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At the crossroad of two empires: the patriarch Fortunatus II of Grado and his 'will'

To a lost, but treasured possession
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The *castrum* of Grado was built around the mid-6th century¹ on a tiny island lying just off the ancient town of Aquileia, at the easternmost stretch of the lagoon system covering c. 90 km² from the estuary of the Ausa and the Isonzo River and separated from the Adriatic Sea by a narrow strip of sand² (Fig. 1). The defences of Grado consisted of a trapezoidal fort with rectangular corner towers, measuring 360 m x 48 and 100 m on the sides (3.6 ha) and enclosing several early Christian basilicas³ (Fig. 2). The building and rebuilding of these churches throughout Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages attest to the stable presence of bishops inside the walls of the *castrum* since 569, when 'the blessed patriarch Paul, who presided over the city of Aquileia and its people, fearing the barbarity of the Lombards, fled from Aquileia to the island of Grado, carrying with him all the treasure of his church'.⁴ Lombard expansion pushed back the northern line of the Byzantine province of *Venetia et Histria* so that at the head of the Adriatic Sea it comprised little more than Grado to the northeast and the islands of the Venetian lagoon to the southwest.⁵

In the beginning, these developments had no impact on relations between the churches of the province: the councils called by the supporters of the Three Chapters at Grado in 579 and at Marano in 591 gathered bishops from Lombard-held territories as well as from cities in imperial lands. The situation

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¹ On the origins of the *castrum* of Grado, see G.P. Brogiolo, Aurora Cagnana, Nuove ricerche sull'origine di Grado, in: *L'Adriatico dalla tarda antichità all'età carolingia*, ed. Gianpietro Brogiolo/Paolo Delogu (Firenze 2005) 79–108, at 89–107, and id., ead., *Le fortificazioni del castrum di Grado*, in: *Ai confini dell'Impero. Insediamenti e fortificazioni bizantine nel Mediterraneo occidentale (VI–VIII secolo)*, ed. Carlo Varaldo (Atti dei Convegni dell'Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri 11, Bordighera 2011) 467–507, at 479–495.

² The formation of the Grado lagoon has been dated between the 6th and 9th century: Brogiolo, Cagnana, Nuove ricerche 87–89.

³ The *castrum* of Grado can be compared to a series of contemporary forts and urban defences of Byzantine Africa: Brogiolo, Cagnana, *Le fortificazioni* 486–489. On the early Christian churches, cf. Giuseppe Cuscito, *Signaculum Fidei. L'ambiente cristiano delle origini nell'alto Adriatico: aspetti e problemi* (Antichità Altoadriatiche Monografie 5, Trieste 2009) 317–352.

⁴ Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* II, 10 (ed. Bethmann and Waitz, MGH SS rer. Langob., Hannover 1878) 12–187, at 78: *Aquileiensi quoque civitati eis que populis beatus Paulus patriarcha praeerat. Qui Langobardorum barbariem metuens ex Aquileia ad Gradus insulam confugiit secumque omnem suae thesaurum ecclesiae deportavit* (trans. William D. Foulke, *Paul the Deacon: History of the Lombards* [Philadelphia 1907] 78). On the historiographical tradition concerning the flight of the bishop of Aquileia to Grado, see Francesco Borri, *Arrivano i barbari a cavallo! Foundation myths and Origines Gentium in the Adriatic Arc*, in: *Post-Roman Transitions in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Walter Pohl/Gerda Heydemann (Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages 14, Turnhout 2013) 215–270.

⁵ Claudio Azzara, *Venetiae. Determinazione di un'area regionale fra antichità e alto medioevo* (Treviso 1994) 71–82.

changed in around 610 with the death of bishop Severus of Aquileia-Grado: rejecting the condemnation of the Three Chapters by the popes of Rome, the bishops of the Lombard mainland elected their own patriarch, John, who left Aquileia for *Forum Iulii* (Cividale del Friuli), while the orthodox bishop Candidianus remained in Grado. After rejoining orthodoxy under pope Sergius (687–701), the two bishoprics of Aquileia and Grado coexisted for the next two centuries, each exercising authority within the respective boundaries of the Lombard and Byzantine administrations.⁶

However, at the end of the 8th century Frankish conquests in northern Italy and Istria upset the political equilibrium. Following the occupation of the Lombard duchy of Friuli, Charlemagne strengthened the authority of Aquileia under his appointees, Paulinus II (787–802), Ursus (802–811) and Maxentius (811–837).⁷ This revived Aquileian claims of metropolitan jurisdiction over the churches of the newly conquered territories of Istria and of those of the areas nominally under the sovereignty of the Byzantine Empire, among which was Grado. At the same time, the authority of the bishops of Grado was further undermined by the foundation of the episcopal seat of Olivolo (Castello), set up by and under the protection of the dukes of Venice.⁸

In this context, the bishops of Grado struggled to obtain recognition of their metropolitan rights, taking an unequivocal position in favour of the Franks to counteract the menacing claims advanced by both the Churches of Aquileia and of Olivolo–Venice. One of the principal protagonists in this period was unquestionably the patriarch Fortunatus II of Grado,⁹ who skilfully trod a path between the rival Carolingian and Byzantine empires, on occasion even openly supporting the Franks' enemies, to defend the prerogatives of his see¹⁰. He shows up frequently in sources, and, to quote Michael McCormick, 'his "will" is a major, if neglected source for the economy and art of early ninth-century Veneto'.¹¹ The document scrupulously lists all his donations to the churches of Grado, which he restored and enriched with fine textiles, precious liturgical vessels and silver and gold furnishings.¹² Fortunatus' building activity and his gifts should be placed in the context of his political manoeuvres and networks, and largely reflect his toing and froing between the Franks and the Byzantines. Moreover, his 'will' offers a chance to examine the role of gift-exchange in the Early Middle Ages, as a means to forge relations, 'making present all participants in the exchange, supernatural as well as this-worldly' in Janet Nelson's words, and to break or bend them when the political situation required.¹³

The aim of this paper is not to provide a complete commentary on Fortunatus' 'will', but to examine it from a historical and art-historical standpoint, placing it against the backdrop of the wider political situation in the northern Adriatic region and of the web of relations which united Grado to the Franks and the Byzantines in the early decades of the 9th century.

⁶ On the issue, which cannot be addressed here, cf. Azzara, *Venetiae* 101–119; id., *Il regno longobardo in Italia e i Tre Capitoli*, in: *The Crisis of the Oikoumene: the Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean* (Studies in the Early Middle Ages 14, Turnhout 2007) 209–222.

⁷ Francesco Borri, *L'Adriatico tra Bizantini, Longobardi e Franchi. Dalla conquista di Ravenna alla pace di Aquisgrana (751–812)*, in: *Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo* 112 (2010) 1–56, at 20–25.

⁸ Gherardo Ortalli, *Il ducato e la 'civitas Rivoalti': tra carolingi, bizantini e sassoni*, in: *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, I. Origini–Età Ducale, ed. Lellia Cracco Ruggini/Massimiliano Pavan/Giorgio Cracco/Gherardo Ortalli, Roma 1992, 725–790, at 727–730. Borri, *L'Adriatico* 32.

⁹ Luigi A. Berto, *In Search of the First Venetians. Prosopography of Early Medieval Venice* (Studies in the Early Middle Ages 41, Turnhout 2014) 425–431; Harald Krahwinkel, *Friaul in Frühmittelalter. Geschichte einer Region vom Ende des fünften bis zum Ende des zehnten Jahrhunderts* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 30, Wien/Köln/Weimar 1992) 215–220; Giordano Brunettin, *Il cosiddetto testamento del Patriarca Fortunato II di Grado (825)*, in: *Memorie Storiche Forogiuliesi* 71 (1991) 51–123, at 51–55.

¹⁰ Ortalli, *Il ducato* 736–737.

¹¹ Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900* (Cambridge 2001) 255.

¹² For the edition of the text, see Brunettin, *Il cosiddetto testamento* 80–83, and *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al Mille I, secoli V–X* (ed. Roberto Cessi, *Testi e Documenti di Storia e Letteratura Latina Medioevale* [1], Padova 1942) 75–78. For an Italian translation, see Enzo Marocco, *Il Tesoro del Duomo di Grado* (Trieste 2001) 34.

¹³ Janet Nelson, *The role of the gift in early medieval diplomatic relations*, in: *Relazioni internazionali nell'alto Medioevo* (Atti della LVIII Settimana di Studio del Centro Italiano di capital studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto 2001) 225–248, at 248.

FORTUNATUS OF GRADO: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Fortunatus may have been born in Trieste, as was John I,¹⁴ his kinsman and immediate predecessor who ruled the Church of Grado from 776 to 802–803, when he was murdered by Mauricius, the son and co-regent of the duke of Venice, John.¹⁵ The reasons behind the murder of the patriarch are not clear, but this was possibly motivated by his pro-Frankish policy, who felt menaced by the growing importance of the Church of Olivolo and the claims to a primacy of jurisdiction over *Venetia* and *Istria* put forward by the Church of Aquileia after its annexation to the kingdom of Italy.¹⁶

Fortunatus basically followed his predecessor's policy, and soon after his ordination appeared before Charlemagne and his court at Salz (near Neustadt, on the river Saale) in August 803 with a group of pro-Frankish dissidents from Venice. Here, the patriarch lavished the new emperor with several gifts and obtained from Charlemagne a grant of immunity for the lands owned by the Church of Grado and toll-free status for four ships engaging in commerce anywhere in the kingdom.¹⁷ The emperor also appointed him abbot of the monastery of Moyenmoutier in the Vosges,¹⁸ while in the meantime, pope Leo III granted Fortunatus the *pallium*, probably thanks to his pro-Frankish stance.¹⁹

The patriarch left Salz shortly afterwards: in 804 he chaired a *placitum* at Risano/Rižana in Istria, where the inhabitants of the newly-conquered province denounced to Charlemagne's envoys the abuses perpetrated against them by Duke John.²⁰

In 805 Fortunatus returned to Grado, after the election of Obelerius as duke of Venice, a member of the pro-Frankish faction.²¹ However, the patriarch did not remain in his see for long: when Venice and Dalmatia came under the Carolingian sphere of influence, the emperor Nikephoros I (802–811) sent the patrician Niketas in command of a fleet to restore order in the northern Adriatic Sea.²² Fortunatus fled to Charlemagne, who assigned him the bishopric of Pula/Pola, in the more securely held Frankish Istria.²³ On that occasion, the deacon John, who had already replaced Christopher of Olivolo, became the patriarch of Grado with the name of John II.²⁴

Around 810, probably after the attempted invasion of the Duchy of Venice by Pippin and the deposition of Duke Obelerius and his brother and co-ruler Beatus,²⁵ Fortunatus was back in charge in Grado; however, the Treaty of Aachen of 812, which recognised Byzantine authority over Venice and the cities of coastal Dalmatia, and the Frankish retention of the Dalmatian hinterland and Istria, reinforced the

¹⁴ Berto, *In Search of the First Venetians* 424–425.

¹⁵ On Duke John and his son Mauricius, cf. Berto, *In Search of the first Venetians* 314–315 and 363–364.

¹⁶ Ortalli, 727–728. Luigi A. Berto, *La 'Venetia' fra Franchi e Bizantini. Considerazioni sulle fonti*, in: *Studi Veneziani* 38 (1999) 189–202, at 191–193.

¹⁷ *Diplomata Karolinorum* I, 201 (ed. Mühlbacher, MGH DD Karolinorum 1, Hannover 1906) 270: ... *omnibus fidelibus nostris presentibus et futuris notum sit, quia petiit celsitudinem nostram vir venerabilis Fortunatus, Venetiarum et Istriensium patriarcha, ut teloneum de navibus suis quattuor ei concedere deberemus ... Precipientes enim iubemus, ut nullus quislibet de fidelibus nostris de suprascriptis navibus quattuor Fortunati patriarche ullum teloneum nec siliquaticum nec laudaticum, nec cispataticum, neque ullas redibitiones ab hominibus suis pro hoc exigere vel exactare presumat, nisi liceat ei suprascriptis navibus quattuor ubicumque in regno Christo propitio nostro negociando pro utilitate sancte suae ecclesie absque ullius detentione vel contradictione, ubicumque voluerit, pergere et iterum in dei nomine ad propria remeare*. In his 'will' Fortunatus himself subsequently gave one vessel with all its gear (*navem cum omni armatura sua*) to the monastery of Santa Maria on the island of Barbana.

¹⁸ Berto, *The First Venetians* 426.

¹⁹ Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al Mille I, 37, 56–58: *'qui a Leone papa privilegium cum benedictione pallei iuxta suorum decessorum exemplar consecutus est'*.

²⁰ On Fortunatus in the *placitum*, see Harald Krahwinkel, *Patriarch Fortunatus of Grado and the placitum of Riziano*, in: *Acta Histriae* 13 (2005) 63–68.

²¹ Berto, *In Search of the First Venetians* 315–317 and 427–428.

²² Ortalli, *Il ducato 729–730*; Berto, *La 'Venetia'* 195; Borri, *L'Adriatico* 45–50.

²³ Pope Leo III (795–818) opposed the decision, underlining that Fortunatus could remain in Istria on condition that the local bishop would not lose his right and that, after having reacquired Grado, he would not have any right over Pula/Pola. Moreover, the pope warned Charlemagne about improper behaviour for a churchman by Fortunatus in Italy and France (Berto, *In Search of the First Venetians* 428).

²⁴ Berto, *In Search of the First Venetians* 431–432.

²⁵ On the attack on Venice by Pippin, cf. Ortalli, *Il ducato 730–732*; Borri, *L'Adriatico* 50–54, and Berto, *La 'Venetia'* 195–202. On Beatus, see Berto, *In Search of the First Venetians* 364–365.

case for Aquileia's primacy, finally sanctioned by the Council of Mantua in 827.²⁶ Interestingly, in 821 the patriarch was accused of being involved in the rebellion of the Slavic duke of *Pannonia inferioris* Liudewit against the Franks. Summoned by Louis the Pious, the patriarch fled to Zadar/Zara, where he was received by the *praefectus* of Dalmatia, who sent him to Constantinople,²⁷ hinting at a possible collusion between Fortunatus and the Byzantines interested in halting Frankish expansion in southern Pannonia.²⁸ However, after the rapprochement between Louis the Pious and Michael II (820–829), in 825 Fortunatus accompanied a Byzantine embassy to Rouen, where the envoys told the Frankish sovereign that they did not come to speak in favour of the patriarch. Louis the Pious decided to turn the case over to the pope and sent Fortunatus to Rome.²⁹ However, the patriarch fell ill and possibly dictated his 'will' before passing away en route to Italy in 824/825.³⁰

THE 'WILL': NATURE AND SCOPE

The 'will' of Fortunatus of Grado survives in a single copy and not in its original form: between the 15th and the 16th centuries it was included in the so-called Codex Trevisaneus, which reproduces an important series of sources concerning the early history of Venice, all copied for private use.³¹ Although the document is usually referred to as a 'will', it does not observe the usual diplomatic form of contemporary testaments.³² It includes no bequests to churches, monastic foundations or individuals, and Fortunatus does not make provisions for the sake and wellbeing of his soul and for liturgical commemoration. On the contrary, the patriarch shows himself confident of his return to Grado from exile³³ and lists his expenditures and donations, recalling the value of his various gifts with a precision that is not unrelated to a desire to shield himself from accusations of corruption and mismanagement of Church property. In 806, Leo III asked Charlemagne to use his influence with the patriarch of Grado for the good of the latter's soul; the pope had previously informed the emperor that Fortunatus had behaved improperly for a churchman both in Italy and at Moyennoutier.³⁴ These accusations were renewed in 824 at Rouen, when Louis the Pious decided to turn the case over to the pope. It is highly plausible that Fortunatus dictated his 'will' as a 'statement of defence' before being brought to Rome.³⁵

In this regard, the 'will' performs two different and interrelated functions. On the one hand, it provides plenty of data on the patronage of Fortunatus, resembling the *Libri Pontificales* and the *Gesta Episcoporum* and *Abbatum*, two literary genres most popular in the Carolingian period. Church foundations, restorations and decoration, donations of landed properties, and of silver and gold liturgical

²⁶ Azzara, *Venetiae* 130–135.

²⁷ Berto, *In Search of the First Venetians* 430.

²⁸ Charles R. Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars. The Struggle for the Middle Danube, 788–907* (Philadelphia 1995) 60–70.

²⁹ *Annales Regni Francorum*, annum 824 (ed. Pertz, MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. [6], Hannover 1895) 165: *Nam et illuc legatos Michahelis imperatoris, qui ad eum [Hlodovicum] mittebantur, sibi occurrere iussit cum quibus et Fortunatus patriarcha Veneticorum regressus ad eius venit praesentiam. Capital sed legati imperatoris litteras et munera deferentes, pacis confirmandae causa se missos esse dicentes pro Fortunato nihil locuti sunt [...] Fortunatum ... de causa fugae ipsius percontatus ad examinandum eum Romano pontifici [Hlodovicus] direxit*; see Berto, *In Search of the First Venetians* 430.

³⁰ The exact date of Fortunatus' death is unknown, but in 825/826 Louis the Pious and his son Lothar sent the new patriarch Venerius a letter about the issue of some properties of the Church of Grado which Fortunatus had given to a nephew named Dominicus (Berto, *In Search of the First Venetians* 430–431).

³¹ On the transmission of the document and its authenticity, Brunettin, *Il cosiddetto testamento* 62–73.

³² Brunettin, *Il cosiddetto testamento* 73–79.

³³ Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al Mille I, 38, ed. Cessi 78: *Credite non profeta sum, nec filius profete, nam promissa a Deo sic erit quod in magno honore et gratia sancti Imperii, in sancta mea revert Ecclesia in pace et tranquillitate vobiscum diebus vite mee gaudebo*.

³⁴ Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al Mille I, 38, ed. Cessi 69: *Et hoc vestrae serenitati intimare curavimus de praefato Fortunato, ut, sicut semper pro illius honore temporale laboratis, ita et de anima eius curam ponatis, ut per vestrum pavorem suum ministerium melius expleat. Quia non audivimus de eo, sicut decet de archiepiscopo, neque de partibus istis, neque de partibus Franciae, ubi eum beneficiastis. Tamen gratias agimus Deo, quia omnia vobis incognita non erunt. Interrogate quidem fideles vestros, et omnia vobis nota fiant, eo quod illi, qui vobis eum conlaudabant, hoc per munera et calciaria faciunt*.

³⁵ Brunettin, *Il cosiddetto testamento* 75–76.

furnishings and vessels and silken textiles demonstrated the power and munificence of bishops and their moral worth: both to honour God and as a work of piety. Patronage had a symbolic meaning as a tangible sign of the moral and pastoral duties of a bishop towards his flock.³⁶ By contrast, the 'will' also resembles an inventory of Church property and treasure. Ecclesiastical and liturgical inventories had been redacted since the early Christian period, but Carolingian kings revived the practice.³⁷ Charlemagne and his successors made them instruments of primary importance in the administration of Church properties,³⁸ and a fundamental function of inventories was ratification in writing of the right to possession of the items listed to prevent fraud and mismanagement.³⁹ Not by chance, the buildings, *ornamenta ecclesiae*, houses, fields, vineyards and olive groves, horses, and other equipment of the Church of Grado are all described in the 'will' of Fortunatus, and the patriarch recapitulates his merits and benefactions to his seat, proudly stating that he left intact what he had found in the treasury, except for a mediocre chalice he had sent to *Francia*⁴⁰ (lines 72–75: *Thesaurus sancte Ecclesie salvus est, quod ibi inveni, [scepto] fuit unus calix parvulus et non benefactus*).

THE 'WILL' AND ITS CONTENTS

The nature and the scope of the 'will' must be considered in looking at its contents. The main focus of this paper is on religious buildings, church decoration, liturgical furnishings and vessels, which appear throughout the text. As already noted, the importance of patronage in the 'will' can hardly be overemphasized, but the descriptions of monuments and objects are not always accurate or easily understandable. The patriarch lists his interventions and donations in the churches and monasteries of Grado, beginning with the cathedral of Santa Eufemia (Fig. 3), its adjacent baptistery of San Giovanni and the nearby church of Santa Maria; then he goes on to mention several buildings now non-extant or of doubtful identification, without providing any particular topographic reference. The terms used to describe liturgical furnishings and Church plate have specific connotations, but in some cases the fact that the 'will' has been tampered with in the manuscript transmission makes their interpretation difficult. Moreover, although the list of the items donated by Fortunatus to the monastery of San Giuliano and that of the precious metals and foodstuffs he found in the Church treasury may have been based on archival records, the exiled patriarch relied mostly on his own experience and memory while dictating his 'will'. Furthermore, items are only named and described briefly, and Fortunatus took it for granted that readers would have understood what kind of monuments and objects he was referring to.⁴¹ The patriarch is more interested in the value and weight of gold and silver objects and silken textiles (expressed in *mancosi*)⁴² than in any other aspect.

³⁶ Michel Sot, *Historiographie épiscopale et modèle familiale en Occident au IXe siècle*, in: *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 33 (1978) 433–449, at 442–445.

³⁷ Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written World* (Cambridge 1989) 160–163.

³⁸ Claire Sonnerfeld, *Inventaires de "trésors" et réforme carolingienne*, in: *Charlemagne et les objets. Des thésaurisations carolingiennes aux constructions mémorielles*, ed. Philippe Cordez (Bern/Berlin/Bruxelles/Frankfurt am Main/New York/Oxford/Wien) 29–55, at 30–43.

³⁹ McKitterick, *The Carolingians* 163.

⁴⁰ Brunet, *Il cosiddetto testamento* 75.

⁴¹ On the internal difficulties of interpreting Church inventories, see Beatrice Caseau, *Objects in churches: the testimony of inventories*, in: *Objects in Context, Objects in Use. Materiality in Late Antiquity*, ed. Luke Lavan/Ellen Swift/Toon Putzeys (*Late Antique Archaeology* 5, Leiden-Boston 2007) 551–579, at 551–553. On Church inventories in early medieval Italy, cf. François Bougard, *Trésors et mobiliers italiens du haut Moyen Âge*, in: *Les trésors de sanctuaires, de l'Antiquité à l'époque romane*, ed. Jean-Pierre Caillet/Pierre Bazin (*Cahiers du Centre de capital recherches sur l'Antiquité tardive et le Moyen Âge* 7, Paris 1996) 161–197, at 177–186.

⁴² In the 'will' the *mancosi* functioned as a value and weight standard. Scholars long discussed the term *mancus* or *solidus mancosus*, but they seem to have reached a general consensus that these coins were golden dinār: McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy* 323–326. However, Salvatore Cosentino has recently reopened the debate, suggesting that the term indicated the golden *solidi* and their fractions issued by the mint of Syracuse after the reform of Leo III in 731: Salvatore Cosentino, *Ricchezza e investimento della chiesa di Ravenna tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo*, in: *From One Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages*, ed. Sauro Gelichi/Richard Hodges (Turnhout 2012) 417–440.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the ‘will’ yields a rich array of information about the churches of Grado. Here we present an overview of its contents, focusing on building works and on related groups of objects divided according to their type and function and providing checklists.

BUILDINGS (TABLE I)

The ‘will’ starts with a description of Fortunatus’ intervention in the cathedral of Santa Eufemia, where he re-floored both of the *scolae* (lines 4–5: *misī tabulatum in ambas scolae de ecclesia sanctae Euphemie*).⁴³ Most probably the term *scolae* indicates the area before the choir, where the *scholae sacerdotum* took place during the liturgical celebration.⁴⁴ This section of the building might have been renovated by Fortunatus himself: sculptural remains suggest a ninth century date for the extension of the chancel barrier to the third bay and to each end of the outer aisles.⁴⁵

Interestingly, the patriarch makes reference to the covering of the church of Santa Maria (Fig. 4) with a new lead roof, a gift from the ‘Holy Empire’ (line 33: *de dono sancti Imperii*). Lead appears widely on high-status Carolingian buildings: in addition to Charlemagne’s chapel at Aachen, Angilbert, lover of the emperor’s daughter Bertha, provided his monastic showpiece of Saint-Riquier with a lead roof. Around 800 lead also covered the shrine of St. Martin at Tours.⁴⁶ Apparently, Fortunatus enjoyed a privilege reserved for only the most distinguished churchmen of his time: in a letter dated 786,⁴⁷ Pope Hadrian I (772–795) reminds Charlemagne and the abbot of St. Martin of Tours of their previous commitments to send half a tonne of lead each for the repair of the roof of St. Peter.⁴⁸

When renovating Santa Maria at Grado, the patriarch also paved the church atrium all the way to the public square in front of it (lines 33–34: *... et stravi ipsam porticum cum lapide usque in plateam publicam*). Archaeological evidence attests a major intervention with the construction of a portico structure close to Santa Maria between the late 8th and the early 9th century, confirming Fortunatus’ statement.⁴⁹

Another reference to the Carolingian empire appears in the passage on the restoration of the church of San Giovanni Evangelista, identified with the three-aisled basilica brought to light in Piazza della Vittoria.⁵⁰ Fortunatus states that the church was in such a bad state of repair that it was impossible to

⁴³ For *tabulatus* as “floor”, see Léopold Favre, s.v. *Tabulatus*, in: *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, ed. Charles DuCange (Niort 1883–1887) t. 8, col. 009b.

⁴⁴ Throughout the Middle Ages, *schola* was used in an architectural sense only in reference to a school building: Brunettin, *Il cosiddetto testamento* 92–93.

⁴⁵ Even though the ‘will’ does not mention any intervention in the baptistery of San Giovanni, scholars have attributed to Fortunatus the benches or seats built against its walls of the baptistery, destroyed in 1925 in the attempt to restore the building to its supposed early Christian aspect: Giovanni Brusin/Paolo L. Zovatto, *Monumenti paleocristiani di Aquileia e di Grado* (Udine 1957) 399–415; 479–481; Giovanni Bovini, *Grado paleocristiana* (Bologna 1973) 133–134.

⁴⁶ McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy 700–702*.

⁴⁷ On the letter, see Nelson, *The role of the gift* 234–235.

⁴⁸ On the re-roofing of the churches and basilicas of Rome in the Carolingian period, cf. Herman Geertmann, *More veterum. Il Liber Pontificalis e gli edifici ecclesiastici di Roma nella tarda antichità e nell’alto medioevo* (Archaeologica Traiectina 10, Groningen 1975) 12, 32–34. That lead regularly figured among royal gifts is demonstrated by the *Gesta Dagoberti*, where it is stated that the Merovingian king had ordered four tonnes of lead to be delivered, every two years, from an unspecified mine to St. Denis to cover the roof of the abbey church. The mine in question may have been the silver-bearing lead mine at Melle in Poitou-Charente (France), which was in full production under the Carolingians (Florian Tereygeol, *Production and circulation of silver and secondary products (lead and glass) from Frankish royal silver mines at Melle (eighth to tenth century)*, in: *Post-Roman Towns. Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, 1: *the Heirs of the Roman West*, ed. Joachim Henning (Millennium Studies 5/1, Berlin 2007) 123–134, at 133).

⁴⁹ However, an earlier chronology (7th/8th century) cannot be ruled out: Brogiolo, Cagnana, *Nuove ricerche* 98–100.

⁵⁰ The building shows two main construction phases: the first one is variously dated between the mid-4th and the mid-5th centuries, the second one to the end of the 5th and the late 6th centuries (Cuscito, *Signaculum Fidei* 339–345). The only evidence for the existence of a Carolingian phase is offered by three Corinthian capitals dated to the 9th century (Germana Marchesan Chinese, *La basilica di Piazza della Vittoria a Grado*, in: *Grado nella storia e nell’arte* [Antichità altoadriatiche 17, Trieste 1974] 329–323, at 319). Amelio Tagliaferri, *Le diocesi di Aquileia e di Grado* (Corpus della scultura alto-medievale 10, Spoleto 1981) 398–399.

enter it. For this reason, he summoned master craftsmen from *Francia* (line 54: *feci venire magistros de Francia*) and provided thirty beams to restore the roof.⁵¹ Even in this case a good parallel is offered by Rome: the Codex Carolinus preserves a letter from Hadrian I to Charlemagne regarding the supply of beams for the restoration of the basilica of St. Peter, and a request for a master-craftsman or *magister* to oversee the selection and cutting of the timbers in the area of Spoleto.⁵²

The 'will' also mentions a series of interventions in buildings now lost or not identifiable. Major works were carried out on the site of the church of Santa Agata, located outside the *castrum*.⁵³ Fortunatus provides a lengthy description of his intervention, although unfortunately the passage is not clear in all its details (lines 35–41: *Ecclesia sanctae Agate, ubi requiescunt et duo martyres erat in ruinis posita et quando impetus maris veniebat, usque ad ipsa corpora ambulabat, sed tanta erat Dei misericordia, quod ipsa aqua feriebat parietes longe de ipsa corpora pedes, quod plures nostri sacerdotes viderunt. Ego autem, cum Dei misericordia, reedificavi eam a fundamentis in altitudinem et in longitudinem ubi iam impetus maris accedere numquam potest et super ipsa corpora feci arcus volutiles et super ipsos alios arcus volutiles. Et feci ibi altare in honorem sancti Felicis et Fortunati, paratum cum auro et argento; et ante ipsa corpora subtus similiter altare paratum cum auro et argento*).

Fortunatus presents his intervention as a complete reconstruction "from the foundations" (*a fundamentis*), but similar claims in texts and inscriptions always raise suspicions about the real nature of the works⁵⁴. It is highly plausible that the patriarch reused some parts of the earlier building, and his intervention was aimed firstly at ensuring adequate protection from sea erosion for the remains of forty-two martyrs. These relics were deposited in a crypt, the existence of which is attested by John the Deacon at the end of the 10th century.⁵⁵ The vaulted structure of the crypt might have supported a raised ambulatory around the apse of the church with radiating altars in honour of St. Cecilia, St. Eugenia, St. Agnese and St. Felicita, and to St. Lucia in the axial apse.⁵⁶ A gold and silver altar dedicated to Sts. Felix and Fortunatus was in the presbytery, situated above the altar of the crypt, which also had a precious revetment.⁵⁷

Whatever the precise arrangement, the passage hints at the adoption of Carolingian models for the refurbishment of the church of Santa Agata, just as the cathedral of Aquileia was provided with a crypt between the episcopacies of Paulinus and Maxentius.⁵⁸ In the same way, it documents the proliferation of auxiliary altars aside from the main one, a characteristic of churches throughout Italy and *Francia* in

⁵¹ Aldo Messina, *Feci venire magistros de Francia*, in: *Ricerche Religiose del Friuli e dell'Istria* 3 (1984) 145–148.

⁵² Codex Carolinus 65 (ed. Gundlach, MGH Epp. 3, Hannover 1892) 476–657, at 593: *De camarado autem, quod est ypochartosin ad renovandum in basilica beati Petri apostoli, nutritori vestro, prius nobis unum dirigite magistrum, qui considerare debeat ipsum lignamen, quod ibidem necesse fuerit, ut, sicut antiquitus fuit, ita valeat renovari. Et tunc per vestram regalem praecellentiam iussionem dirigatur ipse magister in partibus Spoletii, et demandationem ibidem de ipso faciat lignamen, quod in predicto ypochartosin, hoc est camarado, necesse fuerit, quia in nostris finibus tale lignamen minime reperitur*.

⁵³ Enzo Marocco, *Ecclesiarumque copiis decorata sanctorumque corporibus fulta*. Antichi luoghi di culto e venerazione di santi nel territorio gradese, in: *Cammina, cammina: dalla via dell'ambra alla via della fede*, ed. Silvia Blason Scarel (Aquileia 2000) 228–241, at 230–231; Brunettin, *Il cosiddetto testamento* 106–113.

⁵⁴ The dedicatory inscription of the sixth-century cathedral in Poreč/Parenzo in Istria, gives a good example in this regard. The text celebrates the works of Bishop Eufasius, who is credited with replacing the old building from the foundations, which had apparently been "near to collapse". However, large parts of the fifth-century episcopal complex were reused in the new basilica (Ann Terry, Henry Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor: the Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufasius at Poreč* (University Park, Pa. 2007) 5).

⁵⁵ John the Deacon, *Istoria Veneticorum* II, 28 (ed. Luigi A. Berto, *Fonti per la Storia dell'Italia Medievale*. Storici italiani dal Cinquecento al Millecinquecento ad uso delle scuole 2, Bologna 1999) 112: [scil. *Fortunatus*] *ecclesiam vero sanctae Agathe martyris a fundamentis ipse edificare devotissime fecit, ubi martyrum quadraginta et duo corpora in eiusdem ecclesiae cripta recondivit*.

⁵⁶ Marocco, *Ecclesiarumque* 231.

⁵⁷ Wladimiro Dorigo, *Le opere del patriarca Fortunato II in Grado*, in: *Florilegium artium*. Scritti in memoria di Renato Polacco, ed. Giordana Trovabene (Venezia 2006) 89–96, at 91–92.

⁵⁸ Luca Villa, *Cultura architettonica e rinnovamento dei nuclei episcopali in Friuli nell'età di Paolino: aspetti archeologici e monumentali*, in: *Il Friuli e l'Istria al tempo di San Paolino d'Aquileia*, ed. Giuseppe Cuscito (Antichità Altodriatiche 55, Trieste 2005) 57–114, at 78–88.

the late 8th and 9th centuries.⁵⁹ Fortunatus mentions the placement of an altar before the shrine of the forty-two martyrs in the crypt, an arrangement with parallels in the Frankish world.⁶⁰

Fortunatus states that he also rebuilt the church of San Pellegrino and its annexes as well. An extra-mural building, it had been destroyed by the inhabitants of Grado themselves on the occasion of king Pippin's attack on the Venetian Duchy in 810 (lines 50–52: *De ecclesia autem sancti Peregrini, quam Gradisiani in illorum peccato fundamenta everterunt per timore Franchorum, nos, Deo iubente, a fundamentis reedificavimus [eam] scolae, mansiones et porticus in honore edificavimus*).⁶¹ Unfortunately, the patriarch says nothing on the date of foundation of this church, dedicated to the legendary first bishop of Auxerre, whose cult spread to Italy from *Francia* at the end of the 8th century onwards. Given the popularity of the cult of Saint Pellegrinus beyond the Alps, the reconstruction of this church should, perhaps, be understood in the context of Frankish presence and interests.⁶²

The patriarch rebuilt the monastery on the island of San Giuliano (lines 56–57: *Monasterium sancti Iuliani in insula, quod in ruinis positum erat, edificavimus*). The site has been identified with a locality of the same name northwest of Grado, now truly part of the mainland, where Roman and early Christian remains have been brought to light.⁶³ Unfortunately, there is no evidence for the existence of a monastic complex such as that described by Fortunatus, who mentions an *ecclesia maior*, implying the existence of two churches.⁶⁴

METALWORK (TABLE II)

Fortunatus gave two great silver or silver sheathed light-crowns to the main altar of Santa Eufemia, one of which had one hundred lamps (line 5: *duas coronas argenteas maiores, in una ardet cesendelli centum*).⁶⁵ Gold and silver *coronae* are mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* as part of the lighting devices donated by Constantine to the churches of Rome, and the term indicates both chandeliers with branched supports for the glass lights, or *polykandela* consisting of a flat and broad metal ring pierced by circular holes into which were inserted stemmed lamps.⁶⁶ Two analogous light-crowns, 'not seen in Italy today', were presented by the patriarch to another unspecified church (lines 5–6: *In alia ecclesia fecit tales coronas quales hodie in Italia non sunt*).

For their prestige, gold and silver *coronae* were placed over the main altar,⁶⁷ and Fortunatus mentions the sacred vessels used in liturgical celebrations and the textiles (*infra*), which were placed on and

⁵⁹ The proliferation can be explained in relation to the increase in private masses (Arnold Angenendt, *Missa specialis*: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Privatmessen, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 17 [1983] 152–221) and to the emphasis on relics and their spiritual power (Franz Alto Bauer, La frammentazione liturgica nella Chiesa romana nel primo Medioevo, in: *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 75 [1999] 385–446). Other altars were in the chapels of St. Quirinus (lines 18–19), St. Zeno (line 34), of St. Pancratius (lines 34–35), of St. Laurence (line 27) and St. Paul (line 28): Marocco, *Ecclesiarumque* 234.

⁶⁰ The most famous example is that of St-Gall, where the tomb of the founder of the abbey lays behind the high altar of the monastery church. In northern Italy, comparisons can be traced at Brescia (San Salvatore) and Pavia (San Felice): Monica Ibsen, *Magno et optimo tesauo*. Intorno a reliquie e altari in San Salvatore di Brescia, in: *Inquirere veritatem. Studi in memoria di mons. Antonio Masetti Zannini*, ed. Gabriele Archetti (Brixia Sacra 12, Brescia 2007) 407–430, at 415–418.

⁶¹ Bovini, Grado 221; Marocco, *Ecclesiarumque* 235. This piece of information might suggest a 'pincer movement' by Pippin, who attacked the Duchy from the south and the port of Albiola as well as from the north and Grado: Berto, La 'Venetia' 200. As in the case of the church of Santa Agata, it is reasonable to doubt the veracity of Fortunatus' claim of a complete reconstruction "from the foundations" (*a fundamentis*).

⁶² Enzo Marocco, *Ecclesiarumque* 235 assumes that the inhabitants of Grado may have destroyed the church for its Frankish connotation and attributes its construction to the predecessor of Fortunatus, John II.

⁶³ G. Marchesan, Problemi di archeologia cristiana nella laguna di Grado, in *Atti del III Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana* (Antichità Altoadriatiche 6, Trieste 1974) 93–106, at 100–106; see also Gisella Cantino Wataghin, Istituzioni monastiche nel Friuli altomedievale: un'indagine archeologica, in: Paolo Diacono e il Friuli altomedievale (secc. VI–X), *Atti del XIV Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto 2001) 281–319, at 301–305.

⁶⁴ The monastery also had a numerous clergy: Fortunatus sent there presbyters with 2 lb. of silver for the celebration of night and early morning offices, and presented cloth and garments to the subdeacons and acolytes (*infra*).

⁶⁵ In medieval sources from the area around Venice, the term *cesendella* indicates glass-lamps: Brunettin, Il cosiddetto testamento 93–94; Dorigo, Le opere 94.

⁶⁶ Herman Geertmann, L'illuminazione della basilica paleocristiana secondo il *Liber Pontificalis*, in: *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 64 (1988) 135–160.

⁶⁷ Geertmann, L'illuminazione 61–62.

over the altar itself. Offering silver and gold chalices (line 46: *calices*), patens (lines 6 and 45: *patenae*), censers (line 7: *turibulum*) and pyxes (lines 6: *turres*),⁶⁸ the patriarch gave the churches of Grado all the implements needed for the divine service.⁶⁹ Among the gifts bestowed by Fortunatus upon the altar of an unspecified church, there are two golden crowns (line 7: *coronas aureas*). In this case, the fact that the artefacts are mentioned alongside a censer suggests that these were votive crowns, usually hung over the altars or from ciboria.⁷⁰

Furthermore, Fortunatus states that he sent to *Francia* 50 *manchosi* with good gems, garnets and hyacinths⁷¹, to improve the small chalice mentioned above (lines 73–74: *Ad augendum L manchosos transmisi in Franciam et bonas gemmas adamantinas et aiaguntos et facere meliore et maiore*). Seemingly, Fortunatus was aware of artistic traditions and production in the Carolingian empire⁷². This is further demonstrated by the silver and gold furnishings offered by Fortunatus to the churches of Grado, recorded by John the Deacon in the *Istoria Veneticorum* as well.

In the cathedral of Santa Eufemia, the patriarch placed a silver chancel screen before the main altar (line 8: *de argento pergula ante altare maiore*).⁷³ A lacunose passage seems to make reference to the existence of silver chancel barriers in one of the many chapels annexed to the churches of Santa Eufemia and Santa Maria: Fortunatus gave the *magister* Maurianus an unspecified quantity of silver to make 'three or four *templi*' (lines 19–20: *Et dedi Mauriano magistro argentum ad facere templos, nescio aut tres aut quatuor recordo, et feci ibi altare unum*). The term *templus* (i.e. *templum*) cannot be easily translated: it might be the Latin calque of the Greek τέμπλον, indicating a chancel barrier placed around or in front of the altar dedicated by Fortunatus,⁷⁴ but the fact that John the Deacon uses this word to describe structures over altars (*supra altaria martyrum argentea templa composuit*) suggests that the *templa* could have been silver ciboria, of the kind for which we have detailed information for several late antique and early medieval churches in the East and in the West as well.⁷⁵

According to Fortunatus, these structures were dismantled by an anonymous cleric, perhaps at the time of the usurpation of Bishop John II, to be reused in the chapel of St. Quirinus alongside part of a silver plaque pertaining to the altar of the church of St. Pantaleon at Civitas Nova Heracliana (lines 20–22: *Tulit ipsos templos clericus ad ordin[...] Mauriano et destruxit ipsum altare et fecit exinde illos*

⁶⁸ The use of the term *turris* for pyxis recurs in Gregory of Tours, in the *Liber Pontificalis* and in other sources as well (Brunettin, *Il cosiddetto testamento* 95–96).

⁶⁹ None of the objects offered by the patriarch now remain, but it is possible to get an idea of their appearance from contemporary depictions and a number of extant artefacts, some of which have been brought to light in areas close to Grado. In this regard, a good example is an early Carolingian silver censer found among the ruins of the church of the Holy Saviour at Stara Vrljka in Dalmatia (Croatia). A similar (bronze) censer comes from the site of Gradište at Bašeli, north of Kranj (Slovenia): Ante Milošević, *Oggetti preziosi, segni distintivi carolingi della Croazia. I tesori della Croazia altomedievale*, in: *L'Adriatico dalla tarda antichità all'età carolingia*, ed. Gianpietro Brogiolo/Paolo Delogu (Firenze 2005) 245–270, at 245–248.

⁷⁰ Michelle Beghelli, Joan Pinar Gil, *Corredo e arredo liturgico nelle chiese tra VIII e IX secolo. Suppellettili antiche e moderne, locali e importate tra archeologia, fonti scritte e iconografiche*, in: *Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 60 (2013) 697–762, at 724–726.

⁷¹ Since it was only in the later Middle Ages that diamonds began appearing in western Europe, the term *adamantinas* should be regarded as a misreading of *alamandinas*, i.e. garnets: Michelle Beghelli, *From the Bible to the Liber Pontificalis. Gems and precious stones in the early Medieval churches: combinations, colours and context*, in: *Gemstones in the First Millennium AD. Mines, Trade, Workshops and Symbolism*, ed. Alexandra Hilgner/Susanne Greiff/Dieter Quast (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Tagungen – Band 30, Mainz 2017) 233–275, at 251–252.

⁷² Frankish goldsmiths were famed and prized for their ability, and Carolingian lay and ecclesiastical patrons encouraged the production and use of engraved gems: Genevra A. Kornbluth, *Carolingian Treasure. Engraved Gems of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill 1986) 20–93; ead., *Engraved Gems of the Carolingian Empire* (University Park-Penn. 1995).

⁷³ Dorigo, *Le opere* 94.

⁷⁴ Dorigo, *Le opere* 94; Brunettin, *Il cosiddetto testamento* 101–102.

⁷⁵ Maria Mundell Mango, *The monetary value of silver revetments and objects belonging to churches, A.D. 300–700*, in: *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium*, ed. Susan A. Boyd/Marla Mundell Mango (Dumbarton Oaks 1993) 123–136, at 124–132; for Rome, see Federico Guidobaldi, *I ciboria d'altare a Roma fino al IX secolo*, in: *Arredi di culto e disposizioni liturgiche a Roma*, ed. S. de Blaauw (Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome 59, Roma 2000) 55–69.

*templos de sancto Quirino et medium parietem in longitudine de illo altari, quod tulit de ecclesia sancti Pantaleonis de Nova Civitate).*⁷⁶

As seen, there were two gold and silver-clad altars in the church of Sant'Agata,⁷⁷ and Fortunatus presented a similar structure to the chapel of St. Mark, which has been identified with the small *cella trichora* to the left of the apse of the cathedral of Santa Eufemia, where the patriarch dismantled a chancel barrier erected there by John II. The intervention had a clear symbolic meaning: Fortunatus not only erased the memory of his usurper,⁷⁸ but also reaffirmed his self-legitimation as a successor of St. Mark, the apostolic founder of the Church of Aquileia and Grado,⁷⁹ and decorated the burial place of his predecessor and relative John I.⁸⁰

The gold and silver-clad altar in the chapel of St. Mark was 15 feet long and 3.5 feet wide, surmounted by a silver plaque with reliefs framed within arches (lines 11–17: *ad sedem sancti Marci ... ad corpora beatissimorum martyrum fabricavi altaria de auro et de argento, in longitudine pedes XV et in latitudine pedes tres et semisse et post ipsum altare alium parietem deauratum et deargentatum, similiter in longitudine pedum XV et in altitudine pedes 4; et super ipso pariete arcus volutiles de argento et super ipsos arcus imagines de auro*).

This description can be directly associated with the golden altar presented by Angilbert II, archbishop of Milan from 824 and 859, to the basilica of Sant'Ambrogio,⁸¹ inspired by the altar of the *confessio* of the basilica of St. Peter at Rome, repeatedly refurbished in the 9th century.⁸² In the same way, the *parietes* mentioned in the 'will' can be compared to the now lost golden altar frontal offered by Charles the Bald to the abbey of Saint-Denis and depicted by the Master of the Mass of St. Gilles. Interestingly, Fortunatus describes the figurative decoration (*images*)⁸³ of the *paries* in the chapel of St. Mark as being set under an architectural frame, just like the repoussé figures of the enthroned Christ flanked by six standing saints within three major arches and inscribed niches on the golden altar frontal of Saint-Denis.⁸⁴ Written sources attest the existence of altars in precious metal with figurative decoration

⁷⁶ John the Deacon, *Istoria Veneticorum* II, 28, ed. Berto 112: *Ecclesiarum namque altaria Gradensis urbis lamminis argenteis* [scil. *Fortunatus*] *condecoravit et supra altaria martyrum argentea templa composuit*. The altar was possibly taken to Grado on the occasion of the sack of Civitas Nova – Heracliana by duke Obellerius (805–810): Dorigo, *Le opere* 94; Brunettin, *Il cosiddetto testamento* 101–102.

⁷⁷ Brunettin, *Il cosiddetto testamento* 109.

⁷⁸ Dorigo, *Le opere* 94; Brunettin, *Il cosiddetto testamento* 99–100. On that occasion, Fortunatus dismantled the chancel barrier recorded by John the Deacon (*Istoria Veneticorum* II, 28, ed. Berto 112), who records that the usurper patriarch John II had furnished the chapel at St. Mark with marble columns and *tabulae* (perhaps wooden tables with pictures) in honour of the martyrs Hermagoras and Fortunatus, and Hilarius and Tatianus venerated there: [scil. *Iohannes*] *licet iniuste sedem iniuste sedem invaderet, tamen ante sanctorum martyrum Hermacore et Fortunati, seu Hyllari et Taciani corpora, nec non et sancti Marci capellam marmoreis columnis et tabulis honorifice choros compenere studuit*. A fragmentary architrave bearing the name of John II and recording the cult of St. Mark has been identified as part of this structure: Tagliaferri, *Le diocesi* 357–358. John II's intervention had clear aims regarding his own legitimation: it is not by chance that he embellished the chapel of St. Mark, the founder of the Church of Aquileia, as well as those of Sts. Hermagoras and Fortunatus, the first bishop of the town ordained by St. Mark himself and his subdeacon, and of Sts. Hilarius and Tatianus, a bishop of Aquileia and his archdeacon martyred under the emperor Numerian (282–284). All these figures played fundamental roles in the debate between Grado and Aquileia over the patriarchal primacy: Giorgia Vocino, *Les saints en lice: hagiographie et reliques entre Cividale et Grado à l'époque carolingienne*, in: *Compétition et sacré au Haut Moyen Âge: entre médiation et exclusion*, ed. Régine Le Jan (Collection Haut Moyen Âge 21, Turnhout 2015) 273–293, at 288–291.

⁷⁹ On the cult of St. Mark in early medieval *Venetia*, see John Osborne, *Politics, diplomacy and the cult of relics in the northern Adriatic rim in the first half of the 9th century*, in: *Early Medieval Europe* 8 (1999) 369–389.

⁸⁰ John the Deacon, *Istoria Veneticorum* II, 23 ed. Berto 106: [scil. *Iohannes*] *sepultusque fuit in sancti Marci capella post sanctorum martyrum mausolea*.

⁸¹ Victor H. Elbern, *Der Karolingische Goldaltar in Mailand* (Bonn 1952).

⁸² Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e altomedievale. *Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri* (Studi e Testi, Roma 1994) 542–547.

⁸³ In Carolingian sources the term *imago* indicates images of all kinds, sculpted in the round and in bas-relief or painted: Christian Beutler, *Documents sur la sculpture carolingienne I*, in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 104 (1962) 445–458, and Christian Beutler, *Documents sur la sculpture carolingienne II*, in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 105 (1963) 193–200.

⁸⁴ Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Les trésors de Neustrie du VIIe au IXe d'après les sources écrites*. Orfèvrerie et sculpture sur ivoire, in: *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, ed. Hartmut Atsma (Beihefte der Francia 16.2, Sigmaringen 1989) 260–293, at 289–293; Jean Hubert/Jean Porcher/Wolfgang F. Volbach, *L'empire carolingien* (Paris 1968) 251–254.

in the churches of Saint-Riquier, Saint-Germain-de-Prés, Le Mans, Saint-Trond and Redon⁸⁵, and Grado seems to have taken part in the proliferation of images in the area of the sanctuary which characterises ninth century church decoration.⁸⁶ The desire to maximise the decorative setting of the altar is confirmed by the mention of a decorated altarpiece (*antependium*) set in front of the altar itself, as attested elsewhere in the Carolingian world.⁸⁷

Moreover, Fortunatus explicitly mentions two objects of Byzantine manufacture: the two reliquaries (*capsae*) placed on the altar of the chapel of St. Mark (lines 23–24: *capsa, quae venit coomparata de Constantinopoli lib. X*) and on that covered with silver and gold in the crypt of the church of Sant'Agata (lines 41–42: *capsa, quae empta fuit in Constantinopoli lib. XV*), both purchased in Constantinople. However, the wording allows the possibility that they had been bought earlier on behalf of the patriarch using a trader in relics and/or reliquaries – as suggested by the fact that Fortunatus does not use the verb in first person.⁸⁸

TEXTILES (TABLE III)

The 'will' of Fortunatus indicates that textiles were used as veils (*vela*) and curtains (*cortinae*) hung from architraves and between columns to create spatial divisions within churches, and as altar-cloths. It provides a detailed account of textiles donated by the patriarch to the churches of Grado. This is little surprise: precious textiles figure prominently among the gifts presented to churches in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. In this regard, the evidence of the *Liber Pontificalis* is unequivocal: the notices of papal gifts of textiles (Byzantine silks) which are sporadically attested until the end of the 7th century, subsequently – and rather suddenly – become more frequent.⁸⁹ The great majority of silks recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis* date to the pontificates of Hadrian I and Leo IV (845–847), a trend that largely reflects that of papal gifts of precious metals and that of building activity in Rome.⁹⁰ Even though the astonishing scale of papal acquisitions and distributions is without parallel, the number and variety of precious textiles donated by Fortunatus to the churches of Grado is nonetheless remarkable: they comprise a range of plain, purple and decorated silks of different colour and weight, plus a series of linen cloths and other textiles of unspecified nature.

If the mention of three damasks (lines 1 and 30; *damaschinus*) appears a later interpolation (the term is not otherwise attested prior to the mid-14th century),⁹¹ the 'will' lists purple cloths: beside a *purpura* (line 2) offered to the altar of the cathedral of Santa Eufemia, the 'will' records the donation of a *blata*

⁸⁵ Gaborit-Chopin, *Les trésors* 290.

⁸⁶ Sible de Blaauw, *Altar imagery in Italy before the altarpiece*, in: *The Altar and Its Environment, 1150–1440* (Turnhout 2010) 47–55, at 50–52; Edmond Barbier, *Les images, les reliques et la face supérieure de l'autel avant le XIe siècle*, in: *Synthronon. Art et archéologie de la fin de l'Antiquité e du Moyen Âge*, ed. André Grabar (Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 2, Paris 1968) 199–207.

⁸⁷ An example is the "Escrain de Charlemagne", a now lost architectural structure with hanging precious stones and pearls attributed to Charles the Bald and once placed on the altar of the church of Saint-Denis (Jean-Pierre Caillet, *De antependium au retable: la contribution des orfèvres et émailleurs d'Occident*, in: *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 49 (2006), 3–20, at 4–6).

⁸⁸ McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy* 258, n. 65.

⁸⁹ Papal gifts of textiles to the church of Rome have been an object of growing interest in recent years, as the great number of papers on the topic demonstrates: Roberto Petriaggi, *Utilizzazione, decorazione e diffusione dei tessuti nei corredi della basiliche cristiane secondo il Liber Pontificalis di Roma (514–795)*, in: *Prospettiva* 39 (1984) 37–46; Paolo Delogu, *L'importazione di tessuti preziosi e il sistema economico romano nel IX secolo*, in: *Roma medievale. Aggiornamenti*, ed. Paolo Delogu (Firenze 1998) 123–141; Maria Andaloro, *Immagine e immagini a Roma*, in: *Il Liber Pontificalis e la storia materiale*, ed. Herman Geertman (Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome 60/61, Roma 2001–2001) 45–102; Marielle Martiniani-Reber, *Tentures et textiles des églises romaines au haut Moyen Âge d'après le Liber Pontificalis*, in: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Âge* 111 (1999) 289–305. On silk in Carolingian Europe, see McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy* 719–726.

⁹⁰ Paolo Delogu, *L'importazione di tessuti preziosi* 124; on papal donations of silver and gold, id., *The rebirth of Rome in the 8th and 9th centuries*, in: *The Rebirth of Towns in the West, AD 700–1050*, ed. Richard Hodges/Brian Hobley, (Council for British Archaeology Research Report 68, London 1988) 32–42, and id., *Oro e argento in Roma tra il VII e il IX secolo*, in: *Cultura e società nell'Italia medievale. Studi per Paolo Brezzi* (Roma 1988) 273–293.

⁹¹ Léopold Favre, s.v. *Damasquinum*, in: *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, ed. Charles DuCange (Niort 1883–1887) t. 3, col. 005b.

(line 28) to the altar or chapel of St. Laurence. The term *blata* is a borrowing of the Greek technical term βλάττα, which at first referred to the colour purple then to purple silks in general. That these were highest quality textiles is demonstrated by the fact that their production and export were strictly regulated by the Byzantine authorities,⁹² and the eastern origin is confirmed by the adjective *byzanteum/byzantea* that regularly qualifies the term in the *Liber Pontificalis*.⁹³

Three *quadrabula* are recorded among the gifts offered by Fortunatus to the churches of Grado (lines 23, 28–29). *Quadrabulum* is another borrowing of a Greek technical term used by the Byzantine silk industry to designate a kind of cloth: the terms δωδεκάπωλα, δεκάπωλα, οκτάπωλα and ἐξάπωλα determined the quality and weight of the silk produced.⁹⁴ The term *quadrabulum* (i.e. *quadrapulū*) has no Greek equivalent, but it occurs a number of times in the *Liber Pontificalis* to indicate a ‘fourfold-woven silk cloth’.⁹⁵

Fortunatus also made gifts of *fundata/fundala* to the churches of Santa Eufemia and Santa Maria and to the baptistery of San Giovanni. In the *Liber Pontificalis*, the term designates silk fabrics interwoven with gold, sometimes decorated with images and ornamental motifs.⁹⁶ One of these textiles that was donated to the altar of the church of Santa Maria, is described as a ‘white cloth’, for the gilding of which Fortunatus paid 12 lb. of gold (line 31: *unum fondatum album et de [do]randum iam libras XII*).⁹⁷

Although it is not specified, we can assume the silken nature of two other cloths: the *velum* purchased by Fortunatus from bishop Christopher of Olivolo⁹⁸ for the significant sum of 20 *mancosi* and a *cortina* of the value of 40 *solidi* bought by the patriarch from the widow (*socera*) of a certain Passibo.⁹⁹

References to figured textiles deserve special mention. Fortunatus provided the presbytery of the basilica of Santa Eufemia with several luxury textiles: two historiated linen *cortinae* were placed on the benches for the clergy (line 2: *lineas duas cortinas historiales*), while a figural drapery depicting the Epiphany was presented to the main altar (line 2: *unum istoriale cum istoria de Epifania*). If this description is evocative of the standard formulae used in the *Liber Pontificalis* to describe the Byzantine silken textiles imported to Rome where figurative panels were attached to them (*vestem ... habentem in medio tabulam de ... cum historiam*, a ‘cloth with a panel of ... in the centre representing ...’),¹⁰⁰ Fortunatus’ drapery can be likened to another category of Byzantine silks, namely those made in Constantinople in the years between the two phases of iconoclasm with New Testament depictions woven into the actual fabric.¹⁰¹ We may get some sense of what these looked like from the two well-known silks discovered in the altar of the *Sancta Sanctorum* at the Lateran. The two fragments, from what was once a single altar-cloth or *velum* of the early 9th century, show the Annunciation and the Nativity in medallions (*rotae*) decorated with a heart and lotus flower border.¹⁰²

⁹² In the Book of the Eparch, different kinds of βλαττία are listed in the silks forbidden for private manufacture or to be declared to the Eparch: see Anna Muthesius, *Studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk-Weaving* (London 1995) 291–293. βλαττία also appear in the Baggage Train account of the Book of Ceremonies: John F. Haldon, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Three Treaties on Imperial Military Expeditions* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 28, Wien 1990) 107–115.

⁹³ Paolo Delogu, *L’importazione di tessuti preziosi* 127–128.

⁹⁴ Muthesius, *Studies* 292–293.

⁹⁵ Delogu, *L’importazione di tessuti preziosi* 128.

⁹⁶ Delogu, *L’importazione di tessuti preziosi* 131–135.

⁹⁷ Byzantine sources mention the existence of white and off-white silks, and these fabrics may have been totally undyed and only used natural silk yarn, which can range in colour from off-white to golden yellow (Anna Muthesius, *Essential processes, looms, and technical aspects of the production of silk textiles*, in: *The Economic History of Byzantium: from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (Dumbarton Oaks 2002) 147–168, at 160).

⁹⁸ On bishop Christopher of Olivolo, see Berto, *In Search of the First Venetians* 448–449.

⁹⁹ The passage is not clear and it is possible that the copyist mistook the name of Passibo for that of his widow. The name Passibo/Passivus does not seem to have been very popular, but it is sparsely attested in Italy between the late sixth and eighth centuries: V. Prigent, *Spernentes ordinationem exarchi, sibi omnes ubique in Italia duces elegerunt*. Deux bulles de ducs italiens du Haut Moyen Âge, in: *Annali dell’Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 60 (2014) 135–169, at 136–141.

¹⁰⁰ On the occurrence of these iconographic motives, cf. Andaloro, *Immagine e immagini* 48.

¹⁰¹ Andaloro, *Immagine e immagini* 50–63; Brubaker, *Textiles* 82–89.

¹⁰² Andaloro, *Immagine e immagini* 63–66; Brubaker, *Textiles* 91–92.

Among the gifts of Fortunatus there are several textiles of unspecified nature (lines 17 and 45: *pecciae* and *pallia*), and a mysterious cloth, *macioda* (line 28), not otherwise attested.¹⁰³

Finally, the 'will' of Fortunatus gives information on the garments of the clergy. Fortunatus states that priests were given shirts and trousers made from two linen *cortinae* he had previously presented to the chapel of St. Mark (lines 11–13). The patriarch also offered the clergy of the monastery of San Giuliano sixteen silken chasubles and nine dalmatics, while subdeacons and acolytes received clothes to fulfil their need for liturgical vestments and everyday attire (lines 58–62).

FORTUNATUS AS A GIFT-GIVER IN CAROLINGIAN SOURCES

Fortunatus' generosity was not directed only towards his Church; he is remembered in Frankish sources as a gift-giver on the occasion of his visit to Salz, when he presented Charlemagne with several gifts, including two 'beautifully sculpted ivory doors' (*duas portas eburneas, mirico opera sculptas*).¹⁰⁴ The nature of these objects and their origin are a matter of debate: the term *porta* might refer to a broad range of objects of different size, shape or function. Ancient sources record proper ivory doors at temples.¹⁰⁵ Ivory doors were popular in late antique Egypt and decorated the Great Palace at Constantinople,¹⁰⁶ and there is also literary evidence for their existence in the Early Medieval West: the description of Saint-Denis written by an anonymous monk of 799 refers to the seven doors, richly decorated with ivory, silver and gold, of the basilica built under abbot Fulrad (749–784).¹⁰⁷ It is unlikely that Fortunatus would have carried two large doors across the Alps; we might assume that he presented Charlemagne with a couple of carved reliefs or ornamental plaques to be applied to wooden frameworks. However, there is one other possible explanation. During the Carolingian period, ivory was most often used as plaques or tablets, serving a variety of functions, such as covers of liturgical books or diptychs, or writing tablets.¹⁰⁸ These tablets were a most appropriate diplomatic gift, as ivory was one of the pre-eminent signifiers of luxury and prestige.¹⁰⁹ In this regard, a good example is the case of Halitgar, bishop of Cambrai (817–831): sent in 826 on behalf of Louis the Pious to Constantinople, he received from the Byzantine emperor Michael II many precious relics and ivory tablets specifically intended to cover a book.¹¹⁰ The ivory doors offered by Fortunatus to Charlemagne may have been objects of this sort; on the other hand, their production place and date of manufacture remain unknown. Despite attempts to attribute them to Constantinople,¹¹¹ nothing militates against the reuse of ancient works, also given the scarce availability of ivory in eighth and ninth-century Italy.¹¹²

¹⁰³ Dorigo, *Le opere* 93; Brunettin, *Il cosiddetto testamento* 103. According to Giuseppe Cappelletti, *Storia della chiesa di Venezia dalle origini ai nostri giorni* (Venezia 1853) 406, *macioda* might derive from Hebrew *mahil* or *mechil*, 'mantle' or 'drape'. In this respect, the term can be compared to the Greek *μασουρωτά*, which appears in the Baggage Train account of the Book of Ceremonies and describes silken textiles with thin reed-like stripes. See Haldon, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* 223, who compares *μασουρωτά* to Arab *masura*, 'pipe, tube', and modern Greek *τὸ μασοῦρι*, 'quill'.

¹⁰⁴ Einhardi *Annales*, annum 803, ed. Pertz 191: *Venit quoque Fortunatus patriarcha de Graecis, afferens secum inter cetera dona duas portas eburneas, mirifico opera sculptas*. The editor of the text believes that 'de Graecis' is a mistake by a copyist for 'de Gradibus'.

¹⁰⁵ Archer St. Clair, *Carving as Craft. Palatine East and the Greco-Roman Tradition of Bone and Ivory Carving* (Baltimore 2003) 10.

¹⁰⁶ On early Christian Egypt, see Kurt Weitzmann, *The ivories of the so-called Grado chair*, in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972) 43–91, at 87–88; on Constantinople, cf. Rodolphe Guilland, *La Porte d'Ivoire - Ἡ ἐλεφαντίνη πύλη*, in: *Byzantion* 34 (1964) 329–346.

¹⁰⁷ See Alain Stoclet, *La Descriptio Basilicae Sancti Dyonisii. Premiers commentaires*, in: *Journal des Savants* (1980) 103–117, at 114–115.

¹⁰⁸ Melanie Holcomb, *The Function and Status of Carved Ivory in Carolingian Culture* (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan 1999) 55–59.

¹⁰⁹ On the use of ivory as a gift, see Holcomb, *The Function and Status* 39–42.

¹¹⁰ *Gesta pontificum Cameracensium* 42, ed. Bethmann 416: *Hic [Halitgarius] ad imperatore Karolo (Ludowico potius) Constantinopolim missus, et a Michahel imperatore, sicut inde reversus ipse retulit, honorifice susceptus est. Unde ipse multa et preciosa sanctorum pignora[...] asportavit ... necnon et tabulas eburneas, quibus libri cooperti ibidem esse spectantur*.

¹¹¹ See Kurt Weitzmann, *The Ivories* 88; Robert P. Bergman, *The Salerno Ivories: ars sacra from medieval Salerno* (Cambridge Mass. 1980) 104–105.

¹¹² Jean-Pierre Caillet, *Le remploi des ivoires dans l'Occident haut-médiéval (VIIe-XIe siècles)*, in: *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 17 (2011) 115–128; id., *L'art carolingien*, Paris 2005, 134–135.

Further information about Fortunatus as a gift-giver can be extracted from the *Annales Regni Francorum*, which state that in 821 the ‘patriarch of Grado was accused before the emperor by the priest Tiberius of encouraging Liudewit to persist in his treacherous revolt and of helping him construct strongholds (*castella*) by supplying craftsmen and stonemasons’.¹¹³ As a Frankish client, Liudewit ruled over the Slavs living in *Pannonia inferioris* (the southern part of the Carpathian Basin) from the *civitas* of Sisak (ancient *Siscia*) on the Sava. In 819 he revolted against the margrave of Friuli, and it took several years before the Franks curbed the rebellion.¹¹⁴ According to the testimony of the *Annales Regni Francorum*, there can be no question that the support given by Fortunatus to the rebels was not one of secondary importance: the armies that invaded Liudewit’s territory were unable to drive him from his *castellum* and were hard pressed to conduct prolonged sieges.¹¹⁵

Fortunatus’ dispatch of craftsmen and stonemasons to Liudewit provides a good example of a practice well-attested in the early Middle Ages, that is to say the ‘export of human capital ... overseas as “gifts”’, in Anthony Cutler’s words.¹¹⁶ As the prolonged resistance to the Franks demonstrates, Liudewit gained a decisive tactical advantage thanks to the intervention of Fortunatus, whose main aim would appear to have been to express his discontent towards Carolingian policy in the aftermath of the Treaty of Aachen,¹¹⁷ a discontent that possibly led him to Constantinople, where he found shelter after having been summoned to the Frankish court by Louis the Pious.

CONCLUSION

Written by the patriarch as a ‘statement of defence’ before being conducted to Rome, the ‘will’ of Fortunatus not only provides useful information on buildings and objects lost long ago; if read against the background of the personal vicissitudes of its ‘testator’, it sheds light on the political bonds which united the patriarch to *Francia* and to Byzantium. These found expression in a series of gifts and counter-gifts, through which the patriarch of Grado forged alliances with the super-powers of the period. Fortunatus mentions explicitly a *donum* from the Carolingian empire: the lead for the restoration of the roof of the church of Santa Maria came from the emperor. The symbolic significance of this gift can hardly be overestimated: bishops and abbots of the Carolingian empire owed the new lead for their churches to the Frankish kings. Charlemagne showed a particular concern for the good state of his own empire’s churches (and for their roofs in particular).¹¹⁸ At the same time, the delivery of lead for the restoration of the roof of the church of Santa Maria demonstrates the interest of Charlemagne in the seat of Grado, which also figures among the beneficiaries of his testament¹¹⁹ and to which the emperor had also granted

¹¹³ *Annales Regni Francorum*, annum 821, ed. Pertz 155: *Fortunatus patriarcha Gradensis, cum a quodam presbitero suo nomine Tiberio apud imperatorem fuisset accusatus, quod Liudewitum ad perseverandum in perfidia, qua coeperat, hortaretur eum ad castella sua munienda artifices et murarios mittendo iuaret* (trans. Scholz, Rogers, *Carolingian Chronicles* 109). On Tiberius, probably a presbyter of the Church of Grado, see Berto, in *Search of the first Venetians* 230.

¹¹⁴ Bowlus, Franks, Moravians, and Magyars 61–71.

¹¹⁵ Bowlus, Franks, Moravians, and Magyars 69–71. The dispatch of craftsmen and stonemasons to Liudewit by Fortunatus finds a peaceful pendant in the relationship between Priwina, then the Slavic duke of *Pannonia inferioris*, and the archbishop of Salzburg, Liupram, who around 850, at the request of the duke himself, sent ‘builders, painters, smiths and carpenters’ for the construction of the church of St. Hadrian at *Mosaburg/Zalavár* (Hungary) (Béla M. Szőke, *New findings of the excavations in Mosaburg/Zalavár*, in: *Post-Roman Towns. Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, 1: *the Heirs of the Roman West*, ed. Joachim Henning (Millennium Studies 5/1, Berlin 2007) 411–428, at 417–420.

¹¹⁶ Anthony Cutler, *Gifts and gift-exchange as aspects of the Byzantine, Arab, and related economies*, in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001) 247–278, at 253–255.

¹¹⁷ Bowlus, Franks, Moravians, and Magyars 70–71.

¹¹⁸ For example, in 806 the emperor ordered his *missi* to verify the condition of the churches in their territories starting from their roofs (Károli Magni *Capitularia* (ed. Alfred E. Boretius, MGH Capit. 1, Hannover 1906) 136: *Volumus itaque atque praecipimus, ut missi nostri per singulos pagos praevidere studeant omnia beneficia quae nostri et aliorum homines habere videntur, quomodo restaurata sint post annunciationem nostram sive destructa. Primum de aecclesiis, quomodo structae aut destructae sint in tectis, in maceriis sive parietibus sive in pavimentis necnon in pictura etiam et in luminariis sive officiis.*

¹¹⁹ Einhardi *Vita Karoli Magni* (ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. [25] Hannover/Leipzig 1911) 38–39: *Nomina metropoleorum, ad quas eadem eleimosina sive largitio facienda est, haec sunt: Roma, Ravenna, Mediolanum, Forum Iulii, Gradus, Colonia, Mogontiacus, Iuvanum et Salzburch, Treveri, Senones, Vesontio, Lugdunum, Ratumagus, Remi, Arelas, Vienna, Darantasia, Ebrodunum, Burdigala, Turones, Bituriges.*

immunity on the occasion of Fortunatus' visit to Salz in 803. The mapping of Charlemagne's giving in Italy by Jennifer R. Davis reveals an accumulation of grants around key locations in terms of strategic importance,¹²⁰ and, standing on the edge of Byzantine and Carolingian powers, Grado was one of primary relevance. If by giving grants Charlemagne intended to secure Fortunatus' loyalty, integrating him into the Frankish system, the patriarch of Grado proved himself willing to exploit the advantages of links with the Franks not only to counteract the emergence of the episcopal seat of Olivolo, but also to confront the renewed status of the Church of Aquileia, which also benefitted from the emperor's generosity.¹²¹

If the political situation provides the context for the ready adoption by Fortunatus of artistic and liturgical solutions elaborated in *Francia*, the interventions he promoted in the churches of Grado must be read as the expression of a precise strategy of self-promotion. By cladding altars and altar-graves with gold and silver, fencing off the area in front of them and donating precious church plate, Fortunatus not only gave an unmistakably Carolingian flavour to the churches of Grado, but also provided them with the requisite liturgical furniture for the display of the celebrant at mass, at the main altar or at the auxiliary ones. His interventions were aimed at enhancing these as the main focuses of cult building and to bring increased dignity and attention to the celebrant, in particular the bishop himself.¹²² It is not accidental that Fortunatus embellished with silver liturgical furnishing the chapel of St. Mark, and, associating himself with the founder of the Church of Aquileia-Grado, thereby staked a claim to patriarchal primacy. The use of silk hangings, which internally articulated church space, contributed to the dense accumulation of precious materials, by means of which the patriarch crafted his authority and saintly presence. If the silken textiles donated by Fortunatus to the churches of Grado cannot be compared to the huge quantities gifted by the popes to Roman basilicas, their presence is nonetheless remarkable. Since no silk was produced in the West during the Early Middle Ages,¹²³ the textiles mentioned in the 'will' should be understood to be Byzantine products, and it is highly plausible that they reached Grado through Fortunatus' political and institutional relations, as the mention of a *blata* (a restricted or 'forbidden' category of silken clothes) suggests.

What has been said so far does not rule out the possibility that some of the objects and goods mentioned in Fortunatus' 'will' might have reached Grado through commerce: archaeological and written evidence attest to a marked intensification of long-distance trade in the northern Adriatic Sea in the last decades of the 8th and the first decades of the 9th centuries,¹²⁴ and the granting by Charlemagne of toll-free status to four ships owned by the patriarch or his seat suggests a direct involvement in commercial activities. Nonetheless, keeping in mind the existence of grey areas between commerce and gift-exchange in the Early Middle Ages¹²⁵, the 'will' offers a vivid testimony to the varied ways in which gifts could be exploited to create, maintain and modify social and political relations.¹²⁶ Through the rebuilding of the churches of Grado and their endowment with precious objects, Fortunatus stressed his authority over his seat and affirmed his exceptional piety towards his flock,¹²⁷ while in his external relations through gift giving he sought to win the favour of the powerful or to indicate his opposition to the Franks. When relations with the latter became strained, Fortunatus did not hesitate to sustain Liudweit's rebellion by

¹²⁰ Jennifer R. Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire* (Cambridge 2015) 215–229.

¹²¹ In a diploma dated to 811, Charlemagne granted the patriarch Maxentius funds for the maintenance and restoration of the cathedral of Aquileia (*Diplomata Karolinorum* I, 214, ed. Mühlbacher, 285–287 [...] *opportunius atque decentius atria vel reliquas constructiones, quae ad honorem illius loci pertinerent*).

¹²² A similar strategy was adopted by several eighth and ninth-century popes at Rome: Judson J. Emerick, *Altars Personified: the Cult of the Saints and the Chapel System in Pope Paschal I's S. Prassede (817–819)*, in: *Archaeology in Architecture. Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker*, ed. Judson J. Emerick/Deborah M. Deliyannis (Mainz am Rhein 2005) 43–64.

¹²³ A possible exception is Islamic Spain: Brubaker, *Textiles* 82–83.

¹²⁴ Sauro Gelichi, *Flourishing places in north-eastern Italy: towns and emporia between late antiquity and the Carolingian age*, in: *Post-Roman Towns. Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium, 1: the Heirs of the Roman West*, ed. Joachim Henning (*Millennium Studies* 5/1, Berlin 2007) 77–104.

¹²⁵ Chris Wickham, *The Mediterranean around 800: on the Brink of the Second Trade Cycle*, in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2005) 161–174 at 162.

¹²⁶ Nelson, *The role of the gift* 228.

¹²⁷ See, again, the case of Paschal I at Rome: Caroline L. Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I. Papal Power, Urban renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation, 817–824* (Cambridge 2010) 257–273.

supplying him with craftsmen and masons to construct fortifications that could withstand Carolingian armies. This gift epitomises the delicate position of the patriarch in the second decade of the 9th century, which prompted him to an unexpected defection. However, in this case his manoeuvres went too far, and, once at Aachen after his Constantinopolitan exile, Fortunatus proved unable to explain away his earlier treason against the Franks, although, in dictating his ‘will’ and listing his many benefactions and gifts, the patriarch of Grado showed his determination to reaffirm his exclusive loyalty to his Church, disregarding Charlemagne’s admonishment: ‘And however much it may be a good thing that the buildings of a church should be beautiful, nevertheless the adornment and splendour of virtuous living is to be preferred to adornment and splendour of buildings’.¹²⁸

‘WILL’ OF PATRIARCH FORTUNATUS OF GRADO (ED. BRUNETTIN 1990, 80–83)

¹Imprimis altari sanctae Euphemie cum auro et argento et desuper duos damaschinos et unam purpuram et unum fundalum et unum istoriale cum istoria de Epifania; lineas duas cortinas historiales, quae circumdat tota sedilia, unde misi ante velo maiore [ante] reges,² que emi de Christophoro episcopo, mancosos viginti; et alio venedo maiore misi tabulatum in ambas scholas de ecclesia sanctae
5 Euphemie duas coronas argenteas maiores, in una ardet cesendelli centum. In alia ecclesia fecit

tales coronas quales hodie in Italia non sunt, turres maiores, duas patenas quales in ipsa ecclesia numquam fuere, coronas aureas [...] habuimus turibulo parvo de auro ad augent³ solidos auri mancosos XXX et II. Feci maiore similiter de argento pergula ante altare maiore; [item] omnia vasa deaurata et deargentata fronte, quae mihi por[...] dedit valentia solidos 70. Cortinam, quam mihi
10 donavit socera Passibo, quam ego volui comparare de illo solidos 40, tamen non minus illi merui.

Ad sedem sancti Marci peciam unam, quae fuit comparata solidos XV, cortinas lineas duas, unam de cubitis L et V, aliam de 30: illas tulit dericiator in sua mercede, fecit exinde camisas et bragas ad suos clericos; duas cortinas choro paratas cum brandeo velo, idest ante cancellos de secretario. Ad corpora beatissimorum martyrum fabricavi altaria de auro et de argento, in longitudine pedes XV et
15 in latitudine pedes tres et semisse et post ipsum altare alium parietem deauratum et deargentatum,

similiter in longitudine pedum XV et in altitudine pedes 4; et super ipso pariete arcus volutiles de argento et super ipsos arcus imagines de auro et super ipsa corpora peccias 8, quod ego misi et de ipsa fecimus et in circuitu per cancellos ad ipsa corpora velo maiore unum istoriale ante regias sancti Quirini. Et dedi Mauriano magistro argentum ad facere templos, nescio aut tres aut quatuor
20 recordo, et feci ibi altare unum. Tulit ipsos templos clericus ad ordin[...] Mauriano et destruxit

ipsum altare et fecit exinde illos templos de sancto Quirino et medium parietem in longitudine de illo altari, quod tulit de ecclesia sancti Pantaleonis de Nova Civitate; et super ipsa corpora misi peccias tres, ante regias sancti Marci velum I, in circuitu altaris quadrabulum I, super altare similiter capsula, quae venit coomparata de Constantinopoli libras X; ante sepulchrum domni Ioannis petiam unam; in
25 oratorio Petri ante corpora altare et super altare et in circuitu altaris pecciam unam; in oratorio ante

corpora sancti Quirini tria edificavi altaria: unum in honorem sancti Michaelis, aliud sancti Pauli, tertium sancti Benedicti et ipsa in circuitu et desuper honorifice coperii. In sancto Laurentio blata I et desuper macioda unam. Ad sanctum Paulum in circuitu altaris quadrabulum I et desuper similiter. Ad fontes sancti Ioannis in circuitu quadrabulo unum et desuper fun[...], in circuitu fontes velum
30 lineum unum. In ecclesia sanctae Marie altare et in circuitu fundato maiore I et unum damaschinum

¹²⁸ Karoli Magni Capitularia 72, 11, ed. Alfred E. Boretius: *Et quamvis bonum sit, ut ecclesiae pulchra sint aedificia, praeferendus tamen est aedificiis bonorum morum ornatum ornatus et culmen* (trans. Janet L. Nelson, *The voice of Charlemagne*, in: *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages. Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. Richard Gameson/Henrietta Leyser (Oxford 2001) 76–88, at 88.

¹ The opening of the will, *Quae legavit et fecit Fortunatus patriarcha ecclesiae suae*, is a later addition.

² Read *regias*.

³ Sic. Read *ad augendum*.

et unum fondatum album et de [do]randum iam libras XII et, si Deo placuerit, adimplere cupio et credo in Deo et vos nollite dubitare, quod dico, Deo iubente, sic facio. Et coperii ipsam ecclesiam de plumbo de dono sancti Imperii, et in meo certamine, et stravi ipsam porticum cum lapide usque in plateam publicam. In sancto Zenone in circuitu altare et desuper palchum unum. Ad sanctum
 35 Pancratium similiter. Ecclesia sanctae Agate, ubi requiescunt 40 et duo martyres erat in ruinis posita et

quando impetus maris veniebat, usque ad ipsa corpora ambulabat, sed tanta erat Dei misericordia, quod ipsa aqua feriebat parietes longe de ipsa corpora pedes 5, quod plures nostri sacerdotes viderunt. Ego autem, cum Dei misericordia, reedificavi eam a fundamentis in altitudinem et in longitudinem ubi iam impetus maris accedere numquam potest et super ipsa corpora feci arcus volutiles et super
 40 ipsos alios arcus volutiles. Et feci ibi altare in honorem sancti Felicis et Fortunati, paratum cum auro

et argento; et ante ipsa corpora subtus similiter altare paratum cum auro et argento et desuper capsam, que empta fuit in Constantinopoli libras XV; et super ipso arcu volutili, qui est super altare sancti Felicis et Fortunati, edificavi altaria IV: sancte Cecilie, sanctae Eugenie, sanctae Agne[...] et sancte Felicitati. Et post corpora beatissimorum martyrum in illa absida edificavi altare sancte Lucie, laus
 45 Deo omnipotenti. Ista altaria de palliis et linteaminibus honorifice cooperta sunt et dedi ibi patenas

et calices de argento et unum casale in Pencircus, cum vineis et terris et olivetis, quem ego emi de filiis Badaario, et non ricordo aut unum aut duos casales, qui pertinent de iure sancte Ecclesie nostre. Et dedi ibi argentum libras X in manum Agaocor episcopo⁴ et omnem consuetudinem de sancta Ecclesia sic prenda sicut archipresbiter aut archidiaconus; et dedi ibi unam casam prope ipsa
 50 ecclesia, quam emi de hominibus de Bevaziano. De ecclesia autem sancti Peregrini, quam Gradisiani

in illorum peccato fundamenta everterunt per timore Franchorum, nos, Deo iubente, a fundamentis reedificavimus [eam] scolas, mansiones et porticus in honore edificavimus. Ecclesia autem sancti Joannis maior tota erat [inusta] et scola in ruinis posita, quia et ego nec alii introire ubi ante abuit traves 18. Ego autem feci venire magistros de Francia, misi ibi traves XXX.⁵ Monasterio sanctae Dei
 55 genitricis Marie in insula Barbinio dedi argenti libras 3, navem cum omni armatura sua, grani modia

centum; misimus ibi presbiteros et clericos, qui ibi Dominum celi quotidie laudant. Monasterium sancti Iuliani in insula, quod in ruinis positum erat, edificavimus; misimus ibi presbiteros et dedi illi argenti libras 2, ut ibi dienoturne officium faciat. In sancta ecclesia maiori dedi pro sacerdotibus inter castone et siricas planetas XVI, credo et amplius, dalmaticas VIII; septe sunt et de una fecit
 60 sibi diaconus Venerius tunicam et de alia Mauricius, qui in perditione ambulavit, tunicas syricas octo

de bono linteamine ad omne subdiacono et acolitos de alio linteamine per sanctas ecclesias intus et foras, credo, quod intueri non possum. Dimisi per illas insulas cavallos XII, Deus scit, meliores fuere de quinquagenos vel sexagenos manchosos, armalino, lana, canabe, coria, filtros, saumas⁶ ursinas, scrineas ferro amplius valente quam solidos cento, vino amphoras amplius quam duocento, sine alias
 65 causas quod ego non possum recordare; XVIII caldarias maiores comparavi de illos missos, quae

illos rame de casa Ioanni magistro milite tulerunt. Breve quanto in domo sancti Hermagore inveni: in primis grano modia XV, vino amphoras 9, auro facto pesante manchosos XXX et III, argento facto de mesa libras 72. Ego inde habeo hic ad me 60 libras et I sic perpesa quod in domo remansit; si plus invenit inter isto, quod ego habeo, et illo, tunc sciatis quod dempto de meo certamine et si minus
 70 invenit [quod], si Deo placuerit, ego illo habeo restaurare; de toto isto, pervivente in secula, non volo

⁴ Agaocor is not otherwise attested, and the fact that no one in Byzantine Italy ever bore this name suggests that the bishop was not of local origin (Berto, In Search of the First Venetians 29).

⁵ Lacuna.

⁶ Uncertain reading. It can be also read *sauras*.

me habere, sed omnia reverta in sancta Ecclesia. Laudo ego Deo de me habeo completa missa quod ad me habeam. Thesaurus sancte Ecclesie salvus est, quod ibi inveni, [scepto] fuit unus calix parvulus et non benefactus, pervivente in secula, non pensavit amplius quam 114 manchosos. Ad augendum L manchosos transmissi in Franciam et bonas gemmas alamandinas et aiaguntos et faceret
 75 meliore et maiore. Si sanus est dominus Ludovicus, ego credo quod sancta Ecclesia illum perdere

non habet et si aliquid venit, confido in Deo. Non vado de ista luce antea quam ego restaurare. Credite, non profeta sum, nec filius profete, nam promissa a Deo sic erit quod in magno honore et gratia sancti Imperii in sancta mea revertito Ecclesia, in pace et tranquillitate vobiscum diebus vite mee gaudebo

Table I – Buildings

Building	Reference to the text	Description	Typology
cathedral of Santa Eufemia	l. 4	<i>misi tabulatum in ambas scolas</i>	re-flooring of the <i>scolae</i>
church Santa Maria	ll. 32–33	<i>et coperii ipsam ecclesiam de plumbo de dono sancti Imperii</i>	restoration of the roof
church of Santa Maria	ll. 33–34	<i>in meo certamine, et stravi ipsam porticum cum lapide usque in plateam publicam</i>	paving of the church atrium all the way to the public square in front of it
church of Santa Agata	ll. 38–40	<i>Ego autem, cum Dei misericordia, reedificavi eam a fundamentis in altitudinem et in longitudinem ubi iam impetus maris accedere numquam potest et super ipsa corpora feci arcus volutiles et super ipsos alios arcus volutiles</i>	reconstruction of the building
church of San Pellegrino	ll. 50–52	<i>De ecclesia autem sancti Peregrini ... reedificavimus [eam] scolae, mansiones et porticus in honore edificavimus</i>	reconstruction of the building and its annexes
church of San Giovanni	ll. 52–54	<i>Ecclesia autem sancti Joannis maior tota erat [inusta] et scola in ruinis posita, quia et ego nec alii introire ubi ante abuit traves 18. Ego autem feci venire magistros de Francia, misi ibi traves XXX</i>	reconstruction of the church and restoration of the roof
monastery of San Giuliano	ll. 56–57	<i>monasterium sancti Iuliani in insula, quod in ruinis positum erat, edificavimus</i>	reconstruction of the monastery

Table II - Metalworks

Quantity	Typology	Reference to the text	Context	Building
1	<i>altari ... cum auro et argento</i> (gold and silver clad altar)	l. 1	choir	cathedral of Santa Eufemia
2	<i>duas coronas argenteas maiores</i> (two silver light-crowns)	l. 5	annexes	cathedral of Santa Eufemia
unknown	<i>coronas aureas</i> (hanging golden-crowns)	l. 7	unknown	<i>in alia ecclesia</i>
1	<i>de argento pergula</i> (silver cancel-barrier)	l. 8	choir	cathedral of Santa Eufemia
1 + 1	<i>ad sedem sancti Marci ... ad corpora beatissimorum martyrum fabricavi altaria de auro et de argento, in longitudine pedes XV et in latitudine pedes tres et semisse et post ipsum altare alium parietem deauratum et deargentatum, similiter in longitudine pedum XV et in altitudine pedes 4; et super ipso pariete arcus volutiles de argento et super ipsos arcus imagines de auro)</i> (gold and silver clad altar and silver plaque with reliefs framed within arches)	ll. 11–17	altar	cathedral of Santa Eufemia – chapel of St. Mark
3 or 4	<i>argentum ad facere templum</i>	ll. 19–20	choir	chapel of St. Quirinus
1 + 1	<i>Et feci ibi altare in honorem sancti Felicis et Fortunati, paratum cum auro et argento; et ante ipsa corpora subtus similiter altare paratum cum auro et argento (gold and silver clad altars)</i>	ll. 40–42	choir	church of Santa Agata

Table – Textiles

Quantity	Typology	Icono- graphy	Reference to the text	Ubication	Context	Building
2	<i>duos damaschinos</i>	–	l. 1	altar	choir	cathedral of Santa Eufemia
1	<i>unam purpuram</i>	–	ll. 1–2	altar	choir	cathedral of Santa Eufemia
1	<i>unum fundalum</i>	–	l. 2	altar	choir	cathedral of Santa Eufemia
1	<i>unum istoriale cum istoria de Epifania</i>	Epiphany	l. 2	altar	choir	cathedral of Santa Eufemia
2	<i>lineas cortinas historiales</i>	images	ll. 2–3	<i>sedilia</i>	choir	cathedral of Santa Eufemia
1	<i>velo maiore</i>	–	l. 3	<i>ante reges</i>	choir	cathedral of Santa Eufemia

Quantity	Typology	Icono- graphy	Reference to the text	Ubication	Context	Building
1	<i>venedo maiore</i>	—	ll. 4–5	<i>in ambas scolas</i>	area before the choir	cathedral of Santa Eufemia
1	<i>cortinam</i>	—	l. 9	—	choir	<i>in alia ecclesia</i>
1	<i>peciam unam</i>	—	l. 11	—	—	<i>ad sedem sancti Marci</i>
2	<i>cortinas lineas duas, unam de cubitis. L. et. v. aliam de 30</i>	—	ll. 11–12	—	—	<i>ad sedem sancti Marci</i>
2	<i>cortinas</i>	—	l. 13	<i>ante cancellos de secretario</i>	<i>secretarium</i>	<i>ad sedem sancti Marci</i>
1	<i>brandeo velo</i>	—	l. 13	<i>ante cancellos de secretario</i>	<i>secretarium</i>	<i>ad sedem sancti Marci</i>
8	<i>peccias</i>	—	l. 17	altar	—	<i>ad corpora beatissimorum martyrum</i>
1	<i>velo maiore unum istoriale</i>	images	ll. 18–19	<i>in circuitu per cancellos</i>	—	<i>ante regias sancti Quirini</i>
3	<i>peccias</i>	—	l. 23	—	altar	<i>regia S. Quirino</i>
1	<i>velum</i>		l. 23	<i>ante regias sancti Marci</i>	—	chapel of St. Mark
1	<i>quadrabulum</i>	—	l. 23	<i>in circuitu altaris</i>	altar	chapel of St. Mark
1	<i>petiam unam</i>	—	l. 24	<i>ante sepulchrum domni Ioannis</i>	tomb	chapel of St. Mark
1	<i>pecciam unam</i>	—	ll. 24–25	<i>ante corpora altare</i>	altar	<i>in oratorio Petri</i>
	<i>pecciam unam</i>	—	l. 25	<i>et super altare et in circuitu altaris</i>	altar	<i>in oratorio Petri</i>
Unknown	textiles	—	ll. 25–27	<i>in circuitu et desuper (altaribus)</i>	altar	<i>in oratorio ante corpora sancti Quirini</i>
1	<i>blata</i>	—	l. 27	—	—	<i>in sancto Laurentio</i>
1	<i>macioda</i>	—	l. 28	—	—	<i>in sancto Laurentio</i>
1	<i>quadrabulum</i>	—	l. 28	<i>in circuitu altaris</i>	altar	<i>ad sanctum Paulum</i>
1	<i>quadrabulum</i>	—	l. 28	<i>desuper altaris</i>	altar	<i>ad sanctum Paulum</i>
1	<i>quadrabulum</i>	—	l. 29	<i>in circuitu (altaris?)</i>	altar	<i>ad fontes sancti Ioannis</i>
1	<i>fundalum</i>	—	l. 29	<i>desuper (altaris?)</i>	altar	<i>ad fontes sancti Ioannis</i>
1	<i>velum lineum</i>	—	ll. 29–30	<i>in circuitu fontes</i>	baptistery	<i>ad fontes sancti Ioannis</i>
1	<i>fundato maiore</i>	—	ll. 30–31	<i>in circuitu (altaris)</i>	altar	<i>in ecclesia s(anctae) Marie</i>
1	<i>damaschinum</i>	—	l. 30	<i>in circuitu (altaris)</i>	altar	<i>in ecclesia s(anctae) Marie</i>
1	<i>fundatum album et de [do]randum</i>	—	l. 31	<i>in circuitu (altaris)</i>	altar	<i>in ecclesia s(anctae) Marie</i>
Unknown	<i>de palliis et linteaminiis</i>	—	ll. 45–46	—	altar	church of S. Agata