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ne vient pas confirmer ou infirmer, tant il est difficile d'admettre une permanence des moyens et de l'organisation entre les XIV<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles.

Accompagné d'index particulièrement riches, puisqu'aux noms de personnes et de lieux habituels s'ajoutent tous les toponymes des filons, des fosses, des canaux et galeries, des chemins et des moulins, l'ouvrage de H. Kranz apporte une contribution de premier ordre à tous les niveaux de l'histoire qu'il aborde: histoire de la ville de Liège dans sa dimension physique et sociale, histoire des charbonnages en amont des innombrables travaux des historiens modernistes et contemporanéistes, histoire générale de l'exploitation minière européenne, brusquement enrichie d'un corpus considérable de sources et d'analyses qui permettront certainement d'enrichissantes confrontations.

Philippe BRAUNSTEIN, Paris

Walter POHL, *Die Germanen*, München (Oldenbourg) 2000, X-160 p. (Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte, 57).

I am full of admiration for Pohl's latest book. He has produced an accurate and clear review of current thinking on the early Germans in remarkably little space. (In the following, in order to avoid the ambiguities inherent in current English, I will use *Germani* and ›Germanic‹ for the early Germans and their society, and ›German‹ for the modern people and state.)

P.'s treatment is, however, by no means straightforward. His *Germani* are not all *Germani*, but those encountered by the Romans on the Rhine and the upper Danube from about the first century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. He does not consider, for example, the Goths or the Franks of the Merovingian kingdoms. Furthermore, he recognises from the start (p. IX, 1-6) that in dealing with these Rhine/Danube *Germani* he is handling historical dynamite. Germanic studies are still recovering from their exploitation by nineteenth-century nationalists and twentieth-century national socialists, who saw the ancient tribes as creators and transmitters of eternal and heroic folk-values and -institutions. P. therefore specifically eschews a prescriptive ›life and times‹ approach, offering instead a survey of major themes.

P. divides his book into three sections: ›I. Enzyklopädischer Überblick‹; ›II. Grundprobleme und Tendenzen der Forschung‹; ›III. Quellen und Literatur‹. He begins Section I by considering the ways in which ancients and moderns have dealt with the *Germani*, the first inventing them, the second using this invention, each for their own ends. He then presents the most recent way of interpreting their development, through ethnogenesis and self-identity, though he warns about some of the problems of these concepts. He continues with a fairly lengthy summary of what, in the absence of a ›life and times‹ can reasonably be said about Roman contact with the *Germani*, from the Cimbri and the Teutones to the migration period. This, inevitably, concentrates on military and political matters. Special consideration is given to the Alamanni (p. 29-33) and the early Franks (p. 33-37). P. provides very few references to corroborate his statements. However, since this part of his book is bound to be the first port of call for readers with little or no prior knowledge of the *Germani*, such an omission is understandable: orthodox citation would destroy the clarity and accessibility of the text. Those acquainted with the field will recognise that P. is up-to-date and reliable (possibly even a little conservative) in what he says here; and he details his sources and indicates heterodox thinking in Section II.

Section II is, indeed, fully referenced, solid and stimulating. P. opens with a review of the long, contentious and, at times, even politically charged debate as to the origins and significance of the *Germani*, with inevitable reference to the work of Kossinna, his disciples and his detractors (II.1: ›Was ist germanisch?‹). Because of his own commitment to ethnogene-

sis, P. is dismissive of language and culture as determinants, still less objective criteria, of ethnic identity. He stresses fluidity, flexibility and ambiguity: it appears that the *Germani* rarely referred to themselves as such (p. 50–51). He explains and explores the modern hypothesis that the name arose as a piece of Roman serendipity. The imperial power encountered it somewhere in north-east Gaul, and happily used it to define and demonise Celtic outsiders who crossed the Rhine and appeared to challenge Roman claims to total control of the left bank of that river. It then came to be applied to all trans-Rhenish peoples (p. 52–59). Against this background, P. considers changing interpretations of Tacitus' *Germania*. In II. 2 (›Elemente der germanischen Gesellschaft‹) he, for the first time, examines aspects of Germanic society, looking at kingship, lordship and *Gefolgschaften*; kinship and the position of women; and religion (this last, of course, now unavoidably distorted by the genius of Richard Wagner: p. 78). Though these topics are very different from each other, in dealing with them P. constantly emphasises the need to acknowledge complexity and change, and to avoid preconception, over-generalisation and anachronism. In his view, we know very little about these matters, but what we do know should not be obscured by analogy from medieval laws and sagas. What we can see does not appear to be particularly Germanic, and should not therefore be treated as part of the history of German national institutions (e.g. p. 69–70). He doubts if there was ever ›a‹ Germanic religion, agreeing with Ian Wood (p. 85) that there was probably rather a range of ›paganisms‹.

In II.3 (›Ethnische Prozesse und Konfrontationen mit dem Imperium‹), P. presents the research behind the sketch of Romano-Germanic relations given at the start of the book. Since, as he has shown, Rome never encountered ›the‹ *Germani*, he structures his account by reference to Roman dealings with regional groups, beginning with the *Bastarnae*, the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* and the *Suebi*, and ending with the *Alamanni* (p. 101–107) and the Franks (p. 107–114). However, he is at pains to stress that this should not be seen as a reversion to old-fashioned ›tribal history‹ (Stammeskunde) as the direct ancestor of medieval and modern German history (p. 86–87). He maintains his *fil rouge* of flexibility and change, caused by the pressures and tensions of external contact and continuing internal ethnogenesis, pointing up the importance of Roman influence as well as Germanic developments.

What peoples are derives from a complex interaction between what they see themselves as and what outsiders perceive them to be, and vice versa. Again, though contributing to the *Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte*, P. refuses to concede that he is in any way writing an account of the early history of ›die Deutschen‹; so, for example (p. 95–96), he presents Arminius as no early champion of German freedom.

P.'s Bibliography, in Section III, is judiciously chosen and well arranged. I was particularly impressed by its system of continuous numeration, which permits the reader quickly to find details of works cited within a very helpful arrangement of bibliographical sub-lists, classified by topic (Allgemeine Literatur, Das spätantike Germanien etc.).

On its own terms, I can find very little to quarrel with in this book. There are a few minor slips and omissions. In this respect, by way of example, one might cite the dating of the beginning of the Gallic Empire to 259 (p. 27); the description of the mid-fifth century Alamannic cemeteries as *Reihengräberfelder* (p. 31); and, in the Bibliography, the absence of J. Barlow, Gregory of Tours and the myth of the Trojan origins of the Franks, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 29 (1995) p. 86–95 (cf. p. 37). Also, P.'s explanation of the increase in Germanic raiding from the second century A.D. at p. 25–27 does not quite square with that at p. 100–101. However, all these are relatively minor and, in the context of so difficult an undertaking, so successfully accomplished, forgivable. What concerns me more is P.'s general line of approach.

Ethnogenesis, as proposed by Wenskus and as developed by P. and others (see e.g. p. 50), has proved to be an immensely powerful tool in late antique and early medieval scholarship. It seems to be superior to all previous historical models in explaining the available evidence;

and I am very happy to use it myself in exploring Rome's relations with Franks and Alamanni. However, the fact that we can see, and so seek to escape from, the preconceptions and prejudices, and with these the ideological and political agendas, of previous generations does not guarantee our own innocence in this respect. P. draws attention to the *Tendenz* of the old historical narratives (p. 6), but what of those of the new? The concept of ethnogenesis involves the denial of the notion of continuity in Germanic tribal life, and of the continuous development of German society and culture, from the prehistoric into the medieval and modern periods. This was clearly useful in the immediate post-war period in helping to distance German historical and archaeological scholarship from that of the Nazi period. It has to be recognised, therefore, that it carries its own historical baggage. But there is more. Ethnogenesis depends closely on belief in the over-riding power of group-identity, especially self-identity (*das Wir-Bewußtsein*: cf. p. 34): a community is what it believes itself to be, regardless of differences in blood, culture and even language (cf. p. 7–9). As I read P.'s book, I was frequently struck by the thought that this is the conviction of those urging ever faster and closer European integration. In this respect, I particularly noted P.'s positive assessment of the multi-ethnic Frankish Empire and his lament for its passing, even though, as he concedes, this made it the cradle of nations (p. 37). Will later generations criticise modern scholarship for being unduly influenced by the EC-dream? Against this background, I begin to wonder to what extent ethnogenesis can be taken. There is now worrying criticism that *das Wir-Bewußtsein* has no basis in sociological research (H. Roth, in: D. Geuenich [ed.], *Die Franken und die Alemannen bis zur »Schlacht bei Zülpich«* [496/97], 1998, p. 629); and on a number of occasions P. notes continuing German resistance to new interpretations of Germanic history (e.g. p. 48–49). Perhaps attempting to convince people that the societies they belong to are no more than ephemeral historical artefacts may in the end prove to be just as misguided as praising them for their racial, social and institutional purity.

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Marilyn DUNN, *The Emergence of Monasticism. From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford (Blackwell) 2000, VII–280 p.

M. Dunn s'interroge sur la métamorphose qu'a connue en Occident le mouvement monastique depuis son implantation au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à l'aube de l'époque carolingienne. L'A. aurait voulu intituler son livre *Out of the desert*, pour mettre en relief le fait qu'on est passé d'un idéal de sortie du monde et de rejet des biens matériels au service de la contemplation, à la réalité de riches monastères, liés aux puissants de ce monde et axés surtout sur le travail (agricole). Le mérite majeur du livre est d'embrasser une vaste matière. Sans trop s'étendre sur les origines, qui sont le sujet de loin le plus travaillé, il envisage les différentes formes du monachisme ancien: érémitisme et cénobitisme égyptien, monastères urbains (épiscopaux et basilicaux), monastères familiaux, ruraux; avec ou sans travail manuel et auto-subsistance, avec ou sans offices communautaires réguliers ... Cette diversité même prouve qu'elle a bien fait de modifier son titre: toutes les expériences monastiques occidentales n'ont pas leur origine dans celle des moines du désert, même si toutes ont été plus ou moins influencées par elle.

M. D. fait œuvre de synthèse, sur la base des nombreuses études qui, ces dernières décennies, ont renouvelé l'approche du monachisme occidental. Elle couvre tout le monachisme européen (près d'un tiers du livre concerne l'Irlande et l'Angleterre); elle considère aussi bien le projet spirituel des moines que l'aspect socio-politique de leur vie, et prend en compte tant l'étude des *Règles monastiques* (lues dans leur contexte historique concret), que les données des fouilles archéologiques. Les chapitres 1–2 concernent la naissance de l'érémitisme et du cénobitisme en Orient, et le ch. 3 celle du monachisme féminin. Le ch. 4, sous le