FRÜHMITTELALTERLICHE STUDIEN

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Zusammenfassungen der Beiträge in englischer Sprache

Christina Abenstein, Tradierte Autoritäten.
Zur intentionalen Weitergabe von spätantiken Subskriptionen, S. 1–11

Departing from the transmission of a late antique subscription, which probably originates from Cassiodorus, in the manuscript Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, it is shown that late antique subscriptions were not just usually or automatically copied together with the whole manuscript by its scribes or inserted by scholars who were matching two or more textual witnesses. At least in some cases, subscriptions were in fact added intentionally in order to authorise these copies. This assumption is strengthened by two further subscriptions, one of which originates from Irenaeus of Lyon, the other from Quintus Iulius Hilarianus. Beyond that, two other intentions are considered that may also have caused subscriptions to be transmitted: the first consists of conservative motifs, which can be traced in copied subscriptions in the manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 35.38, and in the Codex Sinaiticus; the second consists of the fraudulent attempt to endow a manuscript with a patina of age and value by transmitting subscriptions, especially those of famous authorities.

Robert Kasperski, Propaganda im Dienste Theoderichs des Großen.
Die dynastische Tradition der Amaler in der ‚Historia Gothorum' Cassiodors,
S. 13–42

The scope of the paper concerns the long-standing debate about the relation between two medieval sources, i. e. the 'Historia Gothorum' by Cassiodorus and the 'Getica' by Jordanes, and the role of the former in the politics of Theoderic the Great at the beginning of the sixth century A. D. We assume that the 'Getica', which for sure are not merely a summary of the 'Historia Gothorum', are still a good carrier of the propaganda content of the work by Cassiodorus, and they are a good enough source to investigate the political activity of Theoderic the Great. First and foremost, we argue that the 'Historia Gothorum' may have played a significant role in two issues, which we discuss in the paper, i. e. the legitimation of Eutharic Cilliga, the son-in-law and heir apparent to the Gothic king of Italy, and the extension of his rule over the Visigoths. We show that it is highly probable that the lack of direct kinship between Eutharic and Theoderic was counteracted by demonstrating his royal origin and complicated genealogy. We also devote our attention to the conquest of Gaul and Pannonia Sirmiensis by Theoderic the Great in 504–508 A. D., which could be regarded as an illegal act. We argue that Theoderic may have tried to justify his political movements using propaganda prepared by Cassiodorus, which created the illusion of Goths being not the aggressors, but defenders of former Roman provinces.

Gerd Kampers, Isidor von Sevilla und seine Familie.
Überlegungen zu ‚De institutione virginum et de contemptu
mundi‘ c. 31, S. 43–58

Most of the information about Isidore's family is contained in chapter 31 of 'De institutione uirginum et de contemptu mundi', written by his brother Leander, likewise bishop of Seville, for their common sister Florentina. Although Leander's remarks concerning his family have been the object of quite a few studies over the years, no general agreement about their meaning has been reached up to now. The reasons for this disagreement are due to the fact that the modern reader does not dispose of the same knowledge as the addressee and that Leander expresses his thoughts by using allegory and symbols.

Besides the establishment of biographical data for the members of the family, three problems form the centre of the discussion: (1) the causes of the expulsion of the family from its patria in the province Carthaginiensis. They resulted from the participation of Severianus, Isidore's father, in the opposition of the Hispano-Roman aristocracy against the Visigoths, who – by spreading and intensifying their rule in the south of the Iberian peninsula – attempted to improve their strategic position against the Byzantines and their policy of recuperation of lost imperial territory. (2) The location of the family's patria: the home of the family was not Carthago Spartaria/Cartagena, but was situated in that part of the province Carthaginiensis that was ruled by the Goths, where formerly confiscated possessions were restored to the family by king Reccared. (3) The identification of Turtur: she was neither Florentina's mother nor the abbess of her monastery. Most probably, Leander used turtur as a symbol for the bride of Christ, the church.

Oliver Schipp, Kolonat und Aldionat bei den
Langobarden (568–774), S. 59–80

Lombard law does not mention the Roman colonate. Nevertheless, there must have been *coloni* in the kingdom of the Lombards during the 7th and 8th centuries. This article shows that *coloni* went on living according to the law of the Roman Empire and that the Roman colonate did not come to a sudden end, but that the *coloni* were substituted by other social groups. After their migration to Italy, the Lombards developed a social system that enclosed freeman and slaves. With the *aldii*, however, they also knew a group that juridically stood between slaves and freeman. By comparing the legal position of the *coloni* and the *aldii*, which is done by analysing the 'Codex Theodosianus', the 'Edictum Theodorici', the 'Lex Romana Visigothorum' and the 'Leges Langobardorum', it is shown that the *aldii* were juridically adapted to the *coloni* in the course of time.

DIETRICH LOHRMANN, Alcuin und Karl der
Große im Winter 769, S. 81–97

Alcuin and Charlemagne had their first meeting not as late as 781 in Parma, as former researchers believed, but at the request of Alcuin's teacher Aelbert already in winter 769, probably in Aachen. From Christmas to the beginning of March, important discussions, which Alcuin subsequently reproduced in written dialogues, took place. The discussions dealt with philosophy, dialectics and hermeneutics as well as rhetoric and political virtues (following Cicero, De Inventione). Alcuin and Charles also talked about arithmetic and astronomy, and perhaps about a future church building in Aachen. The discussions took place partly in the bath. In his Carmen 4, dating from about 778, Alcuin warns a messenger he sent to Karl's court about the Italian grammarian Peter of Pisa. Apparently, Alcuin wanted him to be dismissed before accepting further offers of the king. Thus, the reform of the Frankish school system and the formation of the clergy, as Alcuin wanted them to be, began much earlier than previously assumed.

LAURY SARTI, Der fränkische *miles* –
weder Soldat noch Ritter, S. 99–117

The meaning of the term *miles* in post-Roman sources as a reference to "soldier" has always been taken for granted. This paper presents a detailed analysis of this word as used in the Frankish written evidence from the 6th to the 9th centuries. It demonstrates that when referring to inhabitants of the Merovingian realm, *miles* was consistently used to refer to custodians of prisoners. While the narrative sources locate these *milites* inside the *civitas*, the legal evidence points to a legal status of dependence. From the 8th century onwards, a second semantic shift entailed that the same term was used to refer to military men again. This analysis thus demonstrates that the meaning of *miles* had not remained static until the upgrading of its connotation from the 10th century onwards, a phenomenon largely studied by scholars working on the emergence of vassalage and knighthood, but that significant semantic shifts had already taken place during the preceding centuries.

DANIEL MC CARTHY, The Genesis and Evolution
of the Irish Annals to AD 1000, S. 119–155

The ten major compilations of Irish Annals collectively present thousands of entries from Creation to AD 1616. These are preserved in manuscripts from the 11th to the 17th centuries and, with virtually no contemporaneous documentation on their compilation, they pose a complex challenge to deduce their origin and evolution. Mac Neill published the first hypothesis in 1913, and this was further developed by O'Rahilly in 1946. In 1972, Hughes essentially reiterated O'Rahilly's hypothesis, entitling it the

'Chronicle of Ireland', which she envisaged as a recompilation of earlier Irish regional annals in c. 913, and this hypothesis has been widely repeated since then. All of these hypotheses relied on the assumption that the 'Annals of Ulster' best represented the Annalistic genre, and that it commenced at AD 431. However, in 1998 an analysis of the kalends and ferials of the Clonmacnoise annals revealed that these criteria represent the earliest chronological stratum in the Annals. This discovery then implied the hypothesis that an annalistic world chronicle had been brought to Ireland in the earlier 5th century and continued first there, then in Iona, and then in Clonmacnoise. Accounts of all these hypotheses are presented in this paper.

JULIA EXARCHOS, Identität, Wahrheit und Liturgie.
Überlegungen zur politischen und gesellschaftlichen Bedeutung
der Liturgie im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert, S. 157–187

This article investigates the societal and political role and the impact of the liturgy on medieval communities and societies. The author argues that due to the liturgical diversity and the different local, liturgical traditions, the medieval liturgy became an essential part of the identity of different communities and groups. By examining various examples from the 11th and 12th centuries, the study shows how different parties could use the liturgy itself actively to shape and strengthen the identities of different communities or dioceses. The article also surveys how liturgy could become a conflict potential in medieval communities and how the change of liturgical rituals or the introduction of new ritual themes, unlike the local, liturgical traditions, could become a tool to change the identity of communities or certain groups. Further, the author demonstrates how the diversity of medieval liturgy opened the possibility for discussions and discourses about the true way of conducting liturgy and how in particular the liturgical handbooks, which contained the written form of the liturgy, could be employed as an instrument to codify changes and promote and manifest a 'ritual' truth. Therefore, this article will contribute to a better understanding of the multiple objectives of liturgy and its codifications and will emphasise its political, social and cultural relevance as sources for the study of the Middle Ages.

SUSANNE SPRECKELMEIER, Vom erzählten Brauch zum verschriftlichten Recht.
Die Bahrprobe als Entscheidensprozess in literarischen und
rechtlichen Quellen, S. 189–215

This article focuses on the conjoined development of cruentation (*ius cruentationis* or 'bier-right', in German Bahrprobe) as legal tradition and literary motif of decision-making, drawing upon its earliest occurrences in German texts. The custom of cruentation is based on the belief that the wounds of a murder victim start bleeding again in reaction to the presence of the murderer. Eventually, this phenomenon is used to identify the perpetrator. Bahrprobe first appears in vernacular literature around

1200, as a custom poised between judgment of God and magical practice. Its first occurrence in a legal text can be found in the 'Freisinger Rechtsbuch' of 1328. This paper discusses the question of the relationship between narrations of Bahrprobe and its institutionalisation as legal norm. In Hartmann of Aue's 'Iwein', postmortal bleeding occurs in an 'uncalled' manner, whereas in the 'Nibelungenlied' it is staged as a formal decision-making process. Finally, the 'Freisinger Rechtsbuch' presents the trial as an ordeal, which 'encloses' the 'magic core' of cruentation. There are shifts both in the actors making decisions and the expression of decisions. Viewing cruentation through the lense of decision-making allows us to define more precisely the relation between literature and law in the Middle Ages.

MICHAEL GRÜNBART, Losen als Verfahren des Entscheidens im griechischen Mittelalter (Tafel I–II, Abb. 1–2), S. 217–252

The tradition of casting lots did not end in Late Antiquity: it occurs in Byzantine sources at times. Three main areas of its ongoing usage can be detected: lots were still used in the hippodrome in order to organise the positions of charioteers (Constantine VII gives a detailed description of the procedure in his 'De ceremoniis' in the 10th c.). Casting lots seemed to be an appropriate method to select personnel in the hierarchy. Besides the election of patriarchs, this procedure served as a tool for selecting and ordaining persons who should occupy key positions. Monastic *typika* (documents concerning the organisation of monasteries) provide accurate instructions for both the infrastructure and the guidance of a monastic community. The documents discussed were written for monasteries in Constantinople (Theotokos Kecharitomene, Pantokrator, Mamas). A unique case forms the appointment of an emperor in 1204: two parties were struggling to inaugurate their candidate. In the end, the decision was made by casting lots in the Constantinopolitan Hagia Sophia. The method supported the process of decision making by its objectivity, unambiguousness and verifiability.

WOJTEK JEZIERSKI, Feelings during Sieges.
Fear, Trust, and Emotional Bonding on the Missionary and Crusader Baltic Rim, 12th–13th Centuries, S. 253–281

Drawing on studies of the history of emotions, trust- and community-formation, and on medieval as well as modern religious violence, this study re-evaluates the predominantly military view of medieval sieges. Instead, this article examines sieges as extreme, often purposefully histrionic, and emotionally ambivalent social events, based on the descriptions of sieges in two Baltic missionary chronicles: Helmold of Bosau's 'Chronica Slavorum' (12th c.) and Henry of Livonia's 'Chronicon Livoniae' (13th c.). By focusing on the means of emotional bonding during sieges in the Baltic Rim, this article argues that emotions expressed and accentuated the social, political, and religious predicaments of missioning and crusading. Frequently, emotions in sieges were

actively deployed and navigated as means of warfare or as the performative fuel of the theatre of war. Often employed as a motivational force, emotions could also serve as a paradoxical method of socialisation within groups of faith and across religious divides.

Tobias Enseleit, ‚Krisen‘ in der mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik.
Überlegungen zur Reichweite eines Begriffs, S. 283–324

‘Crisis’ has become a keyword both in daily life and academic research. The term’s conceptual borders have become blurred. Nevertheless, ‘crisis’ is often used without a precise definition to describe historical periods and occurrences. Recent academic research emphasises the importance of contemporary perceptions and descriptions of events in order to use ‘crisis’ in an adequate way. Based on the analysis of Sangsprüchen and Minneliedern as well as on the elaborated definition of ‘crisis’ by Ansgar Nünning, the paper examines if and to what extent medieval poets’ narratives can be interpreted as crises. With a view to modern conceptions of ‘crisis’ and other medieval genres of literature (historiography, Arthurian novel etc.), the paper explores if a cross-genre conceptual field of ‘crisis’ exists, and thus tries to gain a deeper understanding of medieval conceptions of ‘crisis’.

Thomas Haye, König Sigismund, die Stadt Lüttich,
Laurent de Premierfait und das Konstanzer Konzil (1414–1418) in den
Gedichten des Johannes von Looz, S. 325–363

Besides being a major ecclesiastical event, the Council of Constance (1414–1418) exerted a great influence on subsequent European literature by providing a platform for the dissemination of cultural trends. The present paper firstly examines some important works of contemporary Latin poetry (composed by Benedetto da Piglio, Dietrich Vrie, and Laurent de Premierfait) which deal with the council and its most prominent protagonist, King Sigismund. Secondly, an analysis is made of a hitherto unknown series of Latin poems about the king and the council, composed by one Johannes of Looz, who wrote in Liège in 1416. As a (rather spectacular) result of the investigation of these texts, it is concluded that the Liège-based poet Johannes of Looz knew and used the works of the early French humanist Laurent de Premierfait. A critical edition of these hitherto unknown poems is provided as an appendix.

Sita Steckel, Problematische Prozesse.
Die mittelalterliche Inquisition als Fallbeispiel der Problematisierung
religiösen Entscheidens im Mittelalter, S. 365–399

The article problematises the current study of pre-modern ‘religious choice’ and ‘religious diversity’ by confronting sociological and historical perspectives. A first part analyses current sociological theories of decision-making, which have typically viewed

individual religious choices as an innovation of the modern period, and imagined the European Middle Ages as a stark contrast, a "unified Christian culture" (Ernst Troeltsch) without much potential for substantial individual decision-making in *religiosis*.

The article argues that this not only overlooks many instances of religious plurality in the medieval Euro-Mediterranean, but also the high diversity within Christianity. High medieval laypeople were confronted with a growing diversity of innovative religious lifestyles, such as monastic orders or lay religious movements, which were typically framed as legitimate 'options' within Christianity. While some of these options were then hereticised and persecuted, thus reconstituting religious choices as decisions between mutually exclusive 'alternatives', this transformation encountered much protest and resistance.

As the case of protest against the inquisition in Bologna in 1299 shows, laypeople often refused to accept the strict boundaries the inquisition wanted them to draw. As the article argues, we should therefore turn the sociological model upside down and look to qualitative rather than quantitative transformations: rather than searching for the 'origins' of religious diversity, plurality or pragmatic tolerance, which were ultimately already present in various forms during the Middle Ages, we might rather focus on the episodic emergence of cultures of decision-making which prescribed mutually exclusive alternatives of truth and error, and therefore enabled persecution.

Thomas Scharff, Problematische Anfänge – schwieriges Erbe.
Strukturelle Probleme der mittelalterlichen Inquisition, S. 401–418

Much of the criticism that was levelled against medieval inquisitors from their contemporaries can be traced back to the beginnings of the *officium inquisitionis*. When from the 1230s onwards, mendicants and others were appointed as *inquisitores haereticae pravitatis*, they had to face resistance for various reasons that in some extent had to do with the special character of the new institution. The article focuses on some allegations against the inquisitors as well as on fundamental conditions that impeded their work. In particular, the following topics are discussed: the strong resistance to the adoption of the papal or imperial anti-heretical legislation on the part of the secular governments, the reproach of corruption and avarice, the lack of transparency of the proceedings, the rivalry amongst inquisitors, and the disturbances caused by political conflicts. It can be demonstrated that criticism against inquisitors has not necessarily to be regarded as fundamental opposition to the persecution of heretics, but to the way it was organised by papal inquisitors and to the growing influence of these men within urban communities in consequence of their positions and privileges.

Riccardo Parmeggiani, Ein Modell und seine Reinterpretation.
Die Entscheidungsverfahren der italienischen Inquisition in der Auffassung
von Papsttum und Inquisitoren (1252–1334), S. 419–433

This article aims at demonstrating that the management of the inquisitorial *officium* in Italy – which effectively became an institution after Innocent IV had issued the bull 'Ad extirpanda' in 1252 – gradually moved from being controlled by the papacy to the full control by the Mendicant orders. The friars effectively and knowingly moulded a 'model for repression', which we shall name 'Italian model': it took various shapes, as it was designed to suit characteristics and needs of different local contexts, and was imprinted by the individuality of its various officers. This article mainly – if not exclusively – focuses on inquisitorial manuals in order to investigate management strategies by Italian inquisitors. With the support of John XXII's policies on repression, Italian inquisitors effectively reinstated the status quo ante, changing only what could not be applicable to the new situations. Our impression is that, notwithstanding the establishment of a more careful control system, the issue of new procedural norms and the setting of new targets for repression, inquisitors gradually returned to a mostly autonomous management of the tribunal of faith.

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Zusammenfassungen der Beiträge in englischer Sprache

Wolfram Kinzig, Die Verpflichtungserklärungen der getauften
Juden von Toledo aus den Jahren 637 und 654, S. 1–37

The article offers a critical edition, German translation, and commentary of the first *Placitum* of the baptised Jews of Toledo (written in 637) and a German translation and commentary of the second *Placitum* of the same group (written in 654). In addition, the genre, historical context, and *Sitz im Leben* of both documents are discussed. It appears that the first *Placitum* refers to a specific situation in Toledo and should not be generalised, whereas the second later served as a model for the entire Visigothic Kingdom. Finally, it is suggested that the marginalisation and even persecution of Jews under the Visigothic kings was not only caused by the attempt to 'homogenise' the population with regard to religion, but also by the persistent attraction of Judaism.

Tomáš Gábriš – Róbert Jáger, Back to Slavic Legal History?
On the Use of Historical Linguistics in the History of Slavic Law, S. 39–66

Slavic legal history was a stream in historiography that was mostly popular in the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century. It represented an analogy to the so-called Germanic legal history, whereby both have attempted to uncover the 'common legal history' of Slavic, respectively Germanic populations. Nowadays, prevailing approaches deny the existence of a common Slavic or a common Germanic legal past, as well as their mutual antagonism. In contrast, it is claimed that Slavic and Germanic legal history share some common features. Nevertheless, one stream in Germanic and Slavic legal history still seems to be vivid – namely the one making use of historical linguistics. Theoreticians of linguistic stability propose that vernacular notions written down in the early Middle Ages must have reflected the actual Slavic or Germanic social institutions – often with a legal content. This methodological approach was developed and tested by historians and historical linguists throughout the 20th century, however, mostly with respect to German-language sources. The main aim of this paper is to offer a glimpse at the relevant methodology on a specific example of Slavic terminology related to crimes against property, as preserved in the sources from Great Moravia, dating back to the period after 863 CE (as a terminus post quem).

Hans-Werner Goetz, ‚Glaubenskriege?' Die Kriege der Christen gegen
Andersgläubige in der früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Wahrnehmung, S. 67–114

Research on the Middle Ages frequently regards medieval wars (and particularly the crusades) as 'religious wars' or even as 'holy wars'. The present contribution intends to revise this concept critically. Surprisingly, both terms have no adequate equiva-

lent in medieval terminology (consequently, the question cannot be reappraised by a terminological inquiry). Religious interpretations along concepts of salvation history (divine assistance in battles, punishment of sins), the presence of cultic and liturgical elements in wars, a 'martial vocabulary' in all areas (*milites Christi*, Christian life as a fight against the devil) and suchlike are indisputable and create a religious environment for all wars, regardless of whether they are directed against believers of other religions or against other Christians. Consequently, for a definition of 'religious wars', it is not religious interpretations, but the motives behind starting wars that have to be considered as the decisive question. If we define 'religious war' as a military conflict that is waged or legitimised for the sake of faith, such a war is not possible except against followers of a different faith ('un-believers' in medieval terms, including heretics). Again, Christian polemics potentially prepares the ground for religious wars. Four case examples (Gregory of Tours, the Carolingian defence against Viking attacks, the early Spanish 'reconquista' and two reports on the First Crusade) demonstrate that such motives can possibly be distinguished in our texts, in fact long before the crusades, especially in defensive warfare. On the one hand, however, they are by no means established throughout, but represent exceptions rather than the rule and thus may not be presupposed from the outset. On the other hand, religious and political motives are constantly intermingled. First and foremost, however, with regard to a religious determination, the sources hardly distinguish between wars against Christians or against non-Christians, the latter not being legitimised by a specific justification but following the same patterns as wars among Christians. The terms 'religious war' or even 'holy war', as 'medieval' as they may seem, are, in fact, modern categorisations.

Lukáš Reitinger, Die königlichen Insignien aus dem
Kloster Pegau und die 'Kronenopfer', S. 115–149

In the summer of 1096, Pegau Abbey was consecrated. The founder of the monastery, Wiprecht of Groitzsch, and his wife, the Přemyslid Judita, daughter of the Bohemian King Vratislaus II (1061–1092), were not absent from the spectacular celebration. According to the 'Annals of Pegau', Judita approached the local altar with a golden crown on her head, wearing a dress with golden thread and a cloak. She placed the items decorated with gold and precious stones on the altar and dedicated them to the monastery. The study assigns the described event to the ritual of 'sacrificing crowns' and attempts to map the various symbolic levels of these acts, which the literature does not reflect in its entirety. The ceremonial submission of crown, cloak and dalmatica on the altar of Pegau Abbey is also placed in the context of 'sacrificing the crown'. The study mainly focuses, however, on the question concerning the character and origin of the donated insignia.

Sverre Bagge, The Decline of Regicide and the Rise of European
Monarchy from the Carolingians to the Early Modern Period, S. 151–189

The article discusses the decline of regicide in Western Christendom from the Carolingian Period onwards, finding the main explanation of this in the introduction of hereditary succession, legitimate birth and primogeniture, combined with a relatively weak monarchy, which was dependent on support from the aristocracy. This is further confirmed by a comparison with other kingdoms, notably Byzantium, where dynastic succession was of less importance but where the emperor's power was greater and the bureaucracy stronger. Here regicide might serve as a safety valve against bad rulers, an option that was not available to most European kingdoms, particularly in the Early Modern Period. However, in some countries, notably England and Sweden, deposition by an organised political body might serve the same function. Eventually, this led to formal limitations of the king's power and the rise of popular participation in the government.

Alberto Cadili, Kritik und Reflexion der Entscheidungsprozesse
oberitalienischer Inquisitoren (13.–14. Jahrhundert).
Forschungsperspektiven und Forschungsstand, S. 191–245

This article is connected to those of Sita Steckel, Thomas Scharff and Riccardo Parmeggiani published in volume 52 of 'Frühmittelalterliche Studien' (2018), dealing with the criticism of the culture of decision-making of the Italian inquisition (1230–1350). The papal inquisition, trusted to the mendicant orders, met oppositions everywhere it was established. Northern Italy was not an exception. Italian historians initially analysed individual cases found in the sources, then they focused on the financial abuses of the inquisitors. This article wants to examine the difficulty of this new culture of decision-making within the context of the North-Italian city-states. Not only were the decisions criticised, but also the decision-makers, i. e. their identity and even the framing, constitution and representation of their decisions. This culture of decision-making derived from the previous decision of the monarchic papacy to consider heretics not only as sinners, but also as criminals, to judge them by a special tribunal and punish them according to the imperial laws of lese-majesty. This decision was not obvious before the 12th–13th centuries. The conflict was increased by the way the inquisitors themselves created the resources of decision-making: as the papal laws were unsystematic, the judges of faith increased and improved their power by the advice of lawyers. This solution of the heresy problem and this power extension damaged the jurisdiction and economy of the temporal and ecclesiastical local authorities and hurt the religious sensibility of some laics. The 13th-century cities offered various religious options, some of them suggested by the mendicants themselves. Many laics chose practical piety and this resulted in conflicts with the inquisitors' rigid attitudes towards doctrine. The judgement of the believers' individual decisions between orthodoxy and

heterodoxy framed the behaviour and the believes of the accused as a decision for or against the true faith. The accused, on the other side, often questioned that their behaviour was the expression of such a decision. This led to an alternative explanation of the inquisitorial decision-making practice against this judgement: the sentences were not the result of the accused being heretics, but the judges being corrupt. On the one hand, the decision-making of the accused was framed and judged, but on the other, the same happened to the decision-making of the inquisitor. In fact, the accuses of corruption were favoured by the real financial abuses. The 'third' decision-making this article deals with is that of the papacy against the inquisitors for financial reasons. Indeed, there were papal inquiries and trials against some of them. The difference between religious rationalities and therefore between cultures of decision-making created elements for public discussions and also some fragments of narratives. The article is a first step towards a more complete study of the criticism of and the reflections about the Italian inquisition as a manifestation of the interaction between these different frames and cultures of decision-making.

Dieter Blume, Ovid-Lektüren oder der antike Mythos im Trecento
(Taf. II–XIV, Abb. 3–22), S. 261–286

In the decades after 1300, Italy witnessed an intensive re-reading of ancient texts and especially of Ovid, which is connected to the intellectual cultures of the cities. One example is of course Dante with his specific amalgam of ancient myths with the Christian story of salvation. The lectures of Giovanni del Vergilo in Bologna, which retell the 'Metamorphoses' in a clear and simple language, are important as well. A very interesting case is Paolo da Perugia, who in Naples works out complex diagrams to explain the correlations of all the different mythological figures. His interests are mainly historical and cosmological. The young Petrarch, however, uses selected metamorphoses as metaphors of his emotional feelings as a loving poet. In Avignon, Petrus Berchorius writes an extensive allegorical explanation of the 'Metamorphoses'. Besides theological interpretations, he is discussing ethical questions, which are connected to the experiences of his readers. Berchorius' text was soon connected to an extensive illustration. In a splendid version for Bruzio Visconti, the miniatures offer their own, sensitive reading of the Ovidian narratives including the emotional tensions of the stories. A manuscript from Bergamo, which has very simple drawings only, can prove the existence of a model, in which a detailed iconography of all the pagan gods was developed soon after 1350. Florentine drawings done by readers of the Italian translation by Arrigo Simintendi focus again on the emotional aspects of the Ovidian stories. The individual readings differ widely in their interests, but all of them are in their own way a form of innovation and connect Ovid to the reality of the 14th century. They all together establish the ancient myth as a new system of reference.

Fanny Maillet – Richard Trachsler, Phaetons ‚Himmelfahrt‘.
Heidnische Kosmologie und christliche Exegese im
französischen ‚Ovide Moralisé‘, S. 287–302

A large section of Book II of Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' is taken up by the story of Phaeton, who races through the sky on his father's chariot before getting out of course, scorching the land on his passage and drying up the rivers below him. In the Latin text, there are long and somewhat cryptical descriptions of the signs of the zodiac Phaeton faces on his fatal journey through the universe. The 'Ovide Moralisé', a 14th-century French adaption of Ovid's 'Metamorphoses', shortens the passages, but also adds new material. The omission of the mythological descriptions of the zodiac is not the result of not understanding the Latin allusions. In fact, a look at the vulgate commentary and other exegetical material available to the author of the 'Ovide Moralisé' shows that the information was at hand in his usual sources. The omissions must thus be explained differently, probably by a certain discomfort caused by the pagan attire of the skies, difficult to deal with for the Christian author who preferred to compensate by amplifying Phaeton's itinerary on earth. A glance at the sources of the episode shows that the French author did not just use the commentaries, but also drew on *compendia* containing lists of mountains and rivers he used in order to recreate a geographical order his readers would be familiar with. No known source seems to match the French moralisations which would very much indicate that we are still missing some channels leading from the Latin 'Metamorphoses' to its French adaption, since the *sensus historicus* given generally has a source.

Christel Meier, Ovid für die Kanzel. Allegorese der ‚Metamorphosen‘ am
Papsthof und in der Laienpastoral (Taf. XV, Abb. 23), S. 303–321

Petrus Berchorius († 1361), a learned theologian at the papal court in Avignon, presents in his Encyclopaedia of Preachers in addition to nature and the Bible as Book XV a complete moralisation of Ovid's 'Metamorphoses'. The present article mainly addresses two questions: first of all, how are Berchorius' paraphrases of Ovid's tales applied to the recipients of sermons? The author achieves this transfer by describing a variety of positive and in particular problematic behaviours of his contemporaries, which he then correlates to the fables of the 'Metamorphoses'. Thus, he creates a vivid picture of the late medieval society, similar to that presented in the *Artes praedicandi* of the time (e.g. Humbertus de Romanis, who, under the title of *diversa diversis*, addresses one hundred different groups of recipients of society, from the Pope to prostitutes). Secondly, what is the function of the examples the author draws from the rich narrative literature of the late Middle Ages and which he occasionally compares to the ancient fables? They prove the 'Metamorphoses' to be equivalent to the literary narrative repertoire of the Christian late Middle Ages and thus seek the long-disputed acceptance of the pagan corpus, in which in particular the gods were offending to

Christian sentiment. Thus, Berchorius places the 'Metamorphoses' in a literary and social core area of his time. The article concludes that the 'Ovidius moralizatus' of Berchorius – neglected and criticised by modern researchers, but highly estimated by his contemporaries – is an important part of the broad, differentiated early humanist movement of the 14th century.

Caroline Smout, Die naturalisierte Allegorie als Medium der Neuverhandlung und Akzeptanz des antiken Mythos. Zu Illuminationen des ‚Ovidius moralizatus' und ‚De formis figurisque deorum' (Taf. XVI–XXIV, Abb. 24–38), S. 323–344

On the basis of illuminations of the 'Ovidius moralizatus' and 'De formis figurisque deorum' of Petrus Berchorius, this essay examines the question of how the ancient myth of Ovid was renegotiated in the 14th century in miniatures and through their relationship to the text. At first, allegorically charged pictures of the 'Ovidius moralizatus' are in the foreground, which on the one hand refer to the intrinsic value of the myth through a genuinely pictorial ambiguity. On the other hand, the acceptance and intrinsic value of the *fabula* is reflected in the fact that the transformation of the *figura* shows a convergence of form and content. This means that no distinction can be made between figure and *figura* in so far as a reality is presented instead of the visualisation of a figurative allegorical sense. The picture and text thus shape a naturalised allegory in which the sense is fulfilled in the sensuality of the symbol. In a second section, the naturalisation of allegory is examined in miniatures of gods in 'De formis figurisque deorum' of Berchorius and in the later handbook of gods, the 'Libellus de imaginibus deorum'. Thus, allegorical elements also appear in them, but while in 'De formis figurisque deorum' they can be comprehended as such, in the 'Libellus' the allegorical meaning has coagulated into a literal sense. Therefore the boundary between figure and *figura* dissolves, which finally leads to a detachment of the ancient gods from allegorical patterns of interpretation. So the essay aims at presenting the pictures, which are modeled as naturalised allegories, as a medium of renegotiation and acceptance of the ancient myth respectively the ancient gods.

Bernhard Hollick, Ovidianische Selbstbehauptung. Mythographie und Krise im spätmittelalterlichen England, S. 345–368

The Greco-Roman pantheon was very much alive in 14th- and early 15th-century England. In cultural centres like Oxford, London and St Albans, a significant body of texts (e. g. scholastic treatises, commentaries and sermons) emerged, whose most obvious feature was the reception of ancient (mostly Ovidian) mythology. Most of these texts were composed by members of the learned clerical elites – a milieu whose traditions of learning and writing were defined to a high degree by a synthesis of pagan (poetic and philosophical) knowledge and Christian faith. However, the epistemological foundations of this synthesis increasingly came under attack in the period after 1300: first

from William of Ockham and later, in a very different way, from John Wyclif. This engagement with scholastic discourse, though, did not leave mythographic writing untouched: it slowly changed from the allegorical hermeneutics common in medieval commentaries to a new, historicising approach, which paved the way for the reception of Italian humanism. Confronting Anglolatin mythography from 1330–1450 with its discursive and social contexts therefore throws new light not only on the respective sources, but also on the medieval roots of the English Renaissance.

Manfred Eikelmann, *des aller sinnreichsten Poeten Metamorphosis*. Sprachliche und mediale Adaptationsstrategien in den deutschen Antikenübersetzungen der Frühen Neuzeit (Taf. XXV–XXVII, Abb. 39–41), S. 369–382

15th- and 16th-century German translations of Latin classics present a new field of research for the histories of literature, print and culture, which has only recently received systematic attention. Particularly the material form of these often very elaborate prints has been neglected, despite the fact that this aspect is crucial for making the ancient texts accessible to vernacular readers. Focusing on paratexts and page layout, this article discusses the different linguistic and medial strategies of adaptation of three exemplary translation projects: 'Bucolica' by Adelphus Muling (around 1507/1508), 'Officien' by Johann von Schwarzenberg (1520), and 'Verenderung der Gestalten' by Jörg Wickram (1545). Especially the 'Metamorphoses' of Ovidius prove to be very complex in this respect.

Daniel Pachurka – Arne Schumacher, *Verenderung der Gestalten*. Das Buchkonzept von Jörg Wickrams Ausgabe der ‚Metamorphosen' Ovids (1545) im Spiegel der Götterdarstellung (Taf. XXVII–XXX, Abb. 41–47), S. 383–401

This article is based on the premise that the meaning of three 16th-century German translations of Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' is determined by their paratexts. Especially the interaction between illustrations, texts and commentary in Jörg Wickram's edition (1545) suggests multilayered modes of reception that oscillate between Christian allegorical and literary aesthetic reading. The depiction of the pagan gods shall serve as an example of these modes. The title page recommends Ovid's text as an inspirational source for visual artists, thus demonstrating a growing contemporary interest in the visual and artistic quality of editions of the 'Metamorphoses'. Therefore, the illustrations and the text of Wickram's edition remain unaffected by Christian exegeses. The prefaces, which intend to legitimate the pagan subject matter, reveal a dynamic relationship between the aesthetic quality of the 'Metamorphoses' and the need for interpretation. While the additional commentary of Lorichius offers an explicitly Christian exegesis of Wickram's text, this is by no means the dominant perspective of the multilayered paratextual concept. In this way, Wickram's edition manages to convey the ancient mythology without being suspect of unfolding a pagan theology.

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Zusammenfassungen der Beiträge in englischer Sprache

CHRISTIAN STADERMANN, Restitutio Romanarum Galliarum. Theoderichs des
Großen Intervention in Gallien (507–511), S. 1–67

In 507 an armed conflict broke out between the *regnum Francorum* and the kingdom of
the Visigoths in Gaul, the so-called *regnum Tolosanum*, initiating the collapse of Visi-
gothic domination over large parts of Gaul. Beforehand, the Ostrogothic ruler in
Italy, Theodoric the Great, had tried to mediate between Clovis, the Frankish king, and
Alaric II, king of the Visigoths, in order to establish a peaceful settlement between the
opponents. His attempt had failed, therefore Theodoric intervened in this war at the
request of his son-in-law, king Alaric II. This paper reveals how the Roman past was
exploited by the Ostrogothic chancellery in order to justify Ostrogothic intervention
in Southern Gaul and how the memory of the Roman past, Roman cultural superior-
ity, and cultural Roman inheritance were used by Theodoric for community building.
It will be shown that Theodoric tried to activate a sense of community, bonding the
(Roman) population in the former Visigothic territories of Southern Gaul with his
subjects in Italy in order to integrate these territories into his sphere of influence. In
a wider setting, it will be illustrated how his 'public relations campaign' was geared
towards Theodoric's attempts to legitimise his legal position in Italy in the eyes of the
Roman population in the territories of the former Western Roman Empire and the
Roman Emperor in Constantinople.

SEBASTIAN STEINBACH, Designative Nachfolgeregelungen im toledanischen
Westgotenreich im Spiegel der Münzprägung (Taf. I–IV, Abb. 1–10), S. 69–86

Within three extensive studies between 2000 and 2012, Wolfgang Giese systematically
examined for the first time the succession arrangements in the Barbarian kingdoms
of the Migration Period, the Carolingian Empire and the *regnum Italiae*. But he largely
ignored the material sources and, in particular, the coinage, which provides a great
deal of additional information on the Spanish Visigothic kingdom (*regnum Toletanum*)
in the 7th century. Thus, during the joint government of the kings Chindaswinth with
Rekkeswinth (649–653) and Egica with Witiza (698–702), there was also a joint coin-
age, which names both rulers in its inscriptions and even shows them on the coins in
impressive images. The typology, uniformity and wide spreading of this coinage indi-
cates the special significance these two succession regulations had during the lifetime
of a Visigothic king. All in all, this article shows the significance of numismatic sources
for historical research on the Visigothic kingdom.

Florian Hartmann, Die Adoption von Karl Martells Sohn durch den
Langobardenkönig Liutprand im Kontext ihrer Zeit, S. 87–103

For the year 737, Paul the Deacon notes the famous story of the adoption of Pepin by the Lombard King Liutprand. At first sight, the report, which is integrated into every modern Pepin biography, seems clear. However, there are some problems associated with this story. No Carolingian source mentions the adoption and/or uses this story to strengthen the legitimacy of Pepin's son Charlemagne. Furthermore, if other adoption cases were taken into account, one would expect the adoption of the eldest son, Carloman, instead of Pepin during this period. Moreover, the preference for Pepin by adoption does not fit in with the leading role played by Charles Martel's second wife Swanahild and her son Grifo during those years. As recent studies emphasize, Swanahild may have become a leader at least in the last five years of Charles Martel's life. Therefore, there were many conflicts between Swanahild and Pepin. Only Grifo and Swanahild were present at Charles' death in 741, while Pepin and Carloman seemed to be absent due to differences between them and the court. Against this background, Pepin's adoption makes no sense. By interpreting the historical context and comparing the account of Paul the Deacon in his 'Historia Langobardorum' with his history of the Carolingian dynasty within his 'Gesta episcoporum Mettensium', written during his stay at the Carolingian court, the article argues that Grifo rather than Pepin was adopted by Liutprand.

Jan Clauss, Bibel und Exegese als Kommunikationsmedium zwischen Franken
und ‚Fremden' unter Karl dem Großen. Das Beispiel der gelehrten ‚Fremden'
Theodulf und Alkuin, S. 105–130

The article studies the activities of the foreign scholars Alcuin of York and Theodulf of Orleans within the larger process of Carolingian identity-formation and court culture. Among the royal advisors, the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin is seen as the epitome of a new Carolingian culture of learning. The Visigoth Theodulf likewise became one of the most influential courtiers of the Frankish king. Why could foreigners like Alcuin and Theodulf, both without roots in the gentile Frankish society and thus lacking any traditional resources of personal power, rise to such an extent? How did the (symbolic) communication between Franks and the learned newcomers work out? The success of this new type of agents in the centre of political power asks for an explanation. In order to do so, I apply the *cultural broker*-concept, which stresses the importance of human go-betweens. They connect communities and social ideas in situations of intensified transcultural contact and therefore foster processes of identity formation. Understanding Theodulf and Alcuin as *cultural brokers*, we cannot perceive their otherness as a personal flaw they had to gloss over. On the contrary, both deliberately extracted advantages from their situation by using it as a form of cultural capital. Besides, both skilfully utilised the contemporary use of Biblical imagery as a *lingua franca*.

Thereby, they were able to further their own ambitions by applying individual subtle accentuations of biblical motives.

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Tino Licht, Sedulius Scottus in Lorsch. Handschriftenspuren
eines karolingischen Gelehrten (Taf. V–VI, Abb. 11–18), S. 131–142

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A famous entry in the manuscript Bern, Burgerbibliothek 363, says that Sedulius Scottus († ca. 870) recommended that his pupils consult and study a rare commentary on Horace in the Lorsch monastic library. Can this connection between Sedulius and Lorsch be illustrated by other testimonies? To answer this question, statements in Sedulius' works and in a manuscript once belonging to the abbey are evaluated. Thus, the function and relevance of the Lorsch monastic library appears in a new light.

<div align="center">

Christoph Haack, Mobilisierung als Bedrohungskommunikation.
Das ‚Capitulare missorum de exercitu promovendo' (MGH Capit. Nr. 50)
und die Funktion karolingischer Aufgebotslisten, S. 143–172

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The article focuses on the manuscript Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. iur. 4°, No. 134, proposing a new date for a list of chapters exclusively transmitted in this codex. The text, known to historians as the ‚Capitulare missorum de exercitu promovendo' (MGH Capit. Nr. 50), has been held as a central piece of evidence for deep-reaching military reforms imposed by Charlemagne after 800. Usually dated to 808, following the 1883-editor of the Carolingian capitularies Alfred Boretius, this article proposes a new dating of the manuscript to 829. As the text itself provides no internal or external chronological evidence, the chronological fixation of Boretius lacks a sound foundation. The article therefore explores a different approach via the corpus-linguistic 'Computational Historical Semantics'-project developed by Bernhard Jussen in Frankfurt. The re-dating of the text means that MGH Capit. Nr. 50 can no longer stand as proof of a program undertaken by Charlemagne to transform Frankish military organisation; instead, it was incorporated into the body of sources produced during the planning of a great assembly in 829 by Louis the Pious. It is thus part of the efforts of Carolingian elites during the late 820s to overcome the deeply perceived threat to their community, felt after a series of famine, disease and military failure. The manuscript's redating thus has far-ranging consequences not only for the military history of the Carolingian Empire, but also for the social history of the Carolingian World as substantialised in public military obligations. Furthermore, it is part of a re-valuation of the functions of capitularies as an important instrument of Carolingian rulership.

Harald Kleinschmidt, Widukind of Corvey's Account
of the Saxon Invasion, the Law of Hospitality and the Oral Transmission of
Knowledge of the Past, S. 173–232

The inconsistencies enshrined in Widukind of Corvey's report on the alleged continental Saxon invasion have, from the 19th century onwards, sparked controversies about the sources Widukind may have used. In absence of written records relating to the history of the Saxons prior to Rudolf of Fulda's 'Translatio Sancti Alexandri', textual criticism has claimed that Widukind had access to and used oral traditions which were transmitted from late Antiquity to the 10th century and have since then been lost. The article takes issue with that approach and argues that there is no evidence for the continuity of Saxon group structure from late Antiquity into the 8th century, when Bede first categorised continental Saxons as a *gens*. Instead, 'Saxons' as recorded in sources up until the 7th century, appeared as small motley bands of professional warriors without a recognisable common autonomous political institutional framework and collective identity. The relatively late transformation of these warrior bands into a *gens* did not allow the build-up of a socio-cultural capacity for the transmission of oral traditions across generations. Hence, Widukind, in his capacity as historian, faced the challenge of having to invent Saxon traditions for the purpose of positioning the Saxons at a rank equivalent of that of the Franks.

Sauro Marzocchi, Faith and Politics in Otto III's
Monumenta Historica, S. 233–256

Otto III's *monumenta historica* have been fundamental to the process of understanding the personality of this emperor. Titlings, *bullae* and imperial actions have inspired numerous scholars, who have found evidence of a profound faith that includes eschatological aspects. These *monumenta* have most often been analysed in terms of their relationship to each other so that even though they took place within specific historical moments and dynamics, their religious nature has overshadowed other considerations. In this article, we will propose an interpretation of Otto III's *monumenta historica* in which political and strategic motivations become the key players. The *monumenta* of Otto III will be related to the specific context in which they appeared, focusing our attention on the political aspects dominating that moment in time.

Beate Kellner, Naturphilosophie als Vision und integumentale Erzählung.
Die Dame Natur in Alanus' ab Insulis ‚De planctu naturae', S. 257–281

Alan of Lille's allegorical text 'De planctu Naturae' addresses a wide range of philosophical questions. It deals with the creation of the universe and the relationship between microcosm and macrocosm and that between God, the figure of Nature, mankind and animals. On the one hand, Alan portrays Nature's sorrow about the

degeneration of mankind and the development of vices throughout the world and, on the other hand, he reveals Nature's plans to restore virtue and goodness in the cosmos. The following article focuses on the apparition of Lady Nature in front of the poet, stressing how the exuberant metaphors of veiling and unveiling, covering and uncovering, connect the various aspects and layers of the narrative. The poet faces Nature in a vision and faints, overwhelmed by her beauty, but awakes and is finally able to portray her in a description *de capite ad calcem*. In great detail, the article presents how man, animals and plants are portrayed on Nature's beautiful clothes, discussing the mediality and materiality of the different layers of her clothes at the same time. It also takes a closer look at how the poet perceives the images depicted and how he allows the readers or listeners to take part in his vision. Moreover, it carves out how the alleged fundamental dichotomy between mankind and animals is affirmed on the one hand, but, on the other hand, is also partially qualified. Finally, it turns out that Nature, who mourns the decline of the world, is an ambivalent figure, lamenting the chaos she has caused.

Ursula Peters, „Gespaltene Treue". Mehrfachvasallität
und feudo-vasallitische Loyalitätsprobleme in der höfischen Erzählliteratur
des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts, S. 283–347

For some years now, historical research has seen multiple vassalage less as a sign of decay of medieval feudalism, but rather concentrates on the procedural rules and strategies for conflict avoidance. These allow relatively uncomplicated, if not mutually beneficial solutions when vassalitic obligations to more than one lord exist. In contrast to the tendency of historical research to neutralise the conflict potential of multiple vasallitic relationships, the vernacular narrative of the 12th and 13th centuries offers some remarkable literary episodes of multiple vassalage as a loyalty conflict. This shows to what extent the courtly authors use these relationships to precisely explore the legal, social and, above all, the personal problems of allegiance and betrayal.

Marco Krätschmer, Rittertum und Lehnswesen im Stauferreich. Zu Organisation
und Rekrutierung der Ritterheere im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert, S. 349–394

The 12th and 13th centuries are undoubtedly regarded as the chivalric heyday in which the knights symbolised the epitome of the ideal feudal warriors. It was common ground for the classical concept of a knight that he fought on the basis of feudo-vassalitic ties. The debate on fiefs and vassalage, which has been taking place since Reynolds' theses of 1994, casts doubt on this dogma. Based on the recent discussion about the connection between the feudal law and the obligation to military service in the Empire since 1154/1158 at Roncaglia, this study examines various recruitment options which the 'Constitutio de expeditione Romana', a forgery written around 1160, reveals. This document can be read as a remnant of Roncaglia's aftermath and therefore offers an

insight into the practices which the Staufen emperors used to mobilise knights for their military campaigns in Italy. The article also discusses the knight's motivation and willingness to go to war as well as the meaning of fiefs within the practices of recruitment. The commitment to the *honor imperii* did not only increase the knight's own honour, but was also closely related to tangible rewards and remunerations. Therefore, the code of reciprocity played a major role in the organisation of knightly armies. Finally, the article argues that the various options of rewarding and recruiting were used flexibly. Thus, granting financial wages to knights was not a decline of the knightly feudal service and chivalry itself, but a common practice in the Staufen period. As a result, the study modifies the classical concept of a medieval knight as feudal warrior in his heyday.

Wojtek Jezierski, Livonian Hospitality. The 'Livonian Rhymed Chronicle' and the Formation of Identities on the Thirteenth-Century Baltic Frontier, S. 395–427

The conquest and colonisation of the northeastern Baltic Rim in the 13th century durably shaped religious and ethnic identities of and relations between the native population and the arriving crusaders. This article explores the codes and displays of hospitality in the anonymous 'Livonian Rhymed Chronicle', which are seen here as ways of conceptualising the relationship and conflicts between the Teutonic Knights and the pagan or apostate people in Livonia. It asks which consequences the framing of the host-guest relations might have had for the self-comprehension of the chronicle's author and his audience. The analysis of the chronicle is pursued along three lines: the first focuses on the questions of chivalry, courtesy, and conversion; the second explores different renditions of a miracle story of inhospitality from the 1220s; the third focuses on the conceptual metaphors of hospitality as a way in which the Teutonic Knights accommodated their adversaries' viewpoints. In its conclusions, the article argues how a broad focus on the institutions, concepts, and discourses of hospitality can help account for both confrontational and amicable attitudes between the colonisers and the colonised both on the Baltic frontier and among other European frontier societies.