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of discourses which make up Frankish studies without moving out of the area. In this way the collection serves to demonstrate the central importance of Neustria in our thinking about this early-medieval society, and in turn it makes a very significant contribution to our understanding of that society.

Paul FOURACRE, London

Früh- und hochmittelalterlicher Adel in Schwaben und Bayern. Herausgegeben von Immo EBERL, Wolfgang HARTUNG und Joachim JAHN, Sigmaringendorf (Regio Verlag Glock und Lutz) 1988, 304 p. (Regio. Forschungen zur schwäbischen Regionalgeschichte, 1).

This volume of essays is the first in a series on Swabian regional history, to be published under the name of Regio. It consists of ten papers which were first read at a conference in Memmingen in May 1987 and which have been reworked and extended for publication. The volume was produced with backing from the town of Memmingen. It is well produced, and all the essays conform to a high standard of scholarship. Together they add much to the science of ›Adelsforschung‹.

The editors' foreword briefly reminds us that regional history should draw on a wide range of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. The first paper, by Erwin KELLER, does indeed draw on the dual disciplines of history and archaeology, proceeding to excavation via contemporary documents. The result is some extremely interesting suggestions on the durability of the early christianisation of Bavaria. The subsequent essays are, however, all mono-disciplinary and are concerned with history in a fairly traditional sense. The core of the volume is formed by essays which are based upon what Wolfgang Hartung terms ›genealogisch-besitzgeschichtliche Methode‹ in order to cast new light on the Aleman and Bavarian aristocracies in the Carolingian period. In an essay entitled ›Tradition und Namengebung im frühen Mittelalter‹ Wolfgang HARTUNG opens the sequence with a strong assertion of the principle that in early-medieval Germanic cultures a person's name revealed his or her social identity and legal standing. Hartung's spirited defence of the validity of identification by names is made in the light of recent attacks by L. Holzfurtnner and H.-W. Goetz upon this well-tried methodology. Hartung's own case is sensibly established, although he is rather less critical when dealing with his own concepts of group consciousness and aristocratic status than when questioning his opponents figures and ideas. Nevertheless, his defence frees him to make use of the documentary materials from Reichenau and St Gall which between them contain over sixty thousand early-medieval names. Where the materials afford a correspondence between names, Hartung is able to demonstrate patterns of donation to monasteries which were apparently aimed at preventing the fragmentation of family land-holdings. There are here suggestive parallels with the development of ›bookland‹ in Anglo-Saxon England.

Joachim JAHN similarly traces patterns of family grants to monasteries, this time to show how the Bavarian aristocracy in the late eighth century evolved a ›Klosterpolitik‹ aimed at bypassing an episcopate that had threatened to become a ›Verfassungsorgan‹ for an intrusive Carolingian regime. In this paper the details of the grants and the relationships around the figure of Timo are perhaps more revealing than the general observation that the Bavarian aristocracy used the minority of Duke Tassilo as an opportunity to reinforce their positions. In a second paper Wolfgang HARTUNG also deals with Carolingian expansion into Bavaria, demonstrating cooperation between native elements and incomers. This produced the kind of mixed-nationality Carolingian aristocracy to which K. F. Werner has drawn our attention, and which, as Hartung implies, undermines any simple notion of a Carolingian ›take-over‹ in Bavaria. In the fourth paper based on the methods of identification by name, Gertrud DIEPOLDER focusses on the first twenty-eight documents of the ›Traditiones‹ of the monastery

of Schäftlarn, dating from between 764 and 821. Diepolder uses the 198 names contained therein to identify Schäftlarn's ›Gründersippe‹. The result is an informative picture of an ›Eigenkloster‹ eventually taken over by a local bishop which nicely complements Jahn's description of Timo's loss of control over his foundation.

In an essay on the Alemans in the eastern march in the wake of the Carolingian victory over the Avars, Herwig WOLFRAM deals with rather wider issues, showing how this marcher region drew in adventurers of all kinds. He is particularly interesting on the role of Bishop Wiching, an opportunist who left a lasting mark on the area. Dieter GEUENICH, discussing the regional and supra-regional contacts revealed by the Confraternity Book of St Gall, shares a point with Wolfram in suggesting that the inclusion of Alemannia in Louis the German's kingdom had the effect of shifting its horizons eastwards. Geuenich also shows how, apart from this, St Gall's range of contacts waxed and waned in tune with the wider political and ecclesiastical movements across Francia. The last three papers deal with the post-Carolingian period. Hans SCHNYDER attempts with creditable success the difficult task of tracing a family from the era of ›Stammburg‹ names back through the lacunae of the tenth century into the time of ›Sippe‹ names. He manages to show two families of free but lowly status rising up the social scale through service, eventually to become part of the nobility in the High Middle Ages. Albrecht Graf FINCK VON FINCKENSTEIN treads warily into the debate about the nature of the relationship between church and government in the Ottonian period. He concludes judiciously that the church in Alemannia was part of government, but not systematically so. Finally, Heinz BÜHLER underlines Schnyder's point about the difficulty of tracing families back from High to Early Middle Ages by trying to get as far as he can with the Staufer: he cannot find traces any earlier than a tentative link with the duchess Reginind who died in 959.

The volume concludes with Immo EBERL's summary of the original conference proceedings in which he explains how the contributors have built upon earlier research by extending it into particular problems and areas, thus adding to the sum total of knowledge on the aristocracy. It is a great pity, then, that this volume is not structured to provide easy access to that knowledge: there is no index, no bibliography, not even a list of abbreviations to help with the notes, and not all the papers have notes. More seriously, the practice of adding to previous research conflicts with the stated principle of interdisciplinary regional study with which the volume opens. The very last sentence speaks of the collection's contribution to ›Adelsforschung‹, with ›spin-offs‹ for ›other aspects of historical research‹ such as the ›Verfassungsgeschichte‹ of Bavaria, or for ecclesiastical history in general. The studies in this volume thus seem to have privileged the traditional criteria of ›Adelsforschung‹ over the definition of the regions with which they are concerned. Hence they tend to ask ›national‹ questions of regional material, being concerned in particular with the extension of Carolingian influence over the area, and with methodologies designed to elucidate common denominators rather than flush out local variants. In these ways the region becomes merely the area to which certain kinds of source materials relate. The nominal data from these materials (above all, from key monastic cartularies and confraternity and memorial books) is then used to answer questions which have little to do with the definition of the region. Yet on the other hand, proceeding from a limited range of materials, and confining results to a given area, seems to have had the effect of preventing the contributors from tackling some of the wider issues of social and economic history into which earlier general studies of the aristocracy were geared. Thus one misses a discussion of what is actually meant by the term ›Adel‹, or of how and why social stratification evidently proceeded as it did in the Early Middle Ages. Nor is there any explanation of aristocratic behaviour in wider cultural or religious terms. The aristocracy described here sometimes seem to float in a world of their own, the only historical reference points being documents which are themselves fully decontextualised. It is not surprising, therefore, that a kind of collective anxiety about methodology runs through the core of this collection.

Nevertheless, the contributors in each case prove their points, and as Eberl concludes, they have added greatly to our knowledge of the early- and high-medieval aristocracy in Swabia and Bavaria.

Paul FOURACRE, London

Rosamond MCKITTERICK, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, Cambridge, New York, Port Chester, Melbourne, Sidney (Cambridge University Press) 1989, XVI-290 S.

Nach den Darstellungen zur Rolle der Kirche bei der Christianisierung und Reform der karolingischen Gesellschaft (*The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms 789–895*, 1977) und zur Geschichte der karolingischen Herrschaft (*The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians 751–987*, 1983) legt die Cambridger Professorin nunmehr die dritte Monographie zu dieser Epoche vor, in der sie sich mit dem Phänomen der Schriftlichkeit in der fränkisch-karolingischen Gesellschaft befaßt. Diese Gesellschaft, so wird einleitend die Kernthese des Buches vorgestellt, habe dem geschriebenen Wort hohen Wert beigemessen und sich seiner in allen Bereichen bedient. Vor allem die Laien hätten in weit höherem Maße an der Schriftkultur Anteil gehabt, als dies gemeinhin angenommen werde. Dabei postuliert McKitterick grundsätzlich die allgemeine Verständlichkeit der lateinischen Sprache bis zum Ende des 9. Jh. Die *lingua Romana* habe als gesprochene Weiterentwicklung des Lateinischen das Verständnis der geschriebenen Hochsprache nicht verhindert: »Latin may not have been the foreign or learned second language of the Franks, but their native tongue in its regularized and conventionalized written representation« (S. 13). Eine Ausnahme bildeten freilich die – eher am Rande erwähnten – Bevölkerungsteile, die einen althochdeutschen Dialekt sprachen. Auch sie hätten sich jedoch im öffentlichen und kirchlichen Leben des Lateinischen bedient; dieses habe daher als Verkehrssprache des polyglotten Frankenreiches kein Hindernis für die Verbreitung einer umfassenden Schriftlichkeit gebildet, sondern diese geradezu befördert.

In den folgenden 5 Kapiteln werden die Manifestationen von Schriftlichkeit in den verschiedenen Bereichen der Gesellschaft analysiert. Für die Verwaltung und das Rechtsleben betont McKitterick, daß aufgrund der überlieferten Zeugnisse schriftlicher Administration, vor allem Anweisungen zur Amtsführung und Anforderungen schriftlicher Berichte, von einer weitgehenden Verschriftlichung dieser Bereiche ausgegangen werden müsse. Es sei methodisch fragwürdig, aufgrund von (Vor-)Urteilen über die Lesefähigkeit der Amtsträger davon auszugehen, daß solche Anweisungen »wishful thinking« (S. 32) waren und nicht ausgeführt werden konnten; vielmehr hätten sich die Karolinger auf eine »educated administrative class« in einer von Schriftlichkeit tief durchdrungenen Gesellschaft stützen können (S. 37). Dies zeige auch die weite Verbreitung der verschiedenen Volksrechte, welche die hohe Autorität der geschriebenen *lex* reflektiere. Anhand der Codices der *Lex Salica* werden deren verschiedene Formen und Wirkungsgebiete beleuchtet. Die Zahl der Handschriften, die vielfach Gebrauchsspuren aufweisen, deute auf die praktische Bedeutung des Inhalts: »unless proved otherwise, indeed, I regard these books as having been of practical use« (S. 56), und daher seien die Forderungen verschiedener *leges* nach Schriftlichkeit für bestimmte Rechtsakte (wie Schenkungen an die Kirche, Testamente, Freilassungen) von unmittelbarer Relevanz gewesen. Folglich ist das nächste Kapitel den Privaturkunden gewidmet; als Beispiel wählt die Autorin das in seinem Reichtum einzigartige Archiv von Sankt Gallen. Nach der Beschreibung des historischen Umfeldes, des spätantiken Erbes in Alemannien und Rätien und der Gründung des Klosters, wendet sie sich dem Vorgang der Urkundenherstellung in technischer Hinsicht und im Kontext mit dem Rechtsgeschäft zu. Von der Vielzahl der Ausstellungsorte, Schreiber und Schriftformen sowie der Größe der beteiligten Personenkreise schließt sie auf ein hohes Maß an Schriftlichkeit in der Region. Die Monopolstellung von Sankt Gallen bei der