From Romans to Goths and Franks:

Ethnic Identities in Sixth- and Seventh-Century Spain and Gaul

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Oxford

Trinity Term 2012

Erica Buchberger

University College

From Romans to Goths and Franks: Ethnic Identities in Sixth- and Seventh-Century Spain and Gaul

Erica Buchberger, University College
D.Phil in History, Trinity 2012

Short Abstract

Within a few centuries after the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West, the descendants of Romans who had envisioned the world in terms of moral, civilized Romans and the savage barbarian 'other' had come to identify with those very barbarians. This thesis explores this shift from 'Roman' to 'Gothic' and 'Frankish' identities in sixth- and seventh-century Spain and Gaul through an examination of the ways ethnonyms were used in contemporary sources. Within the first section on Visigothic Spain, chapter one discusses the 'Romans' of the East—that is, the Byzantines—as portrayed by Isidore of Seville and John of Biclar. Chapter two covers 'Romans' of the West—the Hispano-Romans—who appear in John of Biclar's *Chronicle*, a hagiographical *Life*, and civil and canon law. Chapter three discusses the use of 'Goth' as an ethnic descriptor, a religious identifier, and a political term. Chapter four begins the Gaul section with an examination of Gregory of Tours' writings, showing that he wrote with a Roman mindset. Chapter five illustrates that Gregory's contemporary, Venantius Fortunatus, selected ethnic labels like 'Roman' and 'barbarian' in his poems as rhetorical tools to allude and flatter. Chapter six shows how Fredegar, in the seventh century, employed 'Frank' as a political term more than his predecessors had, suggesting a change in mindset. Chapter seven confirms this change in hagiographical texts across the two centuries. Chapter eight examines the contemporary expectation that separate law codes should be written for each ethnic group and concludes that, while this encouraged ethnic diversity, it did not prevent individuals from identifying with the Franks politically. By distinguishing among different modes of identification these ethnonyms represented, we see that changes in political language facilitated changes in more traditionally ethnic language, and the shift from 'Roman' to other ethnic identities.

From Romans to Goths and Franks: Ethnic Identities in Sixth- and Seventh-Century Spain and Gaul

Erica Buchberger, University College
D.Phil in History, Trinity 2012

Long Abstract

During the era of Roman imperial dominance, a Roman's mental world was divided into moral, civilized Romans within and savage barbarians without. Within a few centuries, however, the empire had been replaced in the West by a number of kingdoms governed by these barbarians and the 'Romans' had come to embrace both the kingdoms and the identities of their kings, relinquishing 'Roman' identity for 'Frankish' or 'Gothic'. How this came to be has been a topic of much debate. The study of ethnic identities during this period has addressed the peoples interacting with Rome in the fifth century and earlier, the traits often associated with certain peoples both in the late Roman period and after, and how authors used ethnic identity for specific purposes in their texts. But one element which is often neglected is how the mental shift from being a 'Roman' to being a 'Frank' or a 'Goth' happened, both for Roman individuals forced to face new circumstances and for Franks and Goths trying to accept these Romans into their spheres. It is crucial that we attempt to understand this mental shift, because it is the context in which the highly-studied survival of cultural elements, choice of political allegiances, and authorial manipulation of visions of the world took place. A person's mindset directly impacts on his (or her) outlook on the world and his choices of action within that world, and his sense of who he is is the foundation it is built on. Had 'Romans' continued to see themselves as they had during the imperial period and to act accordingly, these identities would have manifested themselves quite differently, and we cannot completely understand their development without understanding the mental landscape behind them.

One reason this topic has not been sufficiently addressed, which I aim to rectify in this study, is because of an imprecise analysis of 'ethnic' terms. It is common for historians to lump all uses of a term like 'Frank' or 'Goth' together as ethnic and to assume that they all function in

the same way. Similarly, historians often have trouble seeing 'Roman' as an ethnic term in the early medieval period because during the imperial era it had been a political term denoting citizenship, related to constitution rather than ancestry. However, 'Roman' was also used in ethnic ways and 'Frank' and 'Goth' in political ways; we simply tend to neglect this because it does not fit the common narrative of Roman citizenship and barbarian ethnicity to which we are accustomed. By reducing ethnonyms like 'Frank' and 'Roman' to a singular meaning, we make it harder to understand what these terms actually meant to contemporaries and how they came to shift from one identity to another. It is possible, however, to highlight the nuances these terms can have and, in so doing, to see changes in one mode of identification effecting changes in another. In this study, I will attempt to set out a method to distinguish among political, ethnic, and religious uses of ethnonyms and show what we can learn about changing mentalities in the process through an examination of the use of ethnonyms in sources from sixth- and seventh-century Spain and Gaul.

I have divided the thesis into two large sections, one for Spain followed by one for Gaul. Each is divided into chapters on a different basis. In the case of Spain, I have chosen to present Romans and Goths separately in order to demonstrate clearly how I mean to distinguish political, ethnic, and religious meanings; as the sources for Spain are fewer than those for Gaul, this is easiest to do with the Spanish sources. The section introduction sets the stage for the rest of the chapter with a basic narrative of events in Spain during the Visigothic period. Chapter one discusses the East Romans or Byzantines, who appear only in the writings of Isidore of Seville and John of Biclar. It shows that, for these two authors, 'Roman' almost exclusively meant 'Byzantine', undoubtedly because the Visigothic kingdom was still fighting over coastal territory with the Byzantine Empire during their lifetimes. Chapter two covers West Romans, those residents of Spain who were present before the Visigoths arrived, sometimes now called Hispano-Romans. They appear once in John of Biclar's *Chronicle*, in the hagiographical *Lives of the Fathers of Merida*, and in civil and canon legal documents, and I will address them in this

order. This chapter concludes with a summary of the evolution of Roman identity in Visigothic texts. Chapter three discusses the Goths in all of the sources already mentioned. It is divided into four subsections: ethnic descriptions, descriptions with a religious sense, descriptions with a political sense, and descriptions with multiple senses overlapping. I will lay out clearly through examples in the sources what I mean by these divisions and how useful they can be. We will see that, for Hispano-Romans, the shift to a new 'Gothic' ethnic and political identity truly began in 589 with the conversion of the Goths to Catholicism. From this point forward, the Gothic kings actively promoted kingdom-wide unity through civil and religious law. Royally sponsored law codes and church council records from this time emphasize the unity of the 'Gothic people' as all Catholic subjects of the king, and the phrase 'people/army of the Goths' became far more common in documents of the 630s through the 670s. After this point, 'Roman' practically disappears from the sources and even 'Goth' was used less frequently, signalling that 'Gothicness' had become so thoroughly adopted that it could simply be assumed. The section concludes by recounting the evolution of 'Goth' from a specific ethnic term for one group among many to a universal political term so ubiquitous it need not be mentioned and the concomitant shift away from 'Roman' as an ethnic identity.

For Gaul, I have divided the sources broadly by genre with some subdivision by author. The introduction again sets the stage. Chapter four covers the writings, both hagiographical and historical, of Gregory of Tours. Analysis of his use of ethnic terms and alternative identifiers in his texts will show that Gregory wrote from a Roman mindset, preferring to identify people based on home city, important relatives, and social rank because that continued to matter in his sixth-century society. Chapter five compares Gregory to his contemporary, Venantius Fortunatus. Fortunatus used ethnic identities in his poetry more than Gregory did in his writings because they were a useful tool for allusion and flattery, two things his genre and need to earn a living required of him. Chapter six moves to the seventh century and Fredegar's *Chronicle*. It shows that Fredegar used ethnonyms far more than Gregory did, but particularly in the political

sense, a sense which appears far less in the sixth-century sources and suggests a change in mindset was under way. Chapter seven covers hagiographical texts from both the sixth and seventh centuries. The chronological cross-section it provides clearly confirms a general increase in the use of ethnonyms in the seventh century, and particularly the increase of 'Frank' as a political term. Chapter eight covers the Frankish law codes and compares them briefly with the Visigothic and Burgundian codes. In it, we will see that their authors expected law to be written separately for diverse ethnic groups even though separation would have been impossible in practice. The Merovingian kings' promulgation of separate law codes for each group of people they ruled—regardless of their practical enforceability—illustrates both acceptance and promotion of ethnic diversity, not a pressing need to make all subjects both political and ethnic 'Franks' as soon as possible. This pattern would not be visible without separating ethnic, political, and religious uses of so-called 'ethnic terms' and taking each in its own context. The section conclusion emphasizes the role of political disunity in Merovingian Gaul in keeping 'Roman' from fading completely and making it less imperative for Romans to adopt a new ethnic identity along with a new political identity than in Spain. I finish with an overall conclusion comparing the two kingdoms and illustrating that the shift from 'Romans' to 'Goths' and 'Franks' happened in the same manner in both places but less (or more) thoroughly according to the different circumstances Romans faced in each kingdom.

We will see that over the course of the sixth and seventh centuries, what it meant to be Roman changed dramatically. For most of the fifth century, the Roman Empire still existed in the West, and its citizens were still politically Roman, serving in imperial offices and being, at least nominally, under Roman rule. While on a local level, many of them were ruled by barbarian federates, the fact that these federates were supposedly managing on behalf of Rome provided an illusion of Roman control even if actual Roman control was shaky. By the sixth century, however, the Western Empire was gone beyond all illusion, and former Roman citizens had become clear subjects of barbarian kings; their most essential identity—Roman—no longer

matched the political state(s) in which they lived. Many aspects of their lives, however, were much the same: in southern Gaul especially, Romans maintained a similar culture, social structure, and set of world views as they had before. They were culturally and ethnically Roman, but no longer politically Roman.

The words they used to express their experiences reflected this 'Roman' milieu. Venantius Fortunatus contrasted 'Roman' with 'barbarian' as was common in antiquity; being 'Roman' meant being civilized, cultured, educated, and otherwise privileged, and being 'barbarian' predisposed a person to incivility and uncouthness, and was often a handicap, though not an insurmountable one. He used 'Roman' to depict both cultural and ethnic aspects of identity, and preferred 'barbarian' to 'Frank'. His contemporary, Gregory of Tours, preferred not to use ethnonyms often, choosing instead identities operating on a more local level, such as city, parents, and social status. This was common language in the Roman world, and Gregory and his contemporaries were still very immersed in the social structures and mindsets of that world. He placed particular emphasis on the term 'senator', a term anchored in the imperial bureaucracy, in the same cultural and ethnic senses as Fortunatus used 'Roman'; no longer able to refer to participation in an Empire-wide senate, the term came to indicate descent and the trappings of upper class life which often accompanied it. In writing about the sixth century, the authors of Visigothic saints' *Lives* also used 'senator', and the related *curialis*, but seemingly to refer to important local magnates in Lusitania and Cantabria who fulfilled similar functions in their communities to those of senators and *curiales* of the imperial era. They saw the sixth-century world as still a deeply Roman social landscape, in many ways the same despite functioning under new masters. John of Biclar's *Chronicle*, however, reveals an important mental shift. By reserving 'Roman' for the East Roman Empire, which fought the Visigoths in the second half of the century, he signalled a detachment of those of Roman descent in Spain from that identity; politically they were Goths, and when contrasted with 'Roman' outsiders, this Gothic facet of their identity may have seemed more immediate than their Roman heritage.

In the seventh century, the Western Empire faded into a more remote past; almost no one alive then in Spain and Gaul had experienced imperial rule first-hand, and thus Roman identity had lost much of its resonance for these later generations. People born to Roman parents under barbarian rule who participated in a mixed society and a barbarian army and court are likely to have identified more strongly with these barbarians than with their distant Roman ancestors. Politically, they were Franks or Goths, and many of them came to adopt these identities in an ethnic sense too. Their society came to have a greater mix of cultural and social elements, so that Roman social structure and mindsets no longer dominated as they once had, but rather a hybrid of Roman and barbarian understandings and experiences of the world emerged through the intermixing of the two groups.

We see this transformation in the changing ways authors used ethnonyms—which ones they selected, and which facets of identity they used these ethnonyms for. In Spain, Romans appeared less frequently in the sources and disappeared completely from all but formulaic 'legalese' after 655. Like John, Isidore of Seville reserved 'Roman' for the Byzantines, but unlike John he was actively hostile toward them, seeing in them not the pinnacle of civilization or a fellow Christian community but foreign invaders whose Christianity was less 'Catholic' than that of his Gothic rulers. He saw Spain as a Gothic society and used language of the *gens et patria Gothorum* in his *History* and the church councils he presided over to both express this vision and encourage greater political, ethnic, and religious unity in the Visigothic kingdom under an inclusive Gothic identity. In Gaul, Gregory and Fortunatus' 'Roman' language gradually gave way to a greater use of ethnonyms overall and of their political aspects in particular. Fredegar (as one person or many) was almost certainly not of Roman descent and seems to have spent more time in northern regions of the Frankish kingdoms than in the south. His frequent mention of Franks as both individuals and a political unit reflect this experience—and the expectation that experience engendered in him that Franks dominated society in Gaul. Many hagiographers wrote in a similar vein, and when they did mention 'Romans' it was increasingly as exceptions;

Audoin of Rouen only brought up Eligius of Noyon's Romanness in the context of a northern community rejecting a man they saw as a foreigner and outsider.

Finally, by the eighth century, Roman had ceased to be a meaningful identity within Visigothic Spain, and, while it remained in Gaul, its frequency and significance continued to fade. In Spanish sources, by the late seventh century, 'Roman' had disappeared and even 'Goth' was less frequent, with the latter identity so ubiquitously adopted as to not merit mentioning. Arab conquest of the bulk of Iberia from 711 put a halt to further development of this unity, but Gothic identity would be revived as a marker of heritage and a potentially unifying rallying point for reconquest in later centuries. Within Gaul, 'Roman' became yet more of an anomaly, restricted to the south and to legal language, while Frankish identity clearly dominated in authors' minds, experiences, and narratives.

Through this study, I hope to show that changes in political language both preceded and facilitated changes in more traditionally ethnic language as the discourse surrounding various ethnonyms shifted, and that, by distinguishing among different modes of identification these ethnonyms represented, we can identify these changes and better understand how the shift from a Roman to a Gothic and Frankish world occurred within the minds of contemporaries.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I am indebted to my supervisors, Chris Wickham and Bryan Ward-Perkins, for generous doses of patience, guidance, and encouragement. My examiners, Mark Whittow and Patrick Geary, offered excellent suggestions for the future. Ian Forrest and Conrad Leyser helped me define the scope of my thesis and pointed me in the direction of Vienna. I would also like to thank Walter Pohl and his team at the Institut für Mittelalterforschung in Vienna, where I was fortunate enough to spend a term, for their friendly welcome, shared ideas, and feedback—especially Marianne Pollheimer and Max Diesenberger.

Walter Pohl, Helmut Reimitz, Santiago Castellanos, Clare Stancliffe, and Danielle Donaldson read parts of my thesis along the way and offered their critiques, and Walter and Helmut allowed me to read works in progress. Discussions with Gerda Heydemann, Herwig Wolfram, Catherine Holmes, Graham Barrett, Emily Winkler, Patrick Wadden, Alex O'Hara, and Shane Bjornlie were particularly fruitful. I am grateful also to those who invited my participation in and commented on my work at conferences in Leeds, Kalamazoo, and Oxford, and at seminars and colloquia at Oxford, and to the Old Members' Trust of University College, the Royal Historical Society, the Scatcherd European Scholarship fund of the University of Oxford, and the Bryce Research Studentship, Colin Matthew Fund, and Arnold, Bryce, and Read Funds of Oxford's History Faculty for funding.

Beyond the thesis itself, Jay Goodale, Robert André LaFleur, and Tom Howe taught me well, and both Dr LaFleur and Greg Tyson encouraged me toward graduate school. Kim Kilmartin and Laura Carlson deserve special thanks for coffee and sanity breaks. I am forever grateful to my husband, Daniel Jacobs, for moving to England with me, lifting my spirits, and understanding me, and for his love and patience. My mom, Jan Buchberger, has provided me with unconditional love, support, and encouragement for my whole life, and I thank her for helping me to become the person I am. Finally, to my dad, Gerald L. Buchberger, who was always proud of me, I dedicate this work.

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... **i**

TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... **ii**

ABBREVIATIONS ..... **v**

INTRODUCTION **1**

PART ONE – FROM A ROMAN TO A GOTHIC WORLD: VISIGOTHIC SPAIN

Introduction **37**

Chapter One: Romans from the East: the Byzantines **42**

Isidore of Seville 43

John of Biclar 47

Chapter Two: Romans from the West: the Hispano-Romans **52**

John of Biclar 52

Saints' *Lives* 54

Civil and Canon Law 60

The Evolution of Roman Identity 81

Chapter Three: The 'Gothic People' **83**

Ethnic Descriptions 83

A Religious Sense 86

A Political Sense 89

Overlapping Meanings 94

The *gens Gothorum* Over Time 98

Section Conclusion **100**

PART TWO – FROM A ROMAN TO A FRANKISH WORLD: MEROVINGIAN GAUL

Introduction **103**

Chapter Four: Gregory of Tours **106**

Gregory's Life and Writings 107

Modern Scholarship on Gregory 108

Gregory on the Late Roman Empire and Clovis' Reign (to 511) 112

Gregory on the Sixth Century (511-590) 121

Conclusion 141

Chapter Five: Venantius Fortunatus **144**

Life and Thought 145

The Poems 147

Conclusion 166

Chapter Six: Fredegar **170**

The Source and its Author(s) 170

The Context of Current Scholarship 172

Ethnic Identity in the *Chronicle* of Fredegar 175

Conclusion 191

Chapter Seven: Hagiography **194**

Romans 195

Senators and Barbarians 208

Franks 213

Conclusion 217

Chapter Eight: Law Codes **219**

The Codes and their Use 220

The *Pactus legis Salicae* 223

The *Lex Ribuaria* 226

Comparison with Visigothic and Burgundian Codes 231

Conclusion 233

Section Conclusion **236**

CONCLUSION **241**

APPENDIX 1: GREGORY'S FAMILY TREE **246**

APPENDIX 2: ADDITIONAL SOURCES **247**

BIBLIOGRAPHY **257**

Abbreviations

AHDE	*Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*
ARF	Alexander C. Murray (ed.), *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History: Essays Presented to Walter Goffart* (Buffalo, 1998).
BA	*Breviary of Alaric*, ed. Gustav Haenel, *Lex Romana Visigothorum* (Leipzig, 1849).
Brogiolo et al.	Gian Pietro Brogiolo, Nancy Gauthier, and Neil Christie (eds.), *Towns and Their Territories Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2000).
CCH	*La colección canónica Hispana*, ed. Gonzalo Martínez Díez, 6 vols. (Madrid, 1966-2002).
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*
CE	*Codex Euricianus*, ed. Álvaro d'Ors, *El Código de Eurico* (Rome, 1960).
Chrysos/Wood	Evangelos Chrysos and Ian Wood (eds.), *East and West: Modes of Communication* (Leiden, 1999).
Construction	Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger, and Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Boston, 2003).
CTh	*Codex Theodosianus*, ed. Theodor Mommsen and Paul Meyer (Berlin, 1905).
Die Suche	Walter Pohl (ed.), *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen: von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters* (Vienna, 2004).
Drinkwater/Elton	J.F. Drinkwater and Hugh Elton (eds.), *Fifth-Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?* (Cambridge, 1992).
DVI	Isidore of Seville, *De viris illustribus*, ed. Carmen Codoñer Merino, *El 'De viris illustribus' de Isidoro de Sevilla* (Salamanca, 1964).
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
Ferreiro (ed.)	Alberto Ferreiro (ed.), *The Visigoths: Studies in Culture and Society* (Leiden, 1999).
Fouracre/Gerberding	Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, 640-720* (Manchester, 1996).

Franks and Alamanni	Ian Wood (ed.), *Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period: An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, 1998).
Garvin	*Vitas sanctorum patrum Emeretensium*, ed. Joseph N. Garvin (Washington, D.C, 1946).
GC	Gregory of Tours, *Gloria Confessorum*, in Bruno Krusch (ed.), *MGH SSRM* I, 2 (Hanover, 1969), pp. 284-370.
GM	Gregory of Tours, *Gloria martyrum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, in *MGH SSRM* I, 2 (Hanover, 1969), pp. 34-111.
Historiae	Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, in Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison (eds.), *MGH SSRM* I, 1 (Hanover, 1951), pp. 1-537.
HGVS	Isidore of Seville, *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum, et Suevorum*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, in *MGH AA* XI (Berlin, 1894), pp. 267–303.
James (ed.)	Edward James (ed.), *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches* (Oxford, 1980).
JLA	*Journal of Late Antiquity*
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
KoE	Walter Pohl (ed.), *Kingdoms of the Empire: The Integration of Barbarians in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 1997).
LC	*Liber Constitutionum sive Lex Gundobada,* ed. Ludwig Rudolf von Salis, in *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 2,1 (Hanover, 1892), pp. 29–122.
Little/Rosenwein	Lester K. Little and Barbara H. Rosenwein (eds.), *Debating the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1998),
Los visigodos	A. González Blanco (ed.), *Los visigodos: historia y civilización* (Murcia, 1986).
LR	*Lex Ribuaria*, ed. Franz Beyerle and Rudolf Buchner, in *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 3,2 (Hanover, 1954).
LRB	*Lex Romana Burgundionum*, ed. Ludwig Rudolf von Salis, in *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 2,1 (Hanover, 1892), pp. 122–63.
LV	*Lex Visigothorum*, ed. K. Zeumer, in *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* I (Hanover, 1902), pp. 33–456.
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
AA	*Auctores Antiquissimi*
SS	*Scriptores*
SSRG	*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*

SSRL	*Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum*
SSRM	*Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*
II	*MGH SSRM* II, ed. Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1888).
III	*MGH SSRM* III, ed. Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1896).
IV	*MGH SSRM* IV, ed. Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1902).
V	*MGH SSRM* V, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison (Hanover, 1910).
VI	*MGH SSRM* VI, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison (Hanover, 1913).
VII	*MGH SSRM* VII, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison (Hanover, 1920).

Mitchell/Greatrex	Stephen Mitchell and Geoffrey Greatrex (eds.), *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity* (London, 2000).
Noble	Thomas F.X. Noble (ed.), *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms* (New York, 2006).
OBI	Andrew Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnogenesis Theory* (Turnhout, 2002).
Ostrogoths	Samuel Barnish and Federico Marazzi (eds.), *The Ostrogoths from the Migration Period to the Sixth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective* (San Marino, 2007).
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
PL	J.P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1844-1865).
PLRE	A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1971-1992).
PLS	*Pactus legis Salicae*, ed. Karl Eckhardt, in *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 4,1 (Hanover, 1962).
Poèmes	Venantius Fortunatus, *Poèmes*, ed. and French trans. Marc Reydellet, 3 vols. (Paris, 1994-2004).
Regna and Gentes	Hans-Werner Goetz, Jörg Jarnut, and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship Between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World* (Leiden, 2003).
Romans, Barbarians	Ralph W. Mathisen and Danuta Shanzer (eds.), *Romans, Barbarians, and the Transformation of the Roman World: Cultural Interaction and the Creation of Identity in Late Antiquity* (Burlington, 2011).
Scharer/Scheibelreiter	Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter (eds.), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1994).

SCLA	Ralph W. Mathisen and Danuta Shanzer (eds.), *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul: Revisiting the Sources* (Aldershot, 2001).
Shifting Frontiers	Ralph W. Mathisen and Hagith Sivan (eds.), *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Brookfield, VT, 1996).
SoD	Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800* (Leiden, 1998).
SoI	Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann (eds.), *Strategies of Identification: Ethnicity and Religion in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, forthcoming).
T&I	Richard Corradini, Rob Meens, Christina Pössel, and Philip Shaw (eds.), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages* (Vienna, 2006).
Typen	Herwig Wolfram and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonder Berücksichtigung der Bayern* (Vienna, 1990).
VC	Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani abbatis discipulorumque eius*, in *MGH SSRM* IV, pp. 1-152.
VDC	*Vita Desiderii Cadurcae urbis episcopi*, in *MGH SSRM* IV, pp. 563-602.
VE	Audoin of Rouen, *Vita Eligii episcopi Noviomagensis*, in *MGH SSRM* IV, pp. 663-742.
Visigoths	Peter Heather (ed.), *The Visigoths from the Migration Period to the Seventh Century: An Ethnographic Perspective* (San Marino, 1999).
VoC	Walter Pohl, Clemens Gantner, and Richard Payne (eds.), *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World: The West, Byzantium, and the Islamic World, 300-1100* (Farnham, 2012).
VP	Gregory of Tours, *Vita patrum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, in *MGH SSRM* I, 2 (Hanover, 1969), pp. 211-83.
VR	Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita sanctae Radegundis*, in *MGH SSRM* II, pp. 364-77.
VSPE	*Vitas sanctorum patrum Emeritensium*, ed. A. Maya Sánchez (Turnhout, 1992).
Wolf	Kenneth Baxter Wolf (ed.), *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, 2nd ed. (Liverpool, 1999).
Zeumer	*Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. Karl Zeumer, in *MGH Leges* (Hanover, 1886).

Introduction

During the era of Roman imperial dominance, a Roman's mental world was divided into moral, civilized Romans within and savage barbarians without.[1] Within a few centuries, however, the empire had been replaced in the West by a number of kingdoms governed by these barbarians and the 'Romans' had come to embrace both the kingdoms and the identities of their kings, relinquishing 'Roman' identity for 'Frankish' or 'Gothic'.[2] How this came to be has been a topic of much debate ranging from examinations of the cause of the Western Empire's political downfall to consideration of elements of cultural heritage each group contributed to the emerging societies.[3] The study of ethnic identities during this period has addressed the peoples interacting with Rome in the fifth century and earlier, the traits often associated with certain peoples both in the late Roman period and after, and how authors used ethnic identity for specific purposes in their texts.[4] This has all been extremely useful and insightful and has

[1] For views of the 'barbarian' in the late Roman world, see G.B. Ladner, 'On Roman Attitudes toward Barbarians in Late Antiquity', *Viator* 7 (1976), pp. 1–25; *Romans, Barbarians*; Hugh Elton, 'Defining Romans, Barbarians, and the Roman Frontier', in *Shifting Frontiers*, pp. 126-35; I. M. Ferris, *Enemies of Rome: Barbarians Through Roman Eyes* (Stroud, 2000); Andrew Gillett, 'The Mirror of Jordanes: Concepts of "The Barbarian," Then and Now', in Philip Rousseau (ed.), *Companion to Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 392-408; Peter Heather, 'The Barbarian in Late Antiquity: Image, Reality, and Transformation', in Richard Miles (ed.), *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity* (London, 1999), pp. 234-58; David Lambert, 'The Barbarians in Salvian's De gubernatione Dei', in Mitchell/Greatrex, pp. 103–16; Greg Woolf, *Tales of the Barbarians: Ethnography and Empire in the Roman West* (Oxford, 2011).

[2] Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Europe, 300-1000*, 3rd ed. (Basingstoke, 2010); Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford, 2005).

[3] On the former, see esp. Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Ware, 1998); Walter Goffart, *Rome's Fall and After* (Ronceverte, WV, 1989); Peter Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (London, 2005); Bryan Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford, 2005); Chris Wickham, 'The Fall of Rome Will Not Take Place', in Little/Rosenwein, pp. 45-57. On the latter, see Peter R.L. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity, AD 150-750* (New York, 1971); Peter R.L. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000* (Cambridge, MA, 1996); Lynn Townsend White (ed.), *The Transformation of the Roman World: Gibbon's Problem After Two Centuries* (Berkeley, 1966), esp. pp. 206–31; *SCLA*; *KoE.*

[4] On early peoples, see Peter Heather, *The Goths* (Oxford, 1998); Peter Heather, *Goths and Romans, AD 332-489* (Oxford, 1992); Peter Heather, 'The Huns and the End of the Roman Empire in Western Europe', *EHR* 110, no. 435 (February 1995), pp. 4–41; Walter Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans, A.D. 418-584: The Techniques of Accommodation* (Princeton, 1980); Herwig Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley, 1988); Herwig Wolfram, *The Roman Empire and Its Germanic Peoples* (Berkeley, 1997); Guy Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568* (Cambridge, 2008); Ralph W. Mathisen, *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul: Strategies for Survival in an Age of Transition* (Austin, TX, 1993).

provided us with a richer sense of the late antique and early medieval world. But one element which is often neglected is how the mental shift from being a 'Roman' to being a 'Frank' or a 'Goth' happened, both for Roman individuals forced to face new circumstances and for Franks and Goths trying to accept these Romans into their spheres.[5] It is crucial that we attempt to understand this mental shift, because it is the context in which the highly-studied survival of cultural elements, choice of political allegiances, and authorial manipulation of visions of the world took place. A person's mindset directly impacts on his (or her) outlook on the world and his choices of action within that world, and his sense of who he is is the foundation it is built on. Had 'Romans' continued to see themselves as they had during the imperial period and to act accordingly, these identities would have manifested themselves quite differently, and we cannot completely understand their development without understanding the mental landscape behind them.

One reason this topic has not been sufficiently addressed, which I aim to rectify in this study, is because of an imprecise analysis of 'ethnic' terms. It is common for historians to lump all uses of a term like 'Frank' or 'Goth' together as ethnic and to assume that they all function in the same way.[6] Similarly, historians often have trouble seeing 'Roman' as an ethnic term in the early medieval period because during the imperial era it had been a political term denoting citizenship, related to constitution rather than ancestry. However, 'Roman' was also used in ethnic ways and 'Frank' and 'Goth' in political ways; we simply tend to neglect this because it does not fit the common narrative of Roman citizenship and barbarian ethnicity to which we are accustomed.[7] By reducing ethnonyms like 'Frank' and 'Roman' to a singular meaning, we make

---

On specific purposes, see *T&I*; *SoD*; *VoC*; Patrick Amory, 'The Meaning and Purpose of Ethnic Terminology in Burgundian Law Codes', *EME* 2 (1993), pp. 1–28; Helmut Reimitz, 'Cultural Brokers of a Common Past: History, Identity and Ethnicity in Merovingian Historiography', in *SoI*.

[5] Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz have both made inroads. See below, pp. 13, 29.

[6] For example, see below, pp. 96-9, 108-9.

[7] Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, 2002); Geoffrey Greatrex, 'Roman Identity in the Sixth Century', in Mitchell/Greatrex, pp. 267–292; Johannes Koder, 'Byzanz, die Grechen, und die Romaiosyne – eine "Ethnogenese" der "Römer"?', in Herwig Wolfram and

it harder to understand what these terms actually meant to contemporaries and how they came to shift from one identity to another. It is possible, however, to highlight the nuances these terms can have and, in so doing, to see changes in one mode of identification effecting changes in another. In this study, I will attempt to set out a method to distinguish among political, ethnic, and religious uses of ethnonyms and show what we can learn about changing mentalities in the process through an examination of the use of ethnonyms in sources from sixth- and seventh-century Spain and Gaul.

Defining Ethnicity

Scholarly Context

Much of our current understanding of ethnic identities in general and in the early Middle Ages in particular was developed as a reaction to earlier, essentialist theories of identity. Before the 1950s, it was common to look for the origins of modern nation-states in the breakup of the western Roman Empire and to equate historical peoples like the Franks and Visigoths with modern counterparts like the French and Spanish. Arguments particularly centred around whether Romans or 'Germanic' barbarians had influenced these modern nations more, dividing scholars into 'Romanist' and 'Germanist' camps. Contemporary political and social situations greatly shaped—and continue to shape—the stances taken and the reasons for them. Unsurprisingly, scholars have tended to claim as more influential the group they themselves feel most connected with, whether along class lines in eighteenth-century France or burgeoning nationalist lines based on French patriotism against the Germans, or vice versa.[8] In the 1720s,

---

Walter Pohl (eds.), *Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonder Berücksichtigung der Bayern* (Vienna, 1990), pp. 103–11; Walter Pohl, 'Strategies of Identification: A Methodological Profile', in *SoI*.

[8] For example, see Ferdinand Lot, *Les invasions germaniques: la pénétration mutuelle du monde barbare et du monde romain* (Paris, 1939), vol. 1, pp. 267-73. On this topic in general, see Ian Wood, 'Barbarians, Historians, and the Construction of National Identities', *JLA* 1, no. 1 (2008), pp. 61–81; Ian Wood, 'The Use and Abuse of the Early Middle Ages, 1750-2000', in Marios Costambeys, Andrew Hamer, and Martin Heale (eds.), *The Making of the Middle Ages: Liverpool Essays* (Liverpool, 2007), pp. 36-53; Geary, *Myth*, pp. 20–35; Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*, pp. 12–23, 457–62; Susan Reynolds, 'Our Forefathers? Tribes, Peoples, and Nations in the Historiography of the Age of Migrations', in *ARF*, pp. 28–36.

some French aristocrats argued that the French aristocracy originated from the Franks who conquered Gaul in the fifth and sixth centuries, and thus earned rights and privileges from this conquest which the monarchy needed to grant them; their opponents either objected that, being invaders, the aristocracy themselves should be ousted and the 'oppressed' Gallic people restored to power, or that the Roman Empire had conceded the territory gradually through diplomatic rather than military means, giving the Franks no absolute right to domination.[9] During the French Revolution, most revolutionaries preferred to focus on deeds rather than birth as a criterion for membership in a 'people', but some, like the Abbé Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès, justified revolution by claiming that, indeed, the aristocracy was Frankish and therefore foreign and should be ousted.[10]

The Napoleonic conquests of the early nineteenth century inspired a wave of German nationalism as the people he conquered fought back with their own narratives of long-held identity.[11] Johann Gottlieb Fichte, for example, wrote in 'To the German Nation' about the *Volkstum* that was based on language and an inseparable whole by nature, equating the ancient Romans with the contemporary French and encouraging German speakers to unite against this foreign conquest.[12] In 1819, Baron Karl Freiherr von Stein established the *Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* with the aid of intellectuals like Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, Friedrich Carl von Savigny, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, to head up the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* project which aimed to collect all primary sources related to the early 'Germanic'

[9] Walter Goffart, 'Does the Distant Past Impinge on the Invasion Age Germans?', in *OBI*, pp. 22–3; Wood, 'National Identities', 64–5; Geary, *Myth*, pp. 20–21.

[10] Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, *Qu'est-ce que le tiers-état?*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1789), esp. pp. 10-15, 104-112.

[11] On nationalism in the early modern world, see John Alexander Armstrong, *Nations Before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill, 1982); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983); Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986); Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates About Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover, NH, 2000); Anthony D. Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations* (Cambridge, 2004); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, 1983); E. J. Hobsbawm (ed.), *The Invention of Tradition* (New York, 1983); Reynolds, 'Our Forefathers?'

[12] Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, trans. R.F. Jones and G.H. Turnbull (London, 1922), esp. pp. 52-71 and 108-129; Geary, *Myth*, pp. 24-6.

peoples as a repository of tradition and culture around which German speakers could rally.[13] In order to decide what to include, they turned to the new discipline of Indo-European philology, which led them to select sources from all areas of Europe where 'Germanic' peoples speaking Germanic languages had settled—that is, most of the West—thus directly equating ancient 'Germanic' with modern 'German'. As other new disciplines developed, they were brought to bear for purposes of determining national characteristics and origins. The Grimm brothers, folklorists and linguists, were influenced by Johann Gottfried von Herder, who declared in 1784 that geography influenced each people's natural characteristics and culture, to search for tales that reflected authentic German culture and landscape, and in 1848, Jacob Grimm argued for Prussia's annexation of Schleswig-Holstein based on a perception that its residents were descended from the early Germanic peoples. Ernst Moritz Arndt argued the same for Alsace-Lorraine, Belgium, and the Netherlands, and Theodor Mommsen argued throughout the second half of the nineteenth century for Prussian takeover of regions historically settled by 'Germans' based on language and early medieval sources.[14]

War between the French and Germans pushed the rhetoric further. After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and formal German unification the following year, Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges fought back by reminding historians that past and present 'Germans' were not one and the same and by attacking the language-based methods German scholars, particularly Mommsen, used to analyse and present their evidence; while he did not reference contemporary events in his writing, he was still seen as a French patriot.[15] Ernest Renan, who had admired German scholarship until Prussian invasion led to destruction in his homeland of France, spoke at the Sorbonne on 11 March 1882 against essentialist, biologically-centred views

[13] Walter Goffart, *Barbarian Tides: The Migration Age And the Later Roman Empire* (Philadelphia, 2006), p. ix; David Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises: Problems in Monastic History* (London, 1963), pp. 65–97.

[14] Jacob Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, 7 vols. (Berlin, 1864-1884), vol. 7, pp. 557-566 and 573-581; Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*, trans. T. Churchill (London, 1800), pp. 172-6, 188-93; Ernst Moritz Arndt, 'Des Deutschen Vaterland', in *Fünf Lieder für deutsche Soldaten* (Berlin, 1813), pp. 7-8; Wood, 'National Identities', pp. 73–4.

[15] Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, *Questions historiques* (Paris, 1893), pp. 1-16, 505-12.

held by nationalists, arguing instead that nationhood was a conscious choice to live together.[16] These objections did not, however, stem growing nationalist sentiment. In 1870, the historian Felix Dahn distributed a pamphlet supporting the war on similar grounds to Mommsen. Around the same time, Savigny and others began a study of early Germanic laws, raising them to equal historical status with the Roman law that had inspired Napoleon's code.[17]

When Germany invaded Belgium at the beginning of World War I, Karl Lamprecht defended the incursion, arguing that the Flemish were ethnically German and resented the dominance of French Walloons in Belgium, and emphasizing the idea that cultural traits were really distinguishing national characteristics. This takeover directly influenced the work of Henri Pirenne, a Belgian who had worked with Lamprecht at Leipzig and had previously admired him.[18] Pirenne was arrested in 1916 by the occupying Germans for dissent against their occupation. His 1937 *Mohammed and Charlemagne* removed 'Germanic' barbarians from the story of Rome's fall entirely, arguing instead that the rise of Islam disrupted Mediterranean trade and led to the end of antiquity; the 'Germanic' invaders barely made a dent in the cultural landscape.[19] Certainly not all German-language scholars argued for substantial continuity and prominence of Germanic peoples—the Austrian Alfons Dopsch, for example, supported the ideas of Fustel de Coulanges and Pirenne—but the trend during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was

---

[16] Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?: Conférence faite en Sorbonne, le 11 mars 1882* (Paris, 1882), http://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Qu%E2%80%99est-ce_qu%E2%80%99une_nation_%3F.

[17] Felix Dahn, *Das Kriegsrecht* (Würzburg, 1870); Friedrich Karl von Savigny, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, 6 vols. (Heidelberg, 1815-1831); Heinrich Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1887-1892), vol. 1, pp. 27-40, 217-24; Heinrich Brunner, *Zur Rechtsgeschichte der römischen und germanischen Urkunde* (Berlin, 1880); Joep Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam, 2006), pp. 122–3. Interest in an Aryan or Nordic race also increased during the century, although not along national lines.

[18] Karl Lamprecht, 'Über Belgien: Nach geschichtlichen und persönlichen Erfahrungen', *Die Woche* 12 (Berlin, 1915), pp. 397-406, http://www.zum.de/psm/1wk/lamprecht.php; Wood, 'National Identities', pp. 73–6.

[19] Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (New York, 1957); Bernard S. Bachrach, 'Pirenne and Charlemagne', in *ARF*, pp. 214-31. On Pirenne's wartime experiences, see Henri Pirenne, *Souvenirs de captivité en Allemagne (mars 1916-novembre 1918)* (Brussels, 1920).

definitely toward the alignment of scholarly stances with contemporary political and linguistic boundaries.[20]

A similar nationalist sentiment had also risen in Spain during the nineteenth century. This Spanish grand narrative centred around the legitimacy of the Catholic Reconquest of Iberia from the Muslims, which depended on the belief that the Visigoths who had ruled the peninsula in the sixth and seventh centuries had continued their rule in the northern kingdom of Asturias and ultimately led the push south. According to this narrative, the 'real' Spanish nation originated with the Goths. By the end of the nineteenth century, this narrative had come under question, but Franco revived it in the 1930s, and it was only after his death in the 1970s that the idea of Visigothic continuity began to be thoroughly challenged.[21]

In central Europe, the essentialist view also reached its peak under fascism. The Nazis' concept of the pure, superior Aryan race stemmed directly from earlier nationalist constructions of ethnicity. Germany and Austria's defeat in World War I and their resultant loss of territory and face led German and Austrian scholars and political leaders to search for ways to help people recover a sense of cultural importance and self-identity, and to maintain connections with those Germans now living outside the newly-drawn borders of Germany. In the 1930s, Otto Höfler promoted the ideas of Germanic sacral kingship as a way to view the contemporary German Reich without resorting to analogies to imperial Rome, Franz Beyerle and Karl August Eckhardt researched Germanic law codes with a similar aim of claiming Germanic elements within documents that had stemmed from a Roman legal tradition, and Karl Theodor Strasser

---

[20] Alfons Dopsch, *The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization* (New York, 1937).

[21] Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico* (Buenos Aires, 1956), pp. 122-39; Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *El Reino de Asturias: orígenes de la nación española. Estudios críticos sobre la historia del Reino de Asturias (selección)*, 2nd ed. (Oviedo, 1983), pp. 75-116; Américo Castro, 'Los visigodos no eran aún españoles', *Nueva revista de filología hispánica* 15, no. 1-2 (1961), pp. 1–3; Stanley G. Payne, 'Visigoths and Asturians Reinterpreted: The Spanish Grand Narrative Restored?', in Ivy A. Corfis and Ray Harris-Northall (eds.), *Medieval Iberia: Changing Societies and Cultures in Contact and Transition* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 47–56; Roger Collins, *Visigothic Spain, 409-711* (Oxford, 2004), p. 3; Patricia E. Grieve, *The Eve of Spain: Myths of Origins in the History of Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Conflict* (Baltimore, 2009), pp. 29–31, 232; R. González Fernández, 'El mito gótico en la historiografía del siglo XV', in *Los visigodos*, pp. 289–300; Peter Linehan, 'Religion, Nationalism, and National Identity in Medieval Spain', in Stuart Mews (ed.), *Religion and National Identity* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 161–99.

portrayed successive waves of naturally adventurous, migrating 'Germans' reinvigorating a geriatric, stagnant Roman Empire with strong German blood, as Herder had done a century and a half earlier.[22] In archaeology in the 1910s, Gustav Kossinna had claimed the ability to correlate material finds with ethnic peoples based on known locations of groups, a technique that has come to be known as 'ethnic ascription'; German archaeologists of the 1930s and 1940s used this technique to justify the identification of burials and other artifacts as evidence for the settlement of 'Germanic' peoples.[23] SS leader Heinrich Himmler was particularly interested in Germanic antiquity and incorporated much of these scholars' work into plans for German expansion.[24] The map for 'reconquest' of territories supposedly settled by early medieval 'Germans' was based on these scholars' interpretations of the texts and archaeological record, and the persecution of Jews and others by 'race' was in part justified by the narrative of German racial superiority these scholars helped bolster with their studies.

As with earlier wars, World War II significantly impacted on the views expressed in scholarly writing. In some cases, this came out as resentment: in 1947, the French scholar André Piganiol asserted that the barbarians had 'assassinated' the Roman Empire; in 1948, Pierre Courcelle's book on the 'grand invasions' of the barbarians drew clear parallels between fifth-century and twentieth-century events; and in 1961, André Loyen divided fifth-century Romans into either resisters or collaborators, and explicitly stated a parallel between barbarian invasions

---

[22] Otto Höfler, *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen* (Frankfurt, 1934); Otto Höfler, 'Das germanische Kontinuitätsproblem', *Historische Zeitschrift* 157 (1938), pp. 1–26; Wood, 'National Identities', pp. 76–7; Heinrich Härke, 'Archaeologists and migrations: a problem of attitude?', in Noble, p. 267; Herder, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*, p. 421; Alexander C. Murray, 'Reinhard Wenskus on "Ethnogenesis," Ethnicity, and the Origins of the Franks', in *OBI*, pp. 39–68; Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome*, p. 5. Even Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (Harmondsworth, 1985), pp. 186-7, 192, portrayed the Germans as rescuing Rome.

[23] Gustaf Kossinna, *Die Herkunft der Germanen: zur Methode der Siedlungsarchäologie* (Würzburg, 1911); Florin Curta, 'From Kossinna to Bromley: Ethnogenesis in Slavic Archaeology', in *OBI*, pp. 201–220; Hubert Fehr, 'Volkstum as Paradigm: Germanic People and Gallo-Romans in Early Medieval Archaeology since the 1930s', in *OBI*, esp. p. 184; Härke, 'Archaeologists and migrations', esp. pp. 267–8. See also pp. 17-19.

[24] Heinrich Härke, 'All Quiet on the Western Front? Paradigms, Methods, and Approaches in West German Archaeology', in Ian Hodder (ed.), *Archaeological Theory in Europe: The Last Three Decades* (London, 1991), pp. 205–6; Wood, 'National Identities', p. 77.

then and in his own time.[25] In many cases, however, the horrors perpetrated by the Nazis provoked a complete rethink for historians and social scientists alike, as both groups sought to find less racially-oriented ways of evaluating and discussing the subject of ethnicity than the nationalist paradigm.[26]

As many historians have drawn on the work of social scientists, I will discuss the latter's ideas briefly first. After the war, many from both groups began to frame their studies of both ethnicity and nationalism in terms of social relationships and common cultural elements rather than biological connections.[27] In 1969, Fredrik Barth defined ethnicity as a largely self-ascribed form of social organization dependent on the maintenance of boundaries which delineate cultural differences. He emphasized that ethnicity is a social construct, created by people to order their society, not something that exists naturally within them.[28] Since then, most scholars have embraced subjectivity and construction over objectivity and essentialism, but not all in the same way. Some difficulty lies in terms like 'construction' which can be taken to imply that *any* identity can be adopted at will at any time, identities are only adopted out of rational self-interest, and none of them is 'real'; on the contrary, most theorists see strict limits to which identities can be constructed and used under which circumstances (particularly that the identity adopted has to be believed by others in the community), stress that for many it is not a conscious or rational choice, and believe that for participants *all* ethnic identities are 'real' in

---

[25] André Piganiol, *L'empire chrétien (325-395)*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1972), pp. 465-6; Pierre Courcelle, *Histoire littéraire des grandes invasions germaniques*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1964), p. 255; André Loyen, 'Résistants et collaborateurs en Gaule à l'époque des Grandes Invasions', *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 23 (1963), pp. 437-50; Wood, 'National Identities', pp. 78–9; Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome*, pp. 173–4; Goffart, *Barbarian Tides*, p. 231.

[26] On rare occasions, older views were defended as containing still-useful elements, such as in H. Munro Chadwick, *The Nationalities of Europe and the Growth of National Ideologies* (Cambridge, 1945), pp. 50–90.

[27] Richard Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations*, 2nd ed. (London, 2008), pp. 10–15; Peter Heather, 'Ethnicity, Group Identity, and Social Status in the Migration Period', in Ildar H. Garipzanov, Patrick J. Geary, and Przemysław Urbańczyk (ed.), *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs* (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 17–49; Walter Pohl, 'Telling the Difference: Signs of Ethnic Identity', in Noble, pp. 122–3; Pohl, 'Strategies of Identification'; Marcus Banks, *Ethnicity: Anthropological Constructions* (London, 1996), pp. 11–47.

[28] Fredrik Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (London, 1969).

that they have significant effects on their world.[29] For example, George de Vos, while stating that ethnic identities can be 'invented' or manipulated to a person's advantage, also notes that an actual or perceived commonality is necessary for an identity to stick, and Richard Jenkins calls ethnic identity 'situationally variable and negotiable' but also often stubbornly persistent and argues for a middle ground between the primordialist belief in biological traits and the instrumentalist focus on intentional construction, fluidity, and flux in the face of the reality that many ethnic identities do *not* change easily.[30]

In dealing with what *sort* of social construct ethnicity is, some have defined it as about social relationships and systems of classification. Similar to Barth's focus on boundaries, Thomas Hylland Eriksen sees ethnicity as an aspect of a relationship rather than a property of a group, focused on what is different between 'us' and 'them'—and thus requiring both 'us' and 'them' to be pertinent. He cites both Claude Lévi-Strauss and Friedrich Nietzsche that the urge to classify, to reduce complexity and nuances along a spectrum into finite categories and polar opposites is common across humanity.[31] Michael Moerman observed in 1965 that being Lue meant calling oneself Lue and acting in ways that validate that identity so as to be accepted by others.[32] Rogers Brubaker takes a highly constructionist view and dispenses with the importance of groups entirely, seeing 'groupness' as becoming important only when particular relationships and identities are mobilized, for instance, when being in a group is economically or politically beneficial.[33]

---

[29] Patrick J. Geary, 'Ethnicity as a Situational Construct in the Early Middle Ages', *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 113 (1983), pp. 15–26; Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*, pp. 40–43; Walter Pohl, 'Conceptions of Ethnicity in Early Medieval Studies', in Little/Rosenwein, p. 17.

[30] George A. de Vos, 'Ethnic Pluralism: Conflict and Accommodation', in Lola Romanucci-Ross and George A. de Vos (eds.), *Ethnic Identity: Creation, Conflict, and Accommodation*, 3rd ed. (London, 1995), pp. 15-47; Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity*, pp. 47–53.

[31] Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives* (London, 1993), pp. 10–12, 18, 47, 60; Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (London, 1966); Friedrich Nietzsche, 'The Wanderer and His Shadow', in *Human, All Too Human* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 326.

[32] Michael Moerman, 'Ethnic Identification in a Complex Civilization: Who are the Lue?', *American Anthropologist* 67 (1965), p. 1219.

[33] Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups* (Cambridge, MA, 2006).

Others have focused on commonalities that hold a group together, coming up with anything from a list of specific criteria that serve as ethnic markers to a general category like 'values' or 'traditions' or 'memory' to criteria of any sort that happen to be important to members.[34] Edmund Leach's attempts to assemble a list of criteria for an ethnic group in Burma failed completely, illustrating that the commonalities outsiders might see are often less important to insiders than their *sense* of commonality.[35] The perception of commonality, rather than any list of actual commonalities, is not a new idea—Max Weber wrote about a subjective belief in common descent in the early twentieth century—but it is one that is taking more hold.[36] Moerman and de Vos include belief in their models; Clifford Geertz's 1975 *The Interpretation of Cultures* postulates that ethnicity is commonly believed to be inherent and natural; Stephen Cornell and Douglas Hartmann have discussed it as 'constructed primordiality', merging the actual constructed nature with the perception of an inherent nature; and even Anthony D. Smith with his checklist of elements comprising an ethnic identity includes belief in a myth of common origins as one of these criteria.[37] This diversity of views shows that ethnicity is a highly complex (and still poorly understood) phenomenon which is hard to penetrate and requires both precision and careful attention to its complicated nuances in order to understand.

Historians reacted to the war in much the same way as their social science counterparts: by seeking to challenge the correlation of ethnic ancestry with political units, and by reconceptualising ethnicity as socially rather than biologically constructed. In doing so, each group drew on their counterparts' ideas and proposed models of their own. The first to make a

---

[34] Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*; Hobsbawm (ed.), *The Invention of Tradition*; Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups*, pp. 33–5.

[35] Edmund R. Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure* (London, 1970), pp. 35-7, 285-8; Heather, 'Ethnicity', pp. 20–21.

[36] Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (Berkeley, 1978), p. 389.

[37] Moerman, 'Who are the Lue?', p. 1219; de Vos, 'Ethnic Pluralism', p. 18; Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), pp. 257–62; Stephen Cornell and Douglas Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, 2007), pp. 93-5; Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, on the 'myth-symbol complex', pp. 57–68; pp. 22–30, lists a collective name, a common myth of descent, a shared history, a distinctive shared culture, an association with a specific territory, and a sense of solidarity.

significant mark was Reinhard Wenskus, a professor at the University of Göttingen. In his 1961 *Habilitationschrift,* Wenskus proposed the *Traditionskern* theory, which discarded the assumption that ethnic identity was inherently biological in favour of a model of unifying traditions. According to Wenskus, ruling families among barbarian peoples possessed a key kernel of traditions that they then shared with their people; the adoption of this kernel of traditions made one a member of that people. These traditions could be expressed through dress, language, distinctive weapons, hairstyles, or other outward signs recognizable both within and outside the group. Beneath their belief in common origins, what truly defined them as an ethnic polity in Wenskus' opinion was not these signs but the political allegiance these signs represented.[38]

Wenskus' theory became better known via the work of Herwig Wolfram of the University of Vienna.[39] In his studies of the Goths, Wolfram has focused on the origin legends which held a group together in *Traditionskern* theory and the sacral kingship around which these legends were supposedly based, using philology to trace their potential sources. What is most historically significant to him is not whether the legends told were true but that they were desired—that common origins made better mythological glue than political decision did. He sees the elements of heroism and primordial deeds which appear in many of the stories he examines as a glimpse into what these people valued in their ancestry, true or not. Wolfram has also sought to refute the idea that the Germanic peoples of the ancient and early medieval world can be equated with modern Germans. He has noted that kingdoms founded by Germanic tribes after the fall of the Roman Empire drew heavily on Roman traditions; through these kingdoms, the Germanic peoples are part of the heritage of many European groups, not just the

[38] Reinhard Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung: Das Werden der Frühmittelalterlichen Gentes* (Cologne, 1961); Murray, 'Reinhard Wenskus'.

[39] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill also cited Wenskus, but less influentially. See *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 4-5, 11.

Germans. He also insists that there has never been a truly uniform 'people' or 'nation', biologically or otherwise.[40]

Wolfram's student, Walter Pohl, is the current leader of what has come to be known as the Vienna School. Initially, Pohl supported many of Wolfram's ideas about the centrality of a belief in common origins while rejecting much of the original *Traditionskern* theory (as even Wolfram himself has done to some degree), but he has gradually come to redefine ethnicity in the early medieval period entirely, moving our understanding beyond the single 'kernel of traditions' model to a wider model of varied perceptions, circumstances, and modes of identification.[41] His stance now, after many years of examining and reevaluating the sources as well as theories of ethnicity and identity, is that, while a belief in common origins and kinship is more marked in ethnic groups than in other social groups, it is not essential; what is essential is the belief that an ethnic identity is something ingrained, a deep structure that is thought to be unchangeable. The difference, as he sees it, between ethnic and other forms of identity is that religious, political, and urban identities, for example, have an external reference point around which they are built—a set of precepts promoted by a particular church, a territorial unit ruled by a particular king, or a particular city with its rural territory and local traditions. Ethnic identities, however, centre around an abstract sense of common nature, of some inherent and unchangeable quality, not any constant, solid point of external reference.[42] He also recognizes that the many 'visions of community' in the early Middle Ages incorporated religious, political, urban, and other identities alongside ethnic ones and advocates studying them together.[43] Many of Pohl's students, and subsequently their own students and other readers of their work,

---

[40] Wolfram, *The Roman Empire and Its Germanic Peoples*; Wolfram, *History of the Goths*; Herwig Wolfram, '"Origo et religio": Ethnic Traditions and Literature in Early Medieval Texts', *EME* 3 (1994), pp. 19–38; Herwig Wolfram, 'Auf der Suche nach der Ursprüngen', in *Die Suche*, pp. 11–22; Herwig Wolfram, 'How Many Peoples are in a People?', in *VoC*.

[41] Pohl, 'Telling', pp. 122-3; 'Walter Pohl, 'Ethnicity, Theory, and Tradition: A Response', in *OBI*, pp. 221-40; Pohl, 'Conceptions', esp. pp. 16-17, 21-2.

[42] Pohl, 'Strategies of Identification', outlines his revised position. A look at the bibliography shows he has considered the work of most of the social scientists discussed above.

[43] Walter Pohl, 'Introduction: Ethnicity, Religion, and Empire', in *VoC*, pp. 5–6, 8; Pohl, 'Strategies of Identification'.

have adopted and expanded on his views to provide a wide variety of ways in which we can understand early medieval identities without succumbing to essentialist rhetoric, from comparison with religious and political identities to analysis of authorial strategies to make ethnic discourse work (or not) for their personal aims.[44]

Another school of thought developed in parallel to the Viennese, beginning with Walter Goffart of the University of Toronto. Goffart was born to a Belgian diplomat in 1934 and escaped with his mother on the last train out of Belgrade before the Nazis arrived there in 1939, and his hostility to the Germans is clear in his scholarship.[45] In most of his work, he argues for the co-participation of barbarian tribes and Romans in changing the empire, with each group choosing to adopt elements of the other, and against an overreliance on linguistic or philological evidence. He is famous for his theory of accommodation, which states that tribal settlers within Roman territory were not invaders but guests entering on Roman terms. However, in an article from 2008, he has removed the legacy of Germanic or barbarian tribes entirely, arguing that because the barbarians settled in Roman provinces and adopted Roman ways at the empire's encouragement, these peoples ceased to be barbarians and became Roman. Thus the successors to the Roman Empire were not Germanic barbarians but Romans, and through them Roman civilization fathered the early medieval kingdoms 'without interruption'.[46] In his 2006 *Barbarian Tides*, Goffart states that his central concern is to 'liberate barbarian history from the German nationalism that has suffused it ever since the sixteenth century,' a goal which he accomplishes in part by using the term 'barbarian' rather than 'Germanic,' thus including tribes which were not Germanic-speaking. He considers ideas about collective movement or migration, unity of Germanic tribes, a great ancient civilization that preceded modern Germany, and authentic oral traditions that attest to an ancient migration out of Scandinavia to be hallmarks of this Germanist interpretation. These elements were certainly mainstays of

[44] See, for example, the collected articles in *T&I*; *SoD; VoC*; and *SoI.*
[45] Alexander C. Murray, 'Introduction: Walter André Goffart', in *ARF*, pp. 3-7.
[46] Walter Goffart, 'Rome's Final Conquest: The Barbarians', *History Compass* 6, no. 3 (2008), p. 860.

nineteenth-century nationalist arguments, and Goffart alleges that Wenskus and Wolfram perpetuate them. Despite such a different outlook from the Vienna school, Goffart does share some views with Pohl, including the diversity and disunity of the tribes beyond Rome's borders and the lack of direct connection between modern Germans and earlier tribes.[47]

Three other scholars are generally associated with the Toronto school through their studies at the University of Toronto under Goffart's tenure. Alexander C. Murray follows his mentor's lead in specifically attacking *Traditionskern* and the Vienna school, which he sees as both employing bad evidence and, in recent years, reviving ideas of biological kinship which Wenskus had rejected. In his view, ethnicity had little to do with political allegiance in the ancient and early medieval world. What ethnicity *was* based on, he does not say.[48] Andrew Gillett continues the trend by pointing out misdirection and selective source use by supporters of *Traditionskern* theories, here termed 'ethnogenesis' theories. Many works influenced by the Vienna School use this term, deliberately adopted by Wolfram in the 1980s, to refer to heterogeneous peoples uniting under a common myth, though not necessarily under a strict *Traditionskern* model as Gillett means. For Gillett, ethnicity was not a coherent, purposeful ideology; it could not have been strong enough to serve as the basis for the creation of barbarian peoples. Military force, rather than ethnic ideology, provided the impetus for individuals to cohere into groups.[49] Finally, Michael Kulikowski has taken a slightly different approach than his predecessors. While he critiques flaws in the ethnogenesis approach, he also notes its valuable contributions, including a demonstration of the malleability of ethnic identity. He sees early medieval ethnicity as being culturally rather than biologically based, and

[47] Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans*; Goffart, *Barbarian Tides*; Goffart, 'Impinge'; Goffart, *Rome's Fall and After*, chapters 1, 2, and 5.
[48] Murray, 'Reinhard Wenskus'.
[49] Andrew Gillett, 'Was Ethnicity Politicized in the Earliest Medieval Kingdoms?', in *OBI*, pp. 85–122; Andrew Gillett, 'Ethnogenesis: A Contested Model of Early Medieval Europe', *History Compass* 4, no. 2 (2006), pp. 241–260.

emphasizes the difference between Roman beliefs about ethnicity and actual ethnic origins: the former we can know but the latter we cannot.[50]

Many historians, of course, are products of neither school. When considered alongside them, their ideas about the importance of ethnicity in the early medieval world and the role of barbarian groups in that world's change form a spectrum between two extremes. At one end lies Peter Heather, who has focused his study on the Goths and Huns (and, now, also Slavs) in the late Roman era. Heather acknowledges some positive aspects of *Traditionskern* but feels it is insufficient as a whole. He envisions the tradition spreading to a wider percentage of the population, which he calls a 'caste of freemen'; this caste can preserve ethnic identity in the absence of a ruling dynasty. In studying the Goths, he depicts ethnic identity as an 'internal attitude' which may be expressed in different situations through various symbols but cannot be created by them, implying that it is a fixed category, though he is willing to see varying degrees of malleability within it and to see the possibility of recategorization. Heather envisions multiple layers of identity, some ethnic and some not, and, despite criticizing Kossinna's ethnic ascription approach to archaeology, he practices it himself.[51] Among historians, he comes closest to suggesting ethnicity is inherent and places the greatest emphasis on barbarian importance.

Next along the spectrum lies the Vienna school, and an American historian, Patrick Geary, who thinks mainly along Viennese lines. Geary introduced the concept of ethnicity as a 'situational construct' to mainstream historical scholarship through a 1983 article.[52] He concurs with the Vienna school's evaluation of the importance of a core of tradition and beliefs in a common ancestor, although he proposes that it was possible for this *Traditionskern* to be disseminated beyond a royal family or elite; he does not, however, take it as far as Heather. In

---

[50] Michael Kulikowski, 'Nation versus Army: A Necessary Contrast?', in *OBI*, pp. 69–84; Michael Kulikowski, 'Ethnicity, Rulership, and Early Medieval Frontiers', in Florin Curta (ed.), *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 247–54.

[51] Heather, pp. 4–7. 169, 309; Peter Heather, 'The Creation of the Visigoths', in *Visigoths*, esp. p. 59; Heather, *Goths and Romans,* esp. pp. 181, 330; Peter Heather, *Empires and Barbarians: The Fall of Rome and the Birth of Europe* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 386-451. On Kossinna and archaeology, see pp. 8, 17-19.

[52] Geary, 'Situational Construct', pp. 15–26.

his view, even the groups which were more decentralized, such as the Slavs and the Alamanni, were social constructions which occurred in specific situations for specific purposes. Their identities were thus capable of constant transformation as circumstances changed.[53] In common with both schools, Geary rejects the ideas of ancient Germanic unity and of modern German nationalist ownership of barbarian history and sees the barbarians as eager to participate in, and being greatly transformed by, the Roman world.[54]

At the other extreme, after the Toronto school, whose members tend to grant both ethnicity and barbarians less importance, is Patrick Amory. Amory privileges region and profession over ethnicity as more cohesive forms of community and prefers in his study of Ostrogothic Italy to see 'Romans' as the civil servants and 'Goths' as members of the army no matter their family backgrounds. In his estimation, historians pay too little attention to the invention of tradition posited by the Vienna school and to reasons for individuals to claim a specific ethnic label. People were given ethnic labels for specific reasons, and learning what these reasons were is Amory's goal when studying ethnicity. His work is controversial because his assertion that 'Goth' was probably just a label with no ethnic identity formed around it comes perilously close to suggesting that there were no Goths at all.[55]

A similar spectrum can be seen among archaeologists' views, which bear mentioning here because of their influence on the historical debate. Greatly influencing Heather are the proponents—to one degree or another—of Kossinna's ethnic ascription theory. They believe that the distinctive material cultures represented by artifacts correspond to specific population

[53] Patrick J. Geary, 'Barbarians and Ethnicity', in G. W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar (eds.), *Interpreting Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), esp. pp. 108-10.

[54] Geary, *Myth*; Patrick J. Geary, *Before France and Germany: The Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World* (New York, 1988), pp. vi–vii, 5, 43, 50–55.

[55] Patrick Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489-554* (Cambridge, 1997); Patrick Amory, 'Ethnographic Rhetoric, Aristocratic Attitudes, and Political Allegiance in Post-Roman Gaul', *Klio* 76 (1994), pp. 438–53; Amory, 'Meaning and Purpose'.

groups which we see in textual sources.[56] In the middle are Bonnie Effros and Florin Curta. Effros has argued that objects represent social mores, not biological groups, and that while there may be correlations, we can never determine how much 'ethnic self-consciousness' given individuals and communities displayed. Ethnicity, to her, is only one factor among many which may have influenced people's choices of social practice.[57] Curta argues that being unable to align archaeological 'culture provinces' with ethnic groups does not mean archaeology has nothing to say about ethnicity; like Effros, he believes we can see traces of social practice which may or may not relate to ethnic identification and can learn from them about the ways people chose to portray themselves within various social constructions, including ethnic ones.[58] He also argues that archaeology has moved on to a more nuanced understanding of ethnicity than staunch opponents of Kossinna's approach acknowledge.[59] His in-depth study of the Slavs demonstrates the construction of a people through contact with and labelling by Byzantine outsiders, and although they were a social construction, the Slavs in his view were based in part on a preexisting cultural identity which served as the raw material from which to create a new identity.[60] At the other end of the spectrum are Guy Halsall and Sebastian Brather, who support the abandonment of archaeology as a tool for understanding ethnic identity. Brather, while

---

[56] Volker Bierbrauer, 'Zur ethnischen Interpretation in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie', in *Die Suche*, pp. 45–84; Volker Bierbrauer, 'Archäologie und Geschichte der Goten vom 1.-7. Jahrhundert: Versuch einer Bilanz', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 28 (1994), pp. 51-171; Michel Kazanski, 'The Ostrogoths and the Princely Civilization of the Fifth Century', in *Ostrogoths*, pp. 81–112; Michel Kazanski, *Les Goths: (Ier-VIIe siècles ap. J.-C.)* (Paris, 1991); Gian Pietro Brogiolo, 'Towns, Forts, and the Countryside: Archaeological Models for Northern Italy in the Early Lombard Period (AD 568-650)', in Gian Pietro Brogiolo, Nancy Gauthier, and Neil Christie (eds.), *Towns and Their Territories Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 320–22. Against these views, Sebastian Brather, 'Ethnic Identities as Constructions of Archaeology: The Case of the Alamanni', in *OBI*, pp. 149–176; Curta, 'From Kossinna to Bromley'; Amory, *People and Identity*, pp. 332–7.

[57] Bonnie Effros, *Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 2003), pp. 100–110; Bonnie Effros, *Uncovering the Germanic Past: Merovingian Archaeology in France, 1830-1914* (Oxford, 2012).

[58] Florin Curta, 'Some Remarks on Ethnicity in Early Medieval Archaeology', *EME* 15, no. 2 (2007), pp. 162, 165–7, 178–81, 184–5.

[59] Florin Curta, 'review of Sebastian Brather, Ethnische Interpretationen in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie: Geschichte, Grundlagen und Alternativen', *Archaeologica Bulgarica* 10 (2006), p. 91. This is the same point Pohl makes about historians criticizing Wenskus and earlier theorists in Pohl, 'Response', p. 222.

[60] Florin Curta, *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500-700* (Cambridge, 2001). See also his critiques of ethnic ascription in Curta, 'From Kossinna to Bromley'.

acknowledging that collective identities are constructed, seems not to consider ethnicity to be among them, arguing that artifacts can only tell us about social distinctions, not ethnic ones. He also sees the archaeological record as randomly created and thus not involving social construction of identities or of representations of the past.[61] Guy Halsall acknowledges that it is possible specific artifacts had ethnic connotations when worn by specific people in specific contexts, but stresses that we cannot tell this from the archaeological record alone, or even probably from a combination of archaeology and historical sources. He rightly emphasizes that objects themselves do not have ethnicity, and any such connotation they may have had stem entirely from how they were used. He believes archaeologists tend to use ethnicity as an explanation because the sources condition them to see it, and if the same evidence appeared in a prehistoric context, it would not occur to them that ethnicity was at play at all.[62]

The debate between the Vienna and Toronto schools has generated a considerable amount of polemic and diatribe, as may perhaps be expected of a topic which can be very personal to people. Florin Curta describes it as 'increasingly politicized' and 'polemic', Ian Wood has called it 'an intellectual war', Guy Halsall considers Goffart's criticism 'an attack,' Walter Pohl, who has been a target of much of the hostility, has spoken of the 'polemic fervour' with which the debate took hold in North America and the 'misapprehensions and defamatory accusations' which plague it, and Thomas F.X. Noble and Carole Cusack have also noted this problem.[63] Peter Heather has written on the volume edited by Gillett, which includes only one essay from a Viennese point of view while all the rest attack this view, that it brings 'little more

---

[61] Sebastian Brather, *Ethnische Interpretationen in der Frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie: Geschichte, Grundlagen Und Alternativen* (Berlin, 2004), pp. 328, 615, 622; Brather, 'Constructions', p. 170.

[62] Guy Halsall, 'The Origins of the Reihengräberzivilisation: Forty Years On', in Drinkwater/Elton, esp. p. 201; Guy Halsall, *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul: Selected Studies in History and Archaeology, 1992-2009* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 155–67; Guy Halsall, 'Ethnicity and Early Medieval Cemeteries', *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval* 18 (2011), pp. 18–19, 25. See also Philipp von Rummel, *Habitus barbarus: Kleidung und Repräsentation spätantiker Eliten im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 2007), pp. 59–64; Siân Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London, 1997), esp. pp. 106-27.

[63] Curta, 'Remarks', p. 160; Wood, 'National Identities', p. 79; Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*; Pohl, 'Response', pp. 222, 239; Noble, p. 91; Carole M. Cusack, 'review of Andrew Gillett (ed.), On Barbarian Identity', *Parergon* 20, no. 1 (2003), pp. 228–9.

than negativity' to the debate, both in terms of the polemical tone and bad manners of one side of the debate dominating the book and getting the last word, and in that it criticizes but does not suggest alternatives.[64]

Pohl suggests that the study of early medieval ethnicity 'has always been most pervaded by ideology and partisan scholarship.' Given that modern nations tend to look to this era for their roots, it is an unsurprising insight.[65] In this context, what one says about the Franks, for example, can be interpreted as pertaining to modern French or Germans—and, as we have seen, has been so interpreted for centuries. The role of ethnicity in Nazi ideology makes the subject all the more touchy. It is hard to speak in a neutral way about barbarian or Germanic tribes when many of those involved in discussion remember or are old enough to have heard first-hand accounts of the suffering Nazi ideology caused. Wolfram believes such first-hand experience is why some have so strongly rejected notions of Germanic sacral kingship. He is referring to the Czech historian František Graus and the Austrian Otto Maenchen-Helfen, but the same could as easily apply to anyone who was present in Europe at the time, such as Goffart.[66]

Sensitivity about the Nazis' actions is exacerbated by Goffart and Murray associating the Vienna school with the Nazis and with the German nationalism they built upon. Goffart would disagree with this statement, yet the evidence is not in his favour. Murray is most direct in his correlation. Carole Cusack can find no motivation for his superfluous mention of Otto Höfler and his Nazi patron Heinrich Himmler in an article about Wenskus other than 'possibly to taint Wenskus by association'.[67] Goffart states in one article that Wenskus 'rescued the discipline of Germanic antiquity ... which risked total discredit after the [events] of 1945' then proceeded to remake the discipline's continuous peoples with new wording but looking essentially the same. The impression Goffart gives is that the pre-war study of the Germanic peoples was discredited

[64] Heather, 'Ethnicity', pp. 33–6. Herwig Wolfram, *Gotische Studien: Volk und Herrschaft im frühen Mittelalter* (Munich, 2005), p. 11, agrees.
[65] Pohl, 'Response', p. 223; Walter Pohl, 'Introduction: Strategies of Distinction', in *SoD*, p. 7.
[66] Wolfram, 'Origo et religio', p. 25.
[67] Cusack, 'review of Andrew Gillett (ed.), On Barbarian Identity', p. 228.

because it had much in common with Nazi ideology; he then adds that Wenskus is continuing these ideas under a new name, implying he has something in common with Nazi ideology.[68] The denunciation, as Ian Wood terms it, may be unintentional on Goffart's part, but the effect is the same regardless.[69] His reply to claims of defamation is that 'belated denazification' is a minor concern among the 'transgressions of national pasts' which plague the idea of Germanic continuity to the point that it damages 'everything it touches.'[70] The connection of certain negative ideas with specific countries is a dangerous one, and one which he makes more directly earlier on the same page when he says that Wolfram is 'listened to with approval in all countries that care about the subject'.

Labels and misdirections in this debate do not all pertain to World War II, nor do they all come from the Toronto school. Luis García Moreno, a Spanish historian who has been influenced by *Traditionskern* theory, speculates that naysayers are 'prey to some anachronistic ideological prejudices' and dismisses an argument because of the author's 'Romanist point of view'.[71] Wolfram suggests, perhaps unfairly, that Goffart disagrees with his theories out of a dislike for the idea of continuity of traditions, which may have prompted Goffart to remark that Wolfram does not take his opponents seriously and that *Traditionskern* theorists suffer from 'tenacious nostalgia'.[72] When Wolfram complains of being persecuted, Goffart points to the honours he has won as if accolades from some would alter the barbs of others.[73] Both sides hint at dire consequences, whether world war or modern ethnic conflict, if their views are not adopted.[74] Older works are attacked and more recent scholars lumped in with them as if

---

[68] Goffart, 'Impinge', p. 31.
[69] Wood, 'National Identities', p. 79.
[70] Goffart, *Barbarian Tides*, pp. 51–2.
[71] Luis A. García Moreno, 'History through Family Names in the Visigothic Kingdoms of Toulouse and Toledo', *Cassiodorus: Rivista di studi sulla tarda antichità* 4 (1998), p. 183; Luis A. García Moreno, 'Building an Ethnic Identity for a New Gothic and Roman Nobility: Córdoba, 615 AD', in *Romans, Barbarians*, p. 273 n. 18. Goffart, 'Impinge'; p. 21.
[72] Wolfram, 'Origo et religio', p. 36; Goffart, *Barbarian Tides*, pp. 20, 32.
[73] Herwig Wolfram, 'Gothic History as Historical Ethnography', in Noble, p. 43; Goffart, *Barbarian Tides*, p. 51.
[74] Murray, 'Reinhard Wenskus', pp. 49–50; Goffart, *Barbarian Tides*, p. 51; Geary, *Myth*, p. 9, 12-14, 33-7.

nothing has changed, a tactic aimed at labelling others as Germanists, nationalists, or intellectual descendants of rivals in the hope that the negative qualities associated with the label will transfer to the target.[75] Single sentences are taken as reason to dismiss entire arguments, and juxtaposition of names and terms leads readers to make associations which may not be valid.[76] All of these are poor methods to use when analysing sources; they are no less poor when analysing historiography.

Much of this rhetoric has more to do with the preconceptions and prejudices of the individuals involved than with the actual content and conclusions of participants' research. Both sides, in fact, agree that ethnic identities cannot be discussed as if they are inherent in people's genetic makeup but are truly social constructs developed to help make sense of a complex society. What they disagree on is how to deal with the baggage of essentialist views of ethnicity and what we can glean about identities from our sources.

My Interpretation

My view of what ethnicity is—and is not—has certainly drawn on a number of the ideas raised in this debate, but none so much as Walter Pohl's. His most recent detailing of his position, which likewise draws on the full range of ideas under debate, is both exceedingly thorough and quite similar to my own.[77] I see ethnic identity, like any other identity, as pertaining to how people relate to others and are categorized with or against others, as Eriksen and Barth have shown. It is a way for us to organize our social world, and in that respect is a social construct. It is not, however, constructed in a vacuum; the ethnic identities available to any individual are limited by their believability, their social context, and the ability of the individual's mind to conceptualize and cope with a change to his sense of self. For example, a person from Spain may look enough like an Italian to pass as one but not be accepted as native

[75] Pohl, 'Response', p. 222, commenting on essays in that volume.
[76] Ibid.; Goffart, *Barbarian Tides*, p. 20.
[77] Pohl, 'Strategies of Identification'.

Japanese, may be called 'Latino' in the United States although this label would not be used in his Spanish homeland, and may have been raised in Italy but still feel significant connection to his Spanish roots to perceive himself as ethnically Spanish. Additionally, different people may ascribe different ethnic identities to the same individual. If we had three written accounts of this individual from a border control agent, a Chinese tourist in Italy, and a friend from his hometown of Barcelona, they might all assign him a different identity: Spanish based on his passport, Italian because he looks like everyone else nearby, and Catalan because he speaks the Catalan language as his native one. They categorize him differently based on the information they have, their assumptions about him, and the registers at which they make their classification.

Perception is thus crucial to ethnic identification. Like the modern example above, early medieval authors assigned people in their texts the ethnic identity (or identities) they perceived these individuals to have, whether or not those individuals themselves would agree. On the rare occasions in which we have someone attested with some form of ethnic descriptor in multiple sources, we may see the authors agreeing or disagreeing about his ethnic identity, but disagreement is not necessarily a puzzle we need to solve; it is more likely that the authors each perceived him differently based on their own assumptions about who should fall into which categories than that he had a major personal identity crisis. These assumptions are based on markers that signal a potential difference or commonality (whether true or not) within a given society, and while there are common ones like language, dress, physical characteristics, and names, these markers are completely variable depending on the society and context.[78] The range of available possibilities in which to categorize someone—what Pohl terms 'discourses of ethnicity'—change across time and place, and when the discourses change, individuals may increasingly be categorized differently. Therefore, while outward signs like language can be valuable markers, it is people's reactions to them, their perceptions, and when and why they

[78] This is contrary to Smith's itemization of necessary elements and the reliance upon a kernel of tradition of Wenskus, Wolfram, and Heather.

make the identifications they do which tell us the most about how ethnic identification worked in a given society.

All of this is true of any form of identity, though some forms are more flexible than others. What, then, makes an identity ethnic? It is not that it is biological, as was once assumed, nor is it generic enough to describe any and all coherent groups ('female' and 'Buddhist', for example, are not considered ethnic terms). It is a social construct, but a particular kind of one that rests on a perception that it is *not* constructed but inherent, essential, unchangeable, and integral to one's deepest self, or as Pohl puts it, 'an expression of a natural order'.[79] Ethnic identities are thus both flexible and thought to be permanent. This makes them stand out from other identities which are commonly acknowledged as changeable, such as political, religious, cultural, and (in many societies) class; perhaps only gender, and in some places race, are so strongly entrenched. As Pohl argues, these other identities have a frame of reference outside of individuals themselves, and are thus easier to envision as shifting.

Pohl also argues, as I have already noted, that a belief in common origins, while frequent, is not necessary to make an identity ethnic. He has come to this conclusion based on the limited evidence we have of early medieval origin legends that prevents us from definitely stating that they existed for all ethnic groups. I think this puts too much importance on the *Traditionskern* theory's emphasis on coherent *origines gentium*, and ultimately on a need for a logical reason (true or false) to feel kinship. It is sufficient to know that one's ancestors were 'Franks' to feel a commonality with other Franks; one need not account for how they or their near or distant ancestors became Franks. Therefore, I argue, we can see evidence that people believed their 'Romanness' or 'Frankishness' was anchored in common biological, territorial, or other origins through their use of terms like *genus* and *natio* which referred to birth, *stirps* referring to roots, and others associated with family and intrinsic nature. I would, then, include the belief that ethnic identity is inherited as part of my definition of ethnicity.

[79] Pohl, 'Strategies of Identification'.

This belief may seem incompatible with the possibility of ethnic change in practice. How, after all, can someone who believes ethnic identity is inherited reconcile a father and son with different identities? The answer, I think, lies in the interrelationship between ethnicity and other modes of identification, and in the shifting discourse of ethnicity over time. Ethnic identities often overlap with cultural, regional, religious, and political identities which are also represented with ethnonyms. Briefly, as the first two of these arise only rarely in my study, a cultural identity pertains to exposure to and adoption of cultural elements—being educated in a Roman manner or learning eloquence in the Latin language to a high standard, for example; and a regional identity relates to a geographical area which may be a sub-unit of a larger polity, and which can—but does not always—develop ethnic significance. A religious identity is fundamentally based on an individual's choice of faith profession, but this choice may run along broadly ethnic lines (as with Arian Goths and Catholic Romans in sixth-century Spain, or Jews whose historical isolation led to significant intermarriage within the religious community), and is often influenced by one's family. We will see religious identity as particularly important in Visigothic Spain.

The most important of these identities for this study is political identity, defined as one which relates to a political unit: a kingdom, a country, or a city-state, for example. It is constitutional, theoretically open to all residents of the polity or subjects of its leaders (though not always in practice). A person's political and ethnic identities can be the same, but they do not *need* to be; one could be a 'Frank' as a subject of the Frankish king or, in particular, as a soldier in his army but still be ethnically Roman or Burgundian. For members of a dominant group, this is a less noticeable distinction, as they frequently use the same words for their political and ethnic identities (or if not, the two are used interchangeably), but for those who are not dominant, it matters far more; the English may confuse or conflate 'English' and 'British', for example, but the Scots and the Welsh would not. Often writers and leaders draw on distinction between political and ethnic identities to promote a strong polity, whether by encouraging

assimilation—for example, equating political 'Gothicness' with ethnic 'Gothicness' (*and* religious 'Gothicness', in the case of Isidore of Seville and contemporary kings)—or by employing the rhetoric of a multi-ethnic state (as in the United States). Despite clear modern examples, this theoretical distinction is the one most likely to trip up historians, as there is often significant overlap between political and ethnic identities, and both scholarly and popular discourse tends to assume these identities are—or should be—the same. However, as I will show in the main chapters of this study, there were also individuals in the early medieval period whose political and ethnic identities did not match, and their 'in-between' status provides the best insight into what identities like 'Goth' and 'Roman' meant at the time and how their meanings came to change.

None of these categories is rigid, and there is considerable overlap. For example, in Merovingian Gaul, there were often three Frankish kingdoms—Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy—which were thought of as part of a single whole. 'Frankish' could be a political identity for all residents, while 'Neustrian' and 'Austrasian' could be political identities referring to subsets of those residents and simultaneously regional identities for those living in the regions called Neustria and Austrasia. 'Burgundian', uniquely, could also be ethnic because it had referred to a separate ethnic group before the region of Burgundy became part of the Merovingian kingdoms, and the ethnic association happened to persist.[80] Ethnic identities can, in fact, develop from political or regional units, when circumstances lead people to rally around one of these units in opposition to another and the discourse surrounding it shifts to develop ethnic nuances—with language implying their affiliations are inherent, natural, and permanent rather than chosen or circumstantial.[81] It is the very fact that no form of identity is rigidly bounded and inflexible that makes the shift in discourse possible. Through this shift, a father or

[80] See below, pp. 186-8, 216-17.

[81] Heather, 'The Barbarian in Late Antiquity', pp. 254–5, hints at this with 'recategorization', as does Helmut Reimitz, 'The Providential Past: Visions of Frankish Identity in the Early Medieval History of Gregory of Tours' Historiae (6th – 9th cent.)', in *VoC*, pp. 109-35, with Gregory and Fredegar's fashioning of new visions of community for Gaul. See also Pohl, 'Strategies of Identification'; the collection of articles in *VoC*.

grandfather could feel ethnically Spanish but the son or grandson who grew up in a more regionalized post-Franco environment could identify ethnically as Catalan, or a father serving in a Merovingian Frankish court and army but known to be of Roman parentage could be politically Frankish but ethnically Roman, and his son, further removed from that Roman inheritance, could connect more with the Frankish aspects of his father's identity and come to see himself and be seen by others as ethnically a Frank. Both sons inherited their identities from birth, but the mode in which those identities came to operate had changed.

That ethnonyms—the terms used to label ethnic identities—are also used for other modes of identification makes such shifts both easier to occur and harder for historians to detect. For example, 'Goth' in the period of this study could have a political nuance referring to the ruler of the Visigothic kingdom, a religious nuance signalling a particular faith profession, or an ethnic nuance based on presumed ancestry, while 'Frank' could have either a political or an ethnic flavour. When we conflate these different modes of identification, historians often misunderstand who was considered a 'Goth' when, and why.[82] Only by distinguishing among the nuances (political, ethnic, religious) with which an ethnonym was used in a given period, or within a given source, can we see the shifts of mentality and social discourse which allowed an ethnic identity like 'Roman' to fade and another like 'Goth' or 'Frank' to be adopted.[83] While some scholars, particularly in Vienna, have begun to acknowledge the importance of studying different types of identification in relation to each other, have written about the fluidity of ethnic boundaries, and have promoted studies of the available 'visions of community' within a given social discourse as a way to understand identity in the early Middle Ages, the merging of all three concepts into a theory of how people's perceptions can effect ethnic change and a method to detect it in the sources is my own.

[82] See below, pp. 96-9, 124-5, 131-3.

[83] 'Ethnonym', as it implies ethnicity through the root 'ethn-', is an imperfect term, but I hope it will better facilitate distinguishing among the ways one can be used than 'ethnic term' does.

Fact and Fiction

In addition to studies of ethnicity and identity, my work also builds on that of literary theory, which historians have turned to in recent decades for a new understanding of the construction of early medieval texts. A movement known as the 'linguistic turn', which took off in the 1970s but is rooted in earlier twentieth-century philosophy, put forth the idea that language does not just reflect the world but helps create it. Language could be understood as a system of symbols, a reflection of the social world and the mentality of the speaker, a conscious means of altering an environment, or a subconscious reflection of a common discourse in society.[84] The structures common to a particular genre of writing, and the mentality and social context of the author, affect the linguistic and metaphorical constructions that author uses, and we can try to reverse the process to get a glimpse of what that context is. The repercussions of this idea on our reading of historical texts have been profound: first a dismantling of the perception that sources could be neatly divided into fact and fiction (though there are many who still believe this), followed by a concern that *everything* is fiction, and finally the creation of new methods to tease out facts and perceptions *from* the fictions.

Earlier generations of historians viewed primary sources as either trustworthy records of solid facts or fictional tales of little use. Gregory of Tours was especially valued as a historian because he was seen as naïve and therefore a faithful recorder of his actual surroundings. Hagiographical texts were mined for basic information about people and places but otherwise viewed with disdain because of their fanciful miracle stories and an abundance of conventional motifs.[85] Once historians started examining how authors selected information and used language to construct texts according to their own biases and goals, concerns about how much sources could be trusted arose, not just within history but also in disciplines like anthropology,

[84] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past As Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (London, 1997), esp. the introduction and pp. 4-16, 24-8, 35; Gabrielle M. Spiegel (ed.), *Practicing History: New Directions in Historical Writing After the Linguistic Turn* (Abingdon, 2005), esp. pp. 2-5, 10-14.

[85] Fouracre/Gerberding, p. 38; Paul Fouracre, 'Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography', *Past and Present* 127 (1990), pp. 3–5.

which relied on subjective ethnographic descriptions.[86] We can see this in critiques of Wolfram's study of origin legends, of Pohl's search for traces of communication about ethnicity, and of Goffart's literary reading of texts.[87] Now, however, historians look at both types of sources in a new light. Walter Goffart's seminal work on the role of historians as narrators and creators of their own stories brought the idea that 'histories' were not simple recordings of fact but works constructed for a purpose and incorporating authors' biases into the mainstream.[88] Rosamond McKitterick has studied the ways Carolingian historians assembled their texts to attain specific goals, how later readers adapted them for their own purposes, and what this can tell us about their perceptions of their history and society.[89] Walter Pohl has used tools of source criticism and textual analysis to re-envision early medieval texts as traces of communication about social problems and as negotiations of identity within contemporary social discourse.[90] Helmut Reimitz's recent work on the *Histories* of Gregory of Tours and the *Chronicle* of Fredegar has shown the role played by the goals and ideologies of compilers and copyists in the formation of the texts which survive today, in addition to those of the authors themselves. His insights into both the ways authors hoped to influence their societies through their writing and how they drew upon and situated their ideas within an existing discourse on ethnic identities to do so has transformed our conception of both these writings and their contemporary societies.[91]

---

[86] Clifford Geertz, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Oxford, 1988), p. 2; Sherry B. Ortner (ed.), *The Fate of 'Culture': Geertz and Beyond* (Berkeley, 1999); James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley, 1986).

[87] Andrew Gillett, 'Introduction: Ethnicity, History, and Methodology', in *OBI*, pp. 8, 15; Pohl, 'Response', pp. 222, 227; C.R. Bowlus, 'Ethnogenesis: The Tyranny of a Concept', in *OBI*,p. 248; Wolfram, 'Origo et religio', pp. 70–71, 75, 83; Noble, p. 13.

[88] Walter Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, 1988).

[89] Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Audience for Latin Historiography in the Early Middle Ages: Text Transmission and Manuscript Dissemination', in Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter (eds.), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1994), pp. 96–114; Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (New York, 2004); Rosamond McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 2006).

[90] Pohl, 'Strategies of Identification'.

[91] Helmut Reimitz, 'Social Networks and Identities in Frankish Historiography: New Aspects of the Textual History of Gregory of Tours' Historiae', in *Construction*, pp. 229–68; Helmut Reimitz, 'The Art of Truth: Historiography and Identity in the Frankish World', in *T&I*, pp. 87–104; Reimitz, 'Providential Past'; Reimitz, 'Cultural Brokers'.

Similarly, hagiographical works have come to be seen on their own terms and valued as repositories of assumptions, values, and perceptions of their authors and contemporaries, rather than as the frustrating documents from which to extract 'reliable' information that scholars like Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison saw.[92] We can look to these sources to learn about what Christians found important in their saints, what qualities a saint was expected to have, and how hagiographers attributed these qualities to people of questionable sanctity. We can also examine the purpose a hagiographical *Life* could serve in a community, as a way to promote a city as a spiritual centre and its bishop as a powerful figure, or as a tool to promote moral behaviour and encourage donations or other actions for the benefit of the local church and community. Friedrich Prinz and František Graus—long before the linguistic turn took hold—developed new ways to analyse hagiographical texts by taking their context and the intentions of the genre into account, thus gaining insight into contemporary religious views and mentalities.[93] Peter Brown introduced historians to the mental world behind saints' cults and the powerful function sanctity could have in late antique society, and others like Clare Stancliffe and Patrick Geary have since done studies on specific cults and the importance of relics to them.[94] Paul Fouracre has looked at three Merovingian saints' *Lives* in depth to show how much they invented, as well as drew upon, existing traditions.[95]

---

[92] Generally on hagiography, see Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints: An Introduction to Hagiography* (Dublin, 1998); Jacques Dubois and Jean-Loup Lemaitre, *Sources et méthodes de l'hagiographie médiévale* (Paris, 1993); Fouracre/Gerberding, pp. 27–45; Julia Smith, 'Early Medieval Hagiography in the Late Twentieth Century', *EME* 1, no. 1 (1992), p. 70.

[93] Friedrich Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum in Frankenreich: Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden, und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jahrhundert)* (Munich, 1965), esp. pp. 498–500 on topoi and reality; František Graus, *Volk, Herrscher, und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger. Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit* (Prague, 1965).

[94] Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981); James Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony Hayward (eds.), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999); Clare Stancliffe, *St. Martin and his Hagiographer: History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus* (Oxford, 1983); Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y, 1994); Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990); Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994); Thomas Head, *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (London, 2001), pp. xiii-xxxviii.

[95] Fouracre, 'Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography', esp. pp. 4-8.

All of these developments mean we now look at all historical sources as containing facts tempered by bias, learn about society through the ways in which an author was biased (and what his bias says about him and his environs), and learn about the writing of history, hagiography, or poetry by seeing what authors valued and what techniques they used to get their messages across. In this study, I have made use of these techniques to illustrate that ethnic identification can be a more useful tool in some genres than others, and that the choice to use ethnic identifiers depends on this, as well as an author's goals in the text, and his or her background, assumptions, and available social discourses.

Methods and Organization

In order to put into practice my theory that different possible modes of identification led to ethnic change, and can be drawn out of the primary sources for historians to track, I will focus on the use of ethnonyms. These terms are particularly loaded with social significance, and the ways in which authors used them provides great insight into how the identities they represented were conceptualized in their societies: what their boundaries were, what associated characteristics they called to mind, and whether these associations were disputed or in flux. This is not to say that ethnic identity is necessarily more important than other identities. Others may be more salient in different times and places, and in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, both religious identity and ethnic identity played significant roles in effecting social change. However, for the question I wish to answer—that is, how a Roman world evolved into a Gothic and Frankish one—ethnic identity provides the most illustrative lens into the shifting of mentalities at the deepest level. Similarly, to explore the conceptual transition from a world dominated by Romans and their culture to one dominated by various barbarian groups in different places, it seems most fruitful to examine the changing use of the terms for these dominant groups—in this case, Romans, Goths, and Franks. These are, after all, the words upon which this transition depended: the pride, loyalties, and advantages which evolved around them

essential for creating a stable new polity. I will examine the context in which these terms were used—what terms authors used, who used them, and when, how, and why they chose to use them, or not—and analyse any changes in this usage which might signal changes in contemporary ethnic mentalities, particularly the assimilation of 'Romans' into 'Gothic' and 'Frankish' identities.

Just looking at these terms, however, is insufficient. By treating all mentions of 'Frank' or 'Goth' in the same manner, past studies have missed perhaps the best hints we have as to how these identities changed and were adopted. Ethnonyms are problematic precisely because they are not always used in an ethnic manner. My study rectifies this oversight by carefully distinguishing between the political, ethnic, and religious usages of these terms based on the phrases and contexts in which they were used. Distinguishing among meanings allows us to see that individuals did not casually change ethnic identities as it suited them, but expressed different identities in specific contexts, only one of which was necessarily ethnic. Of course, there was often overlap between these various nuances, with some people seen as both politically and ethnically Frankish or with church councils explicitly equating political identity with proper Catholic religious identity, but it is only through being aware of this overlap that we can see how people's views of these identities may have blended together and gradually shifted.

As specific terms are important to this study, a note about the language of the sources is warranted. The Latin used in the sixth and seventh centuries, which often appears in manuscripts and in editions of contemporary texts, is neither classical Latin nor the reformed Latin of the Carolingian renaissance that effectively separated written Latin from spoken Romance.[96] Many *MGH* editors, particularly Bruno Krusch, preferred to represent what they believed to be the authentically 'incorrect' Merovingian and Visigothic Latin, and so my quotations from these editions reflect that language. I have noted the editors' comments on

[96] Fouracre/Gerberding, pp. 58–78; Roger Wright (ed.), *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1991), esp. the articles by Roger Wright and Rosamond McKitterick.

occasion, but it should be assumed that the Latin here reflects contemporary usage. Translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

The focus of this study will be the use of ethnic identifiers by authors within Merovingian Gaul and Visigothic Spain during the sixth and seventh centuries. I have chosen this period for two reasons. First, as I noted earlier, significant work has already been done on the fifth century and the context of the western empire's fall.[97] Secondly, while these studies have been primarily concerned with barbarian-Roman relations in the context of imperial power, mine seeks to look at how people adapted to a *new* context: barbarian rule and, ultimately, the clear realization that the empire would not be returning in the West. This is best examined through the sixth- and seventh-century mindset, and it is in sources from this period that we see the most evidence of an identity shift from Romanness to the identities of the barbarian rulers in the West. My discussion of events before 500 AD and after 700 AD will be brief and meant only for context, and I will not address the Visigothic kingdom which lasted until 507 in southern Gaul except by reference to law codes promulgated there which continued to be used elsewhere.

The two regions I have selected have significantly different histories: Gaul was divided into multiple kingdoms under related Frankish kings, contained more different peoples to assimilate, and a relatively wide range and wealth of sources survive from it for this period; while Spain was unified under a single king for much of this time, had East Romans settled along its coast with whom the Visigoths fought, and is represented in far fewer contemporary, local sources than Gaul.[98] Previous studies have pertained to one kingdom or the other, and the Frankish material in particular is sometimes presented as representative of all other post-Roman kingdoms. Covering both of these regions will enable comparison of the same phenomenon in two different contexts and illustrate that, while there are similarities, there are also crucial differences which led the two kingdoms to different ends. Observing how these different

[97] See p. 1, n. 3.
[98] See below, pp. 38-41, 104-5.

evolutions occurred will provide greater insight into the factors behind ethnic change than a study of a single, possibly anomalous region would.

I will focus primarily on Franks, Goths, and Romans as they are the main players in the identity shift I wish to illuminate; other peoples will appear on occasion as relevant. I have chosen not to address the Burgundians in depth despite their significant presence in Gaul, because Burgundy was not a separate kingdom for most of this period and the dynamics there thus differed; they would require a separate analysis which I do not have the space to complete. I will limit my consideration to textual evidence, because archaeology has a completely different set of issues to tackle, but I will consider a wide range of genres, particularly historiography, poetry, hagiography, law codes, and church council records, to enable me to see commonalities across genres and the role genre may play in the authorial use of ethnic identifiers. Material from those sources which I do not discuss in the main text is compiled in an appendix (below, pp. 259-69). Finally, since I am examining changing perceptions of residents within particular kingdoms, I have not, for the most part, included views of outsiders looking in; what people in Gaul thought a 'Frank' was and what people outside Gaul thought one was are different, albeit related, issues, and while the latter is interesting, it is a separate topic in itself.

I have divided the thesis into two large sections, one for Spain followed by one for Gaul. Each is divided into chapters on a different basis. In the case of Spain, I have chosen to present Romans and Goths separately in order to demonstrate clearly how I mean to distinguish political, ethnic, and religious meanings; as the sources for Spain are fewer than those for Gaul, this is easiest to do with the Spanish sources. The section introduction sets the stage for the rest of the chapter with a basic narrative of events in Spain during the Visigothic period. Chapter one discusses the East Romans (also known in modern times, though not to contemporaries, as Byzantines), who appear only in the writings of Isidore of Seville and John of Biclar. It shows that, for these two authors, 'Roman' almost exclusively meant 'Byzantine', undoubtedly because the Visigothic kingdom was still fighting over coastal territory with the Byzantine Empire during

their lifetimes. Chapter two covers West Romans, those residents of Spain who were present before the Visigoths arrived, sometimes now called Hispano-Romans. They appear once in John of Biclar's *Chronicle*, in the hagiographical *Lives of the Fathers of Merida*, and in civil and canon legal documents, and I will address them in this order. This chapter concludes with a summary of the evolution of Roman identity in Visigothic texts. Chapter three discusses the Goths in all of the sources already mentioned. It is divided into four subsections: ethnic descriptions, descriptions with a religious sense, descriptions with a political sense, and descriptions with multiple senses overlapping. I will lay out clearly through examples in the sources what I mean by these divisions and how useful they can be. We will see that, for Hispano-Romans, the shift to a new 'Gothic' ethnic and political identity truly began in 589 with the conversion of the Goths to Catholicism. From this point forward, the Gothic kings actively promoted kingdom-wide unity through civil and religious law. Royally sponsored law codes and church council records from this time emphasize the unity of the 'Gothic people' as all Catholic subjects of the king, and the phrase 'people/army of the Goths' became far more common in documents of the 630s through the 670s. After this point, 'Roman' practically disappears from the sources and even 'Goth' was used less frequently, signalling that 'Gothicness' had become so thoroughly adopted that it could simply be assumed. The section concludes by recounting the evolution of 'Goth' from a specific ethnic term for one group among many to a universal political term so ubiquitous it need not be mentioned, and the concomitant shift away from 'Roman' as an ethnic identity.

For Gaul, I have divided the sources broadly by genre with some subdivision by author. The introduction again sets the stage. Chapter four covers the writings, both hagiographical and historical, of Gregory of Tours. Analysis of his use of ethnic terms and alternative identifiers in his texts will show that Gregory wrote from a Roman mindset, preferring to identify people based on home city, important relatives, and social rank because that continued to matter in his sixth-century society. Chapter five compares Gregory to his contemporary, Venantius Fortunatus. Fortunatus used ethnic identities in his poetry more than Gregory did in his writings

because they were a useful tool for allusion and flattery, two things his genre and need to earn a living required of him. Chapter six moves to the seventh century and Fredegar's *Chronicle*. It shows that Fredegar used ethnonyms far more than Gregory did, but particularly in the political sense, a sense which appears far less in the sixth-century sources and suggests a change in mindset was under way. Chapter seven covers hagiographical texts from both the sixth and seventh centuries. The chronological cross-section it provides clearly confirms a general increase in the use of ethnonyms in the seventh century, and particularly the increase of 'Frank' as a political term. Chapter eight covers the Frankish law codes and compares them briefly with the Visigothic and Burgundian codes. In it, we will see that their authors expected law to be written separately for diverse ethnic groups even though separation would have been impossible in practice. The Merovingian kings' promulgation of separate law codes for each group of people they ruled—regardless of their practical enforceability—illustrates both acceptance and promotion of ethnic diversity, not a pressing need to make all subjects both political and ethnic 'Franks' as soon as possible. This pattern would not be visible without separating ethnic, political, and religious uses of so-called 'ethnic terms' and taking each in its own context. The section conclusion emphasizes the role of political disunity in Merovingian Gaul in keeping 'Roman' from fading completely and making it less imperative for Romans to adopt a new ethnic identity along with a new political identity than in Spain. I finish with an overall conclusion comparing the two kingdoms and illustrating that the shift from 'Romans' to 'Goths' and 'Franks' happened in the same manner in both places but less (or more) thoroughly according to the different circumstances Romans faced in each kingdom. Through this study, I hope to show that changes in political language both preceded and facilitated changes in more traditionally ethnic language as the discourse surrounding various ethnonyms shifted, and that, by distinguishing among different modes of identification these ethnonyms represented, we can identify these changes and better understand how the shift from a Roman to a Gothic and Frankish world occurred within the minds of contemporaries.

Part One: From a Roman to a Gothic World: Visigothic Spain

Introduction

In the spring of 507, King Alaric II of the Visigoths was killed while fighting the Frankish king Clovis at the Battle of Vouillé in Gaul. As the Franks moved in to control the former Visigothic territory in the region, the defeated Visigoths retreated from their Gallic capital at Toulouse into the territory they loosely controlled in Spain, keeping only the southern region of Septimania (which they called Gallia or Gallia Narbonensis) of all their Gallic possessions. From this point on, their home would be Spain. Over the course of the sixth century, they would come to dominate the peninsula and to wrest its other inhabitants into (sometimes uneasy) submission. These inhabitants included Germanic Sueves who had settled in Gallaecia, Basques in the north, and the citizens of the former western Roman Empire whom we often call the Hispano-Romans.

As these Romans adapted to being ruled by the Visigoths, their Roman identity would also adapt and ultimately fade away. In this section, I will explore the process by which this shift in identity occurred. I will begin by examining the ways in which contemporary sources within the Visigothic kingdom used the term 'Roman' and otherwise discussed or alluded to this group of people: as Hispano-Romans, Eastern Romans, and—inasmuch as both groups of Romans were also predominantly Catholic—as associated with this particular Christian confession. In relation to the Hispano-Romans, we will also see 'Roman' evolve from a primarily political term referring to a citizen of the Roman Empire, to an ethnic term referring to a presumed descendant of such citizens, to a nearly obsolete term as these people came to see themselves no longer as 'Romans' but as 'Goths'. I will then address the multiplicity of meanings—political, ethnic, and religious—which 'Goth' could have in Visigothic Spain, as these made integration into the ruling Visigothic minority easier for the Romans. As participants in the army and the administration, or

as loyal subjects serving the Gothic king, Romans could adopt a Gothic political identity, and over time, this Gothicness became more meaningful to many than their Roman ethnic identities, leading these Romans to see themselves and be seen by others as Goths in an ethnic manner in addition to a political one. Thus the evolution of the meaning of *gens Gothorum* ('Gothic people') directly impacted on the evolution and eventual disappearance of Roman identity in the peninsula.

Setting the Stage

The Visigoths first arrived in Spain in the mid-fifth century as agents of the Roman Empire, sent to regain control of the province from the Vandals, Alans, and Sueves, and by the time of their defeat in Gaul in 507, they had loose control over much of the peninsula.[98] In 511, Theoderic the Great, the Ostrogothic king in Italy, took charge of the Visigothic kingdom in the name of his grandson, Amalaric.[99] He sent a general named Theudis to Spain to serve as regent for the young Visigoth, a position he held until Theoderic's death in 526. Theudis remained, married a local Hispano-Roman woman, and later became king of the Visigothic kingdom himself (531-548).[100] After his death, a succession crisis led to a civil war between Agila and rival claimant Athanagild, and the latter requested aid from Justinian, the East Roman emperor; the troops Justinian sent would remain in southern Spain, despite Visigothic attempts to drive them out, until the 620s.[101]

Leovigild (569-586) came to the throne in 569 and quickly began a campaign to gain full, central control over the entirety of the peninsula. He conquered both independent cities like

[98] For a more detailed account of events in Visigothic Spain, see Collins, *Visigothic Spain*; Juan José Sayas Abengochea and Luis A. García Moreno, *Romanismo y Germanismo: El despertar de los pueblos hispánicos (siglos IV-X)* (Barcelona, 1986); and the older, but still useful Dietrich Claude, *Adel, Kirche und Königtum im Westgotenreich* (Sigmaringen, 1971), and E.A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford, 1969).

[99] Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, pp. 309–11; P. Díaz and R. Valverde, 'Goths Confronting Goths: Ostrogothic Political Relations in Hispania', in *Ostrogoths*, pp. 353–86.

[100] Collins, *Visigothic Spain*, p. 44; Michael Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and its Cities* (London, 2004), p. 260.

[101] *HGVS* 47, p. 286; Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, in *MGH AA* V, 1 (Berlin, 1882), 303, p. 136.

Córdoba and entire regions like the Suevic kingdom in Gallaecia—including territory in the south which his rebelling son, Hermenegild, had claimed in the early 580s—and he asserted greater control over places which he already held, like Mérida.[102] Although for purposes of propaganda, these land gains were portrayed as reconquests by a rightful ruler, much of the territory which Leovigild 'regained' had probably never truly been under Visigothic control.[103] He also built a new city named for his other son, Reccared, to assert his authority and to portray himself as a proper imperial successor.[104] Along with this territorial unification, Leovigild attempted ethnic unification by giving official sanction in his revised law code to marriages between Goths and Romans, and religious unification by making conversion from Catholicism to Arianism easier and, in his mind, hopefully more appealing by eliminating from Arian doctrine the requirement of rebaptism for converts from Catholicism. His son, Reccared (586-601), completed the unity his father had begun by converting to Catholicism in 587 and taking the entire kingdom with him over the next two years. The conversion was made official at the Third Council of Toledo (589), opening the way for the collaboration between church and state that would be a hallmark of the seventh-century kingdom, though there were still a few revolts by Arians who opposed the change.[105] Religious unity led to increased persecution of those, like Jews, who did not conform;

[102] Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain*, pp. 277-86, makes a good case for the independence of many cities and minimal Visigothic control in the peninsula before Leovigild's time. See also Roger Collins, 'Mérida and Toledo: 550-585', in James (ed.), p. 202. On the conflict with Hermenegild, see J. N. Hillgarth, 'Coins and Chronicles: Propaganda in Sixth-Century Spain and the Byzantine Background', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 15, no. 4 (1966), pp. 483–508.

[103] Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain*, pp. 285-6; John of Biclar, *Chronica*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, in *MGH AA* XI (Berlin, 1894), pp. 212-15.

[104] On Reccopolis, see Lauro Olmo Enciso, *Recópolis: un paseo por la ciudad visigoda*, (Madrid, 2006); Lauro Olmo Enciso, 'The Royal Foundation of Recópolis and the Urban Renewal in Iberia during the Second Half of the Sixth Century', in J. Henning (ed.), *Post-Roman Towns, Trade, and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium: vol. 1, The Heirs of the Roman West*, (Berlin, 2007), esp. pp. 181, 192. Other imperial imagery appears on his coins, for which, see Hillgarth, 'Coins and Chronicles'; George Miles, *The Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain, Leovigild to Achila II* (New York, 1952); Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (New York, 1986), pp. 317–20; Luis A. García Moreno, 'Prosopography, Nomenclature, and Royal Succession in the Visigothic Kingdom of Toledo', *JLA* 1, no. 1 (2008), p. 146.

[105] *VSPE* V.12, pp. 92-3; John of Biclar, *Chronica*, p. 218; Rachel Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589-633* (Ann Arbor, 2000); Pablo C. Díaz and Maria R. Valverde, 'The Theoretical Strength and Practical Weakness of the Visigothic Kingdom of Toledo', in Franz Theuws and Janet L. Nelson (eds.), *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, p. 75; Enrique

Sisebut (612-621) is known for harsh laws against them and for forcing many to convert to Christianity. During Sisebut's reign, the Byzantines were pushed out of some of their holdings, with Suinthila (621-631) finally defeating them and seizing all their territory in Spain in the 620s.

After a series of short reigns and coups, Chindaswinth (642-653) was elected king. He and his son, Recceswinth (653-672), issued a number of laws which Recceswinth published in 654 along with a collection of old laws which were to remain in force. His *Lex Visigothorum* (*Visigothic Code*) superseded all previous codes and would remain the centrepiece of Spanish law long after the demise of the Visigothic kingdom. Recceswinth's successor, Wamba (672-680), faced a revolt in Septimania that one of his generals, a duke named Paul, joined. He suppressed the revolt, but was later deposed in suspicious circumstances while he was ill, and Ervig (680-687) took the throne. Ervig quickly held a church council to legitimize his rule and repeal some of the unpopular laws which Wamba had enacted; he added his own laws to the *Lex Visigothorum,* restricting the activities of the Jews, and reissued it. Civil war plagued the kingdom in the early eighth century, and in 711 the invading Arabs seized control of all but a small northern strip of the peninsula. The Visigothic kingdom in Spain had come to an end.

Just as the political situation changed over the course of the fifth through seventh centuries, so did the identities of the people involved. In the late Roman Empire, 'Roman' had a political meaning; Romans were united based on shared acceptance of the law, values, and political authority of the empire.[106] Local identities remained strong, and pride in one's *civitas* could coexist comfortably with political self-identification as a Roman.[107] We can see these local

---

Gallego Blanco, 'Los concilios de Toledo y la sucesión al trono visigodo', *AHDE* 44 (1974), p. 738; Patrick Geary, 'Barbarians and Ethnicity', p. 127.

[106] Geary, *Myth*, p. 63; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* IX.iv, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), gives the classical definition of *populus*, the term used for this Roman political unit, as 'a human multitude, associated by a juridical consensus and a community of agreement' (translation by Jeremy duQuesnay Adams, 'The Political Grammar of Early Hispano-Gothic Historians,' in Donald Kagay (ed.), *Medieval Iberia: Essays on the History and Literature of Medieval Spain* (New York, 1997), p. 3). Note that Isidore does not use this definition of *populus* when he uses the term in his own writing. See further p. 44.

[107] Geary, *Myth*, p. 59; Greatrex, 'Roman Identity in the Sixth Century', p. 269; Alexander Demandt, 'The Osmosis of Late Roman and Germanic Aristocracies', in Evangelos Chrysos and Andreas Schwarcz (eds.), *Das Reich und die Barbaren* (Vienna, 1989), p. 76; Pohl, 'Introduction: Strategies of Distinction,' p. 1.

identities in late Roman Spain in Isidore's description of the *Spani* at this time, which copies that of Hydatius, and in Hydatius' continual reference to the *Gallaeci,* both terms based on geographical regions. As we shall see, they implied rather than stated outright an overlying Roman identity of these *Spani* and *Gallaeci* in contrast with invaders; these local subdivisions of the Roman world served as better descriptors for authors concerned solely with early Spain than the broader 'Roman'.[108] As the political entity that was the Roman Empire faded in the West, this political mode of identification as 'Roman' ceased to have meaning. People still identified themselves and others as Roman, but the designation came to signify different commonalities. Culture and language remained integral to Roman identity as they had under the empire, but an ethnic element also emerged with greater strength; 'Romans' were no longer Roman because they were citizens of the empire but because they were *descendants* of citizens of the empire. This element of descent gave 'Roman' identity an ethnic flavour comparable to that of the Goths, the Franks, and others who had traditionally been seen as based on descent.[109]

In the East, of course, the empire remained. Residents of the Byzantine Empire could still be identified as Romans in the political sense, and were indeed identified as such in both east and west. Political loyalty to the emperor remained an important part of being Roman for easterners in a way it no longer could for westerners.[110] Because the East Romans had a military presence in southern Spain from the mid-sixth century until the early seventh century, they appear frequently in works by Spanish authors, and thus the sources which exist from sixth- and seventh-century Spain refer to two different groups as 'Roman': the East Romans and the Hispano-Romans. I will address each in turn, on a source-by-source basis.

---

[108] *HGVS* 11, p. 272; Hydatius, *Chronica*, ed. R.W. Burgess, in *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 74, 90, 94, 110, 112. José Orlandis, *Historia del reino visigodo español* (Madrid, 1988), p. 184, and Pedro Juan Galán Sánchez, *El género historiográfico de la* chronica: *las crónicas hispanas de época visigoda* (Cáceres, 1994), p. 69, agree that Hydatius' terms mean 'Roman'.

[109] Geary, *Myth,* pp. 61-2, notes that by the sixth-century Romans were coming to be seen as a *gens* like their barbarian neighbours.

[110] Pohl, 'Conceptions of Ethnicity', p. 21; Greatrex, 'Roman Identity in the Sixth Century', p. 268.

Chapter One: Romans from the East: the Byzantines

After the civil war between Agila and Athanagild, Justinian's Byzantine troops remained, taking possession of an unknown number of locations in the south of the peninsula for the empire. Although often depicted on maps as a large swath of territory along the southern coast, Byzantine holdings were probably more disconnected. The old imperial organizational framework of cities and their associated territories remained in much of Spain, and the Byzantine Empire need not have conquered all of them in a particular region. The geography of southern Spain makes a number of the coastal cities best accessible by sea, and it was probably the sea which held the Byzantine possessions together.[111] Probable East Roman enclaves are Málaga, Asidona (modern Medina Sidonia), Basti (Baza), and Sagontia (Gigonza).[112] However, we have so little conclusive evidence of Byzantine presence in Spain that, without new archaeological finds, we will never be certain about any of these locations. One city that *was* certainly in the Byzantine possession is Cartagena, as evidenced by an inscription discovered there in 1698 during construction at a convent.[113] The so-called 'Comenciolus inscription' commemorates the repair in 589 or 590 of a city gate by the *patricius* and *magister militum* Comenciolus. It states that he was sent by Emperor Maurice against the 'barbarian enemy'

[111] Gisela Ripoll López, 'On the Supposed Frontier between the *Regnum Visigothorum* and Byzantine *Hispania*', in Walter Pohl, Ian Wood, and Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *The Transformation of Frontiers from Late Antiquity to the Carolingians* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 95-115. For a recent counterargument to Ripoll's, which suggests a greater expanse but without fortified boundaries, see Jamie Wood, 'Defending Byzantine Spain: Frontiers and Diplomacy', *EME* 18:3 (2010), pp. 202-319. See also Margarita Vallejo Girvés, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua (ss. V-VIII): un capítulo de historia mediterránea* (Alcalá de Henares, 1993).

[112] Ripoll, 'Frontier', pp. 102-3, Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain*, pp. 277-8 and 284.

[113] Inscription no. 362, ed. J. Vives, in *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda* (Barcelona, 1942), p. 126; Margarita Vallejo Girvés, '*Commentiolus, Magister Militum Spaniae missus a Mauricio Augusto contra hostes barbaros*: The Byzantine Perspective on the Visigothic Conversion to Catholicism', *Romanobarbarica* 14 (1996), pp. 289–306; Ripoll, 'Frontier', pp. 103-5; Sebastián F. Ramallo Ascencio and Jaime Vizcaíno Sánchez, 'Bizantinos en *Hispania*: un problema recurrente en la arqueología española', *Archivo español de arqueología* 75 (2002), p. 584.

(*hostes barbaros*).[114] The 'barbarians' in question can only be the Visigoths, seen from a Byzantine perspective. The timing of the inscription, in the wake of the Visigothic conversion to Catholicism, may be one reason for the label 'barbarian'; from a Byzantine mindset, this emphasized a common 'Roman' identity with Hispano-Romans which the Visigoths, despite their recent conversion, did not hold.[115]

The East Romans are perhaps the easiest to understand of all the 'Romans' in the early medieval world as their empire was still called the 'Roman Empire'. Unlike Romans in the West, those in the East retained the ability to identify as Roman politically, and they were still part of the Roman *populus* in the classical sense. Within Spain, we find them called 'Roman' by both Isidore of Seville and John of Biclar.

Isidore of Seville

Background

Isidore (c. 560-636) left us much information about himself in his account of his brother Leander in *Lives of Famous Men* (*De viris illustribus*), and supplemented by a monastic rule Leander wrote for their sister. Isidore was one of four children of Severianus, a man of the province of Cartagena in Spain, all of whom (himself, brothers Leander and Fulgentius, and sister Florentina) entered religious life and have been canonized as saints.[116] The combination of Roman name, Catholicism, and southern origin of the family makes it highly likely they were of Hispano-Roman descent; however, Isidore identified himself (by identifying his family) according to region (Carthaginiensis) rather than city, 'Roman' heritage, or the larger region of 'Spain'.[117]

---

[114] 'Comenciolus sic haec iussit patricius missus a Mauricio Aug. contra hostes barbaros, magnus virtute magister mil. Spaniae'.

[115] Luis A. García Moreno, 'The Creation of Byzantium's Spanish Province', *Byzantion* 66 (1996), p. 115; Luis A. García Moreno, 'La imagen de Bizancio en España en la temprana Edad Media (siglos VI-X)', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 91 (1998), pp. 32–48.

[116] *DVI* 28, p. 149: 'genitus patre Severiano, Carthaginiensis provinciae Hispaniae'.

[117] Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville: genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths* (Turnhout, 2000), p. 88. Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000*, 2nd

The family moved from Cartagena to Seville around the time of Isidore's birth, and Leander's comments to Florentina at the end of his monastic rule that they were exiles from their homeland suggests that they moved under duress; the most likely context for such a forced move is the Byzantine takeover of the region c. 554.[118] Isidore became bishop of Seville c. 600 after the death of the previous bishop, his brother Leander, and remained so until his own death in 636. He undoubtedly inherited his brother's close ties with King Reccared, and he served as teacher to another king, Sisebut (612-621), among many other pupils.[119] He also presided over the Fourth Council of Toledo (633), which encouraged the education of clergy in the ancient languages and liberal arts and promoted kingdom-wide unity.[120]

Isidore was a prolific author, and a relatively large number of his works have survived, covering a range of topics including theology, astronomy, natural history, language, and human history. The most famous of these is the *Etymologies*, a massive collection of classical knowledge on numerous subjects.[121] Far from being an update for contemporary times, it includes almost nothing from the Christian era of the empire or later. For this reason, his enclosed definitions of *populus* and *gens*, so often cited by modern historians as indicative of a seventh-century mindset, do not actually match the ways in which he used these words when writing about his own time; they reflect a classical understanding of the terms more than an early medieval one.[122]

Of his numerous works, the most useful for understanding ethnic identity in the Visigothic kingdom is the *History of the Goths, Vandals, and Sueves*. Isidore probably began

---

ed. (Basingstoke, 1995), p. 60, suggests that the names Isidore and Leander—of Greek origin and uncommon in the West—hint that the family may have been of Byzantine origin.

[118] Leander of Seville, *De institutione virginum et contemptu mundi*, Ángel Custodio Vega (ed.) (Madrid, 1948), p. 124; Wolf p. 12; Claude Barlow, *Iberian Fathers*, *Fathers of the Church* 62-3 (Washington, D.C., 1969), 62, p. 175.

[119] Wolf p. 12.

[120] On Isidore's focus on unity under the Goths, see now Jamie Wood, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain: Religion and Power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden, 2012).

[121] The standard edition is Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911). There is a good introduction to the text in *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney et al. (Cambridge, 2006).

[122] duQuesnay Adams, 'Hispano-Gothic Historians', pp. 4-5. See p. 40 n. 106.

writing it in the last years of the reign of Sisebut (612-621), shortly after finishing an early version of a *Chronicle* which covered events more briefly and from a wider range of kingdoms. He later expanded the *History* (and the *Chronicle*) to include events up to 625, in the reign of Suinthila, during the final expulsion of East Roman soldiers from Cartagena.[123] He drew on many previous writers, including Eusebius, Orosius, and John of Biclar, though not, it seems, Jordanes, and not all years are covered; Isidore only mentioned those events of particular interest.[124] After a brief mention of the Goths' ancient origins, he began each entry with a date in the era dating system used by Hydatius (common among writers in Spain), then followed this with regnal years of the eastern emperors and the name of the Visigothic king. The section on the Goths is significantly longer than those for the Vandals and the Sueves, as he ended each of the latter when the group ceased to have its own kingdom, in 535 and 585, respectively; it is clearly the Goths who were the focus of this work. In looking at his use of ethnonyms, I will disregard his account of events from the late Roman era and focus solely on the sixth and seventh centuries when 'Roman' could not refer to the western empire and when the Goths were firmly settled in Spain.

Roman Identity in Isidore's Writing

All of Isidore's references to 'Romans' pertained to the empire, meaning that during the sixth and seventh centuries it was the Byzantines he described. Twice in the *History* he told of Visigothic kings and generals fighting Roman soldiers: Witteric (603-610) often battled Roman soldiers (*militem Romanum*) but only captured a few soldiers (*milites*) at Sagontia, and

[123] After much debate, historians seem to have settled on the chronology I have described here. For more on this debate, see Roger Collins, 'Isidore, Maximus, and the *Historia Gothorum*', in Scharer/Scheibelreiter, pp. 345-58. Andrew H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 179-85, discusses the redactions in detail. On the two redactions of the *Chronicle*, see the critical edition by José Carlos Martín, *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*, *CCSL* 112 (Turnhout, 2003); and further commentary by Sam Koon and Jamie Wood, 'The *Chronica Maiora* of Isidore of Seville', *e-Spania* 6 (2008), http://e-spania.revues.org/15552. The *Chronicle* uses ethnonyms in much the same ways and context as the *History*, so I will only discuss the latter in detail.

[124] Wolf pp. 13-15; Joaquín Martínez Pizarro, 'Ethnic and National History c. 500-1000', in Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (ed.), *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Boston, 2003), p. 57.

Gundemar (610-612) also besieged Roman soldiers (*milites Romani*).[125] These 'Roman soldiers' were certainly not the Hispano-Romans; when Isidore did allude to independent Hispano-Roman cities of Spain in Leovigild's time, he called them 'rebel cities of Spain' (*rebelles Hispaniae urbes*), not an organized army of soldiers (*milites*).[126] The slight difference in language suggests that the 'Roman army' was a different entity from these cities with their rebels. In his *Chronicle,* Isidore again used the phrase 'Roman army' (here *militia*) when telling of Sisebut's victories over 'many cities of the Roman militia (*plurimas Romanae militiae urbes*)'. This time, we have an additional clue in the revised edition, which, like the revised edition of the *History,* Isidore wrote during Suinthila's reign. There, he qualified this statement with *eiusdem* ('the same'), turning the phrase into 'many cities of *this same* Roman militia' which was described in the previous paragraph as fighting the Persians.[127] Armed Hispano-Romans from independent cities were certainly not fighting a war in the East against Persia. Although his *History* only called them 'the Romans', we know without a doubt from the additional evidence in his *Chronicle* that these were Byzantines. Given this context, his descriptions of Suinthila (621-631) obtaining the last cities which had remained 'in Roman hands' and of Reccared curbing the 'excesses of the Romans' undoubtedly also refer to these same Byzantines.[128]

One more reference in the *History* is not so much contemporary as it is all-encompassing, intended to refer to the Roman Empire both past (West and East) and present (East). It appears in the recapitulation at the end of the text, where Isidore related the successes of the Visigothic kingdom and stated that the 'Roman soldier' (*Romanus miles*) had been subjected to and now served these Goths.[129] This section is reminiscent of his prologue 'in praise of Spain' (*Laus Spaniae*), in which Spain is lauded—in florid marriage imagery with Spain

[125] *HGVS* 58*,* p. 291.
[126] *HGVS* 49, p. 287.
[127] Isidore, *Chronica*, ed. Martín, pp. 202-5.
[128] *HGVS* 62, p. 292: 'urbes residuas, quas in Hispaniis Romana manus agebat, proelio conserto obtinuit'; 54, p. 290: 'saepe etiam et lacertos contra Romanas insolentias … movit'.
[129] *HGVS* 70, p. 295: 'sed et ipsa maria suis armis adeant subactusque serviat illis Romanus miles, quibus servire tot gentes et ipsam Spaniam videt'.

as the bride—for supporting first the glorious Roman Empire and then the magnificent Goths.[130] The prologue and the recapitulation together serve as a set of bookends, framing the *History* with grand rhetoric about the past and the present of Spain. The recapitulation is the conclusion for his whole work, and this passage sums up its entire narrative arc, from the prologue on, of mighty Rome losing Spain to the Goths. Isidore's goal in the *History* was not only to tell the story of the ruling Goths but also to portray them as ancient Rome's rightful heirs in the peninsula: he glorified the Goths by showing the Roman Empire subjected to them. The 'Roman soldier' here represented all that was great about Rome as well as the last Roman soldiers from the East who, when Isidore wrote this passage, had only just been expelled from Spain or incorporated into the Gothic army. In his *History*, he showed the 'Romans' shifting from being the leaders of the civilized ancient world, the epitome of civilization and an ideal to be striven for in past centuries, to foreigners and invaders from the East in a land that had once been part of their empire.[131]

John of Biclar

Background

Most of what we know about John of Biclar (c. 540-c. 621) comes from Isidore's account of him in his *Lives of Famous Men*. He wrote that John was born in Scallabis (modern Santarém) in Lusitania and was 'a Goth by nation (*natione Gothus*)'.[132] As a youth, John lived in Constantinople, where he was educated in Greek and Latin learning, and upon his return to Spain in the 570s he was soon exiled by the Arian king Leovigild for refusing to convert from Catholicism to Arianism. He was a Catholic Goth before the conversion of the kingdom in 589 under Leovigild's son Reccared, and it is possibly for this rather than Catholicism in general that

[130] *HGVS* p. 267; duQuesnay Adams 'Hispano-Gothic Historians', p. 5; Merrills, *History and Geography,* pp. 170-228. On classical sources which may have inspired Isidore, see the edition by Cristóbal Rodríguez Alonso, *Las Historias de los godos, vándalos y suevos de Isidoro de Sevilla: estudio, edición crítica y traducción* (León, 1975), pp. 113-19.

[131] Suzanne Teillet, *Des goths à la nation gothique*: *Les origines de l'idée de nation en Occident du Ve au VIIe siècle* (Paris, 1984), p. 433.

[132] *DVI* 31, p. 151. On John's 'Gothicness', see below, p. 85.

Leovigild exiled him. When he was allowed to return, John founded a monastery at Biclar before being appointed bishop of Girona c. 591.[133]

John's *Chronicle* covers the years 567 through 590. It was written in the format of a universal chronicle and presented as a continuation of that begun by Eusebius, and like other early medieval chronicles, it is succinct and meant to tell when things happened rather than to explain the events in detail.[134] John listed the events of each year, beginning with the regnal dates of first the Eastern emperor and later both the emperor and the Visigothic king and including events pertaining to each realm. He provided greater detail on a few occasions, most notably the Third Council of Toledo in 589 celebrating the conversion of the kingdom to Catholicism. Most historians agree that John began writing the *Chronicle* c. 590 in the context of the conversion, though J.N. Hillgarth proposed that the overbalance of events in the empire's favour before 579, and in Spain's after this date, signifies that he began it while in Constantinople.[135] However, this may simply reflect John's greater knowledge of events which occurred while he lived in each location.

John's aims in writing appear to be twofold. First, he intended to fit the events of his home kingdom into the wider world represented by the empire, and particularly its Christian history, which made the chronicle genre—which tended to have a broad, universal focus—ideal for his purposes.[136] Secondly, he wished to tell the story of the Visigothic kingdom's integration into the Catholic community: the story of its salvation; for this reason, his longest entries are those for 589 and 590, at the time of the official conversion and its immediate aftermath. The

[133] Wolf p. 1, Galán Sánchez, *El género historiográfico de la Chronica*, pp. 81-2.

[134] On the chronicle genre, see Galán Sánchez, *El género historiográfico de la Chronica*; R.W. Burgess, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitina* (Oxford, 1993), pp. v-vi; Mark Humphries, 'Chronicle and Chronology: Prosper of Aquitaine, His Methods and the Development of Early Medieval Chronography', *EME* 5, no. 2 (1996), pp. 155–175.

[135] J.N. Hillgarth, 'Historiography in Visigothic Spain', in *La storiografia altomedievale* (Spoleto, 1970), p. 267; Pedro Juan Galán Sánchez, 'La *Chronica* de Juan de Bíclaro: primera manifestación historiográfica del nacionalismo hispano-godo', in *Los visigodos y su mundo* (Madrid, 1998), p. 53; Isabel Velázquez, '*Pro patriae gentisque Gothorum statu*', in *Regna and Gentes*, p. 175; Wolf p. 1. Collins, *Visigothic Spain*, p. 51, observes that Maurice is said to live 20 years (until 602), which John couldn't have known in 590.

[136] Fernando Álvarez García, 'Tiempo, religión, y política en el "Chronicon" de Ioannis Biclarensis,' *En la España Medieval* 20 (1997), p. 11.

latter includes an exposition on the 'Arian heresy (*haeresis Arriana*)' and a declaration of the Catholic Church as victorious over it.[137] He also focused on peninsular unity as a necessary prerequisite to religious unity, which explains his positive portrayal of Leovigild as a defender and preserver of Spain, despite his own exile at Leovigild's hands. It was Isidore who recorded that John was exiled; John ignored the incident completely, as he preferred to show Leovigild's positive role as unifier of (the majority of) the peninsula.[138]

East Roman Identity in John's Chronicle

Because of John's desire to set this tale of Gothic salvation into the greater narrative of the world—that is, for him, the empire—the Byzantines appear frequently in his *Chronicle*. That John considered these East Romans to be, simply, 'Romans' is most obvious in his designation of each new emperor as 'emperor of the Romans' upon his accession.[139] Most of the time when he used the term 'Roman', he was referring to the Byzantines, and all of these instances describe them outside Spain. Unlike Isidore, John did not identify the invaders or enemies in the south as 'Romans'. Isidore was hostile to these Romans who probably forced his family to flee their home in Cartagena, while John, on the other hand, seemed to prefer to omit their identity entirely, perhaps because, after years of study in Constantinople, John bore no ill will toward them and saw their Romanness as normal. On one occasion, he did allude to Byzantine holdings in the south: the imperial territory (*res publica*) to which Hermenegild fled during battle with his father, Leovigild; he did not, however, specify where this territory was, nor call its rulers 'Roman'.[140]

There are two other cases in which John used the term 'Roman'. One is clearly Hispano-Roman and will be discussed in the next chapter. The other is religious and could refer to either

[137] John of Biclar, *Chronica*, p. 219.
[138] *DVI* 31, pp. 151-2; John of Biclar, *Chronica*, p. 212; Wolf pp. 6-7; Galán Sánchez, 'La *Chronica*', p. 57; Velázquez, '*Pro patriae*', p. 180.
[139] In 567, for example, p. 211: 'Iustinus iunior nepos eius Romanorum efficitur imperator'.
[140] John of Biclar, *Chronica*, p. 217.

group. It is not actually in John's words; he repeated or conjectured the words of Leovigild at the Arian synod in Toledo in 580. Because, from Leovigild's perspective, Arian Christianity was the truly universal, 'catholic' faith, he did not call the orthodox Catholics 'catholic'; instead he called their religion 'the Roman religion (*Romana religio*)' in contrast with 'our catholic faith (*nostra catholica fides*)'.[141] A pamphlet from this council was mentioned at the Third Council of Toledo (589) as advocating 'conversion of Romans to the Arian heresy (*Romanorum ad haeresem Arrianam transductio*)'.[142] The 'Romans' whose religion it was could be the Hispano-Romans (probably comprising the bulk of Iberian Catholics at this time), however they were not the only Catholics in Spain: the Byzantines on the coast were also Catholic, as were some prominent Goths including John himself. One sense of 'Romanness' which all of these people shared was religious: belonging to a church centred on Rome and the Roman Empire. While the pope was not yet deemed the absolute authority in the Church he would one day become, he was certainly recognized as someone of particular importance; many of Spain's prominent bishops exchanged letters with popes about doctrinal issues, a sign that the latters' views were significant to them. That some of these show veiled hostility and resentment toward the presumption of the popes in telling the Spanish bishops what they ought to do does not mean that the papal office lacked power and influence (in fact, Leander's long friendship with Pope Gregory the Great serves as a counterexample).[143] Nor had the empire lost its association with Catholic Christianity from the time when it was *the* Christian state. From Leovigild's point of view, either the pope or the emperor could have represented the 'Roman' religion and a higher authority to which Catholics in Spain, no matter their ethnic or political identities, turned. He, or

[141] Ibid. p. 216. See also Gregory of Tours, below, p. 140.
[142] 3 Toledo, in *CCH*, vol. 5, p. 82.
[143] For conflict, see the letter from Braulio of Saragossa, on behalf of all bishops in Spain, to Pope Honorius, no. 21 in L. Riesco Terrero (ed.), *Epistolario de San Braulio* (Seville, 1975). On Leander and Gregory, see the letter from King Reccared to Gregory, ed. J. Vives, in *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos* (Barcelona, 1963), p. 145; Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé (Paris, 1978-1980), III.31, vol. 2, pp. 384-5; Barlow, *Iberian Fathers* 62, p. 178. See further J.M. Lacarra, 'La iglesia visigoda en el siglo VII y sus relaciones con Roma', in *Le chiese nei regni dell'Europa occidentale e i loro rapporti con Romasino all'800* (Spoleto, 1960), pp. 353–84.

John in his stead, may have meant 'Roman' to encompass this religious meaning, or to designate the majority of non-Arians in question (that is, ethnic Hispano-Romans), or, most likely, to play on both nuances of the ethnonym 'Roman' together.

In the writings of John of Biclar and Isidore of Seville, 'Roman' almost always meant 'Byzantine'.[144] In part, this is because the Byzantine state was the 'Roman' Empire. For John, this meant discussing the travails of the 'Roman' army against various enemies in the East, like Persia; Isidore, on the other hand, showed them as foreigners and enemies from whom the Visigothic kings regained their lands. In part, this is also a consequence of the authors' goals in writing their works. Isidore's focus was on the Goths, and other peoples disappear from his narrative once they were conquered and subsumed by the Goths; his section on the history of the Sueves, for example, ends with the fall of their kingdom to Leovigild, and they likewise disappear from the section on the history of the Goths at the same point.[145] For John, the two focal points of his narrative were the Visigothic kingdom and the Byzantine Empire, so he included the events of each, and, as such, the two most prominent actors in his narrative are the 'Goths' and the 'Romans' (meaning the Byzantines). Like Isidore, he rarely mentioned others unless they were politically independent from these two groups. For both authors, this meant that the most common 'Roman' actor was the East Roman Empire, not the local Hispano-Romans.

[144] This includes Isidore's *DVI*, which names both Phocatus and Maurice as 'prince of the Romans': 27, p. 149; 31, p. 152. No other Spanish authors labelled Byzantines as 'Roman'.
[145] *HGVS* 92, p. 303; 49, p. 287.

Chapter Two: Romans from the West: the Hispano-Romans

Although the Hispano-Romans are generally absent from Isidore and John's writing, they do appear once by the name 'Roman' in John's *Chronicle* and occasionally in a number of other texts from Visigothic Spain. People whom we can assume to be Hispano-Romans also appear under different guises: as rustics, rebels, and senators (but not as *Hispani* outside of descriptions of the imperial period). In these instances, it was their function (rebels) or their social status (senators) which most concerned the authors, not their ethnic identities, so they chose to use these rather than 'Roman' to describe them. As we will see with Gregory of Tours' writings, choosing such modes of identification was common in the Roman world, where things like senatorial status and urban identities mattered a great deal, and this value continued into the post-Roman period.[146] Authorial choices depended in large part on such social values and on the conventions of genre, in addition to authors' specific motives for writing each text, and, to illuminate these elements, I will address the relevant works of each genre in turn, beginning with the chronicle and John.

Hispano-Roman Identity in John's Chronicle

On one occasion, John of Biclar used the term 'Roman' for Hispano-Romans: when describing Hermenegild's rebellion against his father, Leovigild, in 579 as responsible for greater damage in Spain to 'Goths and Romans alike (*tam Gothis quam Romanis*)' than any attack by enemies (*adversariorum infestatio*).[147] The term *infestatio* implies an attack by external enemies; certainly this is the way it was used nearly a century later in a law of Wamba's reign.[148]

[146] See below, chapter four.
[147] John of Biclar, *Chronica*, p. 215.
[148] *LV* IX, 2, 8: 'aliqua infestatio inimicorum in provincias regni nostri se ingerit, dum nostris hominibus, qui in confinio externis gentibus adiunguntur …'; Wolf p. 68; Dietrich Claude, 'Remarks About Relations Between Visigoths and Hispano-Romans in the Seventh Century', in *SoD*, p. 124.

If the attackers were invaders from outside the kingdom, then the Goths and Romans who were their victims must have been within it. As we have seen in Isidore's *History*, the Byzantine Empire was far more likely to have played the role of external enemy than legitimate occupier of Spain and victim of other external enemies, leaving Hispano-Roman as the only probable option for the meaning of 'Roman' here. Of those peoples called 'Roman', only the Byzantines remained part of the old Roman *populus*, subject to the rule of the Roman emperor; the Hispano-Romans no longer had an empire with which to identify politically, so their Roman identity—so long as it lasted—came to be expressed ethnically, as if it were an inherited characteristic. This was the way John used it in this passage: to represent a group of supposedly different ancestry than the Goths.

That John only called these Hispano-Romans 'Roman' once does not mean he did not mention them in other ways. For example, the 'rustics' or 'peasants' (*rustici*) killed during Leovigild's conquest of Córdoba, which had been 'rebelling against the Goths for a long time (*diu Gothis rebellem*)', and of other nearby cities in the early 570s, undoubtedly included Romans.[149] In the entry for 577, John again told of rebel *rustici* in Orospeda who were defeated, allowing the territory to be held thenceforth by the Goths (*post haec integra a Gothis possidetur Orospeda*).[150] Although this passage suggests through the opposition of 'Goths' and *rustici* that these were mutually exclusive groups, there is no reason the *rustici* could not have included ethnic Goths; a king's acquisition, possession, and government of territory are political actions, and even if he did these in the name of all Goths, some who considered themselves 'ethnic' Goths may not have agreed. Similarly, referring to *rustici* by *civitas* privileged their local city identity rather than a broader ethnic identity, and cities were, of course, mixed. John, however, was concerned with describing the king of the Goths suppressing rebellion in particular cities, not with such messy details. Like all chronicles, John's is mostly succinct and to the point; only when he reached his narrative climax in the conversion of the kingdom to Catholicism, and the

[149] John of Biclar, *Chronica*, p. 213. See *HGVS* 45, p. 285, for earlier Córdoban defiance against Agila.
[150] John of Biclar, *Chronica*, p. 215.

unity it brought, did he elaborate. The Goths and the Byzantines were the primary actors in the events he described, and as such they were usually named, but often these were political designations—shorthand for the ruler, his army, and his followers—not necessarily intended to refer to ancestry. Only once did John deem it important for the purposes of his narrative to mention the Hispano-Romans by name, when he wished to emphasize the damage Hermenegild had caused to the kingdom and to Leovigild's attempts to unify its people. It was sufficient, at other points, to ignore them or to simply lump them in with other 'rustics' according to the criterion that mattered most in this situation: not ethnicity, but their rebellion.

Saints' Lives

Three saints' *Lives* from the Visigothic kingdom employ the term 'Roman' or otherwise refer to Hispano-Romans: Sisebut's *Life* of Desiderius of Vienne, the anonymous *Lives of the Fathers of Mérida*, and Braulio of Saragossa's *Life* of Aemilian. As Desiderius of Vienne lived in the Frankish kingdoms and his *Life* may have been meant for a Frankish audience, I discuss this *Life* in the Gaul section; for now, I will simply state that it labels Desiderius as born to 'Roman parents', suggesting that Sisebut had no problem conceiving of Romanness by birth.[151]

The *Lives of the Fathers of Mérida* tells the tales of a handful of holy men, mostly bishops, from the city of Mérida in Spain during the sixth and early seventh centuries.[152] The author was a deacon of the church of St Eulalia in the city, and an active promoter of this patron saint of Mérida; although he is sometimes given the name Paul, this does not appear in the earliest manuscripts and was certainly the addition of a later editor of the text.[153] As the latest event mentioned is the death of bishop Renovatus, it was probably written during the

[151] See below, pp. 195-6.
[152] The edition by A. Maya Sánchez includes a more thorough analysis of all the manuscripts of the text than previous editors, though the commentary in Joseph N. Garvin's 1946 edition is still useful. For other hagiographical works, see Appendix 2, p. 247.
[153] Garvin p. 1. On his promotion of Eulalia, see *VSPE* p. 101.

episcopate of his successor, Stephen I, between 633 and 638.[154] The stated intent of the text is to give Méridans reason to believe in the miracle stories told by Gregory the Great in his *Dialogues* by illustrating miracles that had occurred in their city, but they seem additionally intended to support Mérida's historical role as an important bishopric at a time when it was losing its supremacy to Toledo, telling stories that focus on the important role of the city, and of its patron saint, in the kingdom.[155] As these *Lives* describe holy men, we can expect the conventions of the hagiographical genre to apply to them, including the religious focus of the text, moral instruction, the inclusion of occasional miracles, the creation of consensus, and divine intervention on behalf of the protagonists.[156] The conflict between the Catholic bishop Masona and the Arian king Leovigild fits firmly into this framework and is the focus of Masona's story, the longest of the *Lives*. Ethnic identity was not a primary concern of the author, though the text does include some ethnonyms. That it does so is especially interesting; were ethnic identity a focus of the text, we could expect the author to have chosen his words more carefully and deliberately, perhaps giving the reader a false impression for the benefit of the story or in an attempt to be consistent with his terminology. Because this was not his focus, his choice of terms is more likely to be a genuine reflection of his ingrained, even subconscious, perceptions of who 'Goths' and 'Romans' were.

Claudius, the late sixth-century duke (*dux*) of the province of Lusitania, in which Mérida was located, is the one individual explicitly labelled 'Roman' in the *Lives*. He appears in Masona's story as a strong ally of the Catholic (and ethnically Gothic) bishop and a fellow target in the Arian bishop Sunna's assassination attempt in 588.[157] This plot was one of a few revolts

[154] Garvin pp. 3-4; *VSPE* p. lv.

[155] *VSPE*, Preface, p. 4; Javier Arce, 'The City of Mérida (*Emerita*) in the *Vitas Patrum Emeretensium* (VIth Century AD)', in Chrysos/Wood, pp. 5, 14. In general on Mérida, see Collins, 'Mérida and Toledo'; Ian Wood, 'Social Relations in the Visigothic Kingdom from the Fifth to the Seventh Century: The Example of Mérida', in *Visigoths*.

[156] Santiago Castellanos, *La hagiografía visigoda: dominio social y proyección cultural* (Logroño, 2004), esp. p. 356; Santiago Castellanos, 'The Significance of Social Unanimity in a Visigothic Hagiography: Keys to an Ideological Screen', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11, no. 3 (2003), pp. 392-3.

[157] *VSPE* V.10-11, pp. 83, 87. I address Masona's Gothicness on pp. 90-91.

against the official conversion of the kingdom which took place between Reccared's conversion in 587 and the official ceremony acknowledging it at the Third Council of Toledo in 589. Claudius, himself, was a Catholic and an individual of sufficient prominence in the Visigothic kingdom that Pope Gregory the Great wrote to him in 599 requesting that he escort an envoy.[158]

The author explicitly stated Claudius' family background: 'This Claudius was born of noble lineage, begotten to Roman parents (*Idem vero Claudius nobili genere hortus Romanis fuit parentibus progenitus*)'.[159] The author clearly perceived his 'Roman' identity as bestowed on him by birth; he was descended from Romans and this made him ethnically 'Roman' in the author's view. His Roman family was also called 'noble', which illustrates that membership in the aristocracy under the rule of the Visigothic kings was not exclusive to ethnic Goths, and that individuals did not cease to be ethnic Romans by becoming participating members in the activities of the kingdom's nobility. Claudius was certainly a participant: both Isidore and John of Biclar identified him as the general who led the Visigothic army to a stunning victory against the Franks in 589.[160] Neither of these authors called him 'Roman', though, and in so doing they both, in effect, painted him as a Goth in the political sense, since he was the leader of a Gothic army; a reader would assume Claudius was a Goth in an ethnic sense too if he or she knew nothing about him aside from this information given by John and Isidore.[161] However, Claudius' interaction with a prominent Catholic Goth in a time of religious tension merited the inclusion of his 'Roman' ethnic identity into the *Lives*. By showing the Arian Sunna attacking both a Goth and a Roman, the author emphasized that the conflict was based not on ethnic identity but religious identity, bringing the focus of his tale onto the triumph of Catholicism over Arianism in Mérida.

[158] Gregory the Great, *Registrum Epistolarum*, in Ludo Moritz Hartmann (ed.), *MGH Epistolae* I-II (Berlin, 1891-1899), IX.230, vol. 2, pp. 226-7.
[159] *VSPE* V.10, p. 83.
[160] John of Biclar, *Chronica,* p. 218; *HGVS* 54, pp. 289-90. See also José Orlandis, 'Los hispano-romanos en la aristocracia del siglo VII', *Revista Portuguesa da Historia* 13 (January 1970), pp. 189–96.
[161] Such political usage of 'Goth' was common in the late sixth and early seventh centuries and is discussed in greater detail later: see pp. 89-94.

It is probably this focus which caused him to find Claudius' 'Roman' ethnic identity important to mention where John and Isidore did not.

Another man whom modern scholars tend to identify as Hispano-Roman appears in this text in the tale of Paul's episcopate in the mid-sixth century. The term 'Roman' was not used to describe him, rather he was said to be 'of senatorial birth (*ex genere senatorum*)'.[162] As the senate was a Roman institution, a descendant of senators would presumably be Hispano-Roman, not barbarian; senatorial status as a family trait, while less common in sources from sixth-century Spain than in those from neighbouring Gaul (as is the term 'senatorial' as a whole), apparently did have currency to some contemporaries.[163] The text also tells us that he was one of the town's leading citizens (*primarii civitatis*), a most noble man (*vir nobilissimus*), and, including his wife's wealth, the richest senator in the province of Lusitania. He was undoubtedly a major landowner in the region of Mérida, and a member of a prominent family.[164] He appears in the story because Paul performed a caesarean section on his wife in order to save her life, and in exchange the couple left him their substantial wealth upon their deaths—enough to make Paul the most powerful magnate in Mérida, richer than the local church itself. When Paul's nephew and successor Fidel died, this wealth passed to the church of Mérida and funded its administration and charitable works.[165] The story thus served as a semi-pious excuse, whether true or not, for the great wealth held by the church at Mérida.

---

[162] *VSPE* IV.2, p. 26.

[163] See below, pp. 114-15, 122-8, 150-54. The literature on the senatorial aristocracy is extensive. On the late Roman empire, see M.T.W. Arnheim*, The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1972); Samuel Barnish, 'Transformation and Survival in the Western Senatorial Aristocracy, c.400-700', *PBSR* 56 (1988), pp. 120-55; A. H. M. Jones*, The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 523–62; John Matthews*, Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, A.D. 364-425* (Oxford, 1975); Beat Näf, *Senatorisches Standesbewusstsein in spätrömischer Zeit* (Freiburg, Schweiz, 1995); Dirk Schlinkert, *'Ordo Senatorius' und 'Nobilitas': Die Konstitution des Senatsadels in der Spätantike* (Stuttgart, 1996), especially pp. 171–88, 210–19. On the Visigothic kingdoms, see Claude, *Adel*; Karl Friedrich Stroheker, 'Spanische Senatoren der spätrömischen und westgotischen Zeit', in his *Germanentum und Spätantike* (Zurich, 1965).

[164] *VSPE* IV.2, p. 26; p. 30: 'nullus senatorum in provincia Lusitanie illis repperiretur locupletior'; Castellanos, 'Social Unanimity', p. 404; Thompson, *Goths,* p. 116.

[165] *VSPE* IV.2, p. 30; IV.5, pp. 35-6.

Similar terminology appears in the *Life of Aemilian*, a hagiographical work describing the sixth-century Cantabrian hermit St Aemilian (San Millán de la Cogolla, d. c. 573), written c. 640 by Braulio of Saragossa, a pupil of Isidore of Seville.[166] Braulio gave three individuals with whom the saint interacted in northern Spain the designation 'senator': Aemilian casted a demon out of the house of 'senator Honorius', cured the blind maid of senator Sicorius, and exorcised senator Nepotian and his wife.[167] The senate to which these men supposedly belonged was called to order by Aemilian so that he could report his vision of the destruction of the region, prophesying Leovigild's conquest of it in 574.[168] Another individual, Maximus, was called a *curialis*.[169]

Unlike 'senator', which we will see Gregory of Tours use frequently, the mention of a body called the 'senate' and of *curiales* is highly unusual. The senate and the *curia* were governing bodies within the Roman Empire—the senate governing the whole from Rome, and the *curia* a local council responsible for the administration of the city and its territory (*civitas*).[170] Braulio's use of these terms does not necessarily indicate continuity of local institutions after the empire (or anything other than his expectation, decades later, that there would have been a local 'senate' in Aemilian's time), although it is possible that the *curiae* evolved into a local governing body to fill the organizational power vacuum left by the end of central imperial administration until the Visigoths asserted greater control in Cantabria.[171] After all, cities still needed to be maintained during this period of loose Visigothic control and regional independence; in some places, like Mérida, bishops came to serve this role, while in other

[166] duQuesnay Adams, 'Hispano-Gothic Historians', p. 7. The Latin edition of the *Vita Aemiliani* by Luis Vázquez de Parga (Madrid, 1943), gives numbers for both sets of chapter divisions past editors have used, with the first number referring to paragraph and the second to topic, and I follow his practice.
[167] *Vita Aemiliani* 24/17, p. 24; 18/11, p. 22; 22/15, p. 23.
[168] Ibid. 33/26, p. 34; John of Biclar, *Chronica*, p. 213.
[169] *Vita Aemiliani* 23/16, p. 24; Luis A. García Moreno, *Prosopografía del Reino visigodo de Toledo* (Salamanca, 1974), pp. 56-73; Santiago Castellanos, *Poder social, aristocracias y hombre santo en la Hispania Visigoda: la Vita Aemiliani de Braulio de Zaragoza* (Logroño, 1998), pp. 40-52; Santiago Castellanos, 'Aristocracias y dependientes en el Alto Ebro (siglos V-VIII)', *Studia historica. Historia medieval* 14 (1996), pp. 40-42.
[170] Pablo C. Díaz, 'City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity', in Brogiolo et al., p. 4
[171] Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain,* p. 307; E. Pérez Pujol, *Historia de las instituciones sociales de la España goda* (Valencia, 1896), vol. 2, p. 260.

locations, like Cantabria, aristocrats—perhaps descended from senators and *curiales*—may have continued to exercise these functions.[172]

Whether or not they did perform an official function, people who identified themselves—or were identified by others—as 'senators' were associated through this name with high social status and with 'Roman' culture and identity. The senatorial class was at the top of Roman society, and the term's appearance in the independent testimony of the *Lives* of the Meridan bishops and of Aemilian reveals that its associated status of leadership and prestige clearly persisted in Spain in the mid-sixth century (although the term would disappear from narratives by the mid-seventh century).[173] Those who claimed such an association were probably viewed as ethnically 'Roman'; it is an implied prerequisite of 'senatorial' status. They were also certainly from prominent families and powerful in their local communities, as senators of imperial times were.[174] It was this high-ranking social status that the hagiographers found most important to the stories they wished to tell; it was not Roman ethnicity, after all, but wealth and power which made the Lusitanian couple's story compelling and which explained the later wealth of the church in Mérida. Likewise, Aemilian was approached for aid not just by lower class individuals but also by upper class senators, and in his justice he cured them all equally—a saintly action which would be less clear had Braulio written more about their ethnicity than their social status.[175]

Claudius, on the other hand, was explicitly identified as 'Roman' in an ethnic sense. Unlike the Cantabrian and Lusitanian 'senators', he appears in the literary context of tense

[172] *VSPE* V.3, pp. 50-51; Collins, 'Mérida and Toledo', pp. 194-5; Arce, 'Mérida (Emerita)', p. 7; Thompson, *Goths,* p. 118. On various Visigothic cities, see Gisela Ripoll and Josep María Gurt, *Sedes regiae (ann. 400-800)* (Barcelona, 2000); Michael Kulikowski, 'Cities and Government in Late Antique Hispania: Recent Advances and Future Research', in Kim Bowes and Michael Kulikowski (eds.), *Hispania in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 31–70; Lauro Olmo Enciso (ed.), *Recópolis y la ciudad en época visigoda* (Alcalá de Henares, 2008); Gisela Ripoll, 'Changes in the Topography of Power: From *civitates* to *urbes regiae* in Hispania', in *Construction*, pp. 123–48.

[173] Stroheker, 'Spanische Senatoren', p. 87. For the one seventh-century mention of the senate, preserved in the Visigothic Formulary, see Appendix 2, p. 249.

[174] Castellanos, *La hagiografía visigoda,* p. 53.

[175] Castellanos, 'Social Unanimity', p. 413.

interaction between Romans and Goths. His identification as 'Roman' and an ally of Masona, a 'Goth', served to demonstrate the religious, rather than ethnic, nature of the conflict in Mérida, bringing the narrative focus onto the Arian troublemakers and Masona's success against them. While ethnic 'Romanness' was not a key element for the hagiographers' stories, just as it was not for John of Biclar when discussing the *rustici*, it was in Masona's *Life*, so the author stated it explicitly.

Looking through these narratives, both hagiographical and historical, we can see that 'Roman' could still have ethnic nuances in Spain in the sixth and early seventh centuries. Authors used this term rarely, often preferring descriptors of a more local or status-focused nature, but it clearly still had meaning within their society. After c. 640, however, no narrative source from the Visigothic kingdom used 'Roman' at all, and, as we will soon see, it virtually disappeared from legal sources too after 655.

Civil and Canon Law

Background

Law can be a difficult source to use for historical research. Laws may reflect a legal ideal rather than a social reality, or a past rather than a contemporary reality, or they may be grand pronouncements that were left unenforced.[176] However, they do provide a window into a contemporary mindset and can tell us what a ruler wished for his society (and therefore included in his laws) or what concepts and ideals still had meaning, even on a rhetorical level. Legal documents, both civil and canon, are among the most plentiful source material for Visigothic Spain. More than thirty councils from sixth- and seventh-century Spain survive, and of the four civil law codes we know were put into force in the Visigothic kingdom (two of them while it was still ruled from Gaul), two (the *Breviary of Alaric* and the *Lex Visigothorum*) still exist

[176] P.D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1972), p. ix; Sam Koon and Jamie Wood, 'Unity from Disunity Law, Rhetoric and Power in the Visigothic Kingdom', *European Review of History* 16, no. 6 (2009), pp. 803-4.

in their entirety, while excerpts from the other two (the *Code of Euric* and the *Codex Revisus*) can be found in fragments and within the most recent code (the *LV*).[177]

The *Code of Euric* was written in the late 470s, during the reign of Euric over the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse in Gaul (466-484). It survives today only in a palimpsest fragment, probably written in southern Gaul in the sixth century.[178] Many of the laws it contains were incorporated in the later *Lex Visigothorum* under the heading of *Antiquae*, meaning laws in force before the reign of Reccared (586-601). By comparing the small amount that survives in this fragment with its corresponding pieces in the *Antiquae*, we can fill in some missing words and identify other laws which may date to Euric's code by their style, and Alvaro d'Ors helpfully includes in his edition a survey of those *Antiquae* which probably originate with the *Code of Euric*.[179] The code was apparently a mix of Gothic custom and Roman legal culture, including many rulings from Roman vulgar law as well as elements foreign to the Roman system.[180] D'Ors cautions that to understand Euric's code we must keep in mind that, for Euric, the disappearance of the imperial prefect in Aquitaine (who would have directly affected Euric's control over the region) may have been more immediately significant than the disappearance of the emperor in Rome. He surmises that Euric commissioned his code in the wake of Odoacer's rise in Italy as a way to clarify the state of the law under this new administrative framework.[181]

The *Breviary of Alaric*, also known by the title *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, was issued in 506 on the authority of King Alaric II (484-507), also ruling from Toulouse. All but one of the many manuscripts which survive derive from a copy sent by Alaric to the count Timotheus, and

[177] *CCH*, vols. 4-6, contain most of the councils, and vol. 1 and introduction; Vives (ed.), *Concilios* edits the rest. See also Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus,* pp. 15-16, 35-6.

[178] Alvaro d'Ors, *El Código de Eurico* (Rome, 1960), pp. 3-4; E.A. Lowe (ed.), *Codices latini antiquiores*, 12 vols. (Oxford, 1934-1971), vol. 5, no. 626; Roger Collins, 'Law and Ethnic Identity in the Western Kingdoms in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries', in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe* (New York, 1998), p. 4.

[179] Manuel Paulo Merêa, *Estudos de direito visigótico* (Coimbra, 1948), p. 247; d'Ors, *El Código*, pp. 9-10.

[180] Wolf Liebeschuetz, 'Citizen Status and Law in the Roman Empire and the Visigothic Kingdom', in *SoD*, p. 143.

[181] d'Ors, *El Código*, pp. 4-6. See also Jill Harries, 'Not the Theodosian Code: Euric's Law and Late Fifth-Century Gaul', in *SCLA*, pp. 39–51.

some of these date to the sixth century. Only one manuscript comes from Spain, presumably in part because the later *Lex Visigothorum* ordered the destruction of all law codes which preceded it, but the number of Gallic copies which survived suggests it continued to be influential in Gaul after the Visigoths left.[182] The *Breviary* was created as an abbreviated version of the *Theodosian Code* (issued in 437 by Theodosius II, Roman emperor in the East) and most of the known fifth-century imperial laws, or *novellae*. Added to a large number of these laws are interpretations which explain or simply summarize the laws in order to make old laws understandable to a later society, making it a collection of older—and sometimes contradictory—laws, just as the *Theodosian Code* itself was.[183]

Alaric issued his *Breviary* during a time of tension between his Visigothic kingdom in Toulouse and Clovis' Frankish kingdom north of the river Loire, a year before Clovis would defeat and kill him and push the Visigoths out of all but the small part of Gaul known as Septimania. The timing and the thorough Romanness of the content suggest that Alaric's *Breviary* was, in part, intended to show Romans living under his rule, who may have been tempted to ally themselves with Clovis, that their legal tradition—still a strong symbol of Roman identity as the Empire waned—would continue to be honoured within his kingdom.[184] It had the additional benefit of casting Alaric as a direct successor to the Roman emperors: a ruler who continued to

[182] Collins, 'Law and Ethnic Identity', pp. 6-7; *LV* II, 1, 11, pp. 58-9. Gustav Haenel's edition presents a number of manuscript variations in a useful column format: *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, ed. Gustav Haenel (Leipzig, 1849) (abbreviated *BA* to conform with my in-text usage).

[183] Mousourakis, *A Legal History of Rome* (Abingdon, 2007), pp. 180-182, explains why and how the *Theodosian Code* was assembled. As no copies of this code survive in full, the *Breviary* is our best example of much of this older text; Theodor Mommsen and Paul Meyer used it for the bulk of their edition of the *Theodosian Code* (Berlin, 1905). On the date of the interpretations, see John Matthews, 'Interpreting the *Interpretationes* of the *Breviarium',* in Ralph W. Mathisen (ed.), *Law, Society, and Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2001), p. 14. See also Ralph Mathisen and Hagith Sivan, 'Forging a New Identity: The Kingdom of Toulouse and the Frontiers of Visigothic Aquitania (418-507)', in Ferreiro (ed.), p. 58; John Matthews, 'Roman Law and Barbarian Identity in the Late Roman West,' in Mitchell/Greatrex, p. 36.

[184] Hagith Sivan, 'The Appropriation of Roman Law in Barbarian Hands: "Roman-Barbarian" Marriage in Visigothic Gaul and Spain', in *SoD*, p. 195; Peter Heather and Mayke de Jong in discussion of Isabel Velázquez, 'Jural Relations as an Indicator of Syncretism from the Law of Inheritance to the *Dum inlicita* of Chindaswinth', in *Visigoths*, pp. 262-3; King, *Law and Society*, pp. 10-11; C.E.V. Nixon, 'Relations Between Visigoths and Romans in Fifth-Century Gaul', in Drinkwater/Elton, pp. 64–74.

propagate their laws.[185] It was also, as I will discuss later, a selection of the laws already in use in Alaric's kingdom from before the Roman Empire fell, abridged and interpreted for ease of use in their new political environment, and existing alongside the *Code of Euric* as a complement to the laws contained therein.[186]

The *Codex Revisus* of Leovigild (568-586), presumed to have been composed c. 580, no longer survives except through the *Antiquae* of the *Lex Visigothorum*. We know it existed from Isidore of Seville's *History*, which tells us that Leovigild corrected laws promulgated by Euric, adding some which had been omitted and removing superfluous others, and we can deduce which of the *Antiquae* belonged to him rather than Euric by comparing the style.[187] Laws which are known to be Euric's do not seem to change in style from the extant sixth-century palimpsest of the *Code of Euric* to their incorporation in the seventh-century *Lex Visigothorum*, and those *Antiquae* which share this style, therefore, can be attributed to Euric, and those which do not can be cautiously assigned to Leovigild.[188]

Finally, the *Lex Visigothorum* (*Law of the Visigoths/Visigothic Code*) was issued by Recceswinth (649-672) in 654.[189] There has been some debate over whether his father Chindaswinth (642-653), who co-ruled with his son until his death, also issued a law code of which Recceswinth's is a revision, or issued separate laws which Recceswinth incorporated into his own code; the code may even have been a joint project on which both men worked during the years in which they shared the kingship, with Chindaswinth given credit for all of the laws he created.[190] This last option seems the most probable, since it would be a massive undertaking to

[185] Mathisen and Sivan, 'Forging a New Identity', p. 58.
[186] See below, pp. 66-72.
[187] *HGVS* 51, p. 288: 'In legibus quoque ea quae ab Eurico incondite constituta videbantur correxit, plurimas leges praetermissas adiciens, plerasque superfluas auferens'.
[188] Merêa, *Estudos*, p. 247. For the idea that the *Codex Revisus* never existed, see Alfonso García Gallo, 'Consideración crítica de los estudios sobre la legislación y la costumbre visigodas', *AHDE* 44 (1974), pp. 381-2, 395-400.
[189] This was probably not its original title, as the earliest manuscript of it, dating to the eighth century, calls it the *Liber Iudiciorum*: see Karl Zeumer, preface to *LV*, p. xix.
[190] P.D. King, 'King Chindasvind and the First Territorial Law-code of the Visigothic Kingdom', in James (ed.), pp. 131-158. On Braulio of Saragossa's involvement, see his letters exchanged with Recceswinth, nos. 38-41.

create a new law code, and the few years that would have passed between Chindaswinth's and Recceswinth's codes is too short a time to warrant the latter's effort in making a new one had his father just done so. It also explains the preponderance of laws attributed to Chindaswinth, and makes sense given that the two co-ruled for seven years.

The *Lex Visigothorum* survives in both its original 654 format and the 681 emended recension of Ervig.[191] The laws therein are attributed to the king who enacted or emended them, usually Chindaswinth, Recceswinth, or Ervig, but also occasionally Reccared, Sisebut, or Wamba. Any which predate Reccared are simply marked *Antiquae*, and presumably come from Euric's and Leovigild's codes. This code banned the use of any preceding law codes and ordered them destroyed, framing itself as the one, unified code of law for the entire kingdom.[192] This is probably the reason why the *Code of Euric* and the *Codex Revisus* do not survive in full, and why only one Spanish copy of the *Breviary* survives.

Roman identity appears in a number of contexts in the civil and canon law of the Visigothic kingdom. Both Roman citizenship and Roman law from the days of the empire are evident in the law codes, even in the seventh century; as an ethnic term, 'Roman' can be seen in a law banning intermarriage in the *Breviary* and in another repealing the ban in the *Codex Revisus*; and finally, 'Roman' is paired with other, similar terms—such as 'Goth'—in a manner which implies it was meant in the same sense as these terms: primarily ethnic. I will address each of these usages in turn.

Citizenship

Citizenship may seem an odd nuance for Roman identity to take in a world without the western empire, yet it does appear in a few laws of the Visigothic kingdom. The *Breviary*

[191] For the context of Ervig's recension, see King, *Law and Society*, p. 19.

[192] *LV* II, 1, 11, pp. 58-9: 'Nullus prorsus ex omnibus regni nostri preter hunc librum, qui nuper est editus, adque secundum seriem huius amodo translatum, librum legum pro quocumque negotium iudici offerre pertemtet'. See Patrick Wormald, 'The *Leges Barbarorum*: Law and Ethnicity in the Post-Roman West', p. 37, for Roman precedent for destroying all prior law books.

contains a number of guidelines which pertain to Roman citizens and to *Latini*, a rank between full citizen and non-citizen created for the people of Latium in the fourth century B.C. and rendered a formality when full citizenship was granted throughout the empire in 212.[193] As the *Latini* would not have been present in either the Gallic or the Spanish Visigothic kingdom, references to this status are certainly antiquated holdovers referring to the status a *Latinus* would have held, much as 'Roman' citizenship would become post-Empire. We see the latter in a law issued by Sisebut in 612 and included in the *Lex Visigothorum* which states that any Christian slave in a Jew's possession after the law was published would gain the same rights as a Roman citizen (*ad civium Romanorum privilegia iuxta nostre legis edictum transire debeant*); Jews themselves had been made Roman citizens in 212 and were identified as such in the *Breviary*.[194] Similar grants of Roman citizenship to freed slaves were made in the *Visigothic Formulary*, a collection of model documents probably assembled in the late seventh century, and these formulae were used in charters of manumission found in Celanova in the ninth century and later.[195] Clearly by the ninth and tenth centuries, it was simply a formulaic phrase to be copied out, indicating not that the recipient would actually become a participating citizen of an empire which no longer existed in the West, but that he would have the same rights and privileges such a citizen had in the past, such as owning property and giving legal testimony. This sort of anachronistic language reflecting past rather than contemporary circumstances is common in legal texts, especially documents based on formularies, which simply copy the language present.

[193] For example, *BA* II, 23, 1, p. 60; IX, 19, 1, p. 192. See also Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain*, p. 12.

[194] *LV* XII, 2, 13, p. 419; *BA* II, 1, 10, p. 34: 'Iudaei … qui Romani esse noscuntur'; Thompson, *Goths*, p. 165; Wolfram Drews, 'Jews as Pagans? Polemic Definitions of Identity in Visigothic Spain', *EME* 11 (2002), p. 194; Jeremy duQuesnay Adams, 'Ideology and the Requirements of Citizenship in Visigothic Spain: The Case of the Judaei', *Societas* 2 (1972), pp. 317–32.

[195] *Formulae wisigothicae* 2-6, in Juan Gil (ed.), *Miscellanea wisigothica,* pp. 72-6 (see also Appendix 2, pp. 248-9); Collins, *Visigothic Spain*, p. 244; Roger Collins, '"*Sicut lex Gothorum continet*": Law and Charters in Ninth- and Tenth-Century León and Catalonia', in Roger Collins, *Law, Culture, and Regionalism in Early Medieval Spain* (Aldershot, 1992), p. 495.

In the sixth and seventh centuries, however, 'Roman citizen' may have had a stronger resonance, and it was certainly more commonly used. Its inclusion in both Alaric's *Breviary* and the law of Sisebut indicates that these kings associated certain freedoms with Romanness and chose to perpetuate this connection, and that the phrase continued to have rhetorical significance—and was perhaps even expected—within contemporary mentalities.[196] These laws are proof that the privileges of such citizenship were still acknowledged and desired; a slave who gained the rights of a Roman citizen did not necessarily become 'Roman'—what he or she gained was the freedom that this shorthand implied. As is often the case with legal language, 'Roman citizen' reflects not so much the contemporary social order as a historical one turned into legal shorthand.

Roman Law

'Roman law' in some form continued to be used throughout Western Europe beyond the demise of the western empire. Bishops at the Second Council of Seville (619), for example, clearly knew it and applied it to their canonical decisions, and in Frankish law, the Church was considered to be held to it.[197] For the Visigoths, it remained in force until superseded by the *Lex Visigothorum* (654), which banned the use of older law codes and declared that there would be no further borrowing from Roman, or any other, law (*sive Romanis legibus seu alienis institutionibus amodo amplius convexari*).[198] The *Breviary* was, of course, Roman law abridged, so the phrase 'Roman law' appears on multiple occasions, although at least once the interpretation added by Alaric's compilers does not repeat the word 'Roman'.[199]

Of course, because these laws predate the Visigothic kingdom, they do not mention the Goths. This, and the fact that the *Breviary* existed alongside the *Code of Euric* rather than

[196] This is contrary to Wolf Liebeschuetz's assertion that Roman citizenship ceased to have either practical or rhetorical significance by this time: 'Citizen Status', p. 152.
[197] José Orlandis and Domingo Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los concilios de la España romana y visigoda* (Pamplona, 1986), p. 254. See below, pp. 229-30.
[198] *LV* II, 1, 10, p. 58. See also above, p. 64, n. 192.
[199] *BA* II, 1, 10, p. 34.

replacing it, has led scholars to view the *Breviary* as intended to apply to Romans only and the *Code of Euric* to apply to Goths only, the so-called theory of personality of law. Herwig Wolfram, for example, argues that if the *Code of Euric* were territorial, applying to Goths and Romans alike, there would be no need for Alaric II to bother compiling his *Breviary*.[200] The only time Euric's code would apply to Romans, in his opinion, would be when both Goths and Romans were involved in the same case, as it lays out guidelines for their interaction which are absent from the *Breviary*. For proponents of the personality thesis, the most probable explanation is that these two codes, Euric's and Alaric's, functioned in Visigothic Gaul and Spain in the same way that the multiplicity of codes did (at least theoretically) in the Frankish kingdom, each pertaining to a different ethnic group.[201] There is no reason, in their view, to believe otherwise.

Yet the existence of multiple law codes before the *Lex Visigothorum* in 654 need not be a contradiction which can only be resolved thusly. A. López Amo Marín notes that unlike in Burgundy, where there was a legal declaration stating that Roman law pertained to Roman issues and other law to Burgundian issues, the Visigothic laws have no such explicit statement of limitation.[202] Both Alvaro d'Ors and Patrick Wormald find the *Code of Euric* to be similar to other edicts with a territorial nature, such as those of imperial prefects and of the Ostrogothic kings preserved by Cassiodorus. Wormald also equates the codification by Recceswinth with the Roman practice of assembling various laws and edicts which had been in force simultaneously into a single body of legal writing. This means that the *Breviary* need not have replaced the *Code of Euric* or been intended for a separate people in order to exist concurrently with it; they could

[200] Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, p. 195. For similar views, see also: J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long-Haired Kings, and Other Studies in Frankish History* (Toronto, 1982), p. 39; Thompson, *Goths*, pp. 121-6; Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus,* p. 76; Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 259-73, 320-32.

[201] On differences between Visigothic and Frankish law, see Wormald, 'The *Leges Barbarorum*', pp. 44-6; Alfonso García Gallo, 'Nacionalidad y territorialidad del derecho en la época visigoda', *AHDE* 13 (1936), p. 169. I argue below, pp. 226-35, that despite Frankish official endorsement of legal plurality, it was impossible in practice.

[202] A. López Amo Marín, 'La polemica en torno a la territorialidad del derecho visigodo', *Arbor* 1 (1944), p. 228. *LC* Preface 8, p. 32: 'Inter Romanos vero, interdicto simili conditione venalitatis crimine, sicut a parentibus nostris statutum est, Romanis legibus praecipimus iudicari', though there are plenty of examples of laws explicitly pertaining to both Romans and Burgundians: see below, pp. 231-2.

be complementary, with Euric's code meant for everyone and Roman law serving its own, supplementary purposes.[203] Wolf Liebeschuetz sees Euric's code itself as serving as a supplement to Roman law, providing guidance on matters unmentioned in the *Theodosian Code* and other Roman laws and addressing matters specifically relevant to the sharing of a kingdom between Goths and Romans. Alaric's later *Breviary* was a gesture meant to reassure his Roman subjects that the code of his father, Euric, had not superseded their cherished, familiar laws, and to clarify these laws with new interpretations for the changed situation in which they found themselves.[204] In this view, these two law codes were not mutually exclusive but compatible.[205]

It seems to me that the picture presented by Wormald and Liebeschuetz is the most sensible option. There is a tendency in early medieval scholarship to assume that all the post-Roman kingdoms shared the same experiences, filling in gaps in source-poor regions like Spain with the relative wealth of evidence from the Frankish kingdom. The evidence for Visigothic law does not, however, match that written in the Frankish and Burgundian kingdoms; there is no explicit statement of personality in any of the Visigothic law codes, nor is there direct evidence that they were used in a personal manner in practice (though this does not exist in the Frankish kingdom either).[206] The similarities between the Visigothic codes and other post-Roman legal codes are not sufficiently great to allow us to assume the that they were applied in the same manner.

Regardless of their relationship to other legal codes, the earliest Visigothic law codes do not lend themselves well to personal application. If, as the majority of those who argue in favour of personality of law believe, the *Breviary* was the sole law code for Romans within the Visigothic kingdom, while the *Code of Euric* and later the *Codex Revisus* applied only to Goths and to situations in which Goths and Romans interacted, then the Roman residents lived with a

[203] d'Ors, *El Código*, p. 6; Wormald, 'The *Leges Barbarorum*', pp. 27-8, 36.
[204] Liebeschuetz, 'Citizen Status', pp. 142-3.
[205] Other proponents of this view are Collins, 'Law and Ethnic Identity', p. 2; García Gallo, 'Nacionalidad y territorialidad'.
[206] See below, pp. 231-3.

stagnant code, not once updated to suit new circumstances between 506 and 654. Nor, indeed, did the updates made in 506 actually add any new legislation; they were all in the form of 'interpretations' which changed terminology to reflect a new political situation or clarified terms, and in the selection of material to keep and to omit.[207] Under a system of separate Gothic and Roman legislation, Romans in 653 would still have been using a clarified, but not truly updated, version of the *Theodosian Code* from 437.[208]

Both the *Code of Euric* and the *Codex Revisus*, however, give some common rules to both Goths and Romans.[209] Seven of the *Antiquae* in the *Lex Visigothorum,* which reflect laws from these two codes, mention Goths or Romans, and one more appears in the fragments of the *Code of Euric* which had been altered by the seventh-century to refer to a generic *quis*, instead of *Gothus*, probably by Leovigild. Those which specifically mention Goths in what survives of Euric's code pertain to land rights relating to the *hospitalitas* system under which they were originally settled in southern Gaul: one states that any 'Gothic lots (*sortes Gothicas*)' and 'Roman thirds (*tertias Romanorum*)' which had not been returned within fifty years could not be reclaimed, one validated boundary changes made by Romans before Goths arrived and set out the rules for what must be done if the boundaries of land claimed by Goths and by Romans could not be easily determined by existing landmarks, two pertained to the division of arable land and forests between Goths and Romans, and one declared that Roman lands unjustly appropriated by Goths should be returned.[210] These laws are from a sufficiently early date that

[207] Matthews, 'Interpreting', pp. 11-32.
[208] Liebeschuetz, 'Citizen Status', p. 142; Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, p. 196. Liebeschuetz presents this as the main flaw in personality theory.
[209] García Gallo, 'Nacionalidad y territorialidad', p. 195.
[210] *LV* X, 2, 1, p. 391 (*CE* 277, p. 20) and X, 3, 5, pp. 398-9 (*CE* 276, p. 20), known to be Euric's; and X, 1, 8, p. 385; X, 1, 9, p. 386; and X, 1, 16, p. 389, thought to correspond to Euric's very fragmentary 301-4, pp. 30-31. There has been significant debate about whether the *hospitalitas* system involved allotments of land or of tax revenue, with Walter Goffart and Jean Durliat favouring the latter: Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans*; Jean Durliat, 'Le salaire de la paix sociale dans les royaumes barbares', in Herwig Wolfram and Andreas Schwarcz (eds.), *Anerkennung und Integration: Zu den wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen der Völkerwanderungszeit (400-600)* (Vienna, 1988), pp. 21-72; and 'Cité, impôt, et intégration des barbares', in *KoE*, pp. 153-180. J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz provides a good summary of their positions followed by his own in 'Cities, Taxes, and the Accommodation of the Barbarians: The Theories of Durliat and Goffart', in Noble, pp. 309-324. See also Herwig Wolfram, 'Neglected Evidence on the

there would have been little question who the terms 'Roman' and 'Goth' applied to: in the Visigothic kingdom in Gaul, where they were written, Romans were those individuals who had been citizens of the empire before it fell in the West. In later years, the terms were applied to descendants of these individuals. Since their political identity as imperial subjects had vanished, these Romans were instead identified by their former citizenship, or their ancestors' citizenship—they were born to non-barbarian parents, and thought to inherit their Romanness just as Goths inherited their Gothicness: as an ethnic identity.

The law altered by Leovigild originally fell into this same category, stating that if a Roman gave a Goth property that was in the process of litigation, and in so doing caused the Goth to lose his newly claimed land, the Roman must compensate him with something of equal value.[211] Of all the above laws, only this one pertained to continuous practice rather than clarification of the terms of settlement under the *hospitalitas* system (which, in any case, originated in Gaul and may or may not have applied in Spain). It is unlikely to be a coincidence that Leovigild chose to remove ethnic language only from this law; it is probably the only one which contemporaries may have acted upon. The removal of ethnic language from this law suggests that the loss of land in this manner continued to be a problem, but within rather than across ethnic groups, and perhaps that ethnic lines had blurred enough that determining who counted as a 'Roman' or a 'Goth' was an impossible task.

Among the *Antiquae* attributed to Leovigild's *Codex Revisus*, *LV* VII, 4, 2 actually specifies that people other than Goths were included. It decreed that 'whenever a Goth, *or anyone*, is accused of a crime (*quotiens Gotus seu quilibet in crimine … accusatur*)', the local judge must do all he can to arrest that person. Although it is the criminal rather than the offended party who is mentioned, the possibility that he or she would not be a Goth suggests that the same standard

---

Accommodation of Barbarians in Gaul', in *KoE*, pp. 181-4; Sam Barnish, 'Taxation, Land, and Barbarian Settlement in the Western Empire', *PBSR* 54 (1986), pp. 170-95; Andreas Schwarcz, 'Visigothic Settlement, Hospitalitas, and Army Payment Reconsidered', in *Romans, Barbarians*, pp. 265-70.

[211] *CE* 312, p. 34, corresponding to *LV* V, 4, 20, pp. 225-6; See also d'Ors, *El Código*, p. 247.

for dealing with the accused applied to all in the kingdom.[212] Another criminalized the seizure of property by conscription officers when calling Goths to arms, possibly a generalization which may in practice have also included some Romans.[213] The lone example of 'Roman' in Leovigild's own laws is in the famous passage (*LV* III, 1, 1) which sanctioned marriage between Romans and Goths.[214] I will discuss this specific law in more detail shortly, but for the moment I would like to focus on its implications for unity within the kingdom.

Leovigild has always been seen as a unifier: John of Biclar's *Chronicle* presents him as a restorer who conquered huge swaths of the peninsula and brought their inhabitants back under Gothic rule, his reforms of the Arian religion brought its precepts closer to those of Catholicism and appear to be an attempt to encourage religious unity under Arianism, and this law allowing intermarriage sanctioned the mixing of Goths and Romans which over a few generations could lead to greater ethnic unity.[215] His son, Reccared (586-601), orchestrated the religious unity of the majority of the kingdom when he converted to Catholicism in 587, completing the process with an official renunciation of Arianism at the Third Council of Toledo in 589. P. D. King, although he presumes personality of law until the reign of Chindaswinth, admits that it is odd that Leovigild and Reccared exhibited all these other unifying tendencies but not with regard to the law.[216] Indeed, this late sixth-century impulse toward unification is a good argument in favour of the territoriality of Visigothic law by then. After the conversion in 589, all Visigothic church councils applied to Goths and Romans alike, as these two people shared one faith; this made canon law universal at this point, so why not civil law?[217] As children were born to mixed marriages, able to claim both Gothicness and Romanness, how would one determine the law which would apply to them under a system of personal law?

---

[212] *LV* VII, 4, 2, p. 301.
[213] *LV* IX, 2, 2, p. 367. Conversely, see José Orlandis, 'Los romanos en el ejército visigodo', *Homenaje a Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel* (Silos, 1977), pp. 129–31.
[214] *LV* III, 1, 1, p. 121.
[215] John of Biclar, *Chronica*, pp. 212, 216; Wolf, pp. 6, 10; King, *Law and Society*, pp. 13-14; Wood, 'Social Relations', p. 193.
[216] King, *Law and Society*, p. 18.
[217] Ibid. p. 16.

Again, the simplest answer, and the one I find most convincing, is that this would not be necessary, because both laws in force at this point, the *Codex Revisus* and the *Breviary of Alaric*, applied across the kingdom. It was never intended that the old Roman law would be abandoned, nor that it should be followed by all Romans unchanged for a century and a half; it was the foundation upon which the legal system had been built and would continue to serve as such, with Euric and later Leovigild supplementing this foundation as their situations warranted, for both Goths and Romans.[218] Together the various codes preceding Recceswinth's in 654 formed a single body of law, a collection with some inconsistencies—just like the *Breviary* and the *Theodosian Code* themselves were—which could be used or discarded as needed for Goths and Romans alike. Recceswinth's code, being unusually comprehensive, was sufficient to replace these and stand alone.[219]

Intermarriage

Lex Visigothorum III, 1, 1 allowing Romans and Goths to marry is a central point of many arguments about law and ethnicity in the Visigothic kingdom. It is important to understand its origins and the origins of the law which it repeals in order to make sense of this debate. The history of the marriage ban begins with the *Theodosian Code*, proceeds to the *Breviary of Alaric* which added a new interpretation to it, continues to Leovigild's *Codex Revisus* which repealed it, and culminates in the *Lex Visigothorum*'s inclusion of Leovigild's law some seventy years later.

The ancient law to which *LV* III, 1, 1 refers was issued in 373 by Emperor Valentinian I to Theodosius, the *magister equitum* ('chief of the cavalry') who was involved in a difficult campaign against an African-Roman named Firmus and a group of African Moorish rebels. These were not outsiders or foreign enemies but rebels from within the boundaries of the Roman

[218] Liebeschuetz, 'Citizen Status', pp. 143-4.
[219] Isabel Velázquez, 'Jural Relations', p. 230; Caroline Humfress, *Orthodoxy and the Courts in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2007), esp. pp. 65-7; John F. Matthews, *Laying Down the Law: A Study of the Theodosian Code* (London, 2000), p. 292.

Empire.[220] This is a key point in understanding the intent of the law, which reads as follows: 'No provincial, of whatever rank or class he may be, shall marry a barbarian wife, nor shall a provincial woman be united with any gentile (*Nulli provincialium, cuiuscunque ordinis aut loci fuerit, cum barbara sit uxore coniugium, nec ulli gentilium provincialis femina copuletur*)'.[221] 'Provincials' certainly meant Romans residing in the provinces of the Empire. Liebeschuetz notes that in the *Theodosian Code*, in which this older law was included, 'gentiles' usually means 'pagans' or 'border tribesmen'. He presumes that the latter meaning is what was intended in *CTh* III, 14, 1, since Moors living within the Roman frontier could easily be seen in this manner.[222] Further support for this hypothesis is that the penalty imposed in this law is not for the marriage itself, but for conspiratorial action which may come of it (*quod in iis suspectum vel noxium detegitur*); Valentinian aimed through this law to prevent Roman provincials from siding with 'barbarian' rebels because of ties through marriage.[223] Notably, these 'barbarians' resided within the borders of the Empire, not outside.

By 506 when Alaric ordered the compilation of his *Breviary*, the background of this law would have been difficult to discover, since the editors of the *Theodosian Code* had not included most of the contextual details surrounding the issuing of the law.[224] The *Breviary*'s compilers added an interpretation that slightly altered the meaning of this law, whether intentionally or not, changing 'provincials' to 'Romans' and removing 'gentiles', but leaving 'barbarians' as it was: *Nullus Romanorum barbaram cuiuslibet gentis uxorem habere praesumat, necque barbarorum coniugiis mulieres Romanae in matrimonio coniungantur*.[225] They also did not reiterate the original law's emphasis on collaboration with the enemy as the actual act being

[220] Sivan, 'Appropriation', p. 191.
[221] *CTh* III, 14, 1. The English translation is that of Clyde Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton, 1952), translating *loci* as 'class'.
[222] Liebeschuetz, 'Citizen Status', p. 139.
[223] Ibid. pp. 139-40; Hagith Sivan, 'Why Not Marry a Barbarian? Marital Frontiers in Late Antiquity (The Example of *CTh* 3.14.1)', in *Shifting Frontiers*, p. 139.
[224] Sivan, 'Appropriation', p. 192.
[225] *BA* III, 14, 1, p. 92; Matthews, 'Interpreting', p. 19.

punished, altering the meaning further to focus on the marriage as the crime rather than its consequences.[226]

Historians have interpreted these changes in a number of ways, but usually ignoring the key evidence of a council of Catholic bishops from Visigothic territory in both Gaul and Spain at Agde in 506, called by Alaric.[227] This council was headed by Caesarius of Arles, whom Alaric had previously exiled to Bordeaux, and may have been intended to show Catholics—most of whom were Romans—that their ruler was concerned to preserve their institutions.[228] It provided security in the religious sphere while the *Breviary* provided it in the legal sphere. The records of this council include its own intermarriage ban between Catholics and 'heretics', which states that it was improper to join in marriage with any heretics, and to give them sons and daughters, but it was allowed to marry them if they promised that they would become Catholic Christians (*quoniam non oportet cum omnibus hereticis miscere conubia, et vel filios vel filias dare, sed potius accipere, si tamen se profitentur christanos futuros esse catholicos*).[229] The two types of bans are probably related; as the majority of Romans were Catholic and the majority of Goths were members of the Arian sect, the Catholic-heretic marriage ban and the Roman-barbarian ban seem meant to apply to the same people, using different modes of identification. In a period when religious and ethnic identities would have mostly overlapped, these identities reinforced each other, and the clear concern from both sides to maintain separation led to legislation in both ecclesiastical and secular spheres.

It is a bit odd for a document issued under the purview of the Goths to refer to the Goths as 'barbarians', something which does not happen in other such sources in the Visigothic kingdom; elsewhere in the *Breviary*, 'barbarian' generally indicated an enemy or some sort of

[226] Liebeschuetz, 'Citizen Status', pp. 139-40.
[227] For examples and discussion, see Felix Dahn, *Westgothische Studien: Entstehungsgeschichte, Privatrecht, Strafrecht, Civil- und Straf-process und Gesammtkritik der* Lex Visigothorum (Würzburg, 1874), pp. 15-17; Merêa, *Estudos*, p. 235; García Gallo, 'Nacionalidad y territorialidad', p. 199.
[228] Mathisen and Sivan, 'Forging a New Identity', p. 59
[229] Council of Agde, ed. C. Munier, in *Concilia Galliae a.314-a.506*, *CCSL* 148 (Turnhout, 1963), 20(67), p. 228; Ana Maria Jiménez Garnica, 'El origin de la legislación civil visigoda sobre la prohibición de matrimonios entre romanos y godos: un problema de fundamento religioso', *AHDE* 55 (1985), p. 744.

alien 'other'.[230] It was not unheard of in Burgundian law, though.[231] To me, the unique use of 'barbarian' and the removal of 'provincial'—a less meaningful term post-Empire—signal a time of transition and of confusion about how the two groups would now relate to each other. The dynamics of their world had changed, and not completely settled, as had reference points for what 'barbarian' and 'Roman' meant. If their identities were less than clear, it is unsurprising that the same was true of their language.

We cannot be sure precisely how the *Breviary*'s ban was intended—or whether its authors were even sure—but we can be certain that by the time of Leovigild's *Codex Revisus*, this law was interpreted as banning marriage between Goths and Romans. Leovigild's law, repeated in the *Lex Visigothorum* as *LV* III, 1, 1, says that the ancient law was unacceptable because it unjustly prevented the marriage of individuals of equal status (*priscus lex … que incongrue dividere maluit personas in coniuges, quas dignitas conpares exequabit in genere*), and henceforth 'a Gothic man may marry a Roman woman, and likewise a Gothic woman a Roman man (*ut tam Gothus Romanam, quam etiam Gotam Romanus si coniugem habere voluerit*)', provided of course that they met the status requirements recorded elsewhere in the code (which apparently mattered more to Leovigild). There had, of course, already been some marriages between Romans and Goths (although they may have been the exception rather than the norm), including that of King Theudis, whose rise to the throne after his marriage shows that no one was terribly concerned about this particular intermarriage; perhaps by Leovigild's time, the ban seemed antiquated and no longer suited to the reality of his society.[232]

It may have seemed obvious to Leovigild that the ban would pertain to Goths and Romans, or he may have been just as uncertain about the *Breviary* interpretation as modern

[230] Sivan, 'Appropriation', pp. 193-4; F.M. Beltrán Torreira, 'El concepto de barbarie en la Hispania visigoda', in *Los visigodos*, pp. 53–60. Similarly, in the Ostrogothic kingdom, Cassiodorus, *Variae*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, in *MGH AA XII* (Berlin, 1894), III.17, p. 88.
[231] Ian Wood, 'Conclusion: Strategies of Distinction', in *SoD*, p. 298.
[232] See above, p. 38. Sinticio's parents may also be an example: see below, p. 86.

scholars are, and how precisely *he* meant 'Goth' and 'Roman' is, again, difficult to say.[233] However, the common assumption that Goths were Arian and Romans were Catholic would have influenced his perceptions, and he probably conflated the religious and ethnic nuances of this term into a single identity, just as the combined *Breviary* and Council of Agde may have been viewed in their day. In this sense, his intermarriage law could have been envisioned as encompassing both nuances in one: whether Catholic and Arian, or Roman and Goth, or both, subjects were free to marry.

Paired Together

The law in the *Codex Revisus* which lifted the intermarriage ban is one of a handful of occasions in which 'Roman' was paired with a similar term within a phrase. The manner in which the terms are connected in these phrases—'Roman and Goth alike', for example—implies that they were intended to refer to the same type of identity. As I will illustrate, 'Roman' in all of these instances referred to Hispano-Roman, not Byzantine, and thus a political meaning could not have been intended; politically, Hispano-Romans were, after all, Gothic subjects. While during Leovigild's time, 'Goth' and 'Roman' could refer to a religious difference, by the seventh century both groups were assumed to be Catholic, and thus later pairings of the terms certainly do not reflect a religious distinction. However, both Gothic and Hispano-Roman identity could take on an ethnic flavour throughout the entire period, and this is thus the most likely sense in which their combination was primarily meant.

As we have already seen, 'Roman' was paired with 'Goth' in a handful of laws in the *Code of Euric*, most pertaining to land rights.[234] In its early sixth-century context, relating to the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse and the Gallo-Romans living within its boundaries, there can be no doubt what these two terms meant: they were ethnic terms relating to supposed

[233] Sivan, 'Appropriation', p. 201; Liebeschuetz, 'Citizen Status', p. 140.
[234] See above, p. 69.

descendants (and, for landholding purposes, heirs) of earlier incoming Goths and resident Romans.

The law lifting the intermarriage ban is perhaps the best-known example of the pairing of these terms, and it was reiterated in the Ninth Council of Toledo (655), in the year following Recceswinth's inclusion of this earlier law in his *Lex Visigothorum*. Canon 13 of this council decreed that no freed persons (*liberti*) of the church may marry free-born persons *(ingenui*), whether Goth or Roman (*aut Romanis ingenuis ... aut Gotis*), and canon 14 continued that should this rule be broken, again by Goths or by Romans, the children of these unions would be unable to leave the patronage of the church: *aut Gotis aut Romanis ingenuis copulari, tam illis quam eorum stirpi non licebit ab ecclesiae patrocino evagari*.[235] In 655 when this council took place, the Byzantines had been gone from the peninsula for about thirty years, so the referenced 'Romans' were certainly Hispano-Romans. The way they are paired implies a desire by the bishops to stress that the law applied to everyone, by naming the two ethnic groups which had once comprised the bulk of the kingdom; that they did so suggests that either they still perceived ethnic Romans as existing in the kingdom, or perhaps that the phrase 'whether Goth or Roman' was formulaic, antiquated language which reflected an earlier state of things. There may have indeed still been people perceived as ethnically Roman in 655, although this is early enough that the elders among these bishops might remember (barely) and know about pre-589 ethnic divisions and be reflecting that. Given that Leovigild's law sanctioning marriage between Romans and Goths had just been included in the *Lex Visigothorum* the year before, they were probably also responding to the language of this law.

The only mention of 'Roman' in Visigothic sources after 655 belongs to the reign of Wamba (672-680). Around the year 680, Wamba enacted a law decreeing that anyone who joined the army must bring a tenth of his slaves with him. In case there was any question as to what 'anyone' meant, it was clarified: 'whether he is a duke, count, or *gardingus*; a Goth or a

[235] 9 Toledo 13-14, in *CCH*, vol. 5, pp. 507-8. See also Vives (ed.), *Concilios*, p. 304.

Roman; a freeman or a freedman; or any servant attached to the service of the crown (*sive sit dux sive comes atque gardingus, seu sit Gotus sive Romanus, necnon ingenuus quisque vel etiam manumissus, sive etiam quislibet ex servis fiscalibus*)'.[236] As in the laws from Euric's *Code*, 'Goth' and 'Roman' were probably intended in an ethnic fashion, as there was no longer a religious distinction between them by the late seventh century. This list is, again, not necessarily proof that there were individuals in Spain in the late seventh century who self-identified or were perceived by others as 'Roman'; 'Roman' may have been included simply as a rhetorical match for 'Goth'. Together 'Goth' and 'Roman', or 'freeman' and 'freedman', symbolize all possibilities, and, in this case, reiterate that there were no exceptions to this rule, not even if you were a duke, or a Goth, or a Roman, with an implied 'and so forth'.[237]

Similarly, a formulation in the Council of Narbonne (589) in Septimania, the Visigothic-ruled province in southern Gaul, seems to intend all people within the province by listing all of the ethnic groups the author knew, or perceived, to be living there. One passage prohibits work on Sunday to all people, 'a free-born just as a slave, Goth, Roman, Syrian, Greek, or Jew (*tam ingenuus quam servus gotus, romanus, syrus, graecus vel iudaeus*)'.[238] Another canon prohibits fortune tellers in the home of a 'Goth, Roman, Syrian, Greek, or Jew'.[239] Gothic identity could have political, ethnic, and religious nuances at this time (though presumably everyone living under Visigothic rule was politically Gothic, and with conversion to Catholicism having just occurred, ethnic may be the only aspect which makes much sense here); similarly Roman could be taken with a religious meaning as Catholic (but so could Goth by 589, and Syrian and Greek), with a political meaning as Byzantine (again, unlikely in this case), and with ethnic nuances.

It is hard to know precisely who was intended as 'Syrian' and 'Greek' under this law. We have already seen sixth-century individuals labelled as 'Greek': bishops Paul and Fidel, and a

[236] *LV* IX, 2, 9, p. 377.
[237] We also see this construction in the rhetorical *consensus omnium*. See below, pp. 158-60, 164-5.
[238] Council of Narbonne 4, ed. Vives, in *Concilios*, p. 147; Orlandis and Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los concilios*, p. 232.
[239] Council of Narbonne 14, ed. Vives, in *Concilios*, p. 149.

group of Greek merchants in the *Lives of the Fathers of Mérida.* The author of the *Lives* described Paul as 'Greek by nation, doctor by trade (*natione Grecus, arte medicus*)' and as coming 'from eastern lands (*de orientis partibus*)'.[240] Fidel arrived in Mérida with 'Greek merchants (*negotiatores Grecos*)' in a ship 'from the East (*de Orientibus*)' and remained there when Paul discovered they were related and kept him as his successor.[241] The author of the *Lives* did not clarify why he deemed any of them to be Greek, and the closest to an explanation he provided was that they all came from 'the East'; Paul's being 'Greek by *natio*', however, suggests the author thought it was an inherited, ethnic quality.[242] Syrians also show up in the writing of fifth- and sixth-century Gallic authors, including Salvian of Marseille and Gregory of Tours: Salvian wrote in the fifth century about Syrian merchants in southern Gallic cities, again without specifying how he distinguished them as Syrian, and Gregory's *Histories* tell that a Syrian merchant named Eusebius became bishop of Paris in the sixth century.[243] Sometimes Syrians and Greeks, and even Jews who migrated from Palestine, were grouped under the more generic, geographical name of 'easterners (*orientales*)', and of course 'Syrian' and 'Greek' could refer to geographical origin as well.[244]

These are terms which were used in the West to refer to people from the East, but not necessarily in the way in which easterners themselves would use them. The word 'Greek' was not even used in the East, as residents of Greece were 'Romans (*Romaioi*)' of the East Roman Empire.[245] These two terms thus ably illustrate the role of perception in identification. The

---

[240] *VSPE* IV.1, p. 25.
[241] *VSPE* IV.3, p. 31.
[242] The presence of these Greeks in Mérida has been the subject of much speculation, some of it rather far-fetched. See Séjourné, *Le dernier père de l'église: Saint Isidore de Séville. Son rôle dans l'histoire du droit canonique* (Paris, 1929), pp. 223-4; Collins, 'Mérida and Toledo', p. 202; Wood, 'Social Relations', p. 194; Arce, 'Mérida (Emerita)', pp. 12-13.
[243] Salvian of Marseille, *De gubernatione Dei* IV.xiv[69], ed. Charles Halm, in *MGH AA* I (Berlin, 1877), pp. 49-50; *Historiae* X, p. 519 (see below, pp. 137-8); Orlandis, *Historia del reino visigodo español*, p. 201-2; Lellia Ruggini, 'Ebrei e orientali nell'Italia settentrionale fra il IV e il VI secolo d. cr.', *Studia et documenta historiae iuris* 25 (1959), p. 188.
[244] Orlandis, *Historia del reino visigodo español*, p. 201.
[245] Johannes Koder, 'Byzanz, die Griechen und die Romaiosyne', p. 104: 'Greek' and 'Hellene' carried negative connotations at this time which were avoided by using the term 'Roman'. See also Wolfram, *The Roman Empire and its Germanic Peoples*, p. 1; Pohl, 'Conceptions of Ethnicity', p. 21.

westerners who wrote this law perceived these individuals as Syrian or Greek, while the individuals themselves may have self-identified with other groups. Presumably it was language or physical appearance which westerners used to attempt to distinguish Syrians and Greeks from each other, and from other peoples in the Visigothic kingdom. It would be an outward sign of identity which an individual who knew nothing about these peoples' actual background or self-identity could associate with them. A Westerner might hear someone speaking Greek and assume that he or she was ethnically Greek. Whether or not the individual saw himself or herself as Greek was irrelevant to this Western outside observer. In the Visigothic sources, it is the Western observer's evaluation that we have, not the self-identity of these 'Greek' and 'Syrian' individuals. Our authors' designations are the only ones we can know.

Jews are (and were) first and foremost a religious group, but also an ethnic group, with a putative common descent.[246] This view stems from Jewish law itself, which in its strictest observance limits those who are truly Jews to individuals born to Jewish mothers. This is ethnic identity at its clearest: perceived as integral and inherited, yet actually able to be adopted, and continually interacting with and mutually affecting another mode of 'Jewish' identification. That early medieval Jews were seen as possessing some sort of inherent 'Jewishness' that could not be erased through conversion to Christianity is evident in the seventh-century laws sweeping *conversos* in with Jews. *LV* XII, 2, 10, for example, forbade Jews, 'baptized or unbaptized', to testify against Christians.[247] Jews who converted to Christianity and were baptized were still considered Jews by this law, despite no longer practicing the religion of Judaism. The ambiguities surrounding who actually continued to practice the Jewish religion and who practiced Christianity—a product of forced conversion—led Visigothic rulers and church leaders

[246] The literature on Jews in medieval Spain is extensive, but the most useful sources for this particular discussion are Wolfram Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour: The Jew in the Thought of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden, 2006); Raúl González-Salinero, 'Catholic Anti-Judaism in Visigothic Spain', in Ferreiro (ed.), pp. 123-50; and Devroey, 'Juifs et syriens: à propos de la géographie économique de la Gaule au haut Moyen Âge', in Jean-Marie Duvosquel (ed.), *Peasants and Townsmen in Medieval Europe* (Ghent, 1995), pp. 51–72.

[247] *LV* XII, 2, 10, p. 416.

to consider as Jewish anyone who was born to a Jew, just in case converts were still secretly practicing Judaism, combining religious and ethnic facets of Jewish identity under a single label of 'Jew'.[248]

Just as 'Jew' could have a religious and an ethnic meaning, Syrian and Greek could have linguistic, ethnic, and geographical meanings, and both Roman and Goth could have political, ethnic, and religious meanings. Yet these five designations are listed together, implying that the same aspect was intended to be highlighted for all of them, which could only be an ethnic one; the phrase undoubtedly brought some of these other aspects to mind, both for the bishops creating the law and for its audience, but the combination of all five together would have placed primary focus on the perceived essentialness of descent.

Looking at both the civil and the canon laws, we can see that 'Roman' appeared most often paired with 'Goth', and only once after the mid-seventh century. Many of these laws originated in the earliest days of Visigothic rule, when Goths and Romans were more clearly separate groups in the process of adapting to sharing land and transitioning to new leadership. By the last third of the seventh century, this distinction had eroded to become virtually non-existent, and the lack of the Roman ethnonym in later laws reflects this change.

The Evolution of Roman Identity

We have seen a number of different ways in which 'Roman' was used and Romanness alluded to in the sources of Visigothic Spain. When we look at them in chronological order, we can see how the use of the term 'Roman', and Hispano-Roman identity itself, changed over time. During the fifth-century, when the Roman Empire still had a loose hold over Spain, 'Roman' could still be a political term for peninsular residents. It seems to have been so obvious as to not

[248] Orlandis and Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los concilios*, p. 289. The existence of Jews within the kingdom became a particular problem mid-seventh century as it contradicted the narrative of kingdom-wide unity based on Catholic Gothicness. See Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour*, pp. 7-32; González-Salinero, 'Catholic Anti-Judaism', p. 124; *HGVS* 60, p. 291; 6 Toledo 3, in *CCH*, vol. 5, pp. 304-7; *LV* XII, 2, pp. 410-27, esp. 16, p. 424, dating from Reccared's reign to Egica's; XII, 3, pp. 427-56, dating to 681 under Ervig.

require mentioning, with Hydatius preferring *Gallaeci* and *Spani* for the local residents he described. After the demise of the empire in the West, Hispano-Romans were no longer 'Roman' as a consequence of being citizens of the Roman Empire; that meaning of Roman only applied in the East, where the eastern emperor still ruled. Thus 'Roman' came to mean, in part, the possessor of the legal status a Roman citizen would have had, and more commonly, a former citizen, or a descendant of such citizens, with emphasis thus coming to be placed on ethnicity. This is evident in the way Roman was paired with Goth (and Syrian and Greek and Jew) as an equivalent term, and in the designation of Claudius as born of Roman parents. After Leovigild and Reccared's unifying measures in the political, religious, and ethnic spheres, Hispano-Romans were mentioned less often. 'Roman' in the early seventh century was more likely to mean 'East Roman' than 'Hispano-Roman'. Over time, as further assimilation occurred and the Byzantines were kicked out of the peninsula, 'Roman' decreased in use, barely appearing in the late seventh century. We can better understand why this decrease occurs by examining the ethnic identity which existed alongside it and gradually replaced it: that of the Goths.

Chapter Three: The 'Gothic people'

The Goths, as rulers, gave their name to the kingdom, the army, and ultimately even the Hispano-Romans under their dominion. In sixth- and seventh-century Spain, 'Goth' could be used in a political fashion for residents of the Visigothic kingdom, an ethnic manner for descendants of Goths, a religious sense for Arian Christians, and a mix of these together, and it is this multiplicity of meaning which made possible the adoption of Gothic identity by Romans. We can see the term 'Goth' used more frequently in an inclusive, political sense as the seventh century progressed; authors grouped both ethnic Goths and ethnic Romans into 'the Goths' when they wanted to refer generally to residents of the kingdom or actors in the government or army. By first becoming political Goths, the Hispano-Romans were able to ease into Gothic self-identification gradually; children and grandchildren of ethnic Romans who had self-identified as Goths politically may have seen these ancestors as sufficiently Gothic to make themselves, these people's descendants, ethnic Goths, and others may have sufficiently forgotten (or no longer remembered) that those ancestors were ever considered Roman at all. I will begin with examples which illustrate clearly each mode of identification before proceeding to those instances in which the modes significantly overlap and are more ambiguous, a state which facilitated movement from 'Roman' to 'Gothic' ethnic identity in seventh-century Spain.

Ethnic Descriptions

Some uses of the term 'Goth' are clearly ethnic. In addition to those pairings with 'Roman' mentioned earlier, which implied Roman ethnic identity through connection with a Gothic one, 'Goth' also appears in reference to specific individuals. The *Lives of the Fathers of Mérida* describe Masona, bishop of Mérida (c. 570-600 or 610), as Catholic despite being a Goth. It states, 'although of the Gothic *genus*, his mind (or heart) was completely devoted to God

(*genere quidem Gothus, sed mente promtissima erga Deum devotus*)'.[249] Suzanne Teillet has argued that 'Goth' was meant in a religious sense here, as a synonym for 'Arian'; however, this really cannot be so—one cannot, after all, be both Catholic Christian and Arian Christian simultaneously.[250] Were *gens* used rather than *genus*, there might be room for argument, since by the early medieval period *gens* could also have political and religious meanings.[251] However, the use of the term *genus,* meaning birth, descent, or origin, makes the meaning perfectly clear: 'Goth' here was meant ethnically.

The author expected his audience to be surprised that a Goth in the time before Reccared's conversion could be Catholic, since ethnic Goths tended to profess Arian Christianity before the kingdom's conversion in 589, or at least that was the expectation in the 630s when this text was written. There is almost an implication in this passage that Gothic birth was a handicap to be overcome in the quest for salvation. A later bishop of Mérida, Renovatus (d. 633), was called 'Goth by nation (*natione Gotus*)', but there is no implication in the text that this was a surprise; he was bishop in the post-conversion era, when all Goths were supposed to be Catholic.[252] Were Masona of Roman origin, his expected religious profession would be Catholic; it is only his Gothic birth, and the date prior to the conversion, which makes his Catholicism unusual.

As an Arian king, Leovigild was not content to leave Catholic bishop Masona in a position of such power in the city. Before finally exiling him, Leovigild appointed a co-bishop to serve the Arian community, a man named Sunna. This is the same Sunna who, after Reccared became king and converted the kingdom, led the plot to kill Masona and Claudius. The author explicitly

---

[249] *VSPE* V.2, p. 48.

[250] Teillet, *Des goths*, pp. 553-4; J.I. Alonso Campos, 'Sunna, Masona, y Nepopis: Las luchas religiosas durante la dinastía de Leovigildo', in *Los visigodos*, p. 155.

[251] Gerda Heydemann, 'Biblical Israel and the Christian *gentes*: Social Metaphors and Concepts of Community in Cassiodorus' *Expositio psalmorum',* in *SoI*; Hans-Werner Goetz, '*Gens*, Kings, and Kingdoms: The Franks', in *Regna and Gentes*, p. 336; Jeremy duQuesnay Adams, 'The Political Grammar of Isidore of Seville,' in *Arts libéraux et philosophie au Moyen Âge: IVe Congrès international de philosophie médiévale* (Paris, 1969), p. 774.

[252] *VSPE* V.14, p. 100.

labelled him as a 'Gothic bishop (*Gotus episcopus*)'.[253] After 587, Sunna was among the Arians who refused to quietly convert, and he won over a number of 'nobles of the Gothic *genus* (*Gotorum nobiles genere*)' to his cause of ridding the city of Masona and Claudius.[254] Both religious and ethnic nuances come out of these references.[255] Sunna was certainly Arian, and so the equation of Goth with Arian works in his case, but given that earlier in the text the author used 'Goth' to describe the clearly Catholic Masona, and 'Arian' to describe Sunna himself, it is doubtful that he would employ 'Goth' here in a primarily religious sense—he had already invested too much in crafting a narrative of religious rather than ethnic conflict to throw it away with ambiguity here. He also is unlikely, in a hagiographical work, to have used 'Goth' in a manner which could put the religious identity of his main characters into question. Thus, we can safely assume that Sunna was also an ethnic Goth, and that this is the primary nuance the author intended. The use of *genus* for the nobles, of course, lends their Gothicness an ethnic flavour, and while they may have been Arians both in the past and after allying with Sunna, the text clearly states that Sunna turned them away from the Catholic Church *(persuasit eos que de catholicorum hagmine ac gremio catholice eclesie cum innumerabile multitudine populi separavit*), so when first mentioned, they were *not* Arians.[256] These men were Goths who dutifully converted to Catholicism and then lapsed, and they continued to be noble Goths while Catholic and while Arian; changing their religious identity did not change their nobility or their 'Gothicness'.

John of Biclar was also of 'Gothic nation (*natione Gothus*)' according to Isidore.[257] At this time, *natio*, like *genus*, signified birth, making John an ethnic Goth, and it is this identity which seems to have led to his exile. We have no evidence that Leovigild instituted a mass exile of Catholics; we only know he exiled two Goths: Masona and John. John was not even a bishop at

[253] *VSPE* V.10, p. 81.
[254] Ibid.
[255] See further, below, p. 95.
[256] *VSPE* V.10, p. 81.
[257] *DVI* 31, p. 151.

the time, so he would have been far less powerful and influential than Masona and little real threat to Leovigild's power. They were probably exiled not only because they powerfully opposed him, or because they were Catholics, but also because they were both ethnic Goths and Catholics.[258] They set a bad example at a time when Leovigild hoped to encourage Arianism as a unifying force within his kingdom, and proved his *own* generalization that Gothic equalled Arian false.

Additionally, a funerary inscription from Pacensis (modern Salacia) in Lusitania provides especially interesting information about sixth-century ethnic identity; it names Sinticio (572-632) and tells the reader that his father was of Gothic lineage (*linea Getarum*).[259] 'Lineage' clearly points to a perception that Gothicness was inherited; it was not, however, Sinticio himself who was depicted as of 'Gothic lineage' but his father, which suggests that Sinticio's mother was *not* of Gothic lineage, perhaps Hispano-Roman. Sinticio would then have been of mixed ethnicity, able to claim one or the other, or both, from his parents. How he actually identified himself, and how others identified him, we will never know for certain, but the emphasis on his father's Gothicness suggests this was also an important aspect of Sinticio's identity.

A Religious Sense

On other occasions, 'Goth' has clear religious connotations, identifying the Goths with the branch of Christianity they espoused for over two hundred years. These are usually (and unsurprisingly) in the context of a discussion of religion, and all date to before or during the official conversion of the kingdom to Catholicism in 589. After the conversion, Arianism and Gothic identity ceased to be linked, but a new Catholic Gothicness had yet to coalesce.

---

[258] E.A. Thompson, 'The Conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 4 (1960), p. 30; Cristina Godoy and Josep Villela, 'De la fides góthica a la orthodoxia nicena: inicio de la teología política visigótica', in *Los visigodos*, p. 126.

[259] Vives (ed.), *Inscripciones* 86, pp. 31-2; Thomspon, *Goths*, p. 59. This and the Comenciolus (above, pp. 42-43) are the only inscriptions known to mention Gothic or Roman identity. Neither coins nor the collection of slate documents mention these identities. See *Documentos de época visigoda escritos en pizarra (siglos VI-VIII)*, ed. Isabel Velázquez Soriano, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2000); Vives (ed.), *Inscripciones*, pp. 147-60; Miles, *Coinage*.

The language which the sources used to describe the conversion bundles all of the Goths together, claiming that they converted *en masse*. The Third Council of Toledo (589), for example, states that Reccared called the council to thank the Lord for his conversion and for that of the Goths (*ut tam de eius conversione quam de gentis Gotorum*).[260] Similarly, the *Lives of the Fathers of Mérida* tells that when Reccared converted from the Arian heresy, he led 'the whole people of the Visigoths (*totusque Wisegotorum gens*)' to Catholicism with him.[261] In order to convert, these Goths must have been Arian. Of course, we know of some ethnic Goths who were already Catholic, namely Masona and John, but these sources were not concerned with such exceptions, but with the bulk of the Goths who required conversion. Thus these examples could also be taken in an ethnic manner if we consider its use a simplification. The story of Reccared was intended in both these sources as a grand description of a king piously converting to the 'right' religion and bringing all his people with him; it is therefore as much mythology of the kingdom's greatest hour as it is historical record.[262]

Likewise, Isidore portrayed the Arian religion in his *History of the Goths* as the faith 'which the people of the Goths had held' up until the late 580s (*quam hucusque Gothorum populus Arrio docente didicerat*) and praised his brother Leander for leading the Goths 'from the Arian insanity to the Catholic faith (*ab arriana insania ad fidem catholicam*)'.[263] His simplification of the matter, ignoring any Goths who were Catholic and non-Goths who were Arian, conflated Gothic identity in the ethnic mode with Gothic identity in the religious mode. Overall, this was probably an accurate generalization to make—the majority of ethnic Goths were also Arians (and so Goths in both senses), so it seems a fairly innocent generalization that should cause few

[260] 3 Toledo, in *CCH*, vol. 5, p. 50. This is only one of many instances.
[261] *VSPE* V.9, p. 79.
[262] That they were *his* people adds a political dimension too, which I describe below, p. 94. See also Rodrigo Furtado, 'From *gens* to *imperium*: A Study of Isidore's Political Lexicon', in Roger Wright (ed.), *Latin vulgaire--latin tardif VIII: actes du VIIIe Colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif, Oxford, 6-9 septembre 2006* (Hildesheim, 2008), p. 408 n. 3.
[263] *HGVS* 53, p. 289; *DVI* 28, p. 149.

problems, and many modern historians have adopted it. Yet not taking care with the terminology can, and does, cause crucial problems in understanding Gothic identity.

I draw a distinction between the religious and ethnic meanings of 'Goth' not because converts from Arianism were not ethnic Goths but because mixing these particular uses of the term 'Goth' together gives the misleading impression that there were no ethnic Goths who were Catholic before the late 580s. We have two high-profile examples which say otherwise: Masona of Mérida and John of Biclar. Roger Collins, in insisting that Arianism was a reflection of a Gothic desire for ethnic distinction, as if Arianism were a necessary element of being an ethnic Goth, gives a false impression that people like Masona and John did not exist. Similarly, E.A. Thompson's statement that to convert to Catholicism was to become Roman and to cease to be a Goth ignores both these men and the numerous uses of the term 'Goth' in sources after the conversion of the kingdom.[264] A common tendency to simplify matters by describing the religious division in the Visigothic kingdom as also an ethnic one, even if for the most part the religious divide fell along ethnic lines, contributes to this misunderstanding.[265] In a way, we are just as guilty in modern times of using 'Goths' as a shorthand for 'Arians' or 'Arian Goths' as sixth- and seventh-century authors were. Such shorthand is sometimes unavoidable and even useful, but when discussing nuances in the ways terms like 'Goth' were used in the Visigothic kingdom, we need to be careful to make our own uses of these terms as clear as possible in order to avoid misunderstanding and confusion. Our intentions when examining early medieval identity are different than those of contemporary authors were, and our practice must reflect this difference.

[264] Roger Collins, '¿Dónde estaban los arrianos en el año 589?', in *El Concilio III de Toledo: XIV Centenario, 589-1989* (Toledo, 1991), p. 216; Thompson, *Goths*, p. 40.

[265] Collins, '¿Dónde?', p. 216; Thompson, *Goths*, p. 105; Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus*, p. 32; José Orlandis, 'Problemas canónicos en torno a la conversión de los visigodos al catolicismo', *AHDE* 32 (1962), p. 319; Ana Maria Jorge, 'Church and Culture in Lusitania in the V-VIII Centuries', in Ferreiro (ed.), pp. 99-122. Ian Wood, 'Conclusion: Strategies of Distinction', p. 302, notes that the correlation of Arianism with Visigothic ethnic self-identification rarely stands up to scrutiny.

A Political Sense

Finally, there are some instances in which 'Goth' was clearly meant politically. This may include a range of ideas such as loyal subjects of the king, inhabitants of the Visigothic kingdom, or actors in the political sphere, an option which would probably exclude those not part of the nobility. When there is no necessary overlap with ethnicity or religion, 'Goth' could also include people who were not Goths by birth, such as Hispano-Romans.

The clearest example of this phenomenon is the formulation *rex Gothorum*, 'king of the Goths'. This is a very common regnal style in the early medieval period for many different kingdoms.[266] Although when clearly referring to the Visigothic kingdom, the sources from Spain tend more often to say simply 'king', both John of Biclar and Isidore of Seville did occasionally specify 'king of the Goths'. In his entry for the year 568, John called Athanagild 'king of the Goths in Spain (*rex Gothorum in Hispania*)', and at the end of his work, he also named Reccared 'king of the Goths'.[267] Isidore stated that Alaric became the 'prince of the Goths (*princeps Gothorum*)' in 484.[268] Sisebut's own letter to the Lombard king and queen of Italy, written between 616 and 620, in which he referred to himself as 'king of the Visigoths (*rex Wisegotorum*)', demonstrates that even he styled himself similarly in some contexts.[269] Yet neither he nor any other Visigothic king in Spain ruled over ethnic Goths alone. Hispano-Romans like Claudius, semi-subdued Basques in the north, and the Syrians, Greeks, and Jews mentioned in the Council of Narbonne were all subjects of the 'king of the Goths' without adopting new, 'Gothic' ethnic identities. Nor does 'Goth' in this formulation have any religious connotation, as both pre- and post-conversion these kings also ruled Jews (though not always happily). 'Goths' in this formula seems to refer to all subjects of the king, describing the political situation of those within the kingdom's borders. Hispano-Roman generals, Syrian merchants, and ethnically

[266] Edward James, 'Gregory of Tours and the Franks', in *ARF*, pp. 59-60; Gillett, 'Politicized', pp. 89-90; and Pohl, 'Response', p. 232.
[267] John of Biclar, *Chronica*, pp. 212, 220.
[268] *HGVS* 36, p. 281. He wrote the same about Theudis in *DVI* 17, p. 143, and 20, p. 145.
[269] *Epistolae Wisigothicae*, ed. Wilhelm Arndt, in *MGH Epistolae* III (Berlin, 1892), 9, p. 671.

Gothic nobles were apparently all 'Goths' in the sense that they were subjects of the Gothic king and participants in his kingdom—identified as politically Gothic regardless of their ethnic identities.

The 'army of the Goths (*exercitus Gothorum*)' is another such formulation. It appears in the Seventh Council of Toledo (646) in reference to those who defend the 'people or king or country of the Goths (*gens Gothorum vel patria aut rex*)'.[270] John of Biclar described the 'Goths' as an army destroying Frankish troops in Septimania in the late 580s: the Frankish army fled during the battle and 'was killed by the Goths (*a Gothis caeditur*)'.[271] This Gothic army, he added, was led by Claudius, whom we know from the *Lives of the Fathers of Mérida* to be of Roman birth; John, however, included him among the 'Goths'—the Gothic army that defended the kingdom. In Isidore's version of the same tale, Claudius was sent against the Franks, and 'no victory of the Goths in Spain (*nulla umquam in Spaniis Gothorum victoria*)' was greater than this one by the Goths over the Franks, under Claudius' command.[272] Clearly 'Goth' was not meant in a strictly ethnic way here if an ethnic Roman could be included. Again, we see it used in an inclusive sense, encompassing all members of the army under the political umbrella of 'Goth' after the name of the kingdom they defend.[273]

The 'stability of the country and people of the Goths (*patriae gentisque Gothorum statu*)' appears three times with slight variations in canon 75 of the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) in the context of what punishment was due to anyone 'of us or of the peoples of all Spain (*a nobis vel totius Spaniae populis*)' who attempted to disrupt this stability.[274] Isabel Velázquez, who has written an article focusing on the first of these phrases, describes it as an attempt at social harmony and unity and compares it with the classical *senatus populusque Romanus*, with

[270] 7 Toledo 1, in *CCH*, pp. 340-41.
[271] John of Biclar, *Chronica*, p. 218.
[272] *HGVS* 54, pp. 289-90.
[273] On ethnic identity and armies, see Kulikowski, 'Nation versus Army'; Heather, *The Goths*, p. 69; Greatrex, 'Roman Identity in the Sixth Century', p. 274.
[274] 4 Toledo 75, in *CCH*, vol. 5, pp. 252-4: 'Quiquumque igitur a nobis vel totius Spaniae populis qualibet coniuratione vel studio sacramentum fidei suae, quod patriae gentisque Gothorum statu vel observatione regiae salutis pollicitus est ...'

gens meaning the people subject to the king.[275] The connection of country and people in this formulaic manner indicates that 'people' was probably an inclusive term just as country would be, meaning all people within the kingdom no matter their ethnic background. As the army of the Goths was an ensemble of people under the leadership of the Gothic king and with an obligation to him and to his kingdom, so the Gothic people were an ensemble, under the king's jurisdiction and command.[276] 'Goth', again, had a kingdom-wide, political meaning.

Elsewhere in the Fourth Council, 'Goth' appears in the phrase, 'the glory of Christ strengthens his [the king's] realm and the people of the Goths in the Catholic faith (*conroboret Christi gloria regnum illius gentisque Gothorum in fide catholica*)'.[277] Again, the kingdom and people are closely connected in this phrase, implying that the people in question was a kingdom-wide people. As both ethnic Goths and ethnic Romans would have been Catholic by 633 when this council took place, there was no reason to exclude one or the other from the spiritual benefits bestowed on the king's realm, and in fact this council, headed by Isidore, was particularly concerned with painting an image of a politically and religiously united people, the now-Catholic Goths, and this phrase supports that image.[278] Similarly, the acts of the Seventh Council of Toledo (646) legislated against those who sought to harm 'the people of the Goths, the country, or the king'.[279] The combination of terms here again gives 'Goth' primarily a wider political sense, with the Goths being those who resided in the country subject to the Visigothic king.

Julian of Toledo (642-690), a student of Bishop Eugenius II of Toledo, was friendly with King Wamba (672-680) and King Ervig (680-687). He wrote the *History of Wamba* shortly after Wamba battled with the usurper Paul over Septimania in 672-673, along with a related *Epistola*,

[275] Velázquez, '*Pro patriae*', pp. 187, 200-202.
[276] Céline Martin, 'La notion de *gens* dans la péninsule Ibérique de VIe-VIIe siècles: quelques interprétations', in Véronique Gazeau, Pierre Bauduin, and Yves Modéran (eds.), *Identité et Ethnicité: Concepts, débats historiographiques, exemples (IIIe-XIIe siècle)* (Caen, 2008), p. 88.
[277] 4 Toledo 75, in *CCH*, vol. 5, p. 259.
[278] Wood, *The Politics of Identity*, pp. 6–7, 142–5, 191–232.
[279] 7 Toledo 1, in *CCH*, vol. 5, p. 343. Also, 8 Toledo (653) has 'Gothorum gens ac patria', in *CCH*, vol. 5, p. 375.

Insultatio, and *Iudicum*.[280] His motives for writing remain a mystery, with historians positing a range of theories from a model of composition to promoting the importance of anointing by the bishop of Toledo to a model of saintly kingship. What *is* clear is his emphasis on the aspect of loyalty in Gothic political identity.[281] Julian kept things simple in order to make a clean narrative of different factions in the war: other than Wamba and Paul, most of his actors were not individuals but armies (the Goths, the Gauls, the Franks, and the Spaniards).

The 'Goths (*Gothi*)' represent the loyal subjects of Wamba. As Julian wrote it, both Paul and his soldiers referred to their opponents, Wamba's men, as 'Goths', despite some of these soldiers having once been members of Wamba's Gothic army before rebelling with their general, Paul; Julian denied the rebels the privilege of being 'Goths'.[282] He also included a long quotation of a speech by Wamba, in which the king stated that the Franks 'have never been able to resist the Goths, and without us [Goths] the Gauls have achieved little (*nec Francos Gothis aliquando posse resistere nec Gallos sine nostris aliquid virtutis magnae perficere*)'.[283] The 'Gauls (*Galli*)' were the rebels in the former Roman province of *Gallia Narbonensis*. Throughout the text, Julian called this province *Gallia* (writers outside the Visigothic kingdom called it Septimania), and once he referred to it as the 'fosterer' or 'mother of treachery'.[284]

The 'Franks (*Franci*)' were the army of the Frankish kingdom which aided Paul and his supporters in an attempt to weaken the neighbouring Visigothic kingdom, and Julian paired them with the Gauls as enemies of Wamba on multiple occasions. For example, Wamba promised to defend the reputation of his people against the crimes of the conspirators, 'whether

[280] Julian of Toledo, *Historia Wambae regis*, *in MGH SSRM* V, pp. 501–26; Joaquín Martínez Pizarro, *The Story of Wamba* (Washington, D.C., 2005); Francis X. Murphy, 'Julian of Toledo and the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom in Spain', *Speculum* 27, no. 1 (1952), pp. 1-27; Felix of Toledo, *Vita Juliani*, in *PL* 96, cols. 445-52; Edward James, 'Septimania and its Frontier: An Archaeological Approach', in James (ed.), pp. 223–242.

[281] Collins, *Visigothic Spain,* p. 92; Teillet, *Des goths*, pp. 603-4;Suzanne Teillet, 'L'*Historia Wambae* est-elle une oeuvre de circunstance?', in *Los visigodos*, pp. 415–24; J. N. Hillgarth, 'St. Julian of Toledo in the Middle Ages', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21 (1958), p. 8; Yolanda García López, 'La cronología de la "Historia Wambae"', *Anuario de estudios medievales* 23 (1993), p. 137; Mayke de Jong, 'Adding Insult to Injury: Julian of Toledo and His *Historia Wambae*', in *Visigoths*, pp. 373–402.

[282] Julian of Toledo, *Historia Wambae* 16, p. 515 and 17, p. 516.

[283] Ibid. 9, p. 508.

[284] Ibid. 5, p. 504: 'altrix perfidiae'.

Gauls or Franks', and ultimately captured 'the multitude of Gauls and Franks' opposing him.[285] Julian used 'Spaniards (*Spani*)' for members of the army Paul led before he turned traitor who chose to join their general's fight against Wamba and the 'true', loyal Goths (and thus, seemingly, no longer meriting the name 'Goth'). He contrasted them with the native inhabitants (*incoli*) of Septimania, who were suspicious of their motives and feared that they would change sides yet again and betray them too. In this instance, he explicitly described them as 'those who came with him [Paul] from Spain (*ceteris qui de Hispania cum illo commeaverant habebatur*)' as well as 'Spaniards (*Spani*)'.[286] This name allowed Julian to easily distinguish between Wamba's men and Paul's in his story, as well as between those rebels originating in *Gallia* and those coming from *Hispania.*

The term *Spanus* only appears once in the *History* proper, but multiple times (with a different meaning) in a connected text called the *Insultatio*, an invective against the Gauls which addresses 'Gaul' personified and was also written by Julian. In it, he no longer styled Wamba's people as 'Goths' but as 'Spaniards', inverting the language of the *History*. This is because the *Insultatio* was addressed to Gaul and the deeds of the Gallic residents attributed to the personified province, just as Isidore of Seville addressed the laudatory prologue of his own *History* to 'Spain' personified and portrayed the region as the bride of its various invaders. In Julian's text, Gaul is taunted for claiming that it could defeat 'not only a part of Spain, but all of Spain', and for claiming that the 'Spaniards' were weaker than Gaul's women; it seems Julian intended to emphasize geographical divisions within the Visigothic kingdom in the *Insultatio*, unlike the political loyalties upon which he focused in the *History*.[287] This was not a common mode of identification in Visigothic Spain, and its appearance in the late seventh century suggests that religious and ethnic unity had increased since Leovigild's and Reccared's reigns in the late sixth, to the point where they were less meaningful distinguishers among the

[285] Ibid. 9, p. 508: 'sive enim Galli sive Franci', and 24, 520: 'multitudo Galliarum atque Francorum'.
[286] Ibid. 19, p. 517.
[287] Julian of Toledo, *Insultatio*, *in MGH SSRM* V 4, p. 527; 1, p. 526: 'Ubi elatae voces, quibus Spanorum vires molliores esse tuis feminis detractabas?'

population. In neither the *Insultatio*, with a geographical focus, nor the *History*, which focused on political loyalties, did Julian identify individuals in either a religious or an ethnic manner.

In the above examples, 'Goth' is in one respect a convenient shorthand—a way to refer to everyone in the kingdom, or loyal to the king, under a single term regardless of their individual ethnic or religious identities—yet it is not a meaningless simplification. For Julian, who wrote primarily about armies as collectives, rebels from Septimania were Gauls, traitors from the army were Spaniards, and loyal residents of Iberia were Goths, regardless of any other affiliations they may have had. That political affiliation was what mattered to Julian does not erase the other identities these people held. Similarly, Claudius was identified as a descendant of Hispano-Romans in the *Lives of the Fathers of Mérida*, and he was also a Goth in a political sense as the leading member of an army called 'the Goths' which scored a significant victory over the Franks according to the accounts of both John of Biclar and Isidore of Seville. One was not his 'true' identity and the other 'false'; they are simply two different types or modes of identification based on different criteria of distinction.

Overlapping Meanings

The multiplicity of modes of identification leads to a degree of ambiguity in the specific meaning of each individual use of a term like 'Goth'. Different views of what it meant to be a Goth—ethnic by perceived descent, religious as a follower of Arianism, and political as part of a Gothic army or kingdom—could be held simultaneously, as different possible nuances to a term depending on context. Often, as we have already seen, there is overlap, with a single example of the use of 'Goth' employing multiple aspects.

As I have already mentioned, there are elements of both religious and political Gothic identity at work in the nuances of the conversion story. While 'Goth' in these examples certainly meant 'Arian Goth'—as those Goths who were already Catholic, like Masona and John, would not be among those converting—there was also a political element to the conversion in that it

was the king who led his people, those subject to his rule, to Catholicism, and many of these religious and political Goths were also Gothic by birth (though we do know of at least one Hispano-Roman convert to Arianism, Vincent, bishop of Saragossa, who may have also been among their number, returning to Catholicism).[288] Religious and ethnic identities in combination can also be found in the description of the Goths who supported Sunna's plot in the *Lives of the Fathers of Mérida*.

There are a few occasions in the sources in which political and ethnic identities coincide, particularly during the early and mid-seventh century when this assimilation was occurring, which have caused a great deal of confusion and argument among historians, because many tend to acknowledge either the political or the ethnic in each textual example, with no room for ambiguity or overlap. The restrictions on kingship which appear in the acts of the Sixth Council of Toledo (638) have caused particular difficulty. Canon 17 states that one needed to be of Gothic *gens* and of worthy character to be king, and also barred tyrants, those tonsured as part of a religious order, servants, and those from a foreign people (*extranea gens*) from the throne.[289] Suzanne Teillet sees this as clearly ethnic, excluding Romans and other non-Goths from ruling—a rare late example of 'discrimination by birth or by origin'.[290] Dietrich Claude, on the other hand, argues that its implication that ethnic Romans were excluded from ruling is misleading. He points to the ban on foreigners, believing, probably correctly, that by 'foreigners' the authors meant people from outside the kingdom's borders. Claude's argument is that the Goths were meant as people from inside the kingdom in contrast with these foreigners from outside, a political rather than ethnic definition of Goths.[291] Two different historians have taken

[288] *HGVS* 50, p. 288.
[289] 6 Toledo 17, in *CCH*, vol. 5, pp. 326-7: 'Rege vero defuncto nullus tyrannica praesumtione regnum adsummat, nullus sub religionis habitu detonsus aut turpiter decalvatus aut servilem originem trahens vel extraneae gentis homo, nisi genere Gothus et moribus dignis provehatur ad apicem regni'. A few manuscripts omit 'Goth'. 5 Toledo 3 (636) also suggests the king must be a noble, in *CCH*, vol. 5, p. 282.
[290] Teillet, *Des goths,* p. 553: 'une discrimination de naissance ou d'origine'.
[291] Claude, 'Remarks', pp. 127-9.

the same passage and drawn certain, contrasting conclusions based on the idea that no more than one mode of identification can be used in the passage.

There are two important points to be made about this particular passage and our interpretations of it. First, part of the difficulty in understanding what the bishops who wrote this passage intended stems from a lack of contemporary evidence. As with other Visigothic legal documents, we have little evidence of the canon's practical use; there are no stories from the 630s of a Hispano-Roman attempting to becoming king, nor of a man born in a foreign land making the same attempt, which would give us clear context for the law and help us to easily determine its intent. Nor did this council take place in the mid-sixth century when the likelihood of it intending to promote ethnic Goths would be far greater, instead dating to the far murkier transition period between a sixth-century kingdom with persistent ethnic and religious divisions keeping Romans and Goths at least partially separate, and a late seventh-century kingdom in which these divisions had virtually disappeared. This makes any attempt to definitively determine authorial intent practically impossible, and while we may have our speculations, any historian's argument which claims to have proven the original intent should be treated with skepticism.

Secondly, as it came from a period of transition within the Visigothic kingdom, this canon could have had one meaning when it was written and been interpreted in later years as having another. This becomes a concern when the parentage of Ervig, king from 680 until 687, comes into the modern argument about the meaning of the Sixth Council canon. The ninth-century *Chronicle of Alfonso III* claims that Ervig's mother was a relative of King Chindaswinth, but his father, Ardabast, was an immigrant exiled from the Byzantine Empire.[292] Claude argues that it was 'as a rule' the father's ethnic identity, not the mother's, that determined the ethnic identity of his children, and this would make Ervig ethnically Byzantine, ineligible for the throne if the Sixth Council of Toledo really meant to exclude anyone who was not a Goth by birth

[292] *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, ed. Juan Gil Fernández, in *Crónicas asturianas* (Oviedo, 1985), p. 116.

(though, of course, his own phrasing admits that ethnic identity *could* be inherited from the mother). Since Ervig became king, Claude reasons, the canon must not have been intended ethnically but politically: Ervig was born in the Visigothic kingdom and was a loyal subject and participant in the affairs of the kingdom, which would make him, politically, a Goth.[293] José Orlandis also mentions Ervig, but he assumes that he was simply an exception to the rule against kings who were not ethnically Goths, not evidence for a political meaning to the canon; he is sufficiently convinced 'Goth' must be ethnic that he does not consider that Ervig could be anything other than an exception. Peter Heather solves the problem in another way by granting Ervig a Gothic ethnic identity via his mother.[294]

None of these historians questions the believability of the story from Alfonso's chronicle despite its late date (though Collins is perfectly willing to discount Arabic sources on the same grounds), but beyond that, these scholars have neglected the more than forty years which passed between the Sixth Council of Toledo and Ervig's accession to the throne.[295] We cannot assume that people's interpretation of this passage did not change over this time, especially since the sources for these years seem to suggest a gradual shift in what it meant to be a 'Goth'. We have already seen a probable change in meaning, and confusion surrounding this change, associated with the ban on intermarriage included in Alaric's *Breviary*. Similarly, the restriction on non-Goths being king might have had an ethnic sense when it was first written but ceased to maintain it throughout the century. Just as Leovigild's views cannot be projected onto his early sixth-century predecessors, neither can the opinions of late seventh-century individuals serve as proof of the mindset of bishops in the 630s.

As these examples have shown, identity is often a highly complex phenomenon. While a term like 'Goth' or 'Roman' may have a single meaning, pointing to a single facet of identity, it may also have multiple meanings. 'Goth' can take an ethnic meaning in one context and a

[293] Claude, 'Remarks', pp. 128-9.
[294] José Orlandis, *Semblanzas visigodas* (Madrid, 1992), p. 142; Heather, *Goths,* p. 289.
[295] Roger Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710-797* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 1-5.

political meaning in another, and it can also employ multiple nuances simultaneously, giving a sense of both ethnic and political identity in a single source or passage. It is easy to fall into the trap of thinking that the various types of identification are mutually exclusive, that, for example, the increasing use of 'Goth' in the mid-seventh century to refer to all the king's subjects must mean that these subjects had all become ethnic Goths, or, as Herwig Wolfram has suggested, that 'Goth' had ceased to have any ethnic meaning in favour of a wider, more inclusive political one.[296] The reality is far more complicated. Religious, political, and ethnic identities coexisted in Visigothic Spain, for both the term 'Goth' and the term 'Roman'.

The gens Gothorum Over Time

This is not to say that the political, ethnic, and religious nuances associated with the term 'Goth' were all prevalent at the same time; they were not. We can see a significant change in the use of each mode over the sixth and seventh centuries. 'Goth' in a religious sense initially referred to the Arian form of Christianity, distinguishing this confession as most common among the Goths. Once Arianism was essentially banned in 589, religious Gothicness ceased to have meaning until the new association with Catholicism became stronger. The sense of unity brought about by the vast majority of the kingdom becoming Catholic helped to bring unity in other aspects (although it caused problems for Jews who, not being Catholics, were harder to see as loyal (political) Gothic subjects). For example, 'Goth' was used more in a political sense to mean all subjects of the king or all nobles in the king's government after the conversion; with these subjects unified on religious terms, it became easier to see them as a cohesive unit in political terms as well. Leovigild's official sanctioning of marriage between ethnic Goths and Romans probably led to an increase in intermarriage, and undoubtedly the resulting ethnic unity would likewise have facilitated political unity. Both factors help to explain the increase in the

[296] Wolfram, 'Gothic History as Historical Ethnography', p. 52.

use of the term 'Goth' in a political way to encompass Goths, Hispano-Romans, and any other peoples in the Visigothic kingdom during the first half of the seventh century.

In sources from the second half of the seventh century, we see yet another change in the use of the term 'Goth'. After Recceswinth's *Lex Visigothorum* in 654, we still see 'Goth' used in this political sense, but far less frequently. Where once the phrase *gens Gothorum* appeared to refer to all inhabitants or participants in the kingdom's affairs, in the late seventh century the qualification *Gothorum* was usually dropped; the people were simply a *gens*.[297] The Council of Mérida (666), for example, discussed the defence and security of the 'king, people, and country (*rex, gens, aut patria*)' without specifying that these were Gothic, and phrases like *seniores gentis Gothorum* virtually disappear in favour of simply *seniores*.[298] As a substitute for 'Gothic', the qualification *Hispaniae* (of Spain) appeared more frequently at this time, as in the Fourteenth Council of Toledo (684) telling of 'Spanish bishops' (*Spanorum praesulum*) rather than Gothic ones, and of the 'kingdom of Spain' (*regnum Hispaniae*) rather than the 'kingdom of the Goths'.[299] This does not mean, as a number of historians have suggested, that the late seventh century was the era in which modern Spain and Spanish identity was born.[300] It is simply a sign of assimilation of Hispano-Romans and others into 'Gothic' identity; 'Goth' needed to be mentioned less often because in a political sense, and perhaps even in an ethnic sense, most everyone in the Visigothic kingdom had become a 'Goth'.[301]

---

[297] The one exception is 'patriae gentisque Gothorum statu' in 16 Toledo (693), in Vives (ed.), *Concilios*, p. 511, which may be a reference to this phrase's appearance in 4 Toledo.

[298] Council of Mérida, in Vives (ed.), *Concilios*, p. 327; Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, 'El aula regia y las asembleas políticas de los Godos', in *Estudios Visigóticos*, p. 172. There is also 'populis gentisque nostrae regno' in some manuscripts of 12 Toledo (681), as edited by Vives in *Concilios*, p. 384.

[299] 14 Toledo, in *CCH*, vol. 6, pp. 277-9. 'Spain' or 'Spain and Gaul' appeared in some earlier councils, but not 'Spanish'; these are 3 Toledo, 4 Toledo, and 10 Toledo (656). 15 Toledo (688) and 17 Toledo (694) mention 'the bishops of Spain and Gaul'.

[300] Teillet, *Des goths*; Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique* (Paris, 1959), p. 816.

[301] Gothicness would be reasserted in some cases after 711 when the arrival of Arabs disrupted peninsular unity, ethnically in the Arab south, politically in the Asturian north, and religiously in a reconquered Toledo through the Visigothic rite of Mass. See *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, pp. 114, 126; *Chronicle of Albelda*, ed. Juan Gil Fernández, in *Crónicas asturianas* (Oviedo, 1985), p. 174; Ibn al-Qūṭīya, *History*, trans. David James, *Early Islamic Spain: The History of Ibn al-Qūṭīya* (London, 2009), esp. pp. 22-4; Ann Christys, *Christians in Al-Andalus, 711-1000* (Richmond, 2002), pp. 181-3; Miquel Barceló, 'Els "Hispani"

Section Conclusion

Ethnicity is a difficult topic of discussion, especially for places like Visigothic Spain from which we have a limited number of sources. The difficulty is exacerbated by the imprecise language we use in modern times to describe Romans and Goths. Dietrich Claude, for example, asserts within a few lines of each other that kings had to be of 'descent from the Visigothic nobility' and that this did not exclude 'Hispano-Romans'.[302] Presumably he means that the Visigothic nobility was a political group, including Roman as well as Gothic nobles; his use of the word 'descent', however, implies that membership in the Visigothic nobility was based on Gothicness by birth. Certainly this mix of possible views is not what Claude was trying to convey.

When we are careful to distinguish between different possible meanings of 'Goth' and 'Roman', we gain a richer understanding of the nuances our sources provide. For instance, contrary to Herwig Wolfram's assertion that the Gothic *gens* lost any ethnic meaning when it gained political connotations, we can see that the term acquired separate meanings in each of these spheres. There was no need for ethnic Gothicness to disappear, as ethnic and political meanings of the word could exist in parallel, with slightly different nuances; instead, Gothicness adopted a double meaning with ethnic Romans continuing to exist alongside ethnic Goths yet being included within the political meaning of the *gens Gothorum*.[303]

Throughout the early seventh century, the phrase *gens Gothorum* was used with increasing frequency to refer to all (noble) residents of the kingdom. The impression many historians have of this phenomenon is that 'Romans' no longer existed, having been subsumed into the Gothic populace, but, as I have already stated, this assumes that political and ethnic

---

de Qurtuba a Meitat del Segle III', *Faventia* 3, no. 2 (1981), pp. 189-90. Luis A. García Moreno, 'Spanish Gothic Consciousness Among the Mozarabs in Al-Andalus, VIII-Xth Centuries', in Ferreiro (ed.), pp. 303–24, overstates the case.

[302] Claude, 'Remarks', p. 128.

[303] On the same phenomenon in Gaul, see Goetz, '*Gens*, Kings, and Kingdoms: The Franks', p. 344.

identity are one and the same. The inclusion of Romans in the *gens Gothorum* on a political level does not necessarily mean they ceased to exist on an ethnic level; it is not the inclusive use of 'Goth' in the political mode, but the gradual disappearance of 'Roman' which indicates a shift in the ethnic identity of those who once would have been perceived as Hispano-Romans.

Certainly in the late sixth century, when Leovigild issued his *Codex Revisus,* there were individuals identified as ethnically 'Roman'. Duke Claudius of Lusitania, described in the *Lives of the Fathers of Mérida* as of Roman parents, lived at this time, and the acts of the council of Narbonne (589) list 'Romans' among the peoples of the region. Both Arianism and the ban on intermarriage would have been barriers to ethnic mixing, but once these barriers were removed in the 580s, such mixing would undoubtedly have increased. As a result of the disappearance of these barriers, and of royal rhetoric of a unified kingdom, the use of the terms 'Roman' and 'Goth' begin to change in the early seventh century. 'Roman' appeared less often during this period as an ethnic term referring to Hispano-Romans, though it persisted as a label for foreigners from the East Roman Empire, particularly in narratives, and never in normative texts. During this same period, 'Goth' was used more often politically to refer to all inhabitants or upper-class participants in the Visigothic kingdom, and this inclusive political rhetoric would certainly have made it easier for ethnic Hispano-Romans to identify as 'Goths', first politically and later ethnically.

Such thorough identity shifts take time, and people who were alive in the 580s and identified as 'Roman' probably kept this identity to at least some extent throughout their lives. Their contemporaries who identified themselves as ethnically 'Gothic' would always be conscious of the fact that Romans had existed alongside Goths in the Visigothic kingdom, even if in their old age they stopped encountering them directly. A nominal awareness of having belonged to different ethnic groups would persist so long as those who remembered this time lived.[304] Thus it would be at least a generation after the unification under Leovigild and

[304] Velázquez, '*Pro patriae*', p. 188.

Reccared in the 580s before 'Roman' ceased to be perceived as a real, relevant identity both by those who identified with it themselves and by those who remembered them.

The *Lex Visigothorum* appeared shortly after this point, some seventy years after the *Codex Revisus* and the conversion of the kingdom to Catholicism. Some 'Romans' may still have lived by this time—a few elderly ones who were quite young in 589 and younger ones who were not children of mixed marriages and preserved their ancestors' Roman ethnic identity. There would also be numerous individuals who had been born of mixed marriages and who may have identified with one or both of their ancestors' ethnic identities; they may have been Roman in some respects and Gothic in others. Whether or not anyone still identified as 'Roman'—and I think it is probable that at least some did—that the Goths had shared the kingdom with Romans would be a very tangible memory. In many ways, the inclusion of Leovigild's law permitting intermarriage in the *Lex Visigothorum* does not only represent an acknowledgement of the possibility that someone somewhere in the peninsula identified themselves ethnically as 'Roman' but also a recognition of a shared past. Seventh-century residents of the Visigothic kingdom were inheritors of both the Gothic and the Roman past and could claim all the greatness of both constituent peoples.

Another generation later, at the end of the seventh century, 'Roman' had practically disappeared from the Visigothic sources. The Byzantines had left the peninsula, so they no longer appear, and only Wamba's law from around 680, which says it pertained to 'Goth and Roman, free and freed' alike, mentioned the Romans after 655. 'Gothic' had come to dominate as an identity over 'Roman'—both East Roman and Hispano-Roman—in Spain, and ultimately, as 'Goth' became the standard identity, its appearance in the sources declined as well, no longer as useful a descriptor as the geographic 'of Spain' or 'of *Gallia*' that often came to replace it. The ethnic Romans who became political Goths had adopted Gothic ethnic identity as well, and the Hispano-Romans were no more.

Part Two: From a Roman to a Frankish World: Merovingian Gaul

Introduction

As in the Visigothic kingdom, a new political identity developed in the Merovingian kingdoms during the sixth and seventh centuries. By the seventh century, political Frankishness had developed to the point that people of any ethnic background could identify with it, usually without renouncing their ethnic identities. Unlike in Spain, however, Frankish political identity did not become so all-encompassing as to eliminate Roman and other identities from the map. In part because of continued geographical separation which created Frankish (north), Roman (south), Burgundian (Rhône valley) and other enclaves, and in part because of official sanction of continued ethnic difference in the *Lex Ribuaria* and later law codes, Merovingian society developed two layers of identity: a diverse number of ethnic identities still held and even encouraged, overlaid by a single Frankish political identity that unified inhabitants under the common banner of the Frankish kings as their subjects and participants in a kingdom-wide society.[316]

In this section, I will illustrate the development of this political Frankish identity and the decrease in Roman styles of identification as more people came to embrace the new Frankish society. I will begin with a look at the sixth-century *Histories* and hagiographical writings of Gregory of Tours, the most studied figure from Merovingian Gaul. Next, I will compare Gregory's work with that of his contemporary, Venantius Fortunatus, and then turn to the seventh-century *Chronicle* of Fredegar. Next, I will examine hagiographical sources

[316] On the greater proportion of Franks in the north and Romans in the south, see Geary, *Before France and Germany*, p. 115; Guy Halsall, 'Social Identities and Social Relationships in Early Merovingian Gaul', in *Franks and Alamanni*, pp. 145–6; Guy Halsall, 'Movers and Shakers: The Barbarians and the Fall of Rome', in Noble, pp. 282, 286; Pierre Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth Through Eighth Centuries* (Columbia, 1976), pp. 177–83; Michel Rouche, 'Francs et gallo-romains chez Grégoire de Tours', in R. Morghen (ed.), *Gregorio di Tours: convegni dell Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità medievale* (Todi, 1977), pp. 141–69; Michel Rouche, *L'Aquitaine des Wisigoths aux Arabes, 418-781: Naissance d'une région* (Paris, 1979); Eugen Ewig, *Die Merowinger und das Frankenreich* (Stuttgart, 2001), p. 54.

chronologically across the two centuries, and then law codes, likewise chronologically. Through these sources, we will see the development of a new, more Frankish-centred mental framework of identification during the sixth and seventh centuries in Gaul.

Setting the Stage

When the western Roman Empire ceased to be in 476 (or 480), Gaul had already been settled and governed by 'barbarians' for some time. The Visigoths had been federates in Aquitaine in southern Gaul since 418, and the Burgundians in the Rhône valley since c.440. Sidonius Apollinaris, Ruricius of Limoges, and Avitus of Vienne described life under their 'middle management' in letters and poems.[317] The Franks were never settled by treaty on Roman territory and gradually entered northern Gaul from the north and east. Clovis became king in 481 and began a campaign to conquer, first lands held by other Franks, then those held by his neighbours. In 507, he defeated Alaric II, king of the Visigoths, at Vouillé and took most of his territory in Gaul. Around the same time, Clovis both converted himself and many of his people to Catholicism and probably issued a legal code called the *Pactus legis Salicae*.[318] The Visigothic kings Euric and Alaric had themselves recently issued codes—the *Code of Euric* and the *Breviary of Alaric*—and the Burgundian kings Gundobad and Sigismund would follow suit c.520.

When Clovis died in 511, his kingdom was divided among his four sons, a practice which would become common in Francia.[319] In 531, they conquered Thuringia, and in 534, Burgundy. By 536, when they gained Provence after the fall of the Ostrogoths in Italy, they together ruled all of modern France except Septimania (under Visigothic control) and Brittany (under

[317] Sidonius Apollinarius, *Poems and Letters*, ed. and trans. W.B. Anderson, 2 vols. (London, 1936-1965); Ruricius of Limoges, *Epistulae*, ed. Bruno Krusch, in *MGH AA* VIII (Berlin, 1887), pp. 299–350; Avitus of Vienne, *Opera*, ed. Rudolf Peiper, in *MGH AA* VI.2 (Berlin, 1883). Commentary by Ralph Mathisen, in *Ruricius of Limoges and Friends: Collection of Letters from Visigothic Gaul* (Liverpool, 1999); and Danuta Shanzer and Ian Wood, in *Avitus of Vienne: Letters and Selected Prose* (Liverpool, 2002).

[318] Both the authorship and the date of the law code have been heavily debated. See Karl Eckhardt's *PLS* commentary, pp. 170–72; Ian Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450-751* (London, 1994), pp. 109–12; Wormald, 'The *Leges Barbarorum*', p. 28; Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1999), p. 40.

[319] Geary, *Before France and Germany*, pp. 94–5.

Merovingian influence and occasionally loose control), most of the modern Low Countries and Switzerland, and a good deal of modern Germany.[320] However, the division of the territory among multiple kings led to considerable infighting that continued through Gregory of Tours' and Venantius Fortunatus' time to 613, when Clothar II managed to get the whole under his control. By that time, the territory had settled into three units: Neustria, north of the Loire including Paris and Champagne; Austrasia, east of Champagne into the Rhineland; and Burgundy, along the Rhône valley. Aquitaine and Provence were divided by these three subkingdoms, and other areas like Thuringia gave allegiance to one subkingdom or another.[321]

Clothar's unity held to some degree, but it was still common for father and son, or two brothers, to rule jointly, with one leading Neustria and Burgundy and the other Austrasia. In 633/4, Dagobert issued the *Lex Ribuaria*, a law code meant, as we will see, to pertain to the Franks in Austrasia, enshrining in law the concept of different codes for the different units within Merovingian dominion. The second half of the seventh century saw a new period of infighting, this time predominantly aristocrats versus kings or other aristocrats, rather than king versus king.[322] During this time, the palace mayors became more prominent, especially in Austrasia. By the mid-eighth century, these mayors, from a family known to us as the Pippinids, had grown powerful enough for mayor Pippin the Short to depose King Childeric III in 751 and, with permission of the pope, take the kingship for himself, beginning the Carolingian dynasty.

[320] Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms,* p. 54.
[321] Paul Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 4–5.
[322] Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 221.

Chapter Four: Gregory of Tours

Gregory, bishop of Tours from 573 until 594, is the best-known individual from the Merovingian kingdoms, and the source from whom most people get the bulk of their knowledge of the period, for better or worse. He is, therefore, the obvious writer with whom to begin. It is commonly known that Gregory of Tours used the term 'Roman' to describe individuals and groups during the era of the late Roman empire and its immediate aftermath, but not for his own contemporaries in the sixth century. While in book two of his *Histories*, Gregory labelled some locals as 'Roman', he only used this term in later books (covering from 511 to 590) when repeating what others—the emperor in Constantinople and the Arian Christians in Spain—had said.[323] There were certainly individuals of Roman descent in sixth-century Gaul who identified themselves or were identified by others as 'Romans', as we will see later in our examination of Venantius Fortunatus' poetry, yet Gregory did not identify contemporaries in this way himself.

Why did Gregory, who seems to have had pride in his own senatorial background (given how much he mentioned it when discussing his relatives) not identify himself or anyone else of his time as 'Roman'? This question has generated much debate, and the most common current view is that Gregory wrote both his hagiographical and his historical works with a Christian focus and preferred unifying religious discourse over an ethnic vision of community.[324] While this is no doubt a part of the overall picture of Gregory's writings, it seems to me that there is another important aspect of Gregory's writing which affected his choice of vocabulary: a propensity to privilege social status and urban identities which stemmed from his deeply Roman perspective on the world.[325] This propensity shows itself in his frequent use of cities, parents' names, and social rank rather than ethnic terms to describe contemporaries, particularly for people in his

[323] See below, pp. 112-121.
[324] Reimitz, 'Cultural Brokers'; Reimitz, 'Providential Past'. For more on the historiography, see below, pp. 109-110.
[325] See below, p. 111, n. 358.

social sphere and geographical area. Gregory's Roman perspective explains his avoidance of ethnic identification better than his Christian faith does, and both aspects of his character should be considered in this regard. In order to make a thorough evaluation of the issue I will provide a brief background on Gregory, his writings, and the modern historiographical debate, then look at the way Gregory discussed those of Roman, Frankish, and other backgrounds who lived during the era of the late Roman empire and the years immediately following, and finally present a parallel examination of his identification of these groups and individuals in his own time. In the process, I will show that the view of the world which Gregory exhibited through his terminology in both periods was not just a Christian one but also a Roman one.

Gregory's Life and Writings

Most of what we know about Gregory comes from his own writings, although his contemporary and friend, the poet Venantius Fortunatus, also provides a bit of information.[326] He was born Georgius Florentius on 30 November, St Andrew's Day, c. 538, to a senatorial family in the *civitas* (city-territory) of Clermont (then known as *Arvernis*). He added 'Gregorius' to his name at a later date, probably as a way to connect himself to his great-grandfather Gregory of Langres. His father died when he was young, and his mother then moved to Burgundy, where her family held lands; Gregory was sent to live with his uncle Gallus, bishop of Clermont. During his youth, he visited his great-uncle Nicetius, bishop of Lyon, and his relative Eufronius, bishop of Tours. Gregory became a deacon and remained in Clermont until he was appointed bishop of Tours in 573. While he was bishop, Tours changed hands among the various Merovingian kings, and in order to serve his city, Gregory needed to remain on good terms with all of them. As bishop, he served as metropolitan overseeing nearby dioceses such as Nantes and Angers. He was a devotee of St Julian in his youth and of St Martin as the bishop of Martin's episcopal city of

[326] Useful biographies of Gregory can be found in Ian Wood, *Gregory of Tours* (Bangor, 1994), p. 28; Martin Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours: History and Society in the Sixth Century* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 29-35; and the introduction of Lewis Thorpe's translation, *History of the Franks* (London, 1974), pp. 7-16.

Tours, and he clearly believed he had been helped in his daily life by these saints. He was in his mid-fifties when he died on 17 November 594.

Gregory wrote a number of works, including the hagiographical *Glory of the Martyrs, Glory of the Confessors, Miracles of St Martin,* and the *Life of the Fathers*, but he is best known for his *Histories*.[327] Although the *Histories* are better known in English as the *History of the Franks*, this is not the title which Gregory used; he chose *Ten Books of Histories* (*Decem libri historiarum*), which is often simply shortened to *Histories* (*Historiae*). The title *History of the Franks* (*Historia Francorum*) first appeared in the tenth century in connection with a seventh-century recension of Gregory's original, which reduced it from ten books to six and which cut out numerous references to Gregory's family and local connections.[328] In part because of the title, it was once believed that this later recension's creator intended to make a Frankish history—one which aimed to tell the story of a particular people, which Gregory had not intended—though this has since been shown to be incorrect; it was this recension's adaptation in the *Chronicle* of Fredegar and the *Liber Historiae Francorum* which made it seem a Frankish story.[329] Both the ten-book and six-book versions survive in multiple manuscripts.[330]

Modern Scholarship on Gregory

Historians have taken a variety of approaches to Gregory's writing, including his promotion of saints' cults and the importance of relics in his world, contemporary imagination as seen through his works, his views on Arians and Jews, his understanding of Spain and the

[327] For a list of his writings and probable dates of composition, see Wood, *Gregory of Tours*, pp. 3-4. On the dating of the *Histories* in particular, see Alexander C. Murray, 'Chronology and the Composition of the *Histories* of Gregory of Tours', *JLA* 1:1 (2008), pp. 157-96.

[328] Walter Goffart, 'From *Historiae* to *Historia Francorum* and Back Again: Aspects of the Textual History of Gregory of Tours', in his *Rome's Fall and After* (Ronceverte, WV, 1989), pp. 257, 273 n. 82. It is worth noting that in French, it is typically called *Histoire des Francs*, but the German translation is *Zehn Bücher Geschichten*. Goffart is not the first to suggest *Histories* as a title, as is evident by Krusch and Levison's choice of *Historiae* for the title of their edition, but he is the first to bring the idea widespread acceptance.

[329] Ibid., p. 270; Reimitz, 'Social Networks'.

[330] Levison and Krusch detail the manuscripts on pp. 12-25 of their edition in the *MGH*, and Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, pp. 192-201, discusses them in detail with diagrams.

Visigoths, his emotions, and his less-than-perfect grammar.[331] He was once thought naïve but is now depicted as a cunning manipulator of information, whether to preserve his position during political upheavals or to shape a clearer Christian message.[332] Two particular, and linked, historiographical debates directly relate to ethnic identity and merit further discussion here: on Gregory's purpose in writing and on his preference against using ethnic labels. When it was widely believed that Gregory had written a *History of the Franks*, intending to tell the story of the Frankish people, the lack of 'Roman' as a contemporary term made sense: everyone at the time must have been a 'Frank', so there were no 'Romans' to mention, nor was there a need to specify who was a 'Frank'. This was certainly the view taken by Godefroid Kurth in 1919 and repeated by Raymond Van Dam in 1985.[333] Perhaps out of a desire to paint Aquitaine as a haven for Romanness beyond Gregory's time, Michel Rouche, writing in 1977, conceded Kurth's point that on some level everyone in the kingdom could be considered a Frank, but argued that Gregory possessed a sense of Roman superiority regardless.[334]

Walter Goffart's successful dismantling of historians' presumptions about the title has, however, led to a change in our views on both questions. Goffart asserts that if we stop assuming Gregory framed his world in ethnic terms and wrote a Frankish history, it is clear he in fact wrote a Christian history, and this Christian focus led Gregory to see ethnicity as

---

[331] Peter Brown, 'Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours', in his *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1989); Giselle de Nie, *Views from a Many-Windowed Tower: Studies of Imagination in the Works of Gregory of Tours* (Amsterdam, 1987); Avril Keely, 'Arians and Jews in the *Histories* of Gregory of Tours', *JMH* 23, no. 2 (1997), pp. 103-115; Edward James, 'Gregory of Tours, the Visigoths, and Spain', in Simon Barton and Peter Linehan (eds.), *Cross, Crescent, and Conversion: Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 43-64; Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Writing and Emotions in Gregory of Tours', in Walter Pohl and Paul Herold (eds.), *Vom Nutzen des Schreibens* (Vienna, 2002), pp. 23-32; Klaus Zelzer, 'Zur Sprache Gregor von Tours', in Elizabeth A. Livingstone (ed.), *Papers of the Ninth International Conference on Patristic Studies,* Studia Patristica 18.4 (Leuven, 1990), pp. 207-11; Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (eds.), *The World of Gregory of Tours* (Leiden, 2002).

[332] Ian Wood, 'The Secret Histories of Gregory of Tours', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 71, no. 2 (1993), pp. 253-70; Adriaan H.B. Breukelaar, *Historiography and Episcopal Authority in Sixth-Century Gaul: The Histories of Gregory of Tours Interpreted in Their Historical Context* (Göttingen, 1994); Goffart, *Narrators*; Heinzelmann*, Gregory of Tours*; Reimitz, 'Cultural Brokers'.

[333] Godefroid Kurth, *Études franques*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1919), vol. 1, pp. 99–100; Raymond Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Berkeley, 1985), p. 180.

[334] Rouche, 'Francs et gallo-romains', p. 141–69; Rouche, *L'Aquitaine*.

unimportant.[335] In Goffart's opinion, 'Roman' was no longer a meaningful identity within Gaul but the former 'Romans' had not yet become Franks, and Gregory was speaking for his time by not himself espousing either one of these ethnic identities or regularly trying to describe others as 'Romans' or 'Franks'. What Goffart does see him choosing as identifiers are local ones by city and an overarching identity as Christians.[336] Edward James modifies this view, noting that Gregory only eliminated ethnic difference *within* the Merovingian kingdoms, and so the issue cannot be that ethnicity was unimportant as a whole, but that it was unimportant within a Merovingian context. James thinks we are better served by reviving Kurth's argument with the caveat that everyone was a *political* Frank—a Frank as a subject of a Frankish king, regardless of his or her descent—and that this made ethnic descriptors less useful to Gregory when describing people within his own kingdom but still important for describing foreigners.[337] Most recently, Helmut Reimitz has argued that it is not necessary to conclude that Gregory and his society found ethnicity to be unimportant, simply that it did not fit the story which Gregory wished to tell; emphasizing individuals' Frankishness or Romanness would interfere with the Christian vision of community Gregory sought to promote in his *Histories*.[338]

There are bits of value in all of these views; however, I think three issues must be considered. First is James' point that ethnic descriptors were more useful for outsiders than for insiders, which makes a lot of sense; just as a group of English people talking among themselves would not continually refer to each other as 'English', Gregory, writing primarily for and about people within the Frankish kingdoms, may not have found it necessary to continually label people as 'Roman' or 'Frank'. Nonetheless, while James is right to emphasize the ability of someone to be a political Frank without also being an ethnic Frank—which we have already seen in the case of the Visigothic kingdom in Spain—and political Frankishness was certainly

[335] Goffart, *Narrators,* especially pp. 165, 169; Walter Goffart, 'Foreigners in the Histories of Gregory of Tours', in his *Rome's Fall and After* (Ronceverte, WV, 1989), p. 291. For how the *Histories* are Christian-centred, see Heinzelmann*, Gregory of Tours*; Breukelaar*, Historiography and Episcopal Authority*.
[336] Goffart, 'Foreigners', pp. 283–4, 291.
[337] James, 'Gregory', especially pp. 65–6.
[338] Reimitz, 'Cultural Brokers'; Reimitz, 'The Providential Past', pp. 114-17.

becoming more widespread during the sixth century, 'Roman' was still used and valued in the sixth century, as we will see in later chapters. Thus, even if Gregory did consider everyone to be a political Frank by the late sixth century—and he may not have—he could still have made an ethnic distinction between Franks and Romans. Homogeneity is not, however, necessary for the argument that insiders did not need to be labelled; other insiders may have known these labels without needing to be told, making their use unnecessary.

Second, these insiders, particularly if they were local to Gregory's region, may have found other identifiers which provided family information, social status, and city of birth or residence more useful. Gregory's admonition at the end of his *Histories* that his work remain unaltered is addressed to his successors as bishop of Tours, suggesting that he anticipated the manuscript would remain in the city and be read most by people familiar with the local area.[339] Such people would be likely to know of important families and their rank and to understand connections Gregory drew between individual members, and to be familiar with cities of the region and find this information more informative than a generic description like 'Roman' or 'Frank'. In addition to being practical categories on a local level, they were also common to the Roman mindset. Classical texts often described people according to a high rank, their fathers or other well-known relatives, and their city of origin, and Gregory, born to a Roman senatorial family, shared this earlier mindset and described his contemporaries accordingly.[340]

Finally, there can be no doubt that Gregory wrote with Christian aims; Goffart, Heinzelmann, and Reimitz have demonstrated this well. This does *not* mean, however, that those aims were the reason he chose not to use ethnic labels. In fact, Reimitz's argument that ethnic references would distract from his Christian vision of community applies just as well to

[339] *Historiae* X.31, p. 536; Goffart, 'From *Historiae* to *Historia Francorum*', p. 269; Reimitz, 'Social Networks', p. 231; Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, pp. 94-5, 97 n. 17, 100-101; Wood, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 57.

[340] For example, Ammianus Marcellinus' description of Silvanus: *Res gestae*, ed. and trans. John Carew Rolfe, *Loeb Classical Library* (London, 1950), XV.5.16, vol. 1, p. 142. Goffart, 'Foreigners', pp. 282-4, has also noted Gregory's emphasis on city of origin and occasional substitution with an ethnic group. See also below, p. 117, n. 358.

terms like 'noble' and 'senator', which Gregory used often. Gregory's Christianity undoubtedly shaped his views of the world, but so did his experience of a society still concerned with Roman markers of status and importance, and his inclusion of status terms throughout his works indicates that his desire for shared Christendom did not override these concerns.

In what follows, I will examine Gregory's use, or non-use, of ethnic terminology and what he chose to use instead: family, rank, and city identifiers. We will see that in describing both earlier times (when 'Roman' was a clearer political category and a term he occasionally used) and his own era he used these three types of identifiers when possible, providing his audience with the ability to situate people within both a social and a geographical framework. We will also see that his ability to do so increased the closer an individual was to him socially and geographically; he was less likely to know the details of northerners and foreigners and therefore had to resort to ethnic labels for them more often than for those closer to him.

Gregory on the Late Roman Empire and Clovis' Reign (to 511)

One difficulty with examining Gregory's account of imperial times and the reign of Clovis is that he was understandably far less well-informed the farther back in time he went. As a result, there are few individuals from before his lifetime about whom he knew a great deal and most of these were from his home *civitas* of Clermont and his adopted *civitas* of Tours, probably because of stories told in these regions. There are two issues to address here: how Gregory described people, and what their actual ancestry was. While it is the former with which I am most concerned and with which I will begin, I will also attempt to address the latter briefly in order to determine, when possible, whether it affected Gregory's choice of terms. During this earlier period, it is easier to identify individuals' probable ancestry; we have little evidence of ethnic barbarians taking on Roman Latin names and vice versa during the late Roman empire (Silvanus being one exception), and 'senatorial' status was still a firmly Roman institution at this point, so we can safely assume that a Latin name alongside a 'senatorial' attribution will almost

always indicate an individual who would commonly be accepted by contemporaries as having a Roman background.[341] This was no longer so clear by the late sixth century, as I will discuss later, but the patterns of word usage Gregory established when describing the earlier period—when he elected to use ethnic terms, and when social status, family ties, or city affiliations—give us insight into his meaning when using the same patterns to discuss his own period. After evaluating these patterns themselves, I will assess what, if anything, they can tell us about the ancestry of his contemporaries.

The attribute Gregory most commonly mentioned when writing about individuals in the period before 511 was a senatorial family.[342] Leocadius, whom Gregory asserted was 'the leading senator of Gaul (*primum Galliarum senatorem*)' in the late third or early fourth century and descended from the martyred Vettius Epagatus' lineage (*stirps*), was in fact among Gregory's claimed ancestors; when Gregory mentioned him again in the *Glory of the Confessors*, he reiterated this status.[343] Urbicus, bishop of Clermont in the early fourth century, was said to have been 'converted from [among] the senators (*ex senatoribus conversus*)'; another Clermont bishop, Venerandus, was 'from senators (*ex senatoribus*)'; Injuriosus 'of senators in Clermont (*de senatoribus Arvernis*)' stated that he and his pious wife were the only children of parents 'of most noble people of Clermont (*unicos nos nobilissimi Arvernorum habuere parentes*)'; and the emperor Avitus was 'from senators and, as is very evident, a citizen of Clermont (*Avitus enim unus ex senatoribus et—valde manefestum est—civis Arvernus*)'.[344] The famous bishop of Clermont and letter writer Sidonius Apollinaris was 'a man most noble according to worldly rank and among the leading senators of Gaul (*vir secundum saeculi dignitatem nobilissimus et de primis Galliarum senatoribus*)', and a relative of his, Ecdicius, Gregory said was 'from senators

[341] For Silvanus, see above, p. 111, n. 340.
[342] Unlike in Italy, where 'senatorial' still required the holding of office, in Gaul it often referred to families. Wickham*, Framing*, p. 161; Näf*, Senatorisches Standesbewusstsein*, pp. 186–9, on Gregory's usage.
[343] *Historiae* I.31, p. 24; *GC* 90, p. 355.
[344] *Historiae* I.44, p. 28; II.13, p. 62; I.47, p. 30; II.11, pp. 60-61.

(*ex senatoribus*)'.[345] Three fifth-century bishops of Tours—Eustochius (444-461), Perpetuus (461-491), and Volusianus (491-498)—were also described as 'of a senatorial family (*ex senatoribus*)' or 'of senatorial birth (*ex/de genere senatorio*)'.[346] Outside of these two *civitates,* Gregory also used 'senatorial' as a description: a girl martyred in Spain in the early fifth century was, by Gregory's description, 'according to worldly rank, flourishing in senatorial nobility (*secundum saeculi dignitatem nobilitate senatoria florens*)', and Helarius, living in the fifth century, was described as 'of a senatorial family' and living in Dijon (*apud castrum enim Divionensim Helarius quidam ex senatoribus habitavit*).[347]

'Senator' was, of course, a term firmly associated with Roman government during the imperial era. In some places, when the Roman senate deteriorated after the collapse of the empire in the West, this strong political association meant that 'senatorial' identity faded away. In Gaul, however, a greater sense of being 'senatorial' by birth had developed which allowed families to continue expressing that identity well into the sixth century—we see this in Gregory's mention of a 'senatorial *genus*'.[348] A good family was an important characteristic in Gregory's mind, a way to judge a person's probable character and social upbringing. Thus, even if he could not attribute senatorial status to an individual, he would still note noble birth or free status when he wanted to paint a person as being of good character. 'Senatorial' and 'noble' were closely related terms, but not always interchangeable by the sixth century; as we will see, Gregory (and Venantius Fortunatus) only used 'senator' to refer to people of probable Roman ancestry, but at least occasionally used 'noble' for people of Frankish ancestry. 'Noble', therefore, may indicate a member of a senatorial family in sources from this period, but we

[345] Ibid. II.21, p. 67; II.24, p. 70.
[346] Ibid. II.26, p. 71; X.31, pp. 529-31.
[347] Ibid. II.2, p. 39; *GC* 41, pp. 323-4.
[348] On the senatorial aristocracy in Merovingian Gaul, and Gregory in particular, see Karl F. Stroheker*, Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien* (Darmstadt, 1970), pp. 113–15; Karl F. Stroheker, 'Die Senatoren bei Gregor von Tours', in his *Germanentum und Spätantike* (Zurich, 1965), pp. 192-206; Brian Brennan, 'Senators and Social Mobility in Sixth-Century Gaul', *JMH* 11, no. 2 (June 1985), pp. 145-161; Frank D. Gilliard, 'The Senators of Sixth-Century Gaul', *Speculum* 54, no. 4 (October 1979), pp. 685-697. On the late Roman period, and Visigothic Spain, see above, pp. 57-9.

cannot assume that it does; in other words, 'noble' could always be used in place of 'senator', but 'senator' could not necessarily be used in place of 'noble'.[349]

Four individuals labelled as 'noble' in Gregory's writings about the period before 511 had Roman names and, at that time, would certainly have been of Roman ancestry. Severus, a priest in Cieutat in the late fifth or early sixth century, was 'descended from noble roots (*nobili stirpe progenitus*)'; Reticius, bishop of Autun in the early fourth century, was born to 'most noble parents (*nobilissimi parentes*)'; Simplicius, bishop of Autun in the early fifth century, was 'from noble roots, very wealthy in worldly goods, and married to a most noble wife (*fuit enim de stirpe nobili, valde dives in opibus saeculi, nobilissimae coniugi sociatus*); and Paulinus of Nola (353-431) was 'born from noble roots (*ex nobili stirpe ortus*)'.[350] One person of certain Frankish ancestry also appeared as 'noble' in the early books of Gregory's *Histories*: 'Clodio, able and most noble among his people (*Chlogion utilem ac nobilissimum in gente sua*)' was also an ancestor of Clovis and described as 'King of the Franks'.[351] As he was a royal, Clodio's social status may have been especially important for Gregory to emphasize, and his doing so illustrates that social rank held great importance in his society, for people of any ancestry, though the fact that he qualified it with 'among his people' implies that Clodio would not have been considered as noble within the empire.

For those who were not of senatorial or noble background, Gregory could still sometimes mention their parents or their home *civitas,* and occasionally some detail of their social rank. Of his favourite saint, Martin, bishop of Tours (371-397), Gregory knew he came

[349] Brennan, 'Social Mobility', p. 145–6, convincingly argues that Gregory assumed 'senatorial' status was inherited. There has, however, been much debate about the relationship between 'senator' and 'noble', for which see Brennan, 'Social Mobility'; Kurth, *Études franques*, vol. 2, pp. 97-115; Gilliard, 'Sixth-Century Gaul', especially p. 693; Frank D. Gilliard, 'Senatorial Bishops in the Fourth Century', *Harvard Theological Review* 77, no. 2 (April 1984), pp. 163–4; Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel*, pp. 113–15; Stroheker, 'Gregor von Tours', especially pp. 193, 198. On these terms in other contexts, see Arnheim*, The Senatorial Aristocracy*, p. 8; Barnish, 'Transformation and Survival', pp. 122–3.

[350] *GC* 49, p. 327; 74-75, p. 342; 108, p. 367.

[351] *Historiae* II.9, pp. 57-8.

from Sabaria in Pannonia.[352] Martin's predecessor, Litorius (338-371), and successor, Bricius (397-430 and 437-444), were both 'citizen[s] of Tours' (*ex civibus Turonicis* and *civis Turonicus*, respectively).[353] It was Bricius' own flock, 'the citizens of Tours', who temporarily evicted him from his see; these 'Tourangeaux (*Turonici*)' even elected a replacement. Venantius, a fifth-century monk, 'was an inhabitant of the territory of Bourges, of parents who were, according to secular rank, of free birth and Catholics (*Venantius Biturigi territurii incola fuit, parentibus secundum saeculi dignitatem ingenuis atque catholicis*)'; this description provides especially thorough information, with a geographical location from the *civitas*-territory, a social location as a free-born man, and a religious location as born to a Catholic family.[354] Ursus, an abbot who founded monasteries in Berry and the Touraine, was 'an inhabitant of the city of Cahors (*Cadurcinae urbis incola*)' in Aquitaine before the Franks wrested control of this region from the Visigoths.[355] Finally, Quintianus of Rodez was, according to Gregory, 'of African birth (*Afer natione*)'; he was probably from a Roman family in Africa fleeing Vandal incursions into his homeland, but Gregory did not call him 'Roman', because his African birth made him stand out among his neighbours and was therefore a more useful designation.[356]

In the case of Gallus (c. 489-c. 553), his uncle with whom he lived as a boy, Gregory was able to tell all three of his preferred identifiers: rank, parentage, and *civitas*. He described Gallus in detail in his *Life of the Fathers*, connecting Gallus with the Lyon martyr Vettius Epagatus and thus with Leocadius, whom I have already mentioned: 'His father was named Georgius and his mother Leucadia, of the lineage of Vettius Epagatus … Thus they were from the principal senators, and in Gaul no one managed to be higher born or more noble (*Pater eius Georgius*

[352] Ibid. X.31, p. 527.
[353] Ibid. X.31, pp. 526-8.
[354] *VP* XVI.1, p. 274.
[355] Ibid. XVIII.1, p. 284.
[356] *VP* IV.1, p. 224. Compare Victor of Vita, writing within Africa, who used 'Roman' to mean African-Romans generally, but not for any individual, yet used *Africanus* far more: *Victor of Vita: History of the Vandal Persecution*, trans. John Moorhead (Liverpool, 1992); Andrew Merrills and Richard Miles, *The Vandals* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 83–108; Jonathan Conant, *Staying Roman: Conquest and Identity in Africa and the Mediterranean, 439-700* (Cambridge, 2012).

nomine, mater vero Leucadia ab stirpe Vetti Epagati ... Qui ita de primoribus senatoribus fuerunt, ut in Galliis nihil inveniatur esse generosius atque nobilius)'. Naming Gallus' parents identified him for people in the Clermont area who may have known the family, and allowed Gregory to draw a connection between the contemporary holy man and a far earlier holy man as a way to imply that Christian sanctity was present in Gallus' very blood. That rank, parentage, and *civitas* were thought to convey important information about a person is evident in the reaction of the abbot of Cournon to Gallus' desire to join this religious house against his father's wishes that he marry a daughter of a noble senator: the abbot 'seeing the wisdom and refinement of the boy, inquired about his name and asked his birth and homeland. He replied that he was Gallus, a citizen of Clermont, son of the senator Georgius (*videns prudentiam atque elegantiam pueri, nomen inquaerit, interrogat genus et patriam. Ille vero Gallum se vocitare pronuntiat, civem Arvernum, Georgi filium senatoris*)'. Once the abbot learned this, he insisted that the boy receive his father's permission to be tonsured, clearly recognizing the father's name and status and being alerted by this information to the need to proceed carefully.[357] If this were the information which local individuals found most informative in taking the measure of others and sought upon meeting new people, it is unsurprising that Gregory would also use this information, when available, to identify people in his writings.

Gregory was not unique in valuing social rank, parentage, and city affiliations. The localism of the ancient and medieval world made these particularly useful forms of identification—the sort which related an individual to other people and places neighbours would be familiar with. City pride was particularly strong in the Roman and early post-Roman period.[358] It is unsurprising that individuals with such deep pride in their localities would be best identified, to a contemporary, by their cities of origin or residence. That Gregory also used this manner of

[357] Ibid. VI.1, p. 230.

[358] S.T. Loseby, 'Gregory's Cities: Urban Functions in Sixth-Century Gaul', in *Franks and Alamanni*, pp. 241-2; Catrin Lewis, 'Gallic Identity and the Gallic *Civitas* from Caesar to Gregory of Tours', in Mitchell/Greatrex, pp. 69-82; Peter Heather, *Empires and Barbarians: The Fall of Rome and the Birth of Europe* (Oxford, 2010), p. 311; Goffart, 'Foreigners', pp. 282-4.

identification reflects both the mindset of the earlier world he was describing and the perpetuation of that mindset into his own time; he clearly expected the social rank, parentage, and city affiliations of past residents of Gaul to continue to have meaning for his own contemporaries.

It is also unsurprising that Gregory did not feel the need to give these early individuals ethnic identifications based on their supposed ancestry. All of the individuals mentioned above—with Clodio being the lone exception—bore Latin names during the era of the late Roman empire, when names were far more likely to indicate ancestry than they would in later centuries, and so were certainly of Roman descent, and in any case would have been classified as 'Romans' by virtue of their residence within the Roman Empire and their following Roman law (since 212). 'Roman' was, therefore, not a terribly useful term for distinguishing among these individuals.

It was, however, the term he used when describing them as a group in the late Roman period. The territory held by the 'Romans' was, for instance, described alongside that of the 'Goths' and the 'Burgundians', the count Paul led 'Romans and Franks (*Romani ac Franci*)' in battle against the Goths in 469, and around the same time a war was fought 'between Saxons and Romans (*inter Saxones atque Romanos*)' which led to Roman conquest of islands in the Loire.[359] This continues through the end of the fifth-century material and into the very beginning of his descriptions of the sixth century, in the immediate aftermath of the fall of the empire in the West. Gregory, describing events of the 480s, labelled Syagrius 'King of the Romans and the son of Aegidius (*Siacrius Romanorum rex, Egidi filius*)'—in reality probably a general who no longer had an emperor to whom to report—and wrote that Gundobad, king of the Burgundians from 473 to 516, instituted milder laws among the Burgundians 'lest they oppress Romans (*ne Romanos obpraemerent*)', after executing those 'Burgundians' and 'senators' who had

[359] *Historiae* II.9, p. 58; II.18, p. 65; II.19, p. 65. According to Alexander C. Murray, *From Roman to Merovingian Gaul: A Reader* (Peterborough, ON, 2000), pp. 189-90, Gregory probably excerpted II.18-19 from now-lost annals of Angers.

supported his brother's rival claim to the kingship.[360] Both terms, 'Roman' and 'senator', were applied to residents of Clermont in the time of St Martin in the late fourth century: 'The senators of that city, who then in that place shone brightly with a pedigree of Roman nobility (*senatores urbis, qui tunc in loco illo nobilitatis Romanae stimmate refulgebant*)', heard that the holy man was approaching the city.[361] From this passage, it seems that Gregory saw senatorial status and Romanness as going hand in hand during the fourth century, and this probably continued into his own time as well. In only one case did he use 'Roman' for an individual: Aegidius the *magister militum* was 'of Roman background (*ex Romanus*)'.[362] Clearly Gregory considered those who lived during the era of the Roman Empire and its immediate aftermath to be 'Romans', though he preferred to give more specific information such as social rank, parentage, and *civitas* to distinguish among these individuals of Roman background when he could.

Gregory was aware of (or chose to describe) few non-Roman individuals from this period, most of them kings. He cited consular lists when telling of the supposed ancestors of Clovis, including 'Theudemer, King of the Franks, the son of Richemer (*Theudemer rex Francorum, filius Richimeris*)' and Clodio.[363] In a story probably taken from a *Life* of the bishop Remigius of Reims, Clovis himself was addressed at his baptism by Remigius as 'Sicamber', an allusion to the Sicambri tribe from whom the Franks supposedly descended.[364] In Visigothic-ruled Aquitaine in southern Gaul, Euric appeared as 'King of the Goths', and a 'Goth' named Silarius was mentioned as one of the Visigothic King Alaric's favourites.[365] Most often Gregory told of groups rather than individuals when using these terms; for example, he described Gundobad in Burgundy exiling 'the Franks (*Franci*)' who opposed him and killing both 'the

[360] *Historiae* II.27, p. 71; II.33, p. 81. S. Fanning, 'Emperors and Empires in Fifth-Century Gaul', in Drinkwater/Elton, pp. 288-97, discusses the use of *rex Romanorum* here and elsewhere.
[361] *GC* 5, p. 301.
[362] *Historiae* II.11, p. 61. *Romanus* is used in the main text of the *MGH* edition, but the editors note that some manuscripts instead have *Romanos* or *Romanis*.
[363] Ibid. II.9, pp. 57-8. See above, p. 115.
[364] Ibid. II.31, p. 77. Similarly, see below, pp. 158-160, 215.
[365] Ibid. II.20, p. 65; *VP* III.1, p. 223; XVIII.2, p. 285.

senators (*senatores*)' and 'the Burgundians (*Burgundiones*)' who did the same.[366] Similarly, 'the Goths' in Rodez feared that the bishop Quintianus would turn control of the city over to 'the domination of the Franks', and King Alaric gave Syagrius over to 'the Franks' who were pursuing him because 'to be fearful is the manner of the Goths (*Gothorum pavere mos est*)'.[367]

It is interesting that Gregory used 'senator' alongside 'Frank' and 'Burgundian' to denote the Roman portion of the population of Burgundy. Given his precision in using the term 'senator' elsewhere, and his willingness to use the term 'Roman' when describing this early period, it seems unlikely that he meant it as a blanket term to cover all people of Roman background; instead he probably meant to refer to the elite, seeing 'senator' as both a class (elite) and an ethnic identity (Roman implied). Also noteworthy is the near complete lack of his preferred identifiers of city, rank, and family members among those Gregory marked as non-Roman. It may be that Gregory rarely had such information for non-Romans who were not his contemporaries, that he just mentions too few of these people overall for us to truly compare with those of probable Roman ancestry, or that a non-Roman ethnic identity seemed to him the most significant identifier he could mention. Whether this pattern of usage continues in the passages regarding 511 to 590 may provide some answers, and I will return to the question near the end of my discussion of that later period.[368]

Looking at all of these examples, we can see that Gregory tended to prefer a more specific means of identifying individuals than broad ethnic terms when he had the information to do so, at least for people whose ethnic identities did not cause them to stand out among the others he described; he provided the identities which were most meaningful to him and others like him on a daily basis: social rank, parents, and *civitas* of origin or residence. Most of those people for whom he knew this information were from his local area, particularly Tours and Clermont. Outside of this local sphere, he was more likely to paint individuals with an ethnic

[366] *Historiae* II.33, p. 81.
[367] *VP* IV.1, p. 224; *Historiae* II.27, p. 71. The Franks also appear as a group in *Historiae* II.7, p. 50; II.9, p. 52; II.10, p. 60; II.12, p. 61; II.19, p. 65; II.23, p. 69; II.32, p. 78; II.35, p. 84; II.36, p. 84; and II.42, p. 92.
[368] See below, pp. 140-143.

brush in the absence of this preferred information, if he was aware of these individuals' existence at all. For groups, the same principles seem to apply: when discussing locals like the 'Tourangeaux/citizens of Tours', Gregory identified them according to their *civitas*, but outside of this sphere (and when discussing a broader context) he used ethnonyms such as 'Goth' and 'Frank', and even 'Roman'. As we will see, this trend continued when he described events closer to his own time, but as he knew more of these later individuals personally, his descriptions became more thorough and what we can learn from them is more complex.

Gregory on the Sixth Century (511-590)

As we near Gregory's period, determining the Roman or barbarian descent of the individuals Gregory describes becomes a bit more difficult, hampering analysis of whether he applied ethnic labels to people according to their family background. The problem is that as we move later in time from the imperial era, we begin to see individuals whose family background and name do not match; there are a few in sources from the sixth century, with numbers increasing later on, and this makes judging an individual's ancestry by his or her name less reliable.[369] There are three main clues which lead historians to believe that an early medieval individual was of Roman background, if the author did not outright label him so: known descent from an old Roman family, the label 'senator' or 'senatorial', and a Roman-sounding name. Only the first of these is completely certain: in later centuries 'senator' may have lost its Roman context and begun to simply mean 'noble'—though we have seen (and will continue to see) that Gregory, at least, did not use it so loosely—and there is evidence that some people of Roman descent took Germanic names, meaning there could well be others who did the same but about whom we have no information.[370] What we can do, however, is assess the likelihood that 'senator' and a Latin name designated a person of Roman descent in Gregory's mind, through

[369] Kurth, *Études franques*, vol. 1, pp. 126-9, lists anomalies throughout late Roman and Merovingian Gaul across multiple sources.
[370] Goetz, '*Gens*, Kings, and Kingdoms: The Franks', p. 329.

patterns in the ways he uses these terms and connections of these patterns to known Roman families. By analysing the ways Gregory perceived and wrote about these individuals, particularly whether he continued to use city, family, and rank identifiers in the same way as in his writings about earlier times, we can determine whether the absence of 'Roman' as a descriptor for the period 511 to 590 can be explained in the same way as for the earlier period: that other types of identifiers held more meaning for Gregory. The best example of a known family in Gregory's writing is his own, which he traced back to the second century, and I will begin there.[371]

The most distant ancestor that Gregory mentioned was Vettius Epagatus, martyred in Lyon in 177 during persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire. He claimed this link through his paternal grandmother Leocadia while describing the origins of his uncle Gallus, asserting that being a member of the martyr's family gave her a senatorial background, as I have already demonstrated.[372] His paternal grandfather, Georgius (d. 502/6), appeared in the same story as a 'senator' from Clermont, as well as in a story about Gregory's father, Florentius, who is called 'son of the late Georgius, a senator (*Georgi quondam filius senatoris*)'.[373] In the latter, the holy man Martius of Clermont inquired of Florentius' friends whose son he was, and they replied with Florentius' social rank and paternity, another sign that this sort of identification was common in everyday life and gave useful information to others within one's local region.

Through his mother, Armentaria, Gregory traced his ancestry back to Gregory, bishop of Langres (506/7-539/40), his great-grandfather.[374] Gregory of Langres was 'of the foremost senators (*ex senatoribus primis*)' and married to an elder Armentaria 'of senatorial *genus* (*de genere senatorio*)'.[375] Eufronius, bishop of Tours before Gregory (556-573), was Gregory of Langres' grandson; Gregory of Tours wrote that the 'Tourangeaux (*Turonici*)' asked King Clothar

[371] See Appendix 1 below, p. 246, for Gregory's family tree.
[372] See above, p. 116.
[373] *VP* VI.1, p. 230; XIV.3, p. 270. For biographies, see Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, pp. 11-22.
[374] *VP* VII.2, p. 238, says that Armentaria was Gregory of Langres' granddaughter and that he cured her of an illness.
[375] Ibid. VII.1, p. 237.

to make Eufronius their bishop, and when the king 'asked about the holy Eufronius, he was told that he was a grandson of the blessed Gregory (*De sancto vero Eufronio interrogans, dixerunt, eum nepotem esse beati Gregori*)' and replied, 'That is a prominent and great lineage (*Prima haec est et magna generatio*)'.[376] In this case, it was not a parent but a noted grandparent whom the king recognized and by whom he judged Eufronius' worth. In his list of the bishops of Tours, Gregory noted that Eufronius was 'from that *genus* which above I called senators (*ex genere illo, quod superius senatores nuncupavimus*)'.[377] Another descendant of Gregory of Langres, Attalus, was said to be among the 'sons of senatorial families (*filii senatorum*)' taken as hostages by one Merovingian king against another.

The story of Gregory's brother, Peter, a deacon of Langres who was killed in 574, provides us with a few more relatives. When Bishop Tetricus of Langres (539/40-572) became ill, Peter encouraged the inhabitants of the city to nominate as a replacement Silvester, 'a relative both of ours and of the blessed Tetricus (*propinquus vel noster vel beati Tetrici*)'. Gregory tells us that Tetricus was the 'son and successor' of Gregory of Langres, meaning that Silvester was probably likewise related to Gregory of Tours on his mother's side.[378] Silvester died before he could be consecrated as bishop, and when his son accused Peter of murdering him, Peter appealed to Nicetius of Lyon (551/2-573), 'who was my [Gregory's] mother's uncle (*avunculus matris meae*)', to hear his case.[379] Gregory said of Nicetius' parents: 'a certain Florentinus, of senatorial family, accepted Artemia as his wife (*Florentinus quidam ex senatoribus, accepta Artemia coniuge*)', identifying both Nicetius' direct ancestors for anyone who may know the family and his social rank as part of the senatorial order.[380]

All of these details Gregory gave about his relatives, both during the late Roman empire and the sixth century, conform to his earlier pattern of providing social rank and parents when

[376] *Historiae* IV.15, p. 147.
[377] Ibid. X.31, p. 534.
[378] *VP* VII.4, p. 689.
[379] *Historiae* V.5, p. 201.
[380] *VP* VIII.1, p. 691.

possible, and some remind us that the family came from Clermont. Additionally, these individuals were explicitly connected to a 'senatorial' background and had Latin names, establishing a common pattern. However, there is one more uncle (*matris meae avunculus*) of Gregory's mother who does not fit this pattern: the duke and former *domesticus* Gundulf. Gregory received a visit from him in 581 in his capacity as duke and discovered their relationship during this visit; he described Gundulf as 'a former *domesticus* who had been made duke, of senatorial *genus* (*ex domestico duce facto, de genere senatorio*)'.[381] Gundulf has been a very problematic individual for historians to explain; as Edward James points out, his Germanic name in a Roman senatorial family 'casts doubt on many of the attempts of past generations of historians to work out from the ethnic character of the name the ethnic origin of the person who bore it', a very common past technique and one which continues today.[382] There are three possible answers to this conundrum: that Gundulf was born with a Latin name but took a Germanic name in order to improve his career in a Frankish court, that his parents destined him for a secular career and named him accordingly, or that his name represents intermarriage of Germanic and Roman families.[383] The first (or second) of these is often assumed, and Gundulf assigned to Florentinus and Artemia in Gregory's family tree, making him a brother of Nicetius, but there is no certain evidence that he belongs there; all Gregory says is that he was an uncle of his mother, not telling us who his parents were and in the process leaving open the possibility that one of them was an otherwise unnamed individual who married a Burgundian or a Frank.

[381] *Historiae* VI.11, p. 281. On the possibility that Gregory got the relationship wrong, or that Gundulf was born when his father was quite old, see K.F. Werner, 'Important Noble Families in the Kingdom of Charlemagne', in Timothy Reuter (ed.), *The Medieval Nobility* (Amsterdam, 1978), pp. 154-5; Wickham, *Framing*, p. 172, n. 70.

[382] Edward James, *The Franks* (Oxford, 1988), p. 8. Horst Ebling, Jörg Jarnut, and Gerd Kampers, '*Nomen* et *gens*: Untersuchungen zu den Führungsschichten des Franken-, Langobarden-, und Westgotenreiches im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert', *Francia* 8 (1980), pp. 687-745, use the circular logic of trying to determine whether this technique is viable yet using this very technique within their proof. See Patrick Amory, 'Names, Ethnic Identity, and Community in Fifth and Sixth Century Burgundy', *Viator* 25 (1994), pp. 1–30, for an extreme counterapproach.

[383] Halsall, 'Social Identities', p. 152; Brennan, 'Social Mobility', p. 156.

Gundulf is a poster child for caution; he reminds us that even within the very solid pattern Gregory presented of his family, there are occasional exceptions. Nevertheless, the pattern is strong enough that we can use it as a guideline to how Gregory described people of Roman background, so long as we remain vigilant about noting possible exceptions. That said, let us now look outside his family to see who else he described according to this pattern.

Three generations of the family of Hortensius from Gregory's home city of Clermont appear in his writing; Hortensius and his direct descendants (son Evodius and grandsons Eufrasius and Salustius) had Latin names, all but one of these was described as senatorial, and the two brothers of the youngest generation were identified according to their father. Hortensius was the count of Clermont (c. 524 or 525) and 'one from a senatorial family (*unus ex senatoribus*)'. He arrested a relative of Bishop Quintianus, who then cursed him, saying, 'No one rising from the lineage of Hortensius will rule God's church (*Non surgit de stirpe Hortinsi, qui regat ecclesiam Dei*)', as punishment for not listening to God's bishop, Quintianus himself; we learn of this curse in the context of the unsuccessful bid for the episcopacy of Clermont by Hortensius' grandson, Eufrasius.[384] Evodius, Hortensius' son and successor as count, and later a priest in Clermont, was described as a priest of senatorial family (*Evodius, quidam ex senatoribus presbiter*); Gregory probably knew much about him because he attacked Gregory's uncle, the bishop Gallus.[385] Evodius' son Salustius was a count of Clermont like his father and grandfather, and his other son Eufrasius was a priest whom Gregory described as 'son of the late senator Evodius (*filius quondam senatoris Euvodi*)'.[386] Again, Gregory had a personal reason to know about Eufrasius, since he was a rival of one of Gregory's mentors, Avitus, for the bishopric of Clermont in 571. Gregory clearly disapproved of this family, yet his disapproval did not prevent him from labelling its members as 'senators', illustrating that 'senator' was not a status he

[384] *VP* IV.3, p. 225; *Historiae* IV.35, p. 167; Ian Wood, 'The Ecclesiastical Politics of Merovingian Clermont', in Patrick Wormald, Donald Bullough, and Roger Collins (eds.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford, 1983), p. 48.
[385] *VP* VI.4, p. 233.
[386] *Historiae* IV.35, p. 167.

awarded based on how he perceived the merit of the individual in question but rather on a status widely recognized by his society. Like Gregory's family, Hortensius' family showed all the signs of a venerable Roman background; also like Gregory's family, they had a relative (*cognatus*) with a Germanic name, a certain Beregisil who aided Eufrasius in his bid for the episcopate but is otherwise unknown.[387] Without any further information about Beregisel, we have no way to know whether he was the product of intermarriage or of changing practices of nomenclature.[388]

Others whom Gregory identified as senatorial include Arcadius from Clermont; Felix from Marseille; Marcellus, bishop of Uzès; Agricola, bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône; Sulpicius, bishop of Bourges; Virus, bishop of Vienne; Epachius, a priest in Riom; and the bishops Ommatius and Francilio of Tours. Arcadius was described as 'one of the senators of Clermont (*unus ex senatoribus Arvernis*)', and his mother, Placidina, and his paternal aunt, Alchima, were named.[389] From this information—Latin names and a senatorial background—we could guess that Arcadius' family had Roman ancestry, and Gregory's *Glory of the Martyrs* proves this hypothesis correct; there, Gregory named Apollinaris, son of the great Roman bishop, poet, and letter writer Sidonius Apollinaris, the husband of Placidina and the brother of Alchima.[390] Arcadius, therefore, came from one of the most noted Roman senatorial families in the region. Felix was described in the story of Andarchius, who 'was a slave of Felix the senator (*Filices senatoris servus fuit*)' and who scandalously cheated a man in Clermont.[391] This may be the same Felix whose son, the deacon and bishop Marcellus of Uzès, Gregory called 'the son of the senator Felix (*Felicis senatoris filius*)'.[392] Agricola, a bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône (532-580) of 'senatorial birth (*genus senaturio*)', was eloquent and an active builder who used mosaics and marble columns in a Roman manner of building; Sulpicius I, bishop of Bourges, was said to be 'a

[387] Ibid.
[388] Kurth, *Études franques*, vol. 1, p. 233; Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel*, p. 156, no. 68.
[389] *Historiae* III.9, p. 106; III.12, p. 108.
[390] *GM* 64, p. 91.
[391] *Historiae* IV.46, p. 181. Krusch and Levison used *Filices* in their MGH edition, but noted that some manuscripts have *Felices, Felicis,* or *Feli*.
[392] *Historiae* VI.7, p. 277; *PLRE* III, p. 481 (Felix 3).

very noble man and from the foremost senators of Gaul (*vir valde nobilis et de primis senatoribus Galliarum*)'; and Virus was 'a priest from senators (*Virus presbiter de senatoribus*)' who replaced Evantius as bishop of Vienne in 586.[393] The priest Epachius who was struck with epilepsy in Riom for performing Mass while drunk may well be Eparchius, the son of Ruricius, bishop of Limoges, whom we know was both a priest and an excessive drinker.[394] Gregory called Ommatius, bishop of Tours from 524 to 528, 'of the senators and citizens of Clermont (*Ommatius de senatoribus civibusque Arvernis*)', and poems by Sidonius Apollinaris and letters of Ruricius of Limoges confirm the Roman ancestry which his Latin name and 'senatorial' attribution suggest.[395] Finally, Francilio 'of senatorial family and a citizen of Poitiers was ordained bishop (*Francilio ex senatoribus ordinatur episcopus, civis Pictavus*)' of Tours in 528.[396]

All of these people fit the criteria often used to determine Roman ancestry: all but one (Francilio) had Latin names, all were 'senatorial', and many could be traced back to imperial ancestors. Because of these strong correlations, we can safely say that Gregory presumed Roman ancestry for anyone he deemed 'senatorial' (and he was probably correct). A large percentage of these people had ties to the *civitates* with which Gregory was most familiar, Clermont and Tours, and for many he knew the names of their fathers, which indicates that his personal connections within his social network and local knowledge had a strong impact on which individuals he chose to mention in his writings and knew enough about to describe in this degree of detail.[397] His preferred information appears frequently for these individuals with whom he probably had moderate to considerable contact either directly or through news

[393] *Historiae* V.45, pp. 254-6, with other manuscripts reading *senatorio*; VI.39, p. 310; VIII.39, p. 406.
[394] *GM* 86, p. 96; Ralph W. Mathisen, '*PLRE* II: Suggested Addenda and Corrigenda', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 31, no. 3 (1982), p. 371; Martin Heinzelmann*, '*Gallische Prosopographie, 260-527', *Francia* 10 (1983), p. 596.
[395] *Historiae* X.31, p. 532; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Poems* 11 and 17, vol. 1, pp. 198, 252-5; Ruricius of Limoges, *Letters* 1.18, 2.28, and 2.56 [2.57 by Mathisen's reckoning], pp. 309-10, 333-4, 228-9; Ralph W. Mathisen, 'The Family of Georgius Florentius Gregorius and the Bishops of Tours', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 12 (1984), p. 86; Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, p. 25. He also described Pope Gregory the Great as descended from a leading senatorial family in Italy (*Historiae* X.1, p. 477), and a couple of unknown date who were distinguished members of a senatorial family (*GC* 64, pp. 335-6).
[396] *Historiae* X.31, p. 532; *PLRE* II, p. 483; Ebling et al., *Nomen et gens*, p. 700.
[397] On Gregory's location of individuals within social networks rather than ethnic groups, see Reimitz, 'Social Networks'.

relayed by others. In short, his pattern of describing people of Roman ancestry according to these three preferred identifiers whenever possible holds for the sixth century.

There were many non-senatorial individuals for whom Gregory knew some of his preferred identifiers, particularly the *civitas*, but also sometimes parents or a 'noble' or 'inferior' birth, and some of the individuals he so identified were *not* Roman, such as 'a certain Frank most noble among his people (*Franci cuiusdam et nobilissimi in gente sua*)' whose son was cured by St Martin and whose story Vulfolaic told Gregory; again, he was seemingly less noble in Roman circles.[398] Among those he called 'free-born (*ingenuus*)' were the holy man Leobardus, 'a native of the territory of Clermont, indeed not of senatorial birth, nevertheless free-born (*Arverni territurii indigena fuit, genere quidem non senatorio, ingenuo tamen*)'; Patroclus (d. 576), 'an inhabitant of the territory of Bourges, descended from Aetherius, his father ... not indeed of lofty nobility, nevertheless free (*Biturigi territurii incola, Aetherio patre progenitus ... non quidem nobilitate sublimes, ingenui tamen*)'; the abbot Aredius (d. 591), 'an inhabitant of Limoges, born to parents of no little importance in their region, but truly of free birth (*Lemovicinae urbis incola fuit, non mediocribus regiones suae ortus parentibus, sed valde ingenuis*)'; a priest Anastasius who was 'free by birth (*ingenuus genere*)'; and Injuriosus, bishop of Tours (529-546), 'a citizen of Tours, indeed of inferiors of the people, yet still free-born (*civis Turonicus, de inferioribus quidem populi, ingenuus tamen*)'.[399] That Gregory described Tetradia as 'noble through her mother, inferior through her father (*nobilis ex matre, patre inferiore*)' illustrates the inherited nature of this status in Gregory's mindset.[400] A further hint that both status and character could be inherited appears in Gregory's description of Leudast, the count of Tours whose plot against Gregory forced the bishop to swear an oath of innocence before an assembly of bishops and the king. Gregory wrote that before detailing Leudast's actions, he should first describe 'his family, his native land, and his character (*prius videtur genus ac patriam moresque ordiri)*', as if this

[398] *Historiae* VIII.16, p. 383.
[399] *VP* XX.1, p. 291; IX.1, p. 252; *Historiae* X.29, p. 522; IV.12, p. 142, X.31, p. 533.
[400] *Historiae* X.8, p. 489.

background would shed considerable light on who Leudast was and what could be expected of him as a person.[401] Gregory then told that he came from an island of Poitou called Gracina, where he was born to a slave named Leocadius, that he ran away from servitude and only received his office through gifts to King Charibert, and that he caused significant trouble in Tours. Leudast made charges against Gregory, and ultimately, Gregory's innocence was established by the assembly of bishops' insistence that '[a]n inferior man cannot be believed against a priest (*Non potest persona inferior super sacerdotem credi*)'.[402] Leudast's ancestry, then, and the information Gregory provided about his family and place of origin, were vital elements of his story and of his trial. Surely this conflict provided strong reason for Gregory to know such information about Leudast, and to find it necessary to record it. That Leobardus, Anastasius, and Injuriosus happened to come from Clermont or Tours can likewise only have helped Gregory to be privy to such information about them. For many of the individuals mentioned here, Gregory could name the city, and twice even a parent, in addition to the individual's status, and in only one case—when he did not have a given name—did he use an ethnic label, suggesting that he deemed the former information to be more useful and important.

For others, he named fathers but not a social rank like 'noble' or 'free-born'. This includes Palladius, son 'the count Britianus and Caesaria', who inherited his father's role as the count of Javols in the 560s or 570s; Eunius Mummolus, son of a certain count Peonius, who became the count of Auxerre in 561; and Sicharius, son of John, who was among the citizens of Tours involved in civil discord at Christmas, most with Latin names.[403] The title of 'count', and similarly 'duke', may have provided its own marker of status that made further description beyond these titles unnecessary, but Gregory still noted these men's fathers as important and worth mentioning. Similarly, he named 'Dacco, son of Dagaric' who was killed after leaving King

[401] Ibid. V.48, p. 257.
[402] Ibid. V.48-49, pp. 257-62.
[403] Ibid. IV.39, p. 170; IV.42, p. 174; VII.47, p. 366.

Chilperic's service, and Ranichild, as 'daughter of the aforementioned Sigivald (*Sigivaldi memorati filia*)', the duke of Clermont and a relative of King Theuderic, showing that the naming of a father was equally useful information for someone with a Germanic name as for someone with a Latin name.[404] In the case of Ranichild, both her connection to Clermont and her relation to the royal family probably aided Gregory in identifying her background.

Gregory did the same for Romulf, son of the duke Lupus of Champagne, who became bishop of Reims after the exile of his predecessor Egidius in 590; the son had a Germanic name while the father—whom Venantius Fortunatus described as being of 'Roman roots (*Romana stirps*)'—kept a Latin name.[405] Romulf was of Roman ancestry, at least via his father, yet was either given at birth or chose for himself a Germanic name (and one which both represented his Roman background and included the Germanic version of his father's name), indicating that at least some Romans saw benefit in a non-Latin name—and certainly we see examples of multiple names in use simultaneously, such as 'Vedast also known as Avius' whom Gregory described committing crimes near Poitiers in 581.[406] I will return to this family later, in the discussion of Venantius Fortunatus' poetry, but for now I will note simply that Gregory chose to name Romulf's father and his father's position, and that he made no comment about ancestry or the language of Romulf and Lupus' names.[407]

Two other families with a mixture of Latin and Germanic names merit discussion. First is that of Severus, whom Gregory noted was the father-in-law of Guntram Boso and had two sons named Burgolen and Dodo. Burgolen married Domnola and had a daughter named Constantina.[408] Clearly there was a mix of naming patterns within this family, which may have

[404] Ibid. V.25, p. 231; *VP* XII.3, p. 263.
[405] *Historiae* X.19, p. 513; *Poèmes* 7.7, vol. 2, p. 96, line 45. Gregory similarly named Godegisil as the 'son-in-law of Duke Lupus' in *Historiae* IX.12, p. 427.
[406] *Historiae* VII.3, pp. 327-8. Having two names was not terribly remarkable, since it was a common practice in the late Empire and many examples are recorded for Ostrogothic Italy. See Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*, p. 469; Patrick Amory, *People and Identity*, pp. 355 (Ademunt qui et Andreas), 381 (Gundeberga qui et Nonnica), for example.
[407] See below, pp. 149-150.
[408] *Historiae* V.25, p. 232; VIII.32, p. 400-401; IX.40, p. 466.

been related to intermarriage or to personal preferences.[409] The other is that of Felix of Nantes. Gregory mentioned two of Felix's relatives: a nephew named Burgundio and a cousin (*consobrinus*) named Nonnichius. That Felix and Nonnichius bore Latin names but Burgundio bore a Germanic name has sometimes been interpreted to represent intermarriage, but it could also reflect changing naming practices and conscious choices.[410]

Keeping all of these individuals in mind, let us turn to a particularly complicated trio of envoys, sent to Constantinople in 589, about whom Gregory provided much information. They are, in his words, 'Bodegisel, son of Mummolen of Soissons, Evantius, son of Dynamius of Arles, and this Grippo, a Frank by birth (*Bodigysilus filius Mummolini Sessionici, et Evantius, filius Dinami Arelatensis, et hic Gripo genere Francus*)'; he also tells us that Bodegisel and Evantius were free-born (*ingenuus*).[411] There is no doubt about Grippo's identity—his name was Germanic, Gregory said he was a Frank by birth (*genus*), and there is no reason to think otherwise—nor about Evantius, who bore a Latin name, descended from a father with a Latin name, came from southern Gaul where there were still limited numbers of Franks at this time, and is otherwise well-documented. Bodegisel, however, presents more of a challenge; his name was clearly Germanic, as was that of his brother (Bobo) and possibly his father (Mummolen), but Gregory described him according to his father and *civitas* exactly as he did Evantius, rather than labelling him a Frank like Grippo. Walter Goffart follows the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* in assuming that Gregory's labelling is indicative of Bodegisel's ancestry—that he must have been a Roman because he was contrasted with Grippo the Frank; Guy Halsall, on the other

[409] Ebling et al., *Nomen et gens*, pp. 698-9, conclude that this probably represents intermarriage but provide no reasoning behind this decision.

[410] *Historiae* VI.15, p. 285; Brennan, 'Social Mobility', p. 156. On the name Nonnichius, see Martin Heinzelmann, *Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien: zur Kontinuität römischer Führungsschichten vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert: soziale, prosopographische und bildungsgeschichtliche Aspekte* (Munich, 1976), p. 215 n. 131. Nonnichius also appears in Gregory of Tours, *Vita Martini*, ed. Bruno Krusch, in *MGH SSRM* I, 2 (Hanover, 1969), p. 206.

[411] *Historiae* X.2, p. 482; X.4, p. 487; *PLRE* III, p. 236 (Bodegiselus 2), pp. 898-9 (Mummolenus 2), p. 454 (Evantius), p. 430 (Dynamius 2), p. 557 (Grippo).

hand, sees Bodegisel as a rare exception to the pattern of Gregory only knowing the fathers of people of Roman background, presuming that Mummolen was of Germanic ancestry.[412]

Each historian rests his conclusion on a different assumption—Goffart on Gregory being completely consistent in identifying Romans and Franks in different ways, and Halsall on names being a better 'tell' than Gregory's practice—and either could be correct. These envoys appear in his story near the end of the sixth century, at the same time that Romulf became bishop of Reims, and Bodegisel may be a similar case of an individual of Roman background assuming or being given a Germanic name as a way to identify with the ruling Franks. However, Gregory's pattern of identification seems to be not really centred around a person's ancestry but instead around the city or region they came from and Gregory's own connections within the Merovingian kingdoms which provided him information. Many of the people he so describes, as I have already shown, came from Clermont or Tours, and most if not all of the others came from the south, where the proportion of Romans was highest, so it may be a coincidence of location that most of the people Gregory was able to describe according to father and *civitas* were of Roman descent, as he knew the most about people he encountered most often where he lived and where his family connections were: within and along the borders of the south.[413] There were some others with non-Latin names whom Gregory encountered in his local area—a 'citizen of Tours (*civis Turonici*)' named Wistrimund Tatto whom Aredius healed, a 'citizen of Poitiers (*civis Pectavi*)' named Wiliulf whom Gregory met on the road, and Senoch whom Gregory said was of the 'Theifal genus' and 'born in Poitiers (*Pectavi oriundus fuit*)', all of whom he identified according to *civitas* and only one of whom he gave an ethnic label (and a very old one, at that)—though most of the local people he described had Latin names and many are otherwise

[412] Goffart, 'Foreigners', p. 282 n. 17; Halsall, 'Social Identities', pp. 166-7.

[413] Jean Guyon, 'Grégoire de Tours et le Midi de la Gaule', in Nancy Gauthier and Henri Galinié (eds.), *Grégoire de Tours et l'espace gaulois* (Tours, 1997), pp. 27–34; Halsall, 'Social Identities', pp. 166-7. James, 'Gregory', p. 60, suggests that for Franks, their ethnicity is all Gregory knew, so he could not name their *civitates*.

connectable to someone of known Roman ancestry.[414] In this respect, Gregory was indeed consistent, though not along ethnic lines as Goffart suggests but along the lines of geography and social networks. This makes it impossible to definitively determine Bodegisel's ancestry through Gregory's information; Gregory's patterns of word usage are insufficient for such purpose as, ultimately, providing people's ethnic identities was not Gregory's focus in any of his writings.

On occasions when Gregory perhaps did not have his preferred information, or when he was discussing groups of people, we might expect him to resort to identification by ethnic group. For Franks and other 'barbarians', he did indeed do so, though not necessarily for all such non-Romans, as Bodegisel, Wistrimund Tatto, Wiliulf, and Senoch may indicate; we only know for certain whether someone was considered a 'Frank' because Gregory or a contemporary chose to mention it, after all. I have already noted Attalus' master, the noble Frank of Vulfolaic's tale, and Grippo, whom Gregory labelled with ethnonyms.[415] There is also 'Warinar the Frank (*Warmarius Francus*)' whom King Sigibert sent as an envoy with 'Firminus of Clermont (*Firminus Arvernus*)' in the mid-560s, presented in a parallel manner to the trio of envoys.[416] When Queen Fredegund poisoned the bishop of Rouen in 586, the 'Frankish leaders of that place (*seniores loci illius Franci*)' grieved greatly, and one 'Frank' complained to Fredegund, was given a particular drink in hospitality as was a 'custom of the barbarians (*mos barbarorum*)', and died from the poison hidden within.[417] In this example, Gregory designated both an individual and a group of leading men as Franks, and applied the term 'barbarian' to a custom practiced among Franks, presumably to emphasize the practice's foreignness to Gregory's own culture and experience.

Gregory used 'barbarian' only very rarely for the Franks; the only other examples relating to the sixth century are: 'a certain barbarian' who held the future abbot Portianus as a slave during the reign of Theuderic (511-534); monks of the monastery of St Martin c.573-574

[414] *Historiae* X.29, p. 524; IX.13, p. 428; V.7, p. 204, and *VP* XV.1, p. 271.
[415] See above, pp. 123, 128, 131.
[416] *Historiae* IV.40, p. 172.
[417] Ibid. VIII.31, pp. 398-400.

warning hostile troops against crossing the river Loire and looting their monastery by stating: 'O barbarians, do not cross over here (*O barbari, nolite huc transire*)'; a man with whom the priest Arboast had a dispute during Theudebert's reign (534-548) whom Gregory alternately called a 'Frank' and a 'barbarian' seemingly indiscriminately; and a certain Claudius c.585 using divination through observing omens, 'as is the habit of the barbarians (*ut consuetudo est barbarorum*)'.[418] What is particularly interesting about this last example is that the offender in question bore a Latin name, Claudius, so either this is a very rare example of a Frank adopting a Latin name, or, more likely, he was a Roman who had adopted 'barbarian superstitions', since the term 'barbarian' applies to the practice and not to Claudius himself. Arboast also deserves particular mention, because he bore a Frankish name; Gregory did not use an ethnonym for him as he did Arboast's opponent, possibly because Arboast was already identified as a priest and thus did not require further description. Edward James has suggested that his opponent was labelled a 'Frank' in a legal context—when discussing matters pertaining directly to the case—and 'barbarian' when he denied the power of the saint, and by extension the Christian church.[419] While the legal context half of this argument has merit, I do not think James is correct about the 'barbarian' label, because Gregory used 'barbarian' both when the man scoffed at the idea of the saint as a judge and after he was amazed by the saint's power when Arboast was struck dead for swearing falsely on the tomb. Gregory still perceived him as 'barbarian' after he began to 'see the truth' about Christianity and the saints, which suggests that Gregory associated the term not with the man's actions but with his very self.

Clearly Gregory did think of Franks as 'barbarians', then, and as different from himself and others of Roman ancestry. While he sometimes used the term in a negative context, referring to practices that did not square with Christianity, hostile troops, or the enslavement of a holy man, he also used it in a more neutral context to describe both the custom of serving a particular beverage and Arboast's opponent before and after his awestruck reaction to saintly

[418] *VP* V.1, p. 277; *Historiae* IV.48, p. 185; *GC* 91, p. 356; *Historiae* VII.29, p. 347.
[419] James, 'Gregory', p. 63.

judgement. So although all Franks could be called 'barbarians' by virtue of their ancestry, he did not portray them all as *behaving* like 'barbarians'—in a 'barbaric' manner.

When Gregory told of 'Franks' as a group—either as 'the Franks' or in the genitive, describing, for example, a kingdom or an army 'of the Franks'—he often described a political entity, the subjects of the Merovingian kings. 'King of the Franks (*rex Francorum*)' is the clearest expression of this phenomenon, as it is easy to see that this leader ruled over people who were not exclusively ethnic Franks (such as Burgundians, Romans, and Britons), and so the 'Frank' in his title must have been intended not in an exclusive ethnic sense of people of Frankish ancestry but in a wider political sense of people living in a kingdom ruled by 'the Franks'.[420] We see this 'kingdom of the Franks (*regnum Francorum*)' twice in Gregory's works (not including the *gens et regnum* mentioned below), and on both occasions he related the words of a king or duke.[421] While *rex Francorum* appeared on a number of occasions across sixth-century sources, particularly official documents, these two mentions by Gregory are the only instances in which *regnum Francorum* appears in a sixth-century context; we will see it occasionally in seventh-century sources, but it did not become common until the Carolingian period.[422] Similarly the 'Frankish army (*exercitus Francorum*)' which King Childebert sent to Italy undoubtedly included members who were not perceived as ethnic Franks.[423] When Gregory lamented the civil wars that plagued 'the people and kingdom of the Franks (*Francorum gens et regnum*)', his intent is less clear; the civil wars affected people of all ethnic backgrounds within the kingdom, so it seems most probable that he meant the 'Frankish people' in a political sense, and the 'Frankish

[420] We see this in *GM* 30, p. 56; 51, p. 74; *Historiae* VII.36, p. 357; X.31, p. 533; *VP* XVII.5, p. 282. James, 'Gregory', gives statistics on Gregory's usage of this particular phrase in his *Histories*. See also Goetz, '*Gens*, Kings, and Kingdoms: The Franks', p. 322.

[421] *Historiae* VI.24, p. 291; VIII.37, p. 405.

[422] Ildar H. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751-877)* (Leiden, 2008), p. 122. For *rex Francorum* in sixth-century *Lives* and Salic law, see below, pp. 213-217, 224. The other sixth-century sources it appears in are: *Epistolae Austrasicae*, ed. Wilhelm Gundlach, in *MGH Epistolae* III (Berlin, 1892), nos. 8, 34, 37–9, 41, 42; *Capitularia Merowingica,* ed. Alfred Boretius, in *MGH Capitularia regum Francorum* I (Hanover, 1883), nos. 5, 7; a few charters in *Diplomata regum francorum e stirpe merovingica* (*DD Mer.*), ed. Theo Kölzer (Hanover, 2001); and a number of passages in Marius of Avenches, *Chronica*, ed. Justin Favrod, in *La Chronique de Marius d'Avenches (455-581): texte, traduction et commentaire* (Lausanne, 1991).

[423] *Historiae* IX.25, p. 445.

kingdom' could be the kingdom in which these people lived or the kingdom which was ruled by ethnic Franks, but he could also have intended the 'Frankish people' to mean only a segment of the population.[424] One common argument for the view that residents of the kingdom must have been seen as ethnic Franks is that such formulaic expressions included everyone; however, this argument assumes that identifying politically as a Frank equates with identifying ethnically as a Frank, and this need not be the case.

'The Franks' in Gregory's writing is an ambiguous term; he rarely elaborated on whom this group might include. In the case of the Britons (of Armorica) coming under the 'power/rule of the Franks (*Francorum potestas*)' in Clovis' time, it seems likely to refer to the kings and their representatives who exerted authority over these people. The 'Franks' who agreed that King Theudebert's abandonment of his betrothed in the 530s was scandalous were, on the other hand, completely disconnected from any context within Gregory's text and could have been meant to refer to Theudebert's courtiers, important nobles, or perhaps people who were personally involved in the matter; whether these included only those who were perceived as ethnic Franks or also others who were 'political' Franks, Gregory left no clues.[425] Similarly, the 'more important Franks (*meliores Franci*)' who were invited to a royal wedding in 584 were probably nobles and important members of the king's court, but Gregory did not indicate whether they were designated as Franks because of their ancestry or because of their affiliation with the king (or both).[426] Gregory also wrote of an altercation or feud in 591 among 'the Franks of Tournai (*inter Tornacensis quoque Francos*)' without this same distinction.[427]

The distinction here between political identity and an ethnic identity based on perceived ancestry is crucial. It is widely assumed that the above uses of 'Frank' referred either to people of Frankish ancestry or to all people within the kingdom (thus meaning that all 'Romans' had

[424] Ibid. V preface, p. 193.
[425] Ibid. IV.4, pp. 137-8; III.27, p. 124.
[426] Ibid. VI.45, p. 318.
[427] Ibid. X.27, p. 519. Guy Halsall (ed.), *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West* (Woodbridge, 1998), p. 25, argues that this was not feud but a similar 'customary violence'.

become 'Franks'). In either case, this could be the whole population or just an elite segment of it that participated in political affairs. However, there is a middle ground that this assumption misses: the possibility of being both a Frank *and* a Roman simultaneously—one on a political level while the other remains intact on an ethnic level. When we begin to acknowledge this middle ground, it becomes easier to see the possibilities for a middle ground in other respects—cultural, religious, architectural—and our picture of the late antique and early medieval world becomes more complex and dynamic.

Gregory commonly referred to other non-Roman groups and their members in the same manner as he did the Franks, whether the groups lay within or outside the Frankish kingdoms, though he may have felt the need to specify their ethnic identity more often as they were exceptional within these kingdoms (but since we are unlikely to be able to spot any 'foreigners' he did not label, it is impossible to really be certain). He described a man he ordained as a priest in 578 as 'Winnoch the Briton (*Winnochus Britto*)', the abbot Brachio of Ménat (d. 576) as 'of Thuringian birth (*genere Thoringus*)', a certain Childeric as 'a Saxon (*Saxone*)' in 581, and a man with a house full of relics as 'a certain Syrian named Eufronius *(quidam Syrus Eufron nomine*)' in 585.[428] Gregory expressed surprise that the deacon Vulfolaic came to serve the church, enquiring 'how he had entered clerical office, because he was by birth a Lombard (*qualiter ad clericatus officium advenisset, quia erat genere Langobardus*)'; he clearly did not expect someone of Lombard ancestry to embrace a religious calling in the Catholic church, and this is certainly the reason he felt the need to specify Vulfolaic's ethnic origins.[429] Eusebius, whom he described as 'a merchant of Syrian birth (*negotiator genere Syrus*)', became bishop of Paris in 591 and replaced all household workers with others who, like him, were 'Syrian by birth (*Syrus de genere*)'.[430] In this case, Gregory labelled Eusebius as a Syrian because he came from Syria (or Gregory thought he did); within Syria, he may have been considered a Roman, or something else

[428] *Historiae* V.21, p. 229; V.12, pp. 206-7; VII.3, p. 328; VII.31, p. 350.
[429] Ibid. VIII.15, p. 380.
[430] Ibid. X.26, p. 519. On Syrian merchants in Gaul, see Devroey, 'Juifs et Syriens'. See also above, pp. 78-80.

entirely. Gregory had never travelled to the East and would not necessarily have known how locals there distinguished themselves, and for him, in any case, the most important aspect of his identity was that he was from afar and, regardless of his actual ancestry, not like locals in Gaul. In this way, his use of 'Syrian' parallels his use of 'African' for Quintianus of Rodez; in both cases, he generalized based on Gallic assumptions and perspectives.[431]

Gregory often portrayed foreign kings as kings of a people, such as Hermanfrid, King of the Thuringians (reigned c.507-531), and Alboin, King of the Lombards (reigned c. 560- 572), but also sometimes as kings of a land, as with Miro, King of Galicia (reigned 570-583), and Leovigild, King of the Spains (reigned 568-586).[432] While he sometimes called the Lombards simply 'Lombards', he also frequently described them as 'people of the Lombards (*gens Langobardorum*)'.[433] With the Goths, we see greater variety of usage as with his descriptions of the Franks: Agde was within 'the kingdom of the Goths (*regnum Gothorum*)', a 'delegation of Goths (*Gothorum legatio*)' visited King Chilperic in 584, and Guntram was angry that in 586 'the boundary [of the territory] of the horrendous Goths (*horrendorum Gothorum terminus*)' reached into the region of Gaul.[434] Gregory also simply wrote 'the Goths', sometimes in a clearly military context to refer to the Gothic army, as when 'the Goths' set a number of ambushes for Frankish troops during a military campaign and when they attacked Arles.[435]

Evidence that Gregory thought different peoples used different languages, whether true or not, appears in his tale of the greeting of Guntram at Orléans in 585 with 'the language of the Syrians, the language of the Latins, and also the language of the Jews (*hinc lingua Syrorum, hinc Latinorum, hinc etiam ipsorum Iudaeorum*)'.[436] Gregory may have meant Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, despite the fact that many Syrians probably spoke Syriac when not dealing with a Greek-speaking imperial administration and that Hebrew was only used as a ritual language by

[431] See above, p. 116.
[432] *Historiae* III.7, p. 103; IV.41, p. 174; V.41, p. 248; VI.40, p. 310.
[433] Ibid. IV.41, p. 174; X.3, p. 483, for example. IX.25, p. 444, and IX.29, p. 447, employ both methods.
[434] Ibid. VI.2, p. 266; VI.45, p. 317; VIII.30, pp. 393-4.
[435] Ibid. VIII.30, p. 394; IX.7, p. 420.
[436] Ibid. VIII.1, p. 370.

this time. As already noted, Gregory was not particularly well-informed about goings-on in the East, and he may not have known which languages were in use, simply assuming a Syrian from the Greek-speaking eastern empire would speak Greek and a Jew would speak Hebrew.[437] However, he *was* a bishop writing a history focused on Christian themes, and Greek, Latin, and Hebrew are the three languages of the Christian scriptures, considered sacred according to Isidore of Seville.[438] If Gregory *did* know which languages were actually spoken, he may have consciously chosen to use these sacred languages anyway in order to increase the sense of sacredness associated with this story and to better depict the whole world (or a representation of it in the three important languages) praising the king. That he used the term 'Latins'—strictly speaking the residents of Latium with whom the Latin language was first identified—this sole time in his writings suggests that the language rather than the ancestry was the most important aspect of these groups for Gregory's story, especially since there is no 'language of the Franks' mentioned and so they must be included with those of Roman ancestry under the Latin-speaking umbrella. Given all of this, we should not, perhaps, take this account literally. What is definitely true about this story is the presence of people Gregory would categorize as Syrians and Jews in the Frankish kingdoms.

Gregory's portrayal of representatives of the East Roman or Byzantine Empire is especially informative. One might expect that he would refer to the Byzantines as 'Romans', the way they referred to themselves and authors in Spain referred to them, but what we see instead is either 'imperial', as in the 'army of the emperor (*exercitus imperatoris*)' which Agila invited to aid him in a civil war in Spain in 551-2, or 'Greek', referring to the Byzantine soldiers still in Spain at the time of King Leovigild in the 580s whom his son Hermenegild courted for support during

[437] He was in fact so poorly informed that he erroneously wrote that Antioch was in Egypt: *Historiae* IV.40, p. 172.

[438] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* IX.I.3: 'There are three sacred languages—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin—which are preeminent throughout the world'. Isidore himself may have seen Syrians as speaking Greek (at least some of the time) and Jews as speaking Hebrew (at least some of the time): IX.I.4-5 and IX.I.8-9.

the civil war between father and son.[439] As with the people of Roman origin living in Gaul, Gregory did not label these Eastern Romans as 'Roman'; in fact, 'Romans' only appear as a people in Gregory's account of his contemporary world in quotations of others' words. One of these does refer to the Byzantines, the words 'glory of the Romans (*gloria Romanorum*)' on a medallion sent to King Chilperic by Emperor Tiberius in 581, while the two others come from the mouths of Arians in the Visigothic kingdom who referred to Catholics as 'Romans', as Gregory himself explained in an account of a miracle in Spain, relating the words of the Arian king Theudigisel: '"It is a trick of the Romans"—that is to say, they call men of our [Catholic] religion Romans—"that this happened, and it is not the power of God" (*"Ingenium est Romanorum"—Romanos enim vocitant nostrae homines relegionis—"ut ita accedat, et non est Dei virtus"*)'.[440] Perhaps Gregory chose not to depict the Byzantines as 'Romans' in his writing because they were simply the residents of *the* empire with no need to specify further, though, unfortunately, Gregory gave us few clues about his motives here.

For the people in Gaul of Roman heritage, Gregory's reason for not using the term 'Roman' to describe them as a group seems the same as for individuals: that other identifiers were more meaningful within a community that was largely of Roman ancestry. In lieu of using 'Roman' to describe groups of people within the Frankish kingdoms, Gregory again used *civitas* designations; just as a person might be a 'citizen of Tours', a group would be 'the people of Tours' or the 'Tourangeaux'. For example, in 583, Sigibert ordered 'the men of Clermont (*Arvernis*)' under the leadership of their count to attack the city of Arles and there many 'great men from Clermont (*magni ... viri ex Arvernis*)' died.[441] When Sigibert died the next year, the rival king Guntram, who controlled Burgundy, seized the cities of Tours and Poitiers for his own territory; because 'the Tourangeaux and the Poitevins (*Toronici vero atque Pectavi*)' were unhappy with this change and wanted to be ruled by Sigibert's son instead, Guntram sent 'the

[439] *Historiae* IV.8, p. 140; V.38, p. 245.
[440] *Historiae* VI.2, p. 267; *GM* 24, p. 52. The third is *GM* 78, p. 91, referring to a dispute in Agde in Septimania.
[441] *Historiae* IV.30, p. 163.

men of Bourges (*Biturigi*)' to harass them.[442] It is unlikely that every one of these citizens of Tours and Poitiers were of Roman background, and in fact, we know that Saxons were among the 'men of Bayeux (*Baiocassini*)' who were sent in 578 with those of Tours, Poitiers, Le Mans, and Angers to fight Waroch in Brittany; Gregory noted later in this passage that Waroch made a surprise attack by night against 'the Saxons of Bayeux (*Saxones Baiocassinos*)'.[443] For these Saxons, being from Bayeux was like being a Frank in a political sense—they were so named not because of their origin but because of their place of residence. However, as Gregory otherwise almost exclusively used these designations for southern *civitates*, where those of Roman background remained a majority, in most cases they would have been the majority of the men included in Gregory's descriptions. Using a *civitas* designation was convenient for Gregory: it was a long-established way of referring to people which would be familiar to his readers, it was inclusive and thus removed the need to specify individual groups within a mixed group of inhabitants, and it provided the local information which would have been most meaningful to local people, far more meaningful than the repeated use of 'Roman' would have been.

Conclusion

We no longer believe, as historians routinely did in the past, that Gregory was a naïve individual who recorded the events and people around him as they were without a clear pattern or even a clear understanding of what he was telling us; we now see Gregory as a sophisticated author who tailored what he wrote according to his goals and who gave us not an unvarnished look at his world but his own perspective coloured by his experiences and his mindset. The question that draws attention now is what goals, biases, and influences lay behind his authorial choices, and historians have suggested a few possibilities of varying likelihood.

Walter Goffart postulates that Gregory thought 'Roman' was no longer meaningful within Gaul and substituted local and Christian identities instead. This leads him to expect

[442] Ibid. VII.12, p. 333.
[443] Ibid. V.26, p. 232.

Gregory to adhere to a clear pattern in describing Franks as 'Franks' and only Romans according to their fathers and *civitates*, and therefore assume Bodegisel was of Roman background simply because he was juxtaposed with Grippo the Frank and identified by his father and city rather than as a 'Frank'. However, we have seen that his pattern was, instead, related to his knowledge of the individuals in question, which itself was related to their geographical distance from his own location and his connections with others throughout the Merovingian kingdoms from whom he might glean further information.[444] That many were usually also of probable Roman origin may be more a result of the high ratio of Romans to others in the south and within Gregory's social network than of any conscious intention to label those of Roman background differently from those of Frankish, Burgundian, or other background.

Edward James has astutely noted that Gregory probably used different words in different contexts (birth and origin versus political allegiance, or insider versus outsider) just as we would. He is correct that Gregory used ethnonyms more for outsiders than insiders, but the reason is not that he saw everyone within the Frankish kingdoms as a Frank in the political sense and was not concerned about what they were in an ethnic sense, rather that other information was more useful to him—and to his contemporaries in his local region and social sphere, who would have the best access to his writing—at a local level.

Most recently, Helmut Reimitz has argued that Gregory's Christian agenda emerges in two ways: his grounding of his *Histories* in Gaul's *Christian* past rather than a specifically Roman or Frankish framework, and his conscious avoidance of ethnic labels in order to not detract from the unifying potential he saw in espousing Christian identity first and foremost. The former is clear and I do not dispute it, but the latter remains unconvincing. Were it correct, we would expect Gregory to never mention ethnic identities within the kingdom (which, as we have seen, is not the case), nor any *other* form of identity which could conflict with and potentially outweigh Christianity, including social status and locality, both of which I have demonstrated he

[444] See above, pp. 130, 132.

used extensively. Gregory's Christian focus did not require him to avoid ethnic, or any other, markers; instead we should see it as one of many factors he weighed when selecting the most useful or important identity for each passage: perhaps 'Christian', 'holy', or 'priest' when he wanted to emphasize someone's faith, 'senatorial' or 'noble' for social respectability, and 'African' or 'Syrian' when foreignness mattered to him or to his audience. He was clearly partial to Christians, Romans, and elites, but he did not unilaterally emphasize any one of these aspects at the expense of all others, nor did he need to in order to shape a Christian heritage and future for the Merovingian kingdoms.

Historians have been surprised by the lack of the 'Roman' label in Gregory's writing partly because we have been conditioned to expect ethnic rhetoric in the post-Roman world; this can be partially blamed on the misleading title *History of the Franks* which is still used despite the fact that it is neither Gregory's original title nor an accurate description of the contents. Whether or not Gregory considered local individuals of Roman ancestry to be ethnically Roman is beside the point; his choice of language reflects less on his views on this issue and more on which labels had the greatest meaning at a local, kingdom-wide, and worldwide level, as well as the greatest impact for the stories he wished to tell. Such concern to use locally important criteria does not conflict with the conscious choice to select episodes and language that would promote a unified Christian identity for Gaul, which Reimitz has expertly detailed; they are two complementary sets of practical choices Gregory made to further his goals. The models Reimitz and I utilize work well precisely because they acknowledge the role of authorial selection and leave room for the author to use or omit different modes of identification for different circumstances and for other authors of the same period to make their own choices. Venantius Fortunatus, who employed ethnic identities far more than Gregory did, is one such author.

Chapter Five: Venantius Fortunatus

Although Gregory is the most familiar figure of sixth-century Gaul, and therefore the one we often turn to in order to describe this period, he is not our only contemporary source, and relying too much on Gregory blinds us to a wider variety of perspectives and experiences that he either did not share or chose to omit from his work. Venantius Fortunatus, the next most prolific author for Merovingian Gaul, can provide one such perspective and broaden our view of the period.[445] Fortunatus was Gregory's friend and correspondent, and while his hagiographical *Lives* are similar in style and language to Gregory's, his poetry stands out as including far more ethnic nomenclature. Like Gregory, Fortunatus chose the language he deemed most appropriate for his goals, but as a poet his goals and the conventions of his genre differed from Gregory's as a historian. While Gregory hoped to promote Christian devotion and used practical terms with local significance, Fortunatus aimed to flatter his patrons and selected figurative language and allusions that could paint a vivid picture of their character and attributes with few words. Ethnic terms are particularly useful for this purpose, as they draw numerous associations and stereotypes together into a single word, and they serve as a rhetorical tool in Fortunatus' poems on multiple occasions. A look at his use of these terms serves two important purposes: first, it illustrates that at least one contemporary author (and probably also a number of his patrons) found ethnic identities meaningful, and so commentators who, based on Gregory, have claimed that ethnic identities were unimportant to people in sixth-century Gaul are incorrect; and secondly, it provides an alternate window through which to view the world in which these two men lived which can only enhance our understanding of contemporary mentalities.

[445] While historically Gregory has received the greater share of attention, two volumes have recently augmented the literature on Fortunatus: Joseph Pucci (ed.), *Poems to Friends* (Indianapolis, 2010); and Michael Roberts, *The Humblest Sparrow: The Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus* (Ann Arbor, 2009).

Life and Thought

Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus was born in the 530s in Duplavis, near Treviso, Italy, where his landowning family had lived for generations.[446] He was educated there and in Ravenna in both rhetoric and the Bible, presumably as grooming for a civil service career in Italy. Fortunatus' perspective on the world was, therefore, strongly influenced by the Italian culture of his upbringing; although he spent most of his adult life in Gaul, he would interpret what he saw there through the lens of his education and the years spent under Ostrogothic and East Roman rule. He left Italy for Gaul in late 565 or early 566, and remained there until his death c. 600. Most of this time was spent in Poitiers, where he developed a strong friendship with Radegund, the Thuringian princess turned Frankish queen who had retired to a monastery there. He also became friends with Gregory of Tours, and a number of his poems were either commissioned by Gregory or sent as part of regular correspondence.

Fortunatus' poems survive in a collection of eleven books, plus assorted other poems which have, in modern editions, been assigned to an appendix.[447] His patrons and subjects included kings, bishops, and dukes, and provide insight into how these patrons wanted their world portrayed; Fortunatus would not, after all, continue to get paying commissions if his patrons were dissatisfied with his work (nor would he collect and publish them).[448] He needed to be able to anticipate both his patrons' and a wider audience's expectations in order to write a piece which would resonate positively with all. The themes and focal points which appear in his poetry vary depending on the patron, with some clearly enjoying grand images of classical civilization and others more humble Christian virtue. That is not to say that Fortunatus wrote only what pleased his patrons; his own views and values also come through in his choice of

[446] Thorough information about his life and education can be found in Marc Reydellet's introduction to his edition, *Poèmes*, vol. 1, pp. vii–xxviii. Francisco Pejenaute Rubio, 'En los confines de la Romanidad: Venancio Fortunato, un escritor de frontera', *Archivum: Revista de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras* 51 (2001), pp. 383–427, emphasizes his Roman education.

[447] Pucci (ed.), *Poems for Friends*, pp. xlii-xlv; *Poèmes*, pp. lxxi-lxxix, for manuscript tradition and editions.

[448] Judith George, 'Poet as Politician: Venantius Fortunatus' Panegyric to King Chilperic', *JMH* 15 (1989), p. 190.

words and poetic techniques. Gentle rebukes, hints of close friendship, and urgings toward moral character and leadership show us glimpses of Fortunatus' opinions in among those of the patrons he hoped to please.[449] Similarly, the ethnic identifiers Fortunatus used reflect both his patrons' and his own views of the world.

His use of ethnic language, in contrast to Gregory's lack of interest in it, can be explained in part by genre, as poetry requires more figurative language and greater economy than history writing, and so labels which can evoke powerful images and associations with one or two words, like 'Roman' or 'barbarian', are particularly attractive. This is corroborated by the far fewer ethnic terms in his hagiographical writings, on par with Gregory's own hagiographical corpus: in lieu of ethnic identities, Fortunatus utilized the same criteria as Gregory—parents, cities, and social status—reflecting his own Roman background and confirming the importance of these elements in his time.[450] His Italian background must certainly also have played a role, since he received a thorough classical education there, and since his experience of what it meant to be 'Roman' in Italy would not have been identical to the 'Romans' he met in Gaul. Finally, Fortunatus' intent in writing can also explain his choice: his poetry was written neither for the recording of important events nor for spiritual edification and the promotion of a Christian view of history—as Gregory's *Histories* were—but for the flattery of patrons.[451] Praising an individual according to his or her ethnic background, an expected element of panegyric, eulogy, and other poetic forms in the classical tradition in which he was thoroughly trained, was one of many ways he could—and did—stroke the egos of his patrons and increase the likelihood of further commissions from them. Fortunatus did not push an ethnic ideology, but he did make use of

[449] George, 'Poet as Politician', p. 6; Roberts*, The Humblest Sparrow*, pp. 244-317; Pucci (ed.), *Poems to Friends*, pp. xxxiv-viii; Judith George, 'Portraits of Two Merovingian Bishops in the Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus', *JMH* 13, no. 3 (1987), p. 203.

[450] Sabine MacCormack, 'Latin Prose Panegyrics', in T.A. Dorey (ed.), *Empire and Aftermath* (London, 1975), p. 150. I discuss the hagiographical examples briefly below, pp. 161-163, 209, 213, 214.

[451] On Fortunatus' motives, see Simon Coates, 'Venantius Fortunatus and the Image of Episcopal Authority in Late Antique and Early Merovingian Gaul', *EHR* 115, no. 464 (November 2000), p. 1114; George, 'Portraits', p. 190.

ethnic identities to ascribe associated traits to his poems' subjects and to draw vivid, and pleasing, mental pictures of these individuals with high-impact words.

Venantius Fortunatus divided his local world into two primary ethnic groups: Romans and barbarians. Sometimes he would specify particular barbarian groups, like the Saxons or the Franks, but usually as foreign peoples to be conquered or as representatives of the whole world singing praises to a king, not as individuals.[452] 'Barbarian' was clearly his preferred term, which tells us how deeply he drew in his writing from classical Roman tradition, which portrayed the world in a Roman-barbarian dichotomy.[453] From his descriptions, we obtain a picture of society comprising both Romans and barbarians in which Roman civility and eloquence were still highly prized but were not considered incompatible with the wilder 'nature' of barbarians. I will begin with those portrayed as fully 'Roman', and move on to less 'Roman' figures.

The Poems

Duke Lupus of Champagne

Lupus, duke of Champagne, was among Fortunatus' first friends in Gaul; in later years, Fortunatus thanked him in poetry for aiding him as a new arrival in the Frankish kingdoms.[454] He was probably a native of Champagne and his son, Romulf, also obtained an important position in the region as bishop of Reims. Fortunatus probably wrote poem 7.7 (which I mentioned briefly above) soon after they met, to celebrate Lupus' appointment as duke, a military position which was more likely to be held by barbarians than by Romans at this point in Gaul's history.[455] The poem would have been read publicly, probably at a formal celebration attended by his new colleagues and subordinates, and Lupus would expect it to reflect well upon

[452] See below, pp. 164-166.
[453] See above, p. 1.
[454] *Poèmes* 7.8, vol. 2, p. 99, lines 49-50. Biographies of Lupus can be found in *PLRE* III, pp. 798-9 (Lupus 1); and Pucci (ed.), *Poems for Friends*, p. 51.
[455] See above, p. 130. For dukes and their roles, see Karin Selle-Hosbach, *Prosopographie merowingischer Amtsträger in der Zeit von 511 bis 613* (Bonn, 1974), pp. 23–7; Archibald R. Lewis, 'The Dukes in the Regnum Francorum, A.D. 550-751', *Speculum* 51, no. 3 (1976), pp. 381–410.

him to those among the audience who were both paying attention and could follow all of the enclosed allusions.[456] In it Fortunatus extolled Lupus' Roman ancestry and virtues. Early lines conjure images of the splendour of ancient Rome and compare Lupus favourably with great figures from the Roman past, setting Lupus' public service within the traditions of this venerated society: 'Scipio was wise, Cato acted with maturity, Pompey was fortunate; only you have all of these traits. With these consuls, Rome's power shone forth, but with you as duke, Rome returns for us here and now. (*Scipio quod sapiens, Cato quod maturus agebat, / Pompeius felix, omnia solus habes. / Illis consulibus Romana potentia fulsit, / te duce sed nobis hic modo Roma redit*)'.[457] Through these lines, he depicted Lupus as possessing the wisdom and fortune of great figures from the Roman past, which would assist him in governance and bring the best of Roman civilization back to Champagne. Their great virtues became Lupus' in this poetic construction.

Fortunatus was not, however, simply drawing a comparison to important ancient Romans; he was situating these traits deep in Lupus' being. He wrote: 'You inherited the venerable character of your Roman roots: you drive battles with the force of arms, you govern with law peacefully (*antiquos animos Romanae stirpis adeptus / bella moves armis, iura quiete regis*)'.[458] It was a common device in Roman panegyric to portray a ruler (whether a king or a more local ruler) as able in both war and peace—a protector against both hostile enemies and abuses of legal rights.[459] Fortunatus evoked this image here in the context of Lupus' Roman heritage—his *stirps*, a word which originally referred to the stem or root of a plant but

[456] On the reading of the poem, see Judith George, 'Venantius Fortunatus: Panegyric in Merovingian Gaul', in Mary Whitby (ed.), *The Propaganda of Power: The Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 1998), p. 229. How much people continued to follow classical allusions and understand tricks of rhyme and metre is uncertain: see Roberts*, The Humblest Sparrow*, p. 322; Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1993), p. 261.

[457] *Poèmes* 7.7, vol. 2, p. 94, lines 3-6. George, 'Panegyric', p. 229, notes that this is part of the traditional sequence of topics in a eulogy.

[458] *Poèmes* 7.7, vol. 2, p. 96, line 45.

[459] MacCormack, 'Latin Prose Panegyrics', p. 145; Menander Rhetor, *Division of Epideictic Speeches*, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson in *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 85–93, 179–81; *Panegyrici Latini*, ed. C. E. V. Nixon, Barbara Saylor Rodgers, and R. A. B Mynors, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini* (Oxford, 1994), IV.16, p. 361.

developed a figurative meaning of a biological 'stem' or 'roots', that is, family lineage.[460] By using *stirps*, Fortunatus implied permanence and an essential nature, that Lupus' Roman identity was an integral part of his character whence his virtue stemmed. This ancestry, in Fortunatus' depiction, was so deeply rooted that it both influenced Lupus' character and predisposed him to the venerable traits of Scipio and others.

We gain two particularly interesting insights into Fortunatus' mentality through this poem. First, he believed (or expected others to believe) that a person's character stemmed from his or her ancestry; in other words, one's birth predisposed one to certain character traits. Second, Romanness was not just an acquired cultural trait in his view but an 'ethnic' one inherited from one's family of birth. Being innate to Lupus' being in this way, his Romanness was not an aspect of his self that could be changed completely; Fortunatus thought it too essential—too integral to his very self—to be mutable. Of course, as I have already noted, modern studies have shown that ethnic identities *can* change in some circumstances, but Fortunatus did not perceive it this way—whether Lupus could actually change his identity and whether Fortunatus *thought* he could, or perhaps thought he could *say* he could, are two very different things.

In Lupus' case, we may actually be seeing the beginnings of a change in identity within his family in the names of his brother, Magnulf, and son, Romulf.[461] Both of these names have 'Germanic' endings and contain Lupus' name (meaning 'wolf') in their '–ulf' ending. His son is interestingly named 'Rome-wolf', continuing his father's Roman heritage within a 'Germanic' name. Both Romulf and Magnulf came from the same Roman *stirps* as Lupus, but they adopted

[460] Fortunatus also used *stirps* along with the term *genus* in poem 2.8 for Launebod, vol. 1, p. 62, line 27. M.H. Hoeflich, 'Between Gothia and Romania: The Image of the King in the Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus', *Res publica litterarum: Studies in the Classical Tradition* 5 (1982), p. 125, notes that he also often used it to describe royal lineage. For a definition, see Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short*, A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1933), p. 1761.

[461] For biography, see *PLRE* III, p. 804 (Magnulfus), and p. 1095 (Romulfus 2). Romulf also appears in Gregory of Tours' *Historiae* X.19, p. 513; and Flodoard of Reims*, Historia Remensis ecclesiae* II.4, ed. Martina Stratmann, in *MGH SS* XXXVI (Hanover, 1998), pp. 140–41.

(or their parents adopted for them) names from the Frankish society around them.[462] Whether done for personal advancement and identification with the Frankish political arena or out of a sense of connection to Frankish culture, this naming choice placed both men between two worlds, tied to both the Roman and the barbarian. It would also probably cause them to be identified differently than if they had Roman names: someone coming across Magnulf outside of his family context, with no potential clues but his name, might guess that he was not of Roman extraction, and treat him as if he were a Frank by birth. If the naming pattern continued in the next generations—as well as the associations with Frankish circles which the adoption of Frankish names hints at—his grandchildren and great-grandchildren might well come to feel more Frankish than Roman or even forget their Roman heritage altogether, completing the shift of the family's ethnic identity. Fortunatus, however, did not even hint at these naming patterns, let alone their implications; he found more rhetorical power in images of the splendour and magnificence of Rome than in the blending of contemporary cultures and ethnic groups.

Leontius II of Bordeaux

As with Lupus, Fortunatus found poetic inspiration for his praise of Leontius of Bordeaux in his subject's Roman ancestry. Leontius was from a noble family in Aquitaine and served in the military before succeeding another Leontius (possibly his father) as bishop of Bordeaux in 549. His wife, Placidina, descended from Sidonius Apollinaris (d.489) and the emperor Avitus (d.457) and thus provided him with a connection to the highest echelon of Gallic society.[463] Fortunatus praised both husband and wife for their nobility and for their construction of churches and villas in a full, traditional eulogy in poem 1.15. While, according to Fortunatus, Leontius was noble because of his ancestors who had the status of *clarus* from antiquity, 'another nobility (*altera*

[462] As Chris Wickham suggests in *Framing*, p. 176, Lupus may have been known by a different name (Wulf, perhaps?) in Frankish circles.
[463] *PLRE* III, p. 774 (Leontius 3), and p. 1042 (Placidina); Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel*, p. 188, no. 219.

nobilitas)' was added to his character through his role as bishop.[464] However, it is the epitaph (poem 4.10) commissioned by Placidina after Leontius' death in 573 which explicitly brings Leontius' 'Roman' background into play. The epitaph states that Leontius' 'nobility drew its lofty name from his origin, of the sort of *genus* the senate of Rome perhaps has. And however much may have flowed from the prominent blood of his fathers, he by his own merits makes his forefathers grow [in prominence] (*Nobilitas altum ducens ab origine nomen, / quale genus Romae forte senatus habet; / et quamvis celso flueret de sanguine patrum, / hic propriis meritis crescere fecit avos*)'.[465] The poet drew in this passage upon the Roman senate, the most noble group in traditional imperial society, in order to associate Leontius with its nobility without outright stating a connection. Although he certainly would have been able to discover Leontius' direct ancestors, and to name them if he chose, this knowledge has been lost to us; presumably he was related to his predecessor as bishop and to other *Leontii*, including Sidonius Apollinaris' contemporary Pontius Leontius and various members of the *Ruricii* family, but we can only guess as to how.[466] Fortunatus instead suggested that Leontius' family name was perhaps of a senatorial sort, which allowed him to incorporate the prestige of such families and allude to a connection which may by this point have been distant, aside from those made through his wife.

These poems again tell us that either Fortunatus or Leontius (or quite possibly both) saw both character and ethnic identity as inherited traits, just as social status was. Fortunatus' portrayal of Leontius' nobility as stemming from his Roman family and flowing in his very veins implies that this aspect of him could never change; as his blood and biology would remain constant, so he would always be noble. The poet's allusions to the Roman senatorial families added greater prestige to Leontius and his family, though in a cautious, subtle way. As in the

[464] *Poèmes* 1.15, vol. 1, p. 34, lines 15-18, 21-24, and 31-32. On the panegyric forms used, see George, 'Portraits', pp. 191–4.
[465] *Poèmes* 4.10, vol. 1, p. 142, lines 7-8.
[466] On Leontius' possible family connections, see Brennan, 'Social Mobility', pp. 152–3; Heinzelmann, *Bischofsherrschaft*, pp. 217–19; Mathisen (ed.), *Ruricius*, p. 24. I follow Brennan, who is more cautious than Heinzelmann.

poem to Lupus, Fortunatus found more rhetorical value in an association with a grand Roman past than in the details of his individual relatives.

The Ruricii

An epitaph Fortunatus wrote for the two bishops of Limoges named Ruricius, grandfather and grandson, similarly emphasizes their noble ancestry and the ideals shared by men of their background. The elder Ruricius (d. c.510) became bishop of Limoges in the 480s after he and his wife chose to enter religious life. He was an epistolographer who corresponded with men like Sidonius Apollinaris and Caesarius of Arles.[467] The younger was bishop in the mid-sixth century and is attested at the First Council of Clermont and the Fourth and Fifth Councils of Orléans.[468] Fortunatus noted that both men gave alms to the poor and piously built churches, indicating two deeds that were expected of such aristocrats and that their families would have been proud to hear declared.[469] On their ancestry, he proposed a link to a great senatorial family: 'The Ruricii were twin flowers, to whom Rome was joined through the ancestral height of the Anicii (*Ruricii gemini flores, quibus Aniciorum / iuncta parentali culmine Roma fuit*)'.[470] While this link is unattested elsewhere and may therefore be rhetorical license, or something the family claimed but could not prove, it is noteworthy that Fortunatus chose to include it and to value a connection between the Ruricii and a Rome of bygone days. This would paint them as being of the highest nobility, and make their sacrifice of that worldly nobility through charitable donations of their wealth and service to the church all the more laudable. In fact, Fortunatus suggested that it bought them greater nobility, of a kind that mattered more: 'Happy are they who in this way fleeing their nobility, have purchased senatorial rights in heaven (*Felices qui sic*

[467] Mathisen (ed.), *Ruricius*; Ralph Mathisen, 'The Letters of Ruricius of Limoges and the Passage from Roman to Frankish Gaul', in *SCLA*, pp. 101-15; *PLRE* II, pp. 960-61.
[468] *PLRE* III, pp. 1099-1100.
[469] *Poèmes* 4.5, vol. 1, p. 136, lines 13-14, 17.
[470] Ibid., p. 135, lines 7-8.

de nobilitate fugaci / mercati in caelis iura senatus habent!)'.[471] Because they were so noble in life, Fortunatus imagined their heaven as senatorial, befitting their lineage. Again, it was a grand Roman past, linked to the subjects' lineage, that the poet deemed the best rhetorical tool for his purposes.

Arcadius, and Felix of Nantes

Two other individuals whom Fortunatus described in terms of a noble ancestry are a young boy named Arcadius and Bishop Felix of Nantes. Arcadius was only a boy when he died and Fortunatus composed his brief epitaph. It states that he '[came] from senatorial descent (*veniens de prole senatus*)'; we have no further information about his family, but he was doubtless of Roman ancestry given his name and the label 'senatorial', and it is possible he was related to the Aviti of Clermont from which another Arcadius came.[472] Felix was bishop of Nantes from c.550 until he died of plague in 582.[473] Fortunatus wrote that he was of 'the greatest family (*maxima progenies*)' and that, looking back at his lineage, all the most powerful people of Aquitaine were of his blood.[474] Due to his instruction, Fortunatus claimed, 'a new Rome came here [to Nantes] (*hic nova Roma venit*)', and he ruled the church with 'nobler hope (*spe nobiliore*)' beyond his earthly nobility.[475] The idea of the rejuvenation of Rome in Gaul we have already seen in descriptions of Lupus, and here it was clearly intended for the same purpose: to associate Felix with all the splendour of the past. Similarly, his ability to find greater nobility through the church than through worldly connections is reminiscent of Leontius and the Ruricii; this was a commonly used trope, seen especially in hagiographical works, that tied great ancestry, a traditional source of praise, with a humbler character that better fit the vision of holiness promoted by the church. By mentioning both worldly and spiritual nobility, Fortunatus

[471] Ibid., p. 136, lines 21-22.
[472] *Poèmes* 4.17, vol. 1, p. 148, line 3. See above, p. 126.
[473] *PLRE* III, pp. 481-2 (Felix 5).
[474] *Poèmes* 3.8, vol. 1, p. 98, lines 11-14.
[475] Ibid., p. 98, lines 20-22, 25-6.

was able to sell his patrons' spiritual works and characteristics as of more importance than their secular ones without upsetting the value aristocratic society placed on its location in the social hierarchy. Finally, for both Arcadius and Felix, Fortunatus relied on lineage to paint a portrait of their good character, but without mentioning any specific ancestors. Perhaps they were well enough known that the mention of such ties was unnecessary, or perhaps the poems were intended for a small audience who knew the subjects well (such as Arcadius' immediate family and whomever Felix chose to share his correspondence with), or Fortunatus may have even invented these ties altogether.[476] As with Arcadius, we have little other information about Felix's relatives, only the aforementioned nephew Burgundio and cousin Nonnichius from Gregory of Tours' *Histories*, and an unnamed niece.[477] Who precisely his noble Aquitainian ancestors were thus remains a mystery.

Vilithuta

While some individuals, like Lupus and Leontius, were Romans through and through in Fortunatus' poetic portrayals, others shared both Roman and barbarian traits. An excellent example is poem 4.26, an epitaph for Vilithuta, a young wife who died in childbirth. The poem was commissioned by her husband, Dagaulf.[478] It describes her as 'begotten of noble blood in the city of Paris (*sanguine nobilium generata Parisius urbe*)' and 'Roman by effort, barbarian by descent (*Romana studio, barbara prole fuit*)'.[479] In Fortunatus' view, therefore, she was born a barbarian but learned to be a Roman—one by nature, the other by nurture. Among his praises of her is that 'she drew out a gentle disposition from a fierce people: to conquer nature was her greater glory (*ingenium mitem torva de gente trahebat: / vincere naturam gloria maior erat*)'. [480]

[476] Menander Rhetor, p. 81, advocates invention if necessary.
[477] See above, p. 131.
[478] *PLRE* III, p. 380 (Dagaulfus), and p. 1377 (Vilithuta).
[479] *Poèmes* 4.26, vol. 1, p. 156, line 14. 'Parisius', while not classically correct, is indeed the form found in the manuscripts. Another example of non-Romans called 'noble' is poem 2.8 for the duke Launebod and his wife Beretrude, for which see below, p. 156.
[480] Ibid., p. 156, lines 15-16.

Fortunatus described family lineage in these lines as predisposing a person to certain character traits, here barbarians as fierce and uncivilized. In this portrayal, Vilithuta's 'nature' was to be a fierce barbarian, but she managed not to be ruled by this essential part of herself and wonderfully overcame this nature by 'nurturing' Romanness in herself. That barbarian tendency toward fierceness never ceased to be a part of her—she was not said to be 'formerly barbarian' but 'barbarian'—but it had been forced to the background by the taming influences of Roman civilization.

That Fortunatus saw this triumph as worthy of praise is unsurprising; he was, after all, of Roman upbringing himself in Italy, near the birthplace of Roman civilization and from an area of the peninsula ruled by the East Roman Empire for part of the time he lived there. He had also been educated in classical texts which would have portrayed a dichotomy between Roman and barbarian and predisposed him to see the world according to this dichotomy. However, it was not for himself alone that Fortunatus was writing but also for Vilithuta's grieving husband, Dagaulf. Given his name, Dagaulf was probably of 'barbarian' extraction like his wife, yet Fortunatus clearly believed that that he would take comfort in the idea that Vilithuta had attained a measure of Romanness through her manner of life, and that Dagaulf valued Roman civility as Fortunatus himself did. He also must have believed that Dagaulf would not object to her being labelled a 'barbarian', even in a fairly neutral manner which acknowledged the noble status of her barbarian family.

This example lends a new layer of complexity to our picture of Fortunatus' world view. While he never mentioned 'barbarian' characteristics for people like Lupus, the Ruricii, and Felix, and certainly saw them as exhibiting traits they had gained from their noble, Roman birth, in Vilithuta's case he did acknowledge the possibility of change and adaptation. Vilithuta, in his eyes, was disadvantaged by birth to barbarian parents, and thus had plenty of incentive to aim for better in the form of Roman culture. The poet's choice to emphasize her gentle behaviour as 'Roman' indicates that he himself viewed this as a key aspect of Roman identity, including his

own. However, while she succeeded in acquiring some degree of Romanness, she remained a 'barbarian' in many ways and always would; it was not possible for her to pass as completely Roman to anyone who knew her background, and she could not therefore become entirely, ethnically 'Roman'. It seems that Fortunatus valued Roman characteristics more highly than 'barbarian' ones—though, as we will see, this did not prevent him from liking 'barbarian' individuals—and he anticipated that a grieving 'barbarian' husband in sixth-century Gaul would hold similar values to his own. He used the currency of this Roman ideal to engender feelings of pride in Vilithuta's laudable attainment of it, against the difficult odds of her birth, in her husband and other readers or listeners of the epitaph, all through the judicious placement of a few very powerful 'ethnic' words.

Duke Launebod

Explicitly calling those not of Roman descent 'Roman' was not the only way Fortunatus could associate them with ideal Roman traits; in the case of the duke Launebod, merely stating that he performed a task Romans ought to have done is enough to bring hints of Romanness to his character. Launebod, the duke of Toulouse, and his wife, Berethrude, built a church to St Saturninus in the city in the late 560s or early 570s. As far as we know, Fortunatus did not regularly visit Toulouse, so he may have been invited specifically for the dedication of the new church, where he would have read this poem aloud to the assembled guests.[481] He used the opportunity not only to praise Launebod and his wife for their nobility and their generosity to the church but also to rebuke local Romans for not stepping forward to complete the task themselves, writing with a definite tone of chastisement: 'This work, which no one coming from the Roman *gens* undertook, a man of barbarian descent completed (*quod nullus veniens Romana gente fabrivit, / hoc vir barbarica prole peregit opus*)'.[482] Here, as we have seen with Leontius

[481] Judith W. George, *Venantius Fortunatus: A Latin Poet in Merovingian Gaul* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 31–2; *Poèmes*, p. xxx; *PLRE* III p. 226 (Berethrude), and p. 765 (Launebodis).
[482] *Poèmes* 2.8, vol. 1, p. 62, lines 23-4.

and Placidina and with the Ruricii, the poet clearly saw it as the Romans' duty to build churches, and other important buildings in the community, just as they would have at the height of the Roman Empire, and it reflected very poorly upon them that a barbarian was required to step forward to see the task completed.[483] For Launebod and his wife, however, doing so earned them even higher nobility than they already possessed as well as the favour of God, perhaps in part because it was less expected from barbarians, even those in leadership roles. Particularly as far south as Toulouse, which would have been well-populated by people of Roman descent, a non-Roman performing such a task stood out as exceptional.[484]

This passage reveals that Fortunatus, a man of noble Roman background himself, expected a certain standard of behaviour from other upper-class Romans and felt perfectly justified in rebuking them for failing to meet his (and presumably others') expectations. Romanness was not merely a state of being as he perceived the concept, but required those fortunate enough to be born 'Roman' (and aristocratic, presumably) to act like it—by using their own funds to build churches and other grand edifices, by supporting the church and its saints, and by behaving in a civil and gentle manner as Vilithuta did. Just as Orosius could chastise his fellow Romans for behaving in a savage, barbaric manner and portray the Goths who sacked Rome as less barbaric and more likely to offer their subjects freedom, so Fortunatus reprimanded his fellow Romans, and lauded his patron, by comparing their behaviour unfavourably with that of a 'barbarian'.[485]

King Charibert

'Barbarian' kings often played on the Roman image in an attempt to earn for themselves its imperial prestige: Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, staged a parade through Rome which

[483] Brennan, 'Social Mobility', p. 157.
[484] On Romans in the south, see Rouche, *L'Aquitaine*.
[485] Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos libri* VII.41, ed. M.P. Arnaud-Lindet in *Orose: Histoire contre les païens* (Paris, 1990), pp. 120-23. Similarly, Salvian of Marseille*, De gubernatione Dei* V.ii[5-11], pp. 59–66.

appropriated the traditions of imperial processions; Leovigild, King of the Visigoths, sat on a throne and dressed in royal purple; and Theudebert, King of the Franks, substituted his own image for that of the eastern emperor on coins, claiming for himself all the imperial trappings of coinage except the title of 'emperor'.[486] Fortunatus' very presence at the courts of various Merovingian kings attests to their desire to be presented in the Roman rhetoric and imagery which were so firmly associated in the minds of many of their subjects with a legitimate leader's authority to rule.[487] While, as the leading 'Franks' or 'Goths' of their respective kingdoms, they would always keep their barbarian ethnic identities, some of the trappings of Romanness were still available to them. Fortunatus' panegyric 6.2 to the Merovingian king Charibert manipulates both identities to portray him as a ruler suited for all his subjects, Romans and barbarians alike.

Charibert (561-567) was the eldest son of Clothar and, after his father's death, split the kingdom with his three brothers, gaining control for himself of the portion ruled from Paris.[488] The poem, written for Charibert's *adventus* ceremony into Paris in the Frankish kingdom of Neustria in 567, follows a traditional sequence from a fanfare and call for all to praise the king through to his lineage, youth, and virtues in both peace and war; it also expresses ties to both his ancestry and Roman culture.[489] It addresses Charibert: 'Although you are a Sicamber, born of an illustrious people, the Latin language flourishes in your speech (*cum sis progenitus clara de gente Sigamber / floret in eloquio lingua Latina tuo*)', and then wonders: 'How great must you be in learned speech in your own language, who conquers us Romans in eloquence? (*qualis es in propria docto sermone loquella, / qui nos Romanos vincis in eloquio?*)'.[490]

Eloquence was strongly associated with the ideal educated Roman, and being a professional poet, Fortunatus certainly would have valued eloquence especially highly, making

[486] McCormick*, Eternal Victory*, pp. 260–387.
[487] George, 'Panegyric', pp. 226–8; Brian Brennan, 'The Image of the Frankish Kings in the Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus', *JMH* 10, no. 1 (1984), esp. pp. 1–3; Joseph Farrell, *Latin Language and Latin Culture: From Ancient to Modern Times* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 10–11.
[488] *PLRE* III, pp. 283-4 (Charibertus 1).
[489] Sabine MacCormack, 'Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of "Adventus"', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 21, no. 4 (1972), pp. 721–752.
[490] *Poèmes* 6.2, vol. 2, p. 56, lines 97-100. On the rhetorical sequence, see George, 'Panegyric', p. 231.

this particularly effusive praise for his king.[491] That he marked himself as one such eloquent Roman increases the flattery—Fortunatus was a well-educated Roman who would definitely know eloquence when he saw it—and gives us a glimpse into how Fortunatus saw his own identity: not just as an Italian and a foreigner in a new land, but also as a 'Roman'.[492] That he chose to depict the king's Germanic language as capable of being spoken in a learned, eloquent, and dignified manner is interesting, as often these traits are reserved for Latin. However, we cannot know whether Fortunatus believed it to be true or was merely flattering his ruler.

Sicamber is a reference to the Sicambri tribe from whom legend said the Franks descended and serves as a fancy, poetic way of saying Charibert was of barbarian birth and of ascribing to him all the trappings of this ancestry in addition to the Roman eloquence. It may also be an allusion to Clovis, whom the bishop Remigius of Reims supposedly called a Sicamber upon his baptism, a story we know from Gregory of Tours' *Histories*.[493] Such an allusion called on the symbolic power of the founder of the contemporary kingdom—the man who brought the Franks to Christianity and from whom Charibert and other kings descended—to fortify Charibert's image and paint him as made of the same core that made Clovis great. It emphasized a grand lineage, recalled Remigius' description of the Christian duties of a Catholic king, and reminded those in the probably quite public audience in Paris of the dual aspects—secular and religious—of their leader, mediating between ruler and ruled, as a good panegyrist would.[494] Painting Charibert as embodying both barbarian and Roman traits made him seem to have much in common with all his subjects, and his acceptance of both parties is illustrated in the line: 'Here barbarian lands and there Romania applaud him, in different tongues rings out a

---

[491] Roberts*, The Humblest Sparrow*, p. 20; Brennan, 'Frankish Kings', p. 5. *Historiae* V.44, p. 254, suggested this praise was false. For a similar praise of Arbogast's eloquence, see Sidonius Apollinarius, *Letter* IV.17, vol. 2, pp. 126-9.

[492] *Poèmes* 7.9, vol. 2, p. 101, line 7 and 8.1, vol. 3, p. 125, lines 11-14 on being Italian; 7.8, vol.2, p. 99, line 49 on being a foreigner.

[493] *Historiae* II.31, p. 77. See above, p. 119.

[494] Judith W. George (ed.)*, Venantius Fortunatus: Personal and Political Poems* (Liverpool, 1995), p. 37 n. 63; George, 'Poet as Politician', p. 8; Brennan, 'Frankish Kings'; Peter Godman*, Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 25–31. MacCormack, 'Latin Prose Panegyrics', p. 187, recounts Cassiodorus' panegyric serving a similar mediatory role.

single song of praise for this man (*hinc cui barbaries, illinc Romania plaudit: / diversis linguis laus sonat una viri*)'.[495] The barbarians and Romans form the *consensus omnium*, the literary device for demonstrating the support of all (or at least everyone who mattered).[496] Through it, Fortunatus paints Charibert as a popular king among all segments of the population through very potent images.

One thing Fortunatus did *not* say about Charibert was that he had become Roman by being eloquent; he was still a Sicamber—a Frank—in contrast with Fortunatus and other 'Romans'.[497] Like Vilithuta, he adopted some Roman characteristics while continuing to be a 'barbarian', but unlike her, he was never labelled a 'Roman'. As a king, in many ways he represented Frankishness, and thus Roman eloquence could civilize him but could never override this crucial aspect of his identity, nor would Charibert want it to. While Vilithuta could *become* Roman on some level, Charibert could only appropriate a Roman veneer. At the same time, the Roman traits Charibert could adopt allowed Fortunatus to paint an image of him as a sort of 'everyman's king' who brought the best of both worlds to a single kingdom.

Radegund

While Fortunatus had a clear sense of the superiority of Roman traits, there is no hint that he held barbarian status against anyone, and he became close friends with people of barbarian ancestry as well as with 'Romans'. One of his closest friends in Gaul was Radegund, who was born into the Thuringian royal family and brought to the Frankish kingdoms in 531 when the sons of Clovis conquered her uncle's kingdom and murdered most of her family.[498] King Clothar I claimed her as his bride, but after some time as a reluctant queen, she escaped to

[495] *Poèmes* 6.2, vol. 2, p. 53, lines 7-8.
[496] George*, Latin Poet*, pp. 44, 48. On his use of it in poem 5.3 for Gregory of Tours' *adventus*, see Brian Brennan, 'The Image of the Merovingian Bishop in the Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus', *JMH* 18, no. 2 (1992), p. 132. The lands undoubtedly stand for the people in this passage.
[497] Brennan, 'Frankish Kings', pp. 4–5.
[498] On ancient concepts of friendship, see Pucci (ed.), *Poems to Friends*, pp. xxxiii–xxxix.

the monastery she established in Poitiers, where she remained until her death in 587.[499] It was there that Fortunatus first met her not long after his arrival in Gaul, and he ultimately settled in the city.

Numerous poems in his collection are addressed to Radegund and her abbess Agnes, including one written in the voice of Radegund herself which tells the tale of the conquest of Thuringia through her eyes. In it, Fortunatus labelled her (in her own voice) 'the barbarian woman (*barbara femina*)'.[500] Similarly, in the hagiographical *Life* he wrote after her death, he called her 'most blessed Radegund of barbarian *natio* from the region of Thuringia ... born of royal seed (*Beatissima igitur Radegundis natione barbara de regione Thoringa ... regio de germine orta*)'.[501] Clearly he did not believe she would object to being called a barbarian—indeed, he put the word on her own lips—nor did he find her unworthy of friendship and praise because of her descent; in other poems, he commended her rejection of royal wealth for a religious life, her commitment to asceticism, and her hospitality, and he addressed her as a mother.[502] The division in Fortunatus' mental landscape between barbarian birth and barbaric actions is made apparent in her *Life*, which tells that her homeland was 'laid to waste by the barbaric storm of the victory of the Franks (*tempestate barbarica Francorum victoria regione vastata*)'.[503] The contrast between the kindly, devout Radegund and the Franks who destroyed

[499] Biographies of Radegund can be found in *PLRE* III, pp. 1072-4; *GC* 104, pp. 364-6; Jo Ann McNamara and John E. Halborg (eds.), *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (Durham, 1992), pp. 60–63; and two contemporary *Vitae* of her by Venantius Fortunatus and Baudonivia*, Vita sanctae Radegundis*, in *MGH SSRM* II, pp. 364-77 and 377-95. For comparison of these two *Lives*, see Simon Coates, 'Regendering Radegund? Fortunatus, Baudonivia, and the Problem of Female Sanctity in Merovingian Gaul', in R.N. Swanson (ed.), *Gender and Christian Religion* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 37-50; E. Delaruelle, 'Sainte Radegonde, son type de sainteté et la chrétienté de son temps', in *Études mérovingiennes: Actes de Journées de Poitiers* (Paris, 1953), p. 69; Michel Rouche, 'Fortunat et Baudonivie: deux biographes pour une seule sainte', in Robert Favreau (ed.), *La vie de sainte Radegonde par Fortunat* (Paris, 1995), pp. 239-49; Lynda L. Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 1997), pp. 126–34.

[500] *Poèmes* Appendix 1, vol. 3, p. 134, line 31. Some historians have suggested that Radegund herself was the author, but the style of the poem matches that of others by Fortunatus. See Dominique Tardi*, Fortunat: étude sur un dernier représentant de la poésie latine dans la Gaule mérovingienne* (Paris, 1927), pp. 196–200; George (ed.), *Poems*, p. 116 n. 22.

[501] *VR* II, p. 365.

[502] *Poèmes* 8.8, vol. 2, p. 151; 11.7, vol. 3, p. 125; and 11.9, vol. 3, p. 126.

[503] *VR* II, p. 365.

her home is stark; while Radegund was of a barbarian people, she did not behave in the barbaric, destructive, cruel manner that the Franks of Fortunatus' depiction did.

Although ostensibly written to Radegund's cousin in Constantinople, this poem was probably intended as part of an embassy to the Byzantine emperor which requested a piece of the Holy Cross for Radegund's monastery. It would have accompanied a letter written by Radegund herself and two other poems introducing Radegund and her piety to the emperor, and this audience outside the Frankish kingdoms may account for his getting away with portraying the Franks in a negative light in the poem—as may the fact that the events described were long past.[504] This is, in fact, one of the few times Fortunatus even mentioned the 'Franks' in either his saints' *Lives* or poetry. The others are: Radegund asking later in Appendix 1 for the recipient to please recommend her to the Franks who honoured her as a mother, in an epitaph for a prince who by his birth raised the hopes of the Franks, wanting to know if the Franks go to battle in Italy, and, in the *Life* of Germanus of Paris, a 'certain Frank (*quidam Francus*)' named Chariulf seizing possession of a villa and being punished.[505] These other instances do not include a 'barbaric' element—and in fact, in the very same poem, Radegund even praised her stepsons and others among the Franks who treated her well after she became a queen—so Fortunatus clearly had a specific reason for the negativity in this one case. The depiction of Radegund as the last of a royal line, of noble birth, and as tremendously pious despite the wrongs done to her, was meant to prove her worthiness as a guardian of such a precious relic as a fragment of the Holy Cross. Even the label 'barbarian' was part of this rhetoric; 'Radegund' specified in the poem that 'even a barbarian woman (*vel barbara femina*)' was able to cry enough tears at the destruction of her people to create a lake. This was again playing upon the idea of the 'barbarian' as disadvantaged and of any laudable traits he or she exhibits being especially praiseworthy because of this background. Fortunatus' narrative presented a Radegund who was

[504] George (ed.), *Poems*, pp. 111 n. 1, and 116 n. 21; George*, Latin Poet*, p. 164.

[505] *Poèmes* Appendix 1, vol. 3, p. 139; 9.4, vol. 3, p. 23; 7.20, vol. 2, pp. 117-18; and *Vita Germani episcopi Parisiaci*, in *MGH SSRM* VII, 5, p. 376. A seventh-century *Vita Germani*, which drew on and is edited with Fortunatus', repeats this phrase, p. 421.

presumed to be predisposed to a barbarian lack of sentimentality; that she felt enough grief to overcome this limitation and express it clearly meant, therefore, that she must have experienced particularly intense suffering. Her character and piety was thus deemed even stronger because of her ability to feel and cope with intense grief.

Turning for a moment to the question of genre, Radegund is one of only three individuals given ethnic labels in Fortunatus' eight hagiographical works.[506] The style of these saints' *Lives* is much like those written by Gregory of Tours, and it is clear that, unlike with his poems, Fortunatus regularly wrote hagiography with a focus on piety rather than flattery.[507] His description of Chariulf as 'a certain Frank (*quidam Francus*)' in his *Life* of Saint Germanus of Paris is similar to Gregory's descriptions of occasional Franks in his own writings, and Fortunatus may have chosen this description to emphasize the barbarian-ness of one whom the saint punished for seizing church property. The 'British priest (*Britanus presbyter*)' appears in a similar incidental description.[508] Radegund undoubtedly earned her 'barbarian' description because it is such an integral part of her story that Fortunatus could not omit it and instead used it to further his argument for her sanctity. While groups like Britons and Saxons occasionally appear in the *Lives* just as in the poems, Fortunatus used ethnonyms to describe individuals and allude to their character traits far less in his hagiographical writings than in his poetry, turning instead to the local, family, and status labels preferred by Gregory. For example, his *Life* of Hilary of Poitiers states that Hilary was 'born in the region of Aquitaine', and the *Life* of Albinus names his birthplace as the 'Vannes region'. Likewise, Paternus was born 'in Aquitaine to famous parents'

[506] In addition to the prose *Vita sanctae Radegundis* and *Vita Germani* are the *Vita Martini*, ed. Friedrich Leo in *MGH AA* IV, 1 (Berlin, 1881), pp. 293–370, written in verse, and *Vita Hilarii, Vita Marcelli, Vita Paterni, Vita Albini*, and *Vita Severini episcopi Burdegalensis* in prose: *Opera pedestria*, ed. Bruno Krusch, in *MGH AA* IV, 2 (Berlin, 1885).

[507] Richard Collins, 'Observations on the Form, Language, and Public of the Prose Biographies of Venantius Fortunatus in the Hagiography of Merovingian Gaul', in Howard B. Clarke and Mary Brennan (eds.), *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism* (Oxford, 1981), p. 105, notes the genre difference.

[508] Venantius Fortunatus*, Vita Germani episcopi Parisiaci*, 5, p. 376; 56, p. 406. One example from Gregory's *Histories* is the Frank described by Vulfolaic at VIII.16, p. 383. See above, p. 128.

and Germanus was 'a native of the region of Autun'.[509] Taken alongside the testimony of Gregory's works, we can conclude, then, that in the sixth century, ethnic identities (and political identities, for that matter) had less of a place in hagiographical writing than they would come to have a century later.[510] We can also see that Fortunatus' poetry stands out by its use of ethnonyms, and surmise from this that Fortunatus did not necessarily value ethnic identities more than Gregory did, but chose to use them based on the aims and demands of the genre of poetry itself.

Romans and Barbarians as Groups

Examining the language Fortunatus employed to describe individuals is particularly fruitful, because it allows us to use our outside knowledge of some of the individuals in question to enhance our understanding of his labelling of them and of what mode(s) of identification he may have intended by 'Roman' or 'barbarian'. However, it is also worth looking briefly at the ways in which Fortunatus labelled groups of people. 'Romans' usually appear in his writing in contrast with 'barbarians', sometimes alone and sometimes with additional peoples listed. Lupus, for example, was praised by 'the Roman' on the lute, 'the barbarian' on the harp, 'the Greek' on the epic lyre, and 'the Briton' on a Celtic instrument (*Romanusque lyra, plaudat tibi barbarus harpa, / Graeca Achilliaca, crotta Britanna canat*)'.[511] These various peoples contributed in their own ways, but the implication was that a single song of praise came from them, with all peoples united in support of the duke.[512] It is quite possible that by 'barbarian' here Fortunatus meant 'Frank', as he would certainly have classified Britons as non-Roman (or Greek) and hence 'barbarian' too. Similarly, 'the Roman' and 'the barbarian' both offered praise to the East Roman Emperor Justin; the two main groups of people who made up the world in the classical Roman view—thus, the whole world—lauded the emperor. Within 'the barbarian' in

[509] *Vita Hilarii* 3, p. 2; *Vita Albini* 5, p. 29; *Vita Paterni* 3, p. 34; *Vita Germani episcopi Parisiaci* 1, p. 372.
[510] See below, chapter seven.
[511] *Poèmes* 7.8, vol. 2, p. 100, lines 63-4.
[512] Roberts, *The Humblest Sparrow*, p. 56.

this instance, Fortunatus also listed 'the German, the Batavian, the Basque, and the Briton' as token examples meant to represent all barbarian peoples.[513] The duke Chrodin he described as 'tied to the *gentes*, you are held dear by the Romans (*gentibus adstrictus, Romanis carus haberis*)' and added, 'Happy are you who remain always in the speech of the peoples (*felix qui populis semper in ore manes*)'.[514] *Gentes* takes the place of 'barbarians' as the opposite of Roman here, taking on the meaning of foreign, non-Roman peoples. All of these examples function as the *consensus omnium* we saw used for Charibert: Charibert was praised by all his people, Roman and barbarian alike; Justin was lauded by the whole of the Roman world he led, including both the Romans and their ethnographic opposite, the barbarians; Lupus received praise from Romans and barbarians, but also from Greeks and Britons; and Chrodin was spoken of favourably by both Romans and non-Roman *gentes*.[515] With all of these peoples in unison, there was no one left to oppose these leaders in the classical ethnographic world view which Fortunatus employed.

As well as serving as a rhetorical counterpart to 'Romans', 'barbarians' and individual barbarian peoples also appear as dangerous peoples of poor character, fit for battling and converting. Felix, for example, protected his people against 'insidious' or 'traitorous Britons (*insidiatores ... Britannos*)' and converted Saxons, a 'fierce' or 'harsh people (*aspera gens*)', and Lupus defeated the Saxons and the Danes with heavenly assistance.[516] Chilperic protected his people from attacks by neighbouring Goths, Basques, Danes, Jutes, Saxons, Bretons, Frisians, and Sueves through his awesome might on the battlefield, which caused these peoples to fear engaging the Franks in war. Implicit in this praise for the king is the idea that these must be ferocious peoples, or it would not be such a praiseworthy feat.[517]

[513] *Poèmes* Appendix 2, vol. 3, p. 143, lines 83-4.
[514] *Poèmes* 9.16, vol. 3, p. 38, lines 19-20.
[515] See above, pp. 138, 160.
[516] *Poèmes* 3.8, vol. 1, p. 99, line 41; 3.9, vol. 1, p. 104, line 103; 7.7, vol. 2, p. 96, lines 49-50.
[517] *Poèmes* 9.1, vol. 3, p. 11, lines 71-6.

The exception to this is—naturally, given whose kingdoms Fortunatus resided in—the Franks. It is only as conquerors of Thuringia in Radegund's story that he portrayed them in a negative light, when he explicitly mentioned them at all. It may seem a bit odd that, living in the Frankish kingdoms, Fortunatus described few people—whether groups or individuals—as Franks. However, when one considers that Fortunatus regularly drew on classical sources and models for his imagery, and that his poems lauded Roman traits especially highly, his preference for the term 'barbarian' is less surprising. While 'Franks' undoubtedly distinguished themselves from Burgundians, Thuringians, Britons, and others, it was their 'non-Romanness' Fortunatus wished to emphasize, fitting both the older models and his own perspective that Roman qualities were the standard by which comparison ought to be made.

Conclusion

'Barbarian' was clearly a complex concept for Fortunatus—one able to describe in a fairly neutral way individuals of good or bad character born to non-Romans, but also potentially a value judgement reflecting the uncivilized nature of people's behaviour. These multiple layers of meaning were not a new development; they appear throughout ancient Roman literature.[518] Fortunatus was, therefore, not creating a new conception of the barbarian but borrowing from a longstanding classical tradition for a new context within a 'barbarian'-ruled kingdom. A predisposition to uncivilized traits comes out in the description of Vilithuta, who achieved greater glory by overcoming this handicap than she would have achieved by merely being a well-mannered woman of Roman birth. Fortunatus' praise of Launebod shows ethnic barbarian surpassing Roman through a display of greater character and piety than was exhibited by those who were supposed to be born gifted with these traits. Charibert displayed eloquence in Latin and Radegund deep Christian piety despite their barbarian birth; neither come across as cruel and 'barbaric' like the Franks who devastated Radegund's homeland do. All of these individuals

[518] For example, Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos libri* VII.41-43, pp. 120-32.

were arguably of good character and had adapted to a 'civilized' Roman environment, and Fortunatus was perfectly content to praise them in poetry as he did Roman clients like Leontius and the Ruricii and to use language of 'Roman' greatness to do it. While, in his view, qualities like eloquence and civility which he associated with Romanness were far superior to barbarian fierceness, they did not need to be confined to individuals of Roman birth and were thus equally satisfactory material for poems for 'barbarian' patrons.

Additionally, while biological descent certainly appears in these poems as a key element of many individuals' ethnic identity, cultural identities seem to have played an important role in beginning the shift from one ethnic identity to another. Distinguishing between a perceived essential, 'ethnic' identity and an acquired cultural one helps us to see how Vilithuta could be both 'Roman' and 'barbarian' simultaneously. It also helps us to see that the ability of those with a barbarian family to adopt Roman cultural traits evidently helped to blur the lines between Roman and Frank in the Merovingian kingdoms, allowing individuals like Vilithuta to add 'Roman' to their identities and the descendants of 'Romans' like Leontius and Lupus to potentially take on a Frankish identity in the seventh century. Fortunatus' poetry shows a willingness to abandon, or at least reconsider, the idea of Roman and barbarian identities as mutually exclusive in sixth-century Gaul.

Fortunatus' writings are a window into both his own mindset and the general mentality of many among whom he lived. The ability to adopt both 'Roman' and 'barbarian' identity which his poems hint at would not have found purchase with his audience unless such adoption was considered acceptable and sufficiently common behaviour in society. His use of 'barbarian' in both neutral and judgemental ways reflects not only his personal perception of what being a 'barbarian' meant but also an attitude he expected others among his patrons and those who heard his poetry read aloud to share. Similarly, the value he placed on traits he associated with 'Romanness'—eloquence, polite manner, community leadership, philanthropy—was also a reflection of expectations in his society. Neither association would have resonated with his

patrons were it not already familiar to them. It is this resonance which gave Fortunatus' language its power, and which led him to find ethnic identities a useful rhetorical tool in his poetic arsenal.

Despite Gregory of Tours' disinclination to use ethnic terms in his writing, by looking also at Fortunatus' poetry, we can see that such identities retained significance for many in their society, just as the class, family, and local identities Gregory emphasized did. 'Roman' and 'barbarian' remained a meaningful dichotomy for at least a portion of the population, traits such as eloquence and philanthropy were still highly valued and associated with Roman birth, the idea of the wild nature of the barbarian which could be suppressed by civilizing influences had not disappeared, and pride in either one's Roman or barbarian heritage abounded in sixth-century Gaul. Venantius Fortunatus exploited these ideas to increase the potency of his flattering words, and in the process he created new imagery for an increasingly mixed society. His models of a king who appealed to both Romans and barbarians within his realm, of individuals who mixed Roman and barbarian traits into a whole that was the best of both worlds, and of nobly-born Romans continuing to serve with pride in a Frankish world both reflected and potentially inspired increasing integration in Frankish society.

Fortunatus' writing, while contrasting with Gregory's in the greater use of ethnicity, also shares similar traits with the bishop of Tours' work. Bringing up individuals' ethnic identities did not preclude Fortunatus' extolling of Christian virtue among the same patrons, and spiritual nobility, service to the church, and moral character play a significant role in both his poems and his hagiographical *Lives*. His views of nobility seem to mesh with Gregory's as well: while Vilithuta and Launebod, both barbarians, could be described as noble, only those we know or can safely assume to have been of Roman descent received the label 'senatorial'. In addition, his was still a heavily Roman-influenced view of the world—populated by Romans and 'barbarians' (rather than 'Franks'), described with classical models and allusions, and valuing traits associated with Romanness higher than others. Just as Gregory depicted a world in which social rank

(particularly 'senatorial'), important parents, and connection to a *civitas* continued to matter, if perhaps less than before, so Fortunatus also used such identifiers in his hagiographical writings, where, it seems, ethnic associations served less crucial a role in the story he wanted to tell.

Both men clearly related their environs to a Roman past—whether in direct comparison or by using models derived from Roman society. Fortunatus grew up in a region where evidence of Rome's grandeur and its continuation in the East were omnipresent, receiving a classical education as well as a Christian one and living for some time under the rule of the eastern emperor. Gregory, while more remote from the Italian centre of Rome's symbolic power and having little direct connection with the East, would still have seen old Roman edifices, heard tales from elders about Roman days in Gaul, and been raised with a mentality stemming from these earlier times. In the late sixth century, these two authors still had access to such experiences, and the effect on their mindsets can be seen in the character of their writings. They saw ethnic identities as useful descriptors in some contexts but less so than the more local classifications that were so integral to the Roman social mindset—a mindset that clearly still held true in sixth-century Gaul. They were, however, probably among the last generation in Gaul to have a strong enough connection to the symbolic weight of the empire and the imagery of its grandeur, either through personal experience or listening to those who remembered living under its auspices. In the seventh century, as we will see, the subtle shifts of mentality that had been occurring since the empire ceased to exist in the West reached the point that such visions of a persistent Roman world in Gaul became eclipsed by new visions of a Gaul dominated by and intrinsically linked to the Franks. Consequently, new ways of conceptualizing and discussing identities gained prominence, with ethnicity taking on a greater role in seventh-century sources than in sixth-century ones.

Chapter Six: Fredegar

The nearest seventh-century counterpart to Gregory of Tours' *Histories* is the *Chronicle* of Fredegar, and as such these two sources are frequently compared. That the *Chronicle* incorporates excerpts from the *Histories* makes this task easier: the changes and additions the chronicler(s) made to Gregory's text reflect their different goals in writing. Helmut Reimitz's recent work argues that greater emphasis on ethnic identities in the *Chronicle* indicates a different vision for the future of the Merovingian kingdoms on the part of its author—a redefinition of the world in ethnic rather than religious terms in order to promote Frankish identity as a unifying force for society. While I certainly agree that Fredegar viewed the world differently than Gregory, I think it is important to distinguish when he added 'Frank' as an ethnic identity and when he added it as a political identity. By doing so in this chapter, I will seek to demonstrate that this vision of Frankish unity was not actually ethnically based but *politically* based, although ethnic identities certainly played a supporting role. In writing about many ethnic groups—Franks, Romans, Burgundians, Saxons, and others—in equal measure, the chronicler, intentionally or not, offered the opportunity for all Merovingian subjects to identify with the Franks in a political way without giving up their current ethnic identities in the process, facilitating their acceptance of this new, Frankish identity which could unite all within the kingdoms under a single banner.

The Source and its Author(s)

The authorship and compilation of the *Chronicle* of Fredegar has been the subject of considerable scholarly debate. The name 'Fredegar' was added to the manuscript tradition in the sixteenth century, and although it is a genuine Frankish name, we have no reason to believe

that it genuinely belonged to any of the authors and compilers of the work.[519] A single name suggests single authorship, and this was indeed believed to be true until Bruno Krusch proposed in the late nineteenth century that there were, in fact, three authors, igniting a fervent debate that still continues.[520] Some hint of a change of perspective, at least, may be found in the local concerns of the authors, which vary from section to section. The arrangement of passages from Jerome's chronicle in book two, for example, adds extra information about Burgundy, suggesting that these passages were compiled by a Burgundian; the fourth book, however, gives more focus to the Pippinid family, indicating that maybe its author lived in the Austrasian kingdom and had personal connections with this family. While such a change could mean multiple authors, as Reimitz suggests, it could also be attributed to a single author relocating, which is Ian Wood's contention.[521] In addition to differing 'geographical and geopolitical horizons', Reimitz sees the different redactors employing different historiographical methods, which may be a stronger indicator of the influence of multiple authors, but is not, to my mind, conclusive.[522] The question of multiple authorship seems, then, to remain unresolved and may perhaps be unsolvable. Rather than continually stumble over 'Fredegar-chronicler(s)', 'author(s)', and 'he/they', I have chosen to use 'Fredegar' in the singular here, keeping in mind the possibility that multiple authors were involved.

Composition of the *Chronicle* may have begun as early as 613 and was complete by the early 660s, covering events up to the year 642 in four books.[523] The first three books draw from a number of other chronicles and treat each separately, resulting in a 'chain of chronicles': respectively, the *Liber generationis* of Hippolytus, the *Chronicle* of Eusebius-Jerome and its

[519] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar: With its Continuations* (London, 1960), p. xv; Roger Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken* (Hanover, 2007), pp. 56-81, gives detailed manuscript information.
[520] Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, pp. 8-15; Wallace-Hadrill, *Fourth Book*, pp. xvi-xxv; Walter Goffart, 'The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered', *Speculum* 38, no. 2 (1963), pp. 206-41.
[521] Reimitz, 'Cultural Brokers'; Ian Wood, 'Fredegar's Fables', in Scharer/Scheibelreiter, p. 360.
[522] Reimitz, 'Cultural Brokers'.
[523] Ibid.; Wood, 'Fredegar's Fables', pp. 364-5.

continuation in the *Chronicle* of Hydatius, and the *Histories* of Gregory of Tours.[524] A fourth and final book was written by Fredegar himself to cover events after 584, which is the latest date his excerpts from the previous books cover.[525] This fourth book begins with a slightly augmented transcription of local annals of Burgundy and becomes progressively more detailed, leading Wallace-Hadrill to suggest that, from the 603 entry, the author lived at the time of the events described.[526] The *Continuations*, now considered to be a separate but connected work, bring the text up to 768. Up to 721, the *Continuations* reproduce a version of the *Liber Historiae Francorum* (written c.727 by a Neustrian Frank), and the remainder is again an original work, though in a very different style than the fourth book.[527]

The Context of Current Scholarship

Fredegar's *Chronicle* is a particularly important source because it is the only contemporary narrative of the historical (rather than hagiographical) sort we have for the first half of the seventh century. While historians have explored its authorship, intent, and sources, the issue of its use of ethnic identities has only recently been discussed in any depth.[528] Hans-Werner Goetz briefly examined the meaning of the term 'Frank' in the Merovingian period, concluding that by Fredegar's time it was becoming more widely used to describe the whole kingdom rather than just a people within that kingdom, though Fredegar still also used the term

[524] Reimitz, 'Cultural Brokers'; Ian Wood, 'Chains of Chronicles: The Example of London, British library MS. Add. 16974', in Richard Corradini and Maxmilian Diesenberger (eds.), *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift: Frühmittelalterliche Historiographie und Hagiographie im Spannungsfeld von Edition und Kompendienüberlieferung* (Vienna, 2010), pp. 67-77.

[525] Fredegar's *Chronicle* uses the six-book recension of Gregory's *Historiae*, which only covers events up to this date, unlike Gregory's original ten-book work.

[526] Wallace-Hadrill, *Fourth Book*, p. xiii.

[527] Ibid. The *Liber Historiae Francorum* can be found in *MGH SSRM* II, pp. 215-328. On its context, see Richard A. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the* Liber Historiae Francorum (Oxford, 1987); Bernard S. Bachrach, *Liber Historiae Francorum* (Lawrence, KS, 1973).

[528] J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Fredegar and the History of France', in *The Long-Haired Kings, and Other Studies in Frankish History* (Toronto, 1982), pp. 71-94; Wallace-Hadrill, *Fourth Book*; Goffart, 'The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered'; Wood, 'Fredegar's Fables'; Wood, 'Chains of Chronicles'; Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*; Roger Collins, *Fredegar*, Authors of the Middle Ages no. 13 (Aldershot, 1996).

gens.[529] Helmut Reimitz's work has been far more substantial. He has written about the manuscript transmission, the authors' goals, and the focus (or lack thereof in Gregory's case) on Frankish identity, and as my work builds on this research, I will briefly summarize his main points here.[530] Reimitz sees Gregory and Fredegar offering different narratives under which to unite the Frankish kingdoms; for Gregory, this was Christian identity, which should override all ethnic and social divisions, while for Fredegar it was Frankish identity, that identity held by the kingdoms' rulers which everyone therein could rally behind no matter what their previous (or other) ethnic backgrounds were. In both cases, Reimitz believes it was a conscious effort on the part of the authors to promote their visions of a common future, and an act of mediation as 'cultural brokers', not merely a reflection of their environment. He contends that they utilized elements of these identities already extant in their societies to fashion a vision that would resonate with contemporaries as well as nudge them toward each author's ideal, with environment and conscious promotion in a mutually reinforcing cycle.[531] While, in Reimitz's view (though not my own), Gregory deliberately omitted information about ethnic identities in order to paint a picture of a more unified kingdom, Fredegar deliberately inserted ethnic identity (and Frankish identity in particular) into the passages he borrowed from Gregory and others in order to encourage people to think in ethnic terms and to embrace unity under a Frankish banner.[532]

It is true, as I will discuss shortly, that Fredegar did indeed work ethnonyms into the narratives of previous historians. It is also highly likely that he did so with an agenda, and I accept as possible Reimitz's assertion that this was to provide a narrative in ethnic rather than religious (or urban or social rank) terms, though I am not as convinced that his intent can be

[529] Goetz, '*Gens*, Kings, and Kingdoms: The Franks', pp. 343-4, 336-7; Hans-Werner Goetz, '*Gens*, Terminology, and Perception of the "Germanic" Peoples from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages', in *Construction*, p. 61.

[530] Initial explorations of the topic appear in 'Social Networks', and 'The Art of Truth', pp. 87-104. 'Cultural Brokers' and 'Providential Past' have a more complete analysis. A monograph which will present his views in full is in preparation.

[531] Reimitz, 'Cultural Brokers'.

[532] Ibid.

proven. However, more emphasis needs to be placed on the political and ethnic uses to which the ethnonyms Fredegar added were put, in order to distinguish which mode of identification Fredegar's vision of Frankish unity incorporated and the mechanisms by which it might have worked. If Fredegar indeed wanted people to identify themselves and others on ethnic terms, and particularly as 'Franks', it would equally make sense for him to present a world in which multiple peoples could come together, under an overarching political umbrella, without forsaking their previous ethnic identities; this could provide a framework for Romans and other non-Franks to adopt 'Frankishness' without having to give up elements of their identities that may have been precious to them, and similarly provide a framework for ethnic Franks to see these peoples as potential future Franks, both of which would encourage integration.

Of course, this assumes that Fredegar consciously and deliberately elected to attempt to alter people's perceptions and identities through his language. Reimitz does acknowledge that Fredegar did not create this vision in a vacuum—that his 'literary *Spielräume*' (room for manoeuvre) depended on currents already existing in his society that he drew and expanded upon—but does not, I think, allow for enough subconscious activity.[533] Part of the reason that Fredegar added 'Franks' and others to his narrative may have simply been because that was the way he and his contemporaries thought and spoke, and he need not necessarily dwell on why this was or intend to change society in order for his language to reflect this. That other seventh-century authors also used more ethnic terms than their predecessors (as we will see in the next chapter) indicates that at least some of the reason for this increase was bottom-up rather than top-down and potentially subconscious as much as conscious. It is in a middle ground between deliberate action and subconscious reflection of his own society that I see Fredegar writing, affected himself by the mutually reinforcing cycle of changing mentalities leading to changing narratives, which in turn led again to changing mentalities.

[533] Reimitz, 'Providential Past', p. 116.

Consciously and deliberately or not, Fredegar did add 'Frank' and other ethnonyms to the narratives of previous historians and used them readily in his own text. As in Visigothic Spain in the early seventh century, a change clearly did occur in seventh-century Gaul, with authors, including Fredegar, using more ethnonyms in their writings, including both Franks and Romans, and particularly phrases with a political flavour. In this chapter, I argue that the most important change in mentality we can see in Fredegar's text is an increase in Frankishness as a political identity. The continued, relatively heavy use of other terms—Roman, Saxon, and Breton, for example—indicates that Frankish identity was not meant to subsume all other identities but to coexist with them, and the presentation of these two forms of identity in this manner helped contemporaries to conceptualize a world in which multiple ethnic identities need not be given up in order to partake of the benefits a Frankish political identity could provide.

Ethnic Identity in the Chronicle of Fredegar

Book Three

As Reimitz has shown, Fredegar frequently added the term 'Frank' to Gregory's text in the third book of the *Chronicle*, altering the emphasis to a 'history of the Frankish kings and their people'. In the process, he shifted focus to the history of multiple ethnic communities, which set Romans and Franks equally alongside others.[534] The most obvious example of this is the Trojan origin myth he provided for the Frankish people.[535] Gregory had written that nothing concrete was known about the Franks' early kings, but that it was commonly said that the Frankish people

[534] Reimitz, 'Cultural Brokers'.

[535] Much has been written on this addition, the newest of which being Reimitz, 'The Art of Truth', p. 93; 'Cultural Brokers'; and 'Providential Past', p. 119. Also useful are Wallace-Hadrill, 'Fredegar and the History of France', pp. 80-83; Jane Ellen Woodruff, 'The *Historia epitomata* (Third Book) of the *Chronicle* of Fredegar: An Annotated Translation and Historical Analysis of Interpolated Material', Ph.D. diss. (University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1988), pp. 99-100; Ian Wood, 'Defining the Franks: Frankish Origins in Early Medieval Historiography', in Noble, pp. 113-14. On early modern questioning of this legend, see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'The Trojan Origins of the French and the Brothers Jean du Tillet', in *ARF*, pp. 348–84.

came originally from Pannonia.[536] Fredegar, on the other hand, tied the Franks to the Romans, Macedonians, and Turks through the Trojans. Most of this story he added to book two, interpolating into Jerome's narrative, but he repeated some of it in Gregory's narrative as well. He made the Trojan Priam the first king of the Franks and divided his descendants into three peoples: the Macedonian people (*genus Macedonis*) who became warriors and were led by King Philip and his son Alexander (*Phyliphy regis et Alexandri fili*), the Turkish people (*gens Torcorum*) or Turks (*Turchi*) who went into Asia and elected a king named Torquoto from which they drew their name, and the Franks (*Franci*) who likewise elected Francio from whom their name derived.[537] He went on to say that Aeneas, whom legend said fled Troy for Italy and was the Trojan father of the Romans, was the brother of Friga, the second king of the Franks after Priam, thus linking the Franks and the Romans as sibling peoples.[538]

Whether Fredegar contrived this story himself or it was already circulating by his time is a matter of debate, but stories about the Trojans and their connections with the Romans must have been known in Gaul and would have served as an excellent existing resource for creative minds to weave into their own history.[539] By tying the Roman and Frankish pasts together in this manner, Fredegar gave the Franks as grand a past as the Romans—still the pinnacle of civilization—while simultaneously making them a strong, independent people from early antiquity. This brought the two peoples onto an even footing and encouraged their further unity in the present and future, while removing Rome from its pedestal and presenting it as only one among many options.

[536] *Historiae* II.9, pp. 57-8.
[537] Fredegar, *Chronica*, in *MGH SSRM* II, II.4-6, pp. 45-6; III.2, p. 93. The 'Turks' may indeed refer to the Asiatic people as they had contact with Constantinople in the sixth century. See Magali Coumert, *Origines des peuples: Les récits du haut moyen âge occidental (550-850)* (Paris, 2007), pp. 311-16.
[538] Fredegar, *Chronica* II.8, p. 47.
[539] Wallace-Hadrill, 'Fredegar and the History of France', p. 80.

Fredegar then added another layer of antiquity to the Franks by providing Clovis' grandfather, Merovech, with a mythological origin.[540] Similar non-human origin stories were told about Alexander and Augustus, and all three used the ambiguous 'and then he was born' rather than a direct 'leading to his birth' which left open the possibility of either divine or human conception; this story could easily have been an allusion to these great rulers. If so, this would be another example of Fredegar bringing the Franks in line with other great peoples and making them and the Romans just two among many.[541] Further support for this levelling, as Reimitz shows, is the complete change of format Fredegar performed on Jerome's chronicle from its original parallel presentations of multiple lines of history for multiple peoples (ultimately leading all of them into 'Roman' history) to a single, linear history in which all peoples were mentioned at intervals, their narratives interwoven as equal players in the same story.[542]

Aside from origin legends, Fredegar demonstrably added ethnonyms into Gregory's narrative, both for individuals and for groups. In some cases, these additions were for Romans and other non-Franks. For example, Fredegar added a section absent from Gregory's narrative which stated that the 'kingdom of the Thuringians was subjected to the dominion of the Franks (*regnum Toringorum Francorum dicione subactum est*)'.[543] In another added section on the Visigothic king Leovigild's conquest of Galicia, he specified that 'by Leovigild, the Sueves and all of Galicia were subjected to the power of the Goths (*a Leubildo Soaevi et omnes Galliciae potestatem Gothorum subgiciuntur*)'.[544] In another instance, Gregory described Deuteria, the married woman with whom King Theudebert had a scandalous affair in the early 530s, simply as

[540] Fredegar, *Chronica* III.9, p. 95. Old assumptions that it must have derived from an ancient oral tradition were central to theories of a Merovingian kingship based on a perception of sacrality. These theories are discussed in Reimitz, 'Cultural Brokers'; Ian Wood, 'Deconstructing the Merovingian Family', in *Construction*, pp. 149–52; Alexander C. Murray, '*Post vocantur Merohingii*: Fredegar, Merovech, and "Sacral Kingship"', in *ARF*, pp. 121–52; Woodruff, 'The *Historia epitomata*', pp. 112–13.

[541] Murray, '*Post vocantur Merohingii*', p. 148. Wood, 'Deconstructing', pp. 151-2, suggests (based on another story of Fredegar's about the degeneration of Clodio's descendants) that this story is not meant to be flattering but derogatory. However, Murray's argument that the parallel with Alexander and Augustus means it was intended in positive light seems to me more convincing, as this is a classic element of hero myths.

[542] Reimitz, 'Cultural Brokers'.

[543] Fredegar, *Chronica* III.32, p. 104.

[544] Ibid. III.83, p. 116.

'a matron named Deuteria (*matrona Deoteria nomen*)', but Fredegar named her 'Deuteria of Roman birth (*Deotheria genere Romana*)'.[545] In Gregory's case, he probably saw no reason to specify, as she lived in Cabrières in the far south of Gaul and was therefore almost certain not to be of Frankish descent, and she also lived in Clermont for a time and would be familiar to him and to many of his local readers for that reason. By Fredegar's time, this information may no longer have been common knowledge and so he felt the need to specify if he wanted his readers to know for certain that she was of Roman descent. Another 'Roman' appears in a long elaboration of the tale of Clovis' acquisition of Clotild from Burgundy as his wife. Gregory's description of the event was very short, stating only that messengers told Clovis about her and, when he asked for her hand in marriage, King Gundobad (of Burgundy) was afraid to refuse, and so sent her to Clovis.[546] Fredegar detailed an entire story about Clovis contriving a plan to obtain Clotild, a messenger telling her about the plan, and the events of her departure, naming the messenger 'a certain Aurelian from the Romans (*Aurilianus quidam ex Romanis*)'.[547] Most of the additions in the story, however, were of 'Franks': there were coins offered for her 'as was the custom of the Franks (*ut mos erat Francorum*)', Aurelian told Clotild that 'Clovis, king of the Franks (*Chlodoveus rex Francorum*)' sent him, and it was 'the Franks (*Franci*)' who quickly arrived once the deal was done to bear Clotild away on a litter and whom she addressed when she wished to be placed on a horse so they could move more quickly.

This preference for adding Franks to Gregory's narrative can be seen throughout the entire book. Another extended tale elaborates on the exile of Clovis' father, Childeric, and the manner by which the Franks were persuaded to welcome him back. Gregory, again, was brief and basic, writing that 'a faithful friend of his (*amicus ille fidelis*)' succeeded in winning the Franks back to him and sent half of a broken coin in a prearranged signal to let Childeric know it was safe to return. Fredegar, on the other hand, provided many details about the ways in which

[545] *Historiae* III.22, p. 122; Fredegar, *Chronica* III.38, p. 105. A footnote in the *MGH* edition points out that in one manuscript the 'Roman' designation was erased.
[546] *Historiae* II.28, pp. 73-4.
[547] Fredegar, *Chronica* III.18, pp. 99-100.

this friend effected such a change and included 'Frank' and 'the Frankish people (*gens Francorum*)' on multiple occasions within this additional text; he also named the friend: 'Wiomadus the Frank (*Wiomadus Francus*)'.[548] In the late fifth century, when Clovis asked his soldiers for an object among their plunder, he was called a 'glorious king (*gloriose rex*)' and told that anything he wanted was his; in Gregory's tale these people were 'those who were of more sane mind (*illi quorum erat mens sanior*)', and in Fredegar's they were 'the Franks (*Franci*)'.[549] By making this change, Fredegar not only clarified that Clovis' army was made up of Franks, he also presented them as a united front with only one individual protesting Clovis' dominance. In doing so, he denied that individual a Frankish identity and implied that being a Frank meant being a good follower of the king. About Clovis' baptism, Gregory wrote that it was 'the army (*exercitus*)' that was baptized alongside him, but Fredegar said it was 'Franks' and added an anecdote about Clovis stating of Jesus' crucifixion, 'Had I been there with my Franks, I would have avenged his injury (*Si ego ibidem cum Francis meis fuissem, eius iniuriam vindicassim*)'.[550] Soon after, Clovis battled Gundobad and Godigisel, and again Fredegar added 'the Franks' as participants alongside Clovis; in his description of the aftermath, he added a number of Franks left behind with Godegisel and removed Gregory's description of laws that would prevent the Burgundians from oppressing the Romans, placing the focus firmly on the Frankish story.[551]

There are exceptions to his trend of adding ethnonyms in general and Franks in particular, in addition to his omission of the Burgundian laws. He skipped a passage telling that in the days of Clodio, Clovis' great-grandfather, the Romans controlled the area south of him as far as the Loire, and the Goths the land beyond the Loire.[552] Where Gregory stated that it was in order to avoid the wrath of the Franks that the Goths handed Syagrius over to them in 486 or

[548] Ibid. III.11, pp. 95-6.
[549] *Historiae* II.27, p. 72; Fredegar, *Chronica* III.16, p. 99.
[550] *Historiae* II.31, p. 77; Fredegar, *Chronica* III.21, p. 101.
[551] *Historiae* II.32, p. 78; II.33, p. 81; Fredegar, *Chronica* III.22-3, p. 102. Fredegar similarly added the Franks in Paris as partaking in an agreement with Chilperic that he would not enter their city: *Historiae* VI.27, p. 295; Fredegar, *Chronica* III.90, p. 118.
[552] *Historiae* II.9, p. 58; Fredegar, *Chronica* III.9, p. 95.

487, Fredegar omitted mention of their wrath altogether.[553] A number of ethnonyms disappeared in the trimming of tales about Visigothic Aquitaine and rival Frankish kings, including the people of southern Gaul wanting the Franks to rule them, and Franks near Cambrai under Ragnachar's rule in the early sixth century resenting the yoke of their king; the former might have lent a sense of predestination to unity within Gaul, while the latter took away from the picture of unity by even mentioning rival kings.[554] Fredegar might have chosen to omit these in order to paint the Franks in the best light possible, but a desire for brevity leading to the sacrifice of stories less central to the main arc—on his part, and on the part of the six-book compilers whose version of Gregory's *Histories* he used—is also a very probable explanation.

Some of these many additions were clearly meant in an ethnic sense. Deuteria is most easily spotted as she was described as Roman 'by birth', and Aurelian 'from the Romans' was a supporter of Clovis and therefore could be considered a Frank politically, so his 'Roman' designation was probably an ethnic one. The origin stories clearly told of ethnic identities, whether for the whole group or just for the kings whose genealogy they constructed. Other additions had clear political nuances, referring directly to being in the service of or subject to a king. These include the phrases 'kingdom of the Thuringians', 'kingdom of the Franks', and 'king of the Franks' as well as Clovis' 'my Franks'. Some examples, however, are more ambiguous than these. The 'Frankish people' who needed to be persuaded to accept Childeric's return may be an ethnic group, but also could be seen as political actors consenting to being ruled, and similarly, Fredegar's addition of the 'Franci' to the story of the soldiers and their plunder emphasized political loyalty, as it set outside this group the one individual who was not loyal to the king and probably included some, like Aurelian, who under other circumstances would have been classified as 'Romans'. Again, the 'Franci' who bore Clotild away to Clovis were acting on behalf of the king—so in a political sense—but this does not preclude their also being considered 'ethnic Franks'; the small group could have included 'Romans' like Aurelian or been comprised

[553] *Historiae* II.27, p. 71; Fredegar, *Chronica* III.15, p. 98.
[554] *Historiae* II.35, p. 84; II.42, p. 92.

solely of individuals of Frankish birth. Wiomadus had the label 'Frank' tied to him specifically rather than a group he was with, which usually indicates an ethnic sense in sources of this period, but this appears in the context of the political 'Frankish people' and therefore probably carried both connotations, as Fredegar may have assumed it should.

Book Four

In the last book of the *Chronicle*, which describes Fredegar's own time, we see a similar pattern to the third book: he continued to use many ethnonyms (with both political and ethnic nuances), he maintained a particular focus on Franks, and he labelled a handful of individuals 'Roman'. For 'Frank', there are many examples with a clear political focus, but also many instances that were clearly ethnic, as they employed the terms *genus* and *natio*, which referred to birth and thus indicated a perceived permanence. Quolen, made patrician in Burgundy in 599, and Herpo, made a duke in Burgundy in 613, were both labelled as 'Frank by birth (*genere Francus*)', as were two mayors of the palace in Burgundy, Bertoald in 603-604 and Flaochad in 643.[555] Theudelinda, who married a Lombard king in the late sixth century, was described as 'by birth a Frank (*ex genere Francorum*)' and 'sister of Grimoald and Gundoald (*Grimoaldi et Gundoaldi germana*)'.[556] Paul the Deacon wrote in his *History of the Lombards* that she was the daughter of Vuldetrada, a Lombard princess, and Garibald, king of the Bavarians, so we might at first expect that she would have been called a Bavarian.[557] However, Gregory of Tours related that Garibald was a duke rather than a king, and we know that his successor, Tassilo, was appointed by the Frankish king Childebert c. 593, so he was probably a Frank who was sent to Bavaria to keep the region connected to the Frankish hegemony.[558] Theudelinda could,

[555] Fredegar, *Chronica* IV.18, p. 128; IV.43, p. 142; IV.24, p. 130; IV.89, p. 165. *PLRE* III, pp. 1072, 595-6, 229, 485-6.
[556] Fredegar, *Chronica* IV.34, p. 133; *PLRE* III, pp. 1235-6.
[557] Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* III.30, ed. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz, in *MGH SSRL* (Hanover, 1878), pp. 109-10.
[558] *Historiae* IV.9, p. 141; Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* IV.7, p. 118; *PLRE* III, p. 504 (Garibaldus 1). On the duchy of Bavaria and the Agilolfings, see Jörg Jarnut, *Agilolfingerstudien:*

therefore, be considered a Frank by virtue of being born to a father who was a Frank, and this was how Fredegar perceived her. Similarly, Samo, the future king of the Wends/Slavs, was described as being 'Frank by birth (*natione Francos*)' despite his later affiliation with a different people.[559] His city of origin, Soignies or Sens (*Senonagum*), was also given, providing him—like Theudelinda with her brothers—both an ethnic designation and a Gregory-style identification; clearly city of origin and notable relatives were also sometimes important to Fredegar alongside ethnic identities, and indeed the trio may be completed with 'duke' and 'patrician' telling something about social rank in place of the older term 'senatorial'. 'Berthar, count of the palace [under Clovis II of Neustria and Burgundy] and a Frank from the Transjura district (*Bertharius comis palatii Francus de pago Ultraiorano*)', though not described as a Frank 'by birth', may perhaps be seen as an ethnic Frank by virtue of his contrast with 'Manaulf the Burgundian (*Manaulfus Bugundio*)'.[560]

Of particular interest is a well-known list of dukes, all from Burgundy, whom King Dagobert sent under the referendary Chadoind to deal with rebellious Gascons in 635. Fredegar listed them: Arnebert, Amalgar, Leudebert, Wandalmar, Walderic, Hermenric, Barontus, and Chaira 'of the Franks by birth (*ex genere Francorum*)', Chramnelen 'Roman by birth (*ex genere Romano*)', Willebad 'the patrician, of the Burgundians by birth (*patricius genere Burgundionum*)', and Aighyna 'Saxon by birth (*ex genere Saxsonum*)'.[561] Chramnelen stands out as particularly interesting on account of his Germanic name paired with a Roman background, and we actually know quite a bit about his family because they appear in Jonas of Bobbio's *Life of Columbanus*. His father was Waldelen, a duke based in Besançon, and his mother Flavia, 'noble by her birth and her prudence (*genere et prudentia nobilis*)'. His parents were childless until they went to

---

Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer adligen Familie im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert (Stuttgart, 1986); K.F. Werner, 'Important Noble Families', pp. 161–8; Régine Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc, VIIe-Xe siècle: Essai d'anthropologie sociale* (Paris, 1995), pp. 387–96; Carl I. Hammer, *From* ducatus *to* regnum*: Ruling Bavaria under the Merovingians and Early Carolingians* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 26-36.

[559] Fredegar, *Chronica* IV.48, p. 144; *PLRE* III, pp. 1109-10.

[560] Fredegar, *Chronica* IV.90, p. 167.

[561] Fredegar, *Chronica* IV.78, p. 160.

Columbanus for help, after which they had Donatus, who became bishop of Besançon, Chramnelen, who succeeded his father as duke, and two daughters.[562]

This family is often thought to be related to others with names beginning 'Wa-' in Burgundy simply for onomastic reasons, including Chramnelen's Frankish companions in Gascony, Wandalmar and Walderic, although this cannot be proven.[563] This logic and Chramnelen's label 'Roman' have led historians to the conclusion that at least Waldelen, if not others like Wandalmar and Walderic, were of Roman origin.[564] For example, the onomastic analysis done by Horst Ebling, Jörg Jarnut, and Gerd Kampers insists that Waldelen was of 'clear Roman ancestry', and that the mix of Roman and Germanic names in his family may suggest that he was the product of a mixed marriage.[565] Not only is Waldelen's 'Romanness' an unfounded assumption, his being descended from one Germanic and one Roman parent is completely unnecessary; even if a mixed marriage were required for Waldelen's children to have mixed names (and it is not), why could that marriage not be Waldelen's own to Flavia? There is, after all, no reason to assume that Waldelen had any Roman ancestors except the 'Roman' ethnic label Fredegar gave to his son. As Patrick Geary points out, arguments that extrapolate Chramnelen's 'Romanness' to all of his supposed relatives miss the very important point that Fredegar called Wandalmar and Walderic 'Franks by birth' in the same passage; Chramnelen could just as easily be assumed to be a 'Frank' based on them as they could be 'Romans' based on him.[566] It is just as possible that he derived his Roman *genus* via his mother, and Wandalmar and Walderic—if they were even related to Chramnelen—would thus not need to be 'Roman' for Chramnelen to be considered of 'Roman birth'. This is not, to my mind, an example of a Roman family that had nearly assimilated into a Frankish society, reflected in their choice of

[562] *VC* I.14, pp. 79-80; *PLRE* III, pp. 309 (Chramnelenus), 486 (Flavia), 1399 (Waldelenus).
[563] Eugen Ewig, *Trier im Merowingerreich: Civitas, Stadt, Bistum* (Trier, 1954), p. 109; Werner, 'Important Noble Families', p. 155. While both historians make this assumption, only Werner notes that the genealogical connections are in fact vague—though this does not stop him from connecting them.
[564] Werner, 'Important Noble Families', p. 155.
[565] Ebling et al., *Nomen et gens*, pp. 693, 697, 700.
[566] Patrick J. Geary, *Aristocracy in Provence: The Rhone Basin at the Dawn of the Carolingian Age* (Philadelphia, 1986), p. 112.

names, nor is it evidence that people like Chramnelen, Wandalmar, and Walderic could pass as either Frank or Roman as it suited them. It is instead evidence that names need not reflect a person's perceived ethnic identity; that parents sometimes chose names of different linguistic origins for their children (or these children chose them at an older age when they entered a career), in this case the Germanic Chramnelen for a secular position and the Latin Donatus for a future bishop; and that the 'Roman' identity of parents was often still remembered for children even if those children bore Germanic names.

Politically, of course, Chramnelen could have been called a Burgundian (as a resident of that subkingdom) or a Frank (as a subject of a Frankish king). In fact, when Fredegar wrote about this mixed group of dukes from Burgundy as a unit, he called them both 'the army of Burgundy (*exercitus Burgundiae*)' and 'the army of the Franks (*exercitus vero Francorum*)'.[567] All of these men, whether Franks, Romans, Burgundians, or Saxons 'by birth' were also 'Franks' by virtue of fighting in the army of Dagobert, king of the Franks. Individually, it was their ancestry which was seen as most essential to their being—and thus, in my view, an ethnic identity—but when grouped politically they all shared a common 'Frankishness'.

That is not to say that either an ethnic or a political designation always needed to be given, as we can see by looking at those dukes from the 635 list who appear elsewhere in Fredegar's *Chronicle*, both before and after 635. Arnebert and Amalgar, for example, were simply labelled as 'dukes' and Willebad as a 'patrician' in an earlier passage telling about their assassination of Produlfus on Dagobert's orders in 628.[568] Similarly, in a later passage, Chramnelen was simply a 'duke' and Willebad again a 'patrician' during a description of Flaochad's 643 plot to kill Willebad.[569] Fredegar again called Amalgar just 'duke' on an embassy to King Sisenand in Spain in 630, Barontus simply a 'duke' when in the same year Dagobert sent him to fetch the treasure of his recently deceased brother, King Charibert, and Aighyna a 'duke'

[567] Fredegar, *Chronica* IV.78, p. 160.
[568] Ibid. IV.58, p. 150.
[569] Ibid. IV.89-90, p. 166.

when he accused Palladius and Sidocus of supporting Gascon rebels in 626.[570] The only other time one of these men was given an ethnic label was when Ermenarius was killed by the followers of 'Aighyna, of the Saxons by birth (*Aeghyna genere Saxonorum*)'.[571] Clearly Fredegar did not find it necessary to always label people according to ethnic identities, nor even upon their first appearances in his *Chronicle*; in the case of the 635 list, something about this particular passage and the assembly of this variety of dukes together inspired him to phrase his list in this way.

It seems likely that Fredegar's choice was inspired both by narrative form and by a desire to show multiple peoples united. In terms of the former, such a lengthy list seems to want further description, and in terms of the latter, choosing ethnicity as the descriptive mode makes the Gascons stand out as troublemakers in a happily mixed society. The Frankish individuals are clearly depicted as equal—though more numerous—partners to the Roman, the Burgundian, and the Saxon, and their Frankish identity as analogous to these other ethnic identities—as one of a number of possible identities. Whereas Gregory in a similar circumstance identified the two legates Bodegisel and Evantius according to their fathers and home city and the third, Grippo, as a Frank, Fredegar labelled all individuals in this party in the same, ethnic manner.[572] This shows that, while he did use the same style of description as Gregory on occasion, he did not share Gregory's Roman view of the world in which a person's social rank, city of origin, and notable parents were his or her most important identifiers, instead often preferring to identify people by ethnic criteria.

The political mode of identification Fredegar used to describe 'the army of the Franks' led by Chramnelen and his fellow dukes is in fact common throughout the *Chronicle*. The 'army of the Franks (*exercitus Francorum*)' marched in support of the aspiring Gothic king Sisenand and fought with the 'army of the Britons (*exercitus Brittanorum*)', and equally, when Fredegar

[570] Ibid. IV.73, p. 158; IV.67, p. 154; IV.54, p. 148.
[571] Ibid. IV.55, p. 148.
[572] *Historiae* X.2, p. 482; Reimitz, 'Social Networks', p. 238. See above, p. 131.

described a war in 590 'between Franks and Britons (*inter Francos et Brittanis*)', he surely meant between the Frankish and Breton armies.[573] Similarly, he described 'Frankish and other peoples (*Francorum ceterasque gentes*)', particularly Saxons and Thuringians, together in the year 612 in a great battle, the likes of which they had never fought before.[574] The Saxons and Thuringians, while nominally under Frankish control, were semi-independent at this point and therefore Fredegar did not consider them to be Franks, either ethnically or politically. In this example, he again portrayed the Franks as just one of many peoples, but they were also an army, representing their king in battle. The 'Franks' here probably included individuals like Chramnelen and Willebad who under other circumstances were considered Romans or Burgundians, but under political circumstances such as fighting in the king's army or serving as part of a court of advisers would have been seen as Franks.

Also, as we have seen in other sources, the inclusive phrases 'king' and 'kingdom of the Franks' were common in the *Chronicle*: 'Gunthram, king of the Franks (*Gunthramnus rex Francorum*)', ruled over Burgundy in the late sixth century; 'Dagobert, king of the Franks (*Dagobertus rex Francorum*)', baptized Jews in his kingdom at the request of the emperor Heraclius in 629; and in 630, Wends plundered land around the 'kingdom of the Franks (*Francorum regnum*)' and allied with the Sorbs who had been subject to the 'kingdom of the Franks (*regnum Francorum*)' for a long time.[575] Other political uses of 'Frank' include Beppelen, whom Fredegar called 'duke of the Franks (*dux Francorum*)'—a political position which made him a representative and servant of the king—and Dagobert and Clothar arguing in 625 over who should rule over the 'kingdom of the Austrasians (*regnum Austrasiorum*)', ultimately electing 'twelve Franks (*duodicem Francis*)'—that is, political subjects—to settle the issue.[576]

[573] Fredegar, *Chronica* IV.73, p. 158; IV.15, p. 127; IV.11, p. 127.
[574] Ibid. IV.38, p. 139.
[575] Ibid. IV.1, p. 124; IV.65, p. 153; IV.68, p. 155; Goetz, '*Gens*, Kings, and Kingdoms: The Franks', p. 322.
[576] Ibid. IV.12, p. 127; IV.53, p. 147. Lewis, 'Dukes', p. 392, points out that, unusually, Beppelen governed disparate cities rather than a whole territory.

This last example shows that residents were both Austrasians and Franks politically, and Fredegar chose between these political designations depending on the distinction that mattered in a given passage. As Frankish territory was divided into subkingdoms—by now named Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy—and these kingdoms sometimes had different rulers and went to war, it was often necessary for Fredegar to distinguish which subkingdom he meant. He thus wrote that Dagobert agreed to a proposal on the 'advice of the Neustrians (*consilium Neustrasiorum*)' in 631 and raised an army within the 'kingdom of the Austrasians (*regnum Austrasiorum*)' to fight Samo and the Wends in 630, the mayor Erchinoald went to battle with 'those Neustrians which he had with him (*cum Neustrasius quos secum habebat*)' in 643, Queen Bilichild 'was vehemently loved by all the Austrasians (*a cunctis Austransiis vehementer diligeretur*)', and Theudebert 'with a great army of Austrasians (*cum magno exercito Austrasiorum*)' arrived to do battle with his brother Theuderic, who ruled Burgundy, in 610.[577] It is important to note that no one was called 'Neustrian' or 'Austrasian' by birth; these were solely political terms describing residents of particular subkingdoms. Because political usage is more flexible and easier to change than ethnic identities generally are, these terms could be substituted for 'Frank' in this political manner—though it was not always necessary to do so—but they could not replace 'Frank' as an ethnic term. They simply were not considered sufficiently essential identities of the constituent individuals to function as ethnic identities.[578]

In these examples, Frankish identity was attributed to a political association—service under a king as a counsellor or army member, or residency within a kingdom ruled by a Frankish

[577] Ibid. IV.74, p. 158; IV.68, p. 155; IV.90, p. 167; IV.35, p. 134; IV.37, p. 138. Additional examples can be found at: IV.38, p. 139; IV.42, p. 141; IV.61-2, p. 151; IV.76, p. 159; IV.80, p. 161; IV.85, pp. 163-4; IV.87, p. 164; IV.88, p. 165. From 629 to 634, Dagobert was ruler of all three kingdoms, which explains his interaction with both Neustrian and Austrasian subjects.

[578] Geary, *Myth*, p. 137, and *Before France and Germany*, p. 192, notes that the Neustrians and Austrasians considered their wars to be civil wars, which tell us that they saw themselves as parts of a single people. Although Fredegar did not single one of these groups out as 'Franks', other sources did reserve 'Frank' for Austrasians in contrast with Neustrians or vice versa. These include some saints' *Lives* (for which, see below, pp. 216-217), the *Liber Historiae Francorum* written from a Neustrian perspective in 727, and the *Continuations* of Fredegar's *Chronicle* written from an Austrasian perspective beginning in 736. See Fredegar, *Continuationes*, in *MGH SSRM* II, p. 168–93; Wallace-Hadrill, *Fourth Book*, p. xxv; Richard A. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians,* pp. 76, 172; Geary, *Before France and Germany*, p. 223; Reimitz, 'The Art of Truth', p. 94.

king—rather than an ethnic, seemingly inherent, affiliation. Neustrian and Austrasian identity served as subsets of this Frankish political identity within the context of these individual kingdoms. Not being an ethnic Frank seems not to have been a barrier to serving under these kings and drawing one's political identity from them; had it been, we would expect to see other ethnic identities quickly disappear from the sources as people hurried to paint themselves as ethnic Franks in order to be considered viable political actors within the kingdom. Instead, we see an increase in the appearance, not just of the term 'Frank', but also of other terms, such as 'Roman'.

While Fredegar did not often add 'Roman' to others' writings, he did make use of 'Roman' a number of times within his original work, as both an imperial and a local ethnic label.[579] The two occasions referring to the Byzantine Empire were in foreign contexts: the *Romani* fought against the Visigothic king Sisebut's army in Spain in the early seventh century and Sisebut's army captured several 'cities from the Roman empire (*civitates ab imperio Romano*)' along the coast, and a Roman patrician (*patricius Romanorum*) in Ravenna paid a tribute in gold to the Lombards in Italy in 630.[580] Elsewhere, however, the Byzantine ruler was simply 'emperor', his patrician a 'patrician of the *res publica*', and the territory he ruled 'the empire'.[581] On a local level—in addition to the previously-mentioned Chramnelen—Protadius, mayor of the palace in Burgundy from 604 to 606, and his successor Claudius, were both called 'Roman by birth (*genere Romanus*)'.[582] Ricomer, who replaced the patrician Wulf in Burgundy in 607, was similarly labelled as *Ricomerus Romanus genere*, and like Chramnelen did not bear a Roman name.[583] As all three of these men were powerful individuals within the government of the Burgundian kingdom—a kingdom governed by the Frankish king Theuderic II—they could just as easily have been considered Franks, or even Burgundians, in a political sense. Gregory

[579] For 'Romans', see above, pp. 177-178.
[580] Fredegar, *Chronica* IV.33, p. 133; IV.69, pp. 155-6.
[581] Ibid. IV.9, pp. 125-6; IV.49, p. 145; IV.23, p. 129. The other passages in which this language occurs are: IV.33, p. 133; IV.45, p. 143; IV.49, p. 145; IV.58, p. 150; IV.64-66, pp. 152-4; IV.81, p. 162.
[582] Ibid. IV.24, p. 130; IV.28, p. 132.
[583] Ibid. IV.29, p. 132.

would certainly have mentioned their fathers and cities of origin if he knew them instead of ascribing Roman ethnic identity to them, yet Fredegar found 'Roman birth' more important to mention in all three cases.

This supports Reimitz's idea that Fredegar possessed an ethnic view of the world, not just a Frankish one, and it also indicates that 'Roman' identity persisted as a recognizable social category to Fredegar's own time in the mid-seventh century. This does not mean that he labelled *everyone* in an ethnic manner—the patrician Wulf was not so designated, though similar characters like Quolen and Bertoald were said to be 'Franks' by birth—just that he placed greater emphasis on this way of structuring society than Gregory did; while ethnic identification was important to Fredegar, it clearly was not essential.[584] For those of Roman birth, having a secular office may have made their ethnic identities seem particularly notable. Romans, after all, seem to stand out when they are mentioned; while they appear in the *Chronicle*, they do so far less often than the Franks, and, of course, those native to Gaul (as opposed to those living within imperial boundaries) had no corresponding 'Roman' political identity. Whether because Fredegar was probably not Roman himself and not writing from the area of Aquitaine, as previous authors did, or because more people had acquired Frankish identity and so 'Romans' were less common in seventh-century society than they had been in the sixth, within the *Chronicle*, 'Romans' seem to have been gradually making way for 'Franks'.

The only comparable group to the Romans mentioned in the *Chronicle* is the Burgundians. As the other core constituent 'people' of the Frankish kingdoms, the Burgundians did not have their own king (although they had a Frankish one ruling over the kingdom of 'Burgundy') and were seen as solid subjects of the Franks, rather than loosely joined to the kingdom and semi-independent as the Bretons and others were. Burgundy is, of course, a complicated case because it was once an independent kingdom ruled by Burgundians and some of that independent identity (and law) probably remained for a good while after conquest in

[584] See above, p. 181.

537. However, Fredegar wrote a full century later, and through domination by the Franks and close interactions with both Franks and Romans during that time, Burgundians may have become less distinguishable as a 'people' and therefore less often mentioned.[585] Only two named Burgundian individuals appear in the fourth book of the *Chronicle*: the patrician Willebad among the dukes sent to deal with the Gascons, and Manaulf, who defended Willebad during the plot against his life.[586]

Other peoples in the Frankish sphere clearly acted as groups, and were regularly portrayed in the *Chronicle* in both political and ethnic senses. The Alamans, as an army, invaded the district of Avenches (*Alamanni in pago Aventicense Ultraiorano hostiliter ingressi sunt*); the Saxons sent messengers as a political delegation to Dagobert (*Saxones missus ad Dagobertum dirigunt*) asking for relief from tribute in exchange for defending the Frankish frontier against the Wends; and the Saxons and Thuringians summoned to fight with Theudebert were considered separate peoples from their Frankish overlords, with the chroniclers stating that such a battle had never before been fought by 'the peoples of the Franks and the others (*Francorum ceterasque gentes*)'.[587] Although the Saxons and Thuringians clearly owed allegiance to the Frankish kings and were required to fight for them and pay tribute to them, they were separate entities with the ability to negotiate and to act for themselves; they were certainly not seen as integrated into the kingdom. In these examples, they acted in a political manner, but that does not, of course, preclude their also being viewed as Saxons or Thuringians in an ethnic sense; it is just harder to know. Similarly, Fredegar depicted the Bretons, though nominally subject to the Franks, as possessing a separate kingdom; they had an 'army of the Britons (*exercitus Brittanorum*)', waged war with the Franks, and even once were shown to have their own king:

[585] On Burgundian ethnicity, see Ian Wood, 'Ethnicity and Ethnogenesis of the Burgundians', in Herwig Wolfram and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonder Berücksichtigung der Bayern* (Vienna, 1990), pp. 53–69. On ethnicity and law specifically, see below, pp. 220, 231-233.
[586] Fredegar, *Chronica* IV.78, p. 160; IV.90, p. 167.
[587] Ibid. IV.37, p. 138; IV.74, p. 158; IV.38, p. 139.

Iudacaile rex Britannorum.[588] Other kingdoms throughout Europe, of course, had their own kings that ruled over multiple peoples, and armies that consisted of individuals from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, as in the Frankish kingdoms, and these elements appear in descriptions of them in the *Chronicle*. Reccared, for example, was said to be 'king of the Goths (*rex Gotorum*)' despite ruling over Romans and Sueves as well as Goths in Spain, Agilulf was similarly 'king of the Lombards (*rex Langobardorum*)', and Samo was 'king of the Slavs (*rex Sclavinorum*)'.[589] Fredegar also used similar wording for Leudefred, 'duke of the Alamans (*Alamannorum dux*)'.[590] In one instance, a whole people was even provided an ancestral people: in describing Dervan, 'duke of the people of the Sorbs (*dux gente Surbiorum*)', Fredegar specified that the Sorbs 'were by descent of the Slavs (*ex genere Sclavinorum erant*)'.[591] If Fredegar indeed hoped to offer Frankish identity as a way of structuring society, he needed to stress Frankish identity in his narrative, but he also chose to stress the identities of other peoples. This choice provided a narrative place for these peoples within the Frankish realm, and within the Frankish political identity his *Chronicle* promoted. By portraying Frankish identity as accommodating rather than exclusive—as a complementary identity rather than necessarily a replacement identity—he increased the likelihood of its success in influencing a diverse group of peoples to unify under a common political umbrella, intentionally or not.

Conclusion

Reimitz notes in his discussion of group identities that a group's name could integrate social and ethnically heterogeneous societies as politically functioning groups under a common name, and aided in the integration of such a group into the political and social structures of Late

[588] Ibid. IV.15, p. 127; IV.11, p. 127; IV.78, p. 160. On the Breton balance between submission and independence, see Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 159-60.
[589] Fredegar, *Chronica* IV.8, p. 125; IV.34, p. 133; IV.68, p. 154.
[590] Ibid. IV.8, p. 125.
[591] Ibid. IV.68, p. 155.

Antiquity.[592] This can be seen in the unifying function of the group name 'Frank', which by 727 when the *Liber Historiae Francorum* was written (beyond the period of this study), would be fully adopted as a political identity to the point that 'Romans' were, in the author's eyes, no longer in the picture. The increase in the use of 'Frank' in politically-oriented phrases like 'king of the Franks' within Fredegar's *Chronicle* itself signals the beginning of this trend, incorporating disparate ethnic elements within its framework. Whether due more to Fredegar's own engineering or to independent shifts he observed in society, there is definitely a different picture of Frankish society in his *Chronicle* than in Gregory's *Histories*. Roman and other ethnonyms appear more in Fredegar's writing than they did in sixth-century texts by Gregory and even Fortunatus. This is not just because he chose to incorporate ethnic identities regularly in his work, but because this focus was, in the first instance, a political one; the underlying implication is that one need not be a Frank in an ethnic sense to become one in a political sense and co-exist under a common ruler. Gregory may have believed the same, since he also used political phrases like 'king of the Franks', though less often than Fredegar did; however, his society and likely audience were different from Fredegar's, and political Frankishness played a less important role for them than did the local Roman social structure they were accustomed to. As this changed, and the Roman and Frankish elements of society became more integrated, Frankishness became a greater part of people's lives.

Traditionally, historians have interpreted this as the end of Roman identities altogether, but this neglects the multi-layered nature of identity which would allow Romans to be political Franks without also becoming ethnic Franks. While people probably did, in time, adopt Frankish identity on an ethnic level as well—to see it as their primary, most integral identity—the chronicler's depiction of his society gives us fewer hints of this than of the development of an overarching group identity centred on a political unit which all Merovingian subjects could hold in common. As with the Saxons and Thuringians, whose political and ethnic identities were

[592] Reimitz, 'Cultural Brokers'.

presumed to match, obscuring any ethnic variation within these groups, so ethnic variation within the Frankish sphere would be harder to determine as political terminology came to dominate.

Reimitz places particular emphasis on Fredegar's role in fashioning this overarching Frankish identity out of existing narratives and trends in his society, and were his *Chronicle* our only evidence for the seventh century, we might think that its emphasis on both Frankish political identity and multiple ethnic identities within the Frankish kingdoms was specific to this particular work and the result solely of a desire on his part to provide a narrative that would unite all peoples under one Frankish banner. However, as we will see in the next chapter, these emphases are far too widespread in the sources to be attributed solely to authorial design; while Fredegar's *Chronicle* probably influenced some hagiographers of the second half of the seventh century, it cannot be deemed responsible for the views of those in the first half, who, as we shall see, shared a similar emphasis to the *Chronicle*. This indicates a shift in mentality within the community at large, not just a narrative which hoped to inspire such a mentality; the two forces coexisted simultaneously and in a mutually reinforcing manner. Fredegar may have helped the process along by providing conceptual and narrative tools, but a change, it seems, was already occurring within Merovingian society at the time he was writing. This change was not from a Christian to a Frankish view of the world, or in the degree of prevalence of Christian and Frankish discourse to draw upon, but from a Roman outlook to a Frankish one.

Chapter Seven: Hagiography

While both Gregory and Fortunatus wrote a handful of saints' *Lives*, some of which I have already discussed, the majority of *Lives* for the sixth and seventh centuries are the work of others. A look at the full corpus for these two centuries confirms that the focal shift from a Roman to a Frankish society was not solely the invention of a few cunning authors, but a trend occurring throughout their society. In these saints' *Lives*, we will see that Frankish identity came to be discussed more often in political terms over the course of the two centuries, as an inclusive label that could encompass all within the kingdom, and that, as a consequence, 'Roman' was asserted more frequently as an ethnic identity, undoubtedly because it was gradually seen as being exceptional and thus especially worth noting.

While ethnonyms like Franks, Saxon, and Burgundian appear in sixth century hagiographical texts, 'Roman' does not; this makes Venantius Fortunatus' poetry the only sixth-century literary source from Gaul in which ethnic Romanness is specifically noted. As we have seen, the term's absence from the majority of sixth-century writings is not an indication that Romans no longer existed and Fortunatus was merely using archaic language, as it reappears in the seventh century in both Fredegar's *Chronicle* and hagiographical works.[593] Nor can it be attributed to the hagiographical genre, in that 'Roman' appears in seventh-century saints' *Lives*; Fredegar shows that it is part of a wider phenomenon. The sixth-century hagiographers and their seventh-century counterparts illustrate a changing view of Romanness throughout the period, from the common identity a reader would assume an individual held unless explicitly told otherwise—and therefore not necessary to mention outside of Fortunatus' poetic rhetoric—to a noteworthy exception that needed to be expressed in the face of broader adoption of Frankish identity across much of the Merovingian kingdoms.

[593] For its existence in the fifth century see, for example, Sidonius Apollinaris, *Letter* 23, pp. 286-9, lines 69-71; poem II.1, pp. 416-17.

In order to demonstrate this trend in the hagiographic literature, I will describe in succession some key terms used therein. I will begin by examining the ways in which 'Roman' was used in *Lives* of the seventh century. I will then compare this with sixth- and seventh-century usage of 'senator', which historically also indicated Romanness, and then 'barbarian', the historic counterpart of Roman identity. Finally, I will explore parallel developments of the term 'Frank' and how the shift toward a political definition of Frankishness explains both the increase in the appearance of the term 'Roman' in seventh century sources and the eventual adoption of Frankish political identity by these Romans.

Romans

Nine saints' *Lives* from the seventh and early eighth centuries use the term 'Roman', most of them in the initial description of the saint in the first chapter; these are the *Lives* of Gaugeric of Cambrai, Desiderius of Vienne, Rusticula of Arles, Desiderius of Cahors, Eligius of Noyon, Praejectus of Clermont, Amatus of Remiremont, Bonitus of Clermont, and Samson of Dol. Only Gaugeric's and Eligius' *Lives* involve significant episodes in the more 'Frankish' north (and Samson's in Celtic Brittany); all the others—and the beginning of Eligius'—pertain to the more 'Roman' south. To make chronological trends in linguistic usage apparent, I will address these in chronological order as far as the approximate dating of many of the sources allow, starting with Desiderius of Vienne.[594]

The *Life* of Desiderius of Vienne, bishop of that city from 595 until his deposition by Queen Brunhild in 603, was written by King Sisebut of Visigothic Spain between 613 and 621. Through it, Sisebut charged Brunhild and her grandson Theuderic, king of the Frankish kingdom of Burgundy, with Desiderius' murder a few years after he was deposed. We can probably see it as an 'olive branch' from Sisebut to his neighbour, King Clothar II, who defeated Brunhild and

[594] In addition to Krusch's commentary on the dating of many of these *Lives*, see: Ian Wood, 'Forgery in Merovingian Hagiography', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter, v: Fingierte Briefe, Frömmigkeit und Fälschung, Realienfälschungen* (Hanover, 1988), especially pp. 369-70; Ian Wood, 'The Use and Abuse of Latin Hagiography in the Early Medieval West', in Chrysos/Wood, pp. 93-110.

succeeded to the throne of a united Frankish kingdom; Sisebut's story placed all the blame for conflict between the Frankish and Visigothic kingdoms on Brunhild and Theuderic and offered a fresh start to Clothar.[595] In it, Sisebut wrote that Desiderius was born to Roman parents of illustrious background: *Hic vir de stimate claro Romanis a parentibus ortis*.[596] Desiderius was a southerner and possessed a Roman name, all characteristics one would expect from a 'Roman' individual in Gaul. His Romanness, according to this passage, came from his descent. While Sisebut's external perspective may have differed from that of authors within Gaul, the view of Romanness he espoused in this text is similar to what we see in internal sources.

Gaugeric was bishop of Cambrai from c. 585 until his death c. 626. His *Life* was written at an unknown date in the seventh century, probably by a monk in Cambrai, and survives in a ninth-century copy. It describes him as follows: 'The bishop Gaugeric was born in Germania in the fortified town of Eposium [modern Carignan in the Ardennes] to parents who were, according to secular dignity, neither of first nor highest rank, Roman by birth, and truly Christian by religion (*Gaugericus episcopus Germani[ae] oppido Ebosio castro oriundus fuit parentibus secundum saeculi dignitatem non primis, non ultimis, Romanis nationes, christianitates vero religionem*)', and names his parents as Gaudentius and Austadiola.[597] 'Roman' is certainly a descent-related term here: both his parents were Roman by birth, so their son would be considered so too. It is interesting that he and his mother had Germanic names while being identified as 'Roman'; clearly, here as elsewhere, some mixing was occurring by the time of Gaugeric's birth in the late sixth century, whether intermarriage or the conscious adoption of Germanic names. Their location in Austrasia, unlike all other individuals of explicit Roman background in the hagiographical literature, may account for this naming pattern, since there they would have been surrounded by a more Germanic culture than their southern

[595] A.T. Fear (ed.), *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers* (Liverpool, 1997), p. xxiv-xxvi; Jacques Fontaine, 'King Sisebut's *Vita Desiderii* and the Political Function of Visigothic Hagiography', in James (ed.), pp. 93-130.
[596] Sisebut, *Vita Desiderii episcopi Viennensis*, in *MGH SSRM* III 2, p. 630.
[597] *Vita Gaugerici episcopi Camaracensis*, in *MGH SSRM* III 1, p. 652. The manuscripts show a variety of forms, from which Krusch chose *nationes, christianitates,* and *religionem* as most representative. While Krusch chose *Germani*, he lists *Germania* and *Germaniae* as alternatives.

counterparts.[598] As a northerner and a non-aristocrat, Gaugeric's 'Roman' identity was exceptional, and this presumably is the reason his hagiographer made a point of emphasizing this identity.

Rusticula was abbess of Caesaria's convent at Arles from c. 575 until her death in 632. Her *Life* was addressed by a certain Florentius to her successor as abbess, probably in the mid-seventh century. She was born to a Roman couple, Valerian and Clementia, both devout Christians, in Hebocasiacus in the territory of Vaison in Provence: *Clarissimis igitur orta natalibus Valeriano et Clementia coniugibus Romanis, cultum christianitatis cum summa veneratione colentibus, commorantibus eisdem in agro Hebocasiaco, qui est situs in territorio Vasionensi, factum est.*[599] Like Desiderius of Vienne, she was a southerner with Roman parents and a Roman name, and acquired her Roman identity by birth.

Desiderius of Cahors lived from c. 580 until 655, and was bishop of Cahors from the year 630; his *Life* was written at some point between his death and the end of the century. The author felt a strong connection with Gaul, as shown through his identification with Gallic custom in his description of Desiderius' building projects as 'in the manner of the ancients out of squared and hewn stone, not indeed in our Gallic fashion (*more antiquorum praeripiens quadris ac dedolatis lapidibus aedificavit, non quidem nostro Gallicoque more*)'.[600] The 'ancients' in question were the Romans of classical times, and this passage suggests that craftsmen who could build using Roman construction techniques were fewer than they once had been.[601] The author related that Desiderius was born in Albi near the southern border of Aquitaine to a Gallic family (*Gallicana familia*). His parents, Salvius (bishop of Albi) and Herchemfreda, had two other sons named Rusticus (Desiderius' predecessor as bishop of Cahors) and Siagrius (governor of

[598] On differences between the north and south, see above, p. 103 n. 316.
[599] *Vita Rusticulae sive Marciae abbatissae Arelatensis*, in *MGH SSRM* IV 1, p. 340.
[600] *VDC* IV 31, pp. 588-9.
[601] See Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome*, pp. 108-9, on this decline in Britain in particular.

Marseille and count of Albi) and two daughters, Selina and Avita.[602] Herchemfreda is a Germanic name, but since we know nothing else about her background, we cannot determine whether she was of Germanic descent or simply had a Germanic name.

What we know about Desiderius' upbringing may provide some clues as to the author's choice of 'Gallic' to describe the family. About Desiderius' education, we are told that his study of Roman law tempered his Gallic eloquence with Roman *gravitas: legum Romanarum indagatione studium dedit, ut ubertatem eloquii Gallici nitoremque sermonis gravitas Romana temperaret.*[603] The Roman law the author referred to was probably the *Breviary of Alaric*, which continued to be used and copied in Gaul long after the Visigoths departed.[604] The author's specification that Desiderius' eloquence was 'Gallic' perhaps indicates that Gallic speech and rhetoric was thought to be less measured than that in other regions of the former empire. The words 'Gallic' or 'Gaul' referring to something other than territory were, in fact, used very rarely in the *Lives* (and other contemporary sources, for that matter), appearing only here, in one passage from the *Life* of Eligius listing the identities of slaves he freed, in Gregory's *Glory of the Confessors* in reference to an old place-name, and in the sixth-century *Life* of the Jura Fathers as 'the Gallic nature (*natura Gallicana*)' which surpassed that of Egypt but paled in comparison with that of the East in the capacity for strict monastic living.[605] This last example illustrates an awareness of regional differences within the former empire, certainly in terms of monasticism and probably in many other areas as well.

That 'Gallic' was seen as a subset of 'Roman', like 'African' in Gregory of Tours' or Victor of Vita's writing, is hinted at by Desiderius, a southerner, receiving an education in Roman law

[602] *VDC* 1, pp. 563-4; *PLRE* III, p. 398 (Desiderius 5); pp. 588-9 (Herchenfreda); Geary, *Before France and Germany*, p. 160.
[603] *VDC* 1, p. 564.
[604] See above, pp. 61-3, and below, p. 221.
[605] *VE* I.10, p. 677 (see below, p. 203); *GC* 72, p. 340; *Vita patrum Iurensium*, ed. François Martine, *Vie des pères de Jura* (Paris, 1968), II.2/65, p. 312; III.23/174, p. 428. The chapter divisions differ in various editions, and Martine lists both.

and being given a Roman name.[606] The author seems to have felt regional identity more important to stress than ethnicity, and to assume that saying 'Gallic' implied 'Roman'. This is not to say that the author did not view *anyone* as Roman; in fact he styled a wealthy donor to the church 'Bobila senatrix Romana', a female 'Roman senator' or person of senatorial family. Her father, Agilenus, and her late husband, Severus, are mentioned among past wealthy donors, and she was probably (through birth or marriage) part of a Roman aristocratic family like those we saw in Gregory's writing.[607]

Eligius, bishop of Noyon from the early 640s until 660, was born in Chaptelat near Limoges in Aquitaine to 'free parents and Christians of an ancient line (*parentibus ingenuis atque ex longa prosapia christianis)*', Eucherius and Terrigia.[608] As is common in hagiographical writing, their Christianity was emphasized to bolster the saint's character and importance; in this case, in the absence of earthly nobility, a long Christian heritage vouched for the family's worthiness. Eligius first became a goldsmith at the Neustrian court and later an advisor to King Dagobert before being appointed bishop along with his friend Audoin, who became bishop of Rouen. Audoin was himself subject of a *Life*, in which he was recorded as coming from a very noble family of Soissons, all with Germanic names; he is known to have ties to the Agilolfings, and thus is considered by modern historians to have been a Frank by birth. He met Eligius at court and wrote his *Life* sometime between the latter's death in 660 and his own death in 686.[609]

Although Eligius was a southerner, his ecclesiastical appointment was some distance north of Paris, and he clearly stood out as an outsider there. It is not in the description of his

---

[606] See above, p. 116.

[607] *VDC* 28, p. 585; *PLRE* III, p. 234. Bobila was referred to as a noble *materfamilias* in Desiderius' letter collection, ed. Wilhelm Arndt, in *MGH Epistolae* III.V (Berlin, 1892) II.11, p. 208, and II.13, p. 210.

[608] *VE* I.1, pp. 669-70.

[609] *Vita Audoini episcopi Rotomagensis*, in *MGH SSRM* V 1, pp. 554-5; Fouracre/Gerberding, pp. 136-9; *PLRE* III, pp. 151-2 (Audoenus qui et Dado). Eligius' *Life* survives in a ninth-century recension that nevertheless matches the language of other, unaltered seventh-century *Lives* (particularly that of Praejectus) well, for which see: Michel Banniard, 'Latin et communication orale en Gaule franque: le témoignage de la *Vita Eligii*', in Jacques Fontaine and J.N. Hillgarth (eds.), *The Seventh Century: Change and Continuity* (London, 1992), p. 63; Paul Fouracre, 'The Work of Audoenus of Rouen and Eligius of Noyon in Extending Episcopal Influence from the Town to the Country in Seventh-Century Neustria', *Studies in Church History* 16 (1979), p. 78; Isabelle Westeel, 'Quelques remarques sur la *Vita Eligii*, vie de Saint Éloi', *Mélanges de science religieuse* 56, no. 2 (1999), p. 47.

birth and family but in the context of a dispute with Noyon locals that Audoin revealed Eligius' heritage: when Eligius preached against the superstitious practices of the locals, they supposedly told him, 'Never, Roman, however hard you try, shall you be able to uproot our customs but we will attend our solemnities always and forever as we have done till now nor will any man ever forbid us our ancient and gratifying games (*Numquam tu, Romane, quamvis haec frequenter taxes, consuetudines nostras evellere poteris, sed sollemnia nostra sicut actenus fecimus, perpetuo semperque frequentabimus, nec ullus hominum erit, qui priscos atque gratissimos possit nobis umquam prohibere ludos*)'.[610] The crowd in this passage saw Eligius not as a kinsman united with them in a common Christian family—they were almost certainly not pagans but Christians who continued some of what Eligius and Audoin thought of as pre-Christian practices—nor as a fellow Frankish subject, but as an interloper, bringing foreign religious customs from the more Roman south. His 'Roman' identity was, to them, intrinsically intertwined with a foreign culture and a foreign religious practice, and was clearly seen as exceptional in this region of the Merovingian kingdoms, whether by the locals themselves or by Audoin writing the *Life*.

We certainly know that Audoin associated Eligius' Romanness with his southern upbringing and saw Frankishness as particularly northern, because in one passage he stated that Eligius 'left his homeland and parents and went to the land of the Franks (*relicta patria et parentis Francorum adiret solum*)' to advance his career.[611] Here, Eligius left one region under Frankish rule for another, remaining within the political unit that was the Frankish kingdoms, but it was only the northern part of the Frankish kingdoms that Audoin considered to be 'Frankish soil'. To him, the north was more 'Frankish' than the south, whether due to strongly rooted characteristics of its population in cultural or descent terms (an ethnic view) or its central place in the Frankish political sphere (a political view), and Eligius did not quite fit in.[612]

[610] *VE* II.20, pp. 711-12.
[611] Ibid. I.4, p. 671.
[612] See also below, p. 217.

Being a friend of Eligius, Audoin certainly knew his background, and he did not hesitate to refer to it in a pastoral context. So why did he not explicitly say, in introducing the saint and his family, that he was 'of Roman family' as other saints of the period were described? There are a number of possibilities. Not being a noble, Eligius may not have fit sufficiently into Audoin's mental picture of a 'Roman' for the author to assign him this background in his own words (but he would still repeat it when others said it), though, as we will see, the author of Praejectus' *Life* was not bothered by his similarly low status. It could be that Eligius was not actually of Roman descent, just from a culturally Roman region, and the Noyonnais were only addressing his cultural 'Romanness', though, given his parents' Roman names, their 'ancient' Christianity, and his birth in Aquitaine, this is unlikely.[613] It is possible that Audoin may have felt Eligius' Christian identity was more important than his ethnic identity in the context of a hagiographical *Life*, but if so, he weakened any Christian-pagan framework he intended to promote by mentioning 'Roman' at all. It is also possible that Eligius' ethnic identity did not matter to Audoin, just his cultural Romanness.

Another option, and the one I think most probable, is that he was attempting to downplay the differences between northern-born bishops and courtiers like himself and southern-born ones like Eligius. Both men had served at the court in Neustria before becoming bishops of northern sees, so Audoin felt a camaraderie with him that transcended ethnic boundaries (though perhaps class boundaries less so) and found their friendship and similar career to be a more accurate description of the man he knew than 'a Roman from the south' would be. He also would have expected Eligius to be venerated in the north where he served as much as in his southern homeland. The *post mortem* miracles Audoin described occurred in northern locations like Compiègne in Picardy and Reims as well as in Aquitaine and the Touraine in the south, illustrating the spread of his cult in both traditionally Frankish and traditionally

[613] Georg Scheibelreiter, 'Ein Gallorömer in Flandern: Eligius von Noyon', in *Die Suche*, pp. 125-6, sees Eligius' Romanness as tied to late antique Mediterranean culture and comments on his foreignness to the Noyonnais and lack of understanding of their form of Christianity.

Roman areas of the Merovingian kingdoms. Audoin would undoubtedly want to make Eligius as accessible a saint as possible to all people in these regions, and thus emphasize commonalities with other bishops of the same era rather than an identity which would stand out in the north.

It is important to remember that when he *did* use 'Roman' to describe Eligius, he put the words in the Noyonnais' mouths rather than in his own. In the text, Eligius, as a 'Roman', was foreign to these insufficiently Christian men, but not to a proper Christian like Audoin. The implicit message is that all Christians, no matter their background, were to be a united front against pagans and heretics, and only such heretical people would care that Eligius was ethnically and culturally different rather than focus on his orthodox expression of the Christian faith. Audoin, after all, would have promoted the same sort of worship as Eligius did, attempting to 'correct' those in the far north and align them with the more orthodox practices established in the south and in other parts of the north. The resistance against Eligius found an easy target in his foreign 'Roman' heritage, and this clearly shows that individuals so far north still viewed Roman culture and descent as foreign at this point in time, but their issue was ultimately not with Eligius himself but with the religious norms he and other church leaders promoted. It seems, then, that Audoin was interested in crafting a narrative focused on a dichotomy of Christian versus pagan, but that when ethnicity proved useful toward that goal—by highlighting contrasts between the righteous and the wicked, for example—he did not hesitate to employ it.

While 'Roman' meaning 'Gallo-Roman' does not appear elsewhere in Eligius' *Life*, Audoin did use 'Roman' to refer to the Byzantine Empire: once in the phrase 'Roman Empire' when discussing a heresy which began in the East, and once describing a 'delegation from the Roman province (*ex Romana ... provintia legatio)*' which, along with those from the 'Italic, Gothic, and whatever other province', reported to Eligius for counsel before meeting with the Frankish king.[614] Audoin is alone among Merovingian hagiographers in referring to the Eastern Empire as

[614] *VE* I.10, pp. 676-7.

'Roman'; usually if it must be mentioned, it was simply 'the empire'.[615] That Audoin specified 'Roman' indicates that he viewed the Byzantine Empire as merely one kingdom among others and not the assumed leader of the known world, unneeding of qualification. That few authors in the Frankish kingdoms regularly found it an issue while authors in Spain like John of Biclar and Isidore of Seville clearly did can be attributed to the greater contact the Visigothic kingdom had with the East Roman Empire; while the Visigoths battled imperial forces within the Iberian peninsula and fought an ideological war to convince Visigothic subjects that Toledo rather than Constantinople deserved their loyalty, Merovingian Franks rarely had more than diplomatic encounters with emperors and their envoys and could be more secure in their rule with the aid of physical distance. Thus, Merovingian narrative sources tended to say simply 'the empire' and leave 'Roman' to their diplomatic correspondence.[616]

Further evidence that Audoin saw the Romans of the East as simply one of many peoples comes out in his description of slaves from different peoples (*gentes*) whom Eligius freed: Romans, Gauls, Britons, Moors, and especially Saxons (*Romanorum scilicet, Gallorum atque Brittanorum necnon et Maurorum sed praecipuae ex genere Saxonorum*).[617] These 'Romans' were probably not southerners like Eligius, since southerners would easily fit into the grouping of 'Gauls', leaving 'Roman' to mean 'imperial'. Here they are just one of a list of peoples, equally enslaved and equally freed through the saintly actions of Eligius.

Another southerner, Praejectus, was bishop of Clermont from 666 until his death in 676. His *Life*, written before 690, tells us that he was born in the territory of Clermont to Gundolenus and Eligia, who were from a long line of Catholics, and 'shone forth from his family of Roman descent': *Igitur sanctus Preiectus Arvernensium provincia ortus est et Romane generis stemate praefulsit. Huius pater Gundolenus, mater vero eius Eligia vocitata est, qui originem duxere ex*

[615] See above, pp. 139 (Gregory), 164 (Fortunatus), 188 (Fredegar). Contrast John and Isidore, pp. 47-9, 51-3.
[616] See appendix, below, p. 251.
[617] *VE* I.10, p. 677.

longinqua prosapia, catholicis viris, religionem christiane dignissimis.[618] Again, like most of the others I have already mentioned, Praejectus was a southerner and his Roman identity was inherited from one or both parents.

Clermont was, of course, also the hometown of Gregory of Tours, who listed many senatorial or otherwise noble individuals from it in his writing. That the unidentified author of Praejectus' *Life* wrote only that the saint's family was Roman and Christian seems an attempt to de-emphasize his humble origins, outside the illustrious lineages of the region.[619] It is clear in the *Life* that Praejectus' lack of aristocratic upbringing, an anomaly among bishops at this time, was a handicap; simply being 'Roman' and a good Christian did not suffice to be a suitable candidate for bishop to many of his contemporaries.[620] His lower social status was undoubtedly why more noble members of the community plotted his assassination. Some manuscripts of the text suggest that two of the conspirators in the plot may have been 'senators': Bruno Krusch's edition of the text reads: 'Bodo and Placidus, men of the senators who had joined in the conspiracy to make a martyr of him ... (*Bodo vero et Placidus e sinatoribus viri, qui consensum prebuerant de ipsum martyrii locum*)'.[621] If this is correct, it shows that some in the senatorial aristocracy of the city resented a bishop who was not one of their number, and also that the old aristocracy of the region had adopted more elements of Frankish culture—Bodo is, after all, not a Roman name, and either indicates intermarriage or a shift in naming fashions away from traditional Roman aristocratic names. It is also possible, as I will discuss later, that 'senator' was meant here in a looser sense of 'nobleman', also potentially explaining Bodo, though I think it unlikely. However, this all rests on 'senator' being correct, but it may, in fact, be a misreading; some manuscripts use the words 'insinuators (*insinuatores*)' or 'plotters (*insidiatores*)' instead.

[618] *Passio Praejecti episcopi et martyris Arverni*, in *MGH SSRM* V 1, p. 226.
[619] Fouracre/Gerberding, p. 272, n. 52.
[620] Ibid. p. 262.
[621] *Passio Praejecti* 31, p. 243.

As all of these manuscripts are equally late in date, we cannot be sure which reading was originally intended.[622]

'Roman' appears once more in Praejectus' *Life* in a very revealing passage. When Praejectus was summoned to court to defend himself, he refused on the grounds that doing so just before Easter was illegal according to 'the statutes of the canons and the law which is called Roman (*statuta canonum vel lege, quam dicitur Romana*)', an accurate citation of a law in the Theodosian Code (II.8.19) and the Breviary of Alaric (II.8.2).[623] This argument was judged to be insufficient cause for delay, an unusual example of Roman law being declared invalid (and, indeed, of it being cited at all in Merovingian Gaul), and perhaps a hint that it was starting to give way to other legal standards by the late seventh century.[624] As we will see in the next chapter, the Franks were very vague about law, unlike the Visigoths, and we should not take what they wrote about it at face value. However, alongside the multiple families with a mix of names and an increase in overarching political uses of the term 'Frank' (which I will come to shortly), the description of a court dismissing Roman legal statutes suggests that, despite the increased appearance of 'Roman' as an identifier in seventh-century texts, the preeminence of Romanness was fading, particularly in the north where the court met. This inverse relationship between the appearance of 'Roman' individuals in the source material and the decreasing dominance of aspects of Roman culture and society exposes the underlying reason for the occasional appearance of 'Roman' identity in seventh-century sources: 'Roman' as an identity was likewise fading—shifting from an identity viewed as reflecting the majority to one treated as a minority within the Merovingian kingdoms as a whole—and thus began to appear like any other minority identity within the sources, mentioned because it was not 'Frankish'. Certainly some of this Frankish dominance can be explained by the greater number of northern, Frankish authors in the seventh century than in the sixth, but probably not all. As Frankish political

[622] Krusch discusses the manuscripts in his introduction to the edited text, pp. 219-23.
[623] *Passio Praejecti* 24, p. 240; Fouracre/Gerberding, p. 289; *CTh*; *BA*.
[624] Peter Classen, 'Fortleben und Wandel spätrömischen Urkundenwesens im frühen Mittelalter', in Peter Classen (ed.), *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen, 1977), pp. 13–54.

identity grew, and more 'Romans' like Eligius served in secular positions at northern courts and either intermarried or adopted Frankish names, an increasing number of individuals with a Roman ethnic identity would have adopted political Frankishness, and this would have led some to also adopt ethnic Frankishness, and being a 'Roman' would have become exceptional in large parts of the Merovingian kingdoms.

From the end of the century, showing that Roman identity continued in Gaul after it had faded from Spain, are the *Lives* of Amatus and Bonitus. Amatus, abbot of Remiremont from its foundation in 620 until his death in 630, was 'born to noble parents originating from Roman roots, not far from the city of Grenoble in Burgundy (*nobilibus natus parentibus, ex Romana oriens styrpe, in suburbano Gracianopolitanae civitatis ... exortus est*)', and his father, Hiliodorus, was very Christian.[625] Again, he was a southerner whose Romanness was inherited and whose family was solidly Christian. His *Life* dates to either the late seventh or early eighth century. The *Life* of Bonitus, written in the early eighth century, confirms that 'Roman' identity continued to be expressed beyond our period.[626] Bonitus, bishop of Clermont from 689, was described in a now-familiar manner, as born in Clermont to Theodatus and Syagria, and of noble lineage from the Roman senate: *Bonitus progenie Arvernicae urbis oriundus fuit, cuius pater Theodatus, mater vero Syagria vocitata est; ex senatu Romano dumtaxat, nobili prosapia.*[627] He was a southerner with a Roman name and, perhaps surprisingly for this late a date, said to be descended from Roman senators, gaining his 'Roman' identity through his ancestry. That his senatorial descent from Sidonius Apollinaris was probably quite clear may explain the label, but that such descent was still emphasized in the eighth century, so far removed in time from the western Roman Empire, is fascinating and illustrates that despite changes in the way the word was used at this time, its earlier, sixth-century meaning had not yet been forgotten.[628]

[625] *Vita Amati abbatis Habendensis*, in *MGH SSRM* IV 2, p. 216.
[626] Rouche, *L'Aquitaine*, argues Aquitaine remained distinctively Roman, but he overinterprets.
[627] *Vita Boniti episcopi Arverni*, in *MGH SSRM* VI 1, p. 119.
[628] On his descent, see Wood, 'Ecclesiastical Politics', pp. 34–57.

Finally, the *Vita Prima* of Samson, a Briton from Wales who served as bishop of Dol in Brittany in the mid-sixth century, was probably written by a monk in Brittany c.700 using an earlier Cornish *Life*, and it provides some useful information about contemporary Breton views of 'Romans'.[629] Its author described people living near the borders of Brittany as 'Romans' and their territory as 'Romania'. Samson himself was 'of the Britons by birth (*Britannorum ... genere*)' and had a house 'in Romania', across the border of Brittany in the territory where those of Roman background lived.[630] A later *Life* from the ninth century, known as the *Vita Secunda*, described this region as Frankish rather than Roman, suggesting assimilation or migration occurred in the regions around Brittany after the year 700.[631] After Samson's death, his cult spread 'among many Britons and Romans, across and on this side of the sea (*apud multos Britannorum Romanorumque, ultra citraque mare*)'.[632] From a perspective outside both 'Francia' and 'Romania', 'Roman' was undoubtedly an important term to distinguish one set of the Britons' neighbours from another.

These nine *Lives* demonstrate a clear pattern in the perception and use of 'Roman' identity in the seventh century. When describing individuals, 'Roman' was usually expressed as stemming from their ancestry, often using *genus* and *stirps*, both carrying a sense of birth, descent, and familial roots. All but one of those individuals who could reasonably claim this identity lived south of the Loire, in the part of the kingdom that was the least settled by Franks and retained the most Roman characteristics. Occasionally 'Roman' referred to the Byzantine Empire or to old laws still in use. Most striking, however, is the term's complete absence from the sixth-century hagiography and fairly even distribution chronologically throughout the seventh century; it did not decline in use near the end of the century but continued into the

[629] *Vita sancti Samsonis episcopi Dolensis* [*Vita Prima*], ed. Pierre Flobert , *La vie ancienne de Saint Samson* (Paris, 1997). There has been considerable debate about the date, which is detailed by Flobert, pp. 102-11. I use the date recently proposed by Richard Sowerby, 'The Lives of St Samson: Rewriting the Ambitions of an Early Medieval Cult', *Francia* 38 (2011), pp. 1–31.
[630] *Vita sancti Samsonis* (*Prima*) I.5, pp. 152-3; I.60, pp. 232-3.
[631] *Vita antiqua sancti Samsonis Dolensis episcopi* [*Vita Secunda*], ed. R.P. Dom. Fr. Plaine, OSB, in *Analecta Bollandiana* 6 (1887), pp. 77-150.
[632] *Vita sancti Samsonis* (*Prima*) II.11, pp. 258-9.

early eighth century. Clearly 'Romans' still existed throughout this period and Roman ethnic identity had begun to stand out—especially to the Frankish northerners who wrote more of this later work than the earlier—in an increasingly Frankicized kingdom.

Senators and Barbarians

Having seen 'senator' rather than 'Roman' used by Gregory of Tours, we might expect that other sixth-century hagiographers might have done the same. However, like 'Roman', 'senator' also appears only in the seventh- and early eighth-century *Lives*. Twice it was clearly descent-related—with regard to Bonitus of Clermont (who died in the early eighth century and whom I have already discussed) and to Germanus of Grandval. Germanus was a monk at Remiremont and Luxeuil before serving as abbot of Grandval from its foundation in 640 until his death in 675. His *Life* was written between 675 and 685 by the priest Bobolen, drawing on the *Life* of Columbanus, and it tells that he was born to Optandus in Trier and was of senatorial family by birth (*ex genere senatorum prosapię genitus*).[633] Germanus, like Gaugericus, was unusual in that he came from the north (though Trier, with its strong imperial heritage, kept 'Roman' identity longer than other northern cities), yet his Roman name, and especially the word *genus*, clearly indicate that he was thought to be of Roman senatorial stock and not a Frankish counsellor or nobleman called a 'senator' in a new, looser meaning of the term.[634] In this case, the hagiographer may have been trying to sound archaic, as he also used the antiquated term Sicamber.[635]

A looser meaning of 'senator' can, however, be seen in the *Life* of Austrigisil, bishop of Bourges from 612 to 624. Of unknown seventh-century date, this *Life* describes a 'most prudent man (*vir prudentissimus*)' named Aetherius who was 'outstanding among the other senators in

[633] Bobolen, *Vita Germani abbatis Grandivallensis*, in *MGH SSRM* V 1, p. 33.
[634] Mark A. Handley, 'Beyond Hagiography: Epigraphic Commemoration and the Cult of the Saints in Late Antique Trier', in *SCLA*, pp. 187–200; Ewig, *Trier,* pp. 61-77; Ewig, *Die Merowinger*, p. 55.
[635] See below, p. 215.

the royal household (*in domo regis inter ceteros senatores prestantissimus*)'.[636] Bruno Krusch comments on this passage that in the Carolingian period, counsellors of the king or emperor were sometimes called senators, and given their ties to the royal household here, this is most likely to be the case for Aetherius and his associates. Unlike the passages about Germanus and Bonitus (and probably also Bobila), the senators here were not explicitly connected to particular individuals of Roman background or said to derive their status from descent; the same might also be true of Bodo and Placidus, the conspirators against Praejectus, though this is less likely as they were not part of the royal household or even located anywhere near a royal centre.

What is clear from these examples is that 'senator' was beginning in the seventh century to be used in a looser sense to refer to noblemen or royal advisors, but it had not yet lost its earlier meaning of a supposed descendant of the Roman senatorial aristocracy.[637] Like 'Roman', the looser sense appeared at this time because its significance within society was changing; 'senator' was being reapplied to a new aristocracy during a period of growing dominance of Frankish identity.

Unlike both 'Roman' and 'senator', 'barbarian' appears in a few contemporary saints' *Lives* of the sixth century. Two of these were written by Venantius Fortunatus late in the century: those of Radegund of Poitiers, whom we have already encountered, and Germanus, bishop of Paris from 555 to 576. While Fortunatus portrayed the Frankish conquerors of Radegund's homeland as a 'tempest' winning a 'barbaric victory' which wasted the region, and the Franks' barbarian-like actions were clearly negative—destructive, devastating, and all-encompassing—he described Radegund very neutrally as 'of barbarian nation', and a woman in Germanus' *Life* similarly as the 'barbarian woman (*mulier barbara*)'.[638] In this case, Radegund and the unnamed woman were barbarians in the classical sense of a non-Roman, not in a pejorative sense of someone who committed barbaric acts.

---

[636] *Vita Austrigisili episcopi Biturigi*, in *MGH SSRM* IV 5, p. 195.
[637] See above, pp. 57-9, 113-115, 150-154.
[638] *VR* II, p. 365; *Vita Germani episcopi Parisiaci*, 27, p. 388.

In contrast, the author of the *Life* of the abbots of Agaune, of unknown sixth-century date, described Hymnemodus as 'indeed of barbarian nation, but of benevolent and modest character (*Hymnemodus natione quidem barbarus, sed morum benignitate modestus*)', assuming a correlation between barbarian descent and barbaric or uncouth action.[639] The word 'but' shows that he viewed Hymnemodus' good character as surprising or exceptional, lending a sense of greater sanctity to the monk for being able to overcome his 'handicap', just as Fortunatus' language did in his poem for Vilithuta. The barbarians mentioned in the *Life* of Caesarius, bishop of Arles, certainly carried a pejorative connotation. Cyprian, bishop of Toulon and pupil of Caesarius, wrote the first part of his teacher's *Life* between 543 and 546, immediately after Caesarius' death; he would have heard first-hand of Caesarius' experiences under Visigothic rule and during the war between the allied Franks and Burgundians and the Visigoths in which the Goths were besieged in Arles.[640] His description of the 'Arian perverseness of the barbarians (*Arriana barbariei perversitas*)'—meaning the Visigoths and their heretical practices—and of the 'ferocity of the barbarians (*barbarorum ferocitas*)' who ruined the convent Caesarius had been building for his sister—meaning the Franks and Burgundians—expresses clear disdain for people who wantonly destroyed religious buildings and ignored the true faith.[641] Those soldiers behind the convent's destruction included newly-Catholic Franks as well as Arian Burgundians, so even the new Catholics were considered barbarians for disrespecting the church and its sacred places; they were, after all, only recently Catholic and not of Roman descent or culture, and evidently easy to still associate with 'barbarian' acts.

---

[639] *Vita abbatum Acaunensium*, in *MGH SSRM* III 1, p. 175.

[640] Cyprian was assisted by the bishops Firminus of Uzès and Viventius of an unknown see. Part two was written by two clerics who had served Caesarius from youth: Messianus and Stephanus. For background, see William E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul* (New York, 1994), pp. 1-8.

[641] Cyprian of Toulon, *Vita Caesarii*, ed. Germain Morin, in *Sancti Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis opera omnia nunc primum in unum collecta*, vol. 2 (Maredsous, 1942) I.20, p. 304; I.28, p. 307. Morin used *barbariei*, Krusch *barbarus*, and both *perversitate* and *ferocitate*: *Vita Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis*, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 464, 467.

Both senses of 'otherness'—non-Roman and non-Catholic—continued to be expressed with the word 'barbarian' in seventh-century hagiography, but especially the latter. By this time, the Roman Empire had become a more distant memory and the contrast between Catholic and pagan had become more meaningful than that between Roman and non-Roman, or between Catholic and Arian. Audoin, for example, described Eligius of Noyon as effecting many conversions among groups other than Franks, and often called these groups 'barbarians' rather than naming them. He wrote that Eligius stimulated 'in the minds of the barbarians (*barbarorum animos*)' a love of God, 'by which oratory one can see several barbarians were converted (*ad cuius videlicet oratum ita nonnulla permutata est barbaries*)', and that he 'illuminated all those barbarian lands (*totam partis illius barbariem inlustraret*)' where lived 'Frisians, and Sueves, and barbarians who came from near the sea coast (*Fresiones quoque et Suevi et barbari quique circa maris litora degentes*)'.[642] Being in the far north, Eligius encountered a number of peoples who were neither Franks nor Romans and were depicted as 'barbarians' not yet integrated into Frankish society and the Christian faith; they could be contrasted with him both by being 'not Roman' and by being 'not Christian'. The term 'barbarian' could even still be used after conversion when it was within recent memory: in the *Life* of Wandregisel (or Wandrille), written c. 700 by a monk from his abbey of Fontenelle, the 'barbarian peoples' Wandregisel encountered were 'recently Christian': *barbaras gentes nuper christianas*.[643] In these examples, we can see 'barbarian' used in the Roman sense of 'not civilized like us', but the 'us' in question was changing: it was by now as much Catholic Franks as Romans.[644] Of course, Catholicism, as the religion of the Empire and vesting particular authority with the bishop of Rome, also retained an association with 'Roman' identity that provided the Catholic-pagan distinction with a hint of the older Roman-barbarian one.

[642] *VE* II.8, p. 700; II.3, pp. 696-7.
[643] *Vita Wandregiseli abbatis Fontanellensis*, in *MGH SSRM* V 16, p. 21.
[644] W. R. Jones, 'The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13, no. 4 (1971), esp. pp. 387–9; Eugen Ewig, 'Volkstum und Volksbewusstsein im Frankreich des 7. Jahrhunderts', in *Spätantikes und frankisches Gallien* (Munich, 1979), pp. 249-54.

The leper cured by Arnulf, bishop of Metz from 612 until 628, fits both meanings of the term 'barbarian'. Arnulf was a noble Frank whom the Carolingians would claim as early as the late eighth century as an ancestor to augment the family's sanctity, but when his *Life* was first written in the late seventh or early eighth century, he was still just a noble with some connection to the Pippinid family. His *Life* reads: 'The bishop Arnulf was begotten to a family of Franks, to parents sufficiently high and noble, and was most wealthy in secular things (*Arnulfus episcopus prosapie genitus Francorum, altus satis et nobilis parentibus atque oppulentissimus in rebus saeculi fuit*)'.[645] The story his hagiographer told has Arnulf curing a leper and then asking him whether he was baptized, 'because he was a barbarian (*quia barbarus erat*)'.[646] This is a rather odd passage, since if 'barbarian' again merely meant 'pagan', Arnulf would not need to ask, but if it meant 'non-Roman', it could also apply to Arnulf himself, who clearly *was* baptized. What seems most likely is that 'barbarian' meant 'neither Roman nor Frank' by the late seventh century, still 'not us' but with those of Roman and of Frankish descent united as 'us'. Especially as the Franks conquered more lands and bishops and missionaries were sent out to minister to the various peoples there, the sense of these new subjects being different from the old may well have led the old to feel more unified as proper Frankish subjects and to perceive the new as 'barbarians' in contrast to themselves. If the leper were both non-Roman and non-Frank, and Arnulf assumed from this that he was also pagan, we can see in this passage both barbarian and

[645] *Vita sancti Arnulfi*, in *MGH SSRM* II 1, p. 432. Genealogical connections appear in Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. Georg Pertz, in *MGH SS* II (Hanover, 1829), p. 260–70, from the mid-780s; a Carolingian genealogy from c.800, *Genealogia domni Arnulfi*, ed. G. Waitz, in *MGH SS* XIII (Hanover, 1881), p. 245–6; and the *Annales Mettenses Priores*, ed. B. von Simson, in *MGH SSRG* X (Hanover, 1905), p. 3, from c.805. These are discussed in Reimitz, 'Social Networks', pp. 264-7; Lellia Cracco Ruggini, 'The Crisis of the Noble Saint: The *Vita Arnulfi*' in Jacques Fontaine and J.N. Hillgarth (eds.), *The Seventh Century: Change and Continuity* (London, 1992), especially p. 128; Walter Goffart, 'Paul the Deacon's *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium* and the Early Design of Charlemagne's Succession', *Traditio* 42 (1986), pp. 59-93; and Damien Kempf, 'A Textual Détournement: From Paul the Deacon's *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* to the *Vita Clementis*', *EME* 20, no. 1 (2012), pp. 1–16. Only Ian Wood does not believe the Carolingian connection: Ian Wood, 'Genealogy Defined by Women: The Case of the Pippinids', in Leslie Brubaker and Julia M.H. Smith (eds.), *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300-900* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 234-56.

[646] *Vita sancti Arnulfi* 11, p. 436.

pagan identities functioning as the 'other' in opposition to the increasingly dominant norm in the kingdom: Christian Frankishness.

The subtle shift in the use of the term 'barbarian' from non-Roman toward non-Christian, and the appearance of 'senator' with a new, more general meaning as 'nobleman' or 'counsellor' without any necessary ties to the Roman aristocracy, were symptoms of a broader trend among Romans in the Frankish kingdoms toward greater structural identification with the ruling Franks. As Frankish identity was adopted more widely, it could no longer be seen as an 'other' which would fall under the category of 'barbarian'; too many former 'Romans' had become Franks and had brought with them the sense that barbarians were 'those not like us'. Frankishness thus came to be the standard by which other identities were judged, perhaps even 'Roman' identity, which tied people to an ever more distant past that, as grand and praiseworthy as it might be, no longer reflected the political and social reality in which these people lived. In the context of a new political reality, 'Roman', 'senator', and 'barbarian' all took on new meanings. A Roman senatorial background may have once been the key to maintaining status and prestigious employment, but identifying with Frankish leaders and integrating into a new, more Frankish-dominated aristocracy was by now their ticket to keeping hold of this status for the future.

Franks

A look at the use of 'Frank' in sixth- and seventh-century saints' *Lives* illustrates quite well the rise of Frankish political identity throughout the period, which we have already seen in Fredegar's *Chronicle* and in the later books of Gregory's *Histories*. 'Frank' appears far less often overall (including both individuals and groups) in sixth-century *Lives* than in those from the seventh. In the sixth century, the *Lives* of both Caesarius and Germanus of Paris used the phrase

'a certain Frank (*quidam Francus*)' to describe individuals these saints encountered.[647] Childeric was called 'the king of the Franks (*Childericus rex Francorum*)' in the *Life* of patron saint Genovefa of Paris (d. 512), written in the 520s, as was Clovis is the *Life* of Severinus of Agaune from c.515, though the comparable 'kingdom of the Franks' is absent from sixth-century *Lives* altogether.[648] The 'Franks' in the *Life* of Caesarius, who with the Burgundians besieged Arles in 508 after defeating the Visigothic king Alaric, and the 'Franks' whose victory in Thuringia in 531 in Radegund's *Life* was a 'barbaric tempest', were part of the army of the Franks and thus represented the king and kingdom no matter their ethnic makeup.[649]

Five seventh-century individuals were identified as Franks, with the clear connection of their Frankishness to their family and birth. Bertoald, who became bishop of Cambrai c.626 after Gaugeric died, was said in his predecessor's *Life* to be 'from the Franks by birth (*ex Francorum natione*)'.[650] Gibitrud was a nun at the Columbanian monastery of Faremoutiers established by Burgundofara near Paris. Jonas of Bobbio, who between 639 and 643 wrote the *Life* of the Irish monk Columbanus, who founded the monasteries of Luxeuil and Bobbio, described her in an addition to this *Life* as born to noble parents 'of the Franks by birth (*ex genere Francorum*)'.[651] Wulfetrud, abbess of Nivelles after her aunt Geretrud died in 653, was described in her aunt's *Life* in this same way: *ex antiquo Francorum genere*. *Antiquo* suggests these women came from an ancient and important line of Franks, and in fact, Geretrud's father was Pippin I, mayor of the Austrasian palace from 623 to 629 and again 639-640 and a direct ancestor of Charlemagne. The *Life*, however, was probably written between 663 (the year of Wulfetrud's death) and 670, and could only have been commenting on the status of their lineage

[647] Cyprian of Toulon, *Vita Caesarii* II.42, pp. 341-2; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Germani episcopi Parisiaci* 5, p. 376.
[648] *Vita Genovefae*, in *MGH SSRM* III 26, p. 226; *Vita Severini abbatis Acaunensis*, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 166–170. The phrase *regnum Francorum*, in fact, only appears in the sixth century in Gregory's *Histories*: see above, p. 135.
[649] Cyprian of Toulon, *Vita Caesarii* I.28, p. 306; *VR* II, p. 365.
[650] *Vita Gaugerici* 14, p. 657.
[651] *VC* II.12, p. 131.

at the time, not on its future descendants.[652] The abbot Waldebert of Luxeuil was labelled in the *Life* of Germanus of Grandval dating to 675-685 as 'of the Sicamber by birth (*ex genere Sicambrorum*)', and Arnulf of Metz was described near the end of the seventh century as 'begotten to a family of Franks (*prosapie genitus Francorum*)'.[653] All five of these people derived their Frankish identity from their descent, not from political affiliation. In addition, Hocinus, a 'man of the Franks (*vir e Francis*)', appears in the *Life* of Vedast, written in the mid-seventh century by Jonas of Bobbio about people living near Cambrai in the early sixth century.[654] Interestingly, the two individuals in the sixth-century *Lives* were described as 'Franks', reminiscent of Gregory of Tours' language, and all but one (the one describing a sixth-century saint) in the seventh-century *Lives* as 'of Frankish birth'. The common discourse seems to have changed from one century to the next.

'Frank' as a group term, particularly referring to a political entity rather than one necessarily based around descent, appears far more often in the seventh century than the sixth; this political usage is thus responsible for the great increase in the use of the term 'Frank' in the seventh century. As in other sources, this broader political identity was asserted in hagiographical texts in discussions of armies, kings, kingdoms, nobles, and subjects. The 'king' or 'kingdom of the Franks' was the most common formulation, appearing on numerous occasions in the seventh century. For the sixth, the *Life* of Vedast tells that 'Clovis, king of the Franks, ruled the Franks with all clever industry (*Francorum rex Chlodoveus omni industria sollers Francis regnaret*)' and Clothar subsequently 'reigned over the Franks (*Francis regnaret*)'. For the seventh, the *Life* of Columbanus told both that Clothar II, the son of Chilperic, 'ruled over the Franks of Neustria (*Neustrasis Francis regnabat*)' and that Columbanus was honoured by 'all the nobles of the Franks (*omnes Francorum proceres*)'; and the *Life* of Desiderius of Cahors even

[652] *Vita sanctae Geretrudis*, in *MGH SSRM* II 6, pp. 459-60; Fouracre/Gerberding, pp. 301-4.
[653] Bobolen, *Vita Germani abbatis Grandivallensis* 6, p. 35; *Vita Arnulfi* 1, p. 432.
[654] Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Vedastis episcopi Atrebatensis*, in *MGH SSRM* III 7, p. 410.

includes the text of a letter including King Dagobert's title: 'Dagobert, king of the Franks (*Dagobertus rex Francorum*)'.[655]

The *Life* of Balthild, queen to Clovis II, used 'Frank' in a political sense on multiple occasions. It was written between 680 and 700 by a nun from Chelles who knew Balthild when she retired there after her sons came of age. Because Clovis, and later Clothar, were based in the kingdom of Neustria, the author reserved the term 'Frank' for Neustrians; when referring to a union between Neustria and Burgundy, the text reads: 'the Burgundians and the Franks were made united (*Burgundiones vero et Franci facti sunt uniti*)', while the Austrasians (*Austrasii*) were also mentioned receiving another of Balthild's sons, Childeric, as their king.[656] Franks, in this text, were thus the residents of the Neustrian kingdom. In addition, the 'Franks (*Franci*)' who, out of love for Balthild, tried to delay her retirement to the monastery of Chelles were the nobles in the Neustrian kingdom where she was regent and represented the populace as a whole in this story, despite some members of that populace not being of Frankish descent.[657] 'The Frankish kingdom' can also, however, refer to the whole area ruled by the Franks, as when the author told that 'some other queens in the Frankish kingdom were noble and worshippers of God (*in Francorum regno nobilis et Dei cultricis fuisse alique reginas*)' and proceeded to give the example of Clotild, wife of Clovis I, who ruled all the kingdoms alone.[658] The author envisioned 'Frank' as holding two political meanings: a narrower one for Neustria alone, and a broader one for all of the Merovingian kingdoms.

Similarly, the *Life* of Eligius envisioned Neustria as particularly 'Frankish', noting at one point that different kings reigned in the *regnum Francorum* (meaning Neustria) and the *regnum*

[655] Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Vedastis* 2, p. 406; 7, p. 410; *VC* I.24, p. 98; II.9, p. 123; *VDC* 13, p. 571. There are two excellent studies of the *Life* of Columbanus: Alexander O'Hara, 'The *Vita Columbani* in Merovingian Gaul', *EME* 17, no. 2 (2009), pp. 126-153; and Ian Wood, 'The *Vita Columbani* and Merovingian Hagiography', *Peritia* 1 (1982), pp. 63-80.
[656] *Vita Domnae Balthildis*, in *MGH SSRM* II 5, pp. 487-8.
[657] Ibid. 10, p. 495.
[658] Ibid. 18, pp. 505-6.

Austrasiorum.[659] His *Life* contains many references to the 'Franks', more in fact than the entire corpus of sixth-century *Lives*. The majority of these are in the form of 'king' or 'kingdom of the Franks', such as the statement made of King Dagobert that 'no one was similar to him among all past kings of the Franks (*nullus ei similis fuerit in cunctis retro Francorum regibus*)', a vision of the 'Frankish kingdom' under the rule of a queen regent, and the description of legates from other kingdoms who stopped to meet with Eligius before continuing on to the 'palace of the king of the Franks (*palatium regis Francorum*)'.[660] One example in this text was clearly *not* intended to describe an all-encompassing political identity: when Eligius 'left his homeland and parents and went to the land of the Franks (*relicta patria et parentis Francorum adiret solum*)' to advance his career, which I have already mentioned.[661] Audoin may have meant 'the place where Franks lived', but it is equally plausible that Audoin, like the author of Balthild's *Life*, considered Neustria to be the central Frankish political region and thus its homelands the only true 'land of the Franks'.

The increase in the use of the term 'Frank' in seventh-century hagiography, both overall and with a political meaning, mirrors the strong Frankish focus of the contemporary *Chronicle* of Fredegar. Given the wide range of authors represented by the hagiographical corpus, it is unlikely that all of them shared a specific interest in promoting Frankish identity as a unifying force in the Merovingian kingdoms, and therefore such an interest cannot alone be responsible for the increasing appearance of Frankishness in the written sources; clearly a wider shift in mentality toward an inclusive Frankish political identity was in progress.

Conclusion

As we have already seen with Gothic identity in Spain, Frankish identity came to have two parallel facets over the course of the sixth and seventh centuries: ethnic and political. We

[659] *VE* I.4, p. 671.
[660] Ibid. I.14, p. 680; II.32, p. 717; I.10, p. 676-7. Other examples of this formulation can be found at: I.5, p. 672; I.9, p. 676; I.13, p. 680; I.33, p. 690; I.36, p. 692; and II.1, p. 694.
[661] Ibid. I.4, p. 671; Scheibelreiter, 'Ein Gallorömer in Flandern', p. 118. See above, p. 200.

saw, through the increased use of 'Goth' in a political fashion and its subsequent decline near the end of the seventh century, that Gothic political identity had become so ingrained as not to require mentioning, and it could be assumed that a person was a 'Goth' unless explicitly stated otherwise. The increased political use of 'Frank' (and a dramatic drop in the use of *quidam Francus*) at this time indicates a similar shift was occurring, but this time, 'Romans' and others did not disappear. With so many more ethnic groups to assimilate than their Visigothic counterpart, the Frankish kingdoms maintained a multiethnic populace far longer—hence the fact that the term 'Frank' remained important as a marker. However, they were still able to draw many of these peoples into Frankish political identity without forcing them to relinquish their ethnic identities.

The end of the seventh century seems to be a tipping point between two worlds: a Roman one in which those described in a text or met along a road were assumed to be 'Roman' unless information was specifically given to the contrary, with all the lingering cultural associations that accompanied the word, and a Frankish one in which the assumed identity unless otherwise stated was 'Frank'. It is precisely during times of change and interaction that ethnic identities are most strongly asserted, as a way to exhibit difference or to fight against what one sees as an encroachment upon one's own people and identity. Those being assimilated are most likely, if they do not deliberately *hide* their difference, to stress their dissimilarity, and those doing the assimilating to portray their identity as a unifying one. In the Frankish kingdoms, we can observe this shift in both hagiography and historiography through the increased use in the seventh century of 'Frank' as an inclusive, political identity, a common precursor to the adoption of ethnic identity, and of 'Roman' as an ethnic term—a reflection of a decline that made 'Romans' noteworthy exceptions in a sea of 'Franks'.

Chapter Eight: Law Codes

Law is a more complicated topic to discuss in relation to the Merovingian kingdoms than the Visigothic kingdom; while we have more formularies and charters by which we might check the actual use of the law codes in Francia, the evidence in them is not terribly helpful in this regard as none cite specific enactments, and the codes themselves do not form a chronological chain in which each new code builds directly upon its predecessors but were created for different peoples and subkingdoms and were in use simultaneously.[662] Because of the multiplicity of codes within Francia, it is often assumed that each code was meant to pertain only to a given ethnic group, but there are a number of reasons why this was unlikely to have happened in practice. While 'personality of law' was explicitly intended in Francia in later centuries, this was not so in the sixth-century *Pactus legis Salicae* (nor in the neighbouring Burgundian codes), and even the seventh-century *Lex Ribuaria*, which did declare that each people should be judged under its own law, regulated the activities of people other than Ripuarians.

We will see in this chapter that none of these sixth- and seventh-century codes can be considered entirely 'personal', and that the relationship between ethnic groups was complex and varied. The Merovingian codes were also less logically put together than the Visigothic (and Burgundian) codes and are more useful in illustrating the perceptions and assumptions of their authors than determining how law worked in practice. We can see that the Frankish kings assumed the prerogative of legislating for multiple peoples within their kingdoms, that the ethnonyms used to describe these peoples were therefore—since the same king was their

[662] Instead we find phrases like 'Roman law prescribes …' or 'according to Salic law …'. Roman law appears in the Formulary of Angers (*Formulae Andecavenses*), in Zeumer, 40, p. 17; 46, p. 20; 54, p. 23; 58, p. 24; the Formulary of Marculf (*Formulae Marculfi*), in Zeumer, II.17, p. 86. Salic law appears in the Formulary of Marculf I.22, p. 57; *Capitularia Merowingica* 4, p. 8. See also Patrick Wormald, 'Lex Scripta and Verbum Regis: Legislation and Germanic Kingship, from Euric to Cnut', in P.H. Sawyer and Ian Wood (eds.), *Early Medieval Kingship* (Leeds, 1977), p. 122; Classen, 'Fortleben und Wandel'.

sovereign—meant as ethnic rather than political identities, that ethnicity was deemed an important element of a proper law code, and that by the seventh-century *Lex Ribuaria*, the assumption that each people should have its own code—whether or not such a system could work in practice—was made explicit in writing.

The Codes and their Use

There were a number of law codes which may have been used in the Merovingian kingdoms, including those promulgated by the Merovingians themselves, those originating with the Visigoths when they ruled southern Gaul, and those issued by the Burgundian kings before their kingdom came under Merovingian dominion in 534. I have already discussed the *Code of Euric* and the *Breviary of Alaric* on the Visigothic side, and while I will discuss the Burgundian codes briefly here as a useful comparison to the Frankish- and Visigothic-issued codes (and because they were probably still used after 534), they will receive minimal attention as they tell more about circumstances under the Burgundian kings than the Merovingians and are therefore less directly comparable to my other (Merovingian) sources.

The Burgundian codes resemble the early Visigothic laws far more than do the Frankish ones. Like the Visigothic kings Euric and Alaric, the Burgundians promulgated their own 'Burgundian' code and a corresponding collection of Roman law.[663] What we often call simply the *Burgundian Code* in order to note its origin was titled by the Burgundians themselves the *Liber Constitutionum*. It was once believed to have been commissioned by King Gundobad (473-516) and is thus sometimes titled the *Lex Gundobada*, but the common consensus now is that it was Gundobad's son, Sigismund (516-523), who issued the code, including his father's edicts therein.[664] The code survives in thirteen manuscripts, none of which is earlier than the ninth

[663] For a general overview of the Burgundian kingdom, see Justin Favrod, *Histoire politique du royaume burgonde (443-534)* (Lausanne, 1997).

[664] Ian Wood, '*Gentes*, Kings, and Kingdoms—the Emergence of States: The Kingdom of the Gibichungs', in *Regna and Gentes*, p. 257; Collins, 'Law and Ethnic Identity', p. 8.

century.[665] The *Lex Romana* (now typically called the *Lex Romana Burgundionum* to distinguish it from other versions of Roman law) was probably assembled concurrently with the *Liber Constitutionum*. Manuscript evidence suggests that soon after the Franks conquered Burgundy, the *Breviary of Alaric* began to be used there, eventually supplanting the native compilation.[666]

The Franks did not create their own compilation of Roman law, but the relative abundance of manuscripts of the *Breviary of Alaric* in their kingdoms, including post-534 Burgundy, suggests they utilized it instead.[667] In addition, the early Franks had the *Pactus legis Salicae*, attributed in its earliest redaction to Clovis, probably around the time he defeated the Visigoths in 507. Its title notes that it pertained to the Salian Franks in particular, and one law suggests that their home region lay in what would become Neustria.[668] Theuderic I (511-533) and Guntram (561-592) made slight modifications to the original sixty-five titles, and edicts by Childebert I and Clothar I (c. 524), Chilperic I (c. 575), and Childebert II (596) were eventually added as 'capitularies'.[669] The earliest manuscript dates to c. 770 and includes a summary of the *Breviary of Alaric*, suggesting that the two codes were by then used together.[670] The *PLS* was later expanded upon by both Pippin the Short and Charlemagne, gaining the name *Lex Salica*.[671]

Finally, a code for a different group of Franks living along the Rhine in Austrasia, the Ripuarians, was created in the seventh century, probably by Dagobert I in 633/4.[672] A portion of

---

[665] Collins, 'Law and Ethnic Identity', p. 8; Katherine Fischer Drew, *The Burgundian Code* (Philadelphia, 1949), p. 6.

[666] Drew, *The Burgundian Code*, p. 6; Collins, 'Law and Ethnic Identity', pp. 6-7.

[667] It was certainly circulated in the Carolingian period: Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 46; Wormald, 'The *Leges Barbarorum',* p. 45. See also above, pp. 61-3.

[668] *PLS* XLVII.1 and .3, pp. 182-3, 185.

[669] *PLS* pp. ix-x, xl; Theodore John Rivers (ed.), *Laws of the Salian and Ripuarian Franks* (New York, 1986), pp. 2-3.

[670] *PLS*, pp. ix-x; Katherine Fischer Drew (ed.), *The Laws of the Salian Franks* (Philadelphia, 1991), p. 53; McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, p. 44.

[671] Rivers, *Salian and Ripuarian Franks*, pp. 3-4; *PLS*, pp. x, xl; McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 45-6. On differences between the *PLS* and *Lex Salica*, see Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, *Fränkische und frankolateinische Bezeichnungen für soziale Schichten und Gruppen in der* Lex Salica (Göttingen, 1972), esp. pp. 30-31.

[672] Collins, 'Law and Ethnic Identity', p. 11; Rivers, *Salian and Ripuarian Franks*, p. 8. On their identification with Austrasians, see Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 43; Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 114-15.

it copied, nearly verbatim, titles from the *PLS*, but unlike the earlier code, the *Lex Ribuaria* was well-organized by topic, suggesting that it was planned out from the beginning rather than haphazardly collected together. It survives in thirty-five manuscripts and fragments, most dating to the ninth and tenth centuries.

As we will see, neither of the Frankish codes were comprehensive—the *PLS* in particular covered primarily the establishment of procedure and payments for deaths and injuries, and barely mentioned what the Romans called 'private law'—which suggests that they may have worked together with a Roman compilation (if they worked at all in practice), like the Visigothic *Code of Euric* and *Breviary of Alaric* did.[673] It is often assumed that Merovingian law was personal, with different codes applying to different ethnic groups, because that was the common practice by the Carolingian period; codes were created in the late Merovingian for the Alamans (c.730) and Bavarians (742), and by Charlemagne for the Frisians, Saxons, and Thuringians (802 or 803) who lacked them—although, of course, there was also overlap among them, making complete ethnic separation of the law impossible.[674] However, the *PLS* was significantly older than any of these codes, and we cannot assume it was formulated with the same intent as the later codes of a somewhat different society were; it included no explicit endorsement of the personality concept, making the *Lex Ribuaria* the first appearance of this concept in writing.

While the *Lex Visigothorum* was neatly structured, clearly well thought out, and thoroughly functional, the Frankish codes contain contradictions and seem poorly suited for practical use, the *PLS* more than the *Lex Ribuaria*. While Visigothic kings periodically removed

[673] Drew, *Salian Franks*, pp. 12, 30; Collins, 'Law and Ethnic Identity', pp. 2, 23. On the Burgundians, see Amory, 'Meaning and Purpose', pp. 6, 13, 17.

[674] *LR* p. 87; Wormald, 'The *Leges Barbarorum*', p. 22; *Lex Alamannorum*, ed. Karl Lehmann, in *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 5,1 (Hanover, 1966), pp. 35–157; *Lex Baiwariorum*, ed. Ernst von Schwind, in *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 5,2 (Hanover, 1926); *Lex Frisionum*, ed. Karl von Richthofen, in *MGH Leges in Folio* III (Hanover, 1863), pp. 631–711; *Leges Saxonum*, ed. Karl von Richthofen, in *MGH Leges in Folio* V (Hanover, 1875), pp. 1–102; *Lex Thuringorum*, ed. Karl von Richthofen, in *MGH Leges in Folio* V (Hanover, 1875), pp. 103–44. We also have fragments of the *Pactus legis Alamannorum* of the 630s, ed. Karl Lehmann, in *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 5,1 (Hanover, 1966), pp. 21–34, which lists different rules for Alamans than for others.

old, irrelevant legislation, the Merovingian kings simply added their own decrees and prologues, making for a confusing mixture of old and new.[675] These codes seem instead meant to record (and perhaps change) extant custom and to mimic the trappings of Roman written legislation; they were symbolic formalities, not coherent practical guidelines that could be cited explicitly.

The Pactus legis Salicae

The earliest Frankish code, contemporary with the Visigothic *Code of Euric* and *Breviary of Alaric* is the *Pactus legis Salicae*. Many of its statutes involve a person of unspecified identity paying the price for an offense against another such person, rather than specific rules based on ethnic identity. As the *Code of Euric* did with Romans and Goths, in the *PLS* when Romans and Franks appear together in the same law, it was their interactions which were regulated. Even these are few: only two appear in what is considered to be the original version of the *PLS*, and two further in the redaction of Guntram from the last third of the sixth century. The original two state that a Frank accused of robbing a Roman could clear himself with twenty oathhelpers, and that a Roman accused of robbing a 'Salic barbarian (*barbarus Salicus*)'—clearly a synonym for 'Frank', with 'barbarian' taking a neutral meaning of 'non-Roman'—could do the same with twenty-five.[676] Those added during Guntram's reign set 1200 *denarii* as the fine for a Roman tying a Frank up without cause and half that for a Frank doing the same to a Roman, setting a Roman's value far lower than that of his Frankish neighbour.[677]

We learn several interesting things from these four laws. First, unlike the *Code of Euric*, these involved robbery and restraint rather than the *hospitalitas* system, as they pertained to an area where official settlement had not taken place; there was thus no need to balance past arrangements with contemporary needs. Second, Romans were explicitly disadvantaged relative to their Frankish counterparts. It has been suggested that in such circumstances, Romans would

[675] Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 49; Wood, '*Gentes*', p. 258.
[676] *PLS* XIV.2-3, pp. 64-5.
[677] *PLS* XXXII.3-4, p. 122.

find it advantageous to quickly adopt Frankish identity in every way possible or to move south, explaining the very few 'Roman' individuals attested in the north after the arrival of the Franks in 486, and this certainly makes some of sense. Even if the laws were not strictly enforced, or the inability to distinguish clearly between Franks and Romans made enforcement difficult, the attitude of Frankish superiority the laws reflect might have created an inhospitable climate for Romans. Finally, we have the description of the Frank as a 'Salic barbarian', undoubtedly in a non-judgemental way as 'non-Roman'. The use of the term at all is probably due to the code's early date, at a time when the Roman-barbarian dichotomy was still a common element of written language—as we have seen in Fortunatus' writing.[678] It appears in the Burgundian *Liber Constitutionum* as well but is completely absent from the later *Lex Ribuaria*.[679]

'Barbarian' was never used alone in the *PLS*, and was in fact only used twice in the entire code: once alongside 'Roman' as above, and once alongside 'Frank'. In the latter, a person of unspecified origin who were to kill 'a free Frank or barbarian, who lives by Salic law (*ingenuus Francus aut barbarus, qui lege Salica vivit*)' would be fined 8000 denarii if proven guilty.[680] 'Barbarian' here may indicate that non-Frankish barbarians could choose to be held to Salic law rather than another law, or it may be a synonym for 'Frank'—with 'who lives by Salic law' qualifying both terms. In the former case, 'Frank' would be an ethnic identity as it distinguishes one group of barbarians under Frankish political power from another, but in the latter case, it would take political nuances, tying Frankishness to the law code to which a person was subject—which may, of course, have been determined by ethnic identity—rather than the person himself. 'Salian' was sometimes used as a synonym for 'Frank'; for example, one law gave the penalty for 'someone (*quis*)' stealing a stallion from a Frank, and another the penalty for a 'Salian (*Salicus*)' castrating another Salian.[681] Capitulary 2, containing decrees of Childebert and Clothar c.524,

[678] Amory, 'Meaning and Purpose', p. 10.
[679] For the Burgundian code, see, for example, *LC* VIII.1, p. 49; X.1, p. 50; LV.1, p. 63.
[680] *PLS* XLI.1, pp. 154-5.
[681] *PLS* XXXVIII.2, pp. 136-7; LXXI.1, p. 241 (in a decree added c.524).

named these rulers as 'kings of the Franks (*reges Francorum*)' in some manuscripts, and Capitulary 6 did the same for Childebert alone.[682]

'Frank' and 'Salian' appear on their own about as often as 'Roman' does. In the six instances in which Romans appear alone, a punishment was decreed for someone of unspecified origin—often expressed with the passive voice—doing something illegal to a Roman, not specifically for deeds done by Franks. For example, the fine 'if a Roman man, who is a table companion of the king, were killed (*si vero Romanus homo, conviva regis, occisus fuerit*)' was set at 300 *solidi*, and the killing of a Roman who paid tribute cost sixty-two *solidi*.[683] Other laws set the amount to be paid if 'someone (*quis*)' killed a 'free, tributary, or military Roman (*Romanum ingenuum vel tributarium aut militem*)' at one hundred *solidi*, and declared that if a Roman were killed, or a pregnant Roman woman were injured, only half the amount need be paid than for non-Romans—further examples of Roman disadvantage.[684] How 'Roman' was defined is unspecified, but we can fairly safely assume it held ethnic nuances. The unspecified offender in these examples could just as easily be a Roman or a foreigner as a Frank, showing that Romans could be subject to the *PLS* as either offenders or, more rarely, victims. This is also the case in the laws in which no ethnic identity is specified, such as the law from the first capitulary which set a fine for 'someone (*quis*)' who removed a dead man from the gallows without permission, and the long list of payments for various debilitating injuries done by an unspecified 'someone (*quis*)'.[685] Ultimately, the point of these laws was to ensure just recompense to the victim, no matter the identity of the offender.

This begs the question of what it actually meant for an individual to live under a specific law and whether it was possible in reality to keep people separate in this manner. While the prologue of the *PLS* does contain a passage stating that the laws therein had been agreed upon 'among the Franks (*inter Francos*)' in order to preserve 'peace among themselves (*inter se pax*)',

[682] *PLS* pp. 250, 267.
[683] *PLS* XLI.8-10, pp. 156-7.
[684] *PLS* CXVII.2, p. 263; XLII.4, pp. 164-5; CIV.9, p. 261.
[685] *PLS* LXXV.2, p.p. 247-8; XXIX, pp. 112-17.

which seems to suggest the code was written by and for Franks alone, this was a later addition dating to the 590s at the earliest, and more probably to the late seventh or early eighth century, a time when 'Frankishness' had developed a greater political sense in addition to an ethnic sense, and therefore possibly lending this passage the meaning of 'everyone in the kingdom'.[686] There were matters which the Frankish code covered—such as compensation to injured parties and their kin, with an underlying threat of feud—that the *Breviary* did not, and vice versa, but, as I have already noted, there was significant overlap.[687] 'Personality of law' may have been a desired ideal, although we do not see explicit references to it until later, and it may have worked on occasion, but in practice, with the codes that existed in sixth-century Francia, it would not always have been possible.

The other key question is how to define a Frank or a Roman for legal purposes. While the later *Lex Ribuaria* and the Burgundian *Liber Constitutionum* occasionally specified that it was by birth (*natio*), the *PLS* never did so.[688] The same was probably true, however; a simple political meaning would render any distinction made within the laws pointless unless pertaining to visitors from other kingdoms, as *all* inhabitants would be Frankish subjects. Furthermore, there were a limited number of ways a 'Roman' living in Neustria could be distinguished from a 'Frank': possibly by religion still in the earliest years, but predominately by culture and descent—elements often associated with ethnicity.

The Lex Ribuaria

The seventh-century *Lex Ribuaria* reads differently than the *PLS* does, being far more specific about the ethnic identities of the individuals involved: Ripuarians, Romans, and others, but never once 'barbarians'. Ripuarians appear alone in a number of the laws either as offenders or victims, or sometimes both in the same statute. For example, if a Ripuarian took

[686] *PLS* prologue, p. 2.
[687] Wormald, 'The *Leges Barbarorum*', p. 30.
[688] *LR* 35.3, p. 87; *LC* X.1, p. 50; XLVII.1, p. 77.

lumber from the common forest, he was required to pay fifteen *solidi*, and if a Ripuarian were to marry a king's *ancilla* he would not become a slave but his children would, but if he married a Ripuarian *ancilla* he would follow her into slavery.[689] If a 'free Ripuarian (*ingenuus Ribuarius*)' killed another free Ripuarian and concealed the body, he must pay 600 *solidi*.[690] The code also listed a separate wergild each if 'someone (*quis*)' were to kill a free Ripuarian, a Ripuarian girl, a Ripuarian woman of childbearing age, and a Ripuarian woman over the age of forty.[691] Other statutes covered interactions between Ripuarians and other peoples. If a churchman (*ecclesiasticus*), king's man (*regius homo*), or a Roman married a Ripuarian freewoman, their descendants would take the status of the lower-ranked parent.[692] For 'foreigners (*advenae*)', Ripuarians faced a heftier fine for killing a Burgundian, an Alaman, a Frisian, a Bavarian, or a Saxon than for killing a Roman, and an even greater fine for killing a 'Frank'.[693] Since the text explicitly said the Frank was a foreigner, 'Frank' presumably meant a Salian or Neustrian Frank. In another passage, 'Frank' appears in direct contrast with 'Ripuarian': a slave who broke the bones of 'a Frank or a Ripuarian (*Francus aut Ribuarius*)' cost his master thirty solidi.[694]

The *Passio Leudegarii*—about Leudegar, bishop of Autun from 659 to 678—may hint at why the Ripuarians, who could claim to be Franks, were distinguished from the 'Franks' in their law code, and who the Ripuarians themselves actually were. It tells of a reworking of the laws of the Frankish kingdoms shortly after Childeric II (d. 675), who had initially ruled just over the Frankish subkingdom of Austrasia, gained control of the other subkingdoms (Neustria and Burgundy) in 673. It states that the revision work took place 'so that the laws and customs of each country (*ut uniuscuiusque patriae legem vel consuetudinem*)' would be preserved.[695] The clear implication here is that each subkingdom (*patria*) had its own code, which it would follow

[689] *LR* LXXIX, p. 128; LXI.14-15, pp. 112-13.
[690] *LR* XVI, p. 80.
[691] *LR* VII, p. 77; XII.1, p. 78; XIII, p. 79.
[692] *LR* LXI.11, p. 112.
[693] *LR* XL.1-4, p. 92.
[694] *LR* XXIII, p. 83.
[695] *Passio Leudegarii episcopi et martyris Augustodunensis* 7, in *MGH SSRM* V, p. 289; Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 113. For background, see Fouracre/Gerberding, pp. 193-253.

whether the kingdoms were united under a single king or separate, providing a degree of stability to the inhabitants. By the 680s when Leudegar's *Passio* was written, then, the *PLS* certainly only applied to Neustria, with the *Liber Constitutionum* covering Burgundy, and the *Lex Ribuaria* created earlier in the century for Austrasia, meaning that the Ripuarians were considered the Franks residing in the area of Austrasia, along the Rhine (as the name 'riverbank dwellers' suggests).[696] This explanation fits the timeline well, but it also helps to explain the use of 'Frank' for the Neustrian or Salian Franks, as it was far more common in seventh-century sources (from all three subkingdoms) to see 'Frank and Austrasian' paired together than 'Neustrian and Frank'; Neustria was the most powerful, and that it had also been Clovis' base lent it additional prestige.[697] As Austrasia gained power nearer the end of the seventh century and into the eighth, this would change, but at the time the *Lex Ribuaria* was compiled, 'Neustrian' and 'Frank' were often synonymous. It is also worth noting that Ripuarian and Salic appear only in legal sources in this period, and Austrasian and Neustrian only in others; the former could be used in an ethnic manner related to law (as was seemingly expected), but the latter were *not* ethnic but territorial, and not used in legal language.

Like the *PLS*, the *Lex Ribuaria* never presented Ripuarians and Romans as equals with laws applying to both together, instead listing a specific fine or punishment for each in many cases, with the Romans generally disadvantaged. LXIX.1-2, for example, begins by detailing what was to be done if a Ripuarian swore an oath which was not satisfactory, and then the difference if a king's man, a Roman, or a churchman did so.[698] Sometimes the first law of such pairs pertained to an unspecified 'someone': for example, in one case if 'someone (*quis*)' declined to offer the king's envoy hospitality, he was fined sixty *solidi*, but if a king's man, a churchman, or a Roman did the same, he was only fined thirty *solidi*.[699] The parallel construction to the above examples implies that 'someone' actually meant 'any Ripuarian', and it certainly seems that

[696] Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 115.
[697] See above, pp. 186-188, 216-217.
[698] *LR* LXIX.1-2, pp. 119-20.
[699] *LR* LXVIII.3, p. 119. See also *LR* LXI.8, p. 111.

either the creator or later modifiers felt Romans, churchmen, and king's men required their own rules. However, this presumes that the author employed a strict legal logic; while the *Lex Ribuaria* was certainly arranged more logically than the *PLS*, it was not internally consistent enough for us to be certain this was intentional.

The *Lex Ribuaria*, as already noted, provides the earliest explicit statement that could be taken to establish 'personality of law', which has been used by those who wish to argue its existence in Francia before the Carolingian period.[700] This statement, regarding freemen brought before the court, reads: 'Moreover, this we decree: within the Ripuarian country, equally Franks, Burgundians, Alamans, or whatever nation one abides in, let him answer, when called upon in court, according to the law of the place where he was born (*Hoc autem constituimus, ut infra pago Ribvario tam Franci, Burgundiones, Alamanni seu de quacumque natione commoratus fuerit, in iudicio interpellatus sicut lex loci contenet, ubi natus fuerit, sic respondeat*)'.[701] If the individual were found guilty, he was fined or punished according to that same law. Further, the code explicitly describes the jurisdiction of Roman law on two occasions: once regarding church slaves, with charters composed by the archdeacon for them 'according to Roman law, by which the church lives (*secundum legem Romanam, quam ecclesia vivit*)', and again regarding a slave who had been freed and openly made a 'Roman citizen (*civis Romanus*)' who would henceforth be judged 'by Roman law (*secundum legem Romanam*)'.[702] This Roman law may be a form of the *Theodosian Code* like the *Breviary of Alaric*, or in the case of the church, canon law.

We can see in the first passage that the author intended a person's nation and law to be determined by his birth and place of residence. Whether 'birth' was meant to refer to genealogical ancestry or simply the territory where one was born is unclear; the author may

[700] Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 115; Amory, 'Meaning and Purpose', p. 20; Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, 'Das Dorf nach den Stammesrechten des Kontinents', in H. Jankuhn (ed.), *Das Dorf der Eisenzeit und des frühen Mittelalters* (Göttingen, 1977), pp. 408–43.
[701] *LR* XXXV.5, p. 87.
[702] *LR* LXI.1, pp. 108-9.

have assumed they were one and the same—that both were key elements of an integral, ethnic identity. However, the other passage shows that one could also become Roman by being freed—perhaps a 'rebirth' of sorts—and people acting from within the church often fell under the jurisdiction of Roman law no matter their birth 'nation'. Their ethnic identities may or may not have been 'Roman', but their legal identities were.

While the pronouncement of separate laws for separate peoples sounds decisive, precise, and certain, and it is therefore easy to assume that this was the intent of the law, in practice, again, it is doubtful that it actually worked.[703] Above and beyond the difficulty of judging which 'nation' any person belonged to (or whether 'someone' applied to them), the *Lex Ribuaria* explicitly lays out consequences for Roman offenders and for Ripuarians who married or killed Romans, providing a solid counter to the idea that only Ripuarians followed Ripuarian law. In mundane matters not extending outside an ethnic group, people in Ripuarian territory—and other places with similar codes—may indeed have adhered to their own traditions and laws, but when they interacted, and even sometimes when they did not, they became subject to the clauses in the Ripuarian code, making it, in practice, a territorial law as well as a personal law.

The *Lex Ribuaria* and other codes that followed it in the later Merovingian and Carolingian periods were part of an attempt to make law correlate with ethnicity, but in practice there was no way to make 'personality of law' function so exclusively. Their attempt signals to us that legislators in the Frankish kingdoms from the mid-seventh century saw ethnic identities as essential to legal matters, even if they had no clear way to put it into practice; for them, ethnicity was part of the language of law, and so they employed ethnic language, clear or not. The official promulgation of ethnicity-focused law codes also indicates that later kings preferred to embrace the multiple ethnic identities within their kingdoms than to attempt to force everyone to obey a single, 'Frankish' law. This attitude undoubtedly provided a favourable environment for people to preserve their separate identities longer, helping to explain the

[703] On the personality principle, see Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 259-73, 303-8; and above, pp. 66-9.

slower transition away from Roman ethnic identity in the Frankish kingdoms than in the highly centralizing Visigothic kingdom in Spain.

Comparison with Visigothic and Burgundian Codes

As I have already noted, despite being nearly contemporary with the *PLS*, both the Visigothic *Code of Euric* and *Breviary of Alaric* and the Burgundian *Liber Constitutionum* and *Lex Romana Burgundionum* had more in common with each other than with the Frankish compilation. We have already seen that the Visigothic laws dating to their early reign in Toulouse included the regulation of Gothic-Roman interaction (including marriage), rules common to both Goths and Romans, statutes regarding land in the *hospitalitas* system, and, in the *Breviary,* antiquated language about 'Roman' citizens and 'Latini'.[704] Similarly, the Burgundian *Liber Constitutionum* dealt with interactions between Burgundians and Romans (particularly land rights from *hospitalitas*) and included laws pertaining equally to both groups—in fact, more laws specified that *both* groups should obey them than not, suggesting a desire to treat all within the kingdom as equal parts of a common society whenever possible.[705] The former were basically territorial laws meant to apply to everyone in the kingdom, and the inclusion of some variation of the phrase 'Burgundian and Roman' may simply have reminded the reader of this; it does not necessarily mean that these were the only laws which applied to both peoples. As Patrick Amory rightly suggests, the phrase stands out and draws attention to the instances when it was *not* used, which we then assume applied only to Burgundians, but given how many there are, any assumption should be in favour of laws applying to both groups instead.[706]

The *hospitalitas* context, as well as the early date, may explain the opposition of the terms 'barbarian' and 'Roman' we see in these laws, adopting the language of Roman

[704] See above, pp. 60-81.
[705] Nine statutes mention Burgundians alone, seven illustrate interaction, twenty-three pertain equally to both, and two cover both interaction and equal treatment.
[706] Amory, 'Meaning and Purpose', p. 10.

legislation.[707] 'Barbarian' seems to be a synonym for Burgundian in all but one instance.[708] Those laws which applied strictly to Burgundians mostly concerned this issue of allotments, as well as marriage and inheritance matters which would determine how these allotments were passed down.[709] As the Franks were not settled by the empire, their code does not contain such passages.

The Burgundian counterpart to the *Breviary*, the *Lex Romana Burgundionum*, is shorter but was created with similar intent, as parts of a single legal package. It looks like other Roman law codes in both style and content, including the antiquated terms.[710] The Burgundian kings may have ordered its compilation and were clearly actively involved in maintaining it, as one enactment declared that it had been made 'because the value of the dead is not made evident in the Roman Law (*quia de preciis occisorum nihil evidenter Lex Romana constituit*)' and specified that in order to rectify this omission, 'our lord decrees [this] must be observed (*dominus noster statuit observandum*)'.[711]

All of these laws, in both the Burgundian and the Visigothic examples, stemmed from the presence of two different groups that had not yet been fully integrated into a single society; Romans and Burgundians, and Romans and Visigoths, still faced different issues in their daily lives and in their dealings with each other, and the laws which covered these issues reflect these differences.[712] Many of the passages which appear at first glance to suggest 'personality of law' in fact, after further reflection, suggest just the opposite: a collection of laws, most of which applied to all subjects, but containing a few laws which distinguished between Romans and Burgundians or Visigoths based on what difficulties had arisen in the past or were expected to

[707] *LC* LXXXIV.2, p. 107; *Constitutiones Extravagantes* XXI.12, p. 121. On the *hospitalitas* system, see above, p. 69.
[708] *LC* LXXIX.1, p. 103.
[709] Wood, '*Gentes*', p. 260; Matthew Innes, 'Land, Freedom, and the Making of the Medieval West', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Sixth Series)* 16 (2006), pp. 39-74.
[710] *Latini*: *LRB* XLIV.5, p. 161; *cives Romani*: *LRB* III.1-2, p. 127; *natione Romanus*: *LRB* XLV.4, p. 162.
[711] *LRB* II.5, p. 126. For a counterargument, see Ian Wood, 'The Code in Merovingian Gaul', in Jill Harries and Ian Wood (eds.), *The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity* (London, 1993), pp. 162-3.
[712] Amory, 'The Meaning and Purpose', p. 8.

arise in the future. Social status and the circumstances of events mattered as much as ethnic identity in the application of a particular legal statute to an individual.

The Franks, on the other hand, ruled in a different context. The territory which the early Salic law covered lay in the north, an area ceded by the Roman Empire early and without any formal treaties. Similarly, there might have been fewer people identified as 'Romans' in Salic territory than in Visigothic Aquitaine or Burgundy, and so they appeared less often and with lower wergelds. Finally, the shape of the *PLS* is considerably different from the others: not a relatively well-thought out and organized code modelled after Roman tradition, but more concerned with written law as what was expected. No early medieval law code was as consistent as we in modern times might like, but the *PLS* and its later 'descendant' the *Lex Ribuaria* were considerably less so than their contemporaries.

Conclusion

By the mid-Carolingian period, law codes existed for practically all of the named groups in Francia, from the Alamans and Bavarians to the Burgundians and the 'Salic' Franks themselves, and for this reason, historians have liked, until recently, to look at the Frankish kingdoms as thoroughly entrenched in the principle of 'personality of law'. However, during the sixth century, few of these codes had yet been compiled, and the earliest one actually promulgated by the Franks, the *Pactus legis Salicae*, rarely mentioned ethnicity at all, compared to later codes. Certainly the 'personality principle' was an important part of legal mentality beginning in the seventh century with the *Lex Ribuaria*, but it does not appear to have been so earlier. In addition, we have seen in both the Frankish codes and their Visigothic and Burgundian counterparts that even when contemporaries saw the laws as separate codes for separate peoples, they could not have functioned so precisely in practice and we should not assume that these ideals translated into strict division—or even the application of specific statutes *at all*—on the ground. It is time to get beyond the dichotomy of territorial versus

personal and see the sixth- and seventh-century Frankish codes as they were: a complex mixture of the two which must have been overlapping and ambiguous, even for contemporaries.

A more fruitful way to frame discussion of these codes is to focus on what the mindsets and intentions of the authors can tell us about expectations in their societies and about their perceptions of ethnic identities and law. The Frankish codes, in particular, stand out as not terribly practical; they were better suited as symbolic formalities than as guidebooks to legal practice. Because other Frankish sources did not cite specific statutes from the codes, we cannot tell whether or how they applied to people in actual judicial situations, but what we *can* tell is that legislators thought about people in an ethnic manner and saw them divided into multiple groups. The *PLS*, though it specified which ethnic groups its statutes applied to rarely in comparison with other codes, was named after one specific group in the land between the Carbonaria forest and the Loire. The *Lex Ribuaria*, *Liber Constitutionum*, and *Code of Euric* all legislated for different groups of people and noted these groups in specific statutes. This tells us that contemporaries expected difference rather than full integration and that this should be addressed.

The change we see between the early sixth-century *PLS* and the seventh-century *Lex Ribuaria* is, at first glance, a bit perplexing. The *Lex Ribuaria* appeared at a time when other sources such as Fredegar's *Chronicle* and various saints' *Lives* suggest an increase in political Frankishness. Why, when this political identity was clearly emerging as something broader than an individual's ethnic background, allowing greater integration, did a Frankish king issue a code promoting diversity? Why not do as the Visigoths did and attempt to draw everyone into a unified Frankish identity by requiring them to be judged under a single legal corpus? The answer may lie in the greater diversity the Franks had to deal with in their territory compared to the Visigoths in Iberia, and with the religious connotations ethnic unity carried in Spain. The Visigoths had two main groups to integrate—Romans and Sueves—and they quickly normalized their control; the Franks had Romans, Burgundians, Thuringians, Saxons, Alamans, and many

others who continually came under their dominion as they expanded eastward, as well as new territorial divisions, meaning there was always a relatively new group that was not well assimilated. Perhaps unitary legislation seemed too weighty a task, or less important than managing the expanding territory—or Frankish ideas of how political systems should work were simply far less uncompromising than Visigothic ideas. Additionally, the Franks had been Catholic from the early sixth century, while the Visigoths had mostly been Arian and the Romans mostly Catholic in Spain until the end of that century. Reccared converted the Visigoths to Catholicism at least partially to engender unity, and the sudden religious unity would have highlighted ethnic disunity all the more, making joint ethnic and religious unification a greater priority for the Visigothic kings. For the Franks and their Roman subjects, however, by the time Frankish society began to penetrate far enough south for Roman adoption of Frankishness to be an issue, the two had shared a common religion for well over a century.

For one reason or another, Dagobert and his successors chose diversity over unity. This may not have hampered the adoption of Frankish political identity (any more than infighting among its kings, anyway), provided that people felt it was possible to be both a Frank and a Roman simultaneously. It seems to me that the *Lex Ribuaria* suggests there were two layers of identity in the seventh century: a political Frankish identity which was becoming more widely adopted atop various ethnic identities. The *Lex Ribuaria* reflects a tolerance of ethnic otherness, whether already in society at the time it was issued or promoted via its issue, and theoretically guaranteed the right to continue being an ethnic 'other' while embracing Frankish overlordship. In such a climate, the continued presence of 'Romans' and others in the varied sources that survive for the seventh century becomes more understandable.

Section Conclusion

As with the Visigothic material, distinguishing between political and ethnic identities—and being specific about the particular meanings terms like 'Roman' and 'Frank' had in sixth- and seventh-century Gaul—allows us to see more nuances in the sources than we otherwise would. It also helps to clarify how Franks could so dominate Fredegar's narrative and yet a law code appearing within Fredegar's lifetime condoned ethnic diversity; how authors could choose to promote a political identity but not an ethnic one, or to champion 'Romanness' while embracing Frankish political hegemony; and how 'Roman' as an ethnic identity could survive so much longer in Gaul than in Spain. Much of what once seemed contradictory about ethnicity in Gaul can now be seen in a more complementary framework. Furthermore, each source gives its own unique testimony based on authorial goals and genre, providing an even more nuanced understanding. These different genres, rather than making it harder for historians to understand the role of ethnicity in Merovingian society, illuminate the same social shift from different angles and perspectives, reinforcing rather than contradicting the clear trend over the sixth and especially seventh centuries toward greater Frankish dominance.

Sixth-century Gaul was in many ways still a Roman world. Gregory of Tours, of Roman senatorial background himself, described people in both his *Histories* and his hagiographical writing according to the criteria that mattered most in a late Roman context: social status, city affiliation, and important parents and relatives. He frequently used the term 'senatorial' and lauded individuals thought to be descended from a senatorial family. Venantius Fortunatus included 'Romans' and 'barbarians' in his poetry and gave greater praise to characteristics ascribed to Romans than to those associated with barbarian Franks. Even when his patrons were 'barbarians' themselves, he wrote under the assumption that they would not be offended by the term or by the suggestion that Roman culture and character was superior. Both authors

conjured a strong sense of living 'Romanness'; for them, south of the Loire, Roman culture and tradition was alive and well, despite being less tangible without imperial service. The implicit assumption we see in their work and in the few additional sixth-century *Lives* is that a person was Roman unless otherwise specified, and, unless it fit a particular rhetorical goal and did not distract from a work's overall aims, it was not deemed necessary to label the numerous Romans therein. Thus we see that in his role as poet, often describing with figurative language, Fortunatus used 'Roman' and 'barbarian' for rhetorical emphasis, but within the more literally-worded and potentially verbose hagiographical genre, he refrained.

Hagiography, as a genre, did not preclude the use of ethnonyms within its Christian framework, but neither did it necessitate their inclusion. Hagiographers in both centuries wrote as others did: with a greater focus on local, Roman-style identifiers in the sixth century, more ethnic identifiers in the seventh century, and greater political identification under a Frankish banner as the seventh century progressed. This supports my idea that, contrary to Reimitz's argument, Gregory did not cut ethnicity from his story because he wrote with a Christian purpose; writing with this same aim did not prevent later authors from including ethnic and political identities, and there is no reason for it to be different for Gregory.

During the seventh century, Romanness began to fade. Some of this can be attributed to the greater number of northern and Frankish authors writing at this time, but much of it must stem from greater interaction among peoples and greater cross-pollination through intermarriage or the adoption of cultural traits. Ethnonyms as a whole appeared more frequently, including 'Roman'. The term's appearance in the *Life* of Eligius as exceptional, and in other *Lives* at all, suggests that 'Roman' was no longer assumed and therefore needed to be mentioned, probably because more people were becoming ethnic Franks. We also see a gradual increase in the use of 'Frank' as a political term, both in Fredegar's *Chronicle* and in a number of saints' *Lives*. Like Gregory, Fredegar also wrote with literal description, but the more mixed

society he described made the terms 'Frank', 'Roman', and 'Burgundian' more useful in this context.

Finally, we have the law codes, which present an ideal—a sense of what belongs in legislation and in society as a whole. Legal sources are normative rather than reflective of reality, and they often perpetuate old ideas and language carried over from earlier legal discourse. In the sixth-century *Pactus legis Salicae*, we see a similar blindness to specific identities as in Gregory and Fortunatus' writings, but this time with a Frankish focus; when Romans were to be treated differently than Franks, they were mentioned, and usually at a disadvantage, but often legislation focused solely on the Franks or on a generic 'someone'. As the Franks expanded their territory, however, they needed to address more peoples. We see in the *Lex Ribuaria* a desire to legislate differently for various peoples, which implies the continued existence of multiple ethnic groups; that the Franks did not see these peoples' existence as a threat to their political power, and codified special legislation for them in the seventh and eighth centuries rather than trying to force them all under one law, suggests a strong overall political identification with the Franks at this time, matching what we see in Fredegar's *Chronicle* and the saints' *Lives*.

As in Spain, rhetoric of Frankishness came to encompass both an overarching political identity and a narrower ethnic identity. However, the process of assimilation was far slower in Gaul than in Spain. Instead of the gradual disappearance of 'Roman' and eventually even the need to use 'Frank', ethnic terms remained abundant through the end of the seventh century, and the continual existence of ethnic diversity was protected in law. While the Roman world of Gregory and Fortunatus had evolved to become primarily Frankish, it contained great diversity under the Frankish surface.

Looking ahead to the eighth century, we see 'Roman' disappearing as it did in Spain. It is completely absent from narration for the years after 500 in the *Liber Historiae Francorum*, written by a Neustrian noble in 727, and only appears once outside this context in the mid-

eighth-century *Continuations* of Fredegar's *Chronicle*, in an anomalous passage about Carloman and Pippin overwhelming 'Romans' in Bourges in 762 set within descriptions of conflict with the Gascons in Aquitaine.[713] The *Vita Boniti*, which I have already mentioned, is the only *Life* to use the term.[714] Formularies from Clermont and Tours continued the antiquated legal language that included *lex Romana* and *cives Romani*, as in Spain.[715] These few Romans appear south of the Loire and, particularly in the case of Bourges, may suggest an increased territorial association with Romanness.[716] Unlike 'Goth' in Spain, 'Frank' continued to be used regularly: as 'king' or 'kingdom of the Franks' in texts and on coins, and for individuals by birth and without specification.[717] More law codes were, of course, introduced for new peoples, and these peoples were never completely assimilated, but across the sources, Franks appeared increasingly dominant as the eighth century progressed; the changes we saw in the seventh century had further consolidated, and 'Roman' had nearly disappeared.[718]

We can explain the difference between Merovingian Gaul and Visigothic Spain in three ways. One is the great diversity of peoples under Frankish dominion compared with those living under the Visigoths in Spain, which I have already noted. Another is the royal choice to sanction and even embrace ethnic diversity, rather than push for assimilation as the Goths had done in civil and canon law with their propaganda of unity (particularly focused on the religious sphere). Finally, the Visigoths from the time of Reccared generally had one king ruling the whole kingdom (or civil war to decide who he should be), and had an external enemy on their doorstep against which they could distinguish themselves as a unified front. That this external enemy was the

---

[713] Fredegar, *Continuations* 25, p. 180. About these sources, see above, p. 172.
[714] See above, p. 206.
[715] *Formulae Arvernenses*, in Zeumer, 3-4, p. 30; and *Formulae Turonenses*, in Zeumer, 12, p. 141; 15, p. 143; 20, p. 146; 22, p. 147; 24-5, pp. 148-9; 29, p. 152; 32, p. 154; Appendix 2, p. 165. On Spain, see above, pp. 64-6, and Appendix 2, p. 248-9.
[716] On Romans in Aquitaine, see Rouche, *L'Aquitaine*, pp. 87-132, 387-422.
[717] Individuals: Fredegar, *Continuations* 2, p. 169 (Bodilo); 3-4, p. 170 (Anseghysil and Ermfred); 8, p. 173 (Ragamfred); and *Vita Filiberti abbatis Gemeticensis et Heriensis*, in *MGH SSRM* V 24, p. 596 (Ebroin). Other uses, for example: *Vita Filiberti* 11, p. 591; *Vita Audoini* 13, p. 562; 4, p. 556; Fredegar, *Continuationes* 18, p. 176; 41, p. 186; *Liber Historiae Francorum* 11, p. 255; 45, p. 318. See also Garipzanov, *Symbolic Language*, pp. 122, 132, 149.
[718] See above, p. 222.

'Romans' would have a huge mental impact, encouraging those loyal subjects of the Visigoths who were of Roman descent—faced with a stark contrast between themselves and these other 'Romans', and surrounded by a common social discourse that fashioned Romans as outsiders—to see themselves as more Gothic than Roman. In contrast, the Franks continued the practice of dividing Frankish lands under multiple kings. This would have hampered the ability of both kings and subjects to see an overarching Frankish identity holding all of them together as *the* dominant identity that all would inevitably take on; what did ethnic division into Romans, Burgundians, and Saxons matter when Frankish identity—both politically and ethnically—was also regularly divided? Unity was not something to be had in sixth- and seventh-century Francia, if not because of initial diversity of its population then because of political strategies of its kings. However, ethnic unity does not seem to have necessary; across all of the Merovingian sources, we see that someone's descent may have meant legal disadvantage or different expectations, but it did not prevent participation in and support of the Frankish kingdom on a political level—the level that undoubtedly mattered most to the ruling Franks.

Conclusion

Identity is a fundamental aspect of our existence and of our interaction with our environment. Our perceptions of who we and others are profoundly affect what we do and how we describe our actions and interactions.[719] As historians, we have a glimpse into the social world of the past through the descriptions authors left behind, and these descriptions bear the mark of their authors' motives, experiences, and identities—themselves marked by the society around them—and can therefore provide hints as to which identities mattered, how they were constructed, and what the consequences of their importance were at the time. In seeking to understand how Roman identity lost relevance and Gothic and Frankish political and ethnic identities were adopted in sixth- and seventh-century Spain and Gaul, I have examined many authors' descriptions to draw out these elements. In this study, we have seen that authors like Gregory of Tours, whose society retained many Roman characteristics, saw themselves and others through a Roman lens, leading them to write about 'barbarians' and 'senators', eloquence and civility, and home cities and notable relatives. We have also seen that later authors like Fredegar and Isidore of Seville wrote within a different framework, projecting images of a far more Frankish or Gothic society, and reinforcing these very images through the act of relating them. That they saw themselves and many of their countrymen as Franks or Goths indicates that an important mental shift had begun to take place between Gregory's time and their own, and the emphasis on political language in Fredegar's writing and on unified political, ethnic, and religious rhetoric in Isidore's reveals how these identities were reconstructed in ways that facilitated the shift from Roman to Frank or Goth.

Over the course of the sixth and seventh centuries, what it meant to be Roman changed dramatically. For most of the fifth century, the Roman Empire still existed in the West, and its citizens were still politically Roman, serving in imperial offices and being, at least nominally,

[719] Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 3rd ed. (Abingdon, 2008), p. 13; Pohl, 'Strategies of Identification'.

under Roman rule. While on a local level, many of them were ruled by barbarian federates, the fact that these federates were supposedly managing on behalf of Rome provided an illusion of Roman control even if actual Roman control was shaky. By the sixth century, however, the Western Empire was gone beyond all illusion, and former Roman citizens had become clear subjects of barbarian kings; their most essential identity—Roman—no longer matched the political state(s) in which they lived. Many aspects of their lives, however, were much the same: in southern Gaul especially, Romans maintained a similar culture, social structure, and set of world views as they had before. They were culturally and ethnically Roman, but no longer politically Roman.

The words they used to express their experiences reflected this 'Roman' milieu. Venantius Fortunatus contrasted 'Roman' with 'barbarian' as was common in antiquity; being 'Roman' meant being civilized, cultured, educated, and otherwise privileged, and being 'barbarian' predisposed a person to incivility and uncouthness, and was often a handicap, though not an insurmountable one. He used 'Roman' to depict both cultural and ethnic aspects of identity, and preferred 'barbarian' to 'Frank'. His contemporary, Gregory of Tours, preferred not to use ethnonyms often, choosing instead identities operating on a more local level, such as city, parents, and social status. This was common language in the Roman world, and Gregory and his contemporaries were still very immersed in the social structures and mindsets of that world. He placed particular emphasis on the term 'senator', a term anchored in the imperial bureaucracy, in the same cultural and ethnic senses as Fortunatus used 'Roman'; no longer able to refer to participation in an Empire-wide senate, the term came to indicate descent and the trappings of upper class life which often accompanied it. In writing about the sixth century, the authors of the *Lives of the Fathers of Mérida* and the *Life* of Aemilian also used 'senator', and the related *curialis*, but seemingly to refer to important local magnates in Lusitania and Cantabria who fulfilled similar functions in their communities to those of senators and *curiales* of the imperial era. They saw the sixth-century world as still a deeply Roman social landscape, in many

ways the same despite functioning under new masters. John of Biclar's *Chronicle*, however, reveals an important mental shift. By reserving 'Roman' for the East Roman Empire, which fought the Visigoths in the second half of the century, he signalled a detachment of those of Roman descent in Spain from that identity; politically they were Goths, and when contrasted with 'Roman' outsiders, this Gothic facet of their identity may have seemed more immediate than their Roman heritage.

In the seventh century, the Western Empire faded into a more remote past; almost no one alive then in Spain and Gaul had experienced imperial rule first-hand, and thus Roman identity had lost much of its resonance for these later generations. People born to Roman parents under barbarian rule who participated in a mixed society and a barbarian army and court are likely to have identified more strongly with these barbarians than with their distant Roman ancestors. Politically, they were Franks or Goths, and many of them came to adopt these identities in an ethnic sense too. Their society came to have a greater mix of cultural and social elements, so that Roman social structure and mindsets no longer dominated as they once had, but rather a hybrid of Roman and barbarian understandings and experiences of the world emerged through the intermixing of the two groups.

We see this transformation in the changing ways authors used ethnonyms—which ones they selected, and which facets of identity they used these ethnonyms for. In Spain, Romans appeared less frequently in the sources and disappeared completely from all but formulaic 'legalese' after 655. Like John, Isidore of Seville reserved 'Roman' for the Byzantines, but unlike John he was actively hostile toward them, seeing in them not the pinnacle of civilization or a fellow Christian community but foreign invaders whose Christianity was less 'Catholic' than that of his Gothic rulers. He saw Spain as a Gothic society and used language of the *gens et patria Gothorum* in his *History* and the church councils he presided over to both express this vision and encourage greater political, ethnic, and religious unity in the Visigothic kingdom under an inclusive Gothic identity. In Gaul, Gregory and Fortunatus' 'Roman' language gradually gave way

to a greater use of ethnonyms overall and of their political aspects in particular. Fredegar (as one person or many) was almost certainly not of Roman descent and seems to have spent more time in northern regions of the Frankish kingdoms than in the south. His frequent mention of Franks as both individuals and a political unit reflect this experience—and the expectation that experience engendered in him that Franks dominated society in Gaul. Many hagiographers wrote in a similar vein, and when they did mention 'Romans' it was increasingly as exceptions; Audoin of Rouen only brought up Eligius of Noyon's Romanness in the context of a northern community rejecting a man they saw as a foreigner and outsider.

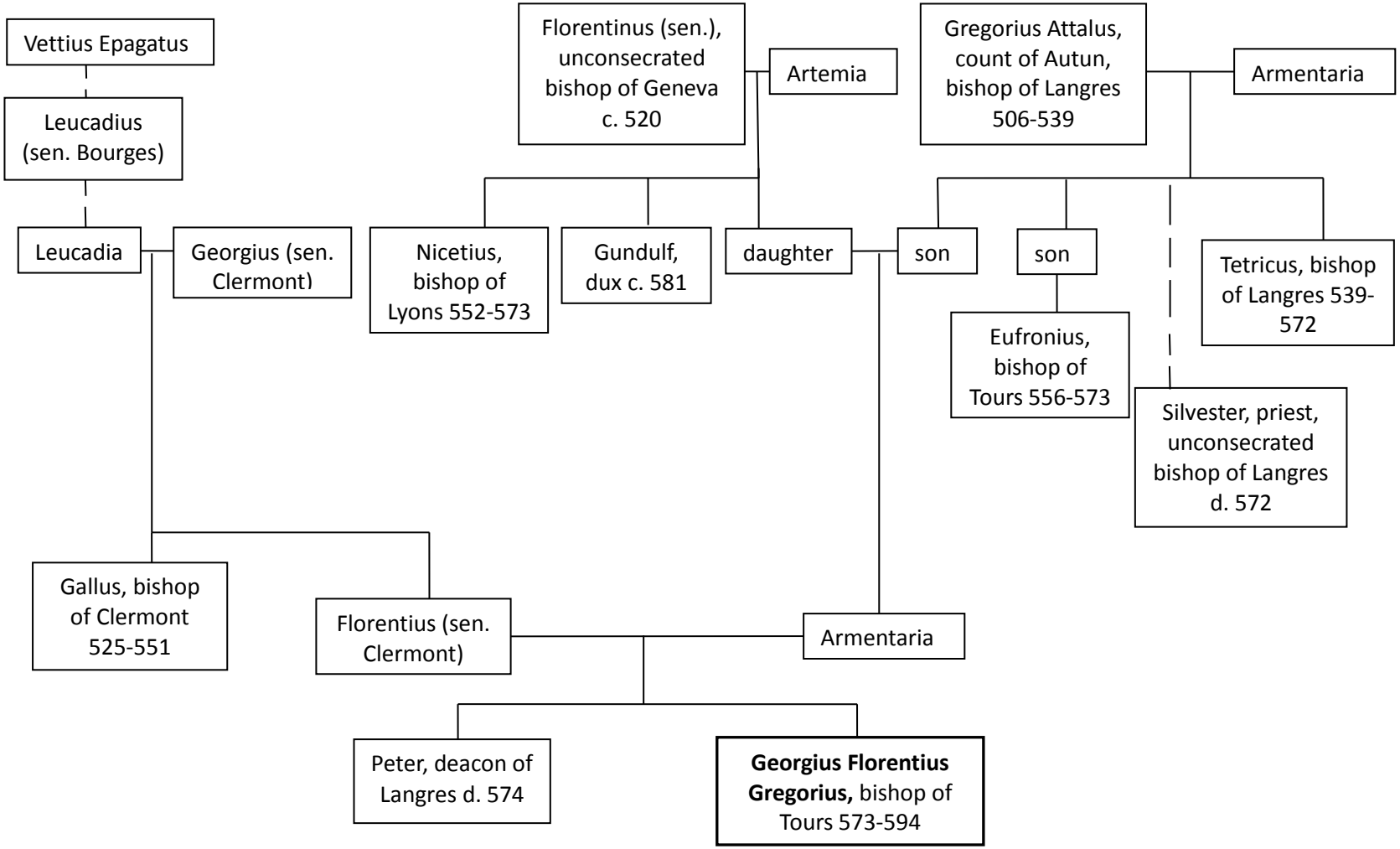
Finally, by the eighth century, Roman had ceased to be a meaningful identity within Visigothic Spain, and, while it remained in Gaul, its frequency and significance continued to fade. In Spanish sources, by the late seventh century, 'Roman' had disappeared and even 'Goth' was less frequent, with the latter identity so ubiquitously adopted as to not merit mentioning. Arab conquest of the bulk of Iberia from 711 put a halt to further development of this unity, but Gothic identity would be revived as a marker of heritage and a potentially unifying rallying point for reconquest in later centuries. Within Gaul, 'Roman' became yet more of an anomaly, restricted to the south and to legal language, while Frankish identity clearly dominated in authors' minds, experiences, and narratives.

The sixth and seventh centuries in Spain and Gaul were a transition period—a bridge between two worlds. On one side lay the Roman Empire, extolled by contemporaries as the bearer of civilization to a huge expanse of territory, nurturing eloquence, honour, and civility. On the other lay the medieval world, divided among various kings—still retaining elements of Roman culture and administration, but with new loyalties, customs, goals, and identities. The image of Rome would still inspire—kings would adopt imperial trappings to enhance their power, scholars would continue to embrace the Latin language and the rhetorical styles associated with ancient eloquence, and the ideological power of the city itself would be harnessed by popes seeking to secure dominance—but it was no longer current. Society had

moved on, new polities had formed, and with it new political and ethnic affiliations. As we have seen by examining the changing use of ethnonyms in contemporary sources, Hispano- and Gallo-Romans gradually came to associate themselves politically with their new rulers, and as they did so, their connection to this Roman past became increasingly remote, and most of them would, over generations, come to identify ethnically as Goths and Franks. In the wake of this political shift, their social landscape and their experiences of the world—and consequently the identity they held as most essential and deeply rooted—had ceased to be 'Roman'.

As we have seen in this study, the diverse forms of identity which mattered to residents of sixth- and seventh-century Spain and Gaul played a profound role in changing both their mental and their social landscape. Historians have often, in the past, conflated ethnic, religious, political, and other identities and then become confused by what appeared to be instantaneous or nonsensical changes to these identities or to the societies studied. However, these modes of identification, while they often overlapped and reinforced each other, were not the same and could affect views and behaviour in very different ways. This study has set out a new way to conceptualize identities which can help us penetrate these complex layers of identification. By distinguishing among the nuances with which ethnonyms were used, we can more clearly see how identity shifts happened and what their consequences were, taking us one step closer to comprehending mental and social change—both in the post-Roman West and in our own, modern world.

Appendix 1: Gregory's Family Tree



Appendix 2: Additional Sources

While I discussed the most important sources for my period in the main text, there are many which I did not have the space to address. This appendix lists those sources and how the main ethnic identities in question (Roman, Goth, and Frank) appear in them. For the most part, they corroborate the testimony of those I discussed in detail.

Spain

Hagiography

- Isidore's *De viris illustribus* contains thirty-three Lives. 'Frank', 'Goth', and 'Roman' do not appear except as already noted.
- Ildefonsus, bishop of Toledo (657-667), wrote a *De viris illustribus* which contains none of the above ethnonyms.[719]
- Julian of Toledo wrote a *Life* of Ildefonsus, which contains no ethnonyms.[720]
- The anonymous *Life* of Fructuosus of Braga (d. 665), written c.680, states that Isidore was famous for renewing 'the doctrine of the Romans (*dogmata … Romanorum*)', possibly in contrast with remaining elements of Arianism. Second, it notes that Fructuosus was born to a duke of 'the Spanish army (*exercitus Spaniae*)' and 'sprung from royal family (*regali progenie exortus*)'. This is contemporary with the shift from 'Gothic' to 'Spanish' which I have discussed (above, pp. 106-11).[721]
- A *Passionary* containing numerous *Lives*, compiled in the late seventh or early eighth century, survives, but it does not include ethnonyms.[722]

[719] Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De viris illustribus*, ed. Carmen Codoñer Merino (Salamanca, 1972) 3, p. 120; A.T. Fear (ed.), *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers* (Liverpool, 1997) 3, pp. 111-12.
[720] Julian of Toledo, *Beati Hildefonsi Elogium*, in *PL* 96, cols. 43–4.
[721] *Vita sancti Fructuosi*, ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, *La vida de San Fructuoso de Braga: estudio y edición crítica* (Braga, 1974) 1, pp. 80-81; 2, pp. 82-3.
[722] *Pasionario hispánico*, ed. Pilar Riesco Chucca, (Seville, 1995).

Letters

- By Braulio of Saragossa, in addition to the letter to Pope Honorius, already mentioned, forty-four others survive, and none use the ethnonyms above.
- The *Epistolae Wisigothicae* contains eight letters of Sisebut, with only the one to the Ostrogothic king and queen including ethnonyms. Two letters (#12-13) from Count Bulgar in Septimania to bishops in Theudebert's Frankish kingdom across the border, dated between 610 and 612, discuss the relationship between Theudebert and the *gens Gothorum*. The other nine letters contain no ethnonyms.
- There are also letters by Montanus (c.523-c.531) and Eugenius (d. 657), bishops of Toledo, and from Isidore. None of the letters considered genuine contain ethnonyms. Eugenius also wrote some poems which do not use ethnonyms for contemporaries, and Isidore wrote the *Sententiae* which uses no ethnonyms.[723]

Church Councils

In addition to the fifteen councils I mentioned, a further nineteen have no ethnonyms. Most are local rather than kingdom-wide councils, and date to before 600.

Formulae

I have already mentioned the Visigothic Formulary (above, pp. 61 n. 173, 68-9) but not in detail. Three items are of interest in it:

- *Gotorum gens et regnum* appears in #9, and recurs in a charter from 891.
- Manumitted slaves are made 'Roman citizens (*cives Romani*)' according to formulae #2-5, which were reused in charters from the ninth century and later that were collected at the northern monastery of Celanova. While theoretically there could have been people claiming to be both ethnic and legal 'Romans' in the seventh century, there were certainly no ethnic Romans in the north by the ninth. Presumably, the concept of

[723] Montanus of Toledo, *Epistolae*, ed. J.P. Migne, in *PL* 65, cols. 51–60; Eugenius of Toledo, *Carmina et Epistolae*, ed. Friedrich Vollmer, in *MGH AA* XIV (Berlin, 1905), pp. 229–90; Isidore of Seville, *Epistolae*, ed. Gordon B. Ford and Faustino Arévalo, *The Letters of Isidore of Seville*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam, 1970); Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae*, ed. Pierre Cazier (Turnhout, 1998).

Roman citizenship survived as a legal status which gave the rights a Roman citizen would have had—easily recognizable in the fifth century as stemming from the Empire but an antiquated holdover whose origins may have been forgotten by the ninth century.

- Formula #20 stands out as a curious anomaly among Visigothic sources. It is one of the few formulae to include datable information, which places the original document in Córdoba in c.615. It is a marriage document which describes the bride as 'distinguished in merit and Gothic from senatorial lineage (*insigni merito et Geticae de stirpe senatus*)'. Luis García Moreno rightly notes that this means she was both Gothic *and* of senatorial lineage, not that there was a Gothic senate in seventh-century Córdoba. However, his (and others') contention that this 'senate' was actually the local *curia* seems far-fetched to me. We have little other evidence of 'senators' in Spain at this time, or of functioning bodies corresponding to the imperial *curia*, but we *do* have evidence in Gaul at this time of senatorial status as inherited from ancestors who were (or were thought to be) senators, and in this case, the bride may have had a senatorial ancestor in her family or a prominent ancestor who was called a 'senator' in his day because of his prominence. The formula also mentions the *morgengabe* or morning-gift as a particularly Gothic custom and long-established.[724]

Other

- The ascetic hermit Valerius of Bierzo (c.630-c.695) is thought to have written a handful works, three of which are collectively known as his 'autobiography'. The only relevant passage is the labelling of Hermenegild as 'king of the Goths' in *De vana saeculi sapientia*, one of the works not part of his 'autobiography'.[725]

[724] Luis A. García Moreno, 'Gothic Survivals in the Visigothic Kingdoms of Toulouse and Toledo', *Francia* 21, no. 1 (1994), p. 13; Luis A. García Moreno, 'En las raíces de Andalucía (ss. V-X): los destinos de una aristocracia urbana', *AHDE* 65 (1995), pp. 871–3; García Moreno, 'Building an Ethnic Identity'. See also above, pp. 57-9.

[725] Valerius of Bierzo, *Autobiographical Works*, ed. Consuelo Maria Aherne, *Valerio of Bierzo: An Ascetic of the Late Visigothic Period* (Washington, D.C., 1949); Valerius of Bierzo, *Opera*, in *PL* 87, cols. 425-31;

- The *Consularia Caesaraugustana*, a set of marginal notes for the chronicles of Victor of Tunnuna and John of Biclar, was once thought to be a chronicle in its own right, and called the *Chronicle of Saragossa*. The entries are very short, mostly noting the important people and places, and end at the year 568. *Gothi* appears often for Visigoths, and once *Ostrogothorum rex* for the king of the Ostrogoths.[726]

Gaul

Hagiography

-*With Ethnonyms*-

- The *Life* of Avitus of Orléans (d. 530), possibly written in the mid-sixth century, which names Childebert *Francorum princeps*.[727]
- The *Life* of John of Réomé (d. early sixth century), written by Jonas of Bobbio in the mid-seventh century, which uses *Francorum rex* twice.[728]
- The *Life* of Fursey (d. 650), written by 670, calling Clovis II *rex Francorum*. A related *Additamentum Nivialense*, probably written by a monk from Nivelles around Fursey's death, says Fursey's brother sought safety in 'the lands of the Franks (*terras Francorum*)' from violence in Ireland.[729]
- The *Visio Baronti*, written in 678 or 679, probably soon after events by a fellow monk who was present when Barontus had his vision, which uses *rex Francorum* once.[730]

-*Without Ethnonyms*-

- Bibianus of Saintes (mid-fifth-century), probably written in the mid-sixth century.

Roger Collins, 'The "Autobiographical" Works of Valerius of Bierzo: Their Structure and Purpose', in *Los visigodos*, pp. 425–42.

[726] *Consularia Caesaraugustana*, ed. Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann and Roger Collins, in *Victoris Tunnunensis Chronicon: cum reliquiis ex Consularibus Caesaraugustanis et Iohannis Biclarensis Chronicon*, *CCSL* 173A (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 1-55.

[727] *Vita Aviti confessoris Aurelianensis*, in *MGH SSRM* III, 12, p. 385.

[728] Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Iohannis abbatis Reomaensis*, in *MGH SSRM* III 16, p. 514; 17, p. 515.

[729] *Vita Fursei abbatis Latiniacensis*, in *MGH SSRM* IV I.9, p. 438; *Additamentum Nivialense de Fuilano*, in *MGH SSRM* IV, p. 449.

[730] *Visio Baronti monachi Longoretensis*, in *MGH SSRM* V, p. 394.

- Apollinaris of Valence (d. 520), written in the sixth century.
- Nicetius of Lyon (d. 573), written in the sixth century.
- Sulpicius of Bourges (d. 646), written by 671.
- Richarius (d. 640s), written in the seventh century.
- Romaricus (d. 653), written in the late seventh or early eighth century.
- and, the *Inventio Memmii* about the fourth century, written in the seventh.[731]

Letters

- Desiderius of Cahors' collection, already mentioned, contains no ethnonyms.
- The *Epistolae Austrasicae* collection of various people's letters, all from the sixth century, already mentioned, contains many to or from the Byzantine emperor, and these use 'Roman' to refer to the emperor or the empire. Occasionally they also mention 'the king of the Franks' and Franks generally. Once they use 'Romans' in a letter (no. 6) to Nicetius of Trier, c.550, which is unclear, but could refer to Gallo-Romans.
- There is also a collection of letters from Arles, including one (no. 45) from Pope Vigilius to Aurelianus mentioning the 'Goths' and the city of Rome, certainly referring to the Ostrogoths. No others have the above ethnonyms.[732]
- The *Epistolae aevi Merowingici collectae* contains seventeen letters from the sixth and seventh centuries. The relevant passages in them are: #4 (552) mentions a 'Roman cleric' in an ecclesiastical context; #6 (558-560) mentions the 'Franks' as an army in Italy; #9 (580) uses 'Roman Empire' for Byzantium; #13 (613) is addressed from Pope Boniface to Theoderic *rex Francorum*; #15 (c.645) is addressed from a bishop to a king and refers

[731] *Vita Bibiani vel Viviani episcopi Santonensis*, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 92-100; *Vita Apollinaris episcopi Valentinensis*, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 194-203; *Vita Nicetii episcopi Lugdunensis*, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 518-24; *Vita Sulpicii episcopi Biturigi*, in *MGH SSRM* IV, pp. 364-80; *Vita Richarii sacerdotis Centulensis primigenia*, in *MGH SSRM* VII, pp. 438-53; *Vita Romarici abbatis Habendensis*, in *MGH SSRM* IV, pp. 221-5; *Inventio Memmii episcopi Catalunensis*, in *MGH SSRM* V, pp. 363-7.

[732] *Epistolae Arelatenses*, ed. Wilhelm Gundlach, in *MGH Epistolae* III (Berlin, 1892), pp. 1–83.

to the king as *rex Francorum*, calls the bishop's spiritual flock 'Franks', and expresses the bishop's love for the king and 'all the Franks (*Francorum omnium*)'.[733]

- Caesarius of Arles left a small number of letters, with only one of particular interest here. A letter to Ruricius of Limoges, written in 506 after the Council of Agde, in the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse, referred to 'Spanish bishops' in relation to those within the kingdom who resided in Gaul.[734]
- Columbanus left six letters, one of which asserts that Christians are all members of one body, whether *Galli*, *Britanni*, *Iberi*, or whatever *gens*; and another which refers to a promise he made to Pope Boniface that the 'Roman church' would defend no heretic against the Catholic faith, clearly seeing himself as a representative of practices coming from the Roman see.[735]

Church Councils

There are thirty-seven church councils from sixth- and seventh-century Gaul from which we have surviving text. Of these, three have relevant passages (as below). The others include some from cities which were under Visigothic, Ostrogothic, or Burgundian rule early in the sixth century but later came under Merovingian control, and far more of them date to the sixth century than the seventh.[736]

- The First Council of Orléans (511) states that something was decreed by the ecclesiastical canons and Roman law, and mentions heretical clergy who were influenced by the 'Goths in their perversity (*in perversitate sua Gothi*)', presumably before the Franks conquered Visigothic Gaul in 507.[737]

---

[733] *Epistolae aevi Merowingici collectae*, ed. Wilhelm Gundlach, in *MGH Epistolae* III (Berlin, 1892), pp. 434–68.
[734] Caesarius of Arles, *Opera*, ed. Germain Morin, 2 vols. (Maredsous, 1937-1942); *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters*, trans. William E. Klingshirn (Liverpool, 1994).
[735] Columbanus, *Opera*, ed. and trans. G.S.M. Walker (Dublin, 1957).
[736] The most recent collection—*Les canons des conciles mérovingiens (VIe-VIIe siècles)*, ed. J. Gaudemet and B. Basdevant (Paris, 1989)—does not include all of these. The others come from *Concilia Galliae a.511-a.695*, ed. C. de Clercq, *CCSL* 148A (Turnhout, 1963).
[737] *Les canons*, 1, pp. 70-72; 10, pp. 78-9.

- The Council of Valence (c.529) calls Boniface *Romanae ecclesiae papa*.[738]
- The Second Council of Tours (567) declares that no one should ordain 'a Briton or a Roman' as bishop in Armorica without authorization, presumably because the metropolitan at Tours had faced challenges to his power in this regard. An ethnic sense may have been intended here, but possibly also a territorial sense, encompassing all living in Brittany or in 'Romania' across its border. Another canon refers to 'Roman law'.[739]

Formulae

- The Angers formulary was crafted in the late sixth century, with multiple references to 'Roman law', as already mentioned.[740]
- The Formulary of Marculf uses 'king/kingdom of the Franks' multiple times, and, as already mentioned, references Salic and Roman law once each. It also has two passages acknowledging ethnic diversity within the kingdom: I.8 grants a person the office of duke and states that all people living in his lands, 'whether Franks, Romans, Burgundians, or people of another origin (*tam Franci, Romani, Burgundionis vel reliquas nationis*)', will live by his rule; and I.40 orders a count to summon 'all your *pagenses*, Franks, Romans, and those of another origin (*omnes paginsis vestros, tam Francos, Romanos vel reliqua natione)*' in his lands to swear loyalty to the new king of a subkingdom. These create an image of a multiethnic kingdom with all peoples holding the same political affiliation.[741]

Wills

A small handful of wills survive from this period.[742] Two contain relevant passages (below). The rest are from: Remigius of Reims (pre-533), Caesarius of Arles (pre-542),

[738] *Concilia Galliae*, p. 82.
[739] *Les canons*, 9, pp. 354-5; 21[20], pp. 370-71. See also above, p. 207.
[740] See above, p. 219.
[741] *Formulae Marculfi* I.8, pp. 47-8; I.40, p. 68. About the formularies, see Alice Rio, *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf: Two Merovingian Legal Handbooks* (Liverpool, 2008). See also above, p. 219.
[742] Generally, see Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 206-14; Ulrich Nonn, 'Merowingische Testamente — Studien zum Fortleben einer römischen Urkundenform im Frankenreich', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 18 (1972), pp. 1–129.

Aridius and Pelagia (572), Ermintrude (early seventh century), Bishop Hadoind of Le Mans (645), Burgundofara of Faremoutiers (633 or 634), Adalgisel Grimo (634), Idda's son (c.690), Gammo and Adalgudis (697), and Irmina of Oeren (697 or 698).[743]

- The will of Ansoald, bishop of Poitiers (676-c.696) survives in a fragment, and describes someone as of Irish birth with a Roman name (probably meaning Latin): *ex genere Scotorum, nomen Romanum*.[744]
- Bishop Bertram of Le Mans' will (616) states that Clothar II 'ruled all the kingdom of the Franks (*rege totum regnum Francorum*)' and names slaves who should be freed, 'equally of Roman birth as of barbarian (*tam natione Romana quam et barbara*)', probably reflecting older legal language that paired 'Roman' with 'barbarian'.[745]

Charters

- Tardif includes one donation which refers to 'Roman law', probably in the same formulaic manner we have seen elsewhere (above, pp. 68-9, 234 n. 666, 261).[746]
- Many royal documents beginning with the king's name and the phrase *rex Francorum* appear in Lauer and Samaran's collection, and a few in Debus'. I have already mentioned this phrasing in Kölzer's collection.[747]
- Glöckner and Doll include one charter with a regnal date using *rex Francorum*.[748]

---

[743] Remigius' is found with the ninth-century *Vita Remigii episcopi Remensis* by Hincmar of Reims, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 336-9; Caesarius' is edited by Morin in *Opera*; those of Aridius and Pelagia, Ermintrude, Idda's son, Gammo and Adalgudis, and Irmina are in *Diplomata, chartae, epistolae, leges aliaque instrumenta ad res Gallo-Francicas spectantia*, ed. J.M. Pardessus, 2 vols. (Paris, 1843-1849), nos. 180, 452, 413, 442, and 449, respectively; Hadoind's is in *Actus pontificum Cennomannis in urbe degentium*, ed. G. Busson and Ambroise Ledru, (Le Mans, 1902), pp. 157-62; Burgundofara's appears in J. Guerot, 'Le testament de Ste. Fare: matériaux pour l'étude et l'édition critique de ce document', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 60 (1965), pp. 761-821; and Adalgisel Grimo's is in Wilhelm Levison, 'Das Testament des Diakons Aldgisel-Grimo von J. 634', in *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit* (Düsseldorf, 1948), pp. 118–38. See also K.H. Debus, 'Studien zu merovingischen Urkunden und Briefen', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 13, 14 (1967), pp. 1-109, 1-192.

[744] J. Tardif, 'Les chartes mérovingiennes de Noirmoutier', *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger* 22 (1898) 4, p. 789.

[745] *Actus pontificum Cennomannis*, p. 135.

[746] Tardif, 'Les chartes' 1, p. 783.

[747] *Les diplômes originaux des Mérovingiens*, ed. Jean Philippe Lauer and C. Samaran (Paris, 1908). See above, p. 135.

[748] *Traditiones Wizenburgenses*, ed. Karl Glöckner and Ludwig A. Doll (Darmstadt, 1979) 38, p. 694.

- The aforementioned (above, p. 146 n. 422) Boretius' *Capitularia Merowingica* contains nine charters. Two have no ethnonyms. #1 by Clovis after defeating the Visigoths in 507 calls the latter's lands the *patria Gothorum*. #3, a pact of Childebert and Clothar from between 511 and 558 calls elites *Francorum proceres*. #4, an edict of Chilperic from between 561 and 584, refers to the *lex Salica*. #5, an edict of Guntram (585), styles Guntram *rex Francorum*. #6 is the Treaty of Andelot (587) between Guntram and Queen Brunhild which Gregory of Tours' *Histories* preserves; through it, Brunhild secured the lands given to her sister, the murdered Galswinth, as a morning-gift on her arrival in the 'land of the Franks'. #7 is a decree of Childebert II (596) which calls him *rex Francorum* and sets out different penalties for a 'slave of the Franks (*servus Francorum*)' than a 'slave of the church (*servus ecclesiae*)' and for an *ingenuus* who was also a *Salicus* versus one who was a *Romanus*. #8, a precept of Clothar II from between 584 and 628, mentions 'Roman law' being used for Romans and calls the king *rex Francorum*.
- Those with no relevant ethnonyms are: the *Chartae latini antiquiores* collection, with a number of sixth- and seventh-century charters; a few more edited by Busson and Ledru; one about Saint-Denis edited by Julien Havet; and Georg Pertz's older *MGH* edition.[749]

Inscriptions

I have only found one relevant inscription from the period: an epitaph for Bishop Genesius of Clermont (d. c.662), thought to date to the seventh century. It states that he was of Roman *gens* and distinguished (or illustrious) by nation: *vir gente romanus, nacion clarus*. Compared with contemporary saints' *Lives*, *gens* rather than *genus* is

[749] *Chartae latinae antiquiores*, ed. A. Bruckner and R. Marichal, 49 vols. (Olten and Zurich, 1954-1998); Julien Havet, 'Questions mérovingiennes V: Les origines de Saint-Denis', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 51 (1890), pp. 5–62; *Diplomata maiorum domus e stirpe Arnulforum*, ed. Georg Pertz, in *MGH Diplomata imperii* (Hanover, 1872), pp. 89–110.

unusual, but it probably meant the same, and *nacion clarus* probably meant he was born to an illustrious family.[750]

Coins

Only three coins include the style *rex Francorum*, which would become more common for the Carolingians. Two were made in Paris for Clovis, and one for Dagobert.[751]

Other

- The *Chronicle* of Marius, bishop of Avenches (c.574-594), covers the years 455 to 581. Records for each year are brief and dated by Byzantine consulships. Most events pertain to the Frankish kingdoms (especially Burgundy) and Italy. As I have already noted, he regularly styled kings *rex Francorum* (or *Gothorum*, etc.); he also included Franks, Burgundians, and others as armies or residents. Occasionally he referred to the Byzantine Empire as 'Roman', but did not use the term for Gallo-Romans, only mentioning them as 'senators' whose lands were shared when the 'Burgundians' were initially settled by the empire.
- Both Caesarius and Columbanus left various theological writings, including sermons, monastic rules, and speeches to their brethren. Columbanus also wrote a few poems. None of these contain pertinent ethnonyms.[752]
- A list of officeholders under Dagobert I (d. 634) contains no ethnonyms.[753]

[750] *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la Renaissance carolingienne*, ed. Henri Irénée Marrou and Nancy Gauthier (Paris, 1975-), vol. 8, no. 25, pp. 138-44. These in-progress volumes are meant to update and augment *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule anterieure au VIIIe siècle*, ed. E. Le Blant, 2 vols. (Paris, 1856-1865).

[751] M. Prou, *Les monnaies mérovingiennes: catalogue des monnaies françaises de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1982) 686, p. 156; 687, p. 157; 1934, p. 400.

[752] Caesarius of Arles, *Opera*; Columbanus, *Opera*.

[753] M. Conrat, 'Ein Traktat über romanisch-fränkisches Ämterwesen', *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung* 29 (1908), pp. 239–60.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Actus pontificum Cennomannis in urbe degentium, ed. G. Busson and Ambroise Ledru, (Le Mans, 1902), pp. 157-62.

Additamentum Nivialense de Fuilano, in *MGH SSRM* IV, pp. 449-51.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, ed. and trans. John Carew Rolfe, *Loeb Classical Library*, 3 vols. (London, 1950-1952).

Annales Mettenses Priores, ed. B. von Simson, in *MGH SSRG* X (Hanover, 1905).

Audoin of Rouen, *Vita Eligii episcopi Noviomagensis*, in *MGH SSRM* IV, pp. 663-742. [*VE*]

Avitus of Vienne, *Opera*, ed. Rudolf Peiper, in *MGH AA* VI.2 (Berlin, 1883).

Baudonivia*, Vita sanctae Radegundis*, in *MGH SSRM* II, pp. 377-95.

Bobolen, *Vita Germani abbatis Grandivallensis*, in *MGH SSRM* V, pp. 25-40.

Braulio of Saragossa, *Epistolae*, ed. L. Riesco Terrero, *Epistolario de San Braulio* (Seville, 1975).

Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters, trans. William E. Klingshirn (Liverpool, 1994).

Caesarius of Arles, *Opera*, ed. Germain Morin, 2 vols. (Maredsous, 1937-1942).

Les canons des conciles mérovingiens (VIe-VIIe siècles), ed. J. Gaudemet and B. Basdevant (Paris, 1989).

Capitularia Merowingica, ed. Alfred Boretius, in *MGH Capitularia regum Francorum* I (Hanover, 1883), pp. 1-23.

Cassiodorus, *Variae*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, in *MGH AA* XII (Berlin, 1894).

Chartae latinae antiquiores, ed. A. Bruckner and R. Marichal, 49 vols. (Olten and Zurich, 1954-1998).

Chronicle of Albelda, ed. Juan Gil Fernández, in *Crónicas asturianas* (Oviedo, 1985), pp. 151-93.

Chronicle of Alfonso III, ed. Juan Gil Fernández, in *Crónicas asturianas* (Oviedo, 1985), pp. 113-50.

Codex Euricianus, ed. Álvaro d'Ors, *El Código de Eurico* (Rome, 1960). [CV]

Codex Theodosianus, ed. Theodor Mommsen and Paul Meyer (Berlin, 1905). [CTh]

Codices latini antiquiores, ed. E.A. Lowe, 12 vols. (Oxford, 1934-1971).

La colección canónica Hispana, ed. Gonzalo Martínez Díez, 6 vols. (Madrid, 1966-2002). [*CCH*]

Columbanus, *Opera*, ed. and trans. G.S.M. Walker (Dublin, 1957).

Concilia Galliae a.314-a.506, ed. C. Munier, *CCSL* 148 (Turnhout, 1963).

Concilia Galliae a.511-a.695, ed. C. de Clercq, *CCSL* 148A (Turnhout, 1963).

Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos, ed. J. Vives (Barcelona, 1963).

Consularia Caesaraugustana, ed. Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann and Roger Collins, in *Victoris Tunnunensis Chronicon: cum reliquiis ex Consularibus Caesaraugustanis et Iohannis Biclarensis Chronicon*, *CCSL* 173A (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 1-55.

Cyprian of Toulon, *Vita Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis*, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 433–501.

Cyprian of Toulon, *Vita Caesarii*, ed. Germain Morin, in *Sancti Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis opera omnia nunc primum in unum collecta*, vol. 2 (Maredsous, 1942), pp. 293-345.

Desiderius of Cahors, *Epistolae*, ed. Wilhelm Arndt, in *MGH Epistolae* III (Berlin, 1892), pp. 193-214.

Diplomata, chartae, epistolae, leges aliaque instrumenta ad res Gallo-Francicas spectantia, ed. J.M. Pardessus, 2 vols. (Paris, 1843-1849).

Diplomata maiorum domus e stirpe Arnulforum, ed. Georg Pertz, in *MGH Diplomata imperii* (Hanover, 1872), pp. 89–110.
Diplomata regum francorum e stirpe merovingica, ed. Theo Kölzer, 2 vols. (Hanover, 2001).
Les diplômes originaux des Mérovingiens, ed. Jean Philippe Lauer and C. Samaran (Paris, 1908).
Documentos de época visigoda escritos en pizarra (siglos VI-VIII), ed. Isabel Velázquez Soriano, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2000).
Epistolae aevi Merowingici collectae, ed. Wilhelm Gundlach, in *MGH Epistolae* III (Berlin, 1892), pp. 434–68.
Epistolae Arelatenses, ed. Wilhelm Gundlach, in *MGH Epistolae* III (Berlin, 1892), pp. 1–83.
Epistolae Austrasicae, ed. Wilhelm Gundlach, in *MGH Epistolae* III (Berlin, 1892), pp. 110–53.
Epistolae Wisigothicae, ed. Wilhelm Arndt, in *MGH Epistolae* III (Berlin, 1892), pp. 658-90.
Eugenius of Toledo, *Carmina et Epistolae*, ed. Friedrich Vollmer, in *MGH AA* XIV (Berlin, 1905), pp. 229–90.
Felix of Toledo, *Vita Juliani*, in *PL* 96, cols. 445-52.
Flodoard of Reims*, Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, ed. Martina Stratmann, in *MGH SS* XXXVI (Hanover, 1998).
Formulae Andecavenses, in Zeumer, pp. 1-25.
Formulae Arvernenses, in Zeumer, pp. 26-31.
Formulae Marculfi, in Zeumer, pp. 32-112.
Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi, ed. Karl Zeumer, in *MGH Leges* (Hanover, 1886). [Zeumer]
Formulae Turonenses, in Zeumer, pp. 125-65.
Formulae wisigothicae, ed. Juan Gil, in *Miscellanea wisigothica* (Seville, 1972), pp. 70–112.
Fredegar, *Chronica*, in *MGH SSRM* II, pp. 1-168.
Fredegar, *Continuationes*, in *MGH SSRM* II, pp. 168–93.
Genealogia domni Arnulfi, ed. G. Waitz, in *MGH SS* XIII (Hanover, 1881), pp. 245-6.
Gregory of Tours, *Gloria confessorum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, in *MGH SSRM* I, 2 (Hanover, 1969), pp. 284-370. [*GC*]
Gregory of Tours, *Gloria martyrum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, in *MGH SSRM* I, 2 (Hanover, 1969), pp. 34-111. [*GM*]
Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, ed. Wilhelm Levison and Bruno Krusch, in *MGH SSRM* I, 1 (Hanover, 1951). [*Historiae*]
Gregory of Tours, *Vita Martini*, ed. Bruno Krusch, in *MGH SSRM* I, 2 (Hanover, 1969), pp. 134-210.
Gregory of Tours, *Vita patrum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, in *MGH SSRM* I, 2 (Hanover, 1969), pp. 211-83. [*VP*]
Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, 3 vols. (Paris, 1978-1980).
Gregory the Great, *Registrum Epistolarum*, ed. Ludo Moritz Hartmann, *MGH Epistolae* I-II (Berlin, 1891-1899).
Hincmar of Reims, *Vita Remigii episcopi Remensis*, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 239-341.
Hydatius, *Chronica*, ed. R.W. Burgess, in *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana* (Oxford, 1993).
Ibn al-Qūṭīya, *History*, trans. David James, *Early Islamic Spain: The History of Ibn al-Qūṭīya* (London, 2009).
Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De viris illustribus*, ed. Carmen Codoñer Merino (Salamanca, 1972).
Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda, ed. J. Vives (Barcelona, 1942).

Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule anterieure au VIIIe siècle, ed. E. Le Blant, 2 vols. (Paris, 1856-1865).
Inventio Memmii episcopi Catalunensis, in *MGH SSRM* V, pp. 363-7.
Isidore of Seville, *Chronica*, ed. José Luis Martín, *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica, CCSL* 112 (Turnhout, 2003).
Isidore of Seville, 'The *Chronica Maiora* of Isidore of Seville', trans. Sam Koon and Jamie Wood, *e-Spania* 6 (2008). http://e-spania.revues.org/index15552.html.
Isidore of Seville, *De viris illustribus*, ed. Carmen Codoñer Merino, *El 'De viris illustribus' de Isidoro de Sevilla* (Salamanca, 1964). [*DVI*]
Isidore of Seville, *Epistolae*, ed. Gordon B. Ford and Faustino Arévalo, *The Letters of Isidore of Seville*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam, 1970).
Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911).
Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, trans. Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2006).
Isidore of Seville, *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum, et Suevorum*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, in *MGH AA* XI (Berlin, 1894), pp. 267–303. [*HGVS*]
Isidore of Seville, *Las Historias de los godos, vándalos y suevos de Isidoro de Sevilla: estudio, edición crítica y traducción*, ed. Cristóbal Rodríguez Alonso (León, 1975).
Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae*, ed. Pierre Cazier (Turnhout, 1998).
John of Biclar, *Chronica*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, in *MGH AA XI* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 211–20.
Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani abbatis discipulorumque eius*, in *MGH SSRM* IV, pp. 1-152. [*VC*]
Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Iohannis abbatis Reomaensis*, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 502-17.
Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Vedastis episcopi Atrebatensis*, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 399-427.
Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, in *MGH AA* V, 1 (Berlin, 1882), pp. 53–138.
Julian of Toledo, *Beati Hildefonsi Elogium*, in *PL* 96, cols. 43–4.
Julian of Toledo, *Historia Wambae regis*, in *MGH SSRM* V, pp. 501–26.
Julian of Toledo, *Insultatio*, in *MGH SSRM* V, pp. 526-9.
Leander of Seville, *De institutione virginum et contemptu mundi*, ed. Ángel Custodio Vega (Madrid, 1948).
Leges Saxonum, ed. Karl von Richthofen, in *MGH Leges in Folio* V (Hanover, 1875), pp. 1–102.
Lex Alamannorum, ed. Karl Lehmann, in *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 5,1 (Hanover, 1966), pp. 35–157.
Lex Baiwariorum, ed. Ernst von Schwind, in *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 5,2 (Hanover, 1926).
Lex Frisionum, ed. Karl von Richthofen, in *MGH Leges in Folio* III (Hanover, 1863), pp. 631–711.
Lex Ribuaria, ed. Franz Beyerle and Rudolf Buchner, in *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 3,2 (Hanover, 1954). [*LR*]
Lex Romana Burgundionum, ed. Ludwig Rudolf von Salis, in *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 2,1 (Hanover, 1892), pp. 122–63 [*LRB*]
Lex Romana Visigothorum, ed. Gustav Haenel (Leipzig, 1849). [*BA*]
Lex Thuringorum, ed. Karl von Richthofen, in *MGH Leges in Folio* V (Hanover, 1875), pp. 103–44.
Lex Visigothorum, ed. K. Zeumer, in *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* I (Hanover, 1902), pp. 33–456. [*LV*]
Liber Constitutionum sive Lex Gundobada, ed. Ludwig Rudolf von Salis, in *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 2,1 (Hanover, 1892), pp. 29–122. [*LC*]

Liber Historiae Francorum, in *MGH SSRM* II, pp. 215-328.
Marius of Avenches, *Chronica*, ed. Justin Favrod, in *La Chronique de Marius d'Avenches (455-581): texte, traduction et commentaire* (Lausanne, 1991).
Menander Rhetor, *Division of Epideictic Speeches*, ed. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson in *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford, 1981).
Montanus of Toledo, *Epistolae*, ed. J.P. Migne, in *PL* 65, cols. 51–60.
Panegyrici Latini, ed. C.E.V. Nixon, Barbara Saylor Rodgers, and R. A. B Mynors, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini* (Oxford, 1994).
Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos libri*, ed. M.P. Arnaud-Lindet in *Orose: Histoire contre les païens* (Paris, 1990).
Pactus legis Alamannorum, ed. Karl Lehmann, in *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 5,1 (Hanover, 1966), pp. 21–34.
Pactus legis Salicae, ed. Karl Eckhardt, in *MGH Leges nationum Germanicarum* 4,1 (Hanover, 1962). [*PLS*]
Pasionario hispánico, ed. Pilar Riesco Chucca (Seville, 1995).
Passio Leudegarii episcopi et martyris Augustodunensis, in *MGH SSRM* V, pp. 248-362.
Passio Praejecti episcopi et martyris Arverni, in *MGH SSRM* V, pp. 212-248.
Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz, in *MGH SSRL* (Hanover, 1878), pp. 45-187.
Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. Georg Pertz, in *MGH SS* II (Hanover, 1829), pp. 260-70.
Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la Renaissance carolingienne, ed. Henri Irénée Marrou and Nancy Gauthier (Paris, 1975-).
Ruricius of Limoges, *Epistulae*, ed. Bruno Krusch, in *MGH AA* VIII (Berlin, 1887), pp. 299–350.
Salvian of Marseille, *De gubernatione Dei*, ed. Charles Halm, in *MGH AA* I (Berlin, 1877), pp. 1-108.
Sidonius Apollinarius, *Poems and Letters*, ed. and trans. W.B. Anderson, 2 vols. (London, 1936-1965).
Sisebut, *Vita Desiderii episcopi Viennensis*, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 630-37.
The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions, trans. Clyde Pharr (Princeton, 1952).
Valerius of Bierzo, *Autobiographical Works*, ed. Consuelo Maria Aherne, *Valerio of Bierzo: An Ascetic of the Late Visigothic Period* (Washington, D.C., 1949).
Valerius of Bierzo, *Opera*, ed. J.P. Migne, in *PL* 87, cols. 425-31.
Venantius Fortunatus, *Opera pedestria*, ed. Bruno Krusch, in *MGH AA* IV, 2 (Berlin, 1885).
Venantius Fortunatus, *Poèmes*, ed. and French trans. Marc Reydellet, 3 vols. (Paris, 1994-2004). [*Poèmes*]
Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Germani episcopi Parisiaci*, in *MGH SSRM* VII, pp. 372-418.
Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Martini*, ed. Friedrich Leo in *MGH AA* IV, 1 (Berlin, 1881), pp. 293–370.
Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita sanctae Radegundis*, in *MGH SSRM* II, pp. 364-77. [*VR*]
Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Severini episcopi Burdegalensis*, in *MGH SSRM* VII, pp. 205-24.
Victor of Vita: History of the Vandal Persecution, trans. John Moorhead (Liverpool, 1992).
Visio Baronti monachi Longoretensis, in *MGH SSRM* V, pp. 368-94.
Vita abbatum Acaunensium, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 171-83.

Vita Amati abbatis Habendensis, in *MGH SSRM* IV, pp. 215-21.
Vita antiqua sancti Samsonis Dolensis episcopi [*Vita Secunda*], ed. R.P. Dom. Fr. Plaine, OSB, in *Analecta Bollandiana* 6 (1887), pp. 77-150.
Vita Apollinaris episcopi Valentinensis, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 194-203.
Vita Audoini episcopi Rotomagensis, in *MGH SSRM* V, pp. 536-67.
Vita Austrigisili episcopi Biturigi, in *MGH SSRM* IV, pp. 191-200.
Vita Aviti confessoris Aurelianensis, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 380-85.
Vita Bibiani vel Viviani episcopi Santonensis, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 92-100.
Vita Boniti episcopi Arverni, in *MGH SSRM* VI, pp. 110-39.
Vita Desiderii Cadurcae urbis episcopi, in *MGH SSRM* IV, pp. 563-602. [*VDC*]
Vita Domnae Balthildis, in *MGH SSRM* II, pp. 475-508.
Vita Filiberti abbatis Gemeticensis et Heriensis, in *MGH SSRM* V, pp. 569–606
Vita Fursei abbatis Latiniacensis, in *MGH SSRM* IV, pp. 434-40.
Vita Gaugerici episcopi Camaracensis, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 649-658.
Vita Genovefae, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 204-238.
Vita Nicetii episcopi Lugdunensis, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 518-24.
Vita patrum Iurensium, ed. François Martine, *Vie des pères de Jura* (Paris, 1968).
Vita Richarii sacerdotis Centulensis primigenia, in *MGH SSRM* VII, pp. 438-53.
Vita Romarici abbatis Habendensis, in *MGH SSRM* IV, pp. 221-5.
Vita Rusticulae sive Marciae abbatissae Arelatensis, in *MGH SSRM* IV, pp. 337-51.
Vita sanctae Geretrudis, in *MGH SSRM* II, pp. 447-74.
Vita sancti Arnulfi, in *MGH SSRM* II, pp. 426-446.
Vita sancti Fructuosi, ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, *La vida de San Fructuoso de Braga: estudio y edición crítica* (Braga, 1974).
Vita sancti Samsonis episcopi Dolensis [*Vita Prima*], ed. Pierre Flobert , *La vie ancienne de Saint Samson* (Paris, 1997).
Vita Severini abbatis Acaunensis, in *MGH SSRM* III, pp. 166–170.
Vita Sulpicii episcopi Biturigi, in *MGH SSRM* IV, pp. 364-80.
Vita Wandregiseli abbatis Fontanellensis, in *MGH SSRM* V, pp. 1-24.
Vitas sanctorum patrum Emeretensium, ed. Joseph N. Garvin (Washington, D.C, 1946). [Garvin]
Vitas sanctorum patrum Emeritensium, ed. A. Maya Sánchez (Turnhout, 1992). [*VSPE*]

Secondary Sources

Alonso Campos, J.I., 'Sunna, Masona, y Nepopis: Las luchas religiosas durante la dinastía de Leovigildo', in *Los visigodos*, pp. 151–7.
Álvarez García, Fernando, 'Tiempo, religión, y política en el "Chronicon" de Iohannis Biclarensis', *En la España Medieval* 20 (1997), pp. 9–30.
Amory, Patrick, 'Ethnographic Rhetoric, Aristocratic Attitudes, and Political Allegiance in Post-Roman Gaul', *Klio* 76 (1994), pp. 438–53.
Amory, Patrick, 'The Meaning and Purpose of Ethnic Terminology in Burgundian Law Codes', *EME* 2 (1993), pp. 1–28.
Amory, Patrick, 'Names, Ethnic Identity, and Community in Fifth and Sixth Century Burgundy', *Viator* 25 (1994), pp. 1–30.

Amory, Patrick, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489-554* (Cambridge, 1997).
Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983).
Arce, Javier, 'The City of Mérida (Emerita) in the *Vitas Patrum Emeritensium* (VIth Century A.D.)', in Chrysos/Wood, pp. 1–14.
Armstrong, John Alexander, *Nations Before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill, 1982).
Arndt, Ernst Moritz, 'Des Deutschen Vaterland', in *Fünf Lieder für deutsche Soldaten* (Berlin, 1813).
Arnheim, M.T.W., *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1972).
Auerbach, Erich, *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1993).
Bachrach, Bernard S., *Liber Historiae Francorum* (Lawrence, KS, 1973).
Bachrach, Bernard S., 'Pirenne and Charlemagne', in *ARF*, pp. 214–31.
Banks, Marcus, *Ethnicity: Anthropological Constructions* (London, 1996).
Banniard, Michel, 'Latin et communication orale en Gaule franque: le témoignage de la *Vita Eligii*', in Jacques Fontaine and J.N. Hillgarth (eds.), *The Seventh Century: Change and Continuity* (London, 1992), pp. 58-86.
Barceló, Miquel, 'Els "Hispani" de Qurtuba a Meitat del Segle III', *Faventia* 3, no. 2 (1981), pp. 185–91.
Barlow, Claude W., *Iberian Fathers*, vols. 62–3 of *Fathers of the Church* (Washington, D.C., 1969).
Barnish, Sam, 'Taxation, Land, and Barbarian Settlement in the Western Empire', *PBSR* 54 (1986), pp. 170–95.
Barnish, Samuel, 'Transformation and Survival in the Western Senatorial Aristocracy, c.400-700', *PBSR* 56 (1988), pp. 120-55.
Barnish, Samuel, and Federico Marazzi (eds.), *The Ostrogoths from the Migration Period to the Sixth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective* (San Marino, 2007). [*Ostrogoths*]
Barth, Fredrik (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (London, 1969).
Beltrán Torreira, F.M., El concepto de barbarie en la Hispania visigoda', in *Los visigodos*, pp. 53–60.
Bierbrauer, Volker, 'Archäologie und Geschichte der Goten vom 1.-7. Jahrhundert: Versuch einer Bilanz', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 28 (1994).
Bierbrauer, Volker, 'Zur ethnischen Interpretation in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie', in *Die Suche*, pp. 45–84.
Bowlus, C.R., 'Ethnogenesis: The Tyranny of a Concept', in *OBI*, pp. 241–256.
Brather, Sebastian, 'Ethnic Identities as Constructions of Archaeology: The Case of the Alamanni', in *OBI*, pp. 149–176.
Brather, Sebastian, *Ethnische Interpretationen in der Frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie: Geschichte, Grundlagen und Alternativen* (Berlin, 2004).
Brennan, Brian, 'The Image of the Frankish Kings in the Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus', *JMH* 10, no. 1 (1984), pp. 1–11.
Brennan, Brian, 'The Image of the Merovingian Bishop in the Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus', *JMH* 18, no. 2 (1992), pp. 115–39.
Brennan, Brian, 'Senators and Social Mobility in Sixth-Century Gaul', *JMH* 11, no. 2 (June 1985), pp. 145-161.

Breukelaar, Adriaan H.B., *Historiography and Episcopal Authority in Sixth-Century Gaul: The Histories of Gregory of Tours Interpreted in Their Historical Context* (Göttingen, 1994).
Brogiolo, Gian Pietro, 'Towns, Forts, and the Countryside: Archaeological Models for Northern Italy in the Early Lombard Period (AD 568-650)', in Brogiolo et al., pp. 299–323.
Brogiolo, Gian Pietro, Nancy Gauthier, and Neil Christie (eds.), *Towns and Their Territories Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2000). [Brogiolo et al.]
Brown, Elizabeth A. R., 'The Trojan Origins of the French and the Brothers Jean du Tillet', in *ARF*, pp. 348–84.
Brown, Peter, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981).
Brown, Peter, 'Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours', in his *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 222-50.
Brown, Peter R.L., *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000* (Cambridge, MA, 1996).
Brown, Peter R.L., *The World of Late Antiquity, AD 150-750* (New York, 1971).
Brubaker, Rogers, *Ethnicity Without Groups* (Cambridge, MA, 2006).
Brunner, Heinrich, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1887-1892).
Brunner, Heinrich, *Zur Rechtsgeschichte der römischen und germanischen Urkunde* (Berlin, 1880).
Burgess, R.W., *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitina* (Oxford, 1993).
Castellanos, Santiago, 'Aristocracias y dependientes en el Alto Ebro (siglos V-VIII)', *Studia historica. Historia medieval* 14 (1996), pp. 29–46.
Castellanos, Santiago, *La hagiografía visigoda: dominio social y proyección cultural* (Logroño, 2004).
Castellanos, Santiago, *Poder social, aristocracias y hombre santo en la Hispania Visigoda: la Vita Aemiliani de Braulio de Zaragoza* (Logroño, 1998).
Castellanos, Santiago, 'The Significance of Social Unanimity in a Visigothic Hagiography: Keys to an Ideological Screen', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11, no. 3 (2003), pp. 387–419.
Castro, Américo, 'Los visigodos no eran aún españoles', *Nueva revista de filología hispánica* 15, no. 1-2 (1961), pp. 1–3.
Chadwick, H. Munro, *The Nationalities of Europe and the Growth of National Ideologies* (Cambridge, 1945).
Christys, Ann, *Christians in Al-Andalus, 711-1000* (Richmond, 2002).
Chrysos, Evangelos, and Ian Wood (eds.), *East and West: Modes of Communication* (Leiden, 1999). [Chrysos/Wood]
Classen, Peter, 'Forleben und Wandel spätrömischen Urkundenwesens im frühen Mittelalter', in *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen, 1977), pp. 13–54.
Claude, Dietrich, *Adel, Kirche und Königtum im Westgotenreich* (Sigmaringen, 1971).
Claude, Dietrich, 'Remarks About Relations Between Visigoths and Hispano-Romans in the Seventh Century', in *SoD*, pp. 117–130.
Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley, 1986).
Coates, Simon, 'Regendering Radegund? Fortunatus, Baudonivia, and the Problem of Female Sanctity in Merovingian Gaul', in R.N. Swanson (ed.), *Gender and Christian Religion* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 37–50.

Coates, Simon, 'Venantius Fortunatus and the Image of Episcopal Authority in Late Antique and Early Merovingian Gaul', *EHR* 115, no. 464 (November 2000), pp. 1109-1137.
Collins, Richard, 'Observations on the Form, Language, and Public of the Prose Biographies of Venantius Fortunatus in the Hagiography of Merovingian Gaul', in Howard B. Clarke and Mary Brennan (eds.), *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 105-31.
Collins, Roger, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710-797* (Oxford, 1994).
Collins, Roger, 'The "Autobiographical" Works of Valerius of Bierzo: Their Structure and Purpose', in *Los visigodos*, pp. 425–42.
Collins, Roger, '¿Dónde estaban los arrianos en el año 589?', in *El Concilio III de Toledo: XIV Centenario, 589-1989* (Toledo, 1991).
Collins, Roger, *Early Medieval Europe, 300-1000*. 3rd ed. (Basingstoke, 2010).
Collins, Roger, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke, 1995).
Collins, Roger, *Fredegar*, Authors of the Middle Ages no. 13 (Aldershot, 1996).
Collins, Roger, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken* (Hanover, 2007).
Collins, Roger, 'Isidore, Maximus, and the *Historia Gothorum*', in Scharer/Scheibelreiter, pp. 345–58.
Collins, Roger, 'Law and Ethnic Identity in the Western Kingdoms in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries', in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe* (New York, 1998), pp. 1-23.
Collins, Roger, 'Mérida and Toledo: 550-585', in James (ed.), pp. 189–219.
Collins, Roger, '"*Sicut lex Gothorum continet*": Law and Charters in Ninth- and Tenth-Century León and Catalonia', in Roger Collins, *Law, Culture, and Regionalism in Early Medieval Spain* (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 489–512.
Collins, Roger, *Visigothic Spain, 409-711* (Oxford, 2004).
Conant, Jonathan, *Staying Roman: Conquest and Identity in Africa and the Mediterranean, 439-700* (Cambridge, 2012).
Conrat, M., 'Ein Traktat über romanisch-fränkisches Ämterwesen', *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung* 29 (1908), pp. 239–60.
Coon, Lynda L., *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 1997).
Cornell, Stephen, and Douglas Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, 2007).
Corradini, Richard, Max Diesenberger, and Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Boston, 2003). [*Construction*]
Corradini, Richard, Rob Meens, Christina Pössel, and Philip Shaw (eds.), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages* (Vienna, 2006). [*T&I*]
Coumert, Magali, *Origines des peuples: Les récits du haut moyen âge occidental (550-850)* (Paris, 2007).
Courcelle, Pierre, *Histoire littéraire des grandes invasions germaniques*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1964).
Curta, Florin, 'From Kossinna to Bromley: Ethnogenesis in Slavic Archaeology', in *OBI*, pp. 201–220.
Curta, Florin, *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500-700* (Cambridge, 2001).

Curta, Florin, 'review of Sebastian Brather, Ethnische Interpretationen in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie: Geschichte, Grundlagen und Alternativen', *Archaeologica Bulgarica* 10 (2006), pp. 91–4.

Curta, Florin, 'Some Remarks on Ethnicity in Early Medieval Archaeology', *EME* 15, no. 2 (2007), pp. 159–185.

Cusack, Carole M., 'review of Andrew Gillett (ed.), On Barbarian Identity', *Parergon* 20, no. 1 (2003), pp. 227–229.

d'Ors, Álvaro (ed.), *El Código de Eurico* (Rome, 1960).

Dahn, Felix, *Das Kriegsrecht* (Würzburg, 1870).

Dahn, Felix, *Westgothische Studien: Entstehungsgeschichte, Privatrecht, Strafrecht, Civil- und Straf-process und Gesammtkritik der* Lex Visigothorum (Würzburg, 1874).

de Jong, Mayke, 'Adding Insult to Injury: Julian of Toledo and His *Historia Wambae',* in *Visigoths*, pp. 373–402.

de Nie, Giselle, *Views from a Many-Windowed Tower: Studies of Imagination in the Works of Gregory of Tours* (Amsterdam, 1987)

de Vos, George A., 'Ethnic Pluralism: Conflict and Accommodation', in Lola Romanucci-Ross and George A. de Vos (eds.), *Ethnic Identity: Creation, Conflict, and Accommodation*, 3rd ed. (London, 1995), pp. 15–47.

Debus, K.H. , 'Studien zu merovingischen Urkunden und Briefen', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 13, 14 (1967), pp. 1–109, 1–192.

Delaruelle, E., 'Sainte Radegonde, son type de sainteté et la chrétienté de son temps', in *Études mérovingiennes: Actes de Journées de Poitiers* (Paris, 1953), pp. 65–74.

Delehaye, Hippolyte, *The Legends of the Saints: An Introduction to Hagiography* (Dublin, 1998).

Demandt, Alexander, 'The Osmosis of Late Roman and Germanic Aristocracies', in Evangelos Chrysos and Andreas Schwarcz (eds.), *Das Reich und die Barbaren* (Vienna, 1989), pp. 75–85.

Devroey, Jean-Pierre, 'Juifs et syriens: à propos de la géographie économique de la Gaule au haut Moyen Âge', in Jean-Marie Duvosquel (ed.), *Peasants and Townsmen in Medieval Europe* (Ghent, 1995), pp. 51–72.

Díaz, Pablo C., 'City and Territory in Hispania in Late Antiquity', in Brogiolo et al., pp. 3–36.

Díaz, Pablo C., and Maria R. Valverde, 'The Theoretical Strength and Practical Weakness of the Visigothic Monarchy of Toledo', in Frans Theuws and Janet L. Nelson (eds.), *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 59–94.

Díaz, Pablo C., and Rosario Valverde, 'Goths Confronting Goths: Ostrogothic Political Relations in Hispania', in *Ostrogoths*, pp. 353–86.

Dopsch, Alfons, *The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization* (New York, 1937).

Drew, Katherine Fischer, *The Burgundian Code* (Philadelphia, 1949).

Drew, Katherine Fischer (ed.), *The Laws of the Salian Franks* (Philadelphia, 1991).

Drews, Wolfram, 'Jews as Pagans? Polemic Definitions of Identity in Visigothic Spain', *EME* 11 (2002), pp. 189–207.

Drews, Wolfram, *The Unknown Neighbour: The Jew in the Thought of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden, 2006).

Drinkwater, J. F., and Hugh Elton (eds.), *Fifth-Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?* (Cambridge, 1992). [Drinkwater/Elton]

Dubois, Jacques, and Jean-Loup Lemaitre, *Sources et méthodes de l'hagiographie médiévale* (Paris, 1993).

duQuesnay Adams, Jeremy, 'Ideology and the Requirements of Citizenship in Visigothic Spain: The Case of the Judaei', *Societas* 2 (1972), pp. 317–32.
duQuesnay Adams, Jeremy, 'The Political Grammar of Early Hispano-Gothic Historians', in D.J. Kagay and J.T. Snow (eds.), *Medieval Iberia: Essays on the History and Literature of Early Medieval Spain* (New York, 1997), pp. 1–25.
duQuesnay Adams, Jeremy, 'The Political Grammar of Isidore of Seville', in *Arts libéraux et philosophie au Moyen Âge: IVe Congrès international de philosophie médiévale* (Paris, 1969), pp. 763–75.
Durliat, Jean, 'Cité, impôt, et intégration des barbares', in *KoE*, pp. 153–180.
Durliat, Jean, 'Le salaire de la paix sociale dans les royaumes barbares', in Herwig Wolfram and Andreas Schwarcz (eds.), *Anerkennung und Integration: Zu den wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen der Völkerwanderungszeit (400-600)* (Vienna, 1988), pp. 21–72.
Ebling, Horst, Jörg Jarnut, and Gerd Kampers, '*Nomen* et *gens*: Untersuchungen zu den Führungsschichten des Franken-, Langobarden-, und Westgotenreiches im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert', *Francia* 8 (1980), pp. 687-745.
Effros, Bonnie, *Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 2003).
Effros, Bonnie, *Uncovering the Germanic Past: Merovingian Archaeology in France, 1830-1914* (Oxford, 2012).
Elton, Hugh, 'Defining Romans, Barbarians, and the Roman Frontier', in *Shifting Frontiers*, pp. 126-35.
Engels, Friedrich, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (Harmondsworth, 1985).
Eriksen, Thomas Hylland, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives* (London, 1993).
Ewig, Eugen, *Die Merowinger und das Frankenreich* (Stuttgart, 2001).
Ewig, Eugen, *Trier im Merowingerreich: Civitas, Stadt, Bistum* (Trier, 1954).
Ewig, Eugen, 'Volkstum und Volksbewusstsein im Frankreich des 7. Jahrhunderts', in *Spätantikes und frankisches Gallien* (Munich, 1979), pp. 231-73.
Fanning, S., 'Emperors and Empires in Fifth-Century Gaul', in Drinkwater/Elton, pp. 288-97.
Farrell, Joseph, *Latin Language and Latin Culture: From Ancient to Modern Times* (Cambridge, 2001).
Favrod, Justin, *Histoire politique du royaume burgonde (443-534)* (Lausanne, 1997).
Fear, A.T. (ed.), *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers* (Liverpool, 1997).
Fehr, Hubert, 'Volkstum as Paradigm: Germanic People and Gallo-Romans in Early Medieval Archaeology since the 1930s', in *OBI*, pp. 177–200.
Ferreiro, Alberto (ed.), *The Visigoths: Studies in Culture and Society* (Leiden, 1999). [Ferreiro (ed.)]
Ferris, I. M., *Enemies of Rome: Barbarians Through Roman Eyes* (Stroud, 2000).
Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, *Addresses to the German Nation*, trans. R.F. Jones and G.H. Turnbull (London, 1922).
Fontaine, Jacques, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique* (Paris, 1959).
Fontaine, Jacques, *Isidore de Séville: genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths* (Turnhout, 2000).

Fontaine, Jacques, 'King Sisebut's *Vita Desiderii* and the Political Function of Visigothic Hagiography', in James (ed.), pp. 93-130.
Fouracre, Paul, *The Age of Charles Martel* (Harlow, 2000).
Fouracre, Paul, 'Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography', *Past and Present* 127 (1990), pp. 3–38.
Fouracre, Paul, 'The Work of Audoenus of Rouen and Eligius of Noyon in Extending Episcopal Influence from the Town to the Country in Seventh-Century Neustria', *Studies in Church History* 16 (1979), pp. 77-91.
Fouracre, Paul, and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, 640-720* (Manchester, 1996). [Fouracre/Gerberding]
Furtado, Rodrigo, 'From *gens* to *imperium*: A Study of Isidore's Political Lexicon', in Roger Wright (ed.), *Latin vulgaire--latin tardif VIII: actes du VIIIe Colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif, Oxford, 6-9 septembre 2006* (Hildesheim, 2008), pp. 408–14.
Fustel de Coulanges, Numa Denis, *Questions historiques* (Paris, 1893).
Galán Sánchez, Pedro Juan, *El género historiográfico de la Chronica: las crónicas hispanas de época visigoda* (Cáceres, 1994).
Galán Sánchez, Pedro Juan, 'La *Chronica* de Juan de Bíclaro: primera manifestación historiográfica del nacionalismo hispano-godo', in *Los visigodos y su mundo* (Madrid, 1998), pp. 51–60.
Gallego Blanco, Enrique, 'Los concilios de Toledo y la sucesión al trono visigodo', *AHDE* 44 (1974), pp. 723–39.
García Gallo, Alfonso, 'Consideración crítica de los estudios sobre la legislación y la costumbre visigodas', *AHDE* 44 (1974), pp. 343–464.
García Gallo, Alfonso, 'Nacionalidad y territorialidad del derecho en la época visigoda', *AHDE* 13 (1936-1941), pp. 168–264.
García López, Yolanda, 'La cronología de la "Historia Wambae"', *Anuario de estudios medievales* 23 (1993), pp. 121–39.
García Moreno, Luis A., 'Building an Ethnic Identity for a New Gothic and Roman Nobility: Córdoba, 615 AD', in *Romans, Barbarians,* pp. 271–82.
García Moreno, Luis A., 'The Creation of Byzantium's Spanish Province: Causes and Propaganda', *Byzantion* 66 (1996), pp. 101–19.
García Moreno, Luis A., 'En las raíces de Andalucía (ss. V-X): los destinos de una aristocracia urbana', *AHDE* 65 (1995), pp. 849-78.
García Moreno, Luis A., 'Gothic Survivals in the Visigothic Kingdoms of Toulouse and Toledo', *Francia* 21, no. 1 (1994), pp. 1-15.
García Moreno, Luis A., 'History through Family Names in the Visigothic Kingdoms of Toulouse and Toledo', *Cassiodorus: Rivista di studi sulla tarda antichità* 4 (1998), pp. 163-84.
García Moreno, Luis A., 'La imagen de Bizancio en España en la temprana Edad Media (siglos VI-X)', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 91 (1998), pp. 32–48.
García Moreno, Luis A., *Prosopografía del Reino visigodo de Toledo* (Salamanca, 1974).
García Moreno, Luis A., 'Prosopography, Nomenclature, and Royal Succession in the Visigothic Kingdom of Toledo', *JLA* 1, no. 1 (2008), pp. 142–156.
García Moreno, Luis A., 'Spanish Gothic Consciousness Among the Mozarabs in Al-Andalus, VIII-Xth Centuries', in Ferreiro (ed.), pp. 303–24.

Garipzanov, Ildar H., *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751-877)* (Leiden, 2008).
Geary, Patrick J., *Aristocracy in Provence: The Rhone Basin at the Dawn of the Carolingian Age* (Philadelphia, 1986).
Geary, Patrick J., 'Barbarians and Ethnicity', in G. W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar (eds.), *Interpreting Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), pp. 107–129.
Geary, Patrick J., *Before France and Germany: The Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World* (New York, 1988).
Geary, Patrick J., 'Ethnicity as a Situational Construct in the Early Middle Ages', *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 113 (1983), pp. 15–26.
Geary, Patrick J., *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990).
Geary, Patrick J., *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y, 1994).
Geary, Patrick J., *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, 2002).
Geary, Patrick J., *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994).
Geertz, Clifford, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973).
Geertz, Clifford, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Oxford, 1988).
Gellner, Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, 1983).
George, Judith, 'Poet as Politician: Venantius Fortunatus' Panegyric to King Chilperic', *JMH* 15 (1989), pp. 5-18.
George, Judith, 'Portraits of Two Merovingian Bishops in the Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus', *JMH* 13, no. 3 (1987), pp. 189–205.
George, Judith, 'Venantius Fortunatus: Panegyric in Merovingian Gaul', in Mary Whitby (ed.), *The Propaganda of Power: The Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 1998), p. 225–46.
George, Judith W., *Venantius Fortunatus: A Latin Poet in Merovingian Gaul* (Oxford, 1992).
George, Judith W. (ed.), *Venantius Fortunatus: Personal and Political Poems* (Liverpool, 1995).
Gerberding, Richard A., *The Rise of the Carolingians and the* Liber Historiae Francorum (Oxford, 1987).
Gibbon, Edward, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Ware, 1998).
Gillett, Andrew, 'Ethnogenesis: A Contested Model of Early Medieval Europe', *History Compass* 4, no. 2 (2006), pp. 241–260.
Gillett, Andrew, 'Introduction: Ethnicity, History, and Methodology', in *OBI*, pp. 1–20.
Gillett, Andrew, 'The Mirror of Jordanes: Concepts of "The Barbarian," Then and Now', in Philip Rousseau (ed.), *Companion to Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 392-408.
Gillett, Andrew, 'Was Ethnicity Politicized in the Earliest Medieval Kingdoms?', in *OBI*, pp. 85–122.
Gillett, Andrew (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnogenesis Theory* (Turnhout, 2002). [*OBI*]
Gilliard, Frank D., 'Senatorial Bishops in the Fourth Century', *Harvard Theological Review* 77, no. 2 (April 1984), pp. 153-75.
Gilliard, Frank D., 'The Senators of Sixth-Century Gaul', *Speculum* 54, no. 4 (October 1979), pp. 685-697.
Godman, Peter, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry* (Oxford, 1986).

Godoy, Cristina, and Josep Villela, 'De la fides góthica a la orthodoxia nicena: inicio de la teología política visigótica', in *Los visigodos*, pp. 117–44.
Goetz, Hans-Werner, '*Gens*, Kings, and Kingdoms: The Franks', in *Regna and Gentes*, pp. 307–44.
Goetz, Hans-Werner, '*Gens*, Terminology, and Perception of the "Germanic" Peoples from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages', in *Construction*, pp. 39-64.
Goetz, Hans-Werner, Jörg Jarnut, and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship Between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World* (Leiden, 2003). [*Regna and Gentes*]
Goffart, Walter, *Barbarian Tides: The Migration Age And the Later Roman Empire* (Philadelphia, 2006).
Goffart, Walter, *Barbarians and Romans, A.D. 418-584: The Techniques of Accommodation* (Princeton, 1980).
Goffart, Walter, 'Does the Distant Past Impinge on the Invasion Age Germans?', in *OBI*, pp. 21–38.
Goffart, Walter, 'The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered', *Speculum* 38, no. 2 (1963), pp. 206-41.
Goffart, Walter, 'Foreigners in the Histories of Gregory of Tours', in his *Rome's Fall and After* (Ronceverte, WV, 1989), pp. 275-91.
Goffart, Walter, 'From *Historiae* to *Historia Francorum* and Back Again: Aspects of the Textual History of Gregory of Tours', in his *Rome's Fall and After* (Ronceverte, WV, 1989), pp. 255-74.
Goffart, Walter, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, 1988).
Goffart, Walter, 'Paul the Deacon's *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium* and the Early Design of Charlemagne's Succession', *Traditio* 42 (1986), pp. 59-93.
Goffart, Walter, *Rome's Fall and After* (Ronceverte, WV, 1989).
Goffart, Walter, 'Rome's Final Conquest: The Barbarians', *History Compass* 6, no. 3 (2008), pp. 855–883.
González Blanco, A. (ed.), *Los visigodos: historia y civilización* (Murcia, 1986). [*Los visigodos*]
González Fernández, R., 'El mito gótico en la historiografía del siglo XV', in *Los visigodos*, pp. 289–300.
González-Salinero, Raúl, 'Catholic Anti-Judaism in Visigothic Spain', in Ferreiro (ed.), pp. 123-50.
Graus, František, *Volk, Herrscher, und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger. Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit* (Prague, 1965).
Greatrex, Geoffrey, 'Roman Identity in the Sixth Century', in Mitchell/Greatrex, pp. 267–292.
Grieve, Patricia E., *The Eve of Spain: Myths of Origins in the History of Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Conflict* (Baltimore, 2009).
Grimm, Jacob, *Kleinere Schriften*. 7 vols. (Berlin, 1864).
Guerot, J., 'Le testament de Ste. Fare: matériaux pour l'étude et l'édition critique de ce document', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 60 (1965), pp. 761-821.
Guyon, Jean, 'Grégoire de Tours et le Midi de la Gaule', in Nancy Gauthier and Henri Galinié (eds.), *Grégoire de Tours et l'espace gaulois* (Tours, 1997), pp. 27-34.
Halsall, Guy, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568* (Cambridge, 2008).
Halsall, Guy, *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul: Selected Studies in History and Archaeology, 1992-2009* (Leiden, 2010).

Halsall, Guy, 'Ethnicity and Early Medieval Cemeteries', *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval* 18 (2011), pp. 15–27.
Halsall, Guy, 'Movers and Shakers: The Barbarians and the Fall of Rome', in Noble, pp. 277–91.
Halsall, Guy, 'The Origins of the Reihengräberzivilisation: Forty Years On', in Drinkwater/Elton, pp. 196–207.
Halsall, Guy, 'Social Identities and Social Relationships in Early Merovingian Gaul', in *Franks and Alamanni*, pp. 141-76.
Halsall, Guy (ed.), *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 1-45.
Hammer, Carl I., *From* ducatus *to* regnum*: Ruling Bavaria under the Merovingians and Early Carolingians* (Turnhout, 2007).
Handley, Mark A., 'Beyond Hagiography: Epigraphic Commemoration and the Cult of the Saints in Late Antique Trier', in *SCLA*, pp. 187–200.
Härke, Heinrich, 'All Quiet on the Western Front? Paradigms, Methods, and Approaches in West German Archaeology', in Ian Hodder (ed.), *Archaeological Theory in Europe: The Last Three Decades* (London, 1991), pp. 187–222.
Härke, Heinrich, 'Archaeologists and migrations: a problem of attitude?', in Noble, pp. 262–276.
Harries, Jill, 'Not the Theodosian Code: Euric's Law and Late Fifth-Century Gaul', in *SCLA*, pp. 39–51.
Havet, Julien, 'Questions mérovingiennes V: Les origines de Saint-Denis', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 51 (1890), pp. 5–62.
Head, Thomas, *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (London, 2001).
Heather, Peter, 'The Barbarian in Late Antiquity: Image, Reality, and Transformation', in Richard Miles (ed.), *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity* (London, 1999), pp. 234–58.
Heather, Peter, 'The Creation of the Visigoths', in *Visigoths*, pp. 41–72.
Heather, Peter, *Empires and Barbarians: The Fall of Rome and the Birth of Europe* (Oxford, 2010).
Heather, Peter, 'Ethnicity, Group Identity, and Social Status in the Migration Period', in Ildar H. Garipzanov, Patrick J. Geary, and Przemysław Urbańczyk (eds.), *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs* (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 17–49.
Heather, Peter, *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (London, 2005).
Heather, Peter, *The Goths* (Oxford, 1998).
Heather, Peter, *Goths and Romans, AD 332-489* (Oxford, 1992).
Heather, Peter, 'The Huns and the End of the Roman Empire in Western Europe', *EHR* 110, no. 435 (February 1995), pp. 4–41.
Heather, Peter (ed.), *The Visigoths from the Migration Period to the Seventh Century: An Ethnographic Perspective* (San Marino, 1999). [*Visigoths*]
Heinzelmann, Martin, *Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien: zur Kontinuität römischer Führungsschichten vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert: soziale, prosopographische und bildungsgeschichtliche Aspekte* (Munich, 1976).
Heinzelmann*, Martin, '*Gallische Prosopographie, 260-527', *Francia* 10 (1983), pp. 531-718.
Heinzelmann, Martin, *Gregory of Tours: History and Society in the Sixth Century* (Cambridge, 2001).
Herder, Johann Gottfried von, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*, trans. T. Churchill (London, 1800).
Heydemann, Gerda, 'Biblical Israel and the Christian *gentes*: Social Metaphors and Concepts of Community in Cassiodorus' *Expositio psalmorum',* in *SoI*.

Hillgarth, J. N., 'Coins and Chronicles: Propaganda in Sixth-Century Spain and the Byzantine Background', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 15, no. 4 (1966), pp. 483–508.
Hillgarth, J.N., 'Historiography in Visigothic Spain', in *La storiografia altomedievale* (Spoleto, 1970), pp. 261–311.
Hillgarth, J. N., 'St. Julian of Toledo in the Middle Ages', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21 (1958), pp. 7–26.
Hobsbawm, E. J. (ed.), *The Invention of Tradition* (New York, 1983).
Hoeflich, M.H., 'Between Gothia and Romania: The Image of the King in the Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus', *Res publica litterarum: Studies in the Classical Tradition* 5 (1982), pp. 123-36.
Höfler, Otto, 'Das germanische Kontinuitätsproblem', *Historische Zeitschrift* 157 (1938), pp. 1–26.
Höfler, Otto, *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen* (Frankfurt, 1934).
Howard-Johnston, James, and Paul Antony Hayward (eds.), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999).
Humfress, Caroline, *Orthodoxy and the Courts in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2007).
Humphries, Mark, 'Chronicle and Chronology: Prosper of Aquitaine, His Methods and the Development of Early Medieval Chronography', *EME* 5, no. 2 (1996), pp. 155–175.
Innes, Matthew, 'Land, Freedom, and the Making of the Medieval West', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Sixth Series)* 16 (2006), pp. 39-74.
James, Edward, *The Franks* (Oxford, 1988).
James, Edward, 'Gregory of Tours and the Franks', in *ARF*, pp. 51–66.
James, Edward, 'Gregory of Tours, the Visigoths, and Spain', in Simon Barton and Peter Linehan (eds.), *Cross, Crescent, and Conversion: Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 43-64
James, Edward, 'Septimania and its Frontier: An Archaeological Approach', in James (ed.), pp. 223–242.
James, Edward (ed.), *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches* (Oxford, 1980). [James (ed.)]
Jarnut, Jörg, *Agilolfingerstudien: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer adligen Familie im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1986).
Jenkins, Richard, *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations*, 2nd ed. (London, 2008).
Jenkins, Richard, *Social Identity*, 3rd ed. (Abingdon, 2008).
Jiménez Garnica, Ana María, 'El origen de la legislación civil visigoda sobre la prohibición de matrimonios entre romanos y godos: Un problema de fundamento religioso', *AHDE* 55 (1985), pp. 735–47.
Jones, A. H. M., *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey* (Oxford, 1964).
Jones, A.H.M., J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1971-1992). [*PLRE*]
Jones, Siân, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London, 1997).
Jones, W. R., 'The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13, no. 4 (1971), pp. 376–407.
Jorge, Ana Maria, 'Church and Culture in Lusitania in the V-VIII Centuries', in Ferreiro (ed.), pp. 99–122.
Kazanski, Michel, *Les Goths: (Ier-VIIe siècles ap. J.-C.)* (Paris, 1991).

Kazanski, Michel, 'The Ostrogoths and the Princely Civilization of the Fifth Century', in *Ostrogoths*, pp. 81–112.
Keely, Avril, 'Arians and Jews in the *Histories* of Gregory of Tours', *JMH* 23, no. 2 (1997), pp. 103-115
Kempf, Damien, 'A Textual Détournement: From Paul the Deacon's *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* to the *Vita Clementis*', *EME* 20, no. 1 (2012), pp. 1–16.
King, P.D., 'King Chindasvind and the First Territorial Law-code of the Visigothic Kingdom', in James (ed.), pp. 131–158.
King, P.D., *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1972).
Klingshirn, William E., *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul* (New York, 1994).
Knowles, David, *Great Historical Enterprises: Problems in Monastic History* (London, 1963).
Koder, Johannes, 'Byzanz, die Grechen, und die Romaiosyne – eine "Ethnogenese" der "Römer"?', in *Typen,* pp. 103–11.
Koon, Sam, and Jamie Wood, 'Unity from Disunity: Law, Rhetoric and Power in the Visigothic Kingdom', *European Review of History* 16, no. 6 (2009), p. 793.
Kossinna, Gustaf, *Die Herkunft der Germanen: zur Methode der Siedlungsarchäologie* (Würzburg, 1911).
Kulikowski, Michael, Cities and Government in Late Antique Hispania: Recent Advances and Future Research', in Kim Bowes and Michael Kulikowski (eds.), *Hispania in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 31–70.
Kulikowski, Michael, 'Ethnicity, Rulership, and Early Medieval Frontiers', in Florin Curta (ed.), *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 247–54.
Kulikowski, Michael, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities* (Baltimore, 2004).
Kulikowski, Michael, 'Nation versus Army: A Necessary Contrast?', in *OBI*, pp. 69–84.
Kurth, Godefroid, *Études franques*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1919).
Lacarra, J.M., 'La iglesia visigoda en el siglo VII y sus relaciones con Roma', *Le chiese nei regni dell'Europa occidentale e i loro rapporti con Romasino all'800* (Spoleto, 1960), pp. 353–84.
Ladner, G.B., 'On Roman Attitudes toward Barbarians in Late Antiquity', *Viator* 7 (1976), pp. 1–25.
Lambert, David, 'The Barbarians in Salvian's De gubernatione Dei', in Mitchell/Greatrex, pp. 103–16.
Lamprecht, Karl, 'Über Belgien: Nach geschichtlichen und persönlichen Erfahrungen', *Die Woche* 12 (Berlin, 1915), pp. 397-406, http://www.zum.de/psm/1wk/lamprecht.php.
Le Jan, Régine, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc, VIIe-Xe siècle: Essai d'anthropologie sociale* (Paris, 1995).
Leach, Edmund R., *Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure* (London, 1970).
Leerssen, Joep, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam, 2006).
Lévi-Strauss, Claude, *The Savage Mind* (London, 1966).
Levison, Wilhelm, 'Das Testament des Diakons Aldgisel-Grimo von J. 634', in *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit* (Düsseldorf, 1948), pp. 118–38.
Lewis, Archibald R., 'The Dukes in the Regnum Francorum, A.D. 550-751', *Speculum* 51, no. 3 (1976), pp. 381–410.

Lewis, Catrin, 'Gallic Identity and the Gallic *Civitas* from Caesar to Gregory of Tours', in Mitchell/Greatrex, pp. 69-82.
Lewis, Charlton T., and Charles Short*, A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1933).
Liebeschuetz, J.H.W.G., 'Cities, Taxes, and the Accommodation of the Barbarians: The Theories of Durliat and Goffart', in Noble, pp. 309–324.
Liebeschuetz, Wolf, 'Citizen Status and Law in the Roman Empire and the Visigothic Kingdom', in *SoD*, pp. 131–152.
Linehan, Peter, 'Religion, Nationalism, and National Identity in Medieval Spain', in Stuart Mews (ed.), *Religion and National Identity* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 161–99.
Little, Lester K., and Barbara H. Rosenwein (eds.), *Debating the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1998). [Little/Rosenwein]
López Amo Marín, A., 'La polemica en torno a la territorialidad del derecho visigodo', *Arbor* 1 (1944), pp. 227–41.
Loseby, S.T., 'Gregory's Cities: Urban Functions in Sixth-Century Gaul', in *Franks and Alamanni*, pp. 239-84.
Lot, Ferdinand, *Les invasions germaniques: la pénétration mutuelle du monde barbare et du monde romain*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1939).
Loyen, André, 'Résistants et collaborateurs en Gaule à l'époque des Grandes Invasions', *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 23 (1963), pp. 437-50.
MacCormack, Sabine, 'Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of "Adventus"', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 21, no. 4 (1972), pp. 721–752.
MacCormack, Sabine, 'Latin Prose Panegyrics', in T.A. Dorey (ed.), *Empire and Aftermath* (London, 1975), pp. 143-205.
Martin, Céline, 'La notion de *gens* dans la péninsule Ibérique des VIe-VIIe siècles: quelques interprétations', in Véronique Gazeau, Pierre Bauduin, and Yves Modéran (eds.), *Identité et Ethnicité: Concepts, débats historiographiques, exemples (IIIe-XIIe siècle)* (Caen, 2008), pp. 75–89.
Mathisen, Ralph, 'The Letters of Ruricius of Limoges and the Passage from Roman to Frankish Gaul', in *SCLA*, pp. 101-15.
Mathisen, Ralph, *Ruricius of Limoges and Friends: Collection of Letters from Visigothic Gaul* (Liverpool, 1999).
Mathisen, Ralph W., 'The Family of Georgius Florentius Gregorius and the Bishops of Tours', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 12 (1984), pp. 83-95.
Mathisen, Ralph W., '*PLRE* II: Suggested Addenda and Corrigenda', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 31, no. 3 (1982), pp. 364-86.
Mathisen, Ralph W., *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul: Strategies for Survival in an Age of Transition* (Austin, TX, 1993).
Mathisen, Ralph W., and Danuta Shanzer (eds.), *Romans, Barbarians, and the Transformation of the Roman World: Cultural Interaction and the Creation of Identity in Late Antiquity* (Burlington, 2011). [*Romans, Barbarians*]
Mathisen, Ralph W., and Danuta Shanzer (eds.), *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul: Revisiting the Sources* (Aldershot, 2001). [*SCLA*]
Mathisen, Ralph W., and Hagith Sivan, 'Forging a New Identity: The Kingdom of Toulouse and the Frontiers of Visigothic Aquitania (418-507)', in Ferreiro (ed.), pp. 1–62.

Mathisen, Ralph W., and Hagith Sivan (eds.), *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Brookfield, VT, 1996). [*Shifting Frontiers*]
Matthews, John, 'Interpreting the *Interpretationes* of the *Breviarium*', in Ralph W. Mathisen (ed.), *Law, Society, and Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 11–32.
Matthews, John, *Laying Down the Law: A Study of the Theodosian Code* (London, 2000).
Matthews, John, 'Roman Law and Barbarian Identity in the Late Roman West,' in Mitchell/Greatrex, pp. 31-44.
Matthews, John, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, A.D. 364-425* (Oxford, 1975).
McCormick, Michael, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (New York, 1986).
McKitterick, Rosamond, 'The Audience for Latin Historiography in the Early Middle Ages: Text Transmission and Manuscript Dissemination', in Scharer/Scheibelreiter, pp. 96–114.
McKitterick, Rosamond, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989).
McKitterick, Rosamond, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (New York, 2004).
McKitterick, Rosamond, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 2006).
McNamara, Jo Ann, and John E. Halborg (eds.), *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (Durham, 1992).
Merêa, Manuel Paulo, *Estudos de direito visigótico* (Coimbra, 1948).
Merrills, Andrew H., *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2005).
Merrills, Andrew, and Richard Miles, *The Vandals* (Oxford, 2010).
Migne, J.P. (ed.), *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1844-1865). [*PL*]
Miles, George, *The Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain, Leovigild to Achila II* (New York, 1952).
Mitchell, Kathleen, and Ian Wood (eds.), *The World of Gregory of Tours* (Leiden, 2002).
Mitchell, Stephen, and Geoffrey Greatrex (eds.), *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity* (London, 2000). [Mitchell/Greatrex]
Moerman, Michael, 'Ethnic Identification in a Complex Civilization: Who are the Lue?', *American Anthropologist* 67 (1965), pp. 1215–1230.
Mousourakis, George, *A Legal History of Rome* (Abingdon, 2007).
Murphy, Francis X., 'Julian of Toledo and the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom in Spain', *Speculum* 27, no. 1 (1952), pp. 1–27.
Murray, Alexander C., 'Chronology and the Composition of the *Histories* of Gregory of Tours', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1:1 (2008), pp. 157-96.
Murray, Alexander C., *From Roman to Merovingian Gaul: A Reader* (Peterborough, ON, 2000).
Murray, Alexander C., 'Introduction: Walter André Goffart', in *ARF*, pp. 3–7.
Murray, Alexander C., '*Post vocantur Merohingii*: Fredegar, Merovech, and "Sacral Kingship"', in *ARF*, pp. 121–52.
Murray, Alexander C., 'Reinhard Wenskus on "Ethnogenesis," Ethnicity, and the Origins of the Franks', in *OBI*, pp. 39–68.
Murray, Alexander C. (ed.), *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History: Essays Presented to Walter Goffart* (Buffalo, 1998). [*ARF*]
Näf, Beat, *Senatorisches Standesbewusstsein in spätrömischer Zeit* (Freiburg, Schweiz, 1995).
Nietzsche, Friedrich, 'The Wanderer and His Shadow', in *Human, All Too Human* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 301-95.
Nixon, C.E.V., 'Relations Between Visigoths and Romans in 5th-C. Gaul', in Drinkwater/Elton, pp. 64–74.

Noble, Thomas F. X. (ed.), *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms* (New York, 2006). [Noble]

Nonn, Ulrich, 'Merowingische Testamente — Studien zum Fortleben einer römischen Urkundenform im Frankenreich', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 18 (1972), pp. 1–129.

O'Hara, Alexander, 'The *Vita Columbani* in Merovingian Gaul', *EME* 17, no. 2 (2009), pp. 126-153.

Olmo Enciso, Lauro, *Recópolis: un paseo por la ciudad visigoda* (Madrid, 2006).

Olmo Enciso, Lauro, 'The Royal Foundation of Recópolis and the Urban Renewal in Iberia during the Second Half of the Sixth Century', in J. Henning (ed.), *Post-Roman Towns, Trade, and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium: vol. 1, The Heirs of the Roman West* (Berlin, 2007), pp. 181–96.

Olmo Enciso, Lauro (ed.), *Recópolis y la ciudad en época visigoda* (Alcalá de Henares, 2008).

Orlandis, José, 'Los hispano-romanos en la aristocracia del siglo VII', *Revista Portuguesa da Historia* 13 (January 1970), pp. 189–96.

Orlandis, José, *Historia del reino visigodo español* (Madrid, 1988).

Orlandis, José, 'Problemas canónicos en torno a la conversión de los visigodos al catolicismo', *AHDE* 32 (1962), pp. 301–21.

Orlandis, José, 'Los romanos en el ejército visigodo', *Homenaje a Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel* (Silos, 1977), pp. 121–31.

Orlandis, José, *Semblanzas visigodas* (Madrid, 1992).

Orlandis, José, and Domingo Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los concilios de la España romana y visigoda* (Pamplona, 1986).

Ortner, Sherry B. (ed.), *The Fate of 'Culture': Geertz and Beyond* (Berkeley, 1999).

Payne, Stanley G., 'Visigoths and Asturians Reinterpreted: The Spanish Grand Narrative Restored?', in Ivy A. Corfis and Ray Harris-Northall (eds.), *Medieval Iberia: Changing Societies and Cultures in Contact and Transition* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 47–56.

Pejenaute Rubio, Francisco, 'En los confines de la Romanidad: Venancio Fortunato, un escritor de frontera', *Archivum: Revista de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras* 51 (2001), pp. 383–427.

Pérez Pujol, E., *Historia de las instituciones sociales de la España goda*. 4 vols. (Valencia, 1896).

Piganiol, André, *L'empire chrétien (325-395)*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1972).

Pirenne, Henri, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (New York, 1957).

Pirenne, Henri, *Souvenirs de captivité en Allemagne (mars 1916-novembre 1918)* (Brussels, 1920).

Pizarro, Joaquín Martínez, 'Ethnic and National History c. 500-1000', in Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (ed.), *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Boston, 2003), pp. 43–88.

Pizarro, Joaquín Martínez, *The Story of Wamba* (Washington, D.C., 2005).

Pohl, Walter, 'Conceptions of Ethnicity in Early Medieval Studies', in Little/Rosenwein, pp. 15–24.

Pohl, Walter, 'Ethnicity, Theory, and Tradition: A Response', in *OBI*, pp. 221–240.

Pohl, Walter, 'Introduction: Ethnicity, Religion, and Empire', in *VoC*, pp. 1–23.

Pohl, Walter, 'Introduction: Strategies of Distinction', in *SoD*, pp. 1–15.

Pohl, Walter, 'Strategies of Identification: A Methodological Profile', in *SoI*.

Pohl, Walter, 'Telling the Difference: Signs of Ethnic Identity', in Noble, pp. 120–167.

Pohl, Walter (ed.), *Kingdoms of the Empire: The Integration of Barbarians in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 1997). [*KoE*]

Pohl, Walter (ed.), *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen: von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters* (Vienna, 2004). [*Die Suche*]

Pohl, Walter, and Gerda Heydemann (eds.), *Strategies of Identification: Ethnicity and Religion in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, forthcoming). [*SoI*]

Pohl, Walter, and Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800* (Leiden, 1998). [*SoD*]

Pohl, Walter, Clemens Gantner, and Richard Payne (eds.), *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World: The West, Byzantium, and the Islamic World, 300-1100* (Farnham, 2012). [*VoC*]

Prinz, Friedrich, *Frühes Mönchtum in Frankenreich: Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden, und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entiwcklung (4. bis 8. Jahrhundert)* (Munich, 1965).

Prou, M., *Les monnaies mérovingiennes: catalogue des monnaies françaises de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1982).

Pucci, Joseph (ed.), *Poems to Friends* (Indianapolis, 2010).

Ramallo Asensio, Sebastian F., and Jaime Vizcaíno Sánchez, 'Bizantinos en Hispania: Un problema en la arqueología española', *Archivo español de arqueología* 75 (2002), pp. 313–332.

Reimitz, Helmut, 'The Art of Truth: Historiography and Identity in the Frankish World', in *T&I*, pp. 87–104.

Reimitz, Helmut, 'Cultural Brokers of a Common Past: History, Identity and Ethnicity in Merovingian Historiography', in *SoI*.

Reimitz, Helmut, 'The Providential Past: Visions of Frankish Identity in the Early Medieval History of Gregory of Tours' Historiae (6th – 9th cent.)', in *VoC*, pp. 109-35.

Reimitz, Helmut, 'Social Networks and Identities in Frankish Historiography: New Aspects of the Textual History of Gregory of Tours' *Historiae',* in *Construction*, pp. 229–68.

Renan, Ernest, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?: Conférence faite en Sorbonne, le 11 mars 1882* (Paris, 1882), http://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Qu%E2%80%99est-ce_qu%E2%80%99une_nation_%3F.

Reynolds, Susan, 'Our Forefathers? Tribes, Peoples, and Nations in the Historiography of the Age of Migrations', in *ARF*, pp. 17-36.

Riché, Pierre, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth Through Eighth Centuries* (Columbia, 1976).

Rio, Alice, *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf Two Merovingian Legal Handbooks* (Liverpool, 2008).

Ripoll, Gisela, 'Changes in the Topography of Power: From *civitates* to *urbes regiae* in Hispania', in *Construction*, pp. 123–48.

Ripoll López, Gisela, 'On the Supposed Frontier Between the *Regnum Visigothorum* and Byzantine *Hispania',* in Walter Pohl, Ian Wood, and Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *The Transformation of Frontiers from Late Antiquity to the Carolingians* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 95–115.

Ripoll, Gisela, and Josep María Gurt, *Sedes regiae (ann. 400-800)* (Barcelona, 2000).

Rivers, Theodore John (ed.), *Laws of the Salian and Ripuarian Franks* (New York, 1986).

Roberts, Michael, *The Humblest Sparrow: The Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus* (Ann Arbor, 2009).

Rosenwein, Barbara H., 'Writing and Emotions in Gregory of Tours', in Walter Pohl and Paul Herold (eds.), *Vom Nutzen des Schreibens* (Vienna, 2002), pp. 23-32

Rouche, Michel, *L'Aquitaine des Wisigoths aux Arabes, 418-781: Naissance d'une région* (Paris, 1979).
Rouche, Michel, 'Fortunat et Baudonivie: deux biographes pour une seule sainte', in Robert Favreau (ed.), *La vie de sainte Radegonde par Fortunat* (Paris, 1995), pp. 239-49.
Rouche, Michel, 'Francs et gallo-romains chez Grégoire de Tours', in R. Morghen (ed.), *Gregorio di Tours: convegni dell Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità medievale* (Todi, 1977), pp. 141–69.
Ruggini, Lellia Cracco, 'The Crisis of the Noble Saint: The *Vita Arnulfi*' in Jacques Fontaine and J.N. Hillgarth (eds.), *The Seventh Century: Change and Continuity* (London, 1992), pp. 116-53.
Ruggini, Lellia Cracco, 'Ebrei e orientali nell'Italia settentrionale fra il IV e il VI secolo d. cr.', *Studia et documenta historiae iuris* 25 (1959), pp. 186–308.
Sánchez Albornoz, Claudio, 'El aula regia y las asembleas políticas de los Godos', in *Estudios Visigóticos*, pp. 151–250.
Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio, *España, un enigma histórico* (Buenos Aires, 1956).
Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio, *El Reino de Asturias: orígenes de la nación española. Estudios críticos sobre la historia del Reino de Asturias (selección)*, 2nd ed. (Oviedo, 1983).
Savigny, Friedrich Karl von, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, 6 vols. (Heidelberg, 1815-1831).
Sayas Abengochea, Juan José, and Luis A. García Moreno, *Romanismo y germanismo: el despertar de los pueblos hispánicos (siglos IV-X)* (Barcelona, 1981).
Scharer, Anton, and Georg Scheibelreiter (eds.), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1994). [Scharer/Scheibelreiter]
Scheibelreiter, Georg, 'Ein Gallorömer in Flandern: Eligius von Noyon', in *Die Suche*, pp. 117-28.
Schlinkert, Dirk, *'Ordo Senatorius' und 'Nobilitas': Die Konstitution des Senatsadels in der Spätantike* (Stuttgart, 1996).
Schmidt-Wiegand, Ruth, 'Das Dorf nach den Stammesrechten des Kontinents', in H. Jankuhn (ed.), *Das Dorf der Eisenzeit und des frühen Mittelalters* (Göttingen, 1977), pp. 408–43.
Schmidt-Wiegand, Ruth, *Fränkische und frankolateinische Bezeichnungen für soziale Schichten und Gruppen in der* Lex Salica (Göttingen, 1972).
Schwarcz, Andreas, 'Visigothic Settlement, Hospitalitas, and Army Payment Reconsidered', in *Romans, Barbarians*, pp. 265–70.
Séjourné, Paul, *Le dernier père de l'église: Saint Isidore de Séville. Son rôle dans l'histoire du droit canonique* (Paris, 1929).
Selle-Hosbach, Karin, *Prosopographie merowingischer Amtsträger in der Zeit von 511 bis 613* (Bonn, 1974).
Shanzer, Danuta and Ian Wood, *Avitus of Vienne: Letters and Selected Prose* (Liverpool, 2002).
Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph, *Qu'est-ce que le tiers-état?*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1789).
Sivan, Hagith, 'The Appropriation of Roman Law in Barbarian Hands: "Roman-Barbarian" Marriage in Visigothic Gaul and Spain', in *SoD*, pp. 189–203.
Sivan, Hagith, 'Why Not Marry a Barbarian? Marital Frontiers in Late Antiquity (The Example of *CTh* 3.14.1)', in *Shifting Frontiers*, pp. 136-45.
Smith, Anthony D., *The Antiquity of Nations* (Cambridge, 2004).
Smith, Anthony D., *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986).
Smith, Anthony D., *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates About Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover, NH, 2000).
Smith, Julia, 'Early Medieval Hagiography in the Late Twentieth Century', *EME* 1, no. 1 (1992).

Sowerby, Richard, 'The Lives of St Samson: Rewriting the Ambitions of an Early Medieval Cult', *Francia* 38 (2011), pp. 1–31.
Spiegel, Gabrielle M., *The Past As Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (London, 1997).
Spiegel, Gabrielle M. (ed.), *Practicing History: New Directions in Historical Writing After the Linguistic Turn* (Abingdon, 2005).
Stancliffe, Clare, *St. Martin and his Hagiographer: History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus* (Oxford, 1983).
Stocking, Rachel L., *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589-633* (Ann Arbor, 2000).
Stroheker, Karl F., 'Die Senatoren bei Gregor von Tours', in his *Germanentum und Spätantike* (Zurich, 1965), pp. 192-206.
Stroheker, Karl F., *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien* (Darmstadt, 1970).
Stroheker, Karl Friedrich, 'Spanische Senatoren der spätrömischen und westgotischen Zeit', in his *Germanentum und Spätantike* (Zurich, 1965), pp. 55–87.
Tardi, Dominique, *Fortunat: étude sur un dernier représentant de la poésie latine dans la Gaule mérovingienne* (Paris, 1927).
Tardif, J., 'Les chartes mérovingiennes de Noirmoutier', *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger* 22 (1898), pp. 763–90.
Teillet, Suzanne, *Des goths à la nation gothique: Les origines de l'idée de nation en Occident du Ve au VIIe siècle* (Paris, 1984).
Teillet, Suzanne, 'L'*Historia Wambae* est-elle une oeuvre de circunstance?', in *Los visigodos*, pp. 415–24.
Thompson, E. A., 'The Conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 4 (1960), pp. 4–35.
Thompson, E. A., *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford, 1969).
Thorpe, Lewis (trans.), *History of the Franks* (London, 1974).
Vallejo Girvés, Margarita, *Bizancio y la España tardoantigua (ss. V-VIII): un capítulo de historia mediterránea* (Alcalá de Henares, 1993).
Vallejo Girvés, Margarita, '*Commentiolus, Magister Militum Spaniae missus a Mauricio Augusto contra hostes barbaros*: The Byzantine Perspective on the Visigothic Conversion to Catholicism', *Romanobarbarica* 14 (1996), pp. 289–306.
Van Dam, Raymond, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Berkeley, 1985).
Velázquez, Isabel, 'Jural Relations as an Indicator of Syncretism from the Law of Inheritance to the *Dum inlicita* of Chindaswinth', in *Visigoths*, pp. 225–70.
Velázquez, Isabel, '*Pro patriae gentisque Gothorum statu*', in *Regna and Gentes*, pp. 161–217.
von Rummel, Philipp, *Habitus barbarus: Kleidung und Repräsentation spätantiker Eliten im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 2007).
Waitz, Georg, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, 8 vols. (Kiel, 1844-1878).
Wallace-Hadrill, J.M., *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar: With its Continuations* (London, 1960).
Wallace-Hadrill, J. M., 'Fredegar and the History of France', in *The Long-Haired Kings, and Other Studies in Frankish History* (Toronto, 1982), pp. 71-94.
Wallace-Hadrill, J. M., *The Long-Haired Kings, and Other Studies in Frankish History* (Toronto, 1982).

Ward-Perkins, Bryan, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford, 2005).
Weber, Max, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (Berkeley, 1978).
Wenskus, Reinhard, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung: Das Werden der Frühmittelalterlichen Gentes* (Cologne, 1961).
Werner, K.F., 'Important Noble Families in the Kingdom of Charlemagne', in Timothy Reuter (ed.), *The Medieval Nobility* (Amsterdam, 1978), pp. 137-202.
Westeel, Isabelle, 'Quelques remarques sur la *Vita Eligii*, vie de Saint Éloi', *Mélanges de science religieuse* 56, no. 2 (1999), pp. 33-47.
White, Lynn Townsend (ed.), *The Transformation of the Roman World: Gibbon's Problem After Two Centuries* (Berkeley, 1966).
Wickham, Chris, 'The Fall of Rome Will Not Take Place', in Little/Rosenwein, pp. 45-57.
Wickham, Chris, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford, 2005).
Wolf, Kenneth Baxter (ed.), *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*. 2nd ed. (Liverpool, 1999). [Wolf]
Wolfram, Herwig, 'Auf der Suche nach der Ursprüngen', in *Die Suche*, pp. 11–22.
Wolfram, Herwig, 'Gothic History as Historical Ethnography', in Noble, pp. 43-69.
Wolfram, Herwig, *Gotische Studien: Volk und Herrschaft im frühen Mittelalter* (Munich, 2005).
Wolfram, Herwig, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley, 1988).
Wolfram, Herwig, 'How Many Peoples are in a People?', in *VoC*.
Wolfram, Herwig, 'Neglected Evidence on the Accommodation of Barbarians in Gaul', in *KoE*, pp. 181–4.
Wolfram, Herwig, '"Origo et religio": Ethnic Traditions and Literature in Early Medieval Texts', *EME* 3 (1994), pp. 19–38.
Wolfram, Herwig, *The Roman Empire and Its Germanic Peoples* (Berkeley, 1997).
Wolfram, Herwig, and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonder Berücksichtigung der Bayern* (Vienna, 1990).
Wood, Ian, 'Barbarians, Historians, and the Construction of National Identities', *JLA* 1, no. 1 (2008), pp. 61–81.
Wood, Ian, 'Chains of Chronicles: The Example of London, British library MS. Add. 16974', in Richard Corradini and Maxmilian Diesenberger (eds.), *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift: Frühmittelalterliche Historiographie und Hagiographie im Spannungsfeld von Edition und Kompendienüberlieferung* (Vienna, 2010), pp. 67-77.
Wood, Ian, 'The Code in Merovingian Gaul', in Jill Harries and Ian Wood (eds.), *The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity* (London, 1993), pp. 161-77.
Wood, Ian, 'Conclusion: Strategies of Distinction', in *SoD*, pp. 297–303.
Wood, Ian, 'Deconstructing the Merovingian Family', in *Construction*, pp. 149-71.
Wood, Ian, 'Defining the Franks: Frankish Origins in Early Medieval Historiography', in Noble, pp. 110-19.
Wood, Ian, 'The Ecclesiastical Politics of Merovingian Clermont', in Patrick Wormald, Donald Bullough, and Roger Collins (eds.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 34–57.
Wood, Ian, 'Ethnicity and Ethnogenesis of the Burgundians', in *Typen*, pp. 53–69.
Wood, Ian, 'Fredegar's Fables', in Scharer/Scheibelreiter, pp. 359-66.

Wood, Ian, 'Forgery in Merovingian Hagiography', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter, v: Fingierte Briefe, Frömmigkeit und Fälschung, Realienfälschungen* (Hanover, 1988), pp. 369-84.
Wood,Ian, 'Genealogy Defined by Women: The Case of the Pippinids', in Leslie Brubaker and Julia M.H. Smith (eds.), *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300-900* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 234-56.
Wood, Ian, '*Gentes*, Kings, and Kingdoms—the Emergence of States: The Kingdom of the Gibichungs', in *Regna and Gentes*, pp. 243-69.
Wood, Ian, *Gregory of Tours* (Bangor, 1994).
Wood, Ian, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450-751* (London, 1994).
Wood, Ian, 'The Secret Histories of Gregory of Tours', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 71, no. 2 (1993), pp. 253-70.
Wood, Ian, 'Social Relations in the Visigothic Kingdom from the Fifth to the Seventh Century: The Example of Mérida', in *Visigoths*, pp. 191–207.
Wood, Ian, 'The Use and Abuse of Latin Hagiography in the Early Medieval West', in Chrysos/Wood, pp. 93-110.
Wood, Ian, 'The Use and Abuse of the Early Middle Ages, 1750-2000', in Marios Costambeys, Andrew Hamer, and Martin Heale (eds.), *The Making of the Middle Ages: Liverpool Essays* (Liverpool, 2007), pp. 36–53.
Wood, Ian, 'The *Vita Columbani* and Merovingian Hagiography', *Peritia* 1 (1982), pp. 63-80.
Wood, Ian (ed.), *Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period: An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge, 1998). [*Franks and Alamanni*]
Wood, Jamie, 'Defending Byzantine Spain: Frontiers and Diplomacy', *EME* 18, no. 3 (2010), pp. 292–319.
Wood, Jamie, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain: Religion and Power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden, 2012).
Woodruff, Jane Ellen, 'The *Historia epitomata* (Third Book) of the *Chronicle* of Fredegar: An Annotated Translation and Historical Analysis of Interpolated Material', Ph.D. diss. (University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1988).
Woolf, Greg, *Tales of the Barbarians: Ethnography and Empire in the Roman West* (Oxford, 2011).
Wormald, Patrick, 'The *Leges Barbarorum*: Law and Ethnicity in the Post-Roman West', in *Regna and Gentes*, pp. 21–53.
Wormald, Patrick, 'Lex Scripta and Verbum Regis: Legislation and Germanic Kingship, from Euric to Cnut', in P.H. Sawyer and Ian Wood (eds.), *Early Medieval Kingship* (Leeds, 1977), p. 122, pp. 1–23.
Wormald, Patrick, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1999).
Wright, Roger (ed.), *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1991).
Zelzer, Klaus, 'Zur Sprache Gregor von Tours', in Elizabeth A. Livingstone (ed.), *Papers of the Ninth International Conference on Patristic Studies,* Studia Patristica 18.4 (Leuven, 1990), pp. 207-11.