**Summary**

Western Europe in the early Middle Ages (c.400-c.1100) witnessed fundamental changes in social, political, and cultural structures due to the fall of the Roman Empire and the development of new political formations. The project studies the use of citizenship terminology in the redefinition of public identity that this complex period required. The early medieval West is not generally associated with ‘citizenship’, as it predates the modern state and lacks large-scale urbanisation. However, written sources from this period employ ancient and biblical citizenship terminology. This continuous use of citizenship terminology is marked by a radical change of meaning. As Christianity assumed the role of dominant religion, it introduced its own citizenship ‘discourse’, one that provided new legal and symbolic meaning and sat often in paradoxical opposition to the ancient definitions. The examination of these shifts in meaning will be our tool to study the formation of identity in Western Europe in the ‘black box’ period of the first millennium.

The project will apply discourse analysis and a socio-philological approach to sources that reflect and frame processes of identity formation in the early medieval West. These include accounts on Christian role models (saints), reshaping political and social relationships; prayers and sermons, redefining social and spiritual life in their close interrelation; and legal and theological texts, rephrasing civic identity in accordance with Christian thinking. Civic identity in this period is a dual belonging: both to social and political life in the terrestrial world and to the spiritual community in the hereafter, envisaged as ‘the heavenly city’. The sources under investigation express the tensions and ambivalences this dual belonging caused in human relationships, and use terminology rooted in ancient and biblical citizenship discourse in order to shape new patterns of social in- and exclusion, membership, belonging and participation. The project investigates the social and legal implications of this use of citizenship terminology, which resulted in new citizenship discourses that redefined legal and social oppositions (e.g. citizen vs. barbarian → Christian vs. non-Christian).

The project’s scholarly and social relevance is in its introduction of citizenship discourse as a new paradigm to research early medieval identity formation, and in its collaboration with social partners in order to discuss present-day approaches to citizenship as a dynamic concept, adaptive to changing cultural circumstances, thus stimulating the discussion about citizenship, religion and identity in a time of political, social and religious transformations.
1c. Scientific summary of research proposal

Early medieval Western Europe witnessed radical and fundamental changes in social, cultural, and political structures. The project studies the use of citizenship terminology in the redefinition of public identity that this complex period (c.400-c.1100) required. The early medieval West is not generally associated with ‘citizenship’, as it predates the modern state and lacks large-scale urbanisation. However, sources from this period that articulate processes of identity formation employ ancient and biblical citizenship terminology to frame patterns of social in- and exclusion, membership and participation. This use of pre-existing citizenship terminology is marked by semantic change. As Christianity assumed the role of dominant religion, it introduced its own citizenship ‘discourse’, one that provided new legal and symbolic meaning and sat often in paradoxical opposition to the ancient definitions.

The project applies discourse analysis to written sources (narrative, performative, theological, legal, and historiographic) of identity formation to uncover how semantic changes in citizenship terminology helped to shape the complex multiple identities of Western Europe’s post-Roman inhabitants. By studying these shifts in meaning, we will elucidate the divisions between in and outsiders. By demonstrating Christianity’s ambiguous attitude towards ‘citizenship’, the project reveals how in this period ideas of membership and belonging were connected both with religious ideals that transcended terrestrial life, and with civic participation in temporal reality. Civic identity in this period was a dual belonging, defining membership of the spiritual community (‘heavenly city’) in terms of conversion to a Christian way of life (conversatio) that deeply affected the social relationships within the terrestrial community.

This project will advance medieval scholarship and open up a new line of research into citizenship discourse and identity formation. The concept of citizenship as an adaptive, flexible ideal in the face of changing political, social, and religious circumstances was relevant then and is increasingly so today.

1d. Keywords
Citizenship discourse, Early Middle Ages, Identity formation, Medieval Latin literature, History of Christianity

1j. Public summary

Burgerschap wordt doorgaans geassocieerd met steden en nationale staten, minder met vroegmiddeleeuws West-Europa. Toch bleef een burgerschapsdiscours in gebruik in de periode na het Romeinse keizerrijk om uitdrukking te geven aan veranderende sociale en culturele identiteiten, terwijl de terminologie ontleend aan klassieke burgerschapsdiscoursen een radicale betekenisverandering onderging.

‘Citizenship’ is usually associated with cities or states, less so with the early medieval West. Nevertheless, citizenship discourse is found in the post-Roman world in sources that express changing social and cultural identities, where the terminology rooted in ancient citizenship discourses underwent a radical change of meaning.
Research proposal

2a1 and 2a2. Description of the proposed research
(max. 8,000 words on max. 16 pages)

2a1. Overall aim and key objectives

Scientific relevance and challenges

Citizenship as a concept that defines civic and political membership and participation is rarely associated with the early medieval West, a period witnessing the disappearance of Roman imperial structures and preceding modern notions of citizenship and the state. The assumption is that, consequently, citizenship ceased to exist as a relevant idea in the post-Roman world only to be rediscovered in the early modern period [Mathisen 2006]. This, however, overlooks the fact that written sources reflecting the transformation of civic and religious identities in the early Middle Ages make frequent use of terminology rooted in both ancient and biblical discourse. Citizenship was considered a marker of social and religious inclusion and exclusion, and membership and participation. The present project studies the use of citizenship terminology in the West during the period roughly between the end of the Roman Empire and the re-emergence of urban life after the turn of the first millennium. In this time, authors across such divergent written sources as prayers and sermons, historiography, and legal documents were continuing to use the ancient and biblical vocabularies of citizenship, while simultaneously changing the meanings of these terms in radical ways. The present project analyses these semantic changes and investigates their social implications. It starts from the observation that Christian authors as representatives of the new dominant religion made use of a cluster of familiar yet semantically never static [Blok 2013, Blok 2005] terms around civis and civitas and its correlates, and did so in an innovative way by linking new symbolic meanings and legal implications to these terms.

The central research question is, how the shifts in meaning in the Christian use of citizenship terminology contributed to the ongoing process through which Christianity in the early Middle Ages redefined membership of and participation in religious and social communities. The relation between citizenship and religion is studied extensively for other historical periods. For example, Josine Blok has successfully demonstrated how participation in religious activities constituted citizenship in classical Athens. She uncovered the importance of participation in the reciprocal relation between gods and humans for citizens, both male and female, and thereby provided an entirely new understanding of the classical concept of citizenship [Blok 2013; Blok 2014; Blok 2016]. However, with regard to the medieval period, the use of citizenship terminology and its significance for the framing of a new public identity, which overlapped in large measure with religious identity in medieval Christianity, has been neglected hitherto. A narrow understanding of citizenship as a modern concept is responsible for this blind spot. The present project approaches ‘citizenship’ not as attached to one historical and/or political constellation or to a specific local and concrete territory, such as a ‘city’ or a ‘state’, but as a dynamic social and cultural ideal, adapting itself to changing political, cultural and social circumstances [Isin 2014; Harrington 2014]. Citizenship terminology and its semantic changes, more precisely the lexicon of civis and its correlates, is the tool employed in this project to shed new light on the ways in which medieval authors addressed issues of identity in terms of membership and participation, and thereby framed processes of socio-religious inclusion and exclusion which concerned all layers of society.

By examining the use of citizenship terminology in relation to the formation and transformation of identity in the post-Roman West, the project positions itself in a new line of medieval studies research that focuses on the way texts reflect the construction of communities by ‘individuals and social groups’ [Pohl 2003:9; Raaijmakers 2012]. The source material for this project will be corpora of written documents that recent
scholarship has designated as reflecting and framing the formation and transformation of social, cultural, and political identities in the early medieval world. These are primarily:

- Saints’ lives (hagiography) [Kreiner 2014];
- Christian apocrypha, or literature on biblical characters and topics which is not included in the biblical canon [Rose 2009; Bovon 1981];
- Texts performed in Christianity’s ritual practice of worship (liturgy), mainly prayers, hymns, and chants [Rose 2009; Bovon 1981];
- Sermons [Diesenberger 2016];
- Historiography [Reimitz 2015].

These texts will be divided over the sub-projects as will be discussed in more detail below. The project members will apply discourse analysis each to a specific corpus. By doing so, they will uncover the semantic changes Christianity brought about in citizenship terminology, and demonstrate the social implications of these shifts in meaning and the way they helped shape the multiple identities [Pohl 2014] of Western Europe’s post-Roman inhabitants.

**Originality and innovative character**

This research will advance medieval research on citizenship as a political or socio-cultural phenomenon by, for the first time, taking into account the early medieval period and its religious culture. Both the period and the role of Christianity in the history of citizenship have been excluded in the historiography of citizenship in three ways. First, authors who do include the medieval period as relevant for the study of citizenship focus on the ages from the eleventh century onwards and ignore the early medieval period. This is explained by concentration on urban life in the later Middle Ages [Isin 1999; Bauböck 2003] or made plausible with reference to the transitional character of the early medieval period, where ‘the city’ in its ancient meaning of ‘civic body’ ceased to exist [Inglebert 2015] and the citizen became a subject to king or bishop [Mathisen 2006:1039]. Second, if authors take into account the importance of biblical religion for the way Europe came to understand citizenship [Arthur 2008], referring to the Christian conceptualisation of ‘citizenship’ as a complex plural belonging [Vanderjagt 2013], they leap from Augustine (d. 430) to Thomas Aquinas (b. 1225). Third, scholars who concentrate on the religious changes of the post-Roman world and their influence on the political, social, and cultural understanding of ‘citizenship’ in the period that followed the end of the Roman Empire, mark the early Middle Ages as the period in which citizenship ceased to be a relevant concept, claiming that all that remained of a universal idea of citizenship was transferred to the spiritual realm, losing its relevance for the here and now [Mathisen 2006].

The present project will result in fundamentally new knowledge on medieval society between 400 and 1100, and on the intricate relation between Christianity and public identity in this period through its investigation of the role citizenship discourse played in this time to characterise membership and demarcate communities in a new way. The proposed analysis of citizenship discourse in the early Middle Ages is not based on a claim of continuity of the institutional application of ancient and late-Roman concepts of citizenship itself, but rather focuses on citizenship terminology and the continuity in use of citizenship language in the process of expressing the transformation of public identity within the new political, social and religious settings of the post-Roman world. The project introduces a new line of research to study these transformations and the paradoxical way Christian writers employed the terminology they inherited from classical Antiquity and the Bible by radically changing its meaning. Important examples of such semantic changes are the rephrasing of the opposition citizen-barbarian as Christian vs. non-Christian [Lo Nero 2001; Jussen 2001; Koselleck 1979] and the redefinition of ‘citizens’ as ‘those baptised’ [Rapp 2014b] as opposed to those who had not gone through that ritual of initiation. In an even more paradoxical way, Christian sources of the period testify to a reversal of the relation insider (*civis*) – outsider (*peregrinus*), portraying the Christian missionary as a stranger (*peregrinus*) who enters a
given *civitas* in order to convert its inhabitants to the new Christian religion, thus forming a new, Christian, community marked by new divisions of insiders and outsiders with all its social and legal implications [Drews 2002; Rose 2016b; Van Engen 1997].

**Seven sub-projects: methods, questions, sources**

The project comprises seven sub-projects that carry out a source-oriented analysis of citizenship terminology and its semantic changes in separately defined corpora of texts.

**Methodology**

We will use three methodological approaches to examine and characterise citizenship terminology and its use in the process of identity formation in the early medieval West:

1. The sub-projects will apply discourse analysis each to their assigned text corpus. In this analysis, discourse is understood as an instrument of power [Bourdieu 1991], and words are approached as performative acts, which have an intended or unintended impact on their recipient and, thus, on reality. Recent scholarship has produced successful applications of this approach to language and power to medieval sources [Veldhuizen 2016]. The choice for this approach implies that citizenship terminology will not only be analysed for its semantic changes in the post-Roman world, but also for its social implications in the new political and social constellations that mark the early medieval West. The use of citizenship terminology by Christian authors in the early Middle Ages, a world that witnessed the gradual replacement of the hegemony of the Roman Empire by the patchwork of Christian and Christianising kingdoms, is never gratuitous. The project approaches citizenship terms as value terms [Blok 2016] and studies the use of these terms as a strategy to shape new definitions of membership and, consequently, new divisions of socio-religious inclusion and exclusion. This will be further explained in the sub-projects descriptions.

2. Following the discourse analysis, we focus on comparative analysis of legal and theological sources (central to the sub-projects P2 and P6 described further below). The period between the late fourth and the sixth century reflects the influence of those Roman emperors who favoured Christianity in legislation with regard to privileges of citizens. In the same period, Christian leaders developed a theology in which citizenship language acquired new meanings and, therefore, sketched new patterns of what a religious and social community actually looked like. These theologians defined Christianity as a universal *civitas*, in which not only the whole world (*orbis terrarum*) was embraced, but also the traditional boundaries between the living and the dead were broken. The legal and the theological understanding of citizenship terms in this early period are often mutually reinforcing, but they can also represent tensions between ecclesiastical and imperial rulers. These tensions, which were a lasting legacy to the medieval world, are shown most clearly by the case of a late fourth-century dispute between a bishop (Ambrose) and an emperor (Theodosius). During the 390 riots in Thessalonica, Ambrose successfully defended the rights and safety of citizens against the rage of emperor Theodosius. Ambrose had previously reproached the emperor for being too protective of Jews who had suffered an attack by Christians on their synagogue in Callinicum in 388 [Van Renswoude 2011]. The case illustrates that representatives of the same Christian religion applied citizenship discourse with different, even opposite outcomes. Moreover, it shows that agents who applied semantic changes to citizenship terminology in a Christianising world were actuated by secular/legal or ecclesiastical/theological motivations or both, and that, therefore, these domains should be studied in close connection.

3. The third methodological approach will consist of a socio-philological analysis of ritual-performative texts, analysing language and participation in public worship (liturgy) to study processes of community and identity formation. This research
will not only include liturgical evidence from texts and sacred language, but will also study the performance of and participation in rituals. This highly novel aspect acknowledges that religious rituals in a Christian context can be understood as a way of thinking through the mechanism of community performance. By choosing this approach, the present project builds on the applicant’s previous research.

The team

The applicant will be the project leader (PL) and will compose a team consisting of herself, a Postdoc (PD), three PhDs and a research assistant (RA). The interns mentioned in the work plan below (see section 2a2) will participate in the two projects related to Knowledge Utilisation (presented in section 2b).

The sub-projects

P1 Citizenship terminology (PL, months 1-6)

Aim: compose a list of relevant terms (the lexicon) used in ancient and biblical citizenship discourse and the sources in which they occur to be analysed in the sub-projects. The terms will be clustered around three ‘pillars’, headed by the terms civitas, civis and oecumene, and will include their correlates.

Questions, sources, method

Which terms were central in the development of a Christian citizenship discourse and in which written documents do they occur? To answer this question, the sub-project will generate a lexicon from multiple sources. The first of these is the project bibliography (see 2d) and includes such terms as:
- civitas [Pohl 2003; Pohl 2014; Vanderjagt 2013], urbs and urbanitas [Gantner 2014; Beyer 2012];
- civis [Mathisen 2006; Pohl 2014], peregrinus and alienus [Mathisen 2006; Lo Nero 2001; Garnsey 2004], barbarus [Mathisen 2006; Pohl 2014; Van Engen 1997; Wood 2011];
- oecumene [Rapp 2014a; Sommer 2015], orbis terrarum [Albu 2014; Ando 2000], ecclesia [Miller 2015; Clévenot 1988], res publica (Gantner 2014; Goetz 2003; Van Engen 1997).

A second source to provide the material to be analysed in the sub-projects is the Bible, which, as Christianity’s Holy Scriptures, counts as the most important guideline and source of inspiration for the authors that are analysed in the present project and its sub-projects. The collection of biblical passages addressing the relation between civis and its opposites (peregrinus, alienus, incola) and the notion of citizenship (politeuma in the Greek New Testament, translated as conversatio in the earliest Latin Bible translations) will provide the list of terms for analysis in the sub-projects as a first access to study the development of citizenship discourse in the early medieval world. Moreover, the inventory of these terms in authors between 400-1100 through the use of (digitised) lexicons [Niermeyer 2002; Blaise 1954] and online databases of relevant texts [Brepolis Library of Latin Texts, [http://clt.brepolis.net.proxy.library.uu.nl/cds/]] will yield the relevant sources to be analysed.

Previous studies are limited in their focus on one term or a set of terms belonging to the same ‘pillar’, and on a limited chronological range, mainly the period of the late Roman world and the first ages after the Roman Empire came to an end in the West. The present sub-project, conversely, will perform a systematic and longue durée study of the material, and provide the data containing the terms and sources, which will, in turn, form the basis of the other sub-projects.
Main deliverables: 1. Lexicon and sources, which will provide the search instrument for the sub-projects and will be published online as an annotated data collection. It will also be included in the monograph that will result from project P7. 2. Articles in international peer reviewed journals based on contributions to project conferences and international conferences.

P2 Late antique legacy (PL, PD; months 7-24)

Aim: analyse the use of the terms as listed in P1 in legal and theological sources of the late fourth to the sixth century.

Sources, questions, method

The writings of Christian authors dating to the period of transition from late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages are known as ‘patristic’ literature and form an important foundation of medieval intellectual history. As Christian authors living and working in the late Roman Empire, in which the notion of citizenship was still a relevant political and legal marker, the patres were the first producers of semantic changes in the lexicon surrounding civis and civitas, providing important models for early medieval thinking on these issues. The analysis of citizenship terminology addressing issues of public identity, belonging, and participation, and its shifts in meaning that occur in the patristic corpus, is of necessity the starting point for the project as a whole. How did these ecclesiastical leaders appropriate citizenship terminology, and how did they relate to secular Christian rulers?

The North-African Christian bishop and theologian Augustine (354-430), for example, used citizenship terminology to present family relations in a radically new way. In his famous and well-read work Confessiones, Augustine described his deceased parents, who converted to Christianity at some stage in their lives, no longer in the hierarchical position to their son but as having become equals: brother and sister in the Christian family. Taking one step further, Augustine describes his parents as ‘co-citizens in the eternal city of the heavenly Jerusalem’: ciuium meorum in aeterna Hierusalem [Augustine, Conf. IX.13.37]. With this qualification, he reverses the traditional relationship between the father to whom the son is subordinate [Lewis 2015]. Even more remarkable is the shift in approach to the mother. Augustine’s mother Monnica, in the Confessiones consistently presented as a slave or handmaid of Christ (serua or famula), is now promoted to the status of civis, participating in the heavenly citizenship of the Christians. Thus, Augustine turns a term used to indicate social relationships into a metaphor, which then not only expresses in words a new social relationship, but also brings about this shift in human interrelations. A more earthbound example of a shift in meaning of citizenship terminology is provided by the Milanese bishop Ambrose († 397), who radically changed the significance of the notion orbis terrarum by the way he incorporated it in his famous hymn Te deum laudamus, sung on every Christian feast-day throughout the medieval period. The emperor Augustus had coined the term to indicate the universality of the Roman Empire, governing ‘the whole world’ [Albu 2014; Ando 2000] and labelling all those who were not part of it as ‘barbarians’. Ambrose singled out the designation and appropriated it to state that this realm had now become essentially Christian, in one and the same breath marking all those who were not baptised as the new ‘barbarians’.

The period of late Antiquity also provides the legacy of legislation issued under the first Roman emperors who favoured Christianity, in the form of the Codex Theodosianus that collected the laws issued from Constantine (312 AD) until the middle of the fifth century. The Codex Theodosianus was compiled in the 420s and 430s and remained an influential source for the development of legislation in the post-Roman kingdoms [Wood 2010; Reimitz 2015]. The Theodosian Code introduces the Christian religion as an essential part of communal life and civic (social and legal) identity. The codex deals extensively with the process of conversion to Christianity in the Roman Empire. In it, laws are collected that express themselves on issues with regard to groups and individuals who did not convert to Christianity or chose a variant deviating from mainstream (‘orthodox’, or catholic) Christianity [Salzman 1993]. Jews, pagans, heretics,
and apostates are declared *alieni* in the Theodosian Code, which means that they were outsiders expelled from the right to participate in prestigious offices (*dignitates*) within the civic administration [Lo Nero 2001]. Pagans are declared ‘criminals’ in *Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.25, and their religion is defined as ‘superstition’ [Salzman 1993:368], while heretics are explicitly excluded from public office [Salzman 1993:375]. The Theodosian Code is an important reflection of the Christianisation of the Roman world in late Antiquity, and as such a crucial source to be examined for shifts in meaning of citizenship terminology under influence of the changing role Christianity had started to play as the sole legitimate religion in the late Roman Empire. The example Salzman provides with regard to the criminalisation of pagans and paganism is illustrative of this shift in meaning and its far-reaching social implications. Similarly, the example of the exclusion of heretics from participation in the government body emphasises the close connection between religious and public identity in the world of late Antiquity.

A systematic analysis of semantic changes with regard to the lexicon around *civis*, *civitas*, and *oecumene*, as defined in P1, will provide a new understanding of Christianity as the new marker of public identity, and will uncover the social implications of the application of citizenship terminology.

**Main deliverables:** 1. A scholarly peer-reviewed article by the PL and PD; 2. Articles in international peer reviewed journals based on conference papers (project conferences and international conferences).

### P3 Citizenship narrated (PhD 1, months 7-54)

**Aim:** analysis of citizenship terminology in narrative sources concerning saints as the most important role models in the Christian community.

**Sources, questions, background, method**

The main sources for this project are hagiography, or the written accounts of the lives of saints, and Christian apocrypha, the latter defined as anonymous and pseudepigraphic writings, not included in the biblical canon, that concentrate on biblical characters or events and/or are related to biblical literary genres [Gounelle 2014].

Ever since the first martyrs in the earliest centuries of Christianity, the martyrs’ acts have been recorded and commemorated, and saints have played a prominent role as models in the Christian community [Louth 2004]. While the miraculous tales about the lives and deaths of holy men and women have embarrassed scholars in the past, this awkward reaction to hagiography has changed fundamentally since new understandings of the genre as a window on contemporary societies were promoted by Peter Brown’s seminal studies on the topic [Brown 1971; Brown 1981]. Brown’s studies have given birth to a whole new tradition in hagiography studies in which the social function of the saint and his or her instrumentality in the formation of communities and community identities are at the forefront. To this we can add, in more recent scholarship from the period post-linguistic turn, a reading of hagiography as ‘persuasive literature’, composed not as a reflection of contemporary society but rather as a conscious programme that aimed at constructing the legal, political and social relations that formed and transformed early medieval society and its policies [Kreiner 2014]. In the light of this development, the question of the relation between saints and Christian understandings of citizenship presents itself.

From the very beginning of the cult of the saints in the West, saints redefined urban space as well as urban economic, cultural, and religious life. The case of St Martin is illustrative of the shift in urban geography that the cult of the saints could procure. During his lifetime, he was the bishop of Tours; since the Merovingian period, he has been venerated as a special patron saint throughout the medieval West. This is depicted by Barbara Rosenwein [Rosenwein 2009:46]: while late antique city life took place within the walls of the *metropolis civitas* of Tours, the fifth century found the ancient city virtually abandoned while the cemetery outside the walls filled with social and economic
activity around the basilica where St Martin was buried and venerated. In the later Middle Ages, the new urban complex became known as Martinopolis: 'City of St Martin' [Van Dam 1993; Pietri 1976]. Just as the cult of the saints transformed urban geography, so it redefined the identity of citizens. Membership in the local Christian community was expressed by means of citizenship terminology, where citizens defined themselves as 'citizens' of a local patron saint [Brown 2013:109]). Inhabitants of the South Italian city of Salerno, for example, living in the complex multi-ethnic and multi-religious culture of the Italian peninsula in the late tenth century, partly under Byzantine rule and frequently confronted with the threat of Arabic invasions, chose the apostle Matthew as their patron saint to mark their transition from Byzantine to Catholic Christianity. They defined themselves henceforth as 'citizens of Matthew' [Rose 2013a].

As is the case with hagiography, the study of Christian apocryphal literature has gone through an evolution from awkward puzzlement or at best amusement to an approach that does more justice to the material. The long-time approach to this literature as 'for education and enjoyment' that served to satisfy the curiosity of the faithful has now given way to a more subtle and versatile reading that acknowledges the sophisticated character of many of the apocryphal writings, requiring an informed intellectual audience [Gounelle 2014; Rose 2009]. In the case of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles in particular, the role of this literature as foundation myths has come to the surface; this paradigm shift is, in part, the result of the applicant's VIDI-project [Rose 2008; Rose 2009; Rose 2013a]. From this perspective, a too strict distinction between hagiography and apocrypha is to be avoided, and the study of medieval hagiography should include the literature on saints with a biblical background, as did medieval performative practice [Philippart 1977; Rose 2013b]. Previous research by the applicant has also explained the new relevance the early medieval period granted to the apocryphal literature on the apostles, in the early Christian tradition depicted as the first missionaries who spread Christianity 'to every corner of the world' (orbis terrarum) [Rose 2014]. The topicality of the apocryphal writings is indicated by the notable increase in manuscript copies in the eighth and ninth centuries [Rose 2013c], when military territorialism and Christian mission were intertwined in complex ways [McKitterick 2008]. The apocryphal Acts did more than just filling in the biographical lacunae the biblical New Testament shows with regard to the life of the apostles. These writings represent Christianity's universal claim inherited from Roman imperial rhetoric, translating Augustus's orbis terrarum [Ando 2000] into a Christian oecumene [Rapp 2014a; Albu 2014].

The apocryphal Acts of the Apostles show the ambivalent and often paradoxical ways in which Christian authors employed citizenship terminology. Rather than proclaiming the apostle as the new model citizen, he takes the position of the outsider and anti-citizen par excellence. This is clearly demonstrated by the apostle Thomas. He is featured in the Acts of Thomas as the main agent in the Christianisation of the 'entire world', but does so disguised as an outsider (peregrinus) and a slave (servus) and thus, in the paradoxical appearance of the anti-citizen [Rose 2016b; Elm 2014]. Although the topic of the apostle Thomas as a stranger has been signalled in previous scholarship [Drijvers 1990; Myers 2006], the applicant is the first to have studied this qualification in the context of citizenship discourse, thereby providing a model for a more encompassing study of citizenship terminology in the apocryphal Acts.

The PhD-student will apply discourse analysis to the corpora of saints' lives and Latin apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (Virtutes apostolorum). The hagiographic corpus is very well accessible through digital databases and online bibliographies [Philippart 1994; http://www.bollandistes.org/online-resources.php?pg=hagiographyworldwide]; the apocryphal Acts are accessible online as a result of the applicant's VIDI-project (eLaborate, housed by Huygens ING; see also 2e Data Management)

Main deliverables: 1. PhD-thesis (monograph); 2. Articles in international peer reviewed journals based on conference papers (project conferences and international conferences).
P4 Citizenship performed (PhD 2, months 7-54)

**Aim:** examine citizenship discourse in performative sources of Christian public worship, or liturgy.

**Sources, questions, background**
This sub-project analyses prayers, hymns, chants and sermons, and raises the question as to how citizenship discourse contributed to the frame of reference of the Christian community through texts in their ritual-performative context.

The study of liturgy has long suffered from an isolated position within the interdisciplinary context of Medieval Studies. Seen as a domain of which the highly technical nature was deemed to be reflected in the jargon word ‘liturgy’ itself [Symes 2016], and given the fact that until at least the 1960s the discipline was mastered primarily by scholars with a confessional background, a contextual and interdisciplinary study of the textual and material sources of Christian worship in the Middle Ages is a fairly recent development [Palazzo 2008]. The past decades have witnessed important shifts in the scholarly approach to medieval public worship. The focus on reading liturgical texts primarily as evidence of the development of Christian theology and doctrine has made way for a contextualised study of medieval liturgy that takes into account the social, cultural, and political world in which it was celebrated. An increasing awareness of the fragmentary character of the transmitted texts, which often lack any indication of performance and practice, has incited the inclusion of related sources, both textual and material, to gain insight into the nature of the communities that produced and used these texts. Thus, liturgical evidence has become ever more an instrument to study the complex societies of the early Middle Ages [Rose 2017].

Traditional liturgical scholarship tends to locate the origin of Christian worship primarily in its biblical and Jewish background. However, the case of the Ambrosian hymn *Te deum laudamus* above (see P2) is an example of a more general way of embedding the new religion and its cultic practices in prevailing traditions, by making use of existing instruments, such as the idiom of relevant discourses. The domain of worship pre-eminently offers the possibility of this strategy of ‘anchoring innovation’ [Sluiter 2017] to provide Christianity with a firm foundation. In addition, the reuse of this idiom has the advantage of offering the possibility to ‘convert’ it. This is particularly relevant for an exclusive religion, which Christianity was in the late antique and medieval period. Finally, within the context of Christian worship, the reuse of familiar terminology aiming at the production of radically new meaning of that terminology, as the example of *orbis terrarum* illustrates, is not confined to a religious elite but is meant to reach the faithful present in acts of public worship open to all [Rose 2017].

The liturgy encompasses a wide range of genres, which have in recent decades been made accessible in print and online. For the prayers of Mass, PhD2 has available the volumes of prayers, blessings and prefaces in Corpus Christianorum [Moeller 1992, also searchable online through Brepolis Library of Latin Texts, http://lt.blp.polio.library.uu.nl/cds]. For chants, the database *Cantus* is available online [http://cantusdatabase.org/] next to Hesbert’s print edition [Hesbert 1935; Hesbert 1963]. Hymns are collected in the *Analecta Hymnica*, now also available online [http://archive.org/search.php?%20query=analecta%20hymnica%20AND%20collection%3Atoronto]. For sermons, a selection will be made with the help of [Kienzle 2000] and [Diesenberger 2016] from the vast amount of material, the opening up of which is still in its infancy with regard to the early medieval period.

**Main deliverables:** 1. PhD-thesis (monograph); 2. Articles in international peer reviewed journals based on conference papers (project conferences and international conferences).

PS Participation in performance (PhD 3, months 7-54)

**Aim:** study participation in the religious cult of early medieval Christianity, focusing on language as an instrument to analyse mechanisms of community formation.
Method, questions, background, sources

The project will apply a socio-philological approach to the language of Christian worship in order to investigate how language promotes or hinders participation in the liturgy.

In the Christian religion ‘of the Book’ [Stroumsa 2008; McKitterick 1989] the faithful participated in rituals accompanied by texts, and this in and of itself requires a focus on the distinct kinds of literacy. The present sub-project will ask the question as to how members of the Christian congregation from various layers of society and, hence, with different levels of education and literacy, comprising both clergy and laity, had access to various kinds of textual and ritual communication thanks to their membership of the community. Focusing on a sacred language (Latin) that gradually ceased to be the mother tongue for all [Wright 2002], i.e. both laity and clergy, the language of texts accompanying the rituals of public worship is studied as an instrument of inclusion and exclusion. The traditional assumption of a dichotomy between a literate clergy and an illiterate laity has long been questioned, particularly since the ground-breaking studies by Brian Stock that discuss medieval literacy as a communal rather than an individual skill [Stock 1983; Stock 1984-85], alongside a modification [McKitterick 1977] of the long dominant view of early medieval public worship as a matter of an active performing clergy and a passive spectator’s role for the faithful. Still, the question remains as to the accessibility of the highly stylised prayers, recited in a language that gradually became a ‘second’ language to all, including the members of the clergy who performed the recitation.

The process of Latin becoming a language to be learned in school rather than at one’s mother’s knee was quickened by the language reforms of the eighth and ninth centuries. One of the central aims of these reforms was to restore the pronunciation of Latin according to classical norms in order to make the language comprehensible also to non-native speakers. An illustrative example of the way the pronunciation of Latin deviated from schoolroom norms in regions where it had remained the native language until well into the early Middle Ages is the common tendency to swallow unstressed syllables in polysyllabic words, as is visualised in the writing of the example *domnus* for *dominus*. The successful restoration campaign issued by Charlemagne and guided by the scholar Alcuin from York (735-804, a non-native speaker of Latin) resulted in the remarkable outcome that Latin spoken according to the reform rules now became incomprehensible to native speakers [Wright 1982; Banniard 2013].

In the previously mentioned dichotomies in the levels of literate clergy and illiterate laity, it is not only the presupposed lack of textual and ritual literacy on the part of the laity and, hence, the degree of their active involvement with and participation in public worship that is at stake. In contemporary scholarship, the textual literacy of the clergy is also questioned [Muschiol 2004; Barrau 2011; Mostert 2016]. Recently, the applicant has proposed a method to study this matter further [Rose 2016a]. The method takes patterns of correction in handwritten sources that transmit the texts used in public worship as its focus. It examines to what degree there is concern for the grammatical correctness of texts, characteristic of the early medieval world, in particular with regard to texts used in a sacred context such as liturgy [McKitterick 2008:315-320]. This is shown by the presence of corrections of textual errors in various grammatical categories (orthography, verbal and nominal morphology, syntax, vocabulary). This previous work will serve as a model for the present sub-project. By focusing not only on ‘the illiterate’ (the laity) but also on the levels of Latin literacy in the ninth and tenth centuries among the trained clergy, the main target group of Charlemagne’s language reforms, this sub-project will provide important new knowledge on the stages in which the Latin language evaluated as a language to be learned in school.

To this end, the PhD3 will investigate not only manuscripts dating to the period just before and during the language reforms (basically the later seventh and the eighth centuries), but will also include ninth- and tenth-century handbooks for priests outside the great monastic and episcopal (urban) centres [Van Rhijn 2016], which reflect the level of Latin in clerical circles in the periphery. These manuscripts have only recently attracted the interest of scholars.
Main deliverables: 1. PhD-thesis (monograph); 2. Articles in international peer reviewed journals based on conference papers (project conferences and international conferences).

P6 Urban and non-urban citizenship discourse (PD, months 15-42)

Aim: investigate in how far the transformation of citizenship terminology in the early Middle Ages is or is not related to actual cities. Urban culture developed in different ways in the post-Roman West, showing more continuity in e.g. Southern France and Italy than in other regions.

Method, questions, background, sources
This sub-project applies a comparative approach, investigating the use of citizenship discourse in urban and non- or less-urban environments.

Is the notion of citizenship more present in urban regions than in non-urban environments? And more present in the centre than in the periphery? The previous sub-projects highlighted citizenship discourse in urban settings. The postdoc will explore how citizenship terminology draws boundaries between insiders and outsiders, what the social and legal implications of these demarcations are, and whether or not the use of citizenship terminology in sources with an urban background is different from the use of the same terminology in sources related to non-urban regions. The sub-project will investigate the relation between, on the one hand, a symbolic use of citizenship terminology, and, on the other, an appeal to citizenship terms as representing legal implications on the other.

The emphasis on baptism as access to a new kind of citizenship analysed by Claudia Rapp [Rapp 2014b] is expressed in the didactic sermons held by John Chrysostom, bishop of Antioch (349-407). Chrysostom promoted a Christian understanding of citizenship, defined as ‘citizenship of the heavenly city of Jerusalem’ [Rapp 2014b] and built on Christian dignitas, or moral qualities, as more meaningful than being a citizen of the city of Antioch, where this citizenship was primarily focused on legal status and privileges [Lo Nero 2001]. Chrysostom’s sermons and teaching are understood within the context of Antioch having lost its status of metropole (metropolitana dignitas) in 387 CE because of its revolt against imperial taxes [Lo Nero 2001]. John Chrysostom lived in the decades after the reign of Constantine, the first emperor who let the legal status of cities depend on their Christian character and granted polis autonomy to cities with a pronounced Christian population, while disallowing similar status to other, traditionally more prominent cities that lacked a Christian majority among its inhabitants [Rapp 2014a]. Another example, mentioned in P3 and highlighting the saint as defining the identity of cives, appears in a hymn composed by archbishop Alfanus of Salerno in late eleventh-century southern Italy. In this region, urban culture showed more continuity in the period 400-1100 than was the case in, for example, the regions North of the Alps or in the periphery of the British Isles.

These examples suggest that citizenship terminology remained relevant in a Christian context in regions where the city remained a meaningful category, for instance as a legal community. This assumption is, however, challenged by a close reading of sources that lack this urban background. In the sixth century, the British monk Gildas wrote a moral critique in the time of crisis when the Saxons invaded Britain. The work is difficult to interpret. Although it resembles a public address rather than systematic historiography —Gildas himself uses the word epistola [George 2009]— Gildas is often spoken of as a ‘historiographer’ in modern textbooks, and his work is qualified by Julia Smith as ‘the only historiographic description’ of the period of Roman rule in Britain and of the Saxon invasions predating the great historiographer Bede († 735) [Smith 1977-1999]. Previous scholarship has pointed to the paradoxical use of citizenship terminology in this work. Peter Brown emphasised the role of the term civis, adopted by Gildas to refer not to the Romans but to the Britons themselves as ‘fellow-citizens’ and, by doing so, to distinguish them from ‘unchristian’ foreigners: Romans and Saxons alike [Brown 2013]. Peter Turner analysed the use of the term civis as an example of the tendency in
Gildas’s work to offer a unifying common identity to a deeply divided people [Turner 2009].

Comparing centre and periphery from a chronological perspective, Ian Wood signalled a similarly paradoxical contrast in the use of the term barbarus. The traditionally pejorative term distinguishing insiders (citizens) and outsiders in Greek and Roman Antiquity was co-opted in the fifth and sixth century CE by the barbarians themselves as a proud nickname suitable to underline their equality with the Romans. Moving away in time from the chronological centre of imperial Rome, the seventh century witnessed the revival of the pejorative use of the term, again to indicate ‘otherness’ and to express ‘disparagement’ or even enmity [Wood 2011].

Sub-project P6 focuses on the legal and symbolic role of the city in historiographic and legal documents. The case of Gildas has indicated how wide the net must be cast with regard to the ‘genre’ of historiography in early medieval practice. It also shows ways in which peoples on the fringes of or even outside the Roman Empire phrased matters of identity in relation to Rome. The investigation of legal documents includes prescriptive or normative documents such as church councils, royal and episcopal capitularies, but will also explore the ways in which newcomers in the Roman Empire and their heirs integrated and appropriated Roman legislation with regard to citizenship [Reimitz 2015; Esders 1997].

Main deliverables: 1. Three peer-review scholarly articles; 2. Articles in international peer reviewed journals based on conference papers (project conferences and international conferences).

**P7 The Implications of Citizenship Discourses in the Medieval West, 400-1100 (PL, months 25-60)**

**Aim:** synthesise the results of the sub-project in a monograph.

**Method, impact**
Whereas previous scholarship, mentioned in P1, has focused on the relevance of single terms or sets of terms derived from ancient Roman citizenship language in a confined number of ages closely following the end of the Rome Empire in the West, the synthesis here applies an approach that is both systematic and considering the longue durée of citizenship discourse in the early medieval West. This approach will uncover both continuities in the use of citizenship terminology and, at the same time, discontinuities in the understanding of these terms, which acquired new meanings in the changing political, social, and religious constellations of the early medieval world. The complex interplay of continuity in use and discontinuity in meaning is characteristic of the paradox that underlies the construction of Christian communities.

If the history of the construction of early medieval Christian communities is one of discord rather than harmony, as previous scholarship has brought to light [Pohl 2003], then citizenship language is pre-eminently the key to unlocking the tensions caused by the demarcation of new boundaries between insiders and outsiders, between those who inhabit the civitas christiana both here on earth and in the hereafter, and those who are and remain strangers to it. The general claim in textbooks that citizenship as a concept is difficult to use for the medieval period because of the danger of anachronism [Haverkamp 1977-1999] is refuted by a nuanced acknowledgment of the vital role citizenship language and terminology played in the early Middle Ages, and by the investigation of the social implications of this discourse.

Main deliverables: a monograph, which will present the results of the project as a whole and express its relevance for future scholarly investigations. The monograph will elaborate on case studies, most notably the paradox of the insider as citizen (civis) as opposed to the non-citizen, portrayed as the outsider or stranger (peregrinus). Moreover, the publication will express the relevance and value of the new research line that an
examination of citizenship discourse in the early Middle Ages offers for medieval studies in general.
### Research Plan

#### Work Plan

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### Timeline

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Local, national, and international collaboration

The project will be carried out at the Faculty of Humanities, Utrecht University with the applicant as project leader. The team of PhD-supervisors will include Peter Schrijver (Chair of Celtic Studies) and Marco Mostert (Chair of Medieval History), while Josine Blok (Chair of Ancient History) will be a local member of the advisory board. The VICI team members will be embedded in the interdisciplinary Utrecht Centre for Medieval Studies (UCMS), in which researchers in Medieval Studies from the research institutes for Cultural Inquiry (ICON) and History and Art History (OGK) collaborate. Medieval Studies at Utrecht University is characterised by a long-time focus on the period of late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Utrecht University is the only Dutch University with an elaborate graduate programme in Medieval Studies in which the disciplines relevant for the project are represented at an internationally acknowledged high level. The VICI-team will make vital contributions to the fields of Medieval Latin and the history of early medieval Christianity within this context. The project members are all hosted by the focus area Culture, Citizenship and Human Rights (CCHR).

Through its active participation in the national Research School for Medieval Studies, the project will contribute to the research agenda of the affiliated Dutch and Flemish institutes. The PhD-students will follow the School’s scholarly training programme, including specialised Master Classes as well as advanced courses to develop skills in the analysis of medieval written sources, manuscripts, and language (Latin). The applicant is affiliated with the national Research School in Classical Studies (OIKOS) and its research focus Anchoring Innovation.

The applicant has a wide and interdisciplinary international network, which includes world-leading experts in the main fields of the project. The project members will benefit from this network and will have the possibility to do part of the research at the institutes to which the project is connected. The most central partners are professor Claudia Rapp at the Institute for Byzantine and Neo-Greek Studies in Vienna, and the PhD-exchange programme ‘Transformation of the Carolingian World’ developed by Helmut Reimitz at Princeton University and Maximilian Diesenberger at the Institute of Medieval Research in Vienna. The project as a whole is closely connected to the international book project Civic Identities and Civic Participation in the Later Roman Empire and Early Middle Ages: Power, Society, and Community in a Changing World (CICP, see 4g), initiated by the applicant and Cédric Brélaz (Faculty of Arts, University of Fribourg, Switzerland). This book project brings together world-leading scholars in the field of ancient and late antique citizenship studies to write a volume. All project members will attend the workshops organised at Utrecht by the applicant within the framework of this book project. At a more specialised level, the PhD-student working on P3 will find an important platform of exchange and education provided by the Association for the Study of Christian Apocryphal Literature (AELAC). This PhD-candidate will also be able to participate in the biennial International Summer School on Christian Apocryphal Literature (ISCAL) organised by Rémi Gounelle at Strasbourg University. The applicant is a member of AELAC and co-organised and taught in ISCAL 1 (see section 4g below). The PhD carrying out sub-project P5 will take part in workshops on priests’ handbooks organised frequently by Carine van Rhijn at Utrecht University.
2b. Knowledge utilisation

**Potential: two partners**

Citizenship matters in the multicultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious societies of present-day Europe. A deeper understanding of historical citizenship discourses and the exchange between citizenship and religion helps to grasp the tensions and ambiguities that the perception of citizenship causes today. The project engages two social partners with which the applicant has collaborated in previous activities: the cultural platform of the city of Utrecht, where the project is carried out, and through which academic knowledge is shared with an audience from outside academia, and secondary education. Regarding Utrecht’s cultural platform, the focus is on the historical development and actual significance of local heritage, mainly the role of saints in medieval Utrecht and how this is employed in present-day programmes of urban culture and citizenship. Regarding secondary education, the applicant builds on her expertise through her membership of Utrecht University’s Scholennetwerk, in which framework she visits schools, performs master classes in secondary education (Greijdanus Zwolle, October 2016), and allows students in the final years of secondary education to attend her regular classes as part of their portfolio ‘choice of future academic education’.

**Implementation: two projects**

**Project A (PA): A Citizenship of Sharing**

The city of Utrecht is a living example of the multi-layered history of the transition from Roman imperial rule to regal and episcopal dominion in the early Middle Ages, which forms the historical background to the project as a whole. The various layers are still visible in present-day Utrecht, where the city council together with cultural entrepreneurs invest in exploiting this cultural heritage by making it accessible to a large audience. Next to interactive archaeological exhibitions [http://www.domunder.nl/; http://www.castellumhogewoerd.nl/], the annual celebration of the city’s patron saint since Roman times, St Martin, is a vital urban activity to which the present project relates. St Martin is connected to the early medieval church built on the site of the Roman castellum (now Domplein), and his name is linked to the city of Utrecht until the present day. While annual celebrations of St Martin, venerated for the way he shared his cloak with a beggar, were incorporated in local folklore in other provinces of the Netherlands, this was not the case in the province or city of Utrecht. Here, the 1990s witnessed a reinvention of the tradition in which primary schools played a central role. The traditional feast for young children gradually developed into an urban event where a multi-day celebration now includes the reception by the mayor of school classes who chant the ‘St Maartens-rap’ [http://www.sintmaartenutrecht.nl/fotos-en-videos/videos]. The inclusion of this musical style rooted in Afro-American street culture is characteristic of a translation of the medieval and Christian St Martin’s tradition into a multi-cultural urban tool to share common values and engage (young) people in citizenship education. The celebration of St Martin in present-day Utrecht is incorporated in the European Cultural Centre of Saint Martin of Tours, sponsored by the European Council, and founded to exploit the cult of St Martin and its significance for present-day Europe. The focus is on the symbolic and universal meaning of sharing, translated into a programme of a ‘citizenship of sharing’ (partage citoyen) that deals with contemporary forms of sharing cultural, ecological, and humanitarian goods and values [http://www.saintmartindetours.eu]. In 2018, the Centre will organise its annual conference in Utrecht, to which the present project will contribute with lectures on saints’ cults and citizenship past and present. In preparation of this, the applicant will perform two lectures on contemporary urban culture and patron saints in the jubilee year 2016 (1700th anniversary of St Martin), on 14 October [http://www.sintmaartenutrecht.nl/] and 8 November [https://www.catharijneconvent.nl/bezoek-ons/lezingen-en-activiteiten/]. Project PA builds on the applicant’s expertise in the field of St Martin and his cult, both in the form of academic publications [Rose 1997b; Rose 2001a] and with
regard to sharing knowledge with a non-academic audience [Rose 1997a; Rose 2001b].

**Project B (PB): Master Class Citizenship and Religion**

Within the scope of Utrecht University’s Rectors League and Scholennetwork, the Utrecht Centre for Medieval Studies has set up a strong tradition of sharing academic knowledge with secondary education. The present project builds on and contributes to this specific expertise of Utrecht medievalists that has developed over the past decade by providing thematic courses and master classes in secondary schools. Together with partner Corderius College Amersfoort, a number of medievalists have designed and performed course material for the school’s most advanced students who follow extra classes [http://lesplannenmiddeleeuwen.wp.hum.uu.nl/]. Concepts and material from a historically remote past are made relevant by connecting them to topical social issues, while the didactic model provides students with autonomy in the execution of the project and enables them to perform as a researcher in an academic tradition [Visser 2013]. Within this framework, Corderius College has asked the applicant to develop a master class on religion and citizenship in the framework of Social Studies (Maatschappijleer), Classics, and History. The cycle will start with historical sources on citizenship and religion as studied in the project and will offer formats to discuss the issue of citizenship in its relation with religion from the perspective of present-day citizenship discourse. The students will actively contribute to the project by preparing an anthology of translated Latin sources together with the project members, including the PL, PhD-students and interns (the latter recruited from the Research Master Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Studies at Utrecht University).

**Time table and results**

**PA** will be executed by the applicant supported by the research assistant in the calendar year 2018. The sub-project will consist of a session in the annual conference of the Centre Européen Saint Martin de Tours, to be held in Utrecht. The lectures have a broad non-academic audience in mind and will be published in the conference proceedings. **PB** will be prepared and performed in the academic years 2018-19 and in 2019-20. The anthology *Citizenship and Religion in Historical Perspective: Introduction, Translation and Commentary of Medieval Sources* will be created during the years 2018-20 and completed in 2021.

**2c. Number of words used**

section 2a **7685 words** (max. 8,000 words)

section 2b **989 words** (max. 1,000 words)
2d. Literature references


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http://www.bollandistes.org/online-resources.php?pg=hagiographyworldwide
http://cantusdatabase.org/
http://www.castellumhogewoerd.nl/
http://clt.brepols.net.proxy.library.uu.nl/cds/
http://www.domunder.nl/
https://www.catharijneconvent.nl/bezoek-ons/lezingen-en-activiteiten/
http://lesplannenmiddeleeuwen.wp.hum.uu.nl/
http://www.saintmaartenutrecht.nl/
http://www.sintmaartenutrecht.nl/fotos-en-videos/videos
http://www.saintmartindetours.eu
2e. Data management

1. Will data be collected or generated that are suitable for reuse?
   Yes

2. Where will the data be stored during the research?

   The Data Management Plan will concern two kinds of data: (1) Collected data that will result from project P1; (2) digital copies of manuscripts as well as their transcriptions that will result from all sub-projects but mainly from sub-project P5.

   (1) During the research, the collected data will be stored on the university server hosted by Utrecht University with daily backups. It will be published in the monograph resulting from sub-project P7.

   (2) Digital copies of manuscripts will not be stored in separate repositories as they are accessible online through the libraries and institutions that own the manuscripts. Larger libraries, such as the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and the Bibliotheca apostolica Vaticana are generally slower with the digitalisation of their large manuscript collections. If online copies are not available during the project, it will be possible to upload scans of microfilms to the repository that hosts the transcriptions (see below).

   Transcriptions of manuscript sources made during the project will be stored at eLaborate (Huygens ING). The applicant has collaborated with eLaborate in the framework of the VIDI-project (2008-2012). Since eLaborate works with an interactive presentation of manuscripts, allowing not only transcriptions but also scans of the original source, those manuscripts that are not yet available online in the larger libraries (see above) will be found digitized here.

3. After the project has been completed, how will the data be stored for the long-term and made available for the use by third parties? To whom will the data be accessible?

   (1) The database will be stored in DANS EASY and will be made accessible to registered users of EASY.

   (2) Scans of manuscripts and their transcriptions will be stored in eLaborate and made there accessible to all.

4. Which facilities (ICT, (secure) archive, refrigerators or legal expertise) do you expect will be needed for the storage of data during the research and after the research? Are these available?*

   ICT support offered by Utrecht University, DANS and eLaborate to make the material accessible when stored, are all available.

*ICT facilities for data storage are considered to be resources such as data storage capacity, bandwidth for data transport and calculating power for data processing.
### Cost estimates

#### 3a. Budget

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staff</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>FTE*</th>
<th>Mont hs</th>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
<th>Year 4</th>
<th>Year 5</th>
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<td>97</td>
<td>295.1</td>
<td>330.2</td>
<td>351.3</td>
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<td>Travel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Other</td>
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<td>365,7</td>
<td>370,8</td>
<td>341,9</td>
<td>1500k</td>
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</table>
4f. Brief summary of research over the last five years (max. 250 words)

A twofold research focus in the past five years has led organically to the present application. The first years of this period saw the full development and completion of my VIDI-project. The results were published in 2012-2013 in the form of extensive articles in leading peer-reviewed and specialised journals (see 5c). The papers presented at the international Expert Meeting were published in a special issue under my editorship, whereas the results of the first International Summer School on Christian Apocryphal Literature in Strasbourg, co-organised and taught by the members of the VIDI-project, were published in an international series. The PhD-student defended his thesis successfully in 2013, and an RMA-student/intern won the Faculty Thesis Award 2012. The VIDI-project as a whole brought about a paradigm shift in the study of Christian apocrypha by positioning this kind of literature in an interdisciplinary approach (Cultural Memory Studies), by opening up the handwritten sources with digital techniques (eLaborate), and by thinking through new editorial principles based on a linguistic approach.

After the VIDI, I took up the study of sacred language that is not the mother tongue to investigate how language works as an instrument of socio-cultural in- and exclusion. The embedding of this research question in the relation between religion and citizenship resulted in a fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. This stay at one of the world’s leading research institutes both strengthened (2a2: Transformation of the Carolingian World) and renewed (2a2: Brélaz=4g: CICP) the international embedding of the present proposal.

4g. International activities (see Notes)

Fellowships, visiting scholarships

2015-16 Fellow, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton (first semester)

2005-06 Fellow, Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies (second semester), nucleus The Formation of Carolingian Political Identity

2004-05 Visiting Scholar, Harvard University (first semester), with François Bovon and Beverly Kienzle

International book projects

- Together with Cédric Brélaz, University of Fribourg, the project CICP: preparation of a collaborative volume Civic Identities and Civic Participation in the Later Roman Empire and Early Middle Ages: Power, Society, and Community in a Changing World. Editor: Brepols, Cultural Encounters of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (proposal accepted).

For completed international book projects, see section 5c, nos. 16-19.

Guest lectureships

2012 First International Summer School on Christian Apocryphal Literature: co-organiser, guest lecturer and team-leader. Strasbourg, June 24-27, with Rémi Gounelle and Gabriela Arragione

2007 International Summer School Medieval Studies, Utrecht University. Kazimierz Dolny (Poland), August 18-25


2005 UCLA, Los Angeles, December 7-8, with Claudia Rapp

Organisation of international conferences


2006 Workshop ‘Apostolica in the Carolingian Age’. VENI-project, NIAS, Wassenaar, May 12

2003 International Conference Societas Liturgica ‘A cloud of witnesses’, Veldhoven, August 11-16

Library visits for manuscript study

2012 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
2012 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
2011 Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève
2004, 1998 Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana

Memberships (international)

Member Association pour l’étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne

Member International Societas Liturgica

Member Steering Committee ERC ITN ‘Ritualizing Time’, co-ordinator Johan Leemans, KU Leuven, preparing application 2017

4h. Other academic activities (see Notes)

Organisation of national conferences


Lectures at international conferences and seminars (selection)

‘In medio Iherusalem: Constructions of ’Civic Identity’ in Early Medieval Public Worship’ Memory and Identity in the Middle Ages: The Construction of a Cultural Memory of the Holy Land (4th-16th centuries), Amsterdam, 26-27 May 2016
‘The Semantics of Citizenship, 500-1250’
Committee for the Study of Late Antiquity (CSLA), Princeton University, 18 November 2015 (invited)

International Symposium on Christian Apocryphal Literature: Ancient Christian Literature and Christian Apocrypha, Thessaloniki, 26-29 June 2014 (Keynote, invited)

‘The Text Transmission of the Virtutes apostolorum’, Dole, annual meeting AELAC, 30 June-2 July 2011 (invited)


‘Liturgical Portraits of the Apostles in the Early Medieval West’. Saints’ Liturgies: Profiles of a Practice in the Middle Ages, Princeton University, Program in Medieval Studies 12-13 November 2010 (invited)


‘Pseudo-Abdias and the Problem of Apostle Apocrypha in the Latin Middle Ages: a Literary and Liturgical Perspective’. Tradizioni apocrife e tradizioni agiografiche: fonti e ricerche a confronto. Seminario promosso dall’Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell’Agiografia (AISSCA) e dall’Association pour l’étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne (AELAC), Rome, 9-10 March 2006 (invited)

‘Clash of Altars, Clash of Cults: The Foundation of Christianity in Apocryphal and Liturgical Texts’. Autour de l’autel chrétien médiéval III. At the invitation of CNRS Paris and Université de Bourgogne, research group ‘Archéologie, cultures et sociétés’, Dijon, 6 October 2005 (invited)

**Editorial boards and peer review**

Editorial Board *Apocrypha*; Advisory Board *Sacris erudiri*

Peer review for a.o. *Sacris erudiri, Viator, Memory Studies, Queeste*, Cambridge University Press, Corpus Christianorum in Translation; NWO Mozaïek

**Memberships (national)**
Member Genootschap voor Oudchristelijke studiën (Society for Early Christian Studies)

**Senior Qualifications**

Senior Qualification Teaching 2012
Senior Qualification Research 2010

**Membership NWO selection committees**

- PhD selection: NWO Mozaïek committee 2012
- coaching PhD applications: NWO Mozaïek 2010 (adviser)
Chair
- Chair Utrecht Centre for Medieval Studies (2013-present)
- Chair Major Greek and Latin, BA Taal-en cultuurstudies (2015-present)
- Chair team BA Minor Greek (2015-present)
- Chair team BA Minor Latin (2015-present)
- Chair educational project Grammar (2009-2015)
- Chair educational project Academic Writing Skills (2009-2015)
5a. Output indicators
Articles in peer reviewed international journals; Books or book chapters; Single author; in case of several authors they normally appear in alphabetical order.

5b. Top-publications (max. 5): the most representative works resulting from the projects VENI (1, 2), VIDI (4, 5) and IAS (3)

5c. Output (selection; for a complete list see //www.uu.nl/staff/HGERose/2)

Refereed articles (8)
2. ‘Paratexts in the Virtutes apostolorum’, Viator 44 (2013), 369-385
4. with Liedeke Plate: ‘Rewriting, a Literary Concept for the Study of Cultural Memory: Towards a Transhistorical Approach to Cultural Remembrance’, Neophilologus 97 (2013), 611-625
5. ‘Liturgical Latin in the Missale Gothicum (Vat. reg. lat. 317). A Reconsideration of Christine Mohrmann’s Approach’, Sacris erudiri 42 (2003), 97-121

Non-refereed articles (8)
7. ‘La réécriture des Actes apocryphes des apôtres au Moyen Age latin’, Apocrypha 22 (2011), 135-166

Books (monographs) (5)
15. Communitas in commemoratione. Liturgisch Latijn en liturgische gedachtenis in het Missale Gothicum (Vat. reg. lat. 317) (PhD thesis Utrecht University, 2001; English title: Communitas in commemoratione. Liturgical Latin and Liturgical Commemoration in the Missale Gothicum (Vat. reg. lat. 317)
Books (edited volumes) (8)

16. Max Diesenberger, Rob Meens, Els Rose (eds.), The Prague Sacramentary: Culture, Religion and Politics in Late Eighth-century Bavaria, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016)


18. Special Issue Apocrypha 23 (2012), 'The Dynamics of Apocryphal Traditions in Medieval Religious Culture'


Book chapters (27)


22. S 'The Sanctoral Cycle of the Prague Sacramentary’, in Diesenberger et al. (eds.), The Prague Sacramentary (see no. 16), 73-93


27. S 'Fasting Flocks. Lenten Season in Early Medieval Liturgical Communities’, in Richard Corradini, Rob Meens, Christina Possel, Philip Shaw (eds.), Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), 289-301
