when the matter was introduced into the senate, and when the consuls, as is the custom, asked for opinions to be expressed individually,¹⁵³ Francesco Clarecini,¹⁵⁴ a man distinguished both for his virtue and for his family, upon being asked his opinion, first made a speech with the most polished eloquence,¹⁵⁵ and in order that the matter should not be interrupted by an opposite judgement of anyone, in the presence of¹⁵⁶ the senate, with the bountiful generosity¹⁵⁷ that came naturally to him, produced one hundred gold coins from his purse, and directed that they should be given as a contribution towards the execution of the work. Following his example therefore, each man of the gathering of senators offered a voluntary donation of less valuable coins one by one, and thus a financial contribution was collected, which appeared to be too small to complete the entire work. But because of the immense importance of the task, money was sought for the throughout the town quarter by quarter and from everywhere as many times as was necessary until the bridge stood complete as a structure to be marvelled at.

Chapter XI - The fountain flowing in the area of the forum.

Since pride of place in every town goes to the necessity for water, and this is considered to be an especial kind of good fortune, let me say that our town, by the nature of its site and the work applied to it, has an abundant supply of this resource. We see water enter it in three places with irrigating abundance. For on one side there is the famous river Natisone, contained in its broad and hollow bed, also a stream flowing here from the neighbouring Alps in a channel cut by hand, while there is also a spring streaming with its waters through the middle of the square, and they supply the town equally. An account of the source of the river and the descent of the stream is given separately elsewhere, but its outlet, brought to the city fountain from the feet of the last foothills of the Alps, which are not far from the town, by elongated clay pipes, lined with bitumen and packed tightly together (which elsewhere, as Cornelius Celsus¹⁵⁸ testifies, are named "sillana" after their inventor), flows in a subterranean conduit laid in the direction of the town, and from the building built especially for this purpose on the middle of the forum, which those ancestors of ours completed skilfully for themselves and those who would come after them.

Chapter XII- the abundance from the countryside and the clemency of the heavens.

With respect to the produce which was brought into the town from the countryside of Iulium, and the abundance of things of every kind with which it abounded, let me say that nowhere¹⁵⁹ in the province was any place so bountifully provided for. In particular, there was a natural abundance of wine, which, according to the agreement of all, leads it to be preferred ahead of every other place in the province;¹⁶⁰ and there is an abundance of the most pleasing fruit of every kind, such that it is necessary to share with the rest of the province which is attracted to it. Besides that a large quantity of meat, cheese, and fat game,¹⁶¹ of other desirable things that we eat is taken from there, due to its favourable location near the Alps, and comes flowing out into the rest of the

province; also the clemency of the heavens from the neighbouring Alps bedews the town, and imprints a sanguine appearance on the inhabitants, banishing any sickly or languishing pallor, and keeping them in lively good health. And again the raging force of the winds strikes against the mountains that overhang it, and as it comes to their foot disappears frustrated. When indeed winter with its bristling cold lies upon us, we suffer only the whistling sting of the north wind as it blows through¹⁶² the opening in the Alps, from which we are unprotected, a sting we evade by using an abundance of wood brought in from the nearby Alps, sitting at home with cheerful fires. And when winter, after the cold has been banished far away, becomes more gentle and mild, and burning summer, with its blazing star, replaces it, the region outside the town, at the foot of the Alps, marked out by sunny hills and divided into many little fields, brings relief from the heat to visitors, through the pleasing quality of its fruits and the bountiful supply of garden produce.¹⁶³ Close at hand is a dark wood, dense with overshadowing trees, where limpid springs flow, in addition to which a thousand birds sing their song with sweet throats.¹⁶⁴ Here the people of Iulium, when there is respite from their business, gather together at times with heart-felt thanks to relax. You see some persons avoiding the heat of the sun along the pathways there, or someone sitting on the bank of the passing stream with his cloak spread out like a rug, touching the waters now with his hands, now with his feet, so that the burning heat is cooled by the moisture¹⁶⁵ of the flowing waters, its ardour dying. And let no one be unaware, that these pleasant retreats are reserved solely for people of noble birth, who are steeped in literary virtue or some other superior activity of the mind. The common people, however, who earn their livelihood with manual labour, must bear the weight of the day and summer under the sun with burnt skins.

Chapter XIII- The Number and Importance of the Knights of Iulium.

We opened our work with an account of the dignity of the Church of Iulium, and of the site of the town and the advantages that it offered its people and the monuments of the ancients, and now we have come to the conclusion that it is a shameful thing to have reviewed the history of the ancients, unless the honour of their descendants is also introduced into the account, which can be admired on equal terms with the families of the men of olden times, so that on that basis Iulium should gain its reputation not only from the glory of ages past, but also from the vigour that it exhibits in the present time. And so the ruling council of Iulium, which had been granted as a gift the right of self-government by the queen of Austria, has exercised both types of law, civil and criminal, over the whole people, within the boundaries of its territory and walls of the city, until this day. And this arrangement, which was from its first beginnings accompanied by favourable auspices, will be perpetuated, if the gods are favourable, and if fortune is propitious. We have counted fifty-six surviving families of the patrician class which still survive in the city, from which the Senate reconstitutes itself every six months, and when there is such an abundance of nobility, there is no lack of citizens who have considerable importance, who surpass others in their ability to undertake high office. For in our own time Caesar Augustus has decorated¹⁶⁶ four persons with the golden order of knighthood: from the family

of Formentini,¹⁶⁷ Adam and Elias, Francesco from the Boiani family,¹⁶⁸ from whom the patriarch Federico and several other persons of note were to take their descent, and a person of great note from the family of della Torre,¹⁶⁹ Giorgio, very famous for deeds of every kind, who followed the court of the emperor and as result of this was appointed to a position of responsibility, that of count among the Carinthians, and two castles in Carnia and he shortly afterwards acquired, in another place, bordering on the territory of Tolmino, the castle of Loch, which controlled a large area and brought in a considerable income. In addition, on account of his outstanding reliability, he was allowed to join the small¹⁷⁰ circle of the emperor of those allowed to have his ear directly, something which was completely forbidden to other rulers and minor royalty. It would indeed be valuable to hear how, as the emperor's ambassador, he carried his commands throughout the world, and how he approached the Pope and the noble Ferdinand king of Naples as the emperor's spokesman, and how he travelled to the furthest bounds of the earth, belonging to the Scythians¹⁷¹, under the harsh climate of the ice-bound pole, and how he courageously endured the journeys that he made by sea and land. For there is no one at all, whatever language he might know, who could bring these things to light more pleasantly than my friend Giorgio. But surely I would not make the mistake in relating in a summary manner the history of such a noble character? "Not if I had a hundred tongues and a hundred mouths".¹⁷²

Chapter XIV - The Order of Jurisconsults

Persuaded by the statement of Cicero in the *De Officiis* that one should "struggle more readily to attain honour and glory than other good things",¹⁷³ we shall place, next to the knights of the golden order of jurisconsults, whom the Paduan schools of civil and canon law have instructed in a most learned manner by means of studies protracted long after darkness. These men, in a course of study lasting ten years, apply themselves to lectures every day, and after digesting them and pondering over them,¹⁷⁴ as the day approaches evening, customarily make their way to public gatherings to engage in the discussion of those intellectual questions by which their high intelligences are stimulated: and it is necessary that every kind of sloth and sluggishness be absent from their minds. So whoever has laid claim to the merit of the palm of victory after fulfilling these requirements is, by decree of the college, awarded the insignia, and returns to his own household gods bearing this mark of distinction, destined for the future to increase the fame of his family and be of service to the state. Not a few of our noble citizens have in our own times emerged from there as doctors of laws, to the honour and glory of our own city, and each of them has decided to have a library filled with volumes that are necessary for the development of their minds and the conduct of their studies. In the first place, each religious order, the preaching and the minor friars, has its own famous theologians. Then Fortune,¹⁷⁵ either as a gift from heaven or as a result of the solicitude of our senate, has bestowed upon us the best practitioners of the art of medicine in the whole province to meet the needs of the city, paid from the public purse, as is recorded in writing in our records of very long standing. In our own time Antonio Peonio is present as a guardian for the city, registered in the class of the patrician

citizenship, who is famous everywhere on this side of and on the other of the mountains because of the prodigious number of cures of large numbers of people that he has achieved, and has the reputation everywhere of being a second Aesculapius.¹⁷⁶ There is no one among us who does not know that the number of the jurisconsults in our city exceeds a dozen; we have refrained from listing their names, their families and other details of their history individually because of the excessive space that this information would occupy. However, two principal persons, however, which may serve as examples for the rest, will be presented. One is Francesco Conti,¹⁷⁷ who is outstanding in his interpretation of the law; the other Giovanni de ..., who bears before himself the presence of a person of nobility, in addition to which he is so powerful in the art of oratory that he is considered a shining light in the whole province because of his eloquence. On the other hand, I loathe, those unproductive¹⁷⁸ quibbling advocates of a disorderly¹⁷⁹ discipline, who babble their opinions on their cases and opinions to the bench or to their colleagues. And I consider that those who have drunk of the venerable formulations of our law merely by association with jurisconsults should in no way be included, and are unworthy of being commemorated.

Chapter XV: The Convents of Each Sex and the Hospices Dedicated to Beggars.

There also presents itself to us, as we honour the dignity of the church of Iulium, another additional adornment, that of coenobitic establishments, through which the town is made famous through the different religious orders of both sexes. So in one area, near the city walls and included within them, there is the large and famous monastery of the Preaching Friars, with a large number of occupants, and in another is the suburban convent occupied in holy chastity by vestal virgins, to whom any association with men is forbidden, and both are dedicated to St Dominic.¹⁸⁰ There are likewise convents dedicated to St Serafico and to St Francis,¹⁸¹ the former a building of immense size, located near the Natisone within the walls, the latter in a country location, removed five hundred paces from the city, dedicated to monks who follow a solitary rule. In addition there are another two, subject to the rule of St Benedict, occupied by a large number of vestal virgins,¹⁸² situated on opposite sides of the city, and separated by the Natisone, which passes between the two of them. Two different hospices are constantly open for beggars, who, when they come to them, are lodged at no cost to them, and are given food in the same manner without charge. And in order therefore that they should not seem to be lacking in the support that compassion provides, when they are affected by illness of any kind, there is in addition, for those who are disturbed by leprous sores, a separate hospice situated near the church of St Lazarus,¹⁸³ where those who are oppressed by that disease may rest quietly, fully supported by favourable conditions of living.

Chapter XVI: The Order of Academics

Among those who have pursued the honour which is attached to a learned profession, we observe one order shine brightly, which is crowned with green laurel,¹⁸⁴ this academic order first became common among the ancient Romans, and it is believed that it was also considered to apply to orators and poets.

Through the contributions of those men the concepts of every kind of knowledge were illuminated in a thoroughly balanced and well moderated manner, following models of venerable eloquence. If, on the other hand, you prefer to abandon yourself to poetic song, you will achieve this in the same manner: for nowhere in the earth is there a great number in this class, since there are "few whom the just Jupiter has loved, or their blazing virtue has conveyed to the upper air".¹⁸⁵

Chapter XVII: The Order that Administers Justice

Among public benefits, golden liberty is to be preferred to others as the most important of all, and there is no place in the province upon which it is more fully bestowed than upon our town. So, to the glory of the town, in relation to the favourable conduct of public affairs, as a gift of the Venetians, life is lived free from tyranny, the presence of a governor is completely lacking, and no one is seized and tortured by the guards of the ruling power. At meetings of the senate, decurions¹⁸⁶ are selected for the court where decisions are handed down, and the power to adjudicate cases is delegated to them. From that forum any doubtful judgement is referred to the senate, and when it has been discussed according to the genuineness of its merits, a determination is made through a serious and judicial decision. Also murderers, thieves and the perpetrators of any capital crime are apprehended on the decree of the senate by a band of guards. When they are taken, they are handed over to be tortured by the decurions, when the truth is violently shaken out of them, and when it is, judgement is declared. Then, in the presence of the people, the treacherous crimes of a life of iniquity made are public, and they are sentenced by the crowd; and the executioner, either by the axe or by a noose of rope, inflicts the punishment that has been decreed .

*Chapter XVIII: 'Close up the streams now, lads, for the fields have drunk
enough'¹⁸⁷*

To review the Patrician families one by one, the numerous general populace, and the manual crafts, the workshops of artisans scattered everywhere throughout the villages, the commerce, and other activities of the inhabitants - let this task be assigned to those who lack other subjects to write about, an approach found suitable by a certain Marcantonio, when he wrote a history of the Huns. He found nothing of ancient dignity which could be celebrated, and with a disgraceful disregard for historical truth, after prying into every corner of the town, decided to enumerate the sewers equally and proceeded to write a history as though it were of the ordure of the province, made of useless scraps of information. We, even if we have approached the history of Iulium in a summary manner, are distancing ourselves forthwith from this excessive attention to detail. So you have, Conscript Fathers¹⁸⁸ in one brief account, a reinstatement of the history of our fatherland* from the beginning to this day, compiled in your name. Farewell and please show your approval. I, Canussio, have given this account.

The end.

May God be praised.

QUINTUS AEMILIANUS CIMBRIACUS, POET LAUREATE IAMBIC
VERSES FOR THE BRIDGE ON PILES OF IULIUM

To the Visitor:

As for the bridge, set on piles in its most ancient form,
Now built of layers of stone, with two arches,
Which you tread as it lies beneath your feet,
How much do you think, that it cost to build?
Or how many thousands of carts do you think it has carried?
Now from what material has it been made by the masons?
When you have pondered long on these things, consider
Whether it is now superior to those who built it.
I have wished you to know this thing, visitor, and to fare well.

COMMENTARY
ON
THE SECOND BOOK

¹¹² The Latin, *examurgati*, is an Apuleian *hapax* (*Metamorphoses* 4, 14).

¹¹³ The rationale behind this was that it was inaccessible to the Lombards, who had no boats (Foulke, p. 67, n. 4). For the move, see Paul the Deacon 2, 10; in the secondary literature, Menis p. 140; Paschini, p. 99; Menghin, p. 98; Bosio, p. 57. The ultimate result of this was that the Orthodox patriarch of Grado, which was like Venice subject to Byzantium, would face a rival, a Roman Catholic patriarch, from the time that the abbot Giovanni was raised to the status of patriarch (of Aquileia) in 607. This resulted in a local schism, not resolved for many centuries. Indeed, the very proximity of Byzantine agents prompted the move of the patriarch of Aquileia from Cormons to Cividale.

¹¹⁴ Maxentius probably became bishop of Iulium Carnicum (Zuglio Carnico, then the episcopal seat for the region) in 579. He had held the episcopal dignity from 568, and his bishopric was at the height of the so-called Schism over the Three Chapters (*i.e.* written chapters; see F. Quai, *La sede episcopale del Forum Iulium Carnicum*, Udine, 1973, pp. 119-128). These, written by Theodore of Mopsuestia, were regarded as orthodox by many in Africa, Illyricum and Dalmatia. Indeed, two patriarchs of Grado, Elias, followed by Severus, believed them orthodox and convened their own synods. The bishops of Istria and Venetia also subscribed to them. However, the emperor Justinian I himself had already declared the chapters heretical, as overemphasising the two natures of Christ, and he was followed by Popes Vigilius, Pelagius I and Pelagius II. The other bishops were divided between themselves (P. S. Leicht, p. 65). Severus admitted himself to be in error, and it was only at the synod of Pavia in 699 that the schism was ended (*see* also Brozzi, p. 57; Bognetti treats of the schism in "I 'loca sanctorum' nella storia della chiesa nel regno dei longobardi", Vol III, *L'età*, pp. 305-45 and "I rapporti etico-politici fra Oriente e Occidente del secolo V al secolo VIII, Vol. IV, *L'età*, pp. 3-55).

B. De Rubeis, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Aquiliensis*, Argentinae, 1740, believes that the surviving documentary evidence indicates that Iulium Carnicum did not escape the destruction inflicted by the Avars, and that Maxentius' old house was burnt by them in 611.

¹¹⁵ Fidentius, unlike Maxentius, agreed finally, upon the destruction of Forum Iulium Carnicum (or Zuglio Carnico) by the Slavs, to reside at Cividale (718/20-728). Prior to this Cividale had been subject to an archdeacon of the patriarch of Aquileia. The Slavic war had been provoked by Duke Ferdulf of Iulium/Friuli, who lost his life when a large army of Slavs overran the Zeglia valley. Pemmo, succeeding Corvolo, who lived briefly, had a victory over them, but then treated

with them. The destruction of Iulium Carnicum in this latter Slavic invasion was the incentive for Fidentius to move to Cividale (Quai, pp. 128-132).

¹¹⁶ This account may be based in part on Paul the Deacon, 6, 51; *see also* Menis pp. 143-4, Paschini, pp. 133-5. *See also* Deloglu, pp. 152-3.

¹¹⁷ Despite King Liutprand's hostility towards Pemmo, the duke had previously decisively defeated the Slavs in battle near Lauriana, reversing the fortunes of the Lombards (P. S. Leicht, p. 70; Menis, p. 135; Paschini, p. 131)

¹¹⁸ This version of events is similar to the one related in Grion, pp. 27-8. Grion says that King Liutprand granted the duchy to the pious son of Pemmo, Ratchis. Quai concentrates on the fates of the two bishops, the patriarch Callixtus, and the bishop of Zuglio Carnico Amator (pp. 135-141). The ultimate fate of Amator is uncertain. Although De Rubeis says that he withdrew into a monastery, Quai favours the idea that he was allowed to dwell in Cividale. Brozzi, on the other hand, believes that Amator returned to Zuglio (p. 45). Quai sees the whole episode as a triumph of feudalism (a king over a duke, a patriarch over a bishop). Stucchi mentions the incident in passing (pp. 27-8) and Brozzi also dwells on it (pp. 44-45). *See also* P. S. Leicht, pp. 70-1, Bosio, p. 62, Menis pp. 143-4 and Paschini, pp. 133-5. Paul the Deacon says that King Liutprand dethroned Pemmo and appointed Pemmo's son Ratchis in his place (6, 51). Ratchis would in his turn become king. Hartmann discusses the Pemmo-Callixtus quarrel, 2/2, pp. 135-6.

¹¹⁹ In the castle of Potium.

¹²⁰ This is ironic, since Pemmo had repulsed incursions of the Slavs into Friuli and had exacted a tribute from them. *See* Grion, p. 27.

¹²¹ For the patriarchal palace, Stucchi, p. 38. In its location now is the palace of the Venetian procurator. The baptistery of the church attributed to Callixtus (but actually patronised by the patriarch Signoald; *see* Brozzi, p. 21) still survives, having been unearthed in the sacristy of the cathedral in 1906: *see* R. von Eitelberger, *Cividale in Friuli und seine Monumente*, pp. 5-11; Fogolari, pp. 40-7; M. Leicht, p. 23 and C. Cecchelli, *I Monumenti di Friuli dal secolo IV all' XI*, Vol. 1, *Cividale*, Milan, 1940, pp. 27-64. The church in question (not the present cathedral) was devoted to John the Baptist. Both monuments, claims Stucchi, p. 56, were erected a little after 737, though the baptistery is later (of the time of Signoald (762-776) and therefore of the time of the last Lombard duke of Friuli, Rodgaud (deposed 774)). Another Lombard monument worthy of note is the Altar of Ratchis, now in the church of San Martino, but intended for San Giovanni Battista; the scenes depicted on it, if crude by our standards, show us something of the nature of Lombard art: Fogolari, pp. 42-7; Eitelberger, pp. 11-15; M. Leicht, pp. 15-19; Cecchelli, pp. 1-26. Probably the most famous of the churches of Cividale other than the cathedral is the church dedicated to Santa Maria and popularly known as the Tempietto, a fine example of Lombard architecture: M. Leicht, pp. 31-5; Cecchelli, pp. 93-180, *et al.*

¹²² The original cathedral built by Callixtus was burnt during the patriarchate of Goffredo (who had succeeded in 1183), whose successor, Pellegrino II, collected

donations from the people and clergy for its restoration. It was enlarged by the patriarch Gregory de Montelongo (1251-1269), but burnt a second time in 1342. This necessitated a new cathedral.

¹²³ The exact name of this patriarch, of Lombard extraction, was Sigoald (patriarch 762-776). He favoured the fusion between Lombard and Roman and was responsible for the completion of the baptistery attributed to Callixtus. For him, see Grion, p. 29.

¹²⁴ One of the sons of Gisulf II, Duke of Friuli, Grimoald, after an eventful career, became king of the Lombards. He had fled to the Duke of Benevento, Arichis, on the murder of his father by the Avars as a small boy, and succeeded to the duchy of Benevento, after his brother Radoald, and was himself Duke of Benevento for 25 years (Paul the Deacon 4, 46). Grimoald, upon hearing of the discord between the two sons of the late king, Pectarit and Godepert by name, from the ambassador of Godepert, gained the necessary military support, and leaving his son Romoald as Duke of Benevento, he killed Godepert (in self-defence, he believed: so Paul the Deacon), and had himself proclaimed king of the Lombards at Pavia in 662 (Paul the Deacon, 4, 51), reigning for nine years with many military victories and much legislation. Noteworthy was the defeat of a Frankish force early in the reign, and then he had to contend with the Byzantine emperor Constans II, who landed at Taranto and moved towards Benevento. Lombard forces routed him, even if Campania remained in his hands (Paul the Deacon 6, 10). Since Duke Lupo of Friuli was becoming rebellious, Grimoald invited the Avars in against him, before repelling these invaders himself (Paul the Deacon, 6, 19-21). His reign also featured a peaceful immigration of Bulgars (Paul the Deacon, 6, 29). Grimoald's death is described in Paul the Deacon 6, 33.

¹²⁵ Paschini, pp. 148-9; *id.*, *San Paolino patriarca e la Chiesa aquileiese alla fine del sec. VIII*, Udine, 1906; Fogolari, pp. 48-49; P. S. Leicht, pp. 78-9; Menis, pp. 154-5; Bosio, pp 80-1. Paulinus was patriarch between 785 and 802. He was born at Cividale between 730 and 740, and was probably not a Lombard (P. S. Leicht, p. 39). He was for a time a teacher of grammar, going in 777 to the court of Charlemagne as the master of the Palatine School together with men such as Alcuin, Peter of Pisa and our friend Paul the Deacon. He stayed there for ten years. At the death of the patriarch Sigoald, Charlemagne appointed Paulinus to succeed him. He went with Pepin the Short on an expedition to Pannonia against the Avars, whom he succeeded in converting to Christianity. He was active in the patriarchate, refuting the heresy of Felix of Urgel. He died at Cividale and was buried there in 804. Fogolari passes comment on the beauty of his poetry, claiming it to be the finest of the eighth century. Grion (p. 31) mentions one poem written to commemorate Charlemagne's defeat of the Saxons, and their subsequent baptism. Grion gives his account of Paulinus on p. 31.

¹²⁶ The era of Otto I the Great, Holy Roman Emperor, and of his immediate successors, and the incursions into Friuli of the Magyars are passed over in silence by Canussio.

¹²⁷ Poppus (Wolfgang) was Patriarch of Aquileia from 1019-1042. He was of German stock. Before becoming patriarch he was the chancellor of the emperor Henry II, and on this account undertook many military expeditions. He became a devotee of Conrad II who conferred the honour of patriarch on him. This reduced the income of the Duke of Carinthia, Adalberone, who had previously exacted tribute from the patriarchate, which was now dependent directly on the emperor. Conrad increased Poppus' powers by granting him the right to mint money and increasing the territory dependent on the patriarchate (in Carniola). With this increased income Poppus was able to erect the basilica of Aquileia and its bell-tower. He also instituted a chapter of fifty canons. However, he is infamous for stealing the treasures of Grado. Moro, p. 139, note 39; Grion, p. 40; Fogolari, p. 64; P.S. Leicht, p. 98; Menis, pp. 179-80; Paschini, pp. 213-25. Throughout the thirteenth century Germans continued to be elected as patriarch, aligning the Friuliese more with the emperor than the Pope (a notable exception is Ulric I, a partisan of Pope Alexander III, and an opponent of Frederick I Barbarossa). The Germans were interested in Friuli, since it was the gateway to Italy.

¹²⁸ On the subjection of Grado to the Aquileian patriarchate and the acquisition of its treasures by Poppus in 1024, see Menis, p. 180; Paschini pp. 215. This was the culmination of much enmity between the Roman Catholic patriarch of Aquileia and the Orthodox one at Grado between the eighth and twelfth centuries. The doge, Ottone Orseolo, forced Poppus to return the treasures of Grado shortly before the latter's death; P. S. Leicht, p. 99.

¹²⁹ Ovid, *Heroides* 2,85.

¹³⁰ The correct name is Eberardo. He was patriarch of Aquileia from 1042 to 1049. A conflict arose between him and the patriarch of Grado over the dependency of the bishops of Istria, resolved by Pope Leo IX in favour of the patriarch of Grado.

¹³¹ Canussio passes over the greater part of the events of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, which not only saw the patriarchs of Aquileia gain temporal power (1077-1420), but involved wars with the powerful Ghibelline Counts of Gorizia (to the east). The other communities of Friuli fought Gorizia during 1299-1307, during the patriarchate of Pagano della Torre (P.S. Leicht). There were also internecine conflicts within Cividale itself (whose patriarchs from 1251-1420 were Guelfs) in the earlier part of this period, then wars with the Dukes of Carinthia and Austria. Indeed, in the mid-fourteenth century, the patriarch Bertrando, who sought help from Venice, met his death in battle against the Count of Gorizia, now allied to Cividale (Grion, p. 61). Following these events, the wars between the different factions within Cividale and Udine (particularly those between the people of Cividale and the Savorgnan family; P.S. Leicht, pp. 175-6; Menis, pp. 240-1; Bosio, pp. 120) were prosecuted in earnest, with a concurrent rivalry between allies of Padua (including the Carrara family) and allies of Venice. Different factions supported different candidates for the patriarchate, Venice, Cividale, Udine and so on. To confuse matters further there was a schism involving three competing pontifical candidates, Gregory

XII, Benedict XII and Alexander V (naturally nominating different patriarchs). The ultimate outcome of this chaos was the imposition of Venetian rule on Friuli. One notable positive event of the period was the promotion of the count of Friuli (as the Franks had denoted him) to the rank of duke; *see* P.S. Leicht, p. 103.

¹³² The main patriarch responsible for the move to Udine had been one Berthold, who, finding a patriarchal castle, transformed it into a *villa*, with its own suburbs (P. S. Leicht, p. 117). It became a centre of trade and great industry. Cividale remained the site of the chancellory and the archives (P. S. Leicht, pp. 118). Pagano della Torre (1318-1331) spent more time at Udine. Udine was made by the patriarch Bertrand his seat of judgement (P.S. Leicht, p. 152; incidentally, Bertrand was murdered as a result of a conspiracy involving the Counts of Gorizia: P.S. Leicht, p. 151; Menis, p. 234; Paschini, p. 504; Grion, p. 61). The patriarch Nicolò of Luxemburg also showed a predilection for Udine (Bosio, p. 119). All the same, in the thirteenth century, of the Friulan cities, the largest was Aquileia, then Cividale, then Gemona.

¹³³ The Hungarians (Magyars) invaded in 904, 921, 923, 927 and 934 (P.S. Leicht, p. 95): the development involving Ludwig of Teck, however, was much later. Another menace, which Canussio neglects to mention, was that of the Hapsburg Duke Rudolf IV of Austria, who, allying himself with the Counts of Gorizia, took Friuli over in the mid-fourteenth century. They were opposed by the emperor (P.S. Leicht, pp. 161-5; Menis, pp. 235-6). It was ultimately the threat of Austria which threw the Friulans, Forogiuliesi and Udinesi alike, into the arms of the Venetians, but not before there were further squabbles between the two cities.

¹³⁴ On the accession to the patriarchal throne of Ludwig of Teck (finally ratified by the antipope John XXIII), *see* P.S. Leicht, pp. 181-188; Menis, p. 243; Bosio, pp. 124-7; Paschini pp. 678, 703, 720, 722. He was patriarch between 1412 and 1439, his tenure witnessing the Venetian conquest of Friuli of 1420. Grion says more (pp. 70-84): Ludwig of Teck was appointed captain of Aquileia by the Cardinal of Alençon on the request of the Cividalesi as well as Count Enrico of Gorizia. Pope Boniface IX however chose Antonio de' Gaetani as patriarch, from the family of Boniface VIII. Antonio Pancera succeeded Antonio de' Gaetani in February 1402. He chose Cividale as his seat. The Udinesi requested him to reside at Udine, reopening the breach between the two cities. Indeed, in Udine it was rumoured that the king of Hungary was going to install Duke Ludwig of Teck as the patriarch in 1395, on the request of the chapter of Aquileia. The Cividalesi supported the installation of a Hungarian patriarch at this time so as to have the support of the King of Hungary and the Counts of Ortemburg and Gorizia (Bosio, pp. 124-5). As mentioned above, this was the time of the papal schism, with two popes supporting rival candidates. Panceria was Udine's candidate. When Pope Innocent VII died, a Venetian succeeded him as Pope Gregory XII. The Pope in Siena wrote a letter to Cividale, freeing the town from obedience to Panceria. However, the Udinesi and Cividalesi agreed to tell the Pope (Gregory XII) not to listen to the calumnies against Panceria. Then

Corrado Boiani, a Cividalesi noble, protested that the patriarch could not and would not abide by an agreement made previously, and, incurring the dissatisfaction of the Pope, the patriarch was deposed and taken to Venice. Yet another war broke out. During the course of this war, citizens of Cividale alienated the doge.

In the meantime Gregory XII sought to end the schism by calling a general council at Aquileia or in the exarchate of Ravenna. On December 19 it was convoked at Udine and Cividale. The Pope appointed a Venetian, Antonio da Ponte, patriarch (ill-advisedly since the Udinesi still supported Panciera). In opposition, the assembly of Cividale charged Boiani and some deputies to make obeisance to the Count of Ortenburg as the imperial vicar, and nominated Simone di Giannantonio (March 20 1409); the Council of Pisa (March 25) deposed both popes. The Udinese Tristano Savorgnano inflamed the Udinese assembly against Gregory XII, claiming that he would elevate Cividale at Udine's expense; the situation became outright war, Cividale turning to the Count of Ortenburg and King Robert of Bavaria. In due course Gregory and his cardinals arrived in Cividale to acclamations. In the meantime the legitimate pope declared the council of Pisa heretical, for it had supported Baldassare Cossa (John XXIII), who was soon condemned for multiple offences (29 May 1415). Although the doge had previously preferred the candidature of Alexander V, Gregory granted Sacile, the gateway to Friuli, to him in fief, and the doge now made obeisance to him.

However, some Cividalesi were unhappy with the deposition of Panciera, and the Udinesi even more so. Udine and Cividale made a new treaty (21 July), but the Pope was now pursued by men loyal to Panciera, and fled to Gaeta. Cividale was now surrounded by enemies on all sides. A brief truce was made by Corrado Boiano with Udine, but the assembly of Cividale swore never to accept Antonio da Ponte as patriarch. War was declared again, and an ally of Enrico Count of Gorizia (who was on the side of the Cividalesi), was the aforementioned Ludwig of Teck, now declared patriarch.

However, Robert of Bavaria died, and Sigismund was elected as king of Hungary. He demanded from the Italians a free passage to Rome to be crowned emperor (since he was the son of the emperor Charles IV). Sigismund, in 1412, with 3000 knights and 8000 already in Friulan territory, was acclaimed overlord of Cividale. The Council in Cividale, out of fear of Ludwig and Sigismund, sent an emissary to Venice to voice their fears. The war between Cividale and her allies and Udine and her allies continued. The pontifical curia made Panciera a cardinal. Sigismund instructed the Cividalesi to accept John XXIII's candidate, Ludwig, as patriarch. The chapter of Aquileia was persuaded again to elect Ludwig of Teck. Pope Martin V confirmed his election February 25 1418. This would be the last time that Cividale would be capital of Friuli, and the residence of the patriarch of Aquileia.

Meanwhile there had been a five-years' truce between Sigismund of Hungary and Venice. It expired in April 21 1418. The Venetians invaded Friuli, and this caused the Cividalesi to retire behind their walls. The patriarch ordered the

Cividalesi to send the Udinesi reinforcements. On August 30 safe conduct was given to an ambassador to Sigismund, and the patriarch was asked to send ambassadors to Venice. He refused, but two Cividalesi, Niccolò Portis and Simon Manin went. Due to the lack of money, the Cividalesi had to disband their soldiery. However, the doge wanted peace with the patriarch and Friuli. The Cividalese parliament, however, voted to take more aggressive action; and when the Venetians countered, Ludwig convened a parliament-general. The parliament granted safe conduct to Venetian ambassadors in return for safe conduct for Cividale's ambassadors. The Cividalese ambassador Perotti also sought peace from Udine. However, the patriarch was opposed to peace, and had those of the other side captured and tortured, even killed.

Not surprisingly, peace with Venice could not be obtained. It took the embassy of Giannantonio to procure a profession of a desire for peace from Venice. The council of Cividale swore an oath in secrecy to agree to this, but the assembly did not assent.

All the councillors, save Simone Giannantonio, then reached a decision to offer Venice the following terms for peace: the Venetians would not in future be enemies to the people of Aquileia or Cividale; if enemies of Venice should descend from the north, Cividale would not grant passage (a clause which was framed against Sigismund of Hungary); the emperor himself could be nominated as an enemy; they would provision the Venetians against the patriarch or Udine if necessary.

Since willing ambassadors were hard to find, they guaranteed to anyone who should be chosen compensation for every damage that they might suffer. A reluctant Niccolò Portis, Simone Giannantonio and Alessio the notary were chosen, and on July 6 they reported that Filippo d'Arcelli demanded six hostages. On the 12th the council responded to the patriarch and wrote to the Udinesi proposing peace. The doge of Venice agreed to the three ambassadors' terms on the 13th. Subsequently the Udinesi granted the Cividalesi safe conduct and expressed a desire to negotiate with the patriarch. Not receiving a reply from them by the 31st, the Cividalese council decided not to communicate further with the patriarch or the Udinesi.

A Venetian contingent of soldiers then entered Cividale on August 23, staying in the patriarchal palace. A dissonant voice among the Venetians, Janciglio, whose allegiance was to the patriarch rather than the city, was received by the Slavs, but was later taken into custody by the Cividalesi. On Sunday night August 26-7 a declaration of war was affixed to the gates of Udine. However, on the Venetian front, the doge assented to peace and to a restitution of the lands taken by his people. On September 15 the confederation was sworn in by the assembly. Peace was also sought with the Count of Gorizia. The new regime, or "dominion" of Venice, was designed to avert the progress of the Hungarians; the particulars of the war with the Hungarians will be detailed in subsequent notes: the important thing to note here is the marriage of convenience of the patriarch Ludwig and Sigismund of Hungary.

¹³⁵ Ludwig of Teck came against the land of Cividale on November 25 1419 (Grion pp. 84-5). With him were a Hungarian baron named Drianis, 6000 Hungarians, and the forces of Gorizia and Udine. They had siege engines and siege ladders, and they all cried, "Sack Cividale." The Hungarians overran Slavonia, cut all the roads to Friuli, burned all the villages and cut all the bridges. Some friendly forces came to aid Cividale. Some Hungarians were quartered in Udine, where Ludwig installed himself. With the aid of the Venetians, the Cividalesi were able to defend themselves. Udine was taken on June 6 1420. Ludwig had abandoned it. The outcome of the war was that shortly all Friuli was subject to Venice. The Cividalesi were unhappy that the lieutenant of the doge chose to reside in Udine.

However, after another unsuccessful attempt to install Ludwig in 1422, on August 1 1426 the Hungarian king suggested that the Cividalesi should defect from the Venetians to his alliance with Milan, and with the Roman king and the Pope. The Cividalesi did not accept this proposal, and furthermore they found themselves on guard against the Slavs. In retreat, Ludwig wrote to his vicar in Udine (May 1427): they were to resolve the situation by law, by the force of love (that is, by the decree of a council), or by using the forces of the king or through the enlistment of new allies.

On Jan 9 1428 the Venetian lieutenant at Udine, Giovanni Morosini, began to repel the invaders.

Ludwig attempted once more to regain the patriarchal throne in 1431, with 5000 Hungarians, but was thwarted. The Venetians maintained the office of patriarch of Aquileia, but its temporal powers were ceded to the *Serenissima* (the Republic of Venice); Bosio, p. 128.

¹³⁶ A village situated in the vicinity of Moimacco, near Cividale: Moro directs us to G. Frau, *Dizionario toponomastico del Friuli-Venezia Giulia*, Udine, 1978, p. 36.

¹³⁷ Patriarch of Aquileia from 1493 to 1497, he was nominated by the Venetian senate as successor to Cardinal Marco Barbo in opposition to Pope Innocent VIII's candidate, Ermolao Barbaro. The latter did not wish to renounce the patriarchal throne, even though Venice did not recognise him, and Donato was forced to wait for his death to assume office.

¹³⁸ The word *famigerabile* is a derivative of *for/fari/fama*, cited by Varro, but now found only in Apuleius (*Metamorphoses* 1, 7; 2, 21; 9, 5; 10, 17) before several sporadic uses by Christian writers (so Mantanovelli).

¹³⁹ This refers to the cathedral of Cividale dedicated to S. Maria della Assunta, as the following chapter makes clear.

¹⁴⁰ The original cathedral of Cividale, also dedicated to S. Maria della Assunta, was burnt down. The patriarch Goffredo held a collection to replace it. It was then decided in the fifteenth century to build a larger and more imposing building. Grion (pp. 328-34) and Fogolari (pp. 39-40, 76) inform us about this. As a result of an earthquake, the building, on which more work had been done, fell in. Work was begun on restoring the cathedral in 1408. This building was

also damaged in an earthquake, in 1448. In 1449 it was decided to build the cathedral on a grander scale, a proposal accepted in 1450. At one stage, Erardo di Villaco, engineer of the great bridge, was engaged in the construction, dying before its completion in 1453. In 1465 the cathedral managed to withstand a flood. Some repair work was necessary in 1495, even though only a third of the church was finished; the roof was completed only in 1500. However, the building collapsed after the time of Canussio's book (29 January 1502), requiring further reconstruction. The successor building, devoted to the Blessed Virgin of the Assumption and St Stephen, contains numerous chapels (nine all told) and has an altar dedicated to the Archangel St Michael.

The word *pator* (translated here as 'dimensions'), is rare. It survives in the first century A.D. writer Scribonius Largus, before occurring four times in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (1, 19; 3, 17; 10, 29; 11, 10).

¹⁴¹ As Moro points out, the chapter was a college of priests instituted to celebrate the cult and in the case of the chapter of the cathedral, to assist the bishop. The base of power of an institution such as this was the extent of its estate, the result of what was assigned by the bishop to the canons and that which came from donations and bequests from the faithful. This was the basic structure of the medieval church. The modern names of the three other parishes are Faedis, Fagagna and Ragogna.

The phrase *nullibi Italiae* occurs in Martianus Capella (Ulrich Kopp's edition) 813 and 892.

¹⁴² *Alumnandum*, from *alumnare*, is an Apuleian neologism (it is found four times in Apuleius, and afterwards only in Martianus Capella).

¹⁴³ Fogolari testifies that this was the case. The bust was in fact a reliquary, holding the cranium of the Saint, and is illustrated on p. 115 of Fogolari's guide to the art of Cividale. Bosio tells us that it was made in 1374, and that it was commissioned by the commune (as opposed to the patriarch and nobles).

¹⁴⁴ Bosio (p. 112) tells us that these were a donation of the patriarch Pellegrino II. On them, on the front panel, are depicted the Virgin with her Christ-child, and two angels revering them. On the side panels are 25 saints, male and virgin, with a large cornice completing it, showing Pellegrino kneeling in homage.

¹⁴⁵ Our author is likely to be thinking of Virgil's *tunicam squalentem auro* (*Aeneid* 10.314), learnedly defended by Gellius 2,6, and used by Macrobius *Saturnalia* 6, 7, 17.

¹⁴⁶ *Nimietatis* is the Latin word which is translated here, from *nimietas*. It is found five times in Apuleius, and Tertullian also uses it in this sense, as do some of the Church Fathers.

¹⁴⁷ The MS reading *provincia* should be corrected to *provinciae*.

¹⁴⁸ The Natisone reaches a depth of up to 18m.

¹⁴⁹ The original wooden bridge, attributed to Caesar, was broken in 1331 when the Zuccola and Villalta families attacked the city from the gate of St Lazarus, and indeed they tried to put it to the flame.

¹⁵⁰ *Superpondium* is a hapax of Apuleius (Mantanovelli).

¹⁵¹ We are concerned here with the famous *Ponte del Diavolo*, "the Devil's Bridge", also called "the Great Bridge", the most important of the many bridges of Cividale. On this, see especially Grion, pp. 411-15 and T. Venuti, "Il ponte del Diavolo tra storia e leggende" in *Quaderni Cividalesi* 15 (1988), pp. 43-5. This bridge was accessed by a gate on the city's south. The Cividalesi were concerned to replace the ruined wooden bridge that was said to be of Caesar's time. Work was begun in the fourteenth century (1337, by the architect Girardo di Cremona, then, in 1340, by Lazzarino di Trieste; work continued at intervals until 1367; then in 1377 it was decided to work on the pylons). Work was resumed in the fifteenth century, when it was proposed to replace the wooden bridge with one of stone (1440), to be paid for by the donations of Cividalese notables and other citizens, the work to be carried out by Giuseppe d'Incarojo. This proposal was not accepted, rather the contract was concluded with Magister Jacopo Daguro di Bissone of Como, Magister Giacomo di Cumis and Magister Erardo da Villacco (1441). The stone was quarried from the vicinity of Gruspergo. Erardo supervised the penultimate stage, since Jacopo had died, probably of plague (1445). He was assisted by the engineer Bartolomeo delle Cisterne. The wooden framework was removed in 1453, the entire work, with the covering of the bridge, completed in 1460. Erardo did not live to see the bridge's completion. In 1468 the foundations withstood a violent earthquake, and in 1580 (after Canussio's death) the covering slabs were worked to render the surface less prone to slipping. The subsequent history of the bridge is summarised by Moro, p. 141, n. 47.

The first span of the bridge is 25.40m long and 10.40m high, the second 18.40m long and 9.20m high. The main material is limestone.

For the folk tales surrounding the bridge and its supposed construction by the Devil, see Venuti, pp. 44-5.

¹⁵² Latin *ingeniati*. An archaism found in Plautus, but also in Apuleius, and the other favourite author of Canussio, Aulus Gellius.

¹⁵³ The word *discretim* which is translated here is one of those formations in *-im* of which Apuleius was so fond.

¹⁵⁴ The Clarecini family was of Bolognese origin, settling in Cividale in the thirteenth century when Boniatale Clarecini was transferred to the ducal seat. In 1440 Francesco Clarecini was selected to be a member of a commission to take charge of the commissioning of the reconstruction in stone of the *Ponte del Diavolo*. See C. Czoernig, *Gorizia: "la nizza Austriaca"*, Gorizia, 1969, pp. 663-4.

¹⁵⁵ Elocutili facundia: derived from Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11, 3 (*dapsilem copiam elocutilis facundiae*).

¹⁵⁶ *Incoram*: Apuleian in origin.

¹⁵⁷ On *dapsilem* see note 44 above.

¹⁵⁸ Cornelius Celsus was the author of an encyclopaedia, from which *De Medicina* survives. He lived in the first century A.D. Professor James Willis,

who was consulted for this book, refuses to believe this etymology of ‘Sillana’, and concludes from *silanus iuxta cadens* (*de Med* 3, 18, 15) that the word *silanus* originally meant only an outlet of any kind for running water. There is a possible connection with the Silenus of classical mythology, who is often associated with fountains of water.

¹⁵⁹ *Provinciae nullibi*: cf. *Italiae nullibi* in Chapter IX (and see note 30).

¹⁶⁰ Friulan wine was famous and has been exported ever since Roman times (Menis, *History of Friuli*, p. 80).

¹⁶¹ *Pinguisque ferinae*: cf. *Aeneid* 1, 215.

¹⁶² *Perflatili* is an Apuleianism, particularly in conjunction with *pator* (*Metamorphoses* 3, 17).

¹⁶³ Stucchi, p. 23, points to inscriptions showing that some inhabitants of Aquileia regularly spent some of their year at Cividale due to the greater clemency of the weather.

¹⁶⁴ The Latin words *mille sonant dulci gutture carmen aves* form a complete elegiac pentameter. Cf. Tibullus 1, 360 *dulce sonant tenui gutture carmen avis*. If it is not accidental, our pentameter may be an imperfect recollection.

¹⁶⁵ *Cohumidatus*, the past participle of *cohumido*, is another word which seems to be derived from Apuleius' vocabulary (*Metamorphoses* 8, 9).

¹⁶⁶ *Splendidavit* is also an Apuleianism: see *De Magia* 103.

¹⁶⁷ The Formentini family seems to have been of Hungarian origin, but it had already settled in Friuli by the fourteenth century. In 1315, Moro tells us, Enrico II, Count of Gorizia, confirmed to Formentino Formentini all the feudal rights that he had been granted at that time. The same Formentino went to Cividale in 1342 and was thus progenitor of the Cividalese branch of the family: Czoernig, *Gorizia*, pp. 660-1. Niccolò Canussio married Maria Formentini and his sons Antonio and Leandro married the granddaughters of Adamo, Damia and Pantasilea.

¹⁶⁸ As Moro points out, the Boiani family is first attested in some notarial documents of 1210; from this stock came the blessed Benevuta Boiani. In the fourteenth century the family had great power, and the main protagonist for the family was Corrado Boiani: L. Zanutto, *Il milite Corrado III Boiani e la sua illustre casata*, Udine, 1902, pp. 12-16.

¹⁶⁹ The first attestation of the della Torre family, says Moro, comes from the twelfth century with Martino della Torre, lord of Valsassina. The family was dominant at Milan for three generations; after the struggle with the Visconti they withdrew to Cividale and four patriarchs came from their family, among them Raimondo in the thirteenth century, Pagano in the fourteenth: Czoernig, pp. 574-582; Grion, pp. 48, 52.

¹⁷⁰ *Adpliciore* in the Latin: cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 10, 22.

¹⁷¹ This is an antiquarian allusion to the nomadic people who once lived in southern Russia in the vicinity of the Aral Sea.

¹⁷² Virgil, *Georgics* 2, 43.

¹⁷³ Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1, 83-4.

¹⁷⁴ The word which is translated here, *pensiculate*, from the verb *pensiculo*, is found in Gellius and Apuleius.

¹⁷⁵ Fors or Fortuna (often, as here, described in Latin of the Classical period by a combination of both forms as Fors Fortuna) was the goddess of chance or luck in Roman mythology. The introduction of her cult was attributed to the sixth king of Rome, Servius Tullius. She had an oracle at Antium, but perhaps the most prestigious centre of worship was on the right bank of the Tiber, where she was worshipped under the name of Fors Fortuna. Here her festival was on the 11th June, and shared with the cult of Matuta Mater. Fortuna's cult was particularly important in the Republican era of Rome. See *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edition, 1996, p. 606; *Der Neue Pauly*, Vol. 4, 1998, cols. 598-602.

¹⁷⁶ From this it is evident that he was a medical practitioner at Cividale.

¹⁷⁷ As Moro points out, he was a jurist belonging to the noble family of Conti, originating from Cividale, also having the name of Burgo Pontis: C. Groernig, p. 664.

¹⁷⁸ *Inuberes* is the Latin, from Gellius 20, 8, 3, a *hapax*.

¹⁷⁹ *Confusaneae* is Gellian, from his preface, 5, and a *hapax*.

¹⁸⁰ The convent of the Preaching Friars of Cividale was founded in the second half of the thirteenth century; the nearby monastery of enclosed sisters was founded in 1267, initially under the rule of St Augustine, but adhering afterwards to that of St Dominic. Both were suppressed in 1801 with the Napoleonic conquest. Grion, p. 390; Bosio, p. 99 says that the Dominicans were already present by 1241.

¹⁸¹ The original church and monastery were founded by the patriarch Gregory in 1256 (Bosio, p. 99). These were acquired by nuns, who later became subject to the pious community, of S. Pietro di Poloneto, with its teaching friars. The nuns, with their new seat, created the convent of Clarissan sisters. By Canussio's time a new church and monastery of S. Francesco were established. The patriarch Raimondo della Torre laid the first stone (Feb 4, 1285). See Book I, note 19.

¹⁸² Brozzi mentions only one of these as being from the time of the Lombards, p. 76. However Bosio is aware of a Benedictine convent sanctioned by the patriarch Gregory of Montelongo, to be located in the vicinity of S. Giorgio al Vado. The second convent, says Bosio, is known as S. Maria in Valle.

¹⁸³ The church of St Lazarus is mentioned in medieval documents, together with the hospital for lepers, from 1291. It was refurbished and enlarged in the seventeenth century: Grion, p. 401.

¹⁸⁴ In response to the increasing numbers of Cividalesi leaving the city for the university cities of Bologna and Padua, the patriarch Ottobono tried to procure for Cividale the right to establish its own university (1303). Indeed the commune voted 50 gold florins a year to a *magister* for this institution, implying that it was founded. There were, naturally, schools prior to this, including law schools,

throughout Friuli, all under the supervision of the Church. A later patriarch, Bertrand, sought pontifical approval, which he received. In response to local appeals, and in particular to that of the patriarch Niccolò of Luxemburg, the emperor Charles IV, his brother, confirmed to Cividale the right to its own university on August 1 1353. However, due to the upheavals of the time, the institution failed to flourish. There is no documentary evidence to show its survival. P.S. Leicht, p. 159, attributes its disappearance to the interminable wars, in particular the rise of Udine and the conquest of the Friuli by Venice. On the history of the university, devoted as much to the arts as to law, see M. Leicht, *Rivista Friulana* 47 (1860), pp. 365-7; also P.S. Leicht, "Scuole superiori e vita studentesca nel Friuli medievale" in *Memorie storiche forogiulesi* (1925), pp. 1-17; Bosio, p. 117; Grion, 59. All the same, a school for notaries continued.

¹⁸⁵ Virgil, *Aeneid* 6, 129-130. In this chapter Canussio seems to be saying that Cividale has its share of learned men, and that if poets are rare, that is because they are rare everywhere.

¹⁸⁶ The *decuriones* in Roman times were councillors who ran local government in colonies and municipalities. They were recruited mostly from ex-magistrates and held office for life. The minimum age for office was originally 25, but was reduced to 18 by Constantine I the Great. The number varied, but there were often 100. The decurions oversaw administration, finances and local statutes, as well as the sending of embassies to the emperor. They also oversaw the collection of taxes. In time, office became hereditary. The office of decurion became increasingly burdensome, and holders of the office began to evade their duties. However, the office survived, as Canussio testifies. See *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edition, 1996, pp. 437-8; *Der Neue Pauly*, Vol. 3, 1997, cols. 356-359.

¹⁸⁷ Virgil, *Eclogues* 3, 111: the final verse of the poem.

¹⁸⁸ The Latin word *conscriptus* is applied especially to senators and councillors.

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