



UNIVERSITÄTS-  
BIBLIOTHEK  
HEIDELBERG

---

**Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte**  
Herausgegeben vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris  
(Institut historique allemand)  
Band 15 (1987)

DOI: 10.11588/fr.1987.0.53058

---

Rechtshinweis

Bitte beachten Sie, dass das Digitalisat urheberrechtlich geschützt ist. Erlaubt ist aber das Lesen, das Ausdrucken des Textes, das Herunterladen, das Speichern der Daten auf einem eigenen Datenträger soweit die vorgenannten Handlungen ausschließlich zu privaten und nicht-kommerziellen Zwecken erfolgen. Eine darüber hinausgehende unerlaubte Verwendung, Reproduktion oder Weitergabe einzelner Inhalte oder Bilder können sowohl zivil- als auch strafrechtlich verfolgt werden.

désorienté devant l'avalanche des reproches malgré tous les efforts qu'il déploie, que la famine sévit et que la majorité croit naïvement le pouvoir capable de remédier à toutes les difficultés.

Supérieur à un manuel par sa haute érudition et ses perspectives souvent originales, ce livre, concis et d'un abord facile, aurait gagné à développer un aspect de l'histoire trop négligé car il paraît inaccessible pour une époque aussi haute: la sociologie politique et les enquêtes sur l'opinion à un moment donné. Du moins les extraits traduits suggèrent, pour une période que l'on peut au choix attribuer au Bas-Empire oriental ou à l'époque protobyzantine, la richesse de la documentation pour qui s'intéressera à ces questions un jour que l'on espère prochain.

Jean DURLIAT, Toulouse

Frühmittelalterliche Ethnogenese im Alpenraum, ed. by Helmut BEUMANN and Werner SCHRÖDER, Sigmaringen (Thorbecke) 1985, 246 p., 1 map (Nationes. Historische und philologische Untersuchungen zur Entstehung der europäischen Nationen im Mittelalter, 5).

This, the fifth volume in the series *Nationes*, presents the problems inherent in attempting a study of the »origins of European nations in the Middle Ages.« While the individual essays are, in their own domains, of interest and significance, they relate poorly to each other and not at all to the study of »Kontrastbewußtsein« announced in the forward by Helmut BEUMANN and Werner SCHRÖDER. In particular, the volume indicates how little the polyethnic Alpine region experienced the process of »Nationenbildung«. In spite of the long tradition of war and competition over this region even into this century, and despite the appeal to ethnic solidarity in the course of some of these conflicts, the diversity of linguistic and cultural traditions of the region has never developed into a national self identity within the region's populations.

The first essay by Volker BIERBRAUER examines burials in order to evaluate Germanic settlement in the Central and Eastern Alpine regions in the sixth and seventh centuries from the perspective of archeology. He defines »Germanic« burials as those containing weapons while burials without arms but containing elements of Roman dress, few objects in tombs, and the reuse of tombs he terms »Roman« sites. He concludes that from the late sixth century »Germans« are present both in city and countryside, along old Roman roads and elsewhere, including old Roman *villae rusticae*. Continuity with »Roman« tradition is extremely strong in burial sites and in Churches, regardless of the »Roman« or »German« identity of the populations.

Such distinctions and conclusions are reasonable, provided that one does not attempt to extent the »Germanic« or »Roman« identities of the communities beyond the categories of material culture and suppose that everyone buried with weapons lived according to Lombard law, spoke Lombard, or was an Arian, any more than those buried without weapons in previously used tombs were exclusively orthodox, Romance speaking persons living according to Roman law. What the evidence does indicate is that Lombard and Roman traditions were early and closely intertwined and that followers of the two traditions did not live in physical isolation.

In his examination of central and Eastern Alpine Rhaetian (or Romaunsch) prior to the twelfth century, Max PFISTER raises the old, highly politicized question of whether one can suppose that a single Romance language had been spoken between the Gotthard pass and the Carinthian Alps which was separate from Italian and its dialects. His conclusions suggest both an answer to the question and an indication of how little significance it actually is to the region's »national« identity. There was, by the sixth century, a linguistic unity, but it included not only this region but all of upper Italy and had developed comparatively late replacing earlier Rhaetian, Celtic, and Venetic dialects. Between the sixth and eleventh centuries, Rhaetian

lost considerable ground to Germanic and Slavic. The real determinants of regional linguistic tendencies seem to have been ecclesiastical provinces and political structures, not pre-existing ethnic-linguistic groupings.

This priority of politics and ecclesiastical organization is further emphasized in the other three essays contained in the volume. Peter WIESINGER examines Gothic loan-words in Bavarian and finds that, while some such words do exist, there are far fewer than has often been supposed, perhaps no more than four. Moreover, these appear in Bavarian as the result of very different circumstances: pre-Bavarian influences indicating the heterogeneity of the Bavarian ethnogenesis; close relationship with the Lombards in the late sixth and early seventh centuries; the Danubian salt trade of the eighth century.

Herwig WOLFRAM and Othmar HAGENEDER address directly the issues at which the other authors had hinted: the importance of political and ecclesiastical structures in the formation of the central and eastern Alpine regions. Wolfram presents the ethnogenesis in the eastern Alps and the Danubian region as an ongoing, open process of amalgamation and transformation of a multitude of extremely small, local cultural and linguistic groups preserving various elements of late antique and migration period traditions. Such groups maintained for some purposes their local, in some cases one might say familial, identities, although in other contexts they formed part of the territorial duchy of Bavaria. This was equally true of the formation of the *Alamanni* as well as of the Avars and Slavs to the East.

If »national formation« was not a conspicuous element in the development of Alpine Europe in the Early Middle Ages, the ecclesiastical structures of the region came closest to creating enduring constitutional relationships. These paralleled the political spheres discussed by Wolfram. Through the sixth century, ecclesiastical organization looked south to the great churches of Milan and Aquileia; from then on the new Frankish domination of the region reoriented not only Rhaetia but even Noricum to the North. From the eighth century Salzburg became the organizational center of the Duchy of Bavaria. One should note that none of these ecclesiastical organizations or reorganizations corresponded to any ethnic, linguistic, or cultural unities: they were political and corresponded to the power shifts between distant Italy and Francia. The development of *Eigenkirchen*, too, was hardly a »national« development: they corresponded rather to particular familial programs. For this reason one must question Hageneder's emphasis on frequency of Germanic names as for example in Disentis, where he sees a 50% Germanic name element as evidence of the monastery's role as »Ableger und Verbreiter des Germanentums« (p. 230).

In conclusion, the relevance of these studies to the general topic of »Nation formation« is perhaps to call into question the historical reality of that very topic: common language, culture, law, and tradition led to no »Identitätsgefühl« in the Eastern Alps (one wishes that, in spite of its title, the Western Alps had not been entirely omitted from this volume). Instead, the various contradictory and complementary developments within each of these traditions could continue to exist at the most local level even while being incorporated into larger regional structures not united by any »ethnic« identity but by realities of political power.

Patrick J. GEARY, Gainesville

Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa. Teil II: Dietrich CLAUDE, Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des Frühmittelalters. Bericht über ein Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas im Jahre 1980, Göttingen (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) 1985, 332 p. (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil. hist. Kl. Dritte Folge, 156).