

Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	xiii
<i>A note on spellings</i>	xvii
<i>Maps</i>	xviii
<i>Table of competing powers in Ravenna</i>	xxiii
<i>Introduction</i>	xxix
1 The emergence of Ravenna as the imperial capital of the West	1
PART ONE 390–450 Galla Placidia	
2 Galla Placidia, Theodosian princess	17
3 Honorius (395–423) and the development of Ravenna	24
4 Galla Placidia at the western court (416–23)	33
5 Galla Placidia, builder and empress mother	46
PART TWO 450–93 The Rise of the Bishops	
6 Valentinian III and Bishop Neon	63
7 Sidonius Apollinaris in Ravenna	72
8 Romulus Augustulus and King Odoacer	77
PART THREE 493–540 Theoderic the Goth, Arian King of Ravenna	
9 Theoderic the Ostrogoth	89
10 Theoderic's kingdom	101
11 Theoderic's diplomacy	116
12 Theoderic the lawgiver	125
13 Amalasuintha and the legacy of Theoderic	137

PART FOUR 540–70
Justinian I and the campaigns in
North Africa and Italy

14	Belisarius captures Ravenna	151
15	San Vitale, epitome of Early Christendom	160
16	Narses and the Pragmatic Sanction	174
17	Archbishop Maximian, bulwark of the West	184
18	Archbishop Agnellus and the seizure of the Arian churches	191

PART FIVE 568–643
King Alboin and the Lombard conquest

19	Alboin invades	203
20	The exarchate of Ravenna	214
21	Gregory the Great and the control of Ravenna	223
22	Isaac, the Armenian exarch	230
23	Agnellus the doctor	239

PART SIX 610–700
The expansion of Islam

24	The Arab conquests	247
25	Constans II in Sicily	256
26	The Sixth Oecumenical Council	268
27	The Anonymous Cosmographer of Ravenna	276

PART SEVEN 685–725
The two reigns of Justinian II

28	The Council <i>in Trullo</i>	287
29	The heroic Archbishop Damianus	297
30	The tempestuous life of Archbishop Felix	306

PART EIGHT 700–769
Ravenna returns to the margins

31	Leo III and the defeat of the Arabs	317
32	The beginnings of Iconoclasm	326
33	Pope Zacharias and the Lombard conquest of Ravenna	335
34	Archbishop Sergius takes control	341

PART NINE 756–813
Charlemagne and Ravenna

35	The long rule of King Desiderius	353
36	Charles in Italy, 774–87	363
37	Charles claims the stones of Ravenna	375
	Conclusion: The glittering legacy of Ravenna	387
	<i>Notes</i>	401
	<i>Acknowledgements</i>	491
	<i>Index</i>	493

I

The emergence of Ravenna as the imperial capital of the West

In the centuries before Rome adopted Christianity as its official religion, the Eternal City served as a symbol of world domination imposed by vigorous military leaders and efficient civilian administrators. Within its vast fortifications, along its famous streets, among its magnificent public buildings, emperors proclaimed their victories over distant foreign rulers in triumphal processions, statues and inscriptions. The Roman Senate commemorated those displays of power and the Roman populace joined in the celebrations, an essential element of the imperial policy of ‘bread and circuses’. The imperial court, based in the great palace on the Palatine hill, processed appeals for judgment, military reports, tax returns and news from the frontiers, while priests attached to the temples ensured divine support for the empire through their sacrifices and prayers. It was to Rome that ambitious young men and women, talented poets, sculptors, merchants, mercenaries and entertainers, came to seek the patronage of Roman aristocrats and to make their fortunes. The city was the centre of the known world and all roads led to Rome.

Yet during the third century rulers no longer resided there permanently. An increasing number of emperors from military backgrounds based themselves in other, more strategically significant cities, and wherever the emperor went the court and part of the administration had to accompany him. In the ancient capital the Senate continued to appoint a prefect to govern the city and had responsibility for providing grain supplies for the urban population. On 1 January every year it bestowed the highest honour of the consulship on two individuals, nominated by the emperor, who gave their names to the year and thus established a dating system. The consuls were also expected to finance extravagant popular entertainment in the form of horse and chariot

races, wild beast fights and displays of dancers, mimes and acrobats. While the Senate remained the power base of aristocratic families who had traditionally provided well-educated sons to govern the provinces, command the armies and protect the legal system, the shift away from Rome as the sole centre of empire created a novel style of imperial rule: a more direct attention to frontier security, increased military efficiency and supplies to combat hostile attacks. The reign of Diocletian (284–305) marked a distinct break, with changes that inaugurated a new era. During this period Ravenna emerged from its insignificant beginnings to become an imperial capital.

The Reforms of Diocletian

Diocletian was a military leader from Dalmatia who was acclaimed emperor by his troops in 284 and set out to reverse the economic and political decline characterized by modern historians as ‘the crisis of the third century’.¹ He began by reinforcing the empire’s northern borders, threatened by Sarmatian and Germanic forces, and reorganizing its administration. In a dramatic shift, in 286 he moved the imperial court from Rome to Milan, and appointed a military colleague, Maximian, as his co-emperor with authority to rule in the western half of the empire. Diocletian made his own capital in Nicomedia (modern-day İzmit in north-western Turkey), a city from which he could protect the empire from the threat of Persian invasion more effectively. This initial division of imperial authority was followed in 293 by the appointment of two junior emperors, called caesars, who would inherit full power after a fixed period. In this way, Diocletian tried to introduce a system for orderly succession that would prevent the wars frequently generated by rival claimants to the imperial title.

While the two emperors constructed palaces and administrative buildings in their new capital cities, Nicomedia and Milan, the two caesars set up their courts in bases closer to the borders: Antioch in northern Syria and Trier in the West. Other centres, such as Serdica (modern Sofia in Bulgaria) and Thessalonike (in Greece) were also used, producing new ‘imperial’ capitals that symbolized the extension and consolidation of Roman power far from Italy. From Milan major routes to central Europe and the East, and to transalpine Europe, the

North and West, established a more northerly communication system that partly replaced the centrality of Rome. Between 337 and 402 emperors from Constantius II to Honorius made Milan their preferred residence, and courtiers and imperial officials constructed elegant villas there for themselves.²

Diocletian's rule of four, the 'tetrarchy', designed to exert stronger control over frontiers very distant from Rome, was accompanied by drastic reforms to imperial government. Civilian administration was separated from military and was overhauled to increase the efficiency of tax collection. Fortifications, factories (for weapons as well as uniforms) and roads were built, while taxation in the form of food supplies for local armies was introduced, all designed to assist military success. Many provinces were divided into smaller units, which acquired a distinct hierarchy of officials under a governor and a salaried judge. As part of this process, in 297 Ravenna became the capital of the province of Flaminia, the coastal section of north-east Italy.

Today, Diocletian is generally remembered for his persecution of the Christians from 303 to 311, and his attempt to standardize prices by the Price Edict of 301. Neither policy succeeded and both were reversed by his eventual successor Constantine. His vast palace at Split marks a megalomaniac ambition that included the adoption of Persian regalia, such as wearing a crown and specifically imperial costume, and ceremonial that required visitors to bow low before his throne.³ Although he and his co-emperor Maximian retired in 305 as planned, the peaceful transfer of power proved elusive. Military forces often refused to accept the designated caesar and instead promoted their own commanders as emperor. Constantine I was one of those, acclaimed by his troops at York in 306. He fought his way across the length and breadth of the Roman world, eliminating all rivals, to become sole emperor in 324.

The Innovations of Constantine I

In 330 Constantine inaugurated a new capital city in the eastern half of the Roman Empire, giving it his own name, Constantinople, the city of Constantine, and a Christian identity. By the late fourth century it became known as the ruling city (*basileuoussa*) or queen of cities, *basiliston poleon*, also *basilissa polis*. In recognition of the Christian faith,

Constantine also endowed large, prominently sited churches in major cities; ordered bishops to convene in councils over which he presided; and issued Christian regulations that were incorporated into imperial law. The emperor granted toleration to the Christians and stabilized prices by minting a reliable gold currency. Evidence of his building activity remains in Trier, which had developed into a magnificently fortified centre that protected the Rhine frontier of the empire for over a century, until 395. There he built the massive basilica, baths and palace decorated with frescoes, now painstakingly restored. In his new capital on the Bosphorus, he established a New Rome, a name that both imitated and challenged its predecessor. Although the ancient aristocratic families who formed the Senate remained in charge of Old Rome's civic routines, republican traditions and polytheistic cults, their power was gradually weakened by Constantine's creation of an eastern senate in his new capital.

The extent of Constantine's adoption of the faith is much disputed. While Christian authors followed Eusebius in insisting on his conversion prior to the battle of the Milvian bridge outside Rome in 312, Constantine continued to promote an emperor cult in association with specific pagan gods. Nonetheless, one year later, in a decree known as the Edict of Milan, Christianity was accorded the same privileges as other cults, provided that all its followers prayed to their god for the well-being and triumph of the Roman empire, as every other group was obliged to do. Although the Christians constituted a minority and were by no means united, the emperor's patronage promoted their dominance, which was celebrated at the council that took place at Nicaea in 325. The emperor summoned all the bishops of the Roman empire and instructed them to determine a definition of Christian belief – the creed – and to resolve problems of clerical discipline. The meeting identified the doctrines elaborated by Arius, a deacon of the church of Alexandria, as unorthodox and heretical. It was later commemorated as the first Universal (Oecumenical) Council, its definition became the Nicene Creed and its supporters can be identified as Catholic Christians.

Constantine abolished the Praetorian Guard of Rome for opposing him at the Milvian bridge, and built several major churches in the city; he donated a large basilica, which became the Lateran palace, to its bishop, while his mother, Empress Helena, supervised similar building in Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Rome.⁴ On his deathbed Constantine

requested baptism from the bishop of Nicomedia and was the first Roman emperor to be given a fully Christian burial, in a sarcophagus in the mausoleum he had constructed for himself and his family, a rotunda attached to the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.⁵ After his death in 337 his sons fought each other to succeed to his position as sole emperor, but gradually a *de facto* division of the empire developed by which the senior emperor, who resided in Constantinople, normally appointed a junior colleague to rule in the West.⁶

In the course of the fourth century, the two halves of the Roman world gradually became less balanced. Under Constantine's dynasty the new capital of Constantinople increased in prestige as Rome waned; the transalpine western provinces remained poorer than the East, where power was more effectively exercised. On the death of Emperor Julian in 363, army officers took charge of the imperial position. One year later Valentinian, a general from Pannonia in the western Balkans, was acclaimed by the leading military and civilian officials, and he promoted his younger brother Valens as co-emperor. Both new leaders were obliged to deal with military threats, which took Valentinian to Trier and, later, Milan, while Valens settled in Antioch to deal with the Persians. Both were Christians, though Valens favoured the Arians.

The Theology of Arius

Despite the creation in 325 of the Nicene Creed to be recited at every church service, Constantine failed to settle the debate over Arianism. Some Christians thought that the insistence on one god (monotheism), which gave their faith such a different character from the cults of the ancient gods and goddesses (polytheism), was compromised by belief in the Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Some insisted that it was improper for the Father not to take precedence over the Son, as fathers naturally created their sons. In the early fourth century, Arius had developed this objection to the equality of the three forms of God in a detailed theological argument that influenced much later thinking. His definition was countered by the Catholic assertion that all three members of the Trinity shared the same substance, essence and nature that predated the birth of Jesus, the son of God, as recounted in the Gospel stories. The Arians contended that the Son could only be of *similar*

nature to the Father (in Greek *homoios*, hence the name Homoian attached to this theology). In spite of Arius' condemnation in 325, Constantine's successors observed this Homoian theology as orthodox and used missionaries to spread it among Germanic tribes. The Arians succeeded in founding a rival church that won the loyalty of fourth-century emperors and set their own 'orthodox', or 'catholic', definitions of correct belief, against those of their Catholic opponents, who claimed exactly the same terms.⁷

In Constantinople the Arian clergy drew considerable support from military commanders of Germanic and Gothic origin. The Goths had been converted to Arian Christianity as the official 'orthodox' faith, and their founding bishop, Ulfila (341–81), had devised a written alphabet for his people and then translated the Bible and liturgical texts into Gothic so that they could worship in their own language. In conjunction with the support of Constantius II (337–61) and Valens (364–78), Arianism extended to the West, notably to Milan, then capital of the western half of the Roman empire. The city's Christian population was divided into two rival factions, supporters of Arius and opponents who remained loyal to the ruling of the Council of Nicaea. In 355 a local synod held in Milan imposed the pro-Arian view and appointed Auxentius, a disciple of Ulfila from the East, as bishop.⁸ Despite many attempts to unseat him, he remained in control of Milan for twenty years sustaining the doctrines of Arius, which continued to generate violent clashes as recorded by Ambrose, Catholic bishop of Milan (374–97).

In contrast, Arianism made less impact in Rome, still dominated by a largely pagan Senate. The Christian community, led by bishops who traced their line back to St Peter, had emerged very gradually from the city's profoundly embedded polytheistic cults with their impressive temples on the Capitol, where imperial sacrifices were made, and throughout the Forum where the Vestal Virgins sustained the sacred flame at the hearth of Vesta. Emperors very rarely went to Rome; the ceremonial visit of Constantius II in 357 was exceptional and was not repeated until Theodosius I made the same journey over thirty years later.⁹ The fate of the empire, however, was being decided on distant borders far from the immediate concerns of the Roman Senate or the city's bishop, by Germanic military forces that had embraced Arian Christianity.

A telling weakness of the entire Roman administration can be traced to the increasing numbers of non-Roman mercenaries in the army. Often recruited in Balkan regions and commanded by their own leaders, who were paid for each campaign in which they participated, some pursued their ambition to occupy imperial territory as federate allies of the emperor, others merely threatened to invade and destroy. As the influence of these auxiliary troops grew throughout the fourth century, they began to dominate the Roman army and spread their adherence to Arian Christianity.¹⁰ Their Germanic and Gothic generals gained senior military posts, deepened a serious division within the army, and promoted the rival form of Christian belief that was often shared by hostile groups beyond the empire's frontiers. The reduction of imperial fighting power became clear at the disastrous battle of Adrianople in 378, when Gothic forces killed Emperor Valens together with many of his generals in an unprecedented and total rout.

The Achievements of Theodosius I (379–95)

As a result of this devastating defeat, the young western emperor, Gratian, had to call on Theodosius, a disgraced Roman general who had retired to Spain after his father's execution, to save Constantinople from the Goths. Theodosius duly set out on the long journey from Spain to the East. His progress was interrupted by confrontations and then negotiations with the Goths over their determination to settle within the empire on the richer land south of the Danube. After battles with Sarmatians near Sirmium in the Balkans, Theodosius was acclaimed emperor by his victorious troops, and Gratian made his appointment official on 19 January 379 (Plate 1). Theodosius then settled a large number of Gothic families on imperial territory as federate forces, obliged to fight for the empire. His long reign constituted another major turning point in imperial history, marked by his successful campaigns against hostile forces, his promotion of Christianity as the official religion, and his decision to install his two sons as emperors, which marked the division of the East from the West.

In the history of Ravenna Theodosius is especially important as the father of Empress Galla Placidia, who ruled as regent in Ravenna from

425 for thirteen years. The emperor had married his wife Flaccilla in Spain and they had a son, Arcadius, born before 379, a daughter Pulcheria, who died young, and in 384 another son, Honorius. Theodosius also adopted his niece Serena, when her father died; he made her legally his daughter and married her to his leading general, Stilicho. After Empress Flaccilla died in 386, Theodosius negotiated a second marriage to Galla, a princess of the dynasty of Valens, which was celebrated in Thessalonike in 387. From this second marriage the only child that survived to adulthood was Galla Placidia, half-sister of the young princes Arcadius and Honorius.

Theodosius was not only a most pious Christian, strongly anti-heretic, but he also firmly opposed the polytheist cults and issued laws against their celebrations and sacrifices. Following the example of Constantine I he summoned another Universal Council of bishops to Constantinople in 381, where they repeated the condemnation of Arianism and agreed a slightly revised version of the Nicene Creed of 325. The council also issued several canons – ecclesiastical laws – including one that elevated Constantinople to a status equal to Rome.¹¹ Bishops of Rome considered this deeply insulting to St Peter (*Petrus*) the rock, *petra*, on which Christ had founded his church and which they claimed gave them superior authority. While the canon became a source of much rivalry between Old and New Rome, Theodosius had given legal standing to the emergent new civilization of early Christendom. Like Constantine, Theodosius campaigned throughout the entire Mediterranean world; he paid only one ceremonial visit to the ancient capital, in June 389 to celebrate a major victory. In Constantinople/New Rome he erected an Egyptian obelisk on the Hippodrome, mounted on a base that describes his achievements and portrays both the erection of the monument and the emperor receiving homage and bestowing victory wreaths to competitors in the races.

In 394 after victory over his western rival at the Frigidus, Theodosius went to Milan and summoned Serena, who was looking after his youngest children following the death of Empress Galla. Leaving Arcadius, then aged seventeen, in Constantinople, Serena duly travelled from the eastern capital with Honorius, aged ten, and Galla Placidia, about three, and all their staff, and arrived in Milan just in time to witness the emperor's death on 17 January 395. As decreed, his two sons assumed imperial power under the dominant influence of their military

guardians, Rufinus in the East and Stilicho in the West. Theodosius had probably arranged for their baby half-sister to be brought up in the imperial household of Serena and Stilicho, where Galla Placidia lived for the next seven years. In planning the division of the empire, Theodosius may have hoped to prevent his sons from quarrelling over their inheritance, but rivalry between the two courts in Constantinople and Milan hampered any intended co-operation, especially when the nominal rulers were so young and inexperienced.¹²

The Child Emperor Honorius

In January 395 the ten-year-old Honorius thus became emperor of the western Roman Empire at the court based in Milan (Plate 2), where his guardian and very successful general (*magister militum*) Stilicho assumed effective control. With his wife Serena, an imperial princess in her own right, Stilicho had three children, Maria, Eucherius and Thermantia, who were all employed in advantageous marriage alliances. In 398 Maria, then about twelve years old, was married to the young Emperor Honorius, aged thirteen, and Eucherius was betrothed to Galla Placidia, integrating the orphaned imperial princess into Stilicho's family plans. It was a typical Roman betrothal of young children, though it did not lead on to marriage and the anticipated birth of a new generation. Nor did Honorius and Maria have any children before she died in about 407/8. Stilicho then persuaded the emperor to marry his second daughter, Thermantia, trying to ensure his own family's place within the ruling dynasty.

But at the turn of the fourth century Stilicho and the imperial court in Milan received news that Alaric, chieftain of the Visigoths, had ravaged Greece and was threatening to invade Italy. By 401 he had crossed the Julian Alps (at the far east of the range) and laid siege to Aquileia. He moved on to besiege Milan in the winter of 401–2 as well as capturing many cities. Stilicho defeated the Goths in the summer of 402 (although Alaric escaped with most of his cavalry), and then advised Honorius that it might be wise to move the court away from Milan to a safer centre. This was the moment when Ravenna was selected as a suitable residence for the rulers of the western half of the Roman Empire.

Ravenna, Imperial Capital

They chose the city of Ravenna partly because it was considered impregnable and partly because of its large port at Classis. The city was well served by river connections to the wide valley of the Po, rich in agricultural produce that could be stored inside the city if it was ever besieged, yet protected by treacherous marshes and lakes.¹³ Built in the second century BC on sandbanks that protruded from the surrounding waters, Ravenna followed a typical square garrison pattern, the *quadrata romana*. It was considered a secure city where distinguished hostages or refugees could be accommodated. Bato of Pannonia, who had been forced to march in Emperor Tiberius' triumph, was confined in what was in effect a glorified prison; similarly, the wife of Arminius of the Cherusci brought up her son there. In AD 43 Emperor Claudius constructed a ceremonial entrance to the city, the Golden Gate, dated by his inscription.¹⁴ The monument was demolished in the sixteenth century but drawings preserve an idea of its grandeur and a few fragments of the elegant sculptural decoration remain in the National Museum. The area around Classis also housed a school for training gladiators, who were said to benefit from the sea air. As naval challenges declined, the harbour at Classis was gradually adapted for the transport of goods across the Adriatic and throughout the Mediterranean. Shipbuilding, sailmaking and related maritime skills continued to be commemorated on funerary monuments, such as the second-century stele to Publius Longidienus, 'FABR.NAVALIS' (shipbuilder).¹⁵

Water-management was clearly necessary in the region where so many tributaries of the Po river descended towards the sea. Two major channels, the Padenna and the Lamisa, flowed around and into the city, creating a wide moat outside the city walls and a series of canals within them. In the sixth century Procopius described this:

This city of Ravenna . . . is so situated as not to be easily approached either by ships or by a land army . . . A land army cannot approach it at all; for the river Po . . . and other navigable rivers together with some marshes, encircle it on all sides and so cause the city to be surrounded by water.¹⁶

The Po's heavy silt also meant that the canals and river outlets were regularly blocked, and boatmen on barges stirred up the sediment with their poles as they punted around in the marshes. Visitors commented on the ubiquity of water but the lack of drinkable supplies, which was relieved by Emperor Trajan in the early second century when he ordered the construction of a major aqueduct, 35km long, to bring water from the Apennines.¹⁷ Even so, floods and earthquakes in 393, 429, 443 and 467 caused buildings to sink with serious damage.

The three intimately linked settlements – Ravenna, Caesarea and Classis – already commanded the attention of fourth-century emperors as an important location for watching naval and commercial activity in the Adriatic. Indeed, Honorius had visited the city in 399, and in that year, he united the province of Flaminia with neighbouring Picenum, a coastal region to the south. Thus enhanced as the seat of a governor, Ravenna acquired a full array of Roman administrative and cultural buildings, as well as some impressive villas such as the *Domus dei Tappeti di Pietra* (house of stone carpets). In the circuit of its old city walls the Golden Gate made a particularly monumental, triumphal entrance that led to the heart of the city past an area associated with Hercules (perhaps a temple), the theatre and other urban facilities. The combined settlements were capable of housing and supporting a large additional force, such as the detachment of 4,000 soldiers, sent from Constantinople in the early fifth century, that remained in Ravenna. Like all Roman cities, Ravenna was governed by a local council (*curia*) of officials elected annually to collect taxation, provide basic services and maintain the city's walls and public buildings, though the council was under the ultimate authority of the commander of the fleet.

In addition to the governor and the naval commander, the city also had a bishop, whose status was rather lowly in comparison with the established sees of Milan and Aquileia. Severus is the first officially recorded bishop who attended a church council held at Serdica in 343 (Plate 52). The earliest references to a Christian presence in the area appear at Classis, which also claimed to house the relics of several early Christian martyrs, notably St Apollinaris who was later identified as the founding bishop of the city. It's quite likely that the earliest bishops resided there, but the episcopal centre was moved to Ravenna as soon as the imperial court was established, and the first cathedral building was probably begun in the early fifth century. Over the winter of 402–3,

as this tripartite settlement on the Adriatic coast welcomed the emperor and his court, it took on its new role as the imperial capital of the West.

No contemporary writer provides a description of this process and how Honorius was received by the city. But we can imagine that he rode in through the Golden Gate, accompanied by his personal guards, to be acknowledged by the naval commander, the provincial governor and the bishop, cheered by the local inhabitants. The bulk of the court's equipment, furniture, records and supporting staff probably arrived by river transport along the Po from Milan. In December 402 the emperor's presence at Ravenna is confirmed by laws issued there and coins struck in his name at the new mint he established.¹⁸ Like other capital cities created in the third and fourth centuries, Ravenna now experienced a major expansion as new and more substantial accommodation was rapidly constructed to house the court, part of the army, the imperial government's larger bureaucracy, officials and their families, Christian clergy, merchants and craftsmen, who followed the court to its new base. Transforming a fairly small Roman city with a large port into the leading centre of the western half of the empire was only achieved by substantial large-scale investment, which probably remained in the hands of the emperor and his immediate circle of officials; the city council may have found its power somewhat reduced from the full autonomous control normally exercised by such bodies. By the mid-fifth century, when fragmentary records of its activity are preserved, its role appears to be focused on the maintenance of civic archives, rather than raising taxes.

Not all the ruling elite of the western empire approved of the choice of Ravenna: some members of the Senate hoped that the emperor would return to live in Rome; other military advisers suggested that Arles should be made the new centre of government. Honorius was clearly sensitive to the disappointment of the Roman faction and made a point of visiting the ancient capital frequently, in marked contrast with his father's neglect. Late in 403 he celebrated an imperial entry (*adventus*) at Rome to mark Stilicho's military victory over Alaric at Pollentia (modern Pollenza), which had protected the city and the emperor from the Gothic leader's invasion of Italy (401–3).¹⁹ Following the formal ceremonial of his arrival, Honorius retired to the imperial palace on the Palatine Hill, and at New Year the Senate nominated him as one of the consuls for 404. Assuming the office of consul involved more

choreographed processions in the palace and the Forum, culminating in the emperor presiding over military parades, games and chariot racing in the Circus Maximus, funded by him in his capacity as the new consul. These ceremonies, on which senators often spent vast sums in order to ensure the promotion of their sons, symbolized the status associated with honorific titles, as well as Roman traditions of lavish popular entertainment.²⁰

While Ravenna could not compete with these ingrained traditions, Honorius returned to the task of creating facilities for the imperial court and administration in his new capital, the provision of grand churches for the Catholic population and the beautification of the city. Leaving Stilicho to manage military defence and to appoint civilian administrators, Honorius appears to have given up any ambition to rule in the manner of previous emperors. His move to Ravenna, however, ensured the survival of the Theodosian dynasty and provided his half-sister Galla Placidia with a stable court environment in which she grew up. Under his patronage, which she later continued, the city was endowed with the first of a series of extraordinary buildings that signalled its position as the new capital of the western Roman Empire.

Index

- Aachen *map* 1, 109, 282, 373, 377,
379, 383
Charlemagne's palace 371–2,
375, 377, 379; chapel 372,
379, 392
- Abasgia, Abasgians *map* 1, 326
- Abbasids 387
- Abd al-Malik, Caliph 291, 302
- Abraham 166, 261
- Abundantius, Bishop of Tempsa 268
- Abydos *map* 1, 152
- Acacian schism 84, 118, 132–3
see also Akakios
- Adauctus 194
- Adda, River, battle of 95, 421*n*18
- Adelchis (son of King Desiderius) 358,
369–70, 481*n*23
- Ademunt (Andreas) 194
- Adeodatus 226
- Aderit 194
- Ad Novas (Cervia), *map* 3, 294, 382
- Adon 198
- Adoptionism 367
- Adquisitus 196
- Adrianople, battle of *map* 1, 7
- Adriatic *maps* 1, 2, 3
access to xxxvii, 205
churches at head of 182, 190
coastlands 82, 101, 145–6, 153,
177, 199–200, 216
crossed by Constans' troops 257
division of shoreline for defence of
Ravenna 294
lagoons 54, 236
as link between Ravenna and
Constantinople 252, 255, 269
Ravenna's control of 66, 211
trade in 10, 106, 385
- Aegean Sea *map* 1, 249, 251, 270
islands of 290, 295, 327
volcanic eruption in 327
- Aelius, family 73, 114
- Aeneas 140
- Aesis (Iesi) *map* 3, 346
- Aetius 36, 37, 41, 45, 54, 55, 64
- Afiarta, Paul 356–7
- Africa 20, 45, 64, 123, 182, 204, 208,
250, 258
army of 273
bishops of 34, 122, 185, 189–90
and schism of Three Chapters 190
Vandal Africa 70, 71, 91, 92, 100
wheat supply from 32–3, 125, 291
- Agapitus, Pope 160
- Agatha, St 192
- Agatha (wife of Exarch Theodore II)
267
- Agatho (craftsman) 30
- Agatho, Pope 266, 268
- Agilulf, King of the Lombards 222,
227, 228, 447*n*24
- Agiprand 301

- Agnellus, Archbishop of Ravenna
xxx1, 190, 191, 193, 195, 197,
197–8, 205, 209
- Agnellus (consul) 336
- Agnellus (doctor, *yatrosophista*)
xxx1, 239–44, 307
- Agnellus (historian)
as abbot of S. Maria *ad Blachernas*
229, 267, 381–2
as abbot of St Bartholomew's 306
on Amalasuintha 145
on Archbishop Agnellus 198
on Archbishop Damianus 297–9,
302–3
on Archbishop Felix 306–9, 311
on Archbishop Gratosus 370
on Archbishop John V 323, 324–5
on Archbishop Martin 382
on Archbishop Maximian 387
on Archbishop Sergius 341–2, 349
on Archbishop Theodore 265, 266
on Baduarius 207
on Bishop John and Theoderic 96
Book of the Pontiffs of Ravenna
xxxii, 26, 41, 143, 241, 388–9
and building materials 108
on Carolingians 384
on Charlemagne's gifts to
Ravenna 383
on churches in Ravenna 229
on death of Pope Pelagius 180
distinguished from namesakes xxx1
on districts of Ravenna 299
on equestrian statue of
Theoderic 379
on Exarch Theodore II 266–7
on independence of Ravenna from
Rome 259
on inhabitants of Ravenna 169
on inscriptions 390
on Johannicis 264
on Justinian II 293
on Justinian's letter on Arian
churches 192
Life of Archbishop Felix 306
on Marinianus 225
on Mausoleum of Galla Placidia
47, 49
on Maximian 185–7, 188–9,
387, 389
on mosaics of Theoderic 391
on pestilence 176
on Petriana icon 68
on Pope Zacharias 338
on power of emperor 304
on Ravenna's defence systems 294–5
on S. Apollinare Nuovo 106, 193,
390–91
on St Agnes church 75
on St Probus church 213
on statue of Theoderic in Pavia 109
on tomb of Bishop John 76
on Ursiana church 29–31, 160–61
use of term 'Melisenses' 312
- Agnese, St 192
- Aistulf, King of the Lombards
339–40, 342–7, 353, 469ⁿ²¹,
474ⁿ²⁴
- Akakios, Patriarch of Constantinople
106, *see also* Acacian schism
Henotikon (with Peter Mongos) 84,
132–3
- Akroinion, *map* 1
battle of 339
- Alamud 195
- Alans 18, 93, 326
- Alaric I, King of the Visigoths xxxvi,
9, 12, 19, 20–21, 36
- Alaric II, King of the Visigoths 44,
95, 116, 117
- Albania 263
- Albanionus 211
- Albenga *map* 2, 235
- Albinus 104, 134, 135

- Alboin, King of the Lombards 203,
204
death of 206
- Albsuintha 206
- Alcuin 334, 367, 372, 373, 399,
481*n*35
- Alemanni 117, 182, 203, 207
- Alexander the Great, Emperor 138
- Alexander ('Snips', controller of
finances) 175–6
- Alexandria
Christians in 249
church of 4
Cosmographer of Ravenna
on 276
imports from 49, 207
ivory production in 187
Maximian in 185–6
medical education in 240, 243
Monophysitism in 152
Monotheletism in 255
Muslims in 248, 361
patriarch of 288, 289
trade with 385
trading port of 73, 164
- Alfonso, King of Galicia 375
- Alps 344, 357, 358, 363, 376
- altar cloths 161, 173, 188–9, 197,
267, 338
- Altinum (Altino) *map* 3, 190, 210,
221, 236, 279
- Alypia 78
- Amalaberga 112, 116, 117, 143
- Amalafrida 96–7, 116, 117, 129,
142, 146
- Amalasuintha
as Arian 168
Cassiodorus on 51, 111–12, 141,
145
and Catholic Church 145
death 147
and funeral of Theoderic 137
marriage 116
and papal disputes 145
as patron of Cassiodorus 140
Procopius on 141
regency of 138–9, 141–3, 162, 178
Theodahad and 146–7, 153, 154
Totila on 176
- Amalfi 370
- Amazons 279
- Ambrose (exile) 419*n*12
- Ambrose, St, Bishop of Milan 6, 17,
38, 165, 186, 355
- Amelia 337
- Ameria *map* 2, 227
- Anastasia, St 192
- Anastasios, St 335
- Anastasios I, Emperor 82, 95, 98,
121, 127, 132, 134, 422*n*24
- Anastasios II, Emperor 311, 327,
469*n*3
- Anastasios (abbot) 348
- Anastasios (monk) 255
- Anastasios (Monothelete priest)
459*n*13
- Anastasios, Exarch of Ravenna 252
- Anastasios, Patriarch of
Constantinople 328, 471*n*27
- Anastasius Bibliothecarius 479*n*10
- Anastasius II, Pope 429*n*21
- Anastasius (papal legate) 255
- Anatolia 272, 339
- Anatolia, St 192
- Anatolikon, province 271
- Anazarbas 186
- Ancona *map* 3, 205, 337, 377
see also Pentapolis
- Andreas (scribe) 211
- Andreas Troilos 263
- Andrew (Andrea), St 122,
186–7, 242
- Anduit 119
- Angles 230–31

- Anglo-Saxons 398
 Anicii family 40
 Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus 40
 Anna (wife of Exarch Theodore Kalliopas) 262
Annals of Ravenna 27, 31, 39, 72, 180, 206, 387
 Anonymous Valesianus 96, 98, 128, 138
 Ansa, Queen of the Lombards 480/23
 Ansfrid, Duke 300
 Anthemius, Emperor 78
 Anthemius of Tralles 242
 Antioch 2, 5, 70, 73, 174, 181, 185, 255, 288, 289, 361
 Antiochus 42, 177
 Antonina 156–7, 168, 437/18
 Antony (bishop) 210
 Apennines *maps* 1, 2, xxxi, 11, 177, 206, 215, 226, 295, 323, 338, 357, 364
 Apolenaris (*domesticus*) 312
 Apolenaris (son of Florentinus, official) 199, 312
 Apollenaris (landowner) 261–2
 Apollinaris, St, founding Bishop of Ravenna 11, 26, 41, 186, 260, 265
Life of 186, 259
Apothegmata Patrum 283
 Apsilion people 326
 Apulia 140
 Aquila 338
 Aquileia
 Alaric lays siege to 9
 Arian church 70
 attacked by Attila 54
 Council (381) 71
 destroyed by fire 224
 Exarch Gregory and 233
 Gregory the Great and 224
 John the usurper executed in 36
 as leading bishopric 50
 Lombards and 204
 schism in 185, 189–90, 209, 233
 and Synod of Pavia 300
 Aquitaine 70, 101, 362, 364
 Arabia 207, 277, 395
 Arabic (language) 248, 302
 Arabs
 campaigns against Constantinople 339, 360
 capture of Carthage 250, 291, 317, 332
 conquests of 66, 207, 248–51, 255, 317–20, 398
 defeated by Constantine IV 268
 first siege of Constantinople 262–3
 in Gaul 335
 and Jews 255
 Leo III and 326–7
 as pirates 335
 and Rome 361
 in Spain 287, 291, 332
 see also Islam; Muslims
 Arator (author) 198
 Arator (barrister) 118, 142
 Arcadius, Emperor 7, 8, 19, 33, 38, 48
 Arcadius (son of Theodosius II) 415/30
 Arcevia *map* 3, 346
 Archimedes 110
 Ardabur (elder) 35, 91
 Ardabur (younger) 91, 92, 93
argentarii 111, 164
 Argentea, chapel of St George 197
 Ariadne, Empress 92, 96
 Arianism
 among Goths xxxiv, 6–7, 70–71, 89
 among Lombards 235
 Arians denied the right to make wills 195
 Bible text used in 71
 Bibles 111, *plate* 24

- condemned at councils of Nicaea
and Constantinople 4, 8
in Constantinople xxxiv, 4, 6, 78,
133–4, 134, 136, 142
conversion of churches 192
Germanic peoples and 91–3
Gothic texts 280
Justina and 17, 44
Justinian and 191–2
in North Africa 70, 71, 152
in northern Italy 70
not adopted by Franks 79
Odoacer and 81–2
persecution of 145
Peter Chrysologus on 50
in Ravenna 41, 71, 83–4, 97–8, 99,
105, 107, 122, 160, 391
in Rome 6, 7, 145
suppression of 391
texts from Ravenna 242
Theoderic and 91, 121–2, 391
and Theodosian Code 44
Arichis, Duke of Benevento 369
Arigern 132
Ariminum (Rimini) *map* 3, 48, 103,
157, 205, 262, 346, 356
see also Pentapolis
Ariold, King of the Lombards 235
Aripert, King of the Lombards 465*n*9
Aristotle 110, 135, 241
Organon 240
Arius xxvi, 4–6
Arles *map* 1, 12, 18, 31, 49, 117,
118–19, 389
Armenia, Armenians 151, 217, 233,
237, 263, 272, 296, 326,
475*n*24
numerus of 217, 219, 237, 275,
468*n*22
Armeniakon, province 369
Arminius 10
Armoricans 54–5
Artabasdos, Emperor 321, 338–9
Asia Minor *map* 1, 214, 248–9, 281,
311, 318, 327
bishops 333
Asolo (ancient Acelum) *map* 2, 210
Aspar 35, 91, 92, 93
Asterius 126
Asti 300
Athalaric, King of the Ostrogoths
137, 138, 140–41, 146, 178,
432*n*30, *plate* 20
Athanarich/Athanasid 112, 280
Athanasios of Alexandria 279
Athaulf, King of the Visigoths, 21–3,
33, 42, 48, 53
Athens *map* 1, 257
Attalus, Priscus, Emperor 20, 21, 22,
408*n*6
Attila the Hun 53–4, 55, 64, 76, 79, 80,
84, 279, 317, 413*n*6, 420*n*24
Audefreda 116, 192
Audoïn, King of the Lombards
431*n*20
Augustine, St 21, 56, 127, 186, 301
Confessions xxxiii
Augustus, Emperor xxxvi–xxxvii,
80, 278
Aurelia Domitia 28
Aurelianus, Bishop of Ravenna 114,
122, 144
Aurelianus, Flavius 181
Aurillioupolis 270
Ausonius 73
Austria 233, 363
Authari, King of the Lombards 207,
208, 221
Auxentius, Arian Bishop of Milan 6
Auxerre 54–5
Auximum (Osimo) *map* 3, 337
Avars 203, 206, 208, 227, 233, 234,
236, 262, 375
Avitus, Emperor 72, 77–8

- Babylon 154
 Bacauda 187–8
 Baduarius 207, 216
 Baghdad 387
 Balaton, Lake 93
 Balearic Islands 80, 262, 273, 292, 375
 Balkans 70, 89, 93, 94, 95, 187, 204,
 234, 257, 268, 290, 317
 Balneus Regis (Bagnarea) 228
 Baltic islands 277, 279
 baptism ceremony 67–8
 Barbara (wife of Leontius) 312
 ‘barbarians’
 among Lombards 323
 capture of Carthage 45
 as chieftains in Rome 77–9
 conflicting groups 207
 Galla Placidia and 53
 integration of 397
 law codes of 130
 Odoacer as ‘barbarian’ 80
 in Roman army 37, 71
 as threat 395
 as trope 136
 Basil, Bishop of Gortyna 270, 288
 Basil, St Bishop of Caesarea in
 Cappadocia, 279, 328
 Basilius, Caecina Decius Maximus
 82, 83, 104
 Basilius, Flavius 11
 Bassus 40
 Bato of Pannonia 10
 Bavaria 300
 Bede 249, 476*n*5
 Bedeulphus 132
 Beirut *map* 1, 12
 Belgium 344
 Belisarius
 Amalaberga and 143
 campaign against Goths 176,
 208, 391
 and Goth attacks 156–7, 174
 and Gudila 194
 and Justinian’s campaigns 151–3
 military routes xxxi
 and Pavia 204
 portrayed in mosaic 158, 168,
 172, 391
 and reconquest of North Africa
 175, 207, 394
 reconquest of Ravenna (540)
 157–9, 160, 166, 168, 178,
 191, 195, 388, 394, 408*n*12
 and Theodora 173
 Benedict, St 224
 Benedict I, Pope 206, 209
 Benevento *map* 2
 and Bulgars 236
 attacks on Ravenna 320
 ceded to Pope Hadrian 358, 364
 Charlemagne’s campaign against
 377, 378
 Constans II’s troops in 257
 as Lombard dukedom 213, 236,
 301, 321, 335, 358, 359
 and Naples 215
 occupied by King Desiderius 353
 Bernard, King of Italy 358, 480*n*8
 Bernard (uncle of Charlemagne) 357
 Bertrada, Queen 344, 356
 Bessas 175
 Bethlehem 4
 Bible 144, 242, 277–8
 Gothic translations of 6, 71, 242,
 plate 24
 New Testament 69, 187, 224,
 248, 307
 Old Testament 69, 108, 138, 166,
 187, 223, 224, 226, 248, 261,
 303, 327, 392; Genesis 276; on
 idolatry 327, 333; Job, Book
 of 223
 Bilesarius 194
 Bithynia 183, 318

- Black Sea *map* 1, 281, 295, 317
- Blera 337
- Bobbio, monastery of *map* 2, 242
- Boethius 110, 118, 120, 133, 134–6, 142, 241, 467ⁿ⁵, 468ⁿ¹²
- The Consolation of Philosophy* 135–6
- Opuscula Sacra* 134
- Bologna, *see* Bononia
- Bomarzo, *see* Polymartium
- Bona 112
- Boniface I, Pope 34, 160
- Boniface III, Pope 231
- Boniface IV, Pope 231
- Boniface (counsellor of the Holy See) 289
- Boniface (envoy of Charlemagne) 375
- Boniface (praetorian commander) 36, 37, 40, 41
- Bonifacius 212
- Bononia (Bologna) *maps* 1, 2, 66, 165, 181, 359
- Lion Port 294
- Bonus 196, 211
- Book of the Pontiffs (Liber pontificalis* of Rome)
- on Archbishop Felix 306, 310
- on Constans 258
- on Cunincpert 300
- dating method in 83
- on decree of Leo III on icons 330–31
- on election of archbishop of Ravenna 356
- on Eleutherios 232
- on Exarch Isaac 236
- on Exarch John Platyn 274
- on Exarch Olympios 254
- on Exarch Romanus 226–7
- on exarchate of Ravenna 345
- on Liutprand's Italian campaigns 335
- on Lombard forces 206
- on Narses 201
- on Patriarch Pyrrhos 252
- on Pope Sylvester 360
- on Saracens 250
- on Theoderic 127, 132, 133–4
- on visit of Pope Constantine to Nicomedia 295–6
- on Zacharias 289
- Bordeaux *map* 1, 75
- Bosporus 4, 251, 281, 344
- 'bread and circuses' 1, 37, 113, 128, 395
- Bretons 375
- Breviarium of Alaric* 44
- bride show 368–9
- Britannia (Britain) xxxii, 18, 24, 277, 278, 279, 393
- British Naval Intelligence Division xxix
- Brixia (Brescia) *map* 2, 207
- Brixillum (Brescello) *map* 2, 72
- Brown, Peter, *The World of Late Antiquity* xxxiii, 488ⁿ⁸
- Bruttium 139, 140
- Bulgaria 2
- Bulgars 236, 268, 292, 293, 318, 339
- Burgundians 75–6, 78, 100, 101, 117, 118, 119, 138, 141, 396
- Burgundy 70, 103, 398
- Busta Gallorum, battle of 177
- Byzacena 287
- Byzantium
- bride selection in 368–9
- evolution of 255
- as name 360
- relations with Franks 364–5
- role of xxxv–xxxvi, 392, 398
- women in xxx–xxxii
- Cabarisiens 273
- Caesarea *map* 4, xxxvii, 11, 192, 205, 207

- Caesarea *map* – *cont'd.*
 St Laurentius (Lorenzo) church
 75, 441*n*7
 Caesarea in Cappadocia *map* 1, 270
 Caesarius, Bishop of Arles 119
 Calabria *map* 2, 140, 258, 319, 321,
 340, 369, 483*n*17
 calendar xxxiii, 161, 248
 Cales (Cagli) *map* 3, 346
 Caliphate 317, 333
 Callinicus, Exarch of Ravenna 227,
 228, 389
 Calocerus St, 188
 Campania 119, 140, 146, 217, 263,
 353, 364
 Candiano 294
 Canterbury 230–31
 Cappadocia 270
 Capua *map* 2, 365
 Caravisiani 273
 Carcassonne 118
 Carinthia 233
 Carloman (brother of Charlemagne),
 344, 354, 366
 Carloman (son of Charlemagne,
 renamed Pippin), *see* Pippin,
 King of the Lombards
 Carniola 335
 Carolingians 376, 378, 380, 384
 Carpinianum 196, 219
 Carthage *map* 1
 Arian patriarch of 70
 captured by Belisarius (533) 152–3,
 394
 captured by Vandals (439) 45
 captured and destroyed by Arabs
 (697–8) 250, 291, 317, 332
 and debate on Monotheletism 252
 as exarchate 208, 214, 220, 249, 273
 and medicine 243
 Carthagera *map* 1, 445*n*15
 Caspian Gates 279
 Cassiodori (family) 104
 Cassiodorus (the Elder) 83, 104
 Cassiodorus (the Younger, Senator)
 on Amalaberga 116
 on Amalasuintha 51, 111–12,
 141, 145
 and Athalaric 138–9
 on chariot races 113
 the Cosmographer on 279
 De orthographia 388
 epithalamium for Witigis and
 Matasuntha 154
 Institutions of Divine and Secular
 Learning 388
 and Jewish communities 122–3
 leaves for Constantinople 140, 388
 letter-writing 74, 123, 129, 146, 388
 library of 243, 387–8
 on medicine in Ravenna 239
 on music 120
 Origo Gothica (*History of the*
 Goths) 140–41, 387
 returns to Italy 178
 and Theoderic 104, 119, 120, 129,
 136, 154, 156, 387
 Variae 104, 388
 Castorius (author) 279
 Castorius (notary) 75, 225, 226
 Castrum Valentis *map* 2, 353
 Catalaunian Fields, Battle of the 54
 Catalonia 393
 Catania 292
 Catholic Church
 bishops in North Africa 152, 191
 clergy in Ravenna 70, 143–5
 definitions of faith 4, 57, 71, 79,
 96, 99
 Franks and 79
 identified as ‘Roman’ 126
 Oecumenical councils 8, 70, 225,
 269–70, 287, 306, 310, 328
 in Ravenna 81–2, 84–5, 160, 212–13

- Theoderic and 96, 118–19, 121–2, 127–8
see also Christianity
- Caucasus 263, 279
- Cecilia, St 192
- Cedinus 221
- Celestinus I, Pope 56
- Cervia, *see* Ad Novas
- Cesena *map* 3, 180, 294, 338, 346
- Chalcedon 251, 281
 Council of xxxv, 56, 58, 84, 132, 133, 184, 185, 192, 225, 242, 269, 414ⁿ24
- chariot racing 24–5, 37, 52, 91, 113, 126, 258, 299
- Charles, King of the Franks, later Charlemagne, Emperor
 and Arab conquests 250
 and Archbishop Martin 282, 357, 381–2, 383
 and archbishops of Ravenna 385
 ceremonies in honour of 389
 coinage 375–6
 and culture of western Europe 284
 death 384
 and decoration of churches 334
 and Desiderius' militia 357–8, 381
 as father of Europe 399, 481ⁿ35
 first campaign in Italy 357–8
 gift of a table to Rome 383–4
 gifts to Ravenna 383–4
 and imperial regalia 371
 and inheritance from father 354, 366
 and Irene's offer of political union 377
 as king of the Lombards 358, 375
 and Lombard rulers 363, 369–70
 marriage to Lombard princess 356
 military campaigns 375
 and Pope Hadrian 357, 359, 361–2, 373–4
 and Pope Leo III 377–8, 380
 and Pope Stephen II 344, 364
 in Ravenna 363, 370–74, 377, 378–80, 379, 392, 394
 and Ravenna mosaics 173, 392
 and Ravenna treasury 310
 receives gift of elephant from Harun al-Rashid 376–7
 removal of building materials from Ravenna 371–2, 375, 381
 removes statue of Theoderic to Aachen 379, 381, 392
 and reversal of iconoclasm 367–8
 sarcophagus of 449ⁿ19
 Theoderic as model 378–9
 treasury of 383–4
 tribute to Pope Hadrian 373–4
 use of maps 282, 283
 visited by Archbishop Leo of Ravenna 358–9
 visits to Rome 358, 362, 364–5
- Charles, King of the Franks (son of Charlemagne) 365, 480ⁿ18
- Charles Martel, ruler of the Franks 335, 343, 385, 398, 474ⁿ6
- Cherson *map* 1, 291, 293, 309
- Cherusci 10
- Chieti *map* 2, 378
- Childebert II, King of the Franks 220, 221
- Childeric III, King of the Franks 344
- China 387
- Cholchia 279
- Chosroes, Shah of Persia 174–5, 247
- Christianity
 and Early Christendom xxxiv–xxxv
 and emergence of Islam 249–50, 255
 Huns and 396
 laws of 394
 as official religion of Rome 1, 3–5, 7, 8
see also Arianism; Catholic Church
- Christodoulos 449ⁿ19

- Chrysopolis 271, 469ⁿ³
 Chur 363
 Church Fathers 57, 253, 279, 300, 367
 Cilicia 186
 circus factions 25, 37, 52, 290, 299, 411ⁿ⁹
 Citonatus, Bishop of Porto 354
 Cittanova 236
 city councils 74, 75, 180, 439ⁿ¹⁹
 Cividale xxxi, 204, 384
 National Archaeological Museum 204
 Classis
 Archbishop Theodore and clergy at 264–5
 Arian churches re-dedicated 192
 as centre of Christian cults 212–13
 and Christian relics 11
 cohort of guards at 237
 council meeting in 181
 depicted in S. Apollinare Nuovo 106–7, 379, 390, *plate 13*
 fortifications 25
 Julius Caesar and xxxvi
 as link to Constantinople, xxxvi, 393
 Longinus at 205
 monastery of St John *ad Titum* 303–4
 monastery of Sts John and Stephen 226
 as naval centre xxxvi–xxxvii, 230
 numerus of 312
 occupied by Lombards 207, 208, 220, 301, 320
 Petriana basilica 68, 122;
 baptistery chapels 197–8
 praetorian prefect and 74
 St Probus 26
 St Severus 209, 212–13; *see also*
 Ravenna, churches, San Severo
 Theoderic arrives at 96
 as trading centre 10, 11, 111, 143, 164, 230, 250, 385, 393
 see also Ravenna, S. Apollinare in Classe
 Claudian 18, 198
 Claudius, Emperor 10
 Claudius (abbot) 226
 Cledonius 421ⁿ⁷
 Clermont-Ferrand *map 1*, 75, 389
 Clovis, King of the Franks 79, 116, 117–18, 344
Codex Carolinus 357
Codex Theodosianus 43–4, 130–31
 coinage 25, 38, 82, 96, 302, 320, 375, *plates 1–5*, 16, 18, 20–23
 Collictus 181
 Colonicus 7
 Comacchio, St Mary in *Pado uetere* 144
 Comacchio (Comacchio) 237, 384, 385
 comets 180, 459ⁿ¹³
 Commodianus, family 73
 Como, Lake *map 2*, 109, 221–2
 Conca *map 3*, 346
 Concordia *map 3*, 210
 Conon (military leader) 175
 Conon, Pope 272, 273
 Consentius (notary) 40, 52, 408ⁿ²
 Constans II, Emperor
 and autonomy of Ravenna 259
 death 263
 and Monotheletism 251, 256–7
 moves from Constantinople to Sicily 257–9, 262
 Platon and 261
 and Pope Martin 254
 and regency council 249, 250, 253
 reign of 250–51, 268
 and strategy against Muslims 257
 Constantia, Empress 137
 Constantianus 175, 176

- Constantina, Empress 230, 467*n*9
- Constantine II, Antipope 353, 354–5, 481*n*16
- Constantine, Pope 293, 295–6, 301, 306
- Constantine I, Emperor
- achievements of 395–6
 - adoption of Christianity 4–5
 - as builder of churches, xxxiii, 4–5, 163, 254
 - and Christian clergy 29
 - constitutions 43
 - and First Council of Nicaea 4, 8, 367
 - and forged *Donation of Constantine* 360–62, 364
 - foundation of Constantinople 3–5
 - Gregory the Great on 230
 - and Helena xxxiii, 4, 38, 58, 230, 368
 - images of 48, 380
 - tricennalia* 128
- Constantine III, usurper 18–19, 31
- Constantine IV, Emperor 249, 259, 260, 261, 263–4, 276
- and brothers as co-emperors 271–2
 - death 272
 - and Monotheletism 268, 272
 - moves imperial court from Sicily back to Constantinople 263
 - victories over Arab forces 268
- Constantine V, Emperor 131, 320, 324, 333, 338, 339–40, 344, 345, 348, 365, 366, 478*n*30
- Constantine VI, Emperor 364–6, 365, 366, 368, 376, 483*n*23
- Constantine, Bishop of Nakoleia 327, 330
- Constantinople
- access from Ravenna xxxvi, xxxvii
 - Arab attacks on 249, 262–3, 311, 339, 360
 - Arianism in xxxiv, 4, 6, 78, 133–4, 134, 136, 142
 - and ‘barbarians’ 78
 - bishops of 11
 - as Christian capital 395–6
 - churches: Blachernai church 92, 229; churches dedicated to Mary 56, 163, 229; Hagia Eirene (Holy Peace), church of 332; Hagia Sophia (Holy Wisdom), church of 162, 164, 171, 172, 173, 247, 291, 413*n*9, 467*n*9; Holy Apostles, 5, 137, 162; St Polyeuktus, basilica of 163; Sts Sergius and Bacchus, 163–4, 172
 - conquest by Crusaders 48
 - Cosmographer of Ravenna on 276
 - councils: Second Council of 8, 344; Fifth Oecumenical Council (553) 184, 189–90, 208–9, 223, 225, 228–9, 233, 253, 300, 438*n*13; Sixth Oecumenical Council 268, 269–73, 287, 288, 310–11; Council *in Trullo* (*Quini-Sext*) 269, 287–9, 292; canons of 287–9, 295–6, 301
 - expansion of 6, 397–8
 - fire (464) 91
 - foundation by Constantine I 3–5
 - and Frankish ambassadors 365
 - Galla Placidia in 34–5
 - and Goths 7
 - hostages in 90, 96
 - influence of 398–9
 - monuments: equestrian statue of Justinian I 379; Forum 26; Golden Gate 309; Golden Horn 318; Great Palace 96, 108, 308–9, 390; *Chalke* gate 108, 158, 172; dining room 380; Hippodrome 8, 91, 151, 299, 476*n*28; imperial court

- Constantinople – *cont'd.*
 35–6, 42, 318, 358, 365;
 imperial treasury 152, 310;
 Long Walls 158; Mese (main
 street) 92; mosaics and statues
 of Justinian and Theodora
 172; nunneries 275; Palace of
 Placidia 223; Palace of St
 Mamas 91; Rotunda 163;
 Senate 63, 125, 254, 318
 as New Rome xxxiii, xxxv, 4, 8, 153
 plague in 175
 prestige of imperial court 35–6
 as Queen City 153
 refugees in 123
 relations with Ravenna xxxvi,
 xxxvii, 394, 397–9
 revolt of the Greens and Blues 151–2
 as rival to Rome 8, 24, 63, 288–9,
 295–6, 387
 schism with Rome 252–3, 268, 272
 sieges: first Arab siege (667–9)
 262–3, 268; Muslim siege of
 (717–18) 318–20; Muslim
 threat to 317–18
 as source of legitimacy 361
 Theoderic and 89–94, 101, 121,
 122, 138
 and theological controversy 251–5
 trade with 385
 university 43; Xylocircus 92
 Constantinus (military official) 348
 Constantius II, Emperor 3, 6, 128
 Constantius III, Emperor 23, 31–2,
 33–4, 48
 Constantius (dyer) 74
 Constantius of Lyon, *Life of*
Germanus 55
 Constantius Felix 41
 Contius 28
 Coriandrum 294
 Corinth 257, 269, 270, 287
 Cornelia/Cornelisia (Forum Cornelii)
map 3, 75, 181, 348
 Corsica *map* 1, 122
 Corteolona 323, 335
 Cosentino, Salvatore 260
 Cosmographer of Ravenna, xxxv,
 112, 241, 307, 394
Cosmographia 276–84; coastal
 journey in 281, 287
 on names of cities 281
 Cottian Alps *map* 2, 301, 473n2
 Cremona *map* 2, 227
 Crete *map* 1, 251, 269, 288, 291
 Crimea *map* 1, 254, 309, 310
 Crisafus 382
 Crispina, St 192
 Cristina, St 192
 Cristodorus 160
 Croatia *map* 2, xxxii, 171, 199, 216
 cross, as Christian symbol 332
 Crusade, Fourth 48
 Ctesiphon 234
 Cunincpert, King of the Lombards
 229, 242, 300
 curial service 75, see also city
 councils
cursoria (boat service) 72
 Cyprian (military leader) 175
 Cyprian (official) 134, 135
 Cyprian, St 50, 140
 Cyprianus 83
 Cyprus *map* 1, 73, 249, 250, 251
 bishop of 269
 Cyril, St, of Alexandria 161, 187
 Cyrus 154
 Dacia 94, 217
 Dalmatia *maps* 1, 2
 Archbishop Damianus and 297
 attacks on 204
 conquered by imperial forces 153,
 157, 170

- development of ports 199, 385
- estates owned by Ravenna 66, 101, 389
- Gothic government in 153
- Louis the Pious and 384
- Odoacer and 82
- ruled by Julius Nepos 79, 82
- Theoderic and 101, 118, 393
- under exarchate 216
- Damascus *map* 1, 248, 251, 255, 292, 318, 333
- Great Mosque 302
- Damianus, Archbishop of Ravenna 264, 289, 297–305, 306, 308, 312, 389
- Danaïs* (Greeks) 294
- Dandolo, Andrea 474*n*8
- Daniel (marble worker) 114–15
- Dante Alighieri xxxi
- Danube, River *map* 1, 93, 94, 95, 102, 190, 230, 268
- Daria, St 192
- Datius, Bishop of Milan 185
- deacons, costume of 341–2
- Decemnovium 119
- Decii 104
- Decius, Exarch of Ravenna 208, 215, 221
- Decius (ex-prefect of Terracina) 119
- Decoratus 105
- Denzic 92
- Desert Fathers 68, 283, 304, *plate* 56
- Desiderius, King of the Lombards 346, 353, 354, 356–8, 369
- d'Este family, collection 282
- Deusdedit I, Pope 232
- Deusdedit (secretary) 219
- Deusdedit (subdeacon) 196, 219
- Deutherius 155, 156
- dhimmi* (non-Muslims) 255
- Diocletian, Emperor xxxii, 2–3, 137, 162, 167, 231, 328
- Dionysius the Lesser 161
- Dioscorides
 - De herbis feminis* 243
 - De materia medica* 243
- Diplomacy 116–19, 121, 124, 139, 227, 326, 338
- Dominic (Domninus) 123
- Dominicus (*vir honestus*) 155
- Domitius Johannes 74
- Domnica 155, 156
- Donation of Constantine* 360–62, 364, 380, 387
- Donation of Pippin 346, 348
- Donatists 85, 191, 195
- Donatus (notary) 219
- Donus (*magister militum*) 236
- Donus, Pope 266
- Droctulft 207
- Dulcitius 219
- Duophysitism 311
- Duothetism 252, 255, 269
- Dyrrachium (Dyrrachion) *map* 1, 146, 257
- Early Christendom 8, 18
 - as term xxxiv–xxxv, 395
- earthquakes 11, 27, 39, 68, 72, 106, 323, 332, 342, 382, 485*n*14, 488*n*2, *plates* 25, 26
- East Illyricum 290, 296, 463*n*11, 483*n*17
- Easter, calculations of date 161
- ecclesia Gothica*/*ecclesia legis Gothorum* 84
- Ecclesius, Bishop of Ravenna, *plate* 31
 - and Archbishop Agnellus 191
 - and church records 264
 - death 165, 166
 - and S. Apollinare in Classe 431*n*22
 - and salaries of clergy 143
 - and San Vitale 144, 161–2, 164–8, 188, 391

- Ecclesius, Bishop – *cont'd.*
 visit to Constantinople 122,
 134, 162
- Ecloga* 131
- Edeco 80
- Egypt 27, 174, 186, 187, 209, 234,
 248, 250, 288, 317, 395
 mummies 329
- Einhard 378, 383
- Ekthesis* 251
- Elbe, River 117
- elephants 376
- Eleuchadius, St 122
- Eleutherius (eunuch) 232–3
- Eleutherius (tenant) 65
- Elias, Patriarch of Aquileia 210
- Elissaios 365
- Elizabeth, St 171
- Elpidia 17, 34
- Emerenziana, St 192
- Emilia 72, 322, 338
- Emilianus 211
- Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia 112, 118,
 132, 138
 Life of Epiphanius 83
- Ephesus, Council of 55–6, 57, 184,
 187, 229
- Epicureans 50
- Epiphanius of Cyprus 279
- Epiphanius, Bishop of Pavia 83, 118,
 122, 138
- Epiphanius (keeper of records)
 323–4
- Erelieva 96–7
- Euanthia, wife of Grimoald III of
 Benevento 370, 373
- Eucherius 9, 17, 19, 20
- Euclid 110
- Eudocia, Empress (consort of
 Theodosius II) 48, 415*n*30
- Eudocia (daughter of Valentinian III)
 55, 64, 86, 420*n*18
- Eudokia (nun) 348, 468*n*23
- Eudoxia, Empress (wife of Arcadius)
 33, 38, 48
- Eudoxia, Empress, *see* Licinia
- Eudoxia
- Eufrasius, Bishop xxxii, 171–2, 190
- Eugenes 105
- Eugenia, St 192
- Eugenius I, Pope 254
- Eugenius (official) 199, 212
- Eugenius (steward) 53
- Eulalia, St 192
- Eulalius, Antipope 34
- eunuchs 38, 53, 72–3, 102, 157, 176,
 183, 203, 214, 232, 263, 291,
 365, 479*n*9
- Euphemia, St 192, 193
- Euphemia (wife of Archbishop
 Sergius) 341
- Euric, King of the Visigoths 75
- Europe (as term) 362
- Eusebius (historian) 4
- Eusebius, St 98
- Euserius 30
- Eustachius, Duke 346
- Eustratius, Bishop of Albano 354
- Eutharic 113, 116–17, 118, 123,
 136
- Eutyches 56–7, 58, 85
- Eutychios, Exarch of Ravenna 297,
 308, 322, 323, 324, 336,
 337–8, 340, 342, 385
- Eutychios, Patriarch of
 Constantinople 185, 223
- Eventius 198
- exarchates
 Italian 215–16, 223, 230–33, 339,
 394
 of North Africa 232, 243, 394
 see also Ravenna, exarchate of
- exarchs 208, 232–3
- exkoubitores* 272

- Exuperantius, Bishop of Ravenna 75, 84
Ezekiel, Book of 224
Fadiliana, Sicily 65
famine 50, 119, 206–7, 264
Fanum Fortunae (Fano) *map* 3, 180, 205, 346
 see also Pentapolis
Faroald, Duke of Spoleto 220–21, 300, 301
Fausta, Empress 259
Faustus (bishop) 200
Faustus, Anicius Acilius Glabrio 40, 44
Faustus, Anicius Probus Niger 83, 97, 104
Faventia (Faenza) *map* 3, 155, 156, 294
Faventino 155
Felicity, St 192
Felithanc 194
Felix III, Pope 83, 84, 132, 160
Felix IV, Pope 113, 139, 143, 144, 431*n*23, 436*n*12
Felix, Archbishop of Ravenna
 as builder 311
 in Constantinople 308–9
 death and tomb of 313, 321, *plate* 60
 and Johannicis 306–7
 kidnapped and blinded on orders of Justinian II 293, 295, 309, 463*n*
 return to Ravenna 310–11, 312
 tomb of 313
Felix, Bishop of Treviso 199
Feltria (Feltre) *map* 2, 210
Ferrara 66
Festus, Flavius Rufus Postumius (senator) 83, 95, 103–4, 131, 425*n*19
Filioque controversy xxxiv–xxxv
Finis 279
Finns 112
Firmilianus Ursus 114
Firmilius, family 73
Flaccilla, Empress 8, 38
Flacilla (daughter of Theodosius II) 415*n*30
Flaminia, province 3, 11, 104
Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople 56, 57
Flavianus (tutor) 439*n*19
Florentia (Florence) *maps* 1, 2, xxxi, 175
Florentinus (baker) 199
Florentinus (deacon) 448*n*9
Florentius, Bishop 27
Florianus, family 73
Florianus, Flavius 156
Florus 105
Formidiana *map* 2, 194
Forum Cornelii (Imola) *map* 3, 410*n*16
Forum Iulii (Friuli), 203, 204, 335
Forum Livii (Forlì) *map* 3, 294, 346
Forum Popilii (Forlimpopoli) 294, 346
Forum Sempronii (Fossombrone) *map* 3
France 393
Francia (Frankish kingdom) 344, 353, 380, 398
Francio (*magister militum*) 221–2
Frankfurt, Synod of 367
Frankish–Roman alliance 346
Franks
 administration of 100
 and Catholic Church 79, 343–4, 360
 and Constantinople 220–21
 embassies to Constantinople 364
 in Gaul 117
 and iconic art 333, 334

- Franks – *cont'd.*
 invasions of Lombard territory 221, 345–6
 and Martin (deacon, later Archbishop) 282, 357
 in Metz 200
 myth of origins 140
 Narses and 182, 203
 reform of liturgy 367
 rule in northern and central Italy 362, 396
Fredegar, *Chronicle* 249
French Revolution 64
Frigidus, Battle of the 8
Friuli *map* 2, 233, 363
Frontius, Bishop of Dalmatia 209
- Gaeta 370
Galeata *map* 3, 109
 monastery of St Hilarion 347
Galen 239–43, 462*n*20
 Alphabet of Galen 243
 Ars medica 239, 240
 De pulsibus ad tirones 240
 De sectis 240, 241
 Therapeutica ad Glauconem 240
Galla, Empress (consort of Theodosius I) 8, 17
Galla Placidia, Empress and Aetius 41, 42*n*4
 Agnellus on 387
 as builder 46–9, 105, 107, 172, 173, 397
 Cassiodorus on 141
 childhood in Milan 8–9, 17
 coinage 38
 in Constantinople 34–5
 crowned Empress 34
 death 58, 65
 and death of Serena 20
 gifts to church 30, 49
 as hostage of Goths 20–23, 24, 33, 35, 42, 53, 70, 90
 images of 391
 and *Law of Citations* 42–3
 marriage to Athaulf 21–3, 33, 53, 391
 marriage to Constantius III 33–4
 Mausoleum of xxx, *plates* 6–8
 move to Ravenna 13, 14, 32, 33
 and papal election 35
 power and influence of 58–9
 as regent in Ravenna 7–8, 36–43, 125, 307
 as retired empress mother 40, 44
 return to Rome 33, 70
 role as mother 51, 55, 59
 and theological disputes 55–7
 and visit by Germanus of Auxerre 54–5
Gammillaria estate 324
Gaudentius, governor of Flaminia 104
Gaudiosus (*defensor*) 275
Gaul
 administration of 100
 Arab pirates in 335
 conquered by Theoderic xxxi
 Germanic forces in 18
 invasions of 18, 21, 32, 41, 54, 77, 79, 80, 236
 revolt against Odoacer 82
 under Theoderic 101, 118–20, 123
Gaza *map* 1, 73
Geiseric, King of the Vandals 55, 64, 419
Gelasius, Pope 85, 96, 428*n*21, 439*n*18
Gelimer, King of the Vandals 152, 191, 432*n*32
Gemellus 75
Geneva *map* 1, 357
Gennadios, Exarch of Carthage 208

- Genoa *maps* 1, 2
 Alboin in 204
 captured by Lombards 235
 exarchate and 215
 Jews of 122–3
 synagogue 119
 Gentilly 355
 geographers, Gothic 112, 140, 280
 George, St 108, 169
 George I, Patriarch of Constantinople 268
 George, Archbishop of Ravenna 26, 310, 417n26
 George, Bishop of Palestrina 354
 George (imperial ambassador) 345, 353
 George (military officer) 217
 George (silk merchant) 181
 George (son of Johannis) 294, 311, 321–2, 323, 348
 Georgia *map* 1, 151
 Gepids 95, 206
 Germana 181
 Germania 279
 Germanic tribes 6, 71, 89
 forces 2, 7, 18
 in Ravenna 41
 Germanos, Patriarch of
 Constantinople 318, 327–8, 330, 333, 471n27
 Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre 54–5
 Germanus (*exceptor*) 219
 Gerontius 161
 Gervasius, St 165, 442n7
 Gessius 242
 Ghassanids 248
 Gibbon, Edward 395
 Gisela (daughter of Pippin) 479n9
 Gisulf 301
 Giustina, St 192
 Glycerius, Emperor 78–9
 Golden Calf 472n11
 Gortyna 269, 270
 Gothic communities, 22, 41, 70, 130, 194
 Gothic language 197, 280
 used in documents 195, 423n31
 Gothic Wars 151–83, 191, 203, 207, 217
 Goths
 adoption of Christianity xxxiv
 adoption of Latin names 194, 195–6
 as Arian Christians 6, 41, 70, 194, 317, 396
 and Arian churches 191
 blockaded by Honorius 32, 33
 Cassiodorus' history of 140–41
 conversion to Catholicism 195–6
 and Galla Placidia 20–23, 24, 33, 35, 42, 53, 70, 90
 migration to the West 95–7
 myth of origins 140
 Narses and 185
 peace treaty with Honorius 32
 Sack of Rome 20–21, 22, 24, 32, 36, 77, 80, 396
 siege of Ravenna 95
 siege of Rome 156–9
 Theodosius and 7
 see also Theoderic
 Gradus (Grado) *map* 3, 54, 70, 204, 210, 336, 384
 grain supplies 1, 20, 28, 33, 66, 105, 113, 128, 153, 175, 207, 212, 250, 264, 321, 338
 Gratian, Emperor 7, 48
 Gratian (brother of Galla Placidia) 48
 Gratianus 181
 Gratosus, Archbishop of Ravenna 370, 372
 Graves, Robert, *Count Belisarius* 159
 Great St Bernard pass 357

- Greece 2, 94, 281, 290, 295
 'Greek fire' 263, 318, 319
 Greek language, use of 70, 144,
 218–19, 237–8, 239–44, 275,
 282–3, 284, 348, 375
 Greek Orthodox Church xxxv
 Greens and Blues (circus factions) 37,
 151, 272, 299
 Grégoire, Henri 416*n*7
 Gregorios, Exarch of Ravenna 252,
 261
 Gregory I (the Great), Pope 211, 218,
 223–8, 230–31, 279, 389
 Book of Pastoral Care 224, 225
 council to judge schismatics 224
 death 230
 Dialogues 224, 337
 on icons 329
 Gregory II, Pope 321, 322, 331,
 465*n*9, 469*n*11, 471*n*25,
 471*n*27
 Gregory III, Pope 336, 337
 Gregory, Bishop of Mutina 144
 Gregory, Bishop of Tours 220
 Gregory, Exarch of Africa 249
 Gregory, Exarch of Ravenna 233,
 262
 Gregory (*saccellarius*, treasury
 official) 359
 Grenoda (*saio*) 99
 Grimoald, Duke of Benevento
 369–70, 373
 Grippo (ambassador) 220, 221
 Gubbio, *see* Iguvium
 Guderit 181
 Gudescale 227
 Gudila 132, 194
 Gudilibus 195
 Guido of Pisa, *Geographica* 277,
 281–2
 Gundegerga (Nonnica) 196
 Gunderit (scribe) 196, 199, 212
 Gundihild 439*n*19
 Gundobad, King of the Burgundians
 78, 110, 116, 117, 118
 Hadrian I, Pope
 and Charlemagne 358, 364, 369
 clash with Archbishop Leo 359
 death 373–4
 election as pope 357
 and Grimoald 370
 letters to Franks 479*n*10
 and Lombard threats 353, 357, 369
 and loss of tax revenue 476*n*28
 and reversal of iconoclasm 366–8
 Hadrian, Emperor 162
 Hadrian's Wall 24
 Hannibal 376
 Hardrad, Count 485*n*4
 Harun al-Rashid, Caliph 376–7
 Hebrew, use of 123
 Hebrews (in Old Testament) 471*n*11
 Heldebold 112
 Helena, Empress xxxiii, 4, 38, 230,
 368, 410*n*3
 Hellas 327
 Helmengaudus 381
 Helpidius 102, 110–11
 Henri IV, King of France 195
 Herakleia, Thrace 287
 Herakleios, Emperor 232, 233–5,
 247–50, 251, 263, 317
 Herakleios, co-Emperor (son of
 Constans II) 259, 260, 261,
 271–2
 Herakleios, Exarch of Carthage 232
 Herculanius 53, 414*n*21
 heresy, heretics 4, 85, 191, 195, 257
 see also Arianism
 Herminafid, King of Thuringia 112,
 113, 116
 Hernilius, family 73
 Herodotus 279

- Heruli 117, 182, 185
 hierarchy, ecclesiastical 270–71
 Hieria, Council and Definition of 344, 355
 Hildebrand, King of the Lombards 336, 337–8, 341, 363
 Hildegard, Queen (wife of Charlemagne) 362, 364, 479*n*12, 480*n*18
 Hilderic, King of the Vandals 117
 Hildevara (Gothic convert) 423*n*31
 Hincmar of Reims 362
 Hippo *map* 1, 21
 Hippocrates 240, 242, 243
 Aphorisms 240, 241, 243
 concept of humours 241
 Holofernes 279
 Homoian theology 5–6, 70
 Honoratus (archdeacon) 228
 Honoratus (lawyer) 105
 Honoria (imperial princess) 33, 35, 51, 52–4, 55, 413*n*6, 414*n*19
 Honorius I, Pope 233, 234
 Honorius, Emperor
 Agnellus on 29
 banishes Galla Placidia from Ravenna 34, 40
 and blockade of Goths 32, 33
 childhood 7, 8, 9
 death 35
 depicted in S. Giovanni Evangelista 48
 and development of Ravenna 24–6, 30–31, 49, 108, 394
 and handling of disputes 131–2
 marriages 9, 18
 and mausoleum in Rome 58
 in Milan 3, 17, 18
 relationship with Galla Placidia 23
 role as emperor 34, 39
 in Rome 12–13
 and Sack of Rome 20
 and Stilicho 19, 34
 transfers imperial court from Milan to Ravenna xxxvi, 13, 21, 24, 38, 165
 visit to Ravenna (399) 11
 Honorius, Julius 241
 Honorius (citizen of Ravenna) 1
 Horace 198
 Hormisdas, Pope 132–3, 160, 439*n*18
 horsemanship and horse racing 1, 52, 91, 113, 258, 299
 Horta (Orte) *map* 2, 227
 Hrodgaud, Count 363
 Hucbald, Count 356
 Huneric, Prince (later King) of the Vandals 55, 64, 121–2, 420*n*18
 Hunfridus 381
 Hungary 89, 93, 203
 Huns 53–4, 63, 64, 75–6, 77, 78, 80, 84, 317, 375, 396
 Hyacinthus 53
 Ibas of Edessa 184, 229
 iconoclasm 326–34, 336, 344
 reversal of 366–8
 icons
 of Christ 68–9
 cult of 288
 dispute over role of *see* iconoclasm
 Liutprand and 323
 of Mother of God 91–2
 veneration of 328–30, 355
 idolatry 367
 definition of 329
 Iesi (ancient Aesis) *map* 3, 346
 Igila (Danihel) 196
 Ignatios, Patriarch of Constantinople 384
 Iguvium (Gubbio) *map* 3, 66, 346
 Ildebadus, King of the Goths 158, 159, 174
 Ildebaldus (Heldebald) 112, 280

- Illyricum *map* 1
 bishops from 185, 189–90
- India 276, 278, 279
- Ingelheim, imperial palace 372
- Inigis 103
- inscriptions
 Agnellus and 26, 49, 165, 390
 on coins 38
 dedicatory 30, 48, 109, 121, 172, 188, 215
 of donors and founders 75, 106, 110, 119, 160, 163–4, 165, 182, 187–8, 193, 236
 funerary 28, 225, 236–7, 304–5, 390
 in Greek 70, 144, 164, 237
 in Hebrew 123
 in Latin 144, 164, 237
 Smaragdus' 231
 triumphal 1, 10, 85, 208
 woven in altar cloth 161, 189, 338
- Irene, Empress (later Emperor) 364, 365, 366–7, 368–9, 376, 377, 481*n*20
 proposes political union to Charlemagne 377
- Isaac, Exarch of Ravenna 22, 222, 233, 234–7, 251, 308
 tomb 236–7, *plates* 25, 26
- Isaac (Old Testament) 261
- Isaac the Jew (ambassador) 376–7
- Isacius 160
- Isauria 326
- Isaurians 92, 93
- Isidore of Seville 140–41, 277, 280
 Etymologies 242
- Islam
 calendar year of 248
 and dispute over Christ's humanity xxxiv
 and monotheism 248, 251
 spread of xxxiii, 24–50, 175, 288, 325, 332, 387, 395, 398
 and tripartite division of Mediterranean world xxxiii, 249, 287
 visual culture of 333–4
 see also Muslims
- Isonzo, River *map* 1, xxxi, 95
- Istria *map* 3
 and army of Italy 263, 336
 and army of Ravenna 217
 bishops of 210
 Charlemagne and 358
 development of ports 199–200, 385
 land owned by Ravenna 66, 101, 186, 216, 389, 393
 loyalty to Constantinople 340, 349
 opposition to Fifth Oecumenical Council in 189
 as Roman outpost 80
 Slavs in 335
 as storeroom of Ravenna 145–6
 Theoderic and 118
- Italo-Romans 99, 123, 125, 130, 136, 196
- Italy
 after Gothic War 184
 Alpine frontiers xxxvi
 army of (*exercitus*) 274
 Bulgars in 236
 defence of 204
 exarchate of 215–16, 223, 230–33, 339, 394
 Frankish rule in 362
 Justinian's strategy of reconquest 153, 170
 military administration of 182–3
 Monotheletism in 251
 officials sent to Italy from Constantinople 175–6
 and schism of Three Chapters 190, 300

- under Charlemagne 364
- under Theoderic 393
- Itherius (Frankish envoy) 356
- Jannes 196
- Jerome, St 21, 56, 186
- Jerusalem *map* 1
 - Anastasis, church of 163
 - Ascension, church of 163
 - captured by Muslims 248, 255, 361
 - Charlemagne and 374, 375–6
 - Christianity in 70
 - and Council *in Trullo* 288
 - Dome of the Rock 302, 333
 - holy places 376
 - inscriptions 188
 - mosques 302
 - new ecclesiastical buildings in
 - xxxiii, 4, 187
 - patriarchate of 185
 - Temple 152
 - Temple Mount 302
 - True Cross restored to 247
- Jesus Christ
 - as ‘adopted son of God’ 367
 - baptism of 67, 98
 - and creation of world 278
 - depiction of 288, 301–3, 380
 - energy and will of 234–5, 251, 273, 311; *see also* Monotheletism
 - icons of 68–9
 - nature of xxxiv–xxxv, 5–6, 55–7, 58, 71, 84, 132, 184, 234
- Jews
 - Agnellus on 302–3
 - Archbishop Damianus and 302–3
 - attacks on synagogues 123
 - communities in cities 71
 - conversion of 302–3
 - as doctors 111
 - Edict of Theoderic and 131
 - Germanos on 333
 - and icon veneration 333
 - and laws of Justinian I 195
 - in Naples 123, 153
 - in North Africa 191
 - in Palestine 279
 - Peter Chrysologus on 50
 - in Ravenna 123, 302–3, 310, 312, 417*n*26
 - restrictions on 191, 195
 - in Rome 123
 - synagogue in Genoa 119, 122–3
 - synagogue in Kallinikos 123
 - synagogues in Ravenna 123, 267
 - Theoderic and 111, 119, 121, 122–3, 131
 - under Arab rule 255
 - Visigoths and 122
- Johannes (agent) 181
- Johannes (military officer) 217
- Johannes (*proemptor*) 181
- Johannes (scribe) 181
- Johannia (abbess) 275, 312
- Johannicis (scribe and translator)
 - ancestor of Agnellus the historian 307
 - in Constantinople 264, 308–9
 - death and burial of 309
 - as Greek scholar 264, 282
 - as exarch’s notary 264, 283
 - kidnapped by imperial fleet 293, 325
 - as poet 264, 275
 - returns to Ravenna 264, 301, 306
 - revision of liturgical documents 306–7
 - sister of 296
 - and Sixth Oecumenical Council 271
 - son George 294, 321, 323
- Johannis Aelius 114
- Johannis (donor to church) 274–5
- Johannis Junior 212
- Johannis (*pimentarius*) 155, 243
- Johannis (*scolaris*) 219

- Johannis (son of Januarius) 211
 John the Baptist, St 67, 98
 John the Evangelist, St 36, 47, 48,
 413*n*6, 487*n*39
 gospel of 71
 John Chrysostomos, St 127
 John I, Pope 122, 134, 348
 John II, Pope 145
 John III, Pope 183, 203
 John IV, Pope 235, 236, 251
 John V, Pope 272
 John VI, Pope 274, 297
 John VII, Pope 292–3, 465*n*9
 John, Archbishop of Arles 381, 382
 John II ‘the Roman’, Archbishop of
 Ravenna 207, 209, 210–11,
 212, 224, 225
 John IV, Archbishop of Ravenna 232,
 233
 John V, Archbishop of Ravenna 321,
 323–5, 337–8, 340, 341
 donations to church 324
 and Leo III’s decree on icons 331
 John, Bishop of Parentium 210
 John, Bishop of Portus 268, 270, 289
 John, Bishop of Ravenna 75, 76, 96
 John, Bishop of Rhegium 268
 John, Bishop of Synnada 327, 330
 John I, Exarch of Ravenna 232
 John, Patriarch of Grado 359
 John, abbot of St John *ad Titum*,
 journey to Constantinople
 303–4
 John (brother of Galla Placidia) 48
 John (chief secretary in Ravenna) 35,
 36, 40
 John (deacon, 600) 66
 John (deacon, 769) 355, 356
 John (judicial clerk, *exceptor*) 217
 John (leader of armed unit in
 Ravenna) 312
 John (military leader under Narses) 177
 John (patrician, general of Leontios)
 291
 John (*sakellarios*, treasury official)
 370
 John (subdeacon) 226
 John of Alexandria 242
 John of Antioch 411*n*17
 John of Compsa 232–3
 John of Damascus 366
 John Platyn, Exarch of Ravenna
 273–4, 297, 307–8
 John Rizokopos, Exarch of Ravenna
 295, 297, 307–8
 Jordan, River *map* 1, 67, 98
 Jordanes, *Getica* 140, 141, 280, 387
 Joseph (as precursor to Christ) 187
 Josephus 279
 Jovinus 75
 Judaism 249
 see also Jews
 Judith (Old Testament) 279
 Julian Alps *map* 3, 89, 95, 177, 203
 Julian, Emperor 5
 Juliana Anicia 163
 Julianus (banker) 111, 122, 144, 155,
 156, 161, 164–5, 187–8,
 431*n*22
 Julianus (*scriptor*, witness to will) 211
 Julinus 196
 Julius Caesar xxxvi
 Julius Nepos, Emperor 78, 79, 81, 82,
 419*n*10
 Justin I, Emperor 132–4, 135, 138
 Justin II, Emperor 183, 203, 204,
 205, 207, 439*n*24, 443*n*25
 Justin (military leader) 175
 Justina, Empress 17, 37, 44
 Justinian I, Emperor
 abolition of consulate 178
 and Amalasuintha 146–7, 168
 and Archbishop Maximian 168–9,
 170, 185, 186, 187, 189

- and Arianism 134, 191–2, 209
- and basilica of St Polyeuktos 163
- and Belisarius' campaigns 151, 152–3, 157–9, 176
- and bishops 179–80
- and church of Hagia Sophia 164
- and church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus 163–4, 172
- Codex of Civil Law 44, 178, 396
- Constantianus and 176
- death 180, 200
- and death of Totila 177
- equestrian statue of 379
- and Fifth Oecumenical Council (Constantinople, 553) 184, 209
- images of 172–3, 193–4, 272
- imperial panels in Ravenna 166–9, 371, 391, 392, *plates* 37, 38
- Liberius under 103
- as model for Charlemagne 372, 392
- Novel 37 195
- Novellae* 178, 394
- and Persia 207, 247
- and plague 175
- and Pragmatic Sanction 177–80, 388
- and provincial governors 178–9, 180
- 'reconciliation' process 192–3, 195, 296
- and restoration of imperial power in Italy 174, 175
- truce with Persia 207
- Justinian II, Emperor
 - accession as emperor 272
 - and Bulgars 293, 326
 - and Council *in Trullo* 287, 288, 313
 - in exile 468ⁿ¹³
 - final overthrow and death 296, 309, 467ⁿ⁴
 - first overthrow 290–91
 - holds meeting of church and military leaders 272–3
 - image of Christ on coinage 302, 320–21, *plates* 41, 42
 - and Leo III 326
 - possibly depicted on mosaic in S. Apollinare in Classe 260
 - relations with Ravenna 306, 308–9, 313
 - relations with Rome 289–90
 - and resistance to Islam 249
 - second reign of 292–3, 295–6
 - and treatment of Archbishop Felix and Johannicus 308–9
 - upholds Sixth Oecumenical Council 272, 276
- Justiniana Prima 187
- Juvinus 196
- Kairouan, Tunisia *map* 1, 333
- Kallinikos I, Patriarch of Constantinople 464ⁿ¹⁸
- Kallinikos (architect) 458ⁿ²⁹
- Kallinikos, synagogue 123
- Kathara monastery, Bithynia 439ⁿ²⁴
- Kathisma (Church of the Seat of Mary) 163
- Khazars 292
- Kidron 163
- Klaudioupolis *map* 1, 332–3
- Koran 248, 302
- Kos 251
- Lagalianus 28
- Lakhmids 248
- Lamb of God, as depiction of Christ 166, 288, 301–3
- Lamisa, River *map* 4, xxxvii, 10
- Larissa *map* 1, 94
- Late Antiquity, as term xxxiii–xxxiv
- Lateran Council (649) 253, 256

- Latin, use of 218–19, 239, 240–43,
335, 344, 348
- Laurentia 194
- Laurentius, Bishop of Milan 118,
132
- Laurentius, Bishop of Nuceria
(antipope) 128, 131, 425*n*19
- Laurentius (magistrate) 212
- Lauricius 65–6
- Law of Citations* 41–2, 43, 44
- Lawrence, St 47
- Laz people 326
- Lazica 151
- Lebanon 249, 268
- legal systems 3–4, 41–4, 43–4, 178,
396
- Leni (*numerus*) 348
see also Leti
- Leo I, Pope 34, 54, 56, 57, 63, 68,
415*n*1, 420*n*24
Tomus 58, 184
- Leo II, Pope 266, 272
- Leo III, Pope
and Archbishop Martin 381–2
attack on 377–8, 383
crowns Charlemagne as emperor
378, 380
gifts presented to S. Apollinare in
Classe 380–81
mosaic in *triclinium* 380
and Ravenna 380–81, 382
relations with Charlemagne 374,
377–8, 380
- Leo I, Archbishop of Ravenna 282,
356–7, 363, 380, 381, 479*n*15
establishes independence from
Rome 358–9
visits Charlemagne 358–9
- Leo I, Emperor 78, 79, 89, 91–2, 93,
108, 152, 172
- Leo II, Emperor 92
- Leo III, Emperor
and Caliphs Umar II and Yazid II
332
and conflict with Arab forces
318–21, 325, 326–7
death 338
Ecloga 131
and iconoclasm 326–8, 330–31,
333, 336, 472*n*15, 476*n*28
and Ravenna 322
- Leo IV, Emperor 348, 364, 365
- Leo (consul) 336
- Leontia, Empress 230, 472*n*9
- Leontios, Emperor 290–91, 292
- Leontios (doctor) 199, 212, 239, 241
- Leontius (donor) 312
- Leti, *numerus* 275
- Levant 385
- Liber diurnus* 306
- Liberius, Bishop of Ravenna 27
- Liberius (prefect) 103, 104, 115, 118,
208
- Libri Carolini* 367
- Libya 152
- Licina Eudoxia, Empress (consort of
Valentinian III) 37, 39, 40,
43–4, 52, 64, 91, 415*n*30
- Licina Valeria 28, 35
- Liguria 83, 110, 118, 119, 235, 357
- Lilybaeum *map* 2, 129
- liturgical books 306, 307
- Liutpert 300
- Liutprand, King of the Lombards
300–301, 322–3, 335–6,
337–8, 339, 342, 465*n*9,
470*n*25, 473*n*2
- Lombards
and Arianism 195, 235, 449*n*14
attacks on Ravenna 277, 295, 320,
335, 339, 341, 342, 385
attacks on Rome 335, 336–7, 343,
345–6, 353
in Calabria 319

- capture of Ravenna (751) 277,
295, 339–40, 342, 348–9,
387, 388
Charlemagne's campaigns against
rebel territories 363, 377, 378
and Christianity 300–301, 317,
342, 343, 360
collapse of kingdom of 358
and conflicts in southern Italy 365,
369–70
and Constans II 257
craftsmanship xxxi
ethnic fusion among 323
and exarchate of Ravenna 221–2,
252–3, 256, 337, 345
and Frankish invasions 221–2,
357–8, 381
hostilities among 300–301
invasion of northern Italy and
attacks by 190, 203–8, 213,
215, 221–2, 227–8, 231,
235–6, 262, 294, 360
nunneries 275
rebellion of Hrodgaud 363
serving in eastern armies 261
Smaragdus' truce with 221, 227,
228, 447n24
and support of schismatic bishops
224, 228–9
territory regained from 226–7
use of Latin 335
western challenge of 396
withdrawal from Rome 354
Lombardy *map* 2, 203
Longidienus, Publius 10
Longinus (prefect) 199, 203, 205–6
Longobardia *map* 2, 198, 483n24
Lothar, Emperor 384, 480n24
Louis II, King of the Lombards
480n24
Louis the Pious, Emperor, King of
Aquitaine 358, 362, 364, 365,
373, 379, 382, 384, 480n18,
485n4
Lucania *map* 2, 140
Lucca *map* 2, 194, 243
Lucera *map* 2, 378
Lucia, St 192
Lucioli *map* 3, 227, 232, 346
Luni *map* 2, 235
Lycia *map* 1, 250
Lyon *map* 1, 101
Magi, depictions of 193
Magna Mare, *see* Mediterranean
Magna valley 337
Mainz *map* 1, 377
Majorian, Emperor 77–8
Makarios, Patriarch of Antioch 271,
272, 459n13
Malchus 89
Manes (commander) 469n12, 471n30
Manichaeans 85, 180, 195, 421n26,
439n18
Mannas (son of Nanderit) 211
Mantua *map* 2, 221, 227
mappa mundi 277, 282
Marano, Synod of 210, 211
marble decoration xxxii, 50, 71, 114,
137–8, 145, 163, 171, 172
calendar 161
coloured 30, 46, 47, 67, 154
from Proconnesus 107, 122, 166,
188
reused 25
Marcator 196
Marcellianum 140
Marcellinus, Count 80
Chronicle 53, 72
Marcian, Emperor 58, 63, 91
Marcomir/Marcomirus 112, 280
Maria, Empress (wife of Honorius) 9,
17, 18, 32
Maria, Empress (wife of Leo III) 320

- Maria of Amnia, Empress 368–9,
482*n*13
- Maria (*femina spectabilis*) 75
- Marinianus, Archbishop of Ravenna
66, 225, 226, 228, 389
- Marinos (banker) 217
- Marinus, Duke of Rome 320, 321
- Marinus (military official) 348
- Marmara, Sea of *map* 1, 166, 281
- Marseille *map* 1, 120, 281
- Martial 73, 198
- Martin, Pope 253–5, 256, 257, 261,
262, 290, 295, 309, 457*n*20,
468*n*13
- Martin, Archbishop of Ravenna
(previously deacon) 282, 357,
372, 381
- Martin of Tours, St 192, 199, 200, 280
- Martyria 196, 212
- Mary, mother of Jesus
Annunciation 171
churches dedicated to 56, 163,
170–71, 187, 229, 231, 236
devotion to 319, 328
Ecclesius' church to 122
as *Theotokos* (Mother of God) 32,
55–7, 58, 91–2, 229
Visitation 171, *plate* 41
- Mastulus 143, 144
- Matasuntha, Queen 154
- Mauretania *map* 1, 45
- Maurice, Emperor 208, 218, 221,
223, 224, 230, 467*n*9
- Maurice, Duke of Rimini 356
- Mauricius (*cartularius*) 234, 236
- Mauricius (*magister militum*) 236
- Maurisius (Lombard duke) 227
- Maurus, Archbishop of Ravenna
66, 253, 256, 262, 267, 304,
plate 54
and funds for military campaigns
258
- and mosaic panel in Ravenna
260–61
- and Ravenna's independence from
Rome 259–60
- tomb of 261
- Maurus (deacon) 309
- Maurus, St 171, *plate* 43
- Maximian, Archbishop of Ravenna
66, 162, 167, 168–70, 174,
177, 184, 185–90, 198, 304,
387, 389, *plate* 37
as builder 187–9, 213, 442*n*7
death 191
and Fifth Oecumenical Council
(553) 189–90
Histories 27, 66, 186
ivory throne of 187, *plate* 36
and *Life* of Apollinaris 186
reburial of 189
and S. Apollinare in Classe 170,
186, 213
and San Vitale 168, 170, 371,
430–31*n*22
- Maximian, co-Emperor 2, 3
- Maximinus 175, 176
- Maximos the Confessor 235, 252,
253, 261
- Maximus, Bishop of Salona 228,
389
- Maximus, usurper, 17
- Mecca 277
Kaaba 248
- medicine 239–44
schools of 239
- Medina 248, 277
- Mediterranean *maps* 1, 2, xxxiii,
174, 205
in *Cosmographia* 277, 281
trade in 250, 385
- Melisenses/Melisienians (term for
citizens of Ravenna) 312, 324
- Melissa 196, 219

- Melitene 475*n*24
 Melminius, Andreas 181
 Melminius, Cassianus Junior 211, 212
 Melminius, family 28, 73, 211, 212, 312
 mercenaries 7
 Merobaudes 52
 Merovingians 198, 344
 Merseburg, Cathedral of 27, *plates* 25, 26
 Mesembria 326
 Metz *map* 1, 54, 198, 200
 miaphysite 56, 58, 84, 132, 184
 see also monophysite
 Michael, St, Archangel 188
 Michael (would-be archbishop of Ravenna) 356, 380
 Michelangelo Buonarroti 164
 Milan *maps* 1, 2
 Ambrosiana library 241
 Arian church 70, 195
 armed forces in 217
 attacked by Lombards 204, 206, 216
 Ausonius and 73
 besieged by Goths 9
 Bishop Ambrose and 186
 as bishopric 50, 209
 bishops 31, 185
 chariot racing in 113
 Charlemagne's gifts to 384
 conflict between Arians and Catholics in 84–5
 controlled by Goths 185
 Edict of 4
 and Fifth Council 189–90
 imperial court at 6, 8–9, 11, 17, 25, 29, 44, 49, 126
 imperial court moved to Ravenna 1, 2–3, 9, 12, 16, 24, 25, 165, 393
 numerus of 196, 217
 occupied by Theoderic 95
 S. Aquilino 30
 S. Lorenzo, chapel of Sant'Aquilino 162
 militarization 214–18
 Minnulus 160, 196
 mints 25, 38, 82, 96, 302
 Misenum xxxvi
 Mizizios 263, 267, 268, 275
 Modena 196, 221
 Moesia 94, 96
 monophysites 152, 234, 255
 monotheism 5, 248, 251, 317
 Monotheletism 234–5, 236, 248, 251–5, 256, 257, 266, 268–9, 271–2, 309–10, 311, 313, 337
 Mons Lucati 346
 Mont Cenis pass 357
 Montanus 156, 211
 Monte Cassino, monastery of *map* 2, 388
 Montefeltro *map* 3, 346
 Monza *map* 2, 109
 Moorish tribes 208
 mosaic decoration 154, 158, 165–6, 173, 213, 302, 323, 334, 349, 378–9, 380, 386, 391, 456*n*17
 see also Ravenna, mosaics
 Moses 166, 327, 472*n*11
 mosques 302, 333
 Muawiyah, Caliph 262–3
 Muhammad, Prophet 248, 249, 250, 332
 Mundus 153
 Murvan, Prince 90
 music 110, 113, 120, 365
 Muslims
 iconoclasm of 331, 333
 see also Islam

- Nakoleia *map* 1, 332
- Naples *map* 1
 attacked by Lombards 353
 Byzantine culture in 376
 Constans in 257–8
 as entry point to Europe 394
 eruption of Vesuvius 156–7
 Eutychios in 322, 340
 exarchate and 215
 garrison in 175
 as independent duchy 369
 Jews in 123, 153
 meeting of exarch with Pope
 Constantine in 295
 Narses in 183
 papyrus records 28
 portrait of Theoderic in 109
 sacked by imperial troops 153–4
 and Three Chapters schism 224
 use of Greek in 218
- Narbonne *map* 1, 40, 281, 408*n*7
- Narbonnensis I and II 101
- Narni *map* 2, 337, 346
- Narses 157, 176–7, 180, 182–3, 185,
 190, 203–4, 205, 208
 armed forces of 216, 217–18
- Natalis, Bishop of Salona 228
- Navicula, nunnery 312
- Nemesios 239
- Neon, Bishop of Ravenna 30, 65,
 67–70, 75, 76, 98, 107
- Neoplatonism 147, 394
- Nepi *map* 2, 327
- Nestorios, Patriarch of
 Constantinople 55–6, 85, 184
- Netherlands 344
- Nicaea 295, 332
 Arab siege of 327
 churches 332
 First Oecumenical Council (325)
 4, 6, 8, 70, 262–3, 269, 324,
 327, 367
- Justinian II in 295
- Seventh Oecumenical Council
 (787) 345, 366–7
- Nice 281
- Nicene Creed 4, 5, 8
- Nicetas, Bishop of Aquileia 54
- Nichomachus 110
- Nicomedia *map* 1, 2, 5, 295
- Nikephoros, Emperor 377
- Niketas 232
- Nîmes *map* 1, 281
- Ninfa, estate 339
- Noah 280
- Noricum *map* 1, 80
- Noricum Mediterraneum 101
- Norma, estate 339
- North Africa
 administrative system in 220, 222
 Amalafrida in 117, 129, 142
 Arian persecution of Catholics in
 145
 Arians in 145, 152, 191, 195
 bishops of 287, 288
 Byzantine empire and xxxvi
 Constantius in 32
 Donatists in 85, 191
 Exarch Gregory and 263
 exarchate of 232, 243, 394
 exports from 32, 153, 395
 Jews in 191
 Monotheletism in 251
 Moorish tribes in 208
 Muslim conquest of 291, 332
 naval units in 273
 paganism in 191, 195
 reconquest by Belisarius 151,
 152–3, 170, 175, 207, 214
 Theoderic and 129
 Vandal conquest of 45, 79, 82, 116,
 117, 125, 191
- Notitia dignitatum* 217
- Notitiae* 70

- Nova, *see* Ad Novas
 Novae 94
 Nuceria (Nocera Umbra) *map* 3,
 128, 205
 Numana *map* 3, 337
 Numerus/i 189, 196, 217, 219, 237,
 276, 312
 Numidia *map* 1, 45

 Oderzo 236
 see also Opitergium
 Odo 276, 283
 Odoacer, King of Italy
 as Arian Christian 96
 arrival in Ravenna 409*n*12
 as ‘barbarian’ 80
 and Catholic Church 84–5
 coinage of 82, *plate* 19
 death of 95
 defeat by Theoderic and Alaric 95
 and diplomacy 81
 government of 82–4, 99, 103–4, 125
 and imperial regalia 99
 as kingmaker 78
 Liberius and 97
 revolt of 80–82, 116
 as ruler of Ravenna 77, 89
 and Theoderic xxxi, 94
 Olympiodoros 21–2, 33, 34, 239
 Olympios, Exarch of Ravenna 252,
 254, 261
 Onomagoulos family 319
 Onulf 419*n*11
 Opilio (father and son) 83, 104
 Opitergium *map* 3, 236
 Opitergo, *see* Opitergium
 Opsikion 272
 Orestes 79, 81
 Organ 365, 482*n*11
 Organiano 262
 Oribasios 241
 Euporista 243

 Orkneys 277
 Orosius 279
 Orte, *see* Horta
 Ortona *map* 2, 378
 Orvieto, *see* Urbs vetus
 Osimo, *see* Auximum
 Ostia 24
 Ostrogorsky, George 214
 Ostrogotho Areagni 96–7, 116
 Ostrogoths 66, 89, 101–2, 117, 141
 see also Theoderic
 Otranto 295
 Otratarrit 212
 Otto I, Emperor 173
 Otto II, Emperor 173
 Otto III, Emperor 173, 362, 485*n*7
 Ottoman Empire 360
 Ovid 198

 Padenna, River *map* 4, xxxvii, 10
 Paderborn, palace of Charlemagne
 map 1, 377
 Padovano 66
 Padua, *see* Patavium
 paganism
 in antiquity xxxiv
 and canons of Council *in Trullo*
 296
 Constantine I and 4, 360
 cults of 71
 deities of 329
 idols in Mecca 248
 images of deities 329, 330
 monuments in Rome 231, 392
 in North Africa 191, 195
 in Roman Senate 6
 and slavery 359
 Palestine 151, 234, 247, 279, 281,
 288, 317
 palimpsests 242, 280
 Palladius 242
 Pamphronius (secretary) 181

- Pannonia *map* 1, 79, 80, 89, 93, 118,
190, 203, 206, 236
Pannonia II 101, 102
Paolina, St 192
papacy
elections xxxiii, 127–8, 273–4
patrimony of 301, 337, 340, 347
relationship with Frankish kings
357–8
papal disputes 127–8, 131–2, 145,
273–4, 356
Papal States 337
Paphlagonia *map* 1, 368
Papia 294
Papinian 42
papyrus records
on city administration 180
on Gothic gifts to churches 194
on military officers 217
and mixed population of Ravenna
196
of property sales 155
of Ravenna 28, 65
and scribes 49, 307
on Sicily 66
of Sixth Oecumenical Council 271
use of Gothic in 84
use of Latin in 218–19
will of Bishop Aurelianus 114
Parentium (Parenzo, Poreč) *map* 3,
xxxi–xxxii, 146, 190, 193, 281
Basilica Eufraiana xxxii, 169–71
Parianis 155
Paris *map* 1
St Denis, monastery of 344
Parma 227
Pascal, Pope 480n24
Pascasia 74
Paschal (archdeacon) 273–4
Paschalis 212
Patavium (Padua) *map* 3, 222
bishop's palace 282
Patras *map* 1, 168–9, 184, 257
Patricius 144
Paul, St 69, 301, 362
Paul I, Pope 347, 353–4
Paul, Exarch of Ravenna 319–20,
321–2
death of 321–2, 323
Paul II, Patriarch of Constantinople
252, 253
Paul (craftsman) 30
Paul (deacon) 182, 227, 229, 235, 250,
300–301, 372
History of the Lombards 205–6,
335
Paul (*notarius*) 456n23
Paul (*silentarios*) 172–3
Paulacis 219, 237
Paulinus of Nola, St 34
Paulinus (Paulus), Patriarch of
Aquileia 190, 204, 208–9
Paulus (banker) 156
Paulus (brother of Orestes) 79, 80
Pavia *map* 2, *see* Ticinum
Pelagia, St 192
Pelagius I, Pope 180, 182, 185, 190,
209, 283, 437n25
Pelagius II, Pope 196, 210–11, 223
Pelasgians (term for Greeks) 312, 324
Pelegrinus 155
Peloponnese 94, 257
Pentapolis 66, 205, 216, 236, 289,
290, 331, 335, 338, 340, 349,
363
Pentesileus 279
Peredeo, Duke of Vicenza 336
Perpetua, St 192
Persia
Arab conquest of 248–9, 317
caliphs of 375
Diocletian and 2, 167
frontier with Byzantine empire 204
imperial policy against 205

- philosophers 279
as rival to Roman empire 5, 395
troops sent against 152
- Persians 5
invasions by 230, 233–4
- Perusia (Perugia) *maps* 1, 3, 66, 175, 227, 338, 339, 449*n*19
- Pesaro, *see* Pisaurum
- pestilence, *see* plague
- Petavia (Pannonia) 276
- Peter, St
Agnellus on 187
bishops of Rome and 8, 57, 126, 226, 289, 296
chapel of 108
clergy's prayers to 265
images of 69, 336, 380
invoked by Pippin 345
invoked by Pope Hadrian 357, 364
Liutprand and 301
oath of loyalty to 306
Pope Zacharias and 337
Rome as seat of 63
succession of 6, 57, 126, 361, 362
tomb of 306
venerated by Theoderic 128
verses addressed to 69–70
vision of 41
see also Rome, St Peter's
- Peter Chrysologus, St, Bishop of
Ravenna 41, 47, 48, 50–51, 55–6, 65, 68, 70, 132, 307, 313, 435*n*3, 444*n*12
- Peter III, Archbishop of Ravenna
209, 212, 389
- Peter, Bishop of Altinum 132
- Peter II, Bishop of Ravenna 122, 123, 132
- Peter Mongos, Patriarch of
Alexandria 84, 429*n*21
- Peter, Patriarch of Constantinople
254
- Peter (patrician envoy) 147
- Peter (priest of Ravenna) 381
- Petronax, Archbishop of Ravenna 189
- Petronius Maximus 40, 64
- Petros (tax collector, son of Thomas)
211
- Petrus (buyer of land) 195
- Philip (presbyter) 346
- Philippikos, Emperor 296, 309–11, 317
- Phoebadius (senator) 408*n*6
- Phoinike, battle of 250–51, 257, 455*n*6
- Phokas, Emperor 215, 230–32, 472*n*9, *plate* 48
- Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople
384
- Picenum 11, 102
- Piedmont 205
- Pierius 82–3
- Pillars of Hercules 281
- Pippin, King of the Franks
crossing of Alps 357
'Donation' of 346, 478*n*18, 484*n*2
Emperor Constantine IV and
339–40
and Exarchate of Ravenna 345–6, 359
and icon veneration 355
Pope Constantine II and 354
Pope Stephen II and 343–4, 387
relations with Byzantium 364, 365
- Pippin, King of the Lombards
(previously Carloman, son of
Charlemagne) 358, 362, 364, 365, 373, 377, 378
- Pirenne, Henri 250
- Pisa *map* 1, 277
- Pisaurum (Pesaro) *map* 3, 205, 346
see also Pentapolis
- Pitulis estate, Corneliese 324
- Placentia (Piacenza) *map* 2, 80

- Placidia (daughter of Valentinian III and Licinia Eudoxia) 64, 91
- plague 174–5, 176, 179, 300
- Plato 110, 135, 136, 240, 241
- Platon, Exarch of Ravenna 252, 261
- Po, River *maps* 1, 2, 3, xxxvi, xxxvii, 10–11, 12, 25, 72, 73, 76, 205, 206, 216, 325, 385, 394
- Poitiers *map* 1, battle of 249, 343, 398
Holy Cross monastery 200, 443*n*25
- Pola (Pula) *maps* 1, 3, 14, 66, 146, 168, 169, 170, 176, 187, 193, 210, 216, 281
basilica of S. Maria in Formosa 169, 188, *plate* 45
- Pollentia *map* 2, 12
- Polychronios 459*n*13
- Polymartium (Bomarzo) *map* 2, 227, 337
- polytheism 5, 6, 8, 50, 396
see also paganism
- Pomposa, abbey of xxx
- Pompulius Bonifatius 181
- Pompulius, family 28, 73, 312
- Pompulius, Plantus 156
- Pons Sontii 95
- Ponthion *map* 1, 344
- Posidonios of Byzantium 239
- Pragmatic Sanction 177–80, 214, 220, 388
- Price Edict (301) 3
- Priscian 123
- Prisciani, Pellegrino 282
- Priscillianists 85
- Probinus 131
- Probus, St 122
- Proconnesus, marble from 107, 122, 166, 188
- Proconsularis 287
- Procopius 10, 78–9, 89, 109, 141, 156, 157, 175, 279
- Buildings* 187
History of the Wars 151
Secret History 433*n*2
- Proiectus, family 73
- Protasius, St 165, 442*n*7
- Provence 103, 117, 118
- pseudo-Hippocrates, *De observantia ciborum* 243
- Ptolemy 110, 279, 283
- Pulcheria, Empress, 8, 35, 36, 38, 56–7, 57–8, 64
- Pyrenees 18, 23, 281
- Pyrrhos, Patriarch of Constantinople 252, 310
- Pyrrus (tribune) 65
- Pythagoras 110
- Quierzy 380
- Quiriacus 211
- Radegund, Queen, St 200, 443*n*25
- Radoald, Duke of Pavia 465*n*7
- Ranihilda 181
- Ranilo 194
- Ratchis, King of the Lombards 339, 475*n*23
- Ravenna *maps* 1–4
archbishops, role of 342–3, 363, 384–5
bishops of xxxii, 26–7, 308
capture by Belisarius 157–9, 160, 166, 168, 178, 191, 195, 388, 394
Catholic clergy, income of 143–5
Catholic communities in 195
Charlemagne in 370–72, 375, 381
city administration 180–81, 211–12
clothing of high-ranking citizens 181
collapse of Byzantine authority in 363

- Cosmographer of Ravenna on 276, 281
- court culture 110–11
- craftsmen in 71, 107–8, 114–15
- daily life in 155–6, 211–13, 274–5, 311–12, 347–8
- decline as trade centre 385–6
- defence systems 293–5, 299
- districts of 299
- division into *numeri* 312, 321–2, 348
- earthquakes 11, 27, 39, 68, 72, 106, 323, 342, 382
- emergence as imperial capital 1–2, 9–13, 24–6, 29, 30
- estates in Sicily 65–6
- Exarchate of 205, 208, 209, 213, 214–22, 252–3, 255, 273, 283, 292, 308, 340, 345, 353, 358, 360, 362, 380
- expansion of 49–51, 64
- fire 299
- as first European city 399
- formal ceremonies in 389–90
- gains independence from Rome 259–60
- geographers in 112
- Gothic communities in 194–7
- Gothic treasury 143
- growth in stature 275
- historians of 387–90
- and Istria 145–6
- Jews in 123, 310, 312, 417*n*26 and synagogues 312, 417*n*26
- Justinian II and 293, 295
- legacy of 387–99
- legal reforms in 41–3
- local factions/militias 298–9
- Lombard attacks on 320, 336, 341, 342
- Lombard capture of (751) 277, 295, 339–40, 342, 348–9, 387, 388
- Lombard occupation of 323, 336, 345
- Longinus in 205
- medical education and practice 241, 242, 243
- military forces in 216–17
- mosaics xxxii–xxxiii, 24–5, 47, 52, 106–8, 108, 165–6, 166–9, 171–3, 213
- plague in 176
- plundered by bishop of Bologna 384
- popular entertainment in xxxvii, 113, 126–7, 299
- population changes 125
- and Pragmatic Sanction 179
- as prototype city-state 294
- relations with Constantinople xxxvi, xxxvii, 394, 397–9
- resistance against iconoclasm 331–2
- rivalry with Rome 78, 126, 226, 306
- role in development of West 199–200
- schism with Rome 259
- scholars in 110–11
- scribes in 307
- slaves in 114
- Sunday fighting and penitential procession 298–9
- taxation in 114
- Theoderic's siege of 95
- and Three Chapters schism 224
- and trade with Europe 394
- translators in 110
- under direct rule of Constantinople 159
- under papal control 346–9
- use of Greek and Latin 218–19
- watery environment 72–3, 382
- see also* Classis; Lombards, attacks on Ravenna; Ravenna,

- Ravenna *maps* – *cont'd.*
 churches of; Ravenna,
 monasteries; Ravenna,
 monuments and buildings;
 Ravenn, palaces in
- Ravenna, churches of
 Arian Baptistery 97–8, 162
 Arian Cathedral S. Teodoro (S.
 Spirito) 97, 485ⁿ²⁹
 Arian churches in 108, 192
 S. Apollinare Nuovo (earlier
 Church of Christ the Saviour):
 apse destroyed in earthquake
 323; chapel of St Theodore the
 Deacon 267; Charlemagne and
 371, 378–9; depiction of
 apostles 419ⁿ⁴; depiction of
 magi 181, 193; re-dedication of
 192–4; Theoderic and 105–9,
 167, 172, 323, 372, 390–91,
 391–2
 Catholic churches
 Archbishop's Chapel 311
 Baptistery of the Orthodox 30,
 67–8, 98, 162, 311
 Basilica of the Apostles (later S.
 Francesco) 27, 69, 70, 265
 Basilica of San Giovanni
 Evangelista 47–9, 105, 107, 172,
 173, 391; bomb damage xxix
 Cathedral (Ursiana) 30–31, 41,
 69, 160–61, 188, 298, 342,
 383; chapel of S. Andreas
 attached to Petriana church
 122; S. Andreas chapel 167;
 Tricollis chapel 122, 188
 Petriana church 323, 342, 435ⁿ³
 S. Anastasia 194–5, 196
 S. Apollinare in Classe 164, 166,
 170, 186, 188, 213, 225, 264,
 341, 431ⁿ²², *plates* 49–54,
 58–61; Agnellus on 390–91;
 altar cloth 338; ciborium of
 St; Eleuchadius 381; depiction
 of Christ 302; gifts to 381;
 inscription by Archbishop
 John V 324; Lamb of God
 depiction 301; mosaic of
 Archbishop Maurus 260–61,
 267; panel of Melchizedek
 and Abel 261; restoration
 by Archbishop Martin 382;
 tomb of Archbishop
 Damianus 304; tomb of
 Archbishop Felix 313; tomb
 of Archbishop Theodore 266;
 tombs in 390
 S. Croce (Church of the Holy
 Cross) 44, 46–7, 370, 419ⁿ¹⁴
 chapel of St Zacharias 49
 S. Euphemia 382
 S. Eusebius 98
 S. Maria *ad Blachernas* 229, 267,
 381–2, 437ⁿ²⁶
 S. Maria *in Cosmedin* 229
 S. Michele *in Africisco* 164, 188
 S. Probus 188
 San Severo in Classe 384, 385
 San Vitale *plates* 30–33, 37–40;
 Archbishop Maximian and
 169–70, 174, 187–8; Bishop
 Ecclesius and 122, 144, 161,
 162, 164–5, 167–8, 391; Bishop
 Victor and 166, 168, 174;
 Charlemagne and 371–2;
 depiction of Christ 302;
 imperial panels 166–8,
 169–70, 172–3, 391; mosaics
 165–6, 169–70, 173, 181;
 octagonal form 162–3; panel of
 Emperor Justinian 173, 193,
 260, 272, 371, 387, 391;
 portrait of Empress Theodora
 xxx, 166–7, 173, 391; tomb of

- Droctulft 207–8; tomb of
 Exarch Isaac 236–7
 St Agatha, church of 76, 191, 198
 St Agnes, church of 75
 St Andrew, church of 188, 189
 St Euphemia, church in Classis
 212
 St Eusebius, church of 192
 St John the Baptist (church or
 statue) 212
 St John the Baptist, monastery
 of 275
 St Mary the ever Virgin 264
 St Paul, church of (former
 synagogue) 267, 417*n*26
 St Probus in Classis 213
 St Pulio chapel 27
 St Sergius, church of 192
 St Severus, church of 209, 212–13
 St Stephen, church of 188
 St Zeno, church of 192
 Sts John and Barbatianus, church
 of 207
 Sts John and Paul, church of 225
 church archive 299–300
 church treasures of 310
 Ravenna, monasteries
 of St Andrew the Apostle 307
 of St Apollinaris, 259, 370
 of St Bartholomew 256, 306
 of St Maria in *Cosmedin* 347–8
 nunneries 213, 275
 Ravenna, monuments and buildings
 aqueduct 11
 Archaeological (National) Museum
 10, 123
 Archiepiscopal Museum 187, 225
 Bridge of the Millers 31
 bridges 25
 circus (hippodrome) 25, 52
 city council (*curia*) 26–7, 27–8,
 73–6, 81, 123
 Domus dei Tappeti di Pietra 11,
 143
 domus Drogdonis 98
 fortifications 25
 Forum 25–6
 Fossa Amnis 31
 Fossa Augusta xxxvii
 Fossa Lamisem 298
 Fossa Sconii 180
 gates: Gate of St Apollinaris 219;
 Milvian bridge 298; Porta
 Novara 27; Porta Teguriense
 294, 298; Posterula Latronum
 294, 298; Ovilian Gate 188;
 Vincileonian Gate 31;
 Wandalaria Gate 267
 Golden Gate 10, 11, 12, 205, 298
 Golden Milestone (*Miliarium*
 aureum) 25, 189
 imperial mint 25, 82, 212
 libraries in 280; city library xxxi
 Lion Port 108
 Mausoleum of Galla Placidia xxx,
 46–7, 67, 162, 171
 Mausoleum of Theoderic 137–8,
 162, 372, 379, 397, 398
 Orfanotrophium 145
 Organaria 31
 Piazza del Popolo 108
 regimental barracks 189
 Ravenna, palaces in
 episcopal palace and dining hall
 69, 370, 372, 373
 exarch's palace 371; *Calchi* gate
 108–9, 267
 Imperial palace, 25, 39, 44, 50, 79,
 96, 105
 Laurel Grove 51–2, 82
 palace of St George 169
 palace of Theoderic 108, 205, 218,
 280, 304, 329, 372
 palace of Unimundus 169

- Regensburg *map* 1
 palace of Charlemagne 375
- Reichenau, monastery of, Lake Constance 282
- Reims *map* 1, 382
- Renatus, Marius Novatus 110
- Reparatus, Archbishop of Ravenna 256, 259, 260–61, 267, 304
- Reparatus (head of couriers) 156
- Revelation, Book of 176
- Rhaetia I 101
- Rhegium 258
- Rhine, River *map* 1, 4, 18, 79, 116, 117
- Rhodes *map* 1, 249, 251
- Riccitane 211
- Ricimer 77–8, 79, 80, 125
- Rieti 439*n*19
- Rigilinus 278, 282, 283
- Rimini, *see* Ariminum
- Robespierre, Maximilien 416*n*7
- Rök stone, Sweden 89
- Romagna 66
- Roman Catholicism xxxv
- Roman Empire xxxii
 ‘decline and fall’ of 395, 396–7
 eastern 397
- Romanus (*silentiarius*), 156
- Romanus, Exarch of Ravenna 156, 215, 218, 221, 226, 227
- Rome
 alliance with Franks 346
 Arianism in 6, 145
 attacks by Lombards 335, 336–7, 343, 345–6, 353
 capital moved from 1–2
 captured by Belisarius 153
 captured by Totila 176
 as centre of known world 1–2
 chariot racing in 1–2, 13, 37, 113, 126, 128
 Christianization of senatorial families 223
 Constans II in 257–8
 deaths from plague 300
 Diocletian and 2–3
 duchy of 215
 exarchate and 215
 female saints depicted in 193
 iconic art in 334
 inscriptions in 237
 lack of papyrus records 28
 nunneries 275
 population decline 125
 Praetorian Guard 4
 provincial estates 125
 public works in 178
 resistance to Arabs 361
 rivalry with Constantinople 8, 32
 rivalry with Ravenna 78–9, 126, 226, 306
 Sack of (410) 20–21, 22, 24, 32, 36, 64, 77, 80, 125, 396
 Sack of (455) 55, 64–5, 77, 80, 125, 152, 396
 siege by Goths (536) 156–9
 siege by Goths (544) 176
 siege by Goths (545–6) 179
 significance of 125–6
 Theoderic’s visit to 128–9
 threatened by ‘Greeks’ 373
 threatened by Lombards 325
 as world empire 284
- Rome, Church of
 as Apostolic see 57, 252
 authority over papal territories 361
 bishops of 125, 126, 127–8, 194
 and Catholic clergy 84, 126
 as champion of Orthodoxy 252–3
domuscultae, papal estates 337, 339, 347
 as leading patriarchate 185

- schism with Constantinople 252–3,
268, 272
- schism with Ravenna 259
- schism of Three Chapters 224, 300
- synods/councils 127, 132, 347; of
649 253; of 680 268; of 721
355; of 769 354–5
- Rome, churches in
- Arian church 70
- chapel of St Caesarius 230
- Constantinian basilica 254
- S. Croce in Gerusalemme 410*n*3
- S. Maria Maggiore 56, 85, 193,
254, 343, 413*n*9
- St Agata 419*n*4
- St Anastasios *ad aquas Salvias*,
monastery of 322, 335, 336
- St Mary *ad martyres* 258
- St Peter's 58, 107–8, 128, 145, 164,
258, 274, 373–4, 378; Botarea
310; Charlemagne's gifts to
378; tomb of Pope Hadrian
373–4; tomb of St Peter 346,
374, 416*n*19
- Sts Cosmas and Damianus, 302,
372, 436*n*12
- Rome, monuments and buildings
- arch of Septimius Severus 128
- Campus Neronis 322
- Capitol 6
- Castel Sant'Angelo 162
- Circus Maximus 13, 25, 128
- Forum 6, 13, 25–6, 126, 178, 215,
231–2
- imperial mausoleum 58
- Janiculum 31
- Mausoleum of Constantia (later S.
Costanza) 137, 162
- Milvian bridge 4, 321
- Palm 128
- Pantheon 162, 231
- Pons Salaris* 182
- Senate 1–2, 4, 6, 12, 19, 40, 41, 44,
78, 95, 126, 133, 139, 142,
143, 146, 178, 179
- temples 1, 6, 396
- Rome, palaces
- Lateran Palace 4, 234, 236, 253,
256, 290, 337, 360, 382;
basilica of Vigilius 258; dining
room with mosaic decoration
380
- Palatine Hill 1, 12, 128, 258
- Pinciana palace 425*n*19
- Romulus Augustulus, Emperor 77,
78, 79–80, 82, 99, *plate* 18
- Romulus (grandfather of Romulus) 79
- Rosamund (daughter of Gepid king)
206
- Rothari, King of the Lombards 235
- Rotrud (daughter of Charlemagne)
364, 365–6, 368
- Rouen 165
- Royal Frankish Annals* 375
- Rubicon, River xxxvi
- Rufinus 8–9
- Rufius Achilius Sividus 83
- Rufus of Ephesus, *On Gout* 243
- Rugians 94
- Ruginium (Rovinj) 146
- Rusticana 135
- Rusticius (senator) 408*n*6
- Rusticus 114
- Rutilius Namatianus 31
- Sabina (site) 337
- Sabina, St 192
- Sabinian, Pope 227, 231
- Sabione *map* 2, 210
- Saborios 263
- saints, female 192–3
- Salerno *map* 1, 281, 370
- Salona *map* 2, 118, 176, 196, 228
- Samnium 119

- San Giovano in Comuto 262
 San Marino *map* 3, 346
 Santorini 327
 Saracens 247, 250
 see also Arabs
 sarcophagi 5, 28, 46, 47, 161, 189,
 225, 236, 236–7, 237, 305,
 379, 384, 390, 398, 449*n*19
 Sardinia *map* 1, 80, 152, 215, 258,
 262, 273, 287, 292, 301
 Sarmatia 279
 Sarmatians 2, 7, 93
 Sarsina *map* 3, 294
 Sarus 18
 Satiis 30
 Sava 294
 Sava, River 95
 Savoy 141
 Saxons 80, 375, 384
 Scholastikos, Exarch of Ravenna 297,
 311
 Scirians 78, 80, 418*n*11
 Scithia/Scythia 276, 279
 Scotia 276
 Scultenna (Panaro), River 235
 Scyllacium (Squillace) *map* 2
 Vivarium monastery 388
 Sebasteia 421*n*3
 Sebastian 421*n*4
 Sebeos 251
 Second World War 48
 Seda (eunuch) 423*n*4
 Semiramis 154
 Senarius 115, 123
 Senagallica (Senigallia) *map* 3, 194,
 205, 346, 353
 see also Pentapolis
 Septem/Ceuta 273
 Septensians 273
 Septimania 117
 Serdica (Sofia) *map* 1, 2
 Council of 11, 212
 Serena 8–9, 17, 18, 19–20, 23,
 32, 38
 Serenus, Bishop of Marseille 329
 Sergios I, Patriarch of Constantinople
 234, 310
 Sergios, Archbishop of Cyprus 251
 Sergios (*magistrianus*) 289
 Sergios (Sicilian general) 319
 Sergius I, Pope 274, 288, 289–90,
 293, 297, 300, 301
 Sergius, Archbishop of Ravenna
 341–3, 347, 349, 353, 355–6,
 385, 389
 Sergius (consul) 336
 Sergius (witness) 275
 Serra 346
 Severinus, St 80
 Severinus, Pope 235
 Severos of Antioch, 110
 Severus, St, Bishop of Ravenna 11,
 12, 209, 212, 242, 431*n*22,
 plate 52
 Severus, Bishop (receiver of funds
 from Theoderic) 120
 Severus, Bishop of Trieste 210
 Severus, Livius, Emperor 78
 Severus, Patriarch of Aquileia 210,
 224–5, 228
 Severus, Septimius, Emperor 128
 Severus (prefect) 139–40
 Severus, *scribtor* 442*n*11
 Severus, Fl. Junior 156
 Severus, Flavius 75
 Seville 389
 Sicily, *maps* 1, 2, xxxii
 Amalafrida and 129
 Arab conquest of 66
 captured by Belisarius 153, 157
 Cassiodorus, governor, 104
 Constans II in 258–9, 262–3
 exports from 33, 321
 Gemellus and 75

- Gothic forces and 21
 imperial estates in 340
 independence of 200
 and Irene's campaign against
 Franks 369
 Justinian II and 293
 knowledge of Greek in 218
 land owned by Ravenna 65–6, 211,
 389
 Maximinus in 175
 Mizizios and 268
 occupied by Totila 176
 papal estates in 65, 340, 476n28
 Pope Constantine in 295
 popes born in 251
 raided by Vandals 80, 82, 116
 Ravenna and 211
 revolt in 319–20
 role in imperial politics 292, 293,
 321, 334, 340, 369
 Saracens/Arabs in 250, 254
 Theoderic and 96, 102, 129
 Vandal attacks on 116
 Sidonius Apollinaris 52, 72–3, 75, 76
 Siena xxxii
 pallio (horse race) 299
 Sifilo 194
 Sigeric, King of the Visigoths 23
 Sigesaurus, Bishop 408n7
 Sigibert I, King of the Franks 198
 Sigismund of Burgundy 116
 Silverius, Pope 160
 Simplicius 239, 242, 244, 307
 Sinai 187, 188
 Sinai, Mt 116, 472n11
 St Catherine's monastery 172, 187,
 188
 Sindual 182
 Singidunum *map* 1, 93, 95
 Sipontum (Siponto) 119
 Sirmium *map* 1, 7, 95, 102
 numerus of 217
 Sisinnios (brother of Tarasios) 376
 Sisinnius (in Piedmont) 205
 Sisinnius (in Sicily) 65
 Sisivera 196
 Sixtus III, Pope 34, 41, 56, 67, 411n14
 slaves, slavery
 captive Goths and 158
 Cassiodorus on 139
 in imperial palace, Ravenna 50
 legislation on 19, 40, 42, 44, 131,
 178, 394
 liberation of slaves 75, 114, 181,
 194, 196, 219
 reduction to status of slavery 119
 sale to pagans 359
 Slavonic tribes 204
 Slavs 227, 233, 234, 257, 262, 270,
 335, 375
 Slovenia 95
 Smaragdus, Exarch of Ravenna 207,
 208, 210, 215, 221, 227, 228,
 230
 inscription on column in Roman
 Forum 231, *plate* 48
 Soissons *map* 1, 79
 Solinus 279
 Solomon (military commander) 214
 Sophia, Empress 183, 205, 439n24,
 467n9
 Sophronios, Patriarch of Jerusalem
 235, 252
 Sozopolis *map* 1
 icon 333
 Spadusa 34
 Spain
 Adoptionism in 367
 Arabs in 287, 291, 332, 375
 Arian persecution of Catholics in
 145
 Galla Placidia in 18
 Imperial campaign in 170, 222
 invasions of 77, 204

- Spain – *cont'd.*
 Liberius in 103, 208
 Louis the Pious and 384
 Priscillianists in 85
 Theoderic and 123
 Visigoths in 71, 79, 100, 117, 118, 122, 140, 398
 Spalatum (Split) *maps* 1, 2, 281
 Palace of Diocletian 3, 44, 137, 162
 Spoletium (Spoleto) *map* 2
 ceded to Pope Hadrian 358, 364
 Charlemagne and 363, 378, 485*n*14
 Desiderius in 353
 as duchy 301, 320, 321, 335, 336–7, 346, 353, 358
 duke of 470*n*25
 garrison in 175
 invasion of Ravenna 216
 lawyers from 105
 Liutprand's attack on 336
 Lombard occupation 206, 215
 and Pope Leo III 377
 traders in 119
 Statius 198
 Stefania (donor to church) 274–5
 Stefanus (military officer) 219
 Stefanus (official) 181
 Stefanus (son of Germana) 181
 Stephanos, Bishop of Corinth 270
 Stephanos of Athens 242
 Stephanos of Byzantium 279
 Stephanos (Monothelete) 458*n*13
 Stephanus (official) 199
 Stephen, St 442*n*7
 Stephen II, Pope 343–7, 357, 364, 387, 475*n*17, 480*n*22
 Stephen III, Pope 353, 354, 356, 482–3*n*16
 Life of 357
 Stephen IV, Pope 382–3, 384
 Stephen, Duke of Rome 335, 336–7, 338
 Stephen (craftsman) 30
 Stephen (patron) 311
 Stilicho xxxvi, xxxvii, 8, 8–9, 12, 13, 17, 18, 18–20, 23, 32, 34, 393
 Strabo 279, 283
Strategikon 218
 Sueves 18, 79
 Suleiman, Caliph 318
 Sunigilda 82
 Susa 154, 205
 valley of 357
 Susanna (widow of Exarch Isaac) 236–7
 Sussubium 346
 Sutrium (Sutri) *map* 2, 227, 301, 322, 337
 Sweden 89
 Sycae 272
 Syllaeum 268
 Sylvester, Pope 360–61, 380
 Acts of Sylvester 355
 Symmachus, Pope 107, 119, 128, 131–2, 429*n*21, 439*n*18
 Symmachus (senator) 133, 135–6, 142
 Synesios (eunuch) 479*n*9
 Synnada *map* 1, 332
 Syracuse *maps* 1, 2, 175, 185, 258, 263, 319, 394
 Syria 2, 151, 234, 247, 249, 281, 288, 317, 326
 Syrians 111
 T-O map (Isidoran map) 278
Tabula Peutingeriana 112, 279, 282
 Tadino (site of Busta Gallorum) *map* 3, 177
 Talas, Battle of 387
 Taranto *map* 1, 257
 Tarasicodisa *see* Zeno, Emperor

- Tarasios, Patriarch of Constantinople
366–7, 376
- Tarvisium (Treviso) *map* 3, 174, 363
church of Sts John and Paul 199
- Taurus mountains *map* 1, 248–9, 250
- taxation 114, 175, 179–80, 196–7,
249, 260, 321, 332
- Teia, King of Italy 429n28
- Tergeste (Trieste) *maps* 1, 3, 281
numerus 445n12
- Terracina *map* 2, 119
- tetrarchy 3, 279
- themata* 214
- Theocharistos, Exarch of Ravenna
252
- Theodahad, King of the Ostrogoths
146–7, 153, 154, 168, 178,
432n30, *plate* 21
- Theoderic, King of the Ostrogoths
89–100, *plates* 16, 17
and the Acacian schism 132–3
achievements of xxxvi, 100, 383–4,
397
administration of 103–5
alliances by marriage 116–17
ambassadors of 123–4
and Arianism 97–8, 107, 127, 139,
392
and armed forces 216
and Boethius 110, 118, 134–6, 142,
468n12
building projects of 105–10
Cassiodorus and 104, 119, 120,
129, 136, 154, 156, 387
and Catholic Church 118–19,
121–2, 132–3, 145
as chieftain 93–4
and circus games 113
coinage of 102
conquests of xxxi
in Constantinople 90–93
and copies of New Testament 307
court of 102–3, 104–5, 110–11,
112, 114–15
crossing of the Alps 89, 94, 95, 204
death 137
decennalia 128
depicted in mosaics 106–7, 173
diplomacy of 116–24
division of labour 99
Edictum Theoderici (law code)
125, 129–31, 136
embassies and bishops visiting 116,
118, 122, 123
fleet of 106
help after disasters 119–20
and history of the Goths 140–41
imperial regalia 98–9
and Jews 111, 119, 121, 122–3, 131
kingdom of 101–16, 393
as lawgiver 125–36
letters of appointment 74
marriage to Audefleda 116
Mausoleum of 137–8, 162, 372,
379, 397–8
and medical schools of Ravenna
241
military skill 142
as model for Charlemagne 372,
378–9
and myth of Dietrich of Bern 89
and Odoacer 95–6, 97, 99
in papal disputes 127–8, 131–2,
145
in Ravenna 96–100, 255, 280
relations with Constantinople
121–2
and Rome 126–32
and S. Apollinare Nuovo 105–9,
167, 172, 323, 372, 390–91,
391–2, 397
statues and portraits of 109–10,
135, 192, 193–4, 280, 379, 381
Totila on 176

- Theoderic, King – *cont'd.*
 treasury of 153, 158
tricennalia 128
 visit to Rome 128–9, 133
 Witigis's praise of 155
- Theodogunda 97
- Theodora, Empress (wife of Justinian I) xxx, xxxi, 151, 158, 164, 178
 images of 172–3, *plate* 38
 imperial panels in Ravenna 166–9, 371, 391, 392
- Theodora, Empress (wife of Justinian II) 292, 308–9
- Theodora, Empress (wife of Theophilos) 482*n*15
- Theodoracis (*exscriba*) 219
- Theodore I, Pope 235, 251–2
- Theodore, Archbishop of Ravenna 263, 264–6, 267, 268, 269–70, 289
- Theodore, Bishop of Bologna 384
- Theodore II, Exarch of Ravenna 252, 260, 265, 266–7, 273, 389
- Theodore Kalliopas, Exarch of Ravenna 252, 254, 261–2
- Theodore, Patriarch of Constantinople 268, 270
- Theodore (presbyter) 269–70
- Theodore the Deacon, St 267
- Theodore (archdeacon) 264
- Theodore (archpriest) 264
- Theodore (*strategos* of Sicily) 295
- Theodore of Mopsuestia 184, 185, 229
- Theodore Chilas 261
- Theodore Pellourios 254
- Theodoret of Cyrrhus 184, 229
- Theodorus 110
- Theodosios, co-Emperor (son of Maurice) 223
- Theodosiopolis 475*n*24
- Theodosius I, Emperor 6, 7–9, 17, 21, 33, 38, 48
- Theodosius II, Emperor 19, 35, 39, 42, 48, 52, 56, 57, 410*n*4, 421*n*4, *plate* 5
 as co-emperor 51
 death 57–8, 63
 and Honoria 53
 Legal Code of 3–4, 43–4, 396
 map created for 278
 numeri of 217
- Theodosius III, Emperor 318
- Theodosius (*magister litterarum*) 199, 211
- Theodosius (son of Galla Placidia and Athaulf) 22, 23, 48, 58, 413*n*4
- Theodulf of Orleans 334, 367, 372
- Theophylact (archdeacon) 478*n*26
- Theophylaktos, Exarch of Ravenna 274, 297
- Thera and Therasia 327
- Thermantia, Empress 9, 17, 19, 32
- Thessalonike *map* 1, 2, 8, 17, 25, 43, 51, 257, 270, 281, 287, 332
 bishop of 269
- Theudelinda, Queen of the Lombards 227
- Theudifara 196
- Theudis, King of the Visigoths 117
- Theuringi, 419*n*11,
 see also Thuringi
- Thiudigotho 96–7, 116, 117
- Thomas, Bishop of Klaudioupolis 327, 333
- Thomas (charioteer) 113
- Thomas (*defensor*) 211
- Thrace 94, 97, 272, 287, 326
- Thrasamund, King of the Vandals 116, 129
- Three Chapters 184, 185, 210, 223, 233, 235, 242, 253, 300, 320
 Lombards abandon support of 335
 schism of 190, 208–9, 210–11, 224, 229, 300

- see also* Constantinople, Fifth
Oecumenical Council
- Thugilo 155, 156
- Thule 277
- Thuringi 117
- Thuringia 112, 116, 117, 143
- Tiber, River *map* 2, 31, 178
- Tiberios II, Emperor 220–21, 223
- Tiberios III, Emperor (Apsimar)
291–2, 292
- Tiberios, co-Emperor (son of
Constans II) 259, 260, 261,
271–2
- Tiberios (Sicilian challenger to
Emperor Leo III) 319
- Tiberios (son of Justinian II) 292,
295
- Tiberius, Emperor 10
- Ticinum (Pavia) *map* 2
- amphitheatre 113
- bishops of 118
- as capital of Charlemagne 358, 369,
384
- chapel of St Augustine 301
- devastated by plague 300
- Frankish attacks on 221
- Liutprand in 300–301, 322
- Lombard attacks on 320
- palace of Theoderic 109, 204, 391
and plague 300
- Roman army at 19
- St Peter *in caelo aureo*, church and
monastery of 336
- as seat of Lombard kings 204, 206,
216, 320, 321, 322, 335, 337,
338, 345
- siege of 358
- Synod of 300
- Theoderic at 95, 102, 135
- Timothy IV, Patriarch of Alexandria
185–6, 488*n*2
- Titus, Emperor 152
- Todi 338
see also Tuder
- Tophanus (military official) 348
- Torcellum (Torcello) *map* 3, 236
- Totila, King of the Ostrogoths 174–7,
178, 182
- Toto, Duke of Nepi 354
- Toulouse 100, 101, 116, 118
- Trajan, Emperor 11, 138, 460*n*4
- Tranquillus 65
- Tranquillus Melminius 114
- Transamund, Duke of Spoleto 300,
336–7
- translators 111, 218, 244, 271,
451*n*15, 452*n*17
- Tregintula estate, Faventino 324
- Tremodius, family 73
- Treviso, *see* Tarvisium
- Tridentum (Trento) *map* 2, 210
- Trier *map* 1, 2, 4, 49, 54, 389
Basilica of Constantine 4
- Trieste, *see* Tergeste
- Trinitarianism 367
- Trinity 71
arguments over xxxiv–xxxv, 5
- Trisagion* hymn 342
- Triwila (eunuch) 423*n*4
- Troy 140
- True Cross, relic of 189, 247
- Tuder (Todi) *map* 2, 227
- Tuluin 142
- Tunisia 333
- Turks 360
- Tuscany *map* 2, 146, 228, 235, 321,
470*n*25
- Tuscia 364
- Typos tes Pisteos* 253, 254
- Ulfila, Bishop 6, 71
- Umar II, Caliph 332
- Umayyads 398
- Umbria 66

- Unigildus 196
 Unigilis (*saio*) 424*n*5
 Unimundus, Bishop of Ravenna 98
 palace of 169
 Uppsala, University Library 111
 Urbs vetus (Orvieto) *map* 2, 228
 Ursicinus, Bishop of Ravenna 162,
 166, 431*n*22
 Ursus, Doge of Venice 474*n*8
 Ursus, Firmianus 156
 Ursus, St, Bishop of Ravenna 18,
 27, 29–30, 67, 160, 370,
 431*n*22
 Urvinum (Urbino) *map* 3, 194, 346
 Uthman, Caliph 257
 Uttianus 262
 Uviliaris (archdeacon) 196

 Valamir 89, 140
 Valens, Emperor 5, 6, 8
 Valentine (priest) 355, 356
 Valentinian I, Emperor 5, 48
 Valentinian II, Emperor 17
 Valentinian III, Emperor 25, 29, 33,
 34, 35, 38, 47, 72, 82, 259,
 378, *plate* 5
 appeal by local men to 39
 assassination of 64, 77
 and burial of mother 58
 as co-emperor with Theodosius II 51
 consulship of 42
 gift to St Peter's 416*n*19
 government conducted by Galla
 Placidia in his name 39–43, 51
 inauguration 36, 37, 39
 marriage to Licinia Eudoxia 39, 40,
 43–4, 51
 moves court to Rome 55, 63–4, 67,
 71, 125
 orders murder of Aetius 64
 Peter Chrysologus and 50
 presented to Roman Senate 37
 relationship with mother 59
 rule of 44–5, 51–2
 as senior emperor after death of
 Theodosius 58
 and sister Honoria 52–4
 and theological disputes 56
 Valeria, St 192
 Valerius, Archbishop of Ravenna 373,
 382, 486*n*31
 and Charlemagne 379–81
 death 381
 Domus Valeriana 381
 Valerius (consul) 114
 Valerius (*patricius*) 190
 Valla, Lorenzo 362
 Vandals
 attacks on Gaul 18
 in North Africa 70, 71, 79, 82,
 91, 92, 100, 116, 129, 142,
 191, 207
 raids on Sicily 80, 82
 sack of Rome 55, 64–5, 77, 80, 125,
 152, 396
 Vatican library 243
 Venantius Fortunatus 198–200
 Vendemius, Bishop of Cissa 210
 Veneti 182
 Venetia 175, 177, 190
 Venetiae *map* 2, 66, 72, 146, 235–6,
 323, 331, 336, 358
 Veneto 213
 Venice 236, 384, 385–6, 474*n*8
 Rivus Altus 182
 sporting competitions 299
 Ventimiglia 281
 Verina, Empress 91–2, 172
 Verona 109, 123, 158, 176, 177, 180,
 182, 206, 210, 221, 280
 armed forces in 217, 219
 Vespasian, Emperor 186
 Vestal Virgins 6
 Vesuvius 157

- Vetereca 114
 Via Aemilia *map* 3
 Via Amerina *map* 3, 215, 227
 Via Appia 119
 Via Egnatia 257
 Via Flaminia *map* 3, xxiii, 205, 215, 232, 338
 Via Popilia *map* 3
 Via Posthumia *map* 3
 Vicetia (Vicenza) *map* 3, 182, 210, 237
 Victor, Bishop of Ravenna 160–61, 162, 164, 166, 168, 169–70, 174, 176, 391
 Victor, Bishop of Turin 118
 Victor (consul) 336
 Victor (priest) 196
 Vienne 119
 Viennensis I 101
 Vigilius, Pope 168–9, 178, 184–5, 185, 194, 438*n*13
 Viliaric 426*n*28
 Vincent, St 413*n*4
 Vincenza, St 192
 Virgil 198
 Visigoths
 as Arians 89
 attack on Clermont-Ferrand 75
 invasion of Italy 9, 19
 persecution of Catholic Christians and Jews 122
 in Spain 71, 79, 100, 117, 118, 122, 140, 398
 in Toulouse (Aquitaine) 70, 100, 101, 140–41, 141
 Vistrum 66, 186
 Vitalian, Pope 257–8, 259, 268
 Life 256
 Vitalian (military leader) 175
 Vitalianus (scribe) 348
 Vitalis, Bishop of Milan 185
 Vitalis, Flavius (clerk) 114, 217
 Vitalis (*monitarius*) 156
 Vitalis, St 165
 Vittoria, St 192
 Vivarium 243
 Vobio (possibly Sarsina, *map* 3) 346
 volcanic eruptions 157, 327
 Vouillé, battle of *map* 1, 117
 Vulturina (Valdoria) *map* 2, 227
 Walafrid Strabo 392
 Warni 117, 124
 Wiliarit 2 (eunuch) 423*n*4
 Wililiwa 196, 219
 Wiljarith 111
 Willienant (Minnulus) 160, 196
 Witbold 368
 Witigis, King of the Ostrogoths 140, 154–8, 168, 388, 433*n*10, 434*n*22, *plate* 23
 Witterit 103, 155
 Worms *map* 1, 364
 Yarmuk, River, battle of *map* 1, 248
 Yazid I (son of Muawiyah), Caliph 263
 Yazid II, Caliph 332
 York 3
 Zachariah (prophet) 476*n*5
 Zacharias, St 46, 49
 Zacharias, Patriarch of Jerusalem 247
 Zacharias, Pope 282, 337–9, 341, 343, 344, 347, 476*n*7
 Zacharias (military officer) 289–90
 Zeno, Emperor (earlier Tarasicodisa) 81, 82, 84, 92, 94, 95, 100, 101, 127, 132, 134, 138, 379, 419*n*7
 Zenobius 212
 Zoroastrianism 247
 Zosimus (historian) 21
 Zosimus (Sicilian tenant) 65
 Zuglio *map* 2, 210