ZUSAMMENFASSUNGEN DER BEITRÄGE

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 legitimisation 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.

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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 virginum 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 Theodoricum’, 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.
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.


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.


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 lens 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 ceremonis’ 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.


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,

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.
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.