SCIRE

SOCIAL COHESION, IDENTITY & RELIGION in EUROPE

400 – 1200

Preface

The ERC Advanced Grant was awarded to me in 2010. It presented a wonderful opportunity to address big issues and broad research questions with a team of young scholars. It allowed the continuation of a line of collaborative research that had begun with the Wittgenstein Prize of the FWF, awarded to me in 2004 and which had provided funding for six years of team work on 'Ethnic Processes in the Early Middle Ages' (2005 – 2010). The ERC project 'SCIRE' was hosted by two institutions. One was the University of Vienna, where I am currently employed as a Professor of Medieval History, and where the History Department and the Austrian Institute of Historical Research offered necessary infrastructure and scholarly stimulus. The second host institution was the Austrian Academy of Sciences, which I serve as the director of the Institute for Medieval Research. This institute provided an inspiring research environment and an intellectual home for the project team, also thanks to generous investments by the Academy. The manifold research activities of the Institute's Division for Identity Research were boosted by the grant, which also increased its international visibility. I would like to thank both institutions and their representatives. Thanks to their support, and to grants and projects such as SCIRE, Vienna is now home to what I regard as the liveliest, most manifold and international group of early medievalists in the world. It has been an enormous pleasure to work with them. I hope that the privilege to have received such generous European funding will also help them to develop their careers and to proceed beyond the perspectives that we have explored together in the SCIRE project. This booklet presents some of the issues that the project team worked on in the five years of European funding, from 2011 to 2016. It traces an intellectual adventure that will hopefully be of use to the international scholarly community, and to people interested in finding out more about their past, not least in order to acquire a better understanding of the present.

Walter Pohl

Aims of the project

The period between 400 and 1200 AD saw the emergence of new fundamental modes of identification in Europe. Firstly, new religious identities took shape and became hegemonial over vast regions where Christian communities developed. And secondly, new kingdoms with ethnic denominations were formed, and the Roman Empire gave way to a pluralistic political landscape. Both processes, not least through their interaction, created new forms of social cohesion, but also of conflict, and had a deep impact on European history up to this day, which has not been sufficiently understood yet. Universal religion and ethnic/national particularism have always been regarded as opposite principles. But that is only part of the picture, and SCIRE has looked at ways in which religious and ethnic identities were connected. Identifications with large social groupings were rarely only ethnic or only religious; they might well be both, and also include aspects of homeland, language, cultural profile or social status.

The approach adopted in order to achieve these goals was a combination of careful source studies, broad perspectives and methodological reflections to avoid modern projections. The intention was not so much to study specific ethnic processes, but the cultural and social framework that shaped them. How was social cohesion achieved by identification with social groups, and what were its limits? However flexible and changeable social identities might be, they could also be very persistent. In spite of all political ruptures, European large-scale identities have proved to be surprisingly stable since the Early Middle Ages, while their significance underwent fundamental changes. Important political, affective and cognitive resources for the political role of ethnicity in European history were thus created in the period of c. 400–1200 AD. They provided a potential that could be used at different stages in European history, not least in the development of the modern nation.

The SCIRE experience: some thematic strands

In SCIRE, we studied relations between Christian, ethnic and political communities, between discourse and practice. Several subprojects and case studies addressed a variety of related research problems using the SCIRE approach. A main focus was the impact of the Bible and of other forms of Christian discourse on the production of texts and on the practice of social cohesion. Some projects addressed the impact of the media through which Christian teachings were disseminated to a broader audience, such as sermons, hagiography or liturgy. Historiography was a main concern, among others, the so-called Fredegar Chronicle and Spanish chronicles written during and after the period of Visigothic rule. We created 'GENS: Group terminology and ethnic nomenclature: a semantic database, Latin Europe: 400–1200', with a selection of over 2500 passages in which terms for ethnic groups and their different contexts and meanings are made accessible. This collection was supplemented by in-depth studies of concepts of identity in late antique grammars and in their Carolingian versions.

As a further key topic, SCIRE systematically addressed the ways in which being Roman mattered after the end of the Roman Empire in the West, which resulted in a themed issue of the journal Early Medieval Europe and three collaborative volumes, dealing with the historical, philological and archaeological evidence from interdisciplinary perspectives. Identification implies difference and exclusion; thus, a study of perceptions of the 'other' in papal Rome of the eighth and ninth centuries complemented the aspect of Roman identification. A case study addressed the political impact of 'Arianism' as an alternative form of Christianity. The post-Roman transformations in different regions were studied in the Eastern Alps and around the Adriatic. An international project group traced little-documented local identities. We tried to assess changes in social and political cohesion in the course of the transformation of the Carolingian world – a project that led to the establishment of an international research network, which has already obtained funding for a HERA project. A cluster of projects on a somewhat later period addressed Přemyslid Bohemia, the vernacular story of *Der guote Gêrhart*, the Baltic crusades and the hunt in Capetian chronicles.

One important interdisciplinary topic dealt with ways in which genetic data can be interpreted historically in a methodologically sound way. Apart from a PhD thesis focusing on the case of the Anglo-Saxon migration, this line of research fed into an international project group studying the Longobard migration through genetic, archaeological and historical evidence. The goal is, not least, to create a best-practice example of interdisciplinary collaboration to monitor the way in which historical conclusions are reached on the basis of genetic evidence. Although SCIRE explored many topics and used various approaches, these projects were closely linked and contributed to a heightened awareness of how identities and social cohesion were transformed in the post-Roman centuries in Europe.

Seal of Charlemagne, 807 AD (Munich, BHA KS3)

3

Subprojects

1. Ethnic and Christian discourse in the Early Middle Ages

A look at the map of Europe about one thousand years ago reveals mostly familiar names: France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria, the kingdoms of the Danes and Swedes, and the Rus. Most of these names had not been on the map 500 years before. For a long time, modern historiography has therefore regarded the Early Middle Ages as the period when most European nations originated. We have become so accustomed to seeing the world as a world of nations that we have taken for granted that Europe should have developed in this way, as an aggregate of independent peoples. But ethnicity played a rather different role in many other political cultures. Therefore we need to explain why a plurality of independent states, many of them with an ethnic designation, came to shape the political landscape of Europe. This model gradually started to evolve in the provinces of the crumbling Western Roman Empire in the fifth century.

Christ hands San Vitale the crown of marytrdom (Mosaic in San Vitale, Ravenna, around 500)

One explanation can be found in a rather simple observation: all the early medieval states that used ethnicity as their basis were Christian. This was partly due to the fact that the new kingdoms needed some Roman-type infrastructure, and bishops could help to maintain or create it. But there is a further element: Christianity could give purpose and meaning to the ethnic states. A world of nations, of *gentes*, became the theatre for the history of salvation, and the horizon for Christian missions. In the Old Testament, God's covenant was with a people, the people of Israel, and if the 'chosen people' strayed from the path, God's punishment was mainly enacted in scenarios of ethnic conflict. The Old Testament provided models for practices such as the holy war, political liturgy, or rituals and prayers for the ruler, the people or for the success of military expeditions. Old Testament genealogy could be used to link the origin of peoples with sacred history. Several articles by the principal investigator were devoted to this link between ethnicity and Christian discourse: for instance, about Pope Gregory the Great and the barbarians; about failed attempts to banish marriages with foreign-born women in the Carolingian period; or about the rhetoric of election employed to address specific peoples as chosen or holy. The varied uses of biblical models for ethnic distinctions in the 'barbarian' kingdoms were then integrated into more general conceptual studies on the role of ethnic identifications in the Early Middle Ages. In these articles, a new model of identity as the result of interactions and identifications was developed: identifications of individuals with a group; identifications of the group as such in collective rituals or by its representatives; and outside perceptions of the group. Identity was constructed as a result of these serial acts of communication.

1.a The Bible as 'repertory of identification'

The Old Testament provided models for almost every possible constellation in the history of a community. Christian authors knew at least key parts of the Bible very well, and referred to them explicitly or

Biblical models in early medieval historiography
• Philipp Dörler •

implicitly. Often, such references are employed where a tension arises in the text, where value judgements are expressed or where the meanings of unusual actions need to be explained. Works of Christian historiography also often refer routinely to biblical passages. These meanings are not always easy to decode. One way to approach them is by analysing the intentions of the authors and the ways in which they balance biblical, classical and contemporary allusions. This was the approach taken in Philipp Dörler's PhD project.

In this project, he studied several mostly well-known post-Roman authors in comparison. One focus lay on Jordanes and a comparison of his Roman and Gothic histories. Another confronted the Gothic histories by Jordanes and by Isidore. A text that yielded instructive examples of the uses of the Bible was the early-eighth-century *Liber Historiae Francorum*. Dörler has published articles on each of these authors. The art of biblical referencing unfolded only gradually throughout the course of the Early Middle Ages. Although Jordanes prefixed a brief summary of Biblical History to his *Romana*, his text uses direct references to the Bible rather sparingly. The 'Great Code', as Northrop Frye has termed the Bible, as a ubiquitous textual resource in the history of European literature, did not immediately pervade historical writing, but took time to unfold.

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Bible and historiography in transcultural Iberian societies, eighth to twelfth centuries

• Matthias Tischler / Patrick Marschner •

This FWF-funded project is aligned with SCIRE, and studies the transcultural setting of the Iberian Peninsula from the Early to the High Middle Ages. After the Muslim invasion in 711 Christians were forced to find answers to the question why foreign people with different religious habits had been able to conquer the Christian kingdom of the Visigoths and to subject the Iberian population, and whether these events would challenge the reliability of the Christian model of salvific history. The most important tool to cope with this challenge was an intensified production, study and use of the Bible. It offered ways to interpret one's own situation and to create new historical models of religious relevance, which could provide a more reassuring interpretation of the Christians' role in history.

The Christian-Iberian legacy is here being accessed from two angles. On the one hand, Bible manuscripts produced both in al-Andalus and in the Northern regions are studied, with special regard to their illuminations, paratexts, non-biblical additions in the codices, additions made in the margins, and other traces of use and movement. The autopsy of many of these manuscripts has uncovered rich and largely unstudied evidence. Various chronological, eschatological and sibyllinic texts added to the canon of Bible editions convincingly show that in the Iberian frontier societies the transcendentally-founded normative visions of the respective 'sacred texts' competed against each other and confronted Jewish, Christian and Muslim perceptions of time, space and history. On the other hand, historiography is being assessed for its use of biblical motifs. Indeed, historical writing displays a rich biblical typology that allows insights into the self-perception and the perception of the religious and cultural 'other' while relating the own Iberian history to biblical episodes. The Muslim domination was conceived as a punishment by God and as a sign of the near end of human history. Yet, these texts also involved hope for God's reconciliation with his chosen people and for the rise of a new age of Christian rule.

Bible of Ripoll, Santa Maria de Ripoll, first half of the eleventh century (Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 5729)

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Hierarchy and social cohesion in the Carolingian period

• Bojana Radovanović •

In the turbulent times marked by political and social instability that befell Carolingian society of the mid-ninth century (political divisions, theological disputes), the importance of hierarchy was evident. St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (13:1–7), which addressed the issue of obedience to worldly authorities, was interpreted by Gottschalk of Orbais, Hincmar of Reims and Hrabanus Maurus. In the first half of the ninth century, theology was established as an exercise ground for social discourse and was therefore a significant marker of social change.

The aim of this study is to demonstrate how the notion of hierarchy was understood in these texts and within the political and historical contexts of the period spanning the 840s–860s. The emphasis of the article is on the concept of social cohesion, and it critically assesses the various approaches to social cohesion that each of these different interpretations portrays. The significance of contrasting interpretations of this epistle is examined, between Gottschalk, a heretic, on the one side, and Hincmar and Hrabanus, representatives of the official church, on the other. Their opinions are placed in relation to the different positions in society each of them held. In such turbulent times, Gottschalk's interpretation of the Epistle to the Romans argues that higher, worldly powers should not be obeyed in all cases – representing a potentially dangerous attitude at that particular historic moment, which could put social cohesion and stability at risk. Conversely, Hrabanus's and Hincmar's interpretations both revolve around the importance of preserving and adhering to the rightful order, with each serving to underline their strong social position and authority.

Hrabanus Maurus (left) supported by Alcuin (middle) dedicates his work to Archbishop Otgar of Mainz (right). Fulda, second quarter of the ninth century (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 652)

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1.b Christian communities and their media

Sermon collections: the preacher and his audience
• Marianne Pollheimer-Mohaupt •

In the Early Middle Ages, sermons were among the most effective instruments to teach the principles of Christian faith. They helped to build Christian communities in varying contexts: as weekly sermons for lay communities on a local level, as integral parts of the daily liturgy in monasteries, and as admonitions at the imperial court and at political or ecclesiastical assemblies. They were directed towards different social groups and had to be adapted accordingly by the preachers to suit their audiences. Written sermons and homilies served bishops and priests as model texts for preaching, as stimulus for private meditation and as instruments for Christian education. They are still preserved in a large number of manuscripts and enable us to study the ideas they transmitted and the complex interactions of the Bible, exegesis, religious and political authority.

One case study dealt with a mid-ninth century homiliary by Hrabanus Maurus, one of the most prominent figures of the Carolingian period, commissioned by the emperor Lothar I for use at his court. In this collection Hrabanus conveyed to the emperor specific biblical models that should help him act as a Christian ruler and better understand his own role, the role of the Frankish people, and that of the clergy. Lothar should assume spiritual responsibility for the well-being of the realm and the people.

The focus of another case study lay on the sermon collection of the so-called Eusebius Gallicanus from fifth-century southern Gaul. It indicates how the preacher dealt with the changing power relations of the period and with the anxiety this caused for the people. He attempted to put these fears into perspective by assigning the qualities of Christian Roman morality to the Goths, the new rulers, while dismissing the behaviour of the defeated Romans as impious and barbarous.

St. Paul preaching to Jews and gentiles. St. Gall, end of ninth century (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 64)

Saints' lives, monastic foundations and aristocratic sponsorship
• Alexander O'Hara •

Sacred biography or hagiography, the Lives of the saints, developed in Late Antiquity and became the most popular form of Christian written culture from the Early Middle Ages. The Lives of the saints were mini-local Bibles that showed the continual unfolding of salvation history through the exemplary lives of individual holy men and holy women. They were also media through which the authors sought to influence and shape the societies or communities in which they lived or to advance particular agendas. Saints, whether alive or dead, were conduits to power. People from all walks of life went to the shrines of the saints seeking healing and blessing while medieval elites sought to harness that power by collecting relics or associating themselves with particular saints. One case Alexander O'Hara studied was that of the early medieval rulers of Austria, the Babenbergs, who appropriated the relics of Coloman, an Irish pilgrim, who had been wrongfully killed in 1012 on the suspicion that he was a spy. When the Babenberg margrave Henry I heard about the miracles worked by this new saint he ordered his soldiers to take the relics to his castle at Melk. In cementing his power in the volatile frontier region of early medieval Austria Henry I found an ally in the relics of this Irish saint who became the patron of the Babenbergs and the first patron saint of Austria. The Babenbergs later gave their castle to Benedictine monks, and it became the magnificent abbey of Melk. The founding and patronage of monasteries was another important component in elite social cohesion; one study addressed the social changes and shifting beliefs in the seventh-century Frankish kingdoms that brought about a profound transformation in elite sponsorship of religious institutions. The foundations for the future landed wealth and power of the Church in the Middle Ages were established at this time as Frankish kings and their aristocracy invested vast amounts of land and wealth to fund new monasteries in exchange for temporal blessing and spiritual salvation.

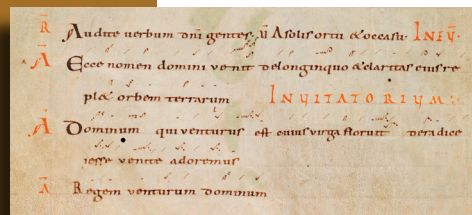Margrave Henry I of Babenberg (d. 1018) with martyrdom of Saint Coloman in Stockerau. Stift Klosterneuburg, 1489–1492 (Genealogy of the Babenbergs)

9

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The unification of liturgy between social harmony and disruption

· Graeme Ward ·

article for SCIRE

This research addressed the social impact of Carolingian liturgical reform, with particular reference to the writings of Amalarius of Metz. In 831 or shortly after, Amalarius wrote a liturgical commentary known today as *On the order of the Antiphonary* (c. 831), with which he guides readers through his (now lost) revisions to the antiphonary, that is, the liturgical book containing all the chants sung during the daily cycle of prayer in a Christian community. Amalarius aimed to create cohesion through correction: he had noticed that there was considerable discrepancy between the way the liturgy was performed in Francia and Rome, and sought to overcome specific differences by finding a middle ground between Frankish and Roman practice. Amalarius' aim was to create a more stable and balanced text for church singers to use. His ideals, however, were not successfully put into practice. In 835 Amalarius became the bishop of Lyons, but was able to hold on to this position for only three years before his political enemies succeeded in having him deposed. The introduction of his revised antiphonary amongst the clergy of Lyons was cited as one of the many reasons justifying his expulsion. Changes to the liturgy were thus interpreted as attacks upon the community as a whole: attempts to fashion harmony and unity resulted in accusations of social disruption.

From the Antiphonary of Hartker, c. 990-1000 (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 390)

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Medieval lay devotion to the late antique hermit Onuphrius

· Manu Radhakrishnan ·

article for SCIRE

The Life of the Egyptian desert father Onuphrius was translated from Greek into Latin in late tenth-century Italy, the short version in Rome and the long version at Montecassino. The prestige of this abbey and the compelling narrative qualities of the longer version made it by far more popular in medieval Italy. The fourteenth century witnessed a markedly growing lay devotion to the hermit in Tuscany. This is somewhat surprising for two reasons. The manuscript tradition of the Latin Life in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries was exiguous and an abbreviated version was not included in the list of feasts of the most popular legendary used by preachers – the Golden Legend, which was compiled in the 1260s. The second reason was that the Life is an argument for the superiority of the eremitic or solitary way of asceticism over the most common form of organised asceticism – the communal life of monks living together in a monastery. The appeal of the hermit outside professional ascetic circles is not self-evident. Yet Onuphrius became the object of lay devotion. Why was that? Lay devotion focused on this hermit when, at the advice of the Franciscans at Santa Croce, the guild of dyers, the *tintori*, selected him as their patron saint. Since the *tintori* were part of the textile industry, which was one of the largest employers in medieval Florence, this selection was the bridge that brought knowledge of Onuphrius from eremitic and monastic circles to the world of the laity. Since most layfolk who were literate were not proficient in Latin, vernacular translations were soon produced: for instance, a hitherto unknown Franciscan translation, which includes materials absent in the Latin Life, which ensures that the power of intercession of the saint is now brought in line with the clerical expectations of confession and penance that had developed after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

Saint Onuphrius. Icon from Crete, first half of the seventeenth century

1.c Semantics and narratives of ethnicity

The database GENS offers a selection of more than 2500 passages derived from Latin works of varied genres, which were written in Western Europe between 400 and 1200 and are available in modern editions. All these passages provide examples of the use and understanding of ethnic terminology and ethnonyms. In some cases, the selected extracts contain reflections on the different meanings that apparently similar ethnic terms concealed, as for the discussions on the difference between the words *natio, gens* and *genus* contained within works of grammatical purpose. Moreover, it is hoped that phrases such as *natio gentium*, which recur among the items recorded in the database, will support further research on the understanding and employment of such ethnic terms. Indeed, while they are commonly considered as unproblematic synonyms by modern scholarship, they were perhaps used at times according to the distinctions stressed by both contemporary and ancient grammarians. A relevant bulk of entries of the database focuses on the notion of Romanness in the Middle Ages by recording, for instance, all

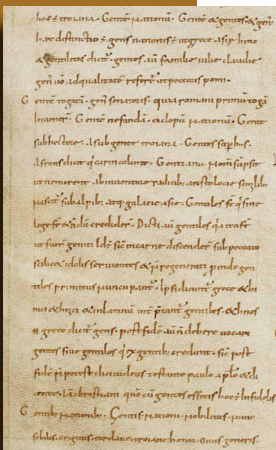## GENS – Groups and ethnic nomenclature: a semantic database

· Cinzia Grifoni ·

with the collaboration of Peter Fraundorfer

Technical support: Katharina Winckler and Emanuel Wenger

the occurrences of *gens Romana*, as well as the most relevant of *civis Romanus*.

The author, as well as the place and time of composition of the source have been recorded, if known, for every entry of the database. Furthermore, proper names (ethnonyms, geographical designations) and keywords relevant for the purposes of the database have been matched, allowing users to focus their research. The recurrence of a given word in a given range of time can be visualised with the help of a map displaying Europe and the Mediterranean basin. The approach chosen is not corpus linguistics, but qualitative and selective; it allows certain quantitative analyses, but the stress is on passages that allow reflection on meanings deliberately chosen in our sources.

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Semantics of ethnicity in late antique and Carolingian grammars
• Cinzia Grifoni •

Research in this subproject focused on two main strands. Firstly, late antique and early medieval grammars as well as specific texts called *Differentiae verborum* have been surveyed in order to find evidence of contemporary reflections on the meaning and use of ethnic terminology. The most relevant passages that resulted from this survey have been included in the database GENS.

A further strand of investigation concerned late antique and early medieval treatises on the properties of nouns and in particular on proper names (*De nomine*). The large majority of such treatises reproduce, and at times readapt, the interpretation given on this topic by the Roman grammarian Aelius Donatus in the fourth century AD. Donatus had fixed the classic Roman onomastic practices into a rigid four-name system consisting of *praenomen, nomen, cognomen* and *agnomen*. While the first three elements of the Donatian scheme did not correspond to any later use and were mostly studied by medieval grammarians only in order to understand properly classic onomastic evidence, it seems that the practice of giving a person an *agnomen* persisted throughout the Middle

Ages and found more resonance in grammatical treatises. As Donatus explains, the *agnomen* was a sort of nickname, which individuals received according to outside perceptions of their virtues or flaws. A major result of this sub-project is that even grammatical treatises could be used as propagandistic tools, given that some of them reused the Roman onomastic system, and in particular the *agnomen*, as a means of social distinction for the contemporary ruler, most notably for Charlemagne.

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Narratives of ethnicity in the seventh century: the Fredegar Chronicle
• Andreas Fischer •

As the only extant Frankish historiographical work from the seventh century, the so-called Fredegar Chronicle concentrates on the history of the *gentes* from the origin of the world to 659/660. The author compiled, used and rewrote older texts to build his view of ethnic groups in the past. To this he added his own observations of the contemporary world he experienced. In so doing, he covers the history of Merovingian France, Visigothic Spain, Longobard Italy, Northern Africa, the Byzantine and Persian Empires and the Slavic world in the East. Fredegar staged the peoples as protagonists of history, led by their kings and emperors in wars and alliances with their neighbours. The text represents his description of the world as dominated by peoples, *gentes*. It points out biological connections in episodic narratives that stretch deep down into a mythical past to convey his message of a world of peoples that were connected: Fredegar for instance uses the myth of the Trojan origin of the Franks to tie their existence and history to other important peoples such as the Romans, the Macedonians, the Phrygians and even the Turks. In so doing, Fredegar placed the Frankish *gens* in the context of world history. His narrative of ethnicity was meant to remind his contemporaries of a glorious past of a people that had fallen apart into different (sub)groups, such as Austrasian and Neustrian Franks, and other factions. Fredegar's ethnic discourse therefore was a highly political matter nourished by the conflicts of the later seventh century.

13

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2. Allegiance and agency – social and political uses of identity in early medieval Europe

Where and when did ethnic and other social identities matter, and motivate individuals and social groups in their actions? Early medieval sources may be patchy, and give little information about the identities and allegiances of large parts of the population. However, where the texts describe large-scale collective agency, such as waging war, concluding peace, raising kings or endorsing their actions, they overwhelmingly attribute that to peoples distinguished by ethnonyms. In the perceptions of the period, *gentes* (peoples) had the right to rule over certain territories: the Visigoths in *Hispania*, the Franks in Gaul, and the Longobards in Italy. As a study of the role of the Goths in the seventh century showed (Walter Pohl/Philipp Dörler), the Visigothic councils differentiated clearly between the *gens* of the Goths, the kingdom that they were entitled to rule, the *Hispania* which was the main territory of that kingdom, and its majority population, the *Hispani* (who were never called Romans), represented by their bishops. Ethnic identity thus gave access to social privilege and political power. For a considerable time, guarding these privileges meant limiting the inclusion of outsiders among the ruling minority. Only in the long run was the Germanic-speaking minority of the Franks transformed into the Romance-speaking majority of the French, and the core of the Longobard kingdom became Lombardy.

None of that was a 'natural' development, and to understand it, we have to 'de-familiarize' the process. Official self-definitions, for instance royal titles or political ritual, can provide direct clues to ethnic ideologies and their political uses. But such ideological uses are not omnipresent; the salience of ethnicity in political communication varied in the Early Middle Ages. Where possible, we have to take narrative usage and outside perceptions into account. Texts did not only reflect, but also constructed and shaped identities. Written representations of collective agency may not always be direct proof of the respective identities; but repeated joint action presumes allegiance and to an extent also identity.

2.a Being Roman after Rome

In Late Antiquity and in the first medieval centuries, political identities emerged under the long shadow of Rome. However, Roman identities represent a challenge for the study of early medieval identities, and it is surprising how little the question of 'Romanness after Rome' has been studied from an overall perspective. The topic therefore emerged as a major concern in SCIRE. There are several levels on which the issue is relevant for research on social cohesion and identity. First, the Roman state created powerful forms of representation and a political language that deeply influenced all successive European polities. Second, Romanness continued after Rome, and the variety of its forms increased after 'central Romanness' had lost its hegemony. Third, it is striking how dynamic Roman identity was; 'barbarians' became Romans and, later, Romans became 'barbarians' on a massive scale. Fourth, Roman identity in all its variety and ambiguity is a fascinating test case for the study of social identity in general: it could be civic, political, imperial, juridical, cultural, territorial, religious and also ethnic; self-designation and outside perceptions could differ considerably. In the Western tradition, Rome could serve as an example for a non-ethnic nation, defined by the legal status of its citizens and not by their common blood; in the Latin terminology of the period, as a *populus* and not as a *gens*. Yet Romans had always regarded themselves as a *gens* as well, and as the Empire faded out in the West, they could increasingly be seen as one *gens* among many. The notion of Romanness had never been clearly defined and coherent; now, being Roman could mean many things: for instance, Greek-speaking subjects of the Byzantine Empire; inhabitants of the city of Rome; citizens living according to Roman law; Latin speakers under 'barbarian' rule in the West; or, increasingly, representatives of the Church of Rome. SCIRE has made much progress in assessing these shifting concepts of Romanness.

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'Being Roman after Rome': Early Medieval Europe, special issue
• Clemens Gantner •

SCIRE team members presented first results of this research at the International Medieval Congress at Leeds 2013 in two sessions called 'Being Roman after Rome'. The contributions were then reworked and published in one of the flagship journals of the field, 'Early Medieval Europe' 22, 4 (2014), in the themed issue 'Being Roman after Rome', edited by Rosamond McKitterick, University of Cambridge. Walter Pohl, 'Romanness: a multiple identity and its changes', reviewed the many ways to be Roman in Antiquity under a compellingly uniform cultural surface and sketched the development of these different modes of identification in the Early Middle Ages. Clemens Gantner addressed various aspects of

Romanness in eighth-century Rome, concentrating on expressions of allegiance to the Eternal City on the one hand and to the empire on the other. Marianne Pollheimer analysed traces of Romanness in early medieval sermons. Andreas Fischer showed how Romans were depicted and labelled in the seventh-century Fredegar Chronicle. Cinzia Grifoni discussed an eighth-century eschatological manuscript from St. Gall that conferred to the Romans of Rome a leading role among the Western peoples until Judgement Day. Richard Corradini dealt with a single manuscript, Walahfrid Strabo's 'Vademecum', in which several excerpts from Roman histories were compiled according to the interests of one of the leading intellectuals of the ninth century. Articles by Rosamond McKitterick and Graeme Ward complemented the contributions of the SCIRE team.

Themed issue: Being Roman after Rome, EME volume 22, 4 (2014)

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Transformations of Romanness: SCIRE collaborative volume

• Cinzia Grifoni / Clemens Gantner / Marianne Pollheimer-Mohaupt •

The volume collects the reworked contributions presented at two conferences held in Vienna in October 2013 and in May 2014. The purpose of the meetings was to investigate the many different meanings assumed in the course of the Early Middle Ages for peoples or groups which were designated as or self-identified as 'Romans'. Extensive research has already been done on the reuse of Roman remains, whether texts, material objects or concepts; but comprehensive studies about the people who identified or were identified as 'Romans' or with related terms are lacking. The volume thus fills a gap in offering a broad regional and thematic overview of the shifting concept of Romanness for Western Europe and the Mediterranean basin in the medieval period.

The contributions gathered in this volume focus on the distinctive features of early medieval 'Romans' acting in the city of Rome, in the Eastern Empire, in Italy, in the various provinces of the former Roman Empire from the British Isles to Syria after the end of imperial rule. New insights are provided on the issues of whether

these 'Romans' were regarded as a *gens*, or rather as a civic, regional or cultural group; to which extent they formed bounded communities or dispersed populations. Sometimes they were perceived as a political body, as a legal status group, as a religious community or as a military unit; and they could be defined by their language, by their past history, as well as by their legal or social status. The Christian transformation of Romanness from Late Antiquity onwards forms another topic within the volume. Special attention is also given to alternative names which were used to identify the 'Romans'.

Transformations of Romanness in the Early Middle Ages: Regions and Identities, ed. Walter Pohl / Clemens Gantner / Cinzia Grifoni / Marianne Pollheimer

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Vlachs or Welsh, Walloons or Włoski, Romanian, Romansh, Aromunians or Ladin – all these are familiar names in the landscape of modern-day Europe. Some of them derive from the early medieval Germanic word *walhoz, which originally denoted Western (Celtic) and Southern (Latin) neighbours of the ancient Germans. Even today, in some countries its derivations still serve to denote Italians, French or Romanians. This is mostly due to modern developments rather than being a simple, direct remnant of the Early Middle Ages. However, it points to the astonishing success of a term for 'others' that originated before our written evidence first appears and is still in use today in most of Europe.

What's in a name? SCIRE collaborative volume on outside designations of Romans

• Ingrid Hartl •

The volume 'Walchen, Romani und Latini. Variationen einer nachrömischen Gruppenbezeichnung zwischen Britannien und dem Balkan' (published in German) deals mainly with the earlier Middle Ages, during which the term *Walch* spread over large parts of Europe and was adopted in different languages (among them, Slavic languages and Greek). Historians and philologists examine in dialogue the development of this term in different European regions, in which variations of *Walch* can be found. Some studies, however, extend beyond the early medieval period, especially those dealing with the Vlachs and even later with the emergence of a modern Romanian identity in Southeastern Europe. In addition to tracing linguistic evidence, a central concern

of all contributions is the question of what this evidence means for the continuation of 'Romans' or speakers of Romance languages, for their perception by others, and for their social integration from the Early Middle Ages onwards.

The name Walch mostly served, and still serves, for the designation of a nearby other, such as a people or social group. Usually it is, from the point of view of the speaker, the neighbouring Roman, that is the Roman with whom they have most contact. As a consequence, most regions in focus are contact zones between 'Romans' and their neighbours, on the Rhine, Mosel and Danube, in the Alps and the Jura, and from Britain to the Balkans.

2.b Othering and self-identification

Perceptions of the other in papal Rome, eighth–ninth centuries
· Clemens Gantner ·

As a main result of the 'Allegiance and Agency' cluster of projects, in 2014 Clemens Gantner published a monograph entitled 'Freunde Roms und Völker der Finsternis. Päpstliche Konstruktion von Anderen im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert' ('Friends of Rome and Peoples of Darkness. The papal construction of Others in the eighth and ninth centuries').

The eighth- and ninth-century papacy was in contact with a multitude of 'others' in the sense of outsiders, ethnically different peoples or strangers from other parts of the Mediterranean. The quite self-confident and culturally powerful papacy communicated with these 'others' and about 'others', whose alterity, however, oftentimes had to be constructed, defined and articulated by the papal chancery first. The book mainly deals with three groups that in turn influenced the papacy in different ways during the Early Middle Ages: First, there was the 'Byzantine' or 'Greek' empire, to which Rome technically still belonged for most of the eighth century and whose

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'otherness' thus needed to be consciously groomed and highlighted by the papacy, especially as 'Greeks' had lived in Rome and in many parts of Italy for many hundreds of years. Second, the papal struggle with the Longobard kingdom in the eighth century and the alliance with the Franks established in the course of this conflict led to the creation of a dichotomy between impious and barbaric Longobards versus catholic and noble Franks. Finally, there were the strongly negative images of Saracens that the papacy adapted to confront the Muslims who tried to take foot in Southern Italy during the ninth century.

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Othering and self-identification can be fruitfully examined in narrative courtly literature of the Middle Ages, which, rather than merely reflecting aristocratic realities, contributed to the discussion and establishment of rules in courtly society. In this way literary texts were a test field for social constellations, for possibilities and impossibilities, for desirable and forbidden acts.

Ties and friendship in *Der guote Gêrhart*
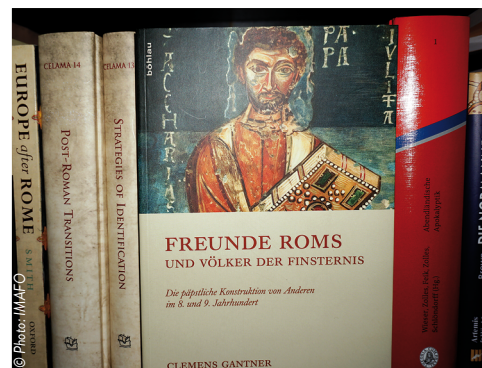· Ingrid Hartl ·

article for SCIRE

This study focuses on a specific example of Middle High German courtly texts from the period around 1200, the verse tale *Der guote Gêrhart* by Rudolf von Ems. The tale presents a main character, a German merchant called Gêrhart, who is established as an exemplum of moral rectitude and against whom the actions of all other characters are measured. An analysis of his connectivity in different social situations offers some insights into his identity and his perceptions of others as constructed by the text. One episode, for example, set in exotic Morocco, shows that Gêrhart, as a stranger in a foreign country without any personal ties to rely on, is not only able to cross geographical spaces but also social and cultural borders. His knowledge of commercial and legal procedures, of courtly gestures and of French as a lingua franca opens the path for a friendship with an Islamic count, a friendship based on mutual respect and shared values and behaviour. His intimate knowledge of commercial language moreover leads to successful business relations. So, his interaction with the Moroccan count exemplifies different aspects of Gêrhart's identity as a character who is able to act outside his given social spheres: he displays a communicative mobility, which enables him to switch between several different codes and, connected with this, a social mobility, which helps him to script his identity depending on the situation he finds himself in.

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2.c Regional and ethnic identities in Roman and post-imperial Europe

Romans and barbarians, Catholics and 'Arians' in Late Antiquity

• Roland Steinacher •

The Roman World was not a homogeneous zone of Romanness, although it tended to present itself that way, in opposition to the surrounding 'barbarians'. It incorporated pre-existing regional, ethnic and civic identities and transformed them. When the Roman Empire eroded in the fifth to seventh centuries, new identities complemented the provincial ones in a dynamic process in which newly-defined peoples and regions began to emerge. What social groupings existed before, under and after Rome? And how did these interact with Romanness? Which social groups developed durable identities, who was included or excluded? Do provincial, sub-Roman and 'barbarian' identities perhaps have more in common than we tend to think?

Identity formation can be studied in the longue durée, avoiding pre-conceived master narratives (such as 'Great Migration', 'barbarian invasions', Christianisation, national origin stories). The SCIRE project provided the opportunity to study several aspects of this process and to publish a number of articles on the interaction between North Africa and the Eastern Roman Empire, about Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries, and on the political and historical impact of Homoian theology, labelled 'Arianism' by contemporary Catholics faithful to the Council of Nicaea. The emperors Valens and Constantius II supported the Homoians; in 381, the Council of Constantinople declared the creed of Nicaea as the only rightful one. In the following period, many Homoians joined barbarian military leaders and became integral parts in their emerging kingdoms. For two centuries a Homoian creed played its role as a pattern of identification in the dissolution of the Western Roman Empire. A collaborative volume (Arianism: Roman Heresy and Barbarian Creed, edited together with Guido M. Berndt) bringing together theologians and historians was the result of these studies.

Press for the extraction of olive oil in the city center of Sufetula (modern Sbeitla, Tunisia). Did the invading barbarians bring down the ancient cities? Modern archaeological research stresses the gradual change of cities to agricultural centers in Roman provinces.

Roman and barbarian identities in post-Roman Dalmatia

• Francesco Borri •

article for SCIRE

Information on the Roman province of Dalmatia becomes scant from the beginning of the seventh century. Witnesses such as Gregory the Great evoke a picture of dramatic change; Roman structures and identities contracted from the inland regions to the Adriatic shores. The following two centuries are among the most obscure in the history of the medieval Adriatic, and historians have compared the situation of seventh- and eighth-century Dalmatia to that of sub-Roman Britain. When, at the beginning of the ninth century, Frankish authors shed light on this corner of Europe, we see the province as a complicated mosaic of interlaced barbarian and Roman identities. The area covered by the name Dalmatia gradually shrank to signify the eastern Adriatic coast only, and Roman identity was dispersed in a leopard pattern along its shores and islands. Barbarians, generally called Sclavi, inhabited the remaining regions. This peculiar situation survived until the eleventh century. In the wake of Jakob Fallmerayer´s influential writings, the human landscape of the Adriatic was interpreted as a palimpsest constituted by successive waves of migration and the consequent flight of the Romans to safe places which were harder for the barbarians to reach.

This explicatory model has been dismissed in the last few decades without actually being replaced. One alternative interpretation may be found by reassessing the role of waterborne communication. Sea journeys are only attested in exceptional cases, but it seems that Roman identities spread or were maintained along maritime routes and lines of exchange, with imperial bases clustering around the major knots of communication. This pattern is revealing: linking identities to connectivity rather than to territorially-based polities could enrich our understanding of the medieval strategies of identification. Several results of these studies have already been published in journals, and a comprehensive monograph on the early Medieval Adriatic is in preparation.

Church architecture showing Bronze Age, Byzantine and Osman influences, which highlights the wide-reaching and shifting connectivity of Dalmatia (Sveti Nikole, Nin)

Post-Roman transformations of the Eastern Alps

· Katharina Winckler ·

Late antique tower of the Roman fort of Comagenis, today Tulln. The Roman walls were carefully kept intact over the centuries and thus showed continuously the former Roman presence in this region.

The aim of this project was to investigate regional identities in the Eastern Alps and in Bavaria in the eighth and ninth centuries. A case study for SCIRE examined the traces of Romanness still detectable in Bavarian sources, mainly in charters, in the period. In German, post-Roman populations still recognizable by cultural or linguistic traits can be called 'Romanen', a contested term which has no English parallel and helps to avoid the more direct identification as 'Römer', Romans. In early medieval Bavaria, such Romance-speaking groups were called *Walchen* by the German-speaking Bavarians. They lived in the southern parts of the duchy and disappeared only gradually; in some regions, a Romance language was spoken until the High Middle Ages.

It is difficult to pinpoint these *Romani* as a connected group and to interpret the traces they left in the sources. The results of the investigation suggest that the limits of social strata were stronger boundaries than the ethnic ones: noble Bavarians with a Roman background (visible in their names and those of the places where they lived) were almost never designated with an ethnic label. A group of dependants located in the vicinity of Salzburg – the *Romani tributales* – were in fact the only Bavarian group to have the name *Romani* attached to them. In this case, the term may well have served as a marker of social rather than ethnic distinction.

The case study was closely connected with the project 'The Eastern Alps revisited – Continuity and Change from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages', financed by the Austrian Science Fund.

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Louis II of Italy and imperial Carolingian identity in ninth-century Italy

· Clemens Gantner ·

As a sequel to his research on perceptions of otherness in Rome in the eighth and ninth centuries, Clemens Gantner has moved on to study of the impact of empire in ninth-century Italy. In the period, the imperial title mostly remained attached to those Carolingian rulers who governed Italy. From the perspective of Frankish historiography, they were often regarded as peripheral; and in Italy, they repeatedly met regional resistance. How 'Carolingian' was Carolingian Italy, after all? A key example is provided by the emperor Louis II of Italy (*825, †875) who, from 855 onwards, was sole emperor in the West. As compared to his Carolingian relatives in the north, he has received relatively little attention by modern historians – no comprehensive study of his reign exists. Louis' rule was mainly restricted to the Italian peninsula, but it can only be assessed in connection with the Carolingian realms north of the Alps. Louis was also in perpetual conflict, communication and cooperation with the so-called Byzantine Empire in the east and with the South Italian Longobard principalities. He also had to face various Saracen groups of the region, who were able to launch raids well into Central Italy. Louis' dealings with all of these groups are a key topic of a monograph in preparation. In the form of a biography of Louis II, it is intended to assess the political, cultural, religious and material foundations of Carolingian imperial rule in Italy and to obtain a clearer image of his rule.

Louis II, depicted in the Chronicon Casauriense, *twelfth century (Paris, BNF, Lat. 5411). The illustration is placed at the end of the copy of his foundation charter for the monastery (872).*

2.d Small worlds and wide horizons. Local identities and their contexts

In the framework of this project strand, Bernhard Zeller has set up an international working group on 'Small worlds – wide horizons: Local identities and social cohesion (700–1050)'. The group dealt with rural, village-level societies, concentrating therefore on people who lived within 'small worlds' of some eight to ten kilometres diameter. The group studied different parts of the Frankish and post-Frankish world, namely East and West Francia, Alemannia and Bavaria, but also northern Spain and Anglo-Saxon England. Meetings were held in Vienna on a yearly basis.

The first two meetings of the group focused on representatives and agents within such 'small worlds', that is to say on the local clergy, local office-holders and other members of the local élite. The third meeting dealt

International working group

· Bernhard Zeller ·
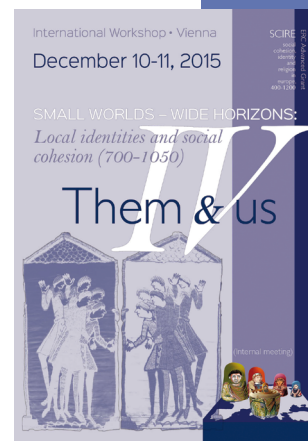
with different types of local groups and communities. It questioned their foundation (for instance by sharing legal status, rights or interests) and it asked for common actions and rituals. The last meeting addressed the relationship between different local groups and communities, but also their interaction with higher authorities and supra-regional actors (such as office-holders, foreigners, or enemies). A highlight was the involvement of the working group in the Reichenau conference 'Kleine Welten. Ländliche Gesellschaften im Karolingerreich' in 2015, where several group members presented papers.

One way of access to local environments was to look at the role of local priests, their education, means and conflicts; a collaborative volume 'Men in the Middle. Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe' has already been finished. Two further publications are in preparation: one volume in German deals with 'Kleine Welten. Ländliche Gesellschaften im Karolingerreich'. A collaborative volume in English is entitled 'Small Worlds – Wide Horizons'.

Group members included:
Dr. Miriam Czock *(Duisburg-Essen)*;
Prof. em. Dr. Wendy Davies *(London)*;
PD Dr. Thomas Kohl *(Tübingen)*;
Prof. Dr. Steffen Patzold *(Tübingen)*;
Dr. Carine van Rhijn *(Utrecht)*;
Dr. Nicholas Schroeder *(Bruxelles)*,
Prof. Dr. Marco Stoffella *(Verona)*;
Prof. Dr. Francesca Tinti *(Vitoria-Gasteiz)*;
Dr. Charles West *(Sheffield)*;
Dr. Bernhard Zeller *(Wien)*.

2.e The transformation of the Carolingian World

Emerging network

• Richard Corradini / Maximilian Diesenberger •

The research agenda

The expansive politics of the Frankish ruler Charlemagne and the re-establishment of empire in the West in 800/801 created a mental frame of reference which substantially contributed to the emergence of Europe as it exists today. This period has often been interpreted as a history of success. The story of Europe after the end of the empire in 888 is much more ambiguous: it had a positive connotation as long as it could be told as a history of the birth of nations, particularly of France and Germany; but those national histories were largely based on modern projections. Now, the dissolution of the Carolingian empire is often narrated as a tragedy – an obscure valley between the creation of Europe by the family of Charlemagne and the emergence in the

eleventh century of the Middle Ages 'proper'. Modern narratives define the time between c. 900–c.1050 by what it lacked: a period which witnessed the disintegration of ninth-century political geography, institutions and social structures, mainly caused by the Carolingian succession practice of dividing the realm between all (legitimate) sons. This practice was identified by older historiography as destroying the sense of the imperial centre and thereby sowing the seeds of political fragmentation and of the later European nation-states. It was post-Carolingian in the sense of having lost its Carolingian order.

But it was exactly the tenth century's regional diversity and absence of higher-level political structures that endowed this time of 'crisis' with enormous potential for lasting and fundamental changes to European social order. The fading away of the empire's gravitational pull in 888 had profound effects. Political authority took new shapes, for example the rise of sub-regnal 'dukes' in various kingdoms and the seeming increase in episcopal authority. Scale-change became ubiquitous as kingdoms shrank and principalities grew. More diverse groups participated in tenth-century political processes than had under the Carolingians. Regional power-holders came to dominate supra-regional politics, changing the balance of power between elites as well as between the various regions.

These developments necessitated (and made possible) changes to the discourses on political and social order. Thus, the post-imperial lack of consensus about the location and nature of social and political authority was an essential feature of the tenth century, and that was reflected in its multiple uses of the past. Recent scholarship has shown how the hegemonic power of the Carolingian dynasty had a congealing influence on ninth-century definitions of authority and attitudes to the past in diverse textual genres (annals, histories, biographies, sermons, legislation, canon law and charters). The texts of the Carolingian past provided tenth-century authors with a set of narrative elements that shaped their perception of the political world. These included the significance of the Carolingian king or emperor as the dominant agent, the Frankish *gens* ('people') and the Frankish Church as the integrating social whole, and the empire as the encompassing superstructure. These central elements of the Carolingian political order continued to frame

Imperial regalia, parts of which date from the Carolingian era (Vienna, Schatzkammer)

tenth-century political discourse even though that order had ceased to exist, and although they had become highly contested. The 'crisis' of the post-Carolingian era was thus a productive one, driving a search for political, legal and social legitimacy in reconstructed versions of the past.

From SCIRE subproject to international research network

In January 2016 the conference 'Transformation of the Carolingian World' in Vienna aimed to take stock of the insights of international scholars in the field of Carolingian and post-Carolingian history. Discussions connected them with new trends in exploring this period, specifically by examining how later generations used historiographical, intellectual, legal, political and religious resources of the Carolingian period. Examples of this creative transmission of Carolingian innovation into the post-Carolingian world included the transformation and continuation of historiographical, hagiographical and legal compilations. The aim of the conference was to transcend the artificial division created by the image of a second Dark Age, and to replace the sense of rupture in the tenth century with an exploration of the fruitful and changing balance of continuities and discontinuities from the eighth through to the thirteenth century. The themes of social cohesion and identity provided one central approach to assess these transformations. Strategically, the conference had a double function: it rounded off SCIRE, developing its issues further, not least, the changing modes of social cohesion. At the same time, it marked the beginning of a new international network of associated projects intended to study passages into the post-Carolingian world, and opened up an intensive discussion of its perspectives.

The efforts to create this network have already started. In March 2016, a HERA Collaborative Research Project (CRP) 'After Empire: Using and Not Using the Past in the Crisis of the Carolingian World, c. 900–c. 1050' has received funding, proposed by Stefan Esders (Berlin), Maximilian Diesenberger (Vienna), Sarah Hamilton (Exeter), Simon MacLean (St Andrews), and Matthias Tischler (Barcelona/Vienna). The project parts of this network are animated by a common interest in what might be called the 'imagined landscapes' of tenth-century Europe – in other words, how contemporaries defined Europe according to its laws, saints, political communities and pasts. Beyond that, an open international network has formed, including many leading scholars who will coordinate their respective projects in the field. A main hub of this network is the Institute for Medieval Research in Vienna.

2.f The New Europe: ethnic, Christian and political identities in Central and Eastern Europe

Processes of constructing and re-constructing identities, whether ethnic, regional or religious, have been extensively studied, focusing especially in the era of migrations and on the newly established kingdoms of the Latin West. However, these newly-developed methodologies have not been used much on the East Central European area, where new

Constructing ethnic identity and social cohesion in Bohemia during the rule of the Přemyslids (until 1306)
• David Kalhous •

monarchies were established during the tenth and eleventh centuries, i.e. after the disruption of Carolingian power in the East Frankish kingdom. In the present project, this approach was applied to the Chronicle of Cosmas and its two twelfth-century continuators, to investigate the main characteristics used to define Bohemians, and to analyse the strategies used to strengthen (or disrupt) the cohesion of the groups they described. In the following step, the problem was addressed whether or not these narratives had any impact on the prevailingly illiterate societies. There is sufficient evidence to prove that the stories written by Cosmas and his continuators were known to secular and ecclesiastical elites, for whom identification as Bohemians must have been more important than it was for the lower strata of society. Different identifications, i.e. with family, gender or village, played more important roles in the lives of most Přemyslid subjects. Yet even these identifications were implicated in processes initiated in the centre, in which supra-regional authorities sought to gain legitimacy in local or regional contexts, for instance through parishes or through the territorial organization of princely power. The establishment of these local structures provided the centre with local support, and thereby strengthened social cohesion on the supra-local level. SCIRE funding allowed integrating insights generated in the SCIRE project into this line of research, and gave the opportunity to finish a manuscript in German: 'Bohemi – Zu den Identitätsbildungsprozessen in Böhmen der Přemyslidenzeit (bis 1306)', which is due for publication in the series 'Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters' of the Institute for Medieval Research.
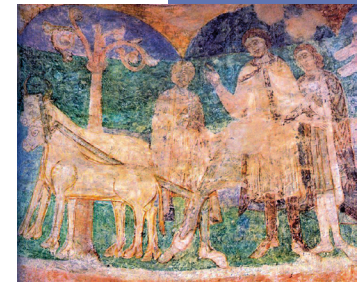
Přemysl the Plowman, mythical founder of the ruling dynasty (frescoes in St. Catharina Church, Znojmo, twelfth century)

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Chroniclers, crusaders, and the last pagans of Europe

· Stefan Donecker ·

In the thirteenth century, the contours of Europe, as we know it today, began to take shape. In North-Eastern Europe, the Latin West encroached on the last remaining areas that had hitherto remained outside the medieval Christian oikumene. Prussia, Livonia and Lithuania were perceived by contemporaries as 'pagan' and 'barbarian' and, as such, as legitimate targets of crusading campaigns. The transformation and military, political, economic and religious integration of these areas into the Latin West provide challenging case studies that demonstrate how typical medieval structures of social cohesion were adopted and adapted in the peripheries.

Chroniclers of the Baltic Crusades such as Henry of Livonia or Saxo Grammaticus were faced with the challenge of assigning ethnic categories to the variety of pagans encountered along the Baltic littoral. Schooled on ethnographic paradigms that can be essentially traced back to Greco-Roman antiquity, the chroniclers had to employ these principles of ethnic classification in an area where few, if any, classical authorities could provide guidance.

Danish crusaders topple the statue of the Slavonic god Svantevit on the island of Rügen in 1169 (painting by Laurits R. Tuxen, before 1890).

In Prussia, the Teutonic Order established a unique political structure, the most successful and the only long-lived one among the crusader states. In the fourteenth century, the Order's military capacity relied, to a considerable extent, on foreign knights that volunteered to serve in Prussia for a limited time. The mobilization and coordination of these short-term crusaders required measures that transcended the well-established patterns of feudal loyalty. Motivating, for example, French and English knights to fight side-by-side while the Hundred Years' War raged in their homelands was undoubtedly a challenge for the Order's representatives. A close examination of the measures employed to further a sense of togetherness among heterogeneous crusaders provides us with a deeper understanding of military cohesion in the Middle Ages. These studies shed new light on how social cohesion was achieved in the medieval Baltic area.

2.g Governments and social cohesion

As a researcher with SCIRE, Dr Tedesco completed his PhD and then adapted his doctoral dissertation for publication as a monograph. In this study, he has explored the financial and economic transition in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, with a particular focus on the Western provinces of the Roman Empire. The main thesis of the author is that Diocletian's political economy of taxation and Constantine's monetary policy permitted the economic revival of the fourth century, which can therefore be characterized as a period of agrarian growth, monetary expansion, social mobility, and, in the end, relative prosperity for a considerable part of the population of the Later Roman Empire. But eventually, the same social forces favoured by the fiscal system, namely provincial elites and the armies, in the long-term suborned this apparatus and turned it into a mechanism which weakened central authority and determined the political and socio-economic transition to the Early Middle Ages. Notwithstanding the fall of the Roman state, the mode of production and the means of extraction of the surplus from the productive classes did not experience significant alteration.

State, taxation and power in the late Roman West (300–700 AD)

· Paolo Tedesco ·

Photo: Nino Barbieri CC-BY 2.5

Porphyry statues of the tetrarchs in Venice, San Marco, beginning of the fourth century

This line of investigation was articulated in four main intersecting themes: (I) the form and structure of the tax system from Diocletian (284–305) to Leo III (717–741); (II) the incidence of taxation on the monetary transactions; (III) the land tenure system; (IV) the social and economic conditions of the labourers. With this approach, the late Roman tax system, with its relatively good documentation on the normative and the pragmatic level, can also become a key to assessing overall economic developments and their impact on social cohesion.

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Royal hunting was an element of medieval elite identity, used for various political and social ends. Although it is attested fairly continuously in European monarchies, its significance and moral evaluation were more at variance than often assumed. This study has compared the descriptions of royal hunting in Carolingian and Capetian royal histories. During the reign of Louis the Pious in the ninth century the royal hunt came to signify martial prowess, stability and cohesion between the king and the nobility, at a time when the king needed their support. Histories written at this time portray royal hunting favourably and frequently.

Hunting the hart. Paris, around 1400 (The Morgan Library and Museum, MS M. 1044)

Continuity with the Carolingians was central to the royal image that was constructed in Capetian historiography. However, the Chronicles of St. Denis in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries rarely record royal hunts, and when they do the context is not favourable. They emphasize calamities that might arise during the hunt. The Chronicles of St. Denis reflect a political reality where centralized monarchy dominated the nobility, which lost much of its privileged position at court. They monks of St. Denis also expressed their disapproval of an activity that favoured an aristocratic sense of community with the monarch. The Chronicles of St. Denis thus use hunting to emphasize the unique status of the French king vis à vis the nobility and other Christian rulers. Thus, the traditional activity of royal hunting could be regarded in rather different ways, depending on alternative modes of establishing cohesion among the elites of the kingdom.

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3. Medieval identities as an interdisciplinary field of study

3.a Social cohesion, identity and religion: interdisciplinary approaches

The term 'social cohesion' has mostly been used in the Social Sciences in the study of small communities. In SCIRE, it has been employed for ways in which large societies overcome their internal tensions and contradictions and find some balance that allows for their functioning. Social cohesion certainly does not mean the absence of conflict or of inner contradictions in a society. Inner cognitive dissonance is in fact necessary for the long-term success of a group, because it enables creative responses to contingency and changing circumstances. Several mechanisms may help to integrate a heterogeneous community or society. Integration may be the result of common interests held by a majority or by powerful elites. It may be achieved by institutional mechanisms, such as successful government, bureaucratic administration or regulated participation. Shared values and identities can have a cohesive effect, especially in communities under pressure from outside. A common cultural profile, mediated through shared language, beliefs, symbols, rituals and social memories is essential for long-term integration that goes beyond temporary 'task cohesion'. Certainly, a good indicator for the degree of cohesion in a society is the frequency and inclusiveness of communication and interaction, and the amount of cultural flow within the social group. Networks capable of bridging the local and global levels are vital in drawing large communities together. Thus, the concept of 'social cohesion' is closely linked to concepts of connectivity and reciprocity, integration, consensus, solidarity and loyalty, but it also has strong implications for the construction of identities.

Therefore, research on social cohesion also requires interdisciplinary efforts. In SCIRE, that has mainly been achieved through international cooperations; some examples can be found in the following. In early medieval studies, there is a tradition of collaboration between historians, archaeologists and philologists, on which SCIRE could build, for instance in the philological and archaeological volumes on Romanness.

The project has also gone beyond this well-established range of inter-disciplinarity, for instance in its focus on historical interpretations of genetic evidence.

3.b Identity, material objects and cultural transfer

The transformation of Romanness – archaeological perspectives (400–800 AD) •

• Gerda Heydemann / Philipp von Rummel •

In the past, archaeologists studying the transition from late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages have mostly concentrated on finding evidence for the new, 'barbarian' groups who took power in the West after the end of the Roman Empire. Archaeologists frequently use the label 'Roman', above all as a background against which the 'barbarian' becomes visible. But the multiple meanings and various forms of Romanness after Rome have not been systematically studied in archaeology.

In order to connect recent debates about 'Being Roman after Rome' to the field of archaeology, an international workshop was organized in Vienna. Its aim was to explore approaches to 'Romanness' in the archaeological record which move beyond a simple dichotomy between 'Roman' and 'barbarian' (or 'Germanic'). Which archaeological sources reflect 'Romanness' at all? What was

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the (lasting or fading) impact of Roman traditions on the organisation of political and military power, and on networks of political, economic or cultural exchange? Can we trace different levels of Romanness – central, regional, local – in archaeological sources, and what are the distinctive features of these levels?

The conference addressed the methodological challenges connected with defining various forms of Romanness in several regions of the former Empire, from North Africa to Northern Gaul and the Balkans. Did contemporaries associate certain objects (such as jewellery or weapons)

Pont du Gard – one of the most impressive surviving Roman aqueducts and bridges (middle of the first century AD).

or practices (such as building techniques or artisanal production) with the Roman past or the imperial centre? It is very difficult to say to what extent Roman traditions were maintained in order to explicitly express a Roman (or imperial) identity. Yet, a whole range of sources allow us to study continuity and transformation of 'Romanness' in different areas: settlement patterns, urban and military structures, building techniques and artisanal production, which often show a remarkable degree of continuity. Connectivity and exchange with the imperial centre as a focal point of 'Romanness' remained important even after it had shifted to Constantinople. When interpreting the changes in the archaeological record, comparison with the East is essential: it shows that profound changes

Transformations of Romanness – Archaeological Perspectives, 400–800, ed. Walter Pohl/ Philipp von Rummel/Hubert Fehr (DeGruyter 2017), published in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute, Berlin (DAI), and the University of Freiburg.

(for example in urban settlements) occurred not only in the West, but also in regions which were still part of the Roman Empire in the East. This reminds us that what we define as 'Roman' did not remain stable, but was subject to profound transformations as well.

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The joint research project aimed at the analysis of cultural transfer in an age of transition: despite the political fragmentation of the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity, the Mediterranean area remained connected

Western perspectives on the Mediterranean. Cultural transfer in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, 400–800 AD

• Andreas Fischer •

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with the areas on its northern shores that were now under the control of Post-Roman kingdoms. Material goods and immaterial objects such as ideas and stories were constantly transferred to these areas where they were refuted or accepted, albeit sometimes in modified form. Based on a workshop organised at Harvard, the contributions to a collaborative volume published in 2014 explore the origins of the transferred elements and the process of transmission in order to shed light on the lines of communication that linked the different areas and cultures. They mainly focus on the perception and adaptation of material
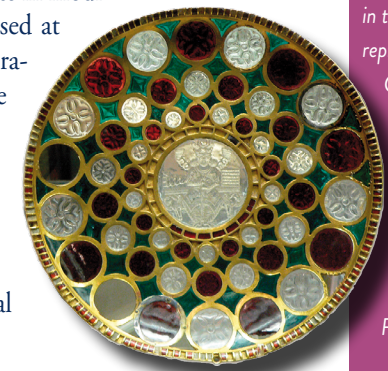
The 'Cup of Chosroes', probably produced in the sixth century, representing Chosroes I (531–579), today in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

culture, knowledge and cultural elements in the West. In a variety of approaches the articles address the appropriation of relics and the cult of saints, theological issues, historiographical texts, stories and literary motifs, and the notion of being 'Greek' in the West. These studies show to which extent the elements transferred from the Mediterranean were adapted and often realigned according to the mental frames that the new context provided: the so-called 'cup of Chosroes', for example, a masterpiece of Sasanian art that probably reached the court of Charlemagne as a present by Harun al-Rashid, was interpreted as a vessel of the biblical king Solomon. Thus, an object from the Near East became embedded in the shared mind-set in the West.

3.c Genetic history and medieval ethnicity

The ascent of modern genetics since the 1980s has inspired high hopes that genetic testing may tell us 'who we really are' and 'where we come from', and that these scientific results would be more 'objective' than the 'opaque' information to be gathered from written or even archaeological sources. These hopes mostly went along with a rather careless use of historical evidence, and with an unreflected ascription of genetic (and linguistic) traits to historical peoples. Methodological debate about drawing historical conclusions from genetic evidence has started rather late, and SCIRE has sought to promote it.

What geneticists can do is calculate relative genetic vicinity or distance. In the study of the past, this information has often been used on a highly aggregated level, in attempts to subsume the analysed samples under broad ethnic categories, presupposing their relative genetic homogeneity. This was in contrast to the state of the art in the historical disciplines, which had moved away from biological definitions of ethnicity to a cultural and historical understanding of the formation of peoples after 1945. The population of early medieval Europe was genetically rather similar, with the exceptions of a few smaller areas. Minor differences were often highlighted by geneticists to be able to distinguish, for instance, between different groups of which the population of Britain was composed (Britons, Anglo-Saxons, Vikings …). Such deterministic models present a challenge to the historical disciplines, and they require a careful monitoring of the (often rudimentary) historical methods employed to write a 'genetic history' of human populations and migrations.

In recent years, genetic methods have made spectacular progress. The data acquired both through the sequencing of ancient DNA and by extrapolating from modern DNA, which are then processed by advanced computer modelling, create a much sounder basis for historical conclusions. However, to make these conclusions as valid as the data on which they are based, much more needs to be done. This is an interdisciplinary issue, and the methodological problems at its core have hardly been addressed yet. When and how past migrations happened, and how they changed the regions affected by them, are historical questions. The historical disciplines (including archaeology) have developed sophisticated methodologies in assessing their evidence. That should not be lost in the process. A closer cooperation between geneticists, archaeologists and historians is particularly important in historical periods with extensive written and material sources. Studies of Anglo-Saxon or Viking migration, for example, require such cooperation, in which historians do not simply provide a basic chronological framework, but can also check the way in which the genetic evidence is used to answer historical questions. If we get that right for historical periods, it will also help us to interpret genetic data in prehistorical periods from which we have less historical and archaeological evidence. The interdisciplinary study of historical migrations can therefore help 'calibrating' types of genetic evidence against the entire historical process involved in the exchange of populations.

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This interdisciplinary project linked to SCIRE has been designed together with Patrick J. Geary (Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton), who is the project leader. It is a case study about the Longobard migration in the sixth century AD, which can help an interdisciplinary team of historians, archaeologists, geneticists and others to test ways in which ancient DNA data could be integrated with the rest of our knowledge about the period. We have texts that allow dating the movement of the Longobards and associated groups from Pannonia to Italy to 568/69 AD, and locating and contextualizing it quite well. Apart from texts, there is rich archaeological evidence from the period, both from Pannonia and

Genetics and the Longobard Migration
• Walter Pohl •

Interim Discussions
15-16 February 2016
GENETICS
& the
Longobard Migration
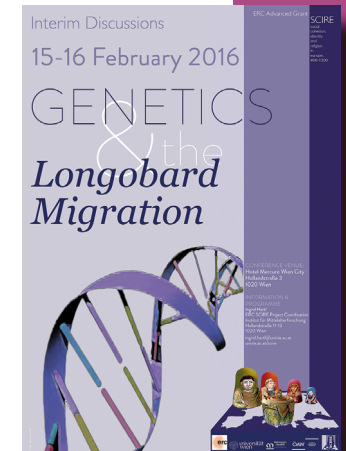
from Italy. The burial practice used by Longobards and other groups with sometimes rather lavish grave goods allows identifying individuals whose elite status in the Longobard kingdom was displayed at their funeral. Scientific archaeology studies (for instance stable isotope analysis) conducted on their skeletal remains have made significant progress, and genetic sequencing of ancient DNA is under way in cooperation with the Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History in Jena.

The goal of the project is to find ways to relate the results of the different disciplines with each other without pre-conceived assumptions: for instance, that individuals buried with grave-goods were Longobards, and those who were buried without grave-goods, Romans. In this way, the analysis of early medieval cemeteries from Pannonia and Italy can address a number of specific questions: How closely related is the genetic profile of cemeteries in Pannonia and in Italy which display relatively similar archaeological features? And how different are these cemeteries from those with different types of archaeological evidence, for instance, lack of grave-goods? Are the different groups that settled or migrated in sixth-century Central Europe and Northern Italy at all distinguishable, or do we encounter a relatively indistinct genetic milieu with a constant admixture? And how does the ancient DNA recovered from early medieval cemeteries compare with modern DNA in the same regions? It is important not to identify the genetic samples with any ethnic group from the start, and to acknowledge that most probably no clear genetic signature of the Longobards will emerge. Rather, the goal is to find ways to relate three types of complementary evidence: textual evidence that describes the collective actions of the Longobards and locates them precisely in time and space; archaeological evidence that represents the traces of small groups of population in Longobard settlement areas; and genetic (and other scientific) data that attest to relative genetic distance between individuals and clusters of individuals, or to traces of migrations. The comparative assessment of these different types of evidence could provide a best practice model for genetic history.

So far, three project meetings have been held, two in Vienna (organized by SCIRE) in 2012 and 2016, and one in Les Treilles/France in 2014. At the first Vienna meeting, there was also a public presentation of the project, which created great interest both in the audience and in the media. Some results, and extensive further material, will be published in a themed issue on 'genetic history' of the open-access journal 'Medieval Worlds', published by the Institute of Medieval Research and edited by Walter Pohl, in the autumn of 2016.

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Genetics and early medieval migrations
• Francesca Conselvan •

The present-day European genome is the result of a series of demographic events that occurred in the past, and which indicate a complex network of interactions between peoples. This PhD project addressed the early medieval period to assess to what extent genetic data can help to understand medieval migrations, demographic dynamics, and the interaction between population groups. A general section of the thesis interrogates the methodological problems in the field of genetic history and the points of incomprehension between archaeogenetics, archaeology and history. Common terms, such as population, have different meanings in the three disciplines, which has resulted in some confusion among scholars. In historical and archaeological research, early medieval peoples are now regarded as rather fluid and heterogeneous groups, whereas this approach has rarely been used in the interpretation of DNA data.

The first case study is the migration of the Anglo-Saxons to Britain and the impact that it had upon previously-settled Romano-British populations. There is a long-established historical and archaeological debate on the nature of the Anglo-Saxon migration and on the interpretation of the archaeological material. In the last fifteen years geneticists have conducted several studies to address these questions, mainly using modern DNA. These attempts show some of the potential, but also the limits of genetic studies of ancient migrations.

A second case study regards a tentative analysis of ancient mitochondrial (maternal) DNA of five medieval populations as compared to modern European populations. The evidence shows that genetic variation in early medieval Europe was relatively small, and differences are in part insignificant. These genetic data are interpreted in the frame of the current historical and archaeological debate on the perception of medieval peoples and the dynamics of the migration movements between the fifth and the seventh centuries.

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Participants in this interdisciplinary project group include, among others, Patrick J. Geary (*Princeton; project leader*), Walter Pohl, David Caramelli (*Florence*), Krishna Veeramah (*New York*), Tivadar Vida (*Budapest*), Caterina Giostra (*Turin*), Cristina La Rocca (*Padova*), Susanne Hakenbeck (*Cambridge*), Daniel Winger (*Berlin*), Cosimo Posth (*Jena*), Balazs Ménde (*Budapest*), Guido Barbujani (*Ferrara*), Johannes Krause (*Jena*).

3.d Nations in retrospect – the modern significance of medieval ethnic and religious identities

The baptism of Clovis (painting by François-Louis Dejuinne, before 1844)

Research about the Early Middle Ages always requires strong attention to modern historiographic and political distortions and projections. National master narratives dominated historical research until the middle of the twentieth century. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy is a particularly interesting case because of the entangled but competitive search for identities based on medieval history among nineteenth-century intellectuals from its different populations; this was the topic of a 2013 article by Walter Pohl, 'National origin narratives in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy'. Now national myths have lost much of their spell on researchers, at least in Western Europe. However, this is a delicate balance, and historians critical of national historiographies must be aware that public opinion may still be influenced by them. Apart from nationalistic perceptions of history in the traditional sense, there are also more fragmented or less obvious national constructions that enjoy general currency among an educated public in many European countries; they can be mobilized rather quickly in certain political contexts. These modern uses of the distant past are a necessary dimension of much research on the Middle Ages.

For a long time, collective actors provided the structuring principle of historical narratives: Histories of France, the Germans, the Holy Roman Empire or the Roman Church might have to deal with breaks and contradictions, but they conferred a heightened sense of reality on these collectives. Only recently has research started to deconstruct these misleading 'false friends' in the historical record. We have become used to seeing them as socially constructed communities, based on 'invented traditions' and hegemonial discourses, constituted by networks of power and situational solidarities and held together, if at all, by rituals and symbolic communication. All of these critical approaches have been extremely valuable, and they have opened new perspectives to understanding medieval polities: not as they may have understood themselves, as God-given natural communities, but as results of continuing social efforts and political

strategies. However, in the face of such dramatic deconstruction that has taken an imagined medieval world order of traditional historiography to pieces, our knowledge of the ways in which large-scale communities could achieve some degree of cohesion is still limited. Common interest or moral discourse, shared experience or personal loyalties, flexible networks or indissoluble bonds, loyalty or violence, ambition or fear, reason or ritual, to what extent were all these elements and others essential for the construction and maintenance of long-distance social cohesion? Such questions were in the focus of the SCIRE project.

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This associated project addresses the topic of social cohesion from a fairly recently developed perspective by focusing on the particular challenge that genetics represent in the context of studies of early medieval migration. Narratives of the past have the capacity to enhance social cohesion, that is to contribute to the formation of a trusting, connected community, by affirming the identities of its audiences as members of communities, ethnic groups and nations. In the last two decades, a series of genetic studies have been applied to historical questions, thus establishing the discipline of genetic history. Consequently, this necessitates a re-assessment of common theories regarding social cohesion.

Modern perspectives on the Anglo-Saxon Migrations
• Celine Wawruschka •

article for SCIRE

This challenge was addressed by surveying the approaches taken in genetic studies on Anglo-Saxon migration, by analysing the research agenda of the study authors, the interpretation of results and the choices of funding bodies. The perception of results of genetic studies in the media and in the public allows tracing emerging narratives of genetic history. These can then be contextualized in current issues of social cohesion and national identity in the UK.

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The question of 'Nations before Nationalism' has been a hotly contested topic for more than thirty years, at least since John A. Armstrong published his classic 1982 study of the same name. Social scientists and historians alike debated possible continuities between pre-modern patterns of ethnicity and the concept of nationhood that rose to predominance in the wake

Nations before nationalism? Breaking the teleological deadlock
• Stefan Donecker •

of the French Revolution and has shaped global politics ever since. During the 1980s and early 1990s, theorists such as Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson perceived the nation strictly as an artefact of modernity, linked to the Industrial Revolution and the rise of print media. According to this so-called 'modernist' position, any attempt to postulate the existence of nationhood before the 1780s would be futile and misleading. In the late 1990s, the pendulum started to swing the other way: Scholars such as Anthony D. Smith and, more recently, Caspar Hirschi, stressed long-term continuities that linked the contemporary nation to its medieval and early modern precursors. The category of the nation has returned to medieval studies, and it seems set to stay.

During the last few years, the debate has lost much of its vigour: Both sides employ definitions of the 'nation' well-suited to their arguments – as meticulous and exclusive as possible for the modernists, all-encompassing and somewhat vague for their opponents. As a result, the positions have become firmly entrenched and discussants tend to talk at cross purposes. Even more importantly, the strong emphasis on the 'nation' has led to a certain teleological fallacy: Whether one believes in pre-modern nations or not, all arguments have been focused on nationhood as the preeminent final stage in the development of collective identities.

Walter Pohl, in a keynote speech at a conference about 'Ethnicity and the Nation' in Oxford in 2015, has therefore argued that the debate whether there was a pre-modern nation or not does not lead any further at this point. Rather, we should assess changing forms of identification with a state, and different ways in which political communities achieved cohesion. The article will be published in a supplement volume to the journal 'Past and Present'. Research in the SCIRE project has therefore utilised a different approach by focusing on forms of social cohesion that were characteristic of the Middle Ages – not because they were possible early stages of nationhood, but because they are, in themselves, significant as determinants of medieval life. By understanding medieval patterns of allegiance and identity in their historical peculiarity, rather than as mere precursors to the nation, the project has sought to alleviate the teleological burden that has impeded recent debates.

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GENS

Group terminology & ethnic nomenclature: a semantic database, Latin Europe 400–1200
www.oeaw.ac.at/imafo/gens

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47

SCIRE Events

30–31 January 2012
Genetic History & Medieval Studies – Towards a Pilot Project
International Workshop, Vienna

23–24 April 2012
Small Worlds – Wide Horizons: Local Identities and Social Cohesion (700–1050) I
Local Priests & Social Cohesion
International Workshop, Vienna

4 June 2012
Being Roman after Rome 1
Walchen, Wallonen, Vlachen, Ladiner... I. *Romanen und ihre Fremdbezeichnungen im Frühmittelalter*
International Workshop, Vienna

18–19 June 2012
Ethnicity & Christian Discourse in the Early Middle Ages
International Conference, Vienna

9–12 July 2012
SCIRE @ IMC Leeds 2012
International Medieval Congress, Leeds

21–22 March 2013
Small Worlds – Wide Horizons: Local Identities and Social Cohesion (700–1050) II
Labelling & Local Office
International Workshop, Vienna

22–23 April 2013
Being Roman after Rome 2
Walchen, Vlachen, Ladiner... II. *Romanen und ihre Fremdbezeichnungen im Frühmittelalter*
International Workshop, Vienna

01–04 July 2013
Being Roman after Rome 3
SCIRE @Leeds 2013 – two sessions on *Being Roman after Rome*
International Medieval Congress, Leeds

29–31 October 2013
Being Roman after Rome 4
The Transformation of Romanness: Regions & Identities
International Conference, Vienna

3–4 April 2014
Small Worlds – Wide Horizons: Local Identities and Social Cohesion (700–1050) III
Land & Social Cohesion
International Workshop, Vienna

26 May 2014
Being Roman after Rome 5
Transformations of Romanness in the Early Middle Ages
Complementary Workshop, Vienna

07–10 July 2014
SCIRE @ IMC Leeds 2014
International Medieval Congress, Leeds

27–28 November 2014
Being Roman after Rome 6
Transformation of Romanness – Archaeological Perspectives (400–800 AD)
International Workshop, Vienna

2 March 2015
Transformation of the Carolingian World
International Lecture Series, Vienna

8–9 July 2015
SCIRE @ IMC Leeds 2015
– four sessions on *Social Cohesion*
International Medieval Congress, Leeds

10–11 December 2015
Small Worlds – Wide Horizons: Local Identities and Social Cohesion (700–1050) IV
Them & Us
International Workshop, Vienna

28–30 January 2016
Transformation of the Carolingian World
Final Conference, Vienna

15–16 February 2016
Genetics & the Longobard Migration
International Workshop, Vienna

25–26 April 2016
Italy and its Rulers in the Ninth Century: *Was There a Carolingian Italy?*
International Workshop, Vienna

SCIRE social cohesion, identity and religion in europe, 400–1200

ERC Advanced Grant

SCIRE Team

Francesca Conselvan
(10.2011–04.2016)
Francesca Conselvan received her Bachelor and Master in Archaeology at the University of Padua. After a period of study abroad at the University of California Los Angeles, she obtained an MA at the University of Oxford and in 2012 she started her PhD at the University of Vienna in the framework of the SCIRE project.

Stefan Donecker
(10.2015–04.2016)
Stefan Donecker studied history and Scandinavian Studies at the Universities of Vienna and Umeå and received his PhD at the European University Institute in Florence in 2010. Since 2012, he has been a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute for Medieval Research, first in the framework of a Marie Curie Intra-European Fellowship and afterwards as part of the SCIRE team.

Philipp Dörler
(11.2012–10.2015)
Philipp Dörler graduated with an MA in History from the University of Vienna and worked in the SCIRE project on Biblical models in early medieval historiography.

Clemens Gantner
(09.2013–12.2014)
Clemens Gantner has a PhD in history from Vienna University, where he also got a special diploma in auxiliary sciences from the Austrian Institute for Historical Research. His dissertation on the perception of 'others' by the early medieval papacy was published under the title *Freunde Roms und Völker der Finsternis* in 2014. His research is focused on early medieval Italy and on the communications between Latin West and the Byzantine and Islamic East in the early Middle Ages. He is currently working on a book about Louis II of Italy.
Publications: http://www.oeaw.ac.at/imafo/mitarbeiterinnen-imafo/clemens-gantner/publikationen/

Ingrid Hartl
(05.2011–04.2016)
Ingrid Hartl graduated in German and English philology at the University of Vienna, specialising in medieval vernacular literature. In 2011 she joined the department of history at the University of Vienna as project coordinator of SCIRE. Having published a monograph on the image of the enemy in crusade lyrics *(Das Feindbild in der Kreuzzugslyrik. Das Aufeinandertreffen von Christen und Muslimen)*, she is now focusing her research on aspects of identity formation in medieval German narrative literature.

Roland Steinacher
(05.2011–08.2013)
Roland Steinacher is a Roman historian and currently a fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt foundation at the Freie Universität Berlin. He graduated from the universities of Innsbruck and Vienna (PhD 2002) and teaches as a Privatdozent since 2013. Steinacher is the author of *Die Vandalen. Aufstieg und Fall eines Barbarenreichs* (Stuttgart, 2016) and is preparing a book on the Pannonian area in Late Antiquity as well as his dissertation on names and identities in medieval Eastern Europe for print. He published articles on early modern scholarship, Roman Africa and the transformation of the Roman World.

Matthias Tischler
(05.2015–12.2015)
Matthias M. Tischler, born in 1968 in Münchberg (Bavaria). Medieval and Modern History, Applied Historical Sciences, Classical and Medieval Latin, Romance Philology and Islamic Studies at the Universities

of Heidelberg, Munich and Frankfurt. PhD (Heidelberg 1998). Habilitation (Dresden 2008/2009). Since 2013 he has been working as Research Professor at the Institut d'Estudis Medievals (IEM) of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB).

Publications: http://centresderecerca.uab.cat/iem/content/matthias-m-tischler-0; https://uab.academia.edu/MatthiasMartinTISCHLER

Peter Fraundorfer
(01.2016–04.2016)

Peter Fraundorfer has been studying for a Bachelor in History at the University of Vienna since 2013.

Lena Kornprobst
(01.2016–04.2016)

Lena Kornprobst has attained a Bachelor in Romance/Spanish philology and a Bachelor in History at the University of Vienna. Since 2015 she has been studying for a Master in Global History and Global Studies at the University of Vienna.

Hagar Barak
(11.2015–04.2016)

Hagar Barak is a post-doctoral researcher, who received an MA in Molecular Biology from Princeton in 2005, and a PhD in Medieval history from Princeton in 2014. She worked as a postdoctoral college fellow at Harvard's history department 2015. Her research focuses on the Capetian administration in the thirteenth century, and incorporates ideas from organization theory and leadership studies.

Andreas Fischer
(10.2012–04.2016)

Andreas Fischer holds a PhD in medieval history from the Freie Universität Berlin, where he worked as a research fellow. He was also a fellow at the Mahindra Humanities Center at Harvard University before he joined the ERC SCIRE-group in 2012. Andreas Fischer has published several articles on historiography and hagiography in the Early Middle Ages; he is currently working on his book on the Fredegar-Chronicle.

Cinzia Grifoni
(05.2011–04.2016)

Cinzia Grifoni has been working at the Institute for Medieval Research since 2011. The focus of her research includes early medieval Latin glossography, both in grammatical and in exegetical fields, as well as manuscript production of grammatical content. She has published on Winithar of St. Gall and on Otfrid of Wissembourg.

Publications: http://www.oeaw.ac.at/imafo/die-abteilungen/historische-identitaetsforschung/ag-strategien-der-identifikation/mitarbeiterinnen-sozsi/cinzia-grifoni/

David Kalhous
(11.2015–04.2016)

Born in Třebechovice pod Orebem (*1978), In 1996 he moved to Brno, where he began to study history and historical auxiliary sciences with a focus on the early and high medieval eras in Central Europe (PhD 2006, Habilitation 2016 in Olomouc). Since 2003, he has participated on different interdisciplinary research projects based in Prague, Brno and Opava.

Publications: https://is.muni.cz/osoba/merowech?lang=en#publikace

Alexander O'Hara
(01.2012–10.2012; 02.2016–04.2016)

Alexander O'Hara studied Medieval History at the Universities of St Andrews, Oslo, and Oxford. He has been a member of the Institute for Medieval Research since 2009. He is an Honorary Fellow of the Department of Mediaeval History, University of St Andrews, and a Visiting Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton for summer 2016.

Publications: https://oeaw.academia.edu/AlexanderOHara

Marianne Pollheimer-Mohaupt
(09.2011–04.2016)

Marianne Pollheimer-Mohaupt studied History and Latin Philology at the University of Vienna. She pursued medieval studies and auxiliary sciences and specialized on preaching and exegesis in the early Middle Ages. Since 2005 she has been working with Walter Pohl and Max Diesenberger in various projects on these topics.

Publications: http://www.oeaw.ac.at/imafo/die-abteilungen/historische-identitaetsforschung/ag-strategien-der-identifikation/mitarbeiterinnen-sozsi/marianne-pollheimer-mohaupt/

Manu Radhakrishnan
(01.2016–04.2016)

Manu Radhakrishnan did his PhD in history at Princeton University and became a researcher at the Institute for Medieval Research in 2012. His research interests focus on the late medieval vernacular lay reception of Late Antique Latin monastic hagiography. He studies the *Vita dei santi padri*, the 14th century Tuscan translation of the *Liber vitas patrum*, which assembled stories about the forerunners of Christian monasticism, the desert fathers and mothers from Egypt. He is also interested in the cult of the hermit Onuphrius and its spread in medieval Europe.

Paolo Tedesco
(09.2015–04.2016)

Paolo Tedesco completed his PhD thesis in History at the University of Vienna in 2015, which is the basis of his forthcoming monograph *State, Taxation and Power in the Late Roman West (AD 300–700)*. In addition, as a member of SCIRE, he spent one year as a visiting researcher at Princeton University. He is also working on a second book, entitled *Ernst Stein storico dell'economia e delle finanze imperiali*.

Katharina Winckler
(08.2011–12.2011)

Katharina Winckler's dissertation was on the Alps in the Early Middle Ages (Böhlau 2012: *Die Alpen im Frühmittelalter*) a topic, which she has worked upon in different projects since then ('The Eastern Alps revisited' 2012–2014; 'Digitising Patterns of Power: Case Study The Eastern Alps' starting in 2015, dpp.oeaw.ac.at)

Francesco Borri

Francesco Borri graduated in medieval history and archaeology at the Ca' Foscari University of Venice; he completed his doctoral research there, working on the early medieval Adriatic. During and after his Ph.D. studies he lived and researched in Germany, England, Austria and the United States. He has worked in Vienna since 2009. A monograph of his on the Lombard king Alboin is now forthcoming.

FWF project no. 29004-G28: Aristocracies between the Tides: Identity, Navigation and Power along the Adriatic Routes

Maximilian Diesenberger

Maximilian Diesenberger is head of the division Historical Identity Research at the Institute for Medieval Research. He was guest professor at the FU Berlin and at the University of Vienna. He has published articles on historiography, hagiography and sermons in the Early Middle Ages. He is currently working on the perceptions of foreign people in the ninth and tenth century and organizing an international network on 'The Transformation of the Carolingian World'. Diesenberger is one of the principal investigators of the HERA project 'After Empire'.

HERA project 'After Empire: Using and not Using the Past in the Crisis of the Carolingian World, c. 900-c. 1050', Stefan Esders (Principal investigator; FU Berlin), Maximilian Diesenberger (Vienna), Simon MacLean (St. Andrews), Sarah Hamilton (Exeter), Matthias Tischler (Barcelona)

Gerda Heydemann

Gerda Heydemann is a researcher at the Institute for Medieval Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna. Her research concentrates on the significance of the Bible as a model for the formation of new political communities in the post-Roman west. In her dissertation (University of Vienna, 2013) she examined Cassiodorus' Psalm commentary in relation to wider sixth-century political and theological debates. Currently, she is a Marie S. Curie Fellow at the Freie Universtität Berlin, where she works on the impact of the Bible and its exegesis on the development of legal culture in the Carolingian world.

Marie S. Curie IF project no. 655748: BIBLACE – The Bible and the Law in Carolingian Europe. Scriptural Exegesis and Royal Legislation from Charlemagne to Charles the Bald

Patrick Marschner

Patrick Marschner studied History, Philosophy and Humanities at the Technische Universität Dresden from 2008 to 2013. After nearly two years of self-employment, he joined the FWF project 'Bible and Historiography in Transcultural Iberian Societies, 8th to 12th Centuries' at the Institut für Mittelalterfoschung in Vienna in May 2015.

FWF project no. P 27804-G16: Bible and Historiography in Transcultural Iberian Societies, 8th to 12th Centuries

Bojana Radovanović

Bojana Radovanović is currently employed on the FWF project 'Terminological Interference – The Case of Gottschalk of Orbais', at the Institute for Medieval Research, Vienna, in the working group 'Visions of Community und politi-sche Transformationen (400–1200)'. Her research delves into the ninth-century Frankish textual tradition and focuses upon the comparative perspectives between heretical textual tradition and official theological discourse, contextualizing them in their immediate historical settings.

FWF project no. P 26433 – G19: Terminological Interference – The Case of Gottschalk of Orbais

Celine Wawruschka

Celine Wawruschka is senior Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Institute for Medieval Research at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna, lecturer at the Department of History at the University of Vienna and editorial manager of the open access journal *Medieval Worlds*.

Bernhard Zeller

Bernhard Zeller is Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Institute for Medieval Research, Vienna, and lecturer at the University of Vienna. For over ten years, Zeller has been working on an edition of the ninth-century charter material from St. Gall within the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* (together with Peter Erhart and Karl Heidecker). Zeller's research has centred on the production, use and preservation of early medieval charters from St. Gall, Switzerland. His current project focuses on a diplomatic case-study of the early medieval charters of Alamannia (working-title: 'Diplomatische Studien zu den St. Galler Privaturkunden des frühen Mittelalters [ca. 720-980]'). Furthermore, Zeller is the coordinator of an international working group on 'Small Worlds – Wide Horizons: Local Identities and Social Cohesion (700–1050)'.

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