

RAVENNA. CAPITAL OF EMPIRE, CRUCIBLE OF EUROPE.  
BY JUDITH HERRIN

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U.S. \$29.95. ISBN 978-0-691-15343-8.

“Droctulft je bio langobardski ratnik koji je za opsade Ravenne napustio vlastite redove i umro braneći grad što ga je prethodno napao. Ravenjani su ga sahranili u jednom hramu i uklesali mu epitaf kojim su izrazili svoju zahvalnost (*contempsit caros, dum nos amat ille, parentes*) i istakli osebujuć nesklad između grozne vanjštine tog barbarina i njegove prostodušnosti i dobrote: *Terribilis visu facies, sed mente benignus / longaue robusto pectore barba fuit* – ‘Lika bje naoko ružna, al’ duha puna dobrote / brada mu duga je sva snažnu prekrivala grud’. (...) Dolazio je iz neprohodnih prašuma u kojima su prebivali vepar i pragovedo; bio je bjeloput, junačan, prostodušan, okrutan, odan svome vođi i svome plemenu, a ne svijetu. Ratovi su ga nanijeli u Ravennu gdje vidi nešto što nikada dotad vidio nije, ili nije vidio potpuno. Vidi dan, čemprese i mramor. Vidi cjelinu koja je raznovrsna, a nije kaotična; vidi grad kao skup kipova, hramova, vrtova, odaja, stuba, amfora, kapitela, pravocrtnih i otvorenih prostora. Ni jedno od tih djela ljudskih ruku (znam) ne opčinja ga ljepotom; djeluje na njega

“Droctulft was a Lombard warrior who, during the siege of Ravenna, left his companions and died defending the city he had previously attacked. The Ravennese gave him burial in a temple and composed an epitaph in which they manifested their gratitude (*contempsit caros, dum nos amat ille, parentes*) and observed the peculiar contrast evident between the barbarian’s fierce countenance and his simplicity and goodness: *Terribilis visu facies, sed mente benignus / longaue robusto pectore barba fuit!* (...) He came from the inextricable forests of the boar and the bison; he was light-skinned, spirited, innocent, cruel, loyal to his captain and his tribe, but not to the universe. The wars bring him to Ravenna and there he sees something he has never seen before, or has not seen fully. He sees the day and the cypresses and the marble. He sees a whole whose multiplicity is not that of disorder; he sees a city, an organism composed of statues, temples, gardens, rooms, amphitheaters, vases, columns, regular and open spaces. None of these fabrications (I know) impresses him as beautiful; he is touched by them as we now would be by a complex mechanism whose purpose we could not fathom but in whose design an immortal

isto onako kao što bi na nas djelovao neki složeni mehanizam kojemu ne znamo svrhe, ali mu u obliku naslućujemo besmrtni um. Možda mu dostaje da vidi samo jedan lûk, s nerazumljivim natpisom od vječnih latinskih pismena. Odjednom ga zabljesne i preplavi to otkrivenje, Grad. Svjestan je da će u njemu biti običan pas, ili dižete, i da ga nikad neće ni izbliza dokučiti, ali nije manje svjestan da taj grad više vrijedi od njegovih božanstava i vjere kojoj je prisegao i svih močvara alemanskih. Droctulft napušta zemljake i bori se za Ravennu. Umire, i na grobu mu urezuju riječi koje on ne bi razumio: *Contempsit caros, dum nos amat ille, parentes / Hanc patriam reputans esse, Ravenna, suam* – 'Svoje odbacivši drage svu ljubav iskaza nama / mrijuć, Ravenno, da ti za njega pravi si dom.'<sup>1</sup>

Crtica o Droktulfu, langobardskome ratniku na bizantskoj strani iz kasnog VI. stoljeća, glavnom liku Borgesove „Pripovijesti o ratniku i o zarobljenici” („*Historia del guerrero y de la cautiva*”), iz njegove zbirke *Aleph* (1949.), prikladan je uvod u knjigu o Ravenni ugledne britanske bizantologinje Judith Herrin. Droktulfov svojevoljni prelazak na suparničku stranu i aproprijacija kulture „onih drugih” jest (meta) fikcijski spomenik rimsko-bizantskoj civilizaciji utjelovljenoj u tom gradu. Uloga i privlačna snaga te civilizacije središnje su teme ove knjige.

<sup>1</sup> Borges 1999: 49–50, 51. Borgesova pripovijest unekoliko stilizira, pa i preinačuje faktografiju o Droktulfu. Pripisuje mu se langobardsko porijeklo, dočim je uistinu bio Aleman ili Sjev odgojen među Langobardima. Iz narativa Pavla Đakona proizlazi da je pobjegao od Langobarda te stupio u službu Carstva da bi se svojim langobardskim uznicima osvetio zbog dugogodišnjeg zarobljeništva. Za račun Bizantinaca ratovao je i na Balkanu, u Trakiji protiv Avara, možebitno i u sjevernoj Africi. Nasuprot dojmu koji se stječe iz Borgesova teksta, Droktulf nije poginuo braneći Ravennu od Langobarda, već je preminuo prirodnom smrću 606. ili 613. godine, daleko od Ravenne, ali je po vlastitoj želji sahranjen u njoj, u crkvi sv. Vitala. Izvornik njegova epitafa nije sačuvan, no na mjestu ga je zatekao još Pavao Đakon oko 790. godine, prepisujući uklesani tekst u *Povijesti Langobarda* (v. hrvatski prijevod u Diaconus 2010, 81, 83 [knj. III.19]). Uz Pavla Đakona, Droktulfa spominju bizantski povjesnik Teofilakt Simokata te korespondencija pape Grgura Velikog. Vidjeti Gasparri 1992; Cosentino 1996: 382–383.

intelligence might be divined. Perhaps it is enough for him to see a single arch, with an incomprehensible inscription in eternal Roman letters. Suddenly he is blinded and renewed by this revelation, the City. He knows that in it he will be a dog, or a child, and that he will not even begin to understand it, but he also knows that it is worth more than his gods and his sworn faith and all the marshes of Germany. Droctulft abandons his own and fights for Ravenna. He dies and on his grave they inscribe these words which he would not have understood: *Contempsit caros, dum nos amat ille, parentes / Hanc patriam reputans esse, Ravenna, suam*.<sup>1</sup>

The story of Droctulft, a late 6<sup>th</sup> century Lombard warrior fighting on the side of the Byzantines, and the main character of Borges's "*Story of the Warrior and the Captive*" ("*Historia del guerrero y de la cautiva*") from his short story collection *El Aleph* (1949), is an appropriate preface to the book on Ravenna by the distinguished British Byzantinist Judith Herrin. Droctulft's willful cross-over to the opposing side and his appropriation of the culture of "the others" is a (meta)fictional monument to the Roman-Byzantine civilization embodied in that city. The appealing power and the role of that civilization are central themes of this book.

As a student of history and art history in the early 2000s, focused on the study of the late antique and early medieval civilization, during my study trips

<sup>1</sup> Borges 1964: 129, 130. Borges's tale somewhat stylizes and even alters the facts about Droctulft. He is attributed Lombard origins, while in truth he was an Aleman or a Suebian raised among the Lombards. It follows from the narrative of Paul the Deacon that he had escaped the Lombards and entered the service of the Empire in order to exact revenge on his Lombard jailers for his long-lasting captivity. He also fought in the Balkans, in Thrace against the Avars, and possibly in North Africa on behalf of the Byzantines. Contrary to the impression created by Borges's text, Droctulft did not die while defending Ravenna from the Lombards; he died a natural death in 606 or 613, far from Ravenna, but he was buried there in the church of San Vitale at his own request. His original epitaph has not been preserved, but was still *in situ* and seen by Paul the Deacon around 790, who recorded the engraved text in *The History of the Lombards* (see Croatian translation in Diaconus 2010, 81, 83 [book III, 19]). In addition to Paul the Deacon, Droctulft is mentioned by the Byzantine historian Theophylact Simocatta and in the correspondence of Pope Gregory the Great. See Gasparri 1992; Cosentino 1996: 382–383.

Kao student povijesti i povijesti umjetnosti početkom 2000-ih, usmjeren na proučavanje kasnoantičke i ranosrednjovjekovne civilizacije, pokušavao sam u više navrata tijekom studijskih putovanja u Ravennu pribaviti pregled povijesti toga grada. Dakako, što je moguće recentniji i pisan s modernih metodoloških polazišta. Dobro se sjećam vlastite zatečenosti kada se pokazalo da – izuzev povijesnoumjetničkih pregleda u užem smislu riječi – takvih monografija nije bilo na raspolaganju. Osim davnašnjih i uvelike zastarjelih sinteza Charlesa Diehla (1888.) i Ludwiga M. Hartmanna (1889.), na svjetskim jezicima se tada nudila jedino višesveščana *Storia di Ravenna* čiji je drugi svezak (*Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, 1991./1992.) uredio Antonio Carile, s priložima utjecajnog slovenskog i jugoslavenskog bizantologa Jadrana Ferluge. No ni ta knjiga s historiografske točke gledišta nije mogla zadovoljiti, iz najmanje dva razloga: jer ju je pisalo mnoštvo autora različitih specijalizacija, različitih profila i s različitim stupnjem „preklapanja” u konačnom tekstu (što je mjestimice urodilo samo mehaničkim nizanjem poglavlja, bez stvarnog organskog nadovezivanja na prethodnu i susljednu materiju). S druge strane, Carileova urednička knjiga već je tada bila barem jedno desetljeće u raskoraku sa suvremenim teorijskim promišljanjima o povijesnom gibanju.

Uz Deichmannov eruditski starinarski komentar kasnoantičke Ravenne, Guillouovu knjigu o regionalizmu i autonomiji u Egzarhatu i Pentapolu te svojedobno vrlo utjecajnu knjigu Otta von Simsona *Sveta tvrđava*, od relativno recentnih djela zadugo je načitanijim i najtemeljitijim pregledom ostala izvrsna monografija Thomasa S. Browna o bizantskoj upravi u Italiji (1984.).<sup>2</sup> Posljednjih, međutim, godina historiografska produkcija o Ravenni znatno je obogaćena, počevši od engleskog prijevoda Agnellove *Liber pontificalis* (2004.), čija je priređivačica potom objavila i vlastitu monografiju o Ravenni u kasnoj antici.<sup>3</sup> U najnovije je vrijeme održano nekoliko važnih znanstvenih skupova o raznovrsnim aspektima prijelaza kasne

to Ravenna I have tried, several times, to acquire a synthesis covering the history of that city. As recent as possible and written from modern methodological viewpoints, of course. I remember very well my own surprise when it turned out that – except for art-historical overviews in the narrow sense of the word – such monographs were not available. Apart from the ancient and largely obsolete syntheses of Charles Diehl (1888) and Ludwig M. Hartmann (1889), the only work available in accessible languages at the time was the multi-volume *Storia di Ravenna* whose second volume (*Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, 1991/1992) was edited by Antonio Carile, with contributions by the influential Slovenian and Yugoslavian Byzantinist Jadran Ferluga. However, even this book was not satisfactory from a historiographical point of view for at least two reasons: because it was written by many authors of different specializations, different profiles and with different degrees of “overlap” in the final text (which created a mechanical succession of chapters in places, without any real organic cohesion between them). On the other hand, Carile's edited volume was already a decade at odds with the then prevailing contemporary theoretical reflections on historical processes.

Apart from Deichmann's erudite antiquarian commentary on late antique Ravenna, Guillou's book on regionalism and autonomy in the Exarchate and Pentapolis, and Otto von Simson's once highly influential book *Sacred Fortress*, one of the relatively recent works is Thomas S. Brown's masterful monograph about the Byzantine administration in Italy (1984), which has remained, for a long time, as the most read and most thorough overview.<sup>2</sup> However, in recent years the historiographical production on Ravenna has been significantly enriched, starting with the English translation of Agnello's *Liber pontificalis* (2004), whose editor later published her own monograph about Ravenna during the late antiquity.<sup>3</sup> Most recently, several important scholarly conferences have been held concerning various aspects of the transition from the late antiquity to the early Middle Ages in the Upper Adriatic, which resulted in representative edited volumes, more or

<sup>2</sup> Deichmann 1958 – 1989; Guillou 1969; Von Simson 1948; Brown 1984.

<sup>3</sup> Agnellus 2004; Deliyannis 2010.

<sup>2</sup> Deichmann 1958 – 1989; Guillou 1969; Von Simson 1948; Brown 1984.

<sup>3</sup> Agnellus 2004; Deliyannis 2010.

antike u rano srednjovjekovlje na gornjem Jadranu, koji su rezultirali reprezentativnim zbornicima, u većoj ili manjoj mjeri zahvaćajući i povijest Ravenne,<sup>4</sup> omogućivši razvijanje novih, komparativnih pogleda. Monografska studija u kojoj bi bila ravnomjerno zastupljena ranokršćanska, bizantska i postbizantska komponenta prošlosti toga grada ostala je, međutim, nenapisana. Do pojave ovdje recenzirane knjige, jedina povijest Ravenne na engleskom jeziku – ne računajući povijesnoumjetničke i arheološke publikacije u užem smislu – jest davna knjiga Edwarda Huttona, objavljena prije više od stotinu godina.<sup>5</sup> Knjiga Judith Herrin, objavljena u srpnju 2020. godine, stoga ispunjava začudnu historiografsku prazninu. A čini to, kako će se vidjeti u nastavku, na više nego suveren način.

Herrin je knjigu podijelila u devet većih cjelina, pri čemu svaka obrađuje približno polovinu stoljeća, čime obasiže kronološki raspon od ranog V. do ranog IX. stoljeća. Te su cjeline nadalje podijeljene na poglavlja (od tri do pet) u kojima je pažnja posvećena pojedinim problemima, spomenicima ili ličnostima. I veće i manje cjeline u pravilu u svojim naslovima sadrže ime osobe koju autorica smatra ključnom ili reprezentativnom za odgovarajuće povijesne procese obrađene u tom tekstu (Gala Placidija, Teoderik Veliki,<sup>6</sup> Justinijan I. itd.), premda ima

less covering the history of Ravenna<sup>4</sup> and allowing the development of new, comparative views. However, a monographic study, evenly representing early Christian, Byzantine and post-Byzantine components of Ravenna's past, remained unwritten. Until the appearance of the book reviewed here, the only history of Ravenna in English – excluding the art history and archaeological publications in the narrow sense – was an old book by Edward Hutton, published more than a hundred years ago.<sup>5</sup> Judith Herrin's book, published in July 2020, therefore fills an astonishing historiographical gap. And it does so astutely, as will be seen below.

Herrin has divided the book into nine major sections, each covering approximately half a century and ranging chronologically from early 5<sup>th</sup> to early 9<sup>th</sup> century. These sections are further divided into chapters (three to five in number) which deal with certain issues, monuments or persons. The titles of both larger and smaller sections usually contain the name of a person whom the author considers as a key or representative figure of the relevant historical processes covered in the text (Galla Placidia, Theoderic the Great,<sup>6</sup> Justinian I, etc.), although there are exceptions, such as when priority is given to an

<sup>4</sup> La Rocca & Majocchi 2015; West-Harling 2015; Herrin & Nelson 2016; Gasparri & Gelichi 2017; Gelichi & Negrelli 2017; Gelichi & Gasparri 2018; Cosentino 2020; Skoblar 2021. Otprilike istovremeno s ovdje recenziranom, objavljena je i knjiga West-Harling 2020.

<sup>5</sup> Hutton 1913.

<sup>6</sup> Ovaj ostrogotski vladar najpoznatiji je nositelj germanskog imena \**Þeudaríks* ("vladar ljudima"), koje je u gotskoj inačici najvjerojatnije glasilo \**Þiudareíks*. Ono je latinizirano na različite načine, ovisno o nositelju na kojeg se odnosi, tekstu u kojem je potvrđeno te događajnom kontekstu u kojem se ličnost zatječe: *Theodericus*, *Theodericus*, *Theudericus*, *Theudoricus*. Povremeno je miješano s grčkim imenom Teodor, čije su značenje i porijeklo međutim posve drugačiji (<Θεόδωρος – "Božji dar"). Neovisno o drugim ličnostima koje su ga nosile u raznovrsnim varijantama, ime ostrogotskog kralja s razmeđa V. i VI. stoljeća dosljedno je latinizirano (*Theodericus*, uz rijetke iznimke) i jednako dosljedno grecizirano (Θευδέριχος) u izvorima toga vremena. To se odnosi na epigrafiju, novac, narativne i administrativne

<sup>4</sup> La Rocca & Majocchi 2015; West-Harling 2015; Herrin & Nelson 2016; Gasparri & Gelichi 2017; Gelichi & Negrelli 2017; Gelichi & Gasparri 2018; Cosentino 2020; Skoblar 2021. A book by [Veronica] West-Harling (2020) was also published around the same time as the book reviewed here.

<sup>5</sup> Hutton 1913.

<sup>6</sup> This Ostrogothic ruler is the most famous bearer of the Germanic name \**Þeudaríks* ("the ruler of the people"), which in the Gothic version most probably read \**Þiudareíks*. It is Latinised differently depending on the person to which it refers, the text in which the name is confirmed and the context of the event in which the person is found: *Theodericus*, *Theodericus*, *Theudericus*, *Theudoricus*. It is occasionally confused with the Greek name Theodore whose meaning and origin are quite different (<Θεόδωρος – "God's gift"). Regardless of other persons who bore this name in various variants, the name of the Ostrogothic king from the turn of 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century has been consistently Latinised (*Theodericus*, with rare exceptions) and equally consistently Hellenised (Θευδέριχος) in the sources of that time: with an *e*, not an *o* in the middle syllable. This applies to epigraphy, coins, narrative and administrative sources. Therefore, the correct Croatian version is *Teoderik*. The incorrect form *Teodorik* has become common in the literature. See Schönfeld 1911: 232–234, s.n. *Theudericus*; Nagl 1934: 1745–1746; Martindale 1980: 1077, s.v. *Fl. Theodericus* 7.

i iznimaka, kada je prednost dana izvanserijskoj građevini (San Vitale) ili ključnom crkvenom zbivanju (Šesti ekumenski koncil).

Uvodno poglavlje pregledno prikazuje više-desetljetne uzroke i neposredne povode koji su vodili k tome da u zimu 402./403. godine prijestolnica Zapadnog Rimskog Carstva bude premještena iz Milana u Ravennu. Grad je tako pod carem Honorijem postao *sedes Imperii*, što će ostati i za narednih vladara Teodozijeve i drugih dinastija. Prva veća cjelina knjige posvećena je eri Gale Placidije (390. – 450.) u čijoj se biografiji ogleda razvitak Ravenne kao nove carske metropole. Kao kći Teodozija I. Velikog, polusestra cara Honorija, supruga Ataulfa i Konstanca III., napokon majka zapadnorimskog cara Valentinijana III. te namjesnica carske vlasti na Zapadu, uložila je znatan dio svog političkog i simboličkog prestiža u transformaciju Ravenne u carsku prijestolnicu. U tom razdoblju Ravenna je – usprkos rapidnoj dezintegraciji Zapadnog Rimskog Carstva – funkcionirala gotovo na jednakoj ravni kao Konstantinopol u pripremnim etapama kodifikacije rimskog prava što su kompletirane tzv. Teodozijevim zakonikom (*Codex Theodosianus*); pritom je sama carica odigrala ključnu ulogu, razvidnu iz korespondencije s Teodozijem II., ali i iz serije pravnih novina upućenih izravno s dvora u Ravenni rimskom Senatu.

Premještanje prijestolnice u Ravennu dalo je u tom razdoblju poticaj ubrzanom prilagođavanju grada carskim potrebama (carska palača, novi mostovi, novi obruč zidina, kovnica novca, javni spomenici poput Zlatnog miljokaza (*Miliarium aureum*)), naravno uvjetovalo je i njegov nov crkveni status (promaknuće u metropoliju sa šest sufragana odcijepljenih od milanske crkvene pokrajine) te umnožilo sakralnu topografiju (*basilica Ursiana* kao katedrala Ravenne, baptisterij biskupa Neona uz nju i dr.). Placidijina uloga kao naručiteljice i pokroviteljice nekih od najvažnijih crkvenih građevina Ravenne ilustrirana je primjerima bazilikâ S. Croce (s tzv. mauzolejem Gale Placidije) i S.

extraordinary building (San Vitale) or a key church event (the Sixth Ecumenical Council).

The introductory chapter provides an overview of the decades-long causes and immediate reasons that led to the move of the capital of the Western Roman Empire from Milan to Ravenna during the winter of 402/403. The city thus became the *sedes Imperii* under Emperor Honorius, and it would remain as such under the subsequent rulers of Theodosius' and other dynasties. The first major section of the book is dedicated to the era of Galla Placidia (390 – 450), whose biography reflects the development of Ravenna as the new imperial metropolis. As the daughter of Theodosius I the Great, the half-sister of emperor Honorius, the consort of Ataulf and later Constantius III, and finally the mother of the Western Roman Emperor Valentinian III and the regent of the imperial power in the West, she invested a considerable part of her political and symbolic prestige in the transformation of Ravenna into an imperial capital. During this period, Ravenna – despite the rapid disintegration of the Western Roman Empire – functioned almost on the same level as Constantinople in the preparatory stages of the codification of Roman law, which were completed by the so-called Theodosian Code (*Codex Theodosianus*); in doing so, the Empress herself played a key role, evident from her correspondence with Theodosius II, but also from a series of legal innovations sent directly from the court of Ravenna to the Roman Senate.

The relocation of the capital to Ravenna during this period gave impetus to the rapid adaptation of the city for imperial needs (imperial palace, new bridges, new ramparts, coin mint, public monuments such as the Golden Milestone (*Miliarium aureum*)). The relocation also conditioned its new ecclesiastical status (the elevation to a metropolis with six suffragan bishops who were seceded from the ecclesiastical province of Milan) and multiplied the sacral topography (the *Basilica Ursiana* as the cathedral of Ravenna, the Baptistry of Neon next to it, etc.). Placidia's role as the commissioner and patroness of some of Ravenna's most important ecclesiastical buildings is illustrated on the examples of the basilicas of Santa Croce (with the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia) and San Giovanni Evangelista. The investment in the monumental landscape of such a profile was not only utilitarian, but also programmatically designed, so that the new capital could materially and symbolically match the previous imperial seats – Rome and

izvore. Stoga ispravna hrvatska inačica glasi *Teoderik*. U literaturi se uvriježio neispravni oblik *Teodorik*. Vidjeti Schönfeld 1911: 232–234, s.n. *Theudericus*; Nagl 1934: 1745–1746; Martindale 1980: 1077, s.v. *Fl. Theodericus* 7.

Giovanni Evangelista. Ulaganje u monumentalni pejzaž takvog profila bilo je ne samo utilitarno nego i programatski osmišljeno da bi novi glavni grad mogao materijalno i simbolički parirati prijašnjim carskim sjedištima – Rimu i Konstantinopolu; unatoč tome, Judith Herrin lucidno primjećuje da je – barem u najranijim fazama – ispravnije uspoređivati Ravennu s carskim boravištima nižeg ranga, poput Milana, Trier ili Arlesa, čije su geneza i dosezi u tom smislu srodniji primjeru Ravenne negoli etabliranim metropolama na Tiberu i Bosporu.

Kratka druga cjelina knjige (“Uspon biskupâ”) obuhvaća vremenski lûk od 450. do 493. godine, odnosno od nestanka Teodozijeve dinastije na Zapadu (455.), preko ugasnuća sâmog Zapadnog Rimskog Carstva (476./480.), sve do Teoderikova uspona na mjesto neospornog vladara Italije. U tom je periodu Ravenna na određeno vrijeme izgubila status carske prijestolnice, u korist Rima (od 450.). Odsutnost (učinkovite) carske vlasti u Ravenni otvorila je put, s jedne strane, “profesionalizaciji” carske administracije preostale u gradu naspram tradicionalnoj senatorskoj eliti, a s druge strane znatno ojačala poziciju biskupa, koji postupno preuzima ovlasti dotad rezervirane isključivo za civilni državni aparat. Prvaci duhovnog staleža usvojili su tako i dotad tipično vladarske manifestacije moći, poput patronata nad novoizgrađenim ili obnovljenim građevinama, ne uvijek sakralnim. Među njima je najreprezentativnija pregradnja i mozaička dekoracija tzv. Baptisterija ortodoksniha, što ju je poduzeo biskup Neon (450. – 473.). Neovisno o povremenom izbivanju vladara, Ravenna je od 402. sve do 751. godine održala kontinuitet upravne strukture, bivajući sjedištem nekoliko različitih suvereniteta na Zapadu, dakako različite legitimnosti, dosega i izvorišta izvršne moći: ponajprije zapadnorimskih careva, zatim Odoakrove državnine, pa ostrogotske monarhije Teoderika Amalca i njegovih nasljednika, prefekta pretorija Italije za Justinijana I. i neposredno susljednih careva, konačno egzarha kao vrhovnog predstavnika bizantskog cara u tada tako ustrojenim posjedima Carstva u Italiji. Kontinuitet metropolitanskog položaja pratio je i kontinuitet investiranja u monumentalni pejzaž grada, čemu je odgovaralo umnažanje

Constantinople; nevertheless, Judith Herrin lucidly notes that – at least in the earliest stages – it is more correct to compare Ravenna with lower-ranking imperial residences, such as Milan, Trier or Arles, whose geneeses and scopes are more similar to Ravenna’s rather than the established metropolises on the Tiber and Bosporus.

The short second section of the book (“The Rise of the Bishops”) covers the period from 450 to 493, i.e. from the demise of Theodosius’ dynasty in the West (455), through the extinction of the Western Roman Empire (476/480), up until Theoderic’s rise as the undisputed ruler of Italy. During this period, Ravenna temporarily lost the status of imperial capital, in favour of Rome (since 450). On the one hand the absence of (effective) imperial power in Ravenna paved the way for the “professionalization” of the imperial administration remaining in the city in opposition to the traditional senatorial elite, but on the other hand, it significantly strengthened the position of the bishop, who gradually took over the powers hitherto reserved for the civilian state apparatus. The leaders of the spiritual class adopted the typical manifestations of power of the ruling class, such as patronage over newly built or renovated buildings, which were not always religious. Among them, the most representative is the remodelling and the mosaic decoration of the so-called Orthodox Baptistery, undertaken by Bishop Neon (450 – 473).

Regardless of the occasional absence of rulers, Ravenna maintained a continuous administrative structure from 402 until 751. It was the seat of several different powers in the West, with various levels of legitimacy, reach and sources of executive power. First it was the seat of Western Roman emperors, then of Odoacer’s polity, later of the Ostrogothic monarchy of Theoderic the Amal and his successors, then of the praetorian prefecture of Italy during the rule of Justinian I and the immediately subsequent emperors, and finally the seat of the exarch as the supreme representative of the Byzantine emperor in the so organized territories of the Empire in Italy. The continuity of the metropolitan position of Ravenna was accompanied by continuous investments in the monumental landscape of the city, which corresponded to the multiplication of written material, accumulated in the ecclesiastical and secular archives of Ravenna in huge quantities, mostly on papyrus as the writing material (and preserved only in fragments). The synergy of the above has strengthened the symbolic importance of

pisane građe, akumulirane u crkvenim i svjetovnim arhivima Ravenne u golemim količinama, ponajviše na papirusu kao podlozi za pisanje (a do danas sačuvanim jedino u fragmentima). Sinergijom navedenog, osnažen je simbolički značaj grada koji će za svoje političke potrebe instrumentalizirati zapravo svi značajniji vladari u nadolazećem vremenu.

Od sedam kratkovjekih Valentinijanovih nasljednika tijekom preostalih dvadesetak godina postojanja Zapadnog Rimskog Carstva, najmanje dvojica su ustoličeni u Ravenni (Glicerije 473., Romul Augustul 475.). Za Ravennu se kao svoje sjedište odlučio i Odoakar (476. – 493.), prvi barbarski vladar Italije. Te “barbarske” vladavine stvarno su, uz minimalne institucionalne prilagodbe, sačuvale kontinuitet kasnorimske upravne strukture u Italiji, čemu je od 482. godine bila pridružena i Dalmacija (nakon nasilne smrti posljednjeg legitimnog zapadnorimskog cara Julija Nepota u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu 480.).

Uz vizigotsku Hispaniju, Burgundiju i vandal-sku sjevernu Afriku, Ravenna predstavlja jedno od rijetkih mjesta koja nam pružaju nešto više podataka o strukturi, profilu i aktivnostima arijanske crkvene općine. *Ecclesia legis Gothorum*, koja se uobičajeno vezuje za Teoderika i njegove nasljednike, u Ravenni je zapravo starija te se arijanska vjerska zajednica ondje može pratiti barem od vremena moćnoga patricija i *magister militum Occidentis* Ricimera (457. – 472.), kao i Odoakra. Paralelna arijanska hijerarhija morala je zadovoljavati svoje kultne potrebe (sakramenti krštenja i braka, bogoslužje, ukopi) odvojeno od ortodoksne vjerske zajednice, u za to posebno predviđenim i konstruiranim objektima. Pojava zasebne arijanske katedrale, arijanskog baptisterija, biskupske palače (*episcopium*) te ostalih zdanja te heterodoksne grupe u Ravenni dobro je dokumentirana, a svojedobno je poslužila kao polazište Ejnaru Dyggveu za hipoteze o kulturnim prostorima istog sadržaja u Saloni, tada sjedištu ostrogotskog komesa *Dalmatarum et Saviae*. Dostupni izvori iz Ravenne, naglašava Herrin, ukazuju na mirnu koegzistenciju arijanaca i ortodoksnih, bez ikakvih naznaka represije vladajuće arijanske elite nad potonjima (osim pri samom kraju Teoderikove vladavine).

the city, which will be instrumentalised by all major rulers for their political needs in the upcoming periods.

Of the seven short-lived successors of Valentinian during the remaining twenty years of the Western Roman Empire, at least two were enthroned in Ravenna (Glycerius in 473, Romulus Augustulus in 475). Odoacer (476 – 493), the first barbarian ruler of Italy, also chose Ravenna as his seat. These “barbaric” reigns, with minimal institutional adjustments, have in reality preserved the continuity of the late Roman administrative structure in Italy, with the addition of Dalmatia in 482 (after the violent death of the last legitimate Western Roman emperor Julius Nepos in Diocletian’s Palace in Split in 480).

Along with the Visigothic kingdom in Hispania, Burgundy and Vandal Kingdom in North Africa, Ravenna is one of the few places that provides us with more information about the structure, profile and activities of the Arian church community. The *Ecclesia legis Gothorum*, commonly associated with Theoderic and his successors, is actually older in Ravenna, and the Arian religious community there can be traced back at least to the time of the powerful patrician and *magister militum Occidentis* Ricimer (457 – 472) and Odoacer. The parallel Arian hierarchy had to satisfy its cult needs (sacraments of baptism and marriage, liturgy, burials) separately from the orthodox religious community in specially designed and constructed buildings. The appearance of a separate Arian cathedral, Arian baptistery, episcopal palace (*episcopium*) and other buildings of this heterodox group in Ravenna is well documented, and it once served as a starting point for Ejnar Dyggve’s hypotheses about cult spaces of the same type in Salona, which was the seat of the Ostrogothic *comes Dalmatarum et Saviae* during that period. Herrin emphasizes that the available sources from Ravenna point to the peaceful coexistence of the Arians and the Orthodox, without any indication of repression of the latter by the ruling Arian elite (except at the very end of Theoderic’s reign).

Theoderic the Great’s extraordinary personality is the focus of the central part of the book, which is also the most extensive part. Herrin deals with the aspects of the influence of this Germanic ruler in separate subchapters, namely “Theoderic’s Kingdom”, “Theoderic’s Diplomacy”, “Theoderic the Lawgiver”. The hybrid Gothic-Roman character of his regime is outlined very carefully, emphasizing (sometimes

Nesvakidašnja ličnost Teoderika Velikog u žarištu je središnjeg dijela knjige, ujedno jednog od najopsežnijih. “Teoderikovo kraljevstvo”, “Teoderikova diplomacija”, “Teoderik zakonodavac” primjeri su aspekata utjecaja tog germanskog vladara kojim se Herrin bavi u posebnim potpoglavljima. Hibridni gotsko-rimski karakter njegova režima ocrtan je u njima vrlo pažljivo, naglašavajući (ponekad i između redaka) njegovu komplementarnost s osobnim Teoderikovim karakterom: govornik triju jezika, formativnih adolescentskih godina provedenih na carigradskom dvoru, izvrstan poznavatelj rimskih običaja, kulture, prava, ceremonija i vojnopolitičke doktrine, istovremeno gentilni (vojsko)vođa u najboljim germanskim plemenskim tradicijama, bujne biografije provedene na vrlo širokim geografskim prostorima, Teoderik je specifičan tip postrimskog, ali nipošto nerimskog vladara. Glorifikacija Teoderikove vladavine kao “visokoromaniziranog” suverena odražavana je simbolički na njegovu novcu i natpisima (paradoksalno, germanski kralj Italije na njima je proslavljan kao *victor gentium*), dočim je u tri dimenzije našla izraz u kraljevu mauzoleju i palatinskoj crkvi – San Apollinare Nuovo (izvorno arijanska bazilika Krista Spasitelja). Teoderikova vladavina predstavlja drugu etapu intenzivne monumentalizacije Ravenne, poslije reprezentativnih munificijenciâ Gale Placidije.

Ocrtavanje društvene slike toga doba na stranicama Herrinine knjige čita se kao kontinuitet elitâ uz umjerene institucionalne inovacije i kadrovske rekonpozicije. Jedna od upadljivijih inovacija bila je militarizacija gotskog stanovništva (cca. 14 % ukupne populacije) i demilitarizacija autohtonog italskog življa, što je od prvih načinilo klasu profesionalnih vojnika, dok je potomje usmjerilo k održavanju birokratskog aparata države. Uvid u svakodnevicu Ravenne tijekom zapravo svijuu u ovoj knjizi obrađenih stoljeća – a Herrin svako poglavlje opskrbiljuje crticom o toj svakodnevici – dugujemo bogatoj, iako fragmentarnoj pisanoj ostavštini toga grada u obliku papirusne građe, dostupnoj zahvaljujući Tjäderovoj zbirci.<sup>7</sup> Hrvatska je, međutim,

between the lines) its complementarity with Theoderic’s personal character: he spoke three languages, he spent his formative adolescence at the court in Constantinople, he was an excellent connoisseur of Roman customs, culture, law, ceremonies and military-political doctrines, and at the same time he was a gentile (military) leader in the best Germanic tribal traditions. With a colorful biography spent across huge geographical extent, Theoderic is a specific type of a post-Roman, but by no means, a non-Roman ruler. The glorification of Theoderic’s rule as a “highly Romanized” sovereign was symbolically reflected on his coins and inscriptions (paradoxically, the German king of Italy was celebrated on them as *victor gentium*), and is expressed three-dimensionally in the king’s mausoleum and the palatine church – San Apollinare Nuovo (originally, the Arian Basilica of Christ the Saviour). Theoderic’s reign represents the second stage of the intensive monumentalisation of Ravenna, after the representative munificence of Galla Placidia.

The pages of Herrin’s book outline the social image of that period as a continuity of the elites with moderate institutional innovations and re-compositions of officials. One of the most striking innovations was the militarization of the Gothic population (approx. 14% of the total population) and the demilitarization of the indigenous Italic folk, making the former a class of professional soldiers, while the latter were steered towards maintaining the bureaucratic apparatus of the state. An insight into the everyday life in Ravenna during virtually all of the centuries covered in this book – and Herrin provides a dash of everyday life in each chapter – comes from the city’s rich, albeit fragmentary, written records in the form of papyri, accessible thanks to Tjäder’s collection.<sup>7</sup> However, Croatian historiography is familiar with Ravenna papyri primarily through the old Marini’s collection,<sup>8</sup> which also contains very early texts relating to the eastern Adriatic area, e.g. a will from 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century which mentions the settlements in the hinterland of Dalmatia (*Tilurium, Osinium*).<sup>9</sup>

The central figures of the fourth part of the book, dedicated to Justinian’s reconquest in the West, are

<sup>7</sup> Tjäder 1954 – 1982.

<sup>8</sup> Marini 1805.

<sup>9</sup> Cfr. Nikolajević 1971; Nikolajević 1973; Gunjača 1973; Milošević 2017: 88.

<sup>7</sup> Tjäder 1954 – 1982.



historiografija s ravenskim papirusima upoznata prvenstveno posredstvom davne Marinijeve zbirke,<sup>8</sup> koja sadrži i vrlo rane tekstove koji se odnose na istočnojadransko područje, npr. jednu oporuku iz VI. ili VII. stoljeća koja spominje naselja u zaleđu Dalmacije (*Tilurium, Osinium*).<sup>9</sup>

Središnje “ličnosti” četvrtoga dijela knjige, posvećenoga Justinijanovoj rekonkvisti na Zapadu, bizantski su vojskovođa Belizar, crkva San Vitale u Ravenni, dugogodišnji predstavnik carske vlasti na Zapadu eunuh Narzes te nadbiskupi Maksimijan i Agnello. Gusti faktografski opis iscrpljujućeg dvadesetogodišnjeg rata tu je kontrastiran s pomnom rekonstrukcijom životne svakodnevice unutar Ravenne za posljednjih dana ostrogotske uprave, koju plastično predočuju izvorni dokumenti na papirusu. Od 540. godine grad je iznova prešao u (istočno)rimске ruke, postavši sjedištem carske uprave u Italiji na puna dva stoljeća. Najreprezentativniji projekt obnovljene carske vlasti nedvojbeno je crkva San Vitale, koju je započeo graditi još biskup Eklezije potkraj Teoderikove vladavine, ali je definitivni oblik dobila pod biskupom Viktorom (537. – 544.) uz izdašnu investiciju imućnog građanina Julijana Argentarija. Posvetio ju je tek nadbiskup Maksimijan 547. godine. Herrin se priklanja mišljenju da su glasoviti mozaički paneli u apsidi s prikazom cara Justinijana i carice Teodore te nadbiskupa Maksimijana nastali u dvije faze: veći dio za biskupovanja Viktora kao proslava povratka grada pod carsku vlast (540. – 544.) da bi zatim lik tog crkvenog poglavara bio zamijenjen novim kada je na tu dužnost stupio Istranin Maksimijan (546. – 557.), kojeg je izravno car nominirao te promaknuo u nadbiskupski rang. Ishodište te navlastite ikonografije (svjetovne osobe ovdje su prvi put prisutne u najsvetijem dijelu crkve – prezbiteriju – a likovi carskog para nisu zabilježeni na tom mjestu nigdje drugdje u Carstvu) Herrin traži u svojevrsnom dijalogu novih vlastodržaca s prethodnim primjerima slične prakse kakve zasvjedočuju crkve San Giovanni Evangelista i San Apollinare Nuovo. U

the Byzantine military leader Belisarius, the Church of San Vitale in Ravenna, the long-time representative of the imperial power in the West eunuch Narses, and the Archbishops Maximianus and Agnello. The dense factual description of the exhausting twenty-year war is contrasted here with a careful reconstruction of the everyday life in Ravenna in the last days of the Ostrogothic administration, tangibly represented by original papyri record. From 540, the city again passed into (eastern) Roman hands, becoming the seat of the imperial administration in Italy for two full centuries. The most representative project of the restored imperial power is undoubtedly the Church of San Vitale, which was inaugurated by Bishop Ecclesius at the end of Theoderic's reign, but was given a definite form under Bishop Victor (537 – 544) with the generous investment of the wealthy citizen Julius Argentarius. It was consecrated by the Archbishop Maximianus as late as 547. Herrin opts that the famous mosaic panels in the apse depicting Emperor Justinian, Empress Theodora and the Archbishop Maximianus were created in two phases: the major part was created during bishop Victor as a celebration of the return of the imperial power in the city (540 – 544), but the image of the church leader was replaced by a new one when the Istrian Maximianus (546 – 557) took office, who was nominated directly by the emperor and promoted to the rank of an archbishop. The origin of this peculiar iconography (secular people are present in the holiest part of the church for the first time – the presbytery – and the figures of the imperial couple are not recorded anywhere else in the Empire in such place) Herrin seeks in a dialogue of sorts on behalf of the new rulers with previous examples of similar practices which are present in the churches San Giovanni Evangelista and San Apollinare Nuovo. In the first example, Galla Placidia had displayed her imperial predecessors from different branches of the dynasty on the triumphal arch; in the second, Theoderic the Great was depicted in a mosaic at both ends of the church nave – the apse and on the depiction of the palace. The third example, in the church of San Vitale, would be a proclamation and a symbolic confirmation of the new power, this time Eastern Roman but with traditional pretensions towards universalism.

The military and financially strained forces of the Empire could not be sustained without a significant tax contribution from the newly acquired provinces. These measures, however, filled the state coffers,

<sup>8</sup> Marini 1805.

<sup>9</sup> Usp. Nikolajević 1971; Nikolajević 1973; Gunjača 1973; Milošević 2017: 88.

prvoj je Gala Placidija dala na trijumfalnom luku prikazati vlastite carske prethodnike iz različitih grana dinastije; u drugoj se Teoderik Veliki dao prikazati u mozaiku na oba kraja crkvene lađe – apsidi te na prikazu palače. Ovaj treći primjer, u crkvi sv. Vitala, bio bi proklamacija i simbolička potvrda nove vlasti, ovog puta istočnorimske, ali s tradicionalnim pretenzijama na univerzalizam.

Vojno i financijski prenapregnute snage Carstva nisu se mogle održavati bez znatnog poreznog doprinosa novostečenih provincija. Tim se mjerama, doduše, punila državna blagajna, ali su u Italiji i drugim zapadnim krajevima one rezultirale ekscenim ponašanjem poreznikâ te nezadovoljstvom stanovništva. Otporu novim mjerama središnja je uprava nastojala doskočiti odredbama tzv. Pragmatičke sankcije, proglašene za Italiju 554., a za ostatak Carstva 569. godine. Tim je zakonodavnim aktom veleposjedničkoj aristokraciji prvi put (naglašeno prekidajući s rimskim tradicijama) rezervirana uloga u lokalnoj upravi jer joj je omogućeno da zajedno s biskupima bira nositelje izvršne vlasti u općinskim i pokrajinskim tijelima. No umjesto da tom povlasticom snažnije veže mjesne civilne i crkvene elite za državnu vlast, taj je pokušaj imao sasvim suprotan učinak: zapravo je osnažio koheziju mjesnih elita nasuprot interesima carske politike. Ta je sprega samo ojačana postupnim umnožavanjem civilnih nadležnosti biskupâ, koje je k tome država obilno obdarivala posjedima, poreznim olakšicama i drugim privilegijima, a s ciljem osiguravanja njihove lojalnosti središnjoj vlasti. Stoga su često interesi crkvenih lica bili komplementarni interesima veleposjedničke aristokracije, koja je sada zajedno s njima dijelila i upravu nad gradskim područjem. Iste su se autonomističke tendencije manifestirale u vojnom aparatu. Delegiranjem, naime, financijske brige za vojne odrede prvo na pokrajinsku, a zatim i na mjesnu upravu, carska je vlast nehotice preusmjerila lojalnost oružanih snaga prema provinciji ili gradskoj općini koja se za njih brinula i njezinim interesima, na štetu interesa države. Mjesne su se vojne postrojbe od detaširanih jedinica državne vojske tako postupno počele transformirati u “teritorijalnu obranu” i gradsku miliciju.

Slabosti carske politike u zapadnim pokrajinama poput Italije (ali i Dalmacije) te njihovu

but in Italy and other western parts they resulted in unruly behaviour of the taxpayers and dissatisfaction of the population. The central administration tried to overcome the resistance to the new measures with the provisions of the so-called Pragmatic sanction, proclaimed in Italy in 554, and in the rest of the Empire in 569. This legislative act has given, for the first time, a role in the local administration to the landed aristocracy (emphatically breaking with Roman traditions) because they were able to elect, along with bishops, the heads of executive power in municipal and provincial bodies. However, instead of bonding the local civil and ecclesiastical elites to the state power with this privilege, this attempt had the complete opposite effect: it actually strengthened the cohesion of local elites against the interests of imperial politics. This connection was further strengthened by the gradual multiplication of the civil responsibilities of the bishops, who were also endowed with possessions, tax reliefs and other privileges by the state, in order to ensure their loyalty to the central government. Therefore, the interests of church figures were often complementary to the interests of the landed aristocracy, with whom they shared the administration of the urban area. Similar tendencies towards autonomy manifested themselves in the military apparatus. By delegating financial care for military forces first to the provincial and then to the local administration, the imperial government inadvertently redirected the loyalty of the armed forces to the province or municipality that cared for them and their interests, all to the detriment of the state. Local military units gradually began to transform from detached units of the state army into “territorial defence forces” and the city militia.

The weaknesses of the imperial policy in western provinces such as Italy (but also Dalmatia) and their involvement in the resistance of the local community to Constantinople are nicely illustrated by the reaction to Justinian’s late theological policy, which created the so-called Schism of the Three Chapters. The emperor’s condemnation of the writings of the three theologians (the so-called *Tria capitula*) did not accomplish its task, provoking instead of enthusiasm, only a lukewarm reaction of Monophysites in the East, and a real consternation in the West. The bishops of Dalmatia and of the Illyricum therefore refused to even attend the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553, preferring to opt for secession following the example of the Church of Aquileia, which only

uključenost u pružanje otpora lokalne društvene zajednice spram Konstantinopola vrlo lijepo ilustrira i reakcija na kasnu Justinijanovu teološku politiku, što je stvorilo tzv. Shizmu triju poglavlja. Careva osuda spisa trojice teologa (tzv. *Tria capitula*) nije ispunila svoju zadaću, izazvavši umjesto oduševljenja samo mlaku reakciju monofizita na Istoku, ali zato pravu konsternaciju na Zapadu. Biskupi Dalmacije i Ilirika odbili su stoga čak prisustvovati Petom ekumenskom koncilu 553., radije se opredijelivši za secesiju prema primjeru akvilejske Crkve, što je sve samo produbilo shizmu. Usprkos formalno dogmatskom, vjerskom sadržaju, shizma je imala prvorazedan politički karakter jer je tobože teološki spor davao okvir otporu prema bizantskom centralizmu i fiskalizmu. Teološke razmirice pratile su one jurisdikcijske: Akvilejski se patrijarhat 607. godine raspao na dvije suparničke metropolije – jednu pod bizantskom vlašću u Gradežu, koja je nastavila kontrolirati primorski pojas, venecijanske lagune i Istru te drugu pod langobardskom vlašću u Akvileji (postupno preseljenu u Cividale) pod čiju je jurisdikciju pao čitav kontinentalni dio nekada jedinstvene metropolije.

Todobne poveznice i razdjelnice Ravenne i sučelne jadranske obale zrcale se u činjenici da je nadbiskup Maksimijan bio porijeklom iz Istre (u Puli je dao podići baziliku Sv. Marije Formoze), dočim je njegov suvremenik Eufrazije, graditelj eponimne bazilike u Poreču, pri kraju svoga biskupovanja stao na stranu Shizme Triju poglavlja.

Nakon svršetka bizantsko-ostrogotskog rata, u etapi Justinijanove rekonkviste, ortodokсни ravenški nadbiskup Agnello (557. – 565.) izvršio je svojevrstan egzorcizam bogoslužnih prostora arijanskog kulta sada prenamijenjenih onom ortodoksnom, obimnu *reconciliatio*, kako taj postupak naziva kroničar Agnello iz IX. stoljeća. To uključuje ostrogotsku arijansku katedralu (*Anastasis*) te druge crkve u gradu (Teoderikova palatinska kapela), kao i izvan njega. Sastavni dio tog procesa bila je promjena posvete crkava. Tako je Teoderikova dvorska crkva preposvećena u čast sv. Martina (da bi zatim u IX.-X. st. bila nazvana S. Apollinare Nuovo), dok je arijanska katedrala posvećena sv. Teodoru (sada *Spirito Santo*). Tim

deepened the schism. Despite its formally dogmatic, religious content, the schism had a first-class political character, because the supposed theological dispute provided a framework for the resistance against the Byzantine centralism and fiscalism. Theological disputes were followed by jurisdictional ones: in 607, the Patriarchate of Aquileia split into two rival metropolises – one under the Byzantine rule in Grado, which continued to control the coastal belt, Venetian lagoons and Istria, and the other under the Lombard rule in Aquileia (gradually moving to Cividale) which had the jurisdiction over the entire continental part of the formerly single metropolis.

The connections and divisions of that time between Ravenna and the Adriatic coast on the opposite side were reflected in the fact that the Archbishop Maximianus was originally from Istria (he built the Basilica of Santa Maria Formosa in Pula), while his contemporary Euphrasius, the builder of the eponymous basilica in Poreč, sided with the Schism of the Three Chapters by the end of his tenure.

After the end of the Byzantine-Ostrogothic war, during Justinian's reconquest, the orthodox Archbishop of Ravenna, Agnello (557 – 565) performed a sort of exorcism over the places of worship of the Arian cult, which were now repurposed for the orthodox worship, an extensive *reconciliatio*, in the words of the chronicler Agnello from the 9<sup>th</sup> century. This included the Ostrogothic Arian Cathedral (*Anastasis*) and other churches in the city (Theoderic's Palatine Chapel) and outside of it. An integral part of this process was a change in the dedication of the churches. Thus, Theoderic's palatine church was re-dedicated in the honour of St. Martin (and it was later named S. Apollinare Nuovo in the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century), while the Arian Cathedral was dedicated to St. Theodore (now *Spirito Santo*). These alterations were preceded by the expulsion of all Goths from Ravenna who did not own estates in the city. The possessions of the Arian Church themselves were confiscated by the imperial government and given to the Church of Ravenna together with the church buildings, their dependents and the accompanying infrastructure.

The relatively sudden collapse of the Byzantine imperial system on the oversized borders of the Empire (Hispania, Italy, Africa, western and eastern Illyricum and the Persian-Byzantine border) and the specific reaction of the state to the Italic theater of war are analysed in the fifth part of the book, encompassing the period from the Lombard invasion of Italy (568)

preinakama prethodio je izgon iz Ravenne svih Gota koji nisu u gradu posjedovali nekretnine. Same pak posjede arijanske Crkve carska je vlast konfiscirala te dodijelila ravenskoj Crkvi zajedno s crkvenim građevinama, o njima ovisnim osobama i pratećom infrastrukturom.

Relativno nagli kolaps bizantskog carskog sustava na predimenzioniranim granicama Carstva (Hispanija, Italija, Afrika, zapadni i istočni Ilirik te perzijsko-bizantska granica) te specifična reakcija države na italsku dionicu toga fronta raščlanjuje se u petom dijelu knjige, obuhvaćajući razdoblje od langobardskog prodora u Italiju (568.) do političke stabilizacije njihova kraljevstva (643.). Oko 584. godine zapadni bizantski posjedi preustrojeni su tako da je carski vojni upravitelj (egzarh) u Ravenni postao nadležnim za sve preostale teritorije pod bizantskom kontrolom (iz čega je proizašao historiografski naziv Ravenski egzarhat). Uz vrhovne vojne, egzarh je raspolagao i civilnim ovlastima, nadređen prefektu pretorija Italije. Time je učinjen kraj kasnorimskom administrativnom aparatu, sada potpuno militariziranom. U konsolidaciji Egzarhata kao trajnog rješenja zrcalila se i konsolidacija langobardske države, koja je poslije previranja za prvih nekoliko vladara stekla razmjernu stabilnost; otada nadalje opreka između bizantske i langobardske Italije postaje trajna činjenica na koju moraju računati obje strane. Vojnopolitički zapletaji bili su usložnjeni crkvenima: njih karakterizira, s jedne strane, nastavak Shizme triju poglavlja kao opozicije bizantskom cazaropapizmu, a s druge strane zategnuti odnosi između Svete Stolice i Ravenne koji se zrcale u nezadovoljstvu Rima (pre)visokom autonomijom ravenkih nadbiskupa te povremenim nametanjem Rimljanâ na to mjesto. Svi ti prijevori urodili su na sjevernom Jadranu paradoksalnom situacijom: politička vlast Langobarda u zaleđu te Bizantina na primorju na složen su se način ispreplele s višestrukim crkvenim raskolima (langobardski arijanizam, ostaci Shizme tri poglavlja, na koncu ikonoklazam koji je nametala Izaurijska dinastija na bizantskim područjima) te jurisdikcijskim prijevora (dva Akvilejska patrijarhata, autokefalne tendencije Ravenske nadbiskupije).

Slijed drugih krivovjernih naučavanja poteklih s Istoka (monoteletizam, monoenergetizam,

to the political stabilization of their kingdom (643). Around 584, the western Byzantine territories were reorganized in such a way that the imperial military governor (exarch) in Ravenna became responsible for all remaining territories under Byzantine control (hence the historiographical term Exarchate of Ravenna). In addition to the supreme military powers the exarch also had civilian powers, and he was superior to the prefect of the Praetorian prefecture of Italy. This put an end to the late Roman administrative apparatus, which was now completely militarized. The consolidation of the Exarchate as a permanent solution also reflected the consolidation of the Lombard state, which gained relative stability after the turmoil caused during the reigns of the first couple of rulers; since then, the opposition between the Byzantine and Lombard Italy has become a permanent fact that both sides must take into consideration. The military-political entanglements were complicated by the ecclesiastical ones: they are characterized, on the one hand, by the continuation of the Schism of Three Chapters in opposition to the Byzantine caesaropapism; and on the other hand, by the strained relations between the Holy See and Ravenna which are reflected in Rome's dissatisfaction with the (too) high autonomy of the Archbishops of Ravenna and the occasional installation of Roman-born ecclesiastics on that position. All these disputes gave rise to a paradoxical situation in the northern Adriatic: the political power of the Lombards in the hinterland and the Byzantine rule on the coast were intertwined, in a complex way, with multiple church schisms (Lombard Arianism, remnants of the Schism of Three Chapters, and finally the iconoclasm imposed by the Isaurian dynasty on Byzantine territories) and jurisdictional disputes (two Aquileian patriarchates, autocephalous tendencies of the Archdiocese of Ravenna).

The string of other heretical teachings of Eastern origin (monotheletism, monoenergism, iconoclasm) deepened the rift between the two parts of the Empire, but also – as Herrin nicely points out – gave birth to new tensions *within* the Exarchate of Ravenna. Namely, while the Exarchs of Ravenna were expected to obey the imperial will when conducting church policy, the Archbishops of Ravenna, on the other hand, generally stood by the doctrinal positions of Rome, opposing the decisions of Constantinople. This does not mean that individual exarchs (e.g. Olympius in 651) or archbishops (e.g. Maurus

ikonoklazam) produbio je rascjep dvaju dijelova Carstva, ali i – kako lijepo ističe Herrin – urodio novim tenzijama *unutar* Ravenskog egzarhata. Dok se, naime, od ravenkih egzarha očekivalo da se pri provođenju crkvene politike povinuju carskoj volji, ravenki su nadbiskupi s druge strane u pravilu stajali na doktrinarnim pozicijama Rima, suprotstavljajući se odlukama Konstantinopola. To ne znači da pojedini egzarsi (npr. Olimpije 651.) ili nadbiskupi (npr. Mauro u isto vrijeme) nisu oportunistički balansirali između suprotstavljenih strana ili se čak otvoreno izjašnjavali za suprotnu. Politika oportunizma je s vremena na vrijeme polučivala znatne rezultate: omogućila je, primjerice, da Ravenna temeljem posebne povlastice cara Konstanta II. 666. godine zadobije autokefalan položaj u odnosu na Rim, koji je sačuvala sve do 680. godine.

Kontrapunkt položaju Ravenne u očima Bizanta iz vremena Konstanta II. i Konstantina IV. – kada je ravska Crkva na Carigradskom (680./681.) i Trulanskom koncilu (691./692.) bila počašćena iznimno visokim osmim i jedanaestim mjestom u redu starješinstva na biskupskim popisima – predstavlja vladavina posljednjeg cara Heraklijeve dinastije, Justinijana II. (685. – 695., 705. – 711.). Ravenna i njezin nadbiskup, dotad miljenici Carstva, pali su u carsku nemilost, što je pridonijelo separatističkim tendencijama zapadnih pokrajina u odnosu na metropolu na Bosporu, osnažujući antagonizam između Istoka i Zapada.

Približno od VII. stoljeća, povijest Ravenskog egzarhata – zbog njegova sužavanja i raspadanja – postaje sve više poviješću Ravenne u užem smislu riječi. Dugačka agonija Ravenne, oko koje se langobardski obruč sve više stezao, otpočela je 720-ih. Faktične bizantske vlasti u Egzarhatu više nije bilo, ali se kroz postojeće strukture – svedene na autonomnu upravu nad enklavom u kojoj se nalazila Ravenna – još održavala fikcija Carstva. U Ravenni, koju je kralj Aistulf zauzeo najkasnije 4. srpnja 751. godine, nije zatečen značajniji otpor langobardskim osvajačima. Uzroci tome bile su realno malene šanse za uspjeh bilo kakve učinkovite obrane, kao i postojanje znatne prolangobardske stranke u gradu sklonijem langobardskoj negoli papinskoj upravi, kojoj je bio tradicionalno protivan.

at the same time) did not opportunistically balance between opposing parties, or even openly declared for the opposite side. The policy of opportunism has yielded considerable results from time to time: for example, it has enabled Ravenna, under the special privilege of Emperor Constans II in 666, to gain an autocephalous position in relation to Rome, which was preserved until 680.

The counterpoint to the position of Ravenna in the eyes of Byzantium from the time of Constans II and Constantine IV – when the Church of Ravenna was honoured with an extremely high eighth and eleventh place in the order of precedence on the episcopal lists at the Council of Constantinople (680/681) and the Council of Trullo (691/692) – is represented by the reign of the last emperor of the Heraclian dynasty, Justinian II (685 – 695, 705 – 711). Ravenna and its Archbishop, until then the favourites of the Empire, fell into imperial disfavour, which contributed to the separatist tendencies of the western provinces in relation to the metropolis on the Bosphorus, fortifying the antagonism between the East and the West.

Approximately from 7<sup>th</sup> century, the history of the Exarchate of Ravenna – due to its narrowing and disintegration – became more and more the history of Ravenna in the narrow sense of the word. In the 720s, the long agony of Ravenna began, with the Lombard stranglehold tightening around it. The effective Byzantine government in the Exarchate no longer existed, but through the existing structures – reduced to an autonomous administration over the enclave surrounding the city – the fiction of the Empire was still maintained. In Ravenna, which was captured by King Aistulf no later than July 4, 751, a significant resistance against the Lombard invaders was non-existent. The reasons for this were in reality small chances of success of any effective defence, as well as the existence of a substantial pro-Lombard party in a city more inclined to Lombard than papal administration, to which it was traditionally opposed. Both the Western sources, as well as those of Byzantine provenance, are quite indifferent to this event, similar to how the central Constantinopolitan government seemed to treat it. The only reaction of the Emperor Constantine V after the Lombard capture of the city was limited to sending a delegation to the Pope and Aistulf in 752, which did not yield any results. Due to the forthcoming iconoclastic council in Hieria scheduled for 754, it would be illusory to expect a harmonious cooperation of Rome and Constantinople on the matter of

I sačuvani izvori zapadne, kao i oni bizantske provenijencije prema tom su događaju prilično indiferentni, kao što se po svemu sudeći prema njemu odnosila i središnja konstantinopolska vlast. Jedina reakcija cara Konstantina V. nakon langobardskog zauzeća grada ograničila se na slanje poslanstva papi i Aistulfu 752. godine, koje nije polučilo nikakve rezultate. Zbog nadolazećeg ikonoklastičkog koncila u Hijereji, predviđenog za 754. godinu, skladnu suradnju Rima i Carigrada oko problema Ravenne bilo je sasvim iluzorno očekivati; nazirao se, štoviše, još dublji sukob pape i cara.

Tada, 750-ih godina, buduća važnost rane karolinške države mogla se tek naslućivati, iako su miješanja kralja Pipina Malog u italske sukobe jasno nagovještavala buduću smjer franačke ekspanzije. On se 753. – 754. godine upleo u papin sukob s Aistulfom razbivši langobardsku prijetnju gradu Rimu i povrativši “Svetom Petru” teritorij nekadašnjeg Egzarhata i Rimskog dukata (iako se u oba slučaja zapravo radilo o prethodno bizantskom posjedu). Neobičnu političku i nejasnu državnu situaciju u tom trenutku dobro opisuje I. Goldstein: “Tako se na, donekadavno neprijeporno bizantskom teritoriju, uz jadransku obalu našlo više stranaka: vojnički najjači Franci, Langobardi koji zapravo vladaju te papa koji najnovijim sporazumima treba ta područja i dobiti. Istovremeno, nitko nije poricao Carstvu teoretsku vlast nad ovim oblastima, ali mu je nitko nije želio ni prepustiti”.<sup>10</sup> I kada je nešto kasnije kralj Pipin iznova morao intervenirati da bi se odredbe mirovnog ugovora poštovale – predavši zauzeta područja papi i time faktično od bivših bizantskih posjeda oblikovavši crkvenu državu – reakcija Konstantinopola je bila mlaka, ograničivši se na darove upućene Pipinu da bi oslobođene teritorije vratio Bizantu, a ne rimskom biskupu. Pasivnost bizantske vlasti bila je potpuna jer su izaurijski carevi tada bili zaokupljeni drugim nedaćama u borbama protiv Bugara na Balkanu te protiv Arapa na Bliskom Istoku.

Nestanak Egzarhata nije ipak značio i nestanak njegovih upravnih tradicija: prema kroničaru

Ravenna; moreover, an even deeper conflict between the pope and the emperor was looming.

Then, during the 750s, the future importance of the early Carolingian state could only be glimpsed, although the interference of King Pippin the Younger in the Italic conflicts clearly hinted at the future direction of the Frankish expansion. In 753 – 754 he became embroiled in the papal conflict with Aistulf, shattering the Lombard threat to the city of Rome and returning the territory of the former Exarchate and the Duchy of Rome to “Saint Peter” (although in both cases it was actually a former Byzantine territory). The unusual political and unclear constitutional situation at the time is well described by I. Goldstein: “Thus, in the until recently undisputed Byzantine territory, along the Adriatic coast, there were several parties: the Franks who were strongest in the military sense, the Lombards who actually ruled and the pope who, according to the latest agreements, should get those areas. At the same time, no one denied the Empire’s theoretical authority over these areas, but no one wanted to cede them to the Empire.”<sup>10</sup> And later, when King Pippin had to intervene again to enforce the terms of the peace treaty – by handing over the occupied territories to the pope and effectively shaping the church state from the former Byzantine territories – Constantinople’s reaction was lukewarm, limiting itself to sending gifts to Pippin so that he would return the liberated territories to Byzantium, and not to the Roman bishop. The passivity of the Byzantine government was complete because, during that time, the Isaurian emperors were preoccupied with other troubles and fights against the Bulgarians in the Balkans, and against the Arabs in the Middle East.

However, the disappearance of the Exarchate did not mean the disappearance of its administrative traditions: according to the chronicler Agnello, the Archbishop Sergius of Ravenna ruled the area entrusted to him not only as a spiritual shepherd, but explicitly “like an exarch”, appropriating all administrative power. Such characterization of Sergius’ authority offered by this chronicler of Ravenna is supported by contemporary papal correspondence, warning against the growing power of the archbishops of Ravenna. In several successive compromises, the pope’s supreme authority over Ravenna

<sup>10</sup> Goldstein 1992: 123.

<sup>10</sup> Goldstein 1992: 123.

Agnellu, ravenski nadbiskup Sergije vladao je povjerenim mu područjem ne samo kao duhovni pastir, već izričito “poput egzarha”, prisvojivši i svu upravnu vlast. Takvu karakterizaciju Sergijeve vlasti koju je ponudio taj ravenski kroničar potkrepljuje suvremena papinska korespondencija, upozoravajući na osiljenje ravenskih nadbiskupa. U nekoliko uzastopnih kompromisa, papina je vrhovna vlast nad Ravennom priznata, ali je svakodnevna administracija prepuštena ravenskim nadbiskupima što se – s obzirom na njihove ogromne posjede oko Ravenne te političke i ekonomske veze s lokalnom aristokracijom – nije moglo izbjeći. U središnjim su desetljećima VIII. stoljeća ravenski crkveni poglavari vladali svojim područjem kao realno samostalni vlastodršci, ne priklanjajući se ni papinskim ni bizantskim političkim interesima.

Usprkos tome i sukcesivnom njegovanju “posebnih odnosa” između Ravenne i Karolingâ, Karlovo odnošenje skupocjenog građevinskog materijala i dekoracije iz Ravenne u Aachen 787. godine označilo je, kako Herrin trijezno primjećuje, suton strateške važnosti grada, sada transformiranog isključivo u izvorište carskog simbolizma – ali trajno lišenog carske moći.

Izučavanje transformacije rimskog svijeta na Zapadu nije moguće bez izučavanja povijesti Ravenne. Knjigom Judith Herrin sada smo dobili solidno polazište za nj.\*

\* Nekoliko *lapsus calami*: Bizantsko Carstvo održalo se do 1453., ne 1435. godine (xxx); fragmenti *Ravenskih anala* pohranjeni u katedrali u Merseburgu nisu ilustrirani na tablama 17 i 18, već 25 i 26 (27); Valentinijan III. i Eudoksija nisu odsjeli u Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu po povratku sa svog vjenčanja u Solunu na Zapad 437. godine, već je to učinila Gala Placidija 423./424. godine, s tada još malodobnim Valentinijanom (43–44); salonitanski nadbiskup koji je pristao uz Shizmu Triju poglavlja zvao se *Frontinianus*, ne *Frontius* (209; proganjan je 554., a njegove sljedbenike u Dalmaciji pod nazivom “frontinijanisti” spominje u svojoj korespondenciji još Grgur Veliki oko 600., što je potvrda žilavosti shizme); smrt Karla Velikog uslijedila je tridesetak godina nakon njegova drugog posjeta Rimu (781.), ne četrdesetak (364); referenca na nastavljača kronike Prospera Tirona treba se odnositi na IX. svezak niza *Auctores antiquissimi* unutar *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ne na XI. svezak (416, bilj. 2).

was recognized, but the day-to-day administration was left to the Ravenna archbishops, which – given their vast estates around Ravenna, and political and economic ties to the local aristocracy – could not be avoided. In the central decades of 8<sup>th</sup> century, the church leaders of Ravenna in reality ruled their territory as independent rulers, not adhering to either papal or Byzantine political interests.

Despite this and the successive cultivation of “special relations” between Ravenna and the Carolingians, Charlemagne’s removal of precious building materials and decorations from Ravenna to Aachen in 787 marked, as Herrin judiciously notes, the twilight of the city’s strategic importance, which was now transformed exclusively into a source of imperial symbolism – yet permanently deprived of imperial power.

Studying the transformation of the Roman world in the West is not possible without studying the history of Ravenna. With Judith Herrin’s book, we now have a solid starting point.\*

\* A couple of *lapsus calami*: The Byzantine Empire lasted until 1453, not 1435 (xxx); fragments of the *Annals of Ravenna* kept in the cathedral of Merseburg are not illustrated in tables 17 and 18, but in 25 and 26 (27); Valentinian III and Eudoxia did not stay in Diocletian’s Palace in Split after their return from their wedding in Thessaloniki to the West in 437, but Galla Placidia did so in 423/424, with the then still underage Valentinian (43–44); the Salonitan archbishop who sided with the Schism of the Three Chapters was named *Frontinianus*, not *Frontius* (209; he was exiled in 554, and his followers in Dalmatia are mentioned in the correspondence of Gregory the Great as “frontinianists” around 600, which confirms the tenacity of the schism); the death of Charlemagne followed some thirty years after his second visit to Rome (781), not forty (364); the reference to the continuation of the Chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine should refer to volume IX of the series *Auctores antiquissimi* within the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, not to volume XI (416, note 2).

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