WESTERN PERSPECTIVES
ON THE
MEDITERRANEAN

Cultural Transfer in Late Antiquity and
the Early Middle Ages, 400-800 AD

Edited by Andreas Fischer and Ian Wood

Western Perspectives on the Mediterranean

Western Perspectives on the Mediterranean

Cultural Transfer in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, 400–800 AD

Edited by Andreas Fischer and Ian Wood

Contents

Preface

This volume presents the contributions to a workshop held at the Humanities Center at Harvard University in May 2010. The workshop was generously funded by the Volkswagen foundation; for the editorial work at the publication we received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013)/ERC grant agreement No. 269591. Apart from the authors themselves many other people contributed notably to the organization of the workshop, the debates during the meeting and the publication of its results. The editors would like to thank first of all the director of the Mahindra Humanities Center, Homi Bhabha. His patient generosity and willingness to share his knowledge lavishly with the medievalists among the fellows at the Mahindra Humanities Center will be long remembered. Among the guests and discussants, Andy Romig, Daniel Smail and Nicholas Watson not only contributed questions and comments to the fruitful debates we had during the early summer day in the Barker Center, but made also numerous helpful suggestions before and after the event. The staff of the Mahindra Humanities Center, especially Mary Halpenny-Killip and Sarah Razor, rendered every assistance for the organization of the workshop. A very special thanks goes to Michael McCormick who not only chaired the morning sessions and moderated the debates in his peerlessly dedicated and cheerful manner, but also enthralled the audience with his examination of Charlemagne's survey of the churches in the Holy Land. His paper could unfortunately not become part of this volume, but his argument and the research on which it was based has already been published as a monograph: the following pages, however, are indebted to his inspired involvement in the workshop. Finally, Deborah Blake and Dhara Patel have provided assistance during the procedure of publication and showed great patience with the editors.

Peter Brown has deeply influenced the work of every single contributor to this volume. We all owe much to his countless insights into the late antique and early medieval history of the Mediterranean and to the cultural perspectives of those peoples living around the sea. This volume is meant to express our deep gratitude. The following chapters are, therefore, dedicated to Peter.

<div align="right">

Andreas Fischer
Ian Wood

</div>

List of Contributors

Ian Wood
School of History
University of Leeds
UK

Stefan Esders
Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut
Freie Universität Berlin
Germany

Helmut Reimitz
Department of History
Princeton University
USA

Andreas Fischer
Institute for Medieval Studies
Austrian Academy of Sciences
Vienna
Austria

Thomas F. X. Noble
Department of History
University of Notre Dame
USA

Sören Kaschke
Department of History
King's College London
UK

Introduction

Andreas Fischer

In Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages the shores of the Mediterranean experienced two major political changes: the replacement of the Western Roman empire by Germanic successor states from the fifth century onwards, and the Arab expansion in the seventh and early eighth century, each of which had a major impact on the sea's pivotal role as a zone of cultural contact. Although the Mediterranean world had always lacked cultural homogeneity and was ever a space of diversity rather than a culturally enclosed entity,[1] new political powers came into play in the centuries after Rome's fall, and with them different cultural elements diverging from the Romanness that had hitherto framed the Mediterranean ecumene.[2] While mutual cultural exchanges still continued as much as did communication and economic connections,[3] their prerequisites had drastically changed. Still, cultural elements of all kinds made their way from the southern and eastern rims of the Mediterranean to its northern and western shores and vice versa. But these areas and their inhabitants had undergone intense cultural change, both with regard to what was traditional and also in terms of what was newly adopted, and these changes in turn affected the perception and transfer of cultural elements. Given these modified circumstances, the question of how these elements were transformed in one context and became embedded in another becomes an especially important issue in the age of transition between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. The role of the communicating partners is as much an issue here as are the principles that determined the transfer of cultural elements itself.

An enlightening example for the transmission and acquisition of a cultural element is the so-called 'cup of Chosroes' that is kept in the Cabinet des Médailles in the Bibliothèque Nationale today. A masterpiece of Sasanian art, the richly decorated and ornamented vessel has precious glass and gems arranged around a majestic enthroned figure carved in relief on a rock crystal at its centre. A middle Persian inscription on the dish's rim indicates its weight and underlines its provenance.[4] The vessel's origin cannot be dated precisely, but the way it was crafted seems to suggest it was most probably produced in the sixth century. Hence, while

some scholars identified the character represented on the dish with the Sasanian ruler Chosroes II (590–628), a majority of experts has taken the person at the cup's centre for Chosroes I, who ruled the Persian empire from 531 to 579 AD: in most modern publications he figures as the eponym of this piece of art.[5]

The first time the majestic figure on the throne was thought to represent the successful Persian monarch was in 1842, although the plate was classified as a Sasanian piece of art almost sixty years earlier. In 1786, five years before the cup was transferred to the Cabinet des Médailles, along with other treasures of Saint-Denis scattered by the anti-ecclesiastical impact of the French revolution, a French scholar identified the figure in the centre as a Parthian ruler of the Sasanian dynasty.[6] Until then, the bowl was associated with the biblical king Solomon: in the seventeenth century several descriptions and inventories called the piece 'tasse de Salomon'.[7] The authors of the respective passages referred to an old tradition still current in their own days to underline the reliability of this ascription: the monks of Saint-Denis had named the plate after Solomon in the Grandes Chroniques de France, a historiographical work begun in 1274 and continued thereafter. They associated the cup with the treasure of Charles the Bald who had donated it to the monastery of Saint-Denis in his testament in 877.[8]

There is, of course, no way to prove that the monks of Saint-Denis did not invent the tradition referred to by the Grandes Chroniques in the crucial passage. But if we accept this version to be true, the Carolingians must have gained ownership of the vessel sometime before 877.[9] When exactly and how it arrived in Frankland remain open questions. One could assume that the dish had been in the possession of the Merovingian kings already,[10] as is suggested by two entries in early medieval texts that associate Solomon with treasures held by rulers of the Merovingian kingdoms. The first, the so-called Fredegar-Chronicle, tells a story about a vessel that Aetius, the Roman *magister militum*, donated to the Visigoths in the fifth century. Modern research has connected this piece with the *tabula Salomonis*, above all because the vessel appears to have had more than just material value for its Visigothic owners.[11] According to Fredegar, they in turn handed it over to the Merovingian king Dagobert I (623–638/39) in payment for his support in the political conflicts in the Iberian peninsula, only to redeem it after the Frankish military intervention had taken place. The Visigoths paid a huge amount of money to get the vessel back. In the years after 660, when the text of the Fredegar-Chronicle was finally composed, the precious item was still in the treasure of the Visigoths, as the author emphasized.[12]

Its fate after the conquest of the Visigothic realm at the beginning of the eighth century is unknown. It could have made its way first to the treasury of the

caliphs, and then to the Frankish court as a gift to the new emperor in the West, Charlemagne.[13] But the vessel mentioned by the chronicler cannot be identical with the 'cup of Chosroes': assuming that both the analyses carried out by art historians and Fredegar's version of the vessel's exchange are correct, the sixth-century plate kept in the Cabinet des Médailles must be more recent than the vessel once owned by Aetius.[14] Furthermore, the weight of the vessels is different. According to Fredegar's report the Visigothic cup with its 500 pounds was quite heavy. It clearly outweighed the vessel in the Cabinet des Médailles with a weight of 2,110 grams.[15]

The second time precious objects are attributed to the biblical king in Frankish historiography is in the *Liber Historiae Francorum* that was written and composed in 726/27: talking '*de vasis Salomonis*' ('about Salomon's dishes'), its anonymous author lists several valuable items that the Merovingian king Childebert I (511–558) had donated to the church of Sainte-Geneviève (the former church of the Apostles, jointly dedicated to saint Peter and saint Paul).[16] According to Gregory of Tours, on whose report the *Liber Historiae Francorum* relies here, Childebert seized these liturgical items ('*ministeria ecclesiarum*') during a campaign in Visigothic Spain in 542.[17] That the author of the *Liber Historiae Francorum* added the connection to Solomon to his rewriting of the passage taken from Gregory of Tours sheds light on contemporary efforts to put the vessels into a biblical framework at the beginning of the eighth century, either as items originating from the treasure of the Jewish king or as pieces of arts produced by him.[18]

However, as in the case of the vessel mentioned in the Fredegar-Chronicle, there is a chronological problem if we try to associate the 'cup of Chosroes' with events mentioned in the *Liber Historiae Francorum*. The connections between the Visigothic realm in the West and its Muslim conquerors demonstrably left traces in the eastern Mediterranean in the first half of the eighth century,[19] and there might have been close contacts before this time. But that the 'cup of Chosroes', which was probably produced for Chosroes I some time after his accession to power in 531,[20] was transferred to Spain within a few years after its creation and that it was snatched away from there in 542 seems unlikely. Furthermore, the items Childebert captured on his campaign in this year were kept as the property and in the custody of the monks living in Sainte-Geneviève around 726/27, and they supposedly remained there at least until the Vikings burned down the abbey in 857.[21] There is no evidence that they were removed from their liturgical purpose and incorporated into the Carolingian treasure before 877, the date of the donation of the 'cup of Chosroes' to Saint-Denis. The

item kept in the Cabinet des Médailles today, therefore, was certainly not among the vessels of Solomon the Merovingian king Childebert donated to Sainte-Geneviève.

On the whole it seems to be more plausible to assume that the piece of art arrived at the Frankish court in Carolingian times, and there are good reasons to believe the 'cup of Chosroes' came to Frankland directly from the once-Sasanian areas now ruled by the Abbasids. With their representation of the Persian kings at the centre, Sasanian silver vessels in general and the 'cup of Chosroes' in particular are regarded as products of court culture by modern scholars, who also suppose that the Persian rulers were involved in the design of these pieces of art.[22] After the fall of the Sasanian empire in the seventh century, however, the new Muslim rulers gained a share of the captured booty and thereby might also have got hold of the vessel. An item as precious as the 'cup of Chosroes' could have entered the treasure chambers of the caliphs residing in Baghdad, from where it came to Frankland: like most of the extant Sasanian objects, the vessel had most probably once been stored in the Muslim treasuries.[23]

The vessel therefore seems to have arrived in the West in the course of diplomatic exchange rather than as a result of trade. The Carolingians had indeed had contacts with the caliphate since the time of Pippin III, and, as in the diplomatic relations with Byzantium, gifts also changed hands in the wake of embassies between Baghdad and the Carolingian court.[24] The embassies most prominent in the western sources are those shuttling between Charlemagne and Harun al-Rashid.[25] Some scholars have therefore suggested that the cup was among the gifts sent to the Frankish ruler by the Abbasid caliph in 802 or 807[26] – a hypothesis that, given the considerations above, does not appear too far-fetched. The increasingly intense commitment Charlemagne made to the Christians and the churches in the Holy Land especially after 800[27] adds to this argument. Due to this development Harun al-Rashid had to take the Carolingian into account as the first and foremost ruler in the West. His presents clearly reflect this view of the new emperor: a precious tent, a water-clock and the famous elephant named Abul Abaz changed hands in 802 and 807.[28] These gifts were not only meant to advertise the caliph's magnanimity and superiority to the addressee.[29] Rather, Harun al-Rashid probably considered all of them appropriate for the actual position of the western ruler as the new emperor and the protector of the Christians living in the Holy Land. The 'cup of Chosroes' with its representation of a majestic enthroned figure at the centre fits into this scheme. It therefore could indeed have been part of the gifts sent from Baghdad to Aachen at the beginning of the ninth century.[30]

However, contemporary informants such as the author of the *Annales Regni Francorum* and Notker Balbulus do not mention the vessel in the listing of the presents: maybe it was the outstanding impression the elephant made on the contemporaries in 802 and that of the precious tent as well as the water-clock on those living in 807 that eclipsed other gifts sent to the court, and prevented the vessel from being described in detail or even named.[31] Nevertheless, the absence of any reference to a vessel ascribed to Solomon seems puzzling, the more so since several cups and plates had been connected to this popular biblical king in Frankish historiography, as we have seen. Was it regarded as something quite ordinary, as another example of Solomon's riches or his craftsmanship, and therefore not worth being mentioned explicitly?

This negative evidence raises the question of who had been responsible for the ascription of the Sasanian piece of art to Solomon. To be sure, a simple lack of interest might explain the absence of the vessel in our early medieval sources, and we cannot rule out the idea that it was labelled as Solomon's some time after it had arrived at the Carolingian court and before it entered the treasure of Saint-Denis. On the one hand, the monks at the abbey could have considered it necessary to turn a pagan piece of art into a Christian one by ascribing it to the biblical king. This way, they would have made it appropriate to be classified among the monastery's objects of veneration. On the other hand, the denomination could have been an invention on the part of the Carolingian court, to lend meaning and importance to an exotic gift that could not be classified otherwise, and thus being subject to a prevalent interpretational pattern for the unknown, or, even more purposefully, to enhance the status of Charlemagne as the recipient of so precious a present[32]: the Frankish king was praised as the new David and, yet more significantly in the current context, as the new Solomon by the well-versed scholars of his court. Alcuin of York drew the parallel in a letter written in 798,[33] and the result might have been that the Sasanian vessel arriving at Aachen some years later was related to the biblical king because it was a gift meant to please Charlemagne. But if it was already labelled as the vessel of Solomon, it could also have been even more welcome to the then-emperor and his courtiers, because it so neatly matched the discourse and the play with sobriquets in Charlemagne's circle.

In fact, there are some indications that the Abbasid donor could have had a hand in the ascription to Solomon. The case of the elephant Abul Abaz sent to Charlemagne in 801/802 clearly shows that it must have been Harun al-Rashid who gave the animal its name, for it was closely linked to the dynasty's progenitor.[34] Most interestingly, the Franks did not change the animal's

denomination: Charlemagne accepted the present, with its given name. In the light of this, it appears plausible that the caliph could have also been responsible for associating the vessel with Solomon, the more so because like Christian communities in general, the Muslims also held the biblical king in high esteem. In the Qur'an Solomon joins the line of prophets culminating in Mohammed.[35] To relate the vessel, which presumably belonged to the treasure captured by the invaders during their assault on the Sasanian empire, to the biblical king doubtless increased its value in the eyes of the Muslim rulers. We can therefore not rule out the possibility that the ascription of the vessel to Solomon originated in the East: if so, the vessel appears to be a thoughtful gift made by Harun al-Rashid. The Abbasid court in Baghdad was doubtless aware that members of its Frankish counterpart cherished Solomon as they did. For Muslims and Christians alike the vessel related to Solomon was an appreciated gift. In this case it was deliberately chosen and labelled in order to meet with the Frankish addressee's cultural premises, which the donor successfully anticipated to elevate the value of his gift. The 'cup of Chosroes' thus turned out to be highly prestigious for both the recipient and the donor and brought lustre to each ruler. The denomination makes sense under these circumstances: with a specific addressee in mind, the ascription of the vessel to Solomon could have been meant to make it even more precious and, thus, highly acceptable to its receiver.

Given the lack of sources, there is no evidence that could lend greater plausibility to one of the two possible settings described. But these thoughts on the vessel's ascription to Solomon shed light on one important and often decisive aspect of cultural contact in general: the reading and understanding of elements transferred from one culture to another on the recipient's side. That the vessel was ascribed to a biblical king clearly illustrates how the recipient's cultural background (and maybe also the donor's view on it) determined the way a transferred object was understood and denominated, as well as integrated in a new surrounding. It offers insights into the tension between the patterns of knowledge and frames of meaning, as well as the interpretational needs in encountering the unknown, that prove pivotal for the whole procedure of acquisition and appropriation of elements alien to one's own culture.[36]

The cup's fate can therefore be read as an example that points to central aspects of the extraction of an object from one cultural setting and the embedding of it in another in the process of transfer: the thoughts on the reasons for the change of the cup's ascription to Solomon spark further consideration of how a recipient's interests guided the acceptance or refusal of transferred elements in other cases. As for the 'cup of Chosroes', the belief in the vessel's provenance from

a biblical context enhanced its acceptance and integration without changing the object itself. But other cultural elements could have been modified, or partially or wholly changed, according to the recipient's horizon in order to enable their integration into the new cultural setting.[37] If the transfer of cultural elements is considered as a process, it seems to be necessary to deepen our understanding of the active role played by recipients in order to fully understand their share in the transcultural exchange, the more so since in most cases we rely on the texts produced by them, in which they describe the presentation and appropriation of the elements transferred. The adaptation of those elements to the recipients' cultural setting is treated in the accounts of contemporaries. It is this narrativization of cultural transfer that opens up the possibility for analysis of the ways and modes of appropriation.

The approach outlined complies with the theoretical model labelled as 'cultural transfer', used by modern historians to fathom issues of cultural exchange and interrelation.[38] Originally developed to advance and emend the method of historical comparison, scholars interested in Franco-German relations in modern history introduced the concept as a tool to examine the two nations' shared past. Subsequently, however, 'cultural transfer' received different definitions and conceptual modifications. Earlier usages of the model within the study of civilisation that focused on a strict dichotomy between one culture representing the superior 'sender', and another, 'less developed', inferior one, understood as merely the recipient, were contested due to the one-dimensional character of this approach. In contrast to this, cultures are today considered to be more open and mutually dependent, rather than self-contained entities. A deeper understanding of the reciprocal influences to which each culture was exposed in its relation to others emerged from research on transcultural relations and their prerequisites. It resulted in a developed awareness of the cultures' hybrid character, that was caused by permanent intercultural contacts.[39] The same sense of hybridity was then applied to the transferred object itself, that was formerly regarded as an unchanged unity during and after the process of transmission from one culture to another: modern research underlines the adaptability of the transferred element as an integral part of its appropriation by the addressee. In general, the recipient's active role in the acquisition and integration of the transferred cultural element has been increasingly appreciated. In recent years analyses of phenomena of cultural transfer have ceased to concentrate on the addresser's intentions and interests, but have focused rather on the premises of perception on the side of the addressee. Thus, the reception, acceptance and appropriation of cultural elements itself has come under scrutiny.[40] The search

for criteria governing the reception of cultural elements, as well as their embedding in a new setting, was meant to provide insight into the contemporaries' perspectives on the elements transferred and the place they came from, as well as into their awareness of the distinction between their own and other cultures. It was also supposed to provide answers to questions about the regulating and steering parameters on the sender's side, thus taking both ends of the process into consideration.

Scholars have applied the model of 'cultural transfer' to diverse topics in early modern and modern history, and have also used it for similar approaches towards medieval history.[41] It has, however, rarely been used to gain insight into the course and the consequences of the developments that so drastically changed the political and cultural landscape of the Mediterranean between 400 and 800.[42] To be sure, recent publications have given new insights into the developments and the consequences of the two important events that took place on the shores of the inland sea[43]: first, the downfall of the Western Roman empire in the fifth century, culminating in the deposition of the last emperor; secondly, the Arab expansion that snatched several provinces in the Near East as well as in North Africa from the Byzantine empire, destroyed the Visigothic realm in Spain and extended Muslim influence even beyond the Pyrenees in the seventh and early eighth century. Contrary to Henri Pirenne's notion of a profound disruption of previously interconnected economic structures caused by the Islamic expansion,[44] modern research has emphasized the enduring connections between the Mediterranean world and northern Europe in the light of new archaeological evidence and of modified interpretations of texts extant from this age of transition: as a result of these outstanding scholarly efforts the perception of the eastern and southern rims of the inland sea and its connection with the western and northern parts of Europe – formerly regarded as worlds apart – has developed into a more integrative and cohesive one.[45] In these fruitful studies, the social and economic changes in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages have received considerable scholarly attention. But the effects of the political developments on cultural and religious connections in these centuries, still sometimes labelled as 'the Pirenne period', have not been subject to a broader analysis.[46]

The 'cup of Chosroes' shows that the transfer of cultural elements, understood as one aspect of the communication and mutual interaction that connected the Mediterranean shores, is indeed worthy of study. As an example from the end of the period taken under scrutiny, the way the Sasanian piece of art was moved to and appropriated in the West reveals the enduring existence of a community of

communication with different futures, but a shared past and heritage: the presence of a common ground, in the case of the cup represented by the Bible, played an important role in confluence and encounter of the different cultures that grew out of the disruptions of the Mediterranean in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. To approach the history of the Mediterranean between 400 and 800 from a western perspective with the focus on cultural transfer should, therefore, add to our knowledge of the cohesive and diverging forces that shaped the shores of the inland sea in these centuries.

The articles collected in this volume elaborate on different aspects of cultural transfer between the Mediterranean and northern Europe in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Each of the contributions explores the process and its underlying connections mainly on the basis of different written sources of western origin, but also of voices and material remnants of Mediterranean provenance.[47] Among the cultural elements under scrutiny are historical and social knowledge, religious ideas, personal values and attitudes, political ideologies, and literary motifs, thus referring back to the definition of 'culture' in the broad sense of the technical, social and mental skills used to come to terms with the challenges of life and the interpretation of these challenges.[48] Besides these immaterial aspects, the notion of 'culture' used in this volume also includes material elements, such as relics or manuscripts. The term 'transfer' comprises all modes of transmission and communication in every possible direction. The usage of 'cultural transfer' as a connecting instrument for the different articles in this book therefore implies the notion of a deliberate movement of different cultural elements (material and immaterial) from the Mediterranean to the West between 400 and 800.[49] How these elements were moved, received and embedded in their new setting in the transitional period that comprises Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages are the questions that constitute the framework for the following contributions.

Based on close analyses of contemporary sources and backed by an examination of the origins of the transferred elements and of the process of transmission, the six articles span a wide geographical horizon from Burgundy and Frankland to Visigothic Spain, and from papal Rome to the abbey of Wearmouth-Jarrow in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria. Not only do they reveal the enduring interaction of these areas with the Mediterranean space, but they also explore the situational character of each of the respective cases of cultural transfer. Dealing with different contexts in which cultural transfer took place, the contributions thus also offer a diachronic perspective: changes of the process become visible in a perspective that comprises several centuries. This way, all the present articles shed light on western perspectives on the Mediterranean and the

issue of cultural transfer in the period of transition between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. In addition, each article also provides many interesting insights that this introduction cannot deal with. The following thoughts concentrate on the impact the efforts and results of the contributors have on our knowledge of the cultural transfer that took place in the Mediterranean between 400 and 800 AD.

The six articles can be split up into two groups. The first mainly concentrates on single elements which underwent a transfer to the West, such as the reception at the Burgundian court of information on the Byzantine *Trishagion*, and of material objects such as silk in Burgundy (Wood) or the remnants and the cult of saint Polyeuctus in Merovingian Metz (Esders). It also deals with the eastern origins that were ascribed in the sources to clergymen elevated to the Holy See and the problems that accompany the interpretation of this evidence in a modern essentialist view which turned the persons in question into 'Greek popes' (Noble). Different conclusions can be drawn from the results of the contributions in this first group. On the one hand, the cultural transfer delineated in the articles dedicated to Burgundy and Merovingian France appears as a result of existing diplomatic connections: the Byzantine emperor apparently provided the Burgundian court with information on liturgical conflict in Constantinople, while, like many other relics, some remains of saint Polyeuctus seem to have arrived in the West in the context of an embassy from the Eastern empire. The assertion noted in contemporary texts that some of the seventh- and eighth-century popes were of eastern origin, on the other hand, suggests a cultural connection between some of the pontiffs and the Eastern empire based on the place of birth. But this evidence should not be taken at face value, since most of the people in question did not actually come from the East but from southern Italy and Sicily. Moreover, the fact that they had been integrated into the Roman church prior to their accession to the papal throne certainly affected their attitudes towards a supposedly eastern heritage. This example reminds us of the suggestive power that a cultural ascription made by contemporaries can have on modern interpretations of connectivity.

In their concentration on texts, objects and persons transferred from one place to another, these studies reveal the ongoing interplay of western needs and desires and Byzantine expectations. Religious institutions and monarchs in the western kingdoms demanded relics from the East, and the emperor in Constantinople was willing to send them as gifts.[50] As in the case of the 'cup of Chosroes', relics were also an important instrument in the display of superiority, since the emperor could satisfy the western needs for holy bodies: he could give

them something they did not own. But mostly presents like these were used for the specific purpose of keeping up the linkage between the former parts of the Roman empire and its eastern heir, to establish legitimacy, authority and control: on the other hand, for the same reasons western rulers eagerly appropriated and used cultural elements such as garments in an *imitatio imperii* for their own purposes, thereby adapting and reinterpreting them.[51] Such thoughtfulness was, however, not a characteristic trait of the emperors' dealings with the popes. They interfered directly in the papal politics of the period, and their interference was no delicate negotiation. For the papacy Byzantium represented the dominant authority up to the eighth century, when the popes turned to the Franks as the new political force on the horizon. For Merovingian politics in general and that of Austrasia in particular, however, the Eastern empire remained a landmark, as numerous embassies and much correspondence demonstrate. It was in their relation of mutual connections that cultural transfer took place.

Burgundy, which merged with the Merovingian kingdoms in the sixth century, clearly illustrates this point. The Burgundian rulers were eager to prove their status as the most distinguished among the emperor's subjects around 500, longing to be honoured with the office and title of the *magister militum*, while their Byzantine counterparts, who still seem to have regarded Burgundy as the most Roman part of the recently fallen Western empire, benefitted from this adherence, and not only in order to renew their influence in the West. They also used the local court as 'sounding board' (Wood) for the implementation of new religious ideas. In this way Burgundy was turned into one of Byzantium's proving grounds: the transfer of the information on the *Trishagion* to the court of Gundobad appears to have been a test act to check the validity of the compromise drafted for the unity of the empire (Wood).

However, the reaction of the Burgundian king and his advisor Avitus clearly shows the recipients' share in the process of cultural transfer and sheds light on its dialogic character. The Burgundian court declined the eastern interpretation of this crucial religious problem, even though it was closely connected to Byzantium. Obviously the imperial stance on the nature of Christ and on the liturgy was not something that the Burgundian court could share, nor could it be adapted as saint Polyeuctus was, when he was exploited by the Merovingian king Sigibert as a warrantor for the keeping of an oath. Interestingly enough, the saint apparently had never had this function in the eastern Mediterranean where his cult originated: it must have been ascribed to him in the West (Esders). But unlike the field of duties of a saint, a religious position in a doctrinal quarrel was apparently not something that could be adapted in the process of cultural

transfer. Rather, the appropriation of a foreign element had reached its limits. Failing acceptance and integration, the trial to implement a doctrinal message in the West finally led to an affirmation of the cultural boundaries that already existed. The element itself turned into a marker of distinction, quite contrary to what it was meant to be. The same holds true for the so-called 'Greek popes': even if they actually had their origins in the East, their office and the situation in Rome caused them to pursue their own politics, mostly turning them into staunch antagonists of Byzantium. And just as the clerical refugees who fled from the swords of the Arabs[52] or from the Balkans to Italy in the seventh century certainly did not outnumber the Roman clergy, the men who later became popes caused no 'swamping' that left a decisive cultural 'Greek' imprint on the Roman church or led to a 'Byzantinization' of papal policy (Noble). The cultural and political premises these clergymen encountered during their often long-lasting sojourn in Rome therefore brought them to accept the current local needs: they were appropriated according to their surroundings.

There is another remarkable aspect that deserves consideration in this context: Gundobad and Avitus obviously misunderstood the theological implications of some religious issues and texts that originated in the East due to a lack of information or even deliberate misinformation: Avitus in particular appears to have been well- and uninformed at the same time (Wood).[53] While language did not play a decisive role as a marker of ethnic identity in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,[54] linguistic problems on the interface of Greek and Latin certainly had a role in preventing the recipients from understanding precisely the subject matter in the different texts. If the translations they had at hand were not accurate, misunderstandings additionally nourished by false assumptions, for instance concerning the emperor Anastasius' orthodoxy, could be the result. In the *Trishagion* crisis, the emperor might not have anticipated this problem, maybe because he overestimated the cultural premises in terms of linguistic and theological proficiency on the Burgundian side. The limits of knowledge could therefore pose an unsurmountable barrier to cultural transfer. Without sufficient communication, additional misunderstandings were caused – sometimes this happened quite deliberately, as the *Libri Carolini* and Charlemagne's antagonism towards Byzantium and the papacy in the religious discussions of his days suggest.[55] With distance between them growing, the different cultures became more and more distinct. Whether this was an irreversible process once a certain point was reached needs to be explored further. One still does not know enough about the reasons for the barriers that prevented cultural transfer in different purviews.

The volume's second group of articles also concentrate on texts and their understanding. They deal with the historiographical perspectives on the Mediterranean by early medieval authors such as Cassiodorus, Jordanes and Isidore of Seville (Reimitz), Fredegar (Fischer), and Bede the Venerable (Kaschke). Each of these authors received information about events that took place on the shores of the Mediterranean from the courts or monasteries to which they were attached. Places like these were centres of attraction and distribution at the same time: oral and written information was brought to them by messengers or envoys, it was circulated within them, and it was spread further by the people visiting these locations.[56] They also represented the framework that shaped the authors' writings in the sense that they were also home for their audience and for the interests they shared with their readers.

However, courts and monasteries also worked as filters for the incoming information. As shown by the above-mentioned cases of the Burgundian and the Merovingian courts, and also the way the Carolingians took delivery of the 'cup of Chosroes', incoming material was seen and received in a perspective shaped by different criteria, only to be eventually sorted out and refuted or to be adapted to local needs. Like gifts, relics and texts directly sent to the kings, writings extant at courts and incoming information were also treated selectively. Cassiodorus, Jordanes, Isidore of Seville, Fredegar and Bede used earlier sources for their own purposes. They left out some important parts and modified others in order to integrate their predecessors' versions of Mediterranean history into their own works according to distinct principles and narrative strategies. As an analysis of recurring motifs in the texts has shown, each of the aforementioned historiographers had a clear concept to which the texts he had at hand were adjusted, although the writings of Cassiodorus and of Jordanes are more difficult to examine in this respect: it goes without saying that different interests laid the ground for the authors' selection and modification of their respective sources, just as it can be taken for granted that each of those sources was time-dependent and addressed to a specific audience.[57] Authorial intentions bound to contemporary needs were therefore responsible for shaping the individual perspectives on the Mediterranean.

Thus, just as Cassiodorus might have done before him, Jordanes tried to merge the two strands of Roman and Gothic history. Acting as cultural brokers between the different groups and their interests, Cassiodorus thereby advocated the integration of the subjects of different origins living in Italy under the Gothic rule, while Jordanes promoted a common future for Goths and Romans in the current theatre of war in the peninsula. In a further effort of cultural

brokerage, Isidore of Seville tried to underline the Romano-Gothic unity of the Iberian Peninsula in his own day that earlier generations had already sought to achieve, but which had not been accomplished before the seventh century due to numerous setbacks and obstacles (Reimitz). Fredegar outlined the multi-layered relations of the Franks with their neighbours, and stressed the importance of the payment of tribute for them, while also reflecting on the connection of foreign relations and the inner state of the Merovingian kingdoms (Fischer).[58] Finally, Bede applied five different criteria to his sources, held together by his interest in events that are seen as expressions of God's will. In his *Chronica Maiora* he concentrated on the exact length of the six ages of the world, on the history of the computus as the basis of correct calculations, and on barbarian peoples mentioned by his predecessors, such as the Vandals (Orosius) and the Goths (Isidore of Seville). His narrative finally also contains stories about doctrinal aberrations and the Roman papacy as the pillar of true faith (Kaschke).

All of these historians were looking back to the different events and developments that had taken place in the Mediterranean in the past in order to explain events and situations of their own times, and most of them did so because they also used earlier texts as the solid basis of authentication for their own accounts. Yet even in their own times authors like Fredegar and Bede could rely on reports from the Mediterranean arriving in Merovingian France or in Anglo-Saxon Britain: the channels were likewise open for commerce and communication.[59] With abundant information at hand, the authors had to choose and select to form their narratives of events past and present. They had to discern and rewrite history according to the narrative patterns they had in mind rather than just copying what they could get hold of. In their efforts they used extant texts and incoming oral reports to gradually relate their narratives to an actual situation. As Cassiodorus might have done before, Jordanes relied on Roman historical traditions that were basically focused on what had happened in the Roman Mediterranean, the *mare nostrum*, when writing his *Getica*, and Isidore turned the events that had taken place in the Mediterranean past into a pre-history for the blissful condition of political unity in his age, notably without considering the *Getica* (Reimitz). Fredegar also drew heavily on several historiographical works to stretch his history back in the past to the beginning of mankind – a history that encompassed empires, like the Roman, that were closely attached to the Mediterranean. At the same time a number of passages of authorial intervention, delivered in the first person, suggest that the chronicler made several events in the Mediterranean's recent past point towards

a wartime-incident in the 660s. Thus he wired a broadly outlined Mediterranean past extending to the present into the Frankish history of his own days (Fischer). Rather than being focused on a single moment, Bede on the contrary wrote his text with the pedagogical intention of preparing his readers for the future Other World, using what had happened in the Mediterranean as triggers for respective reflections (Kaschke).

It is the narrativization of cultural transfer in the written sources and the implied reader or recipient that connects the different approaches towards cultural transfer in the Mediterranean between 400 and 800.[60] The perspectives of the contemporaries, be it the addressees of gifts and goods or the readers of texts, on the Mediterranean were decisive for the appropriation and integration of material and immaterial cultural elements in the western sphere. Tradition based on a common heritage and a shared knowledge about the past, as well as current desires, guided the transfer of cultural elements from the Mediterranean: the awareness, enhanced by a knowledge of classical historiographical texts, of having once been part of the Roman empire, and the attention paid to the events taking place on the shores of the Mediterranean, prompted by current political relations, brought the southern and eastern areas of the sea to the fore. The huge interest in the correct exegeses of Christian doctrine and in relics, combined with the growing importance of the papacy as the pillar of true faith, also kept the Mediterranean in the range of vision of western contemporaries. These dominant features shaped their perspective, which in turn constituted the framework for the cultural transfer in the Mediterranean between 400 and 800. In a mutually dependent process, each of the transferred elements was embedded in the receiving cultures, because it fitted into the recipients' horizon of understanding and knowledge, which, however, it changed at the same time. In the cases treated here the addressees were grouped around courts and monasteries, that is communities which were drawing in as well as distributing cultural elements: with those elements, they constantly reshaped the western perspectives on the Mediterranean, and they also modified the needs and desires for further cultural transfer.

This said, it comes as no surprise that the Carolingian court took the initiative to learn more about the situation of the churches in the Holy Land shortly after Charlemagne's coronation in 800, at the end of the period dealt with in this volume. As Michael McCormick has shown in the paper that he delivered at the conference from which this collection is derived, but which is not included among the contributions presented in the following pages, being published as part of another project, the new emperor sent out envoys (*missi*) to the

Christian sites in the eastern part of the Mediterranean to collect information about the state of the buildings, the financial situation of the churches and the personnel of the religious houses inside and outside of Jerusalem.[61] A catalogue of questions was drafted to facilitate the systematic gathering of the data. The envoys used it, examined buildings and roofs, and counted the numbers of people living in churches and monasteries. But they also relied on information they received from locals to answer the questions posed in the catalogue, as linguistic evidence shows. While the communication with people in the Holy Land does not seem to have caused any misapprehensions, language and understanding was an issue for the accomplishment of a cultural transfer under Charlemagne, as in the Burgundian case explored above. But the premises changed around 800: this time it was the new western emperor who sent out his *missi* to explore the situation in the Holy Land and to bring back all the information they could get. Three hundred years before, the Byzantine emperor had used the Burgundian court as a 'sounding board', waiting to hear the reaction to the *Trishagion* and its related doctrinal debate. Charlemagne's coronation had changed the circumstances under which cultural transfer took place[62]: it was the new imperial authority in the West that took the initiative to draw the Mediterranean world to the fore. Charlemagne's desire for information about the ecclesiastical situation in the Holy Land might not only have been driven by his newly gained self-image of being responsible for the Christians in the Levant, but it could also have been triggered by eschatological thoughts that appear to have circulated in the West and seem to have affected the Carolingian court. Obviously Charlemagne felt himself obliged to take care of the churches in the Holy Land due to his imperial office,[63] and so he sent his envoys to collect the data he needed to improve the situation for the religious institutions overseas. As a result, antagonism between East and West was made worse, but at the same time the Mediterranean was brought closer to the Frankish empire. Charlemagne himself became a political authority to be reckoned with in the realms bordering the sea: hence it comes as no surprise that Harun al-Rashid sent numerous gifts to him, among them, perhaps, the 'cup of Chosroes' that was ascribed to king Solomon. The West was no 'test area' any more, but it had turned into a partner that needed to be courted and addressed by a grown number of political powers in the area around the sea, even if this included a display of superiority expressed in the presents that were made. The increased assertiveness of the Franks as the predominant entity in the West contributed to this policy – and also changed the western perspectives on the Mediterranean.

The Burgundians and Byzantium

Ian Wood

In a book first published in 1735 the Abbé Du Bos drew attention to Procopius' account of Justinian's acknowledgement of Frankish rule in southern Gaul.[1] For Du Bos this grant essentially marked the origins of the French monarchy. The *Histoire critique de l'établissement de la monarchie françoise dans les Gaules* is one of the most remarkable accounts of the fifth and sixth centuries in western Europe ever published. It was recognized as a masterpiece when it first appeared, but within a generation it had come to be regarded by most interested parties as deeply flawed, essentially because of the last book of Montesquieu's *Ésprit des Loix*, which is no more than an attack on Du Bos (albeit a rather unconvincing one, as Voltaire rightly noted).[2] One of the passages that riled Montesquieu, and indeed the pre-Revolutionary scholars who followed him, was precisely that concerned with Justinian's acknowledgement of Frankish rule over Provence, because it gave the French monarchy its foundation charter: the authority of the Frankish kings had been recognized by the Byzantine emperor, who was himself the political heir of Tiberius, whose rule had been endorsed by Christ: thus the Bourbon dynasty had an infinitely more venerable claim to power than anything the Habsburgs could point to.[3] This grotesque propagandist statement did nothing for Du Bos' reputation as a historian. And yet, as so often in his *Histoire*, it is worth stopping to think about the reading of the Late Antique sources which underpins his interpretation of events. For Du Bos the end of the Roman empire was a matter of treaties: something about which he personally knew a great deal, because he had been one of the secretaries charged with the preliminaries of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713[4]: his interpretation of the end of the Western Roman empire as a series of acts of diplomacy may not convince everyone, but it was born out of experience.[5]

Procopius' account of Justinian's acknowledgement of Frankish rule over southern Gaul gives away very little.[6] The Ostrogoths, he says, had conceded their territory in Gaul to the Franks because they did not want a war on two

fronts. Justinian was happy with this, hoping to keep the beneficiaries peaceful: as for the Franks, 'they never considered that their possession of Gaul was secure except when the emperor had put his seal of approval on their title'. Procopius may, of course, be exaggerating the importance of Byzantine approval for the Franks: but equally Justinian's approval suggests a cession of power, which could have been seen critically within Byzantium. Indeed, Procopius is as likely to be downplaying Justinian's actions as to be overstating them. Du Bos was not sure exactly when this imperial approval was granted: he placed the initial Ostrogothic grant in 537, and argued that Justinian's acknowledgement must have been made between 539 and 547.[7] What concerned him was not the date, but the fact that the emperor had made such an extensive grant to a group of barbarian kings.

Du Bos' recognition of the constitutional significance of Justinian's action has gone largely unnoticed, but it surely deserves greater consideration (albeit not for its argument that it legitimised Bourbon monarchy – though that ought to be of interest to scholars of the eighteenth century).[8] My intention here, however, is to explore the pre-history to Justinian's acknowledgement of Frankish power, by looking at Byzantine relations with the powers in Gaul in the period before the 530s, when the Gibichung state had been a force to be reckoned with. An acknowledgement of Frankish rule over what had been Ostrogothic territory might also have been an acknowledgement of the Frankish conquest of the Burgundian kingdom, which had, after all, only occurred in 534, according to Marius of Avenches.[9] Moreover, since 508, when Theodoric intervened in the aftermath of Alaric II's death at Vouillé, Ostrogothic territory in Gaul had comprised a large block of land that had previously been under the Gibichung rulers.[10] Because the Gibichungs had mattered rather more to the Byzantines than is usually noted, the acknowledgement that their kingdom was at an end would also, I would suggest, have been a matter of significance.

Discussion of Byzantine interest in the West in the last decades of the fifth and first decades of the sixth centuries tends to concentrate on Constantinopolitan contacts with Italy, for which, of course, there is good information in the *Variae* of Cassiodorus and in papal letters, not to mention the various narrative texts (most obviously Procopius, but also shorter accounts of Theodoric's reign). In addition Procopius supplies us with information on connections between Constantinople and Vandal Africa, which can be expanded from ecclesiastical sources. For relations between Byzantium and the Franks before the 530s, however, we are limited to the evidence of Childeric's tomb, with its substantial quantity of imperial gold coin, and Gregory of Tours' famous account of the acclamation of Clovis as consul and Augustus in 508,[11] which may find additional

support in Avitus' letter to the Frankish king, congratulating him on his baptism as a catholic.[12]

The evidence for links between Byzantium and the Burgundian kingdom is very much more considerable than this, although the information comes entirely from Gaul. Perhaps significantly even Marcellinus Comes, who was an exact contemporary of some of the events we will be considering, has nothing to say about relations between Constantinople and the Rhône valley, which should warn us not to overexaggerate their importance. Even so, the evidence is rich enough to suggest a picture not much less complex than that which can be reconstructed for links between the emperor and Theodoric's regime.

We need to begin with an awareness of the extent to which the Burgundians were associated with the empire. Histories of the Gibichung kingdom tend to start their accounts with the settlement in *Sapaudia*, in the region of Geneva, which followed hard on the heels of the savaging of the Burgundian people by the Huns. The importance of the settlement may, however, have been overstated. It is only mentioned in one source,[13] and it is by no means clear what sort of numbers were involved. Not long before, the Burgundians in the Rhineland had been subject to a savage attack by the Huns,[14] and the archaeological evidence does not support the notion of a numerically substantial settlement of Burgundians in *Sapaudia*.[15] Probably more important than the people was their ruling family, the Gibichung dynasty. Already in the early years of the fifth century Guntiarius/Gunther had played a leading role in the usurpation of Jovinus.[16] And while he may have backed the wrong horse, that did not stop his family from playing a major role in the politics of the last years of the Roman empire.[17] Certainly more important politically than the settlement in *Sapaudia* was the expansion of the Burgundians under the leadership of Gundioc into the central Rhône valley, temporarily in the period directly before Majorian's intervention in Gaul and more permanently following his overthrow.[18] In the aftermath of Majorian's death Gundioc emerged as *magister militum*, presumably *per Gallias*, and one may assume with the support of Ricimer, to whom he was also allied through marriage.[19] We can only guess at Gundioc's path to power, but it may well have involved service at the battle of the Catalaunian Plains, which was remembered as a moment of importance in the *Liber Constitutionum* of Burgundian Law.[20]

Gundioc would seem to have been followed in his magisterial office by his brother Chilperic, whose official position is attested in the correspondence of Sidonius and in the Lives of the Fathers of Jura.[21] Given subsequent relations between Byzantium and the Burgundian kingdom, it is worth noting Chilperic's

opposition to the Byzantine-backed emperor Julius Nepos.[22] Not that this is an indication of hostility to the empire: rather Chilperic was loyal to the western emperors Olybrius and then Glycerius, both of whom were backed by the Burgundian's nephew Gundobad, who was indeed responsible for the elevation of the latter to the purple.[23]

Gundioc's son, Gundobad, had made a name for himself in Italy, under the guidance of Ricimer, who was apparently his uncle.[24] Having been responsible for the murder of the emperor Anthemius, like Nepos after him a Byzantine candidate for the western throne, and following the death of Ricimer in 472, Gundobad took over as *magister militum praesentalis*. After the death of Ricimer's last appointee as emperor, Olybrius, Gundobad was responsible for the appointment of Glycerius, but he abandoned Italy in 474, either on or immediately before the arrival of Nepos in the peninsula.[25] At some point within the next fifteen years he established himself in Chilperic's position in the Rhône valley: he appears to have continued to claim his title of *magister militum*, though whether he had in mind the Italian office of Ricimer or the Gallic office of Gundioc and Chilperic is unclear, and may not have been an issue. Presumably at the time of his return to Gaul his close followers were not only made up of ethnic Burgundians: rather, they are likely to have been men who had served Ricimer. Perhaps significantly the *Liber Constitutionum*, often, but inaccurately, known as the Burgundian Code, uses the phrase *populus noster* almost as often as *Burgundiones*, to describe the non-Roman followers of the Gibichung ruler.[26]

Gundobad's early career may make him seem like a mere *generalissimo*, but we should beware of assuming that he was no more than a thug: as we shall see, he was able to indulge in theological debate, without disgracing himself, which suggests a significant degree of education.[27] Certainly he was better informed than the famous put-down to be found in Theodoric's, or rather Cassiodorus', letter to Boethius, would suggest[28]: the Goth knew that having spent some years in Italy in Ricimer's circle and as *magister militum*, the Burgundian leader would not have looked upon a water-clock as a wonder that he had not previously encountered. He had been the most important official in the West and was still essentially a leader of federates, holding one of the main offices of the Roman state, and he continued to do so long after the supposed end of the Western Roman empire in 476: indeed, whether or not the Fall occurred *senza rumore*,[29] we can be sure that the empire did not fall at all in the Gibichungs' eyes.

We can see this in Gundobad's concern for his title (an issue to which we shall return), and perhaps also in the extent to which consular dating was employed in the Burgundian region in the last years of the fifth and first half of the sixth

century. Indeed, it has been pointed out not only that consular dating is more commonly used within the Burgundian territories than it is elsewhere in the period, but also that it was more popular in Gundobad's day than it had been before.[30] Since some examples of the consular dating are very closely tied to the court circle, this cannot be understood as indicating anything other than a close adherence to Byzantine authority, and this despite the fact that both Chilperic and Gundobad had opposed the Byzantine-backed emperors Anthemius and Nepos.

It is probably worth bearing in mind Gundobad's official position as *magister militum*, whether *praesentalis* or, if he took over Chilperic's title, *per Gallias*, when considering the status in Byzantine eyes of both Theodoric and Clovis. The fact that the Burgundian did not lose his title of *magister militum* must mean that Theodoric always had to remember that there was a western figure who could claim almost as much *kudos* as he himself, and who, indeed had held that position since 472, and thus was senior in terms of date of appointment. Equally, any assessment of Anastasius' recognition of Clovis in 508 needs to take into account the fact that Gundobad was still unquestionably thinking of himself as *magister militum* at the time when the Frank received his acclamation at Tours. This, of course, has implications for any reading of Avitus' famous letter to the Frankish king, congratulating him on his baptism, which I would place in the months immediately after the recognition by Byzantium[31]: indeed there even appears to be a reference to Clovis' acknowledgement by the emperor in the bishop of Vienne's letter: 'Therefore let Greece, to be sure, rejoice in having an orthodox ruler, but she is no longer the only one to deserve so great a gift. Now her bright glory adorns your part of the world also, and in the West, in the person of a new king, the ray of an age-old light shines forth.'[32] Since Avitus would scarcely have denied that the glory of Greece shone on the Gibichungs, given their loyalty to the empire, he must be making a very sharp distinction between Burgundy and Clovis' part of the world. On the other hand, since it is highly unlikely that so public a letter would have gone unnoticed by Gundobad, the message for the Gibichung must have been that Clovis had stolen a march on him by opting for orthodoxy: the failure of Gundobad to abandon Arianism is a recurrent theme in the bishop's writings.[33]

Our best indication of the importance of Roman office within the Burgundian world comes from a remarkable set of letters requesting the transfer of Gundobad's title of *magister militum* to his son. The letters were written in c. 515–516, by which time Sigismund had already been recognized as *patricius* in Constantinople, perhaps for some time.[34] They purport to have been sent by the prince, although they survive in the Avitus collection, and were certainly written

by the bishop of Vienne. One letter is effectively a panegyric that stresses the long service of the Gibichung family to the imperial court,[35] a point which confirms the importance attached by the Burgundian leadership to their longstanding commitment to the empire. The letter seems to be a petition for the office of *magister militum*, written while Gundobad was still alive. It would appear, however, not to have been delivered, for a subsequent letter,[36] written after Gundobad's death, explains that Theodoric had prevented a Burgundian embassy from reaching Constantinople – and one can well understand why, if the embassy was essentially concerned with negotiating transfer of the office of *magister militum* from Gundobad to his son: Theodoric can scarcely have wanted to see the request granted. In a further letter Sigismund thanks Anastasius, in extremely elaborate language, for the grant of military *insignia*, presumably relating to the office of *magister militum*, which suggests that this second embassy reached Constantinople and achieved its aims.[37]

This group of letters not only reveals the official status of the Burgundian leadership, it also sheds a great deal of light on the hazards of negotiation – and not merely the fact that an embassy might be prevented from proceeding by a hostile third party. Sigismund claims, in one of the letters acknowledging his new title, that he had deliberately chosen one of the most literate members of his kingdom to address the emperor: 'a man who, in the light of the ignorance endemic in Gaul is thought to be far more skilled in letters'.[38] This man, however, had been in the party that was prevented by Theodoric from reaching Constantinople. A further letter, this time addressed to Sigismund by Avitus, sheds a little more light on the selection of the ambassador.[39] It appears that Sigismund had asked Avitus himself (who must have been of quite advanced age) to lead the embassy. Avitus protested that his Latin would be unintelligible to the Greeks, and that something less elaborate would be better: backhandedly, he praised as appropriate the draft of a letter to the emperor that had been prepared, and which he thought that Sigismund himself had penned.

The letters surrounding Sigismund's bid for the title of *magister militum* are not the only works by Avitus that shed light on Byzantine connections. Another group of letters concern the situation of the *vir illustris* Laurentius.[40] The letters in question are usually dated to 515, on the grounds that one outlier among the group certainly belongs to that year, in that it talks of an attempt to end the Acacian schism.[41] There is, however, no reason to think that the other three letters have exactly the same date, and if one of Avitus' correspondents in the group, Vitalinus, is rightly identified with Vitalian,[42] then there may be a case for placing them before the latter's rebellion against the emperor Anastasius in 514.[43]

And, indeed, it is quite difficult to envisage Vitalian and Celer (the other senator involved in the negotiations) working together in 514–515, given their different attitudes at that time towards the deposed patriarch Macedonius,[44] who has even been identified as Vitalian's uncle.[45] Moreover, whereas it might have been odd to address Vitalian as *senator* when he held the office of *magister militum per Thracias*, that would not have been an issue before he received the title following the success of the 514/515 rebellion.[46] In addition the years 512 to 513 might well have been a period in which the Byzantines had an especially intense interest in the Burgundians, given the recent death, in 511, of Clovis, who had become an object of particular interest in 508. The letters concerning the son of Laurentius are therefore marginally earlier than those concerned with Sigismund's bid for magisterial title: indeed they reveal the prince as being actively involved in dealings with the Byzantine court before his elevation as king or his appointment as *magister militum*, and thus while he was probably based in Geneva.

Three of the letters concern the sons of Laurentius, who himself appears in the fourth letter which talks of negotiations intended to end the Acacian schism,[47] addressed by Avitus to the patriarch of Constantinople. There the *vir illustris* is referred to as an informant who has been sending information to Avitus, if not more generally to the Burgundian court.[48] As for one of Laurentius' sons, he is the subject of letters of Sigismund addressed both to the emperor and also to the senators Vitalinus and Celer. The emperor, it seems, has sent instructions requesting that the boy be sent to join his father in Constantinople. Since Laurentius himself would appear to have spent some time in the Rhône valley,[49] we might see him either as a Gallo-Roman who was sent to Constantinople, or as a Byzantine who spent some time in Gaul on imperial service. In either case, when he went to Constantinople he left a son behind in Burgundy, perhaps to be kept under some surveillance, and he was now asking for the boy to be sent to join him.[50] That something more than the reunification of family members was involved is implied by the fact that a second son of Laurentius seems also to have been involved, and it may well be that the two boys were being exchanged.[51] That this may be part of a wider arrangement in which the sons of Byzantines spent some time at the Burgundian court could be suggested by the fact that a third boy is mentioned in the letter to Sigismund in which Avitus declined to lead an embassy to Constantinople. There the bishop talks of an *adulescens* who had been nourished by the prince and then returned to his father-figure, presumably the emperor.[52] Whatever the right reconstruction, Laurentius' son was sent to Constantinople, and Sigismund had made the necessary arrangements with Gundobad for the child's journey.[53]

What exactly is going on here is far from clear, but we should certainly note the social and political significance of the aristocratic correspondents of Sigismund and of Avitus, and not just of the emperor and the patriarch. Celer was Anastasius' *magister officiorum*,[54] while, as we have already seen, Vitalinus may have been the Vitalian who led an uprising against the emperor Anastasius.[55]

Taken together with the letters about the office of *magister militum*, this part of Avitus' correspondence gives some insight into what it might mean to be the most pro-Byzantine, even traditionalist, of the western governments. Relations were complex and involved a number of informants: as we shall see, these informants might not always see eye to eye. Moreover, their range of interests was remarkably broad, to the extent that military men like Vitalian and Celer were also involved in court politics and in theological debate.

This, however, did not mean that either the Byzantines or the Rhône-valley court had a clear understanding of each other, as becomes apparent when we turn from political to religious matters. In his two letters *Contra Eutychianam Haeresim*, addressed to Gundobad, Avitus provides us with some of the earliest, practically contemporary, evidence for the *Trishagion* riots in Constantinople.[56] These riots were prompted by the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, Severus, who arrived in Constantinople in 508 with a large monastic following. Two years later these same monks attempted to add the phrase 'who was crucified for us' to the *Trishagion*: 'Holy, holy, holy'. The patriarch of Constantinople, Macedonius, however, opposed the introduction, which was regarded as being too closely associated with an earlier Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, Peter the Fuller. Macedonius was able to marshal enough popular support in Constantinople to prevent the use of the addition. Indeed, in the course of the popular demonstrations the pro-Monophysite emperor Anastasius was nearly forced out of the city. Having survived the crisis, however, the emperor employed the *magister officiorum* Celer, whom we have already met as a correspondent of Avitus, to persuade Macedonius to sign a confession of faith which, while mentioning the councils of Nicaea and Constantinople, omitted all reference to those of Ephesus and Chalcedon, thus leaving the patriarch open to criticism as being both Nestorian and Monophysite.[57] By this sleight of hand Anastasius was able to depose Macedonius, appointing in his place another Chalcedonian, Timothy. In late 511 or early 512, in the aftermath of the deposition of Macedonius, an event to which Avitus refers, the bishop of Vienne was called upon to provide Gundobad with an account of the heresy of Eutyches.[58]

It may even be that Gundobad, despite the fact that he was Arian, had been invited by Anastasius himself to supply the emperor with information on

catholic responses in Gaul to the *Trishagion* crisis, for the opening section of Avitus' *Contra Eutychianam Haeresim* concludes with the prayer that 'the Caesar of the Greeks, if he is faithful to you, and honourable towards us, be persuaded by our ruler to persuade his own people. Since he has made himself your student in order to maintain the truth, he should rejoice that he has become one who helps your preaching in order to fight the diseases of his own land'.[59] If this does indeed mean what it seems to, the emperor was seeking theological information and advice from Gundobad. This could scarcely have been more than a request for some indication of how churchmen in Gaul had reacted to events – and again it might be important to note the proximity of the request to the death of Clovis, and to see this as an aspect of a reaffirmation that Gundobad was the most important Gallic ally of the emperor. But if Avitus' attack on Eutyches did reach the Byzantine, Anastasius would have been truly puzzled.

Avitus himself was aware that Eutyches had been an archimandrite in Constantinople and that he had been condemned by a council (though he does not name Chalcedon).[60] However, the heretical ideas that the bishop of Vienne attributed to him were those of Nestorius, for he claimed that the Byzantine archimandrite had insisted on calling the Virgin *Christotokos* and not *Theotokos*. Avitus would seem, then, not to have seen a full account of the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon, despite his metropolitan status as bishop of Vienne. There are similar mistakes when it comes to his account of the Acacian schism and the *Trishagion* crisis. One might remember here that Avitus appears not to have realised that Anastasius was pro-Monophysite, at least in 508: in his letter on Clovis' baptism Avitus had presented the catholic doctrine of the Frankish king as being the same as that of the emperor, who, therefore, the bishop must have understood to be orthodox.[61] He seems to have laboured under the same misapprehension in 511/512, though he probably was disabused before the end of 515, as he gradually came to gain some retrospective knowledge of the Acacian schism. Given Laurentius' links with Vitalian we might guess that it was through him that Avitus was disabused, since Vitalian emerged in 514 as a violent opponent of Anastasius' religious position,[62] and certainly the bishop of Vienne was receiving information about the church in Constantinople from Laurentius in 515.[63] But the bishop also sought information from a different source, writing to the Italian senator Senarius, with whom he was clearly in regular communication, for information about Hormisdas' negotiations with the Byzantines.[64]

This, however, was not the limit of his confusion. In the *Contra Eutychianam Haeresim*, despite his understanding that Acacius' position was heretical, the bishop of Vienne is curiously unaware of the condemnation of the patriarch,[65]

an error that may say more about papal communication with the western church than anything – an issue that certainly did concern Avitus, as we shall see. Having commented on the theological position of Acacius, Avitus goes on to provide an account of the addition of the *Crucifixus* clause to the *Trishagion*, under the impression that this was perfectly orthodox. As a result he places Macedonius on the wrong side theologically, and condemns him as a Eutychian.

All this leaves us with a very interesting problem: Avitus is among our earliest informants on what happened in Constantinople in 511/512 – only Marcellinus Comes was closer to events in time – and he would appear to have had some very specific information: he does, after all, know about the *Trishagion* crisis and about the exile of Macedonius. Indeed, he was in direct communication with two of the leading players, Celer and Vitalian, at almost exactly this time. At the same time, he was thoroughly confused. Why all the confusion? There are clearly a number of factors involved here. One might be simply that the tendency of the orthodox after Chalcedon to condemn both Nestorius and Eutyches in a single anathema created something of a hybrid image of Trinitarian heresy – and Celer's tricking Macedonius into not mentioning either Ephesus or Chalcedon may not have helped. Another part of the answer clearly lies with the failure of the papacy to communicate, though this is something that Hormisdas did try to rectify in 515, in a letter to Caesarius.[66] As we have noted, this is indicated by Avitus' ignorance of the condemnation of Acacius. And one can add to this: there are letters by the bishop of Vienne, addressed to the *vir illustris* Senarius,[67] and to bishop Peter of Ravenna,[68] complaining about the absence of any news on the negotiations to end the Acacian schism. In addition there is a letter written by Hormisdas in 517, in response to a request sent probably at the end of the previous year, in which the pope tries to excuse the failure of the papacy to disseminate any information, claiming that uncertainty of the state of the negotiations over the ending of the schism meant that there was nothing to be communicated.[69] To this excuse one might add the fact that relations between the Ostrogoths and the Burgundians in the aftermath of Vouillé were not such as to encourage communication between those resident in the two kingdoms – and this surely contributed to Avitus' misunderstandings. As indeed did the conflict between the metropolitan sees of Arles and Vienne over which of the two had precedence,[70] and this conflict certainly did not help the diffusion of information through Gaul.[71] It may be worth noting that a particular period of disagreement concluded in 513, when pope Symmachus ruled that Valence, Tarantaise, Geneva and Grenoble were subject to the metropolitan of Vienne.[72] Not that communication between Vienne and Rome was consistently poor:

Sigismund had visited the papal city around the time of his conversion to Catholicism.[73] More intriguing for the question of contacts between Burgundy and the Byzantine empire, Avitus tried to involve the pope in his attempt to secure relics of the True Cross from the patriarch of Jerusalem.[74]

Although poor communications between Vienne and Rome could be a problem, they clearly do not provide the chief explanation for Avitus' thoroughly muddled account of the *Trishagion* riots, their cause and their aftermath – for in many ways Avitus was extraordinarily up-to-date in his knowledge. Part of the problem was surely the bishop of Vienne's misapprehension that Anastasius was orthodox, which he certainly believed in 508: his logical assumption would have been that the imperial party was theologically on the same side as he himself. More important, one can only wonder whether he had been duped by the Byzantines. As we have seen, Celer, Anastasius' *magister officiorum*, was among those with whom Avitus corresponded over Laurentius' son: but he was also the man who persuaded Macedonius to sign the confession of faith that made the patriarch unwelcome to the Chalcedonians as well as to the Monophysites.[75] This raises the possibility that Avitus' confusion may have resulted partly from Byzantine misinformation, and indeed that Celer may have been central to that misinformation. Certainly his involvement in theological matters amounted to more than tricking Macedonius: he would play an important role in religious dealings between Constantinople and Rome at the end of the Acacian schism in 519–520.[76]

Before leaving the *Contra Eutychianam Haeresim*, however, we should also note its implications for our understanding of Gundobad. If Anastasius really had turned to the Burgundian for some sort of indication of non-papal attitudes towards the Acacian schism and more generally towards Monophysitism in the West, despite the king's Arianism, this speaks volumes for Gundobad himself. Whilst Cassiodorus, writing in the *persona* of Theodoric, belittled the culture of the Burgundian court, the emperor was apparently using it as a sounding board. This may seem incredible, but there are plenty of indications in Avitus' writing that Gundobad was a man whose religious opinions were worth taking seriously. It even appears that in a now-lost (or, rather, fragmentary) Dialogue written by the bishop of Vienne, the king not only served as interlocutor, but was also presented as a man who could be won over by argument.[77] Perhaps more surprising is the possibility that he may even have known a modicum of Greek. In discussing the *Trishagion*, Avitus transcribes it in the original language, and plainly states that Gundobad knew what the phrase meant, and had an understanding of its theological implications.[78] This, I would suggest, is not as far-fetched as it might appear: as a member of Ricimer's circle and then as

magister militum praesentalis himself, Gundobad may well have felt the need to know a little of the language of the East Roman court with whose agents he surely had to deal.

There is perhaps a further twist to all this: in 515 Sigismund, who unlike his father had converted to orthodoxy, apparently as early as the opening years of the century, founded the monastery of Agaune, on the supposed site of the martyrdom of Maurice and the Theban legion, all of whom had been killed according to legend for refusing to carry out the emperor Maximian's persecution of Christians. The martyrs would seem to have been invented by the late-fourth-century bishop of Sion, Theodore, in the context of Theodosius' victory over the usurper Eugenius, who was known to have had pagan supporters.[79] The martyr acts themselves were written up by Eucherius of Lyon in the mid fifth century.[80] Sigismund, however, is unlikely to have known that the story of Maurice and his companions was a western invention, and may have seen the cult of a legion from the Thebaid as strengthening his links with the eastern Mediterranean. In fact the Theban legion had apparently existed, and had been active in the West, although it had not been brought over in the context of the Persecutions, nor was it annihilated in the Alps.[81] What Sigismund would certainly have found in the *Passio* written by Eucherius is the central statement by Maurice, who, in his refusal to obey the commands of the pagan emperor Maximian, explained that while he and his fellows were soldiers of the emperor they were first and foremost servants of God.[82] Sigismund may have seen in Maurice's statement an expression of loyalty to the empire to which he too would have subscribed: like the martyr he was a soldier of the emperor, although fortunately his emperor was Christian (if perhaps unorthodox).

The monastery at Agaune was distinguished by its adoption of the *laus perennis*, or perpetual liturgy.[83] In recent years it has been accepted, and rightly so, that Agaune and its religious ritual need to be understood in the context of Rhône-valley piety.[84] We should probably not, however, ignore the possibility of Byzantine spiritual influence on the foundation. Perpetual chant was, after all, the hallmark of the *Akoimetae*, or Sleepless Ones, the monks of the *Studion* in Constantinople. They had been among the early opponents of Acacius: unusually among eastern monks they remained in communion with Rome throughout the schism, and they played a significant role in persuading Justin to accept the condemnation of Acacius in 519.[85] Sigismund may already have heard of them at the time of his visit to Rome, which led to his own conversion to Catholicism. On the other hand, Laurentius, Vitalian and Celer could all have supplied the prince with information about Byzantine monasticism, as indeed could any of

the ambassadors who negotiated between Anastasius and the courts of Gundobad and Sigismund: and it may well have been nothing more specific than the notion of ceaseless psalmody that was being copied. Given that Agaune was founded in 515,[86] when it looked for a moment as if negotiations to end the Acacian schism would get underway (as even Avitus discovered),[87] it is also possible that Sigismund was making a deliberate point in introducing to his new foundation a perpetual liturgy that might be compared with that of the *Studion*, the most aggressively orthodox of Constantinopolitan monastic communities.

Sigismund's choice of liturgy for his foundation can plausibly be seen as one more indication of the religious connections between Constantinople and the Burgundian kingdom. It may even be an indication that, at last, the church of the Rhône valley was coming to grips with the reality of the religious situation in Constantinople. And in establishing his monastery Sigismund might even have been subtly suggesting that he was not only more orthodox than his (Arian) father, whose power base lay rather further to the West, above all in the region round Lyon, but also than the emperor: for in his homily of dedication Avitus says that the founder, Sigismund, was more pious than his superiors, and the phrase makes it clear that he has more than one in mind: *in tribunali aliquibus iunior, in altario omnium prior* ('junior to some in the seat of justice, ahead of all at the altar'). It is difficult to think of more than one person to whom Sigismund was regarded as *iunior*, unless one adds Anastasius to Gundobad.[88]

Although Avitus preached the dedication homily of the monastery of Agaune, the foundation was apparently suggested by the bishop of Geneva, Maximus.[89] One wonders whether he might have been buried in the cathedral of Geneva, dedicated to St Peter in Chains, a cult which was certainly popular in the Burgundian kingdom.[90] In the 19th century an extremely rich burial was uncovered in the church. It was apparently that of a bishop, and was notable for the quantity of silk that it contained. Nor was this the only church excavation in Geneva to produce traces of silk.[91] Unfortunately the material decayed shortly after contact with the air, so one is dependent on the excavator's description, which suggested that the silks had come from Constantinople or Alexandria.[92] The most recent discussion of the burial has only offered a sixth- or seventh-century date.[93] But perhaps one might understand the import of the silks in the context of the Byzantine contacts of the second decade of the sixth century: after all, Geneva in the time of Sigismund had an international importance that it would subsequently lose.

Nor is the development of the *laus perennis* at Agaune the only possible indication of Byzantine influence on the church of Burgundy at this period.

Henri Grégoire, in searching for the origin of the legend of Benignus of Dijon, which was certainly developed in the opening decades of the sixth century, thought he had discovered it in the Byzantine cult of the martyr Menignos.[94] Whether or not this is the case, it is surely important that the legend of Benignus presents the saint, along with his colleagues Andochius and Thyrsus, as missionaries sent by the bishop of Smyrna, Polycarp.[95]

The Byzantine background to the *laus perennis* at Agaune is no more than a hypothesis, as is the supposed eastern model for the martyrdom of Benignus, although it is certainly interesting that the two most important martyr cults that developed in the early years of the sixth century in the valleys of the Rhône and Saône were associated with saints who had supposedly come from the East. Much more certain is the evidence of Avitus' writings, which reveal a good deal about contacts between Constantinople and the Rhône valley under Gibichung rule. What is perhaps most surprising is the fact that there was both direct communication and confusion: that Avitus could be staggeringly up-to-date and at the same time entirely misinformed. The misinformation opens up for us the possibility of looking to see how information could be wrongly transmitted, perhaps deliberately so – though we should always bear in mind the problems of the interface between Latin and Greek. At the same time, the very fact of the communication between the courts of Anastasius and Gundobad is itself an indication of just how important the Gibichungs were to the Byzantines, perhaps most especially in the years between Clovis' death and the rapprochement between the Byzantines and Theodoric after the death of Anastasius. Moreover, while for much of the time between the 490s and the 530s they were scarcely a military match for the Franks and the Ostrogoths, and perhaps not even for the Visigoths, in the years immediately following Clovis' death in 511, when the Franks were faced with a problem of adult leadership, or its near absence, the Burgundians may have seemed potentially more powerful. This contact between Constantinople and Burgundy is surely best understood in the context of the Gibichung attachment to the old regime, and especially of the dynasty's emphasis on retaining the title of *magister militum*, which shows that for Gundobad and Sigismund it was Roman title that mattered above all.

Sigismund would not long survive his father: he alienated his episcopate,[96] and then killed his son, an action that infuriated the Ostrogothic king Theodoric, who happened to be the boy's grandfather, and who may well have seen him as a potential heir.[97] The ensuing crisis also attracted the attention of the Franks, who joined the Ostrogoths to dismember the Burgundian kingdom in 524 – although they would be held up in their ambitions by Sigismund's brother Godomar, who

managed to stave off final defeat for another decade.[98] As a result the Gibichung family finally collapsed as a political force only just before the Ostrogoths ceded Provence to the Franks, an action which, as we have seen, Justinian ratified a short while after. Du Bos' reading of the 530s as a crucial decade might well be enriched by what we have seen of the history of the Burgundians. As I understand the Gibichung kingdom (though 'kingdom' may well not be the right word), it was essentially a Late Roman province, run by Late Roman officials – *magistri militum* – who happened to be drawn from the Burgundian Gibichung family. It would seem, moreover, to have been a province whose existence was appreciated by the Byzantine government, not least because it constituted a traditionalist enclave in a new world, as well as a counterbalance to Theodoric in Italy. What is perhaps more surprising is the extent to which the political association with Constantinople can be paralleled by ecclesiastical contacts – not that those contacts led to clear communication of accurate information. Indeed the very opposite was the case. Gundobad and Avitus were confused: but their confusion did not stem from a lack of contact, but rather from a set of erroneous assumptions, misunderstandings and misinformation. That, I would contend, sheds a much richer light on the early sixth century than one might have expected.

'Avenger of all Perjury' in Constantinople, Ravenna and Metz: Saint Polyeuctus, Sigibert I, and the Division of Charibert's Kingdom in 568

Stefan Esders

In an article published in 1964 devoted to the cult of oriental saints in Late Roman and Merovingian Gaul, Eugen Ewig pointed out that these saints and their relics indicate the close link between Gaul and the East during this period.[1] Carrying this idea further, Michael McCormick has recently argued that distant saints and exotic relics provide important evidence for communication and commerce within the early medieval Mediterranean.[2] Each saint, however, presents a different case,[3] and it is an interesting question to what extent 'eastern' is an adequate labelling for the classifications of saints, when it comes to analysing their political function in the West. This point is particularly relevant with regard to the saint dealt with in this article, saint Polyeuctus.

Polyeuctus was a military saint, who was said to have suffered martyrdom as a soldier of the Roman *legio XII fulminata* in the Armenian city of Melitene under either Decius or Valerian.[4] The circumstances of his martyrdom seem to be quite remarkable, for when his comrade Nearchus, who had embraced Christianity, was sentenced to death during the persecution, Polyeuctus reportedly decided to convert to Christianity in order to follow his close friend to heaven by being put to death along with him. To affirm the plan both friends obligated themselves through a secret pledge.[5] Focusing on this special relationship some modern historians have bestowed upon Polyeuctus and Nearchus the status of patrons protecting same-sex unions,[6] or even characterized Polyeuctus as a bisexual martyr, for in order to follow Nearchus he left behind his betrothed Paulina.[7] Regardless of whether such labelling may seem adequate, one can hardly doubt that it was this extraordinary pledge which was commonly thought to have provided Polyeuctus with the power to revenge perjury.[8] At first glance this role does not appear to have been a very good choice, since by tying

his fate to that of his dear friend Nearchus, Polyeuctus obviously at the same time broke his military oath and not least his pledge of betrothal to marry Paulina, the daughter of a senator. Nevertheless his voluntary death as a not yet baptized Christian illustrates the overriding force of a Christian oath which can displace and neutralize all other obligations. For, as we shall see, it was the oath that became a focus of Polyeuctus's cult.[9]

The spread of Polyeuctus's fame as a powerful saint, documented by several sermons, *passiones*,[10] illustrations[11] and churches, became intimately linked to the East Roman capital[12] and to imperial dynastic ambition. In the early fifth century his relics were translated to Constantinople, where Eudocia, wife of Theodosius II, built a church in his honour.[13] In 518 or even somewhat earlier, a Roman noblewoman called Anicia Juliana started to build a magnificent church, which she dedicated to saint Polyeuctus,[14] thereby replacing the older one that had been erected by her great-grandmother Eudocia. The splendour of this church excited the envy of the emperor Justinian, as was even noticed in the far West, and it led him to start an even more impressive programme of church building in the 520s and 530s, parts of which are still visible in the churches of Saint Sergius and Bacchus and Santa Sophia.[15] Excavations carried out in the ancient district of Saraçhane in Istanbul in the 1960s[16] brought to light the foundation walls of a massive church building along with marvellous pieces of architecture such as skilfully elaborated capitals[17] and precious peacock-niches with a long epigram.[18] The epigram allowed for identifying the excavated church as the one built by Anicia Juliana in honour of saint Polyeuctus and the foundations permitted the reconstruction of the original church.[19] The later history of saint Polyeuctus's famous church, however, ultimately was one of destruction,[20] as too was the power of the saint. Even today, the famous *Pilastri Acritani* standing opposite the south portal of Saint Mark's basilica in Venice indicate that by the thirteenth century the saint's capacity of punishing perjury must have faded. For the crusaders were not afraid of Polyeuctus's penal power when they plundered the remains of his church in 1204 and carried off some of its most precious parts to Venice.[21]

The present study will take a closer look at the early medieval western fame of saint Polyeuctus, which, it seems, has not yet received detailed treatment – quite understandably so, since Polyeuctus's influence in the West appears to have been rather limited in space and time. But as I will try to argue, his western heyday is highly revealing for the transfer of ideas between the eastern and the western Mediterranean, and may also contribute to our knowledge of how Merovingian politics were connected with Constantinople at the time.

Figure 2.1 Pilastri Acritani, Venice

1. Gregory of Tours and the Church of Saint Polyeuctus in Constantinople

By far our most important western source is Gregory of Tours, though he only mentions saint Polyeuctus twice in his writings. In his work *The Glory of the*

Martyrs (*Liber in Gloria Martyrum*), probably written in the 580s, Gregory describes the impressive and precious interior of saint Polyeuctus's church in Constantinople, whose splendour receives confirmation from the 20th-century excavations just mentioned.[22] In his account Gregory does not speak of the life of Polyeuctus, nor does he mention the saint's martyrdom. What alone mattered to Gregory about the saint was Polyeuctus's ability to take immediate revenge against perjurers. Most of the chapter is actually a trickster story concerning the wealthy Roman noblewoman Anicia Juliana and the emperor Justinian. We hear that Anicia Juliana was asked by Justinian to lend the Roman state money to fill the public treasury, which was empty due to the high costs of warfare and public order.[23] 'But', as Gregory says, 'she saw through the deception of the emperor and wisely concealed what she had dedicated to God.' Instead, she asked for respite in order to carry out some private kind of *adaeratio* ('tax commutation from kind into cash'), for she collected all her money and commuted her possessions into coin, while promising that she would present the money to the emperor one day, so that he could take as much as he wanted. At the same time, however, she asked her craftsmen to produce plates of pure gold and to decorate the ceiling of the church with them. Once that had been done, she invited the emperor to pray in the new church. When Justinian had knelt down and finally finished his prayer, the woman asked him to look up at the ceiling where, as she said, 'all her poorness was kept'. When directed to take whatever he wanted Justinian became embarrassed and did not dare to do so. That the emperor might save face, Anicia Juliana gave him a golden ring with a green Neronian emerald. Justinian repeatedly gave thanks, and, as we are told, 'praised the woman, and then returned to his palace'. Finally Gregory notes that it was through the power of the saint that the wealth of this church was prevented from being transferred to the public treasury.[24]

We do not know exactly from where Gregory had gathered his information on this matter, but it has been suggested that he must have had access to Byzantine source material when narrating eastern affairs of his own time in his *Histories*.[25] However Gregory, writing in distant Tours half a century later, does not mention the multi-faceted political and dynastic background to this story.[26] For Anicia Juliana's father, Flavius Anicius Olybrius, had been emperor in the West in 472,[27] and Anicia's hand even been offered to Theodoric by the emperor Zeno in 478, in order to bestow imperial legitimacy on the Goth.[28] On her mother's side, both her grandparents were direct descendents from Theodosius I, her mother Placidia being a daughter of Valentinian III and Licinia Eudoxia, a daughter of Theodosius II.[29] Anicia's son Olybrius had married a daughter of the emperor Anastasius I, but her hopes that her family might present a new emperor in the

East were dashed by the election of Justin I to the throne in 518.[30] So there was certainly an element of imperial competition behind this story[31] and church-building in Constantinople in general.[32] But Anicia died in 527 or 528.[33] Thus historians have interpreted Anicia giving a Neronian emerald to Justinian as a transfer of imperial legitimacy to Justin I and his nephew Justinian, those military nobodies who had come from the Balkans only to ascend the throne in Constantinople.[34] In 532, her son, Flavius Anicius Olybrius, was exiled and deprived of his property, for having been involved in the Nika riot, but later obviously became rehabilitated.[35]

In Gregory's account we find nothing to make this political background explicit. Instead, he has turned the story into a tale about religious donations, church property and encroachment on it by the state. Obviously, this focus echoes confiscations carried out under Justinian and also a sixth-century debate on the use of church property to support state finance, traces of which we find in Byzantium[36] as well as in the West at this time, if we think, for instance, of Gregory's obituary of king Chilperic.[37] Gregory's story also reflects Justinian's legislation on *piae causae*[38] and illustrates the idea of the inalienability of church property, which was first enacted by the emperor Leo I in 470 and came to be developed further by Justinian.[39] As a consequence, withdrawing property that had once been given to a church became enormously difficult. Thus, in Gregory's narrative, both Justinian and Anicia Juliana kept their religiously enhanced promises in the literal sense,[40] while the latter by use of a pun saved the better part for herself. The story thus proved the power of the martyr Polyeuctus, who in protecting Anicia's religiously motivated promise prevented even Justinian from getting possession of her wealth.[41]

2. Polyeuctus, Hilary and Martin – A Saintly Triumvirate in Merovingian Politics

At least readers of Gregory's piece on *The Glory of the Martyrs* could get the impression that Polyeuctus was the focus of a distant cult. For it is quite striking that there is no hint in Gregory's account that Polyeuctus and his church might have had anything to do with religion and politics in the Merovingian kingdom of his own time. That there may indeed have been such a connection becomes clear only from one brief chapter in Gregory's *Histories*. Saint Polyeuctus appears in a speech Gregory ascribes to the Merovingian king Guntram (561–592), justifying in 585 his seizure of territories that once had belonged to his late

brother Charibert I (561–567) and that had subsequently come into the hands of his brothers Sigibert I (561–575) and the now deceased Chilperic (561–584). Guntram argued that he was entitled to take his brothers' former territories, because they had broken a treaty concluded with him; Chilperic, for instance, dared to enter Paris, which according to the treaty was to be kept neutral so that no brother would be allowed to enter the city without his other brothers' consent. According to Guntram, by acting contrary to the treaty, Sigibert and Chilperic had forfeited their lives and all the territories once belonging to the kingdom of Charibert. This loss was caused by divine punishment (*iudicium Dei*) for their disobedience against the saints who protected that treaty, namely saint Polyeuctus the martyr together with the confessors saint Hilary and saint Martin.[42]

Most striking here is the fact that Polyeuctus occupied such a prominent position in this treaty. He was not simply part of a saintly triumvirate, but as martyr should act as the treaty's actual *iudex ac retributor*. Obviously this referred to his power to punish perjury mentioned in the passage quoted above, since the whole treaty rested solely upon an oath. We can see this feature also in the treaty of Andelot concluded in 587, the provisions of which were to a large extent based on the older treaty Guntram was referring to in this passage. For instance, in the treaty of Andelot we also find the legal clause that if one party breaks the oath, the other party would not be obliged to keep it either.[43] But it is also important to view these passages as part of a historiographical narrative. Guntram's speech, allegedly given in 585, occupies an important position in Gregory's *Histories*: placed at the beginning of book VII of the *libri historiarum*, it serves to justify the claim Guntram made to the whole heritage of Charibert's kingdom after the murder of king Sigibert, which formed the end of book IV,[44] and the death of king Chilperic, whose assassination had formed the conclusion of book VI.[45] It thus gives advance notice of the dynastic and territorial conflicts that would temporarily be solved by the treaty of Andelot in 587, which figures so prominently in book IX and provides a clue to Gregory's understanding of the political development at the time when he was writing.[46] The division of Charibert's kingdom carried out after his death thus was at the beginning of those conflicts that form a main theme of Gregory's *Histories*. And it is quite remarkable that Gregory refers to this partition only in passing in his account of Charibert's reign,[47] whereas he uses it on two later occasions to frame his narrative from the death of Chilperic to the treaty of Andelot.[48]

The partition of Charibert's kingdom obviously had to be arranged in a way different from the division of 561, when the whole *regnum Francorum* had been divided among the four sons of Chlothar I. When king Charibert died six years

later, his kingdom came to be distributed among Chlothar's remaining three sons according to a treaty. Obviously Charibert, who had no heirs, had not himself developed a plan for dividing up his kingdom in case of his death. This underpins the enormous relevance of the oath among the brothers after his death, yet it does not explain the particular involvement of saint Polyeuctus. How did this saint come to enter Merovingian politics, and why is saint Polyeuctus mentioned in the treaty along with saint Hilary and saint Martin, superseding such well known Gallic saints as Remigius, Medardus, Dionysius or Maurice? It is indeed striking that Dionysius was not evoked in a treaty which obviously paid so much attention to Paris. For Dionysius was, as we are told by Gregory, quite capable of protecting his city. On one occasion he took revenge on some of king Sigibert's soldiers when the king and his army came to Paris and destroyed many of the surrounding villages by fire. Thus, since we cannot rule out the possibility of additional and, indeed, more representative saints having been invoked for the protection of the three brothers' treaty, we have to conclude that it was Polyeuctus, Hilary and Martin who mattered most to Gregory in order to structure his narrative on the interplay between oathtaking and perjury.[49]

Given the prominence of saints Martin and Hilary, it is reasonable in considering the question of Polyeuctus's inclusion to start by reflecting on these two *confessores*. Their choice is of course extremely revealing since it invokes not only two of the most prominent political saints of the Merovingian kingdom but also their cities, that is Tours and Poitiers. Both cities and their saints were, as is well known, closely linked with the Merovingian dynasty in various ways, in particular with Clovis's victory against the Goth Alaric II and the integration of the former Visigothic kingdom into the *regnum Francorum*. In his *Histories*, Gregory gives the aftermath of the battle of Vouillé of 507 a strong Turonian outlook, with Clovis making gifts to saint Martin, who had ensured the victory, and of course receiving honours from the emperor Anastasius in the city, before making Paris the *cathedra regni* thereafter.[50] Fredegar later mentions that Clovis gave gifts to saint Hilary of Poitiers, too.[51] Apart from the connection with Clovis, both cities served the Merovingian dynasty in various ways: Chlothild, Clovis' widow, retired to Tours, and Radegund, the former wife of Chlothar I, to Poitiers.[52] Venantius Fortunatus, in a poem dedicated to Brunhild and Childebert II composed after 575, made saint Martin appear as the actual patron of the royal house.[53] At any rate, following the death of king Charibert Tours and Poitiers became part of Sigibert I's kingdom by the treaty to which we shall now return.

3. The Division of Charibert's Kingdom

Neither Hilary of Poitiers nor Martin of Tours, let alone Polyeuctus, had, as far as we can see, any close connection to Paris. The treaty referred to was in fact by no means a treaty on the status of Paris alone, but involved all the territories once ruled by Charibert. His kingdom, the capital of which had been Paris, comprised the whole south-west of the *regnum Francorum*, which formerly had formed the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse. It came to be portioned out in a rather complicated manner, which has puzzled modern historians such as Ewig: 'Vergebens sucht man in dieser seltsamen Zersplitterung des Charibertreiches einen Sinn zu erkennen. Die Teilung von 567 stellt dem politischen Talent ihrer Urheber kein gutes Zeugnis aus und barg jedenfalls den Keim künftiger Konflikte.'[54] Indeed, any map showing the territorial divisions of Francia after 567 looks like a patchwork rug.[55]

   The reason why modern historians failed to detect any logic in the partition of Charibert's kingdom may lie in the fact that they sought to compare it with former divisions of the Merovingian kingdom carried out in 511 and 561. For the nature of the division after Charibert's death was not a product of helplessness, but has a complicated background, which escaped even Ewig's mind. After Charibert's death it was only one kingdom out of four which came to be divided up, and Charibert,
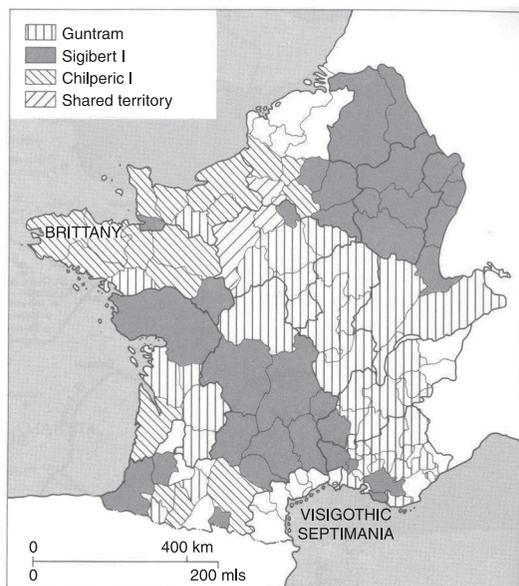
Figure 2.2 The division of the Merovingian kingdom in 568

who died fairly early and possibly, as we may assume, unexpectedly,[56] neither had a son nor had, as far as we can see, designated one of his brothers as heir. So, the partition of his kingdom largely followed the balance of power between his remaining brothers Sigibert and Guntram and their half-brother Chilperic, and its parts were attached to their already existing kingdoms. Chilperic, being the offspring of Chlothar I's fourth marriage to Arnegundis, had already been placed at a disadvantage in 561, when he received a rather small portion in the north. For him the death of Charibert presented a chance to enlarge his territories and to extend his influence over Paris, Charibert's former capital. But apparently Chilperic was not able to get what he wanted. When taking into account his behaviour in the early 570s leading to the murder of Sigibert in 575 there is no reason to assume that king Chilperic can have been satisfied with his portion of Charibert's kingdom. Rather, it seems quite likely that Chilperic would have accepted the treaty only under pressure. He would have no access to Paris, which remained neutral, and therefore he could not use the city as a capital to link himself to older traditions of Clovis, Childebert and Charibert. In addition, the portions granted to Chilperic in the south-west remained isolated enclaves. So he immediately sought to revise the treaty's conditions and took the *civitates* of Tours and Poitiers by force.[57] However, Sigibert's *dux* Mummolus regained Tours and Poitiers with the support of king Guntram and repelled Chilperic's son Merovech, exacting an oath of fidelity on behalf of king Sigibert in 570.[58] But Chilperic sent his elder son Theudebert to conquer Tours, Poitiers and other cities belonging to Sigibert.[59] The fact that Chilperic sent two of his sons to Tours and Poitiers underlines the importance of this area and of both cities, in which his sons could obviously be installed as sub-kings. It looks as if Chilperic was never willing to accept the treaty's conditions.[60]

Nor did Chilperic's brother Guntram enlarge his Burgundian territories very much by the treaty, for he only acquired some isolated territories in the West. Nevertheless his behaviour shows that he was on his brother Sigibert's side against their half-brother Chilperic. In any case it looks as if king Sigibert was the chief winner of the competition among the heirs to Charibert's kingdom, for he received large portions including Tours and Poitiers, which could be directly attached to Austrasian possessions in the Limousin that he had gained after Chlothar I's death in 561, and also to his possessions in Provence. Sigibert's western territories would thereby almost equal his Austrasian possessions in size and bring him into contact with the *patria* of his Visigothic bride Brunhild, whom he had married in 566.[61]

So if there was any reasonable plan behind the partition of Charibert's kingdom it must be attributed to king Sigibert I, who obviously had the most

influence in drawing up the terms of the treaty. But Sigibert did not have any interest in using Paris as a capital, for it could not be used to link the eastern and western parts of his kingdom. Nor does his brother Guntram appear to have had any interest in Paris. Keeping Paris neutral therefore appears as a deliberate attempt by both brothers to minimize Chilperic's influence there. In his *Histories* Gregory of Tours gives Paris an extraordinary importance in order to cast Chilperic in the role of a perjuring king. For on Easter Sunday 583, as Gregory emphasized, Chilperic entered Paris and, as the author explains, in order to avoid being struck by the curse of the treaty's oaths, he had numerous relics carried in front of him, the transfer of relics thereby functioning as some kind of counterspell.[62] This is what Gregory wants us to notice, but in fact we know that Chilperic had already been residing in Paris for the seven years since king Sigibert's murder in 575.[63] On his entry to Paris on Easter Sunday 583, Chilperic had his son Theuderic baptized, with Ragnemod, bishop of Paris, acting as godfather for him.[64] And it was Gregory of Tours who interpreted Chilperic's transfer of relics to Paris in 583 as compensation for his intended breach of the treaty concluded after Charibert's death.[65] It is an extremely important passage in the dramaturgy of book six of Gregory's *Histories*, since little Theuderic's death in the following year[66] was followed by a political crisis[67] that would culminate in Chilperic's murder near Paris in 584, giving Gregory a stunning finish to the book,[68] but also introducing the territorial disputes about which Gregory would have to negotiate between Guntram and Childebert II.[69]

The case made here for Sigibert I as the treaty's actual mastermind can be reinforced by taking into account the choice of Hilary of Poitiers and Martin of Tours as warrantors. It can be argued that Sigibert's interest in Charibert's kingdom was focused on Tours and Poitiers. I should like to suggest that it was not Guntram or Chilperic, but rather Sigibert alone, who was responsible for defining the treaty's sacral protection; for both saints had their position in Sigibert's territories, and this seems also to have been true, as we shall see in the next section, for saint Polyeuctus, and receives confirmation by further evidence. It has been observed recently that the fate of Charibert's widow and daughters following his death in 567 was crucial with regard to Merovingian dynastic policy. Given the importance I have attributed to Sigibert in the drafting of the treaty, it comes as no surprise that Charibert's widow Theudechildis ended up in a monastery in Arles after her brother-in-law Guntram accepted her person and treasure but belatedly declined her offer to marry him, and that Charibert's daughters Berthefledis and Chrodechildis were detained in Radegund's monastic foundation in Poitiers, which belonged to Sigibert's kingdom.[70] Obviously for

Sigibert and Guntram it was necessary to prevent Charibert's widow and daughters from entering new alliances which might become relevant for political and territorial claims.

It becomes clear from this discussion that Chilperic had been placed at disadvantage by his half-brothers after Charibert's death just as in 561. The overall importance of Sigibert's interests, which become visible in the circumstances of the treaty, was stressed by Gregory of Tours in a religious manner by the saints involved. For while Hilary and Martin were based in Sigibert's newly acquired domains, as we shall see, the cult of saint Polyeuctus had been established in the king's Austrasian territories.[71]

4. Saint Polyeuctus and Metz, the Austrasian Capital

Tours and Poitiers were the places where Sigibert's helpers Martin and Hilary were supposed to be resident, because their relics had once been deposed there. But where was the residence of the treaty's main guarantor, saint Polyeuctus? Where had his relics been deposited? In fact, Gregory does not mention any relics of Polyeuctus at all in his works, nor does he refer to any place with which saint Polyeuctus might be associated except Constantinople. Saint Polyeuctus, therefore, in the treaty makes a first-time appearance as some kind of 'sanctus ex machina'. But it would be strange to assume that the power of a distant eastern saint from Constantinople could have been invoked in Gaul in such an important political treaty without any of his relics being at hand.

If we look for places where the cult and relics of saint Polyeuctus are attested in the early medieval West, it is striking that we find only two such places. The *martyrologium Hieronymianum*[72] briefly mentions an oratory in Ravenna dedicated to a saint called Polyeuctus,[73] which, though the date and origin of the martyrology are uncertain,[74] must have been older than 600. As has already been suggested, saint Polyeuctus may have been introduced to Ravenna by the imperial administration (in this case probably after 554),[75] while Anicia Juliana and her family's above-mentioned close ties to Italy provide another possible explanation for this.[76]

The second western place that can be associated with saint Polyeuctus is the city of Metz,[77] and the evidence is particularly revealing. First, we have a list of stationary churches dating from the eighth century mentioning among 36 churches inside and outside the Roman city walls, one dedicated to saint Polyeuctus.[78] Secondly, a late eighth-century version of Jerome's martyrology

(now preserved in a Berne manuscript),[79] produced at Metz on the initiative of bishop Angilram for the monastic community of his burial church of saint Avold,[80] has a new entry on saint Polyeuctus's death on 7 January.[81] Thirdly, there is a liturgical work of the eleventh century from the bishopric of Metz referring
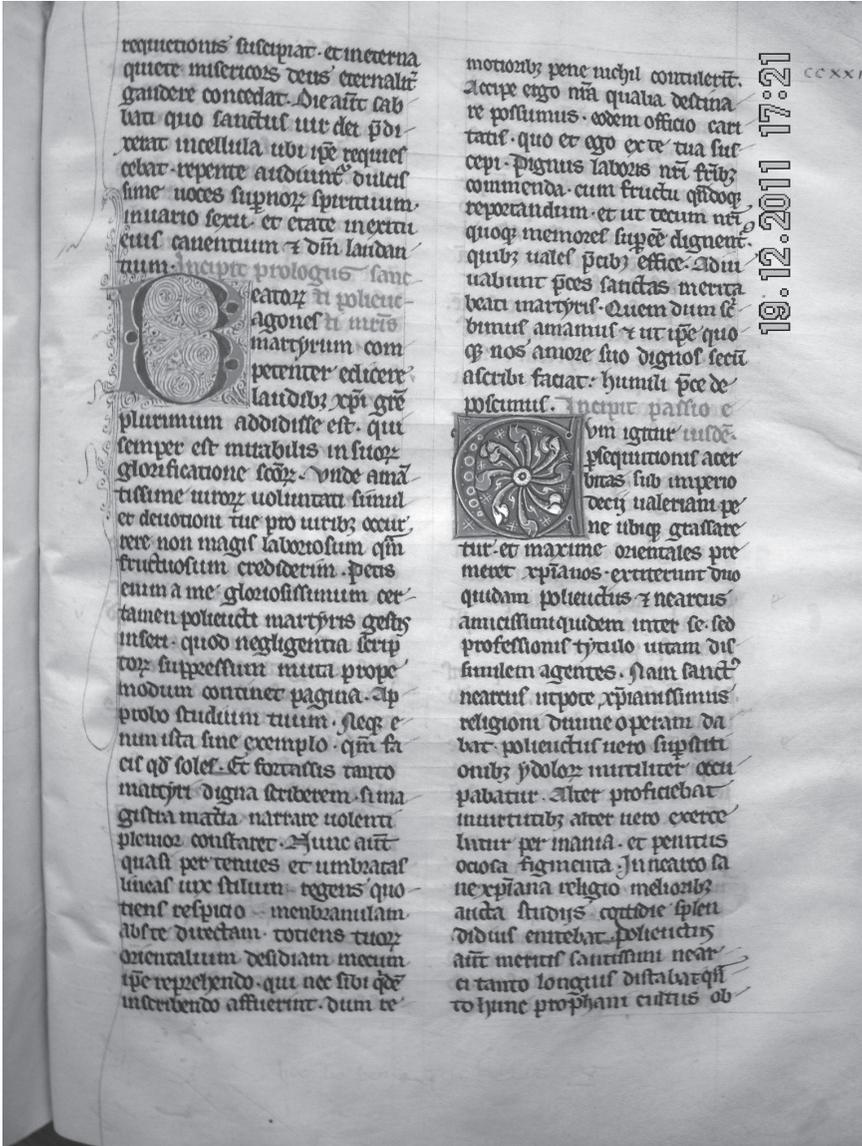

Figure 2.3 Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, Ms. 14, fol. 224r: Passio Polyeucti
© Société des Bollandistes, Bruxelles

to a parish church dedicated to saint Polyeuctus, whose *patrocinium* had recently come to be replaced by a new patron, saint Livarius.[82] Finally, a Latin *Passio Polyeucti*[83] is preserved as part of two hagiographical collections of the thirteenth century, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and in the Bibliothèque des Bollandistes in Brussels.[84]

The Paris manuscript's origin must lie in the Moselle region according to Wilhelm Levison.[85] Since it contains additional hagiographical work related to Metz, and was handed over to Jean-Baptiste Colbert by the canons of the cathedral church of Metz in 1676, it is quite likely that it was written in that city and thus has to be related to the cult of Polyeuctus attested there much earlier.[86] But the Brussels manuscript can also be indirectly linked to Metz and indeed even to the Paris manuscript.[87] The *passio*'s date of composition has been attributed to the fifth or sixth century by Benjamin Aubé and Henri Leclercq,[88] but this question appears to be much more complicated than has hitherto been assumed.[89] At any rate, it seems very likely, though it cannot be proven, that the Latin *passio* itself was written in Metz or in the archdiocese of Trier. It has an interesting dedicatory preface referring to the scarcity of information available to the author, who was obviously writing saint Polyeuctus's *passio* in compliance with the wishes of a higher cleric interested in having eastern saints' *passiones* for his *fratres*.[90] If the *passio* was actually written at Metz, this may refer to the bishop of Metz or to the archbishop of Trier, since the bishopric of Metz was as suffragan subordinated to Trier.[91]

As far as I can tell, Metz is the only place in the Frankish kingdom providing evidence for a cult of saint Polyeuctus. It therefore seems likely that his cult cannot have spread to Gaul in the manner known for other oriental saints, but rather should be regarded as an 'import' of the Merovingian period.[92] Metz provided an excellent context for this.[93] The above mentioned eighth-century list of stationary churches from Metz and its rural environment suggests an ancient date for the church of saint Polyeuctus, which was situated in the north-eastern part of the city next to a Moselle island, outside the Late-Roman city wall ('Outre Moselle').

It may well be that the church of Saint Polyeuctus was part of a larger building programme undertaken by Sigibert and his new wife Brunhild[94] to establish Metz as the new Austrasian capital.[95] This would have included an extension of the episcopal church of Saint Stephen,[96] but also the erection of other buildings. Next to the church of Saint Polyeuctus was one dedicated to Saint Medardus, the building of which may well have been commissioned by Sigibert, too.[97] The list of stationary churches attests that the old bishopric Metz must have become a multi-faceted religious and ecclesiastical centre during the sixth and seventh
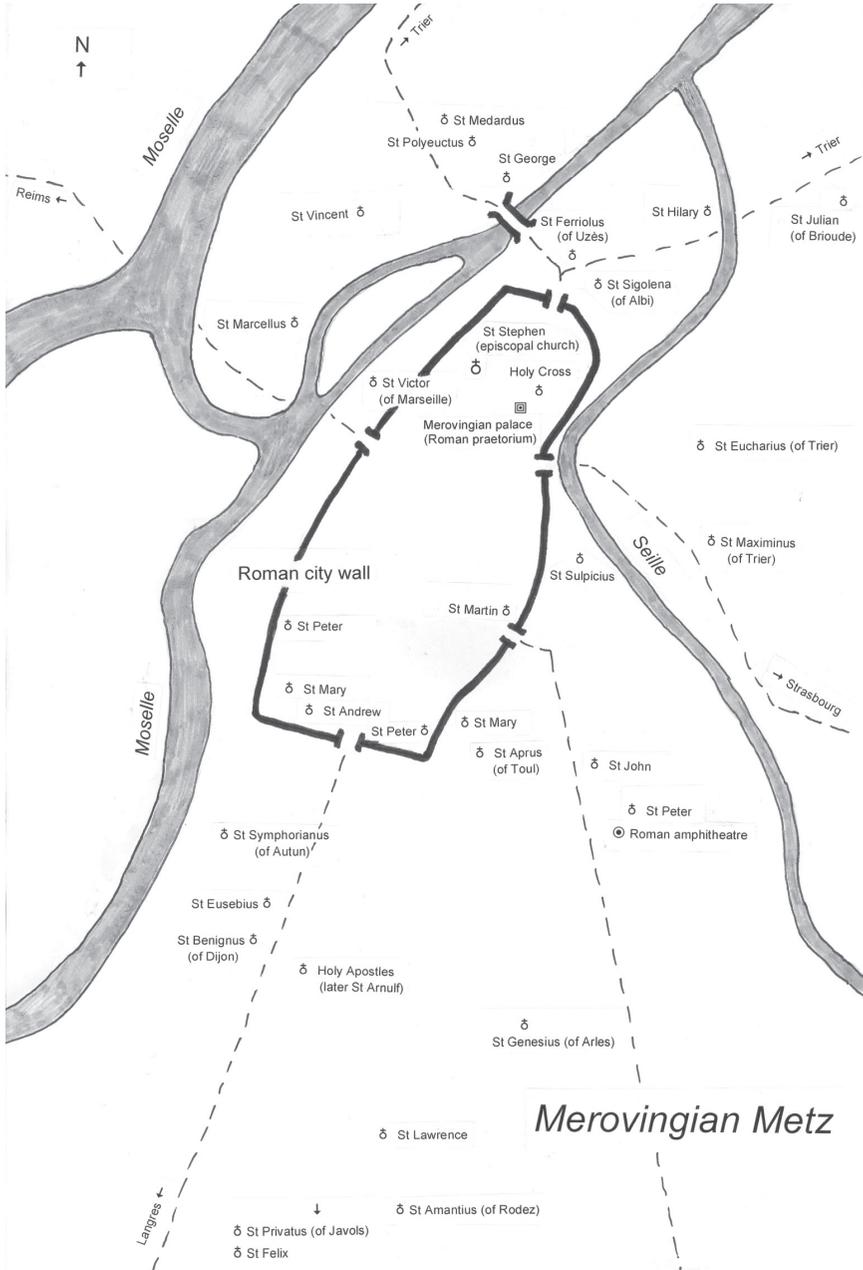
Figure 2.4 Merovingian Metz

centuries. Due to our source material it is not possible to give an exact date for the erection of these pre-mid eighth-century churches. But Sigibert's special affiliation with both saints Medardus and Polyeuctus may point to the erection of their churches near the Moselle river in the sixth century.

There may be a reference to one of these buildings in a letter preserved in the *Epistolae Austrasicae*,[98] a letter collection which may well have been compiled from royal archives at the Austrasian court at Metz around 600 or later.[99] In this letter, which the editor has tentatively dated to the year 568, Gogo, advisor and perhaps *maior domus* of the Austrasian king Sigibert I,[100] wrote to bishop Petrus of Metz asking him to pass on his greetings to several abbots and clerics at Metz, and especially to an unnamed man, 'whose footsteps incessantly visit the thresholds of the saints and who is known for having just constructed the magnificent roof of a church on the shores of the Moselle river, and by whose erudition the palaces of kings have been embellished'.[101] The unnamed person has been identified with Nicetius, metropolitan of Trier (died after 566),[102] who had been brought back from exile by king Sigibert after 561 and became actively involved in Austrasian politics towards Constantinople and the Lombards in the 560s. In trying to persuade the Lombard queen Chlodosvinda to make her husband convert from Arianism to Catholicism he referred to the power of saint Martin and saint Medardus, and to a baptismal vow of her grandfather Clovis made in the basilica of Saint Martin in Tours.[103] Nicetius was a man of wide horizons and far-ranging interests: in a letter he even critized the eastern emperor Justinian for his religious policy as 'son of the devil' and 'enemy of righteousness'.[104] In Trier, Nicetius reconstructed various old churches and built new ones, one of which was dedicated to Saint Medardus. He also constructed a large castle and palace near the Moselle river at Niederemmel, and hired Italian craftsmen for these building works.[105] In addition, Nicetius is alleged to have transformed the massive *Porta Alba* (the south-eastern city gate of Trier opening on to the road heading to Strasbourg) into a splendid episcopal palace, to which he probably added a chapel dedicated to the Holy Cross.[106] Nicetius was extremely interested in translating saints' relics to his episcopal city, for he firmly believed in their power.[107] Moreover, Gregory of Tours, using evidence given to him by abbot Aredius of Limoges (a pupil of Nicetius),[108] mentions that his relative[109] Nicetius was an expert in detecting perjury, since he fostered the cult of saint Maximinus of Trier as an avenger of perjury. Even king Theudebert I is said to have required an oath at the saint's tomb in order to expose the perjuries of a certain priest. Following his death, Nicetius' tomb in the church of Saint Maximinus became famous for avenging perjury, too; as Gregory states: 'What

shall I say about perjuries? If anyone dared to swear a false oath there, he was immediately corrected by divine retribution. Nor would anyone even so much as say that he would presume to swear there, if, wracked by conscience, he knew he was guilty.'[110] As has been shown by Kevin Uhalde, Nicetius of Trier developed a complex judicial theology based on the idea of God's judgement, a theology in which oaths as probatory practice played a central part.[111] This may be related to the fact that relics came to play an important role in the swearing of oaths at this time, with the result that the invocation of punishment by the saint came to be regarded as being more harmful to perjurers than oaths sworn on the Bible.[112]

Thus, Nicetius seems to be a most appropriate candidate for introducing saint Polyeuctus to Metz and building a church dedicated to him: but the case is not certain, for we do not know exactly when Nicetius died, according to divergent tradition either in 566 or 572.[113] In addition, as we shall see, the story behind the introduction of saint Polyeuctus to Metz appears to have been much more complicated. Some features of Nicetius' policy fit neatly into broader ambitions for establishing Metz as the capital of the Austrasian kingdom under Sigibert. As has been shown by Wilhelm Levison, there were close ties between Metz and the southern regions of the Frankish kingdom in the Merovingian period. Churches dedicated to the Saints Sigolena, Julian, Amantius, Privatus, Victor, Ferreolus and Genesius, which are mentioned in the eighth-century list of Metz stationary churches, refer to the saints of Albi, Brioude, Rodez, Javols, Marseille, Uzès and Arles.[114] Some of these *patrocinia* were obviously introduced to Metz during the political union of territories in Provence and Languedoc with Austrasia, resulting from the partition of the Frankish kingdom after the death of king Chlothar I in 561, which probably provides the basis for the remote possessions of Metz cathedral in those regions. This pattern would fit very well with Sigibert's otherwise attested policy of concentrating relics of different origin and political meaning in Metz – such as saint Medardus and Polyeuctus.

It is important to note that the site of the church of Saint Polyeuctus in Metz was not very far from the supposed position of the Merovingian palace,[115] which was located within the Roman walls, probably on the hill of Sainte Croix, the site of the former Roman *praetorium*.[116] King Sigibert I, whose main *sedes regia* had been Rheims at the time of the division of 561,[117] subsequently chose Metz as the prospective Austrasian capital, at the latest by 566,[118] only shortly before concluding the treaty in which saint Polyeuctus was invoked as a guarantor. Metz is also attested as a very active mint from Sigibert's reign onwards.[119] It was also at Metz that the marriage of Sigibert and Brunhild took place in 566. Brunhild had been escorted from Toledo to Metz by the above-mentioned

Austrasian official Gogo, to whom Venantius Fortunatus dedicated a poem on Sigibert's marriage and who appears as an ubiquitous figure in Austrasian history in the 560s and 570s.[120] For the sake of the marriage Brunhild had to convert from Arianism to Catholicism.[121] According to Gregory of Tours, Sigibert married the Visigothic princess in order to distinguish himself from his brothers, who had married women of inferior rank – the passage may thus be interpreted as echoing ideas put forward by Nicetius of Trier, who had criticized other royal marriages.[122] It was also in spring 566 that the Italian poet Venantius Fortunatus arrived at Metz, indicating that the Austrasian court already by this time had become a centre of multifold cultural activities[123] with connections extending as far as Constantinople.[124]

5. The Division of Charibert's Kingdom and the Political Situation in 568

Why was it desirable to have the treaty concluded between the kings Sigibert, Chilperic and Guntram guaranteed by an eastern saint who was not very well known at the time? And why would saint Polyeuctus be regarded as offering in some way protection superior to that offered by saint Hilary and saint Martin? These questions lead to the political context of that treaty. In his useful reconstruction of the origins of the Gundovald revolt, Bernard Bachrach, proceeding from the death of Charibert, which he believed occurred in early 567,[125] fixed the date of the treaty in late 567. But I doubt that this chronology is correct. Charibert is in fact still mentioned as ruler in the acts of the council of Tours, which took in place in mid-November of 567.[126] We may suppose, therefore, that Charibert cannot have died earlier than December 567 or even somewhat later. At any rate, the ensuing division of Charibert's realm must have taken place in the year 568. The complicated nature of this division, and agreement to it, will have taken some time to be worked out. It is reasonable, therefore, to place it in the context of those events which made 568 such a crucial year in Mediterranean history. It is, of course, the year of the Lombard invasion of Italy, preceded by the Lombards' victory against the Gepids, and marks the Avars' invasion of the Balkans.

Now Gregory of Tours reports that king Sigibert sent an embassy to the emperor Justin II in order to conclude peace with him. Having arrived in Constantinople, Sigibert's envoys spoke to the emperor 'and gained what they had come to seek'.[127] Some historians have placed this treaty in the year 571,[128]

but there is no evidence for such a dating.[129] In Gregory's account it is connected with the Persian invasion of Apamea, but as has been shown recently, this probably took place early in Justin II's reign.[130] More important is the fact that in Gregory's narrative the treaty precedes the Lombard invasion of Italy,[131] which suggests an earlier date, perhaps in the very year 568.

This is confirmed by the assumption that a peace concluded between Justin II and Sigibert would have been a precondition for the transfer of relics of the True Cross to Poitiers, which queen Radegund obtained around the same time, probably in 568 or 569.[132] Obviously all the events of this period did not happen coincidentally at almost the same time, for it seems possible to relate Radegund's embassy to Sigibert's. Gregory of Tours and also Baudonivia, in her *Vita Radegundis*, tell us that Radegund was very interested in acquiring relics of eastern saints at that time, and that a first embassy was despatched to Jerusalem to acquire relics of the martyr Mamas.[133] But circumstances changed, and this was of significance for the acquisition of relics of the True Cross. We know from a later notice in Michael the Syrian that Justin II had withdrawn the relic from Apamea to Antioch, where it was divided up, one half being sent back to Apamea, the other taken to Constantinople.[134] This obviously had less to do with Persian attacks on Syria than with Justin's desire to imitate Constantine[135] and to use the relic for diplomatic and other purposes.[136] As has been clarified recently, this must have happened right at the beginning of Justin's reign, which began in 565.[137] It seems quite likely that Radegund's embassy, seeking to obtain a piece of the True Cross, would have been directed not to the patriarch of Jerusalem but to the court in Constantinople.[138] If this be so, it is hardly likely that the request can have taken place before Sigibert had concluded peace with Justin II.[139] For Radegund, before sending out her embassy, had first obtained permission from king Sigibert to do so. The Austrasian kingdom was always that part of the Frankish realm most closely connected with Eastern Rome, for it exercised political and military influence in Italy and in addition was concerned with the Avars.[140] It is also relevant here that Radegund's cousin Amalafrid was *magister militum* in Byzantium at the time and that Radegund's family, with both her Thuringian and Amal roots, had close ties with Constantinople.[141] When Fortunatus wrote his poem *ad Justinum et Sophiam Augustos* in 569 to express Radegund's thanks for the relics of the cross, he praised the imperial couple's orthodoxy ruling an empire including Gaul.[142]

So, both the transfer of the relics of the True Cross and the inner-Frankish treaty of 568 belong to a complex context of religious and political issues. Justin II had returned to Chalcedonian 'orthodoxy' straight after his accession,

probably already in 566. Averil Cameron has made a strong case for the religious implications of Justin's policies in the first years after his accession.[143] This had an impact on political relations between the orthodox empire and the catholic Franks, as is reflected in western sources such as Venantius Fortunatus.[144] We know from a variety of sources that relics played an important part in Justin II's policies towards the West.[145] In Poitiers, however, there was some reluctance on the part of the local bishop Maroveus to introduce the relics of the True Cross into Radegund's monastery.[146] This may have been due to a conflict of political loyalty[147] rather than to one between ascetics and bishops.[148] There was some resistance against Sigibert's claims to parts of Charibert's kingdom and some willingness to accept Chilperic as king in Poitiers.[149] It is possible that Maroveus refused to accept the relics of the True Cross because he was not on Sigibert's side, whereas the bishop of Tours, Eufronius, Gregory's predecessor, had stayed loyal to the Austrasian king – as did Gregory, who was appointed bishop of Tours by Sigibert in 573.[150] But the transfer of the relics of the True Cross may well have had an even wider political dimension.[151] In an interesting recent article, Marc Widdowson has even doubted that it was on Radegund's initiative that the relic of the True Cross came to Poitiers, emphasising that it was her hagiographers who desired to model her on the image of Constantine I's mother Helena, the original discoverer of the True Cross.[152] In the *Vita Radegundis*, Baudonivia says: 'What Helena did in oriental lands, Radegund the blessed did in Gaul'.[153] This imperial modelling[154] may have obscured somewhat the fact that king Sigibert was personally involved in the transfer, for he gave Radegund permission to make her petition,[155] and when the relic could not be brought to Poitiers because of Maroveus's resistance, it was temporarily kept in a men's monastery in Tours, which Sigibert had just founded.[156] The *Vita* also emphasises how deeply Sigibert's wife Brunhild adored the True Cross.[157] As Widdowson observes: 'One would not expect the Byzantines to hand over such objects merely for the asking, and it may have been a quid pro quo for some activity by Sigibert's Franks in support of Byzantine interests. This was probably an assault on the Lombards, since Gregory writes of Mummolus campaigning against them immediately after mentioning the embassy'.[158] With regard to Italy and its frontier on the Balkans, relations with the Austrasian court were highly important to Constantinople. Sigibert was also involved in campaigning against the Avars at that time.[159]

The 'peace treaty' between Justin II and Sigibert I thus obviously included much more than merely putting an end to hostilities.[160] It was part of a restructuring of politics in the context of the Lombard invasion of Italy,[161] a

restructuring based on new political and religious alliances, and it coincided with the division of Charibert's kingdom. It is perhaps not by chance that the well-known extraordinary series of gold coins, the so-called 'pseudo-imperial' coinage, minted in Provence,[162] begins at almost exactly the same time with issues struck in the name of Justin II.[163] As has already been observed, the minting places included Marseilles, Viviers and Uzès, which belonged to the kingdom of Sigibert I at that time.[164] For instance, a *triens* of that series, which was minted in Viviers, has a bust of Justin II with a diadem and the (abbreviated) circumscription *Dominus Noster Iustinus Perpetuus Augustus*, on the reverse a cross on a globe, circumscribed with *Victoria Augustorum*.[165] Since the cross came to be placed on the reverse of imperial gold coinage during Justin II's reign, the Austrasian court seems to have adapted this new imperial symbolism very soon.

When looked at from this perspective, the relic of the True Cross not only symbolized a closer Austrasian alliance with Eastern Rome, but also points to a significant change in the intermingling of political and religious ideas. In her *Vita Radegundis*, Baudonivia stated that Radegund wanted to obtain the relics 'for the welfare of the whole fatherland and for the stability of his kingdom' ('*pro totius patriae salute et eius regni stabilitate*'),[166] an important clause which resembles the Visigothic and Frankish formulas of oathtaking and prayer for the king's well-being and immunities, according to which people swore fidelity and prayed 'for the fatherland' ('*pro patria*'), 'for the welfare of the king' ('*pro salute regis*') and 'for the stability of the kingdom' ('*pro stabilitate regni*').[167] The cross was to form some kind of identity for Sigibert's *patria*. It thus comes as no surprise that we find a chapel dedicated to the Holy Cross as part of Nicetius' new episcopal palace built in Trier,[168] and that according to the mid-eighth-century list of stationary churches belonging to the bishopric of Metz there also

Figure 2.5 Coin of Justin II, minted in Viviers (Photos: Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Lutz – Jürgen Lübke)

was a church of the Holy Cross in Metz, which antedates the first half of the seventh century and was situated *intra urbem* on a hill that was later called 'Holy Cross Hill' next to the Merovingian palace.[169]

This brings us back to saint Polyeuctus, for his inclusion as the guarantor of the treaty among Chlothar's sons is highly suggestive that the transfer of his relics may have been part of that greater deal between Sigibert and Justin II, which included peace, the transfer of the relics of the True Cross and other things the envoys 'had come to seek'.[170] It becomes clear from our sources that in addition to the True Cross, many other relics of eastern saints must have been brought to the West by this embassy. In Baudonivia's *Vita Radegundis* we find that Radegund 'got what she had prayed for: that she might glory in having the blessed wood of the Lord's Cross enshrined in gold and gems and many of the relics of the saints that had been kept in the East living in that one place'.[171] The fragment of the True Cross obviously was only the most prominent of various eastern relics Radegund had received. In his *Glory of the Martyrs*, Gregory speaks of Radegund's envoys, who had been 'to Jerusalem and throughout the entire region of the East'. These servants 'brought back relics of them all. After placing them in the silver reliquary with the Holy Cross itself, she thereafter deserved to see many miracles'.[172] Saint Radegund's reliquary of the True Cross, parts of which are still extant today,[173] obviously came from the East and was sent to Francia by Justin II.[174] It was once part of a triptych, although unfortunately the wings have been lost. Fortunately, from an eighteenth-century drawing we at least know that on the inner side the wings displayed six saints, the precise identity of whom cannot be determined anymore.[175] It is quite probable that they were eastern saints, whose relics had come to Francia too, since in the drawing there are still traces of Greek letters. Severe-looking as the saints are, it may well be that saint Polyeuctus was among them.

6. Conclusion

In the Frankish kingdom, Metz is the only place for which a cult of saint Polyeuctus is attested. Though a definite *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the saint's relics into Metz is only given by two works of Gregory of Tours probably written in the 580s, it seems very likely indeed that it actually took place between the establishment of Metz as Austrasian capital in 566 and the invocation of the saint in the treaty on the partition of Charibert's kingdom, concluded in 568, the year of the Lombard invasion of Italy. The time span for a transfer of Polyeuctus's relics
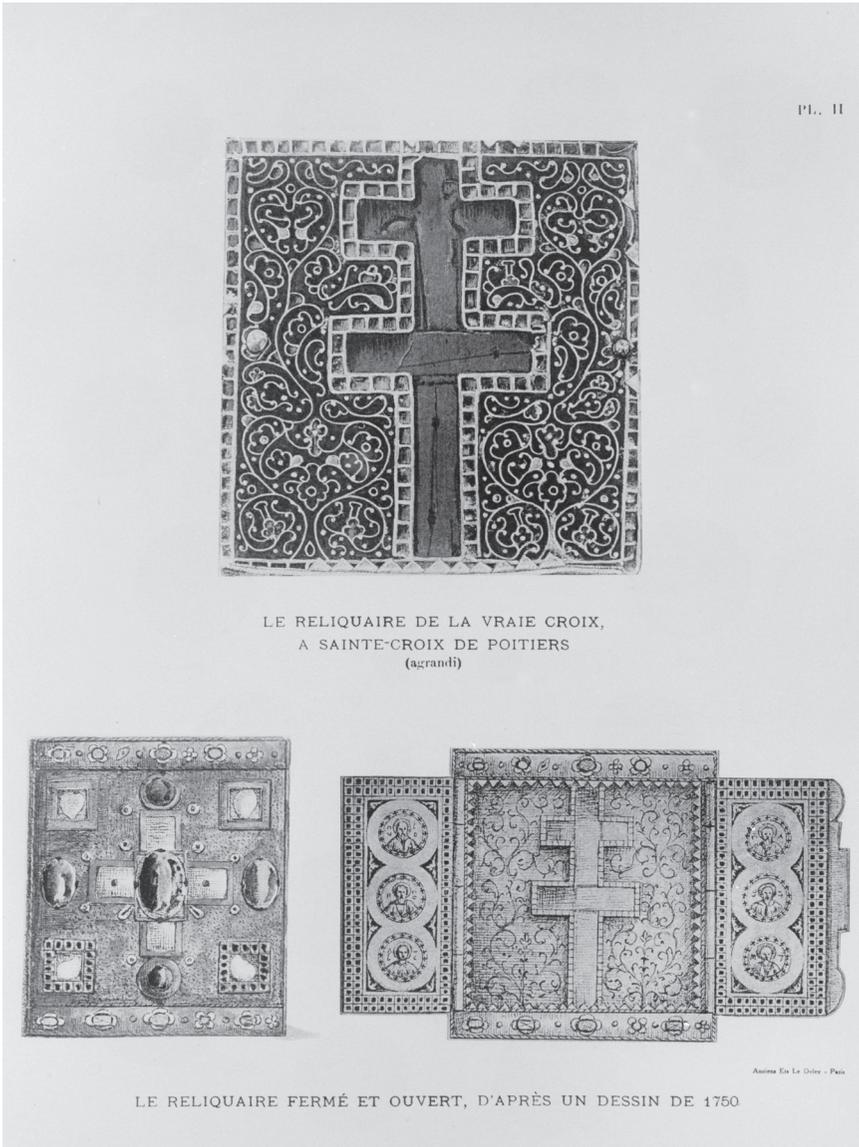
Figure 2.6 Radegund's reliquary at Poitiers (Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

thus may be reduced to approximately two years. The emphasis laid by Gregory of Tours on Anicia Juliana's church dedicated to Saint Polyeuctus and on the saint's power to revenge perjury suggests that his relics had been imported directly from Constantinople rather than from Ravenna into Metz. This implies a further shortening of the period in question. Though it cannot actually be proven that the

relics of saint Polyeuctus came to Francia by the same embassy that brought the wood of the True Cross, such an interpretation would appear to be highly likely. The treaty concluded between Justin II and Sigibert I and the transfer of relics of the Holy Cross to Poitiers (and perhaps even to Trier and Metz) provide a fitting context for this. The evidence produced for Sigibert's supporters at the Austrasian court in the 560s also suggests that archbishop Nicetius of Trier, an expert of detecting perjury,[176] who had been recalled from exile by Sigibert in 561, and perhaps also Gogo, Sigibert's Austrasian *maior domus*, may have been involved in introducing the cult of the eastern avenger of perjury into Metz.

If this hypothesis appears plausible, the division of the Frankish realm and the emergence of its *bellum civile* needs to be revisited in the context of increasing East Roman influence, which is so well attested for the ensuing period with regard to the Austrasian court.[177] In a remarkable study written more than half a century ago,[178] Walter Goffart redated a letter written by Gogo of Austrasia, who tried to persuade the Lombard duke Grasulf to come over to the East Roman side, to the years 571/572.[179] Goffart's reinterpretation thus made this letter an early expression of the Frankish-Byzantine alliance concluded between Justin and Sigibert. Since there is good reason now to date this alliance in the year 568,[180] the chronology of events involving Gogo acting on behalf of Sigibert might need further revision. Perhaps already a Lombard attack against southern Gaul recorded by Marius of Avenches for the year of their invasion of Italy may be regarded as a reaction to this relationship.[181] The intervention of Gundovald, who as early as in 561 was 'received' at Charibert's and later at Sigibert's court, both heirless kings at that time,[182] would look even more like an early effort of Eastern Rome to place a foot into the Frankish door. And it would perhaps be illuminating also to include into such a Mediterranean perspective developments in Visigothic Spain after the death in 567 of king Athanagild, whose royal daughters were at the heart of the Frankish dynastic quarrels.[183] Even the attempt of Merovech, son of king Chilperic, to build a *regnum* by uniting parts of Sigibert's former kingdom and marrying Brunhild after 576, appears in many ways as a logical development.[184] In any case, historical research seems far from having yet established a firm Mediterranean chronology for the years between 567 and 575.[185]

As far as we can see, saint Polyeuctus almost completely disappeared in the West after having made his single appearance in Frankish politics, and this can by no means be explained by supposing there was no further need for a saint specializing in revenging perjury. The western fame of saint Polyeuctus may have suffered from the fact that the treaty he had been invoked to protect was broken too often, or, to put it differently, that Polyeuctus took his job of revenging

perjury too seriously by killing too many perjured kings. Thus, the western cult of saint Polyeuctus remained an episode, documented only by two chapters in the writings of Gregory of Tours, while neither in Italy nor in Gaul did he earn lasting fame.[186] And while a saint's success story is usually one of his 'scattered fragments' (*disiecta membra*), the medieval afterlife of saint Polyeuctus obviously shows traces of oblivion and even damnation of memory. For, in Ravenna, historians have not been able yet to identify the oratory dedicated to Polyeuctus,[187] which is not mentioned in Agnellus's ninth-century *Liber pontificalis Ravennatae ecclesiae*. Polyeuctus's church in Metz was renamed in the eleventh century after a local patron, saint Livarius, who was supposed to have protected Metz against the Hunnic attack in 451,[188] and the remains of his famous church in Constantinople were plundered in 1204, the crusaders bringing some of its most precious parts to Venice.[189] Later western hagiographical writers hardly knew anything about him.[190] In the 'Golden legend', the *legenda aurea*, compiled by Jacobus de Voragine in the 13th century, saint Polyeuctus is not mentioned at all. For this reason Pierre Corneille, the famous French drama writer of the 17th century, when composing his celebrated tragedy *Polyeucte martyr*, published in 1643, had to rely on the elaborated Greek life of Polyeuctus written by Simeon Metaphrastes, which had been translated into Latin in 1560.[191] Obviously Corneille did not know too much about Metz and its former close bonds with saint Polyeuctus, once patron of the Austrasian capital, nor did Benjamin Aubé, when writing the so-far only academic monograph on the cult of saint Polyeuctus in 1882.[192] The evidence drawn from manuscripts, *patrocinia* and the archaeology of Metz, however, may be regarded as an echo of the cultural transfer dealt with in this article, a reminiscence of an eastern saint whose relics had once been brought to the West in the sixth century. For twenty years or so saint Polyeuctus enjoyed some kind of Mediterranean ubiquity by creating an invisible link between the East Roman empire and the East Frankish kingdom. Anicia Juliana, the builder of his most famous church, had probably never been to Gaul. Nonetheless, if there is one thing we may take for granted, it is that in early medieval Metz people had every reason to keep their oaths.[193]

The Historian as Cultural Broker in the Late and Post-Roman West

Helmut Reimitz

Around the end of the year 476, Sidonius Apollinaris wrote a letter to Leo, the *consiliarius* of the Visigothic king Euric in Toulouse.[1] Leo had asked him to write a history, a request which Sidonius politely declined in this letter. It is likely that Sidonius was still exiled by Euric from his bishopric in Clermont when he wrote to Leo.[2] Among his arguments were that he had no access in his new and foreign residence to the necessary literature, and that his insignificance there was wrapping him in obscurity. Instead, he suggested, Leo himself should write this history. Who had more of a right to undertake this task, wrote Sidonius, than the man who was not only blessed with unrivalled power of expression but also had great facilities for gathering immense quantities of information? For every day in the councils of a powerful king, Leo meticulously gathered information about the whole world's affairs, including rights, treaties, wars, and the distances and merits of localities. Furthermore, being placed in a position of greatest eminence, the *consiliarius* was not constrained to suppress the truth or invent lies.[3]

Leo was indeed a very influential person at the court of the Visigothic king Euric, and in his *carmina* Sidonius praises Leo's skills as orator, poet, philosopher and jurist.[4] It may well have been that Leo played an important role in the codification of one of the Visigothic law codes, the *Codex Euricianus*.[5] But we have no evidence that he ever wrote a history. It would have been an interesting moment to begin working on one, since earlier that year Odoacer had deposed the last Roman emperor in the West. To be sure, the deposition itself might well have been seen by contemporaries as just another usurpation among many in the fifth century.[6] But some of the main political players of the time saw Odoacer's decision to rule Italy as *patricius* and king instead of appointing a new emperor in the West as a chance to establish new power relations. For the Eastern empire it was an opportunity to affirm what had always been known: that Constantinople

was the unrivalled centre of Roman imperial power and politics.[7] Not long after the deposition of Romulus Augustulus, the 'barbarian' rulers of the Burgundian *regnum* in southern Gaul saw the deposition as an opportunity. The Gibichung kings turned to Constantinople as the only remaining authority that could confer or confirm the Roman offices of *magister militum* and *patricius* on which the legitimation of their rule in the region on the Rhône was based.[8]

But the policy of the Visigothic kings in the adjacent *regnum* was different. They had already pursued a policy of confrontation with the empire, and for a while had tried to establish themselves as equal partners of the Roman emperors in the West. Since the beginning of his reign in 466, Euric had progressively extended the Visigothic *regnum* over several campaigns.[9] In his efforts to establish his *regnum* as an independent political entity, he was also supported by many members of the Roman elites in the region such as Leo, the above mentioned *consiliarius* of Euric, and the *dux* Victorius.[10] In this context, Leo's request for a history presented Sidonius with a delicate task which required an interpretive decision about the continuity or discontinuity of political and social frameworks.[11]

Unfortunately, Sidonius only enumerated the reasons why Leo rather than Sidonius himself should write a history, and did not elaborate on what kind of history Leo had asked him to write. From Sidonius' answer we might conclude that the new kings or the *regnum* of Toulouse could have played a prominent role in this history. That does not mean that Sidonius, if he had decided to write this history, would have had to write about a 'barbarian' history. The Gothic *regnum* of Toulouse was a kingdom which had a recognizable Roman face both before and after 476.[12] But it represented what Peter Heather has recently called 'local Romanness',[13] a concept more recently defined by Peter Brown as a 'social order that had grown from the ground up as the Roman regional elites opted for local leaders, for local armies and for local systems of patronage', all of which a barbarian king like Euric had offered.[14] This was, however, not the kind of Romanness that Sidonius, the son-in-law of the Emperor Avitus and former praetorian prefect of Rome, wanted to grant any historical profile. At least in his letter collection he presented himself as standing for 'central Romanness'. This is the more striking as Sidonius in his position as bishop of Clermont must have been involved in negotiations between 'local Romans' and their new rulers. A line in his epitaph (*Leges barbarico dedit furori*) indicates that Sidonius did invest in the Visigoths and might have as strong a claim as Leo to have been involved in the codification of the *Codex Euricianus*.[15] But his office as a bishop of Clermont is not mentioned on his sarcophagus. What is above all highlighted in

the lines before the reference to his involvement in the making of barbarian laws is his office in the *res publica* of Rome and the literary works that he actually wrote.[16]

Not long after the death of Sidonius between 480 and 490, however, the Roman senator Cassiodorus took up the burden of writing a history for his quickly changing post-Roman world in the other Gothic kingdom – the Italian *regnum* of Theodoric, who took over the rule of Italy after he had killed Odoacer in 493.[17] Though he was later one of Sidonius' successors as praetorian prefect of Rome, he was much more a figure like Leo. His function as the most important advisor and official at the court of the Ostrogothic king Theodoric and his royal successors is well documented, not least in his *Variae*, the collection of letters and documents written during Cassiodorus' political career.[18]

In one of these documents, Cassiodorus has left us some interesting remarks on how he defined his historiographical project. We find them in a speech that he wrote for Athalaric, the young king and grandson of Theoderic, to deliver to the senate in Rome on the occasion of Cassiodorus' appointment as *praefectus praetorio*. In this speech Athalaric, or Cassidorus, praised the virtues of the future *praefectus*. Among his numerous and various official functions, Cassiodorus had successfully promoted the integration of different social groups in the Italian *regnum* under Gothic rule. Among the future *praefectus'* more outstanding merits, Athalaric (or Cassiodorus) mentions that Cassiodorus had put together a history, restoring it from his readings and from hoary, scarcely preserved recollections of Gothic elders. The aim of this literary work was not to preserve Gothic antiquities, but to find a way to integrate Gothic and Roman history. Thus Cassiodorus praises himself for having made a Roman history from Gothic origins, *originem Gothicam fecit historiam esse Romanam*,[19] gathering into one garland, as it were, flower buds that had previously been scattered throughout the fields of literature.[20]

In his different roles in the Italian kingdom of the Goths, we might see in Cassiodorus what modern anthropologists have called a 'cultural broker'. As simultaneous members of two or more interacting networks (kin groups, political factions, communities, or other formal or informal coalitions), brokers provide nodes of communication with respect to a community's relation to the outside world. Their intermediate position, one step removed from final responsibility in decision making, occasionally allows brokers to promise more than they can deliver. The resulting room for manoeuvre allows skilful mediators to promote the aims of one group while protecting the interests of another – and thus to become nearly indispensible to all sides.[21]

The concept of a cultural broker has played an important role in modern anthropology. It was introduced by Eric Wolf more than half a century ago, and was further developed by Clifford Geertz only a few years later in his study on the changing role of cultural brokers in post-revolutionary Indonesia.[22] Not least through the influential work of Clifford Geertz himself, who used the idea to challenge the conceptualization of culture as a stable, self-contained and self-perpetuating system, the concept of 'cultural brokerage' as an analytical tool in anthropological and historical research has been considerably changed since then. Further development has contributed substantially to critiques of essentialist notions of culture and identity in a number of different social contexts.[23]

Recent studies on (cultural) brokerage have demonstrated that the work of these brokers should not be understood as mediation between clearly distinguishable and fixed cultural systems. Rather it should be seen as a creative performance in social contexts characterized by a complicated interplay of local and extra-local influences. These brokers not only develop new perspectives for the integration of their societies, but they also maintain the tensions and differences between different (real or imagined) social groups and identities which provide the dynamic of their action, and the basis of their social prestige. Thus they do not simply abrogate social difference, but rather provide new frameworks for integration in a larger whole that could be shared by all of the different social groups and identities involved.[24]

In many of the documents that Cassiodorus collected in his *Variae*, we see him in such a role. This is even truer of what he wrote after the end of his political career, including his visions for a Latin Christian education in post-Roman Italy, his exegetical work, and the Latin translation and compilation of Greek church histories.[25] In all these contexts, we not only see him translating and mediating, but also creating new political, educational and religious syntheses.

Unfortunately we do not know what Cassiodorus' historiographical synthesis looked like, as the original twelve books of history that Cassiodorus wrote have not survived into the present day. A few decades after Cassiodorus finished the books, they were rewritten by Jordanes in his *Getica*. Jordanes claimed to have received the mandate to produce a shortened version of the text by a certain Castalius.[26] But in his preface he also states that he only had access to the text for three days. As the text of Cassiodorus has not been preserved, the extent to which Jordanes' *Getica* reflects Cassiodorus' work or represents a fundamental historical reworking has become the subject of a heated debate. This is not the place to go into any detailed discussions of the texts to determine whether they

mirror the historical synthesis of Jordanes or Cassiodorus or any other group interested in the history and origins of the Goths.[27] Instead, I would like to concentrate on the evidence that we actually have to compare the roles that Cassiodorus and Jordanes adopted when writing their histories.

In this respect it is noteworthy that Jordanes elaborated on the features with which Cassiodorus had described his historiographical project. He not only presents his work as an excerpt from the twelve books of Cassiodorus' history, but he also employs the same metaphor for the writing of his history that Cassiodorus used in Athalaric's speech to the senate of Rome. At the end of the *Getica*, Jordanes writes that in following the models of the elders, he has woven together a few flowers from the broad meadows of their writings into one garland.[28]

The narrative of nearly 2030 years of Gothic history which Jordanes compiled and wrote fits well with the Cassiodorian metaphor too. From the beginning, the two strands of Roman and Gothic history are integrated with each other. In order to convince his readers that the Gothic past belonged to the same world as Roman history, the *Getica* grazed the rich meadows of geographical and ethnographical knowledge of the classical world.[29] An important moment for the connection and interaction of Gothic and Roman history is the location of the Goths in old *Dacia*, with the Danube as its southern frontier. Although Jordanes had already mentioned the Danube several times in his history, it is only at this point, when he includes a longer geographical digression on the river, that Jordanes describes it as surpassing all other rivers except the Nile in size.[30] In this description the river is less a frontier that divides the barbarian and the Roman world[31] and more a figure of convergence. 'Rising in the fields of the Alamans,' he wrote, 'it receives sixty streams which flow into it here and there in the twelve hundred miles from its source to its mouths in the Pontus, resembling a backbone into which the ribs mesh as into a kind of trellis' – '*in modum spinae, quam costae ut cratem intexunt.*'[32]

But the social convergence of Goths and Romans does not automatically follow from the geographical. It is precisely here in *Dacia*, and in the chapters before the description of the Danube, that the Goths developed their own civilization with the help of a mythical cultural broker called Dicineus.[33] He came to *Gothia* in the time of Sulla, and became their most important counsellor. The king of the Goths, Buruista, had even bestowed upon Dicineus semi-royal power[34]: on his counsel rested their safety and advantage. Dicineus recognized the intellectual talents of the Goths – their '*ingenium naturale*' – and he started to teach them philosophy, ethics, physics, theology and astronomy and as a result tamed their barbarous customs. Dicineus' teachings fundamentally changed the

Gothic way of life. Based on their new learning, the Goths even developed '*leges propriae*' – their own proper laws, called '*belagines*', which according to the author still existed in his own times.[35] The result of this civilizing process was a long period of peaceful interaction between the Goths and the Roman empire, which ended only under the rule of the emperor Domitian.[36]

But mediation or cultural brokerage is not only the subject of the narrative that Jordanes has left us. It is also present in the author's negotiation with his readers about the validity of elements of his history. There are many examples of the author justifying his identifications of groups and people as Goths, most importantly the identification of the Goths as *Getae*, a key element for the mediation of the Gothic past with Roman ethnography and geography.[37] In one of the instances when Jordanes directly addresses his readers and fields potential objections they might have to his identification ('*Sed ne dicas*'), we also see him engaged in a conversation that seems to have been started by Cassiodorus. When Jordanes mentions Cassius Dio's work on the *Getae*, he also adds that he had already proven earlier in his text that these *Getae* were actually Goths.[38] But a longer discussion of the Goths as *Getae* has not survived in Jordanes' version, and might have been one of the many omissions from Cassiodorus' *Getica*.[39]

The equation of *Goti* and *Getae* was important for constructing a long and glorious past of the Goths and their kings. As we have seen, the history of the Goths as *Getae* in *Dacia* under the king Buruista and his king-like advisor Dicineus was a crucial time in the civilizing or Romanizing process of the Goths. But the emphasis on the compatibility of Gothic civilization and history was not only compatible with how Cassiodorus describes his historiographical efforts. It also mirrors conversations going back to the time of Orosius, when Roman and Greek authors discussed whether it was possible to integrate the 'barbarian' Goths into Roman civilization.[40] The continuation of such debates in the *Getica* seems to fit well with Walter Goffart's contextualization of Jordanes' historiographical project as written by someone 'who wrote in Constantinople at the moment when the forces of Justinian were grinding the last Goths of Italy into the dust'.[41] That Jordanes built heavily upon Roman perspectives and traditions of history and ethnography becomes clear in several passages of the *Getica*.[42] But these traditions and their audience seem to have been rather diverse. Indeed, Jordanes expected objections from some of his readers that he was misrepresenting Gothic traditions[43] and arguments over the origins of the Goths: 'Of course if anyone on our city says the Goths had an origin different from that I have related, let him object.'[44]

In the context of such debates and discussions and their obvious impact on the compilation of the *Getica*, we should possibly take Jordanes' self-identification as a Goth into account more seriously. It might well have been a strategy to underline one of the most important concerns of the text: to show the convergence and compatibility of Roman and Gothic history and society. With the author identifying himself as a Goth, the very existence of the text proved its contents to be true. The role and identity of the author might well have been intended to provide further support to the perspective of Jordanes' *Getica*. We might well read the end of the history with the marriage of Germanus, Justinian's cousin, to the granddaughter of Theodoric with Walter Goffart as a 'Happy End', expressing hope for a future of the Ostrogothic royal family, the Amals, together with the Roman *Anicii* in the Byzantine empire – '*Domino prestante promittit*'.[45] Only a few sentences later Jordanes identifies himself as being of Gothic descent, but in a sentence that underlined his objectivity as well as loyalty. 'Let no one believe that I have added anything to the advantage of the *gens* of which I have spoken, although I trace my own descent from it. But I have only taken what I had read or learned by inquiry. Even thus I have not included all that is written or told about them, nor spoken so much to their glory than to the one who triumphed.'[46]

It might well be that Jordanes, and possibly also those who motivated him to write the *Getica*, exploited his Gothic identity to underline its compatibility and flexibility. In order to accomplish this Jordanes tried to position himself between the Gothic past of Cassiodorus and different hopes or suggestions for a Gothic or post-Gothic future of the Italian *regnum* using different social and political networks, including the senatorial networks of the old Rome and political and military elites of the perishing Gothic kingdom.[47] As a broker of a common past of Goths and Romans he tried to convey that they should have a common future too. Here Jordanes built upon the role that Cassiodorus had developed as a historian and author of twelve books of Gothic history as well as Cassiodorus' history.[48] But it was also clear that in the 550s this future could not be just a breviary and continuation of the history which Cassiodorus had written in the Italian kingdom before 526. The cards had to be shuffled anew, and members of the different possible audiences of Jordanes sat at the table. It seems that Jordanes tried to convince everyone at the gambling table that in between the different Romannesses – Byzantine, central, local, Italian – there was enough space for a Gothic one.

Eventually the political imagination of Jordanes' contemporaries could not keep up with this perspective of his history,[49] but the openness of the

historiographical synthesis secured its preservation and further reception. From the second half of the eighth century the reception of this text is well documented in other texts as well as in its manuscript transmission.[50] The Scandinavian origins of the Gothic migration in the *Getica* might well have served as an inspiration for the *Origo gentis Langobardorum* written in Italy about a century after Jordanes compiled the *Getica*.[51] Towards the end of the eighth century Paul the Deacon used the works of Jordanes as a source as well as a model to write his Roman History and a History of the Lombards.[52] The earliest manuscripts of Jordanes date from the Carolingian period, though the variety of different versions indicates that the text already circulated in the West before that time.[53]

Yet in another Gothic history, written about two generations after Jordanes, the *Historia Gothorum* by Isidore of Seville, the *Getica* is not used at all.[54] That Isidore, one of the most influential cultural brokers of Late Antiquity,[55] did not build on the *Getica* becomes evident right at the beginning of his narrative. In the very first sentence of his longer version of the text, Isidore discusses the origins of the *antiquissima gens Gothorum*.[56] Though Isidore mentions other opinions about their association with the biblical peoples Gog and Magog, like Jordanes he clearly prefers the *Getae*-explanation. But Isidore refers neither to Jordanes nor to Orosius, whom Jordanes mentioned as one of his sources and whom Isidore also used frequently throughout his history. Instead, he makes this statement with a word-for-word quotation from Jerome: '*Retro autem eruditi eos magis Getas quam Gog et Magog appellare consueverunt.*'[57] In the absence of any indications that Jordanes circulated in seventh-century Spain we have to assume that Isidore did not have access to the text of the *Getica*. But even if he had, the blending of classical and Gothic myths and the geography of the *Getica* was in any case not the kind of history which Isidore wanted to offer.

This intention becomes clear long before the beginning of Isidore's narrative on Gothic history. When Isidore compiled the longer version of his history, he placed a short text at its beginning, the *laus Spaniae*, a eulogy in praise of 'mother Spain'.[58] In his fine study on *History and Geography in Late Antiquity*, Andy Merrills has recently underlined how crucial this short preface was for Isidore's historiographical project.

> The position of the *laus Spaniae* at the start of Isidore's *Historiae* does not merely establish the spatial parameters of much of the writer's enquiry, it dramatically presents the ultimate conclusion of the narrative – the Catholic union of gens and *Hispania* – at the very outset of his work.[59]

In contrast to Jordanes Isidore had a clear vision of the future of the Gothic *regnum* in Spain.[60] After the conversion of the Visigothic king under Reccared to Catholicism in 587 and the defeat of the Byzantine army in Spain in 624, Isidore's '*sacra et semper felix principum gentiumque mater Spania*' became the screen for the integration of the peoples, the church and the *regnum*.[61] In Isidore's view it was catholic Christianity above all else that could mediate the integration of the *gens*, the peoples and the land in the *regnum*, providing for the social coherence of a unified Christian *Spania* under the Visigothic kings.[62]

But, as Isidore himself remarks in the very first sentence of his historical narrative, the Goths were doubtless a very old people. The way from their first encounters with classical history under Alexander and Caesar to the fulfilment of their history in a catholic Christian *regnum* took a while. Andy Merrills has demonstrated how subtly Isidore prepared the triumphal synthesis of the Gothic *gens* and '*mater Spania*' in his own times by introducing epithalamial themes throughout his narrative.[63] Here Isidore emphasised the failure of unions in the history before 624, such as the union of king Athaulf and the daughter of Theodosius I, Galla Placidia. Linked to the prophecy of Daniel as the union between East and West, the marriage was eventually fruitless. Not long after the marriage Athaulf was killed by one of his own men and left no heirs.[64] Galla Placidia soon returned the empire to her brother. The time was not ripe. Although introducing the theme again and again, Isidore avoided any premature celebration of a successful synthesis before his own days and devoted his greatest attention 'to the demonstration of failed unions in anticipation of the ultimate triumph'.[65]

The subtlety of Isidore's method can also be observed in the selection of his sources. Like Jordanes he grazed the rich meadows of earlier histories and quoted most of them word-for-word in his *History*.[66] The entire passage of the failed union of Athaulf and Placidia, for instance, is a quote from the chronicle of Hydatius (written toward the end of the fifth century), who himself had used Orosius for the compilation of this passage.[67] Unlike Jordanes, however, Isidore exclusively employed Christian chronicles for his *historia Gothorum*. After only three chapters on their fame as warriors at the time of Alexander, Caesar and Constantine, Isidore's selection of passages quickly focuses on Gothic encounters with Christianity. In passages mainly from Jerome and Orosius, he recounts the story of Christian Gothic martyrs under Athanaric, the Christian mission to the Goths, and their conversion to the Arian heresy under the Arian emperor Valens.[68] Parallel to the ultimate union of the *gens Gothorum* and *Spania* anticipated by failed attempts at

unions between Gothic, Roman and Spanish history, he prepares the ultimate triumph of Catholicism in Spain with a number of stories about the misguided Christianity of the Goths.[69] But Isidore also seemed to have ensured that the social geography of this ultimate triumph was defined by the guidance of the church of Spain. Apart from a few passages at the beginning from Jerome's chronicle, his sources are almost exclusively catholic authors who had written their chronicles in Spain – Orosius, Hydatius, the *Chronica Caesaraugustana* and John of Biclaro.[70]

The selection and use of these sources in Isidore's history betray an interesting tension between authenticity and adaptation. Some of these chronicles developed quite a different historical drama from the one Isidore wanted to construct. In particular, the chronicles that resumed the model of the Christian world chronicle as developed by Eusebius and Jerome continued a Romano-Christian history at a time when the social and political structures were increasingly fading out. The triumph of Christianity and the fulfilment of history in these chronicles had already happened in the Roman empire and the continuation of the narrative often anticipated the end of the world, not the beginning of a new era.[71] On the other hand, chronicle-writing seems to have been a particularly important medium for the writing of history in post-Roman Spain,[72] and Isidore might well have tried to employ historiographical resources that were familiar to the society in which he wrote. In their integration in a new historical vision he mostly used them as word-for-word quotations.[73] But sometimes he had to change the selected passages to fit them into his historiographical dramaturgy.

How carefully he selected and adapted his sources can be shown in a passage from Hydatius, who continued the chronicle of Jerome from its end in 378 to 468.[74] In its projection of the Roman past Hydatius carefully observed and registered signs of the coming end of the world. Towards the end of his chronicle he includes a story about Gothic soldiers shortly after the beginning of the reign of Euric. Their spears had not kept the natural appearance of iron, but had changed colour, some of them red, some green, others yellow or black. Hydatius chronicles that at that same time, in the middle of the city of Toulouse, blood had burst forth from the ground.[75] In Isidore's rewriting, however, the sentence about the blood bursting in Toulouse is skipped and replaced by a new interpretation of the changing colours of the spears: it was a portent of the coming kingdom of the Goths in Spain. Isidore adds that it was the king himself who saw the changing colours of the spears and includes the episode with the remark that it was at the very same time that the Goths began to have written laws.[76]

One obvious explanation for Isidore's selection of texts mainly written by authors connected to *Spania* would of course be availability. But we know that Isidore had many more historical sources at hand than those he was using in his history. In his other historiographical works, a shorter and a longer chronicle, he was indeed using a great number of additional chronicles and histories from the ancient and post-Roman world.[77] Only in a very few instances, however, did he use the archive of his chronicles for the compilation of his Gothic history. Particularly interesting is one of these passages on the translation of the Gothic bible. Soon after the Arian mission to the Goths under Valens, Isidore mentions Ulfila and his invention of a Gothic script – '*litteras Gothicas*' – and that the bishop also translated the old and new testaments into their language.[78] In his *History of the Goths* the passage is the only quotation from the *Historia Tripartita*, which he frequently used in his *Chronica maiora*.[79] It is tempting to see the inclusion of the Gothic bible-translation in the *History* as linked to audience expectations that Isidore anticipated. He might well have assumed that parts of his audience would not have wanted to miss this important moment in the history of Gothic culture and civilization. But it also seems that Isidore did not want to leave the ambiguous moment of the Gothic reception of *litterae* and *lex* uncommented. He inserts a relatively long passage on the history and definition of Gothic Arianism together with a preview of the time when they finally seceded from their '*inolita perfidia*' and came to attain the '*unitas fidei catholicae*'.[80]

After he reached this point in his narrative and ended with the glorious deeds of the catholic Gothic kings, Isidore added a *recapitulatio* summing up the origins and the virtues of the Goths. He returns to the discussion about their descent from Magog but here links it explicitly with the biblical genealogy of the sons of Noah. Magog, the son of Japhet, was the ancestor of the Scyths and consequently of the Goths (as the Goths were *Getae* and thus Scyths).[81] After having ascertained the origins of the Goths, Isidore moves on to praise the many virtues of the Goths. They are strong, brave, adroit, confident, intelligent, '*omnes gentes Europae*' ('all European peoples') feared them and even Rome had to serve them like a slave. As a result of the efforts of king Sisebut (d. 620/21), with which Isidore closes the *recapitulatio*, they also extended their military power to the sea; as a consequence the Roman *miles* was now as subject to them as were so many *gentes* and *Spania*.[82]

With such a triumphal ending of the text, its author might well have been identified as a Goth by later generations of historians up to the present day,

had his identity been less clear. But the text had already been listed in the *Renotatio Isidori*, a list of Isidore's works written by his pupil, Braulio of Zaragoza.[83] Thus Isidore has been largely regarded as the mastermind of a Romano-Gothic assimilation in the Visigothic *regnum*. As Suzanne Teillet has shown in her insightful study of the formation of an early medieval Gothic identity Isidore's writings and his use of catholic Christianity as the main integrating factor indeed played an important role in this process.[84] But as Isabel Velázquez has argued in her study on the relationship of *gens* and *regnum* in the Visigothic kingdom, Teillet might have gone too far in postulating that the name of the Goths was used to absorb the different social and religious groups of the kingdom from the Third Council of Toledo (589) onwards.[85]

This becomes particularly obvious in the Fourth Council of Toledo (633), presided over by Isidore of Seville.[86] Only two years after the deposition of king Suinthila the council emphasised the community of *gens, patria* and *rex*, but underlined at the same time that only with the bonds created by Christianity could this community maintain social coherence and stability and secure its future. The final 'constitutional' canon 75 famously regulated the election of the king at a church council. The king had to be chosen from among the *gens Visigothorum*, but constituted in *consensu* by the nobility of the *gens* together with the *sacerdotes* at a church council. The oath of fealty – the '*sacramentum fidei suae*' – had to be sworn '*pro patriae gentisque Gothorum statu vel conservatione regiae salutis*'.[87] Everyone among the participants of the council of the '*populi totius Spaniae*' ('people of all Spain') who acted against this holy oath would be guilty of anathema and expelled from the church.[88] But as Velázquez has argued, this formulation did not fully absorb the communities which it linked to a larger social whole of catholic Christianity in *Spania*. The fine distinctions between the king, the *gens*, and the *patria* as different foci of social and political integration were carefully maintained in many of the formulations of the canons.[89]

This move surely responded to the actual political situation only two years after the deposition of Suinthila, who was after all the son of the 'Visigothic Constantine', Reccared. In this situation it was important to find ways to establish a new political consensus among a great number of fractions across and within the different social groupings in Spain, especially with regard to the unity and continuity of the regnum under the new king Sisenand. To offer different foci of integration might well have created the necessary playing fields to negotiate political consensus with the new king and the new constitution of the kingdom.

But the differentiation also helped underline that it was catholic Christianity which integrated them into a larger social whole and guaranteed the stability, continuity and future of the *regnum*.

This fits well with Isidore's historiographical efforts, and it is indeed generally assumed that Isidore had an influential role at the Fourth Council of Toledo as well as in the drafting of its canons.[90] His historiographical work might well have helped him to prepare for the task. In the two decades before the council Isidore had worked continuously on his *Chronicle* and *History* and produced different versions of both texts, adapting the chronicles and histories according to the changing political circumstances.[91] The extant versions show that both texts grew longer with time, allowing for more space and flexibility to integrate the different social groupings in *Spania*. At the council Isidore was most likely in the same room with some who could be regarded as personifications of the model readers of his history.[92] Here, as well as in his historiographical projects, Isidore seems to have been quite successful in linking the 'complicated webs of local and extra-local influences to a larger whole that could be shared by all of the different (real or imagined) social groups involved.'[93] The 'constitutional' council shaped the social and political framework of the Visigothic *regnum* until its end at the beginning of the eighth century. Isidore's chronicles and his history have been copied again and again from early on and are still extant in an extremely high number of early medieval manuscripts.

The key to this success was Isidore's positioning as a broker in between these different interests and the identities through which they were represented and communicated. It was not based in the promotion of a preconceived tradition or genre, but in the creation of a synthesis that gave new perspectives for the integration of different social experiences and expectations in the post-Roman world.[94] But as we have seen, this positioning demanded to a certain extent the cultivation of differences. Authors like Isidore, Jordanes or Cassiodorus not only developed new perspectives for the integration of their societies, but 'they also maintained tensions and distinctions between different social groups and identities which provided the dynamic of their action, and the basis of their social prestige'.[95] Difference was their stock in trade, but integration was what they offered. These differences had to be constructed as compatible distinctions. But as currency for the positioning of authors as brokers, the construction of difference needed to correspond with social experiences in their contemporary world. The *Sitz im Leben* of these differences might well explain the difficulties of historians to smoothly integrate them into an overall coherent narrative. As we

have seen the integration of different perspectives resulted in what modern readers tend to see as contradictory perspectives or narrative breaks in the extant texts. They are often regarded as problems of their interpretation as they complicate a unifying perspective in terms of authorial intent. But if we understand the work of authors like Isidore, Jordanes or Cassiodorus as cultural brokerage, we might see them rather as an opportunity than as a problem.[96] It might help us to move on from authorial intent to its sociology, from literary strategies to the complex web of social strategies of individual and collective positioning in which they had to be created. The example of Sidonius Apollinaris reminds us that not everyone in the late or post-Roman world wanted to be a cultural broker. But those who did can help us to develop a finer sensorium for the construction and meaning of difference in the post-Roman world and thus a more differentiated understanding of the resources and strategies with which the social and cultural syntheses of the post-Roman world were created.

Rewriting History: Fredegar's Perspectives on the Mediterranean

Andreas Fischer

1. The Fredegar-Chronicle: Horizon and Structure

The historiographical work known as the Fredegar-Chronicle covers an extraordinarily wide chronological and geographical horizon.[1] Designed as a world chronicle,[2] it arranges historical events in human history from Adam variously to the years 642 and 658/659 in four books, and it also offers unique insights into the political situation in the realms and empires of the Mediterranean, particularly in the last book, which deals with contemporary history: here the text reports events in Visigothic Spain and Lombard Italy, while it also constitutes the first western source to report the struggle of Byzantium against the Persians and the Arabs. Moreover, it is the only contemporary western work to discuss these conflicts, in particular the beginning Islamic expansion in the Mediterranean, at great length.[3]

Both its comprehensive approach and its status as the unique extant written record of a now-lost western historical tradition of the seventh century ensure that the chronicle occupies a distinguished place in the historiography of the transitional phase between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. But despite its apparent singularity, the anonymous Frankish-Burgundian author, conventionally known as 'Fredegar', a name he was given at the end of the 16th century,[4] built on the historiographical efforts of numerous predecessors. Each of the first three books in the Fredegar-Chronicle is made up of older historiographical texts, the works of earlier chroniclers such as Hippolytus of Rome, Jerome, Hydatius, Isidore of Seville and Gregory of Tours, while the fourth book, which Fredegar could not finish and which, thus, was left incomplete,[5] contains a description of events of the chronicler's own times.[6] All of these different pieces were bound together in a 'chain of chronicles' in the

seventh century, i.e. most certainly not long after 658/659, but necessarily before 714/715 when the oldest extant manuscript was produced.[7]

However, even when continuing and extending earlier chronicles and their underlying perspectives, Fredegar did not confine himself to mere transcriptions of and borrowing from his forerunners' texts. Instead, he went beyond the views of the former historians by modifying their works, while incorporating them into his own writing. In this process, the chronicler also exceeded the borders of the underlying narratives. The comparison of the chronicle's first three books and their sources, the original texts written by Hippolytus, Jerome, Hydatius, Isidore of Seville and Gregory of Tours, reveals Fredegar's working technique. He added new information to their writings, using some different, unknown sources he had at hand, and, thus, to a certain degree he rewrote each text available to him. This kind of *réécriture* not only gave new meaning to individual sections of text:[8] Fredegar created a completely new chronicle through the combination of older texts, which he himself epitomized and modified, in order to grapple with events of the recent past. He exploited the older historiographical works produced by those named in the prologue to the fourth book for his own purposes and, in doing so, actively shaped the history of the Frankish realm and its neighbours according to his own perspective.[9]

2. Fredegar and the Mediterranean: Questions and Problems

How and why Fredegar included important elements of Byzantine, Persian, Visigothic, and Lombard history in his text are still open questions. The premises, either historical or mental, that determined the selection and appropriation of certain aspects of Mediterranean history that the chronicler found in his sources have hitherto not been examined. One could suggest that Fredegar applied the same procedure he used in the first three books to narrate the incidents that took place in the seventh-century Mediterranean in his fourth book. Since there is no indication of Fredegar's presence as an eye-witness to the events in the Mediterranean described in his chronicle, he must have depended on the flow of mostly written, but sometimes perhaps oral, information about the Mediterranean[10] that reached him in Merovingian Francia, just as he had to rely on the texts available to him when writing the first parts of his work.[11] Both in his description of the vanished past and of most of the contemporary incidents he described, the author therefore held a position remote from the occurrences

he reported, be it chronologically or geographically distant from the tide of events.

As in the first three books, two basic prerequisites therefore determined Fredegar's perspectives on the Mediterranean in the chapters dedicated to events in this region in his last book: the sources available to him on the one hand and his intentions in writing his historical account on the other. While the first represented the textual basis he could exploit, use and rework, the second governed Fredegar's selection of events worthy of being remembered and recorded. The whole act of writing and composing the chronicle, however, must have been one of cross-fertilization between the author's sources and intentions. Fredegar, of course, pursued his own agenda, but he also seized the suggestions offered to him by his sources. He used them as quarries for patterns and as guidelines for his own narrative, which they enriched with new ideas and which broadened his view on the past, be it Frankish or Mediterranean. But still the reasons for the inclusion of certain aspects of Byzantine, Persian, Visigothic, and Lombard history in the chronicle need explanation, and so do the premises and guidelines along which Fredegar selected, appropriated and modified his material so that he could adjust it to his view on the Mediterranean.

To be sure, recent research has underlined the importance of Byzantium and its struggle with its Persian and Arabic enemies throughout the chronicle. It has also contributed to our knowledge of the sources used in some of the chronicle's passages on the Mediterranean.[12] But in many other cases the origin of the information on the Mediterranean in the Fredegar-Chronicle remains obscure. We still do not know where Fredegar obtained his information about events that took place in the Mediterranean during his lifetime. It is admittedly hard, if not impossible, to find out, given the sketchy sources extant from the seventh century. However, a closer look at the text itself and other sources could shed some more light on the channels of communication Fredegar used to build his narrative.

Although far from being a complete study of Fredegar's usage of Mediterranean events in his chronicle, this article therefore examines some important sections of the text which are concerned with non-Frankish history. An analysis of the respective passages in the chronicle's fourth book is intended to give insight into Fredegar's intentions and into the purposes his efforts served. The way the author embedded historical events in general, and episodes from the Mediterranean history in particular, in his narrative should shed light on the perception and appropriation of information coming from other parts of the world. The analysis of their integration or addition into the core narrative illustrates Fredegar's

perspectives on the Mediterranean. It thus contributes to our understanding of cultural transfer exercised by a Frankish historiographer in the seventh century.

Fredegar's perspectives on the Mediterranean can only be deduced from the chronicle itself. Since there are few parallel texts that can be used for an analysis of the chronicle's perspectives, the main features of the author's intellectual confrontation with events past and contemporary have to be tracked down by an examination of the text itself and its components.[13] Its composition and its narrative structures testify to the chronicler's view on history and the world: they offer insights into Fredegar's 'mental map'[14] and to the Mediterranean's share in his worldview. Besides, the information Fredegar selected and used for his own purpose first and foremost allows consideration of lines of communication along which his sources were brought from the eastern and southern rims of the Mediterranean to Frankish and Burgundian Gaul in the seventh century.[15] Thus, the text helps us to understand the historiographical motifs that originated in the Mediterranean, and it provides indications of the ways these motifs were carried to Francia at the same time.

3. Sources and Channels of Communication

As past and current research on the sources of the text has made clear, Fredegar most probably drew some of his information from Italy. The passages dedicated to Belisarius and Justinian, which seem to have been taken from an early version of the Belisarius-novel that became very popular in the high middle ages, appear to have been transferred to Merovingian Francia from southern Italy,[16] and the information relating to the exarchate of Ravenna in the seventh century probably also made its way to the Frankish realms via northern Italy.[17] The same applies to the so-called *Gesta Theoderici* that conclude with a clear reference to the *Dialogi* written by Gregory the Great, thus proving a knowledge and usage of this work at an early stage of its distribution throughout Europe.[18] Given this Italian context, it is very remarkable that both Fredegar and Paul the Deacon report the story of the Persian emperor's wife and her conversion to Christianity, and the subsequent proselytization of the whole Persian empire. It is generally assumed that Paul the Deacon did not use the Fredegar-Chronicle as a source when he wrote his *Historia Langobardorum* at the end of the eighth century, and if this is correct, both authors certainly used a common source that was also of Italian origin.[19] Other indications point to the Spanish origin of some information in the fourth book and in large parts of the first two books, whose contents would

seem to have come from a manuscript written in Spain. Fredegar probably had a copy of this manuscript at hand, and excerpted many passages from it in the construction of his own chronicle.[20] Some passages in the first book even seem to have been taken from a Greek work accessible to Fredegar in a Latin translation – the author in all probability did not use the original, even though he shows a certain amount of knowledge of Greek in a very prominent place, the prologue to the fourth book.[21] Finally, scholars have recently assumed that Fredegar's report of the events which took place in North Africa and in the eastern provinces of the Byzantine empire under Constans II (641–668) also relied on a source of eastern provenance.[22] All in all, Fredegar had access to information about the Mediterranean through various channels: without doubt many reports of events reached the West through the refugees fleeing from the swords of the Arabs to the Italian peninsula in the middle of the seventh century, but they could also have arrived in the West via ambassadors or Jewish or Syriac merchants.[23] Thus, the chronicle testifies to lines and networks of communication that connected the southern and eastern rims of the Mediterranean with the lands bordering its northern shores.

4. Making History: Author, Narrator and the Appropriation of Motifs

But the Fredegar-Chronicle does not just offer further evidence for this stage of cultural transfer, i. e. the possible ways, modes and contents of transmission from the Mediterranean to the Merovingian realms in the seventh century. The text also testifies to the appropriation and adaptation of the elements that reached western Europe. As outlined above, it allows for an analysis of the way Fredegar inserted the motifs derived from his Mediterranean sources into his own narrative. The chronicle, however, proves to be an unwieldy object of research. It is not just the language and the multiplicity of narrative strands enmeshed in a structure that seems, at first glance, to follow no rules at all, which poses serious problems for our understanding of the text. Any approach that deals with the Fredegar-Chronicle in general, and of the embedding of textual information gained from Mediterranean sources in particular, inevitably meets the crucial and often-treated problem of the chronicle's authorship, which is still an unsolved riddle. The name 'Fredegar' is, as indicated above, just a cipher, used since the late sixteenth century, to denominate the person behind the text.[24] However, even in its obscurity the anonymous author and his (or even her?)[25]

intentions prove an indispensable feature for addressing the purpose and aims of a text. One possible approach to get closer to the author is to zoom in on the narrator. He appears in several passages of the text in the form of a primary and non-diegetic[26] narrator, that is as the main narrator who, despite his presence in the chronicle as an entity narrating in the first person, does not appear as a protagonist in his own account, nor does he relate to the narrated world.[27] However, he is certainly identical with the real (implied) author rather than being just a completely fictitious authorial voice invented for reasons of entertainment. In a historiographical, factual rather than fictional narrative such as the Fredegar-Chronicle, every reader, be it contempary or modern, assumes the narrator represents the author of the text[28]: the chronicle's audience certainly considered both of them to be identical, especially after having read the preface to the fourth book in which the narrator-author pointed out his truthfulness and underlined his own efforts in composing and writing his work. As the chronicler's voice, the narrator therefore acts as an indicator for an accentuated authorial intervention, explicitly representing Fredegar. His voice, that can be heard time and time again, was used for and can be regarded as a marker for the writer's will to stress specific phrases or statements of high importance in the broader framework of the narrative, the more so since the narrator turns directly to the reader only rarely in the text. Specific attention must be paid to his presence in the fourth book, because it is here, in the last link of the 'chain of chronicles' that the author supposedly articulates his intentions most clearly and precisely: in this part of his work he writes down his version of events past and present that was determined by his current interests and shaped in accordance with his intentions at the same time. It is here that the search for the motifs and narrative patterns that shaped the whole chronicle, the selection of the material as well as its composition, has to start. Hence, an analysis of the passages, particularly those in the chronicle's fourth book, in which the narrator shows up, is indispensable for discovering what Fredegar had in mind when he wrote and composed the text.

Thus, the starting point for the analysis is book four, chapter 81 of the Fredegar-Chronicle.[29] Here the author emerges from the text as a first-person narrator in order to inform his readers about his plans on the chronicle's still (and indeed forever) unwritten parts. After having described the devastations done by the Saracens in the eastern and North African provinces of the Byzantine empire in the time of Constans II, who ruled from 641 to 668, and following a short allusion to the young emperor's successful efforts to win back the lost territories, Fredegar directly addresses his audience: if God gives him the time to

fulfil his intentions, he wishes to give an account of the outcome of these events. He also promises to tell the truth, to report 'how this came about ... under the right year in its due sequence'.[30] Following this announcement the first-person narrator re-emerges in chapter 84 where he declares that he will not leave out an account of the division of Dagobert's (623–638/639) treasure between his sons, Clovis II and Sigibert III, again referring to a certain 'proper arrangement' (*delucedato ordene*) of his text.[31] Thereafter he falls silent. With chapter 90 the chronicle's narrative suddenly ends.[32] Fredegar obviously could not keep his promise – he did not report Constans II's fate nor the recovery of imperial territories during his reign.

The passage quoted from chapter 81 is of outstanding importance for our understanding of the work – and that of his contemporary audience which he directly addresses. Fredegar's preview clearly points to his plan to shape his historical account and the underlying events according to a given structure, while the passage also mirrors the unfinished status of the chronicle.[33] The fact that the author appears as a first-person narrator in IV, 81 underlines the importance of the preview given in these lines, the more so since Fredegar rarely intervenes in his own narrative in book four. In doing so, he gives point to his words: he uses authorial first-person intervention as an instrument to reassure the reader of his sincere intentions and of his longing for the truth, as well as to point out matters of greater importance to him – and to his intended audience, too. It seems therefore surprising that the chronicler who composed his work in the Frankish realm places his 'stage directions' for the further progression of his history at this position in the text, even before he turns to his readers for a last time in chapter 84. Why did Fredegar address his audience in a chapter dedicated to Byzantine matters and not in one of the ensuing passages dealing with reports of Frankish and Burgundian history?

Chapter 81 itself offers an answer to this particular question. According to the work's character as a 'chain of chronicles', and based on the assumption that the chronicle itself – although unfinished – had an underlying structure, we must shift our focus from the chapters to the chronological order Fredegar used to organize the material in his chronicle. The text's division into chapters was added to the chronicle after the author had stopped writing: in the oldest manuscript, Paris lat. 10910 from 714/715, the numbers of the chapters are noted in the margins of the text and do not interrupt the continuous textual space.[34] Therefore, the regnal years of the Merovingian kings must have been the original device for the ordering of the chronicle's content. It established a chronological sequence as a thread conferring coherence or the text. Chapter 81 is, thus, part of the

description of events that took place in the first two years of Clovis II's reign and the beginning of the third, i. e. the years 639–642.[35] The author of chapter 81[36] starts his account with the beginning of Constans II's reign in the year 641, before he turns to the devastation of the Byzantine empire and the preview announcing the turning point that would bring the formerly lost parts of it back under the emperor's control.

The passage on Byzantium and Constans II is framed by two other chapters dealing with events that took place in the first two years or the beginning of the third of Clovis II's reign. Chapter 80 contains the description of Nanthild, the mother of king Clovis II, and Aega, the *maior* of the palace, who ruled on behalf of the young Merovingian.[37] Fredegar praises Aega for his just regime and for acting deliberately and decisively. He also lauds the *maior*'s noble birth and his literary skills as well as his wealth, but nevertheless blames him for his avarice. Fredegar closes his ambiguous description with its stress on the protagonist's interest in money and wealth with another reference to Merovingian financial politics: according to him, it was Aega who gave the advice to restore everything that was unjustly seized from its rightful owners during the reign of Clovis' father, Dagobert I, who had died in 638/639.

Thereafter, the author integrated his account of Constans II into the narrative, and followed this with a description of political developments in Visigothic Spain in chapter 82.[38] According to Fredegar, Tulga, who was also a minor, succeeded his father Chintila on the throne of the Visigothic realm. However, due to what Fredegar calls the *morbus Gothorum*, the Gothic disease, the weakness of the young king afforded an opportunity for chaos and disorder in the realm. As a result, the senators and the people of the Visigothic kingdom chose Chindasvinth, king of Spain. Immediately after his election he dethroned and degraded Tulga, had him tonsured and, thus, prepared for a career as cleric.[39] Afterwards Chindasvinth gave orders to kill or exile large numbers of noblemen in order to prevent the other members of the nobility from deposing him as well. He also confiscated their goods and handed them, together with the women and children of his enemies, to his followers.[40] In this way Chindasvinth was able to break the dangerous Visigothic habit of deposing their kings and – by force – he established freedom and peace in his kingdom. The chronicler reports that the Visigoths never dared to rise against him or to organize any sort of conspiracy, as they had done against his predecessors. Chindasvinth died an old man, at the age of ninety, after he had nominated his son as his successor and had done penance and given alms.[41] With these remarks Fredegar concludes his report on the first two years and a part of the third of Clovis II's reign. What follows is

another chapter (chapter 83) dedicated to the later part of that third year.[42] The account here is devoted to the death of Aega and the outbreak of a conflict between members of the Frankish nobility, while the ensuing passage (chapter 84) reports the succession of Erchinoald to the office of the *maior* of the palace after Aega's death. Fredegar praises Erchinoald and his regime without any kind of reservation, before directly addressing his audience for the last time and promising to describe accurately how Dagobert's treasure was divided among his two sons, Sigibert and Clovis, after his death.[43]

Fredegar's account of the devastations caused by the Saracens in the empire's provinces is, thus, embedded into a wider narrative that covers events which took place in the years 639–642. But, unlike the introductory passage on Clovis II and Aega, the digressions dealing with the Visigothic realm and the Byzantine empire seem to have been added to an already existing text. If the episodes represented by the different chapters are regarded as single narrative units, the description of the rise of Chindasvinth and his politics against the Visigothic nobility must have been inserted into the chronicler's account after 653, when the king died and his son became his successor. Constans II's losses and the allusion to the empire's recovery most probably became part of the chronicle after 659. In this year Constans profited from the outbreak of the civil war in the caliphate and was not only in a position to refuse to pay tribute but was also able to force his opponents to pay a large amount of money to him.[44]

Given the assumption that Fredegar composed his work after 658/659,[45] both episodes, the one on Constans II and the one on Chindasvinth, were therefore inserted with hindsight.[46] In terms of the system of regnal years used in the chronicle, these events have been attached to descriptions of what had happened more than eleven or even nearly twenty years ago. This extension of the chronological horizon finds its roots in an underlying similarity between developments in the two kingdoms (Francia and Spain) and the empire. Both chapters attached to the report on the beginning of young Clovis II's reign start with an introductory remark pointing to the king's being 'of minor age': Constans II became emperor just as Tulga became king *sub tenera aetate*, and the same formulation can be found in the passage describing Clovis II's ascent to the Merovingian throne.[47] What is striking here is not only the fact that Fredegar used the same phrase to describe the minority of the ruler in three different spatial circumstances and – likewise – narrative episodes, thus drawing a connection between them, but that he might have adjusted the information he had at hand to make them match in this analogous, chronologically synchronized report[48]: Tulga seems to have been young when Chindasvinth deposed him, but

he probably had already reached the stage of adolescence and therefore was not of minor age any more.[49] If Fredegar, who appears to have been well informed about Spain, knew this, he may have intentionally obfuscated it in order to produce the analogy he was aiming at in his chronicle.

There is another interesting parallel which all three episodes share. Fredegar also reports how in all three cases the nobility was involved in the elevation of the all-too-young kings and the emperor of minor age. Clovis II was put on the throne in the palace of Malay-le-Grand by all *leudes* of the Neustrians and Burgundians, whereas Constans was made emperor according to the advice of the senators.[50] Finally, Tulga's kingship emanated from a petition of his father, while Chindasvinth was made king by an assembly of people among whom, according to the chronicler, there were also 'senators'.[51]

Where Fredegar found his information cannot be inferred from the text itself. The author seems, however, to have evoked the memory of the events in Visigothic Spain and in the Byzantine empire with pedagogical intent, as a warning of what could have happened if individuals such as Aega or later Erchinoald, both of them outstanding leaders during their time as *maior* of the palace, had not been in charge: the minority of the kings could have ended in inner conflicts or resulted in the invasion of a foreign *gens* like the Saracens.

Recent research made a connection between the triple reference to kings of minor age and the fact that this issue became important after Sigibert's and Clovis' death in 656 and 657, when the Merovingian kingdoms were ruled by Chlothar III and Childeric II under the regency of their mother Balthild and of Childeric's mother-in-law Chimnechild.[52] For an author writing in the 660s[53] this could have provided the reason to underline the problem of minority and its results in the years after Dagobert I's death in 638/639, even beyond the borders of the Merovingian realm. The same could hold true for the nobility's role in the elevation of the new king or emperor: Fredegar acknowledges the constitutional differences between the different kingdoms and the empire, while reminding the nobility in the Neustro-Burgundian realm of their part in the elevation of Clovis II. He puts the nobles in charge of the outcome and political success of the Frankish reign by using the situation in Spain and in Byzantium as points of comparison. This interpretation fits in with the basic message of the chronicle being the issue of a deteriorating Merovingian kingship and the increasing power of the nobility,[54] matters of particular importance in the 660s and 670s when noble factions around kings caused civil wars in the Merovingian realm.[55] By intentionally framing the events in Spain and Byzantium with the common features of kings of minor age and of nobles responsible for elevating the

appropriate person to the throne, Fredegar thus established a small-scale coherence between the past and the political reality of his own days.

Analogy was an important narrative pattern that Fredegar also used in his work to connect earlier events in the Mediterranean with Frankish history. In his description of the rise and fall of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, who ruled between 610 and 641, the chronicler draws a clear parallel between the emperor and the contemporary Frankish king, Dagobert I.[56] The chronicle depicts both rulers' initial political and military success fuelled by a faultless lifestyle. But as their way of living deteriorated, their ability to lead suffered and their power slowly declined. In both cases, it was a foreign people that brought sorrow to their subjects and, thus, reminded the rulers of their own failure. Dagobert's realm was invaded and plundered by the Slavs,[57] whereas Heraclius' empire shrank under the attacks of the Saracens only a few years after the emperor had defeated the Persians – a great victory which is also described in the Fredegar-Chronicle.[58] According to its author, the decline of Dagobert as well as that of Heraclius were rooted in their contempt for canon law concerning marriage – Dagobert indulged in relationships with concubines, while Heraclius married his niece. The latter even added another error to his list of sins when he abandoned orthodoxy.[59] As a result of their behaviour, the Frankish realm and the Byzantine empire were attacked by the Slavs and the Saracens respectively, each people representing a punishment that was in the chronicler's eyes sent by God.[60] In the end, Dagobert as well as Heraclius died of grave illnesses. Fredegar reports that the Byzantine emperor completely lost his faith in God and was driven to madness before he passed away,[61] while the Merovingian king appears to have lived through some delirious days on the eve of his death. Dagobert might, as Fredegar suggests, have gained access to the heavenly kingdom, if he had been more generous in giving alms.[62]

Many of the features in the report on Heraclius, the Saracens and the Byzantines' casualties have been discussed by modern scholars.[63] However, more interesting than the search for the degree of reliability as a source for the events in the 630s and 640s is the structure of the text. As with the chapters on Clovis II, Constans II and the Visigothic realm under Chindasvinth, Fredegar shows a chronological flexibility that allows him to adjust the narrative on Heraclius' rise and fall to his principal argument of Frankish history. The long story about the Byzantine emperor is inserted into Fredegar's report on the eighth regnal year of king Dagobert, the year 630/631.[64] Here it is placed at the break line that divided the successful first eight years of Dagobert's rulership from the unsuccessful ones which were to follow, starting with the defeat of the Austrasian host that the

king had sent against Samo in the ninth year of his reign.[65] A digression looking back into the political developments of the later 620s in the eastern Mediterranean, the report on Heraclius' fight against the Saracens and the emperor's woeful death at the end of the events attached by Fredegar to Dagobert's eighth year as a king provides a simultaneous preview of the years 636 and 641.[66] With this prolepsis, the author foreshadows future events in the Frankish realm and heightens the tension in the reader's mind. What else could follow in his report on the ninth year but Dagobert's downfall and the defeat by foreigners, the Slavic people?

The two episodes of Byzantine-Saracen history are chronologically adjusted to the regnal years of Merovingian kings, and both use Byzantium as as model for an analogical reference. However, the episodes differ from each other in their mode of narration. The chapters on Heraclius evoke vivid pictures in the minds of the readers, with the emperor winning in single combat against the Persian ruler, a detailed description of his outer appearance and his feverish madness at the end of his life, partially underlined by the use of direct speech.[67] By contrast the chapters on Constans II as well as on Chindasvinth lack this kind of elaborate, vivid depiction and scenic description, which is regarded as a characteristic feature of early medieval historiography in general and the Fredegar-Chronicle in particular.[68] These different modes of narrative are emphasised by the appearance of the primary narrator. He only intervenes in the later passage, the one dealing with Byzantium and the Saracens, not in his account of Heraclius or in any other earlier narrative relating to events in the Byzantine empire.

In the fourth book the primary narrator exclusively emerges from the text in episodes that cover the payment of tribute and the sharing of treasure. So Fredegar declares in his first-person voice that he is going 'to tell how the Lombards came to pay the Franks a yearly tribute of twelve thousand solidi'.[69] He closes this episode, which is attached to the 33rd year of Chlothar II's reign, with the depiction of the circumstances leading to the abolition of the tribute that had been paid for decades. Later, Fredegar's voice promises not to leave out what happened in Spain at this time, that is during the years 631/632.[70] A detailed account of the Frankish-Visigothic relationship follows, including a story of a golden dish weighing 500 pounds that according to the Fredegar-Chronicle the Visigothic king Thorismund had received from Aetius in the aftermath of the battle at the Catalaunian Plains. This vessel was offered by one party to Dagobert I as payment for his military intervention in the conflict for the throne. The Merovingian king – the reader has already learnt about his greediness – was eager to claim the piece, but the Visigoths and their new king contented him

with a payment of 200,000 *solidi* instead of handing over the dish.[71] It was obviously too precious for them to give it away to the Franks. The final appearance of the first-person narrator comes in chapter 84, where he announces his intention of writing the truth about the division of Dagobert's treasure among his sons, Sigibert and Clovis II.[72] And so he did: the following chapter comprises the description of the court summoned to divide the treasure and the transfer of Sigibert's share to Metz in Austrasia where it was presented to the young king and finally inventoried.[73]

This said, it is not surprising to find that the only intervention of the first-person narrator, apart from those already mentioned, in chapter 81 also deals with the payment of tribute. The announcement of the presentation of the outcome of Constans II's conflict with the Saracens, in which Fredegar addresses his audience, is directly attached to the refusal of further payments. How this – certainly meaning the refusal, but probably also the recovery of the empire – came about, Fredegar wanted to set down 'under the right year in its due sequence'. Moreover, in finishing this and other matters he intended to 'include everything in the book that I know to be true'.[74]

The way the first-person narrator refers to tribute and treasures clearly shows that the author was deeply concerned about financial matters. In Fredegar's view tribute was a measureable form of the relations between *gentes*, whereas treasures can be seen as the representation of kingship in general, and not just in the Frankish realm.[75] Both elements were closely connected in the chronicle: tribute could – like booty – enrich the king's treasure, while it could also demonstrate the dominion over other people and their realms.

There are some strong indicators in the text that Fredegar preferred this tributary kind of 'interstate' relationship to war in general, and that he regarded tribute as a useful instrument for the benefit of his own people in particular. He could, therefore, criticize a king for giving up the tradition of tribute payment by releasing a former enemy from its obligation: the chronicler, for instance, derided Dagobert because he annulled the Saxons' obligation to pay for a promise they, as it finally turned out, were not willing to keep, namely the defence of the eastern borders of the Frankish realm. It was only after the Merovingian established the Austrasian sub-kingdom for his son Sigibert III, and equipped him with a decent amount of treasure, that the *Austrasii*, who had once been 'regularly despoiled' by Dagobert, as Fredegar puts it,[76] efficiently defended Frankland's eastern fringes against the invading Slavs.[77] As in the case of Dagobert and the Saxons, the chronicler seems likewise to have dispraised Chlothar for abolishing the tribute paid by the Lombards, even though the new relationship between the two

peoples led to a permanent friendship (*amiciciam perpetuam*) confirmed by oaths and treaties: in the chronicler's view some nobles who had been bribed by the Lombards were actually responsible for this.[78] Finally, the author appears to have criticized Heraclius on similar grounds as well. The chronicle reports that the emperor refused to take back the spoils the Saracens had won in the last battle and which they now offered him. Instead, according to the chronicle Heraclius was eager to take revenge on his enemies – and was defeated in the next battle as a result. This time, the defeat was decisive, and turned into a lasting burden that the emperor's sons inherited after the death of their father in 641.[79]

Except in the context of the accounts of royal minors, the motif of the tribute was not attached to particular regnal years. It represents a recurring topic that stretches out deeper into the past described in the Fredegar-Chronicle than the chapters on Clovis II, Constans II and Chindasvinth. The passages on tribute and treasures in the fourth book are bound together by the voice of the first-person narrator, thereby establishing a large-scale coherence that serves as a background for the topics addressed in the specific chapters, such as those dealing with kings of minor age. However, the fact that Fredegar revealed his intention to tell the truth about the division of treasures among Clovis and Sigibert and about the consequences of Constans II's refusal to pay tribute to the Saracens underlines his strong interest in the developments in both the Frankish realm and the Byzantine empire. Given the chronicle's emphasis on financial matters, Fredegar's report of the first two and the beginning of the third year of Clovis II's reign was probably written in a time when the two elements, kings of minor age as well as problems with treasure and tribute, were connected and intertwined. Due to the sketchy sources available for the time after the end of Fredegar's chronicle it is very difficult to find the text's exact place in history. But we can delineate the circumstances under which the crucial passages were drafted and, thus, shed more light on Fredegar's perspectives on the Mediterranean.

In the 660s, questions of financial burdens became an important issue again, both in the Merovingian kingdoms and in the Byzantine empire. During the years after the deaths of Sigibert III and Clovis II, their heirs might have argued about the borders between the Austrasia and the Neustro-Burgundy established by their father: Fredegar's report that the arrangements made for the division of the two realms were kept as long as Dagobert's sons, Sigibert III and Clovis II, lived, could be read as a hint of the quarrel which broke out after their deaths in 656 and 657, the more so because the Austrasians had been compelled to accept the agreement willy-nilly.[80] The division of Dagobert's treasure could also have provided reason for disagreement between the sons of Clovis II and Balthild,

who had inherited the eastern and the western kingdoms: the way Fredegar stresses his accuracy in recording the division of the riches between the king's sons could suggest that this was an issue in his day.[81] Moreover, Ebroin, who had become *maior* of the palace in about 659 and who ruled the palace under Chlothar III thereafter, was accused by the author of the *Passio Leudegarii* of greediness that led to the suppression of the Frankish people, which made them 'distressed by grief at his exploitation'. This soon incited rebellion, 'not only because he exercised his greed in his dealings, but also because for the slightest offence he was wont to shed the blood of many noblemen'. Ebroin feared further resistance of the nobility. Therefore he put rebellious nobles to death or confiscated their properties.[82]

What is mentioned here is reminiscent of the situation described by Fredegar during the reign of Chindasvinth in Visigothic Spain, but it also recalls events in the Frankish realm in Dagobert's time, when the Merovingian unjustly laid hands on properties in Burgundy and Neustria.[83] Fredegar's account of Constans II in chapter 81 of his chronicle might also contain an allusion to the emperor's sojourn in southern Italy since 662,[84] when he tried to fill his empty treasury by putting financial pressure on his subjects in the western provinces of his shrinking empire. According to the chronicler the province of Rome was still part of the emperor's reduced sphere of control, and among other sources the *Liber pontificalis*, the collection of the popes' lives, reports the emperor's stay in the eternal city in 663. The *Liber* also laments the monetary burdens imposed on the people living in Italy and the plundering of the churches in Rome and in the provinces.[85] Fredegar could have been aware of Constans' taxation politics in Italy, which was caused by the invasion of the eastern and southern provinces by the Saracens: he was well informed about the developments in Spain and was very familiar with the changes and events taking place in Lombard Italy as well as in Byzantium. He had access to information from Spain and Italy, and he could have benefitted from the reports given by pilgrims, messengers or merchants.

5. A Tangible Context? Constans II in Italy, Abbot Hadrian, and Fredegar

But he also might have gained his knowledge from other persons travelling from southern Italy via Rome to the Frankish realm and even beyond, such as Theodore of Tarsus (d. 690) and his companion Hadrian (d. 709) in 668. Although it may be

too late for the composition of the Fredegar-Chronicle, their journey provides us with an example of the type of contact available to Fredegar, and also points to the possible importance for the chronicler of the reign of Constans II (641–668). While Theodore was of Cilician origin, Hadrian was a native of North Africa and abbot of the *monasterium Hiridanum* close to Naples before he travelled to the North.[86] Both knew Greek, and each of them certainly had a broad knowledge of the current developments in the Mediterranean around the middle of the seventh century: at least the Frankish *maior* of the palace Ebroin thought so and deemed Hadrian to be a secret agent of Constans II, carrying intelligence from the Byzantine emperor, who had been in Italy since 662, to the Anglo-Saxon realms, perhaps with the intention of forming an alliance in opposition to the Merovingian kingdoms under his rule. Consequently, Ebroin prevented Hadrian from continuing his travels until he had assured himself he was not a Byzantine spy plotting against Merovingian Francia.[87]

More interesting, however, for the question of whether Fredegar might have encountered Hadrian and gained access to the information he had is the route the abbot chose on his travels through Francia. Both, Theodore and Hadrian, arrived in Marseille and went on to Arles before they separated. Theodore travelled to Paris, whereas Hadrian used the interruption imposed on their journey by the onset of winter to visit first bishop Emmo of Sens and then bishop Faro of Meaux.[88] The latter, also known as Burgundofaro, was a former *referendarius* for Dagobert I before he became bishop in 629.[89] He was, furthermore, a member of a family which had close connections to the courts of the Merovingian kings as well as to other influential clerics and, therefore, figures prominently in the seventh-century sources. His putative father Chagneric held a high position at the court of king Theudebert II in Austrasia, and he welcomed the Irish monk Columbanus as well as his successor as abbot of his foundation Luxeuil, Eustasius, in his house.[90] Contemporary evidence shows Faro collaborating with Audoin of Rouen and other bishops who had close contacts to the Columbanian movement, in whose expansion throughout seventh-century Francia they played a major role: like his likewise powerful colleagues, Faro built on and benefitted from a network that connected the Merovingian court with the Columbanian monasteries.[91] Fredegar also participated in this far-reaching network: the fact that he excerpted the *Vita Columbani* written by Jonas of Bobbio very soon after it was finished provides a textual illustration of his personal connections.[92] Texts were shared, and most probably so was any information that entered these channels of communicaton.[93] To assume that the chronicler could have received news and texts from Byzantium via Italy through

Hadrian therefore does not seem to be too far-fetched, the more since the abbot is reported to have stayed in Merovingian France twice before his journey to Britain. His knowledge of the place was the major reason why pope Vitalian (657–672) chose him to accompany Theodore.[94] Hence, the visit Hadrian paid to Emmo and Faro was surely meant to revive old contacts, and without doubt information was exchanged during the meetings. This certainly aroused Ebroin's suspicions. The fact that Hadrian was detained by the *maior* of the palace whereas Theodore was not provokes further thoughts on the abbot's relation to the Byzantines. One may wonder whether Hadrian had travelled on behalf of the Byzantine emperor and fulfilled official duties as an ambassador on his two previous sojourns in Francia. However, that Hadrian had ever travelled to the Merovingian realms on the emperor's behalf seems unlikely: pope Vitalian's opposition to the Byzantine church, and in particular to the Monothelite *Ekthesis* and Typus that were upheld by Constans II,[95] certainly prevented the abbot of *Hiridanum* from siding with the emperor. We therefore do not know for which reason Ebroin believed Hadrian was an imperial messenger in 668 – only that he firmly did so, until he was convinced of the opposite. We can also be certain that on this occasion Hadrian was known to have information about events in Italy. He certainly shared them with Emmo and Faro, and directly or indirectly he might also have enriched Fredegar's knowledge and perspectives of the Mediterranean's past and present.

All this is highly speculative, to be sure. But there are good reasons to assume Fredegar received his information via informants like Hadrian, that is from clerics and monks active on ecclesiatical business rather than from merchants on the move. First of all, given the assumption that Fredegar's account was largely based on written sources, with only minor parts of the chronicle derived from oral information, it seems more plausible that these texts were exchanged among travelling monks or clerics. Fredegar, however, might also have encountered laymen at one or other of the Merovingian courts. As for the passages dedicated to the events in Italy, a dossier of texts coming from Bobbio has been seen as one possible source which could consequently have been spread through the communicative network that connected the Columbanian monasteries. Hadrian might also have supplied Fredegar with further written information. These assumptions are confirmed by the extent of the incoming information. The chronicler seems to have received news from the Mediterranean relatively regularly, but in batches, determined by events and crises taking place in regions far away from the Merovingian kingdoms as well as close to them.[96] The court itself provided a place where news and information of different provenance

arrived and converged. Messengers, be it clerics, monks or laymen, therefore could have been responsible for the varied but constant flow of information from different regions of the Mediterranean that Fredegar merged in his chronicle. And Hadrian probably was one of them.

The level of information and the possible role Hadrian or other messengers played in it allows us to draw some further conclusions, the more so, if we consider that Fredegar might have written shortly after 658/659.[97] In this case we can assume that the chronicler knew about a Frankish intervention in northern Italy which was probably connected to Constans II's war against the Lombards in the south of the peninsula. In 663 a Neustro-Burgundian army moved into the Lombard realm where king Grimoald, at that time a close ally of the Austrasian *maior* of the palace Grimoald, firmly defeated the Frankish troops in a battle near Asti.[98] The chronological coincidence between this campaign and Constans' efforts, as well as the far-reaching diplomatic contacts of Byzantium with the Germanic kingdoms in the West documented in later sources, suggest collaboration between the Eastern empire and Neustro-Burgundy led by Ebroin and Balthild.[99] Since Fredegar was interested in the wars of peoples, the *bella gentium*, as he wrote in the prologue,[100] he might have intended to include this defeat in the unfinished section of his chronicle. Fredegar's interests and intentions as reflected in the three interventions of the first-person narrator in book four all come together in the battle near Asti: he was probably interested in the victory of the Lombards, because they had once been subjugated to the Franks and had been forced to pay tribute; he was perhaps interested in Constans II, because the Frankish campaign against the Lombards might have been part of the emperor's overall strategy in Italy; and finally, Fredegar could have been interested in the battle because it combined the inner conflict between the Austrasians and the Neustro-Burgundians in the aftermath of the so-called Grimoald-affair with events outside the Merovingian kingdoms.[101]

6. Conclusions

Apart from this rather hypothetical reconstruction of a starting point for the narrative that lies beyond the narrative, some general conclusions concerning Fredegar's western perspectives on the Mediterranean can be drawn. To begin with, the author arranged episodes around recurring motifs such as the minority of kings and the payment of tribute. While the first motif reflects Fredegar's thoughts on the inner state of the respective realm or empire, the latter mirrors

his view of the connection of the Franks to their neighbours. Both motifs, however, focus on kingship and the role of the king in the welfare of his people: the payment of tribute enriched the king's treasure and could relieve the Franks from further taxation, and it also expressed Frankish dominance over their neighbours and worked as an efficient instrument to avoid open war with its unforeseeable consequences. The minority of a ruler threatened the carefully balanced system, because it exposed his dominion to possible challenges from the nobility, which added to the dangers posed by the neighbouring *gentes*. Given their ubiquity as governmental phenomena, the payment of tribute and the rule of minors were intersections that brought the Mediterranean and the Merovingian realms into a single narrative.

Concentration on these issues determined and shaped Fredegar's perspectives on the Mediterranean. The motifs represented the criteria according to which the author selected his sources among the texts available to him due to the cultural transfer that took place between the Mediterranean and the Frankish realms. Excerpting the passages that he was interested in on this textual basis, and adjusting them to his own narrative that was driven by his and his audience's interests, were the different steps undertaken while the chronicler appropriated his sources during the process of cultural transfer. In so doing, he elaborated the material at his disposal as an active recipient who transformed the incoming information according to his own cultural prerequisites and needs as well as to those of his audience. Fredegar therefore was not completely dependent on his sources. Rather than simply copying the texts available to him and inserting them like erratic, unchangeable blocks in his chronicle, he doubtless modified them. Thus, he had his share in the formation of the results of cultural transfer, being responsible for the selection as well as the integration of Mediterranean narratives into his own historical account.

The recurring motifs and the emergence of the first-person narrator testify to the chronicler's efforts to shape the text. They also point to the establishment of small- and large-scale coherences that were meant to keep the narrative together, and that were supposed to draw the reader's attention to historical correlations important for a deeper understanding of the text. As the analysis has shown, the display of analogies and the synchronization of events that took place in different realms and empires within Fredegar's essentially chronological structure were the measures the author took to embed the Mediterranean into his depiction of the Frankish world. He meticulously took care of an arrangement that was dovetailed into the general chronological order of his text represented by the regnal years of the Merovingian kings. Events in the Mediterranean were

entangled with the history of the Frankish realms that was set out according to the sequence of regnal years: Fredegar presented specific episodes concerning Byzantium, the Persians and the Saracens as digressions, both as flashbacks and as proleptic views into the future to meet with the needs of the narrative. In its narrative structure the chronicle therefore combines a retrospective view on history with a perspective tied to the chronological structure of his work. This mode of presenting history allowed Fredegar to mark the break lines and turning points in historical developments, while the analogies offered fertile ground for comparisons between different rulers. Thus, Fredegar could underline the causes and consequences of the kings' actions and the wars of the people he had promised to address in his chronicle according to the prologue of his work. The events taking place in the Mediterranean basin provided Fredegar with enough material to make his points, and the chronological flexibility applied to the text was the indispensable premise to combine the contents of the different episodes in his chronicle.

That the chronicler had an underlying structure in mind when he wrote and composed his text is made clear by the authorial interventions. The first-person narrator bears testimony to the author's efforts to produce a final draft, and the chapters where he raises his voice show that changes in the text affected the final parts of book four as well as a passage in the middle of it, the one dedicated to the tribute paid by the Lombards which was placed in the reign of Chlothar II. Combined with the chronological criteria for exclusion, the recurring motifs used in the respective passages such as the reference to tribute on the one hand and the reports about the kings of minor age on the other suggest the text was most probably revised in the 660s: at that time Fredegar must have inserted into the chronicle pieces of information that became important years after the underlying text had been written. In the decade after 660 the minority of kings and female regency, the suppression of members of the nobility by Ebroin, including their execution and the confiscation of their property, and the growing rivalry between the Austrasians and the Neustrians that entailed their respective support for the competing pretenders for the Lombard throne and that, eventually, led to civil war in the Merovingian realm itself brought the issues in question to the fore. These events most certainly prompted the revision of the text. Moreover, in the meantime Fredegar's knowledge about developments in the Mediterranean was nourished by informants travelling between the two worlds. It was on that account that Fredegar considered it necessary to add new layers of memory to his narrative. By doing so, he produced a work that continued his original text and transformed it into a new one at the same time. The

chronicler rewrote history according to his refreshed western perspectives on the Mediterranean. They were the results of his active share in the transfer of information and motifs to the Frankish realms and the impact of current events in both Merovingian France and the Mediterranean basin at the same time.

Greek Popes: Yes or No, and Did It Matter?

Thomas F. X. Noble

The ethnic backgrounds of the popes from the late seventh century to the end of the exarchate of Ravenna in 751 provide an opportunity to test some old, persistent arguments about Byzantium, Rome, and the papacy. The reigning view, perhaps most explicitly stated by Erich Caspar, is that this was the period of 'Byzantine rulership' in Italy; he entitled the second volume of his massive papal history *Das Papsttum unter byzantinischer Herrschaft*.[1] The same interpretation was maintained by Johannes Haller ('In der Gewalt des Kaisers')[2] and has appeared in more recent works, such as the papal histories of Bernard Schimmelpfennig ('The Papacy under Byzantine Rule')[3] and Eamon Duffy ('The Byzantine Captivity of the Papacy').[4] It has also appeared in general works on the Early Middle Ages too numerous to mention and was recently affirmed by Andrew Ekonomou.[5] Corollary to this view is the argument that because 12 of the 19 popes from Theodore to Zachary (642–752) were Sicilian, Greek, or Syrian, there was an eastern 'swamping' of the papacy or a 'Byzantinization' of the Roman clergy, in the words of Jeffrey Richards.[6] Symptomatic of the prevailing view is an article by Ernst Stein published as a response to Caspar. Stein objected to Caspar's Protestant perspective and to his emphasis on imperial power, but said that, nevertheless, Caspar had it right with respect to the 'Greek' popes.[7]

I wish to challenge both of these interpretations. One can ask legitimate questions about how effective Byzantine rule in Italy actually was at any given time but, be that as it may, it is not necessarily the case that the so-called eastern popes were somehow sympathetic to or supportive of Greek rule. But my arguments will not merely be critical of older ones. I wish to offer an alternative way of thinking about the whole subject. And I believe that my interpretation has relevance for thinking about other geographical regions of the early medieval Mediterranean world.

Let me address first the matter of Byzantine rule in Italy and in Rome. If one were to take as his vantage point the brutal arrest of Pope Martin I by the exarch

Theodore Calliopas, one might well think that Byzantium held Rome with an iron grip.[8] One might be tempted to agree with Walter Ullmann that 'to a contemporary observer the sixties and seventies of the seventh century might well have appeared a period in which the papacy had finally succumbed to the terror exercised by the imperial government'.[9] Martin's ultimate treatment notwithstanding, it is important to remember that a first attempt to arrest the pope by the exarch Olympius had failed. Nevertheless, an equally valuable perspective for understanding the situation is to be found in Pope Sergius's bedroom, for that is where the *spatharius* Zachary hid while the pope tried to protect him from a howling mob.[10] Going back to the time of Pope Severinus in 640 and moving forward to Pope Zachary's death in 752, one can identify 16 separate instances of Byzantine intimidation of the popes and the Romans. I will not rehearse all the details, which are themselves primarily revealed by the *Liber Pontificalis*, but I will summarize the essentials.

Under Severinus (640) the Lateran was plundered by the *cartularius* Maurice and the exarch Isaac. Supposedly they were trying to lay hands on funds sequestered by Pope Honorius. They met opposition and a bit later Maurice stirred up more trouble and summoned Isaac who came to Rome, seized a good deal of booty, and exiled some members of the clergy.[11] The travails of Pope Martin I (649–653) are well known. The emperor sent Olympius to enforce adherence to the Typus and to arrest the pope. Olympius was unable to carry out his mission and the emperor sent Theodore Calliopas who did arrest Martin and send him to the East where he was brutalized and exiled to the Chersonese.[12] Under Pope Vitalian Emperor Constans II came to Rome and plundered the city, not to mention oppressing southern Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia.[13] For over a decade there were no imperial punishments meted out in Italy but under Sergius (687–701) the trouble started again. Sergius's had been a contested election and one of the defeated candidates seems to have bribed the exarch, John Platyn, who came to Rome and took 100lb of gold from St Peter's. Furthermore, when Justinian II called for a council and Sergius refused to participate the emperor sent agents to arrest the pope but he was protected by the soldiers of the exarchate. It was in these circumstances that the spathar Zachary found himself under the pope's bed.[14] Under John VI (701–705) the Romans rose up against the exarch Theophylact who was coming north from Sicily.[15] Under Constantine I (708–715) the exarch John Rizokopas murdered some officials of the papal government while the pope was in Constantinople. It is possible that John acted with imperial connivance because those who were killed may have belonged to a party in Rome that was utterly opposed to any détente with the imperial

regime. When Justinian II was deposed and Philippikos Bardanes demanded that the pope accept Monothelitism, the Romans rejected his images, coins, and letters, and also refused to recognize Peter as duke of Rome.[16] Gregory II (715–731) suffered no fewer than six indignities at the hands of imperial agents. Duke Basil, the *cartularius* Jordanes, and subdeacon John Lurion forged a plot to kill him, and the duke of Rome, Marinus, consented. Then the exarch Paul tried to carry out the grisly deed but the Romans rose up and protected the pope. Apparently the issue was the pope's rejection of Byzantine tax demands. The first attempt having failed, another *spatharius* was sent to remove the pope. He failed and so exarch Paul tried again. Once more the Romans defended the pope. A few years later duke Exhilaratus from Campania plotted to kill the pope but the Romans tracked him down and killed him and then blinded Peter, the duke of Rome. In Ravenna the exarch Paul was murdered. The emperor then sent a certain Eutychius but the 'chief men' of Rome opposed him. According to the *Liber Pontificalis* they swore to die in the pope's defence. Eutychius then tried to find allies against the pope among the Lombards but their king, Liutprand, mediated peace between the pope and the exarch.[17] Under Gregory III imperial authorities in Sicily regularly impeded papal communications with Constantinople.[18] And at this time Emperor Leo III sent a punitive naval raid against Ravenna and separated the churches and ecclesiastical revenues of southern Italy, Sicily, and Dalmatia from Roman allegiance, a blow that damaged papal authority, prestige, and revenues.[19]

Looking over a century or so of activity, one can see that the emperors were successful in imposing their will exactly twice: the arrest of Pope Martin and the diversion of the church provinces. The Romans, and sometimes the Ravennates as well, rejected imperial officers and thwarted their missions again and again. Byzantine rule in northern and central Italy was eclipsed remarkably easily. Viewed from this angle, Byzantium looks like a roaring tiger without fangs or claws. Moreover, four of the popes (Sergius, John VI, Constantine, and Gregory III) who suffered Byzantine affronts and who led Roman or Italian rejection of Byzantine authority were 'easterners'. It seems to me a dubious proposition to speak of 'Byzantine Rule'.

Against all these negative entries in the ledger, one might place some positive ones. Pope Adeodatus (672–676) and Pope Gregory II stood with the imperial agents in Italy against pretenders, two shadowy characters named Mezezius and Petasius.[20] The import of these actions should not be exaggerated. Whatever they may have thought of the imperial regime, the popes had no interest in petty tyrants within Italy itself. The Lombards were menace enough. John V received

some economic privileges in southern Italy and Sicily.[21] Leo II (682–683) got Ravenna's grant of autocephaly quashed, but this merely evened the score after Constans II had made the grant a few years before.[22] Agatho (678–681) got the court to relinquish the fees that had long been collected from a man elected pope before he was consecrated.[23] Pope Benedict (684–685) received a supplementary electoral privilege, namely that the person elected could be consecrated right away.[24] Under Pope Constantine, Justinian II forced the archbishop of Ravenna to bend to the popes' will. Moreover, Constantine was treated with great respect during a visit to Constantinople.[25] Under Pope Zachary, Emperor Constantine V restored the properties of Ninfa and Norma to the pope.[26]

This is not a long or impressive list of imperial benefactions. In virtually every case, moreover, one can adduce evidence to show that the imperial government turned generous only when it wanted something. In all cases, the emperors wanted the popes to accept some aspect of their religious authority. In the central decades of the seventh century this meant trying to gain papal acceptance of Monothelitism. Later it meant getting approval for and recognition of the Sixth Ecumenical Council. Still later it meant winning papal acceptance in some fashion of the canons of the Quinisext Council. In short, imperial benefaction was conditional and ineffective.

There were, of course, severe religious divisions between East and West.[27] These do not require lengthy treatment here. It suffices to remember the battle over Monothelitism, then over the calling of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, then over the canons of the Quinisext Council, and finally iconoclasm. In each of these quarrels, viewed from the Roman point of view, there were two issues at stake. On the one hand, there was the integrity of the catholic faith. With the possible and complicated exception of Honorius, the popes were steadfast in maintaining the theological formulations of Chalcedon. In the second place, the popes were acutely protective of the spiritual prerogatives of their see.

In secular and religious affairs, therefore, the Byzantines exercised very little effective power or authority in Italy. They could not routinely or effectively coerce or win the allegiance of the popes, the Roman clergy, the Roman populace, or the wider Italian populace. Gradually they lost control of the army of the exarchate and often of the exarchs themselves and they also lost control of the Duchy of Rome. They could not raise tax levels in Italy and may have had trouble with collections at any level. They did not, as far as is known, recruit troops in Italy for eastern campaigns. Tied down by Arab threats in the east and Avar, Bulgar, and Slav menaces in the Balkans, the Byzantines could not spare troops to defend their Italian outposts against the Lombards. Byzantine rule was, quite

simply, as unwanted as it was ineffective. And it was unlamented after 751. Neither the papacy nor Italy was genuinely under 'byzantinischer Herrschaft'.[28]

That brings me to my second issue: the Greek or eastern popes. From one point of view the matter seems clear. The *Liber Pontificalis* labels one pope after another as '*natione Syrus*', or '*natione Sicula*' (a matter of some consequence because southern Italy and Sicily were under fairly effective Byzantine rule throughout the period considered here), or '*natione Graecus*'. Right away it must be said that '*natione*' does not mean 'born in' as Raymond Davis regularly translates the word in his very useful annotated translation of the *Liber Pontificalis*.[29] Instead it means something like what we would mean by 'his nationality was . . .'. I will come back to what *this* might mean. In fact, these popes were born in Sicily or in Italy. The demographic scene in Italy changed significantly in the seventh century. Already in the sixth century the sources hint that fair numbers of merchants and professionals, especially doctors, and later soldiers and administrators, entered Italy after the establishment of the exarchate.[30] It appears that a good number of soldiers remained in Italy after the disastrous campaign of Emperor Constans. Conon's father, for example, was a Thrakeseon, which does not mean that he was from Thrace but rather that he was a soldier in the Thrakeseion theme, one of the contingents that accompanied Constans. Conon was brought up in Sicily.[31] Furthermore, all regions of Italy received a considerable number of refugees from the Balkans, the Levant, Egypt, and North Africa. Balkan immigrants fled Avar, Bulgar, and Slavic incursions. The others fled before the Persian and then the Muslim onslaughts. Monks fled Monothelitism and then iconoclasm.[32]

The impact of these newcomers is hard to assess. André Guillou, on the basis of names, concluded that the eastern element increased dramatically in the seventh century.[33] But Peter Llewellyn[34] and Tom Brown[35] argue convincingly that names alone are a poor source for ethnic origins. There was a common onomastic patrimony across the Mediterranean world. What is more, Brown's prosopographical researches in the exarchate led him to see considerable assimilation of the newcomers into the Italian population.[36] Llewellyn looked at the names of all the known Roman clergy in the Early Middle Ages and found, among more than 400 examples, 250 Roman, 80 Greek, 70 German, and 10 Hebraic or biblical names. He concludes: 'The form of a name, whether Greek, Latin or Germanic, is of itself no indication of the immediate origin of the bearer; a man with a Greek name may well, by birth, residence, and even family over some generations, be completely Roman.'[37] Strangely, Ekonomou cites Llewellyn while arguing that from 700 to 750 easterners outnumbered westerners

in the Roman clergy 3.1 to 1 and he argues for a 'radical transformation of the ethnic composition of the city'.[38] The evidence is against him. I believe that Brown and Llewellyn provide convincing challenges to the idea of a 'swamping' of the Roman clergy.

Llewellyn spoke of 'generations'. This is important. It is very difficult to establish a *cursus honorum* or a family history for the popes with whom we are concerned. The *Liber Pontificalis* provides rather few indicators of the ecclesiastical careers of the men who were elected pope. Take Sergius, for example. He was born in Sicily and entered the Roman clergy during the pontificate of Adeodatus (672–676).[39] He had been a Roman cleric for a minimum of 11 years before his election. Constantine travelled to Constantinople as a deacon in 680, 28 years before his election.[40] Zachary, elected in 741 as the last of the 'Greek' popes, was born in Calabria in 679 and was a deacon in the Roman church by at least 732.[41] Gregory II was a Roman, to be sure, but his career is better known than any other and I am inclined to think that it was not necessarily unusual. He entered the patriarchate young ('*a parva aetate*') and passed through the ranks and offices of subdeacon, *saccellarius, bibliothecarius*, and deacon.[42] Benedict II, another Roman, entered the church 'in his early youth' studying scripture and chant (perhaps he was a member of the *schola cantorum*) and then became a priest.[43] Once again this suggests a fairly lengthy career before his elevation to the pontificate. Constantine appears to have been promoted through the ranks in a very short time, perhaps as little as a week, but that had to have been unusual. In any case, he was subdeacon, deacon, and then priest. Most men elected pope probably served a decade or two in the Roman clergy before they were elevated to the pontificate. It would be hazardous to apply to the seventh- and eighth-century popes the rules laid down by Pope Zosimus in 418 concerning the licit age for entry into the clergy, the appropriate ages for ordination to the various ranks, and the length of time to be served in any particular rank. If those rules were observed, then a person had to be 25 to be ordained a deacon and 30 to be ordained a priest.[44] If such persons entered the clergy as boys or adolescents, they would certainly have served for quite a few years before their ordinations, and the evidence does suggest that as a rule persons elected as pope served for some years as either deacons or priests.[45] My point is that the men elected as popes served for lengthy enough periods to be fully imbued with the culture, customs, and practices of the Roman church. I do not see how it helps to speak of them as 'eastern' as if that identification was helpful in explaining their actions as pope or in arguing that as 'easterners' they were sympathetic to Byzantium. Nor

is there evidence that any of them put a decisive eastern imprint on the culture of Rome or the papacy.[46]

The critical question is this: did it matter that there was a succession of eastern popes? From what I have already said about papal and Italian rejection of Byzantine secular, theological, and ecclesiastical practices, the answer would appear to be a resounding 'No'. But the question can be answered along some other lines of inquiry. In the first place, there was a series of contested elections resulting in the election of a Syrian and two Sicilians: John V, Conon, and Sergius.[47] The *Liber Pontificalis* speaks rather vaguely of three groups, the army, the people, and the clergy. It seems safe to say that papal elections were becoming significant to the population of the whole Roman region. Rome was emerging as a bastion of anti-imperial sentiment and the popes were at the heart of this. So-called eastern popes emerged from this contention but it is hard to see that there were disciplined pro- and anti-Byzantine parties. Three popes had served as archdeacons: John V, Gregory II, and Zachary. The archdeacon was in charge of caritative services in Rome and may well have had a large following among the populace.[48] At the time of Conon's election the archdeacon and the archpriest had supporters.[49] The latter was the head of Rome's ecclesiastical personnel, again a person with a likely following.[50] Attitudes towards Byzantium may well have been a factor in elections, but it looks as though local Roman politics played a greater role. The population does not seem to have been predisposed for or against persons of any particular background.

John VII and his successor Constantine have been seen as compliant with Justinian II who, after his restoration, tried to get the popes to agree to the Quinisext canons. Justinian asked John to accept what he could and reject the rest.[51] According to the *Liber Pontificalis* John simply sent the canons back without emendation – and apparently without signing them. The *Liber Pontificalis* says that John was timid ('*humana fragilitate timidus*').[52] Evidently rigorists desired a stronger stance but I do not see why John's action must be interpreted as somehow signalling his 'political realism'[53] or marking a 'victory of compromise'.[54] Constantine agreed to visit Constantinople and he seems to have carried on discussions with Justinian in Nicomedia before entering the capital. No source says that he accepted the Quinisext canons so it is hard for me to see why he, too, should be viewed as a compromiser.[55] There is a puzzle here that I cannot pursue in detail. Some years later Boniface was confused by some answers he got to questions about marriage law. It is possible that some aspects of the Quinisext legislation on marriage had been implemented in Rome and occasioned answers to Boniface's questions different from the ones he expected.[56]

Nevertheless, no source ever says that any of the Quinisext canons were accepted in Rome and even if some rules on marriage were quietly embraced, this would not have constituted a challenge to the prerogatives or ecclesiology of the Roman church or a sign that the Roman clergy had been 'swamped' by pliant or sympathetic 'easterners'.

Byzantine influences have also been seen in matters liturgical. This whole subject is immensely complicated and I cannot do it justice here. It is worth pointing out, by way of opening, that there were always Greek elements in the Roman liturgy. Until about 300 the liturgy was everywhere celebrated in Greek. As the West gradually adopted Latin, Greek prayers, chants, and feasts remained embedded in the Roman liturgy.[57] This long-standing practice warns against arguments for specific influences at particular moments. Still, the *Liber Pontificalis* reports that Sergius incorporated the four major Marian feasts into the Roman liturgy: the Purification, 2 February; the Annunciation, 25 March; the Assumption, 15 August; and the Nativity (Mary's) on 8 September.[58] As Antoine Chavasse has shown, the feasts were actually developed in Rome over a lengthy period.[59] Nevertheless, they have been interpreted as reflecting Byzantine influence.[60] But as I have argued at some length elsewhere, popes from Sergius to Paschal I in the 820s appropriated Mary as the protectress of Rome and as the pope's special heavenly intercessor. In my view these popes were rejecting the Constantinopolitan appropriation of Mary.[61] As Klauser demonstrated years ago, the cult of Mary was weak in Rome before the eighth century.[62] That cult became strong as a typically Roman and papal way of sending a message to Byzantium.

Sergius took another interesting step in the area of liturgy. Canon 82 of the Quinisext forbade the representation of Christ as a Lamb and called for his representation in human form.[63] The background here was the fierce Christological wrangling of the seventh century. By Sergius's time, Rome and Constantinople were agreed on the basic theology. Still, this pope introduced the *Agnus Dei* into the liturgy at the fraction rite.[64] This does not look like Byzantine influence to me. On the contrary, it was a deliberate slap.

Art-historical evidence may be called in as well for its testimony, albeit I cannot offer anything like a full survey. And I leave on one side the arguments about Byzantine style that owe so much to Per Jonas Nordhagen.[65] Suffice it to say that I think his interpretation is exaggerated and that, in any case, style-criticism is elusive and unhelpful. More valuable, I think, is the figural evidence itself. In other words, it matters more what a picture says than what it looks like. John VII, for example, put stunning images of Mary in Santa Maria Antiqua, Santa Maria in Trastevere, and St Peter's. In each case he portrayed himself in

those images, thereby associating himself, his see, and his city as closely as possible with the Virgin.[66] This artistic evidence is in my mind close kin to the liturgical evidence I just mentioned. It does not represent Byzantine influence but instead constitutes a deliberate challenge, perhaps affront, to the Byzantines. John VII also introduced a large crucifixion image into Santa Maria Antiqua along with an image of four popes – including Martin I who had been brutalized by the Byzantines – and Leo I, the great exponent of papal primacy. Flanking the popes are four church fathers with scrolls containing bits of the texts affirmed at Chalcedon, rejected through the Monothelite period, and restored in 680.[67] Breckenridge took that crucifixion to be a capitulation to Quinisext 82.[68] I cannot see that a crucifixion image, in the absence of other indicators, proves any such thing. The other images in John's programme clearly and rather tartly affirm Roman primacy. Constantine seems to have believed that the Monothelite Philippikos Bardanes, who succeeded the murdered Justinian II, had removed an image of the Sixth Council (680) from the Milion of the imperial palace. The pope, or rather 'the whole population of the city of Rome', erected in St Peter's an image of the six holy councils.[69] André Grabar once called this a 'cold-war of images'. I agree. Once again, in other words, the ethnicity of the popes seems not to have mattered at all if by 'matter' one is supposed to think that eastern popes were inclined to support Byzantium or to be open to Byzantine influences. Indeed, the artistic evidence, of which I have given only a tiny but representative sample, accords with all the other evidence to show that all the popes routinely defended themselves, their see and their people against every sort of Byzantine challenge.

In conclusion, let me take up that word ethnicity. In the last generation there has been a rousing scholarly battle over ethnicity in the late antique and early medieval periods.[70] The motor for that controversy has been the idea of 'ethnogenesis' as articulated in Vienna by Reinhard Wenskus, Herwig Wolfram, and Walter Pohl.[71] On the opposite side of the often acrimonious debate has been Walter Goffart and a number of his Toronto pupils.[72] The debate has generated at least as much heat as light, but certain issues have come into sharper focus than ever before. What is at stake is how to talk about the barbarian peoples who populated the history of the Late Roman world. The idea that specific, named tribes represented discrete ethnic groups is dead and gone. Barbarian peoples were not primordial biological descent groups but were instead multi-ethnic communities that changed repeatedly, sometimes over centuries, sometimes over decades.[73] It is, thus, a dubious proposition to assert that someone was ethnically a Frank, say, or a Goth. While most of the scholarship has focused on Goths and to a lesser extent on some of the other Germanic peoples, I would

argue that the thrust of recent work applies equally to Italy and necessitates great caution in talking about 'Greeks' or 'easterners'. It is better to speak of identity, a more flexible and broadly applicable label. The use of the word identity begs questions, of course. In his well-known 'Telling the Difference' article Walter Pohl points to a range of markers of identity such as law, language, dress, hair-style, food, and weapons.[74] Such markers can be assumed or discarded, can be ephemeral or permanent. If ethnicity seems somehow biological and empirical, then identity is certainly less concrete. But the term has the great advantage of inviting reflection on how people saw themselves, how they saw others, and how others saw them.

I think that the application of ethnicity to early medieval Italy is misguided. Identity seems to me a more satisfactory term. Where Rome and the eastern popes are concerned, I think it is possible to speak of a Romano-papal identity that transcended any durable imprint from the human stock from which a particular person came. That identity had, as I see it, several markers. Bilingualism – Greek and Latin – was one of them. There was always a substantial Greek-speaking community in Rome and down to at least the middle of the ninth century the papal administration included men who could construe a Greek text or themselves write in Greek.[75] A keen awareness of the ancient traditions and customs of the Roman see was yet another. However insistently Byzantines called themselves 'Roman' ('*Romaioi*'), there was never any doubt in Rome itself who the real Romans were. A certain political acumen and a finely attuned sense of the daily realities of the Roman region was one more. Scholars have tended somewhat uncritically to focus on language, or on books, in trying to assess the culture of early medieval Rome and Italy.[76] But the language(s) a person spoke or the books to which someone had access or could read do not necessarily tell us much about that person's identity, much less about his ethnicity.

In the end, therefore, I do not think it is right to speak of a Byzantine period in Italian history. Peter Llewellyn once chided me for not understanding the 'constitutional' situation in Italy.[77] In my view, a regime that cannot achieve allegiance even by coercion or persuasion cannot be said to rule. From the middle of the seventh century, the popes and the Romans showed an only occasional, conditional, and grudging acknowledgment of Byzantine authority. From the 720s to the 750s the popes harnessed Italian resentments, both ecclesiastical and secular, allied with the Franks, and created new political realities in Italy. I do not, therefore, think it is helpful to speak of eastern popes. I do think that Italy, and Rome in particular, developed a distinctive society that was an amalgam of many elements.

Mediterranean Lessons for Northumbrian Monks in Bede's *Chronica Maiora*

Sören Kaschke

Unlike Benedict Biscop, the revered founding abbot of Wearmouth,[1] Bede hardly ever left his Northumbrian monastery, and never set eyes on Rome or any other part of the Mediterranean world. But this did not keep him from writing two world chronicles in which that region figured prominently. Both chronicles are part of larger computistical works, *De Temporibus* from 703 and *De Temporum Ratione* from 725 respectively. The first, minor, chronicle is basically just a collection of regnal dates, generally taken straight from the minor chronicle that forms chapter 39 in the fifth book of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*. The purpose of Bede's collection here is simply one of chronography. Bede's second chronicle, the *Chronica Maiora* from 725, is quite a different matter however. Based up to AD 379 primarily on Jerome's world chronicle, it uses a wealth of additional sources, mainly by Mediterranean authors. Among these sources are the works by Eutropius and Orosius, Prosper's epitome and continuation of Jerome up to AD 455, Marcellinus Comes' continuation of Jerome to AD 534, both Isidore's minor and major chronicle and the papal biographies from the *Liber Pontificalis*. Gildas' history of Britain is the only major historiographic source not originating in the Mediterranean.[2] The material available to Bede might thus already explain to some extent the prominent role of the Mediterranean in the *Chronica Maiora* even after biblical times. But there is more to Bede's choice of topics than the contents of some monastic library.

Although Bede was working, in his own words, on one of 'the two remotest islands of the Ocean' ('*de duabus ultimis Oceani insulis*'),[3] indeed close to the northernmost point of Christianity, this prevented neither a local interest in, nor a knowledge of, the Mediterranean world. Despite its geographic location, Jarrow was not some remote backwater. In fact, Bede was 'living near the center of power, not on its fringes', with an excellent library to boot.[4] The oral tradition of

Table 6.1   The main sources as used in Bede's *Chronica Maiora*

1-15															
16-30															
31-45												J		J	J
46-60		J	J	J			J	J	J	J	J	J	J		J
61-75	J	J	J	J		J	J		J			J	J	J	J
76-90	J		J		J		J	J	J	J	J	J		J	J
91-105	J	J	J	J	J		J		J	J	J		J		J
106-120	J			J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J
121-135	J	J		J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	
136-150		J	J	J	J	J	J			J					J
151-165	J	J		J	J	J	J	J	J		J	J	J		J
166-180	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J
181-195	J		J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J		J	J
196-210	J	J	J	J	J		J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J
211-225	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J		J	J	J	J	J	J
226-240		J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J
241-255	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	
256-270		J	J	J	J	J	J			J	J	J			J
271-285	J	J	J		J	J	J			J		J	J		J
286-300				J	J		J			J	J		J	J	J
301-315	J	J		J	J	J	J	J	J	LP	J	J	J		J
316-330			J	J	J		LP		J	J		J	J	J	J
331-345	LP	J			J	J	J		LP			J	J	J	
346-360		J		J	J	J		J	J	J		J	LP	J	J
361-375		LP	J			J			J	LP	J		J		
376-390	LP	J	J	J	LP	J	J		J	J	LP	J	J		J
391-405	J		J		J	LP		J	J	J	J	J			LP
406-420	#		J			J	J	J		LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP
421-435	LP	LP	J			J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J	J
436-450		J	J			LP	J	J	J	J	J			J	J
451-465										#					
466-480	LP								#	#	LP				
481-495			#	#	LP			#							
496-510								#			LP	LP			
511-525	LP	LP										LP	LP		
526-540		LP			LP					LP	LP				
541-555			LP		LP		LP	LP		LP	LP				LP
556-570		LP	LP	LP	LP				LP	LP				LP	
571-585		LP	LP	LP	LP		LP	LP			LP			LP	
586-593			LP												

J   Jerome, *Chronicle* (Abraham to AD 379)   Orosius, *Histories* (Adam to AD 417)
Prosper, *Epitome* (to AD 455)   Isidore, *Major Chronicle* (Adam to AD 617)
Marcellinus, *Chronicle* (to AD 534)   LP   *Liber Pontificalis*
Rufinus, *Ecclesiastical History* (to AD 395)   #   Gildas, *Ruin of Britain*

prologue: c. 1-8
1st age: c. 9-19   2nd age: c. 20-37   3rd age: c. 38-80
4th age: c. 81-142   5th age: c. 143-267   6th age: c. 268-593

southern history at Jarrow, starting with Benedict Biscop's tales of his travels to Rome,[5] will certainly have contributed to a special fascination with a region whose eastern parts, encompassing the places of biblical history, could always command a heightened interest due to that link alone. The Mediterranean focus of the *Chronica Maiora* is thus rather less surprising than its relative dearth – in comparison to the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* written just six years later – of information on Northumbria.

Once finished, *De Temporum Ratione*, containing the *Chronica Maiora* as chapter 66, quickly found a wide audience across Europe, as witnessed by the 245 manuscripts listed in Charles W. Jones' edition[6] and in turn by its use in other historiographic compilations.[7] It was clearly the 'most widely circulated of [Bede's] scientific works'.[8] In comparison, Bede's earlier *De Temporibus* is extant in 65 manuscripts (excluding manuscripts also containing *De Temporum Ratione*), with an additional 18 manuscripts containing just the *Chronica Minora*.[9] Even Bede's most popular historiographic work, the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, is extant 'merely' in about 160 manuscripts.[10]

Despite these impressive numbers – which might be due more to the computistic part of the work than to the inclusion of the chronicle – the *Chronica Maiora* is usually overshadowed[11] by the *Historia Ecclesiastica* today. Finished supposedly in 731 this piece of historiography looks much more accessible. This is due not the least to subject matter that is more restricted both in space and in time, allowing for one main narrative line without the need for constantly swapping political entities and *dramatis personae*. The fact that the *Chronica Maiora* is a compilation with little unique historical information certainly contributed to a marked drop in interest in modern times. Additionally, unlike the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the chronicle has Bede stick more closely to the wording of his sources, copying them verbatim or with minor changes on more than one occasion.[12] Some impression of this practice may be gleaned from Faith Wallis' translation, in which verbatim borrowings are given in italics, a procedure similar to that used by Mommsen in his edition for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. But even with these means it is difficult to convey the varying extent of Bede's interventions in the text of his sources, sometimes merely changing the word order or substituting a single word, and sometimes skipping all but a few words from a lengthy paragraph, constructing a new sentence from the remnants that are nevertheless still discernible in the new sentence.

A further handicap to modern appreciation of the *Chronica Maiora* lies in the fact that the chronicle, as part of a computistic tract, was also saddled with the chronographic task of accounting for the number of years that had passed since

God's creation of the world. This necessitated the inclusion of regularly recurring passages containing just the names of kings or emperors and the lengths of their reign – hardly the stuff to grip the attention of a modern reader. Finally, it has been argued that the 'generic variations' between a *chronica* and a *historia* favour, of necessity, the *historia*, as this type of historiography supposedly focuses more on people than on events.[13]

In effect the *Chronica Maiora* may, to quote Faith Wallis, 'seem to sacrifice narrative coherence for the sake of chronological schematism',[14] with Bede failing to stick to a clear-cut narrative line. In the sixth age, for instance, despite meticulously informing the reader about every change on the imperial throne and the duration of every emperor's reign, Bede does not concentrate exclusively on the fate of the Roman empire and its rulers. Neither does he, in contrast to other early medieval world chronicles, especially those from the Frankish kingdom – be it Fredegar in the seventh, the *Chronicon Universale* in the eighth, Ado of Vienne in the ninth or Regino of Prüm in the early tenth century[15] – narrow his focus progressively to his home turf, Northumbria, the closer he gets to his own time. Instead, he keeps on providing information on popes and emperors, on various kings and their peoples, and on saints and their relics from all over the Mediterranean world. In short, he is indeed trying to record universal history in his world chronicle.[16] And in his case, the apogee of universal instance is to be found neither in the Roman empire nor in Northumbria, but first in God's chosen people[17] and then in His *ecclesia*.[18] Unfortunately for Bede, during the times on which he was reporting, the *ecclesia* still lacked the unified structure of, for example, the Roman empire. Therefore, his narrative has to cope by necessity with constant changes in space and personnel.

How did Bede set about writing a universal history under these circumstances, and for whom did he write it? To begin with the second part of the question, Bede's intended audience did not consist of the high and mighty of the earth. He did not, as in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, address his king and present him, under the veil of telling stories about former kings,[19] with advice and warnings of how to rule successfully and with divine approval. Instead, Bede primarily envisaged his pupils and fellow monks in Jarrow as his audience.[20] The main task of the *Chronica Maiora* within *De Temporum Ratione* was a demonstration of how to harmonise chronology with computus.[21] As the wide dissemination of manuscripts of *De Temporum Ratione* demonstrates, his work did indeed succeed and became the standard textbook[22] on computus, not only within Northumbria, but right across the monastic landscape of Europe. It could therefore be assumed that the historical events actually chosen to figure in the

chronicle did not really matter. This is very much the position of Charles Jones, who stated about Bede's technique of compilation: 'His selection of events in the chronicle is haphazard so long as it fulfills the desires of the computist or teacher for illustration of the theory [of the six ages of the world]'.[23]

However, the chronicle's 'ideological aspects'[24] should not be neglected because of this. As with every kind of historiography, a world chronicle could be used to present examples both of 'actions of individuals worthy of imitation'[25] and of those better avoided.[26] This is not to say that Bede expected his pupils to become emperors or popes, who should then model their behaviour on their teacher's description of some distant historical figures. But the moral evaluation of human action as presented by Bede did not lose its exemplary potential just because its audience had not attained the exalted status of the persons they were reading about.[27] As Henry Mayr-Harting has pointed out, Bede was well aware of the specific qualities and needs of his audiences, choosing for instance to include a liberal dose of miracle stories in texts designated for an audience less steadfast in its faith, while omitting such stories almost completely when retelling to his fellow monks the deeds of their former abbots.[28]

With regard to Bede's technique of compiling the *Chronica Maiora*, it is necessary to get back to the larger computistic framework of *De Temporum Ratione*. As already mentioned, most of the information presented in the *Chronica Maiora* can be traced to its source (Table 6.1), and often enough Bede was perfectly content to simply copy a report verbatim, leading to Jones' verdict of a 'haphazard' compilation, dutifully undertaken to demonstrate the main points about chronography in *De Temporum Ratione*. These points were firstly the standard task of every Christian world chronicle, namely to demonstrate the veracity of biblical history by showing that it could be synchronised with pagan, especially Greek and Roman, history,[29] and secondly the calculation of the years that had passed since God's creation of the world.

Concerning the second task, Bede had already in 703 famously re-calculated that age with *De Temporibus* and the included minor chronicle.[30] He had considerably shortened the traditional reckoning of years for the first five ages by well over a thousand years, dating the incarnation – that is, the start of the sixth age – to AM (= Annus Mundi) 3952,[31] instead of AM 5196 as Isidore had done previously.[32] For this act of global rejuvenation, Bede had found himself even, albeit just temporarily, confronted with the accusation of heresy.[33] For it had become customary to equate the six ages with the six days of creation, and to shrewdly conclude that at the end of the sixth age, the world would come to its end. And as according to the Bible one day was to God as a thousand years,[34]

the sixth age should end exactly 6,000 years after creation.[35] Bede's new calculation effectively pushed back the end of the world – which had come perilously close in AD 703 (given the calculation of AD 1 equals AM 5196, and AD 703 consequently AM 5898) – by some 1,200 years. Naturally, as a good disciple of Augustine, Bede had always rejected the notion of a 6,000 year limit for the world.[36] But his new reckoning had also seemed to contradict the Augustinian concept of the six ages, according to which the incarnation marked the end of the fifth age and the start of the sixth age, which was understood to require the passing of at least 5,000 years since creation. It was this point in particular that some contemporaries in Northumbria objected to. Nevertheless, Bede stuck to his results of 703, and in 725 repeated them confidently in the *Chronica Maiora*, paving the way for their eventual general acceptance within the course of the eighth century.[37]

Neither a supposed desire of Bede to elaborate on his defence against the previous accusation of heresy nor any other inherently computistic demands explain the compilatory technique used in the *Chronica Maiora*. For these explanations fail to consider that much of the actual content of the chronicle does not serve any chronographic or computistic purpose at all. Most of the events mentioned are not allocated to a precise year, and neither does the history of computus itself feature in that many chapters of the chronicle. Bede could have disposed of most of the chapters in the *Chronica Maiora* without diminishing its chronographic functionality in the least. His choice of sources and the information to take from them cannot be discarded as predetermined by genre or chronographic necessity. He selected deliberately, neither simply copying whatever crossed his desk nor only as much as was needed for summing up the age of the world. Therefore it is still necessary to take a closer look at the way he went to work and at information he considered to be of importance for his Northumbrian audience.

Bede's treatment of his sources is far from mechanistic. He was not writing a set of annals and thus did not need to provide a report for every single year. As in his earlier *Chronica Minora* from 703, all he needed for the computistic-chronographic purpose of his new chronicle was a succession of rulers, together with the amount of years each of them had survived on his respective throne. With these data, Bede could simply have tallied up the time that had passed in each age right up to his own time. He might even have left the Mediterranean world of his main sources behind and have switched as soon as possible to Northumbrian rulers for the purpose of counting off the years that had passed in the sixth age – as some Carolingian pupils of Bede did, for example in the

Chronicon Laurissense Breve, which synchronised Byzantine emperors only once with Pippin II, the first Carolingian to rule over all of Francia. After Pippin's death, Byzantine emperors all but vanish from the text of this chronicle.[38]

Furthermore, it was entirely left to Bede's own discretion how many events he chose to include from the reign of each ruler. A comparison with his sources shows that he was a very discerning compiler,[39] leaving out reports from his sources both about political events and about various matters of ecclesiastical interest, like saints and their miracles or other prominent Christian figures (see the examples in Table 6.2). For example, the 38 years of Justinian's eventful reign – witnessing military campaigns against Vandals, Persians and Ostrogoths, including the reconquest of Rome – merit only six chapters.[40] Of these, one is dedicated as usual to stating the duration of the reign (ch. 515), two more deal with the history of computus (chs 518 and 520), and the remaining three chapters cover respectively the Vandal campaign (in two sentences; ch. 516), the invention of the relics of Saint Anthony (ch. 517), and the promulgation of the *Codex Iustinianus* (ch. 519). No report is given on the other wars, or the conquest of Rome, or even the deposition of Pope Silverius.

If filling out every year in the way of annals was obviously not Bede's concern, what else did govern his choice of information to include in the *Chronica Maiora*? Some of Bede's special interests have already been mentioned. Five main categories may be set up for grouping these interests.

1. **Six Ages**: First of all, Bede wanted to calculate the length of each age. To this end, an unbroken succession of rulers is being used and their years of reign are added up. From the sixth age onwards, Roman emperors take the place of Jewish, Persian and Hellenic kings. This change was due in part to a certain providential prestige of the political entity that witnessed the incarnation of Christ within its borders, but also to the fact that the line of emperors was rather convenient for chronographic endeavours: usually there was but one emperor at a time – in contrast to Anglo-Saxon or Frankish kings – and sources on their reigns were available in relative abundance. So Bede stuck with them right up to his own time, even though to him, the present emperors in Constantinople distinguished themselves mostly by their tendency towards favouring heretics.[41] However, despite their prominent role in structuring the chronicle, the Roman emperors are no longer vested with any special importance for advancing the history of salvation, and only feature as convenient human tally sticks.[42]

Table 6.2 A comparison of Bede's *Chronica Maiora* with the universal chronicles of Isidore and Marcellinus

AM	Annus Mundi (according to **B**ede and **I**sidore)	emp.	emperor
=	used at least partly verbatim as source	bp.	bishop
<	similar content, but no sizable verbatim usage	+	death of

AM (B / I)	Bede, *Chronica Maiora*	Isidore, *Chronica Maiora*	Marcellinus, *Chronicon*	further sources
4338 / 5581	c. 451: Gratian & Valentinian 6 years	= c. 352 c. 353: bp. Ambrosius of Milan; c. 354: Priscillianus starts heresy in Spain; c. 355: miracles of bp. Martin of Tours		
	c. 452: Theodosius defeats *Scithicas gentes*		= a. 379.1–2	
	c. 453: Arians relinquish churches		= a. 380	
	c. 454: synod at Constantinople *sub* pope Damasus against Macedonian heresy	< c. 357; without mentioning the pope	= a. 381.1; *during* Damasus' reign; consecration of bp. Nectarius of Constantinople by bps. of Alexandria, Antioch & Jerusalem	
		c. 358: Jerome in Bethlehem; c. 359: + Priscillianus; c. 360: relics of John the Baptist in Constantinople; c. 361: closure of pagan temples	a. 381.2: + Athanaricus rex Gothorum at Constantinople; a. 382: reburial of emp. Valentinian; Goths submit to emp.; + pope Damasus; a. 383.1: pope Siricius elected	
	c. 455: installation of co-emp. Arcadius	< c. 362	< a. 383.2	Orosius
	c. 456: Theophilus on computus			

	c. 457: usurper Maximus kills emp. Gratian		< a. 383.3	Orosius
	c. 458: . . . and expels (deservedly) emp. Valentinian, an Arian & persecutor of Ambrosius			Rufinus; Vita Ambrosii
			a. 384: Persians ask for peace; birth of Honorius; a. 385–386: various imperial victories; a. 387.1: imperial celebrations	
4349 / –	c. 459: Theodosius 11 years			Orosius
	c. 460: emps. defeat & kill Maximus		< a. 387.2 & a. 388	Prosper
	c. 461: militarily denuded after Maximus, Britain suffers ravaging by *Scothi* & *Picti*			Gildas
		c. 363–364: John the Anchorite	a. 389.1: emps. in Rome; a. 389.2–3 & 390.1: various natural disasters & stellar signs; a. 389.4: closure of pagan temples in Alexandria; a. 390.2: conflicts within imperial family; a. 390.3: obelisk in circus; a. 391–394: emp. returns to the East; Arbogast murders emp. Valentinian & instigates usurpation of Eugenius, emps. defeat Eugenius	Jerome-Gennadius
	c. 462: Jerome's De viris inlustribus		= a. 392.2	Gennadius

(*Continued*)

Table 6.2 Continued

AM (B / I)	Bede, *Chronica Maiora*	Isidore, *Chronica Maiora*	Marcellinus, *Chronicon*	further sources
4362 / 5606	c. 463: Arcadius & Honorius 13 years	= c. 365 c. 366: bp. Donatus of Epirus	< a. 395.1–3 a. 395.4–5: attempt to incite Alaric to invade Greece fails; a. 396–397: events in Constantinople; a. 398: pope Anastasius; Ambrosius of Milan; bp. John of Constantinople & his enemies (bps.); revolt of Gildo in Africa; a. 399–401: revolt of Gainas; a. 402: pope Innocent; Caesar Theodosius minor; a. 403: exile of bp. John; 404–405: events in Constantinople & vicinity	
	c. 464: relics of Habakkuk & Micah found	= c. 367		
	c. 465: Goths enter Italy; Vandals & Alans enter Gaul	= c. 368	< a. 406.2–3: Radagaisus *Scytha* enters Italy, but is defeated by *reges Hunnorum Gothorumque*	
		c. 369: bp. Augustinus		
		c. 370: bps. John of Constantinople & Theophilus of Alexandria		
	c. 466: pope Innocent dedicates *basilica* for Gervasius & Protasius			Lib. Pont.
	c. 467: Heresy of Pelagius	= c. 374; additional information on damnation by synod at Carthage		

4377 / 5621	c. 468: Honorius & Theodosius minor 15 years	= c. 371	< a. 407	
			a. 408: revolt & + Stilicho; a. 409: events in Constantinople	
	c. 469: Alaric *rex Gothorum* ransacks Rome	< c. 372: *Gothi Romam capiunt*	= a. 410; additional information on hijacking & marriage of Placidia	Prosper; Orosius
			a. 411–413: failed usurpations of Constantinus & of Jovinus with Sebastianus & of Heraclianus; a. 414: peace between Valia *rex Gothorum* & emp. Honorius	
	c. 470–472: revelation of the relics of Stephen, Gamaliel & Nicodemus		= a. 415.2 & 416.1	Gennadius
	c. 473–474: Britons repeatedly ask Rome for help against *Scothi* & *Picti*; finally, Romans leave their *socii* for good			Gildas
	c. 475: pope Boniface' building-programme			Lib. Pont.
	c. 476: + Jerome			Prosper
		c. 373: Vandals occupy Spain, Suevi Gaul [373a: Vandals, Alans, Suevi occupy Spain]		
		c. 375: bp. Cyril of Alexandria		
4403 / 5648	c. 477: Theodosius minor 26 years	= c. 376		

2. **Computus**: Given the wider context of *De Temporum Ratione*, it is no surprise that Bede chose to incorporate some information about the history of computus,[43] especially about prominent persons or events in the long-standing controversies about the correct date of Easter, as for example the note on Victorius' paschal cycle.[44] This problem formed the very core of computus and had resulted in more than one accusation of heresy, for instance in the case of the Quartodecimans, whose condemnation by pope Honorius is duly reported by Bede.[45]

3. **Barbarian peoples**: Bede includes reports on the history of Britain, mainly taken from Gildas, but also from the *Liber Pontificalis*. The latter source is the basis for Bede's report on the missionary work of Saint Augustine in Britain at the behest of the pope, which resulted in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon people of Kent,[46] heralding the eventual conversion of all Anglo-Saxons. However, the Anglo-Saxons are not the only barbarian, i.e. non-Roman, people Bede is interested in, and they do not dominate the *Chronica Maiora* at any stage.[47] Instead, we get a wide selection of events from non-Roman people.[48] While the very nature of some of Bede's sources may already suggest some accentuations – for instance on the Goths in Spain because of Isidore, on Vandal northern Africa because of Orosius – it is striking that the rich profusion of 'political' information from Marcellinus Comes' *Chronicon* on peoples in the East does not seem to rank as highly with Bede as do the Vandals or Goths. Again, Bede proves himself a discerning compiler.

4. **Doctrinal aberrations**: Heresies and their eventual resolution or suppression figure prominently throughout the *Chronica Maiora*, with an astonishingly large number of heresies from all over the world being recalled.[49] Even though hardly any of the heresies mentioned – for instance those of Arius, Nestorius, Macedonius or Eutyches – posed any danger of recurring in Bede's time, knowledge about them was obviously deemed essential, not the least for a monastic audience. Additionally, heresies endangered the very universality of the church[50] – and this was at the centre of Bede's conception of a universal chronicle.

5. **Rome and the papacy**: Finally, as already hinted at previously, there is the pope representing the one universal element – though not yet a universal institution – that Bede does acknowledge to matter, namely the Catholic church.[51] The pope stands above the political turmoil and change within the Roman empire. Contrary to some claims that Bede does not mention the demise of the Western Roman empire,[52] he is perfectly clear about this topic.

Admittedly, he does not adhere to our conventional date of AD 476, following instead Marcellinus Comes[53] closely in linking the murder of the *patricius* Aetius by emperor Valentinian with the end of the Western empire: '*Aetius patricius, magna Occidentalis rei publicae salus et regi quondam Attile terror, a Valentiniano occiditur, cum quo Hesperium cecidit regnum neque hactenus ualuit releuari.*' ('The patrician Aetius, the great salvation of the Western empire and once the terror of king Attila, was killed by Valentinian; with him fell the Western realm, and to this day it has not had the strength to be revived.')[54] But as Bede does not care for the concept of the four kingdoms based on the book of Daniel, the Roman empire and its demise in the West are of no particular importance to him.[55] After all, he matter-of-factly reported that the Roman 'allies' ('*socii*')[56] of the Britons had left the island for good. Belonging to the Roman empire clearly was of no relevance to the question of whether or not a people followed a godly way of life.

Consequently, the Roman emperors often do play an important part in Bede's chronicle, but they are not depicted as supreme leaders of the Christian world. Instead, they act like any other secular ruler, sometimes for the good, especially when supporting the pope, but quite often also to the bad, for example when supporting heretical bishops and sometimes even lapsing themselves into heresy, as in the case of Valentinian, the murderer of Aetius, denounced as an Arian heretic,[57] or when persecuting the pope.[58]

Thus, it is not to the (former) Roman emperors a true Christian needs to look, but to the spiritual authority in Rome, i.e. the pope. In Bede's chronicle, all heresies have two things in common: they never originate in Rome, and they are always opposed by the pope. Other Christian authorities might occasionally be led astray, but not the bishop of Rome. Therefore, popes are often depicted countering emperors as well as those of their apostolic colleagues who are less astute in matters of doctrine and faith. Even, or maybe especially, the bishops (and rival patriarchs) of Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch often cut a rather poor figure in Bede's reports on their doings. Basically, they do not seem to care that much for keeping to the straight and narrow of true faith, not to mention spreading that faith. In contrast, the popes are repeatedly shown initiating the conversion of pagan peoples, not least those of the British Isles.[59]

In conclusion, Bede did not view history, as Eusebius and Orosius had done, as 'a steady progress towards a goal',[60] be it the fusion of church and empire, or the general improvement of human affairs after the advent of Christianity. Perhaps this has also to do with Bede's conviction, in accordance with Augustine

and Isidore, that the duration of the sixth age was only known to God. But there was always the danger that those who claimed to know the ends of world history might easily be tempted into supposing also to know when these had been achieved, and thus when the world would come to its end.[61] Bede's refusal to hint at how God's plans might unfold thus blocked the re-introduction of any speculation on the end of the sixth age by way of deducing stages in that plan.

Given this unpredictability of the sixth age, his fellow monks in Northumbria were in need of exemplary reports on the unforeseeable turns of history, and the only appropriate Christian reaction to them: putting one's trust in God without straying from the path of true doctrine. Examples for this kind of behaviour, as well as for the dangerous temptations of heresy, were provided in abundance by the history of the Mediterranean world, where the pope acted as guardian of the faith. Whenever a monk from Northumbria might happen to be in doubt about the right path to take, he only needed to look to the Mediterranean south and specifically to Rome for guidance.[62]

This contribution can only try to point out some of the more general aspects of Bede's *Chronica Maiora* as a piece of historiography. A thorough and comprehensive investigation of Bede's treatment of his sources and especially of his criteria for selecting material from these sources is still missing. For example, given the high regard in which he held the papacy in general, why did he not report on every pope, even though he had the *Liber Pontificalis* as a convenient source? Why did he not switch from emperors to popes for calculating the passing of time? It seems that the verdict from 1946 of Bede's great editor Charles Jones still holds true today: 'How much of each [of his entries] Bede copied *verbatim* from others and how much is his own is a question that has not seriously been examined.'[63]

Notes

Introduction

1 FranceMed, 'Introduction', esp. pp. 8–10, underlining that the 'Mediterranean world' itself is a construction subject to different rapprochements, a heuristic device used by historiography and, as such, no culturally homogeneous unity. Cf. Shaw, 'Challenging Braudel', esp. pp. 422–3.

2 For the concept of Romanness see Woolf, *Becoming Roman*; recently Conant, *Staying Roman*, esp. pp. 1–18.

3 See above p. xv.

4 See the picture on this volume's jacket, which can also be found in Pope and Ackerman, *A Survey of Persian Art*, plate 203, and in Gaborit-Chopin, 'Tasse de Salomon', p. 81. Descriptions of the cup include Babelon, *Cabinet*, pp. 61–6; id., *Catalogue*, pp. 213–19 no. 379; a detailed description of the cameo made of rock crystal in the middle of the vessel is also given by Ritter, *Traditionen*, pp. 52–3. Cf. also Harper, 'Thrones', pp. 49–64, esp. pp. 57–8 and 63, who expresses doubts about the uniquely Sasanian nature of the vessel due to some stylistic elements that seem to indicate an origin in Eastern or Inner Asia. Nonetheless, he categorises the piece as a whole as Sasanian. See also Gaborit-Chopin, 'Tasse de Salomon', at p. 80, reporting other assumptions concerning the origin of the plate. For the inscription and its meaning see Brunner, 'Middle Persian Inscriptions', p. 121. For the significance of these inscriptions see also Harper, 'Evidence', p. 150.

5 Babelon, *Cabinet*, p. 63 with the ascription to Chosroes I; but cf. id., *Catalogue*, pp. 213–14, where he ascribes it to Chosroes II. See also Lamm, 'Glass and hard stone vessels', p. 2595; id., *Mittelalterliche Gläser- und Steinschnittarbeiten*, vol. 1, p. 187, vol. 2, pl. 64, 1; Harper, 'Thrones', p. 55 n. 39 with references to the diverging ascriptions to Chosroes I and Chosroes II. See also Ritter, *Traditionen*, p. 53 (with further literature).

6 For the history of the vessel in modern times see Babelon, *Cabinet*, pp. 61–2; id.,
   Catalogue, pp. 215–18.

7 Babelon, *Cabinet*, p. 61 with the quotations in n. 1; cf. id., *Catalogue*, pp. 215–16.

8 *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* s. a. 877, ed. Paris, vol. III, p. 66: 'Après donna
   laiens le hanap Salomon qui est d'or pur et d'esmeraudes fines et fins granes, si
   merveilleusement ouvré que dans tous les royaumes du monde ne fu oncques œuvre
   si soubtille.' Cf. Babelon, *Cabinet*, p. 62; Gaborit-Chopin, 'Tasse de Salomon', p. 80;
   Conway, 'The Abbey of Saint-Denis', p. 121.

9 Shalem, 'Fall', p. 77 revives the theory that the vessel might have been brought to
   France in the aftermath of the conquest of Constantinople in 1204; cf. also Babelon,
   Cabinet, p. 62. Although the vessel he refers to was, like the 'cup of Chosroes', meant
   to be used for drinking (ibid. p. 77; cf. for this usage Erdmann, 'Jagdschalen', p. 194),
   it appears to be a different one than the 'cup of Chosroes'; cf. also Lamm,
   Mittelalterliche Gläser- und Steinschnittarbeiten, p. 499 no. 95. The similarities are too
   vague to claim both cups are identical, and even if they are, one needs to explain the
   rewriting of the cup's donation that turned it from a spoil of war into a gift of
   Charles the Bald in the *Grandes Chroniques*. On the whole, it seems to be more
   plausible to assume the cup of Chosroes came to France directly from the Near East;
   cf. above p. xi with the quotation of Shalem in n. 23

10 Schramm and Mütherich, *Denkmale*, p. 18 assume the vessel had been a gift of a
   Sasanian ruler to a Merovingian king; cf. Vierck, 'Werke des Eligius', p. 369: a gift
   from Heraclius (610–641) to Dagobert I (623–638/9).

11 Fredegar, *Chronicae* II, 53, ed. Krusch, pp. 74–5 with n. 2 on p. 74; cf. Kusternig, 'Die
   vier Bücher', p. 46 n. 9; Fowden, *Qusayr 'Amra*, p. 213 for the *tabula Salomonis*. See
   also Hardt, 'Silverware', p. 322. The *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium* c. 20 report
   the existence of a vessel in Saint Germain d'Auxerre that carried the inscription of
   the name of the Visigothic king Thorismund who according to Fredegar received the
   gift from Aetius; see *Les Gestes des Évêques d'Auxerre*, ed. Sot, Lobrichon and Goullet,
   pp. 100–1.

12 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 73, ed. Krusch, pp. 157–8. For another instance of paying a
   ransom for a captured sacral object in the seventh century see Cutler, 'Gifts and Gift
   Exchange', p. 252.

13 For the treasures taken from the Visigothic realm to Damascus after 711 that were in
   part ascribed to Solomon see Fowden, *Qusayr 'Amra*, p. 224.

14 For the dating of the vessel in the Cabinet des Médailles see the literature cited in n. 4.

15 Cf. Fredegar, *Chronicae* II, 53, ed. Krusch, p. 74 l. 23 with Brunner, 'Middle Persian
   Inscriptions', p. 121.

16 *Liber Historiae Francorum* c. 23, ed. Krusch, p. 279.

17 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* III, 10, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 106–7, esp. p. 107.
   Gregory also reports that Chilperic I ordered production of a precious golden dish

which afterwards made its way to the treasure of Childebert; ibid. VI, 2 and VII, 4, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 266–7 and 328. Cf. for this episode Hardt, 'Silverware', p. 323.

18 Babelon, *Cabinet*, pp. 62–3, about the possible reasons to ascribe pieces of art to Solomon.

19 For the fresco in Quasyr 'Amra that shows Roderick, the last king of the Visigoths, see Drayson, 'Ways of Seeing', pp. 115–28; Fowden, *Qusayr 'Amra*, pp. 204–5, 213–15, 223–4.

20 See above n. 5.

21 For the history of Sainte-Geneviève see Krüger, *Königsgrabkirchen*, pp. 40–54, esp. p. 53.

22 Grierson, 'The Role of Silver', p. 212 classifies the cup as 'court art'. More generalizing, Erdmann, 'Jagdschalen', p. 196: 'Die sasanidische Kunst ist ausgesprochene Hofkunst'; cf. ibid. p. 195 where he stresses 'den höfischen Charakter' of the vessels. Cf. also Harper, 'Evidence'.

23 Shalem, 'Fall', p. 77 assumes 'that most of the Sasanian objects under discussion, excluding those which directly reached the Byzantine court with Sasanian delegations or in like manner, were initially kept in the treasuries of Muslim rulers'.

24 For envoys travelling between the Carolingian realm and the Abbasid caliphate see Borgolte, *Gesandtenaustausch*; McCormick, 'Pippin III', pp. 221–41; id., *Origins*, p. 875 no. 174-5; cf. also ibid. no. 177, p. 887 no. 238, pp. 890–1 no. 254–6, 261, pp. 893–4 no. 271, 277, p. 915 no. 420; Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, pp. 38–9. For the exchange of gifts see Algazi, 'Doing things with gifts', pp. 9–27; Hannig, 'Ars donandi', pp. 11–37 and 275–8. Cf. also Drocourt, 'Quelques aspects', pp. 31–47, esp. p. 32; Nelson, 'Settings', pp. 116–48, esp. p. 133. For gifts of eastern provenance such as the so-called 'Anastasius-dish' which probably made their way to England through Merovingian France see Wood, *The Merovingian North Sea*, p. 14; for other vessels of eastern provenance found in England and western Europe see Campbell, 'Impact', p. 91; Hardt, 'Silverware', pp. 321 and 326.

25 Apart from the literature cited in the preceding note see Hack, *Abul Abaz*, p. 28. For Harun al-Rashid and Charlemagne see Buckler, *Harunu'l-Rashid*, esp. pp. 17–42 and pp. 43–7 (English summary of: Barthold, V. V., 'Karl Velikij i Charun al Raŝid', in: *Christianskij Vostok* 1 [1912], pp. 69–94), and Musca, *Carlo Magno*. For Harun al-Rashid see also Omar, 'Harun al-Rashid', pp. 239–41; Lassner, 'Harun al-Rashid (Harun ibn Muhammad ibn Abd Allah)', pp. 107–8; Sot, 'Charlemagne et Hârûn al-Rashîd', pp. 27–42.

26 Cf. the references mentioned in Babelon, *Cabinet*, p. 62 and Shalem, 'Fall', p. 77. See also Buckler, *Harunu'l-Rashid*, pp. 42, n. 1, and 45.

27 McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey*.

28 *Annales Regni Francorum* s. a. 801 and 807, ed. Kurze, pp. 114–16 and 123–4; Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni* c. 16, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 19; Notker the Stammerer, *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris* II, 8, ed. Haefele, p. 61. See also 'Chronicon Laurissense breve', ed. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, p. 35. See also Dressen, Minkenberg and Oellers (eds), *Ex Oriente*.

29 For this notion of superiority connected to gifts see also Nelson, 'Settings', p. 133; Wickham, 'Conclusion', p. 240; Brubaker, 'Elephant', p. 175; see also Klein, 'Eastern Objects and Western Desires', pp. 288–9; cf. also Cormack, 'But is it art?', pp. 301–14, esp. pp. 306–9; Cutler, 'Gifts and Gift-Exchange', at pp. 248–9.

30 The vessel could also have changed hands during the embassy caliph al-Ma'mun sent to Louis the Pious in 831: gifts were presented to the western emperor at that occasion, too (see Borgolte, *Gesandtenaustausch*, pp. 111–13). The Abbasid could indeed have tried to continue the good relations once established by Charlemagne and Harun al-Rashid, the more so since Louis also appears to have continued his father's interest with regard to the situation in the Holy Land; see McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey*, pp. 182–3; Borgolte, *Gesandtenaustausch*, pp. 110–11. However, the connection between the caliph and the Carolingian ruler never became as close as it was under their precursors' regime: on the contrary, the exchange of embassies between the Carolingians and the Abbasids came to an end with the envoys sent by al-Ma'mun in 831. To be sure, the caliph's efforts, even though they appear in hindsight to be a short flare-up of diplomatic contacts between the two realms, do not rule out the possibility that the vessel could have been brought to the West by his ambassadors in 831. But given the dense and more frequent exchange of envoys and gifts during Charlemagne's rule, in all likelihood we can narrow down the transfer of the 'cup of Chosroes' to the embassies between Baghdad and Aachen at the beginning of the ninth century. It should be added that the Islamic caliphs were regarded as the heirs and successors of the Sasanian rulers, as the denomination of Harun al-Rashid as *rex* or *imperator Persarum* in the *Annales regni Francorum* s. a. 801, ed. Kurze, pp. 114–16, in Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni* c. 16, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 19, and in Notker the Stammerer, *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris* II, 8, ed. Haefele, p. 61 suggests. Cf. Hack, *Abul Abaz*, p. 14 with the quotation in n. 6, p. 16 n. 9, p. 17 with the quotation in n. 11, p. 31 with the quotation in n. 36, and pp. 74–5, 77 with n. 133 and Borgolte, *Gesandtenaustausch*, pp. 128–9 with further evidence on the title *rex* or *princeps Persarum* for Harun al-Rashid.

31 The *Chronicon Laurissense breve*, however, mentions that apart from the animal other gifts were sent to the emperor; 'Das Chronicon Laurissense breve', ed. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, p. 35. Was the vessel among the *alia munera praetiosa* (other valuable gifts) the author refers to? The huge impact the elephant had on the contemporaries is testified by the different sources collected in Hack, *Abul Abaz*, pp. 13–18 and 73–8; Borgolte, *Gesandtenaustausch*, p. 133.

32 For these different possibilities in dealing with gifts on the recipient's side cf. Brubaker, 'Elephant', pp. 176 and 194.

33 Alcuin, *Epistolae* 145, ed. Dümmler, pp. 231–5, at. p. 235. Cf. Garrison, 'The Social World of Alcuin', pp. 59–79. Charles the Bald has also been hailed as new Solomon by a contemporary writer in the bible produced in Frankland and kept in the church of S. Paolo fuori le mura in Rome today; see Kantorowicz, 'The Carolingian King', pp. 82–94. However, the wording of the *Grandes Chroniques* cited above in n. 8 does not suggest that the vessel given to Saint-Denis according to the testament of Charles the Bald was regarded as a present of this 'new Solomon'.

34 Hack, *Abul Abaz*, pp. 31–2 and 62–7; Borgolte, *Gesandtenaustausch*, p. 58.

35 Shalev-Eyni, 'Solomon', pp. 145–60, esp. pp. 145–6; Walker and Fenton, 'Sulayman b. Dawud', pp. 857–8; Drews, *Die Karolinger und die Abbasiden von Bagdad*, pp. 117, 258, 261, 365.

36 For the term and concept of appropriation see Ashley and Plesch, 'Cultural Processes', pp. 1–15, esp. pp. 2 and 6.

37 Cf. Brubaker, 'Elephant', p. 175: 'The complexities of trade, war, and diplomacy give way to the ambiguities of socially constructed meaning, which is itself not static: moving an object changes its meaning.' Cf. also ibid. pp. 194–5.

38 For the following see Espagne, 'Stand', pp. 63–76; Osterhammel, 'Transferanalyse', pp. 439–66; Kaelble, 'Die interdisziplinären Debatten', pp. 469–93, esp. pp. 474–7; Middell, 'Von der Wechselseitigkeit der Kulturen im Austausch', pp. 15–51; id., 'Kulturtransfer', pp. 7–41; Espagne, 'Kulturtransfer', pp. 42–61; Geppert and Mai, 'Vergleich', pp. 95–111; Kugler, 'Che cosa significa "Kulturtransfer"', pp. 5–11; Schmale, 'Einleitung', pp. 41–61; Kaelble, 'Foreword', pp. 9–13, esp. pp. 10–12; Feuchter, 'Cultural Transfers in Dispute', pp. 15–37 (with a combination of the concept of cultural transfer and the concept of representation); just recently FranceMed, 'Introduction', pp. 14–44, esp. pp. 14–16, 21–6 and 36–44; Gerogiorgakis, Schell and Schorkowitz, 'Kulturtransfer vergleichend betrachtet', pp. 385–449, esp. pp. 392–402 and 413–19; Hartmann and Rahn, 'Kulturtransfer – Akkulturation – Kulturvergleich', pp. 470–92, esp. pp. 479–84. See also Höfert, 'Anmerkungen', pp. 15–24; Borgolte, 'Migrationen', pp. 261–85.

39 See Greenblatt, 'Cultural mobility', pp. 3–4; Borgolte, 'Migrationen', pp. 261–85, esp. pp. 264–70. For the notion of hybridity with its various aspects see Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, esp. pp. 49–56 with regard to the issues treated here, and Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*.

40 Middell, 'Kulturtransfer', pp. 20–1; Geppert and Mai, 'Vergleich', pp. 99, 107; cf. also Espagne, 'Stand', pp. 63–5; Höfert, 'Anmerkungen', p. 20; and FranceMed, 'Introduction', pp. 39–41, 43.

41 Cf. the examples cited in the literature in n. 38, which could be easily augmented.

42 Cf. Prinz, 'Von den geistigen Anfängen Europas', pp. 1–17. Pitz, *Ökumene*, approaches the Mediterranean in a comparative perspective, focusing on the political and constitutional changes that took place in the three cultures located around the Mediterranean shores. Cf. also Al-Azmeh, 'The Mediterranean and Islam', pp. 58–71, esp. pp. 66–9 with views on the Mediterranean differing from the ones presented in the contributions collected in this volume.

43 McCormick, *Origins*; Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*.

44 Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*; for the impact of the thesis cf. Kölzer, 'Kulturbruch oder Kulturkontinuität?', pp. 208–27, and Hodges and Whitehouse, *Mohammed*.

45 McCormick, *Origins*; id., 'New Light', pp. 17–54, esp. pp. 18–27; id., 'Pippin III', pp. 225–7; Drauschke, 'Herkunft', pp. 367–423, esp. pp. 415 and 419 for enduring connections after the beginning of the Islamic expansion. Cf. also Brandes, 'Das Gold der Menia', p. 176 n. 4: 'Die mit dem Namen Pirenne verbundene Vorstellung von der "Schließung der Mittelmeerwelt" im 7. Jh., dem weitgehenden Abbruch der Kommunikation zwischen Osten und Westen der mediterranen Welt, erweist sich zunehmend als Fiktion.'

46 Wickham, *Inheritance*, concentrates on these issues in some chapters (pp. 50–75, 170–202, 232–51). For the denomination as 'the Pirenne period' see Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, pp. 163 and 568; for their book and approach see Shaw, 'Challenging Braudel'. A recent study is Sarris, *Empires of Faith*.

47 This volume does not contain all of the conference's papers. The contribution given by Michael McCormick on 'Charlemagne's Mission to the Holy Land: A Case Study of Cross-Cultural Contact ca. 808' was published separately; cf. id., *Charlemagne's Survey*.

48 Cf. Paravicini, 'Geschichtswissenschaft', p. 10; cf. Borgolte, 'Migrationen', p. 270; Gerogiorgakis, Schell and Schorkowitz, 'Kulturtransfer vergleichend betrachtet', p. 391 with the quotation from H.-J. Lüsebrink.

49 Cf. Borgolte, Dücker, Müllerburg and Schneidmüller, 'Einleitung', p. 12; Gerogiorgakis, Schell and Schorkowitz, 'Kulturtransfer vergleichend betrachtet', pp. 395–6.

50 Klein, 'Eastern Objects and Western Desires'; Moreira, '*Provisatrix optima*', pp. 285–305; Conant, 'Europe', pp. 1–46. See also the contribution of Ian Wood in this volume for Avitus of Vienne's attempt to get relics of the True Cross from Byzantium and the article by Stefan Esders in this volume.

51 Cf. the famous entry of Clovis in Tours: McCormick, 'Clovis at Tours', pp. 155–80; Meier, *Anastasios I.*, pp. 231–3 and Becher, *Chlodwig I.*, pp. 235–9 (with further literature); cf. also Vierck, '*Imitatio imperii*', pp. 64–113. Tableware such as dishes was also meant to express and celebrate the relations between the Byzantine empire and the kingdoms in the West; Hardt, 'Silverware', p. 326.

52 Vallejo Girvés, 'L'Europe des exilés', pp. 155–70 (with further literature).

53 For this and the following see also Wood, 'The Latin Culture', pp. 368–70.

54 Cf. the contributions in Pohl and Zeller, *Sprache und Identität*; see also the remarks in the article by Thomas F. X. Noble in this volume on p. 84.

55 Freeman, 'Libri Carolini', cols 1953–4; ead., 'Carolingian Orthodoxy', pp. 65–108; Berndt, 'Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794', pp. 537–8; Brubaker, 'Elephant', p. 178; most recently and elaborately on Charlemagne, the Byzantines, the popes and images: Noble, *Images*.

56 Cf. also Drocourt, 'Quelques aspects', pp. 31–47.

57 For this see the literature cited below in n. 60.

58 FranceMed, 'Introduction', p. 39 interpret Fredegar's story of the Trojan origin of the Franks as a product of cultural transfer, with the chronicler representing the receptionist.

59 Cf. McCormick, *Origins*.

60 For the readers' role in writing and interpreting a text see Ong, 'The Writer's Audience', pp. 9–21; Iser, *From Reader Response*, pp. 31–41; see also FranceMed, 'Introduction', pp. 38–9. For the narrativization see Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, pp. 3–5 and 8–9.

61 McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey*.

62 The Carolingians had had, however, closer contacts with the Mediterranean, i.e. the Byzantine empire and the Abbasid caliphate, even before 800; see McCormick, 'Pippin III', pp. 221–2; id., *Origins*, pp. 872–3 nos 163 and 166.

63 Eschatological forecasts could have played a major role in this; see McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey*, pp. 193–5; Brandes, ' "Tempora periculosa sunt" ', pp. 49–79, esp. pp. 76–8.

Chapter 1

1 Du Bos, *Histoire critique*, vol. 3, book 5, p. 252.

2 Voltaire, 'Questions sur l'Encyclopédie', s. v. 'Lois (Esprit des)', 11.57.

3 Du Bos, *Histoire critique*, vol. 3, book 5, p. 252.

4 Lombard, *L'Abbé Du Bos*, pp. 129–32.

5 The approach has recently been revived by Gillett, *Envoys*.

6 Procopius, *Wars* VII, 33, 3, ed. Dewing, vol. 4, pp. 436–9.

7 Du Bos, *Histoire critique*, vol. 3, book 5, p. 228.

8 There have, of course, been comments on the cession of Provence, which have brought additional evidence into play: see, for example Bognetti, 'Non l'Isola Comacina', pp. 129–35.

9 Marius of Avenches, *Chronica* s. a. 534, ed. Favrod, p. 72 (transl. p. 73).

10 See the account in Favrod, *Histoire politique*, pp. 386–409.

11 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* II, 38, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 88–9.

12 Avitus of Vienne, ep. 46, ed. Peiper, pp. 75–6.

13 *Chronica Gallica a. 452* s. a. 443, ed. Krusch, p. 660; Burgess, 'The Gallic Chronicle of 452', p. 80.

14 Prosper of Aquitaine, *Chronicon* s. a. 435, ed. Mommsen, p. 475; Hydatius, *Chronicon*, s. a. 436–7, ed. Mommsen, pp. 22–3; *Chronica Gallica a. 452* s. a. 436, ed. Krusch, p. 660.

15 Escher, *Genèse*, vol. 2, pp. 823–4 notes the poverty of the archaeological evidence.

16 Olympiodorus, fr. 18, ed. Blockley, p. 182 (transl. p. 183).

17 For the early stages of the Gibichung family we are dependent on *Liber Constitutionum* 3, ed. de Salis, p. 43.

18 Favrod, *Histoire politique*, pp. 225–48; Wood, 'L'installation', pp. 69–90.

19 Gundioc's son, Gundobad, would appear to have been Ricimer's nephew, John of Antioch, fr. 209, 2 (= Priscus fr. 65), though the same source, fr. 209, 1 (= Priscus, fr. 64), also says the two were brothers: ed. Blockley, pp. 372 and 374 (transl. pp. 373 and 375).

20 *Liber Constitutionum* 17, 1, ed. de Salis, p. 55.

21 *Vita Patrum Iurensium* 92, ed. Martine, p. 336 (transl. p. 337); Sidonius Apollinaris, epp. V, 6, 2; V, 7, 1; VI, 12, 3, ed. Loyen, vol. 2, pp. 182–3; vol. 3, pp. 26–7. I see these references as being to Chilperic the brother of Gundioc, and not to Chilperic the son of Gundioc, who may be an invention of Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* II, 28, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 73.

22 Sidonius Apollinaris, epp. V, 6, 2; V, 7, 1, ed. Loyen, vol. 2, pp. 182–3.

23 John of Antioch, fr. 209, 2 (= Priscus fr. 65), ed. Blockley, p. 374 (transl. p. 375); see also Heather, 'The Western Empire, 426–76', pp. 26–7, with additional citations.

24 John of Antioch, fr. 209, 2 (= Priscus fr. 65), ed. Blockley, p. 374 (transl. p. 375).

25 Heather, 'The Western Empire, 426–76'.

26 Wood, I., 'The Legislation of Magistri Militum: the laws of Gundobad and Sigismund' (forthcoming).

27 Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus of Vienne*, pp. 187–93; Wood, 'The Latin culture', pp. 367–80.

28 Cassiodorus, *Variae* I, 45, ed. Mommsen, pp. 39–41, at pp. 39–40, but see also ibidem I, 46, at p. 42.

29 See Momigliano, 'La caduta senza rumore', pp. 397–418.

30 Handley, 'Inscribing time and identity', pp. 83–102. Handley's statistics need slight revision in that he accepted as genuine some documents (Avitus, ep. 33, and *Collatio Episcoporum*, ed. Peiper, pp. 63 and 161–4) which Havet exposed as forgeries of Jérôme Vignier, and also in that he read some papal dating clauses (Avitus, epp. 41–2, ed. Peiper, pp. 69–72) as being Burgundian. The most convenient collection of inscriptions from the Burgundian kingdom is now to be found in Escher, *Genèse*, vol. 1, pp. 155–64.

31 Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus of Vienne*, pp. 362–9.

32 Avitus, ep. 46, ed. Peiper, pp. 75–6; transl. Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus of Vienne*, p. 370.

33 See also Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* II, 34, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 81–4; see Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus of Vienne*, pp. 163–207.

34 Avitus, epp. 78, 93–4, ed. Peiper, pp. 93, 100–2. For the patriciate, ep. 9, ed. Peiper, pp. 43–4, at p. 43; Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus of Vienne*, pp. 21, 135, 149.

35 Avitus, ep. 93, ed. Peiper, pp. 100–1.

36 Avitus, ep. 94, ed. Peiper, pp. 101–2.

37 Avitus, ep. 78, ed. Peiper, p. 93.

38 Avitus, ep. 94, ed. Peiper, pp. 101–2, at p. 101.

39 Avitus, ep. 49, ed. Peiper, pp. 77–8.

40 Avitus, epp. 9, 46A, 47, 48, ed. Peiper, pp. 43–4, 76–7; see also ep. 49, ed. Peiper, pp. 77–8.

41 Avitus, ep. 9, ed. Peiper, pp. 43–4. For the date Avitus, ed. Peiper, pp. 76–7; Heinzelmann, 'Gallische Prosopographie (260–527)', p. 634; Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus of Vienne*, pp. 134–40. For these attempts to end the schism, see Gillett, *Envoys*, pp. 228–9.

42 For a question over the identification Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus of Vienne*, p. 138, n. 5, though the same objection could also be raised over the identification of Celer, which is certainly correct.

43 For Vitalian, Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, pp. 1171–6 (Vitalianus 2). Our main source for Vitalian's revolt is Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon* s. a. 514, 515, ed. Mommsen, pp. 98–9. For a commentary on these events see Croke, *Count Marcellinus*, pp. 132–3. There is a useful discussion of Vitalian in Amory, *People and Identity*, pp. 127–31.

44 For Celer and Macedonius, see below; for Vitalian and Macedonius in 514–15, see Croke, *Count Marcellinus*, p. 132.

45 Kazhdan, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 3, p. 2182 (entry on Vitalian), but no evidence is offered to support the claim.

46 The worry about addressing Vitalian becomes less acute if the letter does not date to the period when he held the office of *magister militum per Thracias*.

47 Avitus, ep. 9, ed. Peiper, pp. 43–4.

48 For Laurentius, Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, pp. 658–9 (Laurentius 9). Heinzelmann, 'Gallische Prosopographie (260–527)', pp. 634–5, infers that he was a *cliens* of Vitalian, though that can be no more than a hypothesis, and it is difficult to see why he should not rather be a *cliens* of Celer; nor is it clear why a *vir illustris* should be a *cliens* of anyone.

49 Avitus, ep. 47, ed. Peiper, pp. 76–7, at p. 77: '*Miseramus dudum in parente famulum . . .*' ('Some time ago we had sent a servant in the person of the father . . .'; transl. Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus of Vienne*, p. 139).

50 Avitus, ep. 46A, ed. Peiper, p. 76.

51 Avitus, ep. 47, ed. Peiper, pp. 76–7, at p. 77: '. . . *quod vel de illius subolis adeptione iam compos vel de istius, quae nobiscum recedit, prosperitate securus est.*' ('. . . because he is both now certain that he will get that son of his back, and confident that the other son who is coming back with our party is safe'; transl. Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus of Vienne*, p. 139).

52 Avitus, ep. 49, ed. Peiper, pp. 77–8; see Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus of Vienne*, pp. 141–3.

53 Avitus, ep. 47–8, ed. Peiper, pp. 76–7.

54 Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, pp. 275–7 (Celer 2).

55 Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, pp. 1171–6.

56 For the riots, Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon* s. a. 512, ed. Mommsen, pp. 97–8.

57 Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, pp. 276–7, for references to Celer's tricking of Macedonius.

58 Avitus, *Contra Eutychianam Haeresim* II, 3, ed. Peiper, pp. 15–29, at pp. 22–9; for commentary, Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus of Vienne*, pp. 89–123.

59 Avitus, *Contra Eutychianam Haeresim* I, 1, ed. Peiper, pp. 15–22, at p. 16; transl. Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus of Vienne*, pp. 94–5.

60 Avitus, *Contra Eutychianam Haeresim* I, 3, ed. Peiper, at p. 16.

61 Avitus, ep. 46, ed. Peiper, pp. 75–6.

62 Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon* s. a. 514, ed. Mommsen, pp. 98–9; Croke, *Count Marcellinus*, p. 132.

63 Avitus, ep. 9, ed. Peiper, pp. 43–4.

64 Avitus, ep. 39, ed. Peiper, p. 68. For Senarius, see Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, pp. 988–9. Also Amory, *People and Identity*, p. 413, and Gillett, *Envoys*, pp. 190–219.

65 Avitus, *Contra Eutychianam Haeresim* II, 1, ed. Peiper, p. 22.

66 *Epistolae Arelatenses genuinae* 30, ed. Gundlach, pp. 42–4.

67 Avitus, ep. 39, ed. Peiper, p. 68.

68 Avitus, ep. 40, ed. Peiper, pp. 68–9.

69 Avitus, ep. 42, written in response to ep. 41, ed. Peiper, pp. 70–2, 69–70. It should be noted that neither survives in manuscripts of Avitus' correspondence.

70 Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 65–71, 129, 135–6.

71 Avitus, ep. 41, ed. Peiper, pp. 69–70, was received by the papacy on 30 January 517 (one might note that the consular date is a papal subscription and not part of Avitus' text): it appears to refer to a letter sent to Caesarius by Hormisdas on 11 September 515 (*Epistolae Arelatenses genuinae* 30, ed. Gundlach, pp. 42–4). It is not clear whether Caesarius' delay in passing on the information reflected ecclesiastical or secular divisions.

72 *Epistolae Arelatenses genuinae* 25, ed. Gundlach, pp. 35–6.

73 Avitus, ep. 29, ed. Peiper, p. 59; see also ep. 8, ed. Peiper, pp. 40–2. See the commentary in Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus of Vienne*, pp. 220–7.

74 Avitus, ep. 20, ed. Peiper, pp. 23–4; see also ep. 25, ed. Peiper, pp. 56–7.

75 Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, pp. 276–7.

76 Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, p. 277.

77 Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus of Vienne*, pp. 187–93.

78 Avitus, *Contra Eutychianam Haeresim* II, 2, ed. Peiper, at p. 22.

79 Woods, 'Origin', p. 391; Näf, *Städte und ihre Märtyrer*, p. 45.

80 Woods, 'Origin', p. 385.

81 Woods, 'Origin', pp. 390–1.

82 Eucherius, *Passio Acaunensium Martyrum* 4, ed. Krusch, p. 34.

83 *Vita Abbatum Acaunensium* 3, ed. Krusch, p. 176; Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* III, 5, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 100–1, at p. 101.

84 Rosenwein, 'Perennial Prayer in Agaune', pp. 37–56.

85 Allen, 'Definition', pp. 817–18.

86 Marius of Avenches, *Chronica* s. a. 515, ed. Favrod, p. 70 (transl. p. 71).

87 Avitus, ep. 9, ed. Peiper, pp. 43–4.

88 Avitus, hom. 25, ed. Peiper, pp. 145–6, at p. 146: transl. Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus of Vienne*, p. 379.

89 *Vita Abbatum Acaunensium* 3, ed. Krusch, p. 176.

90 See the Avitus homilies of dedication (Avitus, hom. 18, 19, 21, 24–6, 28–9, ed. Peiper, pp. 126–38, 141–51), with Wood, 'Audience', pp. 77–8.

91 Wood, 'Sépultures', p. 19.

92 The report of the archaeologist, H. J. Gosse, is reprinted in Wood, 'Sépultures', pp. 24–6.

93 Bonnet, *Fouilles*, pp. 62–3.

94 Grégoire, 'Saint Bénigne de Dijon', pp. 204–13.

95 Van der Straeten, 'Les actes des martyrs d'Aurélian en Bourgogne: le texte de Farfa', pp. 447–68, with the commentary by id., 'Les actes des martyrs d'Aurélian en Bourgogne: étude littéraire', pp. 115–44.

96 Wood, 'Incest', pp. 291–303.

97 Shanzer and Wood, *Avitus of Vienne*, p. 24.

98 Marius of Avenches, *Chronica* s. a. 524, 534, ed. Favrod, pp. 70–2 (transl. pp. 71–3).

Chapter 2

1 Ewig, 'Die Verehrung orientalischer Heiliger', pp. 393–410.

2 McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 283–318. See also Follieri, 'Rapporti', pp. 355–62; Lackner, 'Westliche Heilige', pp. 185–202; Rydén, 'Communicating Holiness', pp. 71–92; most recently Conant, 'Europe', pp. 1–46; Rapp, 'Hagiography', pp. 1221–82.

3   See Brown, 'Relics', pp. 222–50; id., *Cult*.

4   Walter, *Warrior Saints*, pp. 236–8.

5   Aubé, *Polyeucte dans l'histoire*, pp. 26–30.

6   Boswell, *Same-Sex-Unions*, p. 144; see also from a later literary perspective Scott, 'Manipulating Martyrdom', pp. 328–38.

7   O'Neill, *Passionate Holiness*, pp. 10–21.

8   O'Neill, *Passionate Holiness*, pp. 10–21.

9   It should be noted, however, that saint Polyeuctus's ability to revenge perjury is only mentioned in western sources whereas he does not appear to have been famous for this in eastern hagiography. See Devos, 'Saints garants', pp. 315–26. For Gregory of Tours's emphasis on this (see below, n. 24) see also Goffart, 'Gregory of Tours and the "Triumph of Superstition"', in id., *Narrators*, pp. 112–234, at p. 150. – I intend to return to saints specializing on perjury in another study.

10 See Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca (BHG)*, p. 215, nn. 1566–8; the text of BHG 1566 and 1567 is printed in Aubé, *Polyeucte dans l'histoire*, pp. 73–104; for Polyeuctus' *passio* written by Simeon Metaphrastes (BHG 1568 = Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 114, cols 417–30) see Lackner, 'Zu Editionsgeschichte, Textgestalt und Quellen', pp. 221–31; the Greek text of BHG 1568d, which is based on BHG 1568, is published with a French translation in Halkin, *Le ménologe impérial*, pp. 84–98; for Latin *passiones* see below, nn. 84 and 89.

11 Weigert, 'Polyeuctus von Melitene', pp. 218–19; see also Walter, *Warrior Saints*, pp. 237–8.

12 Delehaye, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, p. 379.

13 Harrison, *Temple*, pp. 33–5.

14 For the date, see Bardill, *Brickstamps*, pp. 1, 62–4 and 111–16.

15 Croke, 'Justinian, Theodora', pp. 25–63, esp. pp. 35–62; Ousterhout, 'New Temples', pp. 244–6. It is obviously for this reason that Procopius in his *Buildings* does not mention the church of Saint Polyeuctus, see Toivanen, 'Church', pp. 127–50.

16 See most conveniently Harrison, *Temple*.

17 Strube, *Polyeuktoskirche*.

18 Connor, 'Epigram', pp. 479–527; Whitby, 'The St Polyeuktos Epigram', pp. 159–88.

19 See most recently Bardill, 'A New Temple', pp. 339–70.

20 The church still harboured the head of saint Polyeuctus in the eleventh century, see Ciggaar, 'Une description', c. 27 at p. 258: '*In ipsa itaque via est ecclesia pulchra et magna sancti Poliocti martiris et est in ipsa caput eius.*' ('Therefore on this street is the beautiful and great church of Saint Polyeuctus the martyr, in which his head is situated.')

21 Deichmann, 'I pilastri acritani', pp. 75–89. See also Vickers, 'A "new" capital', pp. 227–30. See Brown, *Venice*, p. 17.

22 Gregory's description provides a better understanding of the church's building history, as is stated by Bardill, 'A New Temple', pp. 348–60.

23   If this allegation is true, it will obviously have referred to Justinian's Persian wars, on which see Greatrex, *Rome and Persia*, pp. 139–67.

24   Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Martyrum* 102, ed. Krusch, pp. 105–7 (all passages from Gregory's hagiographic works will be quoted according to this edition): '*Apud Constantinopolim vero magno cultu Polioctus martyr colitur, pro eo praecipuae quod, cum magnis virtutibus polleat, in periuribus tamen praesens ultor exsistit. Nam quicumque, ut adsolet, occultum scelus admiserit et data suspitione ad hoc perductus fuerit templum, aut statim quod admisit virtute martyris perterritus confitetur aut, si periuraverit, protinus ultione divina perculitur. Huius basilicae cameram Iuliana quaedam urbis illius matrona auro purissimo texit hoc modo. Cum ad imperatorem Iustinianum fama facultatis eius, multis narrantibus, pervenisset, ad occursum illius properare celerius non tardavit, dicens: "Latere te non puto, o venerabilis mater, qualiter ab specie auri thesauri publici sint exhausti, dum vos quietos esse volumus, dum patrias defensare studemus, dum gentes nobis placamus, dum solatia diversorum dando conquirimus. Ergo quia tibi potentia maiestatis divinae multum contulit auri, quaeso, ut nobis manum porrigas et aliquid pecuniae commodes, ut scilicet, cum tributorum publicorum fuerit summa delata, ilico tibi quae commodaveris reformentur, ac in postero, laudis tuae titulo praecurrente, canatur, urbem Constantinopolitam a Iuliana matrona fuisse pecuniis sublevatam." At illa intellegens imperatoris ingenium, sapienter obtegit quae Deo devoverat, dicens: "Parvitas reditum meorum, iam de tributis, quam quod de fructibus speratur, per ipsas adhuc residet domos; si ergo gloria vestra recipiendi spatium tribuit, cum collectum fuerit, conspectui vestro repraesentatur. Cumque oculis propriis cuncta contemplaveritis, quae placuerint et relinquitis et aufertis. Erit mihi ratum, quae voluntas cordis vestrae censuerit". His ita delusus imperator verbis, ad palatium gaudens rediit, putans se hanc pecuniam iam in thesauris publicis retenere. At illa, vocatis artificibus, quantum reperire auri in prumptuariis potuit, tradidit occulte, dicens: "ite, et factis iuxta mensuram tegnorum tabulis, beati ex hoc Poliocti martyris cameram exornate, ne haec avari imperatoris manus attingat". Illi vero, perfecta omnia quae matrona praeceperat, camerae adfixerunt texeruntque ex auro mundissimo. Quod opus explicitum, vocat mulier imperatorem, dicens: "Parvitate pecuniolae, quam coniungere potui, adest; veni ad contemplandum eam et quod libuerit facito". Surrexit gavisus imperator de solio, nihil percepturus ex auro; pergit ad domum mulieris, putans se copiosos thesauros palatio deportare. Cui cum mulier occursum humiliter reddidisset, invitat in templum martyris ad orationem – erat enim proximum domui eius – et haec quae habere potuerat loco illi delegaverat sancto. Adprehensam imperator manum mulieris, eo quod esset senex, ingreditur aedem, prosternitur ad orationem. Qua expleta, ait mulier: "Suspice, quaeso, cameram huius aedis, gloriosissime auguste, et scito, quia paupertas mea in hoc opere contenetur. Tu vero quod volueris exinde facito, non adversor". Ille vero suspiciens atque admirans, erubuit; et ne pudor eius*

manifestaretur, conlaudans opus et gratias agens, abscedere coepit. Sed ne rediret vacuus a munere, extractum mulier anolum a digito, cuius gemmam vola concluserat, qui non amplius auri pondus quam unius semiuntiae contenebat, obtulit ei, dicens: "Accipe, imperator sacratissime, hoc munusculum de manu mea, quod super pretium huius auri valere censetur". Erat enim in eo lapis Neronianus mirae viriditatis ac splendoris; qui cum fuisset ostensus, omne aurum quasi in viriditate visum est convertisse a pulchritudine gemmae. At ille accipiens et iterum atque iterum gratias agens et conlaudans matronam, in palatio est regressus. Unde non est dubium, etiam in hac re martyris huius intercessisse virtutem, ne opes locis sanctis et pauperibus delegatae in illius tranferrentur dominatione, cuius non fuerant studio congregatae.' The passages quoted in English have been taken from Van Dam, *Gregory of Tours*, pp. 93–5.

25 Cameron, 'The Byzantine Sources', pp. 421–6. See also Hen, 'Gregory of Tours', pp. 47–64.

26 See Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, pp. 635–6. See also most recently Leppin, *Justinian*, pp. 76–8.

27 Capizzi, 'Anicia Giuliana', pp. 191–226; id., *Anicia Giuliana*; Pizzone, 'Da Melitene a Costantinopoli', pp. 107–32.

28 Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, p. 635.

29 Harrison, 'The Church of St Polyeuktos', p. 278.

30 A second important aspect which Gregory does not mention either is that the change from Anastasius to Justin I brought religious reunion between East and West by putting an end to the Acacian schism; Anicia Juliana, who always had supported Chalcedonianism, had strong links with the popes. The inscription in her church also refers to the baptism of Constantine, and thus seems to be closely linked to the (western) legend of pope Silvester, see Fowden, 'Constantine', pp. 274–84; Bardill, 'A New Temple', p. 343; Connor, 'Epigram', pp. 485, 492. See also Speck, 'Juliana Anicia', pp. 133–47; Milner, 'Image', pp. 73–81.

31 In the epigram Anicia Juliana claimed to have built a temple to surpass the one erected by Solomon: Harrison, 'The Church of St Polyeuktos', pp. 276–9. Bardill, 'A New Temple', p. 357: 'Gregory's Biblical allusion may well suggest that he knew that the church of St Polyeuktos had been designed and decorated so as to emulate and supersede Solomon's Temple, and, if so, is a further indication that his story, even if elaborated and adjusted in some respects, is correct in its detail.'

32 See Croke, 'Justinian, Theodora', pp. 35–62.

33 Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, p. 636.

34 Note the question by Harrison, 'The Church of St Polyeuktos', p. 279: 'Was the gift in her church of the ring not the snub it appears to have been at first reading, but rather the formal transfer of royal authority to Justinian as her acknowledged successor?'

35 Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, p. 795. Iohannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. Thurn, p. 403 l. 43–5.

36 Charanis, 'The Monastic Properties', pp. 51–118; Kaplan, *Les propriétés de la couronne*.

37 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* VI, 46, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 319–21. All passages from Gregory's *Histories* will be quoted from this edition. On Chilperic and church property see Esders, *Römische Rechtstradition*, pp. 212–19.

38 See Hagemann, *Stellung*.

39 See Esders, 'Die frühmittelalterliche Blüte des Tauschgeschäfts', pp. 19–44.

40 Given the western preoccupation with saints avenging perjury (see above n. 9), it is not sure whether this story may be regarded as reflecting Justinian's policy towards oathtaking, on which see Pazdernik, '"The Trembling of Cain"', pp. 143–54. For western attitudes towards oathtaking see Uhalde, *Expectations*, pp. 77–104.

41 Bardill, 'A New Temple', p. 349.

42 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* VII, 6, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 329: '*Quibus* (sc. *legatis Childeberthi*) *ille* (sc. *Gunthramnus*) *ait: "Ecce pactiones, quae inter nos factae sunt, ut, quisque sine fratris voluntatem Parisius urbem ingrederetur, amitteret partem suam, essetque Polioctus martyr cum Hylario adque Martino confessoribus iudex ac retributor eius. Post haec ingressus est in ea germanus meus Sigyberthus, qui iudicio dei interiens amisit partem suam. Similiter et Chilpericus gessit. Per has ergo transgressiones amiserunt partes suas. Ideoque, quia illi iuxta Dei iudicium et maleditionibus pactionum defecerunt, omnem regnum Chariberthi cum thesauris eius meis ditionibus, lege opitulante, subiciam nec exinde alicui quicquam nisi spontanea voluntate indulgeam. Absistete igitur, vos semper mendaces ac perfidi, et haec regi vestro referte."*' ('"Here is the pact to which we agreed", answered king Guntram. "It stipulates that, if one of us should enter the city of Paris without the prior agreement of his brother, he should thereupon forfeit his share; and it nominates Polyeuctes the martyr, with the support of Saint Hilary and Saint Martin, to judge the circumstances and to punish the offender. Not long after this my brother Sigibert entered Paris: he died by the judgment of God and so forfeited his share. Next Chilperic entered Paris. By breaking the terms of the pact they both lost their claim to a share. They both incurred the vengeance of God and the malediction promised in the pact. Without breaking the law in any way I therefore propose to take under my own jurisdiction the whole kingdom of Charibert and his entire treasure: none of this will I hand over to anybody, except as a completely voluntary act on my part. Off you go, now, you liars and hypocrites, for that is the answer which you can take back to your King"' (transl. Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours*, pp. 391–2).

43 See Drabek, 'Merowingervertrag', p. 36.

44 On the composition of these parts see the contrasting views of Halsall, 'The Preface to Book V', pp. 311–12, and Murray, 'Chronology and the Composition of the Histories of Gregory of Tours', pp. 165–70.

45   See below n. 68.

46   A point made by Widdowson, 'Merovingian Partitions', p. 21.

47   Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IV, 45, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 180.

48   Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* VII, 6 and IX, 20, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 328–9
     and 434–41.

49   For Dionysius see Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Martyrum* 71, ed. Krusch,
     pp. 85–6. – There may be yet another reference to this treaty in the chronicle of
     Fredegar. In a passage that does not build upon Gregory's *Histories* Fredegar
     mentions an alliance concluded between Sigibert and Chilperic against Guntram,
     which was followed by a peace treaty between the three brothers sworn at Troyes
     and protected by its local saint Lupus (Fredegar, *Chronicae* III, 71, ed. Krusch,
     p. 112). Although Fredegar's story also pays particular attention to the oath and the
     consequences of breaking it, the relationship between the two passages still has to
     be ascertained. On oathtaking structuring narrative see Reuter, 'Serment et
     narrativité', pp. 203–21; with regard to its function in historiographical and
     hagiographical discourse see Esders, 'Der Reinigungseid mit Helfern', pp. 74–6.

50   Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* II, 37–8, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 88–9. See
     McCormick, 'Clovis at Tours', pp. 155–80.

51   Fredegar, *Chronicae* III, 24, ed. Krusch, pp. 102–3.

52   Ewig, 'Martinskult', pp. 379–80.

53   Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmen* X, 7, ed. Leo, pp. 239–40 l. 27–31.

54   See Ewig, 'Die fränkischen Teilungen und Teilreiche', p. 139. It is also striking that
     Gregory does not claim that the division of Charibert's kingdom would have been
     carried out in an equal manner – in contrast with his account of the partition of
     511 which was made '*aequa lante*' (*Historiae* III, 1, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 97). In
     his account, both the partitions after Chlothar's and Charibert's death were made in
     a lawful manner, but soon instigated conflict between the brothers. The partition in
     561 was a '*divisio legitima*' made by '*sors*' (ibid. IV, 22, p. 155).

55   See e. g. James, *The Franks*, pp. 171–2; Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 369;
     Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 39.

56   This seems likely since Gregory reports that bishop Eufronius of Tours
     miraculously predicted king Charibert's death: *Liber in Gloria Confessorum* 19, ed.
     Krusch, pp. 308–9; see also *Historiae* V, 14, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 210.

57   Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IV, 45, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 180.

58   Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IV, 45, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 180.

59   Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IV, 47, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 184.

60   See also Widdowson, 'Merovingian Partitions', pp. 9–12.

61   Dumézil, *La reine Brunehaut*, pp. 113–30.

62   Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* VI, 27, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 295: '*Chilpericus rex*
     pridie quam pascha celebraretur, Parisius abiit. Et ut maledictum, quod in pactione

sua vel fratrum suorum conscriptum erat, ut nullus eorum Parisius sine alterius
voluntate ingrederetur, carere posit, reliquias sanctorum multorum praecidentibus,
urbem ingressus est diesque paschae cum multa iocunditate tenuit filiumque sum
baptismo tradedit, quem Ragnemodus ipsius urbis sacerdus de lavacro sancto suscepit,
ipsumque Theodoricum vocitare praecepit.' ('On Easter Eve King Chilperic set off for
Paris. In order to avoid the curse pronounced in the pact between his brothers and
himself on whichever of them should enter Paris without agreement of the others,
he sent the relics of a great number of saints on ahead, and then marched into the
city himself. He celebrated the feast of Easter with great joy and happiness, and
brought his son to be baptized. They boy was lifted from the baptismal pool by
Ragnemod, Bishop of Paris, and was named Theuderic, in compliance with the
King's wish.' (transl. Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 355).

63 Jussen, *Spiritual Kinship as Social Practice*, p. 170 n. 300. See also Ewig, 'Die
fränkischen Teilungen und Teilreiche', p. 141.

64 Ragnemod belonged to the faction of king Chilperic, by whom he had been
appointed bishop of Paris in the year 576. See Jussen, *Spiritual Kinship as Social
Practice*, pp. 168–70.

65 See Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 148.

66 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* VI, 34, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 304–5: '*Sed
Chilperico rege egresso de Parisius, ut in pago Sessionico accederet, novus luctus
advenit. Filius enim eius, quem anno superiore sacro baptismate abluerat, a desinteria
correptus, spiritum exalavit. Hoc enim fulgor ille, quod superius ex nube dilapsum
memoravimus figuravit.'* ('King Chilperic then left home and travelled some way
towards Soissons, but on the journey he suffered yet another bereavement. His son,
who had been baptized only a year before, fell ill with dysentery and died.' (transl.
Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 364).

67 This caused Chilperic to postpone a marriage project with the Visigothic king
Leovigild, and his wife Fredegund to incriminate the prefect Mummolus of having
used magic practices that ultimately killed the king's son: Gregory of Tours,
Historiae VI, 35, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 305–6. See Zeddies, *Religio et
sacrilegium*, pp. 248–51.

68 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* VI, 46, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 319–21. See on
this the different interpretations given by Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*,
pp. 48–51, 148 and Halsall, 'Nero and Herod?', pp. 337–50. Chilperic was the bad
guy for he had broken the 'Paris treaty', and also had taken the bishoprics of
Tours and Poitiers away from Sigibert's kingdom so that Gregory himself became
subject to him.

69 On the treaty of Andelot see above nn. 43 and 48.

70 Hartmann, '"Reginae sumus"', pp. 1–19; ead., *Königin*, p. 72. Chrodechildis later took
the chance to break out in the course of a famous rebellion which took place in the

monastery of Sainte Croix in Poitiers in the late 580s. See Scheibelreiter, 'Königstöchter', pp. 1–38.

71 As already noted by Armand, *Chilpéric Ier*, p. 101 n. 3.

72 Dubois, 'Martyrologium Hieronymianum', cols 360–1. See also Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*.

73 An entry is recorded for 9 April: '*V id. April. Ravenna dedicatio oratorii sancti Poleucti.*' ('On 5 Idus of April, Ravenna, consecration of the oratory of Saint Polyeuctus'). For 21 May there also is a brief note: '*Ravenna Martyriae Cessaria Polieucti.*' ('Ravenna, "cessaria" of Polyeuctus the martyr'). This has been referred by the editor's conjecture to a Ravenna district called 'Caesarea': '*Ravenna in Caesarea Polieucti martyris*'. See Delehaye, 'L'hagiographie ancienne de Ravenne', pp. 14–15. But it is also possible that this entry refers to Polyeuctus of Caesarea, who is mentioned along with the Cappadocian saints Victor, Donatus and Quintus in Jerome's martyrology on 21 May (I owe this reference to Martin Heinzelmann). If this identification is correct, it would lend further support to assuming that the Polyeuctus venerated in Francia was the one of Melitene whose cult was in Constantinople. This assumption will be elaborated more neatly below.

74 See recently Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, pp. 13–29 and 133–8 rejecting the idea of an Italian recension and arguing for an origin of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* in Burgundy shortly after 600.

75 A suggestion made by O'Neill, *Passionate Holiness*, p. 19.

76 See above nn. 26–8. But see also above n. 73.

77 On early medieval Metz see Bour, *Histoire de Metz*; on the hinterland of Metz see Halsall, *Settlement and Social Organization*.

78 Klauser, T. and Bour, R. S., 'Un document du IXe siècle', pp. 497–641, esp. pp. 540–3 on the church of Saint Polyeuctus; Klauser, 'Eine Stationsliste der Metzer Kirche', pp. 162–93. Edition: Pelt, *Études sur la cathédrale de Metz*, p. 29: '*FERia II, ebdomada I, statio ad sanctum polioctum martyrum.*' ('Monday, first week, station at Saint Polyeuctus the martyr.')

79 Bern, Burgerbibliothek 289 (late eighth and early ninth century), foll. 52v–129v. On the manuscript see Kirsch, 'Die Berner Handschrift', pp. 113–24; Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta*, pp. 77–80.

80 It was used by the cathedral chapter of Metz in the ninth century, see Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, pp. 89–94.

81 Bern, Burgerbibliothek 289, fol. 58r: '*In Militana civitate. natale poliotti.*' ('In the city of Melitene. Anniversary of Polyeuctus.'). See Gauthier, *Province ecclésiastique de Trèves*, p. 50.

82 A 'processionale' dating from the eleventh century mentions saint Polyeuctus along with saint Livarius and other saints, as one station, see Pelt, *Études sur la cathédrale de Metz*, p. 141. The relics of saint Livarius had been introduced into the church of

Saint Polyeuctus in the later tenth century, see Gauthier, *Province ecclésiastique de Trèves*, p. 50. See van der Straeten, 'Saint Livier', pp. 375 and 381 n. 2. For saint Livarius see Weyland, *Nos saints*, vol. 4, pp. 123–96.

83 *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina* (BHL) 6885.

84 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5278 (Colbert. 11), foll. 37r–40r; Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes MB 14, foll. 224r–225v. The version of the Brussels manuscript is incomplete and transmits hardly more than the first half of the text; it was not known to Aubé, *Polyeucte dans l'histoire*, pp. 105–14, who based his edition of the *passio* on the Paris manuscript alone. A second Latin translation of the *passio* preserved in the *Acta sanctorum* is based on the Greek life composed by Simeon Metaphrastes in the late tenth century, see Leclercq, 'Polyeucte', p. 1373. But this Latin translation was obviously produced much later, probably by the Bollandists themselves: see Lackner, 'Zu Editionsgeschichte, Textgestalt und Quellen', p. 224. All other Latin *passiones* extant today are abbreviated versions or small summaries, which refer either to Polyeuctus of Caesarea (see above n. 73) or present a Polyeuctus *passio* together with that of two other saints from Alexandria called Candidianus and Philoromus (BHL 6888). On this grouping see Poncelet, 'Passio SS. Polyeucti', pp. 464–76; Delehaye, 'Les martyrs d'Égypte', pp. 42–3, 53, 60, 121–2.

85 Levison, 'Conspectus codicum hagiographicorum', pp. 535–6 and 635 n. 463.

86 See Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs', pp. 196–8. See also Goullet, 'Les saints du diocèse de Toul', p. 19.

87 The Brussels manuscript includes the *passio* in a hagiographical collection forming the manuscript's third part (foll. 172–237). For the contents of this manuscript see Moretus, 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae Bollandianae', p. 439 n. 113. The argument for its connection to Metz and to the Paris manuscript goes as follows: the life of Patiens, the fourth bishop of Metz (BHL 6482), which is solely preserved on foll. 420–1 of the Paris manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5278, claims apostolic legitimacy for Metz by declaring Patiens a pupil of John the Evangelist, who on the latter's initiative went to Gaul to fill the vacant bishopric of Metz. To back this claim, the Metz author made use of an interpolated version of a *Passio Iohannis* which is only preserved in the Brussels manuscript that also has the *Passio Polyeucti*. See Kempf, 'Patiens', pp. 190–9; id., 'From East to West', pp. 71–7. It thus also seems likely that the Brussels manuscript (or its model) has been kept or even been written in Metz.

88 Aubé, *Polyeucte dans l'histoire*, p. 18; Leclercq, 'Polyeucte', p. 1372.

89 I intend to return to this question in a separate study which will also include a new edition of the text.

90 Aubé, *Polyeucte dans l'histoire*, p. 105: '*Beatorum agones Martyrum competenter edicere laudibus Christi gratiae plurimum addidisse est, qui semper est mirabilis in suorum glorificatione sanctorum. Unde, amantissime virorum, voluntati simul et*

devotioni tuae pro viribus occurrere non magis laboriosum quam fructuosum
crediderim. Petis enim a me gloriosissimum certamen Polieucti martyris gestis inseri,
quod negligentia scriptorum suppressum, muta propemodum continet pagina.
Approbo studium tuum. Neque enim ista sine exemplo, quum facis quod soles.
Et fortassis tanto martyris digna scriberem, si magistra materia narrare volenti
plenior constaret. Nunc autem quasi per tenues et umbratas lineas vix stilum regens,
quotiens respicio membranulam abs te directam, tociens tuorum Orientalium
desidiam mecum ipse reprehendo, qui nec sibi quidem in scribendo affuerunt dum
remotioribus pene nichil contulerint. Accipe ergo nostra, qualia destinare possumus,
eodem officio caritatis, quo et ego ex te tua suscepi. Pignus laboris nostri fratribus
commenda, cum fructu quandoque reportandum; et, ut tecum nostri quoque
memores superesse dignentur, quibus vales, precibus effice. Adjuvabunt preces sanctas
merita beati martyris; quem dum scribimus, amamus, et ut ipse quoque nos amore
suo dignos secum ascribi faciat, humili prece deposcimus.' ('To put into words
appropriately the combats of the blessed martyrs means adding greatest thanks to
the praise of Christ, who is always miraculous in the glorification of his saints.
Therefore, most amiable of all men, I may deem it less laborious than fruitful to
comply equally with your wish and your devotion to the best of my ability. For you
desire me to add to the deeds (of the martyrs) the most glorious combat of the
martyr Polyeuctus, which a page that is almost mute contains, due to him being
neglected by scribes. I agree with your zeal. For it is not without example if you do
what you are accustomed to. And perhaps I could write something more dignified
of such a great martyr, if there were more ample master material for the person
wanting to narrate it. While now moving the stylus through as it were thin and dark
lines as often as I look at the empty parchment you sent to me I blame by myself the
indolence of your Orientals, who not even for themselves were very useful in
writing, whereas they transmitted next to nothing to those living in a distance.
Please accept our work as we are able to send it to you with the same bond of love
as I have received it from you (before). Entrust to the brothers the pawn of my
work, which one day has to be brought back with profit; and ensure by prayers of
petition, as you can, that they and you want to preserve the memory of ours. The
merits of the blessed martyr will support the holy prayers. We love him, while we
are writing, and we desire in humble petition that he might take care by himself
that we also might get numbered among those worthy of his love.') See on this also
Leclercq, 'Polyeucte', p. 1377 with a French translation. The wording '*tui Orientales*'
suggests the dedicant's familiarity with eastern saints.

91   On the bishops Petrus of Metz and Nicetius of Trier see below nn. 101–2.

92   I disagree here with Ewig, 'Die Verehrung orientalischer Heiliger', p. 394 who
supposed a transfer of Polyeuctus's relics from the Rhône valley.

93   See Dollinger-Leonard, 'De la cité romaine à la ville médiévale', pp. 195–201 on Metz.

94 On Merovingian church-building in Metz in the 560s see also Halsall, 'Town, Societies and Ideas', p. 253: 'St Polieuctus is very likely to have been a royal foundation of this period'.

95 Metz appears to have functioned as capital already in the first half of the sixth century, see Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IV, 7, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 135 and Fredegar, *Chronicae* III, 29, ed. Krusch, p. 103, but Sigibert and Brunhild certainly mark a new step in its development as Austrasian capital.

96 See also the rather speculative remarks by Wolfram, 'Königin Brunhilde', pp. 113–22.

97 Sigibert's father, Chlothar I, had begun building a *basilica* in honour of Saint Medardus (bishop of Noyon and Tournai, died in 557) in Soissons, which was finished by Sigibert (see Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IV, 19, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 152). It is for this reason that the building of a church dedicated to Saint Medard in Metz can plausibly be ascribed to Sigibert; this church was situated next to the church of saint Polyeuctus *extra muros*. See Weidemann, 'Zur Topographie von Metz', pp. 158–9.

98 *Epistolae Austrasicae*, ed. Gundlach, pp. 110–53; *Il 'liber epistolarum'*, ed. Malaspina.

99 See Gundlach, 'Die Sammlung der Epistulae Austrasicae', pp. 365–87. The library catalogue of the abbey of Lorsch says twice that the *Epistolae Austrasicae* were found in Trier (Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, p. 115: Lorsch Cat 1, LIX, 544, [45]: *Liber epistolarum diversorum patrum et regum quas Treveris inveni in uno codice XLIII*: p. 122: Lorsch Cat 2: fol. 29 v. [544], *Liber epistularum diversorum patrum et regum quas treueris inueni in uno codice XLIII*). This suggests a close connection of the collection with the archbishopric of Trier (I owe this reference to Ian Wood).

100 On Gogo see Irsigler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 149–52; Selle-Hosbach, *Prosopographie merowingischer Amtsträger*, pp. 101–3 no. 112. Gogo is called *maior domus* in Fredegar, *Chronicae* III, 59, ed. Krusch, p. 109. On Gogo's Austrasian networks see Dumézil, 'Gogo et ses amis', pp. 553–93.

101 *Epistolae Austrasicae* 22, ed. Gundlach, p. 135: '*Sed nec illum insalutatum relinque, cuius gressibus indesinenter sanctorum limina visitantur et nunc super Musellae litoribus praecelsa templi cernitur construxisse iam culmina, et de cuius doctrina regum sunt ornata palatia.*'

102 See Wolfram, 'Königin Brunhilde', pp. 114–15. On Nicetius see Anton, *Trier im frühen Mittelalter*, pp. 131–8; see Seibert, 'Nicetius', pp. 197–8.

103 *Epistolae Austrasicae* 8, ed. Gundlach, pp. 119–22, perhaps dating from 563/565. This letter has, of course, most often been treated as evidence for Clovis's baptism. See most recently Becher, *Chlodwig I.*, pp. 186–9.

104 *Epistolae Austrasicae* 7, ed. Gundlach, pp. 118–19. See Pohlsander, 'A Call to Repentence', pp. 457–73. For a general perspective see Wood, 'The Franks and Papal Theology', pp. 223–41. We may assume that Nicetius acted with

Sigibert's consent. Despite Gregory's harsh criticism on Justin II (*Historiae* IV, 40, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 171–3), it seems very likely to me that Justinian's death and Justin II's religious policy soon changed Austrasian attitudes towards Constantinople.

105 See Venantius, *Carmen* III, 12 ('*De castello [Nicetii episcopi Treverensis] super Mosella*'), ed. Leo, pp. 64–5. See the remarks by the editor Gundlach (above n. 98) p. 135 n. 1 and Ewig, *Trier im Merowingerreich*, p. 102.

106 See Meckseper, 'Der Palast des Nicetius', pp. 161–9. The chapel dedicated to the Holy Cross is attested in the year 704 for the first time, but obviously of much greater age.

107 See Ewig, *Trier im Merowingerreich*, pp. 103–4. Evidence for this provides Nicetius' letter to Chlodosvinda (see above n. 103).

108 Gregory of Tours, *Liber vitae patrum* 17, ed. Krusch, p. 277.

109 On the relationship between Gregory and Nicetius see Ewig, *Trier im Merowingerreich*, p. 98 n. 42.

110 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Confessorum* 92, ed. Krusch, p. 357: '*Iam de periuriis quid dicam? Si quis enim ibi falsum iuramentum proferre ausus fuerit, ilico divina ultione corregitur; nec quisquam haec vel loqui audet, si conscientia torquente, reum se esse cognoverit, quod ibi sacramentum praesumat exsolvere.*'

111 Uhalde, 'Proof and Reproof', pp. 1–11. For a more general perspective, see Esders, 'Der Reinigungseid mit Helfern'.

112 Hermann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints*, pp. 236–9; Becher, *Eid und Herrschaft*, pp. 180–1.

113 See above n. 102.

114 Levison, 'Metz und Südfrankreich im frühen Mittelalter', pp. 157–8; Oexle, 'Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulf', pp. 260–1.

115 As already observed by Ewig, 'Die Verehrung orientalischer Heiliger', p. 394 n. 90.

116 See Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, pp. 41–62, at pp. 60–1. In the Metz palace Childebert II watched dogs hunting animals, as is mentioned by Gregory in his *Histories* (VIII, 36, ed. Krusch, p. 404). On the disputed question of Roman continuity see Halsall, 'Towns, Societies and Ideas'; id., *Settlement and Social Organization*; and on the other hand Bachrach, 'Fifth-Century Metz', pp. 363–81.

117 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IV, 22, ed. Krusch, p. 155; see also Dierkens and Périn, 'Les "sedes regiae" mérovingiennes', pp. 284–92. On Metz as Austrasian capital see also Bour, *Histoire de Metz*, pp. 40–2.

118 Halsall, *Settlement and Social Organization*, pp. 12–13; Springer, 'Sigibert I.', p. 387.

119 Stahl, *The Merovingian Coinage of Metz*; for an extant royal gold coin of Sigibert I (*Sigebertus–Tullo*) of great weight bearing the figure of victory: see ibid. pp. 117, 133 and 388 (plate C1a).

120 Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmen* VII, 1, ed. Leo, pp. 153–4, at p. 153 l. 41–2. Gogo, a very educated person, is supposed to have directed the 'palace school' at Sigibert's court (see ibid. VII, 4, ed. Leo, pp. 155–6, at p. 156 l. 25–6). At Metz, he was one of the patrons of Venantius, four of whose poems addressed to him have survived, see George, *Venantius Fortunatus*, pp. 136–40. On Gogo see also above n. 100.

121 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IV, 27, ed. Krusch, p. 160. See Dumézil, *La reine Brunehaut*, pp. 128–30.

122 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IV, 27, ed. Krusch, p. 160. See also Uhalde, 'Proof and Reproof', pp. 9–10 and Dumézil, *La reine Brunehaut*, pp. 116–17: 'En 566, le mariage de Brunehaut constitua probablement un chef-d'œuvre de Nizier.'

123 Hen, *Roman Barbarians*, pp. 98–9.

124 Brennan, 'Venantius Fortunatus', p. 8. On the Byzantine background of the marriage of Sigibert and Brunhild and the role of Venantius see also Dumézil, *La reine Brunehaut*, pp. 115–17. But I should like to add that Franco-Byzantine relations must have changed completely soon after Justinian's death and Justin II's accession to the throne in Constantinople. See also Cameron, 'The Early Religious Policies of Justin II', pp. 51–7. On the relationship between Justinian and Athanagild, Brunhild's father, see Stroheker, 'Das spanische Westgotenreich und Byzanz', pp. 212–13; Vallejo Girvéz, 'The Treaties', pp. 208–18, convincingly stressing the importance of Athanagild's permission to Justinian entering Spain and Leovigild's departure from his predecessor's policy from 569 onward.

125 Bachrach, *The Anatomy of a Little War*, p. 13.

126 The Council of Tours, held in mid-November 567, appears to have been foreshadowed by an imminent crisis and the fear of civil war: *Concilia aevi Merovingici*, ed. Maassen, pp. 121–38; on the council's decisions and its political background see Pontal, *Synoden*, pp. 128–35; Mikat, *Inzestgesetzgebung*, pp. 41–50; most recently Ubl, *Inzestverbot und Gesetzgebung*, pp. 157–66. For the date see MacDermott, 'Felix of Nantes', p. 8 n. 12. One of its canons is probably influenced by a novel of Justinian, see Scherner, '"Ut propriam familiam nutriat"', pp. 356–7.

127 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IV, 40, ed. Krusch, p. 172: '*Denique Sigyberthus rex legatus ad Iustinum imperatorem misit, pacem petens, id est Warmarium Francum et Firminum Arvernum. Qui euntis evectu navali, Constantinopolitanam sunt urbem ingressi, locutique tamen cum imperatore, quae petierant obtenuerunt. In alium tamen annum in Galliis sunt regressi. Post haec autem Antiochia Egypti et Apamia Siriae maximae civitatis a Persis captae sunt, et populus captivus abductus. Basilica tunc sancti Iuliani Anthiocensis martyris gravi incendio concremata est.*' ('King Sigibert sent Warinar the Frank and Firminus from Clermont-Ferrand to him as envoys to seek peace. They went by sea and came to the town of Constantinople, where they had audience with the Emperor and gained what they had come to seek. They returned to Gaul the following year.' (transl. Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 235).

128 Stein, *Studien*, pp. 16 and 34. See most recently Dölger, *Regesten*, p. 11 n. 24 dating the treaty to the year 571 (572?). See also Bachrach, *The Anatomy of a Little War*, pp. 188–9 n. 123.

129 Löhlein, *Die Alpen- und Italienpolitik der Merowinger*, p. 62 suggests the years around 570 as the treaty's date.

130 Meier, 'Die Translatio des Christusbildes', pp. 237–50.

131 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IV, 41, ed. Krusch, p. 174.

132 Hen, 'Les authentiques', pp. 78–80. On the date, see also Bachrach, *The Anatomy of a Little War*, p. 21.

133 Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* II, 14, ed. Krusch, pp. 386–7; see Moreira, '*Provisatrix optima*', pp. 289–98.

134 *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* X, 1, ed. Chabot, pp. 284–5.

135 As is emphasized by Michael the Syrian (above n. 134).

136 Cameron, 'The Early Religious Policies of Justin II'.

137 Meier, 'Die Translatio des Christusbildes', p. 250.

138 See on this Meier, 'Die Translatio des Christusbildes', p. 250 and Brandes, 'Thüringer/Thüringerinnen in byzantinischen Quellen', pp. 302–5, supposing that Radegund must have had notice taken of this by her relatives resident in Constantinople. See also Klein, 'Constantine, Helena and the Cult of the True Cross in Constantinople', pp. 38–9.

139 According to Bachrach, *The Anatomy of a Little War*, p. 24 Radegund's request must have preceded Sigibert's treaty with Justin II, but in case there were no additional treaties recorded in our sources it seems more likely to me to regard the treaty as a precondition for the transfer of relics.

140 See Goffart, 'Byzantine Policy in the West', pp. 73–117; Collins, 'Theodebert I, *Rex Magnus Francorum*', pp. 7–33; Ewig, *Die Merowinger und das Imperium*, pp. 27–42.

141 On this see Brandes, 'Thüringer/Thüringerinnen in byzantinischen Quellen', pp. 302–5.

142 Venantius, *Carmen* II, ed. Leo, pp. 275–8. See Szövérffy, 'Venantius Fortunatus', pp. 107–22; Moreira, '*Provisatrix optima*', pp. 301–2, and Bachrach, *The Anatomy of a Little War*, p. 23.

143 Cameron, 'The Early Religious Policies of Justin II', pp. 53–5.

144 Cameron, 'The Early Religious Policies of Justin II', pp. 55–8.

145 Belting-Ihm, 'Das Justinuskreuz', pp. 142–66; Cameron, 'The Early Religious Policies of Justin II', pp. 59, 66–7; Klein, 'Eastern Objects and Western Desires', pp. 288–9.

146 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IX, 40, ed. Krusch, p. 464: '*Tempore Chlothari regis, cum beata Radegundis hoc monasterium instituisset, semper subiecta et oboediens cum omni congregatione sua anterioribus fuit episcopis. Tempore vero Sigyberthi, postquam Maroveus episcopatum urbis adeptus est, acceptis epistulis Sygiberthi regis,*

pro fide ac devotione Radegundis beata in partibus orientis clericos distinat pro dominicae crucis ligno ac sanctorum apostolorum ceterorumque martyrum reliquiis. Qui euntes detulerunt haec pignora. Quibus delatis, petiit regina episcopum, ut cum honore debito grandique psallentio in monastyrium locarentur. Sed ille dispiciens suggestionem eius, ascensis aequitibus, villae se contulit. Tunc regina iteratis ad regem Sigibertum direxit, depraecans, ut iniunctione sua quicumque ex episcopis haec pignora cum illo quo decebat honorem votumque eius exposcebat in monastyrium collocaret. Ad hoc enim opus beatus Eufronius urbis Toronicae episcopus iniungitur. Qui cum clericis suis Pectavo accedens, cum grandi psallentium et caererorum micantium ac thymiamatis apparatu sancta pignora, absente loci episcopo, in monastirium detulit.' ('In King Lothar's days, when Saint Radegund founded the nunnery, she herself and all her community were submissive and obedient to the bishops of the period. In the days of Sigibert, by which time Maroveus had succeeded to the bishopric, Saint Radegund, inspired by her faith and led on by her devotion, sent churchmen to eastern lands to search for pieces of wood from the True Cross, and for relics of the holy Apostles and other martyrs. She had King Sigibert's written permission to do this. The churchmen set out and eventually they brought back some relics. As soon as these arrived, the Queen asked bishop Maroveus if he would deposit them in her nunnery with all due honour and a great ceremony of psalm-chanting. He refused point-blank: instead, he climbed on his horse and went off to visit one of his country estates. Then the Queen wrote a second time to Sigibert, begging him to order one of his bishops to deposit the relics in the nunnery with all the honour due to them, in compliance with her vow. Sigibert deputed Saint Eufronius, Bishop of Tours, to do what Radegund had asked. Eufronius came to Poitiers with his clergy. Maroveus deliberately stayed away, but Eufronius deposited the sacred relics in the nunnery with much chanting of psalms, with candles gleaming and with a great burning of incense.' (transl. Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 530).

147 Widdowson, 'Merovingian Partitions', p. 13.
148 Edwards, 'Their Cross to Bear', pp. 65–77.
149 Widdowson, 'Merovingian Partitions', p. 12.
150 For Gregory's striking interest in Austrasian affairs in his *Histories* see Murray, 'Chronology and the Composition of the Histories of Gregory of Tours', pp. 165, 175, 193–5.
151 Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 138: 'The involvement of Sigibert may imply that there was a diplomatic context to Justin's gift. Between 565 and 574 Sigibert sent ambassadors to Justin to negotiate peace. Since Radegund's request for and reception of the relics is not dated, it is impossible to say whether they were bound up with these particular negotiations. Whether they were or not, Radegund herself had some international status.'

152 Widdowson, 'Merovingian Partitions', p. 13.

153 Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* II, 16, ed. Krusch, p. 388: '*Quod fecit illa* (sc. *Helena*) *in orientali patria, hoc fecit beata Radegundis in Gallia*'; McNamara, Halborg and Whatley, *Sainted Women*, p. 97.

154 See on this McNamara, '*Imitatio Helenae*', pp. 51–80.

155 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IX, 40, ed. Krusch, p. 464. This is also mentioned in Baudonivia's *Vita*, see above n. 153.

156 Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* II, 16, ed. Krusch, pp. 388–9.

157 Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* II, 16, ed. Krusch, p. 389.

158 Widdowson, 'Merovingian Partitions', p. 14. On Mummolus' campaigns see Buchner, *Provence*, pp. 20 and 101.

159 According to Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IV, 29, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 161–2 Sigibert concluded a peace treaty with the Avars, which antedated the Lombards' invasion of Italy. Fritze, 'Zur Bedeutung der Awaren', p. 527. See also the discussion in Pohl, *Die Awaren*, pp. 46–8.

160 This also holds true for other Byzantine–Frankish 'peace-treaties' such as the one concluded in 629: Esders, 'Herakleios', pp. 305–11.

161 On this see Christou, *Byzanz und die Langobarden*, pp. 100–22.

162 Rigold, 'An Imperial Coinage', pp. 93–133.

163 Uhalde, 'The Quasi-Imperial Coinage', pp. 134–65. The papacy may also have been involved here linking Constantinople and the Frankish kingdoms, see Grierson, 'The "Patrimonium Petri in illis partibus"', pp. 95–111.

164 An important point made by Bachrach, *The Anatomy of a Little War*, p. 24.

165 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Münzkabinett, accession number 1920/1194, object number 18211378. See De Belfort, *Description générale des monnaies mérovingiennes*, vol. III no. 4908; Depeyrot, *Le numéraire mérovingien*, vol. III, p. 154 n. 1 type 2-1C (ca. 560–585). A more precise date than the ruler's years or the period immediately after (ca. 565–585) cannot be given. There are further copies of this type extant.

166 Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* II, 16, ed. Krusch, p. 388: '*Et quia sine consilio, in mundo dum vixit, nihil facere voluit, transmisit litteras ad praecellentissimum domnum Sigibertum regem, cuius imperio patria ista regebatur, ut ei permitteret pro totius patriae salute et eius regni stabilitate lignum crucis Domini ab imperatore expetere.*' ('Since she wished to do nothing without counsel while she lived in the world, she sent letters to the most excellent King Sigebert who held this land in his power asking that, for the welfare of the whole fatherland and the stability of his kingdom, he would permit her to ask the emperor for wood from the Lord's cross.' (transl. McNamara, Halborg and Whatley, *Sainted Women*, p. 97).

167 See Claude, 'Oath', pp. 4–26; Ewig, 'La prière pour le roi', pp. 255–67; id., 'Gebetsklausel', pp. 87–99.

168 See above n. 106.

169 Pelt, *Études sur la cathedrale de Metz*, p. 30: '*Feria II, ebdomada III, quae pro scrutinis electorum celebratur, tunc denuntiandum est scrutinium ad incoandum sicut in sacramentorum continetur, statio ad sanctam crucem iuxta columnas.*' ('Monday, third week, which is celebrated for interrogations of the elected, then the interrogation has to be proclaimed at the beginning, as is written in (the book of) the sacraments: station at the Holy Cross by the columns.') See also Gauthier, *Province ecclésiastique de Trèves*, p. 46. For its connection with the palace, which was later called *Aula Romanorum*, see Weidemann, 'Zur Topographie von Metz', p. 167. For the location of the palace on the hill Sainte Croix, which had been the site of the Roman *praetorium*, see also Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, pp. 60–1. On the possibilty of fragments of the True Cross being brought to Tours after 565 see Frolow, *La relique de la vraie croix*, p. 178 nn. 31–2.

170 See above n. 127.

171 Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* II, 16, ed. Krusch, p. 388.

172 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Martyrum* 5, ed. B. Krusch, pp. 39–40: '*Crux dominica, quae ab Helena Augusta reperta est, ita quarta et sexta feria adoratur. Huius reliquias et merito et fide Helenae conparanda regina Radegundis expetiit ac devote in monasterium Pictavensem, quod suo studio constituit, collocavit; misitque pueros iterum Hierusolymis ac per totam Orientis plagam. Qui circumeuntes sepulchra sanctorum martyrum confessorumque, cunctorum reliquias detulerunt, quas in arca argentea cum ipsa cruce sancta locatas, multa exinde miracula conspicere meruit.*' ('The cross of the Lord that was found by the empress Helena at Jerusalem is venerated on Wednesday and Friday. Queen Radegund, who is comparable to Helena in both merit and faith, requested relics of this cross and piously placed them in a convent at Poitiers that she founded out of her own zeal. She repeatedly sent servants to Jerusalem and throughout the entire region of the East. These servants visited the tombs of the holy martyrs and confessors and brought back relics of them all. After placing them in the silver reliquary with the holy cross itself, she thereafter deserved to see many miracles.' (transl. Van Dam, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 5).

173 Conway, 'St Radegund's reliquary at Poitiers', pp. 1–12.

174 Durand, 'Le reliquaire de la vraie croix de Poitiers', pp. 152–8. Buckton, 'Byzantine enamels', p. 30 expresses doubts about the sixth-century Byzantine origin of the Poitiers reliquary, because double-barred crosses are attested only as early as the ninth century. This may, however, only refer to the reliquary's inner part, not to the wings.

175 See the illustration in Lasko, *The Kingdom of the Franks*, p. 74. See also Edwards, 'Their Cross to Bear', p. 68.

176 See Uhalde, 'Proof and Reproof'.

177 It has been suggested that the East Roman historian Agathias, writing around 570, may have obtained his information on the Franks from Sigibert's court: Cameron, 'Agathias on the early Merovingians', pp. 95–140.

178 Goffart, 'Byzantine Policy in the West', pp. 77–80.

179 *Epistolae Austrasicae* 47, ed. Gundlach, p. 152. See Goffart, 'Byzantine Policy in the West', pp. 77–80. The case made here for an involvement of Gogo and Nicetius of Trier in the transfer of Polyeuctus's relics may lend some support to Goffart's assumption of an early date of Gogo's letter (contrary to Ewig, *Die Merowinger und das Imperium*, p. 28 n. 111). On the letter's content see also Pohl, 'The Empire and the Lombards', pp. 100–1.

180 See above n. 131.

181 Marius of Avenches, *Chronica*, ed. Mommsen, pp. 238–9: '*An. III cons. Iustini iun. Aug. Ind. II. Hoc anno Alboenus rex Langobardorum cum omni exercitu relinquens atque incendens Pannoniam suam patriam cum mulieribus vel omni populo suo in fara Italiam occupavit, ibique alii morbo, alii fame, nonnulli gladio interempti sunt. Eo anno etiam in finitima loca Galliarum ingredi praesumpserunt, ubi multitudo captivorum gentis ipsius venundati sunt.*' ('In the year of the third consulship of Justin the younger Augustus, in the second indiction. In this year Alboin, king of the Lombards, with the whole of his army abandoned and burned his fatherland Pannonia and with a baggage of women and his whole people occupied Italy, where some were carried off by illness, others by hunger and some by the sword. In this year they also dared to invade the neighbouring places of Gaul, where a multitude of captives of this people was sold off.')

182 See Bachrach, *The Anatomy of a Little War*, pp. 6–11, indicating that Gundovald was at Sigibert's court in 567, until Sigibert finally ordered his hair to be cut and banished him to Cologne. His position may have become dangerous by the latest in 570 with the birth of Childebert II.

183 See Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 170 drawing attention to the fact that the murder of Galswintha, Chilperic's wife, followed soon after Athanagild's death, whereas Brunhild may well have kept her father's Byzantine link. Athanagild's death appears to have been a turning-point in Visigothic-Franco-Byzantine relations (see also above n. 124), for it is striking that in the 570s Leovigild as well as Chilperic presented themselves in an imperial style but at the same time pronounced religious separation. On Leovigild see Stroheker, 'Leowigild', pp. 134–91, in general perspective see Claude, 'Studien zu Reccopolis 2', pp. 167–194; Hillgarth, 'Coins and Chronicles', pp. 483–508. On Chilperic see Jussen, 'Um 567', pp. 14–26.

184 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* V, 2, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 195–6. See Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels', pp. 40–1.

185 See, e.g., Dölger, *Regesten*, p. 11 n. 24. Fels, *Studien zu Venantius Fortunatus*, pp. 8–10 gives a valuable survey of some of the disputed dates in the years between

566 and 573. It seems that we lack reliable fixation for almost all events in question during this period.

186 Whereas saint Polyeuctus appears not to have left any other traces in our sources coming from the early medieval West (with the exception of those discussed in this article), he is exceptionally listed in the rich ninth-century 'Lorscher Rotulus' associated with the court of Louis the German, which contains the names of 534 saints for litanies. See Krüger, 'Die Litanei des Rotulus', pp. 41–9; see also ead., *Litanei–Handschriften der Karolingerzeit*, pp. 340 and 513. Polyeuctus is also mentioned in Florus of Lyons' ninth-century redaction of Bede's martyrology, where he is listed among other saints on 14 February: '*In Militana civitate Armeniae, natale sancti Poliocti martyris*' ('In the Armenian city of Melitene, anniversary of saint Polyeuctus the martyr'); Dubois and Renaud, *Édition pratique des martyrologes*, p. 34. If he found his way into other martyrologies later, this obviously happened in most cases via Florus's redaction.

187 See above n. 73.

188 See above n. 82.

189 See above n. 21.

190 See above nn. 84 and 89 for the scanty manuscript evidence of the *Passio Polyeucti*.

191 LeClercq, 'Polyeucte', p. 1369. On the Greek lives of saint Polyeuctus see Lackner, 'Zu Editionsgeschichte, Textgestalt und Quellen'; the Greek text of BHG 1568d is published with a French translation by Halkin, *Le ménologe impérial*, pp. 84–98.

192 Aubé, *Polyeucte dans l'histoire.*

193 This paper was first given in May 2010 at the Humanities Center of Harvard University and in slightly different versions in May 2011 at Princeton University at a conference held on the occasion of the retirement of Peter Brown and in March 2013 at the University of California at Berkeley. I should like to thank Wolfram Brandes, Peter Brown, Susanna Elm, Andreas Fischer, Kai Grundmann, Sören Kaschke, Matthias Kloft, Geoff Koziol, Astrid Krüger, Avshalom Laniado, Michael McCormick, Mischa Meier, Walter Pohl, Helmut Reimitz and Ian Wood for useful comments and suggestions. In particular, I should like to express my deep gratitude to Martin Heinzelmann and Alexander Callander Murray for very kindly commenting on the whole manuscript and offering helpful criticism, the latter and Ian Wood also for graciously improving the quality of its English.

Chapter 3

1 Sidonius Apollinaris, ep. IV, 22, ed. Anderson, pp. 145–50.

2 Harries, *Sidonius Apollinaris*, pp. 238–42; for a comprehensive and commented bibliography on Sidonius cf. the homepage of van Warden, J., May 11, 2011: http://home.hccnet.nl/j.a.van.waarden/bibliography.htm

3 Sidonius Apollinaris, ep. IV, 22, ed. Anderson, pp. 146–8.

4 Sidonius Apollinaris, carmina IX, 314 and XXIII, 446–50, ed. Anderson, p. 194
   (transl. p. 195) and p. 312 (transl. p. 313); Sidonius Apollinaris, epp. IX, 13, first
   carmen 20 and IX, 15, carmen 19–20, ed. Anderson, pp. 566 and 592; for another
   letter of Sidonius to Leo: ep. VIII, 3, ed. Anderson, pp. 404–12; Martindale,
   Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, vol. 2, pp. 662–3.

5 Cf. the comparison of Leo with one of the *decemviri* who ratified the Twelve Tables:
   Sidonius Apollinaris, carmen XXIII, 446–50, ed. Anderson, p. 312 (transl. p. 313); for
   Leo as jurist see Liebs, *Römische Jurisprudenz*, pp. 53–7.

6 Cf. Wolfram, *The Roman Empire and its Germanic Peoples*, pp. 183–93; and the
   survey of contemporary reactions in Demandt, *Der Fall Roms*, pp. 44–77.

7 Cf. Haldon, *Byzantium*, pp. 25–33; Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, pp. 176–8.

8 Wood, 'Gentes', pp. 243–69.

9 Wolfram, *Die Goten*, pp. 186–94.

10 Wolfram, *Die Goten*, pp. 190–2.

11 See Zelzer, 'Brief', pp. 541–51 who suggests that Sidonius put together the collection
   of his letters as an alternative to the composition of the history he did not want to
   write; for roughly contemporary discussions about the end of Rome cf. Pohl,
   Völkerwanderung, p. 159; Geary, *Before France and Germany*, pp. 29–30.

12 Cf. Mathisen and Shanzer, *Society*; Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*, pp. 346–57;
   Pohl, *Völkerwanderung*, pp. 58–70; and the study of Brown, *Through the Eye*.
   I would like to thank Peter Brown for letting me read this fascinating book in
   manuscript.

13 Heather, *Fall*, p. 437.

14 Brown, *Through the Eye*, p. 394.

15 I would like to thank Ian Wood for reminding me of the significance of this passage
   in Sidonius' epitaph.

16 *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes* (RICG) VIII, ed. Prévot, no. 21; and the edition
   in Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulae et carmina*, ed. Luetjohann, at p. VI; cf. the
   comments of Brown, *Through the Eye*, pp. 404–6. For the relatively recent discovery
   of the fragments of the epitaph, which was previously only known from a tenth/
   eleventh century manuscript cf. Prévot, 'Prolégomènes', pp. 223–9; Montzamir,
   'Nouvelle essai', pp. 321–7.

17 Wolfram, *Die Goten*, pp. 281–4.

18 On Cassiodorus' *Variae* see now Bjornlie, 'What have elephants', pp. 143–71
   with further literature; Kakridi, *Cassiodors Variae*. Cf. the discussions of
   Cassiodorus' cultural and spiritual energy in a time of transition: La Rocca, 'Due
   adulatori italiani', pp. 221–37; Heydemann, 'Biblical Israel'; Vessey, 'Introduction',
   pp. 1–101.

19 The passage is usually understood in the sense of an integration of the Gothic
   origins with Roman history, but cf. the arguments and examples of Mortensen,

'Goternes historie', pp. 169–82, who suggests that Cassiodorus' cultural brokerage might well have involved actual translation into Latin as well.

20 Cassiodor, *Variae* VIIII, 25, 4–5, ed. T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi XII, Berlin: Weidmann, 1894, pp. 291–2: '*Tetendit se etiam in antiquam prosapiem nostram, lectione discens quod vix maiorum notitia cana retinebat. iste reges Gothorum longa oblivione celatos latibulo vetustatis eduxit. iste Hamalos cum generis sui claritate restituit, evidenter ostendens in septimam decimam progeniem stirpem nos habere regalem. [5] Originem Gothicam historiam fecit esse Romanam, colligens quasi in unam coronam germen floridum quod per librorum campos passim fuerat ante dispersum.*' Engl. transl: Barnish, *Cassiodorus Variae*, p. 128: 'He extended his labours even to the ancient cradles of our house learning from his reading what the hoary recollection of our elders scarcely preserved. From the lurking place of antiquity he led out the kings of the Goths, long hidden in oblivion. He restored the Amals, along with the honour of their family, clearly proving me to be of royal stock to the seventeenth generation. From Gothic origins he made a Roman history, gathering, as it were, into one garland, flower-buds that had previously been scattered throughout the fields of literature.'

21 Richter, 'Cultural Brokers', p. 41.

22 Wolf, 'Aspects', pp. 1065–78; Geertz, 'The Javanese Kijaji', pp. 228–49.

23 See the discussion in Hinderaker, 'Translation', pp. 357–75.

24 Richter, 'Cultural Brokers'; Hinderaker, 'Translation', esp. pp. 359–66.

25 Cf. Vessey, 'Introduction'; Heydemann, 'Biblical Israel'.

26 Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 1, ed. Giunta and Grillone, p. 1.

27 For a comprehensive overview see Christensen, *Cassiodorus*; but cf. the review of Wood, 'Review', pp. 465–84; the debate about the text and its meaning for Gothic identity has been intensified since the publication of Goffart, *Narrators*, who rightly criticized a simplistic use of Jordanes' text as a source for the study of unchanged and unaltered ancient *origo Gothica*. As much as I agree with Walter Goffart on this point I cannot agree with him in accusing Herwig Wolfram and recently Walter Pohl of promoting such a reading, cf. Goffart, 'Jordanes' Getica', pp. 379–98; for Wolfram's recent positions cf. Wolfram, *Gotische Studien*, pp. 207–40; for Walter Pohl's position see already Pohl, 'Tradition', pp. 9–26. To be sure, Goffart's critique has motivated methodological reflections and contributed to a more differentiated approach for the interpretation of the *Getica*, but the increasing polemical tendencies have also caused serious misunderstandings and misrepresentations; one recent example is the otherwise excellent article of Gillett, 'Mirror', pp. 392–408.

28 Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 316, ed. Giunta and Grillone, p. 130: '*haec qui legis scito me, maiorum secutum scripta, ex eorum latissimis pratis paucos flores legisse, unde inquirenti pro captu ingenii mei corona contexta est.*' ('Thou who readest this, know that I have followed the writings of my ancestors, and have culled a few

flowers from their broad meadows to weave a chaplet for him who cares to know these things.' Transl. Mierow, *Gothic history*, p. 142.

29 For geographical traditions used in Jordanes cf. Merrills, *History and Geography*, p. 169; on Roman ethnography cf. Gillett, 'Mirror', with further references, but see also already Pohl, 'Goti', pp. 227–51.

30 Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 75, ed. Giunta and Grillone, p. 34.

31 See Wolfram, 'Donau', pp. 26–8.

32 Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 75, ed. Giunta and Grillone, p. 34.

33 Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 67–74, ed. Giunta and Grillone, pp. 31–4; cf. Christensen, *Cassiodorus*, pp. 243–7.

34 Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 67, ed. Giunta and Grillone, p. 31: '*Dehinc regnante Gothis Buruista, Deceneus venit in Gothiam . . . ; quem Deceneum suscipiens Buruista dedit ei pene regiam potestatem.*' 'Then when Buruista was king of the Goths, Dicineus came to Gothia . . . Buruista received Dicineus and gave him almost royal power.' (Transl. Mierow, *Gothic history*, p. 70). It is indeed tempting to see in the description of Dicineus' role an allusion to Cassiodorus; cf. Wolfram, *Gotische Studien*, pp. 125–6 with n. 66; for Cassiodorus playing around with famous advisors as role models see Heydemann, 'Biblical Israel', pp. 175–7, who discusses Cassiodorus' comparison of the office of the *praefectus praetorio* with the biblical Joseph.

35 Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 69, ed. Giunta and Grillone, p. 32.

36 Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 76, ed. Giunta and Grillone, pp. 34–5.

37 E.g. Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 28–9, ed. Giunta and Grillone, p. 13; ibid. 58, ed. Giunta and Grillone, pp. 26–7; for a fuller discussion cf. Wood, 'Review', pp. 465–84; for the equation of *Goti* and *Getae* in Jordanes see Wolfram, *Gotische Studien*, pp. 216–17; cf. now Carbó García, 'Godos y Getas', pp. 179–206.

38 Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 58, ed. Giunta and Grillone, pp. 26–7.

39 Christensen, *Cassiodorus* pp. 230–8.

40 Cf. Cameron and Long (with a contribution by Lee Sherry), *Barbarians*, pp. 301–33; Heather, *Goths and Romans*, part II, pp. 107–21 and 128–75; Ladner, 'On Roman attitudes', pp. 19–24.

41 Goffart, *Narrators*, p. XV.

42 Cf. for instance Christensen, *Cassiodorus*, p. 340 on Jordanes' account of the battle on the Catalaunian Plains: for a discussion of the 'Roman' perspective of parts of the narrative, see Wood, 'Review', pp. 469–73.

43 Cf. Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 58, ed. Giunta and Grillone, p. 27; cf. also Christensen, *Cassiodorus*, p. 242.

44 Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 38, ed. Giunta and Grillone, p. 18. (Transl. Mierow, *Gothic history*, p. 60).

45 Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 314–15, ed. Giunta and Grillone, pp. 129–30.

46 Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 316, ed. Giunta and Grillone, p. 130: '*haec qui legis, scito me maiorum secutum scriptis ex eorum latissima prata paucos flores legisse, unde inquirenti pro captu ingenii mei coronam contexam. Nec me quis in favorem gentis praedictae, quasi ex ipsa trahenti originem, aliqua addidisse credat, quam quae legi et comperi. Nec si tamen cuncta. quae de ipsis scribuntur aut referuntur, complexus sum, nec tantum ad eorum laudem quantum ad laudem eius qui vicit exponens*'. (Transl. Mierow, *Gothic history*, p. 142).

47 For the observation that Jordanes envisaged different audiences see Goffart, *Narrators*, p. 109, who argues that Jordanes seems to have had an untutored audience and a more sophisticated one in mind; for efforts of Italian elites to maintain the political structures before the Byzantine conquest cf. Bjornlie, 'What have elephants'.

48 For a comprehensive discussion of indications where Jordanes might have built on Cassiodorus' history see Christensen, *Cassiodorus*.

49 Cf. Pohl, 'Italien', pp. 563–8; Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*, pp. 507–18.

50 For the reception of the *Getica* see Hachmann, *Die Goten*, pp. 15–35.

51 Goffart, *Narrators*, p. 110; for the Lombard origin myth see Pohl, 'Memory and Identity', pp. 10–11.

52 Maskarinec, 'Who were the Romans?'.

53 Cf. Bradley, 'Manuscript Evidence', pp. 346–62 and 490–503; the introduction of the newest edition of the *Getica* ed. Giunta and Grillone, pp. IX–XVI, and the more accessible though incomplete one by Mommsen in his edition in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi V, 1, pp. XLVI–LXXI.

54 On Isidore's historical writings cf. Merrills, *History and Geography*, pp. 171–9.

55 Cf. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville*, and the studies published in id., *Tradition*; see also the references and commentary in Barney, Lewis, Beach, and Berghof, *Etymologies*.

56 Isidore of Seville, *De origine Gothorum* 1, ed. Rodríguez Alonso, p. 172; cf. also the edition by Mommsen, p. 268. Isidore's history is extant in a shorter and a longer version. Whereas there is consensus about the date of the composition of the longer version as composed shortly after 624 (in the aftermath of the victory of the king Suinthila over the Byzantines), there are several opinions whether the shorter version had been written before or after the longer, cf. Merrills, *History and Geography*, pp. 179–85, who argues in consent with most of the scholarship for an earlier date of the shorter version. Cf. also the article of Collins, 'Isidore', pp. 345–58. For what follows, if not stated differently, I refer to the longer version edited under the title *De origine Gothorum* by Rodríguez Alonso.

57 Isidore of Seville, *De origine Gothorum* 1, ed. Rodríguez Alonso, pp. 172 and 175, with reference to Jerome, *Liber quaestionum in hebraicarum in Genesim* 10, 2 in *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera*, ed. de LaGarde, p. 11.

58 Isidore of Seville, *De laude Spaniae*, ed. Rodríguez Alonso, pp. 168–70.

59 Merrills, *History and Geography*, p. 187.

60 At this point Isidore also revised his world chronicle substantially along the lines of a triumphalistic celebration of the fulfilment of Gothic history in the *regnum* of his time, cf. Wood, '*Religiones* and *gentes*', with further literature.

61 Isidore of Seville, *De laude Spaniae*, ed. Rodríguez Alonso, p. 168.

62 Cf. Velázquez, '*Pro patriae gentisque Gothorum statu*', pp. 187–205.

63 Merrills, *History and Geography*, pp. 205–20.

64 Isidore of Seville, *De origine Gothorum* 19, ed. Rodríguez Alonso, p. 202.

65 Merrills, *History and Geography*, p. 226.

66 Cf. the comprehensive comparison in the introduction to the edition of Rodríguez Alonso, *Las Historias de los Godos*, pp. 73–113.

67 Hydatius, *Chronica* 57, ed. Burgess, p. 85.

68 Isidore of Seville, *De origine Gothorum* 6–10, ed. Rodríguez Alonso, pp. 180–8.

69 Like the *Getica*, Isidore of Seville, *De origine Gothorum* 9, ed. Rodríguez Alonso, p. 186 blames Valens for the conversion of the Goths to Arianism (both following Orosius, *Historiae* VII, 33, 19, ed. Arnaud-Lindet, vol. 3, p. 92 also in portraying the Goths as God's instrument in killing the emperor in the battle of Adrianople); on Valens' portrayal by church historians cf. Leppin, *Von Konstantin*, pp. 91–104; on Valens cf. Lenski, *Failure of Empire*.

70 Cf. the introduction of the edition of Rodríguez Alonso, *Las Historias de los Godos*, pp. 73–113.

71 On chronicle writing in Late Antiquity see the concise and excellent discussion of Croke, *Count Marcellinus*, pp. 145–69; Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers*.

72 Cf. the general overview of Hillgarth, 'Historiography', pp. 261–311.

73 Cf. the comparison in *Las Historias de los Godos*, ed. Rodríguez Alonso, pp. 73–113.

74 Hydatius, *Chronica*, ed. Burgess, pp. 69–123.

75 Hydatius, *Chronica* 238, ed. Burgess, p. 120.

76 Isidore of Seville, *De origine Gothorum* 35, ed. Rodríguez Alonso, p. 228.

77 For the shorter and the longer chronicle (*Chronica Minora* and *Maiora*) and the debate about their date, see now Wood, '*Religiones* and *gentes*'.

78 Isidore of Seville, *De origine Gothorum* 8, ed. Rodríguez Alonso, p. 202.

79 Mommsen obviously assumed that Isidore took it from his chronicle and refers in his edition to the chronicle; cf. Isidore of Seville, *Chronica Maiora* 350, ed. Mommsen, p. 469; cf. Cassiodorus/Epiphanius, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* VIII, 13, ed. Hanslik, p. 485.

80 Isidore of Seville, *De origine Gothorum* 8, ed. Rodríguez Alonso, p. 202.

81 Isidore of Seville, *De origine Gothorum* 66, *recapitulatio*, ed. Rodríguez Alonso, p. 282.

82 Isidore of Seville, *De origine Gothorum* 66, *recapitulatio*, ed. Rodríguez Alonso, pp. 282–7.

83 Lynch and Galindo, *San Braulio*, pp. 356–60.

84 Teillet, *De Goths à la nation Gothique*, pp. 463–501; see also Martine, *La géographie*, pp. 321–70.

85 Velázquez, '*Pro patriae gentisque Gothorum statu*', pp. 168–9.

86 For the council see Orlandis, *Synoden*, pp. 144–71; for Isidore's role see ibid. pp. 169–70.

87 *Concilium Toletanum* IV, c. 75, 1, ed. Vives, p. 218.

88 For the crucial function of these oaths of fealty to establish legitimate rule in the post-Roman kingdoms and its genesis in the Late and post-Roman world before the seventh century, cf. Esders, 'Rechtliche Grundlagen', pp. 423–32.

89 Velázquez, '*Pro patriae gentisque Gothorum statu*', pp. 196–205.

90 Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité*, pp. 129–43 sees it as the climax of his pastoral efforts to forge a unified social perspective for the *regnum* along the lines of Iberian Christendom.

91 Cf. Wood, '*Religiones* and *gentes*', for the chronicles; and Merrills, *History and Geography*, pp. 179–85 for the Gothic history with further literature.

92 For the 'model reader' as a hypothetical reader constructed by the anticipation of the author to establish a meaningful text in the dialogue with this model reader cf. Eco, *Lector*; partly translated in the collection of Eco's texts in id., *The Role*.

93 Cf. above n. 24.

94 Cf. already Wolfram, 'Theogonie und Ethnogenese', p. 96, arguing that the question of the existence of the Scandinavian Goths belongs to the Gothic history of the sixth century and has very little or nothing to do with the origins of the Goths or the Amals. ('Die Frage nach der Existenz der skandinavischen Goten . . . gehört zur gotischen Geschichte des Jahrhunderts, sie hat mit der Herkunft der Goten wie der Amaler wohl wenig oder gar nichts zu tun.').

95 Cf. above with nn. 23 and 24.

96 For contradictions and breaks as valuable traces in early medieval histories cf. Pohl, 'Paulus Diaconus', pp. 375–405, esp. pp. 383–8.

Chapter 4

1 For the Fredegar-Chronicle in general see the recent publications by Collins, *Fredegar*; id., *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*. See also the study of Goffart, 'The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered', pp. 319–54. See also Scheibelreiter, 'Fredegar', pp. 251–9.

2 For this historiographical genre see the overview in Krüger, *Universalchroniken*; Zecchini, 'Latin Historiography', pp. 317–45; Whitby, 'Imperial Christian Historiography', esp. pp. 350–4; Von den Brincken, *Studien*, esp. pp. 43–102. Cf. also the contribution of Sören Kaschke to this volume.

3 Cf. Wood, 'Fredegar's Fables', p. 361. For the relatively high number of chapters
   dedicated to Mediterranean affairs (25 of 90) see Collins, *Fredegar*, p. 19 with n. 48;
   cf. also Wallace-Hadrill, 'Fredegar and the History of France', p. 544.

4 See Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 16–18; id., *Fredegar*, pp. 1–2; Wallace-
   Hadrill, *Fourth Book*, p. XV; id., 'Fredegar and the History of France', p. 527.

5 Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, p. 25; id., *Fredegar*, pp. 2–3; Wallace-Hadrill,
   'Fredegar and the History of France', pp. 527 and 550.

6 See Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 38–46; id., *Fredegar*, pp. 3–11; Goffart, 'The
   Fredegar Problem Reconsidered', pp. 319, 322–4; Wallace-Hadrill, 'Fredegar and the
   History of France', p. 529.

7 For the problem of dating the compilation see Collins, *Fredegar*, pp. 2–3; but cf. id.,
   Die Fredegar-Chroniken, pp. 25–7, esp. p. 26; id., *Visigothic Spain*, p. 82, tending
   towards the date ca. 660. See also Krusch, 'Chronicae', pp. 423–30. For the date of the
   oldest manuscript see ibid. pp. 253–4; Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 56–7.
   The term 'chain of chronicles' was coined by Wood, 'Chains of chronicles', esp.
   p. 69.

8 For the *réécriture* that transformed underlying hypotexts into then-modified
   hypertexts see Goullet and Heinzelmann, 'Avant-propos', pp. 10–13; cf. also Goullet,
   'Introduction', pp. 11–25.

9 The modifications are emphasized in the edition: Fredegar, *Chronicae*, ed. B. Krusch,
   Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum 2, Hanover:
   Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1888, pp. 1–168. See also id., 'Chronicae', pp. 456–86;
   Collins, *Fredegar*, p. 102. For the rewriting of book III see Woodruff, *Historia
   Epitomata*. For *epitome* in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages and their production
   see Mülke, 'Epitome', pp. 69–89. Fredegar, however, differs from the usual practice in
   certain respects; see for this my study on the narrative structures in the Fredegar-
   Chronicle (in preparation).

10 For Fredegar's Mediterranean sources see Collins, *Fredegar*, pp. 98–101, esp. p. 98, for
   a possibly oral transmission of information; id., *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 47–53;
   Krusch, 'Chronicae', p. 455. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Fredegar and the History of France',
   pp. 545–6, doubts that oral tradition underlies the information the chronicler
   obtained from Italy, but accepts that oral sources were used for other parts of the text
   (p. 544). Cf. also Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, p. 217 n. 8 and above p. xxi.

11 Even the author's presence at events in the Burgundian and Austrasian areas is far
   from secure. Where exactly in Merovingian Francia the chronicler wrote and
   composed his text is still a debatable issue, but certainly he did so somewhere in the
   Frankish realms. For his self-acclaimed status as an eyewitness see his claim to
   report all that he had read, heard and even seen (*etiam et videndo*) of the deeds of
   the kings and the wars of the peoples in the prologue to the fourth book; Fredegar,
   Chronicae, Prologus, ed. Krusch, p. 123 l. 24–6. Cf. Krusch, 'Chronicae', pp. 448–55;

Goffart, 'The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered', p. 320; see also the critical remarks by Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 18–25.

12 Esders, 'Herakleios, Dagobert und die "beschnittenen Völker"', pp. 281–2; Fischer, A., 'Synchronizing History: Byzantines and Persians in the Fredegar-Chronicle' (in preparation).

13 Cf. Spiegel, 'Political Utility', p. 83.

14 For this concept see Schenk, 'Mental Maps', pp. 493–514; Hartmann, 'Konzepte', pp. 3–24.

15 Cf. also the instructive insights into early medieval communications in McCormick, *Origins*.

16 See Salomon, 'Belisariana', pp. 102–10; cf. Collins, *Fredegar*, pp. 20–1; id., *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 48, 51. See also Scheibelreiter, 'Justinian und Belisar', pp. 267–80; Wallace–Hadrill, 'Fredegar and the History of France', p. 542.

17 See for Fredegar's Italian connections in general Wallace-Hadrill, 'Fredegar and the History of France', pp. 545–6; Schilling, *Anbetung*, p. 260.

18 Fredegar, *Chronicae* II, 57 and 59, ed. Krusch, pp. 78–83, esp. p. 83 with the reference to the *Dialogi* in l. 27–8. Cf. Borchert, 'Bild', pp. 435–52; Goltz, *Barbar*, pp. 599–600; for Gregory the Great and his *Dialogi* see Straw, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 54–5; Petersen, *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great*. For the precocious distribution of the *Dialogi* in the seventh century see Dumézil and Joye, 'Les *Dialogues* de Grégoire le Grand', esp. pp. 18–19; for their reception in other contemporary Frankish texts see Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 248–9.

19 Cf. Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 9, ed. Krusch, pp. 125–6, with Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* IV, 50, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, p. 137. For this passage and Paul the Deacon's relation to the Fredegar-Chronicle see Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 51–2; id., *Fredegar*, pp. 20–1; Wallace-Hadrill, 'Fredegar and the History of France', p. 545; see also Schilling, *Anbetung*, pp. 258–61; Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 217–18.

20 Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 28–9; cf. already Krusch, 'Chronicae', pp. 466–7. For other information probably of Spanish origin in the chronicle see Collins, *Fredegar*, pp. 98–9; Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 248.

21 Krusch, 'Chronicae', pp. 471–2; for his knowledge of some Greek see Fredegar, *Chronicae, Prologus*, ed. Krusch, p. 123 l. 13–14. Cf. also Schilling, *Anbetung*, p. 268.

22 Kaegi, *Muslim Expansion*, p. 131 n. 58 and n. 177; cf. Esders, 'Herakleios, Dagobert und die "beschnittenen Völker"', pp. 259, 271, 281–3 with n. 152. Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, p. 52, however, on the contrary assumes that the passages dedicated to Heraclius derived from a factually flawed Italian source which Fredegar furthermore seems to have misunderstood. For Constans II see below n. 47.

23 For the refugees see Borsari, 'Migrazioni', pp. 133–8; McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 117, 356; Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 65–6, 91–2 (with further

literature); for 'orientals' living in the West see Bréhier, 'Colonies', pp. 3–19.
Merchants: Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 97–8; McCormick,
Origins, pp. 614–69 (concentrating on merchants in Italy and northern France
mainly in Carolingian times); Claude, *Handel*, pp. 167–244, esp. pp. 173–8 and
185–9. For the Jewish and Syriac merchants see also Esders, 'Herakleios, Dagobert
und die "beschnittenen Völker"', p. 282. Ambassadors: Barnwell, 'War and peace',
pp. 127–39; see also the overview in McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 852–8 with the
evidence for the seventh century and ibid. pp. 138–47, 175–81 with later examples;
Wallace-Hadrill, 'Fredegar and the History of France', p. 541; cf. also Cameron,
'Byzantine sources', p. 421.

24 Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. VI, 8–25; id., *Fredegar*, pp. 1–2.

25 One could even think of the author known as Fredegar as a woman; see Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, p. VI.

26 There is no clear evidence for the assumption that Fredegar is identical with one of
the characters described in the chronicle, even though it has been suggested the
author could have been Berthar who appears in Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 36, 38, 52
and 90, ed. Krusch, pp. 137, 139, 146 and 167 (or one of the two, because the persons
mentioned here seem to be different ones; cf. Selle-Hosbach, *Prosopographie*,
pp. 55–6 with n. 2); see Baudot, 'La question du Pseudo-Frédégaire', pp. 168–70; cf.
the critical comments of Goffart, 'The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered', p. 347 and
Wallace-Hadrill, 'Fredegar and the History of France', p. 532. See furthermore
Genette, *Fiction and Diction*, pp. 74–5 with further thoughts on the author/narrator
as a part of a factual narrative.

27 For the concepts of the narrator and the implied author see Schmid, *Narratology*,
pp. 36–51, 57–60 and 65–78; for the 'extra- and hetero-diegetic narrator' see Genette,
Narrative Discourse, pp. 228–31 and 243–5. For the applicability of a narratological
approach to factual narratives see id., *Fiction and Diction*, pp. 54–84. These aspects
will be deepened in my study of the narrative structures in the Fredegar-Chronicle.

28 See Genette, *Fiction and Diction*, pp. 68–79, esp. at pp. 69–70 and the scheme at p. 73
(s. v. 'historical narrative').

29 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 81, ed. Krusch, p. 162.

30 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 81, ed. Krusch, p. 162 l. 16–19: '*Quemadmodum haec factum
fuissit aeventum, anno in quo expletum est in ordene debeto referam et scribere non
selebo, donec de his et alies optata, si permiserit Deus, perficiam, uius libelli cumta mihi
ex veretate cogneta inseram.*' Cf. the translation by Wallace-Hadrill, *Fourth Book*, p. 69.

31 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 84, ed. Krusch, p. 163 l. 28–30: '*Igitur post discessum
Dagoberti regi quo ordine eiusdem tinsauri inter filius devisi fuerant, nun obmittam,
sed delucedato ordene uius volumine inseri procurabo.*' Cf. the translation by Wallace-
Hadrill, *Fourth Book*, p. 71.

32 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 90, ed. Krusch, p. 168.

33 Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 25–7. The description of the division of Dagobert's treasure follows directly on the passage quoted in the previous footnote in Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 85, ed. Krusch, p. 164. It is a remarkable fact that the author managed to insert his depiction concerning the treasure's divison into the chronicle, while remaining silent with regard to the events in Byzantium in the aftermath of the ones described in IV, 81.

34 Krusch, 'Chronicae', p. 257; Collins, *Fredegar*, p. 42; id., *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, p. 39.

35 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 80, ed. Krusch, p. 161 l. 24–5: '[…] *anno primo regni Chlodoviae, secundo et inmenente tercio eiusdem regni anno* […]' ('[…] in the first year of Clovis' reign, in the second and the beginning third year of his reign […]').

36 I continue to use the numbers of chapters as customarily used orientation marks.

37 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 80, ed. Krusch, pp. 161–2. For Nanthild and Aega see Hartmann, *Königin*, pp. 60, 81; Ebling, *Prosopographie*, pp. 38–40 no. XII.

38 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 82, ed. Krusch, pp. 162–3.

39 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 82, ed. Krusch, pp. 162–3. Cf. Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, pp. 113–14, 120–1; id., *Visigothic Spain*, pp. 81–2, 115.

40 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 82, ed. Krusch, p. 163. Cf. Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, pp. 114–15; id., *Visigothic Spain*, p. 82.

41 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 82, ed. Krusch, p. 163.

42 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 83, ed. Krusch, p. 163: '*Anno tercio regni Chlodoviae* […]' ('In the third year of Clovis' reign […]').

43 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 84, ed. Krusch, p. 163. For Erchinoald see Ebling, *Prosopographie*, pp. 137–9 no. CLVI.

44 See Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, p. 217. For the civil war and its effects see Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 481–6. Kaegi, *Muslim Expansion*, p. 172 considers that Fredegar could reflect 'imperial publicity and claims. Fredegarius' glimpse of Constans II is one of an emperor at a moment of imperial recovery and of incipient renewal before the violent death of Constans and decisive political and military defeats.' Esders, 'Herakleios, Dagobert und die "beschnittenen Völker"', p. 294 points out that for Fredegar the already initiated reconquest and the movement of the emperor to the West represented a sign of hope ('ein Silberstreif am Horizont'). For the background to these events see ibid. p. 292; Haldon, *Byzantium*, pp. 54–6; cf. also Kaegi, 'Early Muslim Raids', pp. 73–93; Ewig, *Merowinger*, p. 155–6; and the literature cited below in n. 47.

45 See above n. 7.

46 See Goffart, 'The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered', pp. 353–4; Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, p. 217.

47 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 79, 81 and 82, ed. Krusch, pp. 161 l. 21 and 162 l. 4 and l. 21. For Constans see Haldon, *Byzantium*, p. 53; Art. 'Konstans II', pp. 480–5 Nr. 3691, at p. 481. For Tulga see the restrictive remarks made by Roger Collins cited below in n. 49.

48 For synchronization as a narrative strategy in the Fredegar-Chronicle see Fischer, A.,
   'Synchronizing History: Byzantines and Persians in the Fredegar-Chronicle' (in
   preparation).

49 See Collins, *Visigothic Spain*, p. 81.

50 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 79, ed. Krusch, p. 161 l. 21–2: '[…] *omnes leudis de Neuster et
   Burgundia eumque* [scilicet Clovis II] *Masolaco villa sublimant in regno.*' Ibid. IV, 81,
   ed. Krusch, p. 162 l. 4–5: '*Constans* […] *consilio senato emperio sublimatur.*'

51 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 82, ed. Krusch, p. 163 l. 1–2: '[…] *Chintasindus, collictis
   plurimis senatorebus Gotorum citerumque populum, regnum Spaniae sublimatur.*'

52 Wood, 'Fredegar's Fables', p. 365; id., *Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 198–9, 222–5.

53 See above n. 7.

54 Diesenberger and Reimitz, 'Zwischen Vergangenheit und Zukunft', pp. 242–53.

55 For the background see Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 221–38; Ewig,
   Merowinger, pp. 156–9, 162–70.

56 For this and the following see Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 58–60 and 63–6, ed. Krusch,
   pp. 149–54. Cf. Esders, 'Herakleios, Dagobert und die "beschnittenen Völker"',
   pp. 294–9; Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 218–19.

57 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 68 and 75, ed. Krusch, pp. 155 and 158. Cf. Curta, 'Slavs in
   Fredegar: Medieval *gens* or narrative strategy?', pp. 3–20; id., 'Slavs in Fredegar and
   Paul the Deacon', pp. 141–67.

58 Kaegi, *Heraclius*, pp. 100–91 (fight against the Persians) and 229–64 (against the
   Arabs); Brandes, 'Herakleios', pp. 248–58.

59 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 60, 66 and 79, ed. Krusch, pp. 151, 154 and 161. Cf. Kaegi,
   Heraclius, pp. 60–1; Ubl, *Inzestverbot*, pp. 215 and 229 n. 61.

60 Esders, 'Herakleios, Dagobert und die "beschnittenen Völker"', pp. 281, 284, 291–2,
   297, 309, 311; Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 422, 524–5.

61 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 66, ed. Krusch, p. 154.

62 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 60 and 79, ed. Krusch, pp. 151 and 161.

63 Cf. the works cited above in ns 12 and 58.

64 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 59, ed. Krusch, p. 150.

65 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 67, ed. Krusch, p. 154.

66 For the usage of analepses and prolepses in factual texts see Genette, *Fiction and
   Diction*, pp. 59–62; cf. also ibid. pp. 68–9.

67 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 63–5, ed. Krusch, pp. 151–3.

68 See Martínez Pizarro, *Rhetoric*, esp. pp. 19, 36, 43, 62–108, 123, 141; cf. also id., 'Mixed
   Modes', pp. 91–104, esp. pp. 96–104.

69 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 45, ed. Krusch, p. 143 l. 7–8: '*Langobardorum gens
   quemadmodum tributa duodece milia soledorum dicione Francorum annis singolis
   dissolvebant, referam* […].' Cf. the translation by Wallace-Hadrill, *Fourth Book*,
   p. 37.

70 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 73, ed. Krusch, p. 157 l. 17–18: '*Eo anno quod partebus Spaniae vel eorum regibus contigerit, non pretermittam.*'

71 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 73, ed. Krusch, pp. 157–8; cf. ibid. II, 53, ed. Krusch, pp. 74–5. See also Wood, 'Fredegar's Fables', p. 359, and the introduction in this volume on pp. ix–x.

72 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 84, ed. Krusch, p. 163 l. 28–30; see the quotation above in n. 31.

73 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 85, ed. Krusch, pp. 163–4. Cf. Hartmann, *Königin*, p. 160.

74 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 81, ed. Krusch, p. 162; see the quotation above in n. 30.

75 For early medieval kingship and treasures in general see Hardt, *Gold und Herrschaft*.

76 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 68, ed. Krusch, p. 155 l. 16–7.

77 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 74–5, ed. Krusch, pp. 158–9.

78 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 45, ed. Krusch, pp. 143–4, esp. p. 144.

79 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 66, ed. Krusch, pp. 153–4.

80 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 76, ed. Krusch, p. 159 l. 16–19: '*Sed has pacciones Austrasiae, terrorem Dagoberti quoacti, vellint nonlint, firmasse visi sunt. Quod postea temporebus Sigyberti et Chlodoviae regibus conservatum fuisse constat.*' ('But the Austrasians seem to have approved willy-nilly of these agreements because they feared Dagobert. That this was observed later, in the times of the kings Sigibert and Clovis, is certain.')

81 See the quotation above in n. 31.

82 *Passio Leudegarii episcopi Augustodunensis* I, 4, ed. Krusch, pp. 286–7; in part transl. by Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, p. 221. For the source itself see ibid. pp. 193–215; Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 225–7.

83 These properties were returned to their former owners some years later; Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 80, ed. Krusch, p. 162.

84 For Constans II and his movement to the West see Haldon, *Byzantium*, pp. 59–61; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 485–6; Zuckerman, 'Learning from the Enemy', pp. 79–81; Corsi, 'Politica italiana', pp. 751–96; id., *Spedizione italiana*; 'Konstans II.', p. 482. Cf. also Ewig, *Merowinger*, p. 156; Cosentino, 'Constans II', pp. 577–603; Wood, 'Giovardi', pp. 205–8.

85 See the *Vita Vitaliani* in the *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, pp. 343–4; cf. Zuckerman, 'Learning from the Enemy', pp. 81–4 and 107; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 486.

86 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* IV, 1, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 328–9; cf. also Bede, *Historia abbatum* 3, ed. Plummer, p. 366; see also the new edition by Grocock and Wood, *Abbots*, p. 28 (transl. p. 29) with a reference to the date of their travel to England in n. 33 on p. 29; cf. Wood, I. N., 'Between Rome and Jarrow: Papal Relations with Francia and England, from 597 to 716' in *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell'alto medioevo, 4–11 aprile 2013*, Spoleto: La Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2014 (forthcoming). For Theodore and Hadrian see Bischoff and Lapidge,

Biblical Commentaries, pp. 5–132; Lapidge, 'Career', pp. 1–29, esp. pp. 1, 25–6; for Theodore's cultural background see Brock, 'The Syriac background', pp. 30–53 and Cavallo, 'Theodore of Tarsus', pp. 54–67; for Hadrian see also Cook, 'Hadrian of Africa, Italy, and England', pp. 241–58. For the possible locations of the monastery called *Hiridanum* see Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 120–3; Poole, 'Monasterium Niridanum', pp. 540–5.

87 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* IV, 1, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 332–3. For this episode cf. Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 130–1; Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 180; Ewig, *Merowinger*, p. 156; Barnwell, 'War and peace', pp. 135–6 (erroneously presenting Theodore as the supposed imperial ambassador who had been equally detained by Ebroin). Cf. the bad press Ebroin received for trying to detain the Anglo-Saxon Wilfrid in [Eddius] Stephanus' *Vita Wilfridi* c. 27; *Life of Bishop Wilfrid* 27, ed. Colgrave, pp. 52–5. For Constans' worldview which included the West as the former part of the empire see Haldon, *Byzantium*, pp. 59–60; for his sojourn in Italy see the literature cited in n. 84.

88 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* IV, 1, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 330–1.

89 Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani* I, 26, ed. Krusch, p. 209. Cf. Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, pp. 125–6.

90 Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani* I, 26 and II, 7, ed. Krusch, pp. 209 and 241. The relationship is not explicitly stated in the source, but scholars tend to take it for granted; see Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, pp. 125–6 with n. 25, 143; Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, p. 139; more cautious: Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 185–6. But even if Burgundofaro was not Chagneric's son, this does not affect the easily verifiable connections to Audoin and, via the bishop of Rouen, to other monasteries influenced by Luxeuil.

91 For this network see Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, pp. 124–41; Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 149–52, 185–6; cf. also the lists noted by Gerberding, *Rise*, pp. 86–7, and id. and Fouracre, *Late Merovingian France*, pp. 149–50 and 140. For Audoin of Rouen see also ibid. pp. 133–52; Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 151; Scheibelreiter, 'Audoin von Rouen', pp. 195–216.

92 Fredegar, *Chronicae* IV, 36, ed. Krusch, pp. 134–8 constitutes a large excerpt from Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani*. Cf. Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 34, 46–7; Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 248.

93 Wallace-Hadrill, 'Fredegar and the History of France', pp. 541–2 suggests that the network Fredegar participated in 'had a long-standing tradition of contact with Byzantium, and must have been a store-house of information about the past'.

94 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* IV, 1, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 330–1. Cf. Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 130–1; Wood, I. N., 'Between Rome and Jarrow: Papal Relations with Francia and England, from 597 to 716' (forthcoming, cf. n. 86).

95 See Wood, I. N., 'Between Rome and Jarrow: Papal Relations with Francia and England, from 597 to 716' (forthcoming, cf. n. 86).

96 Cf. also Wood, I. N., 'Between Rome and Jarrow: Papal Relations with Francia and England, from 597 to 716' (forthcoming, cf. n. 86).

97 See above n. 7.

98 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* V, 5, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, p. 146. Cf. Delogu, 'Il Regno longobardo', p. 93; Jarnut, 'Beiträge', pp. 67–75 for the background.

99 See for the background and the possible coalitions Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 126–30; Barnwell, 'War and peace', pp. 135–6. This aspect will be deepened in my study on Fredegar's narrative strategies and his Mediterranean connections.

100 Fredegar, *Chronicae, Prologus*, ed. Krusch, p. 123 l. 24.

101 For the often-treated Grimoald-affair see the report in the *Liber Historiae Francorum* c. 43, ed. Krusch, pp. 315–16. Cf. Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, S. 222–4; id., 'Fredegar's Fables', pp. 364–5; Gerberding, *Rise*, pp. 47–66; Jarnut, 'Beiträge', pp. 70–1; see also the short overview in Fischer, *Karl Martell*, pp. 31–2 (with further literature).

Chapter 5

1 Caspar, *Geschichte* 2, esp. pp. 515–668.

2 Haller, *Papsttum*, pp. 196–252.

3 Schimmelpfennig, *Papacy*, pp. 52–87.

4 Duffy, *Saints and Sinners*, pp. 67–8.

5 Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome*.

6 Richards, *Popes*, p. 271.

7 Stein, 'La période byzantine', pp. 129–63.

8 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, pp. 357–8. See now Neil, *Seventh-Century Popes*, for the full dossier on Martin as preserved by Anastasius Bibliothecarius newly edited and translated into English.

9 Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy*, pp. 62–3.

10 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, p. 373.

11 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, pp. 328–9.

12 See also above and n. 7.

13 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, pp. 343–4. As one example of the views I dispute, Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome*, pp. 174–6 excuses Constans on the grounds that he was merely trying to defray the costs of his expedition, not to punish the pope and the Romans. Constans made lavish donations to St Peter's but not to atone for his misdeeds because he did not believe that he had committed any.

14 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, pp. 372, 373.

15 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, p. 383.

16 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, pp. 389–93.

17 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, pp. 396–410. The textual history of Gregory's *vita* is the most complicated of any that I have been citing but this has no bearing on the basic points I am making.

18 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, pp. 415–16.

19 Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter*, p. 39 n. 124 for literature and sources.

20 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, pp. 346, 408–9.

21 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, p. 366.

22 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, p. 360.

23 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, pp. 354–5.

24 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, p. 363.

25 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, pp. 389 and 389–90.

26 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, p. 433.

27 See, in general, Chadwick, *East and West*, pp. 1–76; Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity*, pp. 293–380; Louth, *Greek East and Latin West*, pp. 1–66.

28 Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter*, pp. 1–60 treats these issues at length.

29 Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs*, passim and id., *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, passim.

30 Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome*, pp. 18–19, 43–4; Brown, 'Interplay', pp. 134–5, with particular reference to the area around Ravenna.

31 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, p. 368.

32 Sansterre, 'Le monachisme byzantine', pp. 703–7 and id., 'Les moines grecs', pp. 9–39; Guillou, 'Bisanzio, Roma, e Italia', pp. 930–2; Charanis, 'On the question', pp. 74–86; White, 'Byzantinization', pp. 1–21. The point is not contentious and references could be multiplied endlessly.

33 Guillou, 'Demography and Culture', pp. 1201–19. See also his *Régionalisme et independence*, esp. pp. 77–144.

34 Llewellyn, 'Popes', pp. 355–70.

35 Brown, 'Interplay', pp. 127–60 and id., *Gentlemen and Officers*.

36 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 247–82.

37 Llewellyn, 'Names', p. 355.

38 Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome*, pp. 215, 245.

39 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, p. 371.

40 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, pp. 356, 385.

41 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, pp. 336 n. 1, 426.

42 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, p. 396.

43 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, p. 363.

44 Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 20, cols 670–3.

45 Andrieu, 'La carrière ecclésiastique', pp. 90–120.

46 Noble, 'Intellectual Culture', pp. 179–213, esp. 210–13.

47 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, pp. 366, 368, 371–2.

48 Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter*, pp. 212–55 and id., 'The Papacy in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', p. 575.

49 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, p. 368.

50 Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter*, pp. 214–23 and id., 'The Papacy in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', p. 575.

51 Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter*, pp. 18–19 with the older literature.

52 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, p. 386.

53 Sansterre, 'Jean VII', pp. 387–8.

54 Breckenridge, 'Evidence'.

55 Sansterre, 'Le pape Constantin Ier'.

56 *Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius*, ed. Tangl, no. 26, p. 45.

57 Klauser, *Short History of the Western Liturgy*, pp. 5–72; Jungmann, *The Mass*, pp. 5–65; Brou, 'Les chantes', pp. 165–80.

58 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, p. 376.

59 Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire Gélasien*, pp. 375–402.

60 Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome*, pp. 250–64.

61 Noble, 'Topography', pp. 56–72, esp. pp. 61–8.

62 Klauser, *Short History of the Western Liturgy*, pp. 120–35.

63 Nedungatt and Featherstone, *Council*, pp. 162–4; Noble, *Images*, pp. 26–7; Barber, *Figure and Likeness*, pp. 40–7.

64 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, p. 376.

65 Nordhagen, 'Constantinople', pp. 113–34; id., 'Italo-Byzantine Wall painting', pp. 593–624; Romanelli and Nordhagen, *Santa Maria Antiqua*.

66 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, p. 385; Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, pp. 120–1; Sansterre, 'A propos de la signification', pp. 434–40; Rum, 'Papa Giovanni VII', pp. 249–63.

67 Lucey, 'Art and Socio-Cultural Identity', pp. 138–54, with an excellent discussion of what these images do and do not tell us about ethnicity and its significance.

68 Breckenridge, 'Evidence', pp. 364–72.

69 *Liber Pontificalis* 1, ed. Duchesne, pp. 391 and 394 n. 21.

70 Noble, *From Roman Provinces*, contains summaries of many views.

71 Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung*; Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, pp. 1–18 and passim; Pohl, *Die Germanen*.

72 Many studies by Goffart could be cited. Illustrative is 'Two Notes', pp. 9–30; Gillett, *On Barbarian Identity*, contains chapters by many critics of the 'ethnogenesis' theory, including one by Goffart ('Does the Distant Past', pp. 21–37).

73 Geary, 'Ethnicity', pp. 15–26; Noble, *From Roman Provinces*, pp. 9–15 with further literature.

74 Pohl, 'Telling the Difference', pp. 17–69.

75 Noble, 'Declining Knowledge', pp. 56–62; Steinacker, 'Römische Kirche', pp. 28–56.

76 As some examples: Irigoin, 'La culture grecque', pp. 425–46; Mango, 'La culture grecque', pp. 683–721 and id., 'Availability', pp. 29–45; Dagron, 'Aux origines de la civilization byzantine', pp. 23–56; Lemerle, 'Les répercussions', pp. 713–31.

77 Llewellyn, 'Popes', pp. 212–65.

Chapter 6

1 The role of Benedict Biscop in the early history of Jarrow has been partly revised by Wood, 'Bede's Jarrow', against the older position e.g. in Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop'.

2 For a list of Bede's sources, cf. the introduction to the edition by Mommsen in Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi XIII, pp. 227–9; von den Brincken, *Studien*, pp. 112–13. Doubts by Croke, *Count Marcellinus*, pp. 243–52, about the direct use of Marcellinus Comes seem inconclusive; cf. Burgess, 'Marcellinus Comes'.

3 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III, 25, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 300 (transl. p. 301).

4 For further details and literature on Jarrow's ties with the Northumbrian court and the wider world, cf. Wood, 'Bede's Jarrow', the quote on p. 80. Ward, *The Venerable Bede*, pp. 8–11 offers a quick survey of Bede's library, while the standard work still remains Laistner, 'Library'.

5 Cf. Whitelock, 'Bede and His Teachers', p. 23 on Bede's fond recollections of Benedict's reports. Naturally Benedict also brought some books back from his travels, cf. Bremmer, 'Continental Mission', pp. 19–21.

6 Cf. Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, ed. Jones, pp. 242–56. Cf. for instance the two Northumbrian manuscripts which found their way to the continent, as listed in Bremmer, 'Continental Mission', nos 818 and 856, pp. 41 and 47, both from the first half of the eighth century and containing *De Temporum Ratione*.

7 In the Frankish realm alone, the latter included various continuations (cf. Garipzanov, 'Carolingian Abbreviation') as well as the *Chronicon Universale*, the *Chronicon Laurissense Breve* or Ado of Vienne's *Chronicon*. See for a general appreciation of the influence of the *Chronica Maiora* von den Brincken, *Studien*, p. 113; Goffart, *Narrators*, pp. 246–7. McKitterick, *History*, p. 94 is more reticent on the dissemination of *De Temporum Ratione* in Francia proper prior to the ninth century. However, at least the *Chronicon Universale* was compiled probably in Burgundy around 770. Based firmly on the *Chronica Maiora*, it bears witness to the high regard in which Bede stood already at that time, which in turn is hardly conceivable without a correspondingly sizable dissemination of manuscripts preceding that date.

8 Rabin, 'Historical Re-collections', p. 23.

9 Cf. Whitelock, 'After Bede', p. 38; slightly different numbers are provided by Stevens, 'Bede's Scientific Achievement', p. 678: 97 manuscripts of *De Temporibus*, including fragments, of which 25 contain only the *Chronica Minora*. It needs to be taken into account that some manuscripts contain both *De Temporibus* and *De Temporum Ratione*, blurring the count.

10 Cf. Barnard, 'Bede and Eusebius', p. 116, while Declercq, *Anno Domini*, p. 173 claims 'almost 170 manuscripts' for the *Ecclesiastical History* against 'some 250 full or partial copies' for *De Temporum Ratione*. The *Ecclesiastical History*'s appeal was not restricted to Britain, with Hill, 'Carolingian Perspectives', p. 239 considering it to have been 'more popular in continental Europe than any other of Bede's works, if we may judge from booklists and surviving manuscripts'.

11 For instance, Gunn, *Bede's Historiae*, p. 109, describes it as 'relatively ignored by historians'; similarly Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, pp. 364–5.

12 Cf. Levison, 'Bede', p. 121; see also Table 6.2 on p. 94.

13 Cf. Gunn, *Bede's Historiae*, pp. 109–15, the quote on p. 112. See also Markus, 'Bede', p. 390, who juxtaposes the 'teaching of methods' in a chronicle to a history's 'teaching of morals'.

14 Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, pp. lxix–lxx.

15 This was due not least to the Franks slowly beginning to picture themselves as the new 'Chosen People', cf. Innes and McKitterick, 'Writing of History', p. 215.

16 Cf. Allen, 'Universal History', pp. 33–5; Carozzi, 'Chroniques universelles', pp. 18–23; Levison, 'Bede', pp. 117–23.

17 Cf. Landsberg, *Bild*, p. 31 pointing out that Bede was usually content to copy reports on Greek or Roman ancient history verbatim, but took much more care with contemporary events from Jewish history. See also Knaepen, 'L'histoire gréco-romaine'.

18 For Christian world chronicles in general cf. Krüger, *Universalchroniken*; Croke, 'Origins'; Allen, 'Universal History'. See also Levison, 'Bede', pp. 120–1 on the prevalence not of 'profane history', but of 'sacred and ecclesiastical history' (p. 121).

19 As e.g. Notker Balbulus did in his *Gesta Karoli* for Charles III the Fat, cf. Goetz, *Strukturen*.

20 Cf. Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, Praefatio, ed. Jones, p. 263 (transl. Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, p. 3), where Bede is recalling the reaction to some of his earlier works, including *De Temporibus*, and his motivation for going on to write *De Temporum Ratione*: 'When I undertook to present and explain them to some of my brethren, they said that they were much more concise than they would have wished . . . So they persuaded me to discuss certain matters concerning the nature, course, and end of time at greater length.' For a list of Bede's most prominent pupils, cf. Whitelock, 'Bede and His Teachers', pp. 33–4.

21 Cf. Carozzi, 'Chroniques universelles', pp. 18–19.

22 For the view of *De Temporum Ratione* as a textbook see Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, p. xvii; Markus, 'Bede', p. 390; Hanning, *Vision of History*, pp. 71–5. A different position by Thacker, 'Bede', p. 61.

23 Jones, 'Bede', p. 32, with approving reference to similarly disparaging comments by Levison, 'Bede', p. 116 to Bede's *Chronica Minora*. See also Hanning, *Vision of History*, p. 72: 'The chronicle is a practical illustration of the text's abstract presentation of time'; however, Hanning also acknowledges an additional purpose beyond computistic technicalities in the second part of his sentence: 'both sections aim to show God's providential management of time and therefore of history'. See also the positive appraisal by Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, pp. 364–5, refuting the idea that 'Bede assembled information from prior chronicles without any conscious plan or overarching purpose'.

24 Rabin, 'Historical Re-collections', p. 24. However, Rabin tends to overestimate the relevance of Bede's reports on England considerably, e.g. when claiming that Bede 'implicitly pairs the English conversion with the Roman' (p. 24), thus awarding England 'equal prominence' (p. 26) with Rome and even picturing Britain as a new Rome, and Hwaetbert as a new Eusebius (p. 38). Cf. the much more sober appraisal by Gunn, *Bede's Historiae*, p. 112: 'the Anglo-Saxon material included is only there by virtue of the fact that it exemplifies themes which run through the work'. Markus, 'Bede', p. 393 is also wary of detecting close correspondencies between the current situation of the English church and the previous situation of the Roman church.

25 Gunn, *Bede's Historiae*, p. 114.

26 Cf. on the task of historiography Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Praefatio, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 2 (transl. p. 3): '*Siue enim historia de bonis bona referat, ad imitandum bonum auditor sollicitus instigatur; seu mala commemoret de prauis, nihilominus religiosus ac pius auditor siue lector deuitando quod noxium est ac peruersum, ipse sollertius ad exsequenda ea quae bona ac Deo digna esse cognouerit, accenditur.*' ('Should history tell of good men and their good estate, the thoughtful listener is spurred on to imitate the good; should it record the evil ends of wicked men, no less effectually the devout and earnest listener or reader is kindled to eschew what is harmful and perverse, and himself with greater care pursue those things which he has learned to be good and pleasing in the sight of God.') With reference to this passage Hunter Blair, 'Historical Writings', p. 201 considers the movement of people 'to a more Godly way of life' as Bede's aim in writing history; cf. also Innes and McKitterick, 'Writing of History', p. 194.

27 In the words of Roger Ray, 'Bede, the Exegete', p. 133: 'It would even seem that history was for Bede mainly a matter of chapters and verses; or, to put it more in his own language, largely a question of *lectiones*', although Ray is exaggerating the episodic nature of Bede's writing.

28 Cf. Mayr-Harting, 'Bede's Patristic Thinking', p. 368. A different explanation by Meyvaert, 'Bede', p. 54.

29 Cf. Allen, 'Universal History', pp. 17–20.

30 Cf. von den Brincken, 'Jahrtausendrechnung', pp. 19–20. For discussing various aspects of chronography and computus I would like to thank James Palmer. The attempt by McCarthy, 'Bede's Primary Source', to attribute that re-calculation to a lost work by Rufinus which both Bede and later Irish annals allegedly used is not convincing.

31 Cf. von den Brincken, *Studien*, pp. 109–10; Carozzi, 'Chroniques universelles', pp. 19–22.

32 Cf. Isidore of Seville, *Chronica Maiora* 235–7, ed. Mommsen, pp. 453–4: the rule of emperor Augustus lasted for 56 years until AM 5210, while the incarnation of Christ occurred in the 42nd year of Augustus. Reckoning AM 5210 as the 56th year would put the incarnation at AM 5196; see also Tristram, *Sex aetates mundi*, p. 25. However, on the same page Tristram states a length of 5197 years for the first five ages of the world; similarly, Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, p. 358 gives the year of incarnation according to Isidore as AM 5197.

33 Cf. von den Brincken, *Studien*, pp. 110–11; Meyvaert, 'Bede', pp. 57–8; Landes, 'Lest the Millennium', pp. 174–6; Tristram, *Sex aetates mundi*, pp. 27–8.

34 Cf. 2 Peter 3, 8: '. . . *quia unus dies apud Dominum sicut mille anni et mille anni sicut dies unus*' ('that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day').

35 Cf. Allen, 'Universal History', p. 19; Declercq, *Anno Domini*, pp. 25–6, 39–44; Landes, 'Lest the Millennium', pp. 141–2.

36 Cf. Landes, 'Lest the Millennium', pp. 176–8; Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, p. 362 with n. 219.

37 Cf. Borst, *Buch*, pp. 152–3, who wants to date the official acceptance of Bede's world era in Francia to 807.

38 Cf. Kaschke, 'Fixing Dates', p. 119.

39 Cf. Gunn, *Bede's Historiae*, p. 112: 'in this text Bede is his usual highly selective self!'; Scully, 'Bede's *Chronica Maiora*', p. 48.

40 Cf. Bede, *Chronica Maiora* 515–20, ed. Jones, p. 307.

41 In slight exaggeration Borst, *Buch*, pp. 107–8 claims that to Bede, the 'heretic' Byzantine empire had 'jede Aktualität eingebüßt'. Still, Bede certainly did not belong to those 'English' who, according to Harris, 'Wars', p. 30, saw Byzantium as the 'embodiment of the ideal of the Christian *oecumene*'.

42 Cf. Davidse, 'Sense of History', pp. 680–1.

43 For an impression on Bede's coverage of computus in the chronicle see chapters 456, 481, 497, 518 and 520 of the *Chronica Maiora*, ed. Jones, pp. 512, 516, 519 and 521.

44 Cf. Bede, *Chronica Maiora* 497, ed. Jones, p. 519 (transl. Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, p. 222): '*Victorius iubente papa Hilario scripsit Paschalem Circulum DXXXII annorum*'. ('Victorius, at the command of Pope Hilarius, wrote a paschal cycle of five hundred and thirty-two years'). Mommsen provides a list of Bede's sources on this topic in Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi XIII, no. 14, pp. 228–9.

45 Cf. Bede, *Chronica Maiora* 541, ed. Jones, p. 525 (transl. Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, p. 228): '*Eo tempore exortum apud Scottos in obseruatione paschae errorem quartadecimanorum Honorius papa per epistolam redarguit.*' ('At this time Pope Honorius condemned in a letter the Quartodeciman error concerning the observance of Easter, which had appeared amongst the Irish.')

46 Cf. Bede, *Chronica Maiora* 531, ed. Jones, p. 523, with Bede 'studiously avoiding any mention of the British and Gallic influence' (Gunn, *Bede's Historiae*, p. 112) – however, later on he does at least report the assistance of Germanus of Auxerre in the case of fighting the Pelagian heresy in Britain. Admittedly, this heresy is described not as an Anglo-Saxon but as a British problem, cf. Bede, *Chronica Maiora* 491, ed. Jones, p. 518 (transl. Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, p. 221): '*Heresis Pelagiana Brittanorum turbat fidem.*' ('The Pelagian heresy disturbed the faith of the Britons.') See also Hunter Blair, 'Historical Writings', pp. 209–10 and Wood, 'Mission'.

47 Cf. Hanning, *Vision of History*, p. 75.

48 For a selection of events after the end of Jerome's chronicle, cf. Bede, *Chronica Maiora* 452, 465, 469, 480–1, 487, 491, 500–504, 506, 513, 516, 523, 527, 529, 537, 539–40, 557, 564, 592–3, ed. Jones, pp. 512–14, 516–22, 524, 527, 529, 534–5; for Anglo-Saxons ibid. 461, 473–4, 483–4, 489, 491, 504, 531, 541, 554, 562, 566, 586, 590, ed. Jones, pp. 513–18, 520, 523, 525, 527–9, 532–4 and Scully, 'Bede's *Chronica Maiora*'.

49 Reports on heresies and persecutions by heretics in Bede, *Chronica Maiora* 453, 458, 467, 480, 491, 496, 503, 506–8, 513, 526, 529, 541, 543–4, 546, 548–50, 558–9, 565, ed. Jones, pp. 512–13, 516, 518–22, 525–9.

50 Cf. Mayr–Harting, 'Bede's Patristic Thinking', p. 373.

51 Cf. Moore, 'Bede's Devotion'; Moorhead, 'Bede'. In the chapters after the end of Jerome's chronicle, popes appear in Bede, *Chronica Maiora* 466, 475, 482, 485, 497, 507, 510–11, 514, 524, 526, 530–2, 534–6, 541, 544, 546, 548–9, 551–2, 554–5, 558–61, 565–6, 569, 572–4, 578, 584–5, ed. Jones, pp. 513, 515–17, 519–23, 525–32.

52 E.g. von den Brincken, *Studien*, p. 111; differently already Markus, 'Bede', p. 388.

53 Cf. Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon* s. a. 454, ed. Mommsen, p. 86: '*Aetius magna Occidentalis rei publicae salus et regi Attilae terror a Valentiniano imperatore cum Boethio amico in palatio trucidatur, atque cum ipso Hesperium cecidit regnum nec hactenus valuit relevari.*' ('Aetius, the great salvation of the Western empire and the

terror of king Attila, was killed in the palace together with his friend Boethius by emperor Valentinian, and with him fell the Western realm, and to this day it has not had the strength to be revived.')

54 Bede, *Chronica Maiora* 493, ed. Jones, p. 518 (transl. Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, p. 222). Modifying Marcellinus Comes, Bede pointedly adds the title of *patricius* for Aetius while omitting *imperator* for Valentinian. In the *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede links the demise of the Western empire ('*Hesperium regnum*') not with the death of Aetius but with that of his murderer Valentinian, cf. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* I, 21, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 66 (transl. p. 67): '*Nec multo post Ualentinianus ab Aetii patricii, quem occiderat, satellitibus interimitur, anno imperii Marciani sexto, cum quo simul Hesperium concidit regnum*'. ('Not long after, in the sixth year of the reign of Marcian, Valentinian was murdered by the followers of the patrician Aetius whom he had put to death, and with Valentinian the Western empire fell.')

55 Cf. von den Brincken, *Studien*, p. 111; see also Wallace-Hadrill, 'Bede's Europe' for Bede's position on the political situation of his time.

56 Bede, *Chronica Maiora* 474, ed. Jones, p. 515 (transl. Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, p. 219).

57 Bede, *Chronica Maiora* 458, ed. Jones, pp. 512–13 (transl. Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, p. 217): '*ipsum Arriana polluit heresi*' ('he had polluted himself with the Arian heresy').

58 Bede, *Chronica Maiora* 549, ed. Jones, p. 526 (transl. Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, p. 230): '*missus ab imperatore Theodorus exarchus Martinum papam de ecclesia Constantiniana, perduxitque Constantinopolim, qui post hec religatus Cersonam tulit*' ('the exarch Theodore, sent by the emperor, carried off Pope Martin from the Constantinian basilica and sent him to Constantinople. Afterwards [Martin] was exiled to Cherson'). The Crimean peninsula as a kind of Byzantine Siberia was a common place of exile at the time; I would like to thank Mike Humphreys for his advice on this point.

59 Cf. Bede, *Chronica Maiora* 482 (*Scotti*), 531 and 554 (*Angli*), 566 (*Fresi*), ed. Jones, pp. 516, 523 and 527, 529.

60 Markus, 'Bede', 397. See also Barnard, 'Bede and Eusebius'.

61 Something Bede certainly did not wish to encourage, cf. c. 67 of *De Temporum Ratione* headed '*De reliquis sextae aetatis*', and the verdict by Allen, 'Universal History', p. 34: 'Bede's own discussion of continuing earthly time emphatically asserted its unknown and unknowable duration.'

62 On the importance of Rome cf. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, chapter 6, esp. pp. 223–5.

63 Jones, 'Bede', p. 33.

Bibliography

1. Sources

Coin

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Münzkabinett, accession number 1920/1194, object
    number 18211378.

Manuscripts

Bern, Burgerbibliothek 289.
Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes MB 14.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5278 (Colbert. 11).

Printed Sources

Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae IV:
    Epistolae Karolini aevi 2, Berlin: Weidmann, 1895, pp. 1–481.

Annales Regni Francorum, ed. F. Kurze, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores
    rerum Germanicarum VI, Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1895.

Avitus of Vienne, *Collatio Episcoporum*, ed. R. Peiper, Monumenta Germaniae Historica
    Auctores Antiquissimi VI, 2, Berlin: Weidmann, 1883, pp. 161–4.

Avitus of Vienne, *Contra Eutychianam Haeresim*, ed. R. Peiper, Monumenta Germaniae
    Historica Auctores Antiquissimi VI, 2, Berlin: Weidmann, 1883, pp. 15–29.

Avitus of Vienne, *Epistulae*, ed. R. Peiper, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores
    Antiquissimi VI, 2, Berlin: Weidmann, 1883, pp. 29–103.

Avitus of Vienne, *Homiliae*, ed. R. Peiper, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores
    Antiquissimi VI, 2, Berlin: Weidmann, 1883, pp. 103–57.

Barney, S. A., Lewis, W. J., Beach, J. A. and Berghof, O., *The Etymologies of Isidore of
    Seville*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Barnish, S., *Cassiodorus Variae*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992.

Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, ed. B. Krusch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum II, Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1888, pp. 377–95.

Bede, *Chronica Maiora ad a. DCCXXV*, ed. T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi XIII, Berlin: Weidmann, 1898, pp. 223–327.

Bede, *Chronica Maiora = De Temporum Ratione Liber cap. LVI–LXXI seu Chronica Maiora*, ed. C. W. Jones, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 123 B, Turnhout: Brepols, 1977, pp. 461–544.

Bede, *Historia abbatum*, ed. C. Plummer, *Beda Venerabilis, Opera Historica*, vol. 1: *Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum, Historiam Abbatum, Epistolam Ecgbertum una cum Historia Abbatum auctore anonymo*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896, pp. 364–87.

Bede, *Historia abbatum*, ed. C. Grocock and I. N. Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013, pp. 21–75.

Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford et al.: Clarendon Press, 1969 (repr. 1998).

Bede, *De Temporum Ratione Liber*, ed. C. W. Jones, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 123 B, Turnhout: Brepols, 1977.

Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis (BHL), 2 vols, ed. Socii Bollandiani, Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898 (repr. 1992).

Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus, ed. M. Tangl, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae Selectae 1, Berlin: Weidmann, 1955.

Burgess, R., 'The Gallic Chronicle of 452: a new critical edition with a brief introduction', in R. W. Mathisen and D. Shanzer (eds), *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul. Revisiting the Sources*, Aldershot et al.: Ashgate, 2001, pp. 52–84.

Cassiodorus/Epiphanius, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, ed. R. Hanslik, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 71, Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1952.

Cassiodorus, *Variae*, ed. T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi XII, Berlin: Weidmann, 1894.

Chronica Gallica a. 452, ed. B. Krusch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi IX: Chronica Minora 1, Berlin: Weidmann, 1892, pp. 615–66.

'Das Chronicon Laurissense breve', ed. H. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* 36 (1911), pp. 13–39.

Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199), ed. J.-B. Chabot, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1901.

Ciggaar, K. N., 'Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais', *Revue des études byzantines* 34 (1976), pp. 211–67.

Concilia aevi Merovingici, ed. F. Maassen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Concilia I, Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1893.

Concilium Toletanum IV, in J. Vives (ed.), *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos*, España Cristiana: Textos 1, Barcelona and Madrid: Bibliograf, 1963, pp. 186–225.

Davis, R., *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000.

Davis, R., *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis): Translated with an Introduction and Commentary*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992.

De Belfort, A., *Description générale des monnaies mérovingiennes*, vol. III, Paris: Société française de numismatique, 1893 (repr. 1996).

Delehaye, H., 'L'hagiographie ancienne de Ravenne', *Analecta Bollandiana* 47 (1929), pp. 5–30.

Delehaye, H., *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1902.

Depeyrot, G., *Le numéraire mérovingien l'âge de l'or*, vol. III, Wetteren: Moneta, 1998.

Dölger, F., *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453, 1, 1: Regesten 565–867*, 2nd edition by A. E. Müller, Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009.

Dubois, J. and Renaud, G., *Édition pratique des martyrologes de Bède de l'anonyme Lyonnais et de Florus*, Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1976.

Eddius Stephanus, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid. Text, Translation and Notes*, ed. B. Colgrave, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1927 (repr. 2007).

Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Germanicarum XXV, Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, ⁶1911.

Epistolae Arelatenses genuinae, ed. W. Gundlach, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistulae III: Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi 1, Berlin: Weidmann, 1892, pp. 1–83.

Epistolae Austrasicae, ed. W. Gundlach, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae III: Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi 1, Berlin: Weidmann, 1892, pp. 110–53.

Eucherius, *Passio Acaunensium Martyrum*, ed. B. Krusch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum III, Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1896, pp. 20–41.

Fouracre, P. and Gerberding, R. A., *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography 640–720*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2008.

Fredegar, *Chronicae*, ed. B. Krusch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum II, Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1888, pp. 1–193.

Les Gestes des Évêques d'Auxerre, ed. sous la direction de M. Sot, texte établi par G. Lobrichon avec la collaboration de M. Goullet, vol. 1, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2002.

Les Grandes Chroniques de France, ed. P. Paris, vol. III, Paris: Techener, 1837.

Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Confessorum*, ed. B. Krusch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum I, 2, Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1885, pp. 294–370.

Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Martyrum*, ed B. Krusch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum I, 2, Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1885, pp. 34–111.

Gregory of Tours, *Liber vitae patrum*, ed. B. Krusch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum I, 2, Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1885, pp. 211–94.

[Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*] Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum X*, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum I, 1, Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, ²1951.

Halkin, F., *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca* (BHG), vol. II, Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957.

Halkin, F. (ed.), *Le ménologe impérial de Baltimore. Textes grecs publiés et traduits*, Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1985.

S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera, ed. P. de LaGarde, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 72, Turnhout: Brepols, 1959.

Hydatius, *Chronicon*, ed. T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi X: Chronica Minora 2, Berlin: Weidmann, 1894, pp. 1–36.

Hydatius, *Chronica*, in R. W. Burgess (ed.), *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana: Two Contemporary Accounts of the Final Years of the Roman Empire*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, pp. 69–123.

Iohannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. J. Thurn, Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae 35: Series Berolinensis, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2000.

Isidore of Seville, *Chronica Maiora*, ed. T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi XI, Berlin: Weidmann, 1894, pp. 391–488.

Isidore of Seville, *Historia Gothorum Wandalorum Sueborum*, ed. T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi XI, Berlin: Weidmann, 1894, pp. 241–303.

Isidore of Seville, *De origine Gothorum*, in Rodríguez Alonso, C., *Las Historias de los Godos, Vándalos y Suevos de Isidoro de Sevilla. Estudio, edición critica e traducción*, León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación 'San Isidoro', 1975, pp. 163–287.

John of Antioch (Priscus), ed. R. C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, vol. 2: *Text, Translation and Historiographical Notes*, Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1983, pp. 222–400.

Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani*, ed. B. Krusch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum 37, Hanover and Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1905, pp. 1–294.

Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 1, ed. F. Giunta and A. Grillone, Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1991.

Jordanes, *Romana et Getica*, ed. T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi V, 1, Berlin: Weidmann, 1882.

Kusternig, A., 'Die vier Bücher der Chroniken des sogenannten Fredegar', in H. Wolfram, id. and H. Haupt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts*, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe IVa, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982, pp. 1–271.

Liber Constitutionum sive Lex Gundobada, ed. L. R. de Salis, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Leges II, 1, Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1892, pp. 29–116.

Il 'liber epistolarum' della cancellaria austrasica (sec. V–VI), ed. E. Malaspina, Rome: Herder, 2001.

Liber Historiae Francorum, ed. B. Krusch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum II, Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1888, pp. 215–328.

Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, Introduction et Commentaire, ed. L. Duchesne, vol. 1, Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1955 (repr. 1981).

Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*, ed. T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi XI, Berlin: Weidmann, 1894, pp. 37–108.

Marius of Avenches, *Chronica*, ed. T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi XI, Berlin: Weidmann, 1894, pp. 225–39.

Marius of Avenches, *Chronica*, ed. J. Favrod, *La Chronique de Marius d'Avenches (455–581). Texte, traduction et commentaire*, Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, ²1993.

McNamara, J. A., Halborg, J. E. and Whatley, E. G. (transl.), *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, Durham, London: Duke University Press, 1992.

Migne, J.-P. (ed.) *Patrologiae cursus completus: sive, biblioteca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica, omnium SS. Patrum, doctorum scriptorumque eccelesiasticorum qui ab aevo apostolico ad usque Innocentii III tempora floruerunt. Series Latina, in qua prodeunt Patres, doctores scriptoresque Ecclesiae Latinae, a Tertulliano ad Innocentium III*, Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1844–64.

Notker the Stammerer, *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris*, ed. H. F. Haefele, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Germanicarum nova series XII, Berlin: Weidmann, 1959.

Olympiodorus, ed. R. C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, vol. 2: *Text, Translation and Historiographical Notes*, Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1983, pp. 152–220.

[Orosius, *Historiae*] Orose, Histoires (Contre les Païens), ed. M. P. Arnaud-Lindet, 3 vols, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1990–91.

Passio Leudegarii episcopi Augustodunensis, ed. B. Krusch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Germanicarum V, Hanover and Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1910, pp. 282–322.

Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum I, Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1878, pp. 12–187.

Pelt, J.-B., *Études sur la cathédrale de Metz. La liturgie, 1 (Ve–XIIIe siècle),* Metz: Imprimerie du Journal le Lorrain, 1937.

Procopius, *Wars*, ed. H. B. Dewing, 5 vols., Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1914–28.

Prosper of Aquitaine, *Chronicon*, ed. T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi IX: Chronica Minora 1, Berlin: Weidmann, 1892, pp. 341–485.

Shanzer, D. and Wood, I., *Avitus of Vienne. Letters and Selected Prose*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002.

Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulae et carmina*, ed. C. Luetjohann, Monumenta Germaniae Historia Auctores Antiquissimi VIII, Berlin: Weidmann, 1887, pp. 1–264.

Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulae*, ed. A. Loyen, Sidoine Apollinaire, *Poèmes et Lettres*, 3 vols, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960–1970.

Sidonius Apollinaris, *Letters III-IX*, ed. W. B. Anderson, Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1965 (repr. 1997).

Sidonius Apollinaris, *Poems, Letters, books I-II*, ed. W. B. Anderson, Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1936 (repr. 1996).

Simeon Metaphrastes, *Martyrion tou hagiou martyros Polyeuktou – Certamen sancti martyris Polyeucti*, in J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus seu bibliotheca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica, omnium SS. Patrum, doctorum scriptorumque eccelesiasticorum qui ab aevo apostolico ad tempora concilii Tridentini (anno 1545) pro Latinis et concilii Florentini (ann. 1439) pro Graecis floruerunt. Series Graeca posterior, in qua prodeunt Patres, doctores scriptoresque Ecclesiae Graecae, ab aevo Photiano usque ad concilii Florentini tempora*, vol. 114, Paris: Garnier Fratres Editores, 1903, cols 417–30.

Thorpe, L., *Gregory of Tours, The History of the Franks*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974.

Van Dam, R., *Gregory of Tours, Glory of the Martyrs*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, [2]2004.

Venantius Fortunatus, *Carminum epistularum expositionem libri undecim*, ed. F. Leo, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi IV, 1, Berlin: Weidmann, 1881.

Vita Abbatum Acaunensium, ed. B. Krusch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum III, Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1896, pp. 171–81.

Vita Patrum Iurensium, ed. F. Martine, *Vie des Pères du Jura*, Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1968.

Wallace-Hadrill, J. M. (transl.), *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with its Continuations*, Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press, 1960 (repr. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981).

Wallis, F., *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999.

2. Literature

Al-Azmeh, A., 'The Mediterranean and Islam', in FranceMed (R. Abdellatif, Y. Benhima, D. König and E. Ruchaud) (eds), *Construire la Méditerranée, penser les transferts culturels. Approches historiographiques et perspectives de recherche*, Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012, pp. 58–71.

Algazi, G., 'Doing Things with Gifts', in id., V. Groebner and B. Jussen (eds), *Negotiating the Gift. Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2003, pp. 9–27.

Allen, M. I., 'Universal History 300–1000: Origins and Western Developments', in D. Mauskopf Deliyannis (ed.), *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, Leiden: Brill, 2003, pp. 17–42.

Allen, P., 'The Definition and Enforcement of Orthodoxy', in A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins and M. Whitby (eds), *Cambridge Ancient History XIV: Late Antiquity. Empire and Successors A.D. 425–600*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 811–34.

Amory, P., *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Andrieu, M., 'La carrière ecclésiastique des papes et les documents liturgiques du moyen âge', *Revue des sciences réligieuses* 21 (1947), pp. 90–120.

Anton, H. H., *Trier im frühen Mittelalter*, Paderborn: Schöningh, 1987.

Armand, F., *Chilpéric Ier. Petit-fils de Clovis, grand-père de Dagobert, le roi assassiné deux fois*, Cahors: La Louve Éditions, 2008.

Ashley, K. and Plesch, V., 'The Cultural Processes of "Appropriation"', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32 (2002), pp. 1–15.

Aubé, B., *Polyeucte dans l'histoire. Étude sur le martyre de Polyeucte d'après des documents inédits*, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1882.

Babelon, E., *Le Cabinet des Antiques à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris: A. Lévy, 1887.

Babelon, E., *Catalogue des camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897.

Bachrach, B. S., *The Anatomy of a Little War. A Diplomatic and Military History of the Gundowald Affair (568–586)*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1994.

Bachrach, B. S., 'Fifth-Century Metz: Late Roman Christian urbs or Ghost Town?', *Antiquité tardive* 10 (2002), pp. 363–81.

Barber, C., *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Bardill, J., *Brickstamps of Constantinople*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Bardill, J., 'A New Temple for Byzantium: Anicia Juliana, King Solomon and the Gilded Ceiling in the Church of St Polyeuktos in Constantinople', in W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge and C. Machado (eds), *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, pp. 339–70.

Barnard, L. W., 'Bede and Eusebius as Church Historians', in G. Bonner (ed.), *Famulus*

Christi. Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede, London: SPCK, 1976, pp. 106–24.

Barney, S. A., Lewis, W. J., Beach, J. A. and Berghof, O., *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Barnwell, P. S., 'War and Peace: Historiography and Seventh-Century Embassies', *Early Medieval Europe* 6 (1997), pp. 127–39.

Baudot, M., 'La question du Pseudo-Frédégaire', *Le Moyen Âge* 38 (1928), pp. 129–70.

Becher, M., *Eid und Herrschaft. Untersuchungen zum Herrschaftsethos Karls des Großen*, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993.

Becher, M., *Chlodwig I. Der Aufstieg der Merowinger und das Ende der antiken Welt*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 2011.

Becker, G., *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, Bonn: Cohen, 1885.

Belting-Ihm, C., 'Das Justinuskreuz in der Schatzkammer der Peterskirche zu Rom. Bericht über die Untersuchungen des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums zu Mainz', *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums zu Mainz* 12 (1965), pp. 142–66.

Berndt, R., 'Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794. Kristallisationspunkt theologischen Denkens in der frühen Karolingerzeit', in id. (ed.), *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794. Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur. Akten zweier Symposien (vom 23. bis 27. Februar und vom 13. bis 15. Oktober 1994) anläßlich der 1200-Jahrfeier der Stadt Frankfurt am Main, Teil II: Kultur und Theologie*, Mainz: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1997, pp. 519–45.

Bhabha, H. K., *The Location of Culture*, London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

Bischoff, B. and Lapidge, M. (eds), *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Bjornlie, S., 'What have elephants to do with sixth–century politics? A reappraisal of the "official" governmental dossier of Cassiodorus', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 2 (2009), pp. 143–71.

Bognetti, G. P., 'Non l'Isola Comacina, ma l'Isola di Lérins (a proposito della lettera di Floriano a Nicetio, del 550)', *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 9 (1944), pp. 129–35.

Bonnet, C., *Les fouilles de l'ancien groupe épiscopal de Genève (1976–1993)*, Geneva: Fondation des clefs de Saint-Pierre, Service cantonal d'archéologie, 1993.

Borchert, S., 'Das Bild Theoderichs des Großen in der Chronik des sog. Fredegar', in S. Kolditz and R. C. Müller (eds), *Geschehenes und Geschriebenes. Studien zu Ehren von Günther S. Henrich und Klaus-Peter Matschke*, Leipzig: Eudora, 2005, pp. 435–52.

Borgolte, M., *Der Gesandtenaustausch der Karolinger mit den Abbasiden und mit den Patriarchen von Jerusalem*, Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1976.

Borgolte, M., 'Migrationen als transkulturelle Verflechtungen im mittelalterlichen Europa. Ein neuer Pflug für alte Forschungsfelder', *Historische Zeitschrift* 289 (2009), pp. 261–85.

Borgolte, M., Dücker, J., Müllerburg, M. and Schneidmüller, B., 'Einleitung', in: idd. (eds), *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2011, pp. 9–13.

Borsari, S., 'Le migrazioni dall'Oriente in Italia nel VII secolo', *La Parola del Passato* 6 (1951), pp. 133–8.

Borst, A., *Das Buch der Naturgeschichte. Plinius und seine Leser im Zeitalter des Pergaments*, Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, ²1995.

Boswell, J., *Same-Sex-Unions in Premodern Europe*, New York: Random House, 1994.

Bour, R., *Histoire de Metz*, Metz: Éditions Serpenoise, 1979.

Bradley, D. R., 'Manuscript evidence for the text of the Getica of Jordanes I and II', *Hermes* 123 (1995), pp. 346–62 and 490–503.

Brandes, W., ' "Tempora periculosa sunt". Eschatologisches im Vorfeld der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Großen', in R. Berndt (ed.), *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794. Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur. Akten zweier Symposien (vom 23. bis 27. Februar und vom 13. bis 15. Oktober 1994) anläßlich der 1200-Jahrfeier der Stadt Frankfurt am Main, Teil I: Politik und Kirche*, Mainz: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1997, pp. 49–79.

Brandes, W., 'Das Gold der Menia. Ein Beispiel transkulturellen Wissenstransfers', *Millennium-Jahrbuch* 2 (2005), pp. 175–228.

Brandes, W., 'Herakleios und das Ende der Antike im Osten. Triumphe und Niederlagen', in M. Meier (ed.), *Sie schufen Europa. Historische Portraits von Konstantin bis Karl den Großen*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 2007, pp. 248–58.

Brandes, W., 'Thüringer/Thüringerinnen in byzantinischen Quellen', in H. Castritius, D. Geuenich and M. Werner (eds), *Die Frühzeit der Thüringer. Archäologie, Sprache, Geschichte*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009, pp. 291–327.

Breckenridge, J. D., 'Evidence for the Nature of Relations between Pope John VII and the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 65 (1972), pp. 364–74.

Bréhier, L., 'Les Colonies d'Orientaux en Occident au commencement du moyen âge', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 12 (1903), pp. 1–39.

Bremmer Jr., R. H., 'The Anglo-Saxon Continental Mission and the Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge', in id. and K. Dekker (eds), *Foundations of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages: Storehouses of Wholesome Learning* I, Paris et al.: Peeters, 2007, pp. 19–50.

Brennan, B., 'Venantius Fortunatus: Byzantine Agent?', *Byzantion* 65 (1995), pp. 7–16.

Brock, S., 'The Syriac Background', in M. Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore. Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 30–53.

Brou, L., 'Les chantes en langue grecque dans les liturgies latine', *Sacris Erudiri* 1 (1948), pp. 165–80.

Brown, P., *The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Brown, P., 'Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours', in id., *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1982, pp. 222–50.

Brown, P., *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350–550 AD*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Brown, P., *The Rise of Western Christendom. Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000*, Malden et al.: Blackwell Publishing, ³2013.

Brown, P. F., *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past*, New Haven: Yale University Press 1996.

Brown, T. S., *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A. D. 554–800*, London: British School at Rome, 1984.

Brown, T. S., 'The Interplay between Roman and Byzantine Traditions and Local Sentiment in the Exarchate of Ravenna', in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo, 3–9 aprile 1986*, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 1988, vol. 1, pp. 127–60.

Brubaker, L., 'The Elephant and the Ark: Cultural and Material Interchange across the Mediterranean in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004), pp. 175–95.

Brühl, C., *Palatium und Civitas. Studien zur Profantopographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert, vol. 2: Belgica I, beide Germanien und Raetia II*, Cologne: Böhlau, 1990.

Brunner, C. J., 'Middle Persian Inscriptions on Sasanian Silverware', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 9 (1974), pp. 109–21.

Buc, P., *The Dangers of Ritual. Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Buchner, R., *Die Provence in merowingischer Zeit*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933.

Buckler, F. W., *Harunu'l-Rashid and Charles the Great*, Cambridge: AMS Press, 1931.

Buckton, D., 'Byzantine Enamels in the Twentieth Century', in E. Jeffreys (ed.), *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization: In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 25–37.

Burgess, R. W., 'Marcellinus Comes', in R. G. Dunphy (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, vol. 2, pp. 1076–7.

Burke, P., *Cultural Hybridity*, Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2009.

Cameron, A., 'Agathias on the Early Merovingians', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 37 (1968), pp. 95–140.

Cameron, A., 'The Byzantine Sources of Gregory of Tours', *Journal of Theological Studies New Series* 26 (1975), pp. 421–6, repr. in ead., *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1981, no. XV, pp. 421–6.

Cameron, A., 'The Early Religious Policies of Justin II', in D. Baker (ed.), *The Orthodox Churches and the West*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1976, pp. 51–7.

Cameron, A. and Long, J. (with a contribution by L. Sherry), *Barbarians and Politics and the Court of Arcadius*, Berkeley et al.: University of California Press, 1993.

Campbell, J., 'The Impact of the Sutton Hoo Discovery on the Study of Anglo-Saxon History', in C. B. Kendall and P. S. Wells (eds), *Voyage to the Other World. The Legacy of Sutton Hoo*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992, pp. 79–101.

Capizzi, C., 'Anicia Giuliana (462 ca–530 ca): Ricerche sulla sua famiglia e la sua vita', *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* 5 (1968), pp. 191–226.

Capizzi, C., *Anicia Giuliana, la committente (c. 463–c. 528)*, Milan: Jaka Book, 1996.

Carbó García, J. R., 'Godos y Getas en la historiogafía de la Tardoantigüedad y del Medievo: un problema de identidad y de legitimación socio-política', *Studia Historica, Historia antigua* 22 (2004), pp. 179–206.

Carozzi, C., 'Chroniques universelles et comput: d'Eusèbe de Césarée à Bède le Vénérable', in id. and H. Taviani-Carozzi (eds), *Le médiéviste devant ses sources. Questions et méthodes*, Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2004, pp. 13–23.

Caspar, E., *Geschichte des Papsttums*, vol. 2, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1933.

Cavallo, G., 'Theodore of Tarsus and the Greek Culture of his Time', in M. Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore. Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 54–67.

Chadwick, H., *East and West: The Making of a Rift in the Church*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Charanis, P., 'On the Question of the Hellenization of Sicily and Southern Italy During the Middle Ages', *American Historical Review* 52 (1946), pp. 74–86.

Charanis, P., 'The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 4 (1948), pp. 51–118.

Chavasse, A. (ed.), *Le sacramentaire Gélasien (Vaticanus Reginensis 316)*, Tournai: Desclée, 1957.

Christensen, A. S., *Cassiodorus and the History of the Goths. Studies in a Migration Myth,* Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2002.

Christou, P., *Byzanz und die Langobarden. Von der Ansiedlung in Pannonien bis zur endgültigen Anerkennung (500–680),* Athens: Historical Publications St. D. Basilopoulos, 1991.

Claude, D., 'Studien zu Reccopolis 2: Die Historische Situation', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 6 (1965), pp. 167–94.

Claude, D., 'The Oath of Allegiance and the Oath of the King in the Visigothic Kingdom', *Classical Folia* 30 (1976), pp. 4–26.

Claude, D., *Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des Frühmittelalters*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985.

Collins, R., 'Theodebert I, *Rex Magnus Francorum*', in P. Wormald, D. Bullough and id. (eds), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society. Studies presented to John Michael Wallace-Hadrill*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1983, pp. 7–33.

Collins, R., 'Isidore, Maximus and the Historia Gothorum', in A. Scharer and
    G. Scheibelreiter (eds), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, Vienna and Munich:
    Oldenbourg, 1994, pp. 345–58.

Collins, R., *Early Medieval Spain. Unity in Diversity, 400–1000*, Houndmills, Basingstoke
    and London: Macmillan Press, ²1995.

Collins, R., *Fredegar*, Aldershot and Brookfield: Variorum, 1996.

Collins, R., *Visigothic Spain 409–711*, Malden et al.: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Collins, R., *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2007.

Conant, J. P., 'Europe and the African Cult of Saints, ca. 350–900: An Essay in
    Mediterranean Communications', *Speculum* 85 (2010), pp. 1–46.

Conant, J., *Staying Roman. Conquest and Identity in Africa and the Mediterranean,
    439–700*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Connor, C. L., 'The Epigram in the Church of Hagios Polyeuktos in Constantinople and
    its Byzantine Response', *Byzantion* 69 (1999), pp. 479–527.

Conway, M., 'St Radegund's Reliquary at Poitiers', *Antiquaries Journal* 3 (1923),
    pp. 1–12.

Conway, W. M., 'The Abbey of Saint-Denis and its Ancient Treasures', *Archaeologia* 66
    (1915), pp. 103–58.

Cook, A. S., 'Hadrian of Africa, Italy, and England', *Philological Quarterly* 2 (1923),
    pp. 241–58.

Cormack, R., 'But is it art?', in E. R. Hoffman (ed.), *Late Antique and Medieval Art of the
    Mediterranean World*, Malden, MA et al.: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, pp. 301–14.

Corsi, P., *La spedizione italiana di Costante II*, Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 1983.

Corsi, P., 'La politica italiana di Costante II', in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo,
    3–9 aprile 1986*, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo,
    1988, vol. 2, pp. 751–96.

Cosentino, S., 'Constans II and the Byzantine Navy', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 100 (2008),
    pp. 577–603.

Croke, B., 'The Origins of the Christian World Chronicle', in id. and A. M. Emmett (eds),
    History and Historians in Late Antiquity, Sydney et al.: Pergamon Press, 1983,
    pp. 116–31.

Croke, B., *Count Marcellinus and his Chronicle*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Croke, B., 'Justinian, Theodora, and the Churches of Saints Sergius and Bacchus',
    Dumbarton Oaks Papers 60 (2006), pp. 25–63.

Curta, F., 'Slavs in Fredegar: Medieval *Gens* or Narrative Strategy?', *Acta Universitatis
    Szegediensis de Attila József Nominate. Acta Historica* 103 (1996), pp. 3–20.

Curta, F., 'Slavs in Fredegar and Paul the Deacon: Medieval *Gens* or 'Scourge of God'?',
    Early Medieval Europe 6 (1997), pp. 141–67.

Cutler, A., 'Gifts and Gift Exchange as Aspects of the Byzantine, Arab, and Related
    Economies', in id., *Image Making in Byzantium, Sasanian Persia and the Early Muslim
    World. Images and Cultures*, Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009, no. VII
    pp. 247–78.

Dagron, G., 'Aux origins de la civilization byzantine: Langue de culture et langue de l'état', *Revue historique* 241 (1969), pp. 23–56.

Davidse, J., 'The Sense of History in the Works of the Venerable Bede', *Studi Medievali, Third Series* 23 (1982), pp. 647–95.

Davidse, J., 'On Bede as Christian Historian', in L. A. J. R. Houwen and A. A. MacDonald (eds), *Beda Venerabilis: Historian, Monk & Northumbrian*, Groningen: Forsten, 1996, pp. 1–15.

Declercq, G., *Anno Domini. The Origins of the Christian Era*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.

Deichmann, F. W., 'I pilastri acritani', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia* 50 (1977/78), pp. 75–89.

Delehaye, H., 'Les martyrs d'Égypte', *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922), pp. 41–154 and 299–364.

Delogu, P., 'Il Regno longobardo', in id., A. Guillou and G. Ortalli, *Longobardi e Bizantini*, Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1980 (repr. 1991), pp. 1–216.

Demandt, A., *Der Fall Roms. Die Auflösung der römischen Welt im Urteil der Nachwelt*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 1984.

Devos, P., 'Saints garants de la foi jurée: André, Ménas, Nicolas', *Analecta Bollandiana* 104 (1986), pp. 315–26.

Dierkens, A. and Périn, P., 'Les "sedes regiae" mérovingiennes entre Seine et Rhin', in G. Ripoll and J. M. Gurt (eds), *Sedes regiae (ann. 400–800)*, Barcelona: Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, 2000, pp. 267–304.

Diesenberger, M. and Reimitz, H., 'Zwischen Vergangenheit und Zukunft. Momente des Königtums in der merowingischen Historiographie', in F.-R. Erkens (ed.), *Das frühmittelalterliche Königtum. Ideelle und religiöse Grundlagen*, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2005, pp. 214–69.

Dolbeau, F., 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques latins conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 9 (1979), pp. 183–238.

Dollinger-Leonard, Y., 'De la cité romaine à la ville médiévale dans la région de la Moselle et la Haute Meuse', in *Studien zu den Anfängen des europäischen Städtewesens*, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1975, pp. 195–226.

Drabek, A., 'Der Merowingervertrag von Andelot aus dem Jahr 587', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 78 (1970), pp. 34–41.

Drauschke, J., 'Zur Herkunft und Vermittlung "byzantinischer Importe" der Merowingerzeit in Nordwesteuropa', in S. Brather (ed.), *Zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter. Archäologie des 4. bis 7. Jahrhunderts im Westen*, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2008, pp. 367–423.

Drayson, E., 'Ways of Seeing: The First Medieval Islamic and Christian Depictions of Roderick, Last Visigothic King of Spain', *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 18 (2006), pp. 115–28.

Dressen, W., Minkenberg, G. and Oellers, A. C. (eds), *Ex Oriente. Geschichte und Gegenwart christlicher, jüdischer und islamischer Kulturen*, 3 vols, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2003.

Drews, W., *Die Karolinger und die Abbasiden von Bagdad. Legitimationsstrategien
    frühmittelalterlicher Herrscherdynastien im transkulturellen Vergleich*, Berlin:
    Akademie-Verlag, 2009.

Drocourt, N., 'Quelques aspects du rôle des ambassadeurs dans les transferts culturels
    entre Byzance et ses voisins (VIIe–XIIe siècle)', in FranceMed (R. Abdellatif,
    Y. Benhima, D. König and E. Ruchaud) (eds), *Acteurs des transferts culturels en
    Méditerranée médiévale*, Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012, pp. 31–47.

Dubois, J., 'Martyrologium Hieronymianum', *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 6 (1992), cols
    360–1.

Du Bos, J.-B., *Histoire critique de l'établissement de la monarchie françoise dans les
    Gaules*, 3 vols, Amsterdam: Changuion, 1735.

Duffy, E., *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes*, New Haven, CT: Yale University
    Press, 1997.

Dumézil, B., 'Gogo et ses amis: écriture, échanges et ambitions dans un réseau
    aristocratique de la fin du VIe siècle', *Revue historique* 643 (2007), pp. 553–93.

Dumézil, B., *La reine Brunehaut*, Paris: Fayard, 2008.

Dumézil, B. and Joye, S., 'Les *Dialogues* de Grégoire le Grand et leur postérité: une
    certaine idée de la réforme?', *Médiévales* 62 (2012) (= *Réforme[s] et hagiographie dans
    l'occident latin [VIe–XIIIe siècle]*, ed. C. Mériaux and S. Gioanni), pp. 13–31.

Durand, J., 'Le reliquaire de la vraie croix de Poitiers. Nouvelles observations', *Bulletin de
    la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1992), pp. 152–8.

Ebling, H., *Prosopographie der Amtsräger des Merowingerreiches von Chlothar II. (613)
    bis Karl Martell (741)*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1974.

Eco, U., *Lector in fabula: la cooperazione interpretativa nei testi narrativi*, Milan:
    Bompiani, 1979.

Eco, U., *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts*, Bloomington:
    Indiana University Press, 1979.

Edwards, J. C., 'Their Cross to Bear: Controversy and the Relic of the True Cross in
    Poitiers', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 24 (2007), pp. 65–77.

Ekonomou, A. J., *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and
    the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, A.D. 590–752*, Lanham, MD:
    Rowman and Littlefield, 2007.

Erdmann, K., 'Die sasanidischen Jagdschalen. Untersuchung zur Entwicklungsgeschichte
    der iranischen Edelmetallkunst unter den Sasaniden', *Jahrbuch der Preußischen
    Kunstsammlung* 57 (1936), pp. 193–231.

Escher, K., *Genèse et évolution du deuxième royaume burgonde (443–524). Les témoins
    archéologiques*, 2 vols, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005.

Esders, S., *Römische Rechtstradition und merowingisches Königtum. Zum Rechtscharakter
    politischer Herrschaft in Burgund im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck
    & Ruprecht, 1997.

Esders, S., 'Der Reinigungseid mit Helfern. Individuelle und kollektive
    Rechtsvorstellungen in der Wahrnehmung und Darstellung frühmittelalterlicher

Konflikte', in id. (ed.), *Rechtsverständnis und Konfliktbewältigung. Gerichtliche und außergerichtliche Strategien im Mittelalter*, Cologne: Böhlau, 2007, pp. 55–77.

Esders, S., 'Herakleios, Dagobert und die "beschnittenen Völker". Die Umwälzungen des Mittelmeerraums im 7. Jahrhundert in der Chronik des sog. Fredegar', in A. Goltz, H. Leppin and H. Schlange-Schöningen (eds), *Jenseits der Grenzen. Beiträge zur spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung*, Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009, pp. 239–311.

Esders, S., 'Rechtliche Grundlagen frühmittelalterlicher Staatlichkeit: Der allgemeine Treueid', in W. Pohl and V. Wieser (eds), *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat – Europäische Perspektiven*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009, pp. 423–32.

Esders, S., 'Die frühmittelalterliche Blüte des Tauschgeschäfts: Folge ökonomischer Entwicklung oder Resultat rechtspolitischer Setzung?', in P. Depreux and I. Fees (eds), *L'acte d'echange du VIIe au XIIe siècle. Tauschgeschäft und Tauschurkunde vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, Cologne et al.: Böhlau, 2013, pp. 19–44.

Espagne, M., 'Kulturtransfer und Fachgeschichte der Geisteswissenschaften', *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 10 (2000) (= M. Middell [ed.], *Kulturtransfer und Vergleich*), pp. 42–61.

Espagne, M., 'Der theoretische Stand der Kulturtransferforschung', in W. Schmale (ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, Innsbruck et al.: Studien-Verlag, 2003, pp. 63–76.

Ewig, E., *Trier im Merowingerreich*, Trier: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 1954.

Ewig, E., 'Die fränkischen Teilungen und Teilreiche (511–613)', in id., *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien. Gesammelte Schriften (1952–1973)*, vol. 1, Munich: Artemis, 1976, pp. 114–71.

Ewig, E., 'Der Martinskult im Frühmittelalter' in id., *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien. Gesammelte Schriften (1952–1973)*, vol. 2, Munich: Artemis, 1979, pp. 371–92.

Ewig, E., 'La prière pour le roi et le royaume dans les privilèges épiscopaux de l'époque mérovingienne', in *Mélanges offerts à Jean Dauvillier*, Toulouse: Université des sciences sociales de Toulouse, Centre d'histoire juridique méridionale, 1979, pp. 255–67.

Ewig, E., 'Die Verehrung orientalischer Heiliger im spätrömischen Gallien und im Merowingerreich', in id., *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien. Gesammelte Schriften (1952–1973)*, vol. 2, Munich: Artemis 1979, pp. 393–410.

Ewig, E., 'Die Gebetsklausel für König und Reich in den merowingischen Königsurkunden', in N. Kamp and J. Wollasch (eds), *Tradition als historische Kraft. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte des früheren Mittelalters*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982, pp. 87–99.

Ewig, E., *Die Merowinger und das Imperium*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1983.

Ewig, E., *Die Merowinger und das Frankenreich*, Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, ⁶2012.

Favrod, J., *Histoire politique du royaume burgonde (443–534)*, Lausanne: Chabloz, 1997.

Fels, W., *Studien zu Venantius Fortunatus mit einer deutschen Übersetzung seiner metrischen Dichtungen*, PhD thesis, Heidelberg University, 2006.

Feuchter, J., 'Cultural Transfers in Dispute: An Introduction', in id., F. Hoffmann and B. Yun (eds), *Cultural Transfers in Dispute. Representations in Asia, Europe and the Arab World since the Middle Ages*, Frankfurt and New York: Campus-Verlag, 2011, pp. 15–37.

Fischer, A., *Karl Martell. Der Beginn karolingischer Herrschaft*, Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2011.

Follieri, E., 'I rapporti fra Bisanzio de l'Occidente nel campo dell'agiografia', in J. M. Hussey, D. Obolensky and S. Runciman (eds), *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, London: Oxford University Press, 1967, pp. 355–62.

Fontaine, J., *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1959.

Fontaine, J., *Tradition et actualité chez Isidore de Séville*, London: Variorum, 1988.

Fontaine, J., *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps de Wisigoths*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.

Fouracre, P. and Gerberding, R. A., *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography 640–720*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2008.

Fowden, G., 'Constantine, Silvester and the Church of S. Polyeuctus in Constantinople', *Journal of Roman Archeology* 7 (1994), pp. 274–84.

Fowden, G., *Qusayr 'Amra: Art and Ummayad Elite in Late Antique Syria*, Berkeley et al.: University of California Press, 2004.

FranceMed (Abdellatif, R., Benhima, Y., König, D. and Ruchaud, E.), 'Introduction à l'étude des transferts culturels en Méditerranée médiévale. Aspects historiographiques et méthodologiques', in idd. (eds), *Construire la Méditerranée, penser les transferts culturels. Approches historiographiques et perspectives de recherche*, Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012, pp. 14–44.

Freeman, A., 'Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini', Viator* 16 (1985), pp. 65–108.

Freeman, A., 'Libri Carolini', *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 5 (1991), cols 1953–4.

Fritze, W., 'Zur Bedeutung der Awaren für die slawische Ausdehnungsbewegung im frühen Mittelalter', in G. Mildenberger (ed.), *Studien zur Völkerwanderungszeit im östlichen Mitteleuropa*, Marburg: J. G. Herder-Institut, 1980, pp. 498–545.

Frolow, A., *La relique de la vraie croix. Recherches sur le développement d'un culte*, Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1961.

Gaborit-Chopin, D., 'Tasse de Salomon', in *Le trésor de Saint-Denis. Musée du Louvre, Paris, 12 mars–17 juin 1991*, Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1991, pp. 80–82.

Garipzanov, I. H., 'The Carolingian Abbreviation of Bede's World Chronicle and Carolingian Imperial "Genealogy"', *Hortus artium medievalium* 11 (2005), pp. 291–8.

Garrison, M., 'The Social World of Alcuin. Nicknames at York and at the Carolingian Court', in L. A. J. R. Houwen and A. A. Mac Donald (eds), *Alcuin of York. Scholar at the Carolingian Court. Proceedings of the Third Germania Latina Conference held at the University of Groningen, May 1995*, Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998, pp. 59–79.

Gauthier, N., *Province ecclésiastique de Trèves (Belgica prima)*, Paris: De Boccard, 1986.

Geary, P. J., 'Ethnicity as a Situational Construct in the Early Middle Ages', *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 113 (1983), pp. 15–26.

Geary, P., *Before France and Germany. The Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World,* Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Geertz, C., 'The Javanese Kijaji: The Changing Role of a Cultural Broker', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2 (1960), pp. 228–49.

Genette, G., *Narrative Discourse. An Essay in Method*, transl. by J. E. Lewin, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1980.

Genette, G., *Fiction and Diction*, transl. by C. Porter, Ithaca, New York and London: Cornell University Press, 1993.

George, J. W., *Venantius Fortunatus. A Latin Poet in Merovingian Gaul*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Geppert, A. C. T. and Mai, A., 'Vergleich und Transfer im Vergleich', *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 10 (2000) (= M. Middell [ed.], *Kulturtransfer und Vergleich*), pp. 95–111.

Gerberding, R., *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber Historiae Francorum*, Oxford et al.: Clarendon Press, 1987.

Gerogiorgakis, S., Schell, R. and Schorkowitz, D., 'Kulturtransfer vergleichend betrachtet', in M. Borgolte, J. Dücker, M. Müllerburg and B. Schneidmüller (eds), *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2011, pp. 385–449.

Gillett, A. (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.

Gillett, A., *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West, 411–533,* Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Gillett, A., 'The Mirror of Jordanes: Concepts of the Barbarian, Then and Now', in P. Rousseau with the assistance of J. Raithel (ed.), *A Companion to Late Antiquity*, Chichester et al.: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2009, pp. 392–408.

Goetz, H.-W., *Strukturen der spätkarolingischen Epoche im Spiegel der Vorstellungen eines zeitgenössischen Mönchs. Eine Interpretation der 'Gesta Karoli' Notkers von Sankt Gallen*, Bonn: Habelt, 1981.

Goffart, W., 'Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice: The Pretenders Hermenegild and Gundovald (579–585)', *Traditio* 13 (1957), pp. 73–117.

Goffart, W., 'The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered', *Speculum* 38 (1963), pp. 206–41, repr. in id., *Rome's Fall and After*, London and Ronceverte: The Hambledon Press, 1989, pp. 319–54.

Goffart, W., 'Two Notes on Germanic Antiquity Today', *Traditio* 50 (1995), pp. 9–30.

Goffart, W., 'Does the Distant Past Impinge on the Invasion Age Germans?', in A. Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2002, pp. 21–37.

Goffart, W., 'Jordanes' Getica and the Disputed Authenticity of Gothic Origins from Scandinavia', *Speculum* 80 (2005), pp. 379–98.

Goffart, W., *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800). Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, ²2005.

Goltz, A., *Barbar – König – Tyrann. Das Bild Theoderichs des Großen in der Überlieferung des 5. bis 9. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2008.

Goullet, M., 'Les saints du diocèse de Toul (Sources hagiographiques de la Gaule VI)', in M. Heinzelmann (ed.), *L'hagiographie du haut moyen âge en Gaule du Nord. Manuscrits, texts et centres de production*, Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001, pp. 11–89.

Goullet, M., 'Introduction', in ead., M. Heinzelmann and C. Veyrard-Cosme (eds), *L'hagiographie mérovingienne à travers ses réécritures*, Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2010, pp. 11–25.

Goullet, M., and Heinzelmann, M., 'Avant-propos', in idd. (eds), *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'Occident médiéval. Transformations formelles et idéologiques*, Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2003, pp. 7–14.

Greatrex, G., *Rome and Persia at War, 502–532*, Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1998.

Greenblatt, S., 'Cultural Mobility: an Introduction', in: id., with Zupanov, I. G., Meyer-Kalkus, R., Paul, H., Nyíri, P. and Pannewick, F., *Cultural mobility: a manifesto*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 1–23.

Grégoire, H., 'Saint Bénigne de Dijon et son prototype byzantin, le megalomartyr Benignos (Menignos) de Parion (Hellespont)', *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie et belles lettres* 96 (1952), pp. 204–13.

Grierson, P., 'The "Patrimonium Petri in illis partibus" and the Pseudo-imperial Coinage in Frankish Gaul', *Revue Belge de numismatique et de sigillographie* 105 (1959), pp. 95–111.

Grierson, P., 'The Role of Silver in the Early Byzantine Economy', in id., *Scritti storici e numismatici*, presentazione di E. A. Arslan and L. Travaini, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 2001, pp. 207–16.

Guillou, A., 'Demography and Culture in the Exarchate of Ravenna', *Studi Medievali, Third Series* 10 (1969), pp. 1201–19.

Guillou, A., *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire byzantin au VIIe siècle: L'exemple de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie*, Rome: Palazzo Borromini, 1969.

Guillou, A., 'Bisanzio, Roma, e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo', in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo, 3–9 aprile 1986*, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 1988, vol. 2, pp. 921–43.

Gundlach, W., 'Die Sammlung der Epistulae Austrasicae', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 13 (1888), pp. 365–87.

Gunn, V., *Bede's Historiae. Genre, Rhetoric, and the Construction of Anglo-Saxon Church History*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009.

Hachmann, R., *Die Goten und Skandinavien*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970.

Hack, A. T., *Abul Abaz. Zur Biographie eines Elefanten*, Badenweiler: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Bachmann, 2011.

Hagemann, H.-R., *Die Stellung der Piae Causae nach justinianischem Rechte*, Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1953.

Haldon, J. F., *Byzantium in the Seventh Century. The Transformation of a Culture*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Haldon, J., *Byzantium. A History*, Stroud: Tempus, ³2005.

Haller, J., *Das Papsttum: Idee und Wirklichkeit*, vol. 1, Urach: Port Verlag, 1950 (repr. 1965).

Halsall, G., *Settlement and Social Organization: The Merovingian Region of Metz,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Halsall, G., 'Town, Societies and Ideas. The Not-so-strange Case of Late Roman and Early Merovingian Metz', in N. Christie and S. T. Loseby (eds), *Towns in Transition. Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Aldershot and Brookfield: Scolar Press, 1996, pp. 234–61.

Halsall, G., 'Nero and Herod? The Death of Chilperic and Gregory's Writing of History', in K. Mitchell and I. N. Wood (eds), *The World of Gregory of Tours*, Leiden: Brill, 2002, pp. 337–50.

Halsall, G., *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376–568*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Halsall, G., 'The Preface to Book V of Gregory of Tours' Histories: Its Form, Context and Significance', *English Historical Review* 122 (2007), pp. 297–317.

Handley, M., 'Inscribing time and identity in the kingdom of Burgundy', in S. Mitchell and G. Greatrex (eds), *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity*, London: Duckworth, 2000, pp. 83–102.

Hannig, J., 'Ars donandi. Zur Ökonomie des Schenkens im früheren Mittelalter', in R. van Dülmen (ed.), *Armut, Liebe, Ehre. Studien zur historischen Kulturforschung I*, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1988, pp. 11–37 and 275–8.

Hanning, R. W., *The Vision of History in Early Britain: From Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth*, New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1966.

Hardt, M., 'Silverware in Early Medieval Gift Exchange: Imitatio Imperii and Objects of Memory', in I. Wood (ed.), *Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period. An Ethnographic Perspective*, San Marino: The Boydell Press, 1998, pp. 317–42.

Hardt, M., *Gold und Herrschaft. Die Schätze europäischer Könige und Fürsten im ersten Jahrtausend*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004.

Harper, P. O., 'Thrones and Enthronement Scenes in Sasanian Art', *Iran* 17 (1979), pp. 49–64.

Harper, P., 'Evidence for the Existence of State Controls in the Production of Sasanian Silver Vessels', in S. A. Boyd and M. Mundell Mango (eds), *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium. Papers of the Symposium Held May 16–18, 1986 at The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore and Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D. C.*, Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1992, pp. 147–53.

Harries, J., *Sidonius Apollinaris and the Fall of Rome, AD 407–485*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Harris, J., 'Wars and Rumours of Wars: England and the Byzantine World in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 14 (1999), pp. 29–46.

Harrison, R. M., 'The Church of St Polyeuktos in Istanbul and the Temple of Solomon', in C. Mango and O. Pritsak (eds), *Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Ukrainian Research Institute, 1983, pp. 276–9.

Harrison, R. M., *A Temple for Byzantium. The Discovery and Excavation of Anicia Juliana's Palace-Church in Istanbul*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989.

Hartmann, A., 'Konzepte der Transformationen der Trias "*mental maps*, Raum und Erinnerung". Einführende Gedanken zum Kolloquium', in S. Damir-Geilsdorf, ead. and B. Hendrich (eds), *Mental Maps – Raum – Erinnerung. Kulturwissenschaftliche Zugänge zum Verhältnis von Raum und Erinnerung*, Münster et al.: Lit-Verlag, 2005, pp. 3–24.

Hartmann, F. and Rahn, K., 'Kulturtransfer – Akkulturation – Kulturvergleich. Reflexionen über hybride Konzepte', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 90 (2010), pp. 470–92.

Hartmann, M., '"Reginae sumus". Merowingische Königstöchter und die Frauenklöster im 6. Jahrhundert', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 113 (2005), pp. 1–19.

Hartmann, M., *Die Königin im frühen Mittelalter*, Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2009.

Heather, P., *Goths and Romans, AD 332–489,* Oxford et al.: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Heather, P., 'The Western Empire, 426–76', in A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins and M. Whitby (eds), *Cambridge Ancient History XIV: Late Antiquity. Empire and Successors A.D. 425–600*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 1–32.

Heather, P., *The Fall of the Roman Empire. A New History,* London: Macmillan, 2005.

Heinzelmann, M., 'Gallische Prosopographie (260-527)', *Francia* 10 (1982), pp. 531–718.

Heinzelmann, M., *Gregory of Tours. History and Society in the Sixth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Hen, Y., 'Gregory of Tours and the Holy Land', *Orientalia christiana periodica* 61 (1995), pp. 47–64.

Hen, Y., 'Les authentiques des reliques de la Terre Sainte en Gaule franque', *Le Moyen Âge* 105 (1999), pp. 71–90.

Hen, Y., *Roman Barbarians. The Royal Court and Culture in the Early Medieval West*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Hermann-Mascard, N., *Les reliques des saints. Formation coutumière d'un droit*, Paris: Klincksieck, 1975.

Heydemann, G., 'Biblical Israel and the Christian *gentes*: Social Metaphors and the Language of Identity in Cassiodorus's *Expositio Psalmorum*', in W. Pohl and ead. (eds), *Strategies of Identification. Ethnicity and Religion in Early Medieval Europe*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2013, pp. 143–208.

Hill, J., 'Carolingian Perspectives on the Authority of Bede', in S. DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede*, Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2006, pp. 227–49.

Hillgarth, J. N., 'Coins and Chronicles: Propaganda in Sixth-Century Spain and the Byzantine Background', *Historia* 15 (1966), pp. 483–508.

Hillgarth, J., 'Historiography in Visigothic Spain', in *La storiografia altomedievale, 10–16 aprile 1969*, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 1970, vol. 1, pp. 261–311.

Hinderaker, E., 'Translation and cultural brokerage', in P. J. Deliora and N. Salisbury (eds), *A Companion to American Indian History*, Malden et al.: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, pp. 357–75.

Hodges, R. and Whitehouse, D., *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe. Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis*, London: Duckworth, 1983.

Höfert, A., 'Anmerkungen zum Konzept einer "transkulturellen" Geschichte in der deutschsprachigen Forschung', *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 18 (2008) (= W. Drews and J. R. Oesterle [eds], *Transkulturelle Komparatistik. Beiträge zu einer Globalgeschichte der Vormoderne*), pp. 15–24.

Horden, P. and Purcell, N., *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2000.

Howard-Johnston, J., *Witnesses to a World Crisis. Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century*, Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Hoyland, R. G., *Seeing Islam as Others Saw it. A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*, Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1997.

Hunter Blair, P., 'The Historical Writings of Bede', in *La storiografia altomedievale, 10–16 aprile 1969*, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 1970, vol. 1, pp. 197–221.

Innes, M. and McKitterick, R., 'The Writing of History', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 193–220.

Irigoin, J., 'La culture grecque dans l'Occident latin du VIIe au XIe siècle', in *La cultura antica nell'occidente latino dal VII all'XI secolo, 18–24 aprile 1974*, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 1975, vol. 1, pp. 425–46.

Irsigler, F., *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des frühfränkischen Adels*, Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, 1969.

Iser, W., *From Reader Response to Literary Anthropology*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

James, E., *The Franks*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1988.

Jarnut, J., 'Beiträge zu den fränkisch-bayerisch-langobardischen Beziehungen im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert (656–728)', *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte* 39 (1976), pp. 331–52, repr. in id., *Herrschaft und Ethnogenese im Frühmittelalter. Gesammelte Aufsätze von Jörg Jarnut. Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by M. Becher in collaboration with S. Dick and N. Karthaus, Paderborn: Scriptorium, 2002, pp. 67–88.

Jones, C. W., 'Bede as Early Medieval Historian', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 4 (1946), pp. 26–36.

Jungmann, J. S. J., *The Mass: An Historical, Theological, and Pastoral Survey*, transl. by J. Fernandes S. J., Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1975.

Jussen, B., *Spiritual Kinship as Social Practice. Godparenthood and Adoption in the Early Middle Ages*, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000.

Jussen, B., 'Um 567. Wie die poströmischen Könige sich in Selbstdarstellung übten', in id. (ed.), *Die Macht des Königs. Herrschaft in Europa vom Frühmittelalter bis in die Neuzeit*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 2005, pp. 14–26.

Kaegi, W. E., *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Kaegi, W. E., 'The Early Muslim Raids into Anatolia and Byzantine Reactions under Emperor Constans II', in E. Grypeou, M. Swanson and D. Thomas (eds), *The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006, pp. 73–93.

Kaegi, W. E., *Muslim Expansion and Byzantine Collapse in North Africa*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Kaelble, H., 'Die interdisziplinären Debatten über Vergleich und Transfer', in id. and J. Schriewer (eds), *Vergleich und Transfer. Komparatistik in den Sozial-, Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*, Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 2003, pp. 469–93.

Kaelble, H., 'Foreword', in J. Feuchter, F. Hoffmann and B. Yun (eds), *Cultural Transfers in Dispute. Representations in Asia, Europe and the Arab World since the Middle Ages*, Frankfurt and New York: Campus-Verlag, 2011, pp. 9–13.

Kakridi, C., *Cassiodors Variae. Literatur und Politik im ostgotischen Italien*, Munich and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 2005.

Kantorowicz, E., 'The Carolingian King in the Bible of S. Paolo fuori le mura', in id., *Selected Studies*, Locust Valley: J. J. Augustin Publisher, 1965, pp. 82–94.

Kaplan, M., *Les propriétés de la couronne et de l'Église dans l'Empire byzantin (Ve et VIIe siècles)*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976.

Kaschke, S., 'Fixing Dates in the Early Middle Ages: The Chronicon Laurissense Breve and its Use of Time', in R. Corradini, M. Diesenberger and M. Niederkorn-Bruck (eds), *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift. Hagiographie und Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010, pp. 115–22.

Kazhdan, A. P. (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Kempf, D., 'Patiens', in M. Goullet and M. Heinzelmann (eds), *Miracles, vies et réécritures dans l'Occident médiéval*, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2006, pp. 190–9 and 295–6.

Kempf, D., 'From East to West. Translating the "Acts of John by Prochorus" in Metz in the Thirteenth Century', in L. H. Hollengreen (ed.), *Translatio, or the Transmission of Culture in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2008, pp. 69–78.

Kirsch, J. P., 'Die Berner Handschrift des Martyrologium Hieronymianum', *Römische Quartalschrift* 31 (1924), pp. 113–24.

Klauser, T., 'Eine Stationsliste der Metzer Kirche aus dem 8. Jahrhundert, wahrscheinlich ein Werk Chrodegangs', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 44 (1930), pp. 162–93.

Klauser, T., *A Short History of the Western Liturgy: An Account with Some Reflections*, 2nd ed. transl. by J. Halliburton, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Klauser, T. and Bour, R. S., 'Un document du IXe siècle, note sur l'ancienne liturgie de Metz et sur ses églises antérieures à l'an mil', *Annuaire de la Société d'histoire et d'archeologie de la Loraine* 38 (1929), pp. 497–641.

Klein, H. A., 'Constantine, Helena and the Cult of the True Cross in Constantinople', in J. Durand and B. Flusin (eds), *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2004, pp. 31–59.

Klein, H. A., 'Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries between Byzantium and the West', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004), pp. 283–314.

Klingshirn, W. E., *Caesarius of Arles. The making of a Christian community in Late Antique Gaul*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Knaepen, A., 'L'histoire gréco-romaine dans les "chroniques" de Bède le Vénérable (*De temporibus* ch. 17–22 et *De temporum ratione* ch. 66–71)', in E. Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle III. Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Doorn/Utrecht 12–17 July 2002*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004, pp. 76–92.

Kölzer, T., 'Kulturbruch oder Kulturkontinuität? Europa zwischen Antike und Mittelalter – Die Pirenne-These nach 60 Jahren', in K. Rosen (ed.), *Das Mittelmeer – die Wiege der europäischen Kultur*, Bonn: Bouvier, 1998, pp. 208–27.

'Konstans II.', in Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (ed.), *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung (641–867)*, Bd. 2. Nach Vorarbeiten F. Winkelmanns erstellt von R.-J. Lilie, C. Ludwig, T. Pratsch, I. Rochow, unter Mitarbeit von W. Brandes, J. R. Martindale und B. Zielke, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2000, pp. 480–5 Nr. 3691.

Krüger, A., 'Die Litanei des Rotulus', in J. Fried (ed.), *Der Lorscher Rotulus. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift Ms. Barth. 179 der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main*, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 2004, pp. 41–9.

Krüger, A., *Litanei-Handschriften der Karolingerzeit*, Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2007.

Krüger, K. H., *Königsgrabkirchen der Franken, Angelsachsen und Langobarden bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts. Ein historischer Katalog*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1971.

Krüger, K. H., *Die Universalchroniken*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1976.

Krusch, B., 'Die Chronicae des sogenannten Fredegar', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 7 (1882), pp. 247–351 and 421–516.

Kugler, H., 'Che cosa significa "Kulturtransfer" nel Medioevo europeo?', in H. Houben and B. Vetere (eds), *Pellegrinaggio e Kulturtransfer nel Medieoevo europeo. Atti del 1° Seminario di studio dei Dottorati di ricerca di ambito medievistico delle Università di*

Lecce e di Erlangen, Lecce, 2–3 maggio 2003 – Pilgerwesen und Kulturtransfer im europäischen Mittelalter. 1. Seminar der mediävistischen Graduiertenkollegs der Universitäten Lecce und Erlangen, Lecce, 2.–3. Mai 2003, Galatina (Lecce): Congedo, 2006, pp. 5–11.

La Rocca, C., 'Due adulatori italiani al servizio dei re barbarici: Cassiodoro e Venanzio Fortunato', in F. Bougard, R. Le Jan and R. McKitterick (eds), *La culture du haut moyen âge, une question d'élites?*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2007, pp. 221–37.

Lackner, W., 'Westliche Heilige des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts im Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 19 (1970), pp. 185–202.

Lackner, W., 'Zu Editionsgeschichte, Textgestalt und Quellen der Passio S. Polyeucti des Symeon Metaphrastes', in W. Hörandner, J. Koder, O. Kresten and E. Trapp (eds), *Byzantios. Festschrift für Herbert Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag*, Vienna: Becvar, 1984, pp. 221–31.

Ladner, G. B., 'On Roman attitudes towards Barbarians in Late Antiquity', *Viator* 7 (1976), pp. 19–24.

Laistner, M. L. W., 'The Library of the Venerable Bede', in A. H. Thompson (ed.), *Bede, His Life, Times and Writings. Essays in Commemoration of the Twelfth Centenary of his Death*, repr. New York: Russell and Russell, 1966, pp. 237–66.

Lamm, C. J., *Mittelalterliche Gläser- und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, 2 vols, Berlin: Reimer, 1929/30.

Lamm, C. J., 'Glass and hard stone vessels', in A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman (eds), *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, Vol. III Text: *The Art of the Book, Textiles, Carpets, Metalwork, Minor Arts*, London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 2592–606.

Landes, R., 'Lest the Millenium Be Fulfilled: Apocalyptic Expectations and the Pattern of Western Chronography 100–800 CE', in W. Verbeke, D. Verhelst and A. Welkenhuysen (eds), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988, pp. 137–211.

Landsberg, F., *Das Bild der alten Geschichte in mittelalterlichen Weltchroniken*, Berlin: Emil Streisand, 1934.

Lapidge, M., 'The career of Archbishop Theodore', in id. (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore. Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 1–29.

Lasko, P., *The Kingdom of the Franks. North-West Europe before Charlemagne*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1971.

Lassner, J., 'Harun al-Rashid (Harun ibn Muhammad ibn Abd Allah)', *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 6 (1985), pp. 107–8.

Leclercq, H., 'Polyeucte', *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 14, 1 (1939), pp. 1369–81.

Lemerle, P., 'Les répercussions de la crise de l'empire d'Orient au VIIe siècle sur les pays d'Occident', in *Caratteri del secolo VII in Occidente, 23–29 aprile 1957*, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 1958, pp. 713–31.

Lenski, N., *Failure of Empire. Valens and the Roman State in the Fourth Century A.D.*, Berkeley et al.: University of California Press, 2002.

Leppin, H., *Von Konstantin dem Großen bis Theodosius II. Das christliche Kaisertum bei den Kirchenhistorikern Socrates, Sozomenus und Theodoret*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996.

Leppin, H., *Justinian. Das christliche Experiment*, Stuttgart: Klett, 2011.

Levison, W., 'Conspectus codicum hagiographicorum', in *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici*, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum VII, Hanover and Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1920, pp. 529–706.

Levison, W., 'Metz und Südfrankreich im frühen Mittelalter. Die Urkunde König Sigiberts III. für die Kölner und Metzer Kirche', in id., *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Düsseldorf: Verlag L. Schwann, 1948, pp. 139–63.

Levison, W., 'Bede as historian', in A. H. Thompson (ed.), *Bede, His Life, Times and Writings. Essays in Commemoration of the Twelfth Centenary of his Death*, repr. New York: Russell and Russell, 1966, pp. 111–51.

Liebs, D., *Römische Jurisprudenz in Gallien (2. bis 8. Jahrhundert)*, Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 2002.

Lifshitz, F., *The Name of the Saint. The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627–827*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006.

Llewellyn, P., 'The Names of the Roman Clergy, 401–1046', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 35 (1981), pp. 355–70.

Llewellyn, P., 'The Popes and the Constitution in the Eighth Century', *English Historical Review* 100 (1986), pp. 212–65.

Löhlein, G., *Die Alpen- und Italienpolitik der Merowinger im VI. Jahrhundert*, Erlangen: Palm & Enke, 1932.

Lombard, A., *L'Abbé Du Bos. Un initiateur de la pensée moderne (1670–1742)*, Paris: Librarie Hachette et Cie, 1913.

Louth, A., *Greek East and Latin West: The Church AD 681–1071*, Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2007.

Lucey, S. J., 'Art and Socio-Cultural Identity in Early Medieval Rome: The Patrons of Santa Maria Antiqua', in É. Ó Carragáin and C. Neumann de Vegvar (eds), *Roma Felix: Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, pp. 139–58.

Lynch, C. H. and Galindo, P., *San Braulio, obispo de Zaragoza (631–51). Su vida y sus obras*, Madrid: C. S. C. I. Instituto 'Enrique Florez', 1950.

MacDermott, W. C., 'Felix of Nantes. A Merovingian Bishop', *Traditio* 31 (1975), pp. 1–24.

Mango, C., 'The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, 750–850', in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1971, pp. 29–45.

Mango, C., 'La culture grecque et l'occident au VIIIe siècle', in *I problemi dell'occidente nel secolo VIII, 6–12 aprile 1972*, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 1973, pp. 683–721.

Markus, R. A., 'Bede and the Tradition of Ecclesiastical Historiography', in M. Lapidge (ed.), *Bede and his World: The Jarrow Lectures*, vol. 1, London: Variorum, 1994, pp. 385–403.

Martindale, J. R., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, vol. 2, AD 395–527*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Martine, C., *La géographie du pouvoir dans l'Espagne visigothique*, Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2003.

Martínez Pizarro, J., *A Rhetoric of the Scene. Dramatic Narrative in the Early Middle Ages*, Toronto et al.: University of Toronto Press, 1989.

Martínez Pizarro, J., 'Mixed Modes in Historical Narrative', in E. M. Tyler and R. Balzaretti (eds), *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2006, pp. 91–104.

Maskarinec, M., 'Who Were the Romans? Shifting Scripts of Romanness in Early Medieval Italy', in W. Pohl and G. Heydemann (eds), *Post-Roman Transitions. Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2013 pp. 297–363.

Mathisen, R. W. and Shanzer, D. (eds), *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul. Revisiting the Sources*, Aldershot et al.: Ashgate, 2001.

Mayr-Harting, H., 'Bede's Patristic Thinking as an Historian', in A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter (eds), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, Vienna and Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994, pp. 367–74.

McCarthy, D., 'Bede's primary source for the Vulgate chronology in his chronicles in *De Temporibus* and *De Temporum Ratione*', in D. Ó. Cróinín and I. Warntjes (eds), *Computus and its cultural context in the Latin west, AD 300–1200. Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Science of Computus in Ireland and Europe. Galway, 14–16 July, 2006*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2010, pp. 159–89.

McCormick, M., 'Clovis at Tours, Byzantine Public Ritual and the Origins of Medieval Ruler Symbolism', in E. K. Chrysos and A. Schwarcz (eds), *Das Reich und die Barbaren*, Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau-Verlag, 1989, pp. 155–80.

McCormick, M., *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

McCormick, M., 'New Light on the "Dark Ages": How the Slave Trade fuelled the Carolingian Economy', *Past and Present* 177 (2002), pp. 17–54.

McCormick, M., 'Pippin III, the Embassy of Caliph al Mansur, and the Mediterranean World', in M. Becher and J. Jarnut (eds), *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751. Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung*, Münster in Westfalen: Scriptorium, 2004, pp. 221–41.

McCormick, M., *Charlemagne's Survey of the Holy Land. Wealth, Personnel, and Buildings of a Mediterranean Church between Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011.

McKitterick, R., *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

McNamara, J. A., '*Imitatio Helenae*: Sainthood as an Attribute of Queenship in the Early Middle Ages', in S. Sticca (ed.), *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1996, pp. 51–80.

Meckseper, C., 'Der Palast des Nicetius – oder: Ganz jenseits von Bauforschung', *Architectura. Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst. Journal of the History of Architecture* 24 (1994), pp. 161–9.

Meier, M., 'Die Translatio des Christusbildes von Kamulianai und der Kreuzreliquie von Apamea nach Konstantinopel unter Justin II. Ein übersehenes Datierungsproblem', *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 7 (2003), pp. 237–50.

Meier, M., *Anastasios I. Die Entstehung des Byzantinischen Reiches*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2009.

Merrills, A. H., *History and Geography in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Meyendorff, J., *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions: The Church 450–680 A.D.*, Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1989.

Meyvaert, P., 'Bede the Scholar', in G. Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi. Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede,* London: SPCK, 1976, pp. 40–69.

Middell, M., 'Kulturtransfer und Historische Komparatistik – Thesen zu ihrem Verhältnis', *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 10 (2000) (= id. [ed.] *Kulturtransfer und Vergleich*), pp. 7–41.

Middell, M., 'Von der Wechselseitigkeit der Kulturen im Austausch. Das Konzept des Kulturtransfers in verschiedenen Forschungskontexten', in A. Langer and G. Michels (eds) *Metropolen und Kulturtransfer im 15./16. Jahrhundert: Prag-Krakau-Danzig-Wien*, Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001, pp. 15–51.

Mierow, C. C., *The Gothic History of Jordanes*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1915.

Mikat, P., *Die Inzestgesetzgebung der merowingisch-fränkischen Konzilien (511–626/627)*, Paderborn et al.: Schöningh, 1994.

Milner, C., 'The Image of the Rightful Ruler: Anicia Juliana's Constantine Mosaic in the Church of Hagios Polyeuktos', in P. Magdalino (ed.), *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994, pp. 73–81.

Momigliano, A., 'La caduta senza rumore di un impero', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 3 (1973), pp. 397–418.

Montzamir, P., 'Nouvelle essai de reconstitution matérielle de l'épitaphe de Sidoine Apollinaire', *Antiquité Tardive* 11 (2003), pp. 321–7.

Moore, M. E. H., 'Bede's Devotion to Rome: The Periphery Defining the Center', in S. Lebecq, M. Perrin and O. Szerwiniack (eds), *Bède le Vénérable entre tradition et postérité. Colloque organise à Villenneuve d'Ascq et Amiens par le CRHEN-O (Université de Lille 3) et Textes, Images et Spiritualité (Université de Picardie-Jules Verne) du 3 et 6 juillet 2002*, Villeneuve d'Ascq: Ceges, 2005, pp. 199–208.

Moorhead, J., 'Bede on the Papacy', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60 (2009), pp. 217–32.

Mordek, H., *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta. Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse*, Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1995.

Moreira, I., '*Provisatrix optima*: St Radegund of Poitiers' Relic Petitions to the East', *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993), pp. 285–305.

Moretus, H., 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae Bollandianae', *Analecta Bollandiana* 24 (1905), pp. 432–9.

Mortensen, L. B., 'Goternes historie på romersk', *Museum Tusculanum* 57 (1987), pp. 169–82.

Mülke, M., 'Die Epitome – das bessere Original?', in M. Horster and C. Reitz (eds), *Condensing Texts – Condensed Texts*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010, pp. 69–89.

Muhlberger, S., *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452*, Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990.

Murray, A. C., 'Chronology and the Composition of the Histories of Gregory of Tours', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1 (2008), pp. 157–96.

Musca, G., *Carlo Magno ed Harun al Rashid*, Bari: Edizioni Dedalo, ²1996.

Näf, B., *Städte und ihre Märtyrer. Der Kult der Thebäischen Legion*, Fribourg: Academic Press, 2011.

Nedungatt, G. and Featherstone, J. M. (eds), *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1995.

Neil, B., *Seventh-Century Popes and Martyrs: The Political Hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.

Nelson, J. L., 'Queens as Jezebels. The Careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History', in D. Baker (ed.), *Medieval Women*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1978, pp. 31–77.

Nelson, J., 'The settings of the gift in the reign of Charlemagne', in W. Davies and P. Fouracre (eds), *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 116–48.

Noble, T. F. X., *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.

Noble, T. F. X., 'The Declining Knowledge of Greek in Eighth- and Ninth-Century Papal Rome', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 78 (1985), pp. 56–62.

Noble, T. F. X., 'The Papacy in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, vol. 2, pp. 563–86.

Noble, T. F. X., 'The Intellectual Culture of the Early Medieval Papacy', in *Roma nell'alto medioevo, 27 aprile–1 maggio 2000*, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 2001, vol. 1, pp. 179–213.

Noble, T. F. X., 'Topography, Celebration, and Power: The making of a Papal Rome in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', in M. de Jong, F. Theuws and C. Van Rhijn (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden: Brill, 2001, pp. 45–91.

Noble, T. F. X. (ed.), *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms*, London: Routledge, 2006.

Noble, T. F. X., *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

Nordhagen, P. J., 'Italo-Byzantine wall painting of the Early Middle Ages: An 80-year-old Enigma in Scholarship', in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo, 3–9 aprile 1986*, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 1988, vol. 2, pp. 593–624.

Nordhagen, P. J., 'Constantinople on the Tiber: The Byzantines in Rome and the Iconography of their Images', in J. M. H. Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, Leiden: Brill, 2000, pp. 113–34.

Oexle, O. G., 'Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulf', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1967), pp. 250–367.

Omar, F., 'Harun al-Rashid', *Encyclopédie de l'Islam. Nouvelle edition* 9 (1998), pp. 239–41.

O'Neill, D., *Passionate Holiness. Marginalized Christian Devotions for Distinctive People*, Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2010.

Ong, W. J., 'The Writer's Audience Is Always a Fiction', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 90 (1975), pp. 9–21.

Orlandis, J., *Die Synoden auf der Iberischen Halbinsel bis zum Einbruch des Islam (711)*, Paderborn: Schöningh, 1981.

Osterhammel, J., 'Transferanalyse und Vergleich im Fernverhältnis', in H. Kaelble and J. Schriewer (eds), *Vergleich und Transfer. Komparatistik in den Sozial-, Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*, Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 2003, pp. 439–66.

Ousterhout, R., 'New Temples and New Solomons. The Rhetoric of Byzantine Architecture', in R. S. Nelson and P. Magdalino (eds), *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010, pp. 223–53.

Palmer, J., *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish world: 690–900*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.

Paravicini, W., 'Geschichtswissenschaft, Literaturwissenschaft, Kulturwissenschaft. Einleitung in das Kolloquium "Kultureller Austausch und Literaturgeschichte im Mittelalter"', in I. Kasten, id. and R. Pérennec (eds), *Kultureller Austausch und Literaturgeschichte im Mittelalter – Transferts culturels et histoire littéraire au moyen âge. Kolloquium im Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris – Colloque tenu à l'Institut Historique Allemand de Paris, 16.–18. 3. 1995*, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998, pp. 9–18.

Pazdernik, C., '"The Trembling of Cain": Religious Power and Institutional Culture in Justinianic Oath-Making', in A. Cain and N. Lenski (eds), *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010, pp. 143–54.

Petersen, J. M., *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great in their Late Antique Cultural Background*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984.

Pirenne, H., *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, Mineola: Dover Publications, 2001.

Pitz, E., *Die griechisch-römische Ökumene und die drei Kulturen des Mittelalters. Geschichte des mediterranen Weltteils zwischen Atlantik und Indischem Ozean 270–812*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2001.

Pizzone, A. M. V., 'Da Melitene a Costantinopoli: S. Polieucto nella politica dinastica di Giuliana Anicia. Alcune osservazioni in margine ad A. P. I 10', *Maia* 55 (2003), pp. 107–32.

Pohl, W., 'I Goti d'Italia e le tradizioni delle steppe', *Teodorico il Grande e i Goti d'Italia, Atti del XIII Congresso internazionale di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Milano, 2–6 novembre 1992,* Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 1993, vol. 1, pp. 227–51.

Pohl, W., 'Paulus Diaconus und die "Historia Langobardorum": Text und Tradition', in A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter (eds), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, Vienna and Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994, pp. 375–405.

Pohl, W., 'Tradition, Ethnogenese und literarische Gestaltung: eine Zwischenbilanz', in K. Brunner and B. Merta (eds), *Ethnogenese und Überlieferung: Angewandte Methoden der Frühmittelalterforschung*, Vienna and Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994, pp. 9–26.

Pohl, W., 'The Empire and the Lombards. Treaties and Negotiations in the Sixth Century', in id. (ed.), *Kingdoms of the Empire. The Integration of Barbarians in Late Antiquity*, Leiden: Brill, 1997, pp. 75–133.

Pohl, W., 'Telling the Difference: Signs of Ethnic Identity', in id. and H. Reimitz (eds), *Strategies of Distinction. The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800*, Leiden: Brill, 1998, pp. 17–69.

Pohl, W., *Die Germanen*, Munich: Oldenbourg, 2000.

Pohl, W., 'Italien', *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*[2] 15 (2000), pp. 563–8.

Pohl, W., 'Memory and Identity in Lombard Italy', in Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages,* Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 9–28.

Pohl, W., *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822 n. Chr.*, Munich: C. H. Beck, [2]2002.

Pohl, W., *Die Völkerwanderung. Eroberung und Integration,* Stuttgart et al.: Kohlhammer, [2]2005.

Pohl, W. and Zeller, B. (eds), *Sprache und Identität im frühen Mittelalter*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012.

Pohlsander, H. A., 'A Call to Repentence. Bishop Nicetius of Trier to the Emperor Justinian', *Byzantion* 70 (2000), pp. 457–73.

Poncelet, A., 'Passio SS. Polyeucti, Candidiani et Philoromi, martyrum Alexandrinorum', *Analecta Bollandiana* 28 (1909), pp. 464–76.

Pontal, O., *Die Synoden im Merowingerreich*, Paderborn et al.: Schöningh, 1986.

Poole, R. L., 'Monasterium Niridanum', *The English Historical Review* 36 (1921), pp. 540–5.

Pope, A. U. and Ackerman, P. (eds), *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, Vol. IV Plates 1–510: *Pre-Achaemenid, Achaemenid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods, Architecture of Islamic Period*, London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1938.

Prévot, F., 'Prolégomènes a RICG VIII. Deux fragments de l'épitaphe de Sidoine Apollinaire découvertes à Clermont-Ferrand', *Antiquité Tardive* 1 (1993), pp. 223–9.

Prinz, F., *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jahrhundert)*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, ²1988.

Prinz, F., 'Von den geistigen Anfängen Europas. Der Kulturtransfer zwischen christlicher Spätantike und Frühmittelalter', in D. Hägermann, W. Haubrichs and J. Jarnut (eds), *Akkulturation. Probleme einer germanisch-romanischen Kultursynthese in Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter*, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2004, pp. 1–17.

Rabin, A., 'Historical Re-collections: Rewriting the World Chronicle in Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*', *Viator* 36 (2005), pp. 23–39.

Rapp, C., 'Hagiography and Monastic Literature between Greek East and Latin West in Late Antiquity', in *Cristianità d'Occidente e cristianità d'Oriente (secoli VI-XI), 24–30 aprile 2003*, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 2004, vol. 2, pp. 1221–82.

Ray, R. D., 'Bede, the Exegete, as Historian', in G. Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi. Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, London: SPCK, 1976, pp. 125–40.

Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la renaissance carolingienne (RICG) VIII, ed. F. Prévot, Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1997.

Reuter, Y., 'Serment et narrativité', in R. Verdier (ed.), *Le serment, vol. 1: Signes et fonctions*, Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1991, pp. 203–21.

Richards, J., *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476–752*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.

Richter, D. K., 'Cultural Brokers and Intercultural Politics: New York – Iroquois Relations, 1664–1701', *Journal of American History* 75 (1988), pp. 40–67.

Rigold, S. E., 'An Imperial Coinage in Southern Gaul in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries?' *Numismatic Chronicle Sixth Series* 14 (1954), pp. 93–133.

Ritter, N. C., *Die altorientalischen Traditionen der sasanidischen Glyptik. Form – Gebrauch – Ikonographie*, Vienna and Berlin: Lit-Verlag, 2010.

Rodríguez Alonso, C., *Las Historias de los Godos, Vándalos y Suevos de Isidoro de Sevilla. Estudio, edición critica e traducción*, León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación 'San Isidoro', 1975.

Romanelli, P. and Nordhagen, P. J., *Santa Maria Antiqua*, Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1964.

Rosenwein, B., 'Perennial Prayer in Agaune', in S. Farmer and B. Rosenwein (eds), *Monks, Nuns, Saints and Outcasts. Religion in Medieval Society. Essays in Honor of Lester K. Little*, Ithaca et al.: Cornell University Press, 2000, pp. 37–56.

Rum, P. A., 'Papa Giovanni VII (705–707): Servus Sanctae Mariae', in *De cultu Mariano saeculis VI–XI, Acta Congressus Mariologici-Mariani Internationalis in Croatia anno 1971 celebrati*, Rome: Pontifical Marian Academy, 1972, vol. 3, pp. 249–63.

Rydén, L., 'Communicating Holiness', in E. K. Chrysos and I. N. Wood (eds), *East and West. Modes of Communication*, Leiden: Brill, 1999, pp. 71–92.

Salomon, R., 'Belisariana in der Geschichtsschreibung des abendländischen Mittelalters', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1929/30), pp. 102–10.

Sansterre, J.-M., *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantines et carolingienne (milieu du VIe siècle–fin du IXe siècle)*, 2 vols, Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1980.

Sansterre, J.-M., 'Jean VII (705–707): idéologie pontificale et réalisme politique', in L. Hadermann-Misguich and G. Raepsaet (eds), *Rayonnement Grec: Hommages à Charles Delvoye*, Brussels: Éditions de l'université, 1982, pp. 377–88.

Sansterre, J.-M., 'Le pape Constantin Ier (708–715) et la politique religieuse des empereurs Justinian II et Philippikos', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 22 (1984), pp. 7–29.

Sansterre, J.-M., 'A propos de la signification politico-religieuse de certaines fresques de Jean VII à Sainte-Marie Antique', *Byzantion* 57 (1987), pp. 434–40.

Sansterre, J.-M., 'Le monachisme byzantin à Rome', in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo, 3–9 aprile 1986*, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 1988, vol. 2, pp. 701–46.

Sarris, P., *Empires of Faith. The Fall of Rome to the Rise of Islam, 500–700*, Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Scheibelreiter, G., 'Königstöchter im Kloster. Radegunde († 587) und der Nonnenaufstand von Poitiers (589)', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 87 (1979), pp. 1–38.

Scheibelreiter, G., 'Justinian und Belisar in fränkischer Sicht. Zur Interpretation von Fredegar, Chronicae II 62', in W. Hörandner, J. Koder, O. Kresten and E. Trapp (eds), *BYZANTIOΣ. Festschrift für Herbert Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag*, Vienna: Becvar, 1984, pp. 267–80.

Scheibelreiter, G., 'Audoin von Rouen. Ein Versuch über den Charakter des 7. Jahrhunderts', in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850. Colloque historique international*, vol. 1, Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1989, pp. 195–216.

Scheibelreiter, G., 'Fredegar – Chronist einer Epoche', in Erik Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle. Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Driebergen/Utrecht 13–16 July 1996*, Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999, pp. 251–9.

Schenk, F. B., 'Mental Maps. Die Konstruktion von geographischen Räumen in Europa seit der Aufklärung', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28 (2002), pp. 493–514.

Scherner, K. O., '"Ut propriam familiam nutriat" – Zur Frage der sozialen Sicherung in der karolingischen Grundherrschaft', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung* 111 (1994), pp. 330–62.

Schilling, A. M., *Die Anbetung der Magier und die Taufe der Sasaniden. Zur Geistesgeschichte des iranischen Christentums in der Spätantike*, Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 2008.

Schimmelpfennig, B., *The Papacy*, transl. by James Sievert, New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

Schmale, W., 'Einleitung: Das Konzept Kulturtransfer und das 16. Jahrhundert. Einige theoretische Grundlagen', in: id. (ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, Innsbruck et al.: Studien-Verlag, 2003, pp. 41–61.

Schmid, W., *Narratology. An Introduction*, transl. by A. Starritt, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2010.

Schramm, P. E. and Mütherich, F., *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, Vol. 1: *Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Großen bis Friedrich II. 768–1250*, Munich: Prestel, 1962.

Scott, P., 'Manipulating Martyrdom: Corneille's (Hetero)Sexualisation of *Polyeucte*', *The Modern Language Review* 99 (2004), pp. 328–38.

Scully, D., 'Bede's *Chronica Maiora*: Early Insular History in a Universal Context', in J. Graham-Campbell and M. Ryan (eds), *Anglo-Saxon/Irish Relations Before the Vikings*, Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 47–73.

Seibert, H., 'Nicetius', *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 19 (1999), pp. 197–8.

Selle-Hosbach, K., *Prosopographie merowingischer Amtsträger in der Zeit von 511 bis 613*, PhD thesis, Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 1974.

Shalem, A., 'The Fall of al-Mada'in: Some Literary References concerning Sasanian Spoils of War in Mediaeval Islamic Treasuries', *Iran* 32 (1994), pp. 77–81.

Shalem, A., *Islam Christianized. Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West*, Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang, 1996.

Shalev-Eyni, S., 'Solomon, his Demons and Jongleurs: the Meeting of Islamic, Judaic and Christian Culture', *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 18 (2006), pp. 145–60.

Shaw, B. D., 'Challenging Braudel: a New Vision of the Mediterranean', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 14 (2001), pp. 419–53.

Sot, M., 'Charlemagne et Hârûn al-Rashîd: premières rencontres entre monde musulman et Occident chrétien (VIIe–IXe siècles)', in id. and D. Barthélemy (eds), *L'Islam au carrefour des civilisations médiévales*, Paris: Presses universitaires Paris-Sorbonne, 2012, pp. 27–42.

Speck, P., 'Juliana Anicia, Konstantin der Große und die Polyeuktoskirche in Konstantinopel', *Poikila byzantina* 11 (1991), pp. 133–47.

Spiegel, G. M., 'Political Utility in Medieval Historiography: A Sketch', in ead., *The Past as Text. The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999, pp. 83–98.

Springer, M., 'Sigibert I.', *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*[2] 28 (2005), pp. 386–91.

Stahl, A. M., *The Merovingian Coinage of Metz*, PhD Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1977.

Stein, E., *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches vornehmlich unter den Kaisern Justinus II. und Tiberius Constantinus*, Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1919.

Stein, E., 'La période byzantine de la papauté', *Catholic Historical Review* 21 (1935), pp. 129–63.

Steinacker, H., 'Die römische Kirche und die griechischen Sprachkenntnisse des Frühmittelalters', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 62 (1954), pp. 28–66.

Stevens, W. M., 'Bede's Scientific Achievement', in id., *Cycles of Time and Scientific Learning in Medieval Europe*, Aldershot et al.: Variorum, 1995, no. II, 1–58.

Straw, C., *Gregory the Great*, Aldershot and Brookfield: Variorum, 1996.

Stroheker, K. F., 'Leowigild', in id., *Germanentum und spätantike*, Zurich: Artemis, 1965, pp. 134–91.

Stroheker, K. F., 'Das spanische Westgotenreich und Byzanz', in id., *Germanentum und Spätantike*, Zurich: Artemis, 1965, pp. 207–45.

Strube, C., *Polyeuktoskirche und Hagia Sophia. Auflösung antiker Formen, Entstehen des Kämpferkapitells*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 1984.

Szövérffy, J., 'Venantius Fortunatus and the Earliest Hymns to the Holy Cross', *Classical Folia* 20 (1966), pp. 107–22.

Teillet, S., *De Goths à la nation Gothique. Les origins de l'idée de nation en Occident du Ve au VIIe siècle*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984.

Thacker, A., 'Bede And The Ordering Of Understanding', in S. DeGregorio (ed.), *Innovation and Tradition in the Writings of the Venerable Bede*, Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2006, pp. 37–63.

Toivanen, H., 'The Church of St Polyeuktos: Archeology and Texts', *Acta Fennica* 2 (2003/4), pp. 127–50.

Tristram, H. L. C., *Sex aetates mundi. Die Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen und den Iren. Untersuchungen und Texte*, Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1985.

Ubl, K., *Inzestverbot und Gesetzgebung. Die Konstruktion eines Verbrechens (300–1100)*, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2008.

Uhalde, K. 'Proof and Reproof: The Judicial Component of Episcopal Confrontation', *Early Medieval Europe* 8 (1999), pp. 1–11.

Uhalde, K., 'The Quasi-Imperial Coinage and Fiscal Administration of Merovingian Provence', in R. W. Mathisen and D. Shanzer (eds), *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul. Revisiting the Sources*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001, pp. 134–65.

Uhalde, K., *Expectations of Justice in the Age of Augustine*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

Ullmann, W., *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, London: Methuen, 1972.

Vallejo Girvéz, M., 'The Treaties between Justinian and Athanagild and the Legality of the Byzantine Possessions on the Iberian Peninsula', *Byzantion* 66 (1996), pp. 208–18.

Vallejo Girvés, M., 'L'Europe des exilés des derniers siècles de l'Antiquité tardive (Ve–VIIe siècles)', in P. Marcilloux (ed.), *Les hommes en Europe. Actes du 125e congrès*

national des sociétés historiques et scientifiques, Lille, 10–15 avril 2000, Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 2002, pp. 155–70.

Van der Straeten, J., 'Les actes des martyrs d'Aurélian en Bourgogne: étude littéraire', *Analecta Bollandiana* 79 (1961), pp. 115–44.

Van der Straeten, J., 'Les actes des martyrs d'Aurélian en Bourgogne: le texte de Farfa', *Analecta Bollandiana* 79 (1961), pp. 447–68.

Van der Straeten, J., 'Saint Livier, Notes sur son culte et sur sa légende', *Analecta Bollandiana* 86 (1968), pp. 373–89.

Velázquez, I., '*Pro patriae gentisque Gothorum statu* (4th Council of Toledo, Canon 75, A. 633)', in H.-W. Goetz, J. Jarnut and W. Pohl with the assistance of S. Kaschke (eds), *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, Leiden et al.: Brill, 2003, pp. 161–217.

Vessey, M., 'Introduction', in J. Halporn (transl.), *Cassiodorus: Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning. On the Soul*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004, pp. 1–101.

Vickers, M., 'A "new" capital from St Polyeuktos (Saraçhane) in Venice', *Oxford Journal of Archeology* 8 (1989), pp. 227–30.

Vierck, H., 'Werke des Eligius', in G. Kossack and G. Ulbert (eds), *Studien zur vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie. Festschrift für Joachim Werner zum 65. Geburtstag, Teil II: Frühmittelalter*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 1974, pp. 309–80.

Vierck, H., '*Imitatio imperii* und *interpretatio Germanica* vor der Wikingerzeit', in R. Zeitler (ed.), *Les pays du Nord et Byzance (Scandinavie et Byzance). Actes du Colloque Nordique et Internationale de Byzantinologie tenu à Upsal 20–22 avril 1979*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1981, pp. 64–113.

Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, Paris: Imprimerie et Fonderie stéréotypes de Pierre Didot l'Ainé et de Firmin Didot, 1816.

Von den Brincken, A.-D., *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik bis in das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising*, Düsseldorf: Martin Triltsch, 1957.

Von den Brincken, A.-D., 'Jahrtausendrechnung, christliche Ära und Eschatologie bei Beda Venerabilis', *Sitzungsberichte, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse, Akademie Gemeinnütziger Wissenschaften* 5 (2006), pp. 11–27.

Walker, J. and Fenton, P., 'Sulayman b. Dawud', *Encyclopédie de l'Islam. Nouvelle edition* 9 (1998), pp. 857–8.

Wallace-Hadrill, J. M., 'Fredegar and the History of France', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 40 (1957/58), pp. 527–50.

Wallace-Hadrill, J. M., 'Bede's Europe', in M. Lapidge (ed.), *Bede and his World: The Jarrow Lectures*, vol. 1, London: Variorum, 1994, pp. 71–84.

Wallis, F., *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999.

Walter, C., *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

Ward, B., *The Venerable Bede*, London: Continuum, [2]1998 (repr. 2002).

Weidemann, K., 'Zur Topographie von Metz in der Römerzeit und im frühen Mittelalter', *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 17 (1970), pp. 147–71.

Weigert, C., 'Polyeuctus von Melitene', *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 8 (1976), pp. 218–19.

Wenskus, R., *Stammesbildung und Verfassung. Das Werden der frühmittelalterlichen Gentes*, Cologne: Böhlau, 1977.

Weyland, F. A., *Nos saints. Vies des saints du diocèse de Metz*, vol. 4, Guénange: Imprimerie des orphelins-apprentis, 1910.

Whitby, M., 'The St Polyeuktos Epigram (AP 1.10). A Literary Perspective', in S. F. Johnson (ed.), *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity: Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism*, Aldershot: Ashgate 2006, pp. 159–88.

Whitby, M., 'Imperial Christian Historiography', in A. Feldherr and G. Hardy (eds), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, Volume 1: Beginnings to AD 600*, Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 346–70.

White, L. T., 'The Byzantinization of Sicily', *American Historical Review* 42 (1936), pp. 1–21.

Whitelock, D., 'Bede and His Teachers and Friends', in G. Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi. Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, London: SPCK, 1976, pp. 19–39.

Whitelock, D., 'After Bede', in M. Lapidge (ed.), *Bede and his World: The Jarrow Lectures*, vol. 1, London: Variorum, 1994, pp. 35–50.

Wickham, C., *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800*, Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Wickham, C., 'Conclusion', in W. Davies and P. Fouracre (eds), *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 238–61.

Wickham, C., *The Inheritance of Rome. A History of Europe from 400 to 1000*, London et al.: Allen Lane, 2010.

Widdowson, M., 'Merovingian Partitions: A "Genealogical Charter"?', *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009), pp. 1–22.

Wolf, E., 'Aspects of group relations in a complex society: Mexico', *American Anthropologist, New Series* 58 (1956), pp. 1065–78.

Wolf, G., *Salus Populi Romani: Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter*, Weinheim: VCH Acta Humaniora, 1990.

Wolfram, G., 'Königin Brunhilde und die Architektur ihrer Zeit in der Königsstadt Metz', *Elsass-Lothringisches Jahrbuch* 17 (1938), pp. 113–22.

Wolfram, H., 'Theogonie und Ethnogenese und ein komprimittierter Großvater im Stammbaum Theoderichs des Großen', in K.-U. Jäschke and R. Wenskus (eds), *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann zum 65. Geburtstag*, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1977, pp. 80–97.

Wolfram, H., 'Donau', *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*[2] 6 (1986), pp. 26–8.

Wolfram, H., *History of the Goths*, transl. by T. J. Dunlap, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988.

Wolfram, H., *The Roman Empire and its Germanic Peoples*, Berkeley et al.: University of California Press, 1997.

Wolfram, H., *Gotische Studien. Volk und Herrschaft im frühen Mittelalter,* Munich: C. H. Beck, 2005.

Wolfram, H., *Die Goten. Von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts. Entwurf einer historischen Ethnographie*, Munich: C. H. Beck, [5]2009.

Wood, I. N., *The Merovingian North Sea*, Alingsås: Viktoria Bokförlag, 1983.

Wood, I. N., 'The audience of architecture in post-Roman Gaul', in L. A. S. Butler and R. K. Morris (eds), *The Anglo-Saxon Church. Papers on history, architecture, and archaeology in honour of Dr H. M. Taylor*, London: Council for British Archaeology, 1986, pp. 74–9.

Wood, I. N., 'Fredegar's Fables', in A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter (eds), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, Vienna and Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994, pp. 359–66.

Wood, I., *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450–751*, Harlow et al.: Longman, 1994.

Wood, I. N., 'The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English', *Speculum* 69 (1994), pp. 1–17.

Wood, I. N., 'Sépultures ecclésiastiques et sénatoriales dans la vallée du Rhône (400–600)', *Médiévales* 31 (1996), pp. 13–27.

Wood, I. N., 'Incest, law and the Bible in sixth-century Gaul', *Early Medieval Europe* 7 (1998), pp. 291–303.

Wood, I., 'Gentes, Kings and Kingdoms – the Emergence of States: the Kingdom of the Gibichungs', in H. W. Goetz, J. Jarnut and W. Pohl with the assistance of S. Kaschke (eds), *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, Leiden et al.: Brill, 2003, pp. 243–69.

Wood, I. N., 'Review of Arne Søby Christensen, *Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the History of the Goths*', in *Historisk Tijdskrift* 103 (2003), pp. 465–84.

Wood, I. N., 'The Latin culture of Gundobad and Sigismund', in D. Hägermann, W. Haubrichs and J. Jarnut (eds), *Akkulturation. Probleme einer germanisch-romanischen Kultursynthese in Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter*, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2004, pp. 367–80.

Wood, I. N., 'Bede's Jarrow', in C. A. Lees and G. R. Overing (eds), *A Place to Believe in. Locating Medieval Landscapes*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006, pp. 67–84.

Wood, I., 'The Franks and Papal Theology, 550–660', in C. Chazelle and C. Cubitt (eds), *The Crisis of the 'Oikumene'. The Three Chapters Controversy and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2007, pp. 223–41.

Wood, I. N., 'Chains of Chronicles: The Example of London, British Library ms. add. 16974', in R. Corradini, M. Diesenberger and M. Niederkorn-Bruck (eds), *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift. Frühmittelalterliche Hagiographie und*

Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010, pp. 67–77.

Wood, I. N., 'Giovardi, MS Verolensis 1, Arichis and Mercurius', in R. Corradini, M. Diesenberger and M. Niederkorn-Bruck (eds), *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift. Frühmittelalterliche Hagiographie und Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010, pp. 197–210.

Wood, I. N., 'L'installation des burgondes dans l'empire romain. Histoire événementielle', in P. Porena and Y. Rivière (eds), *Expropriations et confiscations dans les royaumes barbares*, Rome: École française de Rome, 2013, pp. 69–90.

Wood, J., '*Religiones* and *gentes* in Isidore of Seville's Chronica maiora. The Visigoths as a Chosen People', in W. Pohl and G. Heydemann (eds), *Post-Roman Transitions. Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2013, pp. 125–68.

Woodruff, J. E., *The Historia Epitomata (Third Book) of the Chronicle of Fredegar: An Annotated Translation and Historical Analysis of Interpolated Material*, PhD thesis, University of Nebraska, Lincoln and Ann Arbor: UMI, 1987.

Woods, D., 'The Origin of the Legend of the Theban Legion', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45 (1994), pp. 385–95.

Woolf, G., *Becoming Roman. The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Wormald, P., 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', in G. Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi. Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, London: SPCK, 1976, pp. 141–69.

Zecchini, G., 'Latin Historiography: Jerome, Orosius and the Western Chronicles', in G. Marasco (ed.), *Greek and Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity: Fourth to Sixth Century A.D.*, Leiden et al.: Brill, 2003, pp. 317–45.

Zeddies, N., *Religio et sacrilegium. Studien zur Inkriminierung von Magie, Häresie und Heidentum (4.–7. Jahrhundert)*, Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang, 2003.

Zelzer, M., 'Der Brief in der Spätantike. Überlegungen zu einem literarischen Genos am Beispiel der Briefsammlung des Sidonius Apollinaris', *Wiener Studien* 108 (1995), pp. 541–51.

Zuckerman, C., 'Learning from the Enemy and More: Studies in "Dark Centuries" Byzantium', *Millennium* 2 (2005), pp. 79–135.

Index