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Der Dynastiewechsel von 751. Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung, hg. von Matthias BECHER und Jörg JARNUT, Münster (Scriptorium) 2004, VIII–381 p., ISBN 3-932610-34-2, EUR 45,00.

751 is generally accepted as the year in which Pippin III deposed the last Merovingian king Chilperic, made himself king, and established the Carolingian dynasty which ruled much of what we think of as western Europe for the next two centuries. Ficker, as Rudolf Schieffer reminds us, long ago defined Pippin's usurpation as one of the most momentous events, given its consequences, of the whole middle ages, albeit largely in terms of the traditional preoccupation of scholars with the relations between the papacy and the Frankish rulers. This is a perspective that has dominated text books for the past few decades. The conference on which this book is based, therefore, represented an opportunity to add other dimensions to our understanding of this event and to consider it in the wider context of the preceding political developments, the problems presented by the source material, and the other actors involved. Consequently, the themes chosen by the organizers for the conference, M. Becher and J. Jarnut, and announced in the book's title, constitute a close focus on the immediate context and topic of Pippin's usurpation in 751. Some very interesting papers are presented. The book is framed by enlightening surveys by R. SCHIEFFER of the modern historiographical preoccupation with the implications of the pope's involvement with the Carolingian rulers and by Hans-Werner GOETZ of the representation of Pippin's usurpation by medieval chroniclers, from the *Continuations of Fredegar's Chronicle* to Gottfried of Viterbo.

In between these two chapters Ian WOOD addresses the many precedents for usurpation in the Merovingian period. The case for the Merovingian kings indeed being »rois fainéants« is made by Theo KÖLZER, who highlights Ingrid Heidrich's important work on the development of mayoral power in the late seventh and first half of the eighth century. Kölzer stresses that the Merovingian royal charters purporting to offer royal protection are in fact forgeries and that royal protection of monasteries and the granting of freedom of election to abbacies appear to be specifically Carolingian developments. Roger COLLINS sets out the narrative sequence for Pippin III's career as mayor of the palace as it is presented in the *Continuations of (pseudo-) Fredegar's Chronicle* and the *Annales regni Francorum*, with some observations offered in addition about the information offered in the *Annales Mettenses priores*. His paper is complemented, firstly by Olaf SCHNEIDER's well-documented critical analysis of the content and veracity of these same narrative sources and a number of later commentaries, as well as a full consideration of the *Clausula de unctioe Pippini*. Secondly, the penultimate paper in the volume is a comprehensive discussion by Helmut REIMITZ of the crucial importance of the codicological context and subsequent dissemination of the texts discussed by Collins and Schneider. On the immediate political context, Janet NELSON makes convincing suggestions about the effectiveness of the political role of Bertrada, Pippin's queen and Stuart AIRLIE explores the ways in which the Frankish aristocracy learned to recognize the new dynasty as the centre of the contemporary political system. He offers a particularly incisive analysis of Grifo's career and his paradoxical contribution to the strength of the new regime in acting as the focus of aristocratic political attention. Dieter GEUENICH mounts a strong case for how essential the integration of Alemannia was for Carolingian success. Ulrich NONN and Michael McCORMICK focus most illuminatingly and effectively on the context and possible implications of the division of rule in 741/42 and the visit of the Caliph al Mansur to Pippin III in 768 respectively.

A small group of papers focuses on the actual usurpation in terms of the Christian ideas and institutions related to it presented in the sources. Walter POHL's contribution on the pope's relations with the Lombards is characteristically lucid and has important implications for our understanding of the popes' overtures to Pippin. It also, incidentally, highlights the need for still further work on the variants in the surviving *Life of Pope Stephen II*

in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Michael RICHTER and Arnold ANGENENDT discuss the anointing. The former effectively presents a ›review article‹ of Michael Enright's »Iona, Tara and Soissons. The origin of the royal anointing ritual« (Berlin, New York 1985), and concludes, probably rightly, that the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis* played no role in the preparations for Pippin's anointing. This assumes that the anointing of 751 actually took place, for both Richter and Angenendt seem disinclined to accept Josef Semmler's recent cogent arguments about the problems of accepting that Pippin was anointed in 751 (as distinct from consecrated). Angenendt maintains that there is the ›highest probability‹ that anointing was part of the process by which Pippin was elevated to the royal throne in 751, though ›certainty‹ is reserved for the papal anointing of Pippin and his family in 754. With respect to the liturgical prayers *pro principe* and *Missa pro regibus* in some Frankish liturgical books it is essential to be precise about the dates of the books in which such prayers are preserved and the problems surrounding the determination of their introduction into the Frankish liturgy. Such books in any case preserve two types of prayers. Thus such books as the eighth-century Gelasians (including the Sacramentary of Angoulême c. 800, Reichenau fragment and the Bobbio Missal) draw on Old Testament exempla, and others, such as the so-called Old Gelasian in Vat. reg. lat. 316, offer prayers for rulers apparently adapted from Roman prayers. Reference may now be made to Mary Garrison, *The Missa pro principe* in the Bobbio Missal, in: Y. Hen, R. Meens, ed., *The Bobbio Missal*, Cambridge 2004, p. 187–205, but also to Y. Hen, *The royal patronage of the liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the death of Charles the Bald (877)*, London 2000, in order to clarify this. Yitzhak HEN's own forceful affirmation (preceding Angenendt's chapter in this book) of the Christian perception of rulership in Frankish Gaul from the sixth century, demonstrates the importance of the liturgical evidence. He considers in particular the prayers for the king or for *principes* in liturgical books from the seventh century onwards. Pippin III, therefore, and possibly Charles Martel before him, were able to draw on the ideology of Christian rulership developed in the Merovingian period.

The apparent lack of communication between a number of authors in this collection of papers is disconcerting. There is little sense that all the contributors either listened to each other at the conference or were able to read the papers afterwards when preparing their final versions for publication. The Editors also seem not to have made any effort to provide cross references or to iron out awkwardly contradictory passages, not least the lack of consensus about the *Clausula de unctione Pippini* (which only O. Schneider really discusses), who actually might have consecrated (and anointed?) Pippin III in 751 (given that as I suggested in 1983, it was unlikely to have been Boniface), or the various discussions of the Continuations of Fredegar and the *Annales regni Francorum*. This, as well as the lack of any conclusion setting out the collective achievement of the volume in relation to the problem posed in the preface undermines the effectiveness of the book as a whole. In a collective volume of this kind it is of course not necessary, or even possible, for all authors to agree on all matters. But they should at least acknowledge and engage with the arguments of their companions in the volume far more than they do. A collective bibliography of all works cited in the volume would have been helpful in addition to the index that is provided (though the latter is not sufficiently analytical: see, for example, the entries on »Aquitani«, »Bonifatius«, »Bertrada«, »Italien«, »Soissons«, »Zacharias«). Among the substantive issues raised by this book are those indicated by the contributions of Wood, Kölzer, Nelson and Airlie in particular. From their different perspectives they undermine old certainties about the degree to which the change of dynasty represented such a wholesale overturning of the political system or of political ideology. The nature of Merovingian royal power and that of both the mayors of the palace and other aristocratic families still needs more investigation. Pohl, Nonn and Geuenich especially remind us that the Franks in Austrasia and Neustria must be seen in relation to their contemporaries in Aquitaine, Alemannia, Bavaria and Lombard

Italy. McCormick rightly insists on the wider world beyond Francia, quite apart from the economic dimension. The laudable insistence, implicit or explicit, of many of the contributors on precise reading of texts – narrative, legal and liturgical – and on the need for an understanding of context in terms of initial audience and production, dissemination and later reception, should be taken to heart. The political development of the middle decades of the eighth century raise so many problems for historians because of the disconcerting lacunae even in sources which purport to tell us the story of, or shed some light on those years. Even determining the date 751 itself presents difficulties. We still need to understand more about the situation after the death of Charles Martel, whether the Pippinids were the only contestants for power as distinct from the successful contestants, what the different factions among the bishops and abbots contributed to the political developments, and what weight or credibility should be given to contemporary reports. There remains throughout this book a tendency to regard the contemporaneity of texts as a guarantee of greater veracity. Common sense alone would suggest such confidence is ill-founded. Equally, more recognition needs to be afforded the role of oral communication, networks of news and gossip and the contradictions of individual as well as collective memories. Texts could shape memory; they could do so by taking a known event but directing the later understanding and interpretation of its layers of significance and detail to serve as the collective memory. Although this collection of studies has achieved a great deal, therefore, many uncertainties concerning the change of dynasty in 751 remain.

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Wilfried HARTMANN (Hg.), *Ludwig der Deutsche und seine Zeit*, Darmstadt (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft) 2004, VIII–264 p., 8 ill. (Forschung), ISBN 3-534-17308-2, EUR 49,90.

Le volume dont il est ici question recueille les actes d'une rencontre tenue à Lorsch en octobre 2002, dans le sillage de la parution d'une biographie de son principal protagoniste, Louis le Germanique, et dans le contexte d'un certain renouvellement des études à son sujet – ce qui explique la proportion bienvenue d'articles issus de travaux de doctorat dans le livre (un certain nombre de ceux-ci ont, du reste, été publiés). Se succèdent onze contributions, rayonnant pour ainsi dire autour de la personne de Louis ou, du moins, de son orbite immédiate. C'est sur cette même personne que se concentre tout d'abord Wilfried HARTMANN, dans son «Portrait d'un roi peu connu». Il y aborde des problèmes, particulièrement de méthodologie, qui traversent au fond le volume en son entier. Notamment, la question des sources et de leur exploitation est sans cesse présente, que ce soit de manière implicite ou explicite. Ce livre éclaire successivement diverses facettes de l'exercice du pouvoir par le souverain et de ses implications sociales et culturelles. Les aspects territoriaux sont ainsi évoqués par Roman DEUTINGER et Eric J. GOLDBERG. Le premier s'intéresse à la place de la Bavière dans l'action politique de Louis, le second à ses menées en Moravie. Centre et périphérie, pourrait-on penser, si la place des régions bavaroises dans les préoccupations du souverain ne devait pas, justement, être très fortement relativisée. En Moravie, c'est tout un complexe stratégique et politique qui est évoqué, autour de réseaux de forteresses et de guerres de siège, ensemble selon l'auteur si prégnant pour le souverain que cela déteint à l'occasion même sur ses diplômes. C'est de ces derniers qu'il est question dans l'étude de Nicholas BROUSSEAU, consacrée à une comparaison entre les actes de Louis le Germanique et de Charles le Chauve. Il ne s'agit pas ici simplement d'une mise en parallèle de la diplomatie des deux souverains, mais d'une présentation en perspective des conditions de production et de tradition des ensembles documentaires, en passant par les fonds d'archives et les milieux érudits de l'époque moderne. C'est au réseau des palais que s'est