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Francis Rapp hat ein bedeutendes Buch geschrieben, dem eine bessere Ausstattung (auch mit Abbildungen), benutzbare Karten und ein Register wohl angestanden hätten.

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Bernd SCHNEIDMÜLLER, *Die Welfen. Herrschaft und Erinnerung (819–1252)*, Stuttgart (Kohlhammer) 2000, 378 p. (Urban-Taschenbücher, 465).

Most readers of this journal will immediately recognize the name of the author, who in 1979 published an impressive dissertation on sources for tenth-century French political philosophy. This work, entitled »Karolingische Tradition und frühes französisches Königtum«, was remarkable for its thoroughness and evenhandedness on a topic of intrinsic interest and large significance. Since then the author has devoted attention among other things to issues of the formation and development of Lotharingia, and in a sense the book under review is an offshoot of that research, given that an important section is devoted to the Welf kingdom of Burgundy, a subdivision (or subdivisions) of the original Lotharingian kingdom. Another direction has taken the author into questions of aristocratic self-awareness, especially of the Welf dynasty. This research provides the point of departure in its presentation of twelfth- and thirteenth-century pictorial representations of the Welf dynasty, and it also informs that part of the book which must be left out of consideration here, given that its subject matter – the rise and fall of the Welf dynasty in imperial history – lies outside this journal's stated mandate.

An evaluation of the book is problematical. It belongs in a large and general paperback series that includes a number of works devoted to topics in German history, for example the several recent books devoted to individual imperial dynasties – the Carolingians, Ottonians, Salians, and Staufer. In that company it is something of an anomaly. For while competing for the throne on several occasions, the Welfs supplied only one emperor (Otto IV, 1208–1214), and indeed they were not even a dynasty properly considered, given that the inheritance of the last of the original Swabian line – Welf III († 1055) – fell to an Italian nephew – Welf IV, who represented a mundane form of continuity that general historians of the Welfs (and the author is now included among them) have spun into an almost mystical reincarnation of an inherently »Welf« dynasty.

The mystique has something to do with the manner in which the inheritance was transmitted. Welf III intended that everything possible should fall to his monastery of Altdorf. But after his death, his mother Imiza was successful in forestalling those measures in favour of her grandson Welf IV. This tale is probably already greatly distorted in the meagre chronicle passages that transmit it, and for this reason the author's further mystifications are not especially welcome. The inheritance was ensured to the offspring of Albert Azzo of Este's Welf marriage, which essentially left the Italian inheritance of the Estes to offspring of a second marriage. Yet that is hardly surprising when we consider that Welf IV was already duke of Bavaria (1070) long before Albert Azzo died in 1094. The author's chief distortion, however, concerns the Welf name itself. He suppresses the information that it proceeds from Welfhard and ultimately from Wolfhard, but emphasizes that by the beginning of the twelfth century vague parallels were being drawn to the word »welpe« (pup) and thus implicitly with lion heraldry, which appears to be a non sequitur. Certainly we should refrain from confusing Henry the Lion's preferred emblem with the name of some of the family's members.

The key personality is almost entirely dismissed from these pages, that is, Albert Azzo, the Italian margrave who married the heiress of the original Welf line. He must have been an extraordinary personality. He was able to ensure his young son's succession in one of the more desirable inheritances in eleventh-century Germany. He did something similar for a

son by his second wife who was installed as count of Maine. Although in the latter instance there was no lasting success, his supraregional, European stature is reflected by his son Welf IV's marriage to Judith of Flanders, which was merely a prelude to the epoch-making marriages to Saxon ducal heiresses accomplished by his grandson and great-grandson. Seen from this standpoint, the dynasty owed much more to this single individual than they did to the lineage from which they derived their original foothold in Germany.

Be that as it may, most of the book consists of sober discussion. Of particular note are the paragraphs concerning the last years of the Burgundian kingdom. The author goes to some pains to ensure that treaties between King Rudolf III and Emperor Henry II are not mistaken for feudal submission on the Burgundian monarch's part. This relationship has often been misconstrued by German historians. The process concerned Henry II's right to inherit as Rudolf's nephew. It began in 1016 and concluded, after some vicissitudes, with a ceremonial transfer of crown and sceptre to Henry in February 1018. This situation arose, the author emphasizes, because Rudolf remained childless after entering a second marriage in 1011, to a woman otherwise known to be fertile, and Emperor Henry could increasingly enter a very strong hereditary claim to the succession.

The Burgundian and Swabian lines then became extinct within twenty-one years of each other. They represent separate fates of the lineage that came to prominence with Louis the Pious's marriage to Judith, daughter of a duke named Welf, in 819. The author emphasizes the pan-Frankish character of the family at this point in time, even though precise details of the important affiliations are still lacking: »It was left to later generations to develop their ideas of Bavarian, Frankish or Alemannian origin based on the focus of their landed possessions« (p. 49). The enigma remains, of course, that the longest and broadest historical presence of the subsequent Welf dynasty was in Saxony. Meanwhile, because their line was not overtly continued, the achievement of the Burgundian Welfs was largely forgotten, while the incorporation of their kingdom into the empire of the Salians became the defining moment of their existence for subsequent historiography. The author can rightly claim to have lent a much-needed degree of perspective here.

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Johannes FRIED, Otto III. und Boleslaw Chrobry. Das Widmungsbild des Aachener Evangeliiars, der »Akt von Gnesen« und das frühe polnische und ungarische Königtum, 2., durchgesehene und erweiterte Auflage, Stuttgart (Franz Steiner) 2001, 191 S.

Das Erscheinen des Buches von Johannes Fried im Jahre 1989 fand Widerhall in der europäischen Mediävistik. Diese sich auf die Analyse polnisch-deutscher Beziehungen konzentrierende Arbeit stellte viele etablierte Anschauungen über die politische Geschichte in der Zeit Ottos III. in Frage. Gleichzeitig warf sie ein neues Licht auf die Fragen der Ideologie der kaiserlichen Herrschaft. Die Rezeption des Buches war differenziert. Während die Ansichten des Autors in Deutschland bei der Mehrheit der Forscher auf Zustimmung stießen, so überwogen in Polen kritische Stimmen, obgleich man auch dort dem besprochenen Buch seinen Wert nicht absprach.

Als Fried die zweite Ausgabe seines Buches zum Druck vorbereitete, nutzte er die Gelegenheit und nahm im Anhang die Diskussion mit manchen kritischen Stimmen auf. Meine Aufgabe ist die Darstellung der Art und Weise, auf die der Autor zwölf Jahre später seine Stellungnahme verteidigt, wobei ich mich auf zwei Hauptthesen konzentrieren werde, die über die Originalität des Buches entscheiden. Die Beurteilung seiner ersten Ausgabe habe ich 1991 in Band 18 von »*Francia*« (S. 277–278) präsentiert.

Fried trat mit der Behauptung auf, daß Boleslaw Chrobry im Jahre 1000 in Gnesen zum König gekrönt worden sei. Er berief sich auf die Information des Chronisten Gallus Ano-