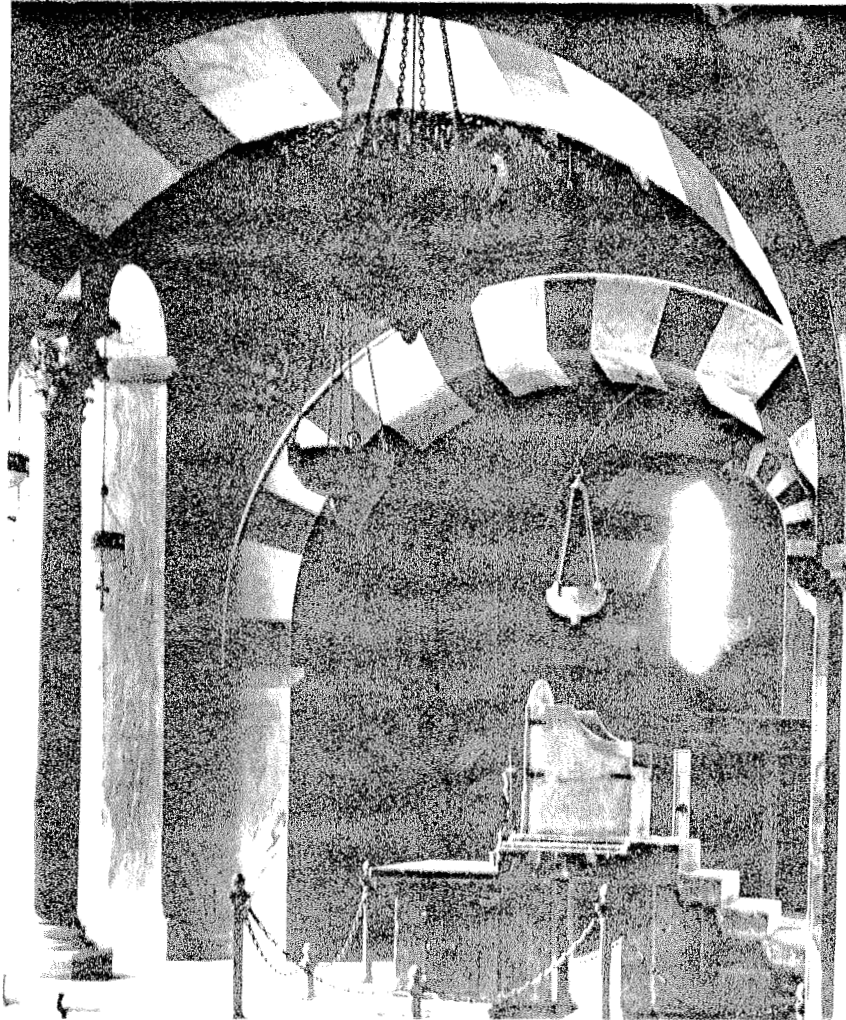


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Charlemagne's throne in the gallery of the octagon of the palace chapel at Aachen. The throne, which is approached by a staircase with six steps consists of four stone pillars supporting the mensa, i.e. the base on which the chair is raised. The chair is made of oak planks encased in slabs of white marble. The side pieces are curved to provide elbow rests. The back, rounded at the top, consists only of an upper part; the space below is filled by an upright wooden plank.

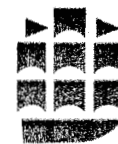
Installed in the seclusion of the royal (later imperial) loggia, the throne faced the main altar, which was visible through the centre opening of a three-part bay formed by two marble pilasters and two marble columns. Charlemagne could thus follow the Mass and liturgical offices. For an even clearer view, the bronze grilles, made at Aachen, which barred the lower part of the bay could be opened at the centre. The throne, like the chapel as a whole, dates from the late eighth or early ninth century.

F. L. Ganshof

The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy

Studies in
Carolingian History

Translated by Janet Sondheimer



Longman

X. The Frankish monarchy and its external relations, from Pippin III to Louis the Pious*

THIS article is concerned with the external relations of the Frankish monarchy in their technical aspect, and is thus a contribution less to the history of diplomacy than to that of international and institutional law. It follows two previous articles on external relations during the Merovingian period; here as there, the emphasis is on facts, to the exclusion of any account of the movements of ideas. This is not because I believe such movements were unimportant—quite the contrary; but there are already studies of this aspect, to which I am happy to refer.¹

The period covered is confined to the reigns of Pippin III (751–68), Carloman II (768–71), Charlemagne (768–814) and Louis the Pious (814–840), ninety years which for our present purpose have enough in common to make a general survey possible. The same cannot be said of the years following the death of Louis the Pious, during which a number of independent kingdoms emerged as successor states to what had been an almost undivided monarchy; for this reason it has seemed preferable to reserve this later period for a separate study.

It must first be stressed that responsibility for external relations was one of the essential functions of the Frankish monarch, before the imperial coronation of Christmas 800 as well as after. This is a point of capital importance.²

There were occasions on which the monarch exercised this function in his own person, by entering into direct negotiation with foreign heads of state or other potentates. The political conversations which Pippin III, Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious conducted on Frankish soil with popes of their day—Stephen II, Leo III and Stephen IV—are sufficiently well known.³ But we know also of direct negotiations with other kings and potentates, among them the Lombard king, an exiled king of Den-

mark plotting to regain his throne, the largely autonomous *vali* or governor of Saragossa, the uncle of the emir of Cordova and a governor of Barcelona.⁴ To this list of personal confrontations should be added contacts with the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento before their duchies ceased to be independent, with Saxon and Breton leaders, with the doges of Venice, with the Avar *khagan* and *ugur*, and with chieftains of Slav tribes from beyond the Elbe, the Wilzes, Sorbs and Abodrites.⁵ Even so, the list is not exhaustive. Some of these confrontations coincided with a session of the Frankish assembly or diet.⁶ Direct contacts, however, were the exception. The Frankish monarchs normally conducted their external relations through ambassadors, whether their own or those of the foreign powers with whom they were dealing. It is scarcely necessary to add that such ambassadors were always appointed *ad hoc*; as soon as their mission was completed, they returned to their masters.

We know that some foreign delegations were received by the Frankish monarch at the time when the general, or some more specialised, assembly was in session. This could arise purely by chance. Equally, it could have been a contrivance on the part of the foreign ruler or potentate to ensure that their ambassadors met not only the head of the Frankish state but also his advisers and a large number of the great men of his realm. On the other hand, there were occasions when the Frankish monarch himself desired such an arrangement. The solemnity of such a reception would both impress itself upon the foreigners and enhance the monarch's prestige in the eyes of his own subjects: the greater the number of embassies received on any one occasion, the easier it was to achieve this double effect. Reception of a foreign delegation during an assembly also meant that advice could more readily be taken, from those presumed most competent to give it, on the matters to be discussed with the ambassadors. We know of diets under Pippin III and Charlemagne at which foreign legations were received.⁷ Under Louis the Pious the practice was still more frequent.⁸ Conversely, there were diets or other assemblies which were followed, as a consequence of the deliberations, by the despatch of a Frankish embassy.⁹

In contemporary sources—narratives, capitularies, letters—diplomatic missions and their personnel are referred to in a set terminology.¹⁰ Frankish ambassadors to the head of a foreign state, and foreign ambassadors to the head of the Frankish state, are referred to either as *missus*¹¹ or *legatus*.¹² In the ninth century one can perhaps discern a slight preference in favour of the more classical *legatus*, which could be due to the Carolingian renaissance, then starting to take effect.¹³ But it cannot be said to preponderate, and the two were in any case interchangeable. The doublet *legatarius*, which occurs fairly frequently in Merovingian texts, is by now a rarity; *nuntius* is used, but infrequently.¹⁴ Greek sources describe Frankish ambassadors as *πρέσβεις*.¹⁵ When two or more ambassadors are sent

together on the same mission they are referred to either in the plural (*missi, legati*) or under the collective noun *legatio*;¹⁶ *legatio* can also be used of the message carried by the ambassadors to the monarch to whom they are being sent.¹⁷

In any case, the meaning of these terms depends entirely on the context, at least where agents of the Frankish king are concerned. They can only be taken in the sense just indicated if the *missus* or *legatus* is clearly seen to be engaged on a mission from the Frankish monarch to a foreign court: when it is said, for example, *et missi domni imperatoris [Caroli] de Constanti-nopoli reversi sunt*, or again, as in a letter from Charlemagne to the Byzantine emperor Michael I, *rogamus . . . fraternitatem tuam ut [pacti descriptionem] . . . missis nostris memoratis dare digneris*.¹⁸ *Missus* was in fact a general term, used of royal or imperial commissioners charged with some mission of inspection or reform, or of persons invested with a military command over part of the *regnum Francorum* or some other territory—the *regnum Langobardorum* or *Italiae*, for example—which was subject to the Frankish monarch: in effect of any person who was a *missus dominicus*. *Legatus* was sometimes used in the same sense. Again, *legatio* could be applied to the area within which a *missus dominicus* carried out his duty of inspection and reform (his *missaticum*), or even to the mission itself. It is therefore necessary to be on the alert.

In fact the ambassador employed on a foreign mission, and the royal or imperial commissioner despatched on a mission inside the realm, were two species of the same genre. In both cases we are dealing with an individual the king had entrusted with an important mission and armed with appropriate powers; hence the identical terminology.

Next, with which powers did the Carolingians maintain what we should nowadays describe as diplomatic relations?

In the first place, it should be noted that relations of this order existed until 817 between Louis the Pious and his nephew Bernard, sub-king of Italy, and at a later date between Louis and his sons, as rulers of kingdoms by rights subject to the emperor's supreme authority but in practice from 831 partially independent, and from 834 completely so.¹⁹

We know that lively diplomatic relations existed between the Frankish monarchs and the papacy; indeed, there were moments in each of the reigns covered by our period when the two powers were in constant communication. Admittedly, our impression that Carolingian dealings with the papacy were more frequent and regular²⁰ than with any other foreign power may be due to the fact that in the *Codex Carolinus* we have an exceptionally full collection of the letters addressed to the Carolingian head of state by successive heads of the Church, from pope Gregory III (731–41) to pope Hadrian I (771–95), whereas documentation on this scale for Carolingian relations with other powers is totally lacking. Even so, I am not convinced that this is an optical illusion.

There is one power which may have rivalled the papacy in this respect, namely the Byzantine empire. From the narrative sources and the handful of surviving letters, it appears that the king of the Franks—emperor after 25 December 800²¹—maintained active diplomatic relations with the *βασιλείς*.²² We know that Charlemagne ordered a compilation to be made of the letters addressed by the Byzantine emperors to Carolingian heads of state, which had it survived for our inspection might have revealed diplomatic activity on an even greater scale.²³ It must be stressed that we are better informed concerning relations between the Frankish monarch and the eastern emperor during the period following Charlemagne's imperial coronation (that is to say between 800 and 815) than we are for the years preceding it, or for the greater part of the reign of Louis the Pious. The Frankish monarchs had occasional contact with Byzantines who occupied positions of high, virtually independent, authority in the West: the *patricius* (*ὁ πατρίκιος*) of Sicily, the doges (*duces*) of Venice, the Byzantine authorities in Dalmatia and Sardinia, and the duke of Naples.²⁴

We hear of many other heads of state or potentates to whom the Carolingians sent their representatives, or whose representatives they received, or with whom they treated direct. In Italy there were contacts with the Lombard kings, until the conquest of their kingdom by Charlemagne in 774,²⁵ with the Lombard dukes of Spoleto as long as their duchies remained autonomous,²⁶ and with the Lombard dukes of Benevento.²⁷ We know of diplomatic contact, either directly or through representatives, with political leaders who were in practice almost independent rulers of territories bordering the *Regnum Francorum*: the duke of Aquitaine, until his elimination by Pippin III;²⁸ dukes of Gascony;²⁹ Breton chieftains;³⁰ and in the period before Tassilo III's enforced submission, the duke of Bavaria.³¹ Avar leaders—the khan or *kbagan* and the *ingur* or *tudun*—and their representatives were received both by Charlemagne and by his sons, Pippin king of Italy and Louis the Pious; these contacts continued after the Frankish conquest and into the period when the Avars were relegated to a Styrian 'reserve'.³² The Frankish conquest of lands formerly subject to the Avars brought the Slavs of the middle Danube, the Moravians and even the Czechs, under a Frankish protectorate; as a consequence, embassies from these Slav peoples started to appear at the Frankish court.³³ So did legations from the khan of the Bulgars, whom the Frankish protectorate over the Slav peoples made an immediate neighbour of lands at least theoretically subject to the western emperor.³⁴

Similarly, the conquest of Saxony necessarily brought the Franks into contact, whether friendly or hostile, with Slavs beyond the Elbe: the Abodrites, Sorbs and Wilzes, whose chiefs or ambassadors made several appearances at the Carolingian court.³⁵ But the most important effect of this conquest in the sphere of foreign relations was to create a common

boundary between the Frankish realm and Denmark, whose kings proved uncomfortable neighbours. During the latter part of Charlemagne's reign and under Louis the Pious there was considerable Frankish-Danish diplomatic activity, with the additional complication that from 810 onwards the Danish throne was disputed among several claimants, all of whom looked to the Carolingians for support or attempted to make terms with them.³⁶ To the west, across the Channel, the Carolingians had contacts of which we know little with the kings of Northumbria; there were also dealings between Charlemagne and Offa of Mercia, at one time *breitwalda* of England, on which we are rather better informed.³⁷ To the south, beyond the Pyrenees, Charlemagne was at times in close diplomatic contact with the christian kings of Asturias.³⁸ Lastly, we should not ignore the diplomatic contacts with the patriarch of Jerusalem, who was a person of consequence not as a political leader but because of the dignity and authority attaching to his religious office.³⁹

Frankish relations with the Islamic world were by no means everywhere and always hostile. Pippin III, Charlemagne and Louis the Pious exchanged embassies with the Abassid caliph of Bagdad Abou Djarfar al-Mançour, with his illustrious grandson Hâroûn-ar-Rachid, and with Hâroûn's son Al-Mâmoûn.⁴⁰ Charlemagne apparently found it possible to combine these diplomatic relations with the relations he maintained with the patriarch of Jerusalem.⁴¹ In Islamic Spain we hear of Muslims willing to negotiate with the Carolingians, Saracen governors based on Barcelona, Gerona, Saragossa and Huesca and members of the Umayyad dynasty.⁴² Indeed, at the end of Charlemagne's reign, and under Louis the Pious, embassies were exchanged with the Umayyad emir of Cordova.⁴³ The Carolingians also had some contact with Saracen leaders in north Africa.⁴⁴

Carolingian diplomatic activity thus spread itself over a wide and ever-increasing field. At its fullest extent it reached to Denmark in the north, England in the west, the Iberian peninsula and north Africa in the south; in the east it penetrated into the Slav, Bulgar, Byzantine and eastern Islamic worlds.

We must now examine what is known of the Carolingian agents of this activity. For some of these foreign missions only a single *missus* or *legatus* was employed, though he would naturally be accompanied by some sort of staff. When a legate of the eminence of the co-emperor Lothar was despatched, as he was in 824 with a message from his father to Pope Eugenius II and instructions to see that it was acted on, he was presumably accompanied by at least one adviser.⁴⁵ In practice few missions can have been entrusted to a single ambassador; it may often appear from the sources that only one was sent, but the reason is probably that the person named was the most important member of the mission or of particular interest to the writer. The chief sources giving this impression are letters preserved in the *Codex Carolinus*, which concern missions

addressed to the popes (Stephen II, Paul I, Constantine II, Stephen III, Hadrian I).⁴⁶

When the Carolingians wished to convey a message to a foreign head of state or to some other potentate, it seems that their normal practice was to despatch an embassy (with powers to negotiate if necessary) consisting of two or three ambassadors and a supporting staff. This was the type of embassy they themselves usually received.⁴⁷ It was a pattern already established in the Merovingian period.⁴⁸ A single *legatus* or *missus* was the exception; the rule was to send several *legati* or *missi*, a *legatio*. The rule will be found to hold good for the reigns of Pippin III,⁴⁹ Carloman II and Charlemagne,⁵⁰ of Louis the Pious,⁵¹ and of his sons during their father's lifetime.⁵²

The Carolingians normally chose their ambassadors from members of the serving aristocracy. Many were churchmen, bishops and abbots in particular, but also palace officials and palace clergy; others were counts, whose normal function was to exercise public authority in the king's name in a particular part of the country. A few examples will help to give substance to these generalisations.

In 759, when Pippin III needed ambassadors to send to Italy to negotiate between the Lombard king Desiderius and Pope Paul I over territories the pope claimed from Desiderius, he chose for the purpose archbishop Remedius of Rouen, who was his half-brother, and duke Autgarius, one of the principal agents of his authority.⁵³ In 781 the pope, Hadrian I, urgently requested Charlemagne's intervention in the matter of the Sabine 'patrimony', part of which had in fact been usurped from the Roman Church. Charlemagne, king of the Franks and Lombards and patrician of the Romans, sent to Rome two *missi*, with orders to investigate and negotiate, and to take whatever action was needed. His choice fell on two churchmen in whom he had complete confidence, Hitherius, his ex-chancellor, now abbot of St Martin's of Tours, and Maginarius, one of his court chaplains: in other words, a past and present member of the palace clergy.⁵⁴ In 808 a number of contentious matters had to be settled with Pope Leo III. On his father's instructions, Pippin king of Italy sent ambassadors to Rome, who brought with them a letter from the emperor. Not content with this, Charlemagne despatched his own embassy to the pope, consisting on this occasion of two highly placed laymen, both of them counts who enjoyed his confidence: count Helmgand, who was to become count palatine and had experience of several foreign missions behind him, and Hunfrid, count of Chur.⁵⁵ In 823 Louis the Pious sent two *missi* to Rome, to investigate reports that prominent Romans had been put to death in the Eternal City for holding 'pro-Frankish' views, and to negotiate with Pope Paschal I, rumoured to have had some responsibility in the matter. The chosen ambassadors were Adelingus, abbot of St Vaast's of Arras, and the count Hunfrid we have

already met.⁵⁶ In 828 Louis the Pious sent as his ambassadors to the Byzantine emperor Michael II, from whom he had received an embassy in the previous year, two members of the higher clergy: Halitgarius, bishop of Cambrai, and Ansfrid, abbot of Nonantula.⁵⁷

When we look at the Carolingian ambassadors as a whole, it is undeniable that the clerical element was strongly represented.⁵⁸ This was no doubt due to the advantage the higher clergy and the clerical personnel of the Palace derived from their intellectual training.

We should note here the use of chance messengers for diplomatic purposes, both by foreign rulers with whom the Carolingians were in contact and by the Frankish monarchs themselves. The occurrence is known to us only from passing references in the sources, but was probably more common than these casual mentions suggest.⁵⁹

The remarks and behaviour of Frankish ambassadors to the supreme pontiff at times caused the pope to protest: one such offender, no less a person than bishop Jesse of Amiens who was among the emperor's most trusted advisers, he declared *persona non grata*, begging Charlemagne not to send him on any future missions to foreign powers.⁶⁰ Conversely, we know of at least one occasion when Charlemagne complained of the meddling and intrigues of papal ambassadors to which the pope replied with apologies and promises of punishment.⁶¹

It may be wondered whether the Carolingians made a habit of selecting certain individuals in preference to others for missions to a particular foreign power. The advantages of such a practice would be obvious: the ambassador would not only gain a closer acquaintance with the matters in hand but also find it easier to establish local contacts and to gain access to the people he had to deal with. It looks as though the Merovingians to some extent selected ambassadors on this principle,⁶² as did certain of the powers with whom the Carolingians had diplomatic relations, most notably the papacy.

Under Stephen II and Paul I two bishops, Wilcharius of Nomentum and George of Ostia, figure as regular ambassadors 'accredited' to the king of the Franks;⁶³ it is noteworthy that despite the current provisions of canon law, but with the Pope's agreement, both were later appointed to Frankish sees, Wilcharius to the bishopric of Sens—and indeed, to the archbishopric of Gaul—and George to that of Amiens.⁶⁴ During part of his reign Pope Hadrian I had his regular ambassadors to Charlemagne: bishops Andrew and Philip, and duke Theodore, the pope's *nepos*.⁶⁵ In the time of Louis the Pious, the names of John, bishop of Silva Candida, and of several administrators from the Lateran—Theodore, *nomenclator* and subsequently *primicerius*, the *nomenclator* Theophylact, and the *primicerius* Quirinus—recur in the embassies addressed by the pope to the emperor.⁶⁶

There were Byzantine ambassadors who seem to have specialised in

negotiations with the heads of the Frankish state. The metropolitan Michael of Philadelphia was one of the ambassadors sent by the Byzantine emperor to Charlemagne in 803 and again in 812; Arsafios, *spatharius* or *protospatharius*, also took part in two embassies, those of 810-11 and of 812, which were entrusted with the delicate negotiations entailed by Charlemagne's imperial coronation.⁶⁷ There may have been other Byzantine ambassadors who specialised in this way, but the references to Byzantine embassies in the sources are too imprecise for us to judge.

It looks from the evidence as though the Carolingians to some extent chose particular ambassadors for their embassies to the Holy See, perhaps following the example set by the pope. We know of a number of Frankish ambassadors who carried out more than one mission to Rome: Vulfardus, abbot of St Martin's of Tours, under Pippin III, Wilcharius, bishop of Sens, under Pippin III and Charlemagne, Hitherius, Charlemagne's chancellor and subsequently abbot of St Martin's, Maginarius, abbot of St Denis, bishop Possessor, presumably of the Tarentaise, abbots Dodo and Rabigaudus, and count Helmgaut, all under Charlemagne, and count Hunfrid under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious.⁶⁸ In Carolingian dealings with Byzantium, on the other hand, the same names never recur; it seems there was no one in the royal entourage who made such missions his special province.⁶⁹ But there is one country, England, where the special knowledge possessed by at least one Frankish ambassador was of vital importance. The person in question was Gervold, abbot of St Wandrille on the lower Seine, who was administrator of customs in the Frankish channel ports. This office brought him into contact with Offa of Mercia, whose sway either as direct ruler or hegemon extended over the whole of southern England. Gervold executed a number of missions to Offa on Charlemagne's behalf. It is significant that in 790, when a personal quarrel led to a worsening in relations between the two monarchs, Charlemagne abandoned his initial intention of sending Aleuin, himself an Englishman, to patch things up, and sent instead Gervold, who had contacts in England and experience of dealing with the English court.⁷⁰ Gervold's standing with both monarchs enabled him to restore peace between them.⁷¹ A similar circumstance—the ambassador's long history of good relations with both sides—no doubt accounts for Louis the Pious's choice of Marward of Prüm as his envoy to Lothar on two occasions when father and son were in conflict.⁷²

One can give further examples of individuals presumably chosen for their personal qualifications or contacts. When Charlemagne sent Lantfrid and Sigimund as his envoys to the caliph of Bagdad in 797 or 798 he added to their party a Jew named Isaac,⁷³ who may well have known a little Arabic; it is also possible that people in Aachen were aware that Jews were valuable in the east as intermediaries. Zacharias, the palatine priest who was sent to Jerusalem in 800, perhaps commended himself

for his knowledge of Greek. When some Bulgar ambassadors returned to their master in 824, they were accompanied by an inhabitant of Bavaria named Machelmus, instructed by Louis the Pious to seek an audience with the khan. Machelmus may well have been chosen because he spoke one of the Slav dialects.⁷⁴

The reasons which prompted the Carolingians to despatch an embassy to foreign heads of state or other potentates (and vice versa) were various. Here we shall concentrate only on the most important.

Some of the business transacted was of a dynastic nature, which naturally always had its political side. Marriages occupied a place of particular importance. *Missi* sent by the Byzantine emperor Constantine V in 766–7 may have brought Pippin III a request (in any case not granted) for the hand of his daughter Gisla, the prospective bridegroom being the future Leo IV, then heir to the Byzantine throne. Some twenty years later, on the initiative of the empress Irene, negotiations were in train for another Byzantine marriage, between Charlemagne's daughter Rotrud and the youthful emperor Constantine VI; Charlemagne received Byzantine ambassadors in 781 and again in 787, Irene received a Frankish embassy in either 786 or 787. In the event the negotiations were broken off and relations between the two monarchs became strained.⁷⁵ At some time around 790, Abbot Gervold of St Wandrille was sent to Offa of Mercia to request the hand of his daughter for Charlemagne's eldest son, Charles the Younger; Offa would only agree on condition that his own son married Charlemagne's daughter Bertha, which the Frankish monarch regarded as an insult. As with the failed Byzantine marriage, the result was a break in relations and political tension between the two monarchs.⁷⁶ The embassy which the Byzantine emperor Michael I sent to Charlemagne in 812 to recognise his accession to the imperial dignity may also have come to negotiate a Frankish marriage for Theophylact, son of the βασιλεύς. If so, the proposal met with no success.⁷⁷ We should also include as diplomatic exchanges concerned with dynastic affairs most of the embassies which passed between Louis the Pious and his sons, and between the sons themselves, during the periods when they were in revolt against their father (from 830 and especially after 833).⁷⁸

In examining the motives which prompted diplomatic exchanges and negotiations, it will be convenient to give separate consideration to the exchanges between the Carolingians and the popes, who had been allies in fact, if not in form, ever since 754. Under Pippin III, and during the early part of Charlemagne's reign, dealings between the Carolingians and the papacy were largely concerned with the threat from the policies pursued by the Lombards and the pope's constant appeals to the Frankish monarch for help.⁷⁹ At a later stage these were supplanted as the major topics by the pope's scheme for securing recognition of his authority over the duchy of Spoleto and his conflicts with the duchy of Benevento.⁸⁰

But there were other matters which demanded an exchange of embassies between the two powers, usually initiated by the pope: territorial problems arising in Italy;⁸¹ the threat presented by the alliance between the duke of Benevento, Byzantium, and Adalgis (son of Desiderius, the last Lombard king);⁸² the independent attitude towards Rome adopted by the archbishops, clergy and lay nobles of Ravenna (with discreet backing from the Frankish court);⁸³ the defence and recovery of the Sabine patrimony.⁸⁴ We hear also of embassies whose errand was of a different character, for example to announce the accession of a new sovereign pontiff,⁸⁵ to bring the pope news from Charlemagne of important decisions or events,⁸⁶ to scotch false rumours.⁸⁷ Again, there were naturally matters of a strictly religious and ecclesiastical nature which called for an exchange of embassies between the Frankish monarch and the head of the Church.⁸⁸ Lastly, it should be noted that as *Patricius Romanorum* (Pippin III and Charlemagne), and later as emperor (Charlemagne, Louis the Pious and Lothar), the Frankish monarchs were under an obligation to protect the papal state which gave them some authority over it. *Missi* who made a long sojourn in Rome sometimes had political or even military business to attend to, in addition to their diplomatic mission.⁸⁹

The scope of missions and negotiations concerned neither with dynastic questions nor with some matter chiefly of interest to the head of the Carolingian state and the Holy See is defined for us in the *Ordinatio Imperii* of 817, which distinguishes between *maiores causae* meaning principally the conclusion of peace, the declaration of war and the acquisition or surrender of powers over cities and castles, and *causae leviores*.⁹⁰ The following account will touch briefly on some of these topics, and one or two more besides.⁹¹

To start with the more obvious *maiores causae*. Embassies were received by the Carolingians from foreign powers claiming the restitution or surrender of territory to them, and also from subordinates of foreign rulers, offering the Carolingians territorial bribes in return for help in overthrowing their master. We hear that Pippin III, when approached by a Byzantine emperor anxious to recover the former exarchate of Ravenna, replied by despatching an embassy to discuss the matter.⁹² Governors of Muslim territories in Spain tried to lure Charlemagne (sometimes with success) into attempting conquests in the north of the peninsula.⁹³ Louis the Pious resisted demands from the king of Denmark for the cession of Frisia and the Abodrite country.⁹⁴ Negotiation was sometimes seen as a way of preventing border incidents from developing into more serious conflicts and of composing the situation by a peaceful settlement: this was often the reason which prompted the Carolingians to negotiate with the Avars⁹⁵ and the Danes.⁹⁶ Similar motives might lead to a negotiated partition or demarcation of disputed territories; agreements of this type are recorded with the Byzantines,⁹⁷ the Bulgars⁹⁸ and the Danes.⁹⁹

The foregoing were all diplomatic exchanges of major importance, relating in the words of the *Ordinatio Imperii* to the cession or acquisition of powers over cities and castles. We turn now to actions to which the *Ordinatio* ascribes equal importance, those likely to result in the outbreak of war.¹⁰⁰

When the Carolingians wanted to deliver an ultimatum to a threatening enemy, they did so through their *legati*, who no doubt had to perform this duty more frequently than the occasional mention of it in the sources suggests. We hear of ultimata despatched by Pippin III to the duke of Aquitaine¹⁰¹ and the king of the Lombards,¹⁰² by Charlemagne to the duke of Gascony¹⁰³ and Tassilo III of Bavaria,¹⁰⁴ and by Louis the Pious to the Breton leader Morman.¹⁰⁵ Formal notice of the termination of a peace treaty came to much the same thing as the delivery of an ultimatum: Louis the Pious apparently twice took this step vis-à-vis the emir of Cordova, in 815 and again in 820.¹⁰⁶

Among the *maiores causae* particularised in the *Ordinatio*, first place is given to acts of diplomacy leading to the restoration of peace. We hear of a number of such acts:¹⁰⁷ the peaces Charlemagne and Louis the Pious concluded with the duchy of Benevento, which in each case led to the duchy's submission, though with a large measure of factual independence, which eventually became complete;¹⁰⁸ the peaces Charlemagne concluded with the kings of Denmark;¹⁰⁹ the peace, admittedly shortlived, which Charlemagne concluded with the emir of Cordova;¹¹⁰ the peace which Louis the Pious concluded with the Breton leader Wihomarcus, who for a short while submitted to his authority;¹¹¹ the peace Louis the Pious concluded with king Horich of Denmark.¹¹² We hear of embassies being despatched to supervise the implementation of newly concluded peace treaties.¹¹³

The negotiations between the Carolingians and the Abbasid caliphs of Bagdad can also be classed as concerned with issues of peace and war. Although no hostilities had developed between the two, it was still important to establish and maintain regular and friendly relations between the leading Christian power of the west and Islam's chief 'commander of the faithful.' Embassies were exchanged between Pippin III and caliph Abou Djarfar al-Mançoûr,¹¹⁴ with what precise object is unknown. They probably had the same purpose as the similar exchanges between Charlemagne and the most illustrious of the Abbasid caliphs, Hâroûn ar-Rachîd¹¹⁵, namely to arrange for the despatch and unimpeded distribution of material assistance to Christians, above all pilgrims, who found themselves in lands 'under the Crescent', the Holy Land in particular.¹¹⁶ This was also the chief reason why Charlemagne maintained contact through his *missi* with the patriarch of Jerusalem, who at one stage appears to have played the part of mediator in Charlemagne's negotiations with the caliph. Contacts with the patriarch continued under Louis the Pious.¹¹⁷ Charle-

agne and the caliph must have come to an agreement,¹¹⁸ which was presumably renewed by the ambassadors from caliph Al Mâmoûn received by Louis the Pious in 831.¹¹⁹

Charlemagne also sent ambassadors, for the reasons indicated above, to Muslim rulers in North Africa. He is known to have received legates from the emir of Fostat.¹²⁰

We hear of some embassies whose mission was wholly or in part of a strictly religious character.¹²¹ Others were concerned with the improvement of trading relations or their re-establishment after a rupture; some examples have already been mentioned.¹²² A more unusual mission was the one entrusted to an embassy to Louis the Pious, requesting facilities for an English king on his passage through Francia as a pilgrim to Rome.¹²³

So far as their objectives are concerned, I would place the embassies heads of the Carolingian state exchanged with kings and rulers who were their actual or legal inferiors in a class apart. Under this heading I include, for example, embassies concerned with administrative problems in the kingdom of Italy (the embassy from Bernard, king of Italy, to his uncle Louis the Pious in 815; the embassies Louis the Pious despatched to his rebellious son and co-emperor Lothar in 836 and 837).¹²⁴ I would also include on the one hand embassies from Slav or Avar populations who came to solicit favours from the head of the Frankish state, or to invite him to settle the conflicting claims of rival pretenders, and on the other personal appearances of native leaders accused of infidelity, summoned to submit to the decision of the Frankish king (or emperor) and the diet.¹²⁵ Lastly, there were the many embassies sent to Louis the Pious by pretenders to the shaky throne of Denmark, that is from Hariold on the one hand and the sons of Godfred, the former king, on the other.¹²⁶ Hariold in fact twice came in person to ask the emperor for military aid; the opposing party did everything they could to see that the request was not granted and that the emperor made the peace with them.¹²⁷ So far as the Carolingians were concerned, receiving Danish pretenders and their embassies and despatching Frankish *missi* to Denmark or its borders was on a par with the treatment they meted out to the Slav and Avar tribes; under Louis the Pious the aim was perhaps to turn Denmark into something like a Frankish protectorate. By contrast, when we hear of Charlemagne's intervention in English affairs, as in 808 when he and the pope sent *missi* to restore a deposed Northumbrian king to his throne, his action should not be interpreted as a demonstration of hegemonial authority or a move towards acquiring it: in the circumstances, the emperor's personal prestige was apparently such that he could use diplomatic means to satisfy his sense of what was right.¹²⁸

It is not uncommon for sources—annalistic sources in particular—to mention the reception or despatch of an embassy by the Carolingians in terms which give little or no indication of its purpose: all that will be

said is that gifts were brought and peace and friendship demonstrated, promised, or requested. If the embassy is mentioned in no other source, as is sometimes the case, we can come no closer to discovering its purpose. Bringing presents and displaying signs of peace and friendship could naturally have been reasons enough in themselves.¹²⁹ We can also imagine that embassies of this nature provided opportunity for the exchange of views on subjects of mutual interest.

Embassies might have the general character just described and yet have some more particular purpose in view.¹³⁰ When ambassadors brought gifts to Louis the Pious (as king of Aquitaine) and Charlemagne from the king of Asturias, it was presumably to show his gratitude for help against the Saracens, but they may well have taken the opportunity to ask for further assistance.¹³¹ We know that Louis the Pious received a number of Byzantine embassies,¹³² whose main object must surely have been to confirm, on the accession of a new emperor (or for a second time in the course of the same reign), the agreement between the two empires reached under Charlemagne:¹³³ and this was presumably the concrete purpose of the gifts and the declarations of peace and friendship mentioned in the sources.¹³⁴

Carolingian ambassadors were furnished with certain documents for their travels abroad. One document they carried, the *tractoria*, is already found under the preceding dynasty.¹³⁵ It was a royal diploma belonging to the writ category, ordering all agents of the king to provide the bearer with food, means of transport and lodging.¹³⁶ As we have it, the text of one *tractoria* of the kind carried by ambassadors (known in Merovingian times as a *tractoria ligatariorum*) dates from the seventh century, but since it appears in slightly modified form in a formulary of the Carolingian period, it can be used as evidence of the institution at that date.¹³⁷ Foreign ambassadors on their way to or from the Frankish monarch were also provided with a *tractoria*, unless they were accompanied by a royal *missus* thus equipped.¹³⁸ In this respect Frankish and foreign ambassadors received the same treatment as *missi dominici* engaged on internal missions.¹³⁹ The food and transport needed for *missi* were requisitioned from local inhabitants, though some contribution, in Charlemagne's day at least, was expected from the counts, from the estates which formed the endowment of their office; royal estates, however, were exempt.¹⁴⁰ Local populations found these requisitions a heavy charge and tried to evade them.¹⁴¹ Louis the Pious sanctioned dispensations in certain cases.¹⁴²

The *tractoria* was naturally only valid while ambassadors were travelling within the *Regnum Francorum* (which for this purpose can probably be taken to include the *Regnum Langobardorum*), but there must have been some arrangement for providing Frankish ambassadors with food and transport once they had left Frankish territory.¹⁴³

I think it unlikely that Frankish ambassadors on missions to foreign

rulers regularly carried written instructions, though this certainly happened on occasion: a notable example is the letter from Charlemagne to Angilbert, instructing him on certain aspects of his mission to the new pope, Leo III.¹⁴⁴ But in the great majority of cases ambassadors received only oral instructions.

Frankish ambassadors on foreign missions, and foreign ambassadors received by the Carolingian heads of state, often carried documents which the sources usually allude to merely as *epistola*, *litterae* or *apices*, without entering into details. To form a clearer idea of them we must go to the surviving collections of letters, above all the *Codex Carolinus*.

They were in fact letters, addressed by the Carolingian head of state to his foreign counterpart or some other potentate, and vice versa. More will be said of them later, when we deal with their delivery to the head of state to whom they were addressed. All that needs to be noted here is that the letter might contain a clause commending the bearer to the recipient, requesting him to accept the ambassador's oral communication in good faith and to instruct his collaborators to do the same: a clause, in fact, which gave the letter the character of a letter of credence. So far as I am aware, in this explicit form the clause is not at all common.¹⁴⁵

It is sometimes difficult to visualise the circumstances in which negotiations were initiated and conducted, as this is a matter on which the sources, and the narrative sources in particular, are often very inexplicit.¹⁴⁶ Reporting a submission, they will simply record that the chiefs of the people concerned, or their delegates, handed over hostages and gave assurances, perhaps under oath, of future good behaviour and loyalty; or it is baldly stated that such and such a population submitted to their conqueror, which means that we often have no means of knowing whether it was a submission preceded by negotiation or a surrender arbitrarily imposed on a terrorised or defeated enemy.¹⁴⁷

This said, we can now try to establish how ambassadors arriving at a foreign court set about accomplishing their mission.

We know that foreign ambassadors might be kept waiting before the Carolingian monarch received them in audience. The delay was sometimes to suit the monarch's personal convenience,¹⁴⁸ but there could also be a political motive: a Bulgar legation which arrived in Bavaria shortly before Christmas 824 (new style) was not received by Louis the Pious at Aachen until the middle of May 825, because he wanted first to gather more information about the situation in the Danube region.¹⁴⁹ It should be said, however, that this was rather unusual treatment. We have no information about similar delays which may have been inflicted on Frankish embassies to foreign powers, but it seems likely that they sometimes occurred.

On their way through Frankish territory foreign envoys had to be treated with respect,¹⁵⁰ and it can be presumed that on their meeting with the king he was bound to¹⁵¹ accord them an 'honourable' and 'benevolent'

reception.¹⁵² The procedure was governed by protocol. Having been introduced by the *ostiarium* or court usher (under Louis the Pious by the *magister ostiariorum*, or chief usher),¹⁵³ the legates would find the king or emperor attired in ceremonial dress. This was one of the few occasions when Charlemagne appeared in robe of cloth of gold and bejewelled shoes, his mantle fastened with a gold fibula, his head adorned with a gold diadem, and it was the only time he consented to abandon his workaday sword for one with a baldric and hilt fashioned of gold and silver.¹⁵⁴ The Carolingians undoubtedly expected the same honour and good will to be shown to their own ambassadors, and we know that on some occasions at least their expectations were fulfilled.¹⁵⁵

On their reception the foreign ambassadors would present to the Frankish head of state the gifts sent by their master. This practice, which was widespread, was no mere formality but a gesture indicative of friendship and esteem; to have refrained would have been a sign of hostility. Thus when the sources report the reception of a foreign embassy, they generally mention the presentation of gifts,¹⁵⁶ and those which made a particularly strong impression are enumerated, or described in detail. Among the most memorable were offerings brought by the *legati* of great ecclesiastical powers: the keys to the 'Confession of St Peter' and the standard of the city of Rome which Pope Leo III sent to Charlemagne in 796, the relics from the Holy Sepulchre which the patriarch of Jerusalem sent in 799, and his gifts of the following year—a standard, and keys to the Holy Sepulchre, to the precincts of Calvary and the Mount of Olives, and to the city of Jerusalem.¹⁵⁷ We hear of other remarkable gifts brought by foreign ambassadors: in 757 the Byzantine emperor Constantine V sent Pippin III an organ¹⁵⁸ and in 797 or 798 *legati* from Alfonso II the Chaste, king of Asturias, brought as gifts booty captured in a raid on Lisbon—Moorish slaves, mules, cuirasses, and a magnificent tent which had belonged to a Saracen chief.¹⁵⁹ The most spectacular gifts of all were those which arrived from caliph Hārūn ar-Rachīd in 801, which included an elephant;¹⁶⁰ even the assortment of luxury articles, some of them very costly and strange, which were brought by his legation of 807, paled in comparison.¹⁶¹ Most of these objects found their way into the Treasury.¹⁶² We are naturally not so well informed about the reciprocal gifts the Carolingians must have despatched to foreign monarchs.¹⁶³

On their reception the foreign ambassadors would also present to the monarch any letter they had brought from their master.¹⁶⁴ The sources mention that letters (*apices, epistola, litterae*) passed between the Carolingian monarchs and other heads of state and potentates,¹⁶⁵ and some ambassadors had even more substantial communications to deliver.¹⁶⁶ As might be expected, we hear most about such letters in connection with foreign powers representing a relatively advanced civilisation.

The texts of many of the popes' letters to Carolingian rulers, down to the

death of Pope Hadrian I in 795, are preserved in the *Codex Carolinus*; the texts of some other letters, written by Hadrian I and subsequent popes, have survived independently.¹⁶⁷ A few of these letters give details of the mission entrusted to the ambassadors, but in most cases little is said beyond a statement of its bare objective.¹⁶⁸ A letter from the Byzantine emperor Michael to Louis the Pious, known to us only in its Latin translation, has a great deal to say on religious problems but very little on political issues.¹⁶⁹

When we turn to Charlemagne's letters, we find they vary considerably in the amount of detail they give. Among the more explicit we can cite a letter to Offa of Mercia, presumably written after the reconciliation between the two monarchs in 796, and a letter of 813, to Emperor Michael I, aimed at perfecting the understanding between the two empires. Others are less revealing, giving little clue to the content of the message entrusted to its bearer.¹⁷⁰

It will be clear from what has been said that the essential part of a diplomatic mission took the form of an oral communication, and the same would apply to any negotiations which ensued. The sources bear this out: they will say, for example, that the Carolingian monarch heard the message brought by the ambassadors,¹⁷¹ or that the Carolingian ambassadors spoke to the head of state or potentate concerned.¹⁷² Letters brought by papal ambassadors (and, so it seems, by some Byzantine ambassadors), stress the paramount importance of the oral communication, and of the oral negotiations the ambassadors were empowered to undertake.¹⁷³ The point is made explicitly: the ambassador speaks in place of his master, and on his behalf.¹⁷⁴

Once the ambassadors had delivered their oral message, negotiations could get under way, although the two parties, the ambassadors on the one hand and the foreign head of state or potentate on the other, might need several days to complete their deliberations. Negotiations usually proceeded without interruption, apart from temporary suspensions due to the occurrence of some fresh event.

The monarch might wish, for one reason or another, to delay his reply; the ambassadors then had no choice but to wait, it might be for a considerable time. Both Carolingian¹⁷⁵ and foreign ambassadors¹⁷⁶ were subjected to these delays. In 817 ambassadors to Louis the Pious from the son of the Umayyad emir of Cordova had to wait three months before they could return to Spain.¹⁷⁷ Departure of a mission could naturally be delayed for other reasons.¹⁷⁸

It seems that having delivered his reply, the Carolingian monarch formally dismissed the foreign ambassadors, that is to say he gave them leave to return to their master;¹⁷⁹ foreign courts no doubt followed a similar procedure.¹⁸⁰ Departing ambassadors would normally receive the monarch's oral reply to the message they had come to deliver.¹⁸¹ They might also be given a letter for their master,¹⁸² which the oral reply would

enable them to enlarge upon,¹⁸³ and perhaps some other document to take back, for example a treaty or draft treaty.¹⁸⁴ There seems to have been a fairly general custom of giving departing ambassadors presents for their masters, with no doubt something for themselves as well.¹⁸⁵ Dismissing an embassy or ambassador without an answer was tantamount to an insult, and could easily lead to a rupture in relations and eventual hostilities.¹⁸⁶

We know of several cases in which Frankish ambassadors either accompanied the departing foreign ambassadors or followed them not long after, in order to continue at the foreign court the negotiations whose first phase had just been completed, or to see that what had been agreed was put into effect.¹⁸⁷ There were also occasions when the position was reversed and Frankish ambassadors were accompanied or followed at a short distance by ambassadors from the power they had just visited.¹⁸⁸ It seems doubtful whether this was a general practice, even when an embassy departed with honour.¹⁸⁹ We hear of some foreign *legati* for whom the Carolingian monarch arranged an escort, but only as far as the frontier.¹⁹⁰

Boundary disputes, when they arose, were sometimes deemed to require an investigation on the spot,¹⁹¹ or the actual negotiations might take place on the frontier or in its immediate neighbourhood, as for example the negotiations conducted in the Bardengau with Nordalbingian Saxons, Abodrites and Wilzes.¹⁹² A more obvious example is provided by the frontier negotiations between the Franks and the Danes,¹⁹³ recorded as taking place in 809 (without result), 811, 813, 825, and 828 (again without result).¹⁹⁴ These negotiations usually took the form of a diplomatic conference, with an equal number of delegates from each side (most of the Frankish delegates were counts); in 811 the number was twelve from each side, in 813 sixteen. The numbers were presumably so large because each delegate was required to possess local knowledge of some part of the terrain under dispute.

We can presume that on completion of a mission Carolingian legates reported orally to their master.¹⁹⁵ In some instances they must also have been asked for a written report; a fragment of one of these reports, prepared for Charlemagne, has survived.¹⁹⁶

We know that certain questions were the subject of negotiations which dragged on for years, engaging the attention of several monarchs and their ambassadors. The most important of these was the relationship between Charlemagne and the Byzantine empire after the imperial coronation of 25 December 800, which Byzantium naturally regarded as a usurpation. The case is worth going into in some detail, as an excellent illustration of what has already been said of the external relations of the Frankish monarchy under the Carolingians.

Constantinople feared the Franks intended an attack on Byzantine Sicily, and the initiative in opening negotiations with Charlemagne appears to have come from the empress Irene.¹⁹⁷ In 802 Leo the *spatharius* was sent to Charlemagne from Byzantium, his mission being to re-establish rela-

tions on a footing of peace and friendship. The overture was welcomed by the western emperor, who sent Leo back to Constantinople accompanied by an embassy of his own, which had orders to carry negotiations for the resumption of good relations a stage further; Charlemagne's ambassadors were bishop Jesse of Amiens and count Helmgaut.¹⁹⁸ Irene had meanwhile been deposed, and they were received by the new *βασιλεύς*, Nicephorus I, who appears to have agreed to their proposals in principle. In 803, when Charlemagne's *missi* reported back to him at Salz on the Saale, they had with them ambassadors from Nicephorus: the metropolitan Michael, abbot Peter, and a 'candidate' named Calistos. The emperor gave the Byzantines the written draft of a treaty and a letter for Nicephorus to take back to Constantinople, which they reached by way of Rome.¹⁹⁹

It appears that Nicephorus had objections to some of the more important provisions of the draft treaty. At all events, the negotiations were not pursued. Over the next few years Charlemagne brought pressure to bear on the Byzantines; his agents fomented disturbances in the Venetian lagoon, which was an autonomous Byzantine territory; in 804 Francophile doges seized power in Venice and stirred up revolt in towns on the Dalmatian coast, which in the following year joined Venice in submitting to Charlemagne. Between 806 and 809 the operations of a Byzantine fleet brought a temporary restoration of the legitimate order, but after some reverses the fleet was forced to withdraw. In 810 King Pippin of Italy occupied islands in the lagoon, including the Rialto, but his attempt to regain a footing on the Dalmatian shore was frustrated by Byzantine naval action.

The pressure exerted by the Franks brought results. In 810 a Byzantine ambassador, Arsafius the *spatharius*, appeared at Aachen with a message and a letter for Charlemagne from Nicephorus; the real destination was Pippin of Italy, but he had meanwhile died and the mission had been diverted to the emperor. The proposals of 810 were apparently accepted in principle as the basis for further negotiations, from which some agreement emerged. On his return home, Arsafius was accompanied by a Frankish embassy with authority to convey Charlemagne's assent to the proposed convention, and perhaps to explore its precise terms and implementation. The Frankish ambassadors were bishop Heito of Basel, count Hugh of Tours, and Ato, a Lombard from Friuli. They took with them a letter from Charlemagne to Nicephorus, the text of which has been preserved.²⁰⁰

When they arrived, the ambassadors were received not by Nicephorus but by Michael I Rangabe, his son-in-law, who on 2 October 811 had succeeded him as emperor. The conversations with the *βασιλεύς* which followed the delivery of Charlemagne's letter presumably resulted in oral agreement to the treaty. When the Frankish embassy departed for home, it was accompanied by a Byzantine embassy consisting of Michael, metropolitan of Philadelphia, and Arsafius and Theognostos (both of them described as *spatharius*).²⁰¹ At Aachen, which they probably reached in

April 812, the Byzantines were greeted with jubilation. First they presented gifts to the emperor. Next came a ceremony in the palace chapel, at which the emperor handed the leader of the embassy the copy of the treaty destined for the βασιλεύς, taken from the altar. Then the Byzantine ambassadors, following the rites of their own court, chanted in Greek, in Charlemagne's honour, the imperial *laudes* which attributed to him the Greek titles of βασιλεύς and ἡγεμόνων (*imperator*). By doing so, they declared the eastern emperor's official recognition of the king of the Franks and Lombards as western emperor.²⁰² The Byzantines broke their homeward journey at Rome where, at a ceremony in St Peter's, Pope Leo III handed them a second copy of the treaty, probably one he had himself subscribed.²⁰³

The presumption is that the Venetian lagoon was restored to Byzantium, that the Venetians were made to pay tribute to the western emperor but were allowed privileges in the empire, and that the western emperor, even if he kept Istria and part of the Croatian interior, acknowledged Byzantine overlordship over the whole of the Dalmatian littoral.

The one thing which remained to be done to make the treaty a *foedus firmissimum*²⁰⁴ was for Charlemagne to receive his own copy. In the spring of 813 an embassy consisting of Amalarius, bishop of Trier, and Peter, abbot of Nonantula, was despatched to Constantinople. They took with them a letter, whose text has survived, which declared Charlemagne's satisfaction with the agreement and requested Michael I to hear the message brought by his ambassadors and to deliver to them the copy destined for himself, taken from the altar.²⁰⁵

The embassy was received at Constantinople by Leo the Armenian (Leo V), who had deposed Michael I. When he dismissed the Frankish ambassadors he sent with them ambassadors of his own, Christopher the *spatharius* and a deacon named Gregory, to whom he entrusted the copy of the treaty destined for Charlemagne. By the time the two embassies reached Aachen Charlemagne was dead, and it was Louis the Pious who received the imperial gifts and the copy of the treaty intended for his father.²⁰⁶

Louis settled a number of questions with the Byzantines and sent them away loaded with gifts. They were accompanied by a Frankish embassy consisting of Norbert, bishop of Reggio in Emilia, and Ricoin, count of Padua, the point of their mission being to convey to the Byzantine emperor Louis's personal agreement to the treaty, by way of confirmation. On their return in 815 the *legati* brought Louis a corresponding document on behalf of the βασιλεύς.²⁰⁷ If we include this last phase, the negotiations took fifteen years in all to complete.²⁰⁸

The diplomatic relations which have been described in this article were not without their attendant difficulties. Monarchs were at times left for long periods without news of their ambassadors;²⁰⁹ despatches might be opened en route;²¹⁰ *missi* could act in ways prejudicial to the success of

their mission.²¹¹ In the absence of expert translators, written messages were liable to be misinterpreted.²¹²

There were times and seasons when travelling was impossible²¹³ or certain seas unnavigable;²¹⁴ there was the risk of accident.²¹⁵ A mission to a place as distant as Bagdad could take up to four years to complete.²¹⁶ The eastern climate had its hazards for westerners: two of the three Frankish ambassadors who set out in 797-8 died in the course of their mission, the only survivor being the Jew Isaac. One of the Frankish ambassadors who went out in 802-3 died shortly after his return in 807.²¹⁷ At sea ambassadors might be captured by enemy ships or pirates;²¹⁸ the dangers presented by certain overland routes were often no less great.²¹⁹

It was apparently generally accepted that while travelling on territory subject to the head of state or potentate they were visiting, ambassadors should be immune from attack.²²⁰ In practice this rule was not always observed. We hear that *missi* of Charlemagne's were harassed while travelling in the duchy of Benevento in 788, and that in 818 a papal ambassador, the exorcist Leo, was in such danger while in Francia that Pope Paschal I had to remind Louis the Pious of his duty to see the ambassador suffered no *iniuria*. A conference held on the Frankish-Danish frontier in 828, at which Frankish ambassadors were negotiating with envoys sent by claimants to the Danish throne, had to break up because one claimant invaded the territory of the others, who in turn attacked the Franks, in the belief that they were party to the aggression.²²¹

In 825 Louis the Pious denounced thefts from ambassadors' baggage and assaults on their person as acts prejudicial to the honour of the empire.²²² Notwithstanding this pronouncement, in 836 Danish ambassadors were murdered not far from Cologne, in the very heart of the empire. For this shameful act Louis the Pious meted out a heavy punishment.²²³

The foregoing account of diplomatic relations under the Carolingians has dealt with the main aspects. The subject of treaties has been left to one side, since it seemed best reserved for another occasion. It is hoped that this present study, for all its gaps and imperfections, will be a useful contribution to our understanding of an important but little explored department of Frankish monarchical institutions and to the medieval history of international law.²²⁴

NOTES

* 'Les relations extérieures de la monarchie franque sous les premiers souverains carolingiens', *Annali di Storia del Diritto, Rassegna Internazionale*, v-vi (1961-2), 1-53 (published 1964).

1. 'Merowingisches Gesandtschaftswesen', *Aus Geschichte und Landeskunde. Forschungen und Darstellungen Franz Steinbach zum 65 Geburtstag gewidmet*

- (Bonn, 1960); 'De internationale betrekkingen van het Frankisch Rijk onder de Merowingen' (with French resumé: 'Les relations extérieures de la monarchie franque à l'époque mérovingienne'), *Meded. d. Kon. Vla. Acad. v. Wet., Kl. Lett.*, xxii (1960), no. 4. For an excellent guide to the movement of ideas see the altogether outstanding work by B. Paradisi, *Storia del diritto internazionale nel Medio Evo*, I (2nd edn, Naples, 1956).
2. For convenience, the terms 'king' and 'kingdom' are used of the Frankish rulers throughout this article, even when the events referred to took place after the *rex Francorum* had become emperor. This practice has the further merit of being consistent with contemporary usage.
 3. For the negotiations of 754 between Pippin III and Stephen II at Ponthion, St Denis and Quierzy, see L. Levillain, *L'avènement de la dynastie carolingienne et les origines de l'état pontifical* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, xciv, 1933), whose interpretation of the sources and chronology I accept. For the meetings between Charlemagne and Leo III at Rheims, Quierzy and Aachen, see *ARF*, 804; Louis the Pious and Stephen IV at Rheims, *ibid.*, 816.
 4. Undertakings given to Pippin III by the Lombard king Aistulf while besieged in Pavia, *ARF*, 755; Hariold of Denmark visits Louis the Pious at Aachen and Ingelheim, *ibid.*, 814 and 826 (in 804 Godfred of Denmark had promised to meet Charlemagne on the border between their two kingdoms but failed to appear, *promisit... se ad conloquium imperatoris venturum, sed... non accessit*, *ibid.*, 804); in 777 the vali of Saragossa, in revolt against the emir of Cordova, meets Charlemagne at Paderborn, *ARF*, 777, both texts; talks held at Aachen in 797 between Charlemagne, an uncle of the emir and governor of Barcelona, said to be ready to surrender his city, *ARF*, 797, both texts; cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, I (2nd edn, Paris and Leiden, 1950), 152 and 179.
 5. Spoleto: duke Hildebrand's meeting with Charlemagne at Verzenay (near Rheims), *ARF*, 779, both texts; Bavaria: Tassilo III's two submissions, to Pippin III at Compiègne and to Charlemagne at the Lechfeld (near Augsburg), *ibid.*, 757 and 787, both texts; for 787 see further Einhard, *VK*, xi. Brittany: submission of Wihomarcus and other Breton *primores* to Louis the Pious at Aachen, *ARF*, 825. Venice: the doges' visit to Charlemagne at Aachen, *ibid.*, 806. Avars: Theodore, the Avar khan or *khagan* twice visits Charlemagne at Aachen, first alone, *ARF*, 805, and later with the *ingur*, *ibid.*, 811; the *tudun* of the Avars makes his submission to Charles in person during the campaign of 796, *ibid.*, 796. Transelbina tribes: royal claimants from the Wilzes visit Louis the Pious at Frankfurt in 823 and an Abodrite duke and Sorb chieftain come to him at Compiègne in 823 and at Ingelheim in 826, *ibid.*, 823 and 826. For the submission of the Saxon chieftains to Charlemagne in person see my account in Lot, Pfister and Ganshof, *Les destinées de l'Empire en occident de 395 à 888* (2nd edn, Paris, 1940-1), pp. 450-9.
 6. The vali of Saragossa in 777 and Hariold of Denmark in 814 (see above, n. 4); Tassilo of Bavaria in 757 and the Breton leaders in 825 (see above, n. 5).
 7. Pippin III: envoys from the Byzantine emperor at the diet of Compiègne, *ARF*, 757, both texts. Charlemagne: envoys from the king of Denmark,

- as also from the *khagan* and *ingur* of the Avars, received at the diet which met at the source of the Lippe, *ibid.*, 782, both texts.
8. Paderborn, 815, envoys from Slav tribes; Thionville, 821, from the pope; Frankfurt, 822, from the kings of Denmark, from Slav tribes and from the Avars; Aachen, 825, from the kings of Denmark; Ingelheim, 826, from the pope and presumably from the patriarch of Jerusalem, from the king of Denmark and from Slav chieftains; Salz, 826, from the duke of Naples. All the foregoing are mentioned *ARF* under the year in question. Thionville 831, from the caliph of Bagdad, from the king of Denmark and from Slav tribes; Worms, 836, from the king of Denmark *Annales Bertiniani* (ed. G. Waitz, Hanover, 1883), 831 and 836.
 9. Probably a more frequent occurrence than appears from the sources. Examples include: ambassadors sent to Tassilo of Bavaria from the diet of Worms, 787, *Annales Mettenses priores* (ed. B. von Simson, Hanover, 1905) 787; ambassadors sent to the pope from the synod of Frankfurt (which can be classed as a diet), 794, *MGH Cap.*, I, no. 28, viii; ambassadors sent from Aachen to the kings of Denmark in 813, *ARF*, same year; ambassadors sent from the diet of Frankfurt to the king of the Abodrites in 823, *ARF*, same year.
 10. To make matters simpler, in the two succeeding notes, and in n. 16, references to the *Annales Regni Francorum* (*ARF*) up to and including the year 801 will be followed by (1), (2), or (1 and 2), (1) standing for the original version, (2) for the revision.
 11. *ARF*, 760 (1), 769 (1), 773 (1), 781 (1), 782 (1), 786 (1), 787 (1), 791 (1), 793 (1), 795 (1), 803, 807, 828. *Ann. Mett. pr.*, 754, 803. *Ann. Bert.*, 831, 836, 838, 839. *Annales Fuldenses* (ed. F. Kurze, Hanover, 1891), 756. Astronomer, *Vita Hludovici*, viii, xxiii, lv. Nithard, *Historiae*, I, vi (ed. E. Müller, Hanover, 1907). Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honorem Hludovici*, (ed. E. Faral, Paris, 1932), iii, v. 1578. *Liber Pontificalis, Vita Stephani II*, xlvi (ed. L. Duchesne, 2nd edn, Paris, 1955, I, p. 452). Letter from Charlemagne to the Byzantine emperor Michael I, 813, *MGH Epist.*, IV, p. 556. Alcuin, letter of 794, *ibid.*, p. 69. Letters from popes Stephen II, Paul I, Constantine II (antipope), Stephen III and Hadrian I addressed to Frankish monarchs between 753 and 791: *Codex Carolinus* (ed. W. Gundlach, *MGH Epist.*, III, from now on referred to as *CC*), nos. 4, 8, 12, 14, 16, 17, 19-22, 24, 29, 30, 32, 34, 36, 37, 43-9, 51-7, 60, 67-9, 71, 72, 77, 80, 82-5, 88, 92, 94, 98, 99. Letters from Pope Leo III to Charlemagne, *MGH Epist.*, v, p. 59-60 (798) and pp. 87-92 (three letters, all 808).
 12. *ARF*, 760 (2), 782 (2), 786 (2), 787 (2), 790 (2), 794 (2), 796 (1 and 2), 797 (1 and 2)-799 (1 and 2), 801, 802, 804, 806-12, 814-27. *Ann. Mett. pr.*, 750, 754, 787, 799, 803. *Annales Laurissenses Minores*, *Codex Fuldensis* I, 814, ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS*, I, p. 122 (= 'Chronicon Laurissense breve' ed. H. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Hs.* 1, I, *Neues Archiv*, xxxvi, 1910, p. 38). *Ann. Bert.*, 831, 833, 834, 836, 839. *Ann. Fuld.*, 755, 795, 805. *Annales Xantenses* (ed. B. von Simson, Hanover, 1909), 812, 814, 816, 828, 831. Einhard, *VK*, v, vii, x, xi, xvi, xxiii. Thegan, *Vita Hludovici*, ix, xi, xvi, xxxii, xxxiii, xlv, xlvi, liii, liv, lvii and addition from the Vienna ms. (ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS*, II, 592-4, 597, 600-3). Astronomer, xlvi. Letter of

- Lupus of Ferrières, 836, in the ed. of L. Levillain, 1 (Paris, 1927), no. 5. The *Ordinatio Imperii* of 817, c. iv, viii and x (MGH *Cap.*, 1, no. 136). The *Pactum Uludowici Pii cum Paschali pontifice* of 817, *ibid.*, no. 172. Letter from Charlemagne to the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus, 811, MGH *Epist.*, IV, 546–8. Letter from Charlemagne to the Byzantine emperor Michael I, 813, *ibid.*, 556. Letter from Pope Paschal I to Louis the Pious, c. 818, MGH *Epist.*, v, 68.
13. The revised text of the *Annales Regni Francorum* frequently has *legatus* or *legatio* where the original text has *missus*; see above, notes 11, 12 and 16. *Missus* is the only term used in the letters from the *Codex Carolinus* cited above note 11.
 14. *Legatarius: Gesta S. Patrum Fontanellensis Coenobii XII. Gesta Gervoldi*, c. i (ed. F. Lohier and J. Laporte, Rouen, 1936). *Nuntius: Ann. Mett. pr.*, 760; Astronomer, v.
 15. Theophanes, *Chronographia* (ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1883), Anno Mundi 6293, p. 475.
 16. Fredegar, Second cont., xl (W-H, p. 109). *ARF*, 769 (2), 773 (2), 781 (2), 809, 810, 812, 814, 817, 822, 823, 825, 828, 829; Thegan, xiv; Astronomer, xlix; *Gesta Gervoldi* (see n. 14) ii; synod of Frankfurt, 794, c. viii (see n. 9); the *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines* (825), c. xviii, MGH *Cap.*, 1, no. 150; letter from Alchred and Osgeofu, king and queen of Northumbria, to Lull, archbishop of Mainz (773), ed. M. Tangl, *Die Briefe des hl. Bonifatius und Lullus*, MGH *Epistolae Selectae* in 8°, (Berlin, 1916), no. 121.
 17. *ARF*, 817 (*legatio* used in both senses): Pope Paschal is sending an embassy to Louis the Pious, *missa tamen alia legatione . . .* and *hanc legationem Theodorus nomenclator et detulit et ea quae petierat impetravit. ARF*, 828: *audita illorum legatione*.
 18. *ARF*, 803; letter from Charlemagne, 813 (see above, n. 11).
 19. Bernard: sends envoys to Louis the Pious in 815, *ARF* same year. Lothar, co-emperor and king of Italy: sends envoys to Louis the Pious in Gaul during the last phase of his rebellion of 834, Thegan, liii and liv, *Ann. Bert.*, 834; exchange of embassies with Louis during his residence in Italy: in 835, Thegan, lvii, in 836, *ibid.*, add. Vienna ms., *Ann. Bert.*, same year, Lupus, *Correspondance*, 1, no. 5, p. 43, Astronomer, lv; in 837, Nithard, 1, vi; in 839, *ibid.*, vii. Pippin, king of Aquitaine: exchange of envoys 831 and 837 (*Ann. Bert.*); Louis the German: exchange of legates 834 (whilst his father was Lothar's prisoner), Thegan, xlvii, *Ann. Bert.*, 839. Louis also sends envoys to his brothers, in 833 to Lothar (Thegan xlv), in 834 to Pippin (*Ann. Bert.*, same year).
 20. Pippin III: *CC* 4 (753), 5 (755); *Ann. Fuld.*, 755; *CC* 8 and *Lib. Pont.*, *Vita Steph. II*, xliii (*Duchesne*, 1, 452), 756; *CC* 11, 12 (757), 14, 16, 17 (758), 18 (759), 19, 20 (760), 21 (761?), 22 (761–2), 24 (758–63), 30, 32, 34 (761–6), 36, 29 (764–6), 37 (764–6), 43 (767), 98, 99 (767). Charlemagne and Carloman II: *CC* 44 (769–70), 45, 46, 47 (770–1), 48 (771). Charlemagne as sole ruler: *ARF*, 773; *CC*, 49 (774), 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57 (775), 60, 61 (778), 65 (779–80), 67, 68, 69, (781), 71 (781–2), 72 (782), 76, 77 (786), 81 (787?), 80 (787–8), 82, 83, 84 (788), 85 (788–9), 88, 89, 92 (784–91), 94 (790–1); *ARF*, 793–4; synod of Frankfurt, c. viii (MGH *Cap.*, 1, no. 28), 794; letter from

- Alcuin, 794, MGH *Epist.*, IV, p. 69; *ARF*, 796; letter from Leo III, 798, MGH *Epist.*, v, p. 59–60; *Ann. Mett. pr.*, 799; letters of Pope Leo III 808 and 808–14, MGH *Epist.*, v, pp. 87–8 and 100–2. Louis the Pious: *ARF*, 815, 816, Thegan, xvi, 816, *ARF*, 817; *Pactum Ulud. Pii cum Paschali pont.*, 817, MGH *Cap.*, 1, no. 172; letter from Pope Paschal I to Louis the Pious, 818, MGH *Epist.*, v, p. 168; *ARF*, 821, 823, 824, 826, 828, 829. Note also the two letters of Leo III dated 808 (MGH *Epist.*, v, pp. 89–92) which mention facilities provided by Charlemagne for papal legates travelling to England.
21. The following note makes no reference to texts relating to the negotiations in the period after Charlemagne was crowned emperor (801–815), which are cited when the subject is treated fully, pp. 178–80.
 22. Pippin III: *Lib. Pont. Vita Stephani II*, xliii (*Duchesne*, 1, p. 452), 756 (F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, 1 (Munich, 1924), no. 318); Fredegar, *Second cont.*, xl (W-H p. 109) and *ARF*, 757 (Dölger, *Reg.*, n. 320); *CC*, 17 (758), 36 and 29 (764–6) (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 325); *ARF* 767 (implies the arrival of a Byzantine embassy in Francia; Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 326; Charlemagne; *ARF*, 786 (more correctly, 787; Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 345); *Gesta Gervoldi*, i (786 or 787); *ARF*, 797 (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 350), 798 (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 353). Louis the Pious: *ARF*, 817 (two embassies: the first was received early in the year at Aachen and is also mentioned by the Astronomer, xxvii, while the second, received in early spring at Ingelheim, is mentioned *Ann. Fuld.*, 817 and *Ann. Xant.*, 816); letter from the Byzantine emperors Michael and Theophilus, 824, G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, xiv (Venice, 1769), col. 419; *ARF*, 827 (Dölger, *Reg.*, nos 397, 398, 408, 413); *Ann. Xant.*, 828; *Ann. Bert.*, 833 and Astronomer, xlix (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 429); *Ann. Bert.*, 839 (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 438).
 23. It appears from the *Proemium* to the *Codex Carolinus* (MGH *Epist.*, III, p. 476) that in 791 Charlemagne ordered a compilation of . . . *universas epistolas que tempore bonae memoriae domni Caroli avi sui necnon et gloriosi genitoris sui Pippini suisque temporibus de summa sede apostolica beati Petri apostolorum principis seu etiam de Imperio ad eos directae esse noscuntur . . .* None of the letters addressed to the Frankish monarch of *imperio* have come down to us.
 24. Patricius of Sicily: *ARF*, 797 and 799 (Dölger, *Reg.*, nos 350 and 354). Doges of Venice: *ARF*, 806 (H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, 1 (Gotha, 1905), 54–7, 421–2). Dalmatia: the duke and bishop of Zara, *ARF*, 806. Sardinia: *ARF*, 826.
 25. I cite here only passages which state explicitly that negotiations took place through the intervention of *missi*; these accounts imply that there were other similar negotiations. *Ann. Mett. pr.*, 754 (actually 755); *CC*, 19 (760, referring to negotiations of 759) and 34 (761–6), letters from Pope Paul I.
 26. *ARF*, 779.
 27. *ARF*, 787 and Einhard, *VK*, x. *CC*, 82 and 83 (letters from Hadrian I); *ARF*, 812, 814, Thegan, xi and Astronomer, xliii; *ARF*, 818.
 28. *Ann. Mett. pr.*, 750 (actually 751); *ibid.*, 760 and *ARF*, same year. Same general remark as in n. 25.
 29. *ARF*, 760 and Einhard, *VK*, v.

30. Same general remark as for n. 25. Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honorem Hludowici*, iii, v. 1578, p. 120 (818); *ARF*, 825.
31. Same general remark as for n. 25. *ARF*, 757, 781, 787, *Ann. Mett. pr.*, 787, Einhard, *VK* (same facts).
32. *ARF*, 782, 790, 791, 795–7, 805, 811, 822.
33. *ARF*, 818 (eastern Abodrites, the Croatian duke Borna, who was in the emperor's service, *Guduscani*, *Timociani*, Liudewit—another Croatian in the emperor's service but in conflict with the marquis of Friuli); *ARF*, 819, 820, 822 (Liudewit in revolt), 822 (Czechs, Moravians, eastern Abodrites and others), 824 (eastern Abodrites).
34. These negotiations were initiated by Omurtag, khan of the Bulgars. *ARF*, 824 (two Bulgar embassies), *ibid.*, 825 and Thegan, xxxii; *ARF*, 826.
35. Same general remark as for n. 25. In places the *Annales Regni Francorum* allude to these embassies only in general terms, thus *omnes orientalium Sclavorum primores et legati* or *barbarorum legationes* (815 and 823). But there are some more precise references: in 816 to Abodrites, in 822 to Abodrites, Sorbs, Wilzes, Czechs, Moravians and eastern Abodrites (see n. 33), in 823 to two royal claimants among the Wilzes and an Abodrite duke, in 826 to an Abodrite duke and a Sorb chieftain.
36. *ARF*, 782, 798, 804, 809, 811, 812, 813, 814 (expulsion of a claimant to the Danish throne), 815, 817; Thegan, xiv (817, same events); *ARF*, 822, 825, 826; Thegan, xxxiii and Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honorem Hludowici*, iv, v. 2164 ff., p. 166 (826, same events); *ARF*, 828; *Ann. Bert.*, 831, 836, 838, 839.
37. See the letter from Alchred (773) to Lull, archbishop of Mainz, in Tangl, *Briefe . . . Bonifatius und Lullus*, no. 121. Eardulf, having been expelled by a usurper, is reinstated on his throne by emissaries from Pope Leo III and Charlemagne, *ARF*, 808 and letter from Leo III, MGH, *Epist.*, v, p. 90. It is accepted that Offa of Mercia exercised a hegemony over the greater part of England, although the sources nowhere describe him as 'bretwalda'; see F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1947), 33–4. For his diplomatic relations with Charlemagne, see *Gesta Gervoldi*, ii. In 839 a *rex Anglorum*, not further identified, sends envoys to Louis the Pious, *Ann. Bert.*, 839 (Waitz, *ibid.*, n. 2, identifies him as king Aethelwulf of Wessex, which although possible is not proven).
38. Astronomer, viii (no doubt a reference to events in 795: ambassadors from Alfonso II the Chaste received by Louis, king of Aquitaine); *ARF*, 798 (two successive embassies from the same king to Charlemagne; the first is mentioned in the revised version of *ARF* under 797, which is the date accepted by M. Defourneaux, 'Charlemagne et la monarchie asturienne', *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, (Paris, 1951), 179–80); Einhard, *VK*, xvi.
39. *ARF*, 799, 800, 807.
40. Fredegar, Second cont., li (W-H, p. 118–19), describing the return in 768 of Frankish envoys despatched in 765. Einhard, *VK*, xvi, most probably a reference to the Frankish envoys sent to Bagdad 797–8, mentioned *ARF*, 801. *ARF*, 806 (return of Frankish envoys sent to Bagdad 802–3); *ibid.*, 807 (death of Frankish envoy on his return from the east, and an embassy from the caliph). *Ann. Bert.*, 831, Astronomer, xlvi and *Ann. Xant.*, 831.

41. Grounds for this supposition are provided by the joint arrival in 807 of an embassy from the caliph and of envoys from the patriarch, see above, nn. 39 and 40 and, p. 172 and n. 117.
42. *ARF*, 777 (vali of Saragossa, see n. 4); Astronomer, v (790: envoys from Abutaur, governor of Huesca, received by Louis, king of Aquitaine; L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne* (Toulouse, 1937), 28); *ARF*, 797 (Abd Allah, uncle of the emir of Cordova, and Zato, governor of Barcelona, received by Charlemagne; Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, I, 179); Astronomer, viii (798: envoys from Bahlul ibn Marzuk, rebel leader of Saragossa, received by Louis, king of Aquitaine; Auzias, *op. cit.*, 44, Lévi-Provençal, *loc. cit.*); *ARF*, 799 (envoys from Hassan, vali of Huesca; Auzias, *loc. cit.*); *ARF*, 809, 810 (envoys from Amrus ibn Yusuf, vali of Saragossa and Huesca); R. d'Abadal, *Catalunya Carolingia* III, 'Els comtats de Pallars i Rabarçora' (Barcelona, 1955), 87–8.
43. *ARF*, 810, 812 (negotiations with the envoys from the emir of Cordova, Al-Hakam I, here described as Abulaz; Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, I, 184, n. 1); *ARF*, 816, 817 (envoys from the emir's son, Abd-al-Rahman).
44. *ARF*, 801; Einhard, *VK*, xxvii.
45. *ARF*, 824.
46. Pippin III: *CC*, 4 (753, Droctegang, abbot of Jumièges), 8 (756, abbot Warnecharius), 12 (757, Immo), 14 (758, Vulfardus), 16 and 17 (758, Ruodbertus), 20 (760, vassal named Cunibert), 24 (758–63, Langbard, *inluster vir*), 36 (764–6, Floginus the chaplain), 98 (767, unnamed *missus*). Carlomann II: *CC*, 48 (771, Dodo). Charlemagne: 53 (775, unnamed *missus*), 65 (770–80, Addo, a deacon), 67 (781, 'archbishop' Possessor, presumably of Tarentaise), 76 (786, abbot Andrew of Luxeuil?), 81 (787, duke Aruinus), 85 (788–9, Ermenbertus, priest), 88 (784–9, duke Garamannus), 89 (784–91, bishop Hubert of Chalon-sur-Saône); *Gesta Gervoldi*, ii (some time in the 790s, Gervold, abbot of St. Wandrille to the king of Mercia); *ARF*, 796 (Angilbert, abbot of St Riquier, to the pope), 800 (Zacharias, 'palace' priest, to the patriarch of Jerusalem), 806 (Einhard, to the pope). Louis the Pious: *ARF*, 815 (count Gerold, to the pope); Ermoldus Nigellus, *In hon. Hlud.*, iii, v. 1344–5 and 1352 ff., p. 104 (818, abbot Wilcharius to Murman, Breton chieftain).
47. Here are some examples. Papal legations: 778, from Hadrian to Charlemagne, bishops Philip and Andrew and duke Theodore, Hadrian's *nepos* (*CC*, 60; for Theodore as *nepos* see *CC*, 61, same year); 826, from Eugenius II to Louis the Pious, bishop Leo of Centumcellae (Civitavecchia), and an administrative official from the Lateran, the *nomenclator* Theophylact (*ARF*, 826). Byzantine embassies: 798 from Irene to Charlemagne, Michael, formerly patricius (i.e. *strategos* of Phrygia) and a priest named Theophilus (*ARF*, 798); 839, emperor Theophilus to Louis the Pious, Theodore, metropolitan of Chalcedon, and the *spatharius* Theophanes (*Ann. Bert.*, 839).
48. Details will be found in my articles referred to above n. 1: 'Merowingisches Gesandtschaftswesen', pp. 170–3; 'De internationale betrekkingen', pp. 8–10.
49. In this note and the three which follow I omit references to cases cited by way of example in the text (pp. 167–8) and to the Franco-Byzantine

- exchanges of 801–15, which are dealt with, pp. 178–80. *CC*, 6 (755, Folrad, abbot of St Denis and *eius socii*), 11, (755, same personnel), 21 (761, Andrew and Gunderic, to the king of the Lombards and the pope), 22 (761–72, Dodo and Wichadus), 26 (763, abbots Droctegang of Jumièges and Vulfardus of St. Martin's, Tours), 30 (761–6, bishops Wilcharius and Felix, Ratbert, *vir illustis*), 37 (764–6, Vulfardus as above, *et socius*), 43 (abbot Haribertus and count Dodo).
50. *CC*, 44 (769–70, Gauzbertus, bishop of Chartres, a cleric named Fulbert, Alfred and Helmgarius, *gloriosissimi viri*: from Charles and Carloman); 46 (770–1, Hitherius, Charles's chancellor and other *missi*); 47 (770–1, abbot Beraldus, Audbertus, *vir illustis*: from Carloman); 51 (775, Wilcharius, 'archbishop of Gaul', abbot Dodo; then bishop Possessor and abbot Dodo); 52, 56, 57 (775, bishop Possessor and abbot Rabigaudus); 67 (781, archbishop Possessor); *ARF*, 781 (deacon named Riculfus and Eberhard the butler, to Tassilo); *CC*, 77 (786, Hitherius, abbot of St Martin's of Tours, Maginarius, abbot of St Denis); *Gesta Gervoldi*, i (786 or 787, the chaplain Vuitboldus and a certain John, to Empress Irene and her son Constantine VI); *CC*, 80 (787–8, Rozo the chaplain, Betto); 82 (Atto the deacon, Gotteramnus the *ostarius*, Maginarius, abbot of St Denis, a deacon Joseph, count Liuderic, to the pope and to the duchy of Benevento); 84 (788, Rozo and Betto); 92 (784–91, *missi*); 94 (790–1, Bernerd, bishop of Sens, Rado, chancellor and abbot of St Vaast's, Arras); *MGH Epist.*, v, pp. 59–60. (798, Fardulfus, abbot of St Denis and other *missi*); *ARF*, 801 (Lantfridus, Sigimundus, a Jew named Isaac, sent in 797–8 to the caliph of Bagdad); 808 (Hruotfridus, *notarius* and abbot of St Amand's, Nantharius, abbot of St Bertin's, to Northumbria).
51. *ARF*, 823 (counts Theotharius and Hruodmundus, to Denmark); Thegan, liii and liv (834, Mareward, abbot of Prüm and other *missi*); then Badaradus, Saxon bishop, duke Gebehard, and Berenger, to Lothar); *Ann Bert.*, 836, Lupus of Ferrières, *Correspondance*, I, no. 5, Astronomer liv and lv (all 836: two legations to Lothar, the first including Mareward, abbot of Prüm, the second consisting of abbot Hugh, the emperor's half-brother and count Adalgarius); Astronomer, lv (837, abbots Fulk and Adrevald, count Richard: to Lothar).
52. Thegan, xlv (833, from Louis the German to Lothar: abbot Gozbold, Morhard the count palatine); xlvii (834, from Louis the German to his captive father: abbot Grimald, duke Gebehard); Thegan, add. Vienna ms., p. 603 (836) and *Ann. Bert.*, 836 (Lothar to Louis the Pious: abbot Wala, Richard, Eberhard).
53. *CC*, 19 (760). Autgarius is the 'Ogier the Dane' of the *chansons de gestes*. Under the Carolingians a duke (*dux*) was a count who for one reason or another had been invested, sometimes temporarily, with a higher rank and given wider territorial powers.
54. *CC*, 69 (781); H. Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien*, I (2nd edn, Leipzig, 1912), 383.
55. *MGH Epist.*, v, p. 87. Exactly when Helmgard first held office in the Palace is not known: see S. Abel and B. Simson, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches unter Karl dem Grossen*, II (Leipzig, 1882), 552–3. On Hunfrid see G. Tellen-

- bach, 'Der grossfränkische Adel und die Regierung Italiens in der Blütezeit des Karolingerreiches', *Studien und Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte des grossfränkischen und frühdeutschen Adels* (ed. G. Tellenbach, Freiburg-im-Br., 1957), 55.
56. *ARF*, 826.
57. *ARF*, 828. The *Annales Nantenses* refer under this same year to an embassy consisting of *Ruodger episcopus cum sociis suis*. I have been unable to identify Ruodger. It is possible that the reference is to another legation, unrecorded in the Royal Annals.
58. See in addition to the cases cited as examples in nn. 53–7, the summary indications given nn. 46 and 49–52, and p. 169.
59. *CC*, 50 (774): Gausfridus, a native (perhaps a merchant?) of Pisa brings the pope news of victories over the Saxons. *ARF*, 809: Godfred of Denmark makes peace overtures to Charlemagne through some merchants (*per negotiatores quosdam*), who were doubtless his own subjects.
60. *CC*, 48: a letter of complaint addressed by the pope in 771 to Bertha the queen mother and her son Charles, in which Stephen III alleges that Dodo, *missus* of Carloman II, has been implicated in an attack upon himself. *MGH Epist.*, v, p. 91 (808): the pope requests Charlemagne *Jesse missaticum per patrias deportare, non nobis videtur, quod idoneus sit neque ad secretum concilium provocandus*.
61. *CC*, 51 (775): the culprits were the papal ambassador Anastasius and the Pisan referred to n. 59, sent back to Charlemagne with Anastasius.
62. See my articles cited n. 1: 'Merowingisches Gesandtschaftswesen', 173–4; 'De internationale betrekkingen', 10–11.
63. Wilcharius: *CC*, 7, 11, 14, 12 (755, 757, 758, 761–2); George: *ibid.*, 11, 16, 18 (757, 758, 759).
64. In *CC* 30 and 51 (761–6 and 775) Wilcharius acts as a Frankish ambassador to the pope. Paul I's consent to George's appointment to Gaul is made explicit in *CC* 21 and 37 (761?, 764–6); in 767 Pope Constantine II makes a vain effort to secure his recall, *CC*, 99. Both prelates attended the council held in Rome in 769 as members of the Frankish episcopate, *Liber Pontificalis, Vita Stephani III*, xvi (Duchesne I, p. 473). See L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopales de l'ancienne Gaule*, II (2nd edn, Paris, 1910), 418–19 and III (1915), 128–9; D. Bullough, 'The dating of *Codex Carolinus* 95–7, Wilchar and the beginnings of the archbishopric of Sens', *Deutsches Archiv f. Erforschung d. Mittelalters*, 1962.
65. *CC*, 53, 55, 60, 61, 68 (775, 778, 781). Andrew was bishop of Praeneste (Palestrina).
66. *ARF*, 815, 817; the *Pactum Hludowici pii cum Paschali pontifice*, *MGH Cap.*, I, no. 172 (817); *ARF*, 821, 823, 824, 826, 828.
67. *ARF*, 803 (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 361); *ARF*, 811, and Charlemagne's letter of the same year, *MGH Epist.*, IV, pp. 546–7 (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 371); *ARF*, 812 (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 385) and Charlemagne's letter of 813, *MGH Epist.*, IV, p. 556.
68. *CC*, 26 and 37 (763, 764–6, Vulfardus), 30 (761–6, Wilcharius), 46 and 47 (770–7, Hitherius), 51 (775, Wilcharius and Dodo, Possessor and Dodo), 52, 56, 57 (775, Possessor and Rabigaudus), 67 (781, Possessor), 77 and 82 (786, 788, Maginarius); *Liber Pontificalis, Vita Leonis III*, xx (Duchesne

- ii, p. 66) and MGH *Epist.*, v, p. 87 (799, 808, Helmgau); *ibid.*, and *ARF*, 823 (808, 823, Hunfrid).
69. Although we do know that some of the Frankish ambassadors to Byzantium took part in other missions. Jesse of Amiens and Helmgau, Frankish ambassadors to Byzantium in 802, are both found engaged on missions to the pope: Jesse in 799, and apparently again in 808 or shortly before (Leo III's strictures on him quoted above, n. 60 would otherwise be difficult to explain), Helmgau in 799 and 808 (see nn. 55 and 68).
70. MGH *Epist.*, iv, pp. 32 and 35 (nos 7 and 9).
71. *Gesta Gervoldi*, ii. See W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), 111–12.
72. Thegan, liii (834); *Ann. Bert.*, 836, Astronomer, liv, Lupus of Ferrières, *Correspondance*, I, no. 5 (836).
73. *ARF*, 801.
74. Zacharias: *ARF*, 800; see below n. 117. His name suggests that like his papal namesake (741–52) he was a Greek. Machelmus: *ARF*, 824. There is no evidence that Machelmus held any particular office, nor is it even certain that he was a Bavarian (*Machelmum quendam de Baiouaria*); he could have belonged to one of the many Slav populations settled east and south-east of Bavaria at this period. Special reasons of the kind just mentioned may have influenced the choice of some of the foreign envoys who appeared at the Frankish court. The abbot of the monastery on the Mount of Olives, envoy from the patriarch of Jerusalem in 807 (*ARF*), may have been chosen for his linguistic qualifications (*cui patria Germania est*). One of the three envoys from the caliph of Bagdad in 831 was an eastern Christian (Astronomer, xlvi).
75. Leo IV and Gisla: *CC*, 45 (letter from Pope Stephen III in 770, which recalls the affair as having taken place some years previously); for the embassies of 766 and 767 see below, nn. 92 and 121. Gisla became abbess of Chelles. Constantine VI and Rotrud: for Irene's legation to Charles, received in Rome 781, and the betrothal, see Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M. 6274, I, p. 455 (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 339). For Charles's embassies to Constantinople 786–7 (led by Vuitboldus and John, see above, n. 50), see *Gesta Gervoldi*, i. The Byzantine legation received by Charlemagne at Capua which is mentioned *ARF* 786 (both texts) almost certainly arrived in 787 (Dölger justifiably assigns it to that year *Reg.*, no. 345). Responsibility for the breakdown in negotiations is attributed by Theophanes (*Chronographia*, A.M. 6281, I, p. 463) to Irene, by the Royal Annalist (*ARF*, 788) to Charlemagne. Rotrud had a liaison with Rorgo, count of Maine, by whom she had a son named Louis who became abbot of St. Denis and arch-chancellor of Charles the Bald.
76. *Gesta Gervoldi*, ii. As a result of the breach English trade with Francia was temporarily suspended, and no doubt vice versa. Bertha and her lover Angilbert, lay abbot of St. Riquier, were the parents of Nithard, who became lay abbot of the same house and author of the *Historiae*.
77. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M., 6304 (I, p. 494): ἀπέστειλε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κάρουλον, βασιλέα τῶν Φράγγων, περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ συναλλαγῆς εἰς Θεοφύλακτον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, which Anastasius the Bibliothecarius trans-

- lates as follows: *pro pace atque contractu nuptiarum in Theophylactum filium suum* (printed in De Boor's edition of Theophanes, II, p. 332). His rendering of συναλλαγῆ has been contested: cf. Abel and Simson, *op. cit.*, II, 481, n. 2. If Anastasius is right, the projected bride was no doubt one of Charlemagne's granddaughters. For a full account of the political bearing of marriages at this period see Paradisi, *op. cit.*, 177–81.
78. In addition to the texts cited notes 19, 51 and 72 see: on relations between Louis the Pious and Lothar, Thegan, lvii (835) and Nithard, I, vi; on relations between Louis the Pious and Louis the German, king of Bavaria, *Ann. Bert.*, 839.
79. *CC*, 4 (753), 5, 7 (755), 8 (756), 11 (757), 14, 16, 17 (758), 18 (759), 19, 20 (760), 21 (761?), 22 (761–2), 24 (758–63), 29 (764), 34 (761–6), 44 (769–70); *ARF*, 773 (Peter, the pope's envoy, disembarks at Marseilles); *CC*, 52 (775).
80. Spoleto: *CC*, 56 and 57 (775). As we know, Hadrian failed in his design, with the result that overlordship of the duchy passed to Charlemagne, in his capacity as king of the Lombards. Benevento: *CC*, 46 and 61 (770–1 and 778), 80 and 83 (787–8, 788).
81. *CC*, 60 (778), 80 (787–8), 84 (788); MGH *Epist.*, V, p. 87–8 (808).
82. *CC*, 80 and 83 (787–8).
83. *CC*, 49 (774), 53, 54, 55 (775), 85 (788–9), 94 (790–1). Nevertheless, when Charlemagne wanted to remove marbles and mosaics from Ravenna, it was the pope he asked for permission, *CC*, 81 (787?).
84. *CC*, 68, 69 (781), 71 (781–2), 72 (782).
85. *CC*, 98, 99 (767, Constantine II); *Liber Pontificalis. Vita Stephani III*, xvi (Duchesne, I, p. 173) (768, Stephen III); *ARF* 796 (Leo III), 817 (Paschal I), 824 (Eugenius II), 827 (Gregory IV).
86. News of victories over the Saxons, *CC*, 50 (774); news of Charlemagne's impending arrival in Rome, *CC*, 51, 52, 53 (774), 60 (778—this visit did not materialise); projected campaign against the Saracens in Spain, *CC*, 61 (778); news of a further visit to Rome (Charles's visit of 781) (despatch of an embassy with this news implied by the Astronomer, iv); news of the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, *CC*, 76 (786); embassy again bringing news of Charles's intention to visit Rome (the visit of 787, implied by *ARF*, 786); announcement to the pope of the rules drawn up for the Carolingian succession, *ARF*, 806; announcement of an impending visit by Louis the Pious to Rome (which did not take place), *Ann. Bert.*, 837, Thegan, add. Vienna ms., p. 604, Astronomer, lv–lvi.
87. *CC*, 29 (764), 92 (784–91). Letter no. 92 is from Hadrian I to Charlemagne, who has sent his own *missi* with those of Offa of Mercia to deny allegations that he has made remarks hostile to the pope.
88. *CC*, 24 (758–63): at Charlemagne's request, the title-church of St Chrysogonus at Rome is conferred on the priest Marinus; *CC*, 77 (786): penance to be imposed on Saxons who revert to paganism; *CC*, 88 (784–91): visions experienced by a monk named John, etc.; *CC*, 89 (784–91): despatch of a 'Gregorian sacramentary'; *CC*, 94 (790–1): ecclesiastical disorder in the Lombard kingdom, simony in various parts of Italy, etc.; *ARF*, 794, Council of Frankfurt; capitulary published at the conclusion of the council,

- same year c. viii (MGH *Cap.*, I, no. 28); MGH *Epist.*, IV, p. 69: Angilbert will inform the pope of the council's decisions; MGH *Epist.*, V, pp. 59–60: letter from Leo III to Charlemagne, 798, in which Arn is granted the *pallium* and metropolitan authority over the province of Salzburg.
89. The following are cited as examples. *CC*, 20, 30 and 32 (760?, 761–6): request from pope Paul I for a *missus* or *missi* empowered to negotiate with himself and the king of the Lombards, and to make active intervention in restoring rights lost to the Roman Church. *CC*, 54, 55, 56, 57 (775): Pope Hadrian I would welcome *missi* as negotiators, but his chief hope is that they will impose solutions favourable to the Roman Church, especially as regards Spoleto and Benevento. *ARF*, 796, revised text: Pope Leo III asks for a Frankish *missus* to visit Rome to assure himself through oaths of the people's fidelity; Charlemagne sends Angilbert. *ARF*, 799, revised text: *legati* escort Leo III back to Rome. *ARF*, 815 and 823: *missi* sent by Louis the Pious to Rome (in 815 one of them was Bernard king of Italy) to investigate executions reported as unlawful, in which popes Leo III and Paschal I were allegedly implicated. *ARF*, 824: Lothar despatched to Rome to negotiate with Pope Eugenius and decide on measures to be taken. *ARF*, 827: *legatus* sent by Louis the Pious to Rome following the election of Gregory IV, with powers to investigate and take necessary action.
90. MGH *Cap.*, I, no. 136, viii. *De legatis . . . si ab exteris nationibus vel propter pacem faciendam vel bellum suscipiendum vel civitates aut castella tradenda vel propter alias quaslibet maiores causas directi fuerint. . .* In such cases, ambassadors should address themselves to the emperor. But . . . *de levioribus sane causis iuxta qualitatem legationis per se responderint*, in other words, *leviores causae* would be within the competence of the sub-kings. As I need hardly add, the *Ordinatio* was never implemented.
91. Matters arising in the negotiations with Byzantium of 801–15 are reserved for later discussion, see pp. 178–80.
92. *Lib. pont. Vita Stephani II*, cliii (Duchesne, I, p. 452), 756 (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 318); Fredegar, Second cont., xl (W-H, p. 109) and *ARF*, 757, both texts (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 320); *CC*, 36 and 37, 764–6 (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 325).
93. *ARF*, 777, 799, 809, 810; see above, n. 42.
94. *Ann. Bert.*, 838 (*missi* sent by king Horich to Louis the Pious).
95. *ARF*, 791. Operations were only begun against the Avars when efforts *iustitias per missos impetrare* had failed.
96. We hear frequently of Danish *missi* received by Charlemagne, and later by Louis the Pious: *ARF*, 809, *Ann. Bert.*, 837, 838, 839.
97. We hear frequently of Byzantine missions received by Charlemagne, and later by Louis the Pious. *ARF*, 786: Byzantine embassy received in Italy, discussion of general matters and the projected marriage; Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 345, dates the embassy early 787. *ARF*, 798: embassy *de pace*; the result was probably a partition, Benevento and Istria going to the Franks, Dalmatia to Byzantium (the view taken by Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 353). *ARF*, 817: two embassies from emperor Leo V, to negotiate the Dalmatian boundary; this is the mission whose general objective—*pacem confirmandam*—is mentioned under 816 by the *Annales Xantenses*, here out by one year (Dölger, *Reg.*, nos 397, 398).

98. *ARF* 818: negotiations with the Bulgars to compose a dispute over the Timotschani, a Slav tribe formerly subject to the Bulgars but now under a Frankish protectorate; *ibid.*, 824, 825, 826: embassies from the Bulgar khan Omurtag to Louis the Pious.
99. *ARF*, 809, 811, 813, 828.
100. See above, p. 171 and n. 90.
101. *Ann. Mett. pr.*, 750 (events of 751); *ARF*, 760 (revised text).
102. *Ann. Mett. pr.*, 754 (events of 755): this was a mitigated ultimatum, promising Aistulf 12,000 *solidi* if he would withdraw from territories he had usurped.
103. *ARF*, 769.
104. *ARF*, 781; *Ann. Mett. pr.*, 787 and Einhard, *VK*, xi.
105. Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honorem Hludovici*, iii, v. 1324 ff., 1352 ff., 1464 ff., and 1578–83 (all 818), pp. 104, 106, 112, 114, 120–2.
106. *ARF*, 815 and 820. The treaty which was terminated in 820 was probably a more or less local truce; there is in fact no mention of its conclusion in the *Annales*. In 816 envoys from the emir had tried without success to reach a settlement with Louis the Pious, and the same happened in 817; see *ARF*, 816 and 817, and below, n. 177.
107. We naturally also hear of many attempted negotiations which were fruitless or never got under way: would-be negotiators who failed include the rebellious Slav chieftain Liudewit, in 819 (*ARF*), the Bulgar khan in 824, 825 and 826 (see above, n. 98, and for the failure of the negotiations, Astronomer, xxxix), the sons of Godfred, as *de facto* kings of Denmark in 822, 825 and 826 (*ARF*), the Danish king Horich in 838 (*Ann. Bert.*). There is no point in giving further examples.
108. Charlemagne: *ARF*, 787 (revised text, 786), Einhard, *VK*, x (same date); *ARF*, 812. Louis the Pious: *ARF*, 814, Thegan, xi, Astronomer, xxxiii (same year).
109. *ARF*, 811 (Hemming) and 813 (Harald and Reginfrid).
110. *ARF*, 812; Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, I, (2nd edn), 181–4.
111. *ARF*, 825.
112. *Ann. Bert.*, 839.
113. From Pippin III, to see that the Lombard king Aistulf honoured his undertakings of 755, *Ann. Mett. pr.*, 754. From Charlemagne in 788, to see that duke Arichis of Benevento and his people fulfilled conditions imposed on them in 787 (see above, n. 108), *ARF*, 786 (revised text, chronology out by one year) and *CC*, 82 and 83 (788).
114. Fredegar, *Second cont.*, li (W-H, pp. 119–20). Frankish ambassadors despatched in 765 disembark in 768 at Marseilles, accompanied by ambassadors from the caliph.
115. *ARF*, 801: in 797 or 798, Lantfrid and Sigimund, with a Jew named Isaac, had been sent by Charlemagne as *missi* to the caliph (see above, n. 73); Lantfrid and Sigimund having died, only Isaac made the return journey, on which he was accompanied by ambassadors from the caliph, who disembarked at Pisa in 801, leaving Isaac at an African port of call to follow later, bringing the presents sent by the caliph. *ARF*, 806: *missi* to the caliph from Charlemagne disembarked on their return at Treviso,

- having eluded the surveillance of the Byzantine fleet in the Adriatic. *ARF*, 807: death of Radbert, one of the Frankish ambassadors, and arrival of Abdella, ambassador from the caliph.
116. Thus Einhard, *VK*, xxvii, and there is no reason to doubt him. See next note and *ARF*, 800.
117. *ARF*, 799: arrival of an envoy from the patriarch; *ibid.*, 800 (in the revised text end of 799): when he returned to Jerusalem the envoy was accompanied by Zacharias, palace priest, *qui donaria eius per illa sancta loca deferret*; *ibid.*, 800: return of Zacharias accompanied by two envoys from the patriarch and another from the caliph (see n. 115). *MGH Epist.*, v, pp. 66–7 (809): return in 809 of Aganus and Roculphus, two *fideles servientes* sent by Charlemagne (presumably in 808) as his *missi* to Jerusalem; *ARF*, 826, arrival of the abbot of the Mount of Olives, presumably an envoy from the patriarch. The mission of 808–9 was partly taken up with the problem of the ‘procession’ of the Holy Spirit.
118. Einhard implies as much, *VK*, xvi. No specific conclusions can be reached on the nature of this agreement; as for its date, I would place it 806–7.
119. This is my interpretation of the passage in *Ann. Bert.*, 831, . . . *pacem petiverunt. Quam mox impetrata reversi sunt.*
120. Einhard, *VK*, xxvii; *ARF*, 801.
121. *ARF*, 767: Synod of Gentilly, at which a Byzantine embassy to Pippin III debates the ‘procession of the Holy Spirit’ and the cult of images (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 326). *ARF*, 824: Byzantine legation to Louis the Pious, with the twofold mission of confirming the treaty of friendship between the two empires and settling the question of image worship, first with the emperor and then with the pope (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 408; see p. 174 and nn. 132 and 134).
122. See above, p. 169 and n. 71.
123. *Ann. Bert.*, 839; see above, n. 37. If, as Waitz maintains, the *rex Anglorum* mentioned in the text is indeed Aethelwulf (who in 839 became king of Wessex), the project must have been abandoned or postponed.
124. *ARF*, 815: reports submitted by *missi* on the measures taken by Bernard and the duke of Spoleto to restore order in the neighbourhood of Rome. *Ann. Bert.*, 836 and 837 and Astronomer, lv, same year: envoys sent to Lothar, in 836 to see to the defence of church property in Italy, in 837 to announce the emperor’s coming visit to Rome, occasioned by the same need to defend the rights and properties of the Roman Church.
125. *ARF*, 805 (Avars), 823 (Abodrites, Wilzes), 826 (Abodrites, Sorbs).
126. Godfred had been Charlemagne’s enemy.
127. *ARF*, 814, 817 (and Thegan, xiv), 822, 823, 825, 826 (and Thegan, xxxiii), 828.
128. *ARF*, 808 and *MGH Epist.*, v, p. 90.
129. Embassy of Alchred, king of Northumbria, to Charlemagne, *Briefe . . . Bonifatius und Lullus*, no. 121 (the date of which must be 773). Avar embassy to Charlemagne, 797 (*ARF*). Embassies from various Slav tribes to Louis the Pious, *ARF*, 816, 822, 823, 831. On the importance of ‘friendship’, see Paradisi, *op. cit.*, 173–7. On fictitious kinship, a form of ‘friendship’ favoured at Byzantium, see the article by F. Dölger, ‘Die “Familie der

- Könige” im Mittelalter’, in the collection of papers by this eminent scholar published under the title *Byzanz und die Europäische Staatenwelt* (Eital, 1953).
130. For example, when we learn that Louis the Pious, then king of Aquitaine, received *mitti* or *missi* ‘*pacem petentes et dona ferentes*’, in 790 from Abutaur, Saracen governor of Huesca, and in 798 from Bahlul ibn Marzuk, the Saracen rebel momentarily in control of Saragossa, we can suspect that they came charged to negotiate terms for a submission which respected their master’s autonomy: Astronomer, v and viii, and above, n. 42. The *legati* from duke Sico of Benevento who came to Louis the Pious *dona ferentes* in addition had to make their master’s excuses for the murder of his predecessor, *ARF*, 818.
131. Louis received the embassy at Toulouse in or about 795, Astronomer, viii. We hear of two embassies to Charlemagne, bringing him gifts from the booty: *ARF*, 798, and see above, n. 38.
132. The embassy from Michael II mentioned *ARF*, 824 (the ambassadors also explained the circumstances of their emperor’s accession and discussed the cult of images; they then went on to Rome): see letter printed Mansi, xiv, cols. 417–22 (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 408, and see above, n. 121). Second embassy from the same emperor, *ARF*, 827 (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 413). Frankish embassy to same emperor, *ARF*, 828; see above, p. 168 and n. 57. Embassy from emperor Theophilus, received by Lothar while holding his father prisoner, *Ann. Bert.*, 833 and Astronomer, xlix (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 429). Second embassy from same emperor, *Ann. Bert.*, 839 (Theophilus also asked that some ‘Rhos’, in other words Swedes, who had been visiting him, be allowed to return by way of Francia to their own country, Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 438).
133. See, p. 180.
134. This emerges clearly from three of the texts cited n. 132: *ARF*, 824, *pacis confirmandae causa se missos esse dicentes*; *ibid.*, 827, *quasi propter foedus confirmandum*; *Ann. Bert.*, 839, *Quorum legatio super confirmatione pacti et pacis atque perpetuae inter utrumque imperatorem eique subditos amicitiae et caritatis agebat*. The point is accepted by W. Ohnsorge in his ‘Das Kaiserbündnis von 842–4 gegen die Sarrazenen’, *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 1 (1955), 104, and in his book (*Abendland und Byzanz*, Darmstadt, 1958), 150, with a reservation noted below, n. 169.
135. ‘Merowingisches Gesandtschaftswesen’, 176–7; ‘Internationale betrekkingen’, 14–15.
136. F. L. Ganshof, ‘La tractoria. Contribution à l’étude des origines du droit de gîte’, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis. Revue d’histoire du droit*, viii, (1927).
137. *MGH Formulae*, p. 121 (no. 20 of the ‘Formulae Marculfinae aevi Karolini’): *Epistola tractoria quam rex missis suis facere iubet, quando eos in legationem premitit*, reproducing *Tractoria ligatariorum vel minima facienda istius instar*, which is no. 11 in Book One of Marculf’s formulae (*MGH Formulae*, p. 49). The document is issued on behalf of a bishop and a count on their despatch by the king *partibus illis legationis causa*.
138. The *tractoriae* carried by Frankish and foreign ambassadors are mentioned in two capitularies of Louis the Pious, one of which also refers to the case of a Frankish *missus* escorting a foreign legation: *MGH Cap.*, 1, no. 139

- (818–19), c. xvi, imposes penalties on anyone who . . . *litteras nostras dispexerit, id est tractoriam quae propter missos recipiendos dirigitur*, one punishment being to bear the whole cost of entertaining *legationes illuc venientes*; from MGH *Cap.*, no. 150 (825), c. xviii (at end) we learn: . . . *quando cumque et undecumque legatio advenerit et aut litteras aut missum nostrum viderint* . . . persons throughout the empire will be called on to provide whatever they need. The first text has in mind all Frankish *missi* (internal and external) and ambassadors from foreign powers; the second applies to Frankish and foreign embassies. Frankish *missi* were normally armed with a *tractoria* (as an example of one drawn up for royal vassals engaged on a mission, see no. 7 of the 'Formulae Imperiales', MGH *Formulae*, p. 292).
139. This can be deduced from articles in capitularies issued by Charlemagne and Louis the Pious: *Capitulare de Villis* (770–800), c. xxvii; the 'programmatic' capitulary of 802, c. xxviii; *Capitula omnibus cognita facienda* (802–813), c. ii; *Constitutio de Hispanis prima* (815), c. i; the two texts cited n. 138. MGH *Cap.*, I, nos 32, 33 57, 132, 139, 150.
140. See the texts cited n. 139. For the provisions regarding contributions from the estates forming the count's endowment (*ministerium*), and the exemption of royal estates, see *Capitulare de Villis*, c. xxvii (MGH *Cap.*, I, no. 32).
141. For evidence of difficulties experienced over these exactions, cf. *Capitula legibus addenda*, c. xvi, part of which has already been quoted n. 138, and the beginning of c. xviii of *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines* (see n. 138), where it is stated that certain *legationes ad nos directas in suis mansionibus aut male recipiunt aut constitutam a nobis expensam non tribuunt aut paravereda dare nolunt* . . .
142. MGH *Formulae*, pp. 319–20, i.e. Formulae Imperiales, no. 43. The *forestarii* (administrators and keepers of hunting reserves) of the Vosges are excused amongst other things from . . . *conductum ad legationes sive paravereda danda*.
143. When Pope Hadrian I hears that *missi* from Charlemagne are to visit Rome, he sends them *omnem praeparationem seu et caballos*, *CC*, 56 (775).
144. The letter was perhaps drafted by Alcuin. It dealt chiefly with Angilbert's task of exhorting the Sovereign Pontiff to virtuous conduct; MGH *Epist.*, iv, pp. 135–6.
145. I have noted it as appearing in explicit form in letters from popes Stephen II and Paul I to Pippin III, in a letter from Pope Stephen III to Charlemagne and Carloman II and in a letter from Charlemagne to Pope Leo III: *CC*, 7 (*cui in omnibus credere iubetis*), 8 and 11 (755, 756, 757), 33 and 43 (*quisquid vobis ex nostra informatione enarraverint, eis in omnibus credere iubetis*, 761–6 and 767), 45 (770–1); MGH *Epist.*, iv, pp. 136–7 (796). As we shall see (p. 177 and nn. 173 and 174), there are letters which though they lack an explicit credence clause refer to the bearer's message in terms explicitly inviting the recipient to trust it.
146. This is particularly striking in the case of Charlemagne's Saxon wars. The *Annales Regni Francorum* rarely report anything beyond a promise of political and religious submission and the surrender of hostages; they may imply (as under 785) or report (as under 798) that negotiations took place, but no details are given. A mighty effort of erudition was required to wring from chapter xi of Einhard's *Vita Karoli* the information that the year 803 probably saw the conclusion of a general peace with elements representative

- of the Saxon people. On this whole topic see M. Lintzel, 'Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alten Sachsen: X', 3, *Sachsen und Anhalt*, 8 (1934), and 'Der Sachsenfrieden Karls des Grossen', *Neues Archiv*, XLVIII, 1929.
147. See for example statements regarding the Bretons, *ARF*, 786, 799, 818, 824, and 837. Were it not for the evidence of Ermoldus Nigellus (see above, n. 105), we should not know that there were negotiations in 818, that is, before the attack was launched. We are also very ill-informed about how some of the Slav tribes came to submit: *ARF*, 789, 812, 816, 819. There is the same uncertainty about just when and where the Navarrais in 806 and the Gascons who revolted beyond the Garonne and in the Pyrenean region in 816 made their submissions: *ARF*, 806 and 816.
148. For example: in 768 Pippin III heard that ambassadors from the caliph of Bagdad had arrived at Marsailles while he was busy with preparations for a campaign in Aquitaine; he arranged for them to be suitably accommodated at Metz and received them when the campaign was over, Fredegar, *Second cont.*, li (W-H, pp. 118–19). When Charlemagne was in Saxony in 810 he heard during July or August that a Byzantine ambassador had arrived, but it was October before he could return to Aachen to receive him, *ARF*, 810.
149. *ARF*, 824 and 825. In 824 envoys of the eastern Abodrites came to complain about the Bulgars and were invited by the emperor to return at the time he received the Bulgar envoys.
150. *Capitulare de Villis* (770–800) and *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines* (825), c. xviii (MGH *Cap.*, I, nos 27 and 150): *honorifice*.
151. Unless, of course, the monarch wished to signify his coldness or hostility towards their masters.
152. *CC*, 11 (757), *hilariori vultu*, 43 (787), *benignae* (in both cases the envoys were from the pope); *ARF*, 797 *magnifice* (envoy from the patricius of Sicily, bringing a letter from the Byzantine emperor), 800, *benigne* (Greek monks sent by the patriarch of Jerusalem), 827, *benigne* (ambassadors from the Byzantine emperor); *Ann. Bert.*, 839, *hilariter* (ambassadors from the king of Denmark). Hincmar, in what is no doubt a free rendering of a text by Adalhard of Corbie, dating from the reign of Charlemagne or Louis the Pious, states that the arrangements should be such that *qualiscumque legatio sive speculandi sive subdendi gratia veniret, qualiter omnes quidem honeste suscipi potuissent*, which Prou interprets, in my view correctly, as meaning 'in such a way that any embassy, whether coming to pay its respects to the king or to make submission, may find itself honourably received.' Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, xxv (ed. M. Prou, Paris, 1885, p. 64–5, and V. Krause, MGH *Cap.*, II, p. 526).
153. For the *magister ostiariorum*, see G. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, III (2nd edn, Berlin, 1882), 505–6.
154. Einhard, *VK*, xxiii.
155. Letter from Charlemagne to the Byzantine emperor Michael I (813), MGH *Epist.*, iv, p. 556, *benigne*; *ARF*, 828, *honorifice* (Michael II's reception of ambassadors from Louis the Pious).
156. *CC*, 24 (758–763): envoys from Pope Paul I bring liturgical books, Greek works by Aristotle and Dionysius the Areopagite, and a clock. Fredegar,

- Second cont., li (W-H, p. 119): embassy from the caliph of Bagdad. *ARF*, 779: Hildebrand, duke of Spoleto, in person; *ibid.*, 787: envoy from the duke of Benevento. Astronomer, v (790): envoys from Abutaur, governor of Huesca, received at the court of Louis the Pious, then king of Aquitaine; *ibid.*, viii (794): ambassadors from king Alphonso II of Asturias to the same. *ARF*, 793: ambassadors from Pope Hadrian I; *ibid.*, 797: Avar envoys. Astronomer, viii (798): envoys from Bahlul ibn Marzuk, rebel chieftain of Saragossa, to the court of Louis the Pious, king of Aquitaine. *ARF*, 799: envoys from Hassan, vali of Barcelona; *ibid.*, 818: from duke Sico of Benevento; *ibid.*, 821: from Pope Paschal I; *ibid.*, 822: from various Slav and Avar tribes; *ibid.*, 824: from the Byzantine emperor Michael II. Thegan, xxxii (825): from king Omurtag of the Bulgars. Astronomer, xlvi (831): from al-Mamoûn, caliph of Bagdad, bringing perfumes and precious stuffs. *Ann. Bert.*, 833, and Astronomer, xlix: from the Byzantine emperor Theophilus. *Ann. Bert.*, 839: from the same; also envoys from the Danish king Horich, bringing *munera gentilitia*, which I presume means precious objects native to their country.
157. *ARF*, 796, 799, 800.
158. The embassy is mentioned in Fredegar, Second cont., xl (W-H, p. 109), and *ARF*, 757; only the Royal Annalist tells us that the embassy brought *cum aliis donis, organum, qui in Francia usque pervenit* (original text).
159. *ARF*, 797 and 798 (in the revised text the first embassy is mentioned under 797).
160. *ARF*, 801 and 802. The caliph's ambassador landed at Pisa in the spring of 801 and presented himself to Charlemagne forthwith; the elephant, called Abul Abaz, like the founder of the dynasty, had been left in the care of the Jew Isaac at a North African port and was later collected by a flotilla sent by Charlemagne. Abul Abaz made his entry into Aachen, together with the other presents sent by the caliph, in July 802.
161. *ARF*, 807: *suae grandia munera patriae*, 'costly presents of objects native to his country', to be precise, a large tent, tapestries, silks, perfumes, balms and unguents, a clock of very advanced workmanship and two candelabra.
162. Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, xxiii, presumably basing himself on information in Adalhard's lost treatise, remarks: *De donis vero diversarum legationum ad camerarium aspiciebat*, unless the king had given instructions for the queen and the chamberlain to take charge of them.
163. In 787, for example, Charlemagne's *missus* makes Pope Hadrian I the gift of two horses, and in 808 two of his *missi* bring presents for Pope Leo III: *CC*, 81 and *MGH Epist.*, v, p. 87.
164. As examples, relating to diplomatic dealings with the papacy, see *CC*, 24 (758-763), 37 (764-6), 43 (767), 47 (770-1), 81 (787) and *MGH Epist.*, v, p. 87 (808).
165. Examples: *ARF*, 797 (letter from the Byzantine emperor Constantine VI, brought by an envoy of the 'patricius' of Sicily); Einhard, *VK*, xvi (letters from the king of Asturias; no doubt Einhard is thinking particularly of the correspondence of 797-8, see above p. 176 and n. 159); letter from Pope Leo III (808, cited at the end of n. 164); *ARF*, 824 (letter from the Byzantine

- emperor Michael II, see below n. 169); *Ann. Bert.*, 833 (and Astronomer, xlix), and 839 (letters from emperor Theophilus).
166. For example: an *induculus* sent by Offa to Charlemagne suggesting an approach to the pope to dissipate false rumours about himself, in consequence of which Charles sends his own *missi* with Offa's to Rome, *CC*, 92 (784-91); a *commemoratorium*, or memorandum, on the role of the king of the Franks and Lombards and patricius of the Romans in the election of the archbishop of Ravenna, conveyed to Pope Hadrian I by Frankish ambassadors in 788-9, *CC*, 85; a *capitulare adversus Synodum*, in other words a critical treatise, divided into chapters, attacking and condemning the Council of Nicaea (787), which had re-established the cult of images (for *capitulare* used in this sense see *Liber Pont.*, *Vita Iohannis VI*, ii (Duchesne, I, p. 383) and below, n. 184). This treatise, which was either the document known as the *Libri Carolini* or the text which formed its basis, was delivered to Pope Hadrian I by Angilbert on Charlemagne's behalf in either 791 or 794 (on this controversial question I reserve my position): letter from Hadrian to Charlemagne, *MGH Epist.*, v, pp. 6-7.
167. The letter from Hadrian I cited n. 166 is not included in the *Codex Carolinus*, nor is the letter from Pope Leo III referred to nn. 164 and 165.
168. For a characteristic example see the letter from Pope Leo III referred to nn. 164 and 165.
169. Mansi, xiv, cols. 417-422. The summary accounts in the annals are also couched in very general terms. W. Ohnsorge, *op. cit.*, 104-6 and 150-3, maintains that the *Annales Bertiniani*, in their bald report of the Byzantine embassy of 839 (see above, n. 134), imply that a request was made for military help against the Arabs. This strikes me as farfetched. The original papyrus fragment of a letter from a ninth-century Byzantine emperor preserved in the Archives Nationales at Paris probably falls outside our period; it is most likely part of a letter written by Theophilus to Lothar I in either 842 (Dölger, *Byzantinische Diplomatie* (Ettal, 1956), 'Der Pariser Papyrus von Saint-Denis als ältester Kreuzzugs dokument') or 843 (Ohnsorge, *op. cit.*).
170. Letter to Offa: *MGH Epist.*, iv, pp. 144-6 (communications and tolls, the despatch of stone from Francia and of cloaks from England). Letter to Michael I, *MGH Epist.*, iv, pp. 555-6 (see above, p. 179). For examples of letters in more general terms, see the letter to Leo III which sets out the respective tasks of pope and king and the pope's obligations, *MGH Epist.*, iv, n. 93, pp. 136-8 (796)—very general in tone—and the letter to the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus, *MGH Epist.*, iv, pp. 546-8 (811: see above, p. 179).
171. *ARF*, 822 (*legationes* from eastern Slavs and Avars: *audivit*); *ibid.*, 824 (Byzantine embassy: *... pro Fortunato nihil locuti sunt ... Inter caetera tamen ... quaedam de imaginum veneratione protulerunt*); *ibid.*, 825 (*Bulgarorum legationem audivit*); Astronomer, xlix (Byzantine embassy, addressed to Louis the Pious, but received by Lothar: *Quam ... audivit*).
172. *CC*, 37 (764-6), 43 (767), 47 (770-1); *MGH Epist.*, v, p. 7 (almost certainly 791, but see above, n. 166): Hadrian tells Charlemagne that Angilbert has explained the king's views to him *et quasi vestrae corporalis excellentia nobis*

- enarrante; MGH *Epist.*, IV., 136–7 (796); *ibid.*, v, 59–60 (798: Leo III tells Charlemagne that his *missus* Fardulf, abbot of St Denis, *familiariter viva voce innotuit nobis quod . . .*); *ibid.*, v, pp. 87–8 (808); Thegan, liv (834: legates from Louis the Pious to Lothar . . . *protulerunt quod eis imperatum fuerat*).
173. *CC*, 7 (756), 8 (756), 11 (757), 16 (758), 43 (767), 98 (767), 45 (770–1), 49 (774), 55 (775: . . . *nostris missis cuncta in ore subtilius posuimus eosque diligenter informavimus quae de singulis causis vestrae . . . excellentiae nostra vice enarrare debeant*); 60 (778: . . . *quibus et in ore posuimus ut vestrae a Deo protectae excellentiae minutius enarrare debeant*); 68 (781: . . . *qui vice nostra vobis enucleatus sicut eis in ore posuimus, poscentes suggerant*). Letter from emperors Michael II and Theophilus to Louis the Pious, 824, Mansi, xiv, col. 419: *Et non tantum per has sillabas, sed et per ipsos viros adnuntiamus vestrae gloriae omnia quae proposita sunt . . .*
174. In the phrase *nostra vice*: *CC*, 11, 55, 68, see n. 173. For the terms used MGH *Epist.*, v, p. 7, see n. 172.
175. In 813 Charlemagne hopes the Byzantine emperor will not keep his ambassadors waiting too long for the copy of the peace and friendship treaty they have come to collect: letter to Michael I, MGH *Epist.*, iv, p. 556, *absque non necessaria dilatione absolvere iubeas, ut de illorum reditu . . . gaudeamus*.
176. *CC*, 37 (presumably 765–6): Pippin III delays for some time his answer to embassies from Byzantium and Pope Paul I. *ARF*, 800: eastern monks from the patriarch of Jerusalem who reached Rome on 23 December 800 given leave to depart by Charlemagne in April 801. *ARF*, 817: a Byzantine envoy sent to Louis the Pious to negotiate on Dalmatian frontier questions has to wait for the Frankish commander of the march to arrive, and then sets off with a Frankish mission to examine the situation on the spot. The arrival of another Byzantine envoy to deal with the matter later in the same year suggests that even after several months it was still unresolved.
177. *ARF*, *Legati Abdirahman cum tribus mensibus detenti essent et iam de reditu desperare coepissent, remissi sunt* (see above, n. 106).
178. *CC*, 17 (758) and 37 (764–6): Frankish *missi* detained at Rome for local reasons. *ARF*, 807: Charlemagne detains envoys from the caliph of Bagdad and the patriarch of Jerusalem in Italy, *tempus navigationis expectare*.
179. Astronomer, viii (794: Louis the Pious, king of Aquitaine, *pacifice remisit* envoys from the king of Asturias, *remisit* envoys from the rebel chief of Saragossa); *ARF*, 797 (*post paucos dies absolvit* an envoy from the patricius of Sicily, bearer of a letter from the emperor); *ibid.*, 817 (envoys from the Byzantine emperor *celeriter absolutos dimisit*); *ibid.*, 821 (envoys from the pope, *celeriter absolutis*); *ibid.*, 827 (*absolvit* envoys from the Byzantine emperor); *ibid.*, 828 (*dimisisset* papal envoys); *ibid.*, 829 (*absolvit* envoys from the pope and the duke of Benevento); *ibid.*, 831 (envoys from the caliph of Bagdad, *pace petita et accepta, remissi sunt*); Astronomer, xlix (833, Lothar, holding his father prisoner, *remisit* Byzantine envoys).
180. For Byzantium see above, n. 175.
181. In the case of Frankish ambassadors we have precise information only for missions to the pope: *CC*, 4 (753), 6 (755), 8 (756), 11 (757), 20 (760?), 22 (761–2), 24 (758–63), 37 (764–6), 47 (770–1), 60 (778), 71 (781–2). The

- only foreign missions to the Carolingians about which we have precise information are those from Byzantium: *ARF* 824 (. . . *legatione eorum audita ac responso reddito absolveret . . .*); *Ann. Bert.*, 839 (*idque Theophilo per memoratos legatos suos atque epistolam intimare non distulit*).
182. Letters from Carolingian monarchs entrusted to foreign envoys: *CC*, 22 (761–2), 34 (761–6), 53 (775), papal envoys; *ARF*, 825, envoys from the Bulgar khan; *Ann. Bert.*, 839, Byzantine envoys, see n. 181. Letters from popes entrusted to Frankish envoys at the conclusion of a mission: *CC*, 4 (753), 6 (755), 20 (760?), 44 (769–70), 65 (779–80), 71 (781–2); MGH *Epist.*, v, pp. 59–60 (798). This is perhaps the appropriate place to cite a different but somewhat analogous case. Two *missi* from Charlemagne to the patriarch of Jerusalem returned early in 809 via Rome, where they delivered to the pope letters from the patriarch and the monks of the Mount of Olives on the subject of the 'procession of the Holy Spirit'. Leo III sends these letters, with one of his own (MGH *Epist.*, v, pp. 66–7), through the Frankish *missi* to Charlemagne.
183. *CC*, 65 (see n. 182). Hadrian entrusts this letter to the deacon Addo, returning to Charlemagne on completion of a mission as Frankish envoy to the pope. The pope mentions his fear of attack from the Greeks and Neapolitans and continues, using a formula similar to one he employs for his own *missi* (see n. 173), *omnia minutius in ore posuimus fidelissimi vestri missi, quod vobis enucleatus simulque per ordinem enarrare debeat*.
184. For treaties and draft treaties see below, pp. 179–80. In a letter dated 769–70 (*CC*, 44), which Stephen III sends back with Frankish *missi* returning to Charles and Carloman, the pope mentions that he has also given them a *capitulare* (see n. 166), setting out his grievances against the Lombards.
185. This is a matter of conjecture. Explicit mention of such presents is infrequent but where it occurs suggests that the practice was customary. Fredegar, Second cont., li (W-H, p. 119): 768, ambassadors from the caliph of Bagdad; *ARF*, 779: duke of Spoleto in person; *ibid.*, 825: Wihomarcus and other Breton *primores*; Astronomer, xli: 827, Byzantine ambassadors. Foreign heads of state doubtless observed the same custom. Einhard, *VK*, xvi, refers to gifts made by Hâroûn-ar-Rachid to Frankish ambassadors on their departure in 807 (see above, n. 161); it seems more likely (see *ARF*, 807) that these presents were conveyed to Charlemagne by the caliph's own ambassadors, who accompanied the Franks when they left for home at the end of their mission (see n. 115).
186. In the event, the embassy sent by khan Omurtag to settle the dispute over the boundary between the Frankish and Bulgar spheres of influence (see above, n. 98) was dismissed by Louis the Pious *sine litteris*, *ARF*, 826. As a result relations were broken off (in the letter delivered by his legate the khan foresaw that this would be the consequence if no agreement were reached) and hostilities broke out the following year.
187. *CC*, 34 (761–6), 36 (764–6), 37 (764–6), 53 (775), *ARF*, 823 (papal envoys in each case); *ARF*, 824 (envoys from the Bulgar khan; a Byzantine embassy, having completed its mission in Francia, is escorted to Rome, where it had further business to transact); *Ann. Bert.*, 839 (Byzantine

- embassy: in his speech of dismissal, the emperor declared that if the 'Rhos' who accompanied the ambassadors—see above, n. 132—proved untrustworthy he would send them back to Constantinople escorted by his own *missi*. In this and the preceding note I omit references to Franco-Byzantine relations 801–15, dealt with, pp. 178–80.
188. *CC*, 8 (756), 11 and 12 (757), 16 (758), 94 (790–1); *ARF*, 815, 823 (all examples of Frankish embassies escorted by papal *legati*); *ARF*, 802 and 806–7 (both instances of a returning Frankish embassy accompanied by one from the caliph of Bagdad).
189. Ohnsorge appears to think it was, *op. cit.*, 106 (= 153), at least where Franco-Byzantine relations were concerned.
190. Thus in 768, when Pippin III arranges for the caliph of Bagdad's *missi* to be conducted to Marseilles (Fredegar, Second cont., li (W-H, p. 119), and in 814, when Louis the Pious sends his *missi* ahead of the departing Byzantine embassy to ensure provision for them until they leave territories under his control (Thegan, ix).
191. In the negotiations with Byzantium in 817 and with the Bulgars in 826: *ARF* under the years in question, and see nn. 176 and 186.
192. Conducted by Charles the Younger in 799, *ARF*, same year.
193. A negotiation was planned to take place on the frontier between Charlemagne and Godfred in 804, but Godfred failed to appear; *ARF*, same year.
194. *ARF* under the years in question.
195. In 808 Leo III mentions that the emperor has informed him by letter of count Helmgaut's report on his mission to Rome (for which see above, p. 167 and n. 55), *MGH Epist.*, v, p. 91.
196. *CC*, Appendix II, dated 788, *MGH Epist.*, III, pp. 655–7 (dilapidated papyrus original). Maginarius, abbot of St Denis, having taken part with other ambassadors from Charlemagne in a mission to the duchy of Benevento, reports on it to the king. In general he confirms the account given by Hadrian in his letter to Charlemagne, *CC*, 82.
197. The threat to Sicily is mentioned by Theophanes, *Chronographia* A.M. 6293 (I, p. 475). According to him the initiative in the negotiations was taken by Charlemagne (*ibid.*): *κάρουλος . . . πρέσβεις εἰς τοῦτο πέμψας* (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 357); it is alleged that the Frankish ambassadors brought Irene a proposal of marriage.
198. *ARF*, 802, where the initiative is attributed to Irene (Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 357). For Helmgaut and Jesse see above, nn. 55 and 69.
199. *ARF*, 803, which refers to the *pactum faciendae pacis in scripto* and the *epistola imperatoris*. The *Ann. Mett. pr.* record under 803 that *missi quoque nostri, impetrata a Grecis pacis concordia, legationis suae ordinem exponentes, venerunt*. Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 361.
200. *ARF*, 810, 811. Letter from Charlemagne to Nicephorus, *MGH Epist.*, IV, pp. 546–8. The letter tells us nothing about the specific heads of agreement, but records that the message brought by Arsafius corresponded in large measure to the projected treaty of 803. The Royal Annals assert that Charlemagne renounced Venice, and it may be presumed that Nicephorus recognised Charlemagne's imperial title. Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 371.
201. *ARF*, 812.

202. *Ibid.*, and *Ann. Nant.*, 812. See the interesting commentary in Paradisi, *op. cit.*, 145–8. If the word *συγαλλογῆ* in the account of this legation given by Theophanes A.M. 6304 (see above, n. 77) does not refer to a marriage treaty it presumably refers to the agreement itself, and implies that Michael I associated his son Theophylact in the treaty. Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 385.
203. *ARF*, 812. The very plausible suggestion that the second copy of the treaty was subscribed by the pope was first made by Waitz and is repeated by Abel and Simson, *op. cit.*, II, 483. Relations between the patriarch of Constantinople and the Holy See, ruptured by Nicephorus at the time he broke off relations with Charlemagne, were also resumed: Theophanes, *loc. cit.*, (see n. 202 above) and Mansi, XIV, col. 29 f.
204. The expression is Einhard's, *FK*, xvi.
205. *ARF*, 813. Letter to Michael I: *MGH Epist.*, IV, pp. 555–6.
206. *ARF*, 814; *Ann. Nant.*, 814; Thegan, ix; Dölger, *Reg.*, no. 391. According to the *Annales Laurissenses Minores*, (see above, n. 12), the embassy was also instructed to ask for help against the Bulgar and other peoples.
207. *ARF*, 814 and 815; Astronomer, xxiii (according to this author Ricoin was count of Poitiers).
208. In the preceding account of diplomatic relations between the Carolingians and the Byzantine emperors I have concentrated exclusively on the technical aspect, the political and military events being introduced merely as a framework; hence their summary treatment.
209. *CC*, 29 (764–6).
210. *CC*, 54 (775).
211. See above, p. 168 and n. 61.
212. In a letter to Pippin III the Byzantine emperor complains of deficiencies in this respect both in Francia and at Rome; his complaints were perhaps better grounded than Pope Paul I (in *CC*, 36, 764–6) will allow.
213. We hear of occasions when the Lombard kings prevented papal legates from passing through their territory to reach Francia: *CC*, 36 (764–6), *ARF*, 773. In 837, when Adrevald, abbot of Flavigny, was engaged on a mission from Louis the Pious to the pope, he had to send his courier back to Francia disguised as a merchant, because the Alpine passes were controlled by Lothar, master of the kingdom of Italy: Astronomer, IV.
214. *Tempus navigationis*: *ARF*, 807 (see above, n. 178). *Oportunum navigandi tempus*: letter from Charlemagne to Michael I, 813, *MGH Epist.*, IV, p. 556.
215. In 812 the ship bringing Heito of Basel back from Constantinople (see above p. 179 and nn. 200 and 201) was shipwrecked, if we are to believe the account given by Walafrid Strabo in his *Visio Wettini*, II, 71–7 (*MGH Poetae*, II, p. 307).
216. See above nn. 40, 114 and 115.
217. *ARF*, 801 (Lantfrid and Sigimund) and 807 (Radbert).
218. *ARF*, 806. The Frankish legates returning from Bagdad, and presumably the caliph's legates as well, had difficulty in reaching Italy by way of the Adriatic, where Byzantine ships were on the prowl (both Charlemagne and the caliph were on hostile terms with Byzantium at the time); see n. 115. *ARF*, 809: while returning from the joint Frankish and papal mission to restore Eardwulf of Northumbria to his throne (see above, p. 173 and n.

- 128), the pope's envoy, a deacon named Aldulfus, was captured by pirates and taken back to England; his freedom had to be bought.
219. *ARF*, 798 (revised text): Godescalc, Charlemagne's legate to the Danish king Sigefrid, is murdered while crossing the territory of the Nordalbingian Saxons.
220. Thegan, lii (834): Lothar has received an embassy from his father, Louis the Pious, with whom he is on hostile terms; Lothar subjects *fideles patris sui, praeter legatos tantum* to brutal treatment. The fact that in the *Admonitio* of 825 (see n. 222 below) Louis the Pious castigates acts against the person and property of legates as dishonourable bears out my view.
221. *CC*, 82 and 83 (788) and see above, n. 196. *MGH Epist.*, v, p. 68. *ARF*, 828.
222. *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines*, xviii (*MGH Cap.*, I, no. 150).
223. *Ann. Bert.*, 836.
224. The author treated the same subject in the Bretey Memorial Lecture given at Manchester on 9 March 1961 and in a paper read in Paris on 17 February 1962 to the Société d'histoire du droit; a lecture on a related theme was given in Dutch at Brussels on 27 March 1962 at the Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. The remarks made in the discussions following these various oral communications have proved most useful in the writing of this article.

XI. The Church and the royal power in the Frankish monarchy under Pippin III and Charlemagne*

As its title implies, this study examines the Church as an institution within the framework of the *Regnum Francorum*, and indeed, as will emerge, as one of the institutions of the *Regnum Francorum*. Aspects of Church life and structure which were peculiar to one particular part of the *Regnum* are ignored.¹ Also omitted are certain aspects, for example the liturgy, which form the subject of other contributions to this symposium, which are referred to as occasion arises.

Within the chronological limits of this survey, the reign of Pippin III as king (751–68) marks a point of departure. After the great crisis of the late seventh and early eighth century, which all but reduced the Frankish Church to impotence in fulfilling its spiritual mission, after the Church's rescue by the Bonifacian reform, and the backwash of its final phase,² new times were beginning. It was at this juncture that the Frankish Church acquired the principal characteristics it would retain throughout the Carolingian era, characteristics which the policy of Charlemagne would confirm, and as it were, develop.³

A fundamental point needs to be established at the outset, namely that every Frankish king of the Carolingian dynasty was conscious of having a task to perform for the Church: as king, it was his duty 'continually to better the state of *his* churches'.⁴

Accomplishment of such a task implies that the king had authority over the Church. It was an authority Charlemagne laid public claim to, and, on more than one occasion: within his realm, God had entrusted the Church to his keeping, that he might watch over its destinies in the midst of so many besetting dangers.⁵ The theory was borne out by the reality: as has been said of Charlemagne, 'he stands before us as the sole master of his Church'.⁶