

Aristocracies in the Tuscany of Lothar I: birth and structuring of a social network

by Paolo Tomei

The aim of the article is to contribute to the understanding of the structuring processes of the elites in Tuscany from the reign of Lothar I. From a perspective focused on the study of the spaces of political action and the networks of power, I am proposing to examine an area other than the so-far most extensively analysed Lucca, on account of its documentary consistency. I will focus my study on the parental group of the Farolfingi and on a man called Adonaldus, with a significant graphic profile. In following their traces, the scope of investigation extends to Roman Tuscia and Rome itself.

Middle Ages; ninth century; Italy; Tuscany; Rome; Carolingians; Lothar I; elites; networks.

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Abbreviations

- ChLA², LX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LX, Italy XXXII, Verona 2, publ. F. Santoni, Dietikon-Zürich 2002.
- ChLA², LXI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXI, Italy XXXIII, Siena 1, publ. V. Matera, Dietikon-Zürich 2002.
- ChLA², LXII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXII, Italy XXXIV, Siena 2, publ. R. Cosma, Dietikon-Zürich 2003.
- ChLA², LXIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXIII, Italy XXXV, Siena 3, publ. A. Mastruzzo, Dietikon-Zürich 2004.
- ChLA², LXXVII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXVII, Italy XLIX, Lucca 6, publ. F. Magistrale, C. Gattagrisi, P. Fioretti, Dietikon-Zürich 2008.
- ChLA², LXXVIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXVIII, Italy L, Lucca 7, publ. M. Palma, Dietikon-Zürich 2009.
- ChLA², LXXXI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXI, Italy LIII, Lucca 10, publ. A. Mastruzzo, Dietikon-Zürich 2011.
- ChLA², LXXXII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXII, Italy LIV, Lucca 11, publ. C. Gattagrisi, P. Cordasco, C. Drago, Dietikon-Zürich 2013.
- ChLA², LXXXIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXIII, Italy LV, Lucca 12, publ. N. Mastruzzo, Dietikon-Zürich 2013.
- ChLA², LXXXIV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXIV, Italy LVI, Lucca 13, publ. C. Gattagrisi, C. Drago Tedeschini, P. Fioretti, Dietikon-Zürich 2014.
- ChLA², LXXXV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXV, Italy LVII, Lucca 14, publ. N. Mastruzzo, Dietikon-Zürich 2015.
- ChLA², LXXXVI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo – G. Nicolaj, part LXXXVI, Italy LVIII, Lucca 15, publ. C. Gattagrisi, C. Drago Tedeschini, Dietikon-Zürich 2015.
- ChLA², XC = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XC, Italy LXII, Arezzo, publ. G. Feo, G. Nicolaj, M. Calleri, C. Tristano, Dietikon-Zürich 2011.
- ChLA², XCI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XCI, Italy LXIII, Firenze, publ. L. Iannacci, M. Mezzetti, M. Modesti, A. Zuffrano, Dietikon-Zürich 2012.
- ChLA², CXVII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part CXVII, Addenda 1, Dietikon-Zürich 2019.
- MGH, Capit. II = *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 2, ed. A. Boretius, V. Krause, Hannover 1897 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/2).
- MGH, Conc. III = *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 843-859*, ed. W. Hartmann, Hannover 1984 (MGH, Conc., 3).
- MGH, Conc. V = *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 875-911*, ed. W. Hartmann, I. Schröder, G. Schmitz, Hannover 2012 (MGH, Conc., 5).
- MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II = *Die Urkunden Lothars I. und Lothars II.*, ed. T. Schieffer, München 1979 (MGH, Diplomata Karolorum, 3).
- MGH, DD Lu II = *Die Urkunden Ludwigs II.*, ed. K. Wanner, München 1994 (MGH, Diplomata Karolorum, 4).
- MGH, DD O I = *Conradi I. Henrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata*, ed. T. von Sickel, Hannover 1879-1884 (MGH, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae, 1).
- MGH, DD O II = *Ottonis II. et III. Diplomata*, ed. T. von Sickel, Hannover 1893 (MGH, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae, 2).

- MGH, Epp. V = *Epistolarum Tomus V*, ed. E. Dümmler, Berlin 1899 (MGH, Epistolae Karolini aevi, 3).
- MGH, Epp. VII = *Epistolarum Tomus VII*, ed. E. Caspar, Berlin 1928 (MGH, Epistolae Karolini aevi, 5).
- MGH, Libri mem. N. S. I = *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, ed. J. Autenrieth D. Geuenich, K. Schmid, Hannover 1979 (MGH, Libri mem. N. S., 1).
- MGH, Libri mem. N. S. IV = *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore/Santa Giulia in Brescia*, ed. D. Geuenich, U. Ludwig, Hannover 2000 (MGH, Libri mem. N. S., 1).
- MGH, SS XXXVI = Flodoard von Reims, *Die Geschichte der Reimser Kirche*, ed. M. Stratmann, Hannover 1998 (MGH, SS, 36).

Two separate though interlinked perspectives have allowed me to put together a picture which I would illustrate as follows. The first perspective is that of the study of the Lucca charters, aimed at reconstructing features and times of formation of the aristocratic network between the eighth and the twelfth centuries. The second derives from two recent insights, the first focusing on the political trajectories and the spaces of action and relations of the counts, later marquises, of the Adalberti kinship in the ninth century; the other from the study of the bishops who came to Lucca under Lothar I, bearers of a new political writing and culture¹.

Starting with Lothar I's first stay in Italy in 822, and even more so after his stable presence in the Kingdom from 834 onwards, we see in Lucca a redefinition of the spaces of public power, even the monumental ones, establishing the framework of a renewed *iustitia*, and of the power relations within them. Several figures, of local or foreign origin, went on to form a composite and harmonious balance until the death of Lothar's son Louis II: counts and bishops, *missi* and vassals, in direct relation with the royal *curtis*. Thanks to their mediation, a social network took shape locally, that underwent a process of mobility and differentiation because of the material and symbolic capital redistributed in the public sphere. Under Lothar I and Louis II, the gradual ascending path to the coordinating centre of the political universe, reflected in the justice administration reports and in the provisions relating to military campaigns in Southern Italy, primarily concerned individuals capable of distinguishing themselves within a network, and of maintaining close proximity to the public authority, rather than families structured along the patrilineal axis, endowed with automatic mechanisms for the transmission of power and prestige.

Two strata can be observed, corresponding to two levels of rank and wealth, and to two chronologies of distinction. A first stratum, which succeeded in achieving comital *honores*, emerged in the second quarter of the ninth century: to it is ascribed the kinship group that historians have called Aldobrandeschi, studied by Simone Collavini². A second stratum emerged in the third quarter of the same century, following in the footsteps of the first:

¹ Tomei, *Spazi politici*; Tomei, *Writing, textuality*.

² Collavini, «Honorabilis domus».

to it are ascribed the parental groups that I have called “Figli di Rodilando”, “Cunimundinghi”, and “Figli di Huscit”³. These are labels of convenience coined by historians: the groups in question originated from individuals with no surname, who had to negotiate their position at every generational shift, both outside and within the parental network to which they belonged. The aim of this paper is to verify the above-mentioned framework by adopting a broader outlook, which makes the Lucca case interact with other geographical-documentary contexts in Tuscany⁴.

1. *Halfway between Siena e Chiusi*

To look for a possible counterpart to the Aldobrandeschi, it is necessary to move from Lucca, the heart of Lombard *Tuscia*, and to observe the other major regional power space: Chiusi and Roman *Tuscia*, where the individuals I group under the label Farolfingi acted. I am going to reconstruct a sort of prehistory of the comital family of Chiusi and Orvieto studied by Amleto Spicciani for the 11th and 12th centuries⁵. For the earlier phases there are only a few insights, carried out by Hansmartin Schwarzmaier⁶, and a few documentary traces. They are, however, sufficient to reconstruct the origins of the group. These sources come from two of the most important monasteries in Central Italy, both gravitating within the public orbit: S. Salvatore at Monte Amiata and S. Clemente at Casauria⁷.

The Amiata charters shed both direct and retrospective light on the first generations of the Farolfingi. They are recognisable on three grounds. First, for the onomastic correspondences, indicated by the sequence Farao-Farolfus; second, for the rural horizon, centred on the area between Siena and Chiusi, especially Montepulciano, the object of contention between the bishops of Arezzo and Siena due to the lack of correspondence between civil and ecclesiastical boundaries (it was in the diocese of Arezzo, but in the *iudicaria* of Siena)⁸; finally, for traits of distinction that suggest their eminent rank.

On 20 August 862, a charter of sale was drawn up in Chiusi. Farolfus I, son of the late Farao I, who lived in *casale Graciani* (Gracciano), sold to the priest Celestine the half of a *res* in *casale Feroniano* (Frignano) that had been bequeathed to him by his father. His father's inheritance had already been divided: the other half had remained with his uncle Barbencius. The transaction was concluded for a considerable price: a sword with a silver belt to the

³ Tomei, *Milites elegantes*.

⁴ A regional overview in Cortese, *Laristocrazia toscana*.

⁵ Spicciani, *I Farolfingi*; on p. 281 one could see potential encouragement towards this research path.

⁶ Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*, pp. 118-122, 194-202.

⁷ Marrocchi, *Monaci scrittori*; Feller, *Les Abruzzes*.

⁸ Bougard, *A Vetustissimis Thomis*.

value of 20 *solidi*⁹. It is a significant object, suggesting a profile of eminence. An interesting parallel can be established with Engelbert of the late Grimoald from Erbè, near Verona: his testamentary provisions have been studied in detail, with a particular focus on *mobilia* as social markers¹⁰. Among the witnesses is also Farolfus II, whom I identify with the son of Farolfus I. The two use elementary scripts, but with some ability: Farolfus I with a cursive base; Farolfus II with some Carolingian elements (a sign of a more up-to-date education). This is the last living mention of Farolfus I and Barbencius.

The act later flowed as *munimen* into the Amiata archives. The monastery was here accumulating assets starting from an original fiscal core. Evidence of this is provided by other *munimina* concerning the same locality (e.g., a donation of January 854, where a Farolfus also subscribes, but not in autograph¹¹) and the diploma issued from Pavia on 4th July 853 by Louis II to the monastery. In the list of properties granted by the Emperor to the Amiata monastery, there are *angariales* in Frignano. The diploma has been interpolated, but this does not affect, however, this passage. At the time, the monastery was entrusted to the care of the imperial *fidelis* Adalbert, almost certainly the Marquis of Tuscany Adalbert I, who governed it as lay abbot¹².

Given the peculiarity of the anthroponym and the context of its occurrence, Barbencius could be identified with a homonym that stands out in the Amiata charters. He was the first witness to sign, in August 827, the charters of sale and *livello* issued by the Abbot Audualdus in Chiusi, which compose a sort of leasing back¹³. Under his, there is the signature of Anseramus, to be distinguished on a palaeographic basis from the imperial vassal of the same name attested in the *placitum* of Siena in October 833¹⁴. Barbencius was also a bystander and second subscriber to the *breve* that records the dispute between the same abbot and the rector of the church of S. Donatus in Asso, located in the *gaio* of *Citiliano*. The judgement was held in May 828 not far away, near the church of *Baiano*, and was presided over by a *missus* of Bishop Lampert of Arezzo (although in the territory of Siena): the deacon Peter of the late Barbula *sculdascius* of Arezzo. At the centre of the dispute was land in *Baiano*, with which the abbot was invested¹⁵.

⁹ ChLA², LXIII, n. 2, pp. 26-27 (862 VIII 20, Chiusi).

¹⁰ ChLA², LX, n. 25, pp. 109-117 (846 V 28, Erbè). La Rocca, *Pacifico di Verona*, pp. 115-119; Gasparri, *I testamenti*, pp. 105-106; Bougard, *Tesori e mobilia*.

¹¹ ChLA², LXII, n. 39, pp. 138-140 (854 I, Siena).

¹² MGH, DD, Lu II., n. 11, pp. 83-87 (853 VII 4, Pavia). Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», pp. 55-56; Roebert, *Herrscherurkunden*; Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 13, 42. On Amiata's possessions in Frignano, see Marrocchi, *Monaci scrittori*, pp. 66, 228-229.

¹³ ChLA², LXII, n. 7-8, pp. 35-39 (827 VIII, Chiusi). On Amiata *livelli*, their relationship with the series of diplomas for the monastery, and the leasing backs, see Tabarrini, *Détecker*.

¹⁴ ChLA², XC, n. 5, pp. 32-39 (833 X, Siena); < <https://saame.it/fonte/placiti-toscane-toscana-14/> > [21/12/2024].

¹⁵ ChLA², LXII, n. 12, pp. 50-53 (828 V, *Baiano*); < <https://saame.it/fonte/placiti-toscane-toscana-13/> > [21/12/2024]. Delumeau, *Arezzo*, pp. 247-248; Allegría, *Manu mea subscripsi*, pp. 13-14.

In a nutshell, the analysis of these hitherto little-considered charters makes it possible to align the social mobility paths of the Farolfingi and the Aldobrandeschi. The rise in the local social fabric occurred for both kinship groups during this generation, which was active between the 820s and 860s, particularly with Eriprand I of the late Hildeprand I and Farolfus I of the late Farao I. It is also an onomastic genesis. The roots of the surname labels that qualify the groups in historiography can be identified at that time, from an anthroponym that was later transmitted more frequently so as to become the *Leitname* of their respective descendants.

Nevertheless, a difference between the two groups stands out. Unlike the Aldobrandeschi, the Farolfingi are characterised by their non-urban extraction: they originated in the fiscal area of Montepulciano (Gracciano), on the Chiusi-Siena-Arezzo border. They also differ in that they gravitated not towards one, but towards several urban centres. They had interests and activities halfway between Siena and Chiusi, near Montepulciano (Frignano), and in the other vast fiscal area of *Citiliano*, around Montalcino¹⁶. This leads back to their main point of contact: their relationship with the fisc and the imperial court¹⁷. The momentum since the 820s was not generated by dynamics endogenous to local societies, but by the action of external forces. Thanks to their proximity to the rulers, Farolfus I and the sons of Hildeprand I achieved not only local distinction, but also the opening up of their action and relationship horizons on a very wide scale¹⁸.

2. *The second cohort*

Eriprand I of the late Hildeprand I, and Farolfus I of the late Farao I, occupied a key position in the support network of Lothar I and Louis II, which, according to the arrangements made at the synod in *Francia* in the Spring of 847, when Lothar I and his son convened *ad commune colloquium* to respond to the Saracen sacking of Rome, contributed to the construction of the Leonine Wall, escorted Louis II to Southern Italy in the Spring of 848, and formed a basic framework for imperial action in the Kingdom in the following decades¹⁹. The correspondences with the power network that participated in the contemporaneous reorganisation of S. Salvatore in Brescia, commemorated in the *Liber vitae* of the monastery below the Emperor, are significant²⁰.

¹⁶ Schneider, *Die Reichsverwaltung*, pp. 274-280. The fisc is a subject of growing interest in the historiographic reflection of the last decade; see *Biens publics*.

¹⁷ For the Aldobrandeschi, see Collavini, *Honorabis domus*, pp. 51-70.

¹⁸ On the importance of political spaces and the relational dimension in the study of elites, see Collavini, *Spazi politici*; Provero, *Gli spazi politici*.

¹⁹ MGH, Conc. III, n. 12, pp. 133-139 (846 X, *Francia*); [https://capitularia.uni-koeln.de/en/capit/post840/bk-nr-203/\[18/10/2023\]](https://capitularia.uni-koeln.de/en/capit/post840/bk-nr-203/[18/10/2023]). Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 17, 19, 36-37. On the dating of the expedition, see Zielinski, *Ein unbeachteter Italienzug*.

²⁰ Bougard, *La cour*; Lazzari, *Una santa*. Gisela's entry into the monastery takes place during the same timeframe as the expedition: MGH, DD Lo I., n. 101, pp. 240-242 (848 III 16, Aachen).

Those who participated in the expedition to the South then had their daughters enter the monastery together with Gisela, daughter of Lothar I²¹.

In the imperial army, Eriprand I and Farolfus I were standard-bearers of the *secunda scara* led by Guy I (Duke of Spoleto) and Adalbert I (Marquis of Tuscany). At the synod it was also decided that Guy I should go as *missus* to Benevento, together with a bishop Peter and an Anselm *vocatus episcopus*, i.e. elected by the Emperor but not yet consecrated²². The latter is probably identical to the Anselm *vocatus episcopus* commemorated in direct proximity to Louis II in Reichenau's *Liber vitae* with a significant sequence: Guy and Itta²³. Itta is in fact the name of Guy I's wife, daughter of the Duke of Benevento: their marriage is related to his choice as *missus*²⁴. There is, however, uncertainty about the identification of the other envoy. The most likely candidate is, in my opinion, Bishop Peter of Spoleto²⁵.

Like the two *signiferi*, he is a man who can be placed within the imperial design to control the duchies of Central Italy, so as to encircle Rome and turn the gaze to the South. All three obtained key positions between Tuscany and Spoleto in those years, immediately after the Treaty of Verdun, and were very active on the Roman scene. Guy I became Duke of Spoleto around 842²⁶. Adalbert I returned to Lucca and assumed the title of Marquis around 845, and after 850 he ruled Amiata as a lay abbot. Adalbert's bond with Guy I was further strengthened later on when he became his son-in-law²⁷. The first mention of Peter as bishop of Spoleto is at Court, on 26th May 843, when he interceded with Lothar I in Aachen for the monastery of S. Maria of Farfa, which had been entrusted to him by the Emperor²⁸. Attested one last time in 861, he was one of the four bishops sent by Lothar I and Louis II to the Roman council of December 853 presided over by Pope Leo IV. With him were Jo-

²¹ MGH, Libri mem. N. S. IV, pp. 8v, 42v-43v (Facsimile). Ludwig, *Die Anlage*, pp. 64-68; Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 38-39. Notably, the *missi* and *signiferi* of the first and second cohort can be compared with a sequence: «Eberardus, Liutfrid, Adelgis, Berenardus, Adelbert».

²² Pöschl, *Der vocatus episcopus*. This is how Notingo, a key pawn in the mobile power geography of the Kingdom, was called when he interceded in two diplomas at Court: he had been chosen to succeed Ratold in Verona on the emperor's decision. The title marks, so the speak, the transitional status: MGH, DD Lo I., nn. 75-76, pp. 190-193 (843 VIII 22, Gondreville); Schäpers, *Lothar I.*, p. 303; Bougard, *Le royaume*, p. 35 (the sudden appearance of *episcopi vocati* in these years is a reflection of Lothar I's activity in the Kingdom). We do not know for which bishopric Anselm was destined and whether he was eventually consecrated.

²³ MGH, Libri mem. N. S. I, p. 98 (Facsimile): to the left of the Emperor Lothar I's name: «Hludouicus imperator, Anshelmus vocatus episcopus, Vuito, Hitta». Rappmann, *Das Totengedenken*, p. 432.

²⁴ Hlawitschka, *Die Widonen*, pp. 30-33; Bougard, *La cour*, p. 254. The marriage must have taken place around 843.

²⁵ The opinion is shared by Bougard, *Le royaume*, p. 36.

²⁶ Gasparrini Leporace, *Cronologia*, pp. 22-23.

²⁷ Keller, *La marca di Tuscia*, pp. 128-129; Tomei, *Spazi politici*. Between 864 and 875 Adalbert I married Rothild, daughter of Guy I and Itta.

²⁸ MGH, DD Lo I., n. 73, pp. 188-189 (843 V 26, Aachen); Bougard, *La cour*, p. 252; Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 35, 41: the entrusting to Peter is recorded in the diploma with which the monastery was restored to its ordinary status. A profile in Nessi, *La diocesi di Spoleto*, pp. 875-876.

seph of Ivrea, Peter II of Arezzo, and Notingo of Brescia – he is second only to Joseph in the order of signature of the acts²⁹. His relationship with the Pope, and his intermediary role with the imperial court and Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, also emerges from the papal register for the year 853³⁰.

For the same reason, that is to say a close involvement at Court, particularly in the *secunda scara* to the expedition carried out in the spring of 848, I propose the identification of Bishop Peter with Farolfus I's brother of the same name. Besides Barbencius, Farolfus I also had a brother who had made an ecclesiastical career and had become a bishop: indeed, his name was Peter. Both were already deceased by 1st January 864, when the three sons of Farolfus I, called *de comitatu Senense*, the deacon and chaplain Farimundus (another high-profile clergyman), Farao II, and Farolfus II (who had been a witness to his father's last mention two years earlier) donated to their *dominus et senior*, the emperor Louis II, assets that had come to them as part of the succession from their father and from their uncle, Bishop Peter³¹.

The lack of reference to the three brothers, Farolfus I, Barbencius, and Bishop Peter all together in the same act does not hinder the reconstruction. There was still no automatic mechanism for the division of inheritance. This could be managed without being divided up, as in the case of the sons of Farolfus I (see the donation of 864), or the co-heirs could divide things up in various ways, in lots and shares, as had been the case with the inheritance of Farao I (see the sale of 862).

The life span and profile of Peter of Spoleto are perfectly compatible with him being Farolfus I's brother, as well as with the various spheres of action of his descendants, the Farolfingi, of whom I will speak shortly. Less probable, though it cannot be ruled out, is the hypothesis of Schwarzmaier, who thought, rather, of Bishop Peter I of Arezzo³². His pontificate is documented with certainty from 833 to 843, when he is attested for the last time at the court of Lothar I immediately after Verdun, on 28th and 29th August, at Remiremont³³. He must be distinguished from his successor of the same name, Peter II, who appears with certainty at the aforementioned Roman synod of 853 and who, even in the relations between Pope Leo IV and Hincmar, acted alongside and somewhat as a subordinate to Peter of Spoleto³⁴. Clearly, the picture does not change much: due to their frequentations at court, the two homonymous bishops from Arezzo are a possible alternative to Peter of Spoleto, also with

²⁹ MGH, Conc. III, n. 32, pp. 308-436 (853 XII, Roma).

³⁰ MGH, Epp. V, nn. 11, 24, pp. 589-590, 600.

³¹ *Liber instrumentorum*, n. 1191, pp. 1909-1911 (864 I 1, *Rufano*).

³² Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*, pp. 194-195.

³³ MGH, DD Lo I., nn. 78-79, pp. 195-198 (843 VIII 28-29, Remiremont); Bougard, *Le royaume*, p. 35: he is likely to have attended the assembly in Verdun as well as Peter of Spoleto and Notingo *episcopus vocatus* of Verona.

³⁴ MGH, Conc. III, n. 32, pp. 308-436 (853 XII, Roma); MGH, SS XXXVI, pp. 207-208. On the two bishops of Arezzo with the same name, see Delumeau, *Arezzo*, p. 490; Allegria, *Manu mea subscripsi*, pp. 14-17.

reference to the mission with Guy I in Benevento. However, the dates make it inconceivable to speculate on the passage of a Peter from Arezzo to Spoleto, as it happened for Bishop Notingo who, through imperial design, became a moving figure in the ecclesiastical and political frame of the Kingdom, moved as he was from Verona to Brescia³⁵. I will now turn my attention to this political frame.

3. *Vassals and chaplains*

It is possible to grasp the truly specular ascending path of the Farolfingi and the Aldobrandeschi by studying the networks of power and government that were structured in Italy under Lothar I and Louis II, as reconstructed by François Bougard³⁶. To affirm their place, it was essential for these kinship groups to forge a direct and personal relationship with the rulers, marked by the relational designation of *vassus domni imperatoris*, employed above all in the *placitum* reports³⁷. In the case of Farolfus I there is no explicit evidence of this, although his call as standard-bearer alongside an imperial vassal such as Eriprand I in the expedition to Southern Italy could suggest a personal bond with the emperor. A relationship mediated by the leaders of the second cohort, the Dukes Guy I and Adalbert I, cannot be excluded. However, the link with the emperor becomes apparent in the following generation.

In the donation charter of 1 January 864, Louis II is referred to as *dominus et senior* of Farolfus I's sons: the deacon Farimundus, Farao II, and Farolfus II³⁸. The act served to reinforce the bond of the kinship group with the emperor at the generational turn. To conclude the donation according to law, Louis II gave the three brothers a counter gift, called *launegild*³⁹. It is, remarkably, a horse. This is proof of close and direct proximity to Louis II, and thus also of their rank in the social system: the horse is the most honourable gift, generally intended for emperors⁴⁰. In this case, the horse moves, so to speak, in the opposite direction compared to the annual general assembly held at the palace, where it is donated by the magnates⁴¹.

Thanks to their connections with the central authority, through services rendered with horse and pen, both kinship groups succeeded in obtaining episcopal offices in the major centres of political coordination of the Central Italian duchies: certainly Jeremiah, Eriprand I's son, in Lucca, from 852 to

³⁵ Andenna, *Notingo*.

³⁶ Bougard, *La cour*; Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 34-39.

³⁷ Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», pp. 47-50; Castagnetti, *I vassalli imperiali*.

³⁸ *Liber instrumentorum*, n. 1191, pp. 1909-1911 (864 I 1, *Rufano*).

³⁹ Wickham, *Compulsory gift exchange*.

⁴⁰ Bougard, *Tesori e mobilia*, pp. 87-88.

⁴¹ Devroey, *Puissants et misérables*, pp. 74-75; Albertoni, *L'elefante*, pp. 55-59.

867, and perhaps Peter in Spoleto⁴². Decisive was their accession to the circle of court clerics (chaplains, chancellors, and simple *Notare*, i.e., writers of diplomas), to which Jeremiah Aldobrandeschi and Farimundus Farolfingi belonged, in the same generation. This was the education environment of the ecclesiastical elites in the Kingdom⁴³.

Episcopal recruitment took place within this body, in which one also finds brothers and sons of imperial vassals of local origin. As for Tuscany, it was the case of John, formerly arch-chancellor, in Arezzo, and for the chancellor Plato in Pisa, from 865⁴⁴; of the chaplain Teudilascius Cunimundinghi, formerly archdeacon and factotum in Lucca of Jeremiah Aldobrandeschi, in Luni from 867⁴⁵; of Gerard I, whose writing is strongly chancery-like, in Lucca, from 869 (possibly son of the imperial vassal Godfrey, recorded in a *placitum* in Lucca in 844 with Eriprand I Aldobrandeschi)⁴⁶; and of the notary of diplomas Gauginus in Volterra, from 874⁴⁷.

The group was at first dominated by the arch-chaplain Joseph, bishop of Ivrea (attested one last time in 855), and the Archchancellor Dructemirus, from 858 bishop of Novara, who were key connecting figures between Lothar I and Louis II⁴⁸. During the long stay of Louis II in Southern Italy, from 866 to 872, when formal references to an archchancellor disappeared in diplomas, and archchaplains were no longer attested, the deacon Farimundus Farolfingi became the central figure in this circle⁴⁹. Nevertheless, his career does not seem to have ended by his gaining an episcopal chair, but the sources may be lacking here.

These clerics were the main agents and vectors of political communication between the emperor and the various local forces in the Kingdom, through the writing of diplomas, their dispatch as imperial *missi*, and the common participation in assembly deliberations. The same sources which throw light on the network through which the imperial government unfolded (capitularies, conciliar canons) are preserved thanks to the cultural depth and activity of people like Joseph of Ivrea and Dructemirus of Novara. I can add one example besides the library that can be traced back to Joseph's long pontificate in Ivrea: the list and dispositions made for the expedition to Rome and Southern Italy (which also involved Joseph) can be found only in manuscripts from

⁴² MGH, DD Lu II., n. 6, pp. 76-77 (852 X 3, *curte Auriola*): «cui (*scil.* Hieremieae) ipsum dedimus episcopatum»; Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», pp. 50-51. His script has marked chancery traits: ChLA², LXXXI, n. 13, pp. 48-49 (857 I 2, Lucca).

⁴³ Ghignoli, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche*, pp. 634-635.

⁴⁴ ChLA², LXXXII, nn. 3-4, pp. 22-29 (865 IV, Lucca); Allegría, *Manu mea subscripsi*, pp. 14-17. *Carte dell'Archivio Arcivescovile di Pisa*, n. 23, pp. 60-62 (865 V, Pisa).

⁴⁵ ChLA², LXXXII, n. 30, pp. 107-109 (867 III 12, Lucca); Tomei, *Milites elegantes*, pp. 135-137.

⁴⁶ ChLA², LXXXVIII, n. 21, pp. 62-64 (844 I, Lucca); LXXXIII, n. 23, pp. 78-81 (874 III 21, Lucca); LXXXV, n. 1, pp. 16-18 (882 I 20, Lucca); Castagnetti, *I vassalli imperiali*, pp. 246, 257.

⁴⁷ MGH, DD Lu II., n. 69, pp. 201-202 (874 XII 8, Coriano).

⁴⁸ Bougard, *La cour*, pp. 253, 256-257; Bougard, *Le royaume*, p. 37; Gavinelli, *Il vescovo Giuseppe*.

⁴⁹ MGH, DD Lu II., pp. 1-26; Bougard, *La cour*, p. 261; Bougard, *Le royaume*, p. 26.

Novara⁵⁰. This network could be studied by looking for the hands that were involved in the writing of diplomas among the great clerics of the Kingdom, in both manuscripts and charters, according to the model elaborated by Wolfgang Huschner for the Ottonian realm⁵¹.

The presence in Tuscany of outsider clergymen, apparently out of context, in acts of great importance, close to the major officials present in the region under Lothar I and Louis II, is revealing. It becomes quite understandable when one thinks of this connective tissue. A bishop Sigefred signed in 845 the *livello* with which Hagano received temporary compensation, while waiting to obtain a royal *beneficium*, for having lost the office of count of Lucca in favour of Adalbert I. Sigefred was probably the bishop of Reggio of the same name, attested the year before in Rome at the royal coronation of Louis II and, in 853, as imperial *missus* in Ravenna⁵². A bishop Peter, either of Spoleto or of Arezzo, subscribed below the Count Palatine Hucpold in the ordination charter, written *ex iussione* of the emperor, by which Hucpold's daughter Bertha became abbess of the monastery of S. Andrea in Florence in 852. The Ripuarian Hucpold appeared on the Italian scene as *signifer* of the *scara Francisca* in the 848 expedition, a similarly position to the Lombards Eriprand I and Farolfus I⁵³. Finally, a *levita* called Leodoin signed the charter of endowment of the monastery of S. Salvatore in Fontebona, in 867, by the Salian count of Siena Winigis, whose first attestation is as *armiger* in the retinue of the emperor and the Count Palatine Hucpold near Jesi, in 860⁵⁴. I support his identification with the Leodoin *sacerdos* who made the *recognitio* of a diploma *advicem* of Farimundus in 869 in Venosa, and later became bishop of Modena from 871⁵⁵. Tuscany and its marquises under Louis II were far from separate from the surrounding regions, and were embedded in wider networks.

⁵⁰ < <https://capitularia.uni-koeln.de/mss/novara-bc-xxx/> > [21/12/2024]. Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium*, pp. 395-399. I would like to thank Michele Baitieri for the discussion on this issue.

⁵¹ Huschner, *Transalpine Kommunikation*.

⁵² Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», p. 45; Castagnetti, *I vassalli imperiali*, pp. 234-236; Tomei, *Milites elegantes*, p. 42.

⁵³ *Le carte della canonica*, n. 2, pp. 6-9 (852 X 19, Firenze); Manarini, *I due volti*, pp. 37-49. An identification on a palaeographic basis is not possible since the charter is preserved in a copy of the eleventh century.

⁵⁴ *Il cartulario della Berardenga*, n. 53, pp. 428-433 (867 II); *Liber instrumentorum*, n. 1190, pp. 1905-1908 (860 III, between Jesi and Caminata Picena); Cammarosano, *La famiglia*, pp. 65-70.

⁵⁵ MGH, DD Lu II., n. 49, pp. 161-162 (869 V 29, Venosa); Manarini, *Per Padum fluvium*, pp. 142-143. On Leodoin, see Al Kalak, *Leodoino*; Heil, *Bishop Leodoin*; Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 84, 102-103 (assuming a bond with the kinship of the Widonids). A palaeographical comparison is again not possible.

4. *In the area of Tuscania*

After Verdun and the royal coronation of Louis II in 844, the political dialectic between Pavia, Lucca, Spoleto, and Rome intensified. If its protagonists were the Dukes Adalbert I and Guy I, it involved many actors, among them, men on the rise, from whom the Farolfingi and the Aldobrandeschi descended. There is more: compared to the latter, the former had closer and more evident ties to the papal court. At this chronological point, this parental group established a connection, perhaps even a marriage, with the future Pope John VIII, son of a Gundo. As archdeacon, John played a prominent role at the Roman council of December 853 for the deposition of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, as did Peter of Spoleto⁵⁶. A sister of John allegedly married a nephew of Bishop Peter, Farolfus II. Their son Farolfus III is later said to be the pope's nephew⁵⁷.

Farolfus I and Bishop Peter possessed *curtes* in the territory of Tuscania and on Lake Bolsena. This is shown by the oft-mentioned donation to Louis II on 1 January 864⁵⁸. The localisations proposed by Hansmartin Schwarzmaier must, in fact, be reconsidered⁵⁹. The document was written in the presence of the emperor, within the *caminata* of the church of S. Pietro, in the *curtis* of *Rufano*. The brothers donated a *curtis* situated *in finibus Tuscanie*, in *Palme*. The act is preserved as transcribed in the *Chronicon Causauriense*. As usual, it follows the fate of the property for which it constitutes a title of ownership.

Louis II donated this *curtis*, on 1 September 874, to S. Clemente at Casauria, a monastery he founded on the border between the Duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. The diploma issued at the *curtis* of Olona was interpolated, but not in these passages⁶⁰. It concerns the assets the Emperor had obtained from Farimundus, Farao II, and Farolfus II *per totam Tusciam*: the *curtes* of *Hisiano* and *Palme*. The diploma also includes what Farimundus himself had obtained after the hereditary division with his brothers: the fifth portion of the *curtes* of *Pao*, *Pantanola*, *Venena*, and in the city of Tuscania – only three brothers are known, confirming the variability of the partition mechanisms within a single generation.

Palme is not S. Martino alla Palma, near Scandicci in the Florentine area, where the marquis of Tuscany held estates much later, at the end of the tenth century. Schwarzmaier has founded his assumption on this⁶¹. Instead, *Rufano* is well attested in contemporary charters since the interests of both S.

⁵⁶ MGH, Conc. III, n. 32, pp. 308-436 (853 XII, Roma).

⁵⁷ MGH, Epp. VII, n. 225, p. 200. A figurative sense of the term *nepos* seems to be ruled out.

⁵⁸ *Liber instrumentorum*, n. 1191, pp. 1909-1911 (864 I 1, *Rufano*).

⁵⁹ Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*, pp. 187-188, 194.

⁶⁰ MGH, DD Lu II., n. 64, pp. 191-194 (874 IX 1, Corteeolona); Doublier, *Fälschungen*, pp. 482-500. On the foundation, see Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 22, 31-32, 42.

⁶¹ *Carte della Badia di Settimo*, App. n. 1, pp. 251-255 (988 III 25-989 III 24); Manarini, *I due volti del potere*, pp. 172-174.

Salvatore at Monte Amiata and S. Maria of Farfa converged here⁶². It is in the territory of Tuscania: not far from Valentano, on the shores of Lake Bolsena (the toponym probably remains today at Monte Rosano)⁶³. The study of the *Nachurkunden* for Casauria confirms the proposal: the *curtes* formerly held by the Farolfingi are to be placed between Rieti and Tuscania⁶⁴. The expression *per totam Tusciam* should be understood with specific reference to Roman *Tuscia*; *in finibus Tuscae* in the strict sense with the region of Tuscania. Thus, the interaction between Bishop Peter and his brother Farolfus I with the papal court is better understood, and is even richer in nuances: this cluster of *curtes* was not so distant from Leopoli, the new city founded in 854 by Pope Leo IV to replace *Centumcellae*⁶⁵.

In the *Chronicon Causauriense*, the donation is preceded by a *placitum* report, which also passed in the archives of Casauria as a result of the endowment by Louis II. The judgement, held at Jesi in March 860, and written at the dictation of the archchancellor Dructemirus, testifies to the closeness of the Tuscan magnates to Louis II, their presence in the court retinue and their common action in Central Italy. It is presided over by the *comes stabuli* Adalbert, probably the Marquis of Tuscany. Among the bystanders are the *comes palatii* Hucpold and the *armiger* Winigis (as previously mentioned later count of Siena, in his first attestation)⁶⁶. The *comes stabuli* and the *comes palatii*, here at the height of their careers, had taken their first steps in the Kingdom with the expedition planned by Lothar I in 847, as stated in the incipit of the synod, *pro edificatione Novæ Romæ* (i.e., the Leonine City)⁶⁷. Distinguished among the men in the military ranks of the expedition were Eriprand I and Farolfus I.

In my opinion, therefore, the construction of both the Leonine City (between 848 and 852) and Leopoli could be read not only in a reactive, defensive, and anti-Saracen key, but as a structural and proactive action, for the reorganisation of the networks of power and relations over a very wide space, open to southern Tuscany⁶⁸. The acquisition of the title of count by Hildeprand II (at the latest in 857), son of the imperial vassal Eriprand I and

⁶² ChLA², LXI, nn. 12, pp. 46-47 (808 IV, Tuscania), 37, pp. 124-125 (822 XI, *Mariano*), LXII, n. 3, pp. 20-24 (825 V, *Margarita*), LXIII, nn. 6, pp. 24-25 (860 V, *Cuniclu*), 12, pp. 43-46 (866 II, *Beturianu*); *Codex Diplomaticus Amiatinus*, n. 190, pp. 181-188 (823 IX 1, *Rofanu*); *Il regesto di Farfa*, nn. 227, p. 188 (817 V, *Rofano*), 284, pp. 239-240 (840 VIII, Viterbo).

⁶³ Del Lungo, *Presenze abbaziali*, pp. 30, 38, 79, 106-107.

⁶⁴ MGH, DD O I., n. 353, pp. 485-487 (967 XII 23, Roma); DD O II., n. 248, pp. 279-281 (981 IV 18, Roma); Doublier, *Fälschungen*, pp. 501-511. The same proposal is already in Schneider, *Die Reichsverwaltung*, pp. 4, 263-264, 292.

⁶⁵ Marazzi, *Le città nuove*; Stasolla, *Leopoli-Cencelle*.

⁶⁶ *Liber instrumentorum*, n. 1190, pp. 1905-1908 (860 III, between Jesi and Caminata Picena). Bougard, *Le royaume*, p. 39, however, has raised doubts about the identity of the *comes stabuli*.

⁶⁷ MGH, Conc. III, n. 12, pp. 133-139 (846 X, *Francia*).

⁶⁸ On the internal tensions within the Roman aristocracy after the Saracen sacking and in the early years of Leo IV's pontificate, see Betti, *The two versions*. On the Leonine Wall and the *decus Urbis*, see Internullo, *Decus Urbis*, p. 172.

brother of the bishop of Lucca Jeremiah, and the granting by Pope Benedict III of the cities and *comitatus* of Roselle and Sovana, probably in favour of the count himself (between 855 and 858), can be interpreted from the same perspective⁶⁹. It was a process of reorganisation that involved Pavia and Rome synergistically, with the formation of new social networks and the redefinition of power spaces.

5. *Under the marquis' wing*

After the death of Louis II in 875, the long phase of stability that had led to an expansion of the aristocratic body, which had begun after the structural crisis caused by the intervention of Lothar I, came to an end. Like the Aldobrandeschi and the main groups in Lucca that had emerged in their wake, the Farolfingi also experienced a downsizing and were placed more strictly under the control of the marquis. They did not limit their sphere of action, but any interaction with external powers, in particular Pavia and Rome, began to take place not autonomously, but more and more in connection with the Marquises Adalbert I and II, who acted as an unavoidable interface. The Adalberti became, in a broader and regional viewpoint, the central hub of connection for the entire aristocratic body. This did not only concern the major kinship groups and the political heart of Lombard *Tuscìa*, Lucca, placed under the firmest control of the Marquises⁷⁰. Take the case of Florence, for which it might be useful to explain the process.

In Florence, Marquis Adalbert I had a position of great influence, with a vassal already documented in 852 at the installation charter of Hucpold's daughter as abbess in the monastery of S. Andrea. The charters that shed light on the core of the city, those relating precisely to S. Andrea and the *placitum* reports, however, display a multi-faceted spectrum. Here we have not only the count, i.e. the marquis, and his vassals, but also viscounts and bishops of foreign origin (such as Rodingus, already *missus* in Lucca for Lothar I in 840, who uses an elegant Carolingian script)⁷¹. Above all, it was the presence of the Hucpoldings that counterbalanced the power of the marquis⁷². A similar function was performed in Siena by Count Winigis, who was a man from the Court and had a wide range of action. The comital lineage known as the Berardenghi descended from him⁷³.

⁶⁹ Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», pp. 51-57.

⁷⁰ Tomei, *Milites elegantes*, pp. 359-367.

⁷¹ ChLA², LXXVII, n. 35, pp. 107-111 (840 II, Lucca); LXXXVI, n. 45, pp. 137-141 (897 III 4, Firenze); *Le carte della canonica*, nn. 2, pp. 6-9 (852 X 19, Firenze), 6, pp. 19-21 (893 III 1, Firenze).

⁷² Manarini, *I due volti*.

⁷³ ChLA², LXXXII, nn. 3-4, pp. 22-29 (865 IV, Lucca); LXIII, n. 13, pp. 47-49 (867 IX-868 III, Roselle); Cammarosano, *La famiglia*. Manacorda, *Siena e Roma*, pp. 14-18, speculated that he could be identified with the count of the same name, father of Paulus *nobilissimus vir* and Ro-

Those who, in Florence, aspired to social advancement needed to pass through the Court, though not necessarily through the marquis. The local interlocutors, the channels of connection with the most powerful spheres, could have been others. In the group picture of 852, there is also a Raimbaldus. He is almost certainly the homonymous imperial *fidelis* who, with his son Jeremiah, appears in a diploma of 854 issued in *Scalarico*, in the territory of Pistoia⁷⁴. The imperial chaplain Roderic, through the intercession of Dructemirus, asked Louis II to confirm the privilege of Pope Leo IV with reference to the life usufruct of the monastery of S. Maria in Mugello. Just as Roderic had already succeeded the deceased Rodilandus, so after his death he was to be succeeded by Raimbaldus and his son Jeremiah. The Emperor, for his part, also granted Raimbaldus the nearby *curtis* of Ronta, also in Mugello. Raimbaldus thus used the intermediation of the chaplain Roderic, who was as close to Leo IV as to Louis II and was able to obtain diplomas from them⁷⁵.

To create such mobility path, it was necessary to connect with men documented above all in Lucca from the 840s in relation to public justice and the fiscal redistributive circuit: the first aristocratic stratum in which there were imperial vassals and chaplains and within whose circles the Carolingian script spread. Carolingian script was used, for example, by the vassal Eriprand I Aldobrandeschi and the brother of the vassal Cunipert, the deacon Gisulf⁷⁶.

Thanks to these connections, a second aristocratic stratum with a network structure was formed in Florence just as it was in Lucca. This is also shown by the anthroponomastic data, which refers to intra-regional ties. Thus Jeremiah, the son of Raimbaldus, bears the name of the bishop of Lucca Jeremiah Aldobrandeschi. Among the testamentary executors of the Lucchese Teudimundus I of the Figli di Huscit in 858 there is a Florentine, Teudilascius of the late Deodatus⁷⁷. His name echoes that of the imperial chaplain from Lucca, Teudilascius Cunimundinghi, later bishop of Luni. A second generation of imperial vassals and chaplains can be seen within this stratum⁷⁸.

In Florence, this second stratum was taking root above all in Mugello, a road and border area with vast fiscal estates. Its most important exponent was probably Rosselmus, who was in charge of recruiting in the territories of Florence, Volterra, and Arezzo for the expedition to Southern Italy promoted

manorum consul who allegedly donated salt pans in Ostia to the churches of S. Maria *domine Rose* and S. Laurentius in *Castello Aureo*, between 867 and 872.

⁷⁴ MGH, DD Lu II, n. 15, pp. 93-95 (854 VIII 17, *Scalarico*).

⁷⁵ Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*, pp. 150-151, 175-176, 187-188; Tomei, *Milites elegantes*, pp. 39-40. There is perhaps a connection between the chaplain and the *gastaldus* Roderic, a Frank attested in Lucchese charters.

⁷⁶ ChLA², LXXVII, n. 27, pp. 86-87 (839 VI 14, Lucca), LXXVIII, n. 12, pp. 40-41 (843 VII 13, Lucca). In the *placitum* assemblies, Cunipert appears among the imperial vassals alongside Eriprand I and Godfrey: ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 21, pp. 62-64 (844 I, Lucca).

⁷⁷ ChLA², LXXXI, n. 25, pp. 80-83 (858 XI 5, Lucca).

⁷⁸ Also attested in Lucca is an imperial chaplain called Teudimundus, who masters a chancery minuscule: ChLA², LXXXIII, n. 41, pp. 134-139 (874 XII 17, Lucca).

by Louis II in 866. The imperial vassal Teudimundus I of the Figli di Huscit had a similar role for the territories of Pisa, Lucca, Pistoia, and Luni⁷⁹. I propose his identification with the then deceased father of the founders of the church of S. Maria on the Sieve – as Maria Elena Cortese has pointed out, these were rich and powerful people, undoubtedly belonging to an elevated social stratum⁸⁰. The church was founded by a charter issued in Mugello, in 925, by the brothers Adonaldus and Adolfus of the late Rosselmus (it also mentions their nephew Adonaldus, son of a third brother already deceased, Widalgrimus)⁸¹.

Among Rosselmus' sons, it is Adonaldus who stands out. He is to be identified with his namesake who appears alongside the leading Lucchese parental groups. He was a bystander at a *placitum* in 869, presided over in Lucca by the Marquis Adalbert I and Bishop Gerard I, and he subscribed *livelli* issued by the same bishop in 872, together with Cunimund II Cunimundinghi and Lambert I of the Figli di Rodilando⁸². The palaeographic data provides a truly important contribution: his handwriting is a cursive with strong and significant curial influences, «such as the vertical course, the development of the strokes, the *a* in one stroke in the form of an omega, the very simple and quickly executed *e* similar to a Greek theta, the round *t* traced in one stroke with anti-clockwise movement»⁸³. This is a clear indication of his frequentation of the Lateran Palace.

It is not surprising, then, that Adonaldus occupies a central place, together with the Farolfingi, who had long been linked to the papal court, even by family ties, in the delicate dialectic between Lucca and Rome after the death of Louis II. The detente in the relations between Marquis Adalbert I and John VIII, previously very tense, as shown by the Pope's register, is marked by the presence of the Marquis' retinue in the Leonine city. The occasion is the council held in mid-October 879⁸⁴.

On 18th October, Winigildus of the late Farolfus II received by *livello* from Bishop Gerard I the *curtis* of *Garbina*, near Certaldo in Valdelsa, pertaining to the church of S. Sylvester of Lucca⁸⁵. The act was written by the notary Peter, never otherwise attested in the Lucchese charters⁸⁶. The notary had to receive a licence from the *superista* Peter, the highest secular official of the

⁷⁹ MGH, Capit. II, n. 218, pp. 94-96; < [https://capitularia.uni-koeln.de/capit/post840/bk-nr-218/](https://capitularia.uni-koeln.de/capit/post840/bk-nr-218/>) > [18/10/2023]; Tomei, *Milites elegantes*, pp. 229-232; Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 13-14, 26.

⁸⁰ Cortese, *Signori, castelli, città*, pp. 215-216.

⁸¹ *Le carte della canonica*, n. 9, pp. 25-29 (925 XI, Mugello).

⁸² ChLA², LXXXV, n. 21, pp. 69-75 (869 VIII 18, Lucca), LXXXII, n. 46, pp. 152-153 (872 VIII 26, Castelnuovo di Garfagnana), LXXXIII, n. 4, pp. 24-25 (872 XI 1, 5, 13, Lucca).

⁸³ ChLA², LXXXII, p. 152.

⁸⁴ MGH, Epp. VII, nn. 83, 87, 89, 96, 107, 171, 251, pp. 78-79, 82-83, 85-86, 90-91, 99-100, 138-139, 219-220; MGH, Conc. V, n. 11, pp. 151-155 (879 X, Roma); Bougard, *Ansperto e il papato*.

⁸⁵ ChLA², LXXXIV, n. 27, pp. 97-99 (879 X 18, Roma, Città Leonina).

⁸⁶ Suggestive, but impossible to demonstrate on palaeographic grounds, is the possibility of him being the notary of the same name who wrote for the Marquis Adalbert I the foundation charter of S. Maria of Aulla, in 884; see Tomei, *Spazi politici*.

Lateran palace, since he came from outside and was not Roman, as his writing also reveals⁸⁷. Although the Marquis was absent, the document depicts his entourage. After Winigildus, signed Giselbert, Rodilandus II and Lambert II of the “Figli di Rodilando”.

The granting by *livello* from the bishop of the conspicuous estates belonging to the *Reichskirchen* of S. Fredianus and S. Sylvester of Lucca, widespread in almost the entire region, was the mechanism, devised in 877, with which the marquis, through the bishop, rewarded *fideles* and, as a result, succeeded in attracting the aristocrats of Tuscany to himself⁸⁸. The flow of *livelli* addressed the network he intended to coordinate on the regional level, that included both members of the first aristocratic stratum, such as the new generation of the Farolfingi, and the second stratum, such as Adonaldus and the “Figli di Rodilando”. And, in fact, Winigildus and Giselbert are two of the four vassals of the marquis attested alongside Adalbert II at a *placitum* in Florence in 897⁸⁹.

It was thanks to Adonaldus’ influence that two of his namesakes, related in some way, but distinguishable palaeographically, Adonaldus of the late Adonaldus *de finibus Florentie* and Adonaldus of the late Saxiprand *homo florentino* (possibly linked to the brothers Adonaldus and Forteramus of the late Agrafi, who exchanged land on Monte Morello in 868), also profited from this flow of grants⁹⁰. In 877 and 882, they received as *livello* properties belonging to the churches of S. Sylvester, S. Michele in Foro, and S. Pietro Somaldi, another Lucchese *Reichskirche*: respectively, estates in Vecchiano and the most conspicuous entry listed in the so-called *breve de multis pensionibus*, with assets scattered between the city of Lucca and several areas of its diocese; and the *fundamentum* of a *curtis* in Campi Bisenzio⁹¹.

The role played by the Farolfingi remained decisive in the months immediately following the *livello* in the Leonine City. Winigildus’ brother, Farolfus III, favoured the realignment between John VIII and Charles the Fat: as counsellor and nephew of John VIII, in April 880 he was sent by the Pope to the imperial court and, in March 881, at a *placitum* in Siena, he appears among the followers of the newly-crowned emperor, on his way back from Rome, with the high-sounding title of *comes domni apostolici*⁹². It is a significant title: it expresses social rank and a position of proximity to an important person, namely the pope, rather than a territorially-rooted office⁹³.

⁸⁷ Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 186-189; Betti, *Papa Giovanni VIII*. Peter is immortalised in John Immonides’ *Coena Cypriani*: «Cum togata superista Pietro tractat curia».

⁸⁸ Tomei, *Chiese, vassalli, concubine*.

⁸⁹ ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 45, pp. 137-141 (897 III 4, Firenze).

⁹⁰ ChLA², XCI, n. 32, pp. 146-151 (868 III, Firenze).

⁹¹ ChLA², LXXXIV, n. 15, pp. 59-59 (877 IX 7, Lucca), LXXXV, n. 13, pp. 48-49 (879 XI 1, Lucca), CXVII, n. 18, pp. 108-113 (895 XI 19-897 III 4); Tomei, *Un nuovo politico*.

⁹² MGH, Epp. VII, n. 225, p. 200; ChLA², XC, n. 17, pp. 92-97 (881 III, Siena); < <https://saame.it/fonte/placiti-toscani-toscana-17/> > [18/10/2023]; Bougard, *Le royaume*, p. 71.

⁹³ Mention of counts in the Kingdom as a whole, for the ninth and tenth centuries, would deserve to be taken up in order to assess their actual territorial anchoring; see Bougard, *Laien als Amtsträger*; Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 95-96, 273-291.

The subsequent mention of one of the Farolfingi always refers to the line descended from Farolfus II: this is the case of his son Winigildus at the Florentine *placitum* of 897 among the marquis' vassals⁹⁴. Farao II may have left only a daughter, if one accepts her identification with Rottruda of the late Farao who, widowed and veiled, disposed of some of her property in 880 from *Cornio*, nowadays near Prato, in the *fines* of Pistoia⁹⁵. Like the Aldobrandeschi, the Farolfingi were also drawn into the marquis' orbit to the extent that they disappeared completely from the scene at the beginning of the tenth century. They only re-emerged in the Ottonian age⁹⁶.

Traces of the sons of Rosselmus were also lost at that time. In Florence, there is a sharper fracture, also onomastic. The name Adonaldus is highly characteristic of the elites in the Florentine area from the eighth to the beginning of the tenth century – see for example the group of founders of S. Bartolomeo in Ripoli⁹⁷. This is a striking fact given the paucity of the documentary basis for these chronologies. However, Adonaldus is no longer part of the onomastic stock of the Florentine aristocracy in the 11th century, as clearly shown by the now more abundant sources analysed by Maria Elena Cortese⁹⁸.

In conclusion, the career of the Farolfingi and the case of Florence confirmed the general outlines of the model already sketched out starting with the Aldobrandeschi and the *milites elegantes* of Lucca. The genesis of the aristocratic structures in Tuscany took place with people who managed to consolidate a position of eminence for themselves and their descendants thanks to their relationship with the Court in the generation between the 820s and 840s, due to the action of Lothar I in the Kingdom. In the next generation, between the 840s and 860s, a second stratum emerged, that previously had a mediated and indirect relationship with the central pivot in the public sphere. The latter had a more fragile, less crystallised position, and acted in a strongly networked pattern. Only the most powerful of the first stratum managed to attain comital rank: their focus of action was fixed far from Lucca, in Maremma and Roman *Tuscia*. Both the former and the latter formed the network coordinated by the marquis on a regional scale after the death of Louis II.

Overall, there was a great cycle of social differentiation in the political space of the Kingdom. It was gradually powered by the court's redistributive process under Lothar I and Louis II, within the constellation of power

⁹⁴ ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 45, pp. 137-141 (897 III 4, Firenze). There is no certainty as to his identity with a Winigildus who appears in the letters of Pope Stephen V. He had started a relationship with his sister-in-law Gisaltruda, widow of his brother Peter, who had left the *sacrum velamen* for him. Therefore, the couple was excommunicated: MGH, Epp. VII, n. 21, pp. 344-345.

⁹⁵ ChLA², XCI, n. 33, pp. 152-155 (880 VII 9, Borgo al Cornio); Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*, pp. 195-196.

⁹⁶ Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», pp. 71-91; Tomei, *Sul castello di Colonna*, pp. 58-61.

⁹⁷ Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Diplomatico*, Vallombrosa, S. Maria d'Acquabella, 790 luglio 14; < <https://www.archiviodigitale.icar.beniculturali.it/it/185/ricerca/detail/145270> > [18/10/2023].

⁹⁸ Cortese, *Signori, castelli, città*.

in which the kinship of the Supponids occupied a central place⁹⁹. This was the support base for imperial power when it turned its gaze to Southern Italy. There are strong analogies with the tenth century. After a structural crisis generated by the action of King Hugh of Arles, a second cycle of stability and gradual growth began, between the Easter coup of 945 and the civil war between Henry and Arduin, in which the core of the network was occupied by the kinship of the Obertenghi¹⁰⁰. In this framework, on which Otto I and Otto II relied for their action in Southern Italy, the Aldobrandeschi and Farolfingi also found a place, always in connection with Lucca.

There are, however, divergences. I have studied here individuals and groups that, although they have an urban-centric action, initially enjoy greater visibility out of the cities, especially in the fiscal areas such as Mugello, Montepulciano, and Montalcino. Their action was structurally polycentric: in addition to the neighbouring cities, they were attracted by the court of Lucca. Besides, they show a more evident gravitational pull towards other foci of power, above all Rome. The image offered by palaeographic data is emblematic: to the Carolingian script used by Eriprand I Aldobrandeschi from 839, a forerunner on the graphic scene in Lucca, we see echoes in the curial contamination in Adonaldus' writing a generation later¹⁰¹. The graphic identity of the former refers to his joining the circle of imperial vassals, while that of the latter refers to his being an interlocutor between Lucca and Rome. It has been seen how Farolfus III and Winigildus, Roderic and Adonaldus increased their *honores* thanks to their role as a link with the papal court, in a connective tissue especially woven at the time of Pope Leo IV, with huge investments that led to the foundation of two new *civitates*: the Leonine City and Leopolis. In this interplay, at least until the 870s, they had considerable margins of autonomy and mobility, greater than those of the aristocrats of Lucca, before being all subjected to the coordination of the marquis.

⁹⁹ Bougard, *Les Supponides*.

¹⁰⁰ Vignodelli, *Il filo a piombo*.

¹⁰¹ Collavini, *Aristocrazia d'ufficio*.

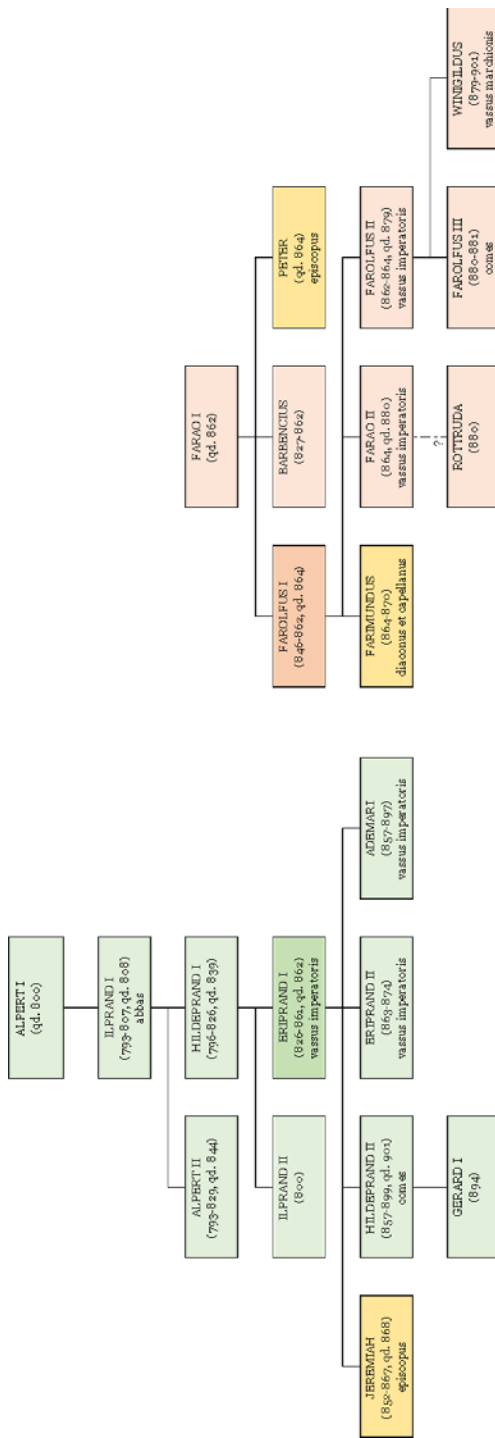


Figure 1. The first generations of the parental groups called Aldobrandeschi (in green) and Farolfingi (in orange). In a brighter shade the individuals who distinguished themselves through their connection with Lothar I. In yellow the court clerics.

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