

1. Progress Report

1.1 Publishable summary

HERA JRP:

**CULTURAL MEMORY AND THE RESOURCES OF THE PAST,
400-1000 AD (CMRP)**

Report for the period 1 February 2011 – 31 January 2012



The CMRP group at Leeds, UK, on 11 July 2011

left to right: sitting: Rosamond McKitterick, Mayke de Jong and Desirée Scholten, standing: Ian Wood, Giorgia Vocino, Graeme Ward, Tim Barnwell, Ricky Broome, Walter Pohl, Robert Flierman, Sven Meeder and Clemens Gantner

Project Leader:

Prof. Walter Pohl, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

Principal Investigators:

Prof. Mayke de Jong, Utrecht University, NL

Prof. Ian Wood, Leeds University, UK

Prof. Rosamond McKitterick, University of Cambridge, UK

Achievement of the CRP (Collaborative Research Project)

In the reporting period, the CMRP research team has made significant progress, both in the case studies and at a general level. Four PIs, five PhD students, two post-docs and several associated researchers have continued their work in the four Individual Projects.

In **Project 01**, ‘Learning Empire – Creating Cultural Resources for Carolingian Rule’ (Vienna), one of the questions on the agenda of the PI, Walter Pohl, was early medieval Romanness. What could it mean to be ‘Roman’ after the end of the Roman empire in the west? Unlike ancient Rome, the eastern empire never managed to monopolize Roman identity, and neither did the Roman church. Thus, Roman imperial models became available for use in the Carolingian kingdoms. Some of these were in fact channelled through papal Rome, the subject of the main case study by Clemens Gantner, a post-doc in Vienna. Throughout the eighth century, the popes increasingly tried to establish themselves as hegemonial ‘cultural brokers’ for the regions north of the Alps. To a considerable degree, ‘learning empire’ meant learning from the popes. Two milestones of the project were reached. One was a study on the relations of the popes with the Byzantine Empire: Rome was still part of the empire and derived most of its symbolic (one might even say, “imperial”) capital from it. Results of this work will be published in an article called ‘The label “Greeks” in the papal diplomatic repertoire in the eighth century’. The second was work on the manuscript tradition of the Roman Liber Pontificalis, namely on the so called “Lombard Recension”, a version in which some of the anti-Lombard rhetoric in the account of the conflicts of the popes with the Lombard kingdom has been omitted. Interestingly, this version is mostly known from manuscripts in the Frankish kingdom. An article on the peculiarities of this textual version, its creation and its transmission to the Frankish kingdom has been produced.

Project 02, ‘Biblical Past as an Imagined Community’ (Utrecht), is concerned with the impact of biblical learning and exegesis on new discourses and religious models which helped to create political cohesion at the level of the kingdom and the empire. The PI, Mayke de Jong, has worked on the Carolingian exegete Paschasius Radbertus, his commentary on Lamentations, and his perceptions of the recent and distant past in the *Epitaphium Arsenii*, using cultural models from the past for his political and personal agenda. The post-doc, Sven Meeder, has studied the wide-ranging exchange of learning in early medieval Bavaria, which is an early and very interesting instance of medieval political authority being bolstered by biblical scholarship. A working edition of the so-called *Collectio 400 Capitulum* has been finalized in publishable form, including references to the collection’s sources. The PhD student, Robert Flierman, has focused his research on inclusion and exclusion in the Carolingian World on the interesting case of the Saxons and their incorporation in the Frankish empire. Contemporaries were quick to style the Saxons as the newest members of a Christian polity (inclusion), yet slow to let go of the memory of Saxon paganism and perfidy (exclusion). Dr Giorgia Vocino, associate member of CMRP, works on hagiography in Carolingian Italy and its ‘uses of the past’. A major knowledge transfer activity was a workshop entitled ‘From Widukind to Wilders: Cultural Memory and the Resources of the Past’, in order to discuss modern uses of the early medieval past, especially in right-wing political movements of the 20th and 21st century. Point of departure was the Dutch politician Geert Wilders’ comparison of the Germanic barbarians who destroyed Rome with Islamic barbarians about to conquer the Western world. Even though the workshop was conducted in English, it attracted much attention in the national media.

Project 03, ‘Otherness in the Frankish and Ottonian Worlds’ (Leeds), led by Ian Wood, is dedicated to examining perceptions and constructions of Otherness in the Frankish and Ottonian worlds, covering the period c.500-1000AD, but extending backwards into the fifth and forwards into the eleventh and twelfth centuries for comparative purposes. The project is divided into two sub-projects: the first (PhD Ricky Broome) covers the Merovingian and early Carolingian periods, and the second (PhD Tim Barnwell) the later Carolingian, Ottonian and Salian periods. Between them, these sub-projects provide new ways of analysing changing perceptions and definitions of the Other as the internal and external borders of Europe shifted between the collapse of centralised Roman authority in the West and the consolidation of the Ottonian Empire. Whilst there is a particular focus on hagiographical and apocalyptic texts, both subprojects also include historical narratives in order to show that medieval perceptions of Otherness were more complex than traditional modern distinctions between the peoples of Europe as simply Germanic or Slavic. Ricky Broome has worked on a group of hagiographical texts, largely concerned with Boniface and with missionary activity, which has allowed him to look at the overlapping of religious, political and social criteria in defining the Other in the period of the Rise of the Carolingians. Tim Barnwell has concentrated on Adam of Bremen and the sources he drew on. Adam’s text has proved extremely fruitful in casting light on the construction of the Other in the late eleventh century, and especially on political and religious influences, as well as on the cultural resources available to Adam in his presentation of difference.

In **Project 04**, ‘Migration of Roman and Byzantine Cultural Traditions of the Carolingian World’ (Cambridge), the PI Rosamond McKitterick has worked on several topics relevant for the project. Extensive manuscript studies have dealt with glossaries, early medieval dictionaries and glossary chrestomathies, which represent a cultural and historical phenomenon that needs further investigation as a major category of resources of the past which shed particular light on the formation of cultural memory. Furthermore, she has worked on the written and material legacy of Rome and its Carolingian uses. Together with the CMRP PhD student Graeme Ward, she has written a paper on the knowledge of the history of the Jews in the Carolingian empire. The first sub-project (PhD Desirée Scholten) is an investigation into the early use of the *Historia Tripartita*, a Latin translation of three Greek Church Histories commissioned by the politician and writer Cassiodorus in the 6th century. Here, both the context of the initial work and its Carolingian transmission and reception have been investigated. This work has pointed to the importance of the Carolingian reception of the text and hints towards a wide European dissemination through a post-Gothic literary circle of Cassiodorus’ works. The second sub-project (PhD Graeme Ward) deals with the 9th-century ‘Universal Chronicle’ by Frechulf of Lisieux. In 2011, the focus of this project has been a rigorous analysis of Part I of Frechulf’s *Histories*, with particular attention being paid to the different ways that Frechulf’s sources influenced the

structure and various emphases of his narrative. Above all, the influences exerted by Eusebius-Jerome's Chronicle were explored in detail.

Joint achievements and cooperations

Apart from the progress of these case studies, 2011 has also brought the team together more closely. Two internal meetings were held (Leeds, July 2011; Cambridge, December 2011), and most team members participated in the Leeds International Medieval Congress, where a strand of sessions presented the CMRP project to a larger audience. The project website <http://cmrp.oeaw.ac.at> has been updated and augmented. Further plans for dissemination and knowledge transfer were developed. Preparations for the final collaborative volume have started. Cooperations with the HERA CRPs 'SAWS' and 'Dynamics of the Medieval Manuscript' were also initiated. CMRP has created a lively international network, and a forum where issues of cultural memory can be discussed between senior and junior scholars.

CRP Publications, February 2011-January 2012 (containing titles in press due 2012)

- De Jong, Mayke, 'Heed that Saying of Terence'. On the Use of Terence in Radbert's *Epitaphium Arsenii*, in: Carolingian scholarship and Martianus Capella: Ninth-century commentary traditions on Martianus's *De nuptiis* in context, ed. M. Teeuwen and S. O'Sullivan, *Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages (CELAMA)* 12 (Turnhout, 2011).
- De Jong, Mayke, 'Pausen, vorsten, aristocraten en Romeinen. Van Gregorius de Grote (594-604) tot Adrianus II (872-882)', in: *De Paus en de Wereld. Geschiedenis van een Instituut*, ed. Frans Willem Lantink, Jeroen Koch (Amsterdam, 2012) 53-70.
- Gantner, Clemens, *Die Wahrnehmung von Anderen in päpstlichen Quellen des achten und neunten Jahrhunderts* (Ph. diss., Vienna, 2011).
- Gantner, Clemens, 'The label "Greeks" in the papal diplomatic repertoire in the eighth century', in: *Strategies of Identification. Early Medieval Perspectives*, ed. Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann (Turnhout, 2012, forthcoming).
- Gantner, Clemens, *New Visions of Community in Ninth-Century Rome: The Impact of the Saracen Threat on the Papal World View*, in: *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World: the West, Byzantium and the Islamic World*, ed. Walter Pohl, Clemens Gantner and Richard Payne (Aldershot, 2012) 403-421 (available in May 2012).
- Gantner, Clemens, *The Lombard Recension of the Liber Pontificalis*, in: *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* (2012 or 2013, forthcoming).
- McKitterick, Rosamond, and Ward, Graeme, 'The knowledge of Jewish history in the early middle ages', in: *Barbarians and Jews: Jews and Judaism in the early medieval west* ed. Hen, Yitzak, Limor, Ora and Noble, T. F. X. (Brepols, forthcoming)
- McKitterick, Rosamond, 'Glossaries and other innovations in Carolingian book production', Erik Kwakkel, Rosamond McKitterick and Rodney Thomson, *Turning over a new leaf: Change and development in the medieval manuscript*, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 21-78 + 20 plates.
- McKitterick, Rosamond 'Roman texts and Roman history', in: *Rome across time and space: Cultural transmission and exchanges of ideas c. 400-1400*, ed. C. Bolgia, R. McKitterick and J. Osborne (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 19-34; German version: McKitterick, Rosamond, 'Die Überlieferung eines bestimmten Bildes der Stadt Rom im frühen Mittelalter: der Liber Pontificalis', in: *Gedenkschrift Josef Semmler*, ed. H. Finger (Cologne, 2012).
- McKitterick, Rosamond, 'The representation of Old St Peter's basilica in the Liber pontificalis and the politics of papal burial in the early middle ages', in: *Old St Peter's in the middle ages*, ed. R. McKitterick, J. Osborn, C. Richardson and J. Story (forthcoming).
- McKitterick, Rosamond, 'Migrations and the written word in the early middle ages', in: *Das Europäische Mittelalter im Geflecht der Welt (the European Middle Ages in Global Entanglement): integrative und disintegrative Effekte von Migrationen*, ed. Michael Borgolte and Bernd Schneidmüller (Berlin, forthcoming).

- McKitterick, Rosamond, 'Music, identity and community in the Frankish realms in the eighth and ninth centuries: the Musica Enchiriadis and its implications', in Frank Hentschel ed., *Gentes, Nationes und die Musik im Mittelalter* (Giessen, forthcoming)
- McKitterick, Rosamond, 'The uses of literacy in Carolingian and post-Carolingian Europe: literate conventions of memory', in: *Scrivere e leggere nel alto medioevo*, *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo*, 59 (Spoleto, 2012, forthcoming).
- Pohl, Walter, 'Anstrengungen des Erinnerns. Montecassino nach der ‚Zweiten Zerstörung‘ (883)', in *Zwischen Pragmatik und Performanz. Dimensionen mittelalterlicher Schriftkultur*, ed. Christoph Dartmann, Thomas Scharff, Christoph Friedrich Weber, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 18 (Turnhout, 2011) 39-55.
- Pohl, Walter, 'Trasformazione delle frontiere nell'alto medioevo', in: *Le relazioni internazionali nell'alto medioevo. Atti delle Settimane LVIII* (Spoleto, 2011) 345-82.
- Pohl, Walter, 'Imperium', in: *Lexikon der Globalisierung*, ed. Fernand Kreff, Eva-Maria Knoll, Andre Gingrich (Bielefeld, 2011) 146-50.

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1.2 CRP objectives for the period

The CRP had four major objectives for the second reporting period, most researchers have been working on the project for roughly one and a half years (*objectives are referring to Annex II of the Acceptance of Grant Certificate, henceforth called "proposal"*):

1. The project has funded 6 PhD students (of which one only temporarily) and 2 Post-doctoral reserachers during the period: The objective for the researchers was to further their studies and especially to proceed with manuscript studies if scheduled for the respective sub-project. The PIs were to provide guidance at the scheduled project meetings and at internal seminars.
2. Intermediate results were to be presented at the International Medieval Congress at Leeds (IMC, July 2011), and at a CRP workshop. In fact, apart from presentations of project results at the IMC. Two CRP workshops have been held in 2011, on at Leeds and one in Cambridge in December 2011. Discussions among the project team were very helpful to develop a common approach and to foster individual exchange among junior members.
3. Maintenance and update of the project website, in line with the increased importance attributed to the knowledge transfer by HERA.

1.3 Work progress and achievements of the Individual Projects during the reporting period

IP 01: LEARNING EMPIRE – CREATING CULTURAL RESOURCES FOR CAROLINGIAN RULE (PI WALTER POHL, AUSTRIAN ACADEMY, VIENNA)

Work by the PL has included writing a long general article on Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West, which will serve as a general introduction to a collaborative volume with the same title. One of the key concerns in it was early medieval Romanness. What could it mean to be 'Roman' after the end of the Roman Empire in the west? The eastern empire never managed to monopolize Roman identity, and neither did the Roman church. For a response at an interdisciplinary conference about 'Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood' in Berlin, new models of statehood and governance in the political sciences could be applied to early medieval contexts. Comparative studies of empires were also continued, and the entry on 'Empire' in a German Encyclopedia of Globalization appeared in print.

SUB-PROJECT 01A (Post-doctoral project): THE POPES AS CULTURAL BROKERS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST IN THE 8TH CENTURY (Dr. Clemens Gantner; start of project 1.9.2010).

Throughout the eighth century, the popes increasingly tried to establish themselves as hegemonial 'cultural brokers' for the regions north of the Alps. To a considerable degree, 'learning empire' meant learning from the popes. What cultural resources could the popes offer to the people of the Latin West and where did they originate?

Clemens Gantner has finished his PhD thesis at the University of Vienna in May 2011, and defended it in June. The PhD thesis has mainly dealt with positive and negative images of the Other in papal sources of the eighth and ninth centuries (a link to IP 03). This study has provided valuable ground-work for the theme of IP 01. In this context the focus has been on the relations of the popes with the Byzantine Empire: Rome was still part of the empire and derived most of its symbolic (one might even say, "imperial") capital from it. Results of this work will be published in a shortened version as an article called 'The label "Greeks" in the papal diplomatic repertoire in the eighth century'. Another output of this part of research is an article on the impact of the Arab/Saracen military success in Italy during the ninth century on the papacy that is due in May 2012. Amongst other objectives, the article has also been looking at the cultural and ideological influence of the Saracens on Rome.

The second half of 2011 was dedicated to concentrated work on the manuscript tradition of the Roman *Liber Pontificalis*, namely on the so called "Lombard Recension" of this famous medieval text. This study has been completed; an article on the textual version, its creation and its transmission to the Frankish kingdom has been produced and will be submitted to the publisher in April 2012. As anticipated last year, this part of the manuscript study has replaced the material search that had originally been scheduled for the second half-year.