Migration and Cultural Dynamics.
A Glocal History of Lucca in the Early Middle Ages
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The project is part of a larger endeavour to examine the history of migration and its importance for cross-cultural interaction and entanglement in the greater Euro-Mediterranean region over the course of the medieval millennium. As such, it stands in the relatively young tradition of global history. In contrast to universal histories that describe actions and events as part of the supposed development of humankind as a whole towards an ideal goal, global history is understood to describe economic, cultural and social interactions within systems of global reach without the implication of a linear development or teleology in history.[1] Obviously, cross-cultural interactions never spanned the whole planet during the middle ages as the medieval world only comprised Europe, Asia, and North Africa.[2] However, there are no claims to a global scope connected to the usurpation of the label 'global history' but a commitment to the transcultural perspective and methodology behind that label.[3] It is the awareness of the interconnectivity and incessant hybridization of cultures and the interest in cultural dynamics, cross-cultural interaction, and entanglement that the projected study shares with this approach.[4] The commitment to global history is not a question of scope, but of perspective.

Long-distance trade, imperial expansion and mass migrations have been singled out as the most important processes of cross-cultural interaction in the pre-modern era.[5] But migration can also be regarded as a basic condition of all of human history. Historians have, however, been quick to provide simple and holistic descriptions of migrations as a direct movement of persons that left their homes to arrive as uprooted strangers in another society to which they gradually assimilated. Only in the past decades much work has been done to draw more detailed pictures of migrations, of migrants, and of migratory contexts: In all periods, people made the decision to leave their homes in order to seek a better life in other regions; they do so within cultural, political, and economic frameworks and within social and family relationships weighing perceived opportunity costs against the hoped-for benefits. But many were also forced to migrate as refugees, slaves, or exiles. Migrants

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1   J. Osterhammel, 'Transkulturell vergleichende Geschichtswissenschaft', in J. Kocka and H.-G. Haupt (eds.), *Geschichte und Vergleich. Ansätze und Ergebnisse international vergleichender Geschichtsschreibung* (Frankfurt a. M., 1996), pp. 271–313; J. Osterhammel, '"Weltgeschichte": Ein Propädeutikum', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 56.9 (2005), pp. 452–79.
2   M. Borgolte, 'Migrationen als transkulturelle Verflechtungen im mittelalterlichen Europa. Ein neuer Pflug für alte Forschungsfelder', *Historische Zeitschrift* 289.2 (2009), pp. 261–86, at pp. 261–270.
3   W. Welsch, 'Transkulturalität. Zwischen Globalisierung und Partikularisierung', *Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache* 26 (2000), pp. 327–51.
4   W. Drews, 'Transkulturelle Perspektiven in der mittelalterlichen Historiographie. Zur Diskussion welt- und global-geschichtlicher Entwürfe in der aktuellen Geschichtswissenschaft', *Historische Zeitschrift* 292.1 (2011), pp. 31–59; J. Dücker and M. Müllerburg, 'Bilanz eines Aufbruchs', in M. Borgolte et al. (eds.), *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter, Europa im Mittelalter* 18 (Berlin, 2011), pp. 561–86.
5   J.H. Bentley, 'Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History', *The American Historical Review* 101 (1996), pp. 749–70, at p. 752.

have connected and changed the different contexts they left, passed through, arrived in, or returned to in a number of ways: they work, build, and trade, they write home, follow spouses, and invite others to follow, they have children, practice religion, and found cities. At times, migrants formed the majority of many societies while being confronted with a non-migratory, yet socially and discursively powerful minority. In the course of complex processes of economic and political integration and cultural and social adjustment transcultural spaces are formed in all contexts affected by migration. They belong neither to the context of migrants' departure nor to the context of their arrival – nor are they merely compounds of both – but are true hybrids. Over time, migrant communities, receiving societies and those left behind will come to share certain discourses and other cultural phenomena, they will interact within shared social systems and may ultimately blend to form a new culturally hybrid societies. Such trans-cultural hybridizations have been the rule in every society throughout history and the notion that 'pure' cultures ever existed is more than outdated. But as societies consist of different fields and subsystems unequally receptive to change, these processes of hybridization will go at different speeds in different fields, and in some fields a complete hybridization may only occur after many generations or even never at all. Differences observed between Self and Other in one field (e. g. religion) however can be completely ignored in others (e. g. trade).[6]

Recent scholarship on migrations certainly shares many of the aims and methods of medieval global history and both also share the fundamental scepticism toward the holistic notion of cultural containers. However, the accuracy of the new models – developed from studies of migration in the modern era and broadened in theoretical reflections – cannot be verified nor refuted for the European middle ages today. In what numbers, when, where from and where to humans migrated, under what conditions and with what consequences can hardly be determined as we completely lack the necessary tools for broad empirical research. In recent years, much attention has been paid to the so-called Migration Period.[7] The little historical evidence we have – together with evidence from linguistics, archaeology, and, recently, population genetics[8] – has been discussed at length. The image of a host of Germanic peoples leaving their Scandinavian *Urheimat*

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6 C. Harzig and D. Hoerder, *What is migration history?* (Cambridge, 2009); D. Hoerder, *Cultures in contact. World migrations in the second millennium*, *Comparative and international working-class history* (Durham, 2002); H. Kleinschmidt, *Menschen in Bewegung. Inhalte und Ziele historischer Migrationsforschung* (Göttingen, 2002).

7 M. Borgolte, 'Mythos Völkerwanderung: Migration oder Expansion bei den "Ursprüngen Europas"', *Viator* 41 Multilingual (2010), pp. 23–47.

8 P. Geary, 'Völkerwanderung as Cross-Cultural Interaction', in M. Borgolte et al. (eds.), *Europa im Geflecht der Welt. Mittelalterliche Migrationen in globalen Bezügen*, *Europa im Mittelalter* 20 (Berlin, 2012), pp. 45–55.

in a distant past and roaming through the Euro-Mediterranean region for more than a millennium each held together by oral tradition and charismatic leadership of a noble elite has been shown to be misleading, but it is still upheld by some, most notably the adherents of the Vienna School of ethnogenesis.[9] As these debates on the Migration Period have conclusively shown, however, ethnic continuity is a myth.[10] Its critics chiefly aimed at – and succeeded in – deconstructing the long and calamitous tradition of ethnic interpretations in early mediaeval history.[11] With their many justified theoretical and methodological caveats they have left historians with the notion that little can be said about the migrations in the 5th and 6th centuries with the help of their methods due to a sheer lack of an empirical basis. But they have also reminded us that the notion of culturally homogeneous communities – imagined communities that allegedly share language, laws and customs, territory and polity, modes of production and distribution, religious beliefs and practices, tradition and heritage – are an ideological oversimplification of the complex groups that exist in human societies with their stratifications and functional differentiations. Ethnicity is only one of many collective categories that may stand next to categories like estate, religious affiliation, profession, political allegiance, legal status, kinship, etc. Groups are by no means fix, the meaning of the terms that describe them change over time, and so does the set of persons included in each of them.

What is more: Groups do not change 'intransitively' in 'social' or 'cultural' processes that are thought to lie behind or beneath specific interactions. Instead, group formations are themselves a social act, or rather an act of association. It thus would seem more plausible to speak of ethnopoiesis[12] than of ethnogenesis – if we discover ethnicity to be a valid category in the early middle ages at all. Just as societies are described today to be the *result* of incessant interactions, instead of containers filled with social adhesive in which human interactions take place, the notion of cultural containers or cultural fabric that exists independently from – or beneath, between, or behind – interactions seems dubious today: Groups cannot be described by ostensive

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9   Cf. in English: W. Pohl (ed.), *Strategies of distinction. The construction of ethnic communities, 300–800*, *The transformation of the Roman World* 2 (Leiden, 1998); H. Wolfram, 'Origo et religio. Ethnic traditions and Literature in Early Medieval Texts', *Early Medieval Europe* 3 (1994), pp. 19–38; H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley, 1988); for a more diverse, yet clearly etnogenesis-centered collection of papers also cf. H.-W. Goetz, W. Pohl, and J. Jarnut (eds.), *Regna and gentes. The relationship between late antique and early medieval peoples and kingdoms in the transformation of the Roman world*, *The transformation of the Roman World* 13 (Leiden, 2003).

10   A. Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity. Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 4 (Turnhout, 2002); C. Bowlus, 'Ethnogenesis models and the age of migrations: a critique', *Austrian History Yearbook* 26 (1995), pp. 147–64.

11   P.J. Geary, E*uropäische Völker im frühen Mittelalter. Zur Legende vom Werden der Nationen*, *Europäische Geschichte* (Frankfurt a. M., 2002), in English: *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, NJ, 2003).

12   This term highlights ethnicity's character as an artifice. It was used in the context of ethnic identities in the Middle Ages in a presentation by S. Sønnesyn, 'Norman ethnopoiesis', Heidelberg (2010).

definitions but by performative definitions only; they do not exist like solid objects, they are performed and disappear as soon as its members cease to constantly renew it with their actions. The intuition that interactions between individuals don't take place in a vacuum certainly is correct, but it is not a 'social' or 'cultural' fabric that holds groups together but other actions in different places and times that are made present via a chain of physical mediators and the physical presence of the actors involved. Changes in the ways people interact can thus be explained by the imperfect representation of other interactions by mediators, which are considered to have an active part in actions, or by new connections with actors that had not been involved before. In either case, there will be physical traces of the connections. To examine actor-networks and their traces can provide a new empirical basis for our understanding of the workings of collectives that are confronted with new actors from other contexts.[13]

A study that is supposed to explore the links between migration and cultural dynamics in the early middle ages thus has to choose a subject matter that provides a sound empirical basis of contemporary sources for migrations *and* for interactions. The Italian peninsula lends itself to such a study as it has been the (at times intermediate) destination of migrants and invaders from antiquity to the high middle ages.[14] From the early 8th century onwards, a pool of contemporary sources is available in many of its regions that broadens over the course of the following centuries. These legal documents, administrative and judicial records of the late Lombardian, Carolingian, and Ottonian periods, obviously give a more detailed impression of the cultural and social contexts they are produced *in* than the few historiographical sources give of the Migration Period contexts they are written *about*.

In these centuries, we can observe different groups of migrants crossing the Alps into northern Italy: Frankish monks, pilgrims, and exiles in the middle of the 8th century, Carolingian officials, clerics, and settlers from different parts of their empire after Charlemagne's conquest of Italy in 774, noblemen and -women from Provence, Burgundy, Alamannia, and Bavaria, and again Ottonian officials after Italy became a part of the East Frankish-Roman Empire in 951.[15] All of them were familiar with different social conventions, venerated different saints, spoke different

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13   B. Latour, *Reassembling the social. An introduction to actor-network-theory* (Oxford, 2007), in German: *Eine neue Soziologie für eine neue Gesellschaft. Einführung in die Akteur-Netzwerk-Theorie* (Frankfurt a. M., 2010).

14   In fact, the history of Italy has been written as a history of consecutive invasions: T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her invaders*, 8 vols (London, 1880); G. Arnaldi, *Italien und seine Invasoren. Vom Ende des Römischen Reiches bis heute* (Berlin, 2005), in Italian: *L'Italia e i suoi invasori* (Roma, 2002).

15   See notes 16 and 17, below.

languages, knew different modes of production and distribution from the ones they found in their new homes. They interacted with members of the receiving society and depending on the field and their social position increased cultural dynamics and brought about change in legal, religious, economic, and political practices. However, a thorough empirical study of migrants' role in the changes within the different fields of social interaction in the 8th to 11th centuries and their role in the different group formations in early mediaeval Italy would be a colossal undertaking. The subject matter has to be narrowed down regarding time, space or fields of interaction.

To limit the study to a certain field of interaction – like, say, the economic sphere – is, however, not practical as only the coherent study of processes of inclusion into local networks will deepen our understanding of migration and cultural dynamics. How migrants interacted with people that had already been in Italy before their arrival, what mediators were involved in their interactions and what other actors and interactions they represented in the interactions of migrants and locals in different social subsystems and fields – interactions that gave shape to their new society – can only be shown by looking at several fields of social interaction.

The time frame of the projected study may be adjusted for practicality but it cannot be set ad libitum either if the long-term effects of migrations are to be studied. To take the historical contexts of the Carolingian conquest of the Lombard kingdom as a starting point seems plausible enough since a large number of migrants crossed the Alps into Italy in the process. There are a few older studies by German scholars on these migrants which however clearly show the dated academic contexts in which they were written – the conservative New History that dominated among West German historians in the 1950s and 1960s with its preoccupation with the history of lordship, constitutional history, and the central role of the nobility for the genesis and continuity of the imagined cultural container 'German' on the one hand[16] and Marxist Historical Materialism dominant in East Germany on the other hand focussing on the material basis for class formation while ignoring the role of social interactions in these processes[17]. While these works provide an important prosopographical basis for the projected study as they give long lists of persons addressed as "Franks", "Alamanni", "Bavarians" or "Burgundians" in Italy, they do not look at how these persons come to be called by any of these names, in what contexts they are used or omitted, what the terms really mean. A thorough study of group formations in

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16   E. Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien (774–962). Zum Verständnis der fränkischen Königsherrschaft in Italien, Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte* 8 (Freiburg i. Br., 1960).

17   H. Neubert, 'Grund- und Bodenbesitzungen von Personen "fränkischer", "alemannischer", "burgundischer" und "bayrischer" Herkunft in Italien in der Zeit von 774 bis 1000', Diss. phil., Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (1964).

the context of the Carolingian conquest of Italy remains to be written. A second peak in migrations across the Alps can be assumed to co-occur with the establishment of Ottonian rule in Italy in the mid-10th century though there seem to be fewer migrants involved as in the Carolingian case. A comparison of migrations in the context of both campaigns of imperial expansion and their effects is a promising endeavour, but forces us to consider the time up to the middle of the 11th century.

In adjusting the scope of the study for practicality there only remains the spatial scale. Between the two extremes of the whole Italian peninsula and individual settlements this scale can be adjusted to very different levels. A larger scope will yield more representative results, a smaller scope however will yield more valid ones. On a local level possible interrelations between the arrival of migrants and a change in social practice from languages spoken, trade, veneration of saints and foundations to legal practice and administration can be observed in greater detail than on a larger scale. In combining the global history perspective of hybridization through long-distance relationships in campaigns of imperial expansion and migration with a study of their effects on local interactions in one Italian city and its hinterland I am opting for a 'glocal' approach. To examine specific interactions in a certain area, their connections with other interactions in places near and far, the specific mediators that established these connections, and the traces of new group formations helps overcoming the artificial and hierarchical opposition between a 'global' – cultural or social – context and mere 'local' interactions and write a glocal history.[18]

But what local basis should one chose for this undertaking? My suggestion is: Lucca. The Tuscan metropolis had become a centre of political power within the Lombard kingdom and as one of the main cities of the Carolingian Margraviate of Tuscia came to be the destination of many migrants from other parts of the Empire. Situated on the so-called Via Francigena between Pavia and Rome it became one of the most important way-stations for pilgrims, a religious centre by its own right and an important centre of commerce for the region and increasingly beyond. In the context of these developments a small elite was able to establish itself as a local nobility and feudal lords, to gain more and more control over the diocesan goods and the nomination of bishops, and to restrict the powers of kings, dukes and margraves over the city. In 1081, Henry IV, King of the Romans, bestowed a number of privileges on the city in what came to be interpreted as the Magna Charta of the commune of Lucca. Doubtless, there exists a sound empirical basis for the time in question in Lucca: The diocesan archives preserve

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18   Latour, *Reassembling the social*, pp. 165–172.

one of the largest sets of charters and documents for the European early middle ages: Around 3 500 documents written between the middle of the 8th century and the year 1100 survive today.[19] Most of these documents have been printed already in the first half of the 19th century[20], several other works included editions of documents from Lucca, and more than 800 of them have only recently been published again in facsimile and with commentaries in no less than 21 volumes within the Chartae Latinae antiquiores.[21] There are a few older monographs on the early medieval history of Lucca that mostly deserve much credit for their in-depth prosopographical analyses but again show affinity to the notorious New History in their combination of social and constitutional history or to other holistic tendencies.[22] What is more, most works on the Tuscan metropolis focus on the communal period and the time of its emergence. Obviously, much work remains to be done when writing my glocal history of Lucca in the early middle ages.

For a start, I will have a first glimpse at a very instructive case of a church endowment in the vicinity of Lucca that might contribute to clarify some of the questions I am interested in and at the same time make it clearer where I want to go and what route I plan to take. From the year 846 a charter survives by which a certain Eugenia gave property in Pontignano to the church of St. Mary in Monte, which her late husband, Adtio, had bought from an Alamannus called Willelmus.[23] One year later, the rector of St. Mary rents the property out to a certain Anso.[24]

In the first of the two documents Eugenia is qualified as *natio Franchorum*. In the second document she is mentioned again as the donor of the farm that is now rented out to Anso. This time however her *natio* is not given. Why is it only mentioned in the first charter? Is her nationality not important in the second case? Why would it be important in the first? From the perspective of the actor-network-theory, nationality can be understood to be a group. Groups however – just like social or cultural collectives – are not thought to be natural or objects independent from interactions, instead there are many actions that contribute to the formation and stabilizing of groups.

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19 M.E. Bratchel, *Medieval Lucca and the Evolution of the Renaissance State* (Oxford, 2008), p. 8; H. Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts. Studien zur Sozialstruktur einer Herzogstadt in der Toskana*, *Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom* 41 (Tübingen, 1972), p. 8.

20 D. Bertini (ed.), 'Raccolta di documenti per servire alla storia ecclesiastica lucchese', *Memorie e documenti per servire all'istoria del Ducato di Lucca* 4.1–2 (1818–1836); D. Barsocchini (ed.), 'Raccolta di documenti per servire alla storia ecclesiastica lucchese', *Memorie e documenti per servire all'istoria del Ducato di Lucca* 5.2–3 (1837–1841).

21 A. Bruckner et al. (eds.), *Chartae Latinae antiquiores*, vols. 30–40 and 72–81 (Dietikon-Zürich, 1988–2011).

22 Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*.

23 Bertini (ed.), *Memorie e documenti per servire all'istoria del Ducato di Lucca* 4.2, App., no. 42; F. Magistrale (ed.), *Chartae Latinae antiquiores*, vol. 79 (Dietikon-Zürich, 2010), no. 8.

24 Barsocchini (ed.), *Memorie e documenti per servire all'istoria del Ducato di Lucca* 5.2, no. 636; Magistrale (ed.), *Chartae Latinae antiquiores*, vol. 79, no. 11.

There often are actors that speak for a group, define what the group is and should be, and determine who belongs to it, there are lists of anti-groups, and demarcation lines around the group are defined, contested and upheld.[25] If, however, Eugenia is to be made a member of the *natio Franchorum*-group by explicitly qualifying her as such, if the *natio Franchorum* is to be contrasted with the anti-group of the many *homi Alamanni* mentioned in both documents[26] and with the anti-group of the unqualified persons (Lombards? Romani?), and if a clear demarcation line is to be drawn around the *natio Franchorum*-group, why is the group membership of Eugenia omitted in the second document? It is possible that belonging to the *natio Franchorum* was important only to Eugenia herself, who may have crossed the Alps only to find herself in a new social environment that was new and strange to her? In this case, the group membership was omitted in the second charter since nobody was there to insist. But why are neither Eugenia's father nor her husband Adtio ever associated with a group then? It is also possible that the qualifier *natio Franchorum* does not refer to a group identity at all: Eugenia gave away (part of)[27] her property that she had apparently inherited from her late husband, she mentions how the property had been acquired by him and explicitly excludes the possibility of later interferences with the present endowment by herself or her heirs.[28] In a legal document full of precautions, interests, and questions of property, is it not natural to name a legal framework under which the present transaction is conducted? Does *natio Franchorum*, after all, only qualify a certain legal tradition, i.e. Frankish law? In actor-network-theory, research conducted by sociologists is also counted among the actions that contribute to group formations. This is also true for historians, it seems: They can run the risk of forming groups ex post.

Besides group formations, actor-network-theory has an interest in the questions what entities are part of the network, what figurations they take, what they do and how they do it.[29] The first entity mentioned in either document is God: The charters are written – as is usual – *In Dei nomine*. Is God part of the actor-network? If, according to actor-network-theory, an actant is someone or something that makes another act, God is an actant[30]: His name is evoked in both

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25   Latour, *Reassembling the social*, pp. 30–34.

26   In the charter for the endowment: *Willelmus Homo Alamanno*, the former proprietor of Eugenia's property, and three witnesses: *Hunoroc homo Alamanno, Gherardi similiter Alamanno, Atti item Alamanno*. In the charter for the rental: *Teutperti homo Alamanno* as a witness.

27   Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*, p. 176, thinks that the property in Pontignano given to the church of St. Mary had been Eugenia's and her late husband Adtio's allodial home and their only property.

28   *Manifesta sum ego Eugania natio franchorum, qui fuit mulier qd. Adtii* […] *offero* […] *una casa, et res illa* […]*, quas ab ipso vir meo per cartula ex comparationem obvenit da Willelmus Homo Alamanno* […] *Neque ad me, neque ad nullos heredes meos hec cartula offersionis me aliquando possamus disrumpere.*

29   Latour, *Reassembling the social*, pp. 52–58.

30   There is no authoritative catechism of actor-network-theory and terminology varies in the field, but a distinction is often made between an actant – understood to be anything able to act and have an impact on other

documents. Eugenia gives her property to God and his church of St. Mary[31], and she does so *pro anima mea* and that of her late husband Adtio – she expects God to act and return the favour. When Guntelmo rents the property out to Anso, he does so *ad parte de Dei Eccl[esia]*. In both cases, we have proof that – in our terms but in medieval ontology – God is regarded as an actant in the network. Other actors address him and interact with him. It is one of the fundamental principles of actor-network-theory to take the actors' statements about their motivations and about their conception of the world seriously and not to replace by explanations based on academic concepts of the 'social' or the 'cultural' them without necessity or proof. We could, of course, try to trace interactions in which the actors learned to take God into account but that will be rather difficult as we cannot expect to find traces of earlier interactions that made Eugenia, Anso or Guntelmo interact with God. But we see that they do now.

To be more precise, they interact with God's representatives or act on his behalf. Several local representations of God are mentioned: Eugenia gives her property to the church of St. Mary in Monte and her rector Guntelmo, but the farm itself is located near the church of St. Alban *in loco Pontignano*[32]. Why doesn't Eugenia give her property to St. Alban's then? Neither document gives a clue what may have been the connection between Eugenia on the one hand and the church of St. Mary and its rector on the other. We don't know anything about St. Alban's either, we do know quite a bit however about S. Maria a Monte: First mentioned at the end of the 8th century, it had become a rich and prestigious church by the middle of the 9th century that frequently appears in our documents.[33] Did Eugenia simply turn to the more prestigious church further away to make her endowment? There might have been some connections that we cannot see today. For example, the number of witnesses qualified as migrants is exceptionally high in Eugenia's charter when compared to other documents dating from the same time[34], which indicates that Eugenia and her husband were well-established within a community of Alamanni. The patronage of St. Alban might indicate, that there were a number of Alamanni settlers in Pontignano who had come from

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actants' actions – and a conscious actor.

31 *offero Deo et tibi Beata Dei Genetrice Maria; tibi Deo (et) prefata Dei Ecclesia offero in integrum; ut da admodum sint in potestatem de ipsa Dei Ecclesia, et ejus Rectore.*

32 Pontignano is thought to be the identical with the village by that name close to Siena (Neubert, 'Grund- und Bodenbesitzungen', p. 388), but it has also been identified with another village north of Lucca called Partignano (Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*, p. 176).

33 E. g. Bertini (ed.), *Memorie e documenti per servire all'istoria del Ducato di Lucca* 4.2, no. 31, as well as ibid., App., no. 3, 7, and 36.

34 Out of the 211 documents that survive from the time from ten years before Eugenia's endowment till ten years after Guntelmo's renting out of the farm (i.e. from April 7, 836, till March 3, 857) only 10 mention persons with ethnic qualifiers.

the Middle Rhine, where many churches are put under the patronage of St. Alban at the time.[35] Maybe Eugenia migrated when she married her Adtio – either across the Alps (from the Rhine?) or within Tuscany (from Monte?) –, maybe Eugenia and Adtio had property in different areas within Tuscany, maybe even a house in Monte, maybe they even frequently visited services at St. Mary's, maybe Eugenia venerated Mary more than she did Alban. But without the necessary sources to prove any of these speculations I will not pick any of them to be the explanation for Eugenia's long-distance endowment. Much less, however, can abstracta like 'culture' or 'society' serve as an explanation that is to be based on an empirical basis.

I have hinted at a number of connections and interactions that had been involved in the transaction of Eugenia's property to the church of St. Mary's and its renting out to Anso. Other, earlier interactions thus had an impact on the two interactions we had a look at. But the actors also tried to have an impact on future interactions: Eugenia stresses the fact that her property shall belong to St. Mary's for all times to come and that neither for herself nor for any of her heirs will she interfere with the present transaction.[36] Guntelmo, the rector of St. Mary's, on the other hand has Anso confirm several times that the present contract is binding for him, Anso, and his heirs and that he, Guntelmo, or any of his successors will receive all due payments.[37] The two charters are physical mediators that are meant to perpetuate interactions. Actor-network-theory asks, what are the specific functions of mediators and intermediaries and how do they fulfil them. Objects are partners in the interaction; they neither cause an action nor are they irrelevant to the action. They can even be regarded as actants of their own right since they can make certain actions possible or probable, while impairing or forbidding others.[38]

These preliminary thoughts on the case at hand may serve to make clear where actor-network-theory may take me. Convinced, that the global takes place, that many interactions from other places and other times are present in 'local' interactions, and that physical objects are needed to establish these connections within the actor-network, I set out to look for traces of migration and cultural dynamics in group formations, the composition of the actor-network, and the role of objects in interactions.

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35   Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*, p. 176.
36   *Neque ad me, neque ad nullos heredes meos hec cartula offersionis me aliquando possamus disrumpere: Set cunctis temporibus in predictio ordine in sua permaneat firmitatem secundum Legem nostram.*
37   *ego q. s. Anso una cum meis heredes, componere tibi q. s. Guntelmus cler. vel da successoribus tuis penam argenti solid. Quinquaginta, quia taliter inter nos convenit.*
38   Latour, *Reassembling the social*, pp. 70–82.