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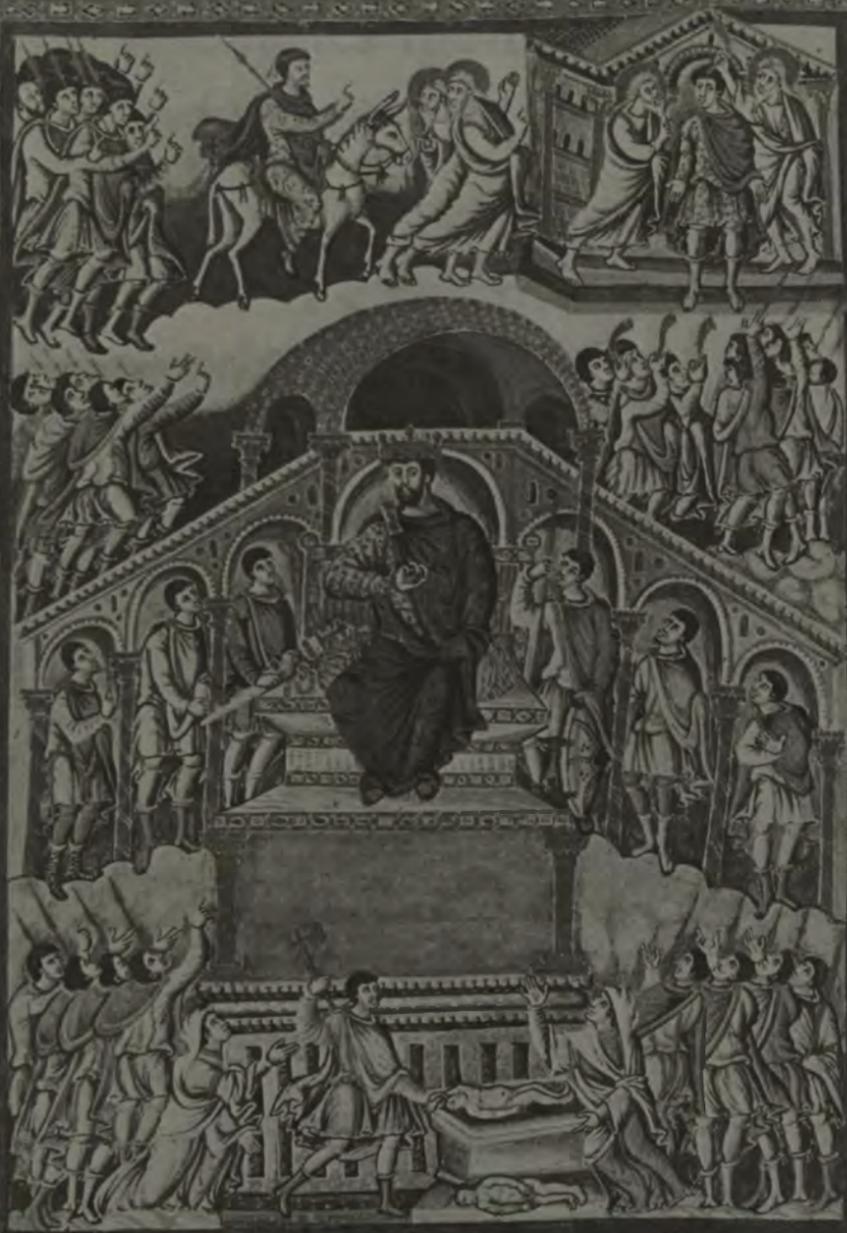
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Law and Records in Medieval England

**Charles the Bald
Court and Kingdom**

A NOTE ON THE FRONTISPIECE

The Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura was almost certainly produced at Rheims and taken to Rome by Charles the Bald in 875 at the time of his imperial coronation, as a gift for Pope John VIII. The frontispiece to the Book of Proverbs, fol. 188^v, depicts Solomon. The central scene shows the king enthroned giving the famous judgement described in the Authorised Version's First Book of Kings (the Vulgate's *III Reg.*), iii: 16-28. Two smaller scenes above show Solomon's ceremonial entry to Gihon, and his consecration as king by Zadoch the priest and Nathan the prophet (I Kings, i: 38-40). The picture is reproduced in colour in F. Mütherich and J. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting* (London 1977), plate 44, and its iconography is discussed by J. Gaehde in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 9 (1975), pp. 359-89, at 372-8. See also the comments of R. McKitterick and L. Nees, below, pp. 335, and 352.



Charles the Bald

Court and Kingdom



Edited by Margaret T. Gibson
and Janet L. Nelson

Second, revised edition



VARIORUM

British Library CIP data

Charles the Bald: court and kingdom. – 2nd rev. ed.
1. France. 751–987
I. Gibson, Margaret T., 1938–
II. Nelson, Janet L. (Janet Loughland), 1942–
944.014, 20

ISBN 0–86078–265–4

First edition published in 1981, BAR International Series 101, Oxford

Copyright © 1990 by

Margaret T. Gibson, Janet L. Nelson
and contributing authors

Published in Great Britain by

Variorum
Gower Publishing Group
Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot
Hampshire GU11 3HR

Printed in Great Britain by

Galliard (Printers) Ltd
Great Yarmouth, Norfolk

PREFACE

The proceedings of the colloquium on Charles the Bald held at King's College, London in April 1979, were published in 1981 as *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (Oxford), British Archaeological Reports, International Series 101. The volume included further papers generously contributed by colleagues who had been unable to attend the colloquium in person. It was thus wide-ranging, exploratory and new. As we said in the original preface:

If many gaps remain to be filled, both the volume, and the colloquium itself - which attracted some fifty enthusiastic participants - show what widespread interest there is in Charles the Bald.

Reviewers - notably Continental reviewers - welcomed the book; and through the 1980s, it seems to have proved useful to both teachers and students of early medieval history.

The present edition makes available a book that has been out of print for some years. Resetting the type has allowed authors not only to add bibliography but to make detailed modifications to the text (which are not signalled in any way). Brief English summaries of the three contributions in German or French, and a consolidated list of references, have been added. Two chapters have gone: Peter Godman's, subsumed in his *Poets and Emperors* (Oxford 1987), and Patrick McGurk's, whose findings are now available in *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscellany* (British Library Cotton Tiberius B. V, Part 1, edd. P. McGurk et al. (Copenhagen/London/Baltimore: Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile XXI, 1983)). Three chapters are new. John Marenbon (chapter 19) has completely replaced his original paper on John the Scot; Lawrence Nees (chapter 21) has contributed a study of the *Cathedra Petri*; and Janet L. Nelson (chapter 1) has written an account of the political framework within which all the succeeding chapters - in different ways - find their place. It is no coincidence that the two further papers that have effectively been rewritten (chapters 5 and 12) concern the currency and the archaeological evidence, for both these fields have been transformed in the last ten years by new discoveries and new techniques.

We welcome the opportunity to renew our thanks to those who invented and carried through the original 'shoe-string' colloquium, and whose help and encouragement contributed so greatly to the ensuing volume. For the present edition we have incurred new debts: first and foremost to Susan Kruse and Gordon Gallacher of the Computing Centre, King's College, London, whose

expertise has made of our typescripts something that looks as well as it reads; to the contributors for their extra work and moral support; to Susan Hall for making such a fine job of the Indices; to Roma Beaumont of the Cartographic Unit of the Geography Department of King's College, London, for redrawing maps; to Stuart Airlie, Simon Coupland, David Ganz, Julia Smith and Elizabeth Ward for permission to draw on their unpublished work; and last but by no means least to John Smedley of Variorum Reprints who used exactly the right tactics to get the editors' ideas made a reality.

Margaret T. Gibson
Janet L. Nelson

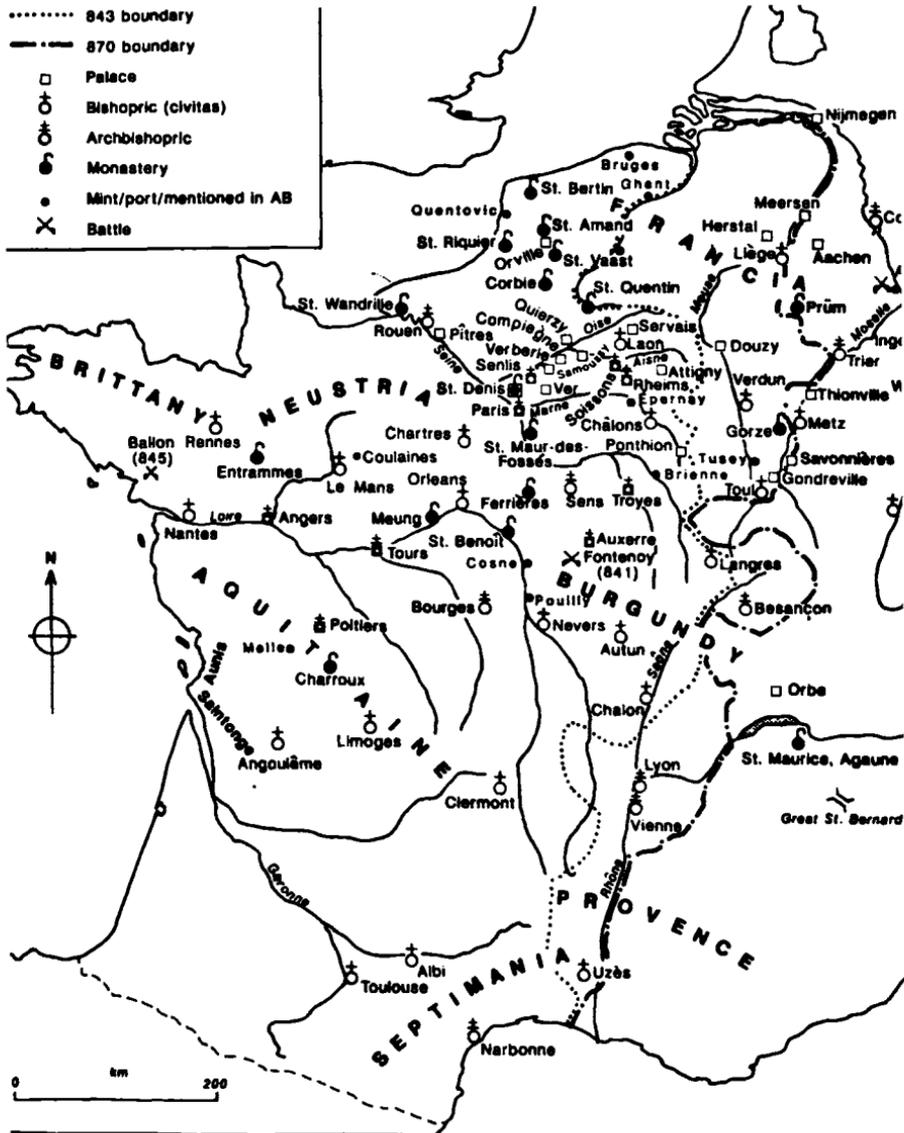
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Map of the Kingdom of Charles the Bald

ABBREVIATIONS

- AB** *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. F. Grat, J. Vielliard and S. Clémencet, with introduction and notes by L. Levillain (Paris 1964)
- Ademar** Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, ed. J. Chavanon (Paris 1897)
- AF** *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. F. Kurze, MGH SSRG (1891)
- AFont** *Annales Fontanellenses* (= *Chronique de Saint Wandrille*), ed. J. Laporte, Société de l'histoire de Normandie, 15 sér. (Rouen and Paris 1951)
- AM** *Annales du Midi*
- ARF** *Annales Regni Francorum*, ed. F. Kurze, MGH SSRG (1895)
- ASC** *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*
- Astron.** *Anonymi Vita Hludovici Pii*, ed. G. Pertz, MGH SS II
- AV** *Annales Vedastini*, ed. B. von Simson, MGH SSRG (1909)
- AX** *Annales Xantenses*, ed. B. von Simson, MGH SSRG (1909)
- BEC** *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*
- BNJ** *British Numismatic Journal*
- Brühl** C.-R. Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis* (Cologne 1968)
- Calmette** J. Calmette, *La Diplomatie Carolingienne du Traité de Verdun à la Mort de Charles le Chauve* (Paris 1901)
- Cappuyns** M. Cappuyns, *Jean Scot Erigène: sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée* (Louvain 1933)
- CC** *Corpus Christianorum*
- CCCM** *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis*
- CSEL** *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
- CCSL** *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*
- DA** *Deutsches Archiv*
- Devisse** J. Devisse, *Hincmar, Archevêque de Reims, 845-882*, 3 vols (Geneva 1975-6)
- EHR** *English Historical Review*
- Ermold** Ermold le Noir, *Poème sur Louis le Pieux et Epîtres au Roi Pépin*, ed. E. Faral (Paris 1932)
- GXt** *Gallia Christiana*, ed. D. de Ste Marthe et al. (Paris 1715-1865)
- FMS** *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*
- KdG** *Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, 5 vols. (Düsseldorf 1965-7)
- Koehler** W. Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, 4 vols. (Berlin 1930-71)
- Levillain** L. Levillain, *Recueil des Actes de Pépin I et Pépin II, rois d'Aquitaine (814-848)* (Paris 1926)

LMA	<i>Le Moyen Age</i>
Lot and Halphen	F. Lot and L. Halphen, <i>Le règne de Charles le Chauve</i> , 1: (840-851) (Paris 1909)
Lupus	Loup de Ferrières, <i>Correspondance</i> , ed. L. Levillain, 2 vols. (Paris 1927-35)
Mansi	J.-D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio</i> (Venice 1758-98)
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
MGH AA	<i>MGH Auctores Antiquissimi</i>
MGH Cap.	<i>MGH Capitularia</i>
MGH Conc.	<i>MGH Concilia</i>
MGH Epp. KA	<i>MGH Epistolae Karolini Aevi</i>
MGH Poet.	<i>MGH Poetae Karolini Aevi</i>
MGH SS	<i>MGH Scriptores in Folio</i>
MGH SSRG	<i>MGH Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum</i>
MGH SSRM	<i>MGH Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum</i>
MIÖG	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung</i>
NA	<i>Neues Archiv</i>
Nithard	Nithard, <i>Histoire des Fils de Louis le Pieux</i> , ed. P. Lauer (Paris 1926)
PL	J.-P. Migne ed., <i>Patrologia Latina</i>
Regino	Regino of Prüm, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. F. Kurze, MGH SSRG (1890)
RB	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
RBPH	<i>Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire</i>
RHE	<i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique</i>
S	P. Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters. An Annotated List and Bibliography</i> (London 1968)
SS Spoleto	<i>Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo</i>
Tessier; (T.)	G. Tessier, ed., <i>Recueil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve</i> , 3 vols. (Paris 1944-55)

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THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE BALD: A SURVEY

Janet L. Nelson

I Education for ruling: 823-40

The birth of a royal baby has seldom been greeted in such negative terms as that of Charles the Bald by modern historians. Until that event, they say, the Carolingian Empire was developing nicely under the new management of Charlemagne's son and sole heir Louis the Pious. A unitary imperial régime, guided by Christian idealists, had been set up in 817. Louis's eldest son Lothar had become co-emperor, heir presumptive to headship of the family firm. Lothar's two younger brothers, Pippin and Louis, were happy with the situation. Louis the Pious's second marriage to Judith in 819 caused no change of policy. On this view, it was only Charles's arrival on 13 June 823 in the royal palace of Frankfurt-am-Main which signalled fatal conflict within the royal family and the abandonment of the unitary ideal. As his mother set about ensuring Charles's inheritance at the expense of her stepsons, the empire was inexorably dismembered.¹

Strictly contemporary writers, by contrast, did not mention Charles's birth in 823 (any more than they usually did the births of any royal babies). When conflict came, many evinced regret, but few were surprised, and none saw Charles's existence as the prime cause. For conflict within and around the royal family was a fact of life in the early Middle Ages. Each generation of the Carolingian family before Charles's had had its crises. Charles experienced more of them in childhood than had his older half-brothers simply because he *had* older half-brothers: Lothar, Pippin and Louis the German. When royal fathers lived to a ripe age, as did Louis the Pious, adult princes rebelled against them more often than not; and when a prince had brothers, fraternal conflict was an expected outcome. When writers of the period (including royal speech-writers) stressed brotherly

¹ See the comments on previous historiography in E. Ward, 'Caesar's wife: the career of the Empress Judith, 819-829', in R. Collins and P. Godman edd., *Charlemagne's Heir* (Oxford 1989), pp. 205-227; and, further, J. L. Nelson, 'Rewriting the History of the Franks', *History* 72 (1987), pp. 69-81. In what follows, unless otherwise stated, the itinerary of Charles is inferred from *acta* of charters in Tessier.

love, that was because it was a virtue more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

Just ten days after Charles had his tenth birthday, his father was deposed by Lothar, his mother exiled and incarcerated, and Charles himself put in custody in the royal monastery of Prüm.² To shed too many tears over Charles at this point would be anachronistic. Significantly, he was not tonsured, which would have meant his intended exclusion from the ranks of the throne-worthy. Life at Prüm was not too hard. Charles made friends with Abbot Markward, later a useful contact. His separation from his parents, and from their court, lasted only nine months. Pippin and Louis the German were detached from their alliance with Lothar, the revolt collapsed and Lothar was sent away from Francia to Italy while Louis the Pious - who had said he would never accept the tonsure 'as long as he had a will of his own' - resumed his throne.³ If there was a lesson for Charles in these experiences, it was to keep one's nerve, trust will-power, and give fortune's wheel a push by encouraging defectors from opponents' coalitions.

Charles learned further lessons during the years between 834 and 840. He continued the first-rate education his parents had already arranged for him: his tutor Walafrid, who came, like Charles's mother, from Alamannia, was an expert Latinist.⁴ Charles must have been fluent in three languages: the *lingua romana* (that is, an ancestor of modern French), Old High German, and Latin. He made friends at court. He gained political experience when his father gave him, first a realm in the very heart of Francia, consisting of lands between Meuse and Seine (837), then a further grant of Neustria, the *regnum* between Seine and Loire (838), at the same time 'investing him with the weapons of manhood' - for Charles had now reached 15, the Frankish age of majority.⁵ Now Charles pursued a royal itinerary for some months on his own, while his father's itinerary shifted eastwards in these years, putting pressure on the holdings of another son, Louis the German, who rebelled in 838. In 839, following the death (in December 838) of his step-brother Pippin, Charles received a massive addition to his already large prospective inheritance in the shape of Aquitaine. Louis the Pious calculated that Charles could make good such claims only with a powerful backer: Lothar. In May 839, Lothar was summoned from Italy to Worms to agree to a plan whereby he and Charles would divide all their father's empire between them, roughly along a line running southwards down the valleys of the Meuse and the Rhône, Charles being assigned, again prospectively, everything to the West of this line. Louis the German was to be left with only Bavaria. Lothar agreed this deal and returned to Italy.

2 AB s.a. 833, pp. 9-10.

3 AB s.a. 834, pp. 11-2.

4 See P. Godman, *Poets and Emperors* (Oxford 1987), pp. 130-47.

5 Nithard, I, 6, pp. 26-7. On Louis the Pious's familial strategy between 834 and 840, see Nelson, 'The last years of Louis the Pious', in Collins and Godman edd., *Charlemagne's Heir*, pp. 147-59, at 150-1.

The deal of course remained a project, not reality. Aquitaine, in particular, had yet to be won, for Pippin's son Pippin II evaded his grandfather's custody, disputed Charles's claims and found some Aquitanian supporters. At the time of Louis the Pious's death, on 20 June 840, Charles was still in Aquitaine, where he had spent the preceding nine months, first with his father, then on his own, fighting to oust, or win over, Pippin's supporters, and, on the whole, succeeding - though Pippin remained at large.⁶

II Winning a realm: 840-4

Louis's death presented his entourage, and the aristocracy in general, with difficult choices. As Lothar, reneging on the deal of 839, pushed rapidly northwards to assert his imperial claims to the whole of Francia as assigned him prospectively back in 817, and promised lands and offices (*honores*) to supporters, many calculated that he would win and came over to him. But his brothers too had their claims. Some nobles found good reasons, often rooted in pre-existing local rivalries, to support Louis the German and Charles. In the Loire valley, for instance, where the noble Lambert sided with Lothar, his rival Rainald joined Charles. Another lay noble who supported Charles was his kinsman Nithard who, fortunately for us, described the ensuing struggles in detail unique for an early medieval historian.⁷

It is Nithard who shows what were the two key issues from Charles's point of view. The first was Aquitaine where Pippin II allied with Lothar to pursue his hereditary claim: hence there were not three but four Carolingian protagonists. The second issue was the distribution of *honores* in the Frankish heartlands between the Seine valley and the Rhineland. Here were concentrated the Carolingians' resources in terms of royal estates, royal monasteries, and bishoprics. Here the rival Carolingians sought, as Lothar put it, 'the wherewithal to reward their followers'.⁸ Lothar's two brothers allied to prevent him monopolising these resources.

The battle of Fontenoy on 24 June 841, when Louis the German and Charles defeated Lothar and Pippin II, promised to resolve the issue of Aquitaine in Charles's favour. For the moment, Pippin was out of the running. But Lothar was far from finished - indeed, he immediately set about spreading rumours that Charles had been killed, and thus continued to pick up adherents.⁹ Only in 842 could Louis and Charles win enough aristocratic support to force Lothar to come to terms; and even then the negotiations took a year to complete. The delay was

⁶ Lupus, Ep. 17, vol. 1, pp. 98-9.

⁷ On Nithard, and for what follows in this section, see Nelson, 'Public Histories and private history in the work of Nithard', *Speculum* 60 (1985), pp. 251-93, reprinted Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London 1986), ch. 9.

⁸ Nithard, IV, c. 3, pp. 124-6.

⁹ Nithard, III, c. 2, pp. 86-7.

caused in part by the need to make an up-to-date survey of royal resources in the heartlands, in order to equalise the brothers' shares.

No-one expected the Treaty of Verdun in July 843 to draw permanent boundaries. Many hoped it would end conflict for that generation of Carolingians - the next could take care of itself. The map shows that in terms of the heartlands, Lothar gained most.¹⁰ During the negotiations, he had extended his share westwards from the Meuse to the Scheldt. He held Frisia (where a Danish warlord ruled under his overlordship)¹¹, the Meuse valley, much of Burgundy, the Rhone valley and Provence. Italy, where he had ruled since the 820s, he kept. But Lothar did less well in the eastern zone of the heartlands, losing an extensive enclave around Mainz, Worms and Speyer, on the west bank of the Rhine, to Louis the German. No-one mentioned Pippin: that silence was a major gain for Charles the Bald.

In the summer of 843, his position had other advantages. He had hung on to the large region westwards of the Scheldt including Flanders and Picardy, and the whole Seine basin where the river system extended eastwards to include Champagne and northern Burgundy. Major mints and trading-places - Quentovic, Rouen, Nantes - lay in these regions where the long coastline gave onto the northern seas. In the south his claims were recognised not only in Aquitaine, where in Poitou lay the rich silver-mines of Melle, but in Septimania from Narbonne to Barcelona, including the Spanish March. On parchment, his realm looked at once compact and possessed of 'growth-potential', with access to the vast trading area of the north and, via the north-western (Breton) and south-western (Muslim-Spanish) land-frontiers, to sources of plunder and tribute.

Further, he had attracted the support of a number of important nobles. Some had their inherited powerbases within Charles's realm: for instance, Rainald, and then his son Harvey, whose lands lay in northern Aquitaine and the lower Loire valley.¹² Others though they had inherited lands further east in what were now the kingdoms of Lothar or Louis the German were endowed by Charles with *honores* in his realm: for instance Adalard, whose inherited lands lay in the Moselle region, was given the lay abbacy of St Martin's Tours (Charles married his niece in December 842, according to Nithard, 'because he thought that [Adalard] would win over most of the nobility to his cause'), while two young nobles from the Rhineland, Robert and Odo, were granted benefices in Champagne.¹³ With such support, Charles seemed in a strong position to get down to the business of ruling: that is, to amassing, exploiting and distributing resources.

In reality there were problems: the underside of the advantages. Viking warlords had seized the opportunity presented by the Franks' disputes to plunder

¹⁰ See Map on p. xii, above.

¹¹ *AB* s.a. 841, p. 39.

¹² J. Smith, *Province and Empire. Brittany and the Carolingians* (Cambridge 1990), ch. 2.

¹³ Nithard IV, c. 6, pp. 140-3; see also Nelson, 'Public Histories', Appendix I, *Politics and Ritual*, pp. 234-5.

Rouen in 841, Quentovic in 842, and Nantes in 843. The Breton *dux* Nominoë, though he had sworn loyalty to Charles in 841, saw the chance to ally with Viking warbands and extend his control eastwards into Frankish territory. In the lower Loire valley, there were Franks ready to join the alliance: notably Lambert who killed Charles's faithful man Rainald in March 843, just before the Viking assault on Nantes. From the Pyrenees, the Muslim warlord Musa raided far into Septimania in 841/2.¹⁴

In terms of Frankish politics and Carolingian rivalries, Verdun represented no more than a truce. Lacking external frontiers to east or west, Lothar could only 'expand' his realm north of the Alps by poaching on his brothers' faithful men and *honores*. He had a vested interest in undermining the loyalties on which Charles relied. He could do this by fomenting local opponents of Charles's men: Lambert in the Loire valley, for instance, or, more dangerously, Pippin II. Lothar could also play on the interests of nobles who, though they'd moved westwards, still had substantial lands and kin-connexions in his kingdom: for instance Adalard. Charles had drawn heavily on church resources, such as the lands of the see of Rheims, to reward his supporters. Lothar could try to convince ecclesiastical custodians, such as the archbishop of Rheims, that his lordship would be less burdensome than Charles's.¹⁵

Charles showed a shrewd sense of priorities. Immediately after Verdun, he went on campaign in Brittany. At Coulaines, near Le Mans, in November, he signed formal engagements with the leading lay and ecclesiastical magnates of his realm: he, and they, would show mutual respect for each other's *honor*.¹⁶ Christmas was spent at St Martin's Tours. Then, taking advantage of a mild winter, Charles took a small force into Aquitaine. Pippin II was their quarry. Probably at an assembly at Limoges in February, the rebellious magnate Bernard, longstanding ally of Pippin, was trapped and judicially executed.¹⁷ Charles moved south and laid siege to Toulouse which was held by supporters of Pippin. During the sixweek siege, large numbers of magnates from Aquitaine and Septimania came to his court to receive his patronage and protection.¹⁸ Here Charles spent his 21st birthday on 13 June, and waited for his main army mustered in the north, as usual in the early summer, to come and join him. All seemed set fair to secure the whole of the realm promised at Verdun.

¹⁴ AB s.a. 843, p. 44; C. Sanchez Albornoz, 'El Tercer Rey de España', *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 49-50, 1969, pp. 5-49, at 20-3.

¹⁵ MGH Epp. KA III, pp. 591, 609-11.

¹⁶ Nelson, 'Kingship, law and liturgy in the political thought of Hincmar', *EHR* 92, 1977, pp. 241-79, at 255-6, reprinted *Politics and Ritual*, ch. 7.

¹⁷ This is an inference from AB s.a. 844, p. 45, and T. 32.

¹⁸ T. 36-56.

III Challenge and response: 844-9

On 14 June, Charles's Frankish army on its way south was attacked (probably ambushed) in the Angoumois by Pippin II with the support of Bernard's son William. The northerners were overwhelmed. Among the dead were Charlemagne's illegitimate son Hugh, abbot of St Quentin, and Nithard, lay-abbot of St Riquier. Among the prisoners-of-war were three counts, two bishops and Abbot Lupus of Ferrières.¹⁹ Charles may not at first have realised the scale of the disaster, for he did not abandon the siege of Toulouse until July. By September he was back at Compiègne.

Even before 14 June, Charles had suffered other setbacks in the north-west. Two of his most important magnates in northern Poitou, Harvey son of Rainald, and Bernard were attacked and killed near Nantes by Lambert and his Breton allies, while Nominoë ravaged Frankish territory as far as Le Mans.²⁰ Charles needed to secure his own heartland. In October he met his half-brothers at Thionville in Lothar's kingdom: the three jointly sent envoys urging Charles's opponents to open negotiations on terms that would secure Charles's overlordship of Brittany and Aquitaine. Though Pippin II, Lambert and Nominoë were all old allies of Lothar's, Charles now extracted from Lothar at least an assurance of non-intervention.²¹ The régime of confraternity was a fragile carapace, but it was, for the moment, the best protection Charles had. He made the most of it.

Charles made for the Loire valley. He kept Christmas 844 at St Martin's Tours. Adalard had held the lay-abbacy there, but he was given instead the lay-abbacy of St Quentin (vacated by the defunct Hugh).²² Charles now allocated the key post of lay-abbot of St Martin's to Vivian, almost certainly a close relative of Rainald and Harvey, and hence eager to avenge them. Probably at the same time, Charles gave the countship of Châteaudun to Odo. With a firm grip on the lower Loire valley, Charles could hope to hold Poitou.

Meanwhile dissension among the Franks, as in 834 and 841, attracted external interference. Late in 844 Vikings sailed up the Garonne as far as Toulouse 'wreaking destruction everywhere without meeting any opposition', before moving on to northern Spain. In March 845, Ragnar with a large fleet sailed up the Seine as far as Paris. Charles's decision to buy off these Vikings with '7000 lb'

¹⁹ See the entries for 844 in *AB*, pp. 46-7, *AF*, pp. 34-5, and *AX*, p. 13; Nelson, 'Public Histories', Appendix II, *Politics and Ritual*, pp. 235-7.

²⁰ *AB* s.a. 844, pp. 46, 47-8; Adrevald, *Miracula Sancti Benedicti*, c. 24, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SS XV*, i, pp. 493-4. O. G. Oexle, 'Bischof Ebroin von Poitiers und seine Verwandten', *FMS* 3 1969, pp. 138-210, at 173, identifies Bernard as count of Poitiers; but see now Gillingham, below, p. 45, n. 33.

²¹ *AB* s.a. 844, pp. 48-9.

²² I follow the suggestion of K.-F. Werner, 'Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit des französischen Fürstentums (9.-10.Jht.) IV', *Die Welt als Geschichte* 19, 1959, pp. 146-93, at 155-6.

was criticised in Lothar's kingdom, but not by writers nearer the spot.²³ His temporary military weakness left little alternative; and the payment achieved its objective. Charles opened negotiations with Pippin II, and the two met in June 845 at the monastery of Fleury (St Benoît-sur-Loire). Charles could no longer exclude Pippin's claims in Aquitaine, but he did impose two significant limitations: first, Charles kept Poitou and the western coastal regions (Saintonge and Aunis), and second, Pippin was credited not with full kingship but only with lordship (*dominatus*) under Charles's overlordship.²⁴

The most striking feature of the years 845-8 is the persistence of Lothar's efforts to overturn Verdun. He was not yet reconciled to co-existence with Charles as a brother-king of the Franks, and Pippin again presented himself as a worthwhile ally who could subvert Charles's position in the west and in the Loire valley. Charles's response was to try to undermine both Lothar's position in the Middle Kingdom (especially in Provence) and Pippin's in Aquitaine, while consolidating his hold on his own kingdom. His rapprochement with Lambert, later in 845, prevented neither a Frankish defeat by Nominoë's Bretons near Redon (22 November) nor Vikings overwintering in the Saintonge, but it did promise eventual regional co-operation against both Bretons and Vikings.²⁵ In the far south-west, Charles found potential allies against Pippin in the shape of persecuted Pyrenean Christians and also his old ally Musa, ready again to rebel against the amir of Cordoba. The appointment of Hincmar to Rheims (May 845) signalled Charles's determination to resist Lothar on another front. Ebbo, ousted as archbishop back in 835, briefly restored by Lothar between 840 and 841, was again taken up by him in 845-6, but Charles successfully countered Lothar's efforts to mobilise Pope Sergius II on Ebbo's behalf.²⁶ The virulence of Lothar's intrigues drove Louis the German to reaffirm his support for Charles. At Meerssen near Liège in February 847, Charles managed to engineer a meeting of all three brothers where Lothar promised to stop encouraging 'his men who, up to the present, have been acting against our dear brother Charles'.²⁷ A year later, Lothar was renewing his efforts to detach Louis from his alliance with Charles, but Louis 'ingeniously declined'.²⁸ On 1 November 846, Queen Ermentrude had played her part in strengthening Charles's position by producing a son, to whom they gave his grandfather's name, Louis.²⁹

Viking activity increased during these years, with attacks on Brittany in 844 and 847, Frisia in 846, and repeated attacks on Aquitaine. Charles's adversaries

²³ *AX* s.a. 845, p. 14, is very critical. But cf. *AB* s.a. 845, p.49; *Miracula Sancti Germani*, c. 20, *Analecta Bollandiana* 2 (1883), pp. 84-5. Lupus makes no mention of the event in any extant letter.

²⁴ *AB* s.a. 845, p. 50. See J.Martindale, below, pp. 121-2.

²⁵ Smith, *Province and Empire*, ch. 4, discusses Lambert's role.

²⁶ Devisse, *Hincmar*, vol.1, p. 36.

²⁷ MGH Cap. II, no. 204, pp. 68-71.

²⁸ *AF* s.a. 848, p. 37.

²⁹ Werner, 'Die Nachkommen Karls des Grossen', in *KdG* vol. IV, p. 453.

suffered more than did Charles himself, and the pressures on him were on the whole reduced. A Viking siege of Bordeaux in the winter of 847-8 gave Charles the chance for a counterstrike in February/March when he captured nine Viking ships on the Dordogne.³⁰ This did not save Bordeaux, but it did boost Charles's standing among the Aquitanians, contrasting with Pippin's failure to defend his realm. On 6 June 848 Charles was able to stage an imposing royal consecration rite at Orleans, a Frankish city but on the frontier with Aquitaine, and to follow this up by a further campaign in Aquitaine against Pippin - his first since 844.³¹ He failed to capture Pippin (nor did he prevent the Viking sack of Melle), but a collapse of Pippin's cause must be inferred from the cessation of his output of royal charters, and from Lothar's willingness to cease harbouring Pippin's brother and to come to terms with Charles. 'Wiser counsels prevailed' when Lothar and Charles 'returned to peace and brotherly concord' at the beginning of 849.³²

Now, briefly, there was a relaxation of tension as, in a second bilateral pact, Charles and Louis the German reaffirmed their alliance. Their leading churchmen collaborated in the suppression of the heretic Gottschalk, whose supporters had included some of the leading men in Lothar's kingdom.³³ Charles consolidated his position in Aquitaine. Pippin's brother Charles, after being captured in Aquitaine by Vivian, was taken back to Francia, tonsured and consigned to Corbie. Toulouse, where supporters of Pippin held out, was besieged by Odo and its defenders capitulated.³⁴ Charles rewarded his faithful men, and having 'made arrangements for the Spanish March at his own discretion' spent Christmas in Aquitaine, at Bourges, for the first time since 840.³⁵

IV Offensive to defensive: 850-8

Nominoë, himself under pressure after Viking attacks, had launched a fierce onslaught on western Neustria late in 849, making Charles's first priority the next year a campaign into Brittany. The abbot of Redon came to seek his favour in August near Saumur on the Loire: a promising sign.³⁶ But when Charles subsequently moved east again, Nominoë attacked still more vigorously and captured both Nantes and Rennes. Lambert, after five years of well-rewarded loyalty to Charles, now defected again and allied with Nominoë. February 851 saw Charles back on the Loire at Tours, presumably preparing a new campaign against the Bretons. The unexpected death of Nominoë on 7 March was a relief.

30 *AFont* pp. 80-1.

31 *AB* s.a. 848, p. 58; *AFont* pp. 80-1.

32 *AB* s.a. 849, p. 56; *AFont*, pp. 80-1. For Pippin's charters, see Martindale, below, p. 137. For Pippin's brother, see T. Schieffer, 'Karl von Aquitanien', in L. Lenhart ed., *Universitas. Festschrift für A. Stohr*, 2 vols. (Mainz 1960), vol. 2, pp. 42-54.

33 See the papers of R. Kottje and D. Ganz, below.

34 *AFont*, pp. 80-3; *AB* s.a. 849, pp. 57-8.

35 *AB* s.a. 848, p. 58; *AFont*, pp. 82-3. The rewards are recorded in T. 123, 124.

36 T. 132. For Nominoë's attacks, and subsequent death, see *AFont* pp. 84-5.

Charles took the chance to meet with his brothers, again at Meerssen, in early summer, to renew their accords, before returning to the Breton front.³⁷ On 22 August at Jengland near Redon, Charles suffered the most serious military setback he personally had experienced to date. Breton horsemen making the most of their familiarity with the boggy terrain of the Vilaine valley, and skilled at light cavalry tactics, after harrasing the Franks' line of march, attacked and scattered Charles's forces. While the king escaped, Vivian and other leading men were killed.³⁸ Charles had to come to terms with Nominoë's son and successor, Erispoë, acknowledging his control of Rennes and Nantes, and also the Pays de Retz in northwestern Aquitaine.³⁹ Charles fell back on intrigue and political 'seduction'. Lambert was killed by a local rival, and Charles won over Erispoë's cousin (and potential supplanter) Salomon, probably by promising him the lands he had just conceded to Erispoë.⁴⁰

A significant escalation in the scale and intensity of Viking attacks occurred from 851 onwards, especially up the Rivers Seine and Loire, and along the coastline of Aquitaine.⁴¹ On the Seine, in the winter of 852-3, Charles mounted a joint-defence with Lothar (from whom the Viking chief Godfrid was a recent defector); and though unable to prevent a Viking force from entrenching itself at Jeufosse (some 50 km. downstream from Paris) in 856, Charles's energetic response so impressed the visiting West Saxon king Æthelwulf that he became betrothed to Charles's daughter Judith in July and married her at the end of the campaigning-season in October.⁴² In the Loire valley, defence was locally-organised, by, for instance, the bishop of Orleans (854). But this failed to prevent Nantes, Angers, Tours, Blois, and eventually Orleans being sacked between 853 and 856.

Until 853, Charles's position in Aquitaine had seemed to be consistently improving. His intrigues on the Spanish March paid off in 852, when Count Sancho of Gascony, previously Pippin II's ally, handed him over to Charles who promptly had his old enemy tonsured and put in the monastery of St Médard, Soissons.⁴³ In the north of Aquitaine and the lower Loire valley, the death of Lambert had eased Charles's problems too. Lambert's killer Gauzbert was

³⁷ MGH Cap. II, no. 205, pp. 72-4.

³⁸ *AFont*, pp. 86-7; Regino s.a. 860 (for 851), pp. 78-9. The battle, unmentioned in the *AB*, is located by H. Guillotel, 'L'action de Charles le Chauve vis à vis de la Bretagne', *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* 53 (1975-6), pp. 5-32, at 25. Lupus, Ep. 83, vol. 2, pp. 68-9, is a savagely ironic reference to this defeat.

³⁹ *AB* s.a. 851, pp. 63-4.

⁴⁰ As plausibly surmised by Smith, *Province and Empire*, ch. 4, though *AB* s.a. 852, p. 64, says only that Salomon got 'a third of Brittany'. For Lambert, see *AB* s.a. 852, p. 64; *AFont*, pp. 88-9.

⁴¹ What follows is based on *AFont* and *AB*. See further S. Coupland, *Charles the Bald and the defence of the West Frankish Kingdom*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis (Cambridge 1987); and S. Coupland and J. Nelson, 'The Vikings on the Continent', *History Today*, Dec. 1988, pp. 12-9.

⁴² See P. Stafford, below pp. 144-51.

⁴³ *AB* s.a. 852, pp. 64-5.

executed on royal orders in March 853, for reasons unexplained by any contemporary source.⁴⁴

Joint-defence action on the Seine, however meagre its military results, strengthened Charles's alliance with Lothar. But this had the disadvantage of arousing the suspicions of Louis the German, anxious both about internal security in his own kingdom and about the increasing pressures put on his resources by his own adult sons (the eldest of them was only five years younger than Charles himself). When in the summer of 853 Gauzbert's Aquitanian kinsmen defected from Charles and sent to Louis the German inviting him, or his son the Young Louis, to be their king, the full dimensions of Charles's 'problem of Aquitaine' were clear: it was a Carolingian problem, with implications for the whole *regnum*.⁴⁵ Charles may have struck back at his brother (some contemporaries believed so) by bribing Bulgars and Slavs to attack him in the east.⁴⁶

In the event Aquitanian support for the Young Louis proved small, and Charles was able to drive him out of Aquitaine late in 854.⁴⁷ But Charles seems to have regarded him as a more serious threat than that posed the same year by Pippin II's reappearance in Aquitaine. (After a failed attempt in 853, he had managed to escape from St Médard.) Charles was a man who learned fast: in 855, collaborating with his own Aquitanian supporters, he arranged for the consecration of his second son, the Young Charles, now aged seven, as king of the Aquitanians. This was to revert to an earlier Carolingian pattern. Devolution seemed to answer the demands of regional interests and filial provision alike. But it presupposed regional solidarity; and it left open the extent of filial autonomy. Unfortunately no good evidence survives from any Aquitanian source. But it seems likely that what the *Annals of St Bertin* depict (through the author's ignorance and anti-Aquitanian prejudice) as kaleidoscopic changes of Aquitanian allegiance were in fact clashes of opposing factions in part reflecting regional groupings within Aquitaine.⁴⁸ Some nobles still backed Pippin, others made a second, abortive, appeal to Louis the German in 856. Charles grasped the problem. His response was to try to repeat Coulaines, that is to reconstruct a regional, territorial political identity on the basis of collective interests. This was

⁴⁴ *Annals of Angoulême* s.a. 852, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS XVI, p. 486 (on these annals see J.B. Gillingham, below, pp. 43, 49-51); Regino s.a. 860, p. 78.

⁴⁵ *AF* s.a. 854, p. 44. The *cognatio Gauzberti* has been identified as the 'Rorgonides clan' by Werner, 'Bedeutende Adelsfamilien im Reich Karls des Grossen', in *KdG* vol.1, pp. 83-142, at 137-42; and by Oexle, 'Bischof Ebrouin', pp. 144-9. But the three different Gauzberts mentioned, with no word of any kin-relationship, in *AFont*, pp. 84-9, suggest a more complicated picture.

⁴⁶ *AB* s.a. 853, p. 68.

⁴⁷ Again, the *AB* is the main source for what follows. But for a rather different interpretation, see Martindale, below, pp. 126-32.

⁴⁸ See my comments on the *AB* author, Prudentius, below, pp. 26-33.

the theme of the manifestoes he directed to 'Franks and Aquitanians' south of the Loire in 856.⁴⁹

Within the rest of his own kingdom, that is, Neustria, Western Francia and Burgundy, Charles attempted a similar reconstruction. The assembly of Servais in November 853 adopted a programme of government in the tradition of Louis the Pious. Forty three named *missi* were assigned the task of getting written instructions (capitularies) implemented in local courts.⁵⁰ Earlier that year at Quierzy, Charles had promulgated a theological equivalent of this programme in the shape of four statements on Predestination. Their thrust was to affirm the moral responsibility of Christians for their own social conduct.⁵¹ At Quierzy and Servais, Charles had built a consensus: the political élite, ecclesiastical and lay, was to share the task of maintaining peace and order. The texts breathe confidence.

Their real-life context was a political system in which inter-Carolingian conflict was a fundamental dynamic and the means whereby resources were reallocated. Noble families, ecclesiastical networks and theological disputes straddled the political divisions of Carolingian realms, offering adroit rulers and prelates opportunities for intervention beyond their own territories. The changing contours of the extended royal family offered new vistas for individual ambition. The case of Corbie shows complex interests intersecting. This monastery near Amiens had close links with its daughter-house Corvey in Louis the German's Saxon realm. In 854, Charles of Aquitaine, whom Charles the Bald had put in custody at Corbie 'got away' and made for Louis the German's court, where, within months, he received the archbishopric of Mainz.⁵² In 855, Corbie secured confirmation of its privileges from the new pope Benedict III. The document (apparently drawn up by the monks themselves) did not mention Charles the Bald.⁵³

In September 855, Lothar I died. Both his brothers tried to gain influence over his youthful heirs. It was under Louis the German's auspices that the consecration of Lothar's second son, Lothar II, to the Frankish Middle Kingdom took place at Frankfurt-am-Main.⁵⁴ Charles may have been encouraging Lothar I's eldest son, Louis II of Italy, to push, unsuccessfully, for an inheritance north of the Alps too. By 857, the uncle-nephew alignments had shifted, with Charles and Lothar allied, against Louis the German and Louis II.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ MGH Cap. II, nos. 262-5, pp. 279-85. See my comments in J. H. Burns ed., *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought* (Cambridge 1988), pp. 211-51, at 228.

⁵⁰ MGH Cap. II, no. 260, pp. 270-6. See Nelson, 'Legislation and consensus in the reign of Charles the Bald', in P. Wormald et al. ed., *Ideal and Reality. Studies in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford 1983), pp. 202-27 (reprinted *Politics and Ritual*, ch. 5).

⁵¹ See Ganz's comments, below, pp. 296, 298-301.

⁵² Schieffer, 'Karl von Aquitanien', p. 49.

⁵³ See the forthcoming monograph of D. Ganz on early medieval Corbie (Beihefte der *Franca*, Publications of the German Historical Institute, Paris 1990).

⁵⁴ *AF* s.a. 855, p. 46.

⁵⁵ *AB* s.a. 857, p. 74.

The year 858 brought what historians have labelled 'the crisis of Charles's reign': the invasion of his realm by Louis the German. It had been foreshadowed in 853 with the summons to Louis from Aquitaine; and, more clearly, in 856, when counts in the Frankish part of Charles's realm too had 'invited' Louis to supplant his brother. The trigger in the second case was Charles's attempt to set up his eldest son, Louis, then aged nine, in a Neustrian kingdom. Louis the Pious had done as much for Charles himself in 838; and Charlemagne for his eldest son in 790.⁵⁶ But this time the royal plan ran up against opposition from the office-holders Charles himself had installed in Neustria. Chief among these was Count Robert of Angers.⁵⁷ When Charles planned to underwrite his son's Neustrian régime with Breton support, betrothing the boy to Erispoë's daughter. Robert feared the loss of his ascendancy in the lower Loire region. Though Louis the German's lack of response curtailed the 856 rebellion, Erispoë's murder late in 857 removed the underpinning of Charles's Neustrian policy, leaving the young Louis the Stammerer vulnerable. In 858 Robert and his allies in the Loire valley region rebelled again. Their first act was to drive Louis the Stammerer eastwards out of Neustria. Then they appealed once more to Louis the German, and this time they were not disappointed. Charles had tried to consolidate his position by reaffirming his alliance with Lothar II, conciliating Pippin II, and mounting a determined offensive against the Vikings on the Seine.⁵⁸ But partly because he was struck down by illness, Charles was unable to achieve any significant success.⁵⁹ When the campaigning season ended in September, he dismissed most of his troops. By then his brother was well inside West Francia, but Charles was hoping to negotiate his withdrawal. He lacked enough support to risk a battle, and in November withdrew into Burgundy, leaving the invader to spend Christmas at St Quentin.

V Holding on: 859-69

The speed of Charles's recovery suggests that the alleged 'crisis' was skin-deep, or rather, that crises of this sort were endemic in early medieval political life. The rebels' remonstrance against Charles accused him not of weakness but of imposing excessive demands on his people.⁶⁰ Yet Louis the German found much less support in the West than he had expected. In Burgundy, Charles recouped. On 15 January 859, as he later recalled, 'the King of Kings restored me to the

⁵⁶ *Annales Mettenses Priores* s.a. 790, ed. B. von Simson, MGH SSRG (Hanover 1905), p. 78.

⁵⁷ Werner, 'Untersuchungen...IV', pp. 151-2, 166 and n. 83.

⁵⁸ *AB* s.a. 858, p. 78.

⁵⁹ Charles's own statement that he had been ill, MGH Cap. II, no. 300, p. 451, is supported by Aimoin, *De translatione SS. Georgii et Aurelii*, c. 28, *Acta Sanctorum Iulii VI*, p. 465. See also Coupland, *Charles the Bald and Defence*, pp. 132-3.

⁶⁰ *AF* 858, pp. 49-50.

kingdom after my enemies had been scattered'.⁶¹ In June, with his nephews Lothar II and Charles of Provence firmly in tow, Charles the Bald took steps to mop up remaining resistance in the Loire valley and dealt with a variety of disorders, such as disputed episcopal elections, arising from the previous year's events.⁶² At Coblenz in June 860, with Lothar II acting as go-between, Charles and Louis the German came to terms. Though Charles agreed that ex-rebels who undertook to keep the peace henceforward should keep whatever properties they had inherited or acquired, he reserved his own rights over offices and lands which he himself had granted: on the latter, he said, 'I shall act as I will'.⁶³ And so he did: thus though Robert recovered the countship of Angers, that of Troyes was withheld from Odo and given instead to the son of a previous count. Further, such redistribution of royal patronage made Charles's court a magnet for discontented nobles from the kingdoms of Louis the German and Lothar II: 'they came to Charles, and were consoled with honours'.⁶⁴

Two underlying features of the 860s tended to benefit Charles: the first was the readiness of Louis the German's now-adult sons to rebel against their father, and the second was the dynastic impasse faced by Lothar I's descent-line in all three of its branches. The first of these produced readymade allies for Charles: the East Frankish nobles he consoled in 861 were relatives-by-marriage of Louis the German's rebellious son Karlmann. The second offered Charles prospects for expansion in the Middle Kingdom: his abortive attempt in 861 to seize the kingdom of Provence from its epileptic child-king, Lothar I's youngest son, foreshadowed more promising interventions in the realms of Lothar II, whose marriage was childless, and of Louis II of Italy, who had no son.⁶⁵

Charles faced problems with his own offspring during these years. The first sign of rebellion on the part of the eldest, Louis, nicknamed the Stammerer, came early in 862, when he connived at the elopement of his sister Judith, (twice widowed in England and now back in Francia) with Count Baldwin. (Charles the Bald refused to recognise this match until late in 863.) Soon afterwards, Louis the Stammerer married without his father's permission a woman whose family connexions Louis evidently hoped would provide a powerbase in northern Neustria and around the lower Seine. In the summer of 862, Louis joined the Breton Salomon and attacked Count Robert of Anjou: an act of open rebellion against his father.⁶⁶ Louis' younger brother Charles, now not quite fifteen, also chose a wife to further his own political interests in Aquitaine, without consulting

⁶¹ T. 246.

⁶² MGH Cap. II, no. 299, pp. 447-50.

⁶³ MGH Cap. II, no. 242, pp. 152-8.

⁶⁴ *AB* s.a. 861, p. 85. For Count Aledramnus [II] of Troyes, see F. Lot, *Recueil des Travaux Historiques*, 3 vols. (Geneva and Paris 1968-73), ii, pp. 582-90.

⁶⁵ *AB* s.a. 861, p. 87. On the shape of the Carolingian family in the 860s, see Nelson, 'A tale of two princes', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 10 (1988), pp. 105-41.

⁶⁶ *AB* s.a. 862, pp. 88-91. The significance of Louis' marriage is underlined by Oexle, 'Ebroin', p. 193.

his father. Charles the Bald was unable to force the repudiation of either bride. But Louis' rebellion soon collapsed and he and his wife were forced by the king to quit Neustria. As for Charles of Aquitaine, subdued by his father in 863, he was braindamaged as a result of a horrific accident in 864, and thereafter played no independent role in politics; he died in 866. By then, after the loss of four sons within a few months (three of them had apparently been destined by their father for ecclesiastical careers), Charles the Bald's problem was no longer that of rebellious sons, but a dangerously narrow line of descent.

Charles managed to turn these tensions within his immediate family to his own advantage, offsetting his sons' power by promoting others both within and outside the extended royal family. Late in 863, he recognised his daughter Judith's new marriage and thereafter let her husband Baldwin build up an extensive lordship in the lands to the west of the Scheldt, offset, however, by Charles's own acquisition of the well-endowed monastery of St Vaast in 866, and by his promotion of a local noble, his chamberlain Engelramn.⁶⁷ On the further borders of Neustria and Aquitaine, in Brittany and on the Spanish March, Charles encouraged new constellations of regional power. Salomon, who had resisted Charles and allied with Vikings against the king's faithful man Robert on the Loire, acknowledged Frankish overlordship in 863-4 and in 867 forced Charles to give him the counties of Coutances and Avranches. Charles without abandoning claims to Brittany had now settled for using Salomon as an ally in western Neustria. Until his death in 874, Salomon was to remain loyal to this alliance.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, the death of Robert in a skirmish against Loire Vikings in 866 left the king free to appoint his cousin Hugh, a secular clerk, to command in the central Loire region based on Tours. As for Aquitaine, the death of the young Charles opened another option for Charles the Bald: in 867, Louis the Stammerer was sent there as king, but with household officers picked by his father from his own palace. Charles would have no more problems with 'Aquitanian separatism!'⁶⁹

In the South-West, the revolt of Humfrid in Toulouse against the king's faithful man Raymund gave Charles a pretext for intervention. The amir of Cordoba thought it prudent to assure Charles of his friendship. Humfrid was driven away to Italy, and in 865 the king was able to put a trusted Poitevin noble (the son of the Bernard killed in 844) in charge of part of Gothia, while Raymund's son took over the countship of Toulouse.⁷⁰ Though Charles himself did not visit Aquitaine or Septimania thereafter, his political grip on the region was now firm. Here, as in Neustria, far from allowing the construction of a single territorial principality, Charles's strategy was to divide and rule.

In these years, Charles was also able to offset the constraints of entrenched local secular power by exploiting the mobility and flexibility of ecclesiastical

67 *AB* s.a. 863, p. 104, 866, p. 128; T. 314.

68 See Smith, *Province and Empire*, ch. 4.

69 *AB* s.a. 866, p. 131, 867, p. 135.

70 *AB* s.a. 863, p. 97, 864, pp. 112-3, 865, p. 117. Cf. above, p. 6, for the elder Bernard.

patronage. Episcopal and abbatial appointees, whatever their personal aristocratic connexions, functioned primarily as royal agents. In transferring Actard bishop of Nantes to the archbishopric of Tours in 871, for instance, Charles signalled both confidence in a trusted servant and determination to maintain Tours' metropolitan authority over the Breton sees.⁷¹ Significantly, when Charles granted Salomon the county of Coutances, he himself kept control of the bishopric.⁷² The appointment of the learned cleric Wulfad to the archbishopric of Bourges in 866 was a key element in Charles's plans for retaining control over Aquitaine.⁷³ Frotar, chosen as archbishop of Bordeaux in 858, was transferred elsewhere in Aquitaine in the 860s when he was assigned abbacies in the Auvergne (St Julien, Brioude) and in Poitou (Charroux and St Hilary, Poitiers) together with the see of Poitiers itself.⁷⁴ Last but not least, Charles's son Carloman, who had been consecrated in minor orders as a child, and hence declared out of the running for a royal inheritance, was given the rich abbacies of St Médard Soissons and St Amand, whose resources he used to maintain a powerful military following at his father's (as well as his own) disposal.⁷⁵

In the 860s too, Charles set about organising the defence of his own heartlands, especially in what a contemporary called the 'paradise' of the Seine basin.⁷⁶ His experience on the Marne in 862 proved the usefulness of fortified bridges to block off the retreat of Viking forces. Within weeks, the king had set about building a fortified bridge near Pitres, some 17 km. upstream from Rouen. Though it was not until 866 that the Seine was finally cleared of Viking fleets, and later still that the Viking threat on the Loire was pushed downstream below Tours, Charles's strategy saved the Oise valley palaces, and for the last decade of his reign, the Seine basin was spared further Viking attacks.⁷⁷

In 864, Charles reformed the coinage, demonetising previous issues, and upgrading the silver content of the coins while issuing more of them from more places. One purpose of the reform may be inferred from the location of mints at royal estate-centres and at major points on the king's itinerary: in stimulating the use of coin, the king helped himself to tap the increasing flow of wealth in the heartland of his realm. It was no coincidence that the proliferation of markets was dealt with in the same legislation that enacted the coinage reform. A second aim was more directly fiscal. Like previous Carolingian coinage reforms, this one brought an immediate return to the treasury when royal agents took a cut (probably of 10 %) on old coinage brought to mints for compulsory reissue. Hoard evidence from the years following 864, in which only the new, post-reform issues appear, shows that the demonetising of previous currency was actually achieved. The king

71 *AB* s.a. 868, p. 143, 871, p. 182.

72 *AB* s.a. 867, p. 137.

73 *AB* s.a. 866, pp. 128-9; Charles to Pope Nicholas I, Ep. 3, PL 124, cols. 867-9.

74 T. 375, 376, *AB* s.a. 868, p. 142 and n. 3.

75 Nelson, 'A Tale of Two Princes', pp. 109-10.

76 Hildegard of Meaux, *Vita et Miracula s. Faronis*, c. 123, MGH SSRM 5, p. 200.

77 Coupland, *Charles the Bald and Defence*, chs. 3, 8.

had been able to impose what was in effect a substantial wealth tax. He would need large supplies of silver to finance a new imperialism.⁷⁸

Expansion, foreclosed in Brittany and on the Spanish March, could take place on other frontiers, at the expense of Charles's Carolingian kin. To modern historians, this has often seemed a period when the Carolingian Empire had already disappeared: yet the politics of the 860s make sense only in terms of a contemporary assumption that one Carolingian *regnum* persisted and that one Carolingian could gain the lion's share of it. Exploiting his nephews' dynastic difficulties, especially by blocking Lothar II's efforts to obtain a divorce and so legitimise his bastard son, Hugh, Charles in the 860s looked to acquisitions eastwards and southeastwards. In 868 he made a secret agreement with Louis the German to dismember the realm of their nephew Lothar II should he die without a legitimate heir.⁷⁹ Lothar counter-maneuvred by linking Hugh's future with the ambitions of some magnates in Charles's kingdom: chief of these were Count Bernard of Autun (son of the Bernard executed in 844) whom Charles struggled vainly between 864 and 866 to deprive of his countship, and Bishop Hincmar of Laon, against whom Charles's complaint, in 868, that he had withdrawn benefices assigned the king's men on lands of the see of Laon gave way, in 869, to the more serious charge of treason.⁸⁰ But Charles's response to such threatened defections was vigorous and successful: Bernard was driven from Autun, the West Frankish episcopate was mobilised against Hincmar of Laon, and, most important of all, the coalition of interests opposed to Lothar's divorce was kept firm, so that, in 869, Charles's prospects of Lotharingian acquisitions remained bright.

During the 860s, the ideology of Charles's rulership developed to match these ambitions. In 862, he issued a privilege for St Martin's Tours sealed with a golden seal, hitherto the prerogative of emperors.⁸¹ Already a few years earlier, Charles had been saluted by one of his scholar-clients as 'king of Francia, Aquitaine and Neustria'.⁸² This was imperial terminology, expressing rulership over many realms. At Pîtres in 864, Charles's legislation self-consciously echoed that of the Christian Roman emperors whom he here claimed as his 'predecessors'. Like them, he imposed on all his subjects, 'without exception and without excuse', the obligation to help in the defence of the realm. Just as he forbade the creation of markets without royal authorisation and asserted public control of the coinage, so

⁷⁸ MGH Cap. II, no. 273, cc. 8-19, pp. 314-8. See the papers by Grierson and Metcalf, below, pp. 55-60, 69-70, 96.

⁷⁹ MGH Cap. II, no. 245, p. 167. For the date, see Calmette, pp. 195-200.

⁸⁰ Bernard: *AB* s.a. 864, pp. 113-4, 866, p. 126, and cf. 869, p. 168; Hincmar of Laon: *AB* s.a. 868, p. 150; 869, p. 152.

⁸¹ T. 239.

⁸² Joseph, *Translatio SS Ragnoberti et Zenonis*, c. 18, PL 106, col. 904.

he prohibited the building of fortifications without royal permission.⁸³ Charles assumed military responsibility for the whole realm: in 864, he sent an army to take revenge on Northmen who had burned St Hilary's, Poitiers, and Pippin II, who had allied with Vikings in Aquitaine, was captured and condemned at Pîtres as 'a traitor to his fatherland and to Christendom'.⁸⁴ When Count Robert defeated a Viking force on the Loire in 865, he sent the captured standards and weapons to Charles.⁸⁵ In 868, Salomon's offer of alliance against the Vikings was accepted, and Charles sent him 'a gold crown and all the gear needed for a ruler's rites' - without, however, quite recognising him as a king.⁸⁶ Charles himself was engaged in such rites, distributing alms in holy places, when late in August 869, he got news of the death, far away in Italy, of the still undivorced Lothar II.⁸⁷

VI Glittering prizes: 869-77

Charles moved quickly to claim Lothar's inheritance, hoping to take advantage of Louis the German's having fallen seriously ill. On 9 September 869 in a ritual that evoked memories of the baptism, centuries before, of Clovis and his Franks, and, more recently, of the restoration to rulership of Louis the Pious, Charles was consecrated at Metz as king of Lothar's realm.⁸⁸ A hostile East Frankish annalist asserted that Charles now 'gave orders that he was to be entitled emperor on the grounds that he would have two *regna*'.⁸⁹ Within a month, his wife Ermentrude was dead, and Charles chose as his new queen Richildis, scion of a family with lands in the Metz region and with connexions also in Alamannia and Italy. Richildis's brother Boso was immediately endowed with the abbacy of St Maurice d'Agaune which guarded the main Alpine pass leading to Italy.⁹⁰ There were other beneficiaries of Charles's extended power: the chamberlain Engelramn received the lay abbacy of Maroilles, Charles's son Carloman that of Lobbes.⁹¹ Brushing aside the protests of the Emperor Louis II and of Pope Hadrian, Charles moved eastwards into Alsace where he secured the fidelity of Bernard, former count of Autun, and cut support from under the feet of Lothar II's bastard son. Thence he

⁸³ For the Theodosian Code as the background to such legislation, see Nelson, 'Translating images of authority', in M. M. Mackenzie and C. Roueché ed., *Images of Authority. Essays in Honour of Joyce Reynolds* (Cambridge 1989).

⁸⁴ AB s.a. 864, pp. 104-5, 113.

⁸⁵ AB s.a. 865, p. 122.

⁸⁶ AB s.a. 868, p. 151. The imperial implications of all this are appreciated by Smith, *Province and Empire*, ch. 4.

⁸⁷ AB s.a. 869, p. 156.

⁸⁸ Nelson, 'Carolingian Royal Ritual', in D. Cannadine and S. Price, *Rituals of Royalty* (Cambridge 1987), pp. 137-80, at 163-4.

⁸⁹ AF s.a. 869, p. 70.

⁹⁰ See the chapter of J. Hyam, below, and S. Airliie, *The Political Behaviour of Secular Magnates in Francia*, unpubl. D.Phil. thesis (Oxford 1985), ch. 5.

⁹¹ Engelramn: T. 334; Carloman: Nelson, 'Two Princes', p. 110.

went to Aachen where, for the first and last time of his reign, he spent Christmas.⁹²

Charles had gained acceptance from some of Lothar II's faithful men, including the Northman Roric in Frisia and a number of leading churchmen in the upper valleys of the Meuse and the Rhône, and he managed to get a supporter installed as archbishop of Trier.⁹³ But early in 870, when Louis the German recovered his health, it became clear that Charles could not maintain his position in Aachen or eastwards towards the Rhine. It was Louis, not Charles, who in January secured the election of his candidate to the see of Cologne.⁹⁴ Charles agreed to open negotiations for the partition of Lotharingia. The result was the Treaty of Meerssen in July. Charles had to acknowledge Louis's acquisition of Alsace and roughly half of Lotharingia, including, most painfully for Charles, Aachen and Metz. Further, Charles failed in his bid for the part of Lothar's original kingdom that lay beyond the Jura Mountains (this included the abbey of St Maurice) and which Lothar had ceded to the Emperor Louis in 859. Nevertheless, Charles made significant gains: part of Frisia, the lands between the Scheldt and the Meuse upriver as far as Liège, then the Meuse valley as far south as Toul and including a swathe of the Ardennes, an enclave around Besançon (whose archbishop backed Charles), and thence southwards virtually the whole of the Saône-Rhône valley.⁹⁵ Within these regions, the choice was to accept Charles's rulership or go: thus the recalcitrant Count Gerard was expelled from Vienne and the city granted, instead, to Boso.⁹⁶

Charles's acquisitions were the cause of a major problem in the heart of the royal family: the rebellion of his son Carloman - Louis the Stammerer's sole surviving younger brother. Carloman's clutch of abbeys did not prevent him from expecting still more from the Lotharingian windfall: his clerical tonsure began to seem a bar to kingship that ought to be reversible. Among his supporters were some who held lands and offices in the *regnum Hlotharii*, and presumably wanted to perpetuate that realm's separate existence. Louis the German, the Emperor Louis, and Pope Hadrian, had motives of their own for showing some sympathy to Carloman. Bishop Hincmar of Laon may have compounded his offences by supporting the rebel: in August 871, he was deposed from his episcopal office, and blinded, on charges of treason. Though Carloman was captured by his father and consigned to prison later that year, his supporters continued to plan for his release - and for his king-making. Charles could not afford to take more chances: early in 873, after elaborate legal procedures in which his bishops complied, he had Carloman condemned to death, and then commuted the sentence to blinding 'to give him time and space for repentance'. Rescued later that year from his

92 *AB* s.a. 869, p. 168.

93 Roric: Nelson, 'Two Princes', p. 110; Bertulf installed at Trier: Regino s.a. 869, p. 98.

94 *AX* s.a. 870, p. 00. The silence of the *AB* on this point is noteworthy.

95 *AB* s.a. 870, pp. 172-4. MGH Cap. II, no. 251, pp. 193-5.

96 *AB* s.a. 871, p. 179.

monastic prison, the blind Carloman posed no further threat and died not long after.⁹⁷

Behind Charles's ruthless dealings with his rebel son lay sound political considerations: Charles intended a kingdom for the new son Richildis should bear him. (She had produced a daughter, probably in 872, and was pregnant again in 874.⁹⁸) He did not regard Meerssen as a definitive settlement; he feared Louis the German, and in lending at least moral support to his own nephews in rebellions against their father, he had responded in kind to Louis's complicity with Carloman. But between Louis and Charles, a new battleground already loomed: when a rumour (it turned out to be unfounded) of the Emperor Louis's death flew northwards in 871, both his uncles were quick to respond, Louis by sending his son to test his prospects in Italy, Charles by heading towards the Alps himself. 872 saw first Charles, then Louis, intriguing with the Empress Engelberga to secure a favourable arrangement of the Italian succession.⁹⁹ But when Louis II died on 12 August 875, it was Charles who was quickest off the mark. Leaving Louis the Stammerer to guard the recently-acquired part of Lotharingia, and Richildis installed at Servais on the River Aisne, Charles had reached Pavia before the end of September. Though Louis the German sent two of his sons in succession to Italy, neither could resist Charles's triumphant progress: with the support of most magnates of the Italian realm, Charles was enthusiastically received at Rome by Pope John VIII and crowned emperor in St Peter's on Christmas Day 875.¹⁰⁰

Charles had foreseen trouble back in Francia: sure enough, Louis the German, 'to compel Charles to leave Italy', entered his brother's kingdom in November with an army which impressed contemporary annalists by its peculiar savagery. Louis had sympathisers in the West, among them Charles's former chamberlain Engelramn who, perhaps suspected of complicity in Carloman's revolt, had been disgraced shortly before, so Hincmar believed, 'through the influence of Richildis'. But most of Charles's nobility, whatever their attitude to Richildis, did not go over to Louis: after spending Christmas at Attigny in Charles's kingdom, the East Frankish king withdrew in January 876.¹⁰¹

Charles's stay in Italy was as brief. After assigning Boso yet another job as *dux* of Italy, with the further plum of marriage to the sole daughter of the late emperor Louis, Charles returned rapidly to Francia. He was at St Denis for Easter (15 April). In late June, he summoned a great synod to Ponthion, attended by some 70 bishops. At the top of its agenda was the appointing of Ansegis,

97 Nelson, 'Two Princes', pp. 113-5.

98 The daughter of Charles and Richildis was named Rothild: Werner, 'Die Nachkommen Karls des Grossen', in *KdG* vol. IV, pp. 403-79, at 422-8.

99 C. Odegaard, 'The Empress Engelberge', *Speculum* 26 (1951), pp. 77-103.

100 *AB* s.a. 876, p. 200.

101 *AB* s.a. 875, p. 199; *AF* s.a. 875, p. 84. Calmette, p. 156, contrasts Louis the German's 'second invasion' with his first (858). Hincmar hints at which West Frankish nobles supported Louis' attack in PL 125, col. 1124, and MGH SS XV, p. 544.

archbishop of Sens, as primate of the Gauls: handpicked by Charles to liaise between the Frankish Church and the papacy, Ansegis was the apt ecclesiastical counterpart to the new emperor's position north of the Alps. In the teeth of Hincmar of Rheims' bitter hostility, but with powerful backing from the two papal legates present, the synod duly approved, just as, a few days later, it approved another contentious but politically essential royal appointment: that of Frotar as archbishop of Bourges. Charles's grip on the Church was firm. The synod's final act was to give solemn ritual acknowledgement to the new imperial dignity of Charles and his wife. And the empress was now pregnant again.¹⁰²

On 28 August, Louis the German died.¹⁰³ As ever, Charles moved fast. He sent out envoys to the leading men of Louis's kingdom. At first he planned to meet hoped-for supporters at Metz, as in 869, but on second thoughts went to Cologne. The appearance of a Viking fleet at the mouth of the Seine did not distract him: arrangements were made to buy it off, for the moment.¹⁰⁴ Charles was thinking now on an imperial scale. According to the East Frankish annalist, Charles 'boasted that his horses would drink up the Rhine, and that he would cross by the dry river-bed to lay waste the whole of [his late brother's] realm'. The annalist alleged, not that Charles hoped to *seize* that realm, but that he hoped to acquire, in addition to the share of Lotharingia that he had failed to hold on to in 870, the enclave on the west bank of the Rhine, around Ingelheim, Mainz, Worms and Speyer, which Louis the German himself had had to fight so hard for in 840-3.¹⁰⁵ This last allegation is plausible precisely because of the wealth of the Carolingian fisc-lands in this area. And if this was Charles's aim, it was realistic - for his opponent, Louis the German's second son Louis III remained throughout September east of the Rhine with limited support.¹⁰⁶ Charles on the other hand could throw his recently vastly-increased resources into an all-out thrust for the old heartlands entire - reviving Lothar's ambitions of 840. Charles spent September winning support around Aachen and Cologne. He probably hoped to secure the coveted Ingelheim enclave too by negotiation. But when Louis III crossed the Rhine to Andernach early in October, Charles decided on a surprise attack. The strategy was sound: but it was undermined when the surprise-factor was lost, thanks to the leaking of Charles's plans to Louis by the archbishop of Cologne.¹⁰⁷ The battle of Andernach was thus lost before it began. Even west of the Meuse at Herstal, the empress hearing of her husband's defeat felt so unsafe that she fled further westwards towards Rheims.¹⁰⁸

102 Richildis must have been pregnant in July 876: *AB* s.a. 876, pp. 200, 207, 209-10.

103 *AF* s.a. 876, p. 86.

104 *AB* s.a. 876, p. 207.

105 *AF* s.a. 876, pp. 86-7. Cf. Nelson, 'Public Histories', pp. 274-6.

106 *AB* s.a. 876, p. 207. Cf. J. Fried, *König Ludwig der Jungere in seiner Zeit* (Lorsch 1984).

107 *AF* s.a. 876, p. 88. Cf. the silence on this point of the *AB*.

108 *AB* s.a. 876, pp. 209-10.

Andernach was a major blow: but the damage was not irreversible, nor was its extent necessarily so great. Charles stepped up his efforts to retain the supporters he had won in eastern Lotharingia. He tried to make his nephew's victory hollow by exploiting the longstanding rivalry between Louis and his elder brother Karlmann. Nor did he lose time in dealing now with the renewed Viking threat on the Seine by deploying crack troops against them. And there had been a silver lining to Andernach: Richildis en route from Herstal had given birth to a son. Though the baby was premature, he put up a brave struggle for life.¹⁰⁹

Early in 877 his little son died. It also became clear that, as in 870, eastern Lotharingia, and Aachen, were beyond reach. But new setbacks only primed Charles's resourcefulness and strengthened his determination. Two documents reveal his frame of mind, and the extent of the resources still at his disposal, in the summer of 877. The first is the foundation charter (sealed in imperial style, with a golden bull) of St Mary's Compiègne: Charles planned this palace now as his substitute for Aachen, St Mary's its imperial chapel. The endowment, in lands and in relics, was unprecedentedly lavish. A hundred clerks were to serve here. Charles explicitly evoked the example of his grandfather and namesake - 'whose practice we wish to imitate' - in seeking the favour of the Mother of God.¹¹⁰ The second document is the Capitulary of Quierzy drawn up in June as Charles prepared for another Italian expedition: more significant than its clause reassuring the young nobles who followed Charles that they would be heirs presumptive to their fathers' countships and benefices (such succession to office and lands had been common practice time out of mind) were the detailed provisions for Charles's continuing control of his Frankish realm's fiscal and political resources - its royal estates and forests, its moveable wealth and its military strength. Louis the Stammerer was being left to mind this realm, but under the strict surveillance of his father's faithful men. Further, Louis's tenure was to be strictly temporary: if Charles came back safely, then Louis would be sent to Italy to be crowned king.¹¹¹ Charles had recently compelled his son to divorce his wife (and hence call in question the legitimacy of the two sons she had borne him) and marry the daughter of Charles's count of the palace, another of the 'new men' of the years after 870.¹¹² At Quierzy, Charles was frank about his hopes for a new son of his own. The whole capitulary shows a ruler who, far from losing his grip, was in firm control of policy and able, at the same time, to carry his aristocracy's support. It was no coincidence that the summer of 877 also saw Charles intervening again in Septimania, and still asserting his overlordship of Brittany; and imposing new

109 *AB* s.a. 876, p. 210, 877, p. 211.

110 T. 425.

111 *MGH Cap.* II, no. 281, c. 14, p. 359; c. 13 opens alternative possibilities for the succession.

112 See below, Nelson, 'Annals of St Bertin', p. 38.

tax demands on his Frankish realm.¹¹³ He left Quierzy for Italy 'with his wife and an enormous quantity of gold and silver and horses and other goods'.¹¹⁴

Only one source, Hincmar of Rheims, reports that three of Charles's hitherto most reliable supporters - Abbot Hugh, Bosso and Bernard of Gothia - used Charles's absence to plot against him 'with the other magnates of Charles's realm, except for a few, and with bishops'.¹¹⁵ Though Hincmar offers no explanation, the most plausible one is that the plotters objected to Charles's proposal for the handing over of the Italian kingdom to Louis the Stammerer. Bosso, in particular, could have seen a rich prize slipping from his grasp, while his fellow-conspirators had interests in Burgundy and Aquitaine which opposed them to the family of Louis the Stammerer's new bride. Hincmar, significantly, does not suggest that the plotters wanted any other king than Charles; nor, despite his own consistent hostility to Charles's Italian involvement, does Hincmar suggest that that was the reason for the plotters' refusal to join Charles in Italy. Their motives, rather, reflected magnate rivalries focussing on attachments to opposed members of the royal family. Where modern historians have tended to see the fatal consequences of Charles's hubris there in fact lay thoroughly traditional political problems - problems that Charles had no doubt predicted, and could cope with. He had, after all, plenty of experience. His treasury was intact.¹¹⁶ Modern historians know that Charles had only weeks to live: Charles did not know this, and therefore did not regard his situation as terminal. His speedy withdrawal from Italy was a response to the appearance of his nephew Karlmann with a large army of Slavs: given the lack of reinforcements from Francia, this was not the moment to risk another Andernach. He needed to rebuild the consensus of Ponthion and Quierzy. Louis the Stammerer's future could be reconsidered. There was much to be done in Francia.

Charles fell ill en route - so suddenly and violently that contemporaries suspected poison.¹¹⁷ He barely managed to cross the Alps. He gave Richildis his last instructions: he wished to be buried at St Denis, and his realm was to go to Louis the Stammerer, along with the sword known as St Peter's sword, and the rest of the regalia.¹¹⁸ Charles died on 6 October, leaving open the future of Francia and Italy, and leaving his son to play a difficult, but not unpromising, hand.

¹¹³ Septimania: T. 428; Brittany: MGH Cap. II, no. 281, c.23, p. 360; tax demands: MGH Cap. II, no. 280, p. 354.

¹¹⁴ AB s.a. 877, p. 214.

¹¹⁵ AB s.a. 877, p. 216.

¹¹⁶ AB s.a. 877, p. 216. 'Richildis...fugam arripuit cum thesauro'. This helps to explain her subsequent strong negotiating position: *ibid.*, pp. 218-9.

¹¹⁷ AB s.a. 877, p. 216; AF s.a. 877, p. 90; AV, s.a. 877, p. 42.

¹¹⁸ AB s.a. 877, pp. 217-9. Charles was temporarily interred at Nantula near Besançon, but exhumed and buried at St Denis seven years later: see Levillain's note 3, AB, pp. 217-8.

THE 'ANNALS OF ST BERTIN'

Janet L. Nelson

I

Though the keeping of annals or chronicles had never entirely ceased in Western Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire, the eighth and ninth centuries brought changes that were qualitative as well as quantitative.¹ Before Charlemagne's reign, annalists had been at work in several monasteries in the British Isles and then on the Continent; and one branch of Charlemagne's family had sponsored the keeping of something rather like annals of the Frankish realm.² Still, it was not until Charlemagne's time, specifically with the organising of a royal chapel and a 'chancery' (the two cannot be rigidly distinguished) at his court, and the basing of that court at Aachen for at least part of each year from 794 onwards, that the *Royal Frankish Annals* became a court product, kept up by royal chaplains or notaries.³ Charlemagne himself is usually said to have inspired this development, but palace clerks had their own reasons for writing contemporary history: 'no learned man doubts, I think', wrote one learned man of the period, 'that it is the most ancient practice, habitual for kings up to now, to have whatever things are done or happen written down in annals for posterity to learn about'.⁴ The stress here seems to be on the historical consciousness of the learned rather than any use-value to the king. Given the character of the palace personnel and a culture common to the scholars in monasteries and palace alike, the transfer of monastic annal-writing to the court was a natural move. Once the annals were there, it is possible that the king, or at any rate his counsellors, occasionally consulted them and felt glad to know that 'the most ancient practice' was revived. But there is no evidence that Charlemagne tried to publicise or circulate them, still less use them for propaganda - a point I shall return to later.

Palace clerks writing up contemporary 'doings and events' worked under severe difficulties in ninth-century Francia. Court scholars were expected when

¹ Wattenbach-Levison 1953, pp. 245ff.; Hoffmann 1958.

² Wattenbach-Levison 1953, pp. 161ff., 180ff.; Wallace-Hadrill 1960.

³ Fleckenstein 1959, pp. 40ff., 74ff., Malbos 1966. In what follows, the *Royal Frankish Annals* are referred to as the *ARF*.

⁴ Smaragdus, *Vita S. Benedicti Anianensis*, MGH, SS XV, i, p. 201.

necessary to double as warriors, and not all kings would have responded as good-humouredly as Pippin of Aquitaine did to the cack-handed Ermold: 'Lay your weapons aside brother, and better stick to your books!'⁵ The extent to which the court remained itinerant, even when courtiers were not actually campaigning, made documents hard to collect and store. The ninth-century royal archive was termed the *armarium*⁶ - the cupboard - which is probably just what it was. Written material, then, was not very plentiful for the court annalist: in the main he noted, rather, what he had witnessed, or what oral informants had witnessed. The court was a centre to which such information flowed. But rumour was rife: it was no cliché when a ninth-century annalist wrote that the king learned some piece of news 'for certain' or 'by a not uncertain messenger'.⁷ Sheer problems of communication were enormous, and sometimes added to deliberately by Carolingian rulers.⁸

I have glanced first at the production of the *ARF*, in the time of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, because the *Annals of St Bertin* began life as a continuation thereof. Perhaps I should have said, '*so-called Annals of St Bertin*' (though I think it's too late to propose an alternative label) for despite their monastic ring, these annals have no other connection with St Bertin's than the accident that the earliest manuscript was probably copied out there.⁹ In the manuscripts (and there are not many), the *AB* immediately follow the *ARF*. There is no new heading, no break at all: the *AB* annalist simply takes up the story in 830 where the *ARF* left off in 829. Yet there must have been some kind of break in production at this point, because most manuscripts of the *ARF* do not continue with the *AB*.¹⁰ It seems that the break coincides with a change in authorship in circumstances which also contributed to a dispersal of copies of the *ARF*: the arch-chaplain Hilduin, who had exercised some supervision over the annals' production up to 830, in that year joined the revolt of Louis the Pious's sons and fell into disgrace. Hilduin's successor as arch-chaplain, Fulco, evidently included the continuance of the annals-tradition amongst his responsibilities, until he in turn was moved to a new job away from the court in 835.¹¹ The first five years of the *AB* thus predictably show continuity of themes and general style with the earlier *ARF*, especially perhaps with those covering the 820s. The picture is somewhat skewed by the fact that Fulco's annals cover years of political upheavals - Louis the Pious's removal from power in 833, his temporary replacement by his eldest son Lothar, followed by Louis's recovery early in 834 - which must have made the keeping of court

⁵ Ermold, *In Honorem Hludowici*, line 2019, p. 154, Cp. Lupus, Ep. 72 ii, p. 12.

⁶ Ganshof 1958, pp. 65ff.

⁷ E.g. *AB* s. a. 875, pp. 196, 198; 862, p. 87; 869, p. 156. Cp. 871, pp. 182-3.

⁸ *AB* s. a. 837, p. 22; 864, pp. 105, 112. Cp. Lupus, Epp. 35, 45, 101, i, pp. 154, 186; ii, p. 124.; Hincmar Ep. 169, MGH Epp. KA VI, i, pp. 158-9.

⁹ Levillain 1964, pp. v, xviff. In what follows, the *Annals of St Bertin* are referred to as the *AB*.

¹⁰ Compare Kurze 1895, preface, with Levillain 1964, pp. xxiiff.

¹¹ Grierson 1940a, pp. 277ff.; Levillain 1964, pp. viiiff.; Malbos 1966.

annals peculiarly hard. It looks as if, though information was being collected throughout, the annals for the early 830s were not written up in their present form until 834. Louis the Pious is consistently depicted as a wronged father, with all the stress laid on his virtues of magnanimity, paternal feeling, patience in adversity - 'as is his custom', comments the annalist¹² - and finally, clemency. His enemies, especially Ebbo 'archbishop of Rheims' who stage-managed Louis's enforced penance (and hence *de facto* deposition) at Soissons, are equally consistently depicted in hostile terms: their traits, the very opposite of Louis's, are disobedience, disloyalty, filial impiety, cruelty. The annalist tried to maintain the *ARF* tradition in recording the ruler's itinerary, especially where he spent Easter and Christmas each year, when and where assemblies were held and at which one the annual gifts were handed over. But inevitably the entries for 832-3 became a chronicle of the conflict between Louis and his sons, with other events neglected. In 834, the annalist's horizon could widen again: he recorded a Danish attack on Frisia, and had more detailed information on affairs in Italy and in Neustria.¹³

It is worth asking what court chaplains and clerks, in particular Fulco himself, actually did when Louis was imprisoned and Lothar with his own entourage temporarily took up quarters at Aachen. No doubt those of Louis's clerks who stayed loyal to him thought fit to lie low for a while: as the *AB* say under 833, 'some of those against whom the rebels' wrath raged most fiercely slipped away and took themselves off to the lands of their friends and faithful men'.¹⁴ Palace clerks had personal links with monasteries - Fulco himself was abbot of St Wandrille as well as of St Hilaire at Poitiers - and would seek refuge there. The resumption of annal-writing at Louis's court must have had to wait till the spring or summer of 835. This same year brought another change of arch-chaplain with Louis's appointment of his half-brother and stand-by, Bishop Drogo of Metz,¹⁵ while Fulco went to administer the archdiocese of Rheims following Ebbo's removal from office, formalised in February 835. Unlike his two predecessors as arch-chaplain, Drogo had episcopal responsibilities, which he took seriously. Because he had to spend much time away from the court, Drogo assigned the task of keeping up the annals to one of the palace chaplains. A single surviving manuscript reveals the existence of a copy of the annals from 830 onwards which may have been made late in 837: it contains part of the annal for that year but breaks off before the *AB* account of the winter assembly at Aachen.¹⁶ This copy of the *AB* annals for 830 to 837 was preserved at Metz in the twelfth century: presumably it had been made for Drogo, who as arch-chaplain, though not based at court, continued to take an interest in the annals if not actively to supervise them.

12 *AB* s. a. 832, p. 7.

13 *AB* s. a. 834, pp. 14-5.

14 *AB* s. a. 833, p. 9.

15 Oexle 1967, pp. 347ff.

16 Levillain, pp. xxxixff. This is Grat's MS 'M'.

II

One of Louis the Pious's palace clerks, then, took over the *AB* in 835. Given that he had been trained in the chapel and continued to work there, residing at the court with access to information, written and oral, coming in there, his annals, like Fulco's, show predictable continuity of style and content with the preceding *ARF*. This continuity in the annals as long as they were being kept up at the court transcends any changes of authorship as between one clerk, or group of clerks, and another. It seems wiser, therefore, not to split the *AB* in the conventional way, like Gaul, into three parts, according to authors, but rather to split it into two: the part written at the court, and the part written elsewhere. The appearance of a new annalist in 835 is, then, relatively insignificant in terms of the character of the *AB*. Still, it is time to identify our clerk as Prudentius.¹⁷ He was a Spaniard by origin, probably from a refugee family who sought their fortune north of the Pyrenees early in Louis the Pious's reign¹⁸ and were doing well enough in Gascony by about 820 to send one of their boys to Louis's court, eventually to take up service in the chapel. Prudentius's family connexions may have had some effect on his access to information about the Spanish March, Gascony and even Spain itself, but the *AB* yield disappointingly little evidence and virtually none of Prudentius's correspondence survives¹⁹ to help our understanding of him. More important than his biological connexions, anyway, seem to have been the new social ones of common outlook, experience, culture and personal interest which he made at Louis's court. Two men in particular were there in the 830s who had a major influence on his subsequent career: Lupus, abbot of Ferrières from 840, and Wenilo, archbishop of Sens from 836 or 837.²⁰ Both these men had powerful connexions within the Frankish realm: henceforth the Spaniard could hope through them, as well as through Carolingian patronage, for power there too. In the ninth century, an able palace clerk could reasonably expect to end up a bishop.

Prudentius kept writing the *AB* from 835 to 861, when he died on the job. But because his situation changed radically during this period, so too did the nature of the *AB*. Until 840, the annals continued to centre on the movements and doings of Louis the Pious - his campaigns, his whereabouts on the major feasts, his assemblies, his relations with his sons. Where else than at court could Prudentius have got the information that on 26 December 838, a terrible flood happened in Frisia after which 'the number of people drowned was very carefully counted: 2,437 deaths were reported'?²¹ Who but a palace clerk would have been so

¹⁷ Wattenbach-Levison 1957, pp. 348f.

¹⁸ Cp., though with no mention of Galindo-Prudentius, Higounet 1949.

¹⁹ MGH, Epp. KA III, pp. 323-4, 631-3.

²⁰ Levillain 1927; Werner 1959, pp. 164ff.

²¹ *AB* s. a. 839, p. 28. The event is recorded between references to Lent and Easter (6 April) 839 presumably because details were not available at the court until March.

shattered by the conversion to Judaism ('rumour spread the news') of the palace clerk Bodo who had, so to speak, defected while on a visit to Rome?²² Only at court could Prudentius have used the text of a letter sent by the West Saxon King Æthelwulf to Louis in 839 reporting an English priest's vision of supernatural warning: 'if Christian people do not quickly do penance for their various vices and crimes...then all of a sudden pagan men will lay waste their land with fire and sword'.²³ The interest in Viking activities, and in the Anglo-Saxons' response to them, would recur in Prudentius's annals in later years.²⁴ But while he remained at Louis's court, the image of imperial success was kept as bright as possible. According to Nithard's later and plausible account, there was a conspiracy against Louis in 838, but the *AB* say nothing of it. Prudentius, knowing the emperor might see his work, gave the impression that Louis's arrangements for the royal inheritance of his youngest son Charles were quite secure; but Nithard, writing in very different circumstances, would reveal the opposition Louis's plans aroused.²⁵

Where was Prudentius when, on 20 June 840, the old emperor died? Levillain²⁶ has suggested that already during the winter of 839-40 Prudentius was attached to the court of the young Charles at Poitiers in Aquitaine and remained with him, or with the Empress Judith, thereafter. This would mean that Prudentius's career shifted fairly smoothly from one court to another, in which case his annals should reflect simply a transfer of personal adherence from the old emperor to Charles. But perhaps things were more complicated. It may well be that Bishop Ebroin of Poitiers had already taken up the office of arch-chaplain to Charles in 839,²⁷ but to claim that Prudentius was on his staff from this time onwards, one would look for evidence either in Lupus's correspondence, perhaps, of a personal connexion between the two men, or in the *AB* for Prudentius's closeness to Charles in 840. The former line is a dead-end; the latter leads in another direction, for the 840 annal, after recording Louis's death on an island in the Rhine 'within sight of the palace of Ingelheim',²⁸ has practically no more to say, and nothing at all about Charles's doings. I think that Prudentius, along with Drogo of Metz, the archbishops of Mainz and Trier and many others, was at Louis's deathbed²⁹ and so, like Drogo and the rest, faced an agonising choice: to which of Louis's sons to offer his allegiance and his services?³⁰ A comparison of the *AB* for 840 and 841, taken together with Nithard's very full account of these years, shows that Prudentius had no detailed knowledge of Charles's movements

22 *AB* s. a. 839, pp. 27-8.

23 *AB* s. a. 839, pp. 29-30.

24 See Pauline Stafford's paper in this volume.

25 Nithard, i, c. 6, p. 26.

26 1964, p. xiii.

27 Grierson 1934, pp. 241ff.; Oexle 1969, pp. 166f.

28 *AB* s. a. 840, p. 36.

29 *Astron.* c. 63, p. 647.

30 Cp. Grierson 1934, pp. 244f.

until the autumn of 841. I suggest, therefore, that like Drogo and others he did not join Charles until news of Lothar's defeat at Fontenoy (25 June) had made that the obvious option. Prudentius duly recorded where Charles spent Christmas in 841 (Châlons) and both Easter and Christmas in 842 (Herstal and St Quentin);³¹ and that was the last time he noted Charles's whereabouts at a major feast. Like the early 830s, the years 840-3 were exceptional: continuing political crisis, frequent changes of personnel, moves and campaigns must have made a court chaplain's life hard, a court annalist's harder still. Under such conditions, the annal for 842 was something of an achievement, including as it does not only details of the activities of all three Frankish kings and a careful record of Charles's marriage, but also information on Vikings in the Channel and Saracens in the Mediterranean.

The next development in Prudentius's career, and one with a decisive effect on the *AB*, was his appointment to the bishopric of Troyes, usually dated sometime between 843 and 846.³² This can probably be pinned down more closely. Lupus reveals that he and Prudentius, almost certainly a bishop by then, were engaged on an official mission in the autumn of 844, and he addresses Prudentius as bishop in April 845.³³ Then there is the evidence of the *AB* themselves which imply some kind of break late in 843: no more information is given after August under that year (which means that Charles's Breton campaign, the assemblies of Germigny and Coulaines, and Charles's wintering at Tours³⁴ are all unmentioned) while, on the other hand, the 844 annal seems to be settled in a pattern followed by Prudentius thereafter, that is, under each year there is usually some information on events in Italy, especially concerning the papacy, on Viking activities, and on Louis the German, with sometimes a scrap on the British Isles or Spain. Where these scraps can be checked, incidentally, the information seems accurate, as in the notices of Viking attacks on Ireland under the year 847 and of a great Irish victory under 848: the *Annals of Ulster* bear this out and the movements of Irish scholars on the Continent suggest likely lines of communication.³⁵

But Prudentius's *AB* from 844 onwards are different in a more fundamental way from the *AB* of the 830s and from the *ARF*. They are not only less full but also much more scrappy, because the ruler's deeds and diplomacy no longer provide a linking theme. The sentences jerk along from one lump of information to the next, not because Prudentius's Latinity is weak, but because there is nothing resembling a continuous narrative. Prudentius's problems may have arisen partly from trying to keep too many balls in the air at once, in so far as he was interested in the doings not just of one Carolingian ruler but of several; but they arose, too, from the spasmodic, patchy way in which news reached him. The annals for 844 and 849, for instance, with their confused and fragmentary accounts of events in

31 *AB* s. a. 841, p. 40; 842, pp. 41, 43.

32 Duchesne 1910, ii. p. 456; Wattenbach-Levison 1957, p. 349.

33 Lupus, Epp. 40, 41, i, pp. 170, 172-4.

34 Lot and Halphen, pp. 74ff.

35 *AB* s.a. 847, p. 54; 848, pp. 55-6. Cp. Chadwick 1958, pp. 101ff. I am grateful to

far-off Aquitaine, show how hard it was for Prudentius to arrange his material in a coherent time-sequence. The explanation for the changed character of Prudentius's annals from 844 to 861 lies, I think, in his absence, most of the time, from Charles's court, and his living, again most of the time, at Troyes which during this whole period hardly figured at all in Charles's itinerary.³⁶ Chronic illness may have been another reason why Prudentius visited the court and attended assemblies less often than some other bishops.³⁷

Some historians have found it hard to account for Prudentius's silences on what in the view of those same historians were quite important events. Lot and Halphen, for instance, wondering why Prudentius failed to mention the Synod of Ver (844) or the so-called First Colloquy of Meerssen (847), were moved to suggest that this was because neither meeting produced successful results. Frankly it is hard to see why the Second Colloquy of Meerssen (851) should be thought any more 'important' in terms of results, though this was the criterion, so Lot and Halphen allege, on which Prudentius not merely mentioned it, but included verbatim the text that emanated from it, in the *AB*³⁸ Yet if this really was the criterion on which Prudentius inserted, or omitted, material, why do the *AB* say nothing of the Synod of November 849 at Paris when theological matters which Prudentius certainly thought important were settled in a manner which he thought successful?³⁹ Two reasons of a quite different kind may be advanced for Prudentius's placing of the Meerssen *capitula* in the 851 annal: first, this was a very lean year in terms of other information, and since 850 had been still worse (it is by far Prudentius's shortest annal) he may simply have been grateful for more, and ready-made, material, especially at a time when he was much preoccupied with writing a bulky theological treatise;⁴⁰ second - and the point is not quite so obvious as it looks - Prudentius was able to get hold of the Meerssen text, for whether or not he was himself present at Meerssen,⁴¹ he was certainly in contact at this time, unusually, with the king and with his own metropolitan Wenilo of Sens,⁴² both of whom were. Anyway, the 851 annal is the exception that proves the rule: normally Prudentius was in no position to have such an 'official document' at his disposal.

This raises a wider problem: Prudentius's annals have generally been seen as, still, an 'official' work, and the obligations of a 'courtier' (*d'un courtisan, ou tout*

³⁶ A charter issued at the monastery of Moutier-la-Celle, Troyes, on 10 January 859, T. 201, pp. 512-4, seems to give the only evidence for Charles's presence at Troyes during Prudentius's episcopate. For the circumstances of January 859, see above, p. 12.

³⁷ *AB* s. a. 861, p. 85; MGH Epp. KA III, p. 633.

³⁸ Lot and Halphen, pp. 129 n. 2, 179 n. 1, 227 n. 2.

³⁹ Lot and Halphen, pp. 208, 213 n. 3. This synod, unmentioned by Devisse 1975, vol. 1, pp. 127ff., might throw a different light on reactions to Gottschalk in 849 from that offered by Devisse.

⁴⁰ PL. 115, cols 1011-1352.

⁴¹ Lot and Halphen, p. 228 n. 1.

⁴² Devisse 1975, vol. 1, pp. 146, 152f.

au moins partisan') have been invoked to explain both what Prudentius said or did not say, and how he said it.⁴³ Everything was presented, according to Levillain, in a way that favoured 'his master' (Charles) which produced 'faults so obvious that historians... are unable to let themselves be led into error'(!) Well, whatever Prudentius's 'faults', they are surely not those Levillain alleges. For Prudentius *did* give information discreditable to Charles, and indeed explicitly criticised him in more than one place;⁴⁴ while what he did not do in any annal after that for 841⁴⁵ was to put in any phrase or even epithet that might have flattered the king. Odd if this was the best a 'courtier' could do...

Löwe, evidently recognising the inadequacy of such a view as Levillain's, has offered his own explanation of those *AB* passages in which Prudentius criticised Charles: 'his (critical) position corresponds to the rise of the West Frankish episcopate to a position in which it could claim to control and direct the West Frankish king, and, seen from this perspective, ... it was quite understandable that after Prudentius's death, his work was carried on by Hincmar of Rheims'.⁴⁶ But on this analysis, it becomes strange that an episcopal spokesman should have neglected even to mention the alleged 'episcopalist' triumphs of Ver and Meaux-Paris (844, 845),⁴⁷ and depicted the events of autumn 858 in such very un-'episcopalist' colours. Those events, and Prudentius's treatment of them, have a good deal to tell us about ninth-century political realities, not least as they affected bishops. Louis the German's invasion of the realm of his half-brother Charles did not come out of the blue:⁴⁸ a sizable faction of the aristocracy of Charles's realm had promised Louis their support, and were as good as their word. Among these were Wenilo archbishop of Sens and Odo count of Troyes.⁴⁹ And what then was Prudentius' position, with his metropolitan and his local count gone to welcome the invader? We can only guess at the degree of Prudentius's complicity when Louis came to Troyes in November and made it briefly his base in West Francia.⁵⁰ By the following spring, Charles had recovered his position and Louis had withdrawn eastwards. How did Prudentius write up all this? Neglecting even to mention Wenilo or Odo, he recounted the moves of Louis and Charles without

⁴³ Levillain 1964, pp. xiiif.

⁴⁴ *AB* s. a. 846, p. 52; 853, p. 68; 855, p. 70. Under 846, the forthright criticism of Charles's attitude to 'episcopal warning' at the Assembly of Épernay look to me like a Hincmarian interpolation (I hope to defend this view elsewhere), as do the comments on Gottschalk and the Synod of Quierzy under 849, pp. 56-7. For a different view, see Schrörs 1884, p. 101 n. 55, and Devisse 1975, vol. 1, p. 128. On the other hand the much less forthright criticisms of Charles's intrigues with the Slavs (853) and his weak line on heresy (855) seem to me Prudentius's own. For their context, see above, p. 22

⁴⁵ *AB* s. a. 841, p. 37.

⁴⁶ Wattenbach-Levison 1957, p. 349. Cp. Löwe 1967, p. 7 and n. 23.

⁴⁷ Lot and Halphen, pp. 126ff., 145ff.; Ullmann 1972, pp. 98f.

⁴⁸ Calmette 1901, pp. 34ff.

⁴⁹ *Libellus proclamationis domni Caroli regis adversus Wenilonem* cc.7-14, MGH, Cap. II, pp. 452f.; *AF* s. a. 858, pp. 49ff.

⁵⁰ *AB* s. a. 858, p. 79.

comment or explanation - so baldly, in fact, that a later West Frankish copyist of the *AB* was moved to insert a sentence at the beginning of the 858 annal summarising the year's events in a way sympathetic to Charles.⁵¹ Yet if Prudentius wrote no criticism of Louis into his annals, Hincmar of Rheims, his suffragans and his colleague of the province of Rouen had rallied in practical, military support of Charles and dispatched a beautifully 'episcopalist' letter of protest to the invader.⁵² Prudentius' failure to conform at this point to any ideological stereotype should make us look for another interpretation of his conduct: he seems to have been on the fringe, at least, of a group of nobles with whom Wenilo and Odo were involved and some of whose members had been in incipient revolt since 853⁵³ - which might be linked, in turn, with the criticisms of Charles in the *AB* under the years 853 and 855. Even if the composition of this group remains obscure, and its consistency of policy questionable, there can be little doubt that the way in which Prudentius wrote his annals was determined less by any abstract principles than by his personal political loyalties and connexions.

This brings us to the last problem of Prudentius's section of the *AB*, the curious passage at the end of the entry for 859: 'Pope Nicholas faithfully confirmed and catholicly decreed concerning the grace of God and Free Will, the truth of Double Predestination and about the blood of Christ, how it was shed for all believers'.⁵⁴ Now without going into theological details, it's enough to note here that this alleged papal pronouncement belongs in a saga of doctrinal controversy over the teachings of Gottschalk.⁵⁵ Hincmar and many of the Frankish bishops had condemned these teachings, but Prudentius and others had sympathised with them; and in the 859 annal a similar sympathy was attributed to the pope himself. Some have said that Prudentius invented this 'decree' of Pope Nicholas;⁵⁶ others have suggested he recorded a current rumour.⁵⁷ But Prudentius makes the statement sound perfectly authentic. Is what he says in fact incredible? I think not. Thanks to recent work, it is fairly clear that Gottschalk's teachings remained in circulation as long as they did because he had found powerful friends and patrons throughout his career. Then, of course, his 'heresy' became a peg on which to hang other, political, interests. Thus Gottschalk's friends came to include

51 *AB* s. a. 858, p. 78 n. a., from MS 'O'. Cp. Werner 1959, p. 165, n. 79.

52 MGH, Cap. II, pp. 432ff. Cp. Hincmar's comment in Ep. 126, MGH, Epp. KA VI, i, p. 64. See Halphen 1947, pp. 313ff.

53 Werner 1959, pp. 163ff.; Oexle 1969, pp. 191ff.

54 *AB* s. a. 859, p. 82.

55 Vielhaber 1956; Devisse 1975, vol. 1, pp. 118ff. See also the paper of David Ganz in this volume.

56 The now-lost fragment of the *AB* transcribed by Bolland in the seventeenth century had a marginal note against this passage of the 859 annal: 'Hic Prudentius eps de Nicolao scripsit quod ut fieret voluit; sed quia factum fuerit, verum non dixit'. For the likelihood that this note, and the *MS* itself, were Hincmar's own, see Ganshof 1949, and Levillain 1965, pp. xviii. This is Grat's *MS* 'C'.

57 McKeon 1974, p. 105.

some of Hincmar's opponents.⁵⁸

In the light of all this, we can now look at a letter written by Hincmar in 866 - for him an especially difficult year. Charles had insisted on appointing to the vacant see of Bourges (a place vital to ruling Aquitaine) his tried and trusted clerk Wulfad. But there was a snag: Wulfad had originally been consecrated in holy orders by Hincmar's predecessor Ebbo who, though deposed from office, as we saw, in 835, had been briefly reinstated at Rheims by Lothar in 840 and during the few months before he was expelled again in 841 had consecrated a number of clerks, including Wulfad. The issue raised in 866 was that of the finality of Ebbo's deposition, which it was of course vital for Hincmar to maintain. Charles, to be fair, did not wish to challenge this, but was determined to put in his man at Bourges. Both he and Hincmar set about enlisting the support of the pope.⁵⁹ And amidst all this, to Hincmar's alarm, the friends of Gottschalk were, predictably, again rearing their heads. 'It's said he has many supporters', wrote Hincmar⁶⁰ in September to Eigil, archbishop of Sens, just then leaving on a mission to Rome. One of these supporters, Hincmar continued, had been Prudentius, 'as his writings show' - referring to his work on Predestination. 'He also', added Hincmar, 'in the *Annals of the Deeds of our Kings* which he put together (i.e. our *AB*) inserted the following in the events of the year 859 to confirm his own opinion ...', and Hincmar then quoted the offending passage about Nicholas's 'decree'. 'We have never heard this from anyone else', Hincmar went on, 'nor read it anywhere else. Therefore since those *Deeds* (again, the *AB*) in which these things are written have just now come into the hands of a number of people, it is necessary that you (Eigil) have a word with the pope about the matter, lest scandal come from it into the Church'. After hastily adding that no mention should be made of his own name ('for his mind is said to be moved against me, and many people are writing to him against me'), Hincmar wanted to make clear to Eigil exactly which annalistic text he meant: evidently it was not all that familiar to the archbishop of Sens. 'That set of *Annals* I am talking about, the king has: it is that very same book which he lent to me in your presence, and which I returned to him in your presence in the church where he commended you to us'. The reference must be to the year 865 when Eigil was consecrated to Sens. Then, at any rate, the king was in possession of Prudentius's section of the *AB*. But Hincmar's words need not imply that he had had it for long before that. On the contrary, Hincmar says that it is only recently (*iam*) that Prudentius's annals have come into the hands of 'a number of people'. His words also suggest that this text was special, even

⁵⁸ Ganz 1979.

⁵⁹ See Charles's letter to Nicholas I, PL 124, cols. 867-9, 870-5; Hincmar Ep. 185, MGH Epp. KA VI, i, pp. 187ff. Cp. Devisse 1976, vol. 2, pp. 600ff.; McKeon 1978, pp. 62ff.

⁶⁰ Ep. 187, MGH Epp. KA VI, i, pp. 194f.

unique:⁶¹ Hincmar had had to take his copy from the king's manuscript, and the researches of Grat and others have shown that there is no evidence for the existence of any other manuscripts in the ninth century besides these two. Amazingly, this letter of Hincmar has been cited as indicating that not only Charles the Bald but, by extension, Charlemagne too kept a text of the royal annals close by him 'in the chancery' for handy reference, and allowed open access to it: 'there was no thought of keeping the royal annals as an official secret' (!)⁶² But surely Hincmar's letter implies that Charles had never had a copy of Prudentius's annals during Prudentius's lifetime, but, when Hincmar wrote in 866, had only recently acquired the unique manuscript. We don't know what happened to Prudentius's papers and library when he died, but we do know that Charles appointed as his successor one of the palace notaries, Fulcric.⁶³ I suggest that Prudentius's annals only then got into the hands of the king, and in due course, of others, perhaps because Charles wanted to draw their attention to the 859 annal with its evidence of Nicholas's soft line on predestinationist heresy.

To summarise my view of Prudentius' annals: written, on Hincmar's evidence, as 'Deeds of our Kings', they were, from 844 onwards, produced neither at nor for the court, and not especially preoccupied with only the West Frankish realm. Given Prudentius's connexions with a group which was in touch with Louis the German at various points in the 850s, the fairly consistent interest shown in Louis's deeds in this part of the *AB*, and specifically the treatment of the events of 858, find an explanation. If, as Levillain apparently believed, Prudentius's annals were intended for Charles's eyes, then the question would have to be faced: how could he have written into them criticisms of Charles? The thing to remember is the simple fact of Prudentius' situation: geographically, politically, personally, he was removed from the court. In other words, the association of annal-production with the Carolingian royal chapel was broken after 843. Charles the Bald seems to have made no attempt to re-establish it, and indeed allowed the office of arch-chaplain to lapse after 860. Löwe has argued that this helps to explain the end of the court-annalistic tradition.⁶⁴ But any relationship here seems to be the other way round: one reason an arch-chaplain was no longer needed was that by 860 the production of annals had long since ceased to be part of his responsibilities. I shall return presently to the wider question of how this came to be so.

⁶¹ But Hincmar does seem to have had, or seen, a copy of Fulco's section of the *AB* already in 859 or 860. He termed this text: 'Annales domni Ludovici imperatoris', and referred to the passage in the 835 annal covering Ebbo's deposition, PL 125, col. 391. Cp. Levillain 1965, pp. xvif.

⁶² Wattenbach-Levison 1953, p. 248.

⁶³ Tessier 3, p. 73.

⁶⁴ Löwe 1967, p. 3.

III

It's time now to consider the last and best-known section of the *AB* - Hincmar's section, covering the years 861 to 882 when Hincmar died. Levillain was perhaps a little carried away when he likened Hincmar's annals to the *Mémoires* of Saint-Simon,⁶⁵ but it's true that, compared with Prudentius's section, they are often entertaining and occasionally, even, quite gripping. If we begin by asking why Hincmar took up the annalist's pen at all,⁶⁶ the first thing to notice is that he reverts, in some respects, to the old style of the *ARF*. He records the royal itinerary in some detail, with special note taken of where the king spends Easter and Christmas. Assemblies and synods are fairly thoroughly recorded, and there is much detailed information about diplomatic exchanges. Hincmar, himself a Frank and kinsman of at least two counts, is also interested in the actions and appointments of leading aristocrats.⁶⁷ He attempts fuller coverage overall: his annals average at 5+ pages per annum as against 1½ for Prudentius's section and 2½+ for the *ARF* in the 820s.⁶⁸ We recall that Hincmar had the *ARF* and Fulco's annals before him in Prudentius's manuscript, and that he had begun his career as a palace clerk, a protégé of Hilduin who was probably responsible for the annals' production in the 820s.⁶⁹ A certain nostalgia for those good old days, a somewhat aggrieved determination to reaffirm their sound practices in the teeth of modern decline, were later to be leitmotifs in Hincmar's *De Ordine Palatii*,⁷⁰ and may well have inspired him when in 861 he set about continuing the *AB* where Prudentius had left off. Also relevant, perhaps, may have been Hincmar's youthful acquaintance with historical writing in the form of the *Gesta Dagoberti*: this again was an interest to which he returned later in life with the *Vita Remigii*.⁷¹ A further biographical point is surely important: in 861, Hincmar had recently completed two very large works, the first of them involving, as Devisse has shown,⁷² a major programme of re-education - the *Third Treatise on Predestination*, and the *De Divortio*. With these off his desk, this indefatigable pen-pusher may well have been in search of a new theme.

But in one vital respect, Hincmar was indeed continuing Prudentius's work rather than resuming the *ARF* tradition: he was not writing annals at the court, annals which the king should or might see, but writing at Rheims, we may guess

65 Levillain 1965, p. xiv.

66 The near-total neglect of the *AB* in Devisse 1975-6, is surprising. Büchting 1887, does not consider the general question of Hincmar's motivation.

67 Löwe 1967, p. 10, n. 39, points out that Hincmar sometimes depicts them as acting as a group: the *primores*.

68 To make this rough and ready comparison, I used Waitz's edition of the *AB*, MGH, SSRG.

69 Malbos 1966.

70 MGH, Cap. II, pp. 517ff. Cp. Löwe 1972.

71 Wallace-Hadrill 1953; Devisse 1976, vol. 2, pp. 1092; 1004ff.

72 Devisse 1975, vol. 1, pp. 244ff., 386ff.; 1976, vol. 3, pp. 1351ff.

for his own *familia* of clerks, for posterity too perhaps, but above all for himself. Hincmar's need to judge the conduct of others and to justify his own is one of the most striking traits in his personality, and its prominence in his annals differs only in degree, not in kind, from what we find in his works designed for publication. It largely accounts for the much greater fulness of his section of the *AB* compared with Prudentius's, for when Hincmar's style looks at its most 'official', it is in fact very subjective. When he quotes from 'official documents', which he does relatively often and at tedious length, they are being used as *pièces justificatives* for Hincmar's own position or actions in a given case. For instance, the proceedings before Charles's consecration as king of Lotharingia at Metz in 869 are given in full⁷³ partly because Hincmar designed and stage-managed the ritual on this occasion (as on others: like present-day Heralds, he clearly found these matters fascinating and important) and partly because he wished to reproduce his own speech justifying his officiating in someone else's archdiocese (reason enough to pull, triumphantly, out of the mitre the myth of Clovis's heaven-sent oil 'of which we (at Rheims) still have some!'). Again, when he gives the text of a letter sent by two Lotharingian archbishops to their colleagues, we find that he has doctored it.⁷⁴ Apparently his motive here, since the two Lotharingians were fiercely critical of the pope, was to dissociate himself from an extreme position with which they had tried to identify the entire Frankish episcopate. (Hincmar could, on occasion, himself criticise the pope very freely in the *AB*, but only when his personal position was threatened.⁷⁵) It was not that Hincmar lacked a conception of textual authenticity; rather that, in the *AB* as in other works, he manipulated documentary evidence as a means to what he saw as higher, polemic, ends.⁷⁶ The *mémoires*-analogy is certainly more useful to an understanding of Hincmar's purposes in the *AB* than the charge that he often 'forgot his duty as an historian'.⁷⁷

Criticism of others is, I've said, a notable feature of Hincmar's annals. He loosed his shafts over a wide range of people, from the men of Toulouse, 'with their usual perfidy', to Hagano, 'a crafty and very greedy Italian bishop', to Charles's uncle, Count Conrad, 'with his arrogant yet superficial knowledge of the world which brought little benefit to himself, still less to others',⁷⁸ to - finally - Prudentius whose unfinished annal for 861 he continued as follows:⁷⁹

⁷³ *AB* s. a. 869, pp. 158-64. Cp. MGH, Cap. II, pp. 337ff.

⁷⁴ *AB* s. a. 864, pp. 107-10, where also the variants from the text as given in the *AF* are given in the apparatus. See also the comments of Levillain, p. 108, n. 1.

⁷⁵ *AB* s. a. 865, pp. 118-9.

⁷⁶ Devisse 1975, vol. 1, p. 96; 1976, vol. 2, pp. 657ff., 798f. For a broader perspective on early medieval attitudes, see Fuhrmann 1972, vol. 1, pp. 65ff.

⁷⁷ Büchting 1887, p. 22.

⁷⁸ *AB* s. a. 863, pp. 97, 98; 862, p. 95. Cp. the comment on the deaths of Robert and Rannulf, s. a. 866, p. 131, and the jibes at Rothad s. a. 862, pp. 91f.

⁷⁹ *AB* s. a. 861, pp. 84-5.

Prudentius Bishop of Troyes, originally named Galindo, a Spaniard by birth, was at first a very learned man... But later, excited by bitter feelings, he became a very keen defender of (Gottschalk's) heresy against certain bishops... Then he died, still scribbling away at many things that are mutually contradictory and contrary to Faith. Thus, though he had been worn down by illness for a long time, he put an end at once both to living and to writing.

As we've already seen, Hincmar had personal reasons for hostility to Prudentius and a more than theological stake in the Predestination controversy. But when we turn to Hincmar's criticisms of Charles the Bald, the situation may seem a very different one. For Löwe⁸⁰ has argued that these reflect 'not just personal rancour but a political will', a consistent policy - a kind of episcopal policy - which involved setting up certain standards for royal behaviour. Löwe's account of Hincmar's views might be translated (without, I hope, too much misrepresentation) into the following list of concrete prohibitions:

1. the king should not negotiate with Vikings: he should fight them.
2. the king should stop giving churches and church lands to laymen.
3. the king should stop claiming control of top ecclesiastical appointments.
4. the king should not get involved in Italy when he should be at home fighting Vikings.
5. the king should never flout the rules of canon law as expounded by me, Hincmar.

We can test Löwe's argument first, by looking at all the instances of negotiations with Vikings, and so on, recorded in the *AB* to see whether Hincmar reacts consistently to royal breaches of his 'rules'; and second, by invoking the help of other sources, to see if Hincmar in the *AB* has not sometimes shelved a problem of his own by omitting certain awkward facts. Let's, then, look briefly at the points on our list in turn.

1. *How to deal with Vikings.* True, under the years 865 and 866, Hincmar does criticise, more or less explicitly, lack of resistance to the Vikings, and, implicitly, the making of treaties with them.⁸¹ On the other hand, he records details of Danegeld payments without comment,⁸² and under 873, in what reads like an eye-witness account, he approves Charles's skill in negotiations with the Vikings at

⁸⁰ 1967, p. 9.

⁸¹ *AB* s. a. 865, p. 124; 866, p. 125; Löwe 1967, p. 7 n. 24.

⁸² *AB* s. a. 861, p. 86; 877, p. 213.

Angers when according to other contemporary information with a different bias, he could actually have crushed these Vikings by force.⁸³

2. *Giving churches to laymen.* Yes, Hincmar does lodge bitter complaints on this score under 866.⁸⁴ On the other hand, under 867 he records without adverse comment that Charles himself assumed the abbacy of Hincmar's old house, St Denis.⁸⁵

3. *Ecclesiastical appointments and royal control.* Yes, there are sharp protests under 866 about royal interference in the case of Wulfad, and under 876 in that of Ansegis of Sens.⁸⁶ On the other hand, there are no complaints about other episcopal and abbatial appointments made by the king, and Hincmar is quite sympathetic to Charles in his presentation of the case of Hincmar of Laon under 868-871.⁸⁷

4. *Involvement in Italy.* In fact there is no explicit criticism on this score in the *AB*, and the two instances of irony Löwe⁸⁸ finds under 877 are not directed against the Italian involvement itself. Hincmar did complain in another work in 875,⁸⁹ but his view may have become more favourable by 877.⁹⁰

Before dealing with the last point on our list, we can already register some doubts about Löwe's presentation of the *AB* evidence. Hincmar's criticisms of Charles come in very specific contexts, and two short periods - 865-6 and 876 - stand out as years of complaint. The first of these was, as we've seen, the time of Wulfad's appointment to Bourges and of Hincmar's reawakened anxiety over the heresy of Gottschalk and his suspected patrons in high places. It was also a period of temporary estrangement from the king. The 876 situation shows striking similarities: Charles had tried to railroad the appointment of Ansegis of Sens as Primate of Gaul and Ansegis had superseded Hincmar in the royal counsels. By contrast, during periods when Hincmar and the king were close, or at any rate not in conflict, even debateable royal actions evoked no overt criticism in the *AB*. When Charles attacked Provence in 861, for instance, Hincmar expressed his disapproval in a letter to a Provençal magnate whose help he wanted to protect the

83 *AB* s. a. 873, pp. 194-5. Cp. Regino s. a. 873, pp. 105ff. See Werner 1959b, pp. 99ff.

84 Above, n. 78.

85 *AB* s. a. 867, p. 135. Cp. the grants of St Aubin's Angers to Salomon, St Hilaire, Poitiers, to Acfrid, St Maurice, Agaune, to Boso, etc.: *AB* s. a. 863, p. 96; 867, p. 140; 869, p. 167.

86 *AB* s. a. 866, p. 129; 876, p. 202.

87 *AB* s. a. 868, pp. 151-2; 869, p. 152; 871, p. 181. See McKeon 1978.

88 1967, p. 8 n. 32.

89 *De fide Carolo regi servanda*, c. 12, PL. 125, col. 967.

90 A possible inference from the *AB* s. a., and from the rôle assigned to Hincmar at Quierzy in June: MGH, Cap. II, c. 12.

property of the church of Rheims in that region, but as annalist he simply recorded Charles's moves, reserving his critical comments for the conduct of the king's troops.⁹¹ When Charles made a similar swoop on Lotharingia in 869, Hincmar had his own reasons (based no doubt on his church's interests) for approving, and confided his view somewhat coyly in the *AB*.⁹² In 873 again, the *AB* show Hincmar firmly aligned with Charles over his dealings with the Loire Vikings and also his treatment of his son Carloman (whose revolt had evidently occasioned a good deal of damage to the property of Hincmar's church).⁹³ I think we have to conclude that the distinction between 'personal rancour' and 'political will' is rather misleading in the terms Löwe has proposed, and that there is no consistent ideological position to be found in Hincmar's section of the *AB* any more than in Prudentius's. Different responses to similar pieces of royal behaviour reflect, not mere 'personal rancour', but changes in Hincmar's political situation.

Finally, we should glance at Hincmar's alleged consistency in the application of canon law. Christian marriage will serve as a good example, for Hincmar in the *AB* and elsewhere has much to say in the 860s about the famous divorce case of Lothar II. In this, and in other similar cases, Hincmar is usually claimed to have upheld, unequivocally, the law of the Church.⁹⁴ By applying the rules, Hincmar could pronounce Lothar's marriage indissoluble, childless though it might be. The fact was that if Lothar died without heirs who were indisputably legitimate, then his uncle Charles the Bald could hope to inherit all or part of his kingdom - which of course is what happened in 869. Most historians have been rightly suspicious of Charles's motives in preaching adherence to the canon law on marriage, yet those same historians have believed in Hincmar's complete integrity.⁹⁵ Only quite recently has it been noticed that there was another strictly comparable case of royal divorce on which Hincmar took a different line.⁹⁶ In his annal for 878, Hincmar wrote that when the pope came to West Francia, Louis the Stammerer (son and heir of Charles) asked for his wife (whom Hincmar did not name) to be consecrated queen, 'but he could not get his way'.⁹⁷ The reader is left with the impression that the lady is the same one mentioned in the record of young Louis's marriage under the year 862.⁹⁸ Why, then, was the pope so unco-operative? It turns out that although the 862 wife was still living, the 878 wife was a different lady. Evidently at the insistence of Charles near the end of his reign, and for clear political motives, Louis had been made to repudiate his first wife and make another alliance, and the whole affair was arranged *with Hincmar's connivance*: I should add that some very clever detective work was needed to expose this Hincmargate.

91 Ep. 142, MGH Epp. KA VI, i, p. 115; *AB* s. a. 861, p. 87.

92 *AB* s. a. 869, p. 157.

93 *AB* s. a. 873, p. 190.

94 Weinzierl 1949; Devisse 1975, vol. 1, pp. 383ff., 459ff.

95 Calmette, pp. 80ff.; Devisse 1975, vol. 1, pp. 439ff.

96 Brühl 1964, pp. 60ff.; Werner 1967, pp. 437ff.

97 *AB* s. a. 878, p. 227.

98 *AB*s. a. 862, p. 91.

Fortunately, on this subject Hincmar the letter-writer⁹⁹ proved to have been less discreet than the author of the *AB*. The interesting historiographical point is that Hincmar was found out, so to speak, only when the possibility of his guilt on such a score could be conceived of. Perhaps it's not surprising that the process of revision has been long and painful. For the realities of ninth-century politics are often obscured from us in the clerically-produced texts of the period, and not least in the *AB*, by the writers' use of a code in which political conflicts are expressed as theological or canonistic ones. To reconstruct the context and purposes of Hincmar's work without anachronism is a delicate business.

In the end, to summarise, Hincmar's annals have to be read, not as bad history, not merely as *mémoires*, certainly not as the reflection of an episcopal programme, but as a series of subjective and more or less instantaneous perceptions of and reactions to contemporary political events in which Hincmar was himself more or less directly involved. There is no evidence that Hincmar ever revised his section of the *AB*. When he died, he left, it seems, a single manuscript, from which all extant manuscripts or fragments of the *AB* in other works (with a single exception)¹⁰⁰ are derived. This time, no successor continued with a further instalment of the 'Deeds of our Kings'.

But if such categories as 'history' or '*mémoires*' are clearly unapt, the *AB* also raise doubts about the usefulness of conventional distinctions between 'public' and 'private', 'official' and 'unofficial' historiography. We are forced to consider what was the function of annals or chronicles of the realm in the early Middle Ages. If they were used by or potentially useful to kings, why did not only Charles the Bald but other ninth-century Carolingians too allow the Carolingian tradition of court annals to lapse? But a prior question must be: why were court annals ever written under any Carolingian? As I suggested at the beginning of this paper, annal-keeping had always been the product of clerical, not royal enthusiasm, specifically of the interest of a small number of palace clerks assembled in the first place by Charlemagne to cherish the reborn Latin learning. It was the very growth of this royal protégé which led in due course to the emptying of the nursery. Despite Heiric's fulsome eulogy of Charles the Bald's palace as a home of learning,¹⁰¹ there is very little evidence for a court school in his reign.¹⁰² In place of the tight-knit court circle of Charlemagne and even of Louis the Pious, there came in the next two generations a dispersal of scholarship into a number of regional bases, loosely but effectively linked, as the Predestination debates, for instance, showed, by ties of personal affection and alliance and shared political as well as scholarly concerns. Yet while poetry or theology or music thrived in monasteries and episcopal cities, this dispersal

⁹⁹ Schrörs, Register nos. 404, 490, from Flodoard in MGH SS XIII, pp. 513, 510.

¹⁰⁰ See above, n. 16.

¹⁰¹ *Vita Sancti Germani*, verse preface in MGH Poet III, p. 756; prose preface in PL 124, cols. 1131ff. Cp. McKitterick 1980, and her paper in this volume, below.

¹⁰² I am grateful to Peter Godman for discussion of this point.

brought an end to court annal-keeping. What had been a spin-off of the first, constricted, phase of the Carolingian Renaissance was outmoded in the more expansive, diverse and decentralised ecclesiastical culture of mid-ninth-century Francia.

The question of why Charles the Bald was not concerned to maintain the court-annals tradition in turn becomes less pressing if we jettison the false notion of Carolingian royal annals as in any sense propaganda. It was because the youthful Charles, fresh from Walafrid's tutorship, was indeed concerned with the representation of his cause to posterity that in 840 he asked Nithard to write, not annals, but a history of royal family conflicts. Disillusioned perhaps with the outcome of that commission (if he ever even saw Nithard's increasingly dyspeptic Third and Fourth Books) Charles apparently did not repeat that attempt. As for propaganda, of course like any pre-modern ruler, Charles was concerned to influence and cajole contemporary aristocratic opinion. Great assemblies, consultations, oath-takings, public addresses, ritual displays were instruments all of which Charles exploited vigorously. But court annals, in Latin, hardly came into this category. Their political irrelevance becomes clear, finally, if they are contrasted with the contemporary *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. It seems that Alfred did what no Carolingian ever thought of doing with the *ARF* or the *AB*: arranged for the copying and circulation of a revised text of the *Chronicle*¹⁰³ which, since it was in the vernacular, men could hear, if not read.¹⁰⁴ The medium could affect the message. Modern ideas of propaganda are of course, as Professor Whitelock reminded us,¹⁰⁵ anachronistic for ninth-century England; but certainly the potential audience of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was no mere clerical coterie. Contrary to a recent tendency to see Continental influence in Alfredian historiography,¹⁰⁶ I would now stress the differences between English and Frankish annal-keeping in the ninth century, and suggest that the Alfredian *Chronicle* hailed from a distinctively insular tradition.¹⁰⁷ If Grimbald, whether at St Bertin's or during his stay at Rheims,¹⁰⁸ ever saw Hincmar's manuscript of the *AB* there is not to my mind the slightest trace of this to be found in subsequent *Chronicle*-production across the Channel. In the case of the *AB*, indispensability to historians is in inverse proportion to contemporary impact: and in that respect, a better modern analogue, for all its limitations, than Saint-Simon's *Mémoires* might be the *Diary* of Samuel Pepys.

Additional note

See list of References for M. Meyer-Gebel (1988): an important article.

103 Cp. Sisam 1953, pp. 140ff.

104 Wormald 1977.

105 Whitelock 1977.

106 Wallace-Hadrill 1950; John 1966, p. 39; Nelson 1967; Parkes 1976, pp. 165ff.

107 Cp. Harrison 1976; Bately 1979.

108 Grierson 1940b.

ADEMAR OF CHABANNES AND THE HISTORY OF AQUITAINE IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE BALD

John Gillingham

The main historical work written by Ademar of Chabannes, and known either as the *Historia* or the *Chronicon*, begins as a history of the Franks from the time of Aeneas and ends as a chronicle of Aquitaine. It becomes, indeed, the best narrative source for the history of Aquitaine in the tenth and early eleventh centuries.¹ In this full version it exists in two redactions, now generally known as the A text and the C text.² Though there are other redactions of parts of the work, it is with these two that I shall be concerned here. Books I and II of the chronicle and the first fifteen chapters of Book III are basically just copied out of well-known major sources like the *Continuator of Fredegar* and the *Royal Frankish Annals*.³ Chapter 16 begins with the year 830 and ends with the battle of Fontenoy in 841. Chapters 17 to 19 then take us up to the end of Charles the Bald's reign. The importance of these four chapters lies in the fact that they seem to give us information not available anywhere else. Chapter 16, for example, tells us about a thorough overhaul of the government of Aquitaine undertaken by Louis the Pious in the winter and spring of 839/840.⁴ These chapters also provide a certain amount of genealogical information of the kind sought after by many nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians. In particular, we are told about the family of Ramnulf I, count of Poitou (supposedly from 840 to 866) and about the family relationships of the men who were counts of Angoulême (supposedly from 840 to 886). This information has been taken seriously, and some of it is now enshrined in the vast

¹ There is still no satisfactory edition. The best one available is Jules Chavanon, *Adémar de Chabannes, Chronique* (Paris 1897).

² The relationships between these two, between other, partial versions, and between Ademar and a later, mid-twelfth-century work, have been explored and clarified by K.-F. Werner, 'Ademar von Chabannes und die *Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium*', *DA* 19 (1963), pp. 297-325.

³ None of the manuscripts has a complete division into books and chapters. The one used here is Chavanon's.

⁴ Ademar, p. 132, n. 4. The chief drawback of Chavanon's edition is that he regarded the C text - as had Waitz before him (MGH SS IV, pp. 106ff.) - as the work of an unscrupulous and silly twelfth-century interpolator, and he therefore relegated this text to his footnotes; indeed he omitted some of it altogether.

genealogical table of Charlemagne's descendants compiled by K.F. Werner and published in one of the massive *Karl der Grosse* volumes.⁵

That information about the mid ninth century supplied by an early eleventh-century monk⁶ should be taken seriously may at first sight seem surprising, but given the paucity of material for ninth-century Aquitaine it is perhaps only natural that historians should clutch at straws. Any doubts they may have had were probably stilled by the reflexion that, by and large, Ademar had been accepted as a good and worthwhile source by the two dominating figures in the study of Carolingian Aquitaine:⁷ Léon Levillain and Léonce Auzias.⁸ Post-war historians who have followed where those two led include such notable figures as Jacques Boussard⁹, René Crozet¹⁰, Jan Dhondt¹¹, Charles Higounet¹², Walter Kienast¹³ and Karl Ferdinand Werner¹⁴: a formidable list. The only historian to have made a systematic study of Ademar's material on the ninth century is Levillain. His conclusion is that the material is accurate, that in the eleventh-century monk we have a man with a passion for genealogical research.¹⁵ In other words, Levillain saw in Ademar of Chabannes a mirror of himself. What I propose to do in this paper is to take a look at Ademar and see in him a mirror image of myself - in other words, a man with a certain ingenuity for combining odd bits and pieces of information but essentially a thoroughly unreliable historian.

The first point to make clear is that it is evident that in compiling these four chapters, Ademar had some earlier written sources to hand and that at least some

⁵ *KdG I, Das Nachleben*, ed. W. Braunsfels and P. E. Schramm (Düsseldorf 1967).

⁶ Ademar was born c.990 and died in Jerusalem in 1034. After being educated at St Martial's, Limoges, he became a member of the community of St Cybard, Angoulême.

⁷ One historian whose doubts, to judge from his tone, have not been stilled is Otto Gerhard Oexle. But he has not taken the matter any further, remaining content with the neutral observation that 'scholarship has accepted Ademar of Chabannes's version': see Oexle, 'Bischof Ebroin von Poitiers und seine Verwandten', *FMS* 3 (1969), p. 173, n. 167.

⁸ L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne 778-987* (Toulouse-Paris 1937). See, for example, pp. 128-9, 149-50, 213, 323, 352, even though there are times when Auzias was clearly embarrassed by Ademar's information: e.g. pp. 156-7, 222, 352.

⁹ *Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium*, ed. J. Boussard (Paris 1957), xiii-xiv.

¹⁰ R. Crozet, *Histoire du Poitou* (Paris 1970), pp. 37-8.

¹¹ J. Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France* (Bruges 1948), pp. 194ff.

¹² C. Higounet, *Bordeaux pendant le haut moyen âge* (Bordeaux 1963), pp. 34-41.

¹³ W. Kienast, *Studien über die französischen Volksstämme des Frühmittelalters* (Stuttgart 1968), pp. 59-60.

¹⁴ *KdG IV*, pp. 194-5, 450-51.

¹⁵ L. Levillain, 'Ademar de Chabannes, généalogiste', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 3rd. ser., 10 (1934-35), pp. 237-63. On Book III, chapters 16-19, Levillain's comment was: 'tout cela est très exact'.

of these sources still survive.¹⁶ It has generally been accepted - 'längst bekannt', in Werner's words¹⁷ - that they include the so-called *Chronicon Aquitanicum* as well as some sets of annals attributed to Angoulême and Limoges.¹⁸ I shall return to these well-known sources later, but for the moment propose to proceed on the assumption that they are reliable and that the problems begin where Ademar leaves these extant annals behind and gives us some additional information. The question this raises is an obvious one. Did Ademar possess other sources now lost to us? Levillain believed that he did, and posited the existence of some lost annals.¹⁹ Less clear-cut is the attitude adopted by Werner. He states that though Ademar may have had some written sources in addition to the well-known Aquitanian material, these can only have been what he calls, in a rather opaque phrase, 'odd bits and pieces' ('Partikel, vereinzelte Nachrichten').²⁰ I would guess that what Werner had in mind were the notes written in Ademar's own hand in a book which belonged to St Martial's, Limoges, 'ex libris bonae memoriae Ademari grammatici'.²¹ These notes are chiefly based on extracts from charters belonging to the monastery of St Cybard, Angoulême, and there can be no doubt that Ademar drew upon them when writing up his chronicle.²² Assuming that this is what Werner meant, is he right to believe that Ademar had no other written sources, i.e. that there are no lost annals? If there are no lost annals, then we will have to jettison at least some of the information which Ademar provides - including, ironically enough, some which has been used by Werner himself - since it is not the kind of information which could be derived from charter extracts. Then there is a second question: in what manner did Ademar use his charter-based historical notes? If, where we can check, it can be shown that he used them inaccurately, then even information derived from this source will have to be regarded as untrustworthy. If that were to be the case, then we might as well forget about Ademar as a source for ninth-century history.

¹⁶ It is likely that he was also able to use oral tradition, but the earliest indication of this type of information comes in chapter 20 - the account of Vulgrin as a tireless warrior against the Vikings and as the first builder of the castles of Marcillac and Mastac. Vulgrin, the count who died in 886 and whose tomb was claimed by St Cybard, became, like other late ninth-century figures such as Wifred the Hairy and Baldwin of Flanders, the founding father of a dynasty of counts. Stories about him would very probably be familiar to a monk of St Cybard, but there is no hint of traditional lore contained in the information in Ademar's chapters 16 to 19.

¹⁷ Werner, 'Ademar', pp. 320-1.

¹⁸ MGH SS II, pp. 252ff; MGH SS IV, p. 5; MGH SS XVI, pp. 485ff. But all of these printed texts are defective in some way.

¹⁹ Levillain, 'Ademar', pp. 237-8.

²⁰ Werner, 'Ademar', pp. 320-1.

²¹ This is MS Leiden UL, Voss. lat. oct. 15, discussed by L. Delisle, 'Notice sur les manuscrits originaux d'Ademar de Chabannes', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* 35, 1 (1896), pp. 301-14. On pp. 315-8, Delisle printed the notes in question.

²² See below, pp. 48-9.

I shall begin with the question of whether or not there were any lost annals. Ademar's account of the year 845 runs as follows: 'Alio anno Siguinus, comes Burdegalensis et Sanctonicensis, a Normannis captus et occisus est et Sanctonas a Normannis concremata est, thesauris eius optimis exportatis'.²³ Historians have always found this report worrying because according to the Treaty of St Benoît made earlier in the year, Bordeaux was assigned to Pippin II's share of Aquitaine, while the Saintonge belonged to Charles the Bald.²⁴ How could one man have been allowed to hold two counties straddling the border between these two enemies? What historians have done is simply to say that Ademar must have made a mistake.²⁵ And so, of course, he may well have done; but the really significant thing about this sentence of Ademar's is the light it throws upon his methods. The entry for 845 in the *Chronicon Aquitanicum* runs as follows: 'Siguinus comes a Northmannis capitur et occiditur, et Sanctonas urbs concrematur, thesauris eius optimis exportatis'.²⁶ Ademar's basic debt to the *Chronicon* is crystal clear - but where could he have obtained the additional information about the counties held by Siguin? From a lost source? In fact the simplest and most economical answer is that it was a deduction from his known sources. A 'Siguinus dux Vasconum' appears in Ademar's Book III, chapter 2 (taken from the *Royal Frankish Annals*), so here we have a Siguin count of Bordeaux²⁷, while it would be easy enough to believe on the basis of the sentence in the *Chronicon Aquitanicum* that Siguin was also responsible for the defence of Saintes.²⁸

Ademar adopts a similar procedure in his account of the death of Count Gauzbert of Le Mans in 853. The *Chronicon Aquitanicum* says merely: 'Gauzbertus comes mense Martio occiditur'.²⁹ Ademar's version runs: 'et Gauzbertus, comes Cenomannensis, insidiis Namnetensium circumventus, occisus est'.³⁰ Gauzbert was beheaded on Charles the Bald's orders,³¹ so where did Ademar get the idea, unique to him, of a trap laid by the men of Nantes? Again, the simplest explanation is that he thought he read it in the *Chronicon*

²³ Ademar, p. 133.

²⁴ For the date of Siguin's death, see Lupus of Ferrières i, no. 44, p. 186 (dated to November 845): 'Quidam vero de Aquitania venientes Nortmannos inter Burdegalam et Sanctonas eruptionem his diebus fecisse retulerunt et nostros, hoc est christianos, pedestri cum eis proelio congressos et miserabiliter nisi quos fuga eripere potuit peremptos. In quo bello comprehensum ducem Vasconum Siguinum et peremptum etiam jurando testati sunt'.

²⁵ Auzias, pp. 222-3; Lot and Halphen, p. 189, n. 1; Higounet, p. 35, n. 4.

²⁶ MGH SS II, p. 253. Here the *Chronicon* gives no information beyond what is in the Angoulême annals.

²⁷ Ademar, p. 111; ARF, p. 144 (*ad annum* 816).

²⁸ As suggested by Auzias, p. 233.

²⁹ MGH SS II, p. 253 (at the end of the entry for 852, which presumably runs from Easter 852 to Easter 853).

³⁰ Ademar, pp. 135-6.

³¹ AF, p. 44; Regino, p. 78, there mistakenly dated to 860. On Regino's handling of West Frankish affairs, see K.-F. Werner, 'Zur Arbeitsweise Regino von Prüm', *Die Welt als Geschichte* 19 (1959), pp. 96ff.

Aquitanicum, since an earlier sentence in the same entry runs: 'Lambertus comes (identified in the entry for 830 as count of Nantes) a Gauzberto Cenomanensium Kalendis Maii occiditur'.³² If less than twelve months later Count Gauzbert himself was killed, what could be more natural than the idea that Lambert's men had avenged their lord? These two examples are both taken from Ademar's A text, and in every possible instance where, in his A text, Ademar adds extra information, it is possible to suggest that he did so by using this deductive method. This is to argue that he was not relying on a now lost source, but was combining details which appear in his known sources: the *Royal Frankish Annals*, Angoulême annals and charters, and the *Chronicon Aquitanicum*.³³ More significant still is the fact that in these chapters (in his A text), he names all the nobles who appear in the *Chronicon Aquitanicum* and the Angoulême annals - and only them. If he had possessed a lost historical source, then it is surely an extraordinary coincidence that this source should not offer a single additional name. Equally, it is a remarkable coincidence that the lost source, just like Ademar's known sources, should have happened to omit the anointing of Charles the Bald as king of Aquitaine at Orleans in 848.³⁴ The most sensible explanation would seem to be that there was no lost source.

What this means is that we must abandon the practice hitherto adopted by historians. What they have done is reject Ademar's testimony when it can be proved to be mistaken - as in his belief that it was Charles the Bald who was anointed king at Limoges in 855, when it was in fact Charles's son Charles - and

³² MGH SS II, p. 253. Here too the *Chronicon* and the Angoulême annals are in agreement. This explanation requires, of course, that Ademar did not realise that the Lambert of 830 and the Lambert of 853 were two different people, but there can be no doubt that, like many of us, Ademar was in the habit of hoping that identity of name meant identity of person.

³³ For example, Ademar identifies the Raino who fights together with his *propinquus*, Rannulf count of Poitou, against the Vikings (*Chronicon Aquitanicum*, s.a. 852) as count of Herbaugue. This is readily comprehensible in view of the references in earlier entries (835 and 843) to Rainald, count of Herbaugue, planting the idea that Raino was Rainald's son. Since Raino, in 852, fought alongside a count of Poitou and eight years earlier, a Bernard had fought alongside Rainald's (other) son Harvey (*Chronicon Aquitanicum*, s.a. 844), did not this suggest that the Bernard of 844 was also a count of Poitou? Besides, Ademar's charter-based notes told him that there was a Count Bernard (Delisle, 'Notice', p. 317), and since Harvey and Bernard had been fighting against Lambert of Nantes, of which county could he have been count if not Poitou? There is also the possibility that Ademar had seen the diploma of Pippin I restoring to St Maixent a *villa* in Poitou which had been granted as a *beneficium* to a Count Bernard (Levillain no.5, p. 18). But the identification of the 844 Bernard as count of Poitou creates unnecessary problems (see Auzias, pp. 213, 233) and might be dropped. A further example of Ademar's ingenious deductive skill would be his account of Warin at the battle of Fontenoy, 'cum Tolosanis et Provincianis superveniens'. In the *Chronicon Aquitanicum*, Warin appears only as 'Provinciae ducem', but Ademar had copied the following passage out of the *ARF* and this could have led him to place Toulouse contingents by Warin's side at Fontenoy: 'Similiter Lupus Wasco, qui cum Berengario Tolosano et Warino Arvernibus comitibus conflixerat...' (Ademar, p. 115; *ARF*, s.a. 819).

³⁴ This was kindly pointed out to me by Janet Nelson.

accept it when it is not obviously wrong; in other words, they treat him as a generally reliable compiler who occasionally makes mistakes. Instead, we must treat everything which Ademar tells us with great scepticism and accept only those details where it is highly likely that he had a reliable source in front of him - an example of this would be his additional details about the course of the monastic reform at St Martial's in 848.³⁵ But even in the sphere of monastic history, great caution is necessary. Despite the fact that Ademar's own house is involved, we should, for example, jettison what he tells us about Pippin I's foundations.³⁶ In other words, Ademar is such an ingeniously unreliable historian that the onus of proof rests fair and square on the shoulders of those who wish to believe anything he says.

So far I have been dealing only with Ademar's A text. The matter becomes more complicated when we turn to his other main recension, the C text. This is a revision of his chronicle carried out in the light of the *Astronomer's Life of Louis the Pious*, a copy of which is inserted in the manuscript between Books II and III of Ademar's chronicle.³⁷ The background to Charles the Bald's rule in Aquitaine was his father's campaign there in 839 and his residence at Poitiers during the winter and spring of 839-40. On this subject Ademar tells us a good deal which is not in the *Astronomer's Life*, and historians have gratefully accepted this additional information.³⁸ We are told that the leader of the party which supported Pippin II, a man referred to only as 'a certain Emeno' in the *Life*, was in fact the count of Poitiers; that Louis the Pious, 'motus ira', removed him from office and replaced him with Ramnulf, son of Gerald count of Auvergne and nephew of William; that he also appointed new - named- counts of Angoulême, Limoges, Bordeaux and Saintes; that Emeno and his brother Bernard fled to take refuge with the new count of Angoulême and the count of Herbauge respectively; that when Louis returned to 'Francia' he took Pippin II back with him.³⁹ Historians have treated this description of a total overhaul of the government of Aquitaine precisely as they have treated the rest of Ademar's work - that is to say, they have rejected the story about Pippin being taken to 'Francia' as being mistaken, and have accepted the rest. But this is wishful thinking. We should first of all decide whether we think this part of the C text is based on a lost source or not. In fact it is clear that almost everything which Ademar says in this passage could have been deduced from his known sources. He could have begun by identifying the

³⁵ Ademar, pp. 134-5. Other examples might be his reports that Counts Emeno and Vulgrin were buried in St Cybard, *ibid.*, pp. 137-8.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 132. Ademar's statement that Pippin I put four houses, St-Jean-d'Angely, St Cyprien (Poitiers), St Cybard (Angoulême) and Brantôme, under the control of Abbot Martin appears to stem from a confusion with the career of a well-known reforming abbot who was active more than a hundred years later, in the 930s and 940s. This was kindly pointed out to me by Rowan Watson.

³⁷ Ademar, p. xx. MS Paris, B.N., lat. 5926, fols. 82-116.

³⁸ And this despite the problems involved - on which see Auzias, pp. 157, 209, n. 44.

³⁹ Ademar, p. 132.

'Eminus quidam' of the Astronomer with the Count Emeno of Angoulême who was killed in 866.⁴⁰ In fact we know that Ademar did this - and has been followed by all historians ever since.⁴¹ Since Ademar knew that Ademar, the son of this Emeno, became count of Poitou at the end of the ninth century (893-902), it seemed to make sense if the father himself had also held this honour - indeed later in the C text Ademar makes precisely this point.⁴² And since Poitiers had been a centre of Pippin I's power in the 830s, it seemed to make sense of the role played by the 'Eminus quidam' in 839 if he had been count of Poitou. True, Ademar had already identified the Bernard of 844 as count of Poitou, but this could be taken care of by making him Emeno's brother. Moreover, since Bernard could be found fighting side by side with Harvey, son of Rainald, it made sense to suggest that in 839/40 he had fled to Rainald count of Herbauges, while Emeno could be pushed in the direction of Angoulême (where he had to be by 866) by being made to flee to his 'brother' Count Turpio.

Whether or not Ademar went through precisely these steps, this is clearly the way his mind worked, and for this reason, given his generally high level of unreliability, historians would be well-advised to forget everything which Ademar tells them about Louis the Pious's overhaul of Aquitaine in 839-40.

But whereas in the A text Ademar had named only nobles whose names appeared in the *Chronicon Aquitanicum* or the Angoulême annals, in this section of the C text he does provide one name which is not to be found in any of his known narrative sources. This is Raymond, count of Limoges. According to Ademar, he succeeded to Limoges after the death of Count Rather in the battle of Fontenoy.⁴³ Who was this man, and from where did Ademar get his information about him? Do, after all, some lost annals stand behind C's text? The key to a solution is provided by another of Ademar's works, the *Commemoratio abbatum Lemovicensium*⁴⁴ - an abbots' list which is beginning to turn into a *Gesta abbatum*. About the eleven-year period of office of the second abbot of St Martial's, Abbo, Ademar had just three things to report. Firstly, that in his fifth year (i.e. 855), Charles the Bald was anointed at Limoges by Rodulf, archbishop of Bourges and by Stodilo, bishop of Limoges.⁴⁵ Secondly, that in the same year, Archbishop Rodulf founded the abbey of Beaulieu. Thirdly, and also in this year,

40 Astron. c.61; Ademar, p. 137.

41 With the partial exception of Oexle, who, while making it clear that there were at least two Emenos around in 840, takes no stand either for or against this particular identification: see Oexle, 'Ebroin', p. 179.

42 Ademar, p. 139.

43 This passage was omitted by Chavanon, and so it is necessary to refer to Labbe's old edition which took the C text as its base: P. Labbe, *Bibliotheca nova manuscriptorum* (Paris 1657), vol.2, pp. 151-75. The problem is discussed by Levillain, 'Ademar', p. 242, n. 3.

44 In H. Duplès-Agier, *Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges* (Paris 1874).

45 This is one of Ademar's most famous mistakes, repeated in his chronicle, Ademar, p. 136. It was, of course, Charles's son Charles who was anointed king of Aquitaine in 855.

St Gerald of Aurillac was born.⁴⁶ Statements about the year of a saint's birth were generally based upon inspiration rather than evidence, but it is clearly possible that Ademar's information about the foundation of Beaulieu had a more solid support. He could well have seen the key charter in the house's history, the *Testamentum Rodulfi*, a copy of which was to be found in the Limoges cartulary.⁴⁷ The witness list was headed by Stodilo, bishop of Limoges, and among the lay witnesses the only count was a Count Raymond.⁴⁸ In this context, it would be only natural to assume that Raymond was count of Limoges, and it would be quite in keeping with Ademar's method of work if he had then jumped to the conclusion that he had been appointed in 841. But the *Testamentum Rodulfi* could do no more than demonstrate the existence of a Count Raymond;⁴⁹ it told Ademar nothing else about the man - and just how unreliable Ademar can be is nicely illustrated by his one other reference to Count Raymond. He states that Raymond was the father of Odo - the Odo who became king of the West Franks in 888 - which, of course, he was not, and that Odo was anointed king in Aquitaine before he became king in Francia, a second glaring mistake in the course of a single sentence.⁵⁰

The doubts about Ademar's accuracy which are raised by the case of Count Raymond can only be strengthened by consideration of another case, and this time one in which it can be proved beyond doubt that he did have a document to draw upon. The longest of those notes in Ademar's hand which were printed by Delisle concerns an interesting lawsuit which was heard 'cum resedisset Vulgrimnus comes Aequalisma cum rainburgis in mallo publico'. At the end of his summary, Ademar notes: 'Signum Ramnulfo vicecomiti. XII testes firmaverunt cartam. Actum anno II regnante Carlomanno'.⁵¹ Count Vulgrin died in 886 and it is clear that Ademar had in his hands a document drawn up in the reign of Carloman (who died in 884).⁵² What he made of this in his chronicle makes fascinating reading: 'Hic Vulgrimnus sepe a Carlomanno, et demum a Carolo magno imperatore fratre

⁴⁶ For Ademar on St Gerald, see Ademar, pp. 140-1.

⁴⁷ M. Deloche, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Beaulieu* (Paris 1859), nr. I, pp. 1-7, dated by the editor to November 860. See *ibid.*, p. ccxxxii, for the reference to a copy of the *Testamentum* in a Limoges cartulary.

⁴⁸ See also *ibid.*, nr. XVIII, pp. 42-3, for another charter (dated to May 859 by the editor), recording an exchange of lands between Archbishop Rodulf and Count Raymond. See R. de Lasteyrie, *Étude sur les comtes et vicomtes de Limoges antérieurs à l'an 1000* (Paris 1874), pp. 17-9.

⁴⁹ In fact it may make more sense to identify this Raymond as a count of Toulouse who also held land in the Limousin: see J. Dhondt, *Études*, p. 187, n. 3; Levillain, 'Les Nibelungen historiques', *AM* 50 (1938), pp. 20-1.

⁵⁰ Ademar, p. 139.

⁵¹ Delisle, 'Notice', pp. 316-7.

⁵² *Chronicon Aquitanicum*, p. 253; Angoulême annals, MGH SS IV, p. 5, and MGH SS XVI, p. 486.

cius, missus fuit in Aquitaniae urbes una cum raimburgis propter justicias faciendas. Eratque iam senex quando eum Carolus Calvus fecit comitem'.⁵³

In conclusion, then, it seems clear that there were no lost annals, and that Ademar's handling of his record sources was so extravagantly free and easy that no historian should trust anything he says, however plausible it may sound, unless it is independently confirmed by statements in surviving, much more nearly contemporary, sources, notably the Aquitanian annals and the Astronomer's *Life of Louis the Pious*.

But there is yet a further question which we must ask. What of the Aquitanian annals themselves? Can they be regarded as being above suspicion? In fact there can be little doubt that such annals were copied out at Ademar's direction as part of the preparatory work which went into the writing of his own chronicle. Almost certainly we can identify the *Chronicon Aquitanicum* as one such piece of preparatory work. The whole text down to the penultimate entry (for 930) was written in a single hand, but then two further hands added the last entry, for 1025.⁵⁴ The content of this last entry is both different from that of the earlier annals, and very characteristic of Ademar's own mix of interests: 'obiit Wido vicecomes 6 Kalendas Novembris, apud sanctum Marcialem Lemovicis sepultus. Eodem anno Henricus imperator obiit, et Cono imperium suscepit. Eodem anno Basilius imperator Graecorum obiit, et Constantinus frater eius imperium suscepit.' Thus the content and handwriting point to a manuscript which was produced c.1025 at Ademar's behest, and this raises the possibility that the older material was re-worked at about that date. How far might this process of re-working have gone? Is it possible to recover the older material in its original form?

It is clear that the *Chronicon Aquitanicum* is in some way based on the Angoulême annals. The exact relationship between them is hard to determine, but I would suggest the following reconstruction as the most likely one. We know that Ademar possessed a very brief set of Angoulême annals.⁵⁵ It seems that he then

⁵³ Ademar, p. 137. Another of Ademar's characters comes not far short of Vulgrin's record for longevity. This is Duke William of Aquitaine, the well-known founder of Cluny. By comparing Ademar's reference to him in Book III, chapter 21, with what he says about Count William of Auvergne in Book III, chapter 16, it looks very much as though the duke who died in 918 was thought to have been a count in 841. Werner noted a very similar confusion by which Ademar attributed to 769 a charter which really belonged to 852, and then went on to conclude that Charlemagne had stopped in Angoulême during his 769 campaign: Werner, 'Ademar', pp. 302, n. 18, 312, n. 42. See Tessier i, no. 149.

⁵⁴ MGH SS II, p. 253, nn. a and b. Moreover, the manuscript, MS Paris, B.N., lat. 5239, had unquestionably passed through Ademar's hands. See J. Lair, *Études critiques sur divers textes des Xe et XIe siècles*, vol. 1, p. 33; D. Gaborit-Chopin, 'Les dessins d'Ademar de Chabannes', *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* n.s. 3 (1967), pp. 187-90. I am grateful to Richard Landes for his advice on the Ademar manuscripts in Paris.

⁵⁵ MGH SS IV, p. 5. On the manuscript (MS Paris, B.N., lat. 2400), see Delisle, 'Notice', p. 300.

came across a more detailed set.⁵⁶ From these more detailed annals, Ademar compiled the *Chronicon Aquitanicum*, omitting those entries which he already knew from the shorter version⁵⁷ and other entries (those for the years 825, 839, 867, 922, 929, 958, 978 [in part], 974, 980, 981 and 991) which concerned relatively insignificant figures. The *Chronicon Aquitanicum* is, however, not just a copy of the longer Angoulême annals omitting some items. Although it contains not a single entry for any year which is not in the Angoulême annals, it does, in many cases, offer additional information.

For example, the entry for 855 in the Angoulême annals runs as follows: 'Hero insula Rainaldus 13 Kal. Septembris cum Normannis congregitur'. In the *Chronicon* we find: 'Rainaldus Arbatilicensis comes 13 Kalendas Septembris cum Northmannis dimicavit in Herio insula'. Or take their entries for 866. In the annals it goes: 'Emeno cum Landrico congregitur 18 Kal. Iul., et occiso Landrico, Emeno saucius ad castrum regreditur suum, et post dies 8 debitum nature persolvit 10 Kal. Iul.'. The same entry in the *Chronicon* runs thus: 'Emeno Turpionis frater, Engolismae comes cum Landrico Sanctonico comite confligit, et occiso Landrico, saucius in castro Runconia reducitur, et die octava moritur'.⁵⁸ (Quite apart from anything else, the reference to Rancogne - later on an important castle - is suspicious.) The Angoulême annals, in other words, conform to ninth-century practice in that they rarely identify a man as being a count of a particular county, while the *Chronicon Aquitanicum*, by identifying the counts and fitting them into a genealogical framework, obviously reflects Ademar's own approach to history.

It would, however, be rash to conclude that in the text of the Angoulême annals, we have the original, contemporary, annals. Indeed the references to Charles the Bald's expeditions against the Bretons in 843, 845, 850 and 851 as 'prima vice', 'secunda vice', 'tertia vice' and 'quarta vice' make it obvious that this is not so.⁵⁹ None the less, the evidence of the manuscript would suggest that these entries were edited long before Ademar was at work. The last ten entries in

⁵⁶ MGH SS XVI, pp. 485-7. However, this printed text contains several serious errors. In the manuscript (MS Vatican, Reginensis Lat. 1127), the computus which goes from the beginning of the world to the twenty-fifth year of Charlemagne's reign is written at the foot of fol. 10v., and, as the book is now arranged, is immediately followed by the annals on the next page. For this reason, Bethmann and Pertz treated the computus as an introduction to the annals and printed it accordingly. But in fact these annals were written on fols. 1 and 2, and were still in their original position in the seventeenth century, as is clear from the list of contents compiled in 1647. At some later date, these two folios were cut out and then inserted between fols. 10 and 11, thus deceiving the MGH editors. The list of regions of the Christian world and of the sees of Gaul, which is on the verso of the second of these two intercalated folios, is continued on fol. 3r. (This is not made clear in the description of the manuscript in L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, vol. 1, 2nd. edn. (Paris 1955), pp. L-LI.) Apart from occasional mis-readings, the MGH edition is also misleading on the subject of the various hands: cf. my description, above.

⁵⁷ I.e. those for 815, 864, 868, 892, 895, 916, 918, 930, 940, 951, 962, 964, 973 (in part), 975 and 990.

⁵⁸ MGH SS XVI, pp. 485-6; MGH SS II, pp. 252-3.

⁵⁹ MGH SS XVI, p. 486.

the annals (from 962 to 991) are in a variety of hands and inks, but the dates from 924 down to 'Mille' were written all in one go, presumably therefore earlier than these ten entries, i.e. probably in the first half of the tenth century. This seems to imply that the hand which copied out the dates and entries between 873 and 923 was an earlier one, and that the 'original', more primitive-looking, hand responsible for the dates and entries between 815 and 872 was earlier still.⁶⁰ In other words, in the entries for 815 to 870 we might guess that we have a late ninth-century re-working of a contemporary text, and we can at least be confident that it was not Ademar who edited this early section of the Angoulême annals - until, that is to say, he settled down to work on the *Chronicon Aquitanicum*. What this means is that the *Chronicon's* additional information is most likely to be the product of Ademar's fertile brain and, for this reason, future historians would be wise to discount it.⁶¹

All this is to reinforce K.-F. Werner's view of Ademar: 'nicht der Kompilator, sondern Geschichtsschreiber'.⁶² He used his mind to make connexions between the fragments of evidence available to him. Inevitably, the pattern which he saw in history, the form which he created, was one which was appropriate to the early eleventh century, not to the very different world of the mid-ninth century.⁶³ In one sense, we may count ourselves fortunate in being able to catch a glimpse of the workshop of an eleventh-century historian; in another, we may think it a pity to have to jettison his additions to the history of Aquitaine during the reign of Charles the Bald. We are so ignorant about events in that part of the world - a region about which Nithard, Prudentius and Hincmar knew little - that every scrap of information seems precious. None the less, it is not all loss. Pruning can be a productive exercise. There are several episodes in the history of Aquitaine which Ademar's additions served only to confuse, as a result of which conscientious historians like Auzias found themselves obliged to write long footnotes in a rather puzzled and embarrassed tone. Discard Ademar, and the history of Aquitaine in this period may be abbreviated but it is also clarified. The genuine sources - the early sections of the Angoulême annals, the *Astronomer's Life*, some of the letters of Lupus of Ferrières - can be interpreted more straightforwardly without having to be twisted in order to fit into the framework of Ademar's brilliant but wayward history.

⁶⁰ MS Vatican, Reg. Lat. 1127, fols. 1-2.

⁶¹ Another version of the *Chronicon Aquitanicum* is on fol. 130v. of another of Ademar's manuscripts, MS Paris, B.N., lat. 3784. Here Ademar, seemingly at work in 1026, had used MS Paris, B.N., lat. 5239, or possibly a copy of it, at a stage when it still lacked the last entries of the Limoges Annals (on fol. 19) and the final (1025) entry of the *Chronicon* (on fol. 21). In MS Paris, B.N., lat. 3784, the entries for 886 and 855 - in that order - seem particularly characteristic of Ademar's method.

⁶² Werner, 'Ademar', p. 300.

⁶³ On this point, see the sensible observations of J. Wollasch, 'Eine adlige Familie des frühen Mittelalters. Ihr Selbstverständnis und ihre Wirklichkeit', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 39 (1957), pp. 150-88, esp. pp. 177ff.

THE 'GRATIA DEI REX' COINAGE OF CHARLES THE BALD¹

Philip Grierson

I

The deniers of Charles the Bald are predominantly of two types. Both have on one side a cross, but the first has on the other a temple (Fig. 4.1) and the second a monogram surrounded by the inscription GRATIA DEI REX (Fig. 4.2).



Figure 4.1: Chartres, temple type



Figure 4.2: Amiens, GDR type

The first type, which was struck from 840² to 864, continued the final coinage of Louis the Pious, but with Charles's name replacing that of his father and, with a

¹ See now P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage. 1. The Early Middle Ages (5th-10th Centuries)* (Cambridge 1986), pp. 230-3 and pls 38-41. The standard reference works on Carolingian coinage, are: E. Gariel, *Les monnaies royales de France sous la race carolingienne* 2 vols. (Strasbourg 1884); M. Prou, *Les monnaies carolingiennes (Catalogue des monnaies francaises de la Bibliothèque Nationale)* (Paris 1896); and K. F. Morrison and H. Grunthal, *Carolingian Coinage* (New York 1967), Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 158. The recent work of H. Frère, *Le denier carolingien spécialement en Belgique* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1977) is sometimes useful. The accounts of Charles the Bald's coinage in the standard works of A. Engel and R. Serrure, *Traité de numismatique du moyen âge I* (Paris 1891), pp. 234-44, and A. Blanchet, *Manuel de numismatique française I* (Paris 1912), pp. 337ff., must be used with caution, since the coins of this ruler are not satisfactorily separated from those of Charlemagne and Charles the Simple. The article by M. van Rey, 'Die Münzprägung Karls des Kahlen und die westfränkische Königslandschaft', in *Die Stadt in der Europäischen Geschichte: Festschrift Edith Ennen* (Bonn 1972), pp. 153-84, is helpful over mints.

² Although a partition arrangement of 837 allocated Charles the region between the Seine and Frisia, and he was actually crowned king in September 838, his charters are dated from his effective succession after Louis the Pious's death (20 June 840), and none of his coins appear to antedate this event.

mini-signature usually though not invariably substituted for the XPISTIANA RELIGIO of Louis' coins.

The second type ran formally from 864 to 876, but in a number of mints it was continued to the end of the reign and even beyond, being immobilised without change under Charles's successors. It represented a reversion to Charlemagne's *nova moneta* of 794-812 but with GRATIA D-I REX replacing CARLVS REX FR. The obverse and reverse legends were also interchanged, so that the mint-name accompanies the cross instead of the monogram.

To this generalization regarding Charles the Bald's coinage there are three exceptions, or rather three groups of exceptions. The first consists of such variant types as a place-name across the field, a portrait bust, or a city gate as reverse type which were struck by a few mints at the beginning of the reign. The second is the coinage of Aquitaine, which was aberrant throughout. The third consists of the coins giving Charles the imperial title, which were struck at a few mints in 876-7 and even later. These all present points of interest, but for the purpose of this paper they can be left out of account. The main coinages of the reign were the two illustrated above. The second has traditionally been described as 'the type of the Edict of Pîtres', but while there is no doubt that it was that introduced in 864 the inscription is not at first sight the one prescribed by the Edict. M. Lafaurie has consequently rechristened it the 'GDR type',³ and this convenient label, which has since been adopted by most scholars, will be used henceforward in this paper.

The temple type of the years 840-864 is known for eleven mints, to which coins with a *Christiana Religio* inscription must be added. The Edict of Pîtres for its part lists ten mints, including that of the Palace. The total of mints is nearly the same, but there is some difference in their location, as can be seen in the table on the following page.

The explanation of the changes is not always very clear, and is perhaps not very important, since in at least two respects the terms of the Edict were never fulfilled. The inscriptions on the coins are not those laid down in Clause 11 of the Edict, and the number of mints far exceeds the number of ten (including the Palace) prescribed in Clause 12. They ran to a total of nearly a hundred - an exact figure cannot be given because of the uncertain attributions of some with blundered inscriptions - for Neustria, Francia and Burgundy, to which some twenty-five more were added after the annexation of part of Lothar II's kingdom in 869. Aquitaine, a separate kingdom, was not included in the terms of the Edict, despite the reference to the mint of Melle, and no GDR coins were struck in Aquitaine at all.

³ J. Lafaurie, 'Deux trésors monétaires carolingiens: Saumcray (Eure-et-Loir), Rennes (Ille-et-Vilaine)', *Revue numismatique* ⁶, 7 (1965), 265-6.

<u>Mint</u>	<u>Temple Type</u>	<u>Edict List</u>
Auxerre	X	
Bourges	X	
Chalon-sur-Saône		X
Chartres	X	
Laon	X	
Meaux	X	
Melle		X
Narbonne		X
Orléans	X	X
Paris	X	X
Quentovic	X	X
Rheims	X	X
Rouen		X
St Martin of Tours	X	
Sens	X	X
<i>Christiana Religio</i>	X	
Palace		X

To understand what happened we must look in more detail at the terms of the Edict, together with a charter of November 864 relating to the recoinage. The Edict, dated 25 June 864, ordered a renewal of the coinage from the Martinmas following (11 Nov.), and the consequent exchange of old deniers for new ones must have occasioned problems in many localities. On 22 November 864 Bishop Erchenraus of Châlons-sur-Marne, who was with the king at Casnum in the forest of Compiègne, obtained from him a charter⁴ confirming some properties of his see. He also asked for the establishment of a mint in his episcopal city, and through the good offices of Queen Ermentrude his request was granted.

The resulting charter⁵ throws much light on what had happened earlier. The king refers to his recent decision to renew the coinage, whose deficiencies were known to him, 'monetam quam ubique corruptam esse cognovimus',⁶ both for the better ordering of the kingdom and to prevent the frauds of moneychangers ('trapezitarum astuta fraudulentia'). He has therefore decreed the issue of a new coinage, marked with the royal monogram, and ordered that no other type of coin shall be used ('monogramma nominis nostri illi iussimus insigniri, precipientes

⁴ T. 278, II, pp. 122-3.

⁵ T. 277, pp. 120-1. Earlier editions, and the whole secondary literature, regularly date this charter to November 865, i.e. a year after the change in the coinage took effect, but 11 November in the 25th year of Charles's reign fell in 864.

⁶ Legislation against counterfeiting is a recurrent feature in the capitularies. Here one may simply note a clause in a Capitulary issued ten years previously, in 854, at Attigny, 'De monetis et falsariis fabricis, videlicet ut diligenter inquirantur et emendentur' (MGH Cap. II, no. 261, c. 9, p. 278).

regia potestate ut nemo aliis in nostro regno in emendo aut vendendo utatur denariis'). Erchenraus is reported as having brought to the king's attention the difficulty of members of the 'familia ecclesie sancti Stephani', the cathedral church of Châlons-sur-Marne, no doubt a substantial proportion of the population, in obtaining the new deniers, and asked that a mint should be set up in his city, as there had been in others of the kingdom ('ut... in eadem civitate, sicut in aliis regni nostri, statueremus monetam'). The king complied with his request, ordering that the necessary mint equipment should be supplied to Erchenraus by the royal *camera* ('iussimus illi dari de camera nostra monetam nostram') and agreeing that the profits of the mint should be paid to the cathedral chapter annually on Holy Thursday.

II

The more important document is the Edict of Pîtres.⁷ This lengthy piece of legislation, which deals with a wide variety of administrative and social problems, was issued at Pîtres (Eure, arr. Les Andelys, cant. Pont-de-l'Arche), a royal palace situated on the Seine a few miles above Rouen. Monetary matters had evidently formed part of the agenda from the first, since the terms of Clause 14 imply that counts having mints had come attended by their moneyers, and the seventeen clauses (nos. 8-24) devoted to the recoinage and related themes make it the most illuminating monetary document of the whole Carolingian period that has survived. It drew heavily on earlier legislation, cited normally at secondhand through the *Capitularium Collectio*⁸ which Ansegis, abbot of Fontenelle and Jumièges and one of the most prominent men of the day, had published in four books in or shortly after 827. The clauses relating to the new coinage may be summarised as follows:

- 8, 9. Deniers of all types at present in circulation, provided they are of good metal and full weight, shall be legal tender, and must not be refused, in accordance with earlier legislation on coin circulation (*Capit.*, IV 32 [*recte*=30]) up to the next Martinmas (11 November). Officials are to ensure that the law is observed.
10. From next Martinmas only deniers 'of our new coinage, of good metal and full weight', shall be legal tender, and anyone trying to use other coins in trade after that date shall be brought before the count and his officials and shall forfeit them, as provided in *Capit.*, II.18.
11. That the new deniers shall have, on one side, the king's name ('nomen nostrum') in the circular inscription and his monogram in the

⁷ MGH Cap. II, no. 273, pp. 310-28. The monetary clauses are on pp. 314-18.

⁸ Text in MGH Cap. I, pp. 382-450.

centre, and, on the other side, a cross and the name of the city ('nomen civitatis').

12. 'According to the custom of our predecessors as is found in their capitularies [i.e. *Capit.*, III. 13], we order that our coin shall be made nowhere else in our entire kingdom ('ut in nullo loco alio in omni regno nostro moneta fit') save in our Palace and at Quentovic, Rouen (where the *moneta* by ancient custom belongs to Quentovic), Rheims, Sens, Paris, Orléans, Chalon-sur-Saône, Melle and Narbonne.'
13. That those persons (i.e. the counts) in whose jurisdiction there is to be a mint shall appoint honest moneyers, who shall swear to carry out their duties faithfully, not striking or allowing to be struck any denier of bad alloy or under weight ('mixtum denarium et minus, quam debet, pensantem non monetant nec monetari consentiant'). Nor shall they cheat people who bring them silver to be purified and converted into coin. Offences against these provisions shall be punished by amputation of the hand, as laid down in *Capit.*, IV.33 [*recte* 31], and by public penance for their offences.
14. That on 1 July next each count who has a mint in his jurisdiction shall send to Senlis (60 miles from Pitres, and a favourite royal residence) his viscount, accompanied by two persons of substance from his county, and his moneyer ('suum monetarium'), and there they shall receive from the royal *camera* five pounds by weight of pure silver, to be used by the moneyer for starting the new coinage ('ibi accipiant... de camera nostra ad opus uniusquisque monetarii de mero argento cum pensa libras quinque, ut habeat, unde initium monetandi possit incipere'). The equivalent by weight, but in the new coinage, shall be repaid to the *camera* on the Saturday before Lent in the following year.
15. Deals with the obligation on every person to change his silver ('argenteum suum') into new coin ('in constitutis monetis concambiari faciant') during the period between 1 July and 11 November, and the penalties for refusing new coin after 1 July and of trying to use old coin after 11 November.
- 16-19. Deals in great detail with the detection and punishment of false coining.
- 20-22. Deals with supervision of the coinage, fines, etc.
- 23-24. Deals with the commerce in precious metals after 1 October.

Many of these provisions require no commentary. They are what should be necessary in any *renovatio monetae*, and they only set out in detail what must have happened on the occasion of each such *renovatio* in the Carolingian period. The

two points that require notice are the change in the inscription and the number of mints.

The first point is a minor one. The GDR coins, as has been noted already, have as their obverse inscription the *Gratia Dei rex* formula, and it has usually been presumed that this apparent divergence from the instruction to place 'nomen nostrum' on the coins resulted from a further instruction, perhaps no more than verbal in character, and from a wish to differentiate the new coins from those of Charlemagne. But a passage in the *Royal Frankish Annals* for 817, as Coupland has pointed out⁹, describes Charlemagne's royal title as his 'nomen', so that the GDR formula did in fact conform to the wording of the Edict. There were also a few mints (e.g. Beauvais) even outside Aquitaine which preferred to use the *Carlus rex Fr* inscription. The GDR formula had itself been part of the royal title, regularly used in diplomas, since the accession of Charlemagne - it first occurs in a charter dated 13 January 769 - and some coins of Laon had used it in the period of the Temple type (MG 793). Numismatists are sometimes puzzled by the use of D-I for DEI, for the placing of the mark of suspension between the letters instead of above them shows that it was not occasioned by any lack of space on the coin. For sacred names (e.g. IHS, XPC), however, and for such titles as MP XPI (for *Mater Christi*) it was an ancient tradition, used originally for personal names but taken over by the early Church, not to spell out the words in full. 'In the books of the Greeks', notes the *De monogramma XPI* ascribed to St Jerome, 'wherever names are written, the first and last letters are inscribed and a small stroke is inscribed from left to right.'¹⁰ The use of D-I for DEI thus requires no special explanation.

Much more important is the discrepancy over mints, with about a hundred active at one time or another instead of the ten envisaged by the Edict. Most scholars, I imagine, have assumed that the terms of the Edict were found unworkable, for the reasons indicated in Bishop Erchenraus's charter, and more mints were allowed to open in order to cope with the recoinage. Obvious parallels that occur to an English reader are the temporary opening of fifteen provincial mints to assist London, Canterbury and the ecclesiastical mints in the introduction of the long-cross coinage in 1247/8, and of five provincial mints to assist in Edward I's recoinage of 1279/80.

An alternative explanation has been put forward by Lafaurie, on the basis of die-links which he discovered between mints in the GDR coinage.¹¹ A denier of Saint-Andoche of Autun, for example, shares a common obverse die with one of

⁹ S. Coupland, 'L'article XI de l'Édit de Pîtres du 25 juin 864', *Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique* 40 (1985), pp. 713-4.

¹⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *De monogramma XPI*, appended to *Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri tractatus novissime reperti*, ed. G. Morin (*Anecdota Maredsolana*, III.2. Maredsous 1903), p. 195. The classical study is that of L. Traube, *Nomina sacra. Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung* (Munich 1907): for *Deus* abbreviations, see pp. 146-8.

¹¹ 'L'Article XII de l'Édit de Pîtres du 25 juin 864', *Bull. Soc. franç. de numismatique* 23 (1968), pp. 324-6, developed in his 'Moneta Palatina', *Francia* 4 (1976), pp. 67-9.

Avallon, a mint some 25 miles away to the south, and an obverse die shared by Mont Lassois and Troyes, mints also some 25 miles apart, seems, from the relative degrees of wear on the coins, to have been used at the latter mint between two occasions when it was in use at Mont Lassois; it also belongs to a group of dies from eastern mints - Nevers, Lyon, Vienne, Besançon, Avallon, Dijon, Bar-sur-Aube, Chalon-sur-Saône - which seem on stylistic grounds to have shared a single die-sinker. Lafaurie's explanation is that the mints named in the Edict were those where the coins were struck ('ce sont des véritables usines') while those named on the coins are the places where they were issued. This would explain both the stylistic groupings and the die linkages between mints.

There are difficulties, however, in accepting such an explanation in its entirety. That the dies were mainly produced at a limited number of localities seems in itself very likely. The making of a coin die may be a relatively simple operation for someone who knows how to do it,¹² but it is difficult to believe that the necessary degrees of knowledge and skill would have been so widely diffused in mid ninth-century France that it would have been possible to find moneyers for a hundred localities, in most of which no coins had previously been struck, who would be capable of making their own dies. Although they might occasionally have tried their hand at it - some of the frequent mis-spellings of place-names on the coins, often degenerating into complete unintelligibility, may have come about in this fashion - the natural procedure would have been to procure one's dies at some neighbouring mint where the services of an expert were available. The same circumstances would have resulted in the occasional lending of dies from one mint to another, for in many mints there would have been long periods when its dies were not in use. Some moneyers may well have been responsible for minting in several localities, with consequent mixing of dies, and there must have been occasions when Viking attacks forced moneyers to take refuge in neighbouring towns, just as monks sometimes had to do with their relics and other objects of value.

It is, once again, possible to produce parallels, for the phenomenon of die-linkage between mints is not one confined to the GDR coinage. Lafaurie himself has noted several cases of it in the Merovingian series.¹³ Bernareggi has recently called attention to a die-link between a coin of Milan and one of Bergamo amongst the gold coins of Charlemagne in the Ilanz hoard,¹⁴ and the existence of a substantial number has been noted in later Anglo-Saxon coinage.¹⁵ In the English

¹² Cf. D. Sellwood, 'Medieval minting techniques', *BNJ* 31 (1962), pp. 57-65.

¹³ 'Liaisons de coins de quelques monnaies mérovingiennes', *Bull. Soc. franc. de numismatique* 24 (1969), pp. 429-32.

¹⁴ 'I tremissi longobardi e carolingi del ripostiglio di Ilanz, nei Grigioni', *Quaderni Ticinesi* 6 (1977), p. 361.

¹⁵ R. H. M. Dolley, 'The relevance of obverse die-links to some problems of the later Anglo-Saxon coinage', *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis*, 1 (Stockholm 1961), pp. 153-72. Many more examples can now be added to the 20 links known to Dolley in 1961.

case, where the names of the moneyers are in most cases recorded on the coins, the explanation is sometimes a moneyer exercising his functions at more than one locality or moving from one to another. As for the temporary exiling of mint personnel under wartime conditions, one can cite well-documented parallels from the Lower Rhineland during the Revolt of the Netherlands in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The moneyers of the Jülich mint at Mülheim, for example, had to take refuge at Rodenkirchen, a village south of Cologne, in 1572 and again between 1588 and 1593, while between 1584 and 1588 they were at Düsseldorf. In 1605, when they were again in exile, this time at Cologne, the mint-master of the city died, and his Jülich counterpart, being on the spot, was temporarily placed in charge of the Cologne mint until a satisfactory successor could be found. Die-linkages inevitably ensued, resulting in such anomalies as eight-heller pieces of Cologne struck with a normal Cologne obverse bearing the inscription *Nummus Coloniae* and a Jülich reverse with *Cusus Molhemiae 1605*.¹⁶

Against the argument that the places named on the coins were no more than those of issue, there seem to be both practical and administrative objections. The practical objection is that persons needing to change old coin for new, or to have plate transformed into coin, would expect to do this as a single transaction. If the new coins were not minted locally such persons would have to part with their old coins, allow them to be taken elsewhere to be assayed, melted and recoined by persons of whom they had no knowledge, and then wait an indefinite period for the *novi denarii* to which they were entitled to be sent back to the place where they lived. One may perhaps say that this would not happen, since the moneyers in each locality would have reserves of new coins to pay out, but Clause 14 of the Edict, showing each moneyer collecting five pounds of silver to start the coinage of his local mint, indicates that the liquidity reserves at their disposal, and the amount of bullion they were expected to be processing at any given moment, would be very small indeed. The problems of Bishop Erchenraus' *familia* could have only been solved by local minting, not by local distribution. There would have been, in any case, an administrative problem. The Edict makes it clear that the need for strict control was a real one, with counts and other officials made personally responsible for issues taking place under their jurisdiction. How, one must ask, could the Count of Beauvais or Bar-sur-Aube be held responsible for what coins were issued in these cities if the coins were struck elsewhere by moneyers under a quite different jurisdiction and whose work he was in no position to supervise? Issue and manufacture were almost necessarily linked with each other.

¹⁶ A. Noss, 'Der Niederrheinische Albus', *Mitteilungen der Bayerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* 11 (1892), pp. 17-8. For 1609 there are die-linkages in both directions, with Cologne obverses/Jülich reverses and Jülich obverses/Cologne reverses (T. Kirsch, 'Verwechselung von Münzstempeln am Niederrhein', *Frankfurter Münzzeitung* 7-9 (1907-9), pp. 145-6).

How then should the huge multiplication of mints in the mid 860s be explained? In part, no doubt, along traditional lines: the recoinage, if it was to be satisfactorily carried through in the space of four months, would have required more mints than the Edict contemplated. But the real explanation, I would suggest, is rather different in character. There would have been, in the first place, a need to make good the loss in coinage resulting from the Danegeld payments of 845, 860/1, and 862, more especially the two latter. There would also, and this was probably the more important factor, be the necessity for coping with the Danegeld of 866. We have no evidence that the multiplication of mints went back to 864, only that the new mints were called into existence sometime between 864 and the end of Charles the Bald's reign. A study of the Danegeld payments between 845 and 866 shows these to have been putting a greater and greater strain upon the West Frankish economy. On each occasion the size of the payment declines and the difficulty and delays over collecting it increase. The final payment would certainly only have been made possible by the extensive transformation of plate into coin, and it was, I suggest, the need to achieve this locally, in order to spread the incidence of the tribute, that explains the proliferation of mints for the GDR coins. That economic factors played a minor rôle is shown by the fact that at least half of the mints of the GDR coinage subsequently disappeared, and never struck coin again.

III

The payments of Danegeld that require our attention were essentially four in number, those of 845, 860-1, 862 and 866. A smaller payment of some sort took place in 853, but it is known only from a casual reference in the Capitulary of Soissons of 22 April of that year¹⁷ and since it was not of sufficient general import to be mentioned in the official annals it may be neglected. The others are reasonably well documented and have been very fully discussed by Joranson, but sufficient attention has not been paid to their possible relationship to the coinage. What follows is essentially based on Einer Joranson's excellent monograph of 1923, for although his development of the argument is not always acceptable - he tends to assume that measures taken in 866 must also have been applied on earlier occasions, without allowing for the way in which the earlier Danegelds made it harder to raise the money for the later ones - his documentation is exhaustive. Even if one has to go elsewhere for a discussion of the causes and history of the

¹⁷ MGH Cap. II, no. 260, p. 267, note **. The main argument for its existence is the fact that Godfrid's army, which had landed in the Seine the preceding October, was induced in some way to retire, and a payment of Danegeld seems the only possible explanation. See E. Joranson, *The Danegeld in France* (Rock Island, Ill. 1923), pp. 39-44.

Viking invasions, there is nothing, so far as the Danegelds are concerned, to be added to his material.¹⁸

The first payment, that of 845, was the largest.¹⁹ A Danish army under Ragnar had landed in early March at the mouth of the Seine and advanced up the river, occupying Paris south of the river on the 28th. The position of the king, stationed a few miles away at St Denis, was too insecure to allow him to attack, and in April he agreed to buy the retreat of the invaders by a payment of 7000 lbs of silver.²⁰ The money was raised apparently without difficulty within the brief space of three months; for the *Annales Bertiniani*, which at this point are narrating events as they were known to their author in strict chronological order, places the departure of the Vikings immediately after Charles' recognition of Pippin II as virtually independent ruler of Aquitaine, i.e. in late June or early July.²¹ Joranson assumes that the payment required a general levy, but only because the raising of subsequent Danegelds did so; it is not suggested by the West Frankish texts and indeed seems incompatible with the brief period of time involved, and the sum could probably have been raised by drawing on the royal treasure augmented by contributions from the great magnates, and especially from the Church. If there had been a general levy we would expect to have heard about it, notwithstanding the change in authorship of the *Annales Bertiniani* in 861, and the fact that Prudentius gives a less personal narrative than does his successor Hincmar, as we do on subsequent occasions.

The second substantial payment, that of 860/1, was technically one for services rendered, not a ransom like that of 845.²² It had several years of history behind it. In 856 a large force of Vikings had occupied the island of Oscellus in the Seine, near Jeufosse, some thirty miles west of Paris. With this as a base they ravaged and plundered the surrounding country at their leisure. An attempt to dislodge them in 858 was a failure, and in 860 Charles agreed to pay another Viking group, which had invaded the valley of the Somme, the sum of 3000 lbs of silver by weight ('pondere examinato') if it would drive them away. On this occasion the money had to be raised by taxation, which we are told was levied on church treasures, on *mansi* and on the property of all merchants, even the poorest ('de thesauris ecclesiarum et omnibus mansis ac negotiatoribus etiam

¹⁸ The fullest narrative account remains that of W. Vogel, *Die Normannen und das fränkische Reich bis zur Grundung der Normandie 799-911* (Heidelberg 1906). For later interpretations, and more up-to-date bibliography, see L. Musset, *Les invasions: le second assaut contre l'Europe chrétienne (VIIe-XIe siècles)* (Paris 1971). The study by F. Lot, 'Les tributs aux Normands et l'église de France au IXe siècle', *BECH* 85 (1924), pp. 58-78, refers mainly to the Danegeld of 877 and is essentially an enquiry into why the sums paid were not, in view of the author's probably exaggerated estimates of the population and wealth of ninth-century France, much larger than those reported by the chroniclers.

¹⁹ Joranson, pp. 36-38.

²⁰ *AB* p. 49.

²¹ Joranson, p. 36, note 53.

²² Joranson, pp. 45-58.

paupertinis').²³ An up-to-date evaluation of church property was available, since one had been made in 853,²⁴ and now the property of merchants was similarly assessed in order to discover how much they could pay ('ita ut etiam domus eorum et omnia utensilia adpreciarentur et inde status census exigeretur'). How the *mansi* were evaluated we do not know, nor what the rates were throughout. We may guess that the church authorities paid largely in plate and the merchants in bullion and coin.

In any case, it proved impossible to raise the sum required within a reasonable time, so Charles gave hostages for the complete payment and the Somme Vikings betook themselves to England. There they spent the best part of a year, returning in the early spring of 861 and finally carrying out their undertaking, though they now demanded, and obtained, a total of 5000 lbs of silver, together with large quantities of grain and cattle ('quinque milia libras argenti cum animalium atque annonae summa non modica').²⁵ But the sum was still smaller than what had been paid in 845, and the difficulty in raising it was evidently great. The chronicler adds that the plunder collected by the Seine Vikings over the years 856-61 included a further 6000 lbs in gold and silver which they had to surrender to the army from the Somme ('obsessi ... sex milia libras inter aurum et argentum obsidentibus donant eis que sociantur'),²⁶ a sum which must have substantially reduced the reserves of silver in the country on which the king could draw.

The third major Danegeld, about which we know little because of its regional nature, was that of 862. Like its immediate predecessor it was stipendiary in character.²⁷ Robert the Strong, faced with the possibility of a party of the Seine Vikings, bought off by the king in 861, joining forces with Duke Salomon of Brittany, found it easier to take them into his pay. For a consideration of 6000 lbs of silver they agreed to attack the Bretons,²⁸ and Robert, naturally unable to produce such a sum at a moment's notice, gave hostages as a guarantee while it was being raised. How it was raised, or even whether it had all eventually to be raised and paid at all, we do not know. Certainly Salomon was compelled to submit, which shows that the Vikings carried out their side of the bargain, but the fact that the chronicler makes so little of it suggests that Robert managed to collect whatever sum he eventually found necessary within his 'duchy' of Neustria and without any recourse to a general levy which he would have had no authority to raise on his own.

23 AB s.a. 860 (pp. 82-3).

24 MGH Cap. II., pp. 266-70.

25 AB s.a. 861 (p. 86).

26 *Loc. cit.*

27 Joranson, pp. 59-61.

28 AB s. a. 862 (p. 89): 'Robertus autem Salomonem sustinere non valens, cum praefatis Normannis qui de Sequana exierant, antequam eos Salomon sibi adversus eum adscisceret, datis utrimque obsidibus, in sex milibus libris argenti contra eundem Salomonem convenit.' The agreement is discussed by F. Lot, 'La Loire, l'Aquitaine et la Seine de 862 à 866: Robert le Fort', *BECH* 76 (1915), pp. 477-8, n. 3.

The fourth major Danegeld was that of 866.²⁹ In mid July 865 a large Viking army had once again invaded the valley of the Seine. Charles' elaborate scheme of fortifications at strategic points along the river - one of them was at Pîtres - had proved a failure, and in October the Vikings captured Paris and St Denis and settled down for the winter. In 866 they resumed their raids, and Charles had once again to reconcile himself to the payment of a Danegeld, this time one of 4000 lbs of silver according to the Danish standard ('quattuor milium libris argenti ad pensam eorum'). The reckoning by the Danish standard was intended to avoid the ambiguity of the Frankish 'pound', which could either be a pound of silver or the slightly lower pound weight of 240 deniers.³⁰ This time, although the sum was smaller than in 845, 861 and 862, the country was so short of precious metal that the difficulty in raising it was extreme. All *mansi* were taxed at varying rates according to their character, from 6d. on those held by free men down to ½d. on those of *hospiti*, merchants had to pay a tenth of all their possessions and ecclesiastics according to their resources; and the heribanni - the traditional 60s. fine for failing to comply with a demand for military service - was levied on all Franks ('indicta per regnum suum conlatione ad idem exsolvendum tributum, de unoquoque manso ingenuili exiguntur sex denarii et de servili tres et de accola unus, et de duobus hospitiis unus denarius, et decima de omnibus quae negociatores videbantur habere; sed et a presbiteris secundum quod unusquisque habuit vectigal exigitur, et heribanni de omnibus Francis accipiuntur').³¹ Even so comprehensive a levy as this proved insufficient, so that a further *denarius* had to be imposed on free and unfree *mansi* ('inde de unoquoque manso, tam ingenuili et servili, unus denarius sumitur'), and then two further levies, partly in silver and partly in wine, were required from the magnates, making a total of four assessments in all before the sum initially agreed upon could be raised ('et demum per duas vices, iuxta quod unusquisque regni primorum de honoribus habuit coniectum, tam in argento quam in vino, ad pensum quod ipsis Nortmannis pactum fuerat persolvendum contulit'). The four levies took some five months to collect, from early in the year (February?), when the treaty was made, to July, when the invaders finally evacuated their stronghold near St Denis, moved down the Seine, and put to sea.³² No further payment of Danegeld, at least on any scale, had to be made until 877.

It is in the light of these payments that we can best interpret the sudden increase in the number of mints that accompanied the GDR issue. The explanation cannot be administrative, for other recoinages - those of 794, 819, 822 - saw

²⁹ Joranson, pp. 62-92.

³⁰ How exactly the Frankish weight-pound and coin pound were related to each other is disputed, and need not concern us here. The ambiguity created problems on other occasions. In a West Frankish payment of Danegeld in 882 the figure of (presumably) 2000 lbs *in auro et argento* is expressed as 'duo mille libras et LXXX vel paulo plus; quam libram XX solidos computamus expletam' (AF s.a. 882, p. 109).

³¹ AB s.a. 866 (pp. 125-6).

³² For the dates, see Joranson, pp. 90 note 152, and 91, note 163.

nothing comparable, nor can it be economic, for, as has been noted already, most of the new mints quickly disappeared again. That Frankish coinage was still a very small-scale affair can be fairly inferred from the fact that its organisers believed five pounds of silver per mint would be sufficient to provide the working capital for the whole operation. The Danegelds of 845, 861 and 862 would have seriously reduced the quantity of coin in circulation, for even if much of them was paid in plate and bullion some must have been paid in coin. How much fresh minting was done we cannot say, but the payments are at least likely to have brought back into circulation much hoarded coin of earlier times, to replace the better ones that were all the Northmen would accept. It was apparently the difficulty arising from this that a capitulary issued at Quierzy in 861 was intended to rectify, for while it repeats the customary penalties for refusing good coin it goes on to explain that this is not intended to apply to the momentary refusal of proffered cash in the process of arriving at an agreed price, since women in particular were accustomed to bargaining before making purchases ('si autem illum denarium bonum invenerit [missus] consideret aetatem et infirmitatem et sexum hominis, quia et feminae barcaniare solent').³³ The repeated Danegelds, each involving the loss of huge quantities of good quality coin, would incidentally have increased the proportion of false coin in circulation; counterfeiting, though not very evident from existing coins, was a phenomenon complained of throughout the Carolingian period. A wish to get rid of counterfeits was formally the main reason behind the decision to undertake a major recoinage in 864, though a passage in Clause 13 of the Edict, dealing with the possibilities of fraud on the part of the moneyers, already envisages the melting down of church plate and objects owned even by the poor as well as of old coin ('de argento rei publicae' - I take this to mean coin, rather than the king's silver plate - 'et de argento rerum ecclesiasticarum et de facultate pauperum'), showing that an increase in the much reduced volume of coinage in circulation was also contemplated. But it was, I suggest, the third Danegeld of 866 rather than the initial requirements of the recoinage that resulted in the widespread opening of new mints, in *castra*, *castella*, and other forms of settlement in addition to *civitates*, for the further turning of silver plate into what, after the Temple type of Louis the Pious, is the best-known coinage of the Carolingian period.

³³ MGH Cap. II, p. 302. This seems to be the earliest recorded use of the word *barcaniare*, our 'bargain', from Lat. *barca*, a small boat.

A SKETCH OF THE CURRENCY IN THE TIME OF CHARLES THE BALD

D. M. Metcalf

When scientists ask government agencies for large amounts of money in support of a research project, they are sometimes invited to submit what is called in America a 'ball-park estimate'. By convention, the approximate sum is mentioned, not in thousands of dollars or pounds, but in 'Ks'. The figure is not expected to be firm or precise, as long as it is 'in the right ball-park': it is enough to allow the inevitable committee to weigh competing claims against available resources. The purpose of this article is to establish which ball-park we are in when we try to use the currency of Charles the Bald as evidence for economic history, by showing that the currency was struck in very large quantities in some parts at least of the Frankish realm, and that it circulated widely. It is quite a simple exercise (or would be if more of the facts about monetary circulation were to hand), hitherto neglected perhaps because numismatists have concentrated their efforts on describing how the coins were produced, to the neglect of studying what happened to them after they had been put into circulation.¹ The one worthwhile attempt to generalize the evidence for monetary history was, I think,

¹ The standard works of reference in which the coins of Charles the Bald are described and illustrated are still E. Gariel, *Les monnaies royales de France sous la race carolingienne* (Strasbourg 1883-4), and M. Prou, *Les monnaies carolingiennes* (Paris 1896). The more recent *Carolingian Coinage*, by K. F. Morrison with the collaboration of H. Grunthal, (New York 1967), is often very inaccurate and unreliable - as may be judged from reviews by J. Lafaurie in *Revue Numismatique* 1967, 291-5 and by P. Grierson in *Numismatic Chronicle* 1969, 346-50. For the reign of Charles the Bald, the only recent survey of the numismatic evidence is M. van Rey, 'Die Münzprägung Karls des Kahlen und die westfränkische Königslandschaft', in *Die Stadt in der europäischen Geschichte. Festschrift Edith Ennen*, ed. W. Besch et al. (Bonn 1972), pp. 153-84. It gives lists of hoards and of mints. Rey's statistics are, however, based on Morrison and Grunthal, and they should always be checked against J. Duplessy, *Les trésors monétaires médiévaux et modernes découverts en France*, vol.1, 751-1223 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1985). For the coinage of the years 840-64, one should consult P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol.1, *The Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge 1986), especially at pp. 228-32. Where no sources have been quoted from the hoards, the reader should assume that the text follows Duplessy.

[The maps, and the set of plates, accompanying this chapter have been altered from those in the original publication].

perverse in depreciating the hoards, and reached a seriously mistaken conclusion through a failure to consider that foreign coins might have been absent because they were strictly excluded from circulation in the Carolingian empire, and not because they did not arrive there.² Strict control of the currency was evidently within the power of Carolingian rulers: something comparable can be demonstrated in the case of Anglo-Saxon England, where there is a contrast between hoards found in the territories under royal control (no foreign coins), and in the north and west of the British Isles (numerous Carolingian and other foreign coins).³

The degree of overlap between, on the one hand, commerce and a money economy and, on the other, the basic agrarian régime and local self-sufficiency in the time of Charles the Bald is something about which the documentary sources have little systematic to tell us. Yet, for the general historian, it is the primary question which the currency poses. If the economy of Francia was linked to the world of the northern seas more closely than were the economies of Neustria, Burgundy or Aquitaine - or if Francia was an altogether wealthier region, in which monetary transactions played a greater part than elsewhere - then this should be the framework within which we examine all the detailed numismatic evidence. We may be sure that such differences were appreciated and exploited at the time, by the traders who came and went where they thought that their advantage lay.

Latouche placed the birth of western economy in the eleventh century: before that date, local self-sufficiency was the order of the day.⁴ A proper study of the Carolingian coinage, however, should cause one to question that view, and to suggest that the changes he discerned were not so much the birth as the rebirth of western economy after the dislocation of the late ninth and tenth centuries. Before 877, the Frankish kingdoms had reached a much higher level of development than would be suspected from an eleventh-century viewpoint. Major commercial changes, particularly if they are retrograde, can take place more swiftly than social or institutional changes. Boats left uncared for over a few winters are hardly worth repairing, and the good-will of any middle-man's business has equally to be kept in repair.

² K. F. Morrison, 'Numismatics and Carolingian trade: a critique of the evidence', *Speculum* 38 (1963), 403-32 gives a useful survey of earlier writings which touch on monetary history.

³ R. H. M. Dolley and K. F. Morrison, 'Finds of Carolingian coins from Great Britain and Ireland', *BNJ* 32 (1963), 75-87; D. M. Metcalf, 'La traversée de la Manche (VIIIe-IXe siècles)', *Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique* 31-35 (1976-80), 511-15.

⁴ R. Latouche, *The Birth of Western Economy. Economic Aspects of the Dark Ages* (English edition, London 1961). The restricted criticism that I have to offer of a much-appreciated book is that the author's estimate of the extent of trade and a money economy does not accord with the numismatic evidence. See for example p. 157: '... no large-scale trade or industrial activity [was] maintained by contributions from capital... the only loans known were those connected with foodstuffs'; p. 160: 'one of the commodities most in demand was salt'. The silence of the written sources presents similar problems in England and elsewhere, for early medieval monetary history.

We shall never have the sort of statistical information about Carolingian Gaul which governments compile today: the size and age-structure of the population; family income; showing the gradations of rich and poor; trends in real disposable income; and so on. The lack of *systematic* evidence is the stumbling-block. Contemporary records give us only occasional glimpses of activities involving cash transactions. Thus, for example, we read in the *Annals of St. Bertin* about the traders and shield-sellers (*mercatores ac scuta vendentes*) who followed the imperial army, and who in 876 were caught up in a rout, clogging the narrow road and blocking the escape-route of the fleeing soldiers. The opposing army seized all the goods that the traders were carrying.⁵ Presumably traders and shield-sellers followed armies on other occasions, and ran away quickly enough when the need arose; but we are told about it only on this occasion because of a misadventure, and would otherwise never have known that there was such an occupation in the ninth century as itinerant shield-seller. Annalists were primarily concerned with a quite different stratum of society. Generalizing the fragmentary information which the written record offers and discounting its bias allows historians excessive scope for divergence of opinion about monetary affairs. It is this dearth of satisfactory evidence which impels us to glean what we can from numismatics.

The coinage, or more precisely the currency, is potentially of interest just because, and to the extent that, it can provide systematic information. It automatically reflects the interplay of all types of monetary transactions in a region, including the 'forgotten' ones (as when one says, 'I had a fivepound note this morning. How is it that I only have this much left in my purse?' - and then a few minutes later, one remembers, 'Oh yes, of course, I paid the milkman').

What does one wish to know about the currency in the time of Charles the Bald, and are there any ways in which one might find it out? For a start, one would like to know roughly what the scale of the money supply was. Earlier students, while leaving this question unasked, seem tacitly to have assumed that Carolingian coins were minted in only small quantities, and not by the million as coins are today. This assumption coloured their understanding of other aspects of the evidence. They thought they were in a different ball-park, i.e. that the numismatic evidence was to be seen in the context of an essentially non-monetary economy. Next, one would like to know how the total stock of currency was distributed around the country; what its velocity of circulation was; whether its use was associated conspicuously with certain types of transaction; and how widely diffused coinage was through society. There are two well-trodden ways in which we can explore these topics, and, although they have tended to be the preserve of numismatists, the conclusions to which they lead are certainly within the sphere of interest of historians.

What, then, are these two procedures? The first relies on establishing the point of origin of the coins, which were struck on and off, in varying quantities, at a

large number of mints scattered through the country. Once they had been issued, of course, the coins were carried about from place to place. It is in principle possible to analyse the currency statistically in terms of how far, and how fast, the coins in a locality had travelled from their mint of origin. The necessary information can be derived from the composition of hoards, each of which is likely to have been put together more or less at one time and in one place; and similarly from stray finds of single coins, although their date of loss cannot be known precisely. The hoards show, as might be expected, that the currency varied from decade to decade, and from region to region, e.g. the percentage of coins struck at some particular mint will increase or dwindle, and it will vary widely in different regions of the Frankish realm. Reasons for these variations may suggest themselves; but the first thing is to assemble the facts.

Similarly, one could look for the reasons why coins were struck where they were struck, but that topic will not be pursued here, as it is only indirectly relevant to a description of the currency.

Note that there is no other direct way of studying the composition of the currency, except through hoards and single finds. Coin collections as they exist today in museums and elsewhere are very much second-hand evidence for this particular enquiry, even though the coins in them come from those same hoards. It would not be logical, for example, to assess the currency by asking what coins were minted in the name of Charles the Bald: for what if earlier Carolingian coins had made up a significant proportion of the currency? - or what if the Carolingian coins had been minted primarily in order to make payments to the Vikings, and not for general circulation? The specimens surviving today might then have passed straight from the mints to the hands of the Vikings, having never formed part of a normal currency.

The second procedure is to estimate the volume of mint-output by checking the amount of die-duplication in a random sample of coins. The total number of coins struck need not, however, be the same thing as the size of the currency. Once they were in circulation, the coins tended to be lost and to dwindle away, for example through export to England, where they would be melted down, and there is evidence which suggests that the loss-rate may have been of the order of 1 or 2 % per annum, or even more.⁶ Unless there had recently been a thorough recoinage, therefore, such as occurred in Francia, Neustria and Burgundy in the years 864 onwards, the volume of the currency may have been only three-quarters or even a half of the figure indicated by statistical sampling for the volume of mint output. The latter is nevertheless the necessary starting point. The estimates are subject to margins of statistical uncertainty, which may (where the best available numismatic sample is rather small) be disappointingly wide. But for the purposes of establishing a general historical view of the currency, the uncertainty may not

⁶ On wastage rates, see B. Thordeman, 'The Lohe hoard. A contribution to the methodology of numismatics', *Numismatic Chronicle* ⁶ VIII (1948), 188-204, and N. J. Mayhew, 'Imitative sterling in the Aberdeen and Montraive hoards', *ibid.* ⁷ XVI (1976), 85-97.

much matter. (To take an extreme case, it may be as if I said, 'Have you got enough water to fill a bucket?', and you replied, 'Unfortunately, I can't for a variety of reasons estimate how much water there is here any more accurately than to within plus or minus about 60%, but my central estimate is 16 gallons'.) If Charles the Bald struck upwards of, say, an estimated 50 million coins (and, as we shall see, the figure can hardly be less) this is probably enough, taken in the context of the hoard evidence, to tell us that we have, even after the heavy exactions of numerous danegelds had been met, at least a bucket-full left - in other words, that we cannot be viewing an essentially non-monetary economy. We must conclude, therefore, that coins were not produced only for the payment of danegeld, or to serve the higher echelons of society.

I

Let us begin, then, by considering the hoards, and by sketching from their evidence the outlines of Charles's currency. This will not be such a lengthy or complex task as might at first appear, for although there are between sixty and seventy hoards which are thought or known to have contained coins of Charles,⁷ most of them are of limited interest for our purpose. A dozen are from Frisia, their find-spots lying well beyond Charles's territories, and others are from the British Isles or Scandinavia. All these provide only oblique evidence of the currency of the Frankish realm. Another dozen or so hoards were shared out among the finders or dispersed with only a brief or partial record, and their testimony as to the proportions of different issues in circulation is unsure. Some hoards are very small, and, although interesting, do not give an adequate statistical sample. Then there is a group of hoards which seem to have been concealed in the first ten or fifteen years of Charles's reign and which consist mostly, still, of coins of Louis I, with perhaps only two or three in the name of Charles. While they are potentially of much interest for the study of monetary circulation, since they were struck at numerous mints, the names of the mints are unfortunately not given on the coins, which are simply inscribed XPISTIANA RELIGIO, and their attribution has to be conjectured from considerations of style and provenance. We shall have to concentrate most of our attention, therefore, on the years from 864 until the end of the reign, when all the coins in use bear the name of the mint where they were struck, and when a comprehensive analysis is accordingly possible. About the first twenty-four years of the reign it is unfortunately possible to say very little. We will leave the period 840-64 aside and return to look briefly at it later (section III, below). The post-864 coinage, which will be our starting-point, was struck at well over a hundred different mints, and accordingly gives rich scope for analysis. On each coin, its mint is clearly named on the reverse, as may be seen from the specimens in Fig. 5.9. (Only a small percentage of the coins are from places of which the location is debateable). The date of burial of the hoards from which the

⁷ Rey, *loc. cit.*; Duplessy, *op. cit.*

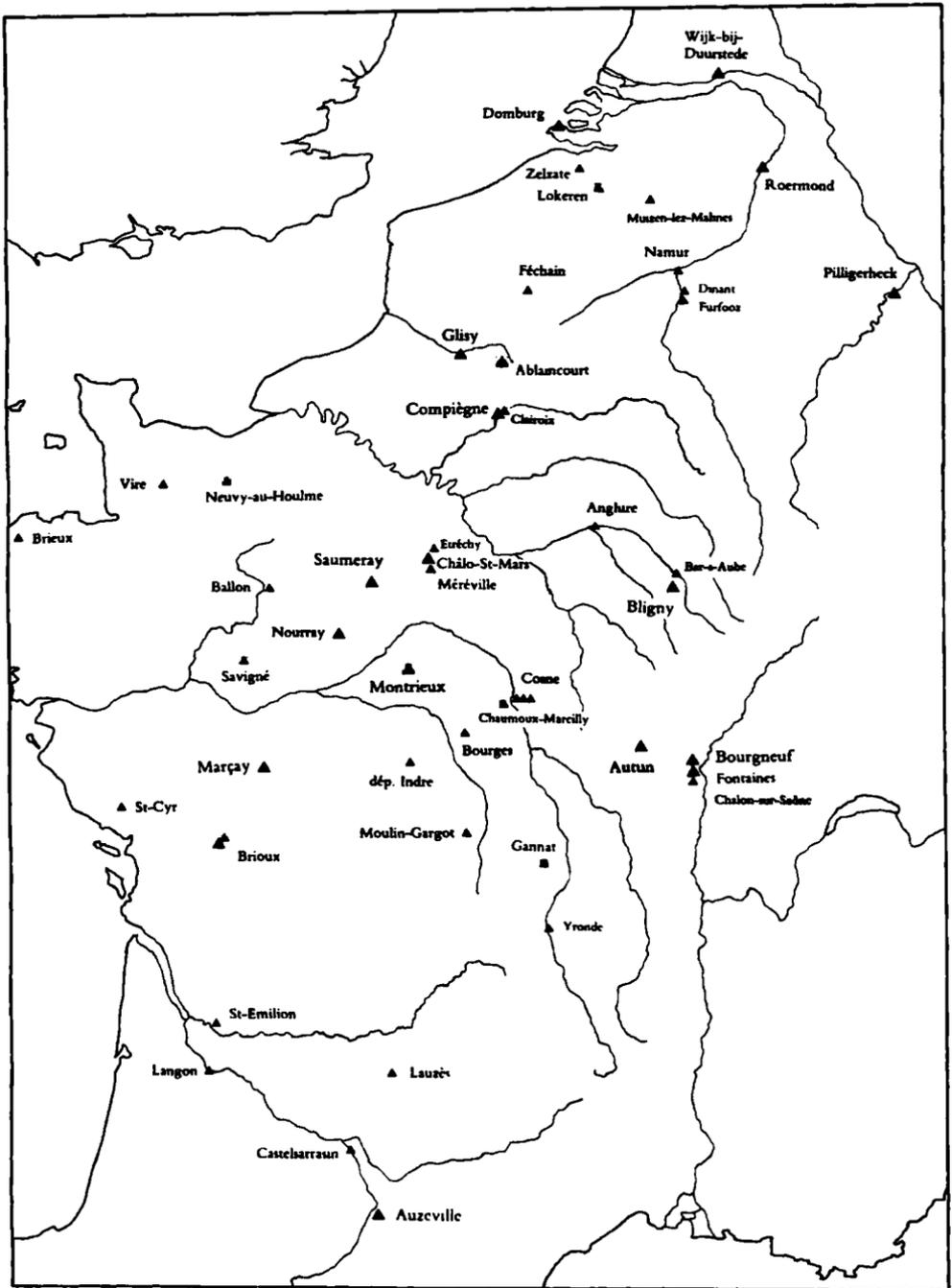


Figure 5.1: Hoards and Site-Finds from the Time of Charles the Bald and the Years Immediately Following
 Finds of major importance are marked by slightly larger symbols.

post-864 coinage is known cannot always be judged precisely, but many of them certainly were concealed after Charles's death, and to some extent, therefore, they offer only retrospective evidence of monetary circulation during his lifetime.

The most reliable or worthwhile information about the composition of the currency comes, then, from only a selection of the known hoards. These are marked with larger symbols than the rest on the map, Fig. 5.1.

Since there were, as we shall see, virtually separate currencies in Francia, Frisia, Neustria, Burgundy, Aquitaine and the march of Toulouse, not to mention Provence, our handful of useful hoards will not go far towards defining the quantities of coins involved, especially if evidence is required also of the changes which occurred in the currency during Charles's reign. From the heartland of the Paris basin, for example, in the valleys of the Oise and the Marne - the region in which lay Paris and St. Denis, Rheims, Laon, Châlons, Noyon, Attigny, and Compiègne, and where there were many active mints - chance has brought to light only one large hoard, namely that from Compiègne.

It was found in 1877, and was described by de Roucy. It contained 258 deniers and 30 oboles, of which all but three were coins of Charles. The date at which it was concealed is indicated by three coins (a denier from Tours, and two oboles from Visé) of Louis II, 877-9. As there were only three among so many earlier coins, the deposit was probably not more than a year or so after 877: one recalls that Louis the Stammerer died at Compiègne in 879. There were no foreign coins. With the exception of one or two strays of earlier date, virtually all the coins in the hoard were struck following the coinage reform of 864, so that they were at most about 15 years old when they were buried. Their average age may have been less than 10 years. Yet they are from 40 different mints. 14% of the total were from Rouen, 13% from Rheims, 10% from Quentovic, 9% from 'the Palace', and 7% from Paris. These were major mints, as we may judge from their prominence in other hoards as well. The rest of the coins from Compiègne were scattered in twos and threes, mostly from minor mints in Francia, but with a few also from Neustria and Burgundy. There are no coins, however, from the active mints of Melle, Toulouse, or Bourges. The geographical pattern of the hoard can most easily be appreciated from the map, Fig. 5.2, which has been drawn in such a way that the circles, centred on the various mints, are proportional in area to the relative numbers of coins. Also, the total area of all the circles has been made the same in Fig. 5.2 and the succeeding diagrams, in the interest of comparability. The whereabouts of the palatine mint (or mints) is uncertain, but it has been arbitrarily assigned to Compiègne on the map. A comparison of the percentages of Palace coins in the hoards illustrated in Figs. 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 indicates pretty clearly that most if not all of the palatine coins originated from the Ile de France, and this suggests Compiègne as the most likely location.

The numismatic facts about the Compiègne hoard have been familiar for a long time - so familiar, perhaps, that we pass over them without stopping to think very hard about what they imply for monetary circulation. The main point is that coins from as many as 40 different mints in Neustria, Burgundy, and above all,

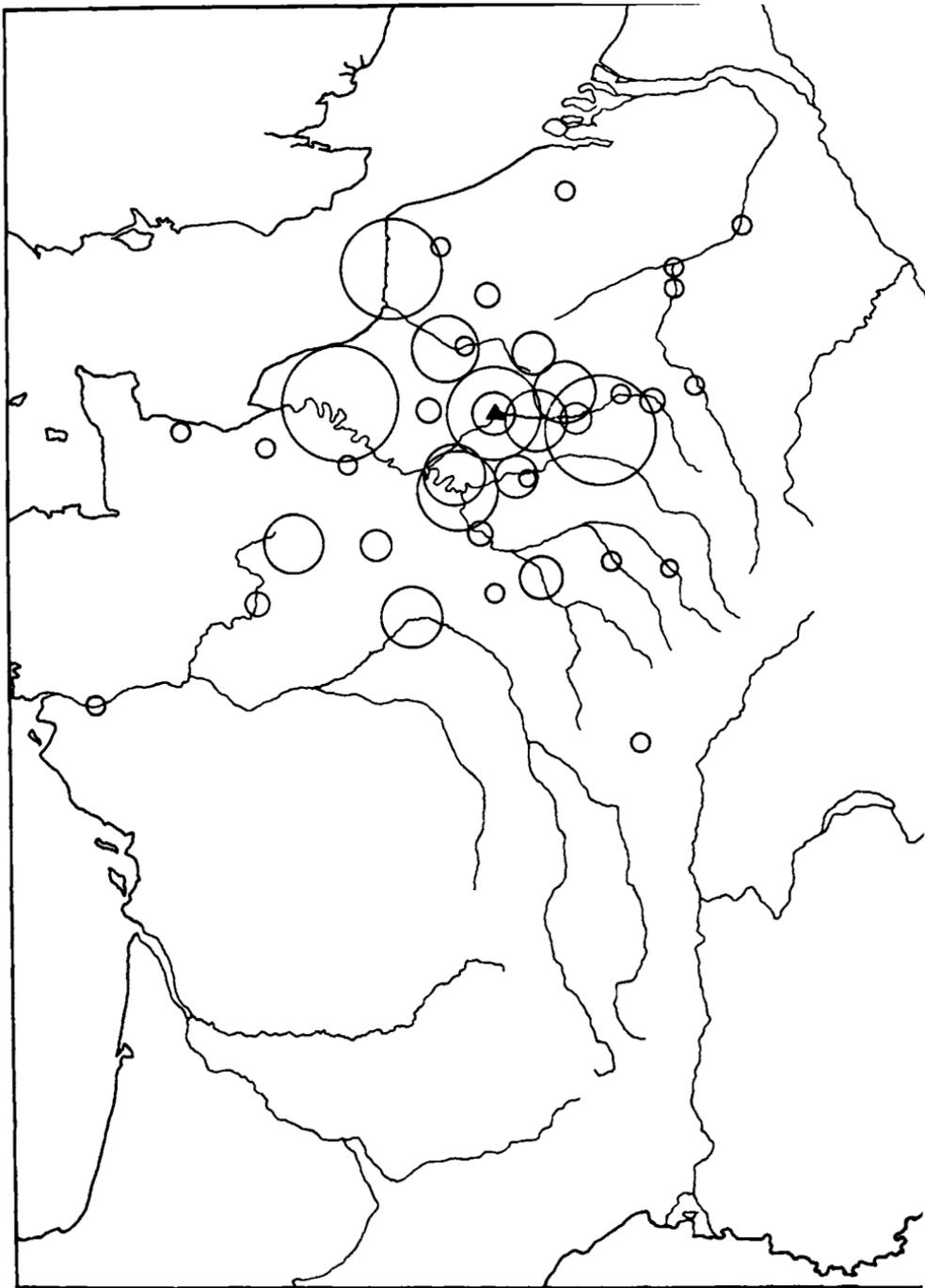


Figure 5.2: The Compiègne Hoard

The find-spot is marked by a triangle. Each of the circles, centred on the mints where the coins were struck, is proportional in area to the percentage of coins of that mint in the hoard.

Francia had become intermingled in the currency within a decade or so. There is no need to insist upon the exact number of years: it is very remarkable that it should have happened at all. The three most recent coins in the hoard, those of Louis, are from the furthest afield of any. The distribution of coinage revealed by the Compiègne hoard seems to imply not only a surprising velocity of circulation, but also *monetary exchanges at a distance*. If there had been a lively money economy supported only by people bringing their produce to the weekly market, and exchanging it among themselves, we should expect to see little or no sign of this liveliness in the numismatic evidence: the coins of the local mint would have stayed within the orbit of the local market, however fast they were changing hands. What we in fact see is something quite different, and the only obvious explanations of it that come to mind are either that coins were being gathered into a central treasury through the processes of taxation and mingled there before being disbursed again, or that they were being used in a brisk intra- or inter-regional trade. Moreover, if the Compiègne hoard is a random sample of the currency, and if other hoards tell the same story, they imply that the intermingling of coins from different mints involved a substantial fraction of the entire currency, and therefore *the geographical displacement of millions of coins* in all directions within ten or fifteen years. This conclusion seems to be arithmetically inescapable. The facts are indeed remarkable, but when we try to account for them, we unfortunately have to enter the realm of conjecture. It is very difficult to envisage that taxation and the royal finances would produce this geographical pattern, and equally difficult to work out any explanation in terms of the extortions of the Vikings. If either of these were the underlying cause, there would be signs of it in the pattern of minting, in conjunction with the composition of the hoards. Thus for example if the mints had struck coin specifically in order to meet a danegeld, those coins would have been handed over and (unless the Northmen then promptly spent the money locally) have disappeared from the region, possibly to reappear in a quite different region. This would not have resulted in a mixed local currency of the kind that the hoards reveal. We are driven to suppose that the volume and pervasiveness of trade, over and above any local market trade, were far greater than could otherwise have been imagined.

Next, we may note that the hoard included more than 10% of oboles or half-deniers. The texts, including the Edict of Pîtres, make no mention whatever of the existence of halves; yet they were struck at many mints. (A specimen from the palace mint at Compiègne, and another from Cambrai are shown in Fig. 5.9.) Presumably they were struck in response to a need on the part of the users for small change. The mint-masters would otherwise surely have been reluctant to go to twice as much trouble to produce each shilling's worth of coin. Halfpennies were used in Anglo-Saxon England too, but round halfpennies are excessively scarce, because their place was normally taken by pennies cut in two. Cut halfpennies in England are known mainly as stray finds: they were as a rule excluded from hoards. The presence of so many oboles, from 15 or 16 mints, in the Compiègne hoard therefore comes as a surprise to anyone more familiar with

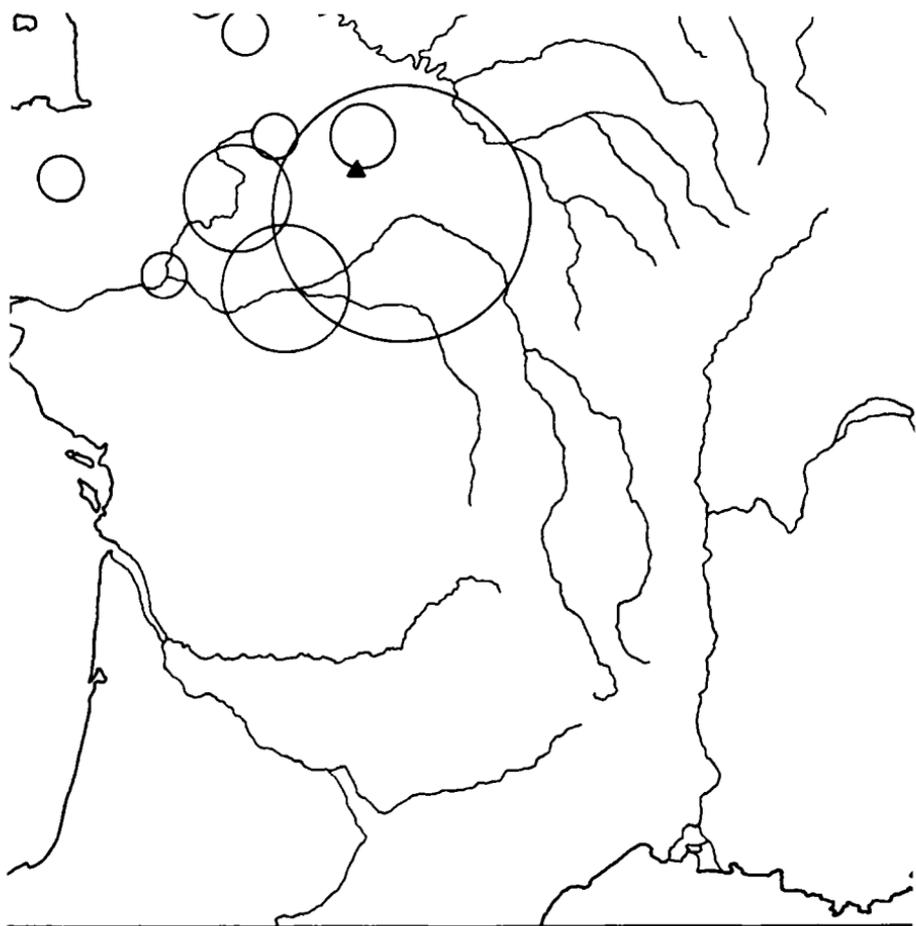


Figure 5.3: The Saumeray Hoard

The find-spot is marked by a triangle. Each of the circles, centred on the mints where the coins were struck, is proportional in area to the percentage of coins of that mint in the hoard.

Anglo-Saxon hoards. As the smaller denomination is likely to have been distinctly more plentiful in the currency than in the hoards, even in the Frankish realm, oboles may have made up nearer 20% of the currency than ten.

One further point to which Fig. 5.2 draws attention is the relative importance of the mints of Rouen and Quentovic. The Compiègne hoard, one might say, looks towards the Channel ports, and this gives us a first hint of the direction of a large part of the trade. Because these two mints were so active, there is a presumption that foreign coin or old coin was being reminted when merchants coming from overseas carried it into the Frankish realm. The silver melted down to supply the Rouen and Quentovic mints so plentifully could have been Anglo-Saxon coins from England, or Arabic dirhems from the northern lands, or perhaps just ingots and miscellaneous bullion. On balance a surplus of goods may have been carried from the inland parts of Francia to the coast, with a corresponding counterflow of money southwards. The confirmation of other hoards is needed, of course, but if a region accumulated treasure (other than by piracy), it is likely to have been as a result essentially of a persistent balance of payments surplus.

At Clairoux only about 5 km from Compiègne (see Fig. 5.1), two coins of Charles the Bald were found together - presumably a mini-hoard. One was from the mint of Valenciennes, and the other was from Langres.⁸

It has sometimes been suggested that stray finds might tell a different story from hoards, and that hoards are liable to be more assorted in their mints than the currency of the region where they were concealed. This hypothesis has, I think, now been disproved as regards late Anglo-Saxon England, and there is no positive reason to give it credence elsewhere. From the kingdom of Charles the Bald regrettably few stray finds have been published, although many must have come to light over the years. The very few that are on record - for example, an obole of Rouen found near Bar-sur-Aube, or a Toulousan denier of Pippin, found at Sainte-Petronille - are consistent with the hoard evidence.⁹

Having selected the Compiègne hoard as a starting-point, and blocked it in in the foreground of our sketch, let us now add some other hoards, and begin to establish a perspective. From further west, the Saumeray hoard, concealed c. 880,¹⁰ reflects a largely separate circulation-area in Neustria, and in particular the Loire valley. Orléans is the major mint, accounting for 58% of the hoard, but

⁸ J. Lafaurie, 'Deniers de Charles le Chauve trouvés à Clairoux (Oise)', *Revue archéologique de l'Oise* 4 (1973), 23-6.

⁹ R. Tomasson, 'Dix années de sauvegardes archéologiques dans l'arrondissement de Bar-sur-Aube', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du département de l'Aube* 1 (1967), 155; J. Lafaurie in Ch. Higounet, *Bordeaux pendant le haut moyen âge* (Bordeaux 1963), p. 318. Sainte-Petronille is near Nice. For an analysis of late Anglo-Saxon finds see D. M. Metcalf, 'Continuity and change in English monetary history, c. 973-1086', *BNJ* 50 (1980), 20-49, 51 (1981), 52-90.

¹⁰ J. Lafaurie, 'Deux trésors monétaires carolingiens: Saumeray (Eure-et-Loir), Rennes (Ille-et-Vilaine)', *Revue Numismatique* 6 VII (1965), 262-305. This paper represents a major contribution to late Carolingian numismatics, although its metrological conclusions await confirmation from the study of other hoards.

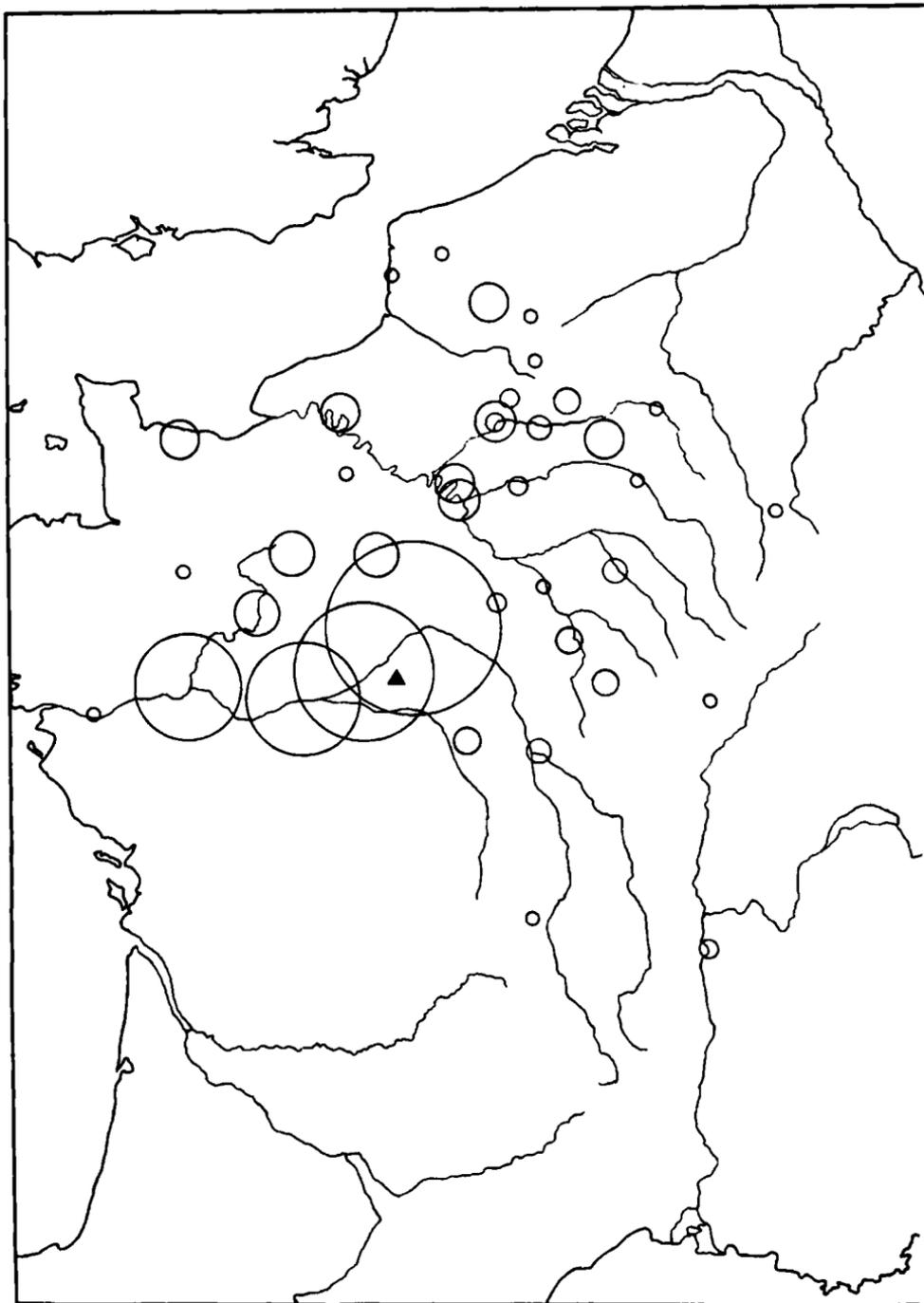


Figure 5.4: The Courbantou Hoard

The find-spot is marked by a triangle. Each of the circles, centred on the mints where the coins were struck, is proportional in area to the percentage of coins of that mint in the hoard.

eight other mints are represented, among them Tours, with 14%, Le Mans, with 10%, Blois, with 7%, and Chartres with 3.5%, with northerly outliers from Rennes, Lisieux, and Courcessin. The geographical pattern is shown in the map, Fig. 5.3, which contrasts sharply with Fig. 5.2. There was, apparently, an equally brisk intermingling of the currency within Francia and within Neustria, and yet relatively little interchange between the Seine and the Loire valleys. There was no official reason, so far as one can see, for the two currencies to be kept separate. The coins were identical in design and appearance, and their weight and alloy were virtually indistinguishable. The names of the mint-towns were stamped on them; but presumably most of the users could not read. The simple pattern illustrated in Fig. IV may well be partly artificial, for there were only 57 coins in the Saumeray hoard. Had it been larger, there might have been a percentage of strays from more distant mints. That is what we see in the somewhat later large Neustrian hoard found at Montrieux-en-Sologne¹¹, near Blois, in 1857, concealed after 887. The same half-dozen mints as at Saumeray dominate the hoard, with the local mint of Blois somewhat more heavily represented. But there is a considerable scatter, in smaller quantities, of coins from over 20 mints in Francia and Burgundy (see Fig. 5.4). Even so, 82% of the 672 coins from Courbantonn 1857 are from mints in Neustria.

Conversely, at Compiègne, there were only 4.6% of Neustrian issues. Other hoards bear out this difference: the flow from Francia to Neustria was greater than vice versa, perhaps (as will be suggested below) because the total stock of currency in Francia was much larger. This is a possible interpretation of the contents of a hoard which lies more or less on the watershed between the two river-systems - Chalo-Saint-Mars, 1881, some 60 km. south of Paris. Two-thirds of the coins in it are still from Francia, and only one third, approximately, are Neustrian. In the little Nourray hoard (see Fig. 5.1) about half the coins are Neustrian and half are from Francia.

From Brittany, our only hoard was found at Saint-Brieuc in 1957, and consists exclusively of Neustrian coins, of Orleans, Courcessin, Tours, Le Mans, and Blois - with none of Rennes. As there is nothing with which to compare it, one cannot altogether rule out the possibility that the Saint-Brieuc hoard is a sum of money put together in Neustria and then carried to Brittany. Rennes was a mint of some importance, which struck coins in the name of Charles, even in periods when it seems clear that his authority there was at best nominal.

The partial separation of the currencies of Francia and Neustria leads us straight into what is still one of the major difficulties in drawing the outlines of monetary affairs under Charles the Bald, although the problem can eventually be overcome. Within Francia we can compare the relative output of the major mints, from the evidence of several hoards, which do not coincide exactly in their proportions, but which show well enough that Rouen, Quentovic, Rheims, Paris, and one or two more were the leading mints, in roughly that order. Within

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 271-2.

Neustria we can attempt to do the same, to establish the importance of Tours, Angers, Le Mans, Blois, and especially Orléans. But we cannot, from the hoard-evidence, achieve any valid comparison between the activity of the Orléans and Paris mints, if their coins did not mingle freely in circulation.

When we turn to Aquitaine, the hoard-evidence reveals a radically different monetary situation. This sharp contrast is the 'vanishing point', or focus of the perspective, of our sketch. There were, in the first place, many fewer mints - of which only five, namely Bourges, Toulouse, Clermont, Melle, and 'Aquitaine' (location unknown) were important. A hoard found at Auzeville, near Toulouse, in c. 1878, contained at least 439 coins, of which 394 were described. Two were of Charlemagne, one was of Louis I, 67 were of Pippin II of Aquitaine¹² (see the illustration in Fig. 5.9), and the rest were of Charles. But all were from the local mint of Toulouse: they represent a succession of issues over a period of time. These coins stayed in their place for years on end, quite unlike those in Francia, which moved around so rapidly. The slightly later Castelsarrasin hoard¹³ likewise consisted exclusively of coins minted at Toulouse in the name of Eudes. The same character attaches to a tiny hoard from Yronde, near Clermont, found in 1842 (see Fig. 5.1). It consisted of only four coins - but all four were of the mint of Clermont. A very large hoard from the ruins of Bonnevaux abbey, at Marçay near Poitiers, consisted as to 99% of coins (again) of the local mint, in this case Melle (see Fig. 5.1). The proportion is over 98% in another hoard from near Melle, found at Brioux in 1878. It contained 143 coins of the local mint, of various issues in the names of Charles and Pippin, one coin of 'Aquitaine', and one of Pavia.¹⁴ From Bourges, the capital, there is less evidence than one could wish: a mini-hoard of three portrait coins of Charles, and a few stray finds (including what is possibly another tiny hoard), all of coins of the Bourges mint.¹⁵ The Gannat hoard, from near Clermont, is a slight exception to the pattern: at least 80% of the coins in it would seem to have been from Bourges, the remainder being divided between the adjacent mints of Nevers and Clermont. And the Perpignan hoard - if one believes in its integrity - contained, apparently, just six coins - one each from

¹² The standard works all refer to coins of Pippin I or II, leaving the matter uncertain, but see now J. Duplessy, 'Les oboles-carolingiennes d'Aquitaine au nom de Louis, roi (Louis le Jeune, 854?)', *Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique* 1976-9, 407-8, claiming to have shown (elsewhere) that they should all be attributed to Pippin II (839-64). Toulouse fell to Charles in 849 (F. Lot, *Recherches sur la population et la superficie des cités*, vol. I, 318-19). The age-structure of the hoard, with dwindling proportions of older coins, is typical.

¹³ Gariel, *op. cit.* (note 1), I, 127f.; Duplessy, *op. cit.*, no.73.

¹⁴ Duplessy, *op. cit.*, no.59.

¹⁵ Morrison and Grunthal, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 389, nos. 146 and 149; Duplessy, *op. cit.*, no.52.

the mints of Bourges, Toulouse, Melle, Tours, Narbonne, and Pavia.¹⁶ In a word, the currency in Aquitaine and the march of Toulouse was totally uninfluenced by that of the northern regions, and was largely compartmented into 'cells' of monetary circulation around each local mint. Again, therefore, one cannot make comparisons which would measure the relative activity of the Aquitanian mints against those of, say, Francia - or even make comparisons within Aquitaine. It is commonly supposed that the mint of Melle, deriving both its raw materials and its name (*Metallum*) from the local argentiferous lead mines, was more prolific than any other Carolingian mint. For the reign of Charles the Bald, this may or may not be true, but it is an opinion to which no-one is entitled, since they cannot begin to prove it. Coins of Melle are extremely plentiful today, but that is largely a matter of chance; there were, for example, about 5,000 in the Marçay hoard, which just happens to have been an unusually large hoard found near Melle.

Trade at a distance was apparently far less important in Aquitaine than it was in the north, but one should hesitate to deduce that a money economy was much less developed. The local market could in principle have supported a brisk circulation, without leaving any obvious traces in the hoards. Oboles seem to be, if anything, more plentiful at Aquitanian mints than elsewhere. And there are no foreign coins or miscellaneous older coins in the hoards. The finds again reflect a currency under firm and effective royal control, if not by Charles then by Pippin.

The strong contrast, to which the evidence points, between the heartland of Francia and Aquitaine does not, of course, prove that long-distance trade was absent in the south - merely that it had far less impact on the currency than in the north. In Aquitaine the 'invisible transactions' - those of which the documentary record gives no hint - were predominantly local. As we shall see, however, Aquitanian coins were exported or plundered in considerable quantities: it seems indeed that the region had a net balance of payments deficit.

From Provence we have one - and only one - relevant hoard, and even that is rather later in its date of deposit. It was found at Avignon in 1822, and consisted of an encrusted lump of nearly 800 coins, many of which disintegrated when the attempt was made to clean and separate them.¹⁷ One can, however, safely say that well over 90% of them were of the mint of Arles (though these were of Carloman and Charles the Fat, not Charles the Bald), with only a very few from the other southerly mints of Clermont, Toulouse, Béziers, and Substantion. Without exact figures it is hardly worth drawing another map, but one can easily envisage how different it would look from Figs. 5.2 - 5.4.

¹⁶ G. Clautre, 'Découverte d'un trésor carolingien de la deuxième moitié du IX^e siècle', *Bulletin de la société agricole, scientifique et littéraire des Pyrénées-Orientales* 77 (1962), 27-34 (not available at the time of writing); reported by J. Lafaurie, 'Migrations des peuples en haut moyen âge en Occident', *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1960-1965*, vol. II, Copenhagen, 1967, pp. 13-51 at 42.

¹⁷ Gariel, *op. cit.*, I, 119f.

Throughout the south and west, then, it would seem that a localized monetary circulation was the norm.

Let us next move north, up the Rhône valley, back towards the Carolingian heartlands - and towards provinces where the coin-finds are rather more difficult to interpret. From southern Burgundy (the region of Dijon, Chalon, and Autun) there are five or six hoards, but most of them are inadequately recorded. A hoard found near Autun contained about 1,500 coins, including, surprisingly, some 500 ostensibly from the distant mint of Courcessin in Normandy.¹⁸ The other mints heavily represented were Bourges and Nevers. There were about 40 deniers and oboles of Autun. Charvet writes winningly, 'Au moment de cette découverte (1852) j'étais jeune, je débutais dans la numismatique et n'ai pas pris de note relative à ce dépôt, mais je ne me rappelle pas avoir vu figurer dans ce trésor des deniers appartenant aux villes du nord de la France.....'¹⁹ The Bourgneuf hoard consisted principally of coins of Rennes: how they came from the frontiers of Brittany, to be concealed in Burgundy is a puzzle (and one which may have a bearing on the Courcessin coins at Autun), but we should hesitate to dismiss Bourgneuf as simply a traveller's hoard, since a recent find from Chalon (1956) was made up of eight coins of Dijon, one of Chalon - and ten of Rennes. Lafaurie, commenting on the very inferior alloy (46%) and slightly defective weight of the ostensibly northern coins in the Bourgneuf hoard, has made the enlightening suggestion that they were perhaps forgeries: 'Cette masse de deniers de Rennes n'est-elle pas une importation de monnaies fausses dans l'est de la France?'²⁰ I would venture further and ask whether they may not have been minted locally. One needs to make a thorough comparison of the dies, weights, and alloy of specimens found in Burgundy and specimens found in hoards from the north-west. If it seemed that the Burgundian finds were indeed different, one could see the currency of Burgundy as essentially local, and in conformity with the pattern elsewhere in France. The alternative seems to require an anomalous long-distance link with the north-west, involving specifically the import of counterfeit coins from the mint of Rennes, and others from Courcessin but not from the intervening mints such as Blois and Orléans.²¹

Further north again, from near Bar-sur-Aube, the Bligny hoard (concealed c. 900-910) illustrates a currency in which the local mints are well-represented (Bar, 16%, Mont-Lassois, 4%), together with a strong easterly component (Verdun, 12%, a singleton from Marsal, and two coins from Metz including the latest piece in the hoard). But there are numerous coins also from Francia (e.g. Paris, 10%,

¹⁸ On the attribution, see Grierson and Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. I, pp. 635-7.

¹⁹ J. Charvet, 'Monnaies découvertes à Glisy', *Revue Belge de Numismatique* 1870, 423-4.

²⁰ Lafaurie, *Revue Numismatique* 6 VII (1965), 294.

²¹ The problem is taken up again in D.M. Metcalf and J.P. Northover, 'Carolingian and Viking coins from the Cuerdale hoard: an interpretation and comparison of their metal contents', *Numismatic Chronicle* 158 (1988).

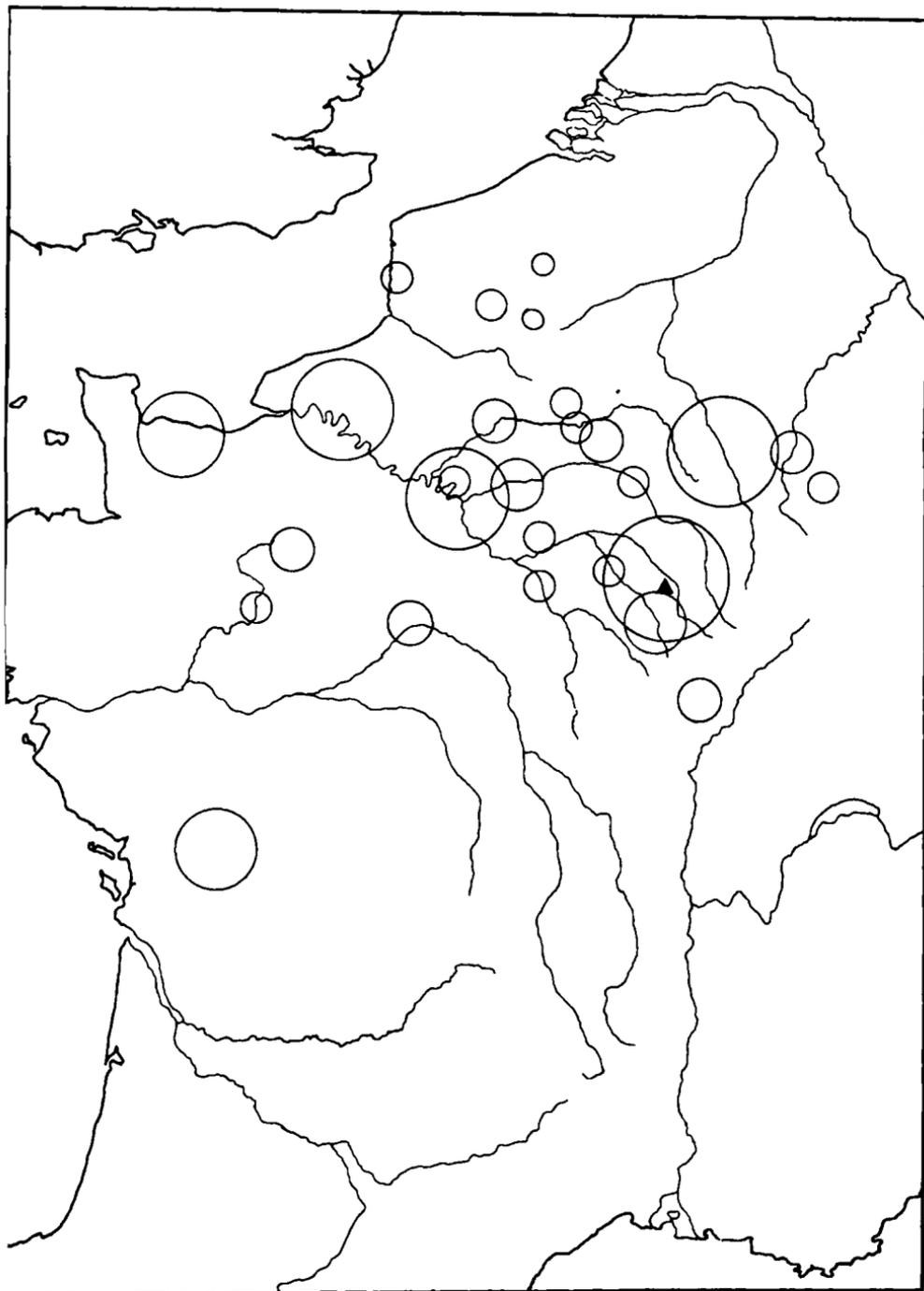


Figure 5.5: The Bligny Hoard

The find-spot is marked by a triangle. Each of the circles, centred on the mints where the coins were struck, is proportional in area to the percentage of coins of that mint in the hoard.

Rouen, 10%). Nearly 30 mints in all are represented (see Fig. 5.5), and the Bligny hoard is thus comparable with that from Courbantou, in that the influence of the currency of Francia on that of Burgundy is much stronger than *vice versa*.

The complete absence from our commentary so far of coins from Lotharingian mints may seem surprising.²² Lotharingia in the ninth century was close to the eastern borders of the area in which coinage circulated. Lothar II (855-69) and, after the Partition of Meerssen in 870, Louis the German minted there, but their coins are rather scarce today.²³ Beyond the Rhine there were, except at Mainz, no mints working in the time of Charles the Bald. (And there were only four coins of Mainz, struck for Louis the German, in the Pilligerheck hoard, compared with a total of 142 for Charles the Bald.) This is not necessarily to say that there was no currency: money may have filtered east or south from Burgundy, Francia, or the Rhine mouths. In the absence of hoards from the middle Rhinelands (other than the Pilligerheck hoard) we have merely negative evidence, which, as Hess has shown in a valuable study, is contradicted by documentary references to payments of tax reckoned in cash.²⁴ Broadly speaking, nevertheless, it must be true to say that Louis the German ruled over territories in which a money economy was of marginal significance or a dead letter, while Lotharingia (the mouths of the Rhine always excepted) only just fell within the western, moneyed parts of the Empire. Charles's portion was very different from his brothers' in that respect.

If there is very little find-evidence from the middle Rhine, the Moselle, and the upper Meuse valleys, the available information is fuller from the coasts of lower Lotharingia. From the beach at Domburg, on the island of Walcheren, there are numerous single-finds, which together have much the same value as evidence as would a hoard. Stray losses were presumably random with respect to their mint, and, in sufficient quantity, should provide a reliable sample of the currency. Over the years there have been found at Domburg 11 deniers of Lothar, 17 or more deniers and 3 oboles of Charles, and a denier and 2 oboles of Pippin of Aquitaine.²⁵ In the light of the regional variation in the currency in Francia and elsewhere, the mints represented among the finds suggest that coinage was reaching Domburg from two main sources, namely from north-eastern Francia, and (by sea?) from Aquitaine. The first source is represented by single coins from Bruges, Ghent, Valenciennes, St. Quentin, Quentovic, and (more than one from) the Palace; then there are single coins from Orléans and Courcassin. Secondly, there are a denier and two oboles of Melle, and three other Aquitanian oboles, of Pippin and of Charles, and a denier of Pippin without mint-signature. These westerly issues cannot have reached Domburg by passing from hand to hand

²² For the mint of Dorestad, see the forthcoming study by S. Coupland, which makes important contributions to the list of site-finds.

²³ Grierson and Blackburn, *op. cit.*, at p. 224

²⁴ W. Hess, 'Geldwirtschaft am Mittelrhein in karolingischer Zeit', *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 98 (1962), 26-63.

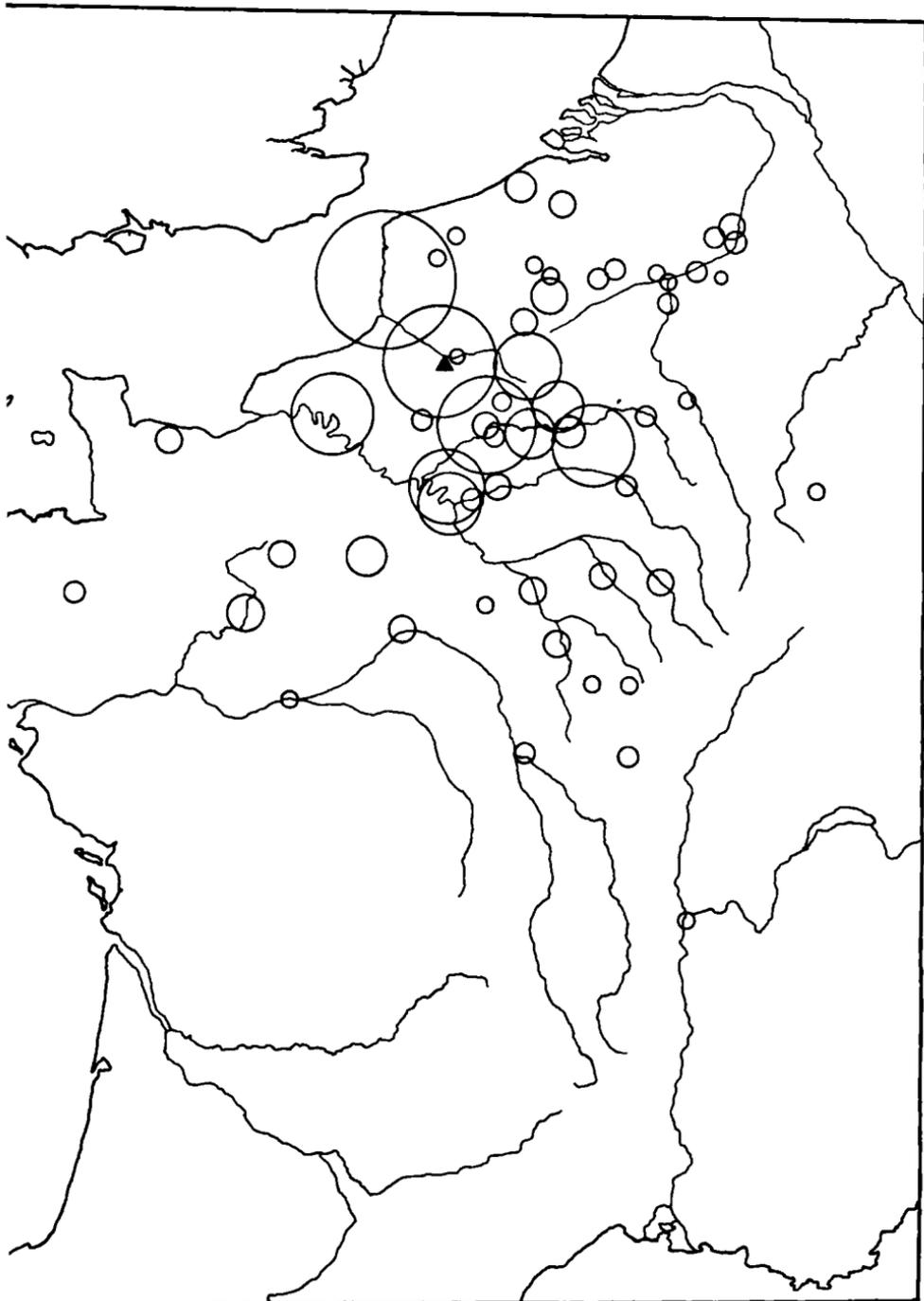


Figure 5.6: The Glisy Hoard

The find-spot is marked by a triangle. Each of the circles, centred on the mints where the coins were struck, is proportional in area to the percentage of coins of that mint in the hoard.

through Charles's kingdom. The hoard-evidence that we have looked at rules that out categorically. They could have been carried direct from Aquitaine by persons making the journey overland, but it is very implausible, since one must assume that the stray finds reflect the proportions among tens of thousands of coins circulating at Domburg. One is left with the possibility that they arrived by sea.

At Wijk-bij-Duurstede itself, the single finds include very few from Austrasia, and show an emphasis on Aquitaine. This is even clearer testimony to links of trade (or piracy) between the two regions. There are eight coins of Melle (four deniers and four oboles), four of 'Aquitaine' (deniers from Bordeaux, oboles from either Bordeaux or Bourges), two of Bourges, one of Agen, and one of Toulouse.²⁶ There are very few mint-signed coins of Bordeaux, but the Aquitanian series fills the lacuna.²⁷

Let us turn back for a moment to the coasts of Aquitaine. The currency of Bordeaux is inadequately documented by the available hoards.²⁸ Two finds from the 840s or earlier- from St. Emilion and Langon - both contained coins of Melle. Some of the Aquitanian money reaching the lower Rhine, as represented by coins of Melle, might therefore have come from the region of Bordeaux rather than from that of Melle itself. But it is interesting to see five coins of Dorestad in the hoard of Saint-Cyr-en-Talmondais, found near the coast just to the north of La Rochelle, that is, within the orbit of the mint of Melle. The flow of money was not quite all in one direction. Out of a total of 65 deniers and 18 oboles in this puzzling hoard (possibly a mixture of coins from two or more sources?), 32 deniers and 13 oboles were from Melle. There were 15 XPISTIANA RELIGIO issues, and a good representation from Neustria (Orléans 4, Tours 4, Angers 3).²⁹ One might think in terms of a coastal zone, where the currencies of Melle and Neustria mingled; but the character of the hoard would be clearer if the XPISTIANA RELIGIO coins could be attributed to their mints.

The Domburg and Wijk-bij-Duurstede finds throw light on the Roermond hoard, which judging from its composition drew on a currency similar to that at the Rhine mouths, supplemented by coinage from north-central France, but which had no obvious connection with the mints of the regions directly to the east. It contained 211 coins of Charles the Bald, 11 of Pippin, and 137 of Lothar (but none of Lothar II). Of this total of 359, 142 were XPISTIANA RELIGIO issues and 41 were from Dorestad. Another 41 were from Aquitaine. Italian coins of Lothar,

²⁵ H.H. Völckers, *Karolingische Münzfunde der Frühzeit (751-80)*, (Göttingen 1965), pp. 26, 44-50, 128-36.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 51-60, 137-150. I am indebted to Simon Coupland, who points out that the AQUITANIORUM coinage of Pippin can be attributed to Bordeaux, but that the oboles reading AQUITANIA are more problematic. They should perhaps be divided between Bourges and Bordeaux.

²⁸ J. Lafaurie, 'La monnaie bordelaise du haut moyen âge', in Ch. Higounet, *Histoire de Bordeaux*, vol. II (Bordeaux 1963).

²⁹ B. Fillon, *Considérations historiques et artistiques sur les monnaies de France*, (Fontenay-Vendée 1850), pp. 56f.

from Milan, Pavia, and Treviso (in total 22), point to traffic across the Alps. Then there are issues from Orléans (29), Paris (18), Rheims (17), and Sens (17).³⁰ (This finds a surprisingly exact parallel in the contemporary Pilligerheck hoard, in which the signed coins of Charles were almost all from the same mints: Orléans 21, Paris 5, Rheims 22, Sens 10, Tours 10, and 8 other coins.³¹) The date of deposit of the Roermond hoard seems to be c. 855-60, yet the greater part of it consists, still, of coins of Louis I, and in particular of some 700 of the XPISTIANA RELIGIO coins which dominated the regional stock of currency of Lower Lotharingia.

Hoards from Frisia, beyond imperial territory, are similar in composition to those of Pilligerheck and Roermond. They include an important proportion of coins of Lothar, and again show a curious emphasis on the mints of Orléans and Rheims. Coins from Dax and Melle offer a reminder of the Aquitanian connection.

Let us close the circle by returning now to northern Austrasia, taking as a sample of the currency the Glisy hoard of 1865, from near Amiens. It was concealed c. 890, and is thus about a decade later than the Compiègne hoard, found 70 km further south. The local mint of Amiens, which would normally account for about 1% of a hoard in Francia, here provides 13% of the total. Quentovic, the nearest large Channel port, leads with 20%. Otherwise, the next half-dozen mints are much the same as at Compiègne (the Palace, 9%, Rheims, 7%, Rouen, 6%, St. Denis, 5%, Paris, 4%). Numerous local mints in Flanders and the lower Meuse valley are represented in small quantities, as may be seen from the map, Fig. 5.6. They give the hoard some local 'colour', but they do not add up to more than about 5% of the total, a proportion which is not significantly different from that at Compiègne, or indeed, so far as one can see, at Bligny.

Although there was sometimes a strong representation of the local mint, then, there seems otherwise to have been little variation in the composition of the currency in different parts of Francia. (Obviously, in saying this, one would prefer not to have to rely solely on the Compiègne hoard for the currency of the central region.) From the Pas de Calais to Champagne, and as far as the Seine, there seems to have been essentially a single 'cell', throughout which the coinage was rapidly and evenly diffused. Whether this circulation area included the lower Meuse and the coastlands of Belgium is problematic. The Assebroek hoard, from near Bruges, is much more local in its composition, but this may well be because it is later in date (perhaps during the 890s after the Viking disruptions in Flanders). Within Austrasia (and including the adjacent parts of Lotharingia gained by Charles by the Treaty of Meersen in 870) lay more than half of the 120 or more

³⁰ H. Enno van Gelder, 'De Karolingische muntvondst Roermond', *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 72 (1985), pp.13-49. The figures in the text are taken from *De Geuzenpenning* 19 (1969), pp. 25-28.

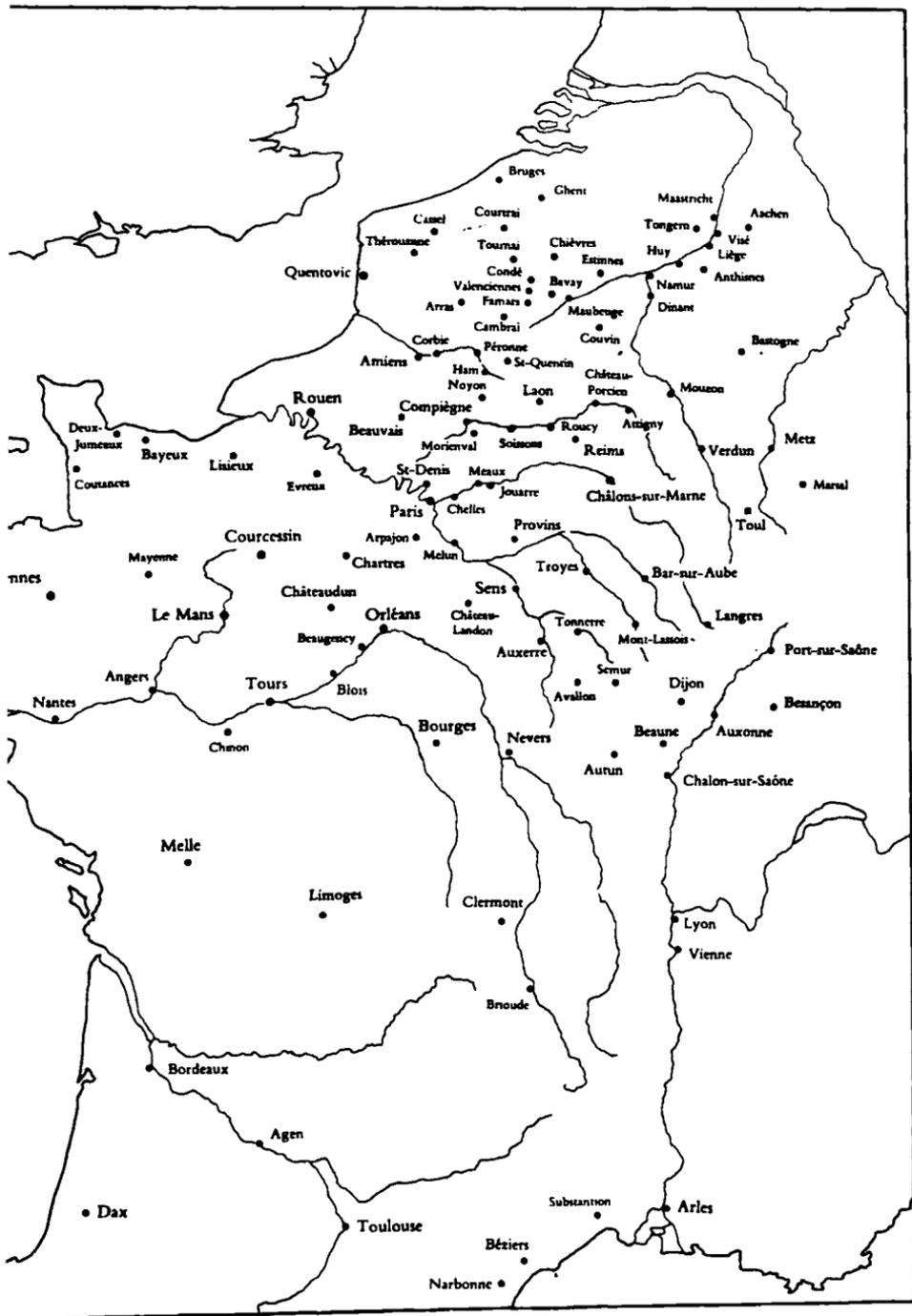
³¹ J. Lafaurie, 'Numismatique romaine et médiévale', *Annuaire*, 1969-70 (Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, IVe section, Sciences historiques et philologiques), pp. 323f., listing 1,868 coins.

Figure 5.7: The Mints of Charles the Bald

A very rough indication of the output of the mints has been attempted by printing the names of the mints in type of different sizes. (But output varied by a factor of a hundred or more between very large and very small mints.)

NOTES

1. The map omits the small mints of Gembloux, Nivelles, and Vedrin in the Meuse basin, and Rethondes and Pierrepont in the Ile-de-France.
2. The canon of mints follows Rey, except that the following dubious attributions have been omitted: Aardenburg?, Aire?, Boulogne?, Louhegn?; St. Omer and Le Talou have also been omitted as dubious, together with the unlocated mints CHIMIRIACO and BRUDONSONT.
3. Rey also queries the attributions to Auxonne and Port-sur-Saône.



mints which struck coins in his name. The map, Fig. 5.7, shows how thick on the ground they were, everywhere north and east of Paris. Each mint was also an exchange: no clear distinction was made between the two functions until much later in the middle ages. The Edict of Pîtres refers to the normal procedure whereby private individuals brought silver to the mint (i. e. the exchange) to have it coined ('... eos, quorum argentum ad purgandum acceperint, ipsum argentum exmerent et sine fraude tam in pensa quam in purgatione denarios concambient').³² As in late Anglo-Saxon England, where there were 60 to 80 mints, the provision was undoubtedly far in excess of what was necessary for the convenience of users. The velocity of circulation was such that many fewer mints would have fulfilled the same task efficiently and more economically. The reasons for setting up so many mints are, therefore, rather obscure, but clues to the problem may lie in the contrast between Austrasia and the rest of Charles's territories, and in the relatively late date in the reign at which the number of mints was increased. Let us leave the matter there, as it has only an indirect bearing on our sketch of the currency. If one wished to enquire why mints were located where they were, and how they prospered, it would be well to begin with some case-studies, and to look for clues in the details of urban and monastic history. The task would be delicate and complicated. More generally, however, one may assert that the idea (which has a following) that mints came into existence because of the need for coin to pay danegeld suffers from internal inconsistencies. The twenty to thirty Lotharingian mints can only have been established after 869 and they cannot, therefore, have played any part in the tribute payment of 866 - nor in the tribute of 877, from which the Middle Kingdom was specifically excluded. There is, surely, no suggestion that the payments would only be acceptable in new coin. Why remind existing coins (which we have good reason to think were abundant and in rapid circulation) simply in order to hand them over to the Vikings, who were going to assess them at their bullion value anyway? It is, I suspect, a case of being in a different ball-park, i. e. the connexion between mint and danegeld seems logical if it is a corollary of the belief that the total stock of coinage was small. But it solves one problem only by creating another. If it was necessary to mint coins for danegelds because there were no existing coins available, where did the silver come from for these new coins? From bullion? (Held by whom, and acquired how?)

The numerous mints of Austrasia and in particular the Belgic provinces are of a piece with the great volume of the currency and the rapid monetary circulation in those regions. Outside Austrasia, mints were generally further apart; and in the south and west, there were 'cells' of monetary circulation fed by only one or two mints. The geographical pattern of circulation, so far as the hoards allow us to define it, is summed up in Fig. 5.8. The evidence on which it rests is inadequate for it to be called more than a sketch. As new hoards come to light, they will add

³² The text is printed in MGH, Cap. II, no. 273, and more recently in H. Frère, *Le denier carolingien spécialement en Belgique*, at pp. 96-100.

to the interpretation, and may well modify it in certain respects, especially as regards those regions from which at present only one hoard is known - or none, as in the case of the Spanish March.

II

How many coins did Charles's mints strike? One really should resist any inclination to guess at an answer on the basis of their present-day survival. The vast majority of the specimens that are scattered in public and private collections today undoubtedly came to light in hoards, even if the record of their provenance has now been lost, and the hoards, as we have seen, are regional in their composition. Chance has played a large part in the number, and size, of the hoards found in each region. The only objective way to approach the problem is to judge from the number of dies that were employed. Dies wore out: the upper die gradually became shorter, through the repeated hammer blows, until it was too short to be held comfortably - like the stub of a pencil - and it had then to be discarded. English mint-documents from the fourteenth century show, with a wealth of detail, that the *average* output of a year's supply of reverse dies was often in the range of 15,000-20,000 coins from each die, although both higher and lower values are recorded.³³ Very much the same technology was used in the ninth century, and, as a conservative estimate, we may presume that the reverse dies of Charles's coins were capable of striking at least 10,000 coins on average, before they became too short to hold, and had to be replaced. Whether the dies were used to the limit of their technical capacity is another matter: but if we see a mint using dozens or scores of dies of the same design within a period of a few years, it is reasonable to assume that they were used thriftily. There would be no practical reason to discard a serviceable die simply in order to replace it with another of identical design - and to do this, at a major mint, every few weeks or even after a few days. At a very small mint, on the other hand, dies may have been under used simply because there was little demand for coin. If, as is often the case, only four or five specimens from that mint survive to the present day, it is difficult to judge how fully the dies were used. But the very small mints account for only a small proportion of the total numbers of dies used, and therefore they cannot in any case affect the overall average very much. (One could in principle test the under-use of dies at small mints against the evidence, by grouping a number of small mints together statistically, and comparing the numbers of dies for the group as a whole, against their occurrence in suitable hoards, and then by making the same comparison for some large mints.)

In the listing of die-varieties, Carolingian numismatics lags far behind its late Anglo-Saxon counterpart. This is largely for the accidental reasons that the flow of silver to Scandinavia had not yet begun in Carolingian times, and that the coins

³³ M. Mite, 'Coin dies under Edward I and II', *Numismatic Chronicle* 7 IX (1969), 207-18, and earlier studies cited there.

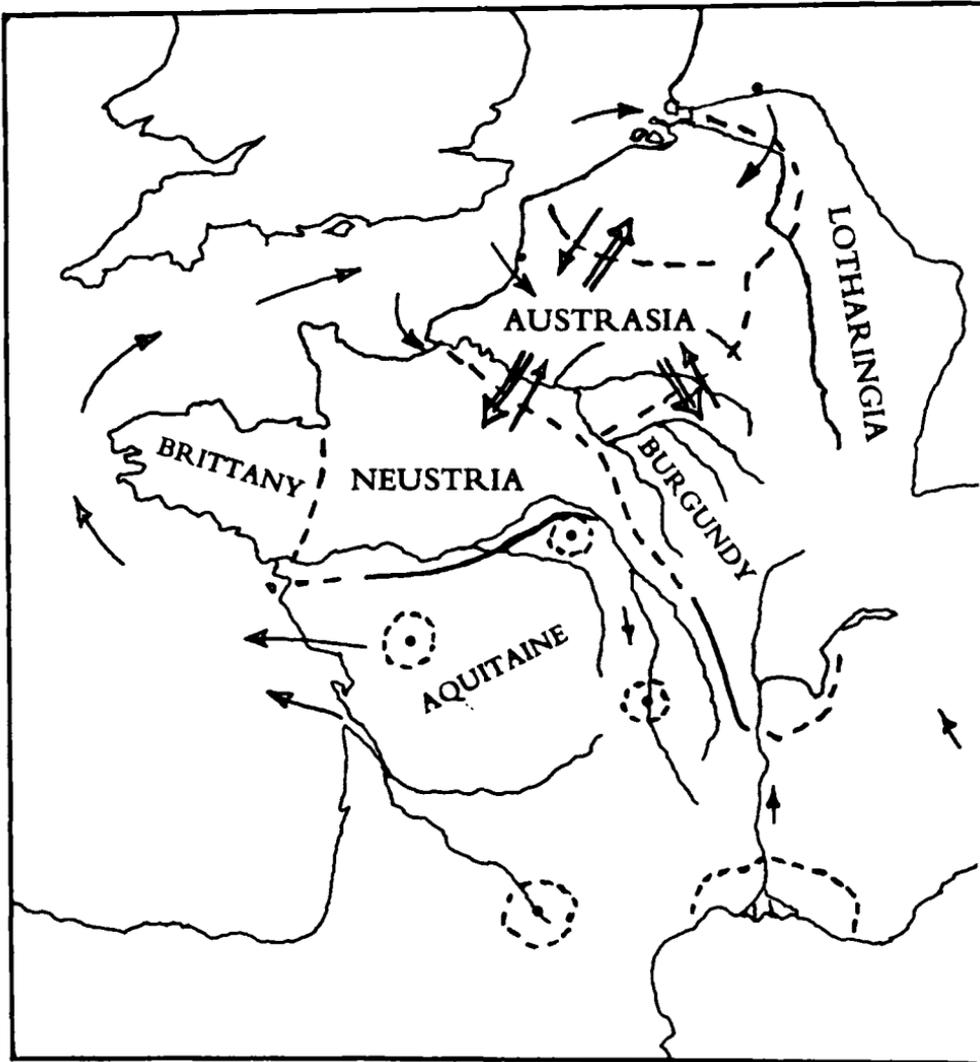


Figure 5.8: The Geographical Pattern of Circulation in the Time of Charles the Bald

The map sums up diagrammatically the conclusions of the text.

were not inscribed with moneymen's names. All the coins of one mint are rather boringly alike. What a field-day our French colleagues would have been able to enjoy if each coin of Charles the Bald had shown the name of its moneyer!

For a dozen different Anglo-Saxon mints, students have compiled lists of all the surviving specimens, and have carried out a systematic check for die-duplication. Until very recently, nothing comparable had been written about the coins of Charles the Bald, with the honourable exception of Meert's corpus for the Dinant mint.³⁴ He recorded a dozen deniers, including two or possibly three pairs of die-duplicates, and two oboles. Frère's recent monograph, *Le denier carolingien, spécialement en Belgique*³⁵ extends a similar die-check (although not quite so meticulously) to some twenty small mints in the Belgic parts of northern Austrasia. So far as one can verify the dies from his plates, the reverses of 106 coins are from 102 different dies. Statisticians have demonstrated that the proportion of surviving coins which are not the only representatives of the dies from which they were struck is a good estimate of the proportion of the total output of the coinage which was struck from the known dies.³⁶ In other words,

$$\frac{\text{non-singleton}}{\text{known coins}} = \frac{\text{output from known dies}}{\text{total output}}$$

or,

$$\frac{8}{106} = \frac{102}{x}$$

$$x = 106 \times 102 \div 8$$

$$= 1,350$$

The formula allows for under-use among the dies from which no specimens survive, so we may without too many misgivings multiply the indicated number of 1,350 'dies' (which is, however, merely a statistical estimate, subject to margins of sampling error) by a notional average output of 10,000, in order to arrive at a figure of 13½ million coins. Virtually the whole of this output was after 864, forming part of the recoinage commanded by the Edict of Pîtres, and indeed nine-tenths of it was after 869.

³⁴ C. Meert, 'Les monnaies carolingiennes de l'atelier de Dinant', *Revue Belge de Numismatique* 108(1962), pp.153-72.

³⁵ *Op.cit.* (note 32).

³⁶ C. S. S. Lyon, 'Analysis of the material', in H. R. Mossop, *The Lincoln Mint c. 890-1279* (1970), pp. 11-19 and Appendices. See also F.J. Mora Màs, 'Estimation du nombre de coins selon les répétitions dans trouvaille de monnaies', in *Statistics and Numismatics*, ed. C. Carcassonne and T. Hackens (= *Pact*, vol.5, Strasbourg 1981), pp. 173-92, for a critical review of this and other similar formulae.

No great accuracy should be imputed to the estimate. The true total might well be half as much again, or it might be only three-quarters as much. Even within such rough-and-ready limits, it gives an idea of scale which will perhaps surprise some historians.

We can take the argument a step further by pointing out that coins from the twenty-one Belgian mints³⁷ (Bruges, Ghent, Courtrai, Tournai, Chièvres, Mons, Les Estinnes, Namur, Couvin, Vedrin, Gembloux, Nivelles, Dinant, Huy, Anthisnes, Bastogne, Lens, 'Vendunis', Liège, Visé, and Maastricht) make up approximately 1.0% of the Compiègne hoard, 2.6% at Glisy, 1.0% at Bligny, and 1.9% at Ablaincourt. To assume that the Belgian mint-output was, say, 3% and that the other mints of Francia therefore supplied 97% or 32 times as much would lead one to a total that seems to defy belief. But there is very good evidence that the coinage of Charles's contemporary King Burgred of Mercia, was struck from an estimated 5,000 dies, thus amounting to perhaps 50 million coins.³⁸

We cannot prove, however, that the currency of the Belgic provinces mingled freely with that from the rest of Francia. If the 3% in hoards from further south and west were merely strays from an essentially separate currency-area (as with the Neustrian coins discussed above) we should yet again be deprived of any basis for a proportional estimate. There is no suitable hoard from Belgium in the 870s. The Féchain hoard, of which a publication is promised,³⁹ may take us a step nearer (see Fig. 5.1), but only a step. The stray finds of coins of Dinant, recorded by Meert, hint at a more localised circulation in Belgium. They comprise two deniers and an obole, one found in a garden at Dinant, another at Furfooz, 7 km south-east of Dinant, and the obole in the bed of the river at Namur. There, rather inconclusively, the problem must be left for the time being. Even so, one cannot doubt that the output of the mints of Rouen, Paris, Rheims, Quentovic, and the Palace enormously outweighed that from Belgium. A die-study for at least one of these major mints is, from the monetary historian's viewpoint, an urgent desideratum, since it should allow us to calculate a tolerably realistic figure for the total currency of Francia. At present, one cannot do more than make an informed guess, taking into account the find evidence from the Low Countries, and propose 50 millions as a very conservative estimate. This would be equivalent to some 200,000 pounds of silver, alongside which the tribute of 4,000 pounds in 866 seems a trifle.

For all the other circulation-areas, die-studies of the key mints are lacking. As a minimum guide, again, we need estimates of the output from Orléans, Toulouse, Dijon, and Verdun. Melle could best be studied if a hoard came to hand which could be dated to not later than 880, to avoid the problem of 'immobilized types'.

37 Following the attributions in Frère, *op. cit.*

38 H. E. Pagan, 'Coinage in the age of Burgred', *BNJ* 39 (1965), pp. 11-27.

39 For Féchain, see J. Lafaurie, 'Les trouvailles de monnaies mérovingiennes et carolingiennes d'Amiens', *Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique* 21-5 (1966-70), pp. 404-7, and a forthcoming publication by M. Dhenin, *La Neustrie*.

As a temporary substitute for a corpus of the coins of a particular mint, one can gain some idea of the scale of the issues from the amount of die-duplication in a well-published hoard. A hoard may not be a random sample of the currency, and it is difficult or impossible to judge how far this is likely to be the case. If the estimate it yields is in error, it will, subject to the usual margin of random variation, be an underestimate. Die-duplication in the Saumeray hoard, which was published with exemplary care by Lafaurie,⁴⁰ indicates that the Neustrian currency from which it was drawn totalled some 4½ million coins. This figure could be misleadingly too small, but if it is of the right order of magnitude, it points to a sharp contrast between the monetary wealth of Austrasia and Neustria, the figure for Neustria being at most a tenth of the estimate for Austrasia.

III

If the numismatic task of defining the quantities of coinage of Charles the Bald is one where almost everything remains to be done, a description of the currency as it was before the recoinage of 864 is if possible even more dependent on future research. There are fewer hoards, and they tend to be smaller: Chaumoux-Marcilly, Cosne, Etréchy, and Méréville are among the most informative. So far as they go, they reveal the same sort of regional patterns as we have been able to sketch in more detail for the period after 864. It would indeed have been remarkable if there had been any sudden change. In the Chaumoux-Marcilly hoard, from the region of Bourges, 87% of the coins lack a mint-signature, but the remainder are from Bourges, with strays from Orleans and Melle. Almost the whole of the Cosne hoard consisted of coins of the local mints of Auxerre and Orleans. The story is similar at Etréchy and Méréville. The available hoards are concentrated (presumably just by chance) in Neustria and Aquitaine; for the other regions we have virtually no positive evidence. As to the quantities in which coins were minted between 840 and 864, the numbers of surviving coins, even including those of unknown pedigree, are unfortunately too small, for most of the individual mints, to be the basis for accurate statistical estimates of mint-output.

But if it is the currency, rather than the coinage, which one wishes to study, the first requirement is a better understanding of the XPISTIANA RELIGIO coins of Louis, which remained so plentiful into the 850s. In the Ide hoard,⁴¹ meticulously published by Enno van Gelder, the total of 112 XPISTIANA RELIGIO coins included only one die-identity. This implies a currency running into tens of millions of coins. A full die-study in progress by Simon Coupland will reveal beyond any uncertainty the enormous number of different dies employed to strike Louis's XPISTIANA RELIGIO coinage.

40 Loc. cit. (note 10).

41 Loc. cit. (note 19).

Figure 5.9: A Selection of coins from the time of Charles the Bald

All are thin coins of good-quality silver, weighing $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ grammes if they are deniers, and half as much if oboles. They are illustrated at their actual size.

I. *Older coins remaining in circulation*

1 and 3, deniers, and 2, obole, of Louis I, to illustrate the variation in style which may reflect the output of different mints.

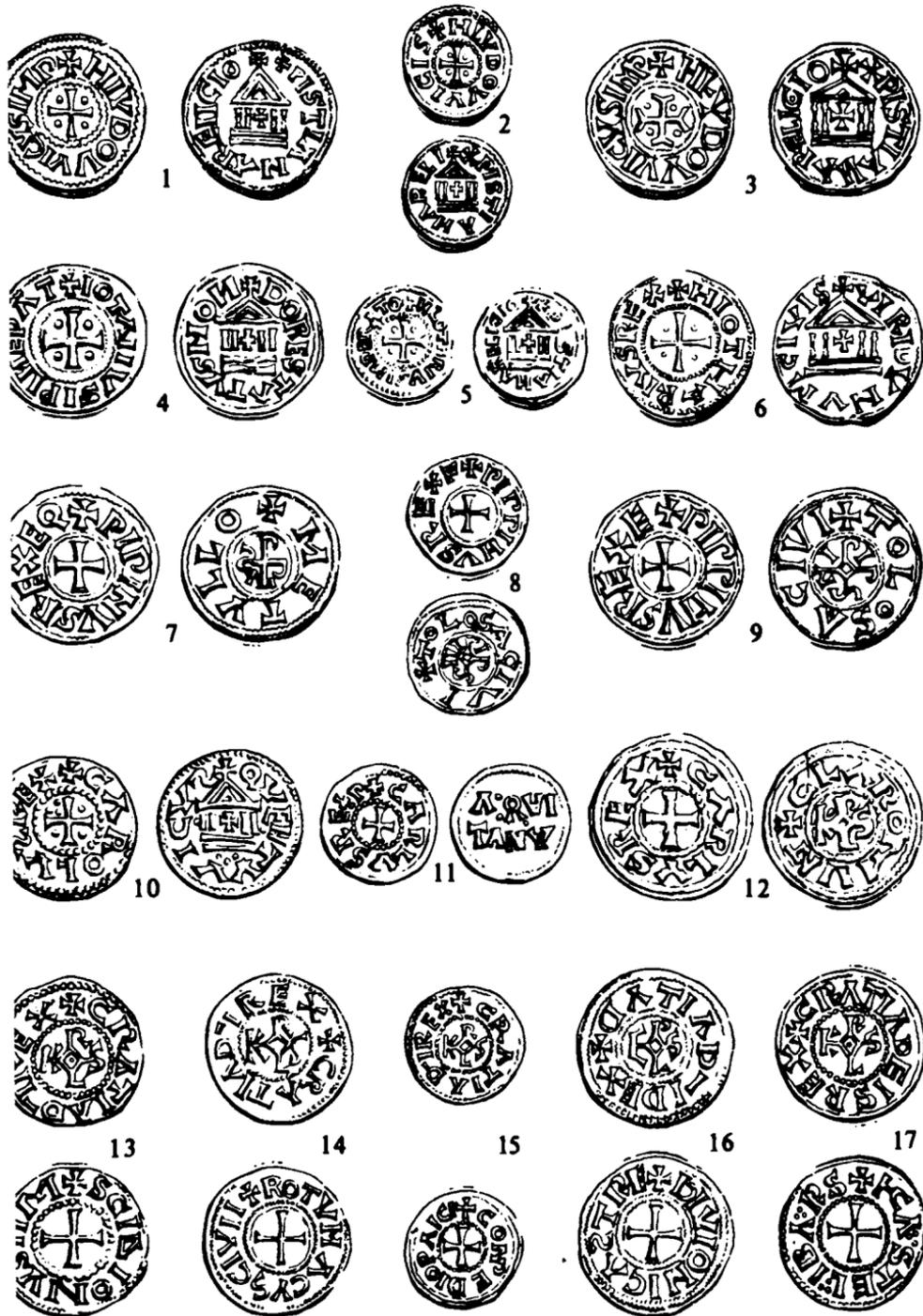
II. *Charles's contemporaries*

4. Lothar I, denier, Dorestad mint. 5. Obole, no mint name (*Xpistiana Religio*).
6. Lothar II, denier, Verdun mint.
7-9. Pippin II of Aquitaine. 7. Denier, Melle mint. 8. Obole, and 9. denier, both of the Toulouse mint.

III. *Coins of Charles*

10. 'Temple' type. Denier of Quentovic.
11. 'Two line' type. Obole of Aquitaine.
12. 'Carlus Rex (Fr)' type (sometimes cited as CRF type). Denier of Clermont.
- 13-17. 'Gratia Dei Rex' type (sometimes cited as GDR. The reform coinage of the Edict of Pîtres, 864 onwards).
 13. Denier, mint of Saint-Denis (note the Greek delta).
 14. Denier, of the city of Rouen.
 15. Obole, of the palace of Compiègne (CONPENDIO PALACIO).
 16. Denier, of the *castrum* of Dijon.
 17. Denier, of the *castellum* of Bar-sur-Aube.

Note: the coins illustrated here differ from those in the original volume.



Many fewer mints were at work before the Edict of Pîtres.⁴² This is not necessarily indicative of the quantities of coins being issued. The list corresponds for the most part with the larger post-864 mints; Rouen (unless it was striking anonymous types) is a surprising absentee.

Debasement was a feature of the pre-864 coinage, as recent non-destructive metal analyses have revealed.⁴³ This reveals a motive for the recoinage of 864, and helps to explain the insistence in the Pîtres Edict that debased coins are to be excluded from circulation. It also suggests that the Frankish kingdoms were open to the pressure of economic or financial trends which affected other lands around the North Sea at very much the same date - for we see debasement becoming a serious problem in southern England from about 840. In Northumbria, where its onset was sooner, it worsened at much the same date. J.-P. Devroey has pointed to a sharp drop after 845 in the money charges payable by *mansi* in parts of Austrasia.⁴⁴ Again, this should be seen, paradoxically, as evidence that the monetary system had an extensive role in a trading economy, because its purity could not be maintained in face of the Viking attacks around the North Sea coasts and in the Channel.⁴⁵

IV

The volume of the currency is not in itself conclusive evidence of the extent of a monetary economy in a country or a region.⁴⁶ It is more closely related to the balance of payments. But the rapid circulation and mingling of millions of coins within a region such as Francia clearly implies trade, and not just within the orbit of the local town. There is virtually no numismatic evidence from the reign of Charles the Bald to point to long-distance trade up the Rhône valley, or to anything more than a local monetary circulation in the Mediterranean coastlands. The main orientation is towards the Channel and the North sea, by way of ports such as Rouen, Quentovic, and Dorestad. The direction of the trade from those ports is uncertain: there is no obvious way in which we could judge the relative importance of England and Scandinavia as trading partners, from the Carolingian coins. We would not expect more than the occasional stray to turn up in England,

⁴² See Grierson and Blackburn, *op. cit.* There is a list of mints in Rey, *loc. cit.*, but a full appraisal will have to await the results of Dr. S. Coupland's stylistic analysis of the XPISTIANA RELIGIO type of Charles the Bald.

⁴³ D.M. Metcalf and J.P. Northover, 'Coinage alloys from the time of Offa and Charlemagne to c. 864', *Numismatic Chronicle* 159 (1989).

⁴⁴ J.-P. Devroey, 'Reflexions sur l'économie des premiers temps carolingiens (768-877): grands domaines et action politique entre Seine et Rhin', *Francia* 13 (1985), pp. 475-88.

⁴⁵ D.M. Metcalf and J.P. Northover, *loc. cit.*; D.M. Metcalf, 'Introduction', in Metcalf ed., *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria* (Oxford 1987), pp. 1-10 (where p. 2 was written before the discovery that Charles's pre-864 coinage is systematically debased).

⁴⁶ This point was not taken in my earlier study, 'The prosperity of north-western Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries', *Economic History Review* ² XX (1967), pp. 344-57.

where the currency was under firm royal control, even if trade was brisk. There are various finds from the Irish Sea coastlands, and some, but surprisingly few, from Scandinavia, where they might have been expected not to be reminted, and to survive as bullion. The explanation may be that Austrasia and Lotharingia ran a balance of payments surplus, by virtue of their exports, and that the net outflow of coin was therefore only sporadic or local. This second hypothesis will strike most students as unlikely, but there is no easy way of studying the question except perhaps through lead isotope analysis of Carolingian coins and of Scandinavian hacksilber, to see if the metal source is the same.

Acknowledgement

I am much indebted to Dr. Simon Coupland for his comments on the original text. Our understanding of the coinage from the earlier part of Charles's reign (840-64) will be substantially increased by his forthcoming study of the XPISTIANA RELIGIO coinage.

ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL POWER IN BRITTANY IN THE MID-NINTH CENTURY

Wendy Davies

The political status of Brittany in the ninth century is problematic for us and was a problem, at the time, for Bretons as much as for Franks.¹ This circumstance arises in part because of migration from Britain into northwestern France - the Armorican peninsula - in the late Roman and very early medieval period, occasioning the name Brittany [*Britannia (Minor)*], and because of the consequent intrusion and maybe reinforcement of Celtic language and institutions, thereby distinguishing it from the rest of Francia. Everything points to a heavier concentration of British settlement in the western half of the peninsula, though, despite the strength of Frankish political interests in Rennes and Nantes, the medieval linguistic boundary seems to have run from the mouth of the Loire to the western base of the Cotentin peninsula (see Fig. 6.1). There is no doubt that the Franks constantly claimed to rule Brittany after the migration and that they had no small influence in the late sixth century, especially in east Brittany. Indeed, Rennes and Nantes, as *Frankish* strongholds, were attacked by the Bretons then and Gregory of Tours clearly considered the river Vilaine the Breton boundary. Similarly, early in the ninth century, the *Royal Frankish Annals* could record that Louis went *from Vannes into* Brittany. Relations in the intervening period, the seventh and eighth centuries, are quite obscure, as are relations between East and West Brittany, for there is almost no contemporary evidence; that obscurity must have itself affected relations in the ninth century.²

¹ A version of this paper was first read to members of the Medieval Society at the Institute of Historical Research, London, in February 1979. I am most grateful for the comments received on that occasion, as also, of course, for comments at the Charles the Bald conference. I owe a further debt of gratitude to Janet Nelson, Julia Smith and Chris Wickham for their very helpful criticisms of written drafts of the paper; and to M. Gildas Bernier for his advice on Breton names.

² For recent comment on the migration see Chadwick 1965, pp. 235-99; Fleuriot and Giot 1977, pp. 106-16; Fleuriot 1980; Chédeville and Guillotel 1984, pp. 21-49. There is some comment on the following centuries in Chadwick 1969, but the most detailed consideration, and one which refers the reader to most of the evidence, remains that in *La Borderie* 1905, vol. i. See also Planiol 1981-4 (this indispensable work was first published (1953, in part) some two generations after it was written [1891-4]); and Chédeville and Guillotel 1984. For linguistic and other boundaries see Flatrès 1977, p. 312; Tanguy 1980. See also *ARF*, s.a. 818.

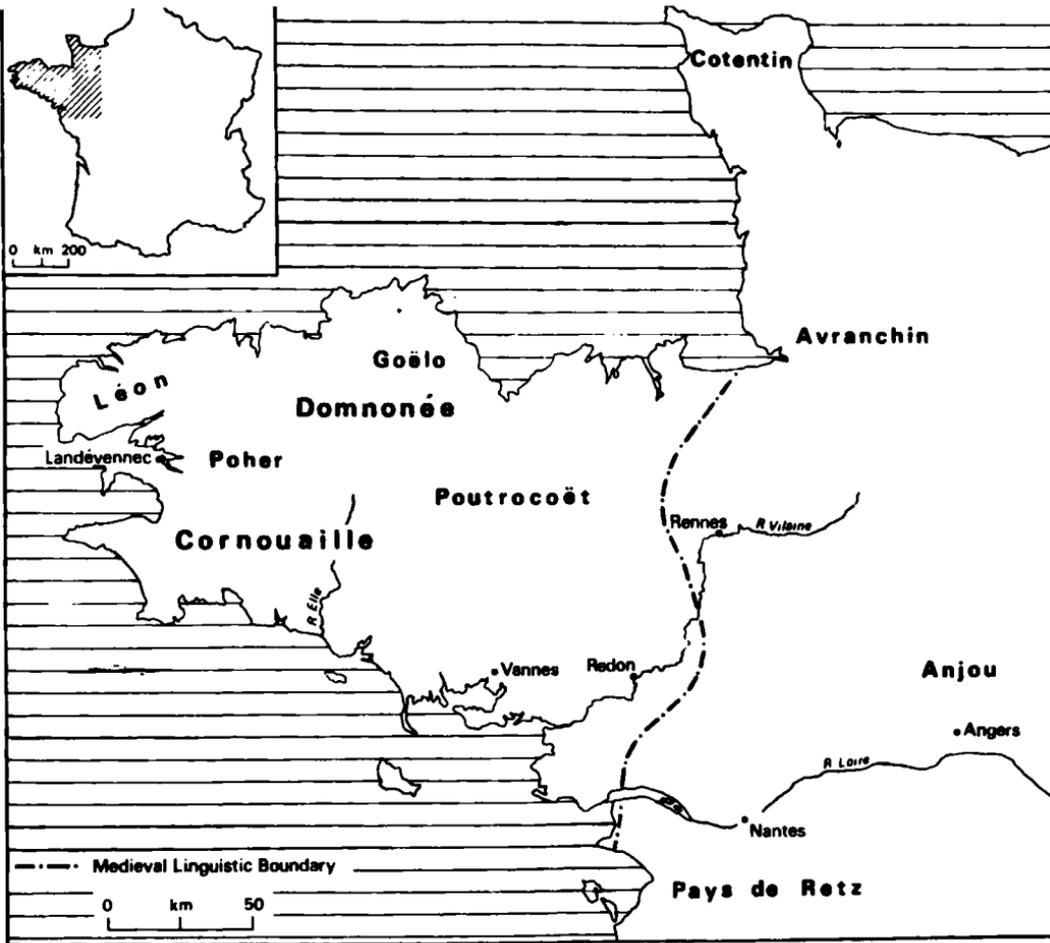


Figure 6.1: North-West France

We know of Frankish expeditions sent into Brittany by the Carolingian predecessors of Charles the Bald -Pippin, Charles the Great and Louis the Pious - in 753, 778, 786, 799, 811, 818, 824. All of these expeditions were made to state and to effect Carolingian control over the region; and Louis himself led the last two, penetrating as far as Landevennec far in the west of the peninsula. We know of the consequent appointment of the Breton Nominoë as Louis's *missus* and *dux* in Brittany in 831 and of Frankish bishops as far west as Quimper and S. Pol in the middle of the century. We know of some association of the aristocratic families of west Neustria with the Bretons already in 813-22, when the count of Vannes was Guy, brother of Lambert of Anjou, and subsequently in the 840s and 850s, and again in 878, when Gauzlin and Gauzbert got the fidelity of some (*pars*) of the Bretons. We know of further expeditions by Charles the Bald in 845 and 851, and of meetings and agreements between Charles and the Bretons Erispoë and Salomon. As a result of these meetings, Rennes, Nantes and the pays de Retz were given to Erispoë in 851; a 'third' of Brittany (the details were not specified) was ceded to Salomon in 852;³ further lands were given to Salomon in Anjou as a benefice in 863 and in the Cotentin and Avranchin in 867; and joint Breton/Carolingian action was taken against the Vikings, in 868 and 873 (see Fig. 6.1).⁴ Moreover, whatever the truth of the claims of the *Annals of St. Bertin* that Salomon was the *fidelis* of Charles and commended himself in 863, there is some evidence of the occurrence of Frankish terms and maybe institutions at least in eastern Brittany in the ninth century: commendation, *fideles* and *vassi* were occasionally to be found, as were the judicial instruments of *mallus* and *scabini*. Coins were minted in Rennes in the name of Charles.⁵ Both the interest of the Franks in Brittany and their influence upon the country are therefore quite clearly demonstrable.

On the other hand, we know that Nominoë, Louis's *missus*, ravaged Anjou in the 840s, seized Rennes and Nantes in 849, working with Lambert of Anjou, and was regarded as a rebel, and that Erispoë continued this opposition. Charles suffered defeat at the hands of both of them.⁶ Besides this, Breton bishops did not attend Frankish councils nor acknowledge the metropolitan authority of Tours. Consequently, both medieval and modern historians of Brittany have argued that Nominoë established an independent kingdom. The eleventh-century *Chronicle of*

³ *AB*, p. 64: 'Salomon Britto Karolo fidelis efficitur tertiaque Britanniae parte donatur'. It is quite unclear to which part of Brittany this refers, though Smith 1985, p.138, argues for Rennes and Nantes; it is also unclear how this was intended to affect Erispoë's relations with Charles.

⁴ *AB*, pp. 63f, 96, 137, 151, 193-5. See La Borderie 1905, ii. 3-115, 264-72; Boussard 1968, pp. 15-21; Chédeville and Guillotel 1984, pp.249-352; Smith 1985; Davies 1988, pp.17-22 for the substance of this paragraph.

⁵ *Carulaire de Redon*, ed. A. de Courson (Paris, 1863), no. cvii, cxvii, lxi, cxcii for example. I am most grateful to Michael Metcalf for advice on the difficult area of the coinage.

⁶ See La Borderie 1905, ii. 49f., 70-2; Chédeville and Guillotel 1984, pp.259-87.

Nantes accordingly records that Nominoë was elevated to the kingship, while in the late nineteenth century La Borderie significantly headed his appropriate chapters 'La delivrance de la Bretagne (826-46)', 'Formation de la monarchie bretonne (846-51)', 'Le fils du libérateur (851-7)', 'Apogée de la monarchie bretonne (857-74)'.⁷ Moreover, explicitly Celtic terms are as easy to find in eastern Brittany in the ninth century as are Frankish ones: *enepuert* (morning gift), *loth* and *cofrit* -in the phrase *dicofrit* or *sine cofrito* -(charges on land), *machtiern* (local 'ruler'). All are obviously Celtic words but some also refer to distinctive institutions, which may have their parallels -like Welsh *mechdeyrn* and *wynebwerth* -in other Celtic countries.⁸ Brittany therefore differs from many other areas of Frankish interest and control in that it provides plentiful evidence of distinctively non-Frankish institutions. It has a partly Celtic nature and supplies sufficient indication of separatist tendencies to suggest the possibility of a distinctive, non-Frankish identity.⁹

There is therefore a quite clear problem in considering the political status of Brittany in the ninth century. Both Franks and Bretons claimed overall political control; both Frankish and Breton socio-political institutions were evident. Historians of the Carolingian state are prone to see it as a Frankish appendage, but Bretons as an independent Celtic state. At its crudest, then, was Brittany Frankish or Breton? What was the relationship between Bretons and Franks? And, a point that is less obvious but as significant in any consideration of political status, what was the relationship between the Breton 'rulers' of Brittany and the Bretons? Was there any machinery of political control? What was the possibility of effecting the political will of the ruler at ground level? How, indeed, does rule at ground level compare, if at all, with other parts of the Carolingian world? This paper is about the nature and exercise of political power in Brittany in the ninth century. Much of it ranges over material that has often been discussed before, and I am aware that little that I have to say is totally new. However, this is a useful opportunity to state the problems and bring them before the attention of an English audience and to place Brittany in the Carolingian context as well as the Celtic; hopefully it will stimulate further and more sophisticated consideration.

We are fortunate in possessing unusually good sources for the history of east Brittany in the ninth century, a circumstance which distinguishes investigations of this period from those about the preceding or immediately subsequent centuries. Not only are there the expected incidental and other notices of Frankish annalists, those of the *Annals of St Bertin* being especially valuable, and a few letters of clerical interest, but there is also a useful corpus of saintly *Vitae* -of Paul, Guénolé, Tudwal, Machutes and the *Sanctorum Rotonensium* -and a very large

⁷ Merlet 1896, pp. 33-9; La Borderie 1905, ii. cc. ii-v, pp. 27-122.

⁸ See Fleuriot 1971, pp. 601-60, esp. pp. 650-2; *Cart. Redon*, no. ccxxxvi, xlix, cli, xxi, for example.

⁹ It is not, of course, alone in providing evidence of separatist tendencies; see Kienast 1968, pp. 4-9, for some discussion of this.

collection of charters from the monastery at Redon. Redon is south of Rennes, in east Brittany, and the monastic foundation was made in 832, with the support of Nominoë, who made grants to it by 834. Its eleventh-century cartulary contains 283 charters of the ninth and early tenth century and a further 108 of the tenth and eleventh centuries. 62 additional ninth-century charters are known from later transcripts.¹⁰ Most of the ninth-century charters record grants and sales made within 50 years of foundation, but a few detail transactions which had taken place in the generation before 832. They refer to lands scattered all over the southeastern third of Brittany, with the greatest concentration occurring just west of a line between Redon and Rennes, though a few are more widely scattered. The charters are exceptionally rich in personal and topographic, institutional and circumstantial detail. Hence, this concentration of material from a short space of time, together with the close connections of the foundation with the 'rulers' of Brittany, permits some detailed investigation of mid-ninth century Brittany to be undertaken.

We may begin by asking what can be said of the 'rulers' of Brittany, the Bretons of the ninth century whose political powers had some associated aura of independence. The principal rulers, as I shall refer to them, were five, covering three generations.

Nominoë, the first, emerged as imperial *missus* in 831 but was rebelling at least from 843, if not earlier. On his sudden death in 851, he was followed by his son Erispoë. Erispoë was killed in 857 by his own cousin, Salomon, who was himself killed in 874 as the result of a conspiracy by the *primores* of Brittany led by Pascwethen, his son-in-law, and by Guorhwant, son-in-law of Erispoë. These two were jointly dominant until they were succeeded three years later by Pascwethen's brother, Alan, and Guorhwant's son, Iudicaël. Thereafter, Alan's descendants became dukes of Brittany.¹¹

All available evidence would suggest that this series of prominent men had responsibility for the whole of Brittany, Pascwethen and Guorhwant sharing it. Hence, Nominoë was originally and initially designated *missus (imperatoris) in Britannia*, was described by the *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium* as ruling almost all Brittany at the time of foundation of Redon, and as *princeps Britanniae* subsequently.¹² The titles used to describe these men by those who drafted the Redon charters often emphasise the wide span of their power: *totius Britanniae, dominante Britanniam usque Medanum flumen, gubernante totam Britanniam*,

¹⁰ The manuscript is at present in the care of the archbishop of Rennes; it was published in a somewhat unreliable edition, whose accuracy is very inconsistent, in the nineteenth century (*Cart. Redon*). La Borderie 1890, pp. 535-630, indicated some corrections, and the charters pertaining to the diocese of Vannes have recently been re-edited, but not published, by Tonnerre 1978, vol. ii.

¹¹ La Borderie 1905, ii. 43-51, 59-65, 70-5, 82f., 114-16, 318-24, 405-18; Chédeville and Guillotel 1984, pp.298-321, 354-74.

¹² See, for example, *Cart. Redon*, no. clxxvii and clxxix, both of the year 837; 'Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium' in Mabillon 1738 pp. 203, 210, 216, 220. Caroline Brett has prepared a new edition of the *Gesta* (Brett 1986), publication forthcoming.

totum dominium Britanniae, and even *totius Britanniae magneque partis Galliarum*, used of Salomon in 869.¹³ Further, the comments of Frankish annalists suggest that the principal rulers negotiated for the whole region, as, for example, on the occasion in 863 when Salomon agreed to the payment of tribute from Brittany and caused all the *primores* of Brittany to swear to Charles.¹⁴ Similarly, Salomon appears to have had defensive responsibility for the entire area: in 871 the *principes* of Brittany refused to let him make a pilgrimage to Rome because they feared a Norse attack in his absence.¹⁵ Clearly he was expected to protect them all. Given the consistency of the evidence on this point it would be unreasonable to doubt that the rulers theoretically had responsibility for all of Brittany, though it is worth remembering that we have very little material from west Brittany and it is by no means inconceivable that the prominent men had little effective power in those parts.

The charters provide an additional perspective on the position of the ruler in the particular case of Salomon, for they contain indications that he (or his recording source) considered his authority royal, with the greater or lesser connotations of status that that term brings. From 868 he was called *rex*, rather than the miscellaneous descriptive terms and circumlocutions applied to him and his predecessors before that date - *dux*, *comes*, *N gubernante/dominante/possidente*.¹⁶ Indeed, increasingly since 858, transactions had been dated by reference to the principate of Salomon rather than to the year of the Frankish king's rule: ...*anno principatus Salomonis in Britannia* rather than *regnante domno*... *anno imperii ejus*. This also happened during the last year of Erispoë's life, 857.¹⁷ The change of practice in dating and in titles is very marked under Salomon, and contrasts strongly with the *com(m)es in tota Britannia* which Nominoë was still using in 850. So, there is little in contemporary evidence to support the notion of the elevation of Nominoë to the kingship,¹⁸ as maintained by the *Chronicle of*

13 *Cart. Redon*, no. ccxxv, cv, clxxviii, lxxii, ccxli.

14 *AB*, p. 96.

15 *Cart. Redon*, no. ccxlvii.

16 *Cart. Redon*, no. xxi, ccxxv, ccxliii, ccxlvii, cclvii. However see *dux* in the suspect letter to the pope 871; *Cart. Redon*, no. lxxxix.

17 *Cart. Redon*, no. xxvi, xix, xxiii, xxiv, xxv, etc. Cf. the comments of Lot 1907, pp. 33-5.

18 Regino of Prüm, who died in 915, and who referred to Nominoë as king is commonly held to have used some lost annals of Prüm which were exceptionally well informed about Brittany. This may have been so, but if so it is clear that Regino had insufficient information about the mid-ninth century since his annals up to the 870s are very badly collated: he has an annal for 818 s.a. 836, 833 s.a. 837, 851 s.a. 862 and 863, 857 s.a. 866; at 874 the collation is correct and here he has a long entry which does seem to depend on local Breton knowledge: Regino s.a., pp. 107ff. (See also Werner 1959, pp. 106-16, on the range of Regino's sources.) Regino's references to Nominoë as king are therefore of doubtful value.

Nantes.¹⁹ On the other hand, Salomon clearly appears to have been considered king of Brittany in the late sixties and seventies by a number of different sources, a circumstance which may have something to do with a change in his relations with Charles the Bald: the Viking pressure on western Francia is very marked in the 860s; Robert had not been powerful enough against Salomon, who was assisting the Vikings, in 862, though he had killed more than 200 Breton *primores* who were raiding in that year, and more Bretons allied with the Vikings in 865.²⁰ It is more than possible that Salomon was at least as powerful as Charles and his officers in west Francia in this period and that the peace negotiations and grants to Salomon of 867 represent a treaty which Charles was forced to seek.²¹ Salomon is not recorded as paying tribute on this occasion. The change in the terms of reference to Salomon may well therefore reflect a real change in political status and strength. However, the very fact that some sources call Erispoë *rex* would indicate that we are dealing with a changing trend rather than with sudden changes: there was no moment of creation of a kingship, as the *Chronicle of Nantes* would have us think, but Breton (and other) thoughts turned more and more to a view of the Breton ruler as king.²²

However we assess the relationship of the principal rulers with the Carolingians, and especially the opposition of Salomon, the above range of developments represents changes for Brittany in the emergence of a series of men with at least a notional responsibility for the whole of it. La Borderie must surely have been right in seeing the ninth century as a period in which a Breton monarchy did emerge, even if he anticipated the development somewhat. Pre-Carolingian Brittany appears to have been politically very fragmented, according to the evidence of Gregory of Tours and the (largely ninth-century) corpus of *Vitae*.²³ Rulers termed *duces* and *comites* made their appearances, but always in limited geographical contexts: Riwal, one of the better evidenced, is called *dux* of merely part of Domnonia (northern Brittany) in the *Life* of Guéanolé. Only one of these

¹⁹ Merlet 1896, p. 39. The combined evidence of the charters in this respect is more credible than the retrospective eleventh-century report. (Cf. Planiol 1953, ii. 37f.) Moreover, the elevation of Nominœ is not reported in the 'Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium', a source much in favour of him (Mabillon 1738, pp. 202-31), and the so-called 'Annals of Redon' refer to Nominœ as *subregulus* but to Salomon (and Erispoë) as *rex* (Migne, *PL*, 202, col. 1323 - this latter text is extremely brief and represents an abstract made for Robert of Torigny, abbot of Mont S. Michel in the mid- to late twelfth century. It presumably drew upon earlier records but we cannot know if they were contemporary or not). The *Chronicle of Nantes* also includes a letter of confirmation of ecclesiastical privilege which refers to Erispoë as *rex*; Merlet 1896, pp.44-8; cf. Planiol 1953, ii.39.

²⁰ *AB*, pp. 89f., 117-24.

²¹ See above, p. 100.

²² Cf. Planiol 1953, ii. 43f., who argues that the Franks too must have seen Brittany as a kingdom (but this did not prevent them expecting tribute).

²³ The exception to the ninth-century date of the Lives is in the *Life* of Samson, which still appears more likely to have been written in the seventh century, *pace* Poulin 1977; see now Wood, 1988. The *Life* is not, however, distinctive in its political terminology.

rulers, Iudicaël, contemporary of Dagobert, acquired the title *rex* from a contemporary source, and even he was so termed by the distant Fredegar. His connections were in fact confined to Domnonia.²⁴ Hints of movement towards political unification only come with the Carolingian onslaught. Before Louis selected Nominoë, resistance seems to have been focused about a certain Morvan, who is called king (*rex*) by the contemporary Ermold and by the Astronomer and 'a tyrant who elevated himself to the kingship' by the later *Life* of Conwoion.²⁵ It is difficult to assess what was happening, but the concentration of references suggests the beginnings of some movement of wider import at that time. The *Royal Frankish Annals* note that Morvan asserted a claim to royal power, against the usual custom of the Bretons - a clear indication of change.²⁶ And Ermold may have commented that Morvan did not deserve to be called *rex* because he had no powers of government, but this too is notice of the fact of development.²⁷

From Morvan, then, there seems to have been a new element in the political structure of Brittany: the notion of a single political - not merely social - identity and with it a prospect of the role of single ruler to be filled.

In the case of Salomon, at least, there is good indication that he used institutions in support of his authority, for he seems to have utilised some machinery of government within Brittany. We hear of counts with territorially-defined countships during the ninth century: *comes provinciae Broueroc*, *comes* (sic) *Poucaer*, and of other countships without territorial designation - though never more than five at any one time.²⁸ Rennes and Nantes seem to have been kept in the hands of the principal rulers; the remaining counties were often hereditarily transmitted.²⁹ Every count of whom we have knowledge appeared with Salomon on the major occasions 'of state' in 868 and 869 when he confirmed privileges and made gifts to Redon.³⁰ This suggests some capacity to compel attendance and the possibility, therefore, of the dependence of the counts on the principal ruler, and their potential use as his functionaries. Pascwethen, as count of Broweroc, was certainly used as envoy (*vicarius*) by Salomon in the mission to

²⁴ See La Borderie 1905, i.350-488; Planiol 1953, i.254-64; Chédeville and Guillotel 1984, pp.67-8.

²⁵ La Borderie 1905, ii.7-26; Faral 1964, line 1308; Astron, MGH, SS II, p. 623.

²⁶ *ARF*, s.a. 818, p. 148: 'Nam postquam Mormanus, qui in ea praeter solitum Brittonibus morem regiam sibi vindicaverat potestatem, ab exercitu imperatoris occisus est...'. Cf., however, the assertion of the cartulary of Landevennec (an eleventh-century cartulary containing edited earlier material) that Gradlon had been king in the time of Charles the Great; La Borderie 1888, p. 152, though Davies 1985a, pp.94-5, suggests that this text is of no earlier than mid-tenth-century date.

²⁷ Faral 1964, line 1309. For all this see now Chédeville and Guillotel 1984, pp.211-12, 219-20.

²⁸ *Cart. Redon*, no. xxi, ccxlvii, cclviii, cvii.

²⁹ See Planiol 1953, i. 254-75, ii.65-8; La Borderie 1905, ii. 137-41, Davies 1988, pp.166, 172-3, 203. We do not know the relationship of these counties with pre-ninth-century units.

³⁰ *Cart. Redon*, no. ccxli, ccxli.

Charles in 867.³¹ Salomon's ability to raise tribute from Brittany, for payment to Charles in 864, may further suggest the existence of some administrative machinery.³² It was levied, so say the *Annals of St. Bertin*, s.a. 863, 'according to ancient custom'. The possibility of the existence of some fiscal machinery is also indicated by Salomon's order for donation and construction from his 'public rights', *ex nostro publico* in 869.³³ Further, both Nominoë and Salomon used *missi* for making grants and presiding over cases, in their own names.³⁴ And Salomon and Pascwethen, at least, seem to have had some powers of jurisdiction over the more powerful Bretons. Complaints went to the ruler, who presided and on three occasions resolved the cases - whereas judgement itself was more usually, in less politically sensitive cases, a matter for locals.³⁵ All of the above considerations, though sketchy, suggest the exercise of some powers over the whole community by the principal ruler and the existence of some machinery by which his will might be effected.

Rulers and counts were not, however, the only element in the political structure, for there was also the *machtiern* (sometimes *tiarn* or even *tirannus*), a person distinguished by his own proper term of reference, of whom there is plentiful evidence in the Redon cartulary. *Machtiern* is a Breton word which includes the element *tiern*, from common Celtic *tegnos/tigernos* 'ruler', and hence modern Welsh *teyrn* 'ruler, monarch' and the occurrence of the element in personal names such as Vortigern and Tegernomalus.³⁶ The word occurs in Welsh and Cornish - *W. mechteyrn*, *C. mychtiern* - where it usually has the meaning of 'great ruler, overlord'; in Cornish it is used of Pharoah, of David, and of Christ.³⁷ There is evidence, then, of rulers other than the principal ruler in Brittany in the ninth century. What may be said about them?

The *machtiern* was of extremely localised significance. There is much that associates him with what was apparently the primary unit of social organisation in east Brittany at that period, the *plebs*, a word which survives in modern Breton

³¹ *AB*, p. 137.

³² *AB*, p. 113; cf. s.a. 863, p. 96. (See also Ermold, Faral 1964, line 1376: Morvan refused to pay tribute.) See further Davies 1988, pp.205-6.

³³ *Cart. Redon*, no. cxxli.

³⁴ *Cart. Redon*, no. cvi, cxi, lxxxvii, cxxxix, ccxxv, for example. See further Davies 1988, pp.203-5.

³⁵ *Cart. Redon*, no. xxi, ccxlvii, cclxi; cclxvii, cxcii, clxxx, etc. Cf. also La Borderie 1905, ii. 136, on Salomon giving judgement. See further Davies 1986a.

³⁶ See Ficuriot 1971, pp. 622f.; Planiol 1953, ii. 95-102; Jackson 1953, pp. 446f.

³⁷ The meaning of the initial element in this word is disputed: *mach* means 'surety' but it has been suggested that there may have been a lost adjective, cognate with Irish *mass*, meaning 'fine', and hence the usage 'great ruler' in insular contexts. In Brittany, as we shall see, it makes much more sense to understand *mach* as 'surety'. Whatever the discussion about the meaning of the separate elements in the word *machtiern* there is no disagreement that the term signifies 'ruler', both in its root meaning and its use in other Brittonic contexts at a comparable period. Williams 1939-41, pp. 39f.; see also Williams 1972, p.26. For an exhaustive treatment of the occurrence of the word, see now Sheringham 1981.

place-names as *plou*.³⁸ Plebs, basically, means 'group of people'; by the ninth century it quite clearly had a territorial connotation too: the land inhabited by the group. Men identified themselves with reference to their *plebs*; transactions took place and property lay in this or that *plebs*; it is not uncommon to find that transactions had to be notified to the men of the *plebs*, or enquiries were addressed to them. The word has much the same connotation as a modern civil parish. (Medieval *plebes* usually became modern 'communes', the smallest units of civil administration in France, and were the ecclesiastical parishes of the time before 1789.) Now, it is most unusual to find more than one *machtiern* officiating in a *plebs* in any one period, though he might personally have held properties in several *plebes* and though it is not unusual to find one person holding the *machtiern*ship of a few *plebes*, which were not necessarily those in which he had properties; hence, Portitoe had properties in Pleucadeuc but appeared as *machtiern* in Pleucadeuc, Ruffiac, Molac, and Carentoir, and the *machtiern* Trihoiarn may have sold property in Guillac though Riwalt was *machtiern* there.³⁹ Moreover, the terms of reference sometimes explicitly associate the *machtiern*ship with the *plebs*; *machtiern in plebe Ruffiac* or *plebe Carentoerense*, *machtiern in illa plebe*, and even *princeps plebis*.⁴⁰ (Reference to Iarnhitin as *machtiern*, *tyrannus* and *princeps* in one single charter seems to establish the identity of *machtiern* and *princeps*.) In Plencadeuc, therefore, we find Guorvili as *machtiern*, followed by Portitoe, followed by Bili; in Ruffiac, Portitoe, followed by Guorvili, him by Catloiant, him by Iarnhitin and him by Hinualadr. The only exceptions lie in the dual *machtiern*ship of the two brothers Portitoe and Guorvili, who are explicitly designated 'duo *machtiern* in plebe Catoc', so marking the peculiarity. The role or office of *machtiern* therefore appears to have been defined in relation to the unit of civil association, the *plebs*, and the implication is that each *plebs* had its *machtiern*.

His own properties were not widely scattered, as were those of the counts and principal rulers; the extent of the area in which he might perform functions as *machtiern* was very limited - 25 miles in diameter at the most. Hence Count Bran and Count Pascwethen appeared in places as scattered as Cléguérec, Retiers and Guérande, places more than 75 miles apart.⁴¹ Indeed, Pascwethen appears so frequently that we can determine changes in the pattern of his appearances: at first, c. 850-60, he occurs as witness in a very limited area - Molac, Redon, Plélan; subsequently, and just before he was termed count, we find him in Fougeray, in Retiers, in Cléguérec.⁴² The *machtiern* Iarnhitin, son of Portitoe, on the other hand, appeared from Molac to Ruffiac (about 13 miles apart) and had properties in

³⁸ *lebem* < *plou*; cf. modern Welsh *plwyf*, 'parish'. Most *plebes* had a corresponding church. There is much discussion of the possible Breton ecclesiastical origin of these civil units; see Largillière 1925. Compare, however, Flatrès 1956, pp. 11f., for suggestions of the pre-Breton origin of the *plou* of Brittany. For *plebes* in the ninth century see further Davies 1983.

³⁹ *Cart. Redon*, no. cxvi; and see below, n. 46.

⁴⁰ *Cart. Redon*, no. ix, xvi, cxvxi, cclv; clxxviii, cclxvii.

⁴¹ *Cart. Redon*, no. ccxlvii, xxi, xxx, lii

⁴² For example, *Cart. Redon*, no. ccxlix, xx and then xxi, ccxlvii, ccxv, ccxlii, etc.

Ruffiac;⁴³ Machtiern Deurhoiam appeared as machtiern in Augan, and perhaps Ploërmel, as witness in Caro, Plélan and Carentoir, and had properties in Augan, Campénéac and Plélan.⁴⁴ (Augan to Plélan is about 12 miles; Augan to Carentoir about 11 miles.) His father Riwalt appeared as machtiern in Augan, Ploërmel, Campénéac and Guillac, as witness in Augan, and made donations from Campénéac and Augan.⁴⁵ The greatest span of appearances are those of Portitoe from Molac to Guer, less than 20 miles, and of Guorvili his brother from Pleucadeuc to Guer.⁴⁶ (See Fig. 6.2) Though the occurrence of two machtiern brothers is unusual, the family interest is not; there are several machtiern families and the position was clearly often hereditary. Hence Iarnwocon, 858-78, son of Deurhoiam, machtiern c.840-68, son of Riwalt, machtiern 816-35;⁴⁷ machtiern Iarnhitin, 821-39, and his two sons Portitoe, machtiern 821-34, and Guorvili, machtiern 821-40, Portitoe's son Iarnhitin, machtiern 843-72, and Guorvili's son Catloiant, machtiern 840-50;⁴⁸ Ratfred, machtiern 842, and his son Bili, machtiern 848.⁴⁹ The sum of the above considerations indicates clearly enough that the machtiern was some sort of small-scale hereditary ruler.

The charters are sometimes explicit about the attributes and functions of these rulers. The machtiern might expect the loyalty of the men of the *plebs*⁵⁰ and might have powers over vacant properties in the *plebs*.⁵¹ It is implied that the machtiern might receive payment of dues in some cases: in 868 Altfred was accused of holding monastic income as if it were *sub censu*.⁵² The very complaint indicates, of course, that exemptions were possible, if not common; many grants were made *sine censu*, after all, like the sale made by a layman to his sister in 821.⁵³ In the 830s a grant was made in order to pay what was due to the *princeps*. This material suggests, therefore, that payments were sometimes due to the machtiern, although there is more reason to suppose these were payments arising from his seignorial powers than from his machtiernly status.⁵⁴

43 *Cart. Redon*, no. cxlv, cxliii, ccxx, cxxxix, cclvii, ccli, cl, lv, xxxvii. Cf. Planiol 1953, ii. 84-92, 114-20, for details of all machtierns cited in the cartulary and Davies 1988, pp. 175-83.

44 *Cart. Redon*, no. xxiv, clxxv; lxxix, cvii, cxii, ccxxxvi.

45 *Cart. Redon*, no. cxvi, cxciv; v, cc; cvii, cxliii, vi, cxii, ccxxvi.

46 *Cart. Redon*, no. ix, xi, xiii, xii, xiv, xvi, cxxxi, cxlvii, clv, clvi, clxx, cxcvi, cclii, cclv; cxii, cxxxi, cxlvii, cxlviii, clv, clvi, cxvi, clxi, clxxviii, cclv, viii, xii, xvi, xxxiv, xlix, cxxxiii. See Davies 1988, pp. 176 and 178 for individual maps.

47 *Cart. Redon*, no. clxxv, ccxxv, ccxli, ccxxxvi, lxxix; cvii, cxii, ccl; cxvi, cxlviii, ccxix. The dates given here are the extreme range of the dates of each individual's appearance.

48 *Cart. Redon*, no. cxlvi, cclxvii, cxlvii; xvi, ix, xii, xiii etc; xii, xvi, clv etc; cxxxix, cxliii, cxlv etc.

49 *Cart. Redon*, no. Axvii; cvx.

50 *Cart. Redon*, no. xcvi; cf. Planiol 1953, ii. 100.

51 *Cart. Redon*, no. clxxxv; cf. Tonnerre 1978, pp. 176f.

52 *Cart. Redon*, no. xxi.

53 *Cart. Redon*, no. cxlvi.

54 *Cart. Redon*, no. clxxviii; cf. clxxx and vi, and the discussion of La Borderie 1905, ii. 157. For full discussion of this complex issue see Davies 1988, pp. 139-42.

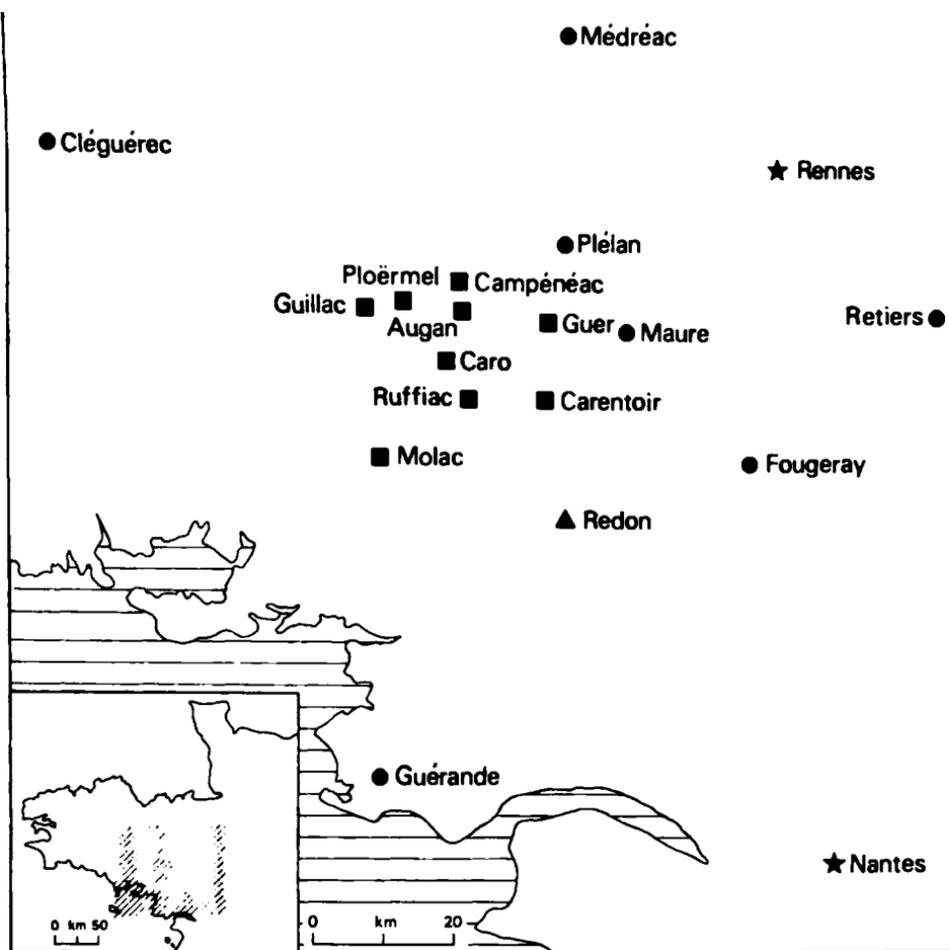


Figure 6.2: Redon and its Neighbourhood

The clearest functions exercised by *machtiern* were, however, those relating to transactions. They presided at transactions of sale and loan, donation and confirmation of donation, though transactions could also take place without reference to them; hence, from the early ninth century we find reference to this or that happening *ante machtiern* and sometimes *verbo machtiern*.⁵⁵ Occasionally they appear to have played some part in securing transactions: Ratuil accordingly received 6 pence in 843 after a sale (as did Nominoë's *missus* and the *fideiussores* -the *machtiern* was not the only guarantor).⁵⁶ They also presided over the resolution of disputes: when a layman had a grievance against Redon in 854 he took his plaint to the *machtiern*, who ordered an investigation. Several *machtiern* were present at a hearing about disputed property rights between an abbot and a layman, under the presidency of one of their number.⁵⁷ *But*, they were not the only presidents and were not the judges. Disputes between ordinary laymen were sometimes heard by the principal ruler's officers (*missi* or *comites*), with judgement being given by *scabini* in the earlier period.⁵⁸ (After Nominoë, there are no references to *scabini* and few to the *mallus*, and the implication is that the Carolingian terminology dropped out of use, though this did not prevent the continuation of meetings or the use of respected local men in judicial cases.) Planiol makes the sensible observation that the machinery of justice clearly existed at two different levels, that of the 'prince' for quasi-political affairs - to whose jurisdiction the *machtiern* himself was subject - and that of the *machtiern* for local affairs.⁵⁹ Complaints might be made to the *machtiern* at a *lis*, a word meaning 'court' or 'residence' in Modern Welsh (*llys*) and associated with rulers in Old Welsh poetry. The *lis* was clearly a residence, with private rooms: Riwalt had a *domus*, Lisuison, and Salomon lay ill at Lisenfau.⁶⁰ Sometimes records and facilities for writing were specified: one transaction was done at Augan but recorded at Liscoet.⁶¹ Normally only one *lis* was found in each *plebs* and only one *machtiern* was associated with each *lis* though the principal ruler or his agent might be found in company there with him.⁶² The *lis* might well have appurtenant property, like Lisbroniuin and *hoc quod adjacet ei, ex plebe Kempeniac, 844/50*.⁶³

55 *Cart. Redon*, no. cxii, cxv, clxxii, clxxx; clxviii. Transactions were performed in different locations: on the land itself, in or in front of a church, at a *lis* or *aula* (court), occasionally in someone's house (*domus*). The place where the transaction was performed was not necessarily in the same *plebs* as the land which changed hands, though there was a tendency for this to happen where the *machtiern* presided; this perhaps suggests that the *machtiern*, if presiding, travelled to the relevant local centre.

56 *Cart. Redon*, no. cxi.

57 *Cart. Redon*, no. clxii, cf. no. cclxxi; clxxx.

58 *Cart. Redon*, no. ccxlvii, xxi, cxcii, cclxi, xxix, ccxlii.

59 Planiol 1981-4, ii.97-9. See further Davies 1985b and Davies 1986a.

60 *Cart. Redon*, no. cxii, cxiv, lxxxv.

61 *Cart. Redon*, no. v.

62 *Cart. Redon*, no. xxix, clxxvi.

63 *Cart. Redon*, no. cvii.

but for that reason alone, though there was usually only one per *plebs*, it is clear that the whole *plebs* was not considered appurtenant to the *lis*. One *machtiern* might have several, however, and the *lis* was alienable: Riwalt had Lisbroniuin and Lisuison, and gave the former to Nominoë.⁶⁴ It was therefore quite clearly a private residence, but one which might often have associations with public duties, the place from which the *machtiern* acted; there may have been distinctions between those treated merely as properties, in which the term *lis* was merely residual, like the half *randremes* of Liswern given to Nominoë in the 840s, and those where the *machtiern* still acted out his public function.

The *machtiern* therefore seems to have been a local ruler with civil functions, who might expect some payment for his services. There is nothing which suggests he had a military *function* - whereas there are suggestions that the counts did have such a function⁶⁵ - although, of course, the anecdotes of the tyrannous *machtierns* suggest that they had some military capacity. Maybe there were *machtierns* amongst the 200 raiders killed by Robert in 862 or amongst the fighting forces attached to counts.⁶⁶ Whichever way this problem is answered, it is clear that the function of the *machtiern* as such was civil.

Was he a public official or a person of independent authority? This question has vexed scholars for generations and it is quite clear that present evidence is not adequate to supply a conclusive answer.⁶⁷ The chief problem turns on the *plebs* of Bain and on Redon itself. The statements of the *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium* that Nominoë, as Louis's *missus*, handed over a quarter of the *plebs* of Bains to the foundation at Redon, property itself granted by the *machtiern* Ratvili, and that Louis himself subsequently gave Bains and another *plebs*, Langon, to Redon indicate that the emperor was in a position to alienate *plebes*; and suggest that Nominoë, as *missus* had been assigned a quarter as income.⁶⁸ If this was so, and there is no reason to disbelieve the *Gesta*, then either Louis did so as emperor because he had ultimate powers of control over all *plebes*, or he happened to have come into personal possession of them.⁶⁹ This therefore clearly raises the possibility that power over the *plebs* was an aspect of the 'puissance publique', the apparatus of the Carolingian state.⁷⁰ Some indication of the political status of the *machtiern* is supplied by three separate statements of his relationship with the *plebs*: (*princeps*) *qui possidebat plebem, qui Bain haberet in potestatem, princeps qui dominaretur in Bain*; moreover, in 872 Aourken was *tirannissa* and legate in

64 *Cart. Redon*, no. cvii cxxii lxxviii, cviii, clxxxviii.

65 See La Borderie 1905, ii.140f; Davies 1988, pp. 170-1, 182-3.

66 *AB*, p. 90.

67 See La Borderie 1905, ii. 158-61; Planiol 1953, ii. 110f., 127f; Fleuriot 1971, p. 652.

68 Mabillon 1738, pp. 210f.

69 Louis had made grants of lands near Morvan's place (near the river Ellé) to an abbot (Faral 1963, lines 1344/5). We do know, therefore, that Louis had properties, or power over properties, in Brittany.

70 Planiol 1981-4, ii. 83, for full discussion of all this see Davies 1988, pp.192-3 and notes.

Ploucadeuc *sub potestate Salomonis*.⁷¹ Now these are proprietary terms and suggest an essentially proprietary relationship with the *plebs*. Hence, both *plebs* and *lis* were alienable: the *plebs* of Bains and *plebs* of Langon were given to Redon; Riwalt gave Lisbroniuin to Nominœ and Salomon gave Lis Inrwocon away.⁷² The case of the lady who, in default of heirs, willed *Seminiaca plebs* to Salomon provides an alternative case of a proprietary relationship with the *plebs*.⁷³ Presumably these cases do not imply the possession of all properties in the *plebs*, but rather the possession of some specified rights and dues; hence, in the 840s tolls taken at Balrit were due to the man who had the *plebs* of Bains *in potestatem*, and in the 860s the two properties of Bron-Winoc were reserved, in default of heirs, for him who *dominaretur* in Bains.⁷⁴ Of course, the use of proprietary terms need not make the relationship between *plebs* and *princeps* a purely private one;⁷⁵ after all, the rulers of Brittany were mentioned in similar terms: *N possidente, dominante Britanniam*. That use merely stresses the prevalence of proprietary attitudes to political power. The genuinely proprietary element, as manifest in the alienability of *plebs* and *lis* and possibility of accumulation of numbers of them, does mean, however, that if the *machtiern* was in reality exercising a public office for which he was responsible to some higher level of government -be it count or Breton ruler or king -then already by the 840s, within a generation of Louis's conquest, there was much that was private in his exercise of the office. In this Brittany was scarcely distinguished from the west Frankish kingdom as a whole.

If the above is true, then the crux of the problem does not lie in determining the source of the *machtiern*'s power as we perceive it in the mid-ninth century. By anybody's assessment there was much that was private about *machtiernly* power at that period. Hence, Planiol writes of the 'hérédité de fait' of the prince's agents being transformed into 'hérédité de droit', as a means of explaining ninth-century developments.⁷⁶ The crux of the problem is twofold. The real crux lies in origins: were the earliest *machtierns* agents of some higher authority or virtually independent local rulers? The ninth-century writers of saintly *Vitae* conceptualised the original *princeps plebis* as leader and founder of the community: Fracanus established the *plebs* which subsequently took his name, Ploufragan.⁷⁷ They saw the origins as independent. This does not mean they were, but it does at least emphasise the contemporary view of them. The secondary crux is this: if there was

71 *Cart. Redon*, no. clxii, cvi, clxxxv, cclvii.

72 *Cart. Redon*, no. i, cvii, lxxviii.

73 *Cart. Redon*, no. cix: I see no reason to argue, as some have done, that this must really have been a royal grant.

74 *Cart. Redon*, no. cvi, clxxxv.

75 I cannot help wondering, despite the cases in which the *princeps* and *machtiern* of a *plebs* were the same person, if this was always so.

76 Planiol 1953, ii. 123.

77 *Vita Sancti Winwaloei* in *La Borderie* 1888, pp. 9f: '(Fracanus) fundum quendam repperiens non parvum, sed quasi unius plebis modulum.... inundatione cujusdam fluvii qui proprie Sanguis dicitur locupletem'.

some private aspect of the *machtiern's* power, it clearly was not solely exercised for the private benefit of his family. A sense of public responsibility is perfectly clear in the deliberations and procedures that follow complaint. To that extent at least *machtiernly* power is public. But did the *machtiern* of the mid-ninth century have a responsibility *ex officio* to anyone other than the community of the *plebs*?

Some consideration of other Celtic areas offers possibly useful suggestions. The existence of special peace-keeping officers in medieval southern Scotland and Northumbria (*mair* and *index*),⁷⁸ as also in Wales and western parts of England (serjeant of the peace),⁷⁹ officers whose functions are commonly considered to be of Celtic origin, strengthens the case for the pre-Carolingian origins of the functions performed by the *machtiern*. In the North the *mair* is notable for receiving dues for the performance of local policing functions, while the *iudex* is even more comparable to the *machtiern* in the prominent part he played in the attestation of lay transactions and hence in *traditio* itself, and in the occasional rulings he gave in court. The serjeant of the peace is notable not merely for his policing functions but for his role in forcing suspects to find sureties for their due appearance in court. Though all the material which relates to the function of these officials is of late origin, normally twelfth-century or later, and though there are clear differences between these and *machtierns*, nevertheless the occurrence of a local official much concerned in transactions and another much concerned with sureties must raise the possibility that the *machtiern* is an earlier, Breton example of the local peace-keeper and that the several cases represent differing manifestations of some early Brittonic peace-keeping institution.⁸⁰ The sixth to eighth-century law code sometimes known as *Canones Wallici* may possibly supply evidence of the operation of such institutions in Brittany at an earlier stage, when it refers to the *iudex* who presided over cases.⁸¹

If the existence of comparative institutions in other Celtic areas may point in the direction of the independent origins of *machtiernly* power, there are further ninth-century considerations which point in the direction of the retention of a measure at least of independence and of a lack of responsibility *ex officio* to any higher authority. Though there is evidence of vassalage in Brittany at this period, there is absolutely no evidence of the vassalage of *machtierns* to the counts, the officers who might be expected to have been their natural immediate superiors.

⁷⁸ Dickinson 1977, pp. 52-5; Barrow 1973, pp. 67-74.

⁷⁹ Stewart-Brown 1936, esp. pp. 87-98.

⁸⁰ I am most grateful to Patrick Wormald for initially suggesting this line of enquiry. It seems to me that, in fact, the offices of *mair* and serjeant of the peace are not close parallels of that of *machtiern*, particularly with respect to the contexts in which sureties were acquired, but the existence of peace-keeping officers in Brittonic contexts remains extremely interesting in the light of the *machtiern's* functions.

⁸¹ 'Canones Wallici' (A), 30 in Bieler 1963, p. 142; for the date and provenance of this collection see Dumville 1984 and Davies 1986b; see also Fleuriot 1971, pp. 601-18. See also the comments of Professor Fleuriot, citing Professor Jenkins, on the *machtiern* as 'private' law officer.

Where the principal ruler of Brittany communicates with *machtierns* he does so directly. Moreover, the principal rulers moved about with their own retinues, which were not composed of *machtierns*: Nominoë visited Redon with his *optimates*; Salomon's son Wigon had his own *fideles*.⁸² Further, Salomon, apparently, could not compel the attendance of all *machtierns* at his principal meetings, even those who resided near the place of meeting. In 868, at Maure, therefore, Deurhoiarn was there but neither Iarnhitin of Ruffiac nor Alfrid of Medréac nearby were; the same was true at Plélan in 869.⁸³ Such considerations suggest that the principal rulers had no power to compel the performance of *machtiernly* functions by the *machtierns*, though they might establish personal relationships with them. Portitoe and Guorvili were therefore vassals (*vassi dominici*); and Salomon could call on the *tirannissa*, wife of Iarnhitin, *machtiern* of Ruffiac, to act as his representative in Pleucadeuc.⁸⁴ I would suggest therefore that the *machtiern* structure was utilised by the mid-ninth century rulers of Brittany, Breton or Carolingian, in order to reach the localities, but that it did not depend upon these rulers.

The distribution of political power in Brittany in the ninth century therefore has an unusual air, because of the existence of local rulers. It is unlike the distribution of powers in Wales and Scotland and Ireland. Was it so unusual in Francia? There seem to have been local regulators of social relationships and transactions, with proprietary rights over the units of regulation, and with a power to demand and receive tax. They had an economic and social power which permitted arbitrary exploitation: some *machtierns* were literally *tiranni* as one charter wryly noted - 'Alfrutum tyrannum et vere tyrannum'.⁸⁵ Their power was transmitted hereditarily, and they were not *ex officio* answerable to any superior authority, though they might have contracted a personal relationship with such a powerful man.

If this was so, then the capacity of the principal rulers of Brittany - Nominoë, Erispoë, Salomon especially - to govern, the capacity to command and to relate to the men of the *plebs* was limited by their capacity to establish individual relationships with the *machtierns*. Government existed on two levels, and there was no clearly established machinery of contact between those levels. Hence, the relationship of the Carolingian rulers with the Breton was conditioned by the two separate factors of their fluctuating relationship with the principal rulers on the one hand and on the other of those rulers' relationship with the *machtierns*. Despite the interest and activity of the early Carolingian kings in Brittany, therefore, the capacity of Charles to intervene in and affect Breton affairs was limited not merely by the military power of the principal ruler but by the local powers of local rulers.

82 Mabillon 1738, p. 210; *AB*, s.a. 873, p. 193.

83 *Cart. Redon*, no. ccxli. If the *machtiern* is to be identified with the *iudex publicus* of Salomon's charter for Prüm of 860, then the fact that he is distinguished from the royal servants (*ministri*) would emphasize the same point; Beyer 1860, p. 99.

84 *Cart. Redon*, no. cclvii.

85 *Cart. Redon*, no. ccxlvii.

CHARLES THE BALD AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF AQUITAINE

Jane Martindale

Was 'Aquitanian separatism'¹ the chief reason for the failure of the Carolingians to control their territories south of the River Loire? Should it be accepted (as it often has been by historians) that royal authority could achieve nothing in the face of that 'incontestable sense of community' which constantly found expression in 'resistance to foreign domination' - and in particular to Frankish domination?² Assertions such as these have led historians to conclude that Aquitaine was virtually 'ungovernable', whatever methods of government or administration were employed, and whatever were the policies adopted by its rulers.

It is my contention that, although these assumptions have provided a convenient - and not altogether implausible - explanation of the series of revolts which shook the region during the years between 840 and 877, they are fundamentally misleading. Undoubtedly they have deeply influenced all discussions on the condition of Aquitaine during the reign of Charles the Bald, and have possibly even drawn attention away from any consideration of the conduct of government in the region, as opposed to the discussion of the political rivalries between different factions, which have received extensive historiographical treatment.³

1 Auzias 1937, pp. 8, 135, 'les Aquitains séparatistes'.

2 Dhondt 1948, p. 169; cf. Auzias, p. 58; Lewis 1965, p. 51.

3 The work by Auzias was published posthumously and, although the narrative political sections had been largely completed, the analysis of Carolingian methods of government in Aquitaine had scarcely been begun. Since it has been used for reference by later historians writing on the region (e.g. by Dhondt and Lewis) it is not surprising that they followed the approach already adopted. Dhondt of course reviews the whole of the western 'regnum Francorum' in his discussion of the formation of the 'territorial principalities', but Lewis's theme is restricted to society south of the Loire. His analysis of the 'Carolingian system' (pp. 50-69) does not supersede Auzias. Wolff 1965 provides a far more detailed and penetrating analysis of the position of Aquitaine in the ensemble of Carolingian territories, but this study only relates to the years before Charles the Great's death. The introduction by Léon Levillain to his edition of the diplomas of Kings Pippin I and II of Aquitaine contains many important observations on the government and personnel of the kingdom, but has been strangely neglected: Levillain, pp. clxviii-clxxviii. See further, Werner 1958-60, pp. 258-64.

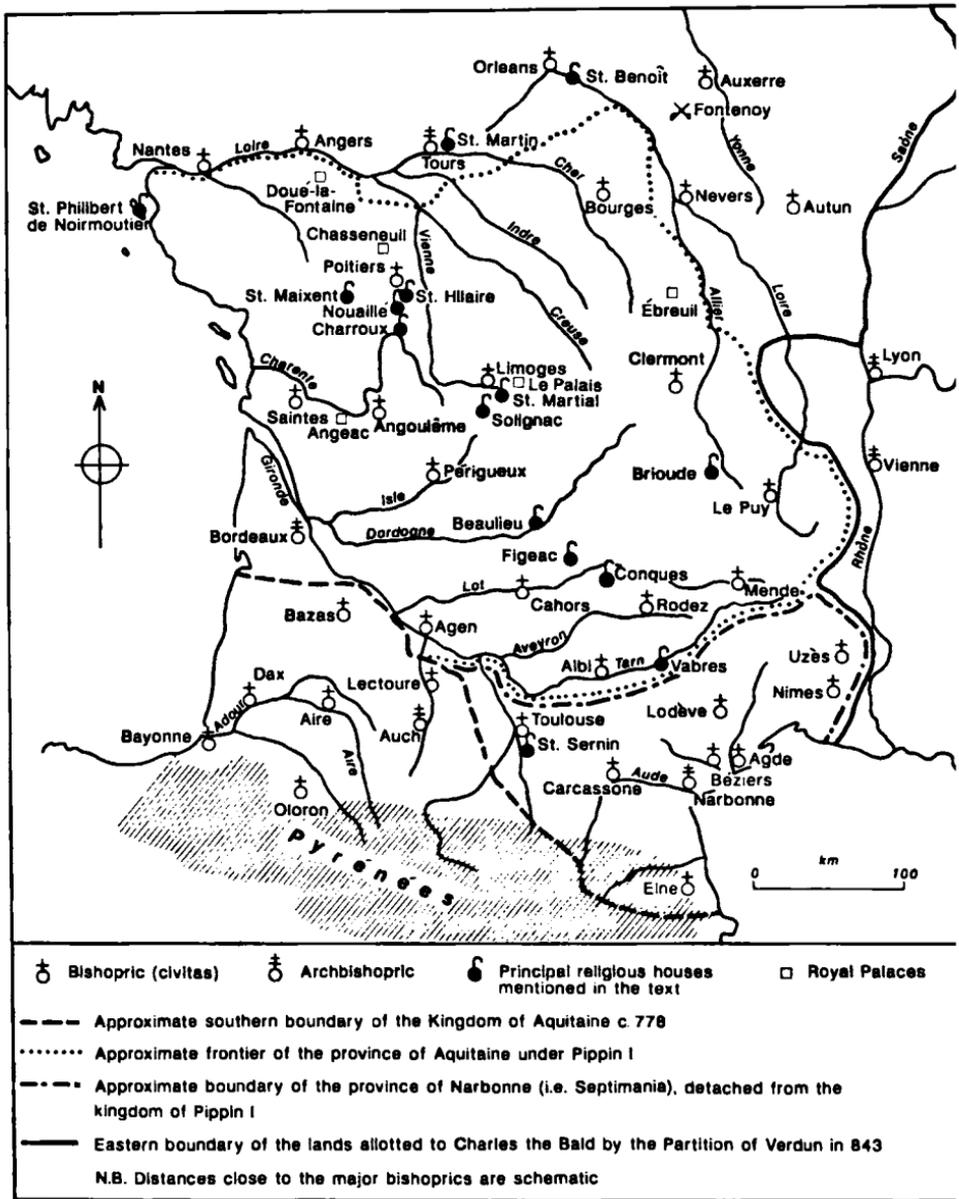


Figure 7.1: The Kingdom of Aquitaine

Admittedly, on first consideration the view that Aquitaine was virtually ungovernable, and its inhabitants' opposition to the Carolingians deep-seated and uncontrollable, seems to be fairly convincing. For even in 840, when Charles the Bald succeeded his father, many of the secular magnates of the region refused to accept him as their king, preferring to give their allegiance to the young Pippin II,⁴ son of the independent 'rex Aquitanorum' who had died in 838; and it was only in 848, after Charles had undertaken a number of military campaigns, that the 'Aquitani' came to Orléans to submit to him and accept his authority.⁵ In spite of the fact that Charles the Bald was consecrated king at Orléans⁶ his position was even then not entirely secured; during the following years various Aquitanian factions appealed to other members of the Carolingian house to act as their ruler, or reverted to their former adherence to Pippin II who persisted in his claim to be 'rex Aquitanorum'.⁷ If these events are interpreted as proof of Aquitanian 'particularism', it seems logical to accept Charles the Bald's subsequent actions as an attempt to alleviate the grievances expressed by a 'nationalist' party because, whereas his apologists at first treated the region as though it merely formed part of a greater whole, this had to be reversed after 855 when Charles the Bald himself in his turn created a 'rex Aquitanorum'. Instead of being incorporated into the great west Frankish kingdom bestowed on him by Louis the Pious,⁸ in 855 Aquitaine was separated from the northern parts of his realm when Charles the Bald's young

⁴ Astron., p. 372:...'altera pars populi... assumentes filium quondam Pippini itidem nomine.' The character of the support given to Pippin II is revealed by a diploma issued in his name soon after his father's death, in spite of the fact the Louis the Pious withheld official consent from the succession of this grandson, see below nn. 8 and 25.

⁵ *AB*, p.55. On the confusing chronology of Charles's movements during Jan.-June 848, see Levillain 1903, p. 36 n. 3 (cf. Lot and Halphen, p. 191 n. 1). According to Levillain Charles was in Poitiers on March 1st (T. 105) and moved from there to the Dordogne and then on to Limoges for the end of Lent and (?) Easter. He was consecrated at Orléans on June 6th, op. cit., pp. 35-7. But Charles's presence in Limoges is mentioned only by Ademar, p. 134: and this author misrepresents the sources for Charles the Bald's reign on more than one occasion - see Gillingham, *supra*.

⁶ The purpose of this ceremony has been much debated. In the context of this paper its significance seems to be that it was the first consecration of the reign, associated with the political problems of Aquitaine - whatever ideological significance it may have assumed in the minds of the king or his ecclesiastical supporters at a later date. On this wider significance, as the anointing rite came to be treated as constitutive, Nelson 1977, esp. pp. 245-50.

⁷ Pippin II only finally disappeared to an 'artissima custodia' in Senlis in 864. He had been forcibly tonsured in 852 and confined by Charles the Bald to St. Médard de Soissons, from where he had escaped as a 'layman'; during the intervening years the 'Aquitani' had also on one occasion appealed to King Louis 'the German' whose son pursued his political fortune in the region without much success. See *AB*, pp. 65, 67, 68-9, 113 and Auzias 1937, pp. 271-339; Devisse 1975, pp. 310, 357-79.

⁸ Nithard set the tone when he wrote of the 'donation' of Aquitaine by Louis the Pious to Charles and of the 'tyranny' exercised by those who opposed the Emperor's will in 838-9, pp. 32-4, with further references.

son and namesake was consecrated at Limoges. After the death of Charles 'the Child' another son, Louis, was sent to Aquitaine in 867;⁹ thus the 'regnum Aquitanorum' was perpetuated down to the time of Charles the Bald's own death.

Historically, of course, this change also represents a return to the solution devised by Charles the Great in the late eighth century for the government of Aquitaine;¹⁰ but in any case, whether or not Charles the Bald's return to this policy ought to be interpreted as a concession to Aquitanian independence, there can be little doubt that it, too, was a political failure. For although in many important spheres of government Charles was still able to secure obedience to his authority, in Aquitaine itself he met with a number of humiliating rebuffs;¹¹ and, moreover, it was during these years that considerable power fell into the hands of local magnates. The origins of the 'territorial principalities' of Aquitaine, founded by counts of Poitiers, Toulouse and probably also of Auvergne, may without debate be traced back to the political arrangements made, or accepted, by Charles the Bald - so that in some senses he could be held responsible for the ultimate disintegration of royal power in Aquitaine.¹²

However, the hypothesis that the exercise of royal power was undermined by the forces of 'Aquitanian separatism' seems to raise more problems than it solves. In the first place, there is the objection that it is now by no means universally agreed that Carolingian Aquitaine did represent a single national unity in the fashion envisaged by Léonce Auzias. For, as Ph. Wolff has argued, this 'vast and diverse country' was composed of groups with widely differing racial and linguistic origins, which over a number of centuries had undergone very different experiences of Frankish government.¹³ It cannot seriously be maintained that a kingdom which encompassed Gothic Septimania, and the Roman and Frankish inhabitants of Aquitaine - to say nothing of the mysterious Gascon population of

⁹ Charles 'the Child' was consecrated king at the Aquitanians' own request at Limoges in mid-October: *AB*, p. 71; cf. p. 135.

¹⁰ Wolff, pp. 270-4, places the creation of a 'regnum Aquitanorum' against the background of the Carolingian defeat in the Pyrenees in 778, and the difficulties experienced by Charles the Great's father and grandfather in suppressing the revolts of the 'principes' of Aquitaine.

¹¹ E.g. the almost immediate repudiation of the authority of Charles 'the Child': *AB*, p. 74; cf. above, pp. 112-3.

¹² Dhondt, pp. 169-209; and with a rather different interpretation: Werner 1965 (transl. 1979), p. 177.

¹³ Wolff, p. 269, draws attention to the fact that eventually there emerged out of the 'regnum Aquitanorum' 'des ensembles bien distincts, Aquitaine, Languedoc et Catalogne en particulier'; and, as had been already remarked by Levillain, Gascony virtually lay outside the scope of Carolingian control, Levillain, pp. clxviii-ix.

the south-west - ever produced a single 'national' faction to oppose the imposition of Frankish or Carolingian government.¹⁴

Secondly, there must be serious doubts over the significance of the political struggles in Aquitaine during Charles the Bald's reign. Is it really correct to interpret these as proving the existence of a 'national' opposition to external oppression? Regional sentiments there may have been, and hostility to Carolingian government; but from the beginning of Charles the Bald's reign the conflicts which took place in the formerly independent kingdom have all the signs of a struggle for power among the members of the Carolingian royal house itself. The initial resistance to Charles in Aquitaine, for instance, was the direct consequence of the decision made by Louis the Pious in 838-9 to override the pretensions of the young Pippin II to succeed his own father as 'rex Aquitanorum' - pretensions embodying the notion that the region ought to be treated as a hereditary kingdom according to the arrangements first made by the emperor in 817.¹⁵ The fierceness of the opposition aroused when Charles the Bald attempted to fulfil the emperor's will and to acquire Aquitaine for himself demonstrates the depth of attachment to the 'Pippinid' cause;¹⁶ although at another level the conflicts in Aquitaine may also be attributed to the problems resulting from bewildering and frequent changes in the distribution of lands and power among the sons of Louis the Pious during the latter part of their father's reign.¹⁷

Of equal importance politically was the impact of these dynastic rivalries on the regional magnates, as the struggle between Charles and Pippin II for the possession of Aquitaine seems to have caused the revival of antagonisms which had earlier been aroused during the crises of Louis the Pious' government, dividing his sons and their great aristocratic followers. The execution in 844 of Bernard of Septimania is the most striking example of this. Bernard's execution certainly took place in Aquitaine, and it was associated with Charles's efforts to

¹⁴ Certainly before the Carolingian conquests of the eighth century, 'Aquitania provincia' had normally been distinguished from 'Gothia' by contemporaries, as is shown by the so-called Fredegar (ed. Wallace-Hadrill), p. 121; cf. Wolff, pp. 293, 301. For the reign of Charles the Bald even the royal diplomas distinguish Septimania from the more northerly provinces of Aquitaine, T. e.g. nos. 44, 46 etc. In no. 43 the region is described as 'regnum Septimaniae'; cf. no. 322. On the position of the count of Toulouse/marka Tolosana' in 817: Wolff, p. 269, pp. 166-68.

¹⁵ Although the kingdom created for Pippin I in 817 was of smaller size than the territories ruled by Louis before 814, the more general clauses of the arrangements then made permitted the succession of one of the 'legitim(i) fili(i)' left by any of Louis's sons - 'si vero aliquis illorum decedens legitimos filios reliquerit.' Only if there were no legitimate children should the 'potestas' of each brother revert to the elder, *Ordinatio Imperii*, caps 1, 14-15 in MGH Cap. I, pp. 271-3. See further Ganshof 1955, pp. 279-80, for his concern over whether the *Ordinatio* ought to be interpreted in a 'unitary' or 'patrimonial' sense; cf. below n. 31.

¹⁶ Louis the Pious had to face strong opposition when the rumour first reached Aquitaine: 'Karolo idem a patre traditum regnum', Astron., p. 370.

¹⁷ The interpretation of Werner 1958-60, p. 262, that the sons of Louis the Pious had already 'corrupted' their great aristocracy, reverses the more commonly expressed judgement that it was the rapacity of the aristocracy which undermined royal authority.

bring the region under royal control; but historians have been unable to agree whether Charles's action affected the outcome of the siege of Toulouse, or on the motives which prompted the king to take this drastic step.¹⁸ However, the significance of this event - one of the most notable of Charles the Bald's early years - can only be grasped if it is related to the role played by the great marquis at the Battle of Fontenoy in 841, and to the rather equivocal position he occupied in the negotiations between the brothers Lothar, Louis and Charles from 840 onwards.¹⁹ Indeed, it may even be necessary to associate his death with the reputation which he had acquired at an earlier date while he was 'secundus...in imperio' to the Emperor Louis the Pious, when suspicions were expressed that he had committed adultery with Charles the Bald's own mother, the Empress Judith.²⁰

In this case, and in others where there is sufficient surviving information to allow the historian to speculate on such matters,²¹ it may be argued that many of the conflicts which took place within the frontiers of Aquitaine after 840 need to be related to issues and disputes occurring outside the region, but whose repercussions brought about, or heightened, an atmosphere of insecurity within it. The refusal of the Emperor Lothar to continue his support for the claims of Pippin II provides the most important instance of this: for the politics of the kingdom of Aquitaine were irrevocably transformed by the defeat of the army of Lothar and Pippin at Fontenoy in June 841, and as a result of the Carolingian diplomatic manoeuvres which took place north of the Loire.²² Moreover, it must never be forgotten that both the supporters and the opponents of Charles the Bald's régime south of the Loire were drawn from the ranks of that Frankish aristocracy which settled throughout the region after the Carolingians' conquest of Aquitaine had

¹⁸ The execution is noted as taking place 'in Acquitania, iussu Karoli', after the annalist had mentioned the warmth of the winter, *AB* p. 45. Lot and Halphen pp. 98-100, suggested a date of April-May 844, when the king was resident outside the walls of Toulouse or in the immediate vicinity. This dating rests on the strong circumstantial evidence of the royal diplomas, of which Malbos 1964, p. 8, seems unaware. See Table, below nos. 47-62.

¹⁹ Lot and Halphen, pp. 21-36.

²⁰ For the rumours, accusations, and innuendoes which circulated see Simson 1874, i, pp. 335-40. Bernard's membership of the dynasty described as 'les Nibelungen historiques' is discussed by Levillain 1937-8, esp. p. 362 sqq.

²¹ The family ties and web of aristocratic allegiances in Aquitaine cannot be considered in isolation: Werner, 1965, p. 133 (transl. 1979, p. 184); cf. also Levillain 1937-8, whom Werner underrates.

²² Lot and Halphen, pp. 37-51; Auzias, pp. 160-73. The exclusion of Pippin from any share in the partition made at Verdun or in the diplomatic agreements which preceded this, must also have weakened his cause, see Ganshof 1956, esp. pp. 290, 292. Although the royal setting is very different, Leyser 1979, pp. 11-22, has some very interesting things to say on unrest being the product of the 'thwarted expectations of co-heirs' (p. 13).

been completed by Charles the Great²³ in the second half of the eighth century. After all, when Pippin II resoundingly defeated an army led through the Angoumois by Charles the Bald's 'homines', his victory was responsible for the deaths of a number of men who (like the writer Nithard) were closely related to him by blood - as they probably also were to the other leader of the Aquitanian army, the son of the executed Bernard of Septimania.²⁴ This was no conflict with a foreign foe, it involved a struggle for power at the heart of the Carolingian dynasty.

Indeed, if Pippin II had not been able to put forward certain well-founded claims to be accepted as the ruler of Aquitaine, it is unlikely that he would have been able to issue diplomas as 'rex Aquitanorum' from the period immediately after the death of his father in 838,²⁵ or that he would have proved such a formidable political opponent to his uncle, although the apologists of Charles the Bald were of course determined to dismiss Pippin's claims entirely and to represent Charles as the embodiment of the only legitimate royal power in the region. In this they have been followed until recently by most historians;²⁶ but contemporary sources reveal that there was in fact considerable doubt in the 840s among members of the Carolingian house about the justice of Pippin II's cause;²⁷ and in 845 Charles himself went some way to conceding his nephew's claims with

²³ Astron., p. 262: 'Ordinavit autem per totam Aquitaniam comites, abbates, necnon alios plurimos quos vassos vulgo vocant, ex gente Francorum...'; Wolff 1965, pp. 287-91 (following Auzias, pp. 11-14). There is a need for further research into the depth to which Frankish influence penetrated especially in the southernmost parts of the 'regnum Aquitanorum'. It is for instance known that the Carolingians encouraged Spanish settlements in this region, Imbart de la Tour 1907, pp. 33-68; Collins, *infra*, pp. 163ff. On the survival of the 'lex Gotorum', Dupont 1955, pp. 225, 231; Collins p. 178.

²⁴ Lot and Halphen, pp. 113-17, provide very full references to this 'débâcle épouvantable'.

²⁵ The first document of Pippin II's 'reign' seems to have been issued before the death of Louis the Pious, and is dated by Levillain between 25 Dec. 838 - Dec. 839. It is a diploma of protection and immunity for the monastery of Solignac in the Limousin (the original survives): Levillain considered it to be a document drawn up in Pippin I's name, but authenticated with his son's seal, Levillain, no. XLIX (pp. 187-95 for discussion of the document's diplomatic characteristics).

²⁶ Nithard, pp. 26, 32-4, implies that the legitimacy of Charles the Bald's position in 837-8 depended on 'auctorita(s) divina atque paterna'; and the action of Louis the Pious in endowing his son after the death of Pippin of Aquitaine was based on similar assumptions. Cf. n. 8 above.

²⁷ Many contemporaries would have agreed that Pippin I could justifiably treat the kingdom of Aquitaine as his patrimony: 'successorem relinquens Pippinum filium', Regino, pp. 76-7; see Galabert 1937, pp. 240-60. It is rarely possible for the historian to distinguish support in which self-interest predominated from support based on the conviction that Pippin II represented the legitimate Carolingian line in this region; but had Lothar's cause been triumphant at Fontenoy no doubt Pippin II's claims would have been more widely admitted. It was that defeat in battle which led Lothar to promise Charles the Bald that he would 'double-cross' his nephew: Nithard, p. 94.

the extensive grant which he made at St. Benoît-sur-Loire.²⁸ Even in the conditions of the late 850s, which were much more favourable to Charles, he was prepared to allow Pippin control of certain unnamed 'counties and monasteries in Aquitaine'.²⁹

II

The kingdom of Aquitaine has been described as an 'under-kingdom'. This term is not, however, to be found in any of the various documents of a constitutional type³⁰ which, on a number of occasions, laid down the regulations for succession to the different 'regna' within the Carolingian empire.³¹ It is true that before 840 the 'rex Aquitanorum', like the other sons of Louis the Pious, travelled to the assemblies which his father summoned,³² contributed troops and

²⁸ The details are known from *AB* s.a. 845 (p. 50); on the date of June 845, T. 1, no. 71. Charles reserved for himself Poitou, Saintonge and the neighbouring Aunis, *not* (as an earlier editor of the *AB* thought) the more distant county of the Angoumois. For Lot and Halphen, p. 149 n. 3, this agreement was a diplomatic triumph for Charles the Bald; but in view of Pippin's victory over his uncle's army in June 844 it seems far more likely that it was a concession wrung from Charles in his necessity (perhaps to secure the release of the prisoners taken by Pippin II?).

²⁹ This was in 858, long after Pippin II had escaped from his first captivity at St. Médard de Soissons, and had maintained some authority in Aquitaine, in spite of the creation of Charles 'the Child' as king, and in spite of the intervention of the German Carolingians in the region, *AB*, p. 78. Auzias, pp. 271-303, traces the bewildering political changes of the years 852-60.

³⁰ Both Italy and Aquitaine are described as 'Unterkönigreichen' by Ewig 1965, p. 167; cf. Classen 1972, pp. 121, 123 (Aquitaine). Ganshof avoids this term in his account of the Frankish monarchy under Charlemagne (1968, p. 31), but in his comments on the *Ordinatio Imperii* of 817, he asserts that the rulers of Bavaria, Italy, and Aquitaine were treated as 'sub-kings, governors' (1955, p. 278). Auzias 1937, p. 167, describes this region as 'un royaume vassal', without analysing what he means by the term.

³¹ The *Divisio Regnorum* of 806 had stated that 'totum regni corpus' would be divided 'trina portione', MGH Cap. 1, p. 127; and, although the 817 *Ordinatio* envisaged the subordination of the Carolingian kings to the emperor, their brother, this subordination was couched in terms of personal loyalty and the obligations which they ought to fulfil. No legal phraseology had been devised to differentiate their *kingdoms* from the territories ruled by the emperor, MGH Cap. I, pp. 270-3. Nevertheless, Ganshof 1955, pp. 279-80, upholds the 'unitary' interpretation of the *Ordinatio*; but cf. his n. 73.

³² As 'rex Aquitanorum' Pippin I attended an assembly at Attigny in 822, and is mentioned as visiting his father at Aachen during the winter of 826 'ut iussus erat, cum suis optimatibus et Hispanici limitis custodibus': *ARF*, pp. 159, 169; cf. pp. 174-5 - a probable visit to Ingelheim. The presence of this king in the lands governed by his father is also proved by the dating of diplomas in the name of the 'rex Aquitanorum' from northern residences (Aachen, Nijmegen, Pierrefitte, Ponthion): Levillain, p. clxvii, nn. 3-6.

fought in armies which were led by the Emperor, or his appointed commander.³³ The agreements made in 817 also laid down that the various kings of the dynasty would direct foreign ambassadors to the imperial court, and make annual gifts to the emperor;³⁴ on a rather different plane it is virtually certain that - at least during his father's lifetime - the 'rex Aquitanorum' was not free to choose his own wife.³⁵

But these obligations, intended to bind the kings of the Carolingian house more closely to their brothers and father, were only expressed in the moralising language of filial and fraternal duties; they do not seem to have proceeded from any elaborate or coherent theories about the constitutional relationship between the rulers of the different 'regna'.³⁶ And, although Charles the Bald's policy towards the government of Aquitaine undoubtedly underwent a change during his lifetime, this change does not seem to have been the result of the king's 'constitutional' or 'legal' attitudes being transformed.³⁷

Nevertheless, speculation on the constitutional structure of the empire and its component territories has probably obscured the need for investigation into the actual methods of government employed within the different 'regna', and for consideration of the developments which modified the Carolingians' government and administration during the ninth century. It seems possible that Charles the Bald's failure in Aquitaine was as much governmental as political: however,

³³ In 819 Pippin I led a campaign against the Gascons, in 824 was appointed one of the leaders of a campaign against the Bretons, in 826-8 was involved in the plans made by Louis for the defence of the Spanish marches: *ARF*, pp. 151-2, 165, 169 onwards; cf. *Astron.*, pp. 326, 330. According to Ermold's poetical account of the Breton expedition, Louis was responsible for reserving the 'agmen...medium' for himself and for allotting troops to fight with his son Pippin: Ermold, pp. 152-4 lines 1994-2027.

³⁴ *Ordinatio Imperii*, caps. 8 (ambassadors 'ab exteris nationibus'), 4-5 (gifts and visits): MGH Cap. I, pp. 271-2. These written regulations may have reflected the custom of Charles the Great's day, if Louis the Pious's actions after the capture of the city of Barcelona were typical of the years before 814. (He sent its booty and the captured general to Charles the Great: Ermold, pp. 460-50, 1. 572 onwards).

³⁵ *Ordinatio Imperii*, cap. 13, laid down that marriages within the dynasty were to be made 'consilio et consensu senioris fratris': MGH Cap. I, p. 272. Indeed Louis the Pious's first marriage as 'rex Aquitanorum' was said to have been made 'consensu et consilio patris', Thegan, *Vita Hludowici*, p. 218; although the wording of Astron. is 'consilio suorum', op. cit., p. 270. Apparently it was Louis who decided that Pippin I should marry the daughter of the count of Madrie 'quem...in coniugem fecit accipere', *ARF*, p. 159 -a. 822.

³⁶ The introduction to the 817 *Ordinatio* treats paternal and imperial authority as being of equal importance... 'salva in omnibus nostra imperiali potestate super filios et populum nostrum cum omni subiectione quae patri et filiis et imperatori ac regi a suis populis exhibetur'; cf. the subsequent references to 'fraterno amore', 'pio fraternoque amore', 'pio amore', caps. 4-5, 14, MGH Cap. I, pp. 271, 273. The strength of an appeal to such filial and fraternal sentiments is demonstrated by Thegan, op. cit., p. 246, and Nithard, pp. 102, 104, 106. See further Calmette, pp. 5-6.

³⁷ Cf. below, pp. 114ff. and nn. 57-73.

before this view can be even tentatively substantiated it is necessary to consider the fashion in which the region was governed before 840.³⁸

It is not always realised how wide the powers of a Carolingian 'underking' were, or how nearly autonomous his kingship. For instance, Pippin I in Aquitaine granted land in full ownership,³⁹ issued diplomas of immunity and protection for religious establishments,⁴⁰ presumably regulated the commerce of his kingdom through tolls and markets,⁴¹ and - in some areas at least - could authorise the settlement of waste lands.⁴² He could hold assemblies of his own 'nobles' and, like other Carolingians, could sit in justice with his 'fideles' and the count of his palace;⁴³ indeed the completeness of the authority he exercised in his own kingdom is proved by the appearance of a litigant from outside Aquitaine to plead about lands in Poitou⁴⁴ in the court at Chasseneuil.

In spite of engagement in military campaigns beyond the frontiers of his kingdom and visits to the imperial court, the rule of the 'rex Aquitanorum' was

³⁸ Wolff, pp. 289-95, is predominantly concerned with the years before 814; and Auzias did not write on the government of Carolingian Aquitaine as he had intended to do.

³⁹ Levillain, nos. V, XI, XIII, XVIII, XXII-III, XXXIII-IV, XXXIX; cf. introd. p. xxviii. I have discussed elsewhere the significance of these donations, and the political problems connected with the alienation of fiscal lands in Aquitaine: see *Addit. Bibliog.*, below, p. 133.

⁴⁰ Levillain, introd. p. XXXVIII nn. 3 and 7. The *Ordinatio Imperii* cap. 3 may have envisaged the grant of such privileges when it rather vaguely enjoined that 'honestas et utilitas' should be preserved 'in honoribus', MGH Cap. 1, p. 271.

⁴¹ Pippin I granted Ste. Croix de Poitiers the right to hold two markets, which he exempted from toll: Levillain, no. III. He also apparently controlled communication and transport 'per diversa flumina in regno... nostro discurrentia': op. cit., no. XVII; cf. nos. LI, LIII, LXI for similar concessions by Pippin II. These grants have been seen as marking one of the stages by which public authority was dismembered: Imbart de la Tour, p. 28. Endemann 1964, pp. 209-10, on the contrary, associates the royal grants of markets, and of rights over them, as proof of power; cf. op. cit., pp. 21-7, for the privileges for Aquitaine. Increased economic activity is postulated by Lewis 1965, p. 86 - but he does not comment on these royal grants which seem of particular relevance to the topic.

⁴² A lost diploma (mentioned in a later document of 838) had apparently regulated the concessions made to certain 'Spani' who had brought lands into cultivation 'ex eremo', Levillain, no. XXIII. On the general significance of these 'aprisiones', Imbart de la Tour, pp. 47-55; Dupont 1965, throughout, and see his map, p. 202.

⁴³ Only one document survives to bear witness to what must have been more frequent judicial activity on the part of the 'reges Aquitanorum'; but Pippin I certainly despatched a 'missus' to hear a lawsuit on at least one occasion: Levillain, no. XII, and introd. p. xxvii. A now lost diploma refers to the holding of a 'conventu(s) nobilium in Joguntiaco palatio', op. cit., no. XIII; and there is a more circumstantial account of the appearance of Abbot Hilbod of St. Philibert before Pippin I at a 'generale... regni sui placitum' in 836: *Monuments de l'histoire des abbayes de St. Philibert*, pp. 24-5. Astron, p. 270, also refers to a 'conventum generale' held by Louis in Aquitaine (at Toulouse); cf. pp. 272, 282.

⁴⁴ The 'advocatus' of the abbey of Cormery in the Touraine appeared at Pippin I's palace at Chasseneuil near Poitiers to answer the charges made by the 'coloni' dwelling in the Poitevin 'villa' of 'Antoniacus' that they were being burdened with unjustifiable services. The 'advocatus' contested these complaints with the production of a 'discriptio' made during the time of Alcuin's abbacy (diploma cited in previous note).

normally conducted in person. In order to fulfil his royal office he was provided with a separate writing-office which had its own clerical staff,⁴⁵ and a household which resembled those of other Carolingians.⁴⁶ Moreover, when the methods employed by C-R. Brühl to reconstruct the itineraries of Carolingian rulers are applied to the kingdom of Aquitaine, it can be seen that from the end of the eighth century until Louis the Pious took the momentous decision to disinherit his grandson Pippin,⁴⁷ the ruler of Aquitaine most frequently governed from one of his rural 'villae' or palaces. Since it is known that urban palaces were also available for the ruler's use,⁴⁸ it may be assumed that this pattern of residence was based on personal preference⁴⁹ - an assumption which is confirmed by Ermold's poetic descriptions of the rural delights afforded by the Carolingian palaces in Aquitaine.⁵⁰ In fact, between the 780s and the death of Pippin I in 838, the whole pattern of kingship in Aquitaine conforms to the model established by Brühl as characteristic of the 'reges Francorum' during those years.⁵¹

This pattern of regional government was almost totally destroyed during Charles the Bald's reign but, although it might appear to be an inevitable consequence of the political difficulties which this king encountered, the change does not seem to have been previously considered in relation to the important question of the decline of Carolingian royal power. For it becomes apparent that after 840 the royal itinerary no longer revolved round the rural 'villae' which had formerly been the favourite winter-palaces of the kings of Aquitaine:⁵² whenever

⁴⁵ Levillain, introd. pp. xl-iii; cf. Fleckenstein 1959, pp. 63, 81, 114-15, 117 on the personnel of the 'Hofkapelle' of the 'reges Aquitanorum' from the time of Louis the Pious onwards; Wolff, p. 293 n. 198.

⁴⁶ For instance in 828 Pippin I's 'comes palatii' and his writing-staff produced the judicial document referred to in nn. 43-4. A more extended discussion of the membership of the household of these kings has been attempted in the paper mentioned above, note 39.

⁴⁷ Brühl 1968, pp. 7-8, brought out the significance of the establishment of a royal itinerary for our understanding of a ruler's methods of government and administration. The Table below shows that Pippin I's diplomas were without exception dated from rural villa-palaces like Chasseneuil, which lies a few kilometres from Poitiers.

⁴⁸ During the campaign of Louis the Pious in Aquitaine after the death of Pippin I, he issued a diploma from Poitiers 'civitate palatio regio' as the first Carolingian king had done in 768: see Table below, for the years 768 and 839, nos. 1, 7. Brühl 1975, pp. 166-7, 198-200 (with plans), considers that there were also urban palaces in Bourges and Toulouse.

⁴⁹ Some of Pippin I's diplomas were even dated from royal forests: Table nos. 9-10, 28-9.

⁵⁰ Ermold, pp. 58, 202, 204.

⁵¹ Brühl 1968, pp. 18-32; Ganshof 1968, pp. 40-41. The winter itinerary of the kings of Aquitaine before 838 was centred on four 'villae' designed by Louis to supply the king and his court: Astron. p. 268. These were named as Chasseneuil, Angeac, Doué and Ébreuil: Wolff, p. 294 n. 205 (for identification).

⁵² After 838 no further diplomas were dated from these 'villae' (see Table), which also disappear from the narrative sources. Rural residences would admittedly provide very little protection against Norse attacks, and might therefore have been abandoned for this reason; but north of the Loire Charles the Bald by no means abandoned the traditional palaces of his dynasty, as is shown by Brühl 1968, pp. 40-41.

Charles the Bald visited Aquitaine his journeys now took him through urban centres like Bourges, Clermont, Poitiers or Limoges,⁵³ even if some of his earlier diplomas are dated from rural 'villae' in the remoter parts of the kingdom.⁵⁴ Brühl has already drawn attention to the significance of the changes which took place in the Carolingians' itineraries during the mid-ninth century;⁵⁵ and in many respects the evidence for Aquitaine simply conforms to the pattern he describes. However, in that region there are fewer signs that the king resorted to the hospitality of religious establishments - whether episcopal or monastic - as he did north of the Loire.⁵⁶ And in one important respect the Aquitanian evidence is strikingly different: after 855 Charles the Bald never again resided in Aquitaine, or probably ever visited the region except at the head of a punitive military expedition.⁵⁷ The significance of these changes needs to be examined.

The year 855 coincides with the consecration of Charles 'the Child', and the reappearance of a separate 'rex Aquitanorum'. In these circumstances it might be argued that Charles the Bald's changed attitudes towards Aquitaine ought to be compared with the fashion in which Charles the Great and Louis the Pious treated the region during the years when their own sons had ruled as 'reges Aquitanorum'.⁵⁸ However, an examination of the evidence for the years between 855 and 877 indicates that Charles the Bald's treatment of Aquitaine is only superficially comparable to that of his grandfather and father during the years when Louis and Pippin were acting as 'reges Aquitanorum': for the actual government of this kingdom after 855 was conducted on totally different principles from those put into practice during the years between Charles the Great's creation of the kingdom and Pippin's death in 838.

After 855 there are no signs that royal power was ever exercised in person by either of Charles the Bald's sons, nor are there any traces of any normal

⁵³ Table: years 841-2, 844, 848-50, 852, 854, nos. 40-1, 43, 64, 66-73.

⁵⁴ E. g. 'Avintus villa', 'Ferrucius villa', 'villa Mariscarius', 'villa Puteata', Table, nos. 44-6, 63, 65. There is no evidence that Louis the Pious or Pippin I resided at these 'villae' when they were 'reges Aquitanorum'.

⁵⁵ Brühl 1969, pp. 42-3, notes that Charles the Bald tended increasingly to reside in cities, or to accept the hospitality of religious establishments.

⁵⁶ Three of Pippin II's diplomas are dated from the monasteries of Figeac, Solignac, and St. Maixent near Poitiers (838/9 and 848--see Table, nos. 32, 38-9). Apart from the diplomas which prove Charles the Bald's presence in the monastery of St. Saturnin 'prope Tholosa', there is no evidence for his residence in any monastery in Aquitaine; but the case of St. Saturnin was exceptional, owing to the prolonged siege of Toulouse: Lot and Halphen, pp. 97-106; T. nos. 36-56; cf. Table, nos. 47-62.

⁵⁷ The series of Charles the Bald's diplomas dated from within the 'regnum Aquitanorum' in fact ceases after July 854, see Table.

⁵⁸ It was pertinently remarked by Wolff, p. 295, that Charles the Great was not obliged to enter Aquitaine between 778-814, 'parce qu'un roi de son sang s'y trouvait...cas unique dans son empire'. Louis the Pious probably intended to pursue a similar policy after 814 since, before the political disturbances of the 830s, there are no traces of his presence in Aquitaine either. However, in 832 he pursued Pippin I to the Limousin after the latter had failed to obey an imperial summons to appear at Orléans, Astron., p. 340; Simson, ii, pp. 24-5.

governmental or administrative activity on their part down to the time of their father's death. This surprising fact was established by Léon Levillain on the basis of his investigations into the 'acta' of the kings of Aquitaine: he concluded that the complete absence of any document drawn up in the name of either Charles 'the Child' or Louis must prove that they were not empowered by their father to issue such instruments. Unlike their predecessors as 'reges Aquitanorum' they were not apparently provided with the services of a 'chancery'. Even the 'pretender' Pippin II whose authority as king was never universally accepted - certainly not by Charles the Bald - enjoyed the services of a royal writing-office.⁵⁹ One incidental consequence of this absence of 'chancery' activity is that it is quite impossible to establish any royal itinerary for Charles the Bald's sons as kings of Aquitaine, since the primary sources of information for such itineraries are the dating-clauses of the royal diplomas;⁶⁰ but this lacuna seems relatively insignificant in itself compared with the light which it throws on the character of royal government in the kingdom of Aquitaine during the last two decades of Charles the Bald's reign. If the nominal ruler of the region was not empowered to bestow privileges on his subjects, endow the religious establishments within his kingdom, or dispose of his royal resources, then the pattern of government in Aquitaine had certainly undergone a radical transformation. It is scarcely possible to disagree with Levillain's general conclusion that 'Aquitaine was now no more than a part of the kingdom of "Francia occidentalis"; and the diplomas of (its) king emanated from a chancery which was not exclusive to Aquitaine'.⁶¹

Levillain's conclusions are based on negative evidence, but they are borne out by an examination of the occasions on which the affairs of Aquitaine make an appearance in the 'acta' of Charles the Bald, because even after 855 this king continued to issue diplomas making land-grants within the kingdom⁶² or bestowing other privileges on its laity and clergy.⁶³ Indeed, it even seems probable that Charles's sons were not allowed to perform the essentially royal function of sitting in judgement, since at some time between the years 869-74 their father sent two 'missi' to settle the affairs of the abbey of Charroux in Poitou.

⁵⁹ Levillain, *introd. pp.* i-iii.

⁶⁰ *Loc. cit.* The existence of a separate 'rex Aquitanorum' after 855 is occasionally acknowledged in the dating of a private charter, as Levillain shows in his discussion; but in this paper it is the exercise of royal authority which is in question.

⁶¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. ii.

⁶² Seven diplomas granting lands in Septimania were issued by Charles the Bald's chancery between 855-77 and nine for Aquitaine, T. nos. 193, 203, 208, 210-11, 275, 287, 341, 344, 353, 377, 409-11, 428, 448.

⁶³ T. nos. 178, 207, (with corrupt passages), 283, 285, 339, 344, 374-5, 376 (interpolated), 392, 440, 442, 448. These are diplomas of immunity or protection issued for Aquitanian churches after 855; (cf. also n. 93 *bis* which has a reference to a lost diploma); they include privileges issued at the request of Charles's subjects for religious houses founded privately, see below nn. 69-70. Charles issued twelve such diplomas for Aquitaine before 855.

These 'missi' were Charles the Bald's own count of the palace and his 'iunior',⁶⁴ and they were ordered 'ut iusticias facere studeant'.⁶⁵ Another diploma of a less easily classifiable type also reveals Charles's direct intervention in the conduct of affairs within the kingdom: in 869 he prohibited anyone travelling 'sub hostili militia' from lodging on estates in Berry or the Auvergne⁶⁶ which belonged to St. Martin. Altogether the diplomas of Charles the Bald provide conclusive proof (though the evidence may be of a circumstantial nature) that neither of his sons was permitted to exercise in person any of the powers which had always hitherto been associated with the office of kingship, and with the creation of a royal title by the Carolingians.⁶⁷

The full significance of Charles the Bald's own direct exercise of royal power in the kingdom of Aquitaine can only be appreciated if this is related to the activity preceding the issue of any written instrument in the royal writing-office. These procedures have been meticulously discussed by Tessier, whose edition of the 'acta' of Charles the Bald demonstrates that direct application had to be made to the king (either in person or through a third party) before a diploma would be issued;⁶⁸ and this must have meant that, in order to obtain ratification of arrangements made in his capacity as lay-abbot of the chapter of St Hilaire, Count Ramnulf of Poitiers was in 862 obliged to apply to the court of Charles the Bald outside Aquitaine.⁶⁹ Presumably the foundation of the monastery of Vabres in 867 must also have entailed similar applications on the part of Count Bernard of Toulouse.⁷⁰ Other diplomas provide clearer indications of how royal intervention could be obtained: the bishop of Autun acted as 'ambasciator' for the Limousin

⁶⁴ T. no. 375: 'Himemnonem videlicet, comitem palatii nostri, et Hiterium iuniorem eius...'

⁶⁵ Loc cit. This document exempted the monastery from all comital exactions, and reserved its 'cause' (lawsuits) for hearing by the king himself, if no 'missi' could be present. Cf. no. 376 which allowed the canons of St. Julien de Brioude to bring their complaints 'nostro coram comite palatii'.

⁶⁶ T. no. 319. This was granted at the request of 'Hugo abba, noster propinquus' and enacted at Cosne-sur-Loire where the king had ordered 'brevés de honoribus...per omne regnum' to be presented: T. no. 318.

⁶⁷ It is true that Charles 'the Child' was very young in 855 (he was not yet fully fifteen in 862), but his brother Louis was over twenty when he succeeded Charles in 867: Auzias, p. 282 n. 5 with references. Charles the Bald was himself almost the same age in 840, Devisse, p. 282; cf. Lot and Halphen, pp. 13-14.

⁶⁸ Tessier, iii, pp. 94-116. Tessier came to the conclusion (p. 102) that only the king, the archchancellor and the chief of the notaries were permitted to give the command ('iussio') for the drawing-up of a 'preceptum'.

⁶⁹ T. no. 241 (from a pseudo-original whose text is, however, accepted). Two documents recording an exchange of lands had been drawn up 'pari tenore', were produced 'ad releendum', and then confirmed in the king's 'preceptum' dated from Quierzy. In view of Tessier's comments these statements ought to be accepted literally.

⁷⁰ T. no. 339. The wording indicates a personal appearance: 'Bernardus Tolosanus marchio et dilectissimus nobis fidelis, ad nostram accedens mansuetudinem... Quamobrem humiliter nostram petiit altitudinem' etc.

monastery of Solignac,⁷¹ or the powerful Bishop Frotar intervened to obtain a diploma for Count Oliba from the Spanish March.⁷²

Tessier's findings have important consequences for the historian of the ninth century: it logically follows that, in instigating or accepting these procedures, Charles the Bald must have designed his own court to be the only centre of royal patronage from which all favours would be dispensed.⁷³ Thus the attraction of the court of the king of Aquitaine for the magnates of that region would be seriously diminished, and his authority drastically reduced.

Although direct information on the attitudes of Charles the Bald towards such important matters is lacking, it seems probable that the changes just described did in fact represent a conscious policy of reaction to the years when Pippin II had contested Charles's succession to Aquitaine. During those years (which effectively ended in 848) some of the most powerful figures in Aquitaine had exploited the rivalries within the Carolingian house: Archbishop Rodulf of Bourges, for instance, obtained grants from both Pippin II and his uncle;⁷⁴ while the influential Count Eccard of Autun (a member of the 'house' of the Marquis Bernard) seems to have used his position to obtain duplicate favours during the difficult year of 839.⁷⁵ Viewed in this light Charles the Bald's action in depriving the 'reges Aquitanorum' of the means to issue documents in their own name is of the greatest significance. By the standards of later ages - and by the standards of many historians - these changes may be interpreted as representing an advance towards a genuine centralisation of government, and thereby a strengthening of royal power. But may it not be doubted whether these standards are altogether appropriate to the

⁷¹ T. no. 410, dated 16 July 876 from Ponthion (from the original). On the role of the 'ambasciator', *ibid.* iii, pp. 103-108 (with bibliography).

⁷² T. no. 428 dated 11 June 877 from Quierzy (also from the original). The issue of this document thus coincided with the assembly which drew up the famous capitulary and at which Charles the Bald's final Italian expedition was discussed, Halphen 1911, pp. 74-82; *id.* 1949, pp. 432-6. Frotar, one of the most devoted supporters of Charles, had been transferred from the archbishopric of Bordeaux to that of Bourges in 876, Auzias, pp. 377-81; *GXI*, ii, cols. 30-34; and cf. Devisse ii, pp. 773, 780, 853 for interesting comments on his part in the ecclesiastical politics of the reign.

⁷³ Not only royal grants and privileges were involved; the king also retained control of secular and ecclesiastical appointments: see below nn. 77-80.

⁷⁴ Levillain, nos. L (July 840) and LVI (January 848), for Pippin II's grants to Rodulf and his monastic foundation of Beaulieu in the Limousin; cf. T. 275 (Oct. 864). See further Auzias, pp. 345-5.

⁷⁵ Between June 836 and Dec. 838 Pippin I gave the important 'villas' of Perrecy and Sancenay in the county of Autun to his 'fidei Heccardo': Levillain, no. XXXVIII. In the year following Pippin's death Louis conferred the same places on the same count without any reference to his dead son's diploma: *Chartes...St. Benoît-sur-Loire*, no. XXI. As Autun had been attached to Pippin's kingdom by the Ordinato of 817, it seems that the Emperor's diploma was issued in the hopes of attaching this powerful member of the 'Nibelungen historiqués' to the cause of his son Charles: Levillain 1937-8, pp. 356 onwards.

disturbed political régime, and the increasingly impoverished resources, of the mid-ninth century Carolingians?⁷⁶

Admittedly Charles the Bald did retain a considerable degree of royal control within Aquitaine and, in particular, continued to dispose of offices and 'honores'. In 867, for instance, he arbitrarily transferred the county of Bourges from Count Gerard to Acfrid, after the latter had allegedly given him 'exenia non modica' in order to influence the king's decision.⁷⁷ He also deprived the sons of Count Ramnulf of Poitiers of their father's 'honores', bestowing the important abbey of St. Hilaire on Archbishop Frotar; but the annalist of St. Bertin is unfortunately less informative on the fate of the county of Poitiers, about which historians have had considerable differences of opinion.⁷⁸ This king's distribution of abbeys and his appointment to ecclesiastical offices also provide examples of the exercise of his authority within Aquitaine.⁷⁹ Since these instances reinforce the impression that Charles the Bald's policy was - wherever and whenever possible - intended to check any opportunities for the establishment of aristocratic power blocs within Aquitaine,⁸⁰ and thus to make its magnates entirely dependent on him for favours,

⁷⁶ Auzias pp. 282-3: 'La solution était élégante et constituait un retour à une tradition qui avait, en somme, donné de bons résultats... Autoritaire et centralisateur par tempérament...' (comments on Charles the Bald's creation of a 'rex Aquitanorum').

⁷⁷ *AB*, p. 140. Acfrid already held 'abbatiam Sancti Hilarii cum aliis plurimis honorabilibus beneficiis' - but he could probably only have obtained St. Hilaire after the death of Ramnulf of Poitiers in September 866 (see next note). It has been supposed by Lot 1902, p. 436 n. 1, that the grant of the county of Poitou accompanied the king's bestowal of St. Hilaire; but, although this assumption was followed by Auzias, pp. 357-9, it had been disputed by Richard 1903, i, p. 30. It cannot be conclusively proved one way or the other. Cf. Dhondt, pp. 200-01; Werner 1958-60, p. 167 n. 68.

⁷⁸ The chronology and sequence of events is confusing. There can be no doubt of the death of Count Ramnulf with Robert 'the Strong' at Brissarthe in the autumn of 866: *AB*, p. 131; and see the extensive discussion by Lot 1915, pp. 505-9. However, the deprivation of Ramnulf's sons is not mentioned by the *AB* until early 868, when it is associated with the grant of St. Hilaire to Frotar; and this is mentioned *after* the murder of Acfrid, who had also held the abbey of St. Hilaire. Much confusion might have been avoided if this time-lag had been mentioned by Lot 1902, p. 435, who wrote as though Charles acted to remove the paternal 'honores' from Ramnulf's sons *immediately after* Brissarthe, bestowing them on Acfrid (see previous note). If Acfrid was not count of Poitou after Ramnulf's death, who was? Dhondt admits defeat, pp. 203-4.

⁷⁹ Counts Ramnulf and Acfrid and Bishop Frotar were all granted St. Hilaire by Charles (previous notes 77-78); and Frotar held other abbeys and the bishopric of Poitiers, before being promoted to the archbishopric of Bourges, n.72 above. The *AB* 866 (p. 129) also mentions Charles's appointment of Wulfad to Bourges. On this king's treatment of lands and offices of the church: Lesne 1922, pp. 177-80, 204-36.

⁸⁰ Cf. Schramm's discussion of the role designed by Charles the Bald for Louis the "Stammerer" in 867 (1960, pp. 20 nn. 7-8), although Schramm relates this to the ruler's difficulties with his sons rather than to the problems of the government of Aquitaine. During the mid-ninth century the office of king was certainly being invested with new meaning: Ullmann 1969, pp. 78-89, Nelson 1977, pp. 277-9 (cf. Brühl 1962, pp. 273-4 for the ceremonial practices of Charles the Bald); but, on the other hand, traditional practices and attitudes were affected when a 'rex' was denied the opportunity of fulfilling his chief function - that of ruling, see n. 83 below.

it is difficult to escape the conclusion that his creation of 'reges Aquitanorum' was a mere political expedient, and never designed to provide a return to personal regional government such as had characterised the reigns of his father Louis and his brother Pippin I as 'reges Aquitanorum'.

But did this centralisation of authority effectively increase or strengthen royal power? It seems rather that an apparently decisive exercise of authority often produced hostile reactions, and that the king was increasingly incapable of actually enforcing his will. After all, within a few months of the transfer of Bourges to Acfrid, Charles the Bald's newly appointed count was dead, murdered by the vassals of the man he was supposed to displace; and in spite of a royal campaign in Berry the king was unable to deprive Gerard of his control of the region.⁸¹ Less dramatic examples of Charles the Bald's actual powerlessness are provided by the later history of his relations with the magnates of Aquitaine who, if the Annals of St. Bertin are to be believed, failed to respond to the royal summons when required to meet the king.⁸² Such instances as these raise in their most acute form the practical difficulties of ruling a huge and disorderly region without a power-base (or cluster of bases) at its heart. Certainly to govern Aquitaine effectively from outside its frontiers must have become impossible by the later years of Charles the Bald's reign: such methods would probably always have been unsuited to the conditions of the ninth century.

Although not supported by profound or intellectually satisfying theories of kingship, the policy of actual regional delegation, initiated by Charles the Great and maintained by Louis the Pious down to the year 839, seems to have been far more appropriate to conditions in Aquitaine. As long as the 'rex Aquitanorum' was more than a ceremonial figure - and would not some of his subjects have known that 'rex' was held to derive from 'regere'⁸³ - the means existed for internal control within the kingdom. The palaces of Louis the Pious and his son Pippin acted as a focus for the clergy and secular aristocracy of the region whenever the king was in residence; but the abrupt alteration in the pattern of the royal itinerary, and then Charles the Bald's complete retirement from the kingdom of Aquitaine,

⁸¹ *AB*, p. 142. Charles spent Christmas 867 at Auxerre, travelled to Pouilly-sur-Loire (where he received news of Acfrid's murder), and then entered Berry 'quasi ad hoc vindicandum flagitium'. After an unsuccessful campaign he reached St. Denis by Ash Wednesday 868. The next reference to the disposal of Berry occurs in 872: *AB*, p. 185.

⁸² *AB*, 869 (p.152). For the consequences of his failure to secure the magnates' obedience see *AB*, 877 (p. 216).

⁸³ Isidore, *Etymologiae* (ed. Lindsay), IX, 2, 4-6; cf. VII, 12-17; and cf. Lupus of Ferrières writing to Charles himself: 'Cur enim regium nomen praetenditis, si regnare nescitis?', Lupus, i, pp. 142-3. There are occasional hints that ninth-century authors reflected on the reality of power, as when Astron., p. 336, comments on the emperor's inability to prevent the blinding of Bernard's brother: 'In talibus... solo nomine imperator aetatem transegit'.

must have removed most checks on the activities of local counts and officials,⁸⁴ who were in any case frequently drawn from the ranks of the Carolingian landed aristocracy.⁸⁵

The failure of the king to appear in Aquitaine would therefore have created opportunities for just those abuses of which the Carolingian kings showed themselves so conscious in their capitularies but which, ultimately, they so signally failed to correct. As Ganshof commented, 'even during periods of relative strength, the Frankish monarchy never had organs powerful enough to ensure that the decisions of royal authority were fully implemented throughout the length and breadth of the realm',⁸⁶ and it may be claimed that, through the creation of a number of virtually autonomous 'regna', the earlier Carolingians had made a genuine attempt to resolve that problem. Charles the Bald, on the other hand, can be held responsible for failing to recognise the advantages of this system of government; while, in attempting to impose a measure of centralisation which he did not have the means - or the agents - to enforce, he aggravated the condition of a huge region already torn by the earlier political struggles with his nephew's partisans. His action in relinquishing the substance of royal power into the hands of local counts seems to provide a more convincing explanation for the decline of royal power in Aquitaine than the 'Aquitainian separatism' which has so frequently been invoked.

⁸⁴ In particular, control of estates and residences in Aquitaine or of the king's economic resources would have been virtually impossible, granted that there were no adequate inventories, and that local counts often had charge of the administration of these assets: Dumas, p. 271; Ganshof 1947, pp. 258-9.

⁸⁵ The comments of Werner, (n. 12 above) are relevant here also.

⁸⁶ Ganshof 1961, p. 90, following the observation that 'the Frankish monarchy never knew its power as anything but weak'. This generalisation holds good as much for the undivided monarchy as for the 'Teilreiche'. These are harsh comments, but they underline the importance of a ruler's presence and personal supervision; cf. Wolff above, n. 58. Although many constructive comments were made by members of the Charles the Bald colloquium, I especially wish to thank Janet Nelson for her helpful suggestions during the re-writing of this paper.

Additional Bibliography

1a. M. Rouche, *L'Aquitaine des Wisigoths aux Arabes: naissance d'une région 418-781* (Paris 1979). This authoritative work finally disposes of the view that historians of this region are dealing with an impoverished or 'underdeveloped' kingdom, although some of his views on the continuing and unifying influence of Aquitanian *romanitas* have been challenged (see the review by J. M. Wallace-Hadrill in *EHR* 96 (1981)). Recognition that the ruler of Aquitaine had important economic resources at his disposal makes it essential to lay more stress on the disruptive effects of Scandinavian attacks than was done in this paper - especially since the significance of the Carolingians' loss of Bordeaux is rarely emphasised in general studies on the Vikings. (See e.g. C. Higounet, *Bordeaux pendant le haut Moyen Age*, vol. 1 of *Histoire de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux 1963); and for another important regional study, M. Garaud, 'Les incursions des Normands en Poitou et leurs conséquences', *RH* 180 (1937).) In general on this topic, the history of Aquitaine seems to confirm the recent refusal to 'whitewash' the Scandinavian invaders: R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians (751-987)* (London 1983), esp. pp. 230-33.

1b. R. Collins, 'The Basques in Aquitaine and Navarre: problems of frontier government', in J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt ed., *War and Government in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 1984), has raised important questions connected with the Carolingians' Pyrenean and Spanish ambitions, and stressed that the Basques were able to expand their area of settlement in southern Aquitaine during the ninth century and later. A number of approaches first tried out on the participants of the Charles the Bald Colloquium have formed the subject of a further paper: J. Martindale, 'The kingdom of Aquitaine and "the dissolution of the Carolingian fisc"', *Francia* 11 (1984), pp.131-91.

2a. Among recent studies which have implications for the history of Aquitaine before the death of Charles the Bald, I would single out the following. R. McKitterick's book (see 1a. above), in particular, demonstrates just how ingrained was the Carolingian rulers' desire to make dynastic partitions (see e.g. pp. 175-6): this would seem to give further support to the view expressed in my paper that political conflict in Aquitaine during the years of Charles the Bald's reign had its roots in dynastic rivalries - not ethnic or 'national' solidarity.

The twin themes of dynastic propaganda and self-interest emerge from a thought-provoking study of the most skilful apologist of Charles the Bald's early years; and the reinterpretation of Nithard's purposes in writing has an obvious importance for the history of Aquitaine - given the bitterness of the opposition to Charles's rule south of the Loire: see J. L. Nelson, 'Public Histories and private history in the work of Nithard', *Speculum* 60 (1985), pp. 251-93. Two other papers by Nelson which, had they been available in 1979, would have affected my interpretation of the government of the Carolingians in Aquitaine, are 'Legislation and consensus in the reign of Charles the Bald', in P. Wormald ed., *Ideal and Reality. Studies in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society presented to J. M. Wallace-*

Hadrill (Oxford 1983), pp. 202-27, and 'Carolingian royal ritual', in D.Cannadine and S.Price edd., *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge 1987), pp. 137-80

2b. Two important works on ecclesiastical topics need to be mentioned. R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms (789-895)* (London 1977), should have been used by me to convey a better impression of the political importance during much of Charles the Bald's reign of that enigmatic figure, Archbishop Rodulf of Bourges. (Some of the economic advantages Rodulf obtained have already been discussed, but I hope to return elsewhere to the regional problems connected with Rodulf and his kin.) On the whole, too, this study shows how many links there were between churchmen north of the Loire and those of Aquitaine during Charles's reign. On the other hand, J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford 1984), at a number of points draws attention to the threats which continued to be posed to Charles's authority in Aquitaine (notably in 858). Although much is known of the activity of individual churchmen (and in particular bishops) in Aquitaine during these years, more work still surely needs to be devoted to their political allegiances, and to the sources of patronage available to different members of the Carolingian house throughout the years 840-77. It seems significant, for instance, that neither Pippin II nor any of his successors as *reges Aquitanorum* was able to attract or commission literary works like those written for Louis the Pious or for his son King Pippin I when they ruled the region; so that the contrast with Charles the Bald's reputation as a 'Renaissance prince' is striking. See Wallace-Hadrill, 'A Carolingian Renaissance prince: the Emperor Charles the Bald', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 64 (1980, for 1978), pp. 155-84; McKitterick, 'Charles the Bald (823-877) and his library: the patronage of learning', *EHR* 95 (1980), pp. 28-47.

APPENDIX

CAROLINGIAN RESIDENCE IN AQUITAINE (751-877)

This list has been compiled from the diplomas issued by the Carolingian kings between the accession of Pippin in 751 and the death of Charles the Bald. Its purpose is to indicate the sites which appear in the itineraries of these rulers in the kingdom of Aquitaine, and to complete the information provided by Brühl whose valuable maps do not include the material for the 'reges Aquitanorum'.

The method employed is to give the date established by the editor (the diplomas were normally dated by the regnal year) together with the placename in the form to be found in the document. This is followed, wherever possible, by the modern identification and département. References are to the critical editions of the diplomas of the first Carolingians, of the kings of Aquitaine, and of Charles the Bald: in the case of Louis the Pious to the best available edition of the diplomas in question. The annotation has been kept to the minimum possible (e.g. problems of authenticity, or interpolated diplomas have not in general been noted).

PIPPIN I King of the Franks (751-68)

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. | 768, July | Pictavis civitate (Poitiers, Vienne) | Dip. Karol., i,
no. 24. |
|----|-----------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|

CHARLES I 'the Great' (768-814)

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 2. | 769, May | Murnaco (Mornac, Charente) | Dip. Karol., i,
no. 58. |
| 3. | 769, July | Andiaco (Angeac, Charente) | Dip. Karol., i,
no. 59. |

LOUIS I 'The Pious' (i) as King of Aquitaine (c. 778-814)

- | | | | |
|----|--------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 4. | 794, Aug. 3 | Jogundiaco palatio nostro (Le Palais, Hte. Vienne) | Chartes
Nouaillé, no. 6. |
| 5. | 808, April 7 | Cassanogelo palatio (Chasseneuil, Vienne) | RHF, vi, 453. |

(ii) as Emperor - 840

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------|--|------------------------------|
| 6. | (?) 832,
Nov. 19 | Caduppa villa (possibly Chauppes, nr. Mirebeau, Vienne?) | RHF, vi, 583 |
| 7. | 839, Dec. 29 | Pictavis civitate, palatio regio (see no. 1) | Chartes St.
Benoît no XXI |

PIPPIN I King of Aquitaine (817-38).

8.	818, June 26	in Castillione castro quod est super fluvium Dordoniae (Castillon-sur-Dordogne, Gironde)	Levillain, no. I
9.	825, April 1	in foreste quae dicitur Molarias (Moulières, Vienne)	no. III
10.	825, Oct. 31	Alberide foreste (Aureix, Hte. Vienne)	no. IV
11.	825, Dec. 22	Ad illa Warda prope Andiacio (probably near Angeac, Charente - see no. 3)	no. V
12.	827, June 24	in villa Warda (probably the same location as no. 11?)	no. VII
13.	827, Sept. 27	in Ausone castro (Alzonne dép. Aude)	no VIII
14.	828, Jan. 11	in Casanogili palatio (see n. 5)	no. IX
15.	828, June 6	in sancti Martialis monasterio (monastery of St. Martial, Limoges, Hte. Vienne)	no. XI
16.	828, June 9 (Tuesday)	Casanogilo villa palatio nostro in pago Pictavo secus alveum Clinno (see no. 5).	no. XII
17.	(829, July 23)	Vodevogilo (unidentified, but almost certainly in Aquitaine)	no. XIV ¹
18.	829/30, Aug. 10	in Aviziaci villa (unidentified, but almost certainly in Aquitaine)	no. XV
19.	830/31, Jan.	in conventu nobilium in Joguntiaco palatio (see no. 4)	no. XIV ²
20.	834/5, Oct.24	Theovado palatio nostro (Doué-la-Fontaine, Maine-et-Loire)	no. XXI
21.	835, Oct. 26	in Teotuadum palatium nostrum (see no. 20)	no. XXII
22.	835, Nov. 1	in Teotuadum palatium nostrum (see no. 20)	no. XXIII
23.	835, Nov. 24	in Nerisio (Néris, Allier)	no. XXIV
24.	837, Dec. 25	in Palaciolo (possibly Palissous, Dordogne)	no. XXVI
25.	838, Feb. 27	Sancti Hilarii monasterio (St. Hilaire, Poitiers, Vienne)	no. XXVII
26.	838, Mar. 28	Caremptas (possibly Charentais, Indre-et-Loire)	no. XXVIII
27.	838, April 23	in Caseno (Chassenon, Charente)	no. XXIX
28.	838, Aug. 23	in Guanapii foreste (la Garnache, Vendée)	no. XXXII
29.	838, Sept/ Oct. 1	Cervario foreste (la Rocheservière, Vendée)	no. XXXV
30.	838, Nov. 25	Nerisio (see no. 23)	no. XXXVI
31.	836-8	Vodilogilo (see no. 17)	no. XXXVIII

PIPPIN II King of Aquitaine

32. 838-9	monasterio quod vocatur Figiacus (Figeac, Lot)	no. XLIX
33. 847, May 27	Floriniaco super Carum sita in generali placito (probably St. Florent sur-Cher, Cher)	no. LIII
34. 847, July 25	Fariaco brigilo (possibly Ferry, Puy-de-Dôme)	no. LIV
35. 848, Jan. 11	Bituricas (Bourges, Cher)	no. LVI
36. 845-8, Jan. 18	Oriniaco villa (Orgnac, either Hte. Vienne or Corrèze)	no. LVII
37. 847/8, Feb. 1	Arvernus civitate publica (Clermont, Puy-de-Dôme)	no. LVIII
38. 848, Feb. 26	Solemniaco monasterio (Solignac, Hte. Vienne)	no. LIX
39. 848, March 25 Easter Day	in eodem monasterio Sancti Maxentii (St. Maixent, Deux-Sèvres)	no. LXI

CHARLES II 'the Bald' (840-877)

40. 841, Jan. 12	Bituricas civitate (see no. 35)	T. 2
41. 842, Aug. 23	Aginno civitate (Agen, Lot-et Garonne)	T.10
42. 842, Aug. 31	Castellione super fluvium Donnonia (see no. 8)	T.11
43. 844, Feb. 8	in Limovicas civitate (Limoges, Hte. Vienne)	T.32
44. 844, April 5	Avintus villa super fluvium Tanni (Avens, Tarn)	T.33
45. 844, April 29	Ferrucius villa (Castelferrus, Tarn-et-Garonne)	T.34
46. 844, April 30	Ferrucius villa (see no. 34)	T.35
47. 844, May 11	monasterio Sancti Saturnini prope Tholosa (Toulouse, Hte. Garonne)	T.36 ⁴
48. 844, May 13	in monasterio Sancti Saturnini prope Tolosam (see no. 47)	T.37
49. 844, May 14	Thola [sic] civitate (see no. 47)	T.38
50. 844, May 14	monasterio sancti Saturnini prope Tolosam	T.39
51. 844, May 19	in monasterio Sancti Saturnini dum obsideretur Tolosa	T.40
52. 844, May 20	in monasterio sancti Saturnini prope Tolosam	T.41
53. 844, June 5	in monasterio sancti Saturnini prope Tolosa	T.43
54. 844, June 5	in monasterio sancti Saturnini dum obsidetur Tolosa	T.44
55. 844, June 9	in monasterio sancti Saturnini prope Tolosa	T.45
56. 844, June 11	in monasterio sancti Saturnini prope Tolosam	T.46

57. 844, June 11	in monasterio sancti Saturnini dum obsideretur Tolosa	T.47
58. 844, June 12	in coenobio sancti Saturnini juxta Tolosam	T.48
59. 844, June 20	in cenobio sancti Saturnini martiris juxta Tolosam	T.49
60. (844, May - 20 June)	Tolosa civitate	T.50
61. 844, June 25	in monasterio sancti Saturnini dum obsideretur Tolosa	T.53
62. (844), June 30	in monasterio sancti Saturnini	T.54
63. 844, Aug. 12	in pago Arvernico in villa Mariscarias (unidentified place in the county of Auvergne)	T.57
64. 848, March 7	in Pictavis civitate (see no. 1)	T.106
65. 848, July 23	in villa Puteata non longe a civitate Claremonte (unidentified place, near Clermont, Puy-de-Dôme)	T.109
66. 849, Oct. 7	Narbona civitate (Narbonne, Aude)	T.118
67. 849, Oct. 11	Narbona civitate (see no. 66)	T.119
68. 849, Oct. 18	Albia civitate (Albi, Tarn)	T.120
69. 850, Jan. 14	Bituricas civitate (see no. 35)	T.123
70. 850, Jan. 16	Bitoricas civitate (see no. 35)	T.124
71. 852, Sept. 6	in Equalisma civitate (Angoulême, Charente)	T.149
72. 854, May 21	in civitate Arvernorum (Clermont, Puy-de- Dôme)	T.162
73. 854, July 26	Bituricas civitate (see no. 35)	T.165

NOTES

1. Levillain, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-2, justifies this date and place, which are taken from a suspect diploma allegedly confirming a privilege issued by Charles the Great.
2. Levillain, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-9, argues that a lost diploma lies behind the tenth century analysis of this ruler's grants to the monastery of St. Genou.
3. Levillain, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-95, considers that this document was prepared for Pippin I, but issued under his son's seal.
4. On nos. 47-62 of this list see Lot and Halphen, pp. 98-121.

CHARLES THE BALD, JUDITH AND ENGLAND

Pauline Stafford

The history of eighth-century England and Francia is inextricably entwined. Boniface, Lull and Alcuin established links between English and continental churches which brought cultural contacts and a stream of Anglo-Saxon missionaries.¹ By the late ninth and tenth centuries the flow of influence was apparently in the opposite direction. Alfred assembled such continental scholars as Grimbold at his court² and important links were developed with the Breton abbeys.³ These contacts were to send Oswald to Fleury⁴ and Dunstan to Ghent.⁵ The mid-ninth century has been less explored. Before the end of the reign of Louis the Pious the last Anglo-Saxon successor of Alcuin, Fridugis, was dead and Anglo-Saxon bishops and abbots were rarely found in control of Frankish churches. Economic and ecclesiastical contacts continued. Professor Dolley has suggested an attempt by Aethelwulf of Wessex to unify his coinage on Carolingian lines after his return from the court of Charles the Bald, and English imitations of Carolingian coins show an appreciation of the prestige of that monarchy as well as continued economic intercourse.⁶ British entries concerned primarily with Viking

¹ See e.g. T. Schieffer, *Angelsachsen und Franken. Zwei Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des 8. Jahrhunderts*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse no. 20 (Mainz 1950). My thanks are due to Janet Nelson for her generous advice and criticism of an earlier draft of this paper.

² P. Grierson, 'Grimbold of St. Bertin's', *EHR* 55 (1940), pp. 529-61.

³ D. Bullough, 'The educational tradition in England from Alfred to Aelfric', *SS Spoleto*, 19 (1972) 453-94, esp. 467ff. C. Hohler, 'Some Service Books of the Later Saxon Church', in D. Parsons ed., *Tenth-Century Studies* (London 1975), pp. 60-83 and cf. William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (Rolls Series, 1870), p. 186.

⁴ Note the Breton connections of Fleury and the connections between Brittany and England in the tenth-century, Bullough, *art. cit.*, p. 476.

⁵ Above nn. 2 & 3 and D. Bullough, 'The Continental Background of the Reform', in Parsons ed., *Tenth-Century Studies*, pp. 20-36 and J. Campbell, 'England, France and Germany, some comparisons and connections', in D. Hill ed., *Ethelred the Unready* (B.A.R. vol. 59, 1978), pp. 255-70.

⁶ R. H. M. Dolley, and K. Skaarc, 'The Coinage of Aethelwulf, king of the West Saxons', in R. H. M. Dolley ed., *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, (London 1961), pp. 63-75; C. Blunt, S. Lyon, I. Stewart, 'The Coinage of Southern England 796-840', *BNJ* 32 (1963) at pp. 16, 18 & 33 referring to Kentish coins of the 820s imitating Frankish and Coenwulf's imitation of a gold solidus of Louis the Pious, and see below n.23 for a coin of Wigmund.

attacks occur in the *Annals of St Bertin*, especially when those annals were being compiled by Prudentius,⁷ and suggest mutual interest and communication perhaps arising from common concerns. There was certainly a Frankish scribe at the court of King Aethelwulf in the 850s.⁸ This sparse evidence takes more positive shape in the correspondence of Lupus of Ferrières and especially in the marriages of Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, to the two West Saxon kings Aethelwulf and his son Aethelbald.

In 852 Lupus wrote four letters addressed to English recipients, to Aethelwulf king of Wessex, to Felix the letter's Frankish scribe, to Archbishop Wigmund and Abbot Altsig (Ealdsige) of York.⁹ Lupus had been raised in Alcuin's former monastery of Ferrières where he became abbot in 840. Between 828 and 836 he had been a pupil of Hrabanus Maurus at Fulda, Boniface's foundation. He had written a life of Wigbert, eighth-century Anglo-Saxon abbot of Fritzlar, at the request of the abbot of Hersfeld. Hersfeld was the foundation and last resting place of Lull¹⁰ and the abbey to which Wigbert had been translated.¹¹ As abbot of Ferrières Lupus possessed (for part of his abbacy) the cell of St Judoc in Picardy which had been given to Alcuin by Charlemagne to provide alms for travellers, primarily English travellers en route for Rome.¹² St Judoc lies on the south bank of the river Canche, on the doorstep of Quentovic. It may even have functioned as the parish church for Quentovic.¹³ Its role as a point of embarkation for English pilgrims and its position on the trade routes of the English Channel and the Northern French river systems made Quentovic the most important port of north-west France in the eighth and ninth centuries. Lupus's English links are thus no surprise. His re-acquisition of the cell of St Judoc in 851 may account for the timing of these four letters to England. As abbot of St Judoc and benefactor of English pilgrims Lupus had both the opportunity and the excuse for his requests.¹⁴

⁷ *AB* s.a. 844, 847, 848, 850, 855, 856, 858, 860, 861. On Prudentius's role in writing the *AB* see J. L. Nelson, above ch. 2.

⁸ His influence on Old English diplomatic is disputed by P. Chaplais, 'Origins and Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diploma', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* vol. 3 no. 2 (1965), p. 56.

⁹ Lupus, Epp. 84, 85, 86 & 87.

¹⁰ Lupus, Ep. 67.

¹¹ W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford 1946), pp. 235-6.

¹² *MGH Epp KA*, II pp. 375-6. The monks of St Judoc fled to England after the destruction of their abbey by the Vikings and brought the relics of their saint to New Minster: see *Liber Vitae of Hyde Abbey*, ed. W. de Gray Birch (Hants Record Soc., 1892), p. 6.

¹³ On Quentovic see J. Dhondt, 'Les problèmes de Quentovic', *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*, vol. I (Milan, 1962), pp. 181-248, and 205-6 on St Judoc as possibly the church of Quentovic.

¹⁴ In the two letters to Wessex he refers to himself uniquely as abbot of Ferrières and St Judoc, perhaps, as Levillain suggests, from joy at recovering the cell, but also because it stressed his English connections.

The York letters, and especially that to Wigmund, seek to renew the *societas* between Ferrières and York established presumably by Alcuin. This association should express itself in mutual prayers and exchanges of a more material nature. Lupus has heard of Altsig's love of learning and asks him to send to the cell of St Judoc four books, the *Quaestiones* of St Jerome on the Old and New Testaments, Bede's *Quaestiones* on the same theme, twenty books of Jerome's commentaries and the twelve books of Quintilian's *Libri Institutionum Oratoriarum*.¹⁵ In the letter to Aethelwulf he compliments the king on his good government and especially on his victories over the enemies of Christ, and asks him for lead to cover the roof of the church at Ferrières. Felix is asked to oversee the transport of this lead to Étaples, a port near Quentovic.

Lupus's correspondence contains many requests for books especially before 840 and in the late 850s.¹⁶ He tapped the inter-library loan service for the manuscripts he needed to pursue his textual criticisms and collation.¹⁷ His later requests for Jerome's commentaries and Quintilian from Pope Benedict III has been taken to mean that his requests to York bore little fruit.¹⁸ But his methods of working suggest a desire for continual collation, and the defective copy of Quintilian to which he refers in his letter to the pope may have come from York.¹⁹

Many of Lupus's letters contain requests for and exchanges of gifts of a more mundane nature.²⁰ Some gifts, especially those given to friends at court during his attempts to regain St Judoc, are aimed at securing assistance from the powerful. For Lupus as for so many others in ninth-century Europe exchanges of gifts not only obtained and cemented friendships, they cemented the social structure, supplied the material deficiencies of his abbey and facilitated travel.²¹ His importunate demands for gifts and prayers belong to a world where old ideas on gift exchange are grafted on to Christianity. The Western confraternities had developed in the same context. They functioned over long distances, and were designed for the mutual exchange of prayers and other forms of aid.²² The links and friendships which they built up formed the basis of economic and educational

¹⁵ Alcuin's poem, *De pontificibus et sanctis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, ed. J. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, 2 vols. (Rolls Series, 1879), vol. 1, lines 1535 ff. lists the authors available in the York library. Jerome is among them (works unspecified), Quintilian is not. But Alcuin disclaims the exhaustive nature of the list.

¹⁶ Lupus, Epp. 1, 5, 21, 33, 35, 53, 69, 95, 100, 102, 104, 106, 108.

¹⁷ See R. Gariópy, 'Lupus of Ferrières, Carolingian Scribe and text Critic', *Mediaeval Studies* 30 (1968), pp. 90-105.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

¹⁹ The MS was later at Fleury, see P. Lehmann, 'Die *Institutio Oratoria* des Quintilianus im Mittelalter', *Philologus* 89 (1934), p. 357. See below, p. 153.

²⁰ Lupus, Epp. 66, 105 & 106; on hospitality, Epp. 98, 99, 100; requests to Marward of Prüm for presents, Ep. 77 and for currency from Bishop Reginfred, Ep. 75.

²¹ On the function of such gifts see M. Mauss, *The Gift. Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, (London 1969), and cf. P. H. Sawyer, 'Kings and Merchants', in P. Sawyer and I. N. Wood edd., *Early Medieval Kingship* (Leeds, 1977) pp. 139-58.

²² J. Duhr, 'La Confrérie dans la vie de l'Église', *RIIE* 35, (1939), pp. 436-78.

life. Alliances such as these of Lupus, operating over long distances, were the basis for many of the links between England and the continent.

Continuous contacts between Ferrières and York, in spite of the troubles referred to by Lupus, are suggested by the fact that he knows the names of both the abbot and the archbishop. If Wigmund made a journey to Rome to collect his pallium or for any other purpose, his itinerary might have included a visit to the Frankish court if not to Ferrières itself.²³ Ealdsige may himself have made such a pilgrimage, and even if Lupus's reference to his learning is flattery, some knowledge of the abbot had reached him. Felix is a probable source of the contact with Wessex. Lupus had met him at Faremoutiers, perhaps as Levillain suggests as part of Aethelwulf's embassy to Louis the Pious in 839.²⁴ Lupus certainly refers to Felix as the source of his information on Aethelwulf's generosity. News of West Saxon victories had reached Ferrières. All four letters suggest the existence of other if irregular contacts between Anglo-Saxon England and Charles the Bald's Francia.

Additional proof of such contacts, at some date between 858 and 866, survives as an incidental detail in the miracles of St Wandrille.²⁵ Grippo, the 'praefectus' of Quentovic, had been on a mission to the kings of the English at the command of Charles the Bald. On his return journey he was saved from drowning through prayers to St Wandrille. The use of the 'praefectus' of Quentovic as ambassador emphasises the importance of that town in Anglo-Frankish relations. Grippo's mission was to the kings of the English and is thus unlikely to be merely *à propos* of Judith and Wessex. It probably belongs to a series of contacts, dating back to the embassy from Aethelwulf to Louis the Pious in 839, to which the Viking attacks are the essential background.

As the ninth century progressed, the presence of a common enemy produced a sense of common purpose among the rulers of Christian Europe. Prudentius's interest in England and Ireland was largely an interest in Viking attacks, and the later concern of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* with continental matters is again with Viking movements and the response to them. The idea of a common Christian cause and the closer contacts which arose out of it culminated in an unprecedented series of 'international' marriages in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, when

²³ Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 241-8 doubted whether journeys to Rome to collect the pallium were usual before the tenth century, though at p. 242 n. 1 he himself cites a late seventh-century example of such a journey. Alcuin suggests that English messengers often travelled to receive the pallium. Some of Levison's own eighth-century evidence is ambiguous. Early journeys of English ecclesiastics to Rome for other purposes are well attested, as witness that of Archbishop Wulfred in 812. A unique gold solidus struck in Wigmund's name and modelled on one of Louis the Pious may reflect such a journey, see C. Thomas, *Britain and Ireland in Early Christian Times* (London 1971), p. 97. I am grateful to Elizabeth Pirie for this reference.

²⁴ *AB* s.a. 839.

²⁵ *Ex Miraculis S Wandregisili*, *MGH SS* 15 (Hanover, 1887) pp. 408-9. The *Miracles* begin with the translation of the bones in 858, and this event is recorded as 'non longo post tempore'. The next surviving chapter records events in 866.

Alfred's daughter Aelfthryth married Baldwin of Flanders and daughters of Edward the Elder married Otto I, Charles the Simple and Hugh the Great.²⁶ Most of these marriages were important for the prestige and security of new dynasties. But like other purely English marriages they have a Viking context. Edward the Elder's daughter Eadgyth was married by her brother Athelstan to king Sihtric, the Irish/Norse ruler of York, a rare example of an attempt to bring a Viking king into the fold of Christian Europe.²⁷ Alfred married his eldest daughter Aethelflaed to the virtually independent ruler of Mercia, Alfred had himself married a woman of Mercian royal birth in Ealhswith, and his sister Aethelswith had been married by Aethelwulf to King Burgred of Mercia. These marriages between Wessex and Mercia were designed to cement alliance against the Vikings. Practical co-operation may have been a motive in at least one marriage between England and Francia. In the Flemish marriage of his daughter, Alfred may have been seeking to cut off Channel bases to the Vikings, the motive behind Aethelred II's later marriage to Emma of Normandy. Marriage to a daughter of Edward the Elder brought prestige and even tangible aid from a dynasty whose true asset was not age (its history before Egberht is obscure) but military success. The marriage of Judith and Aethelwulf thus belongs to a series of matrimonial alliances growing out of contact and interest generated by Viking attack.²⁸

The immediate circumstances in which Charles agreed to the marriage of Judith in 856 underline the point. The summer of that year saw an attack on the Seine valley which opened the worst six years in the history of Viking attacks on Northern France.²⁹ That same early summer brought a rising amongst Charles's own nobility, especially in Aquitaine, in favour of his brother Louis the German.³⁰ Earlier in that year Charles had betrothed his son Louis the Stammerer to the daughter of Erispoë of Brittany, in a bid to cement the loyalty of a difficult area. His difficulties in the summer of 856 are the essential context for the marriage between Judith and Aethelwulf.

In the Carolingian dynasty marriage to a foreigner, and the marriage of a princess to *anyone*, were still uncommon in the mid-ninth century. Louis the German and Lothar placed most of their daughters in nunneries, and this was the normal fate of Charles's own daughters. Rothild, for example, married Roger

²⁶ On the marriages of Edward the Elder's daughters see R. L. Poole, 'The Alpine son-in-law of Edward the Elder', in A. L. Poole ed., *Studies in Chronology and History* (Oxford 1934) pp. 115-22. For Aelfthryth see P. Grierson, 'Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest', *TRHS* ser. 4, 23 (1941), pp. 90ff.

²⁷ Cf. the marriage of Lothar II's daughter Gisla to the Viking lord of Frisia.

²⁸ H. Sprömborg, 'Judith, Königin von England, Gräfin von Flandern', *RBPH* 15 (1936), pp. 397-428 discusses earlier arguments seeing the marriage as part of an alliance against the Vikings.

²⁹ See F. Lot, 'La grande invasion Normande de 856-62', *BECH* 69 (1908), pp. 5-62.

³⁰ See now O. G. Oexle, 'Bischof Ebroin von Poitiers und seine Verwandten', *FMS* 3, (1969), 138-201 for discussion of the Rorgonides, their support for Louis the German and their role in this rising.

count of Maine only after her father's death.³¹ The marriage of daughters was not unknown. Louis the Pious had married all three of his and for important political reasons.³² But such political pressures had to exist first to produce betrothal and then to transform betrothal into marriage.³³ Marriage to a foreign prince raised special doubts about a daughter's security. The initiative probably came from Aethelwulf. He had concluded a marriage alliance with Mercia only two years before leaving England, and a marriage into the dynasty of Charlemagne had obvious advantages. Charles's consent was determined by the pressure of Vikings and revolt. His enthusiastic reception of Aethelwulf in 855 reveals an awareness of the West Saxon king's military image.³⁴ Maximum political value and security for Judith were to be gained by the celebration of the marriage with all possible pomp and ceremony.

The event merits five mentions in ninth-century sources. Asser refers to it twice. It is the occasion for his remarks on the normal absence of queens in Wessex and he specifies that Aethelwulf placed Judith 'iuxta se in regali solio' (next to himself on the royal throne).³⁵ The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 'A', s.a. 855 states that Charles gave Judith to Aethelwulf 'to cuene'. 'Cwen' is not lightly used in West Saxon sources; and the *Chronicle* is calling attention to the important fact that Aethelwulf made Judith his queen, not simply his wife. The *Annals of St Bertin* have the fullest account. On his way back from Rome in July 856 Aethelwulf was betrothed to Judith, whom he married at Verberie in October of the same year. Hincmar blessed her, placed a diadem upon her head and Aethelwulf gave her the title of queen, a title not common among his people. This piece of information must have come from Aethelwulf himself, perhaps to underline the status he was giving Judith, perhaps by way of at least token protest. The marriage was sealed by the mutual exchange of gifts. Fortunately the *Ordo* used by Hincmar at Verberie in 856 has survived.³⁶ It makes it plain that in addition to marriage and coronation a queenly anointing took place, a very rare event at this date. The combination of marriage, coronation and unction and the significance of this for the participants as well as its repercussions in a Wessex which deliberately eschewed such ceremonies make the events of 856 of interest not only for the history of queens but for the political history of mid-ninth-century England.

31 On the fates of all these women see K. Werner, 'Die Nachkommen Karls des Grossen bis um Jahr 1000', *KdG*, IV and S. Konecny, *Die Frauen des Karolingischen Königshauses* (Vienna 1976), pp. 150-6.

32 Konecny, *Die Frauen*, pp. 90-1, 96-7.

33 Charlemagne for example betrothed his daughter Rotrud to a Byzantine but the marriage never took place.

34 *AB* s.a. 855.

35 Asser's *Life of King Alfred* (Oxford 1904), ed. W. Stevenson, cap 11 and esp. cap 13.

36 *MGH Cap II*, no. 296, pp. 425-7.

The ceremony was first a full marriage containing the elements laid down by authorities such as Nicholas I and Hincmar,³⁷ betrothal, the rite of *desponsatio* including the gift of a ring, and a settlement on the bride. Eighth- and ninth-century kings did not contract all their sexual alliances this way with even high-born women. Earlier Carolingian practice reveals as many concubines as wives.³⁸ Boniface upbraided the Mercian king Aethelbald in the mid-eighth century for his failure to combine sexual satisfaction and marriage³⁹ - apparently a particular crime of the English. Charles's nephews Lothar II and the sons of Louis the German all contracted alliances with concubines.⁴⁰ These were not necessarily women of low birth. Writing to Ealdorman Osbert in 797 Alcuin asks him to admonish Kings Coenwulf and Eardwulf to avoid adultery and not to put away their wives in order to take women of the nobility as concubines.⁴¹ The readiness of noble families to send their daughters into what Christian sources term 'concubinage' argues not simply the desirability of alliances cemented in the royal bed, but the survival of very different views and practices on marriage and legitimacy.⁴² Marriage was still infinitely manipulable in political circumstances, witness the notorious affair of Lothar II.⁴³ However, Christian ideas on indissolubility had made sufficient headway to pose a hurdle to be surmounted, and even though repudiation was still possible many kings preferred to dispense with the formalities of full marriage. Knowing such possibilities and impressed with his own experiences as the son of an elderly father and youthful mother with a brace of older stepsons, Charles wished to give his daughter every protection. The problems experienced by that earlier Judith in securing a portion for her own son (and Charles must have hoped for offspring from the marriage of his daughter) and desire for the recognition of his family's status would lead Charles to provide Judith with every ritual security.

Judith was not only married with full Christian legitimacy, but also anointed. There is no certain prior anointing of a Carolingian queen as opposed to an empress.⁴⁴ Episcopal anointing for kings was itself of very recent origin and the reign of Charles the Bald was a period of great experiment and development associated with Hincmar of Rheims. There are few ninth-century queenly anointings after Judith. It is unlikely that Waldrada was anointed in 862 when she

37 MGH Epp KA IV, p. 580, Nicholas I's *Responsio ad Consulta Bulgarorum*; Hincmar, *De Divortio Lotharii et Teibergae*, PL 125, col. 649 AB.

38 S. Konecny, 'Eherecht und Ehepolitik unter Ludwig dem Frommen', *MIÖG* 85 (1977), pp. 1-21.

39 Boniface's letter MGH, *Epp Selectae* I, no. 73.

40 On these see Konecny, *Die Frauen*, pp. 138-43 and 104.

41 *English Historical Documents* vol. 1, ed. D. Whitelock (London 1955), no. 202.

42 P. Daudet, *Études sur l'histoire de la juridiction matrimoniale* (Paris 1933), esp. pp. 51-61 and 89-134, making clear the difficulty of eradicating divorce and repudiation, a difficulty stemming in part from conflicts between different views on marriage.

43 Recent discussion in Konecny, *Die Frauen*, pp. 103-117.

44 The possible exception is Bertha (Bertrada), wife of Pippin and mother of Charlemagne. The Continuator of Fredegar refers to her *consecratio*. Does this imply anointing? I am grateful to Janet Nelson for extensive help on this and what follows.

was crowned.⁴⁵ Ermentrude was anointed as queen in 866. Richildis' anointing in 877 was as empress not queen, and later ninth-century anointings of women are all of empresses: Richarda wife of Charles the Fat in 880 and Ageltrude wife of Wido (Guy) of Spoleto in 891.⁴⁶ The reign of Charles the Bald thus contains the only two certainly attested anointings of Frankish queens.

Like baptism royal unction was considered to effect fundamental status changes. Hincmar's ritual expertise is crucial to these developments, but it would be wrong to see Charles as an unwilling or ignorant participant.⁴⁷ In 866 he personally requested the consecration of Ermentrude as queen. The king's attitude towards anointing would be strongly impregnated with ideas of magic. In the case of Ermentrude the magic is directed to the production of fitting royal offspring.⁴⁸ Her anointing was partly fertility rite, and the prayers refer hopefully to Abraham who begat children at the age of 100 of his 90 year old wife! But offspring are required suitable to defend and protect church and 'regnum'. Ermentrude is to produce sons who will be an improvement on her dead, rebellious and otherwise deficient progeny. In Judith's case the age gap between a girl of 12 and a husband of 50 made fertility a real issue. The emphasis on offspring may also be an emphasis on their throne-worthiness. The consecration of their mother *before* their birth might have been hoped to enhance their rights *vis-à-vis* their older brothers in the case of both Judith and Ermentrude. The blessing of Bertha over a century before had occurred as part of a ceremony whose whole purpose was the transference of rights of succession from one family to another.⁴⁹ No longer shall the Franks choose kings from the loins of another, 'de alterius lumbis'. This blessing had to work retrospectively, Ermentrude's anointing would guarantee the rights of future sons. For Judith the combination of marriage ceremony, prayers for fertility and anointing was aimed at assuring offspring and securing their legitimacy and claims. Aethelbald, Aethelwulf's eldest surviving son, appreciated

⁴⁵ Janet Nelson suggests to me that this crowning may have been part of a marriage rite designed to underpin Waldrada's legitimacy. Crowning became part of the West Frankish marriage rite during the ninth century, whereas dowering was the significant sign of full marriage in East Francia; Konecny, *Die Frauen*, pp. 138-9.

⁴⁶ On Ermentrude and Richildis see the paper by Jane Hyam, below ch. 9. On all these queens and their anointings and crownings see C-R. Brühl, 'Fränkischer Krönungsbrauch und das Problem der Festkrönungen', *HZ* 194 (1962), pp. 265-326 esp. 285-90 and 321-6.

⁴⁷ J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship* (Oxford 1971), pp. 132-5, W. Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London 1969), cap 4 and J. L. Nelson, 'Kingship, law and liturgy in the political thought of Hincmar of Rheims', *EHR* 92 (1977), pp. 241-79. In her 'Inauguration Rituals', in Sawyer and Wood ed., *Early Medieval Kingship*, pp. 57-62, Nelson convincingly argued for the importance of clerical initiatives in the anointings of Charles the Bald's reign, but note that Charles himself requested Ermentrude's consecration.

⁴⁸ *Ordo* in *MGH Cap II*, no. 301, pp. 453-5 and see E. H. Kantorowicz, 'The Carolingian King in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura', in K. Weitzmann et al. ed., *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in honour of A. M. Friend Jr.* (Princeton 1955), pp. 287-300, esp. pp. 292-4.

⁴⁹ *MGH SSRM II* p. 182: the Continuation of Fredegar; *SSRM I*, p. 465: the *Clausula*.

the general if not the detailed intentions of the ceremonies and saw the acquisition of a consecrated stepmother as a cause for rebellion (see below).

There had been queens before, if not anointed queens, in both Carolingian Francia and Anglo-Saxon England. The ceremonies which accompanied their making are unknown.⁵⁰ Coronation is unlikely,⁵¹ enthronement more probable. Such a ceremony was in Asser's mind when he stated that the West Saxons did not permit the king's wife to sit on the throne of the kingdom, 'in solio regni'. This formal position at court was the source of queens' power and is by no means a question of empty etiquette.⁵² At a period when a mayor of the palace could use his position to attain regality, status at court was of first importance. The nature of power and its exercise in an intensely personal and non-bureaucratic fashion makes early medieval politics in the most literal sense household, palace, even family politics. When Charles sought a position for Judith on the throne of the West Saxon kingdom he would not have thought of an empty eminence.

The history of queens and queen-making in Anglo-Saxon England in the eighth and early ninth centuries is as obscure as the general history of that period. The West Saxons did not have queens⁵³ but that practice did not extend to all kingdoms.⁵⁴ The court of Offa of Mercia is especially significant. Early eighth-century Mercia had neither queens nor royal wives.⁵⁵ But two of Offa's daughters became queens of Wessex and Northumbria, and from A.D. 770 his wife Cynethryth is given the formal title of queen in the charters.⁵⁶ Her formal

⁵⁰ Thegan states that Louis the Pious when he married Judith 'eam reginam constituit', but goes no further (cap 26). Certain of Charlemagne's wives seem to have been called 'regina' but it is not clear what rituals of instatement were involved. Their role in politics seems to have been limited, see Konecny, 'Eherecht und Ehepolitik', pp. 4-6.

⁵¹ But Brühl's pre-mid-ninth century examples are all of empresses, *art. cit.* pp. 321-26.

⁵² For Agobard of Lyons, Judith, wife of Louis the Pious, was 'adiutrix palatii in regni' with special 'cura palatii', *MGH SS* 15, p. 276, recalling Venantius Fortunatus's remarks on a Merovingian queen as 'Domina palatii', *Vita S Radegundis*, *MGH AA* IV, 2, p. 39.

⁵³ Eadburh, Beorhtric's wife, is the only known queen - indeed the only documented wife - between Frithogyth, wife of Aethelheard (728x41) and Judith.

⁵⁴ Simeon of Durham records two late eighth-century Northumbrian queens, Ricthryth who died as abbess in 786 and Aelflaed daughter of Offa who became Aethelred's queen when he took her as a new wife at Catterick on 29 September 792, *Simeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series, 1882) vol. II, p. 54. On the 'new wife', *ASC E*, s.a. 792.

⁵⁵ I. e. after the death of Ceolred who did have a queen, his cousin Waerburh whose death is recorded by *ASC* and Simeon in 782. There are problems here, since this date would make her survive her husband by 66 years and her father Wulfhere by over 100! Boniface's celebrated castigation of Aethelbald shows him far from celibate but averse to the formalities of marriage. His charters are witnessed by only one member of the royal family, his brother Heardberht who occurs only in S 89 and 94.

⁵⁶ S 59, 60. Her first appearance is in the presence of her son Ecgfryth, who is referred to as 'filius amborum' and her designation as queen may date from his birth. Subsequently she appears without her son on many occasions until c. A.D. 790. Her title is invariably 'regina', occasionally 'dei gratia', as in S 117, 118, 116, all A.D. 780 and from Worcester, and 'deo donante' in S 120, another Worcester charter. She is a regular charter witness.

designation thus antedates the anointing of her son Ecgfryth by the papal legates, although the short but unique issue of coins in her name should probably be dated to this visit and suggests an enhancing of her status.⁵⁷ Cynethryth's position should be understood in relation to succession politics. Offa is known to have been concerned about the succession to the throne and securing it for his son.⁵⁸ Offa had himself secured the throne after conflict and it is probably only the accident of two long-lived kings which prevented eighth-century Mercia from experiencing the strife of contemporary Wessex. A designation of Cynethryth would enhance the throne-worthiness of her son Ecgfryth, a purpose uppermost in the later events surrounding the visit of the papal legates. Not only did those legates anoint Ecgfryth and perhaps underline Cynethryth's position, but they issued laws concerned with succession rights and their restriction, especially in the case of the throne, to the children of legitimate marriage.⁵⁹ These strictures suggest that one element in the queen-making of Cynethryth was full marriage. In his plans for his wife and his children Offa showed an appreciation of the significance of family politics.

Cynethryth wife of Offa, was only the first of a series of Mercian queens.⁶⁰ The evidence of the charters would suggest that it was normal for a Mercian king to give prominence to his wife and often to other members of the royal family.⁶¹ A series of *Lives* of royal saints from Mercia in the same period suggest the same close involvement of the royal family in politics.⁶² Consistent enhancement of queens and other members of the royal family is a possible answer to the problem of dynastic security, where the advantages to be gained by a king from keeping family rivals in low profile and postponing the choice of successor are outweighed by strengthening the royal dynasty as a whole. The rapid succession of Mercian kings and the details of family murders and attempted dynastic marriages in the saints' *Lives* suggests a need for such a policy. Mercia presented an example of

⁵⁷ C. Blunt, 'The Coinage of Offa', in Dolley ed., *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, at pp. 46-7, 54.

⁵⁸ See Alcuin's remarks on the violent measures he took to secure it: *MGH Epp KA II*, no. 122.

⁵⁹ A. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, III (Oxford 1871), pp. 453 and 455-6.

⁶⁰ Coenwulf had two, Cyncgyth, known from a single charter, S 156, and probably the mother of Kenelm, and Aelfthryth his queen by A.D. 804, S 159, mother of his daughter Quoenhryth. Wiglaf's wife was another Cynethryth 'regina', and Saethryth 'regina' witnesses almost every charter of Beorhtwulf. The West Saxon Aethelwith, daughter of Aethelwulf, was Burgred's queen.

⁶¹ Especially marked under Coenwulf when his brothers and daughters and possibly his son Kenelm (Cynchelm) appear as witnesses in e.g. S 157, 162, 11-89, 165, 185. Beornwulf's brother Bynna appears in S 1433, Wiglaf's son Wigmund in S 188 and 189 and Beorhtwulf's son Beorhtic in S 205.

⁶² I am very grateful to Dr. D. Rollason for allowing me to see in advance of publication his papers on 'The Cult of Murdered Kings and Princes' and 'St Wigstan and Repton' on the dating of these *Lives* and on the political significance of the cults themselves.

queenly designation as part of a succession strategy, albeit a very inefficient one, and of the role of ecclesiastical rituals in underpinning such a strategy.

The Mercian example could not have been lost on Wessex, especially after the marriage in 853 of Aethelwulf to King Burgred, which followed a successful campaign by the two kings into Wales and came soon after Burgred's accession.⁶³ This marriage brought prestige for a new king, a seal on cooperation and a bond between peoples hitherto unfriendly, with Aethelwulf in a traditional Germanic role as peace-bringer.⁶⁴ Aethelwulf's marriage was accompanied by some ceremony of queen-making.⁶⁵ Only two years before his departure for the continent Aethelwulf had been part of a ceremony of marriage and queen-making whose purposes included prestige, expressions of friendship and dynastic strategy. The event may have had even more significance for Aethelwulf.

During Aethelwulf's absence his son Aethelbald rebelled. Asser states that revolt broke out almost immediately after Aethelwulf's departure 'tantillo tempore' to the West of Selwood, under Ealhstan, bishop of Sherborne and Earnwulf, ealdorman of Somerset. This revolt may have been independent of Aethelbald,⁶⁶ although some of Asser's informants suggested Aethelbald's responsibility. Aethelbald's own revolt is more certainly dated to late in 856, when he refused to receive back Aethelwulf on his return from Rome. Not all the West Saxon nobility supported Aethelbald, and to prevent conflict the kingdom was divided. Asser states that Aethelwulf took the eastern part of Saxonia. Since in cap. 13 Asser has Aethelwulf received back enthusiastically by a section of the West Saxon nobility and since Judith is then made queen of the West Saxons it seems that Aethelwulf retained part of Wessex in 856 and did not retire to Kent. This is borne out by the regnal lists, all of which make Aethelwulf king of Wessex for eighteen and a half years. These lists only calculate rule in Wessex, not in Kent, and would make Aethelwulf king in Wessex until 858. Aethelbald would thus have become king west of Selwood, over the area previously in revolt.⁶⁷ If Aethelbald's rebellion

⁶³ The last known date of King Beorhtwulf is 851 when he was defeated by the Danes, an event which may have precipitated his downfall.

⁶⁴ On this see B. Kliman, 'Women in early English Literature', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 21 (1977), pp. 32-49. ASC 'A' states that she was 'given from the West Saxons to the Mercians'.

⁶⁵ Asser cap 9 says that the marriage took place after Easter at the royal vill of Chippenham 'regaliter' and that Aethelwulf was given to Burgred as 'regina'. Chippenham in N. Wilts lies near the border of the two kingdoms and again suggests a peace-making. Note the association with a solemn feast. Did the ceremony include coronation? S 214 gives her the title 'coronata stemma regali Anglorum regina'. The charter is not above suspicion.

⁶⁶ Asser caps 12 & 13. The king whose 'insolentia' is referred to and who is 'pertainax' in so many things must be Aethelbald, the 'pertainax filius' in the same chapter.

⁶⁷ Taking the established dates for the death and accession of Alfred (899 and 871) and working from the calculations of all the regnal lists except that in the Hyde *Liber Vitae*, pp. 94-6, Aethelbald's own regnal dates should be 856-61, and not 860 as stated in ASC 'A'. The ASC is not a contemporary account of the mid century: see A. J. Thorogood, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the reign of Ecgberht', *EHR* 48 (1933), pp. 353-63.

was independent of and later than that of Bishop Ealhstan, the various elements of discontent may have come together in 856. Aethelbald's action was arguably a result of his father's marriage to Judith and her consecration as queen, both of which could be interpreted as threats to his claims to the throne.

There may have been other grievances which son felt towards father. Aethelbald may not have received the sub-kingdom of Kent on the death of his elder brother Athelstan. The latter probably died in the early 850s and Aethelbald does not appear to have ruled in Kent after him, though the evidence is rather negative.⁶⁸ This may already have aroused fears regarding his father's intentions (see below). His father's return from Rome may have surprised him. Many earlier royal pilgrimages such as those of Caedwalla, Coenred and Ine had also been abdications, and Rome was the goal of many Anglo-Saxon political exiles.⁶⁹ If Aethelbald had counted on a permanent regency his father's return would be unwelcome and doubly so when he brought with him a young and consecrated wife. Asser himself stresses the dislike of queens in Wessex and states that Aethelwulf placed Judith on the throne 'sine aliqua suorum nobilium controversia et odio', implying that for others, Aethelbald and his supporters, it was precisely an occasion for controversy and hatred.

The attitude towards queens in Wessex may, as in the case of Mercia, have been determined by succession strategies. Ecgberht and his successors discouraged most members of the royal family from a prominent part in politics, although one son or brother may have been designated heir at the time of his acquisition of a sub-kingdom.⁷⁰ Family strife appears to have developed all too easily without encouraging it by creating queens to lead factions or pre-empt succession choices. Wives may have been taken and discarded with relative ease.⁷¹ The lack of queens was justified by the story of the wicked Eadburh. Alfred, who told the story to Asser, kept his own wife and family in the background of politics and the Eadburh story was part of his justification,⁷² but dislike of queens in Wessex was already marked enough in the mid-ninth century

⁶⁸ Aethelwulf had been king in Kent under his father: see S 271, 282, 323, 189, 280, 286, 1438 etc. Aethelwulf's own eldest son Athelstan became king there, see ASC 'A' s.a. (*recte* 839). Stenton's reading of Athelstan as son of Aethelwulf not Ecgberht is surely correct.

⁶⁹ On pilgrimages to Rome, royal and otherwise, see B. Colgrave, 'Pilgrimages to Rome in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', in E. B. Attwood and A. A. Hill ed., *Studies in Language, Literature and Culture of the Middle Ages and Later* (Texas, 1969), pp. 156-72.

⁷⁰ If a sub-kingdom was part of designation this might explain Aethelbald's worry at not getting one and at acquiring a step-mother. Witnesses of the royal family follow a different pattern in Wessex from that in ninth-century Mercia. Aethelwulf appears under Ecgberht but only as king of Kent: see S 287, 289, 292, 293, 320, 1439 etc. Aethelbald appears in S 298, 300 as 'filius regis', and as 'dux' in S 301. A series of doubtful charters in 854, mostly decimation charters, are witnessed by Aethelbald and Aethelberht as 'duces' and by Aethelred and Alfred as 'filii regis': see S 304, 308, 302, 303, 309, 307, 310.

⁷¹ Stevenson, *Asser*, pp. 222-5 on whether Aethelwulf cast off Osburh to marry Judith. The evidence for such a repudiation is very slight.

⁷² Asser caps 13-15.

for the *Annals of St Bertin* to remark upon in 856. The association of queens with the sensitive area of succession politics is sufficient explanation of Aethelbald's rebellion.

Judith's English interlude did not end with the death of Aethelwulf in 858. That same Aethelbald, against divine command and pagan custom, as Asser says, married his father's widow and Judith did not return to the continent until 862 after Aethelbald's own premature death. The remarriage postponed her entry into a nunnery, the fate which probably awaited her as a royal widow in Francia.⁷³ Marriage to the widow of the previous king, even to one's step-mother is not without parallel. Eadbald married his step-mother in seventh-century Kent, and there are many more examples of the remarriage of royal widows.⁷⁴ Politics rather than preference necessitate such marriages. Cnut married Emma (as Aethelred had done), because she was the sister of the Duke of Normandy, but with the additional incentive of diverting the aid of maternal kin from the sons of Emma's first marriage. If an alliance was desirable for one king it might prove so for his successor. The wife's family might be a source, if not of material aid, of prestige or even blood-right. Beortfrith's attempted marriage to Wigstan's mother Aelfflaed would have linked him to the family of Coenwulf, the last Mercian king sufficiently powerful to claim descent from Penda.⁷⁵ Aelfflaed was the daughter of Ceolwulf, Coenwulf's brother, and such an alliance could bring the aid of her family and high birth for Beortfrith's sons. There are however some cases where it appears legitimate to argue that the king's widow is acting as a vessel of royal power, as in certain Ostrogothic and Lombard examples (below n. 74). This prior contact with regality, buying off a widow's support for her sons, especially by giving her new ones, and acquiring her family connections were powerful motives for marrying a royal widow. We know of no sons of Judith's marriage to Aethelwulf whom Aethelbald might have feared. But for him as for his father a Carolingian marriage was prestigious and stressed the same common experience of Viking attack. In addition Judith had been consecrated, making her a desirable mother for his own sons. Aethelbald may not have felt sufficiently secure to forego any advantages, however intangible, accruing from such a union. Our picture of unanimity and forbearance over the succession in ninth-century Wessex

⁷³ Though only briefly. Before the end of 862 she had eloped with Baldwin of Flanders: see *AB* s.a. 862.

⁷⁴ Cnut married Aethelred II's widow Emma in 1017; cf. I. N. Wood, 'Kings, Kingdoms and Consent', in Sawyer and Wood ed., *Early Medieval Kingship* (Leeds 1977), p. 9 and J. L. Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels', in D. Baker ed., *Medieval Women* (Oxford 1978), p. 37 and n. 28. Stevenson, *Asser*, pp. 214-5 discusses the practice and gives further (mainly Italian) examples. In the legend of St Wigstan, Beortfrith attempted to marry the widow of Wigmund; see W. D. Macray ed., *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham* (Rolls Series, 1863) pp. 325-32.

⁷⁵ For the need for caution in accepting such claims see D. Dumville, 'Kingship, Genealogies and Regnal Lists', in Sawyer and Wood ed., *Early Medieval Kingship*, pp. 72-104 and 'The Anglian Collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists', *Anglo-Saxon England* 5 (1976), pp. 23-50.

may be false, witness the claims and counterclaims referred to in Alfred's will. His father's regulation of the succession by the division of the kingdom⁷⁶ could not remove the fact that Aethelbald had three brothers, at least one of whom was old enough to rule. Judith was unfortunate in that this second marriage lasted little longer than her first. By 862, at the age of eighteen, she was back on the continent, twice widowed but ready for further adventure.⁷⁷

Judith's two English marriages are a brief interlude in her own career. The opportunity provided by Aethelwulf's visit had been used to establish an alliance whose significance for both sides lay in the important realms of political prestige. It was one of the first of many ninth- and early tenth-century marriages which expressed the sense of common purpose which the Viking attacks brought to Christian Europe. In England it precipitated a rebellion and incidentally proved the occasion for recording important information on the status of West Saxon women. In West Francia it produced the first anointing of a queen, as Charles sought every way of safeguarding his daughter's position.

Yet the unction and the creation of a West Saxon queen were products of the immediate political situation and to some extent proved events without consequence. The West Saxon dynasty did not change its practices as a result. We must wait almost a century after Judith for another royal woman in that kingdom who played a political role, and longer for the next queenly anointing. After the further experiments with unction at Charles' own court Judith's anointing did not radically alter the position of Carolingian queens. In Wessex and Francia the position of the queen was part of political systems and circumstances, and only when they were favourable did opportunities arise for the exercise of queenly power.⁷⁸

Bibliographical note

Since this article appeared, I have published a general study of early medieval queens, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers. The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (Atlanta and London 1983), and a specific study of English queens from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, 'The king's wife in Wessex, 800-1066', *Past and Present* 91 (1981), pp. 5-27, reprinted in H. Damico and A. Olsen ed., *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature* (Indiana University Press 1989).

⁷⁶ Asser cap 16 specifies Aethelwulf's division and ASC 'A', s.a. 855 notes which portions went to each brother.

⁷⁷ Her subsequent career as wife of Baldwin of Flanders is discussed by Sprömborg, *op. cit.* Through her Flemish son Baldwin she featured again in English history. Alfred's daughter Aelfhryth married him.

⁷⁸ The paper by M. J. Enright, 'Charles the Bald and Aethelwulf of Wessex: the alliance of 856 and strategies of royal succession', *Journal of Medieval History* 5 (1979), pp. 291-302 came to my attention after this paper was completed. His line of argument is generally similar to my own, though I would see Aethelbald's rebellion as a result of the marriage, rather than the marriage as a response to the revolt.

These two works together extend the arguments of this article in the discussion of queens, succession and dynastic politics and consecration in a western European and a narrower English context. 'The king's wife in Wessex' especially considers the low profile of ninth-century West Saxon royal women, and links it to the succession practices of the day. This should now be compared with Janet L. Nelson, 'A king across the sea: Alfred in Continental perspective', *TRHS* 36 (1986), pp. 45-68, at p. 55, for the suggestion that the down-grading of royal women in Wessex belongs to the ninth century, perhaps even to its later stages.

For links between England and Francia in the tenth century within which the rituals and practices of queenly anointing were disseminated, see K. Leyser, 'Die Ottonen und Wessex', *FMS* 17 (1983), pp. 73-97. Two important articles by J. L. Nelson on the English royal *ordines* have changed views on these and on the related question of the consecration of queens. On the Judith *Ordo* itself and its relationship to earlier English royal *ordines*, see her 'The earliest royal *ordo*: some liturgical and historical aspects', in B. Tierney and P. Linehan edd., *Authority and Power: Studies presented to Walter Ullmann* (Cambridge 1980), pp. 29-48 (reprinted in Nelson, *Politics and Ritual*). In her 'The Second English *Ordo*', *Politics and Ritual*, pp. 361-74, Nelson convincingly dates the development of the West Saxon queen's anointing to the early tenth century, rather than, as I suggested, the late tenth.

On the Lothar II affair and ninth-century royal marriage in general, see my *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers*, and J. Bishop, 'Bishops as marital advisors in the ninth century', in J. Kirshner and S. Wemple edd., *Women of the Medieval World* (Oxford 1985), pp.54-84. See also S. Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society* (Philadelphia 1981).

Two further publications relevant to ninth-century cultural contacts must be noted: first, Alcuin's poem referred to at p. 141, n. 15 above, has been edited and translated by P. Godman as *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York* (Oxford 1982); second, Quintilian's work mentioned at p. 141, n. 19 above, is now discussed by M. Winterbottom in L. D. Reynolds ed., *Texts and Transmission: a survey of the Latin classics* (Oxford 1983), pp. 332-4.

ERMENTRUDE AND RICHILDIS

Jane Hyam

Charles the Bald was married twice, to women who were both referred to as queens by contemporaries, and whose careers span some eight decades of Carolingian history.¹ His marriage to his first wife, Ermentrude, lasted just under twenty-seven years, from mid-December 842,² until her death at St Denis on 6 October 869.³ Within a week, he had found a replacement in Richildis, whom he made what Hincmar terms his 'concubine',⁴ before having the union blessed by the Church the following January.⁵ However, the fact that Richildis's brother Boso visited his mother and aunt immediately after the news of Ermentrude's death had reached the king,⁶ and that Charles later asked the clergy of Lyons to commemorate, not the wedding, but the anniversary of his *conjunctio* with Richildis on 12 October,⁷ would suggest that it was the beginning of the relationship, rather than the subsequent religious ceremony, that was considered to be the significant event. Charles died seven years later,⁸ but his widow seems to have outlived him by at least another thirty-three, for a *Richildis quondam regina* is found granting land to Gorze Abbey in 910.⁹ The information concerning these

¹ I am indebted to many people for advice and criticism given both before and after this paper was read at the conference. I would like to express my gratitude to them all, and in particular to Janet Nelson, for much help and encouragement.

² There is some discrepancy as to the date of this marriage. Two charters of 862, one of them an original, give 13 December, T. 246, 247, whereas Nithard IV, 6, pp. 140-3, gives 14 December.

³ AB s. a. 869, p. 167.

⁴ Charles heard the news of his wife's death at Douzy on 9 October, whereupon *sororem...Bosonis nomine Richildem mox sibi adduci fecit et in concubinam accepit*, AB s. a. 869, p. 167.

⁵ They were married on 22 January at Nijmegen. Richildis was already *desponsata atque dotata*, AB s. a. 870, p. 169.

⁶ AB s. a. 869, p. 167.

⁷ T. 355. For a discussion of the Church's developing views on marriage, see P. Daudet, *Etudes sur l'histoire de la juridiction matrimoniale* (Paris 1933), and J.-A. McNamara and S. F. Wemple, 'Marriage and divorce in the Frankish kingdom', in S. M. Stuard ed., *Women in Medieval Society* (Pennsylvania 1976), pp. 95-124, esp. 98, 108.

⁸ AB s. a. 877, p. 217.

⁹ A. d'Herbomez ed., *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Gorze, Mettensta II* (Paris 1898), nos. 87, 88, pp. 157-62, 480-3.

two women is patchy, incomplete, and at least misleading. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that the little that is known about their lives will go some way towards clarifying, and perhaps even extending, our knowledge of both the reign of Charles the Bald and early medieval queens in general. There are three major points to consider. What qualified a woman to become a queen? What was her sphere of influence? And to what extent was her position dependent upon that of others?

I

As regards what qualified a woman to become a queen, Asser makes it clear that in contemporary Wessex the title was not the automatic perquisite of a king's wife.¹⁰ There can be little doubt that sheer force of personality was a factor that counted for a great deal, but the evidence from ninth-century Francia suggests that social background may also have played an important role. Certainly all the sons of Louis the Pious appear to have married into prominent, influential families. Lothar I's wife, Ermengard, for instance, was the daughter of Count Hugh of Tours, one of the two prime instigators of her husband's revolt against his father.¹¹ Pippin I of Aquitaine married Ringart, daughter of Count Thibert of Madrie, possibly a member of the family of the 'historic Nibelungen',¹² and Louis the German allied himself to the powerful Welf clan by marrying Emma, sister of his step-mother Judith.¹³ What we know of the family connections of the wives of Charles the Bald confirms this trend.

The suspicion that one of the motives behind such marriages may have been political finds substance in Nithard, who states that Ermentrude's uncle, the seneschal Adalard, was able 'to direct the people as he desired, and Charles undertook the marriage above all for this reason, in that he thought that he [Adalard] might win over the majority of the people to his cause.'¹⁴ Charles married Ermentrude in 842, in the midst of the negotiations that led up to the Treaty of Verdun.¹⁵ Despite the cessation of hostilities, however, he cannot have been sure that Lothar I would not break his word and re-invade West Francia. In addition, he continued to be harassed in Aquitaine and Brittany.¹⁶ The experience

¹⁰ *Life of Alfred*, ed. W.H. Stevenson (Oxford 1904, repr. 1959), cc. 13-14, pp. 11-3. For a further discussion of this, see Pauline Stafford, above, ch.8.

¹¹ Nithard I, 3, pp. 8-9.

¹² Ermold l. 257, p. 232; L. Levillain, 'Les Nibelungen historiques', *AM* 50 (1938), p. 131. For further information on these two marriages, see K.-F. Werner, 'Die Nachkommen Karls des Großen', *KdG* IV, p. 446.

¹³ *AX* s. a. 827, p. 7. Her name was Emma, according to *AB* s. a. 875, p. 199.

¹⁴ Nithard IV, 6, pp. 142-3, adding that she was the daughter of Odo and Engeltrude. Her father may have been the count of Orleans killed in 834, Nithard I, 5, pp. 20-1 and n. 2.

¹⁵ *AB* s. a. 843, p. 41-3.

¹⁶ *AB* s. a. 843, p. 44.

of the previous two years had taught him the value of a strong body of support in times of trouble. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that he should consider a marriage to Ermentrude as a means of forging a more permanent alliance with one of the most powerful men in his kingdom.

Much the same idea lay behind Charles's second marriage: namely a desire to consolidate his position in a recently-acquired kingdom, this time in Lotharingia. Parisot's remark that 'Richildis, en effet, était Lorraine'¹⁷ is perhaps a slight exaggeration, but there can be little doubt that she too belonged to an important family. According to Hincmar, she was the daughter of Bivin *quondam comes*,¹⁸ and it has been suggested that this man should be identified with both Bivin, count of the Ardennes, and Bivin, lay-abbot of Gorze from 856 to 863.¹⁹ On her mother's side, she was the niece of Hubert, abbot of St Maurice, Agaune, and later of St Martin, Tours, who had been killed in 864, the Italian count Boso, and Theutberga, the rejected wife of the late King Lothar II. Finally, her brothers Boso and Richard, if not already politically influential, were to play a dominant role in the future.²⁰ Some historians of a less liberal age, shocked by the speed at which Charles callously replaced Ermentrude with another woman, have suggested that his relationship with Richildis predated his first wife's death.²¹ However, as there is no evidence to show that Charles made Richildis his concubine before 12 October 869, this view, which unfortunately has become widespread amongst modern French historians, should be rejected out of hand. That Charles found it politically advantageous to embark on a second relationship quite so soon after the first is made clear by the *Annals of St Bertin*. When he first summoned Richildis to Douzy in October 869, Charles had just been crowned at Metz the previous month after his successful invasion of Lotharingia following Lothar II's death in August. From Metz he had gone to Florenge, near Thionville, 'to make

¹⁷ R. Parisot, *Le Royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens* (Paris 1899), p. 350.

¹⁸ *AB* s. a. 869, p. 167.

¹⁹ He is first mentioned in two Gorze charters of 856, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Gorze*, nos. 55, 56, pp. 98-100, 442-4. However, objections were made about his being a lay-abbot, and the abbey was given to a cleric in 863, no. 60, pp. 108, 448-9. See R. Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens* Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes 131 (Paris 1901), pp. 43-4. Richildis's later links with the abbey strengthen this hypothesis.

²⁰ See genealogical table. Parisot and Poupardin discuss this family at length.

²¹ M. Jeantin, *Les Chroniques de l'Ardenne et de Woëpvres* II (Paris and Nancy 1852), p. 134. See also M. Chaume, *Les Origines du Duché de Bourgogne* I (Dijon 1925), pp. 247, n. 1, 248, 261. In stating that Ermentrude, having quarrelled with her husband, retired to the abbey of Hasnon, near Valenciennes, after Easter 867, Chaume, followed by R. Louis, *De l'histoire à la légende. Girart, Comte de Vienne (...819-877) et ses fondations monastiques* I (Auxerre 1946), p. 98, n. 2, and P. Zumthor, *Charles le Chauve* (Paris 1957), p. 173, appears to be taking one step further Calmette's suggestion, pp. 104, 110, that 867 marked the end of the policy of reconciliation towards Lothar II espoused by Ermentrude. However, Chaume has apparently confused Queen Ermentrude with her daughter, Ermentrude, abbess of Hasnon (cf. T. 436), and ignores the fact that Ermentrude was still with her husband, dispensing alms to holy places, at Senlis in August 869, *AB* s. a., p. 156.

arrangements about everything that seemed to him to require it'.²² Does this imply that he was trying to consolidate his position in his recently-acquired territory? This certainly seems to be the intention at Aachen some weeks later. According to the *Annals*, he went there with Richildis, 'to receive into his power, as they had asked him to do, all the men of that area who had formerly been Lothar's'. At Gondreville, the next stop after Aachen, he expected to meet his nephew's vassals, this time from Provence and Burgundy. Is it not likely that Douzy, where he stayed between hunting in the Ardennes, after leaving Florenge, and arriving at Aachen,²³ also formed part of his royal itinerary? Given his anxiety to secure a hold on his new kingdom, it is not surprising that Charles, hearing of Ermentrude's death, should exploit this fortuitous event and form a union with someone who had powerful relatives in both the area around Gorze and in Southern Burgundy, beyond the Jura. Not only might such an alliance bring him greater allegiance in the region as a whole but, more specifically, it would doubtless serve to produce a body of support with a vested interest in opposing any possible counter-claim by Hugh, son of Lothar II by his concubine Waldrada,²⁴ or by Lothar's brother, Louis II of Italy. The dangers of such a policy, however, became apparent a few months later when Charles's own son Carloman began a three-year revolt against his father which was centred in Lotharingia, and which may have drawn on the discontent of those members of the aristocracy who had been alienated by the promotion of Richildis's family.²⁵

While these marriages were clearly politically important, offering to the king support in a moment of crisis, and to the queen's kin, for the time being at least, some assurance of their continuing influence and importance in the realm, it should be emphasised that both were *ad hoc* expedients, arising out of a particular political situation, at a particular time, and therefore of no guaranteed long-term significance for either party. Admittedly, Boson's rise to power was very rapid after Charles's *conjunctio* with his sister. He became lay-abbot of what had been his uncle's monastery of St Maurice, Agaune, late in 869, duke of Vienne in 871, *camerarius* and *ostiariorum magister* for Aquitaine in 872, and duke of Italy in 876, supporting Charles right up until 877.²⁶ But he may have been an exceptional case, promoted through his own merits, rather than those of his family. Nothing is heard of his brother, Richard, until 876,²⁷ and it is clear that Richildis was capable of rewarding those outside her immediate family circle, as in 876 when she intervened in a land-grant on behalf of Robert, brother of Count Odo. He was

22 *AB* s. a. 869, p. 164.

23 *AB* s. a. 869, p. 167.

24 See the genealogical table at the end of Werner *art. cit.* For an outline of Lothar II's marital career, see Parisot, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-88, 143-324.

25 *AB* s. a. 870, pp. 171, 177-8; 871, pp. 179-82, 184; 873, pp. 189-90, 192, 194.

26 *AB* s. a. 869, p. 167; 870, p. 179; 872, pp. 185-6; 876, p. 200. Boson was amongst the 'primores regni' who refused to join Charles in Italy in 877, *AB* s. a., p. 216.

27 T. 412. See Poupardin, *op. cit.*, p. 81, n. 1; Chaume, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

related to Robert the Strong, and possibly to Ermentrude.²⁸ Ermentrude's furtherance of her own kin is even less obvious. Her uncle Adalard, whom Charles had relied upon so greatly at the start of his reign, had abandoned Charles's realm for Lothar I's by 849,²⁹ and it may be significant that there is no evidence that her position changed during the period when, according to some recent historians, her family was allegedly in eclipse. The charter evidence shows that she continued to play an active role during the 850s and 860s, and indeed she appears at her most influential, acting as ambassador in the negotiations between Charles and Lothar II,³⁰ just at the very time when her uncle is said to have been out of favour and her brother William was executed for treason.³¹ It seems, therefore, that the value of marriage as a weapon of political coercion was limited. Both of Charles's wives came from influential families. However, neither their kin, nor, more surprisingly, they themselves, appear to have attached an overriding importance to these ties of kindred once the crisis that had led to the marriage had disappeared. Now if the dignity of the queen was not always upheld by mutual ties of dependence between her spouse and her kin once the initial years of the marriage were over, to what, or to whom, did she owe her status?

It has recently been recognised that the queen 'enjoyed a position both dependent and precarious, resting as it did on her personal, sexual association with a husband whose interests or fancy could all too easily attach him to her supplanter.'³² A major cause of desertion by the husband, sheer infatuation apart, was his wife's failure to produce an heir, a point well illustrated by the marital career of Lothar II. The desire to have an heir to succeed him was a natural one for any king, and Charles was no exception. Nor was he afraid to invoke divine aid towards achieving that end. In August 866, he arranged for Ermentrude to be crowned at Soissons, in a ceremony for which the *ordo* still exists.³³ It is an

²⁸ T. 416. His brother Odo was also concerned with the estate: A. Giry, 'Études carolingiennes. V. Documents carolingiens de l'abbaye de Montiéramey', no. 9, in *Études d'histoire du Moyen Âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod*, ed. Lavis (Paris 1896), p. 127, cited by Tessier, II, p. 430, n. 1. The relationship between them and Ermentrude is discussed by L. Levillain, 'Essai sur le comte Eudes', *LMA* 8 (1937), pp. 153-82, 233-71, esp. pp. 248-61.

²⁹ F. Lot, 'Note sur le sénéchal Alard', *LMA* 12 (1908), pp. 190-1, reprinted in *Recueil des Travaux Historiques de Ferdinand Lot II* (Geneva 1970), pp. 596-97. He must have joined Lothar I sometime between 846, when he still seems to have been at the court of Charles the Bald, *Lupus Ep.* 18, i, pp. 226-7, and 849, when he appears to be the lay-abbot of Echternach, *Catalogi Abbatum Epternacensium*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS XIII* (Hannover 1881), pp. 738-9, 741. See Parisot, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-6.

³⁰ T. 182, 189, 212, 213, 248, 269, 277, 278. *AB* s. a. 865, p. 121; 866, p. 128.

³¹ On Adalard, see Lot, *op. cit.*, pp. 591-607. William is described as the *sobrtnus* of Charles, *AB* s. a. 866, p. 130. The implications of the term are discussed by Levillain, 'Les Nibelungen Historiques', pp. 34-7.

³² J.L. Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels: the careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian history', in D. Baker ed., *Medieval Women, Studies in Church History, Subsidia I* (Oxford 1978), p. 35.

³³ *AB* s. a. 866, p. 129. The *ordo*, edited by J. Sirmond from a manuscript which is now lost, is reprinted in *MGH Cap II*, no. 301, pp. 453-55.

interesting text for a number of reasons, but not least in the kind of imagery it uses. In it, Ermentrude is compared with Sarah, wife of Abraham, who gave birth to Isaac when she was ninety and considered to be barren.³⁴ By 866, Charles and Ermentrude had been married for twenty-three years, during which time Ermentrude appears to have given him eleven children, of whom six were boys.³⁵ Why then such anxiety to have more? The answer seems to be that Charles was unlucky in his descendants. Three of his sons were already dead,³⁶ and another was to die the following month.³⁷ A fifth, Carloman, had been tonsured in 854,³⁸ which left only the eldest, Louis, to inherit the kingdom. If the fact that he died two years after his father, at the age of thirty-one, and that he had a speech defect,³⁹ have been taken to suggest he was a weakling, while what is known of his career prior to 866 smacks of political incompetence,⁴⁰ then the ceremony of 866 does not appear quite so strange after all. This desire to have more sons must have been a further factor which encouraged Charles to embark on a second relationship so soon after Ermentrude's death. Indeed, so great was Charles's anxiety on this score that when Richildis also failed to bear a son during the early years of the marriage, he twice requested the Virgin Mary to ensure his wife's fertility, in a charter that may be dated to 871 or 872, issued in favour of the church of Paris.⁴¹ As it was, Charles's prayers were answered, in that Richildis bore him two male children, as well as a daughter. However, neither of the boys survived beyond infancy.⁴²

34 *Genesis* 17: 17; 21: 1.

35 See genealogical table.

36 The death of Lothar, abbot of St Germain, Auxerre, is recorded in *AB* s. a. 865, p. 125. Two sons of Ermentrude are said to have died *in aetate immatura* sometime before 866. They were Pippin and Drogo, the twin sons of Charles the Bald mentioned in a St Amand epitaph, ed. L. Traube, *MGH Poet* III, pp. 677-8. Werner wrongly assigns these two sons to Richildis, *art. cit.*, p. 454.

37 *AB* s. a. 866, p. 130. He may well have been incapable of ruling from the date of the accident recorded in *AB* s. a. 864, p. 105.

38 *AB* s. a., p. 70.

39 *AB* s. a. 879, p. 235. He is traditionally known as Louis the Stammerer.

40 Louis does not seem to have been very successful, either in Neustria, *AB* s. a. 856, p. 72; 858, p. 77; 861, p. 87; 862, pp. 88, 90-2; 865, p. 123; or in Autun, *AB* s. a. 866, p. 126.

41 T. 364. The charter, which was issued at Servais, is dated by the 4th indiction and year VI of Charles's reign. Tessier corrected this to XXII, on the grounds that Charles was at Servais in 872, but the indiction date suits 871. The text specifically says that Richildis had not had a child. Similar sentiments are expressed about her in an illustration of the king and queen in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura presented to Charles in 870-1. See E. H. Kantorowicz, 'The Carolingian King in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura', in K. Weitzmann ed., *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A.M. Friend, Jr.* (Princeton 1955), pp. 287-300; J. E. Gaehde, 'The Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome; its date and relation to Charles the Bald', *Gesta* 5 (1966), pp. 9-21; and R. McKitterick, 'Charles the Bald and his library: the patronage of learning', *EHR* 95 (1980), pp. 41-2.

42 *AB* s. a. 875, p. 197; 876, pp. 209-10. On the daughter, Rothild, see Werner, *art. cit.*, pp. 422-8.

If Charles was desperate to have a son, his wives were probably equally anxious to provide one, albeit for more selfish reasons. Just as a queen's security depended on her retaining the affections of her husband whilst he was alive, her chances of maintaining her position on his death rested on her ability to assert her maternal rights over his heir. It was essential, therefore, that that heir should be her own son. To achieve that end, certain steps had to be taken. First, in an age when it was becoming rarer for the sons of so-called 'concubines' to succeed to the throne, it was important that the mother should be legally married to the king - a consideration that Richildis doubtless bore in mind, for her career as a 'concubine' only lasted a few months. Again, as these royal and aristocratic marriages blessed by the Church became more common, queens had a growing desire for a special designation, possibly through a consecration ceremony.⁴³ Charles's wives seem to have ensured that both these conditions were fulfilled. Not only were they both formally married, but they also underwent some ritual in which they were consecrated, although they already held royal titles and, in the case of Richildis, had worn a crown.⁴⁴ As Ermentrude in 866 had long been an influential figure in the kingdom, intervening in affairs of both Church and State,⁴⁵ one explanation is that her coronation in that year was, in some way, a recognition of her services. However, the question of childbirth predominates to such a degree in the ordo that the ceremony should probably be considered more as a sort of fertility rite;⁴⁶ on the one hand, possibly conferring a special distinction on her offspring, both present and future, and on the other, offering a lesson in hope to Lothar II. If Ermentrude was designated in such a fashion, then it made the position of her successor extremely precarious, for the claims of Richildis's children would thus be inferior to the claims of Louis the Stammerer. It may be for this reason, therefore, that Richildis was consecrated in 877; not as

⁴³ P. Stafford, 'Sons and mothers: family politics in the early Middle Ages', in Baker ed., *Medieval Women*, pp. 81-7. On the consecration ceremony of Charles's daughter Judith, see Stafford, above ch. 8. For the situation in the Merovingian period, see Nelson, *art. cit.*, p. 34, n. 15.

⁴⁴ The earliest recorded use of the term *regina* in the case of the wives of Charles the Bald appears to be 845 for Ermentrude, *Hincmari archiepiscopi Remensis Epistolae* I, *MGH Epp KA VI* (i), ed. E. Perels (Berlin 1929), no. 5, p. 2; 872 for Richildis, T. 364. The latter was referred to as *imperatrix*, and wore a crown, in 876, *AB s.a.*, p. 205, although she was not consecrated until the following year, *AB s. a.* 877, pp. 215-6.

⁴⁵ *Nicholae I Papae Epistolae*, ed. E. Perels, *MGH Epp KA IV* (Berlin 1925), nos. 8, pp. 274-5; 28, pp. 294-5; 57, pp. 360-1; 64, pp. 376-7. *AB s. a.* 865, p. 121; 866, p. 128. The coronation of 866 may possibly have been foreshadowed in 861, when Ermentrude accompanied her husband to Provence in the abortive attempt to annex his nephew Charles's kingdom: *AB s. a.*, p. 87. A consecration might have confirmed Charles in his conquest, while that of his wife could have strengthened the claims to that kingdom of the two, if not four, sons who were already potential heirs to Charles's West Frankish realm.

⁴⁶ Kantorowitz, *art. cit.*, p. 292.

queen by the bishops of the realm, for that would only have made her Ermentrude's equal, but as empress, by the Pope.⁴⁷

II

Having considered some of the factors that qualified a woman to become a queen, I want now to take a brief look at the functions she fulfilled in that capacity. Although there is nothing that specifically tells us what the role of a queen was in the reign of Charles the Bald, it is interesting to see just how closely the responsibilities of Ermentrude and Richildis correspond with the prototype envisaged in the *De Ordine Palatii*:

As to the running of the palace in competent and suitably splendid fashion, especially in regard to the king's moveable resources and the annual gifts for the king's *milites* (apart from their food, drink and horses): all this was the queen's responsibility, and under her, the chamberlain's. It was their job to check supplies of everything and make provision in good time for future requirements so that nothing should ever be lacking the moment it was needed. Gifts to the various foreign embassies were the concern of the chamberlain, but sometimes the king gave special orders that something was better dealt with by the queen and himself. The queen and the chamberlain took care of all these arrangements so that the lord king should be free of all household or palace worries (in so far as he reasonably and honourably could be) and ... could always keep his mind ready to deal with the government of the realm as a whole.⁴⁸

That the 'organisation of the household, the woman's sphere, [thus] became a political function in the case of the *aula regis*,'⁴⁹ is neatly illustrated by the image, found in one of Lupus of Ferrières's letters, and in a poem of John the Scot, of

⁴⁷ AB s.a. 877, pp. 215-6. The question of the marriages and consecrations of Charles's wives is discussed by C.-R. Brühl, 'Fränkischer Krönungsbrauch und das Problem des Festkrönungen', *HZ* 194 (1962), pp. 274, 324; and S. Konecny, *Die Frauen des karolingischen Königshauses* (Vienna 1976), pp. 134-8.

⁴⁸ *De Ordine Palatii*, MGH Cap II, c. 22, p. 525, and trans. M. Prou, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes 58 (Paris 1884), pp. 56-9. It is now clear that a work of Adalhard of Corbie existed c.825, and equally certain that Hincmar made additions which reflected his own attitudes in 882. For the purposes of this paper, however, it is immaterial to whom c.22 is attributed. See H. H. Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit* (Bonn 1968); H. Löwe, 'Hinkmar von Reims und der Apocrisiar', *Festschrift für H. Heimpel*, 3 vols. (Göttingen 1972), III, pp. 197-225.

⁴⁹ Nelson, *art. cit.*, p. 74.

Ermentrude as seamstress and embroideress extraordinaire.⁵⁰ Yet such seemingly domestic skills could be put to important diplomatic use, for it was robes like these that were sent to Rome.⁵¹ It is clear that both Ermentrude and Richildis had close connections with the papacy in other respects, for they were often used as intermediaries between Charles the Bald and the pontiff. In 862, for instance, Nicholas I wrote to Ermentrude requesting her to speak to Charles about a possible reconciliation with Baldwin, the abductor of their daughter Judith.⁵² Similarly in 877, John VIII encouraged Richildis to get Charles the Bald to send help to Rome, and in another letter compared the role she played helping the Church in its relations *vis-à-vis* her husband with Esther's protection of the Israelites.⁵³

Ermentrude's and Richildis's relations with the Church were not confined to negotiations with Rome. In 845, for instance, Hincmar wrote to Ermentrude to ask her to get her husband to intervene in the election of the bishop of Beauvais,⁵⁴ and a similar type of letter may have been sent two years later by Pardulus of Laon, for Ermentrude wrote to him in 847 to confirm that she was doing her best to secure his speedy ordination.⁵⁵ As well as writing to her, the clergy also came to petition her in person. In a letter to Bishop Heribold of Auxerre, for instance, Ermentrude mentions how his brother Abbo, who was also in orders, had come to the palace to seek her protection.⁵⁶ The implication of these letters - that the queen was an influential person at court whose support was worth having - is confirmed by the evidence of the charters. Although Richildis is only recorded as having intervened once in a land-grant concerning a church, when she acted on behalf of Nivelles,⁵⁷ her predecessor seems to have been much sought after by Faremoutiers,⁵⁸ Notre-Dame de Morienval,⁵⁹ Fossés,⁶⁰ St Germain, Auxerre,⁶¹ and in particular the

⁵⁰ Lupus, Ep. 66, pp. 244-5; *Johannis Scotti Carmina*, ed. L. Traube, *MGH Poet* III(ii) (Berlin 1886), p. 533. See also *MGH Epp KA* IV, no. 28, p. 295. This is a motif that appears more than once in descriptions of queens. Judith the Welf, for instance, is said to have started embroidering a cloak for Louis the Pious, *Carmina Scottorum Latina et Graecanica*, *MGH Poet* III(ii), p. 687, while Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor, arrayed her husband in many kinds of embroidered robes - which Edward accepted, the author of his *Vita* hastily adds, less because of a love of luxury than because it was royal custom: *Vita Edwardi Regis*, ed. and trans. F. Barlow (London 1962), I, c.22, p. 15.

⁵¹ *MGH Poet* III(ii), pp. 687-8.

⁵² *MGH Epp KA* IV, no. 8, pp. 274-5.

⁵³ *Johannis VIII Papae Registrum*, ed. E. Caspar, *MGH Epp KA* V (Berlin 1928), nos. 27, 28, pp. 25-6, 32-3. See also nos. 12 and 54, pp. 11, 49-50.

⁵⁴ *MGH Epp KA* VI(i), no. 5, p. 2.

⁵⁵ Lupus Ep. 66, pp. 244-5; cf. 11, pp. 84-5. For further links between Pardulus and Ermentrude, see *MGH Epp KA* VI(i), no. 57, p. 33; T. 197bis.

⁵⁶ Lupus Ep. 96, pp. 112-3.

⁵⁷ T. 433.

⁵⁸ T. 12.

⁵⁹ T. 329bis.

⁶⁰ T. 169.

⁶¹ T. 269.

bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, for whom she intervened five times.⁶² These were not the only religious foundations with which Charles's wives were associated. Both Ermentrude and Richildis had links with the convent of Origny,⁶³ and while the latter is said to have founded Jouvigny, near Metz,⁶⁴ Ermentrude seems to have had connections with several other houses. She endowed Corbie with part of her dos,⁶⁵ and may have held the position of patroness of Ferrières, over whose interests she was approached;⁶⁶ she administered Avenay with Theutberga;⁶⁷ Chelles is referred to as 'her' convent;⁶⁸ and she had an interest in the two abbeys of Ste Croix and Ste Radegund at Poitiers, where she was to be consulted in the case of a disputed election.⁶⁹

As well as being influential in the field of ecclesiastical diplomacy, Ermentrude appears to have played an important role as ambassador in the secular world. Although her dealings cannot compare in scope with those of her contemporary, the Empress Engelburga,⁷⁰ they do seem to have been quite effective. A letter from Hincmar suggests that Ermentrude may have been partly responsible for the negotiations that took place between Charles and Lothar I at Péronne or St Quentin,⁷¹ while the fact that she accompanied her husband to Meung on his journey to treat with their son Charles in 862 may suggest that she also had a hand in that rendezvous.⁷² However, her greatest triumph must have been in arranging the meetings that took place between Charles the Bald and Lothar II at Attingy and Le Vignoble in 865-866, which led to the temporary restoration of her former co-administrator at Avenay, Theutberga.⁷³

Ermentrude and Richildis may have been able to act so successfully as ambassadors and advisors because they played a part in controlling the royal treasury, that powerhouse of patronage and the main source of a queen's political muscle. The need for a reliable right-hand man, for example, could explain why Richildis had Engelramn dismissed as chamberlain sometime between 871 and

62 T. 212, 213, 248, 277, 278. Charles also appears to have made a grant of *Suiacum* to SS. Ragnobert and Zeno at Ermentrude's request: T. 182.

63 *Flodoardi Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, ed. J. Heller and G. Waitz, *MGH SS XIII* (Hannover 1881), III, cc. 23, 25, 27, pp. 531, 538, 549; T. 197bis.

64 Jeantin, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-54; *GXI XIII*, col. 615, App., cols. 311-2.

65 T. 189.

66 Lupus Ep. 47, pp. 198-9.

67 Ermengarde, wife of Lothar I, and her daughter Bertha were also associated with this house: Flodoard *HRE III*, c. 27, pp. 547-9. See also *AB s. a. 877*, p. 218.

68 T. 169.

69 Flodoard *HRE III*, c. 27, p. 548.

70 C. E. Odgaard, 'The Empress Engelberge', *Speculum* 26 (1951), pp. 77-103.

71 *MGH Epp KA VI(i)*, no. 44, p. 25.

72 *AB s. a.*, p. 91.

73 *AB s. a. 865*, p. 121; 866, p. 128.

875.⁷⁴ At times, the queen and the treasure went with the king on an important military mission. In 877, Hincmar records that Richildis accompanied her husband on his journey to Italy with a huge supply of gold and silver, and that she later took that with her to Maurienne.⁷⁵ This may be another reason why Ermentrude went to Meung and Attigny, for money could often buy loyalty where oaths could not. On other occasions, as in 875, the queen remained behind in Francia and acted as regent in her husband's absence. Interestingly, this is the only time that Richildis's position is known to have been challenged. Engelramn, who appears to have been out of favour since his dismissal, took advantage of this period of regency to invite Louis the German to invade the kingdom. Some members of the aristocracy, despite taking an oath, on the queen's orders, to resist Louis, ravaged the kingdom on their own account, and Richildis was forced to flee to her husband, who was returning from Italy.⁷⁶ It would appear, therefore, that despite having nominal control of government, Richildis's power-base in the realm was considerably weakened when her husband and her influential brother left the kingdom.⁷⁷

III

In that case, what happened when the queen lost this external support for good? After having been a person of some importance in the kingdom, it must have been a bitter blow when her husband died and the treasure passed out of her control, possibly into the hands of some other woman. It was small wonder that some queens were tempted to hang on to it for as long as possible. Can one see in Richildis's investiture of Louis the Stammerer the handing over of the royal treasure?⁷⁸ At least she seems to have relinquished it with fairly good grace. According to the 'C' version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 1043, as soon as he had been consecrated king, Edward the Confessor 'brought all the lands his mother [Emma] owned forcibly into his control and took from her all she owned in

⁷⁴ Engelramn is last found holding this office in 868, *AB* s.a., p. 151, before being 'thrown out of his honours and dismissed from Charles's favour by the influence of Queen Richildis' sometime before 875, *AB* s. a. 875, p. 199. It is possible, however, that he may be identified with the *Engelramnus comes*, lay-abbot of Maroilles in Hainault, at whose request Charles approved an assignment of lands for thirty canons in February 870, T. 334, the *Engilramnus/Engelramnus comes* to whom Hincmar wrote on the subject of Carloman's revolt in 871, Flodoard *HRE* III, c. 18, 25, pp. 508, 543, and the *aulicus* *Angilramnus* whose villa of Vaudrières-sur-Marne, previously alienated from the church of Rheims by Charles, was restored to the clergy by the king at an unknown date, Flodoard *HRE* I, c. 24, p. 444. If so, Engelramn may well have belonged to that group of the Lotharingian aristocracy who, doubtless alienated by the rise of Richildis's family, supported Carloman in his revolt against his father.

⁷⁵ *AB* s. a. 877, pp. 214, 216. Ermentrude is found dispensing treasure to churches with her husband in 869, *AB* s. a., p. 156.

⁷⁶ *AB* s. a. 875, pp. 198-9; 876, p. 200.

⁷⁷ Bosso had accompanied Charles to Italy, of which he was made duke in 876, *AB* s. a., p. 200.

⁷⁸ *AB* s. a. 877, pp. 218-9.

gold and silver and things beyond description, because she had withheld it too firmly from him'. The 'D' version elaborates on this information, adding that Edward did this 'because she had formerly been very hard to the king, her son, in that she did less for him than he wished both before he became king and afterwards as well.'⁷⁹ Did a similar display of reluctance lie behind Charles's dispossession of his mother Judith shortly before her death in 843?⁸⁰

As the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* suggests, these queens often stood to lose not only their moveable wealth, but their royal lands as well. Dispossession must, therefore, have been particularly hard to bear if, like Balthild, you were of servile birth and had no family estates to fall back on.⁸¹ In such cases, taking the veil was probably the only means of retaining one's dignity. By the ninth century, however, the choice was greater, for the majority of royal women belonged, as has been seen, to the landed aristocracy. This meant that while her kin might not have played a particularly important part in maintaining her position while her husband was alive, an ex-queen could at least secure her independence by drawing on the support of her relatives after his death. It is likely that this is what happened in Richildis's case. The fact that her daughter was involved in a grant to the abbey of Salone, near Metz, in 896, and later inherited estates in the area,⁸² would suggest that Richildis returned to Lotharingia with Rothild after Charles's demise in 877. Indeed, it is perhaps appropriate that the last glimpse that we have of Richildis is that of a *quondam regina* a few years before her death, heeding Archbishop Fulk's advice⁸³ and endowing her father's monastery at Gorze with local lands belonging to her family.⁸⁴

These are the only references we have that shed any light on her career after 877. Although the lack of documentation for Richildis in this later part of her life can be explained by the fact that she was no longer politically important, and therefore of little interest to her contemporaries except, as in the case of Gorze and Rheims, where she actually impinged upon their lives, this type of lacuna does illustrate one of the major problems that has to be faced by anyone dealing with the early medieval period: the nature of the evidence. The careers of Ermentrude and Richildis have to be pieced together, on the one hand, from scattered references in

⁷⁹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. D. Whitelock (London 1961), s. a. 1043, p. 107. The 'D' version goes on to say that they allowed her to retain Winchester, which, according to Gaimar, *Lestoire des Angles* I, Rolls Series 91 (London 1888), l. 4138, she had received as dowry. For a discussion of another of Emma's possessions, which appears to have been a queen's estate, see C. Phythian-Adams, 'Rutland reconsidered', in A. Dornier ed., *Mercian Studies* (Leicester 1977), pp. 63-84.

⁸⁰ AX s. a., p. 13.

⁸¹ Nelson, *art. cit.*, p. 46.

⁸² Werner, *art. cit.*, pp. 422-8.

⁸³ Fulk, archbishop of Rheims, wrote to Richildis sometime between 883 and 900, 'pro fama non bona quae ad ipsum de vita vel actibus eiusdem reginae pervenerat', and suggested that she would be better employed serving God, as a widow should, Flodoard *HRE* IV, c. 5, p. 566.

⁸⁴ At least two of the four estates mentioned in Richildis's grant occur in another family grant, of uncertain date. See *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Gorze*, no. 19, pp. 43-4.

charters, courtly panegyrics, and the odd papal and episcopal letters that have survived, often only in late and incomplete copies, and on the other, from chronicles whose function was not so much to present a mirror-image of life in a given year, but rather to record those events that were of particular interest or significance to the annalist. This disjointed picture is further complicated by the fact that the major source of any reconstruction of the events of the reign of Charles the Bald is the *Annals of St Bertin*, written by Prudentius of Troyes up until 861, and continued after that date by Hincmar of Rheims.⁸⁵ Although both authors wrote away from the court, the nature of their contribution to the *Annals* varies a great deal. Whereas Prudentius, for whom we are dependent for the first nineteen years of Ermentrude's married life, following the tradition of the *Royal Frankish Annals*,⁸⁶ gives very little insight into the role of the queen, Hincmar provides a great deal more information on this matter, reflecting his closer connections with, and interest in, the machinery of government. A casual reader, therefore, might be struck by the passive role played by Charles's first wife prior to 861, compared to that of Richildis, for whom there is far more evidence. On the other hand, an equally uninformed reader of Tessier's collection of Charles the Bald's charters could form the converse opinion, contrasting the twelve charters concerning land-grants in which Ermentrude was involved with the two conceded at Richildis's request.⁸⁷ Providing that the problem of interpretation, however, is always borne in mind when dealing with this type of material, the information that can be gleaned about the careers of Ermentrude and Richildis can afford a useful means of furthering our understanding of the politics of the reign of Charles the Bald.

Additional bibliography

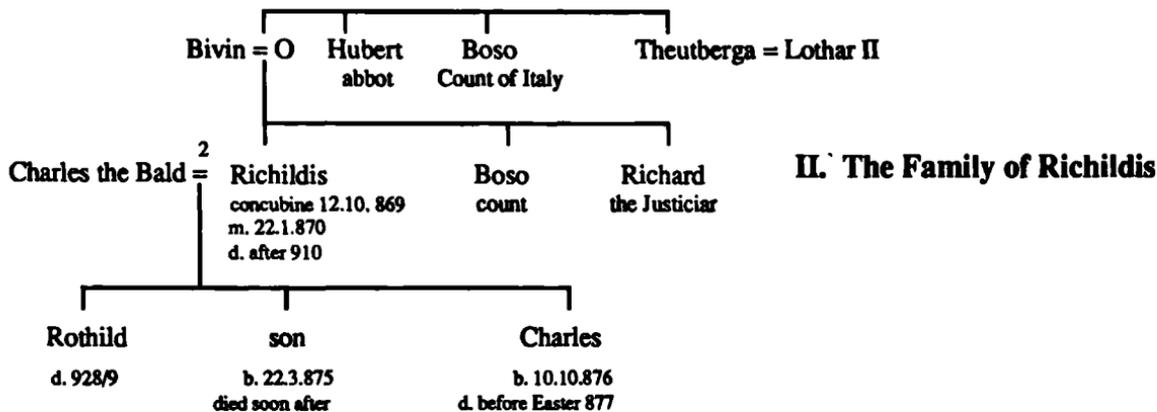
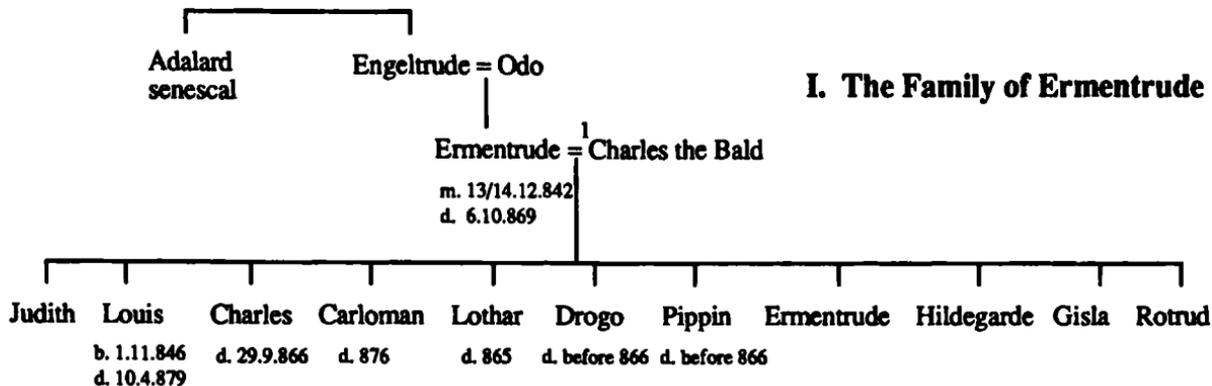
In the past ten years, three major studies have illuminated the activities of early medieval queens. Karl Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society* (London 1979), and Patrick Corbet, *Les saints ottoniens* (Paris 1987) analyse the conditions under which queens and empresses operated, and the ways in which they were depicted, in Ottonian Saxony; Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers* (Athens Georgia, 1983) supplies a context in which particular queenly careers can now be set. Richildis's kinsmen are discussed by Constance Bouchard, 'The Bosonids: rising to power in the Carolingian age', *French Historical Studies* 15 (1988), and the context of aristocratic marriage-alliances has been explored by S. Airlie, *The Political Behaviour of Secular Magnates in Francia*, unpublished Oxford D. Phil., 1985. Elizabeth Ward, 'Caesar's wife: the career of the Empress Judith, 819-29', in R. Collins and P. Godman edd., *Charlemagne's Heir* (Oxford 1989), pp. 205-27, offers a good case-study.

⁸⁵ See above, ch. 2.

⁸⁶ Trans. B. W. Scholz (Michigan 1970).

⁸⁷ See Appendix.

Figure 9.1: Genealogical Tables



APPENDIX

LIST OF CHARTERS IN WHICH ERMENTRUDE AND RICHILDIS
APPEAR, EITHER AS GRANTORS OR INTERCESSORS

Date	Beneficiary	Role	Printed
Ermentrude			
Post 852 (?)	Abbey of Faremoutiers	I	T. 12
16 Dec. 854	Abbot Einhard of Fossés	X	T. 169
Feb. 856	SS. Ragnobert and Zeno, <i>Suiacum</i>	I	T. 182
3 Oct. 856	St. Pierre, Corbie	C	T. 189
12 Aug. 859	Church of Châlons-sur-Marne	I	T. 212
12 Aug. 859	Church of Châlons-sur-Marne	I	T. 213
26 Oct. 862	Church of Châlons-sur-Marne	I	T. 248
20 June 864	St. Germain, Auxerre	I	T. 269
22 Nov. 864	Church of Châlons-sur-Marne	I	T. 277
22 Nov. 864	Church of Châlons-sur-Marne	I	T. 278
14 Dec. 842 x 6 Oct. 869	Notre-Dame, Morienvall	I	T. 329 bis
847 x 857	Abbey of Origny	I	T. 197 bis
Richildis			
25 Dec. 875 x 25 Oct. 876	Robert	I	T. 416
9 July 876	Abbey of Nivelles	I	T. 433
910	Abbey of Gorze	G	H. 87
910	Abbey of Gorze	G	H. 88

Abbreviations:

I	Intercessor
C	Confirmation of queen's grant
G	Grantor
H	Herbomez, <i>Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Gorze</i>
X	Exchange

CHARLES THE BALD AND WIFRED THE HAIRY

R. J. H. Collins

In the north transept of the monastery church of Ripoll repose, or so it is claimed, the mortal remains of the count-marquis Wifredus, or 'Guifre el Pilos', as he is known in Catalonia.¹ He has suffered the misfortune of having his name anglicized as 'Wilfred the Hairy', or even 'Wilfred the Shaggy', but it may be less impertinent just to call him Wifred. Whilst justifiable scepticism exists about the contents of the tomb that is said to be his, Wifred's claim to be the effective founder and principal early benefactor of the first monastery at Ripoll rests above suspicion.² But it is one of the very few things that can be said about him, his career and his significance with any measure of conviction. For although to historically-minded Catalans Wifred stands as the father of Catalan independence and the founder of a dynasty that was to rule Catalonia and later the kingdom of Aragón uninterruptedly until the fifteenth century, he is, to say the least, a very shadowy figure, and perhaps one too frail to bear the enormous burden of historical responsibility imposed upon him.³ Little but the barest outlines are known of his career, and his origins and antecedents have provided occasion for much scholarly controversy. In particular, his role as the founding father of Catalan political independence is more open to revision than has been allowed, or rather it needs to be put more clearly in the context of the realities of his own times.

¹ For the monastery of Ripoll, see J. de Villaneuva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de Espana*, vol. VIII, (Valencia, 1821), Carta LX, pp. 1-60.

² R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, 'La fundació del monastir de Ripoll', in *Analecta Montserratensia* IX (1962), pp. 25-49, reprinted in the same author's *Dels Visigots als Catalans* (Barcelona, 2nd edition 1974) vol. I, pp. 485-94. For Wifred's charters in general see F. Valls Taberner, 'Estudi sobre els documents del comte Guifre I de Barcelona' in *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 21 (1936), pp. 11-31.

³ The fullest account of his life and his achievements will be found in R d'Abadal i de Vinyals, *Els primers comtes catalans* (Barcelona, 1958), chapters V, VII, and X. Much uncertainty exists as to the chronology of his career and many accounts in 'standard' reference works are misleading. e.g. L. G. de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España* I (Madrid, 1952) whose placing of Wifred in his comital lists pp. 1074-7 is inaccurate. Also see F. Soldevila, *Historia de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1963), pp. 59-73. For the ninth century, as opposed to the present, I use the term 'Catalonia' to designate the area delineated in Figure 10.1.

There is only one substantial narrative account of his life, the very existence of which may be thought to have proved more of a hindrance than a help in the search for the historical Wifred. This is to be found in the opening chapters of the *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium*, a work composed, it seems, between 1162 and 1184, in all probability by a monk of either Cuxa or Ripoll, both houses with close associations with Wifred's dynasty.⁴ A brief but dramatic account of the career of the dynastic founder is given in the first two chapters, and which may be summarised as follows: Wifred was the son of a rich and influential man of the county of Conflent, of the same name. When en route for the Carolingian court his father killed a Frankish soldier at Narbonne, who had had the temerity to seize him by the beard during a military revolt. The dead Frank's comrades soon took their revenge and murdered the elder Wifred on his journey. The younger Wifred, however, came unscathed to the court, where the king who chronologically can only have been Charles the Bald but is left anonymous in the account, was most upset at what had happened, and prophesied disaster for the Frankish monarchy as a consequence. He also took kindly to the young Wifred, whom he engaged to the count of Flanders's daughter. Historically there was such a lady, in fact Charles the Bald's granddaughter, and this liaison would have attached Wifred to the Carolingian dynasty by marriage, but whether the author of the *Gesta* appreciated this point is unclear. When Wifred went back to Conflent he was accepted as lord by his father's followers, and proceeded to murder with his own hand Solomon the count of Barcelona, a Frank. He took over Solomon's title and authority, apparently without forfeiting the good will and esteem of the Frankish monarch. Soon after, the Arabs began to attack Wifred's newfound domain, and he was forced to turn to his Frankish overlord for assistance. The king regretfully was unable to help, but promised that should Wifred be able to expel the invaders by his own efforts, he and his descendants should henceforth hold the county in full possession as an alod, independent of all royal authority. Wifred did then expel the Muslims and as a result, secured freedom for Catalonia from Arab and Frank alike, and the descent of his power to his heirs.

As a factual description this is, of course, totally unreliable, and elements of it came under attack as early as the fifteenth century.⁵ But criticism perhaps has not been radical enough, and it is the Wifred of the *Gesta* who has dominated Catalan

⁴ Texts available in P. de Marca, *Marca Hispanica* (Paris 1688) pp. 536-96, and for Wifred in particular pp. 539-40; also *El 'Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium'*, ed. L. Barrau-Dihigo and J. Massò i Torrents (Barcelona, 1925), pp. 3-5. This latter edition of the text is to be preferred, but is not easy to find. A new critical edition is being prepared by Professor T.M. Bisson. On the date of this work and various historians' interpretations of it, see R. d'Abadal, *Els primers comtes catalans* (Barcelona, 1958), p. 26, note 1, and pp. 209-16.

⁵ R. d'Abadal, *op. cit.*, p. 211. Interesting structural and functional similarities exist between this founding legend of the comital line of Barcelona and those of the Dukes of Gascony and the Senores of Vizcaya; on these latter see R. Collins, *The Basques* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 173-5, 249, and F. Sesmero, 'Los primeros Senores de Vizcaya. Historia y leyenda', in *Edad Media y Senorios: El Senorio de Vizcaya* (Bilbao, 1972), pp. 53-90.

historiography at least until this century, and still does provide the popular lever of the understanding of this period.

It is the perspective of the *Gesta* rather than the realities of the late ninth century that makes Wifred a hero of Catalan nationalism. It is also, incidentally, probably thanks to the *Gesta* that he has received his popular epithet of 'the Hairy': he is described as having a particularly luxuriant growth of hair on his body!⁶ To get back beyond the *Gesta* to what may be known about Wifred from contemporary sources is not easy. Depressingly little evidence survives for the political history of Catalonia in the ninth century.

Before the twelfth century there is no narrative historical source and the references in contemporary Frankish annals, relatively substantial for the campaigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious in the region, are virtually non-existent for the reigns of Charles the Bald and his successors.⁷ No chronicles were written in Catalonia at this time at all. There are occasional valuable references in the works of Arab writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries, but the only relevant Latin sources are in the form of administrative documents. There are a number of different classes of these: Carolingian royal diplomas, acts of donation by private individuals, deeds of sale, wills, legal judgements and other related documents.⁸ So many and so varied are these that with the exception of parts of northern Italy, Catalonia provides the richest collection of administrative records of any part of medieval Europe in the ninth century.⁹ The heartlands of the Carolingian Empire come nowhere near rivalling it. However, certain difficulties exist in the use of this material. These documents almost invariably relate to property either then possessed or subsequently coming into the hands of the religious institutions of the region: the monasteries and cathedral churches. Unfortunately, virtually all of these have suffered damage and destruction, principally in the last two centuries: in France from the 1789 Revolution, and in Spain from the Napoleonic occupation and the secularisation of the monasteries in 1835. Thus, for example, of the one hundred and fourteen charters of Carolingian monarchs relating to Catalonia in the edition of Ramon d'Abadal, only twelve originals survived at the time that he was working.¹⁰ Although various of the other classes of documents are also still

⁶ P. de Marca, *Marca Hispanica*, p. 539.

⁷ Earlier ninth-century references are relatively plentiful, for example in the *Annales Regni Francorum* under the years 797, 801, 809, 810, 820, 827 and 829.

⁸ Collected together in the documental appendices to P. de Marca, *Marca Hispanica* (Paris, 1688), pp. 761-1490, especially for the ninth-century numbers I-LIX, pp. 761-834; J. de Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de Espana*, vols. VIII-XV (Valencia, 1821, 1850, 1851) and C. Devic and J. Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 3rd edition, vols. II and V (Toulouse, 1876, 1875).

⁹ P. Bonassie, *La Catalogne du milieu de Xe siècle à la fin du XIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1975-6) vol. I, pp. 22-32 for an account of the general wealth of Catalonia in respect of charters. For the ninth century Italian documents see C. Manaresi, *I placiti del 'Regnum Italiae'*, vol. I (Rome, 1955).

¹⁰ R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, *Catalunya Carolingia*, vol. 2 part 1 (Barcelona, 1926/1950) pp. XXIII-XXVIII.

extant, often the modern historian has to depend upon copies made by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century historians and published usually as appendices to their histories or itineraries. The best known of these are Pierre de Marca and Etienne Baluze's *Marca Hispanica*, published in 1688 and the various volumes of Jaime Villanueva's *Viage literario a las iglesias de Espana (1804-51)*. The Carolingian royal diplomas are also among the few constituents of this corpus of materials to have received the benefit of a modern critical edition.¹¹ For much of the rest we have to have recourse to the often rare volumes of the antiquaries themselves.

Now this type of evidence is not going to tell us much about the career of Wifred beyond some information about his foundations and endowments, as of the monasteries of Ripoll and San Joan de les Abadesses, and also occasional hints at chronology.¹² But, as we shall see, it does reveal quite a lot about the Catalonia of his day, against which his recorded activities can be put into perspective.

From the charter evidence it is known that Wifred was the son of a Count Sunifred and Countess Ermessinda, and that he had at least three brothers: Miro, Radulf and Sunifred.¹³ Unfortunately the document in question, a deed of gift made by the brothers for the repose of their parents' souls, does not specify which Sunifred their father was. The problem lies in the fact that there were several Sunifreds extant in Catalonia in the mid-ninth century: Wifred's wife Winidildis also had a father called Sunifred. Which Sunifred was Wifred's father and which his father-in-law has, not surprisingly, generated some scholarly heat.¹⁴ But at the moment the accepted position is that his father was the Sunifred who was count of Urgel and Cerdanya from 834 to 848, and also count of Barcelona and Girona and Narbonne with the additional title of *marchio* or marquis, from 844 to 848. He is assumed to have died in the latter year, as his offices are subsequently found being exercised by others.

As for Wifred's own career, his attestation of various documents gives a rough chronology, though not absolute precision. He seems to have been appointed count of Urgel and Cerdanya, an office once held by his presumed father, in about 870. To this were added, probably in 878, the counties of Barcelona, Girona and Ausona or Vic, together with the title of *marchio*.¹⁵ He was also probably the

¹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 2 parts (Barcelona 1926/1950, 1952).

¹² For Ripoll, see notes 1 and 2 above; for S. Joan de les Abadesses, see J. de Villanueva, *Viage literario*, vol. VIII (Valencia 1821) carta LXI, pp. 61-95, also F. Monsalvatje y Fossas, *Colección Diplomática del Condado de Besalú* vol. XV (Olot, 1907), document MXVI, for the foundation charter. See also E. Junyent, *El monestir romaníc de Santa Maria de Ripoll* (Barcelona, 1975), and E. Junyent, *El monestir de Sant Joan de les Abadesses* (S. Joan de les Abadesses, 1976). Likewise J. Picola i Soler, *Les Abadesses de Sant Joan* (S. Joan, 1972)

¹³ C. Devic and J. Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* II (Toulouse, 1876), appendix 200, pp. 399-400.

¹⁴ Discussed in R. d'Abadal, *Els primers comtes catalans* (Barcelona, 1958), pp. 13-27.

¹⁵ R. d'Abadal, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 65-7. L. G. de Valdeavellano *op. cit.*, pp. 1074-7 ignores the real Solomon, Count of Urgel c. 848 to 870 by dating Wifred's tenure of this county to c. 850. This Solomon may have been a member of Wifred's family.

nominal count of Conflent and of Besalú. but delegated the titles and authority to his brothers: Miro known as 'el Vell', was count of Conflent from c. 870 until his death in 894 or 895, and also acquired the county of Rossello in 878, whilst Radulf was count of Besalú until possibly as late as 912, though this may be Wifred's son Radulf rather than his brother of the same name.¹⁶ The fourth of the brothers, Sunifred, was abbot of Arles in the small county of Vallespir, by at least 881 when he received a charter for his monastery from King Carloman.¹⁷ Although the potential for genealogical confusion and controversy remains, what appear to be other branches of the family were acquiring office in different parts of Catalonia at the same time as Wifred and his brothers. Oliba II and Acfred, who are claimed as their cousins, held the county of Carcassonne in succession, and another presumed cousin Sunyer II was count of Empuries, and subsequently of Rossello on the death of Miro 'el Vell'.¹⁸ All of these offices, those held by Wifred and his brothers, and those of their possible cousins, passed in due course and without interruption to their descendants. It is for his uniting of all of the eastern counties of the Frankish march south of the Pyrenees, with only Pallars-Ribagorça remaining in other hands, that Wifred is most famous. Although this had previously been achieved by his probable father, it was only in Wifred's day that these offices ceased to be precarious and tenable at pleasure and became instead the hereditary possessions of the family. From this is held to stem the creation of Catalonia as an independent political unit.

But when Wifred died, from injuries received in a battle against Lubb ibn Muhammad, the Banu Qasi lord of Tudela, in 897/8, what exactly had he achieved?¹⁹ It is certainly fallacious to regard his career as effecting any fundamental break in the ties that linked Catalonia to the rest of the Carolingian Empire. Neither he nor his successors, who monopolized all of the principal secular and many of the ecclesiastical offices of the region, took the title of king, although a precedent for this existed at the other end of the Pyrenees, in Navarre, where the Basque lords of Pamplona threw off Frankish suzerainty and took a

¹⁶ R. d'Abadal, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8, for Miro; P. de Marca, *Marca Hispanica*, appendix 46, and R. d'Abadal, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-9, for Radulf.

¹⁷ 30 August 881, R. d'Abadal, *Catalunya Carolingia*, vol. 2, part 1, pp. 37-9. For the most recent account of Wifred's family and career see J.M. Salrach i Marés, *El procés de formació nacional de Catalunya* (2 vols. Barcelona, 1978), vol. 2, pp. 87-120.

¹⁸ R. d'Abadal, *Els primers comtes catalans*, gives a chronological table of comital office holders in ninth-century Catalonia between pp. 40 and 41. This is often more precise than the evidence allows, but many of his *suggested* datings, discussed in the text of the book, seem convincing.

¹⁹ For the death of Wifred, see the only extant account in the *Muktabis* of Ibn Hayyan, in J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Els textos dels historiadors musulmans referents a la Catalunya Carolingia* (Barcelona, 1922), p. 153.

royal title, possibly early in the ninth century.²⁰ The Catalan counts retained just their comital title until their accession to the Aragonese throne in 1162.

In the late ninth and tenth centuries what is most striking about Catalonia is the continuity of links between it and Francia, rather than the renunciation of them. Abbots, bishops and lay lords still felt it worth their while to go to receive confirmation of their landholding rights from successive Frankish kings, each of whom confirmed the series of charters granted by his predecessors. Many of the monasteries and churches of Catalonia must have had a charter from each of the successive Carolingian monarchs from possibly as early as the reign of Charlemagne through to the late ninth century.²¹ This process continued until the death of the last significant Carolingian king of Francia, Lothar, who granted a charter to the monastery of San Cugat de Valles near Barcelona in 986, the year of his death.²² His brief-lived successor Louis V (986-7) was certainly recognised as king by Borrell, the count of Barcelona (948-92), but his reign was too short to have left any charters.²³ Although the vestigial legal rights over Catalonia claimed by the French kings were not finally renounced until 1258, the end of Carolingian rule in Francia in 987 seems to have marked the effective end of the acceptance and use of Frankish overlordship by the Catalan counts and their subjects. The long and impressive run of royal charters ends at that point, as do some of the genealogical lists of the Frankish monarchs that circulated south of the Pyrenees, concluding with Lothar or Louis V.²⁴

20 The history of Navarre and the Basque regions in the ninth century, depending almost entirely upon the evidence of some genealogies of the late tenth century, is peculiarly confused, and the subject of some contention amongst Spanish historians. See C. Sanchez-Albornoz, 'Problemas de la historia de Navarra del siglo IX', in *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 25-6 (1957), pp. 5-82, reprinted in his *Miscelanea de Estudios Historicos* (Leon, 1970) pp. 295-366, also A. Ubieta Arteta, 'La dinastia Jimena' in *Saitabi* 10, (1960), pp.65-79, and the reaction of C. Sanchez-Albornoz, 'Otra vez los Jimenios de Navarra' in *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 33-4 (1961), pp.314-26, also reprinted in *Miscelanea de Estudios Historicos* pp. 369-80. See also J. M. Lacarra, 'Sobre la monarquia Pamplonesa en el siglo ix' in *Quadernos Hispanoamericanos* 69 (1969), pp. 388-98 and, most recently, R. Collins, *The Basques*, pp. 99-163.

21 This is true from the surviving evidence of the monastery of Arles, in Vallespir, and the cathedral churches of Girona and Urgel; R. d'Abadal, *Catalunya Carolingia*, vol.2 part 1, pp. 20-39, 116-51, 276-88. Other collections and archives, no longer so complete, may well also have told the same story.

22 Jan./Feb. 986, R. d'Abadal, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-200.

23 R. d'Abadal, *Els primers comtes catalans*, pp. 333-4.

24 'De Regibus Francorum' list in J. M. Lacarra (ed.), 'Textos navarros del Codice de Roda', in *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragon* 1 (1945), pp. 253-4. However it should be noted that Catalan documents continued to be dated by French regnal years until the counties merged with the Kingdom of Aragon. This is well illustrated in the long run of charters of the tenth to twelfth centuries in the collection B.L. Add. Charters 62604 to 62681. M. Zimmermann, 'La prise de Barcelone par Al-Mansur et la naissance de l'historiographie catalane', *Annales de Bretagne* 87 (1980), pp. 191-218, shows how the sack of the city by the Arabs in 985 serves as the starting-point for most subsequent Catalan chronicle writing. This event, if nothing else, made clear the irrelevance of continuing attachments to the rulers of Francia.

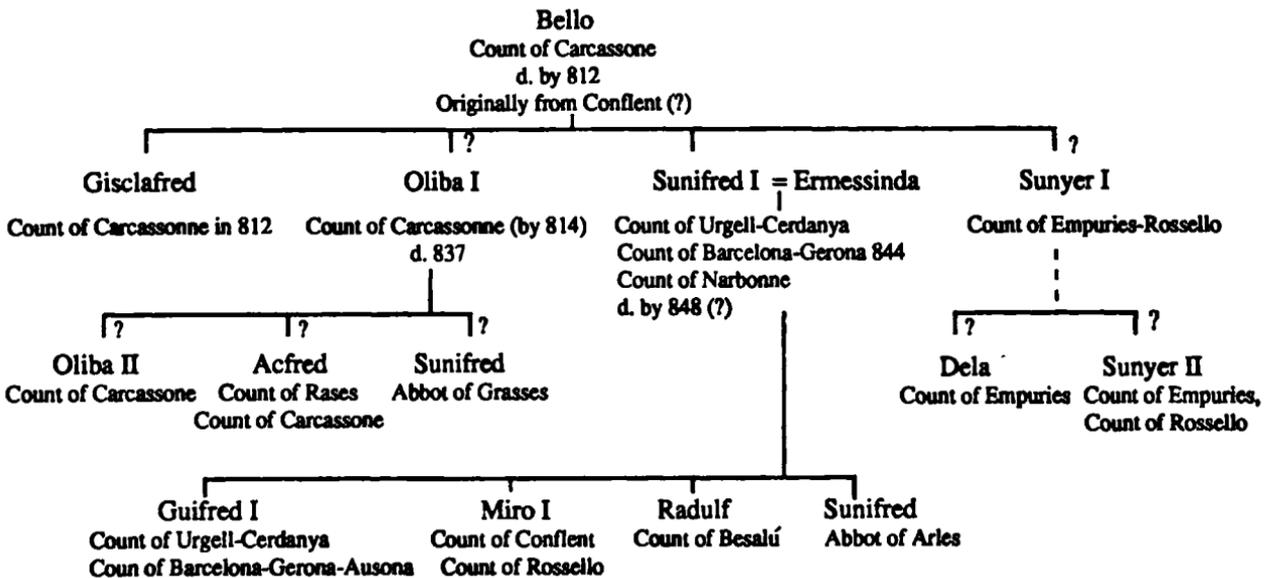


Figure 10.2: Genealogy of the Family of the Counts of Barcelona
(according to R. d'Abadal y de Vinyals, *Els primers comtes Catalans* (Barcelona 1958), p. 25.

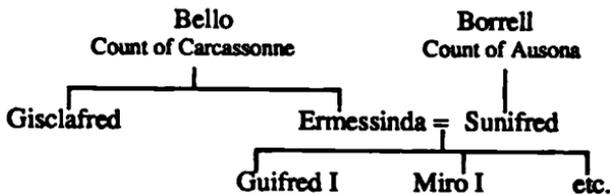


Figure 10.3: Alternative Genealogy

(according to *Histoire de Languedoc*. An outline genealogy of the descendants of Wifred will be found in R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London 1967), p. 125.)

However, there are a number of features about the career of Wifred as Carolingian count in Catalonia that are especially notable. Firstly, unlike most of the previous office-holders in this region, Wifred and his family appear to have been indigenous. Here again we encounter an area of genealogical controversy; one that relates to the generation of Wifred's grandparents. The authors of the *Histoire de Languedoc*, followed by Léonce Auzias, believed that Wifred's grandfather on his father's side was Borrell, count of Ausona-Vic, whereas more recently Ramon d'Abadal argued that it was Belló, count of Carcassonne, whom the other authors held to be his maternal grandfather.²⁵ Both families appear to have been indigenous to Catalonia, one from the north, the other from the south of the Pyrenees. That of Count Belló probably originated in Conflent.²⁶ This is interesting, in that with the emergence of Wifred in the late 870s, for the first time, except for the last four years of his father's life, 844-8, all of the counties of the region south of the Pyrenees were in the hands of members of an indigenous dynasty whose interests lay solely in that area.

The significance of this becomes clear when contrasted with what had happened previously and indeed continued to occur in parts of Catalonia north of the Pyrenees in respect of Carolingian appointment of counts. Throughout the ninth century a succession of powerful men with extensive possessions and offices elsewhere in Francia were entrusted with the Catalan counties and with responsibility for the Spanish and Gothic marches. In virtually every case this led to serious political problems for the ruling Carolingian monarch. One of the first of these was the famous or notorious Bernard of Septimania, whose promotion to the imperial chamberlaincy in 829 was a direct cause of the temporary overthrow and

²⁵ *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol. II (Toulouse, 1876), pp. 234-5, L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine Carolingienne, 778-987* (Toulouse, 1937), pp. 188-9 and R. d'Abadal, *Els primers comtes catalans* (Barcelona, 1958), pp. 20-2.

²⁶ R. d'Abadal, op. cit., pp. 20-2. J. Salrach, *Procés de formació*, vol.2, pp. 94-100, provides the most judicious discussion of this problem.

deposition of the Emperor Louis the Pious by his sons in the following year.²⁷ This Bernard had controlled Barcelona and the whole of the March, including holding most of the counties, from c. 826 to 830, and again from 835 to 44. He was seized by Charles the Bald and executed in 844, but his sons continued the family's association with the March begun by Bernard's father St. William of Toulouse, a leading figure in Louis the Pious's campaigns in the region.²⁸ Bernard's son William, in rebellion against Charles the Bald, seized Barcelona in 848 on the death of Count Sunifred, but was betrayed by its citizens and executed in 850.²⁹ His brother Bernard 'Plantevelue' proved even more of a menace to Carolingian royal authority. He held some of the offices once exercised by his father in the region, and may well have aspired to regain them all. He was count of Toulouse from 872 and of Narbonne from 878, until his death in 886. He was one of the leaders of the aristocratic revolt against Charles the Bald in 877, and probably continued to conspire against his suzerains, the western Frankish kings Louis III and Carloman, in the interests of the eastern Frankish ruler, Charles the Fat. He probably died fighting for the latter against Boso the usurping king of Provence.³⁰ Another of the great figures of the Spanish March and a fellow rebel with Bernard 'Plantevelue' against Charles the Bald in 877-8 was Bernard of Gothia. He held important offices in Catalonia as count of Barcelona, Narbonne and Rossello from 865 to 878, and of Girona from 870, before being stripped of his honours for his continued rebellion.

His fall in 878 paved the way for the rise of Wifred and Miro 'el Vell', who succeeded him in three of his counties.³¹ Equally as unreliable as the three Bernards was the Marquis Humfrid, who between 858 and 864 accumulated the counties of Barcelona, Pallars, Toulouse, Carcassonne, Narbonne, Rossello, and Empuries, as well as that of Autun and other territories in Francia proper. He, too, was dispossessed for rebellion, in 864 or 865.³² Thus with remarkably few exceptions the Frankish counts imported into Catalonia, whose power was deliberately created and augmented by the Carolingian monarchs, notably Charles the Bald, adding county upon county to their holdings, proved disloyal and

²⁷ *Annales Regni Francorum*, s. a. 829; *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s. a. 830; L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine Carolingienne*, pp. 97-101. On the functions of Carolingian counts in Catalonia see R. d'Abadal, 'La institució comtal carolingia en la pre-Catalunya del segle IX' in *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 1, (1964), pp. 29-75.

²⁸ L. Auzias, op. cit., pp. 36-8. See also R. d'Abadal, 'Els primers temps de Carles el Calb a Catalunya, 840-843', in *Estudios d'Història Medieval* 2 (1970), pp. 1-18.

²⁹ *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s. a. 848: 'Guilhelmus filius Bernardi Imporium et Barcinonam dolo magis quam vi cepit'; 'Vuilhelmus... fugaque arrepta, dum Barcinonae se recipi posse confideret, factione Aledranni et quorundam Gothorum capitale subiti poenam'; *AFont*, s. a. 849 (recte 850), p. 83.

³⁰ The best account of this Bernard may be found in L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine Carolingienne*, pp. 389-423.

³¹ See R. d'Abadal, *Els primers comtes catalans*, pp 53-64, for his career in the March. See also J.M. Salrach, *Procés de formació*, vol.2, pp. 67-86.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 6-9.

ultimately had to be stripped of their offices. On the other hand, the indigenous comital dynasty of Sunifred and Wifred is notable for its continuous loyalty to the Carolingians. None of its members ever engaged in rebellion, or gave support to those who were.

Indeed they were always quick to take advantage of rebellion to prove their loyalty and to attack the possessions and followers of rebels, as in the cases of the revolts of Humfrid and Bernard of Gothia. In the latter case in 878 Miro ravaged Bernard's county of Rossello and dispossessed his appointees, lay and ecclesiastical.³³ Miro and Wifred's brother Sunifred escaped from his monastery to join in and had to be sent back by a papal order.³⁴ The point is, of course, that the rebellious counts were Franks and outsiders, and were regarded as such. They seem to have had little local following amongst the lesser landowners of Catalonia. Even the descendants of St. William of Toulouse, three generations of whom were associated with the March and seem to have regarded themselves as having hereditary interests in it, received no significant local support in their revolts. In fact in the case of all of these Frankish comital rebels, whereas their official responsibilities may have lain in Catalonia, their real power and interests were elsewhere, in Francia proper. It seems to have been politics at court or struggles for influence with other members of the Frankish nobility that drove them into making gestures of rebellion. None of them seem to have aimed at establishing an independent state for themselves in the March, as Boson did in Provence in 882, or as might have happened in Aquitaine. Their lack of local involvement and support would have made such an aspiration futile in any case. On the other hand, the deeply entrenched indigenous aristocracy of the March was content to remain loyal to the Carolingians, even when their power was no more than a legal fiction. Some of the possible reasons for this will be examined shortly.

Thus the position achieved by Wifred was the culmination of a process of the accumulation of power and office in a large part of southern Catalonia achieved by his family in the course of three generations. This was done, it seems, largely on the basis of consistent political loyalty to the Carolingian dynasty, made easier by the lack of wider involvements elsewhere in Francia, which had led to the downfall of so many of their rivals. It had not been an even rise. Much of what Wifred achieved had previously been accomplished by his father. But there had been no security of succession, and after the death of Sunifred in 848 all of his offices with the possible exception of the county of Urgel-Cerdanya had passed to outsiders, and it was left to his sons to recreate his power. However, in the lifetime of Wifred, the transition of the county from being a royal office tenable at pleasure to being a hereditary one seems to have occurred, and not just in Catalonia. Wifred himself was the royally appointed count of the southern

³³ *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 878, for the council of Troyes; see also R. d'Abadal, *op.cit.*, pp. 59-62 for the effects of the events of 877-8 on the March.

³⁴ Ed. E. Caspar, *MGH Epp. KA V* (Berlin, 1928), no. 119, p. 108.

Pyrenean counties, with the exception of Pallars-Ribagorça.³⁵ But he was able, it seems, to delegate some of these to his brothers, on his own authority, grants which if not formally recognised by the Carolingian court were tacitly accepted.

From the time of Wifred and Miro there was unbroken dynastic succession in these counties and no attempt was made by the Frankish rulers to intrude any further outsiders. This was a process, that we can often perceive only very dimly, going on all over the territories of the Carolingian Empire in the course of the late ninth and tenth centuries. This was indeed the formative period of the medieval aristocracies of most parts of Western Europe. Certain families were able to obtain a firm grip upon offices, titles and lands that had never previously been so secure.

Argument exists as to what extent this process was recognised and deliberately fostered by the Carolingian regime. The exact significance of Charles the Bald's regulations for the succession to vacant counties during his absence in Italy issued at the Assembly at Quierzy in June 877 has been debated in this context.³⁶ For it seems the rights of the sons of the former counts were here being expressly protected, as if in normal circumstances they would be expected to succeed their fathers. On the death of a count during the period of the king's absence in Italy his responsibilities would be taken over by his eldest son or by a council made up of the former count's chief officers and the local bishop, pending the king's return. If the count's sons were minors the eldest was to be invested with the title provisionally, under the control of this council, or if the heir was of age but absent with the king some of his family or followers were to be added to the council to protect his interests. Some have argued that these regulations, which are incomplete, imply formal recognition of the right of hereditary succession in the comital offices by this time, whereas others would see them as no more than temporary expedients to deal with problems arising from the king's exceptional absence in Italy.³⁷ In other words, in these circumstances the status quo was to be maintained but only temporarily, and not as of right. Clearly the argument cannot be resolved on the basis of the Quierzy regulations alone. Other indications must be sought.

Once the fancies of the *Gesta Comitum* are discounted, the Catalan evidence has something to offer on this particular problem. Clearly the dynasties that emerge successfully from the struggles of the 870s do then retain, in Catalonia at least, their offices and lands on an apparently hereditary basis.

This is not just true of the various branches of Wifred's family, but can also be seen further west in the joint counties of Pallars-Ribagorça, where after the murder in 872 of yet another of these Frankish counts with extensive interests, Bernard of

³⁵ For the history of this region during the Carolingian period, see R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, 'Els orígens del comtat de Pallars-Ribagorça' in *Dels Visigots als Catalans* 2nd edition (Barcelona 1974), pp. 241-60, and the same scholar's edition of the charters of this county in *Catalunya Carolingia*, vol. 3, 2 parts, (Barcelona, 1955).

³⁶ MGH Capit II, ii, c. 9, p. 358.

³⁷ R. d'Abadal, *Els primers comtes catalans*, pp. 57-8.

Toulouse, power passed definitively to a local dynasty.³⁸ Now this is not just a question of continuity of tenure of office in the hands of particular families. The nature of the comital office and the basis of its local power seem also to have altered significantly in this same period.

Previously Frankish counts had been royal officers, appointed at will, to carry out various administrative and judicial duties. In many cases they had little or no personal stake in many of the territories entrusted to their care. In other words, they had few or no family ties with members of the indigenous population. They may well have owned little or no land in the region. Culturally and even linguistically they may have been alien to their charges. Thus in Catalonia, leaving aside the question of linguistic comprehension, the Frankish counts had to administer justice on the basis of a code of law, the *Lex Gothorum*, quite different from that to which they themselves were subject.³⁹ Obviously the change from Frankish to Catalan courts altered their position in local society. But this was not all. There exists a charter of Charles the Bald, dated 20 July 870, granted to one of Wifred's presumed cousins, Oliba II count of Carcassonne, that implies that the lands that formerly belonged to the royal fisc in the counties of Carcassonne and Rases had been transferred to Oliba as an alodial possession.⁴⁰ Thus the lands once administered by the count for the king now became his private property to dispose of as he would. Clearly the landed wealth and powers of patronage of the comital family were thereby transformed. The essential difference was that the count was no longer answerable for the use that he made of the lands and revenues entrusted to him. Although this charter is unique there are indications (to which I shall return) that something similar occurred in the counties south of the Pyrenees as well. This therefore suggests that we are seeing here a deliberate policy being followed by the Carolingian court in the last years of Charles the Bald, at least in respect of Catalonia, though quite possibly elsewhere too. For Oliba's grant seems to have been secured by the intervention of Boso, whose sister Charles the Bald married, and who built up sufficient local power in Provence to enable him to create an independent kingdom for himself soon after his brother-in-law's death. It is quite likely that similar policies were being followed in respect of Provence as of the Spanish March.

But interestingly, whereas Provence and later Burgundy repudiated Carolingian rule and emerged as small kingdoms, however short-lived, and Aquitaine might have done, Catalonia remained, as we have seen, unswervingly

³⁸ See above, n. 35.

³⁹ MGH Leg. sectio, I: *Leges Visigothorum*, ed. K. Zeumer (Hanover/Leipzig, 1902). For the use of Visigothic law in the Spanish March in the Carolingian period, see the examples referred to in note 49 below. See also W. Kienast, 'La pervivencia del derecho godo en el sur de Francia y en Cataluña' in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 35 (1973/4) pp. 265-95.

⁴⁰ T. 341; vol. II (1952) pp. 260-2, (20th July 870). See also no. 428, pp. 456-8 (11th June 877), *Histoire de Languedoc* vol. I (1874), i, pp. 1108-9, and the comments of R. d'Abadal, *Els primers comtes catalans*, p. 44.

loyal to the Frankish monarchs. What are the explanations for the strong ties that continued to bind Catalonia to the Carolingians, long after the latter had ceased to have the power to intervene directly in its affairs? For Louis the Pious, when king of Aquitaine, had been the last Carolingian to appear in person in the region, and from the time of Charles the Bald the Catalans were left to look after themselves on their own resources.⁴¹ The attachments between Catalonia and Francia reached back long before the time of the Carolingians. Although the region had been part of the Visigothic kingdom, first in Gaul and then in Spain, since 416, and had often been exposed to destructive Frankish raiding, help was on occasion requested from the Franks in resisting the authority of the Gothic kings. In 630 Sisenand was able to overthrow Suinthila with the assistance of Frankish troops sent by the Merovingian King Dagobert I,⁴² and in 672 Paul received Frankish aid in his unsuccessful rebellion against Wamba in Septimania. For this revolt the whole region was castigated in an *Insultatio* by Julian of Toledo for its continuous perfidy and political disloyalty.⁴³

Probably as a result of these traditions and the economic and cultural links that tied Catalonia to southern France, Carolingian intervention in the area in the late eighth century which led to the creation of the Spanish March appears to have been welcomed and assisted, whereas in the Basque territories at the other end of the Pyrenees it was resisted and Frankish control proved precarious and shortlived.⁴⁴ Tradition alone was not enough, nor even the simple benefits to be gained from having what was a natural geographic and economic unit under one political authority. Carolingian rule did confer tangible and practical benefits.

Militarily they may not after the reign of Louis the Pious have done much to augment the local resources of the region, when under pressure. But those resources proved sufficient at least to retain, if not expand, the territories Charlemagne and Louis the Pious originally conquered. More important in the later ninth century was the continued diplomatic activity of the Carolingians.

The Umayyad threat to the Frankish march in Catalonia declined rapidly after the death of Abd ar-Rahman II in 852, and was not to be resumed until the late tenth century.⁴⁵ But the Banu Qasi of Tudela, Zaragoza and Huesca, acting sometimes in the name of the Umayyads but more usually in their own interests

⁴¹ ARF, s.a. 801.

⁴² *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, ed. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (London, 1960), cap. 73, pp. 61-2. The probabilities that Sisenand exercised his comital functions in the Pyrenees or Septimania are high.

⁴³ Julian of Toledo, *Historia Wambae and Insultatio vilis storici in tyrannidem Galliae*, MGH, SSRM V (1910), pp. 486-535, reprinted in *Corpus Christianorum*, vol. 115 (1976), pp. 218-49.

⁴⁴ Astron., pp. 607-48, cap. 37, p. 628. ARF, s.a. 824.

⁴⁵ E. Lévi-Provencal, *Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane*, 2 vols. (Paris/Leiden, 1950), vol. I, pp. 211-18 for the activities of Abd ar-Rahman II in relation to the March, and vol. II, pp. 233-46 for those of Al-Mansur in the late tenth century.

presented a closer and more active menace.⁴⁶ It was in resisting one of their raids towards Barcelona that Wifred was to receive his fatal injuries in 897/8, and earlier Barcelona had been sacked by them, either in 856 or 860.⁴⁷ Carolingian diplomacy appears to have attempted to neutralise them, for when the career of conquest of one of the most active of them, Musa ibn Musa, was terminated by King Ordoño I of the Asturias at Albelda in 860, presents from Charles the Bald were found in his captured tent.⁴⁸ But obviously with the increasing weakness of the Carolingian and Western Frankish rulers in the late ninth and tenth centuries their diplomatic effectiveness declined in proportion and the Banu Qasi continued to pose the greatest external threat to the Catalan counties until the extinction of their dynasty at the hands of Muslim rivals in 907.

The effectiveness of the Carolingian administration of the region and the provision of good order and justice may have had much to do with the continuing Catalan commitment to their Frankish rulers. Paradoxically the administrative practices and law that the courts employed were not those of the Frankish homeland but were those of the now vanished Visigothic kingdom. As a result the Catalans probably enjoyed better government and a more sophisticated system of law than their fellow subjects in most other parts of the Frankish Empire. For the surviving non-royal documents of Catalonia of the ninth and tenth centuries show just how comprehensive these legal practices and conceptions inherited from the Visigothic past actually were.⁴⁹ Also, incidentally, although two or three centuries later in date, the documents may give indications of how Visigothic law must have been administered at the time of the flourishing of the kingdom in the seventh century.

That the administrative and judicial practices of Catalonia under Frankish rule were quite different from those of most other parts of that Empire and were directly inherited from the Visigothic past is clear enough both from the absence of similar documents and evidence of similar practices from other parts of Francia and more positively from the exact parallels with the procedures of *Lex Gothorum* and the specific citations of that law book and no other in the Catalan

⁴⁶ For the careers of the Banu Qasi, see E. Lévi-Provencal, *op. cit.*, vol. I pp. 154-6, 324-8 and vol. II pp. 30-2. See now A. Cañada Juste, 'Los Banu Qasi (714-924)', *Príncipe de Viana* 158/9 (1980), pp. 5-96.

⁴⁷ L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine Carolingienne* (Toulouse, 1937), pp. 264-6. E. Lévi-Provencal, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 314.

⁴⁸ *Cronica Rotensis*, ed. M. Gomez-Moreno in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia* 100 (1932), p. 620, 'munera quos ei Carolus rex francorum direxit.'

⁴⁹ For examples of the specific citation of the Visigothic law code (see note 39 above) see the documents printed in P. de Marca, *Marca Hispanica*, appendices XV, XVI, XXXIV; J. de Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España* vol. XIII appendix VI, p. 232: 'sicut lex Gothorum commemorat' (year 881). R. d'Abadal, *Catalunya Carolingia* 2 (Barcelona, 1926/1950, 1952) part ii, p. 437 (18 Aug. 878) and cf. *op. cit.* part i, p. 73. line 11.

documents.⁵⁰ The formal characteristics of the documents, other than royal charters, mark them off from their Frankish equivalents. They are usually long and detailed, and some contain passages of dialogue in direct speech. Although little diplomatic of the Visigothic period has survived, the sophistication of these documents and the absence of exact contemporary parallels make it likely that they derive from Visigothic and therefore ultimately late Roman practice.⁵¹ Many examples could be cited of the procedures enshrined in these documents. For instance, there is a concern with tangible boundary markers and a vocabulary of such objects found both in these documents and in the Gothic law. Thus when a new grant of land was made or a dispute over ownership was settled the count was obliged to send out a special commission of judges to erect markers 'as the Gothic law requires'.⁵² Such panels of judges were the real arbiters of justice. They sat with the count or his deputy the viscount as their president, to hear cases, to visit disputed lands, to take sworn statements from witnesses and so on.⁵³ There is a remarkable insistence upon the written word at every stage of the legal process to be found in these documents, which might argue the existence of a trained notarial class.

Pleas and judgements are of course preserved in writing, but so too are the sworn statements of the witnesses and, an apparently unique feature, *exvacuationes*, formal renunciations of claims made by the losing party in a dispute to prevent them or their descendants from ever resurrecting their pretensions.⁵⁴ It was this concern with documentation, with written evidence of rights and titles, that led generations of Catalan abbots, bishops and lay landowners to travel to and fro to the Carolingian court to get confirmation of their property holdings, and new charters from successive kings. Although the practical details and technicalities of the law and its administration were in the hands of the

⁵⁰ See M. Zimmermann, 'L'usage du droit wisigothique en Catalogne du IXe au XIIe siècle: approches d'une signification culturelle', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velasquez* 9 (1973), pp. 233-81; A. Iglesia Ferreirós, 'La creación del derecho en Cataluña', *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 47 (1977), pp. 99-123, with full list of the citations of the *Lex Gothorum* in the appendix.

⁵¹ See R. Collins, 'Sicut lex Gothorum continet: law and charters in ninth- and tenth-century Leon and Catalonia', *EHR* 100 (1985), pp. 489-512.

⁵² C. Devic and J. Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol. 11, appendices 45 pp. 118-9 and 90, pp. 194-9. P. de Marca, *Marca Hispanica*, appendix V, cf. *Leges Visigothorum*, Book X, title iii, 'de terminis et limitibus' pp. 396-9.

⁵³ See P. de Marca, op. cit., appendices V, XXI, XXXIV, XXXV. J. de Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, vol. XIII, appendices I-IV, VI and volume XIV, appendix XXV, for ninth century examples. Instances of all the features referred to in notes 49, 52 and 53 are even more plentiful from the more numerous surviving documents of the tenth century.

⁵⁴ *Marca Hispanica*, appendices XVII, XXI; Villanueva, *Viage literario*, vol. XII, appendices XVI, XVI bis; *Histoire de Languedoc*, vol. II, appendix 169, pp. 396-7, amongst others. A. Iglesia Ferreirós, 'La creación del derecho', is misleading on this class of text; see R. Collins, 'Visigothic law and regional custom in disputes in early medieval Spain', in W. Davies and P. Fouracre edd., *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge 1986), pp. 85-104.

panels of judges, most of whom have Gothic names, the Carolingian kings and their counts had a vital rôle in ensuring the continued working of the system. For ultimately secure entitlement to possession of land came from the king. The position of the king as the source of the individual's right to own his land was another inheritance from the Visigothic past and paradoxically it worked to keep Catalan subjects loyal to a Frankish king. In a society such as Catalonia in the ninth and tenth centuries, where as a result of immigration, war and the resettlement of waste lands, landholding was fragile and disputed possession frequent, a working legal system that provided both the principles and the practices necessary to ensure tenure for those who had *bona fide* rights to their lands was imperative. The Carolingian king was the legal source of those rights, although the law employed was that of the Visigoths, and his counts and judges ensured the smooth working of that law.

The strength of the ties that linked Catalonia to the Carolingian regime was reinforced by the existence of a special class of landholders in the region. These are the men known as the 'Hispani'.⁵⁵ Now this may seem to be a peculiarly unhelpful piece of terminology. Were not all the inhabitants of the former Visigothic territories, at least south of the Pyrenees, 'Hispani'? Similarly what is the difference between a 'Goth' and a 'Spaniard' in the eighth and ninth centuries? By the end of the reign of Charles the Bald, however, the regions of 'Gothia' and of 'Hispania' were precisely distinguished. 'Gothia' comprised the region of Catalonia north of the Pyrenees, effectively the old Visigothic Septimania, which they had called 'Gallia', whereas 'Hispania' was the more recently acquired territory to the south of the mountains. However, in the charters and legal documents the 'Hispani' were a distinct class of landowners, not just any of the inhabitants of Frankish 'Hispania'. They were mainly refugees from non-Frankish Spain, some with Arabic or arabicised names, though some may have been native Pyreneans, who were granted certain lands on special terms by the Frankish crown.⁵⁶ The lands in question were waste, or abandoned and unclaimed tracts which had thereby become the property of the royal fisc. In some of the cases that we know of from the documents the lands were granted for military services already rendered to the Frankish rulers.⁵⁷ The earliest of these grants were made in

⁵⁵ On these see R. d'Abadal, *Catalunya Carolingia*, 2, part i, pp. X-XVI. The arguments of A. Barbero, 'La integración social de los 'Hispani' del Pirineo oriental al reino Carolingio' in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet* (Poitiers 1966) vol. I pp. 67-75 that the 'Hispani' were mainly indigenous Pyreneans are far from convincing.

⁵⁶ See R. d'Abadal, *op. cit.* pp. 310-11 (March 795), 318-9 (29 Dec. 814), 320-1 (1 Jan. 815), 324 (14 Oct. 829), 328 (18 Dec. 832), 333-4 (25 Jan. 843), 336-7 (19 May 844), etc. for donations and subsequent confirmations to 'Hispani'.

⁵⁷ For the case of the 'Hispanus' John, see R. d'Abadal, *Catalunya Carolingia*, vol. 2, part ii, pp. 307-11.

the reign of Charlemagne, of lands in Septimania,⁵⁸ but as resettlement progressed in the ninth century south of the Pyrenees, the system was extended there too.

Clearly the value of settling these refugees on deserted land in the frontier zones was considerable, and must have contributed substantially to the capacity of the more vulnerable Catalan counties to defend themselves against external aggression. As the empty lands clearly contributed nothing of financial value to the fisc, they could be given away on very generous terms by the crown. In return for an oath of loyalty, the 'Hispani' received their lands under personal royal protection, free of any rents, payments or duties and, except for certain reserved offences, under their own jurisdiction and free of that of the count. What is more, they received the absolute right to pass on these lands to their heirs or to sell or dispose of them between themselves in any way that they wished.⁵⁹ Such a grant was known as an *aprisio*, and the 'Hispani' held their lands *per aprisionem*.

The setting up of the honour of one 'Hispanus' gives us an indication of some of the administrative practices of Catalonia in this period. This was that of the 'Hispanus' John. This man and his followers defeated an Arab force in the vicinity of Barcelona, probably in 793. The spoils of his victory, horses and armour, he brought to King Louis of Aquitaine, requesting a grant of waste land to cultivate in the county of Narbonne. The impression must be that he and his men had served as mercenaries on the frontier, but were now seeking a permanent stake in the lands then being resettled to the north of the Pyrenees.

Louis made the grant of the deserted estate of Fontejoncosa as requested, and sent John on to Charlemagne to receive his confirmation of the donation, at Aachen. With this achieved, John had to present a letter from King Louis to Sturmio, count of Narbonne, when next on a tour of justice with his panel of judges, for it was their task to fix the physical limits of the estate. This they did by visiting in turn all of the adjacent villages and estates and summoning the oldest inhabitants, who were required to swear where in their belief or knowledge the boundaries of the properties they dwelt on lay. These would then be marked when not already done, and as a result the extent of the deserted lands in the middle was delimited. After that it only remained for John to subdivide his new property to provide for his own followers, who henceforth in virtually all respects were under his authority and free of that of the count and other royal officials.⁶⁰ John went to obtain a second charter of confirmation from Charlemagne in 812 and another

⁵⁸ March 795 (see reference in note 57 above, for earliest extant grant). but see R. d'Abadal, *op. cit.*, pp. 412-14, for evidence that the process was already under way earlier in the reign of Charlemagne.

⁵⁹ See the descriptive testimony of witnesses swearing on behalf of the 'Hispanus' Teudfred against the incursions made into his rights by Count Ademar of Narbonne, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol. II, appendix 85, pp. 185-7; R. d'Abadal, *op. cit.*, pp. 442-4. This document provides an unusually full description of the process of establishing the estate of a 'Hispanus'. See also R. d'Abadal, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-10.

⁶⁰ R. d'Abadal, *Catalunya Carolingia*, vol. 2, part i, pp. X-XVI and part ii, pp. 307-11, 442-4 (documents).

from Louis the Pious in 815, soon after his accession.⁶¹ Likewise John's son Theodfred felt it worthwhile to obtain two charters from Charles the Bald, one in 844 and another in 849.⁶² These documents lay down in increasing detail the rights and immunities to be enjoyed by the recipients. The estate remained in the possession of the family until 979 when it was alienated to the church of Narbonne.⁶³ The privileges granted to John and his fellow 'Hispani' were remarkable concessions in comparison with the obligations and restrictions imposed upon other landholders of the day. Thus it is not surprising that the counts and the less favoured indigenous landowners often attempted to harass or dispossess these 'Hispani', especially in periods where the central authority was temporarily weak, as in the periods of Louis the Pious's conflict with his sons in 830-3, and the civil wars of 840-3. Charlemagne, Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald, the latter in a capitulary issued at Toulouse on 11 June 844, all took steps to protect the 'Hispani' and to force the counts to make restitution of lands illegally seized from them.⁶⁴ It was in the interests of the counts who administered the local lands of the royal fisc to grant them out as benefices to followers of their own and so the royal donations to the 'Hispani' cut across a valuable source of local patronage for them, as well as inhibiting their jurisdiction. Thus came the constant complaints of harassment by the royal officials who sought to dispute the ownership rights of the 'Hispani' and to intrude clients of their own onto the estates. Only the intervention of the central administration, when it was functioning properly, could prevent them.⁶⁵ As the lands and special privileges of the 'Hispani' were heritable there grew up an increasingly large body of landowners, especially to the south of the Pyrenees, who looked directly to the king for their title to their lands and for the protection of it.

Now the frequency with which we encounter references to the harassment of the 'Hispani' in the first half of the ninth century might lead us to expect even more of this with the decline of the central authority in the second half of the century. But this is not the case. Instead we find Wifred and the other counts of his family making use of this same system of *aprisio* to repopulate the frontier zones of their territories. What is different is that the deserted or waste lands that would have previously belonged to the royal fisc, and would have been granted directly to the settler by the king, are now held by the count *per aprisionem* and he redistributes them on the same terms to the new colonists. Despite the paucity of

61 R. d'Abadal, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-1 (document of 1 January 815).

62 *Ibid.*, pp. 338-9, 343-4 (documents).

63 *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol. V, appendix 113, pp. 251-3. On John and his descendants and the settlement of the 'Hispani', see also E. Cauvet, *Étude historique sur l'établissement des Espagnols dans la Septimanie aux VIII^e et IX^e siècles*, (Montpellier 1898).

64 MGH, Cap II, part 2, no. 256, pp. 258-60.

65 The attempts of successive Frankish kings to protect the 'Hispani' are made patent in the documents given by R. d'Abadal, *Catalunya Carolingia*, vol. 2, part ii, pp. 312-14 (2 April, 812), 412-14 (c. 780), 415-16 (c. 801), 417-19 (1 Jan. 815), 420-1 (10 Feb. 816), 422-5 (11 June 844: see also note 64 above).

the evidence, there are clear indications that this is how the system was working, in 'Hispania' at least, by the 880s. Wifred and his descendants used it to repopulate the valleys of the Ter and Llobregat.⁶⁶ At some stage then, between 844 when Charles the Bald was intervening against comital harassment of 'Hispani' in the county of Barcelona, and Wifred's repopulations of the 880s, a significant change had clearly taken place in the relationship between king, count and landholder. The counts have now been intruded between the king and the lesser landowner, and patronage is now officially being exercised by the count rather than by the king.

This must be the product of a deliberate act transferring possession of the empty lands, the *eremi*, from the royal fisc to the counts. Clearly then, something of this nature occurred in the county of Barcelona in the same way as we know it did in the county of Carcassonne under Oliba II. The lack of a specific charter means that the point cannot be dated for Barcelona as it can, in 877, for Carcassonne.⁶⁷ It is quite likely that it took place at approximately the same time and might well have been part of a wider process transferring all such lands from the possession of the fisc to that of the count, throughout all of the counties of the March. Lack of the relevant documents means that this can be no more than a guess, if however a reasonable one.

Thus the years of Wifred's activity as count of Barcelona and *marchio* do mark a number of significant changes in the relationships between Catalonia and Francia, and between king and count. But it is going too far to talk of independence, or at least without serious qualifications. In practice, of course, by this time the authority of the Carolingian rulers was in decline and they lacked the power to compel Catalonia to remain part of the disintegrating Western Frankish kingdom. This makes the continued loyalty and active commitment of the Catalan counts and their subjects to their distant suzerains all the more remarkable. The ties that linked Catalonia to Francia were positive ones and by this time voluntary ones. Catalonia was not being held down by an alien and imported marcher aristocracy, nor did it have to rely upon the Franks for a military protection that they could no longer provide, but the Frankish kings, especially the descendants of Charlemagne, clearly still mattered. What part the Church had to play in all of this still remains to be explored, but law and landownership certainly enhanced rather than weakened the ties. The complexities of legal thought and administration that underlay this were inherited from the Visigothic and late Roman past, and were in many respects alien to Frankish law and custom, but they secured for the Carolingian rulers of the ninth and tenth centuries their most consistently loyal subjects. And perhaps the memory of the Carolingians still lingers on? After all do not the opening lines of the Andorran national anthem run: 'Charlemagne the great, my father, will deliver me from the Arabs; alone I remain the only daughter of Charlemagne, Christian and free'.

⁶⁶ R. d'Abadal, *Els primers comtes Catalans* (Barcelona, 1958), pp. 96-103.

⁶⁷ T. 428, vol. 2, pp. 456-458.

GÉOGRAPHIE RURALE DU ROYAUME DE CHARLES LE CHAUVE

Michel Rouche

English summary: *'The rural geography of the kingdom of Charles the Bald'*

The nature of the demesne, or manorial, system in the Frankish regions of northern France, and the chronology of its spread in the kingdom of Charles the Bald need to be established with greater precision. The charters of Charles the Bald enable this to be done. Large estates organised on a demesne system, as described in polyptychs made during Charles's reign, are evidenced in sixty-two of his charters which, for instance, differentiate between three types of manse: demesne, free and servile. The charters also reveal, in Neustria, demesne-formation that was still recent in the mid-ninth century, and, elsewhere, the use of forest-strips that were being carefully preserved as estate-boundaries. All this indicates a geographical spread of demesne organisation as far south as the Loire, that is, covering Neustria, West Francia, and northern Burgundy, and hence coinciding with the zone of most effective royal government. Fifty-two further charters of Charles the Bald show that demesne organisation did not penetrate Aquitaine, where, by contrast, the realities of a 'Roman' system persisted, although its formerly characteristic terms fundus and colonica were being replaced, through Frankish influence, by villa and mansus. Brittany too retained a traditional pattern of its own. The duality of systems can also be seen in the way royal estates were farmed. This contrast between two zones, though partially offset by the ubiquity, in both, of royal estates, of small free peasant holdings, and of efforts to expand the cultivated area (whether through the creation of aprisiones, or through assarting), remains the fundamental feature of the rural geography of Charles the Bald's kingdom.

Une coutume longue et vénérable, puisqu'elle remonte à Benjamin Guérard, veut qu'en France l'histoire des campagnes carolingiennes se fasse à l'aide des polyptyques.¹ En même temps, on a très tôt remarqué, qu'à l'exception de ceux de Marseille et de Bobbio, les plus complets et les plus importants de ces documents confinaient nos connaissances à la Flandre, la Picardie, la Normandie, l'Île de France, la Champagne et la Lorraine, c'est-à-dire à l'Austrasie et la

¹ R. Fossier, *Polyptyques et censiers, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental* (Turnhout 1978).

Neustrie, pays de forte influence franque. Adriaan Verhulst² prouva en 1966 que le régime domanial ou manorial qui caractérise ces grands domaines décrits par ces documents est 'né au cours des VII^e-VIII^e siècles dans quelques régions du Nord de la France où certaines conditions humaines (implantations assez denses de domaines royaux, défrichements) et certaines conditions géographiques (sols attractifs, situation pédologique, relief favorables à leur développement) se trouvaient réunies dans une mesure qui à ce moment n'était atteinte nulle part ailleurs. A partir de ces régions, ce régime s' est généralisé souvent à une époque assez tardive et dans des formes abâtardies'. Georges Duby pensait, lui, que ces textes nous présentaient beaucoup plus un idéal ou un aspect fugitif qu'une réalité.³ Dans les deux cas, si nous voulons vérifier l' exactitude de ces conclusions, expansion d'un système domanial d'origine franque, et mise en pratique du régime manorial classique, il faut élargir notre documentation dans l' espace et dans le temps, si possible à la quatrième génération carolingienne sous la direction, par exemple, de Charles le Chauve de 840 à 877. Nous pourrions alors peut-être tracer un portrait des paysages et des modes de culture de son royaume.

Compte tenu de l'apport des polyptyques il est en effet possible de retrouver la variété des systèmes de mise en valeur des sols dans la Francie Occidentale. Il suffit pour cela de partir des définitions anciennes et de vérifier si dans les diplômes et les cartulaires du deuxième quart du IX^e siècle elles trouvent leur exacte reproduction ou non. Dans ces documents, surtout les originaux, qui sont bien datés et bien localisés, nous pouvons retrouver un vocabulaire technique, désignant des unités d'exploitation semblables ou bien proches ou bien radicalement différentes de celui des polyptyques. Avec une pareille méthode l'extrapolation peut être faite sur des bases solides. Elle est d'autant plus indispensable que les ouvrages de synthèse régionale sur la question sont relativement peu nombreux.⁴ En revanche la masse des cinq cents cinq diplômes de Charles le Chauve⁵ peut nous apporter des renseignements précis sur des pays mal ou peu étudiés jusqu'ici. Ils formeront la base, avec quelques cartulaires, de cette tentative de description des systèmes d' exploitation du sol dans le domaine du premier roi de Francie occidentale.

Je ne m'attarderai pas à discuter de la taille des exploitations ni des rapports de proportion entre grande et petite propriété. Il est maintenant avéré que les nombreuses parcelles et les petites exploitations l' emportent sur les *latifundia*. Ce phénomène est général, malgré une documentation qui privilégie le grand domaine.

² A. Verhulst, 'La genèse du régime domanial classique en France au Haut Moyen-Age', *SS Spoleto* 13 (1966) pp.135-160.

³ G. Duby, *L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes*, 2 t. (Paris 1962), t. 1, pp. 91 et 115.

⁴ Nous ne disposons en effet que de R. Fossier, *La terre et les hommes en Picardie*, 2 t. (Paris 1968), de G. Fournier, *Le peuplement rural en Basse Auvergne durant le haut Moyen-Age* (Paris 1962), d' E. Magnou-Mortier, *La société laïque et l'Eglise dans la province de Narbonne* (Toulouse 1974) et A. Deléage, *La vie rurale en Bourgogne*, 3 t. (Mâcon 1941).

⁵ Tessier.

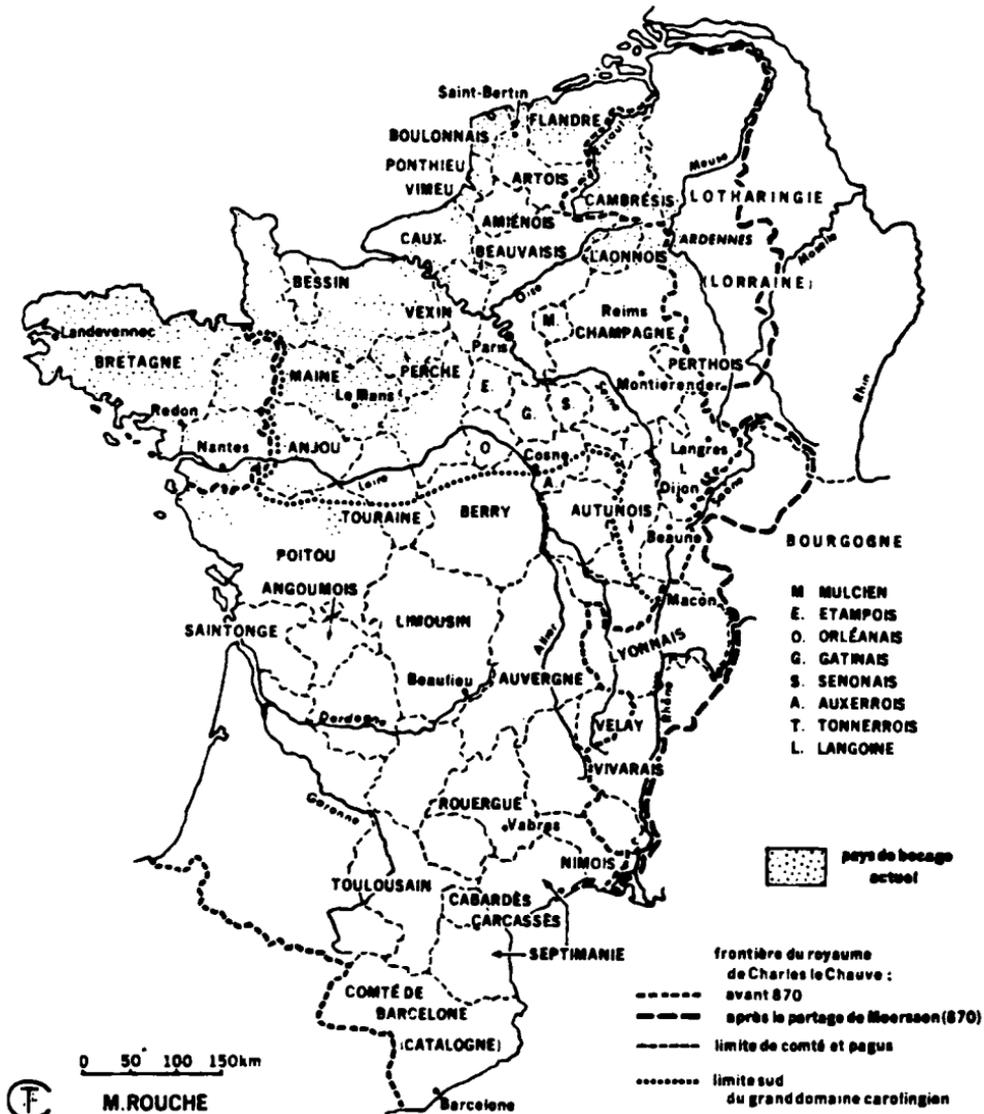


Figure 11.1: Grand Domaine et Bocage Dans le Royaume de Charles le Chauve

Les diplômes émis par Charles le Chauve énumèrent même à foison les dons de manses,⁶ de colonges,⁷ de mesnils ou petits manses,⁸ de petits champs dont la superficie nous est précisée en bonniers, en arpents, en perches et même en carreaux,⁹ phénomène particulièrement fréquent pour les vignes évidemment, sans oublier les jardins appelés *courtills*¹⁰ et les prés isolés.¹¹ Parfois même on donne de toutes petites pièces de terre comme celles offertes au monastère de Saint-Denis. Situées en Vexin, elles sont délimitées soigneusement par toute une série de confronts.¹² Le morcellement paraît moins poussé dans le nord du royaume où il n'est question que de manses divisés en deux mais jamais en quatre,¹³ alors qu'il arrive dans le Midi qu'une propriété appelée *villa* soit partagée en cinq.¹⁴ En cela, le parcellaire est probablement plus morcellé et figé dans les anciennes terres romaines vu les nombreuses mentions de *manses* et de *villares*,¹⁵ que dans celles dominées par les Francs surtout au nord de la Seine. Les limites du domaine de Fesmy par exemple, donné en 875 à Saint-Gery de Cambrai, sont définies non par des confronts mais par des zones-tampons couvertes de bois et d'autres terres fiscales.¹⁶ D'ailleurs l'étude de Gabriel Fournier sur le peuplement de la basse Auvergne¹⁷ corrobore cette impression générale en montrant que dans cette région romanisée le mot de manse désigne une toute autre réalité qu'en Ile de France ou en Champagne, puisqu'il est souvent le centre d'une exploitation paysanne avec de multiples dépendances, réalité qu'il définit par des expressions destinées à en exprimer la variété et le morcellement tels que manse élémentaire, manse large, manse complexe et manse parcellaire. Les bornes de pierres (*termini*) qui

⁶ T. 5 (841), p. 17; T. 35 (844), p. 95; T. 57 (844), p. 163; T. 342, (870), p. 264.

⁷ T. 98 (847), p. 262: quatre colonges sises en Lyonnais; T. 150 (852) p. 401; T. 239 (862), p. 36; T. 326 (869), p. 222.

⁸ T. 111 (849), p. 296: huit ménils dans le bois de Brotonne appartenant à Jumièges; T. 112 (849), p. 299; T. 114 (849), p. 305; T. 379 (875), p. 349.

⁹ T. 62 (845), p. 179; T. 174 (855), p. 460: une *peditura* de vigne; T. 179 (855) p. 477; T. 219 (860), p. 549; T. 252 (862), p. 77; T. 297 (867), p. 153; T. 367 (873), p. 319; T. 434 (877), p. 470. Le carreau fait approximativement 80m².

¹⁰ T. 160 (854), p. 424; T. 169 (864), p. 446; T. 222 (860), p. 560; T. 261 (863), ii, p. 91; T. 293 (866), p. 148; T. 311 (868), p. 188; T. 399 (875), p. 385.

¹¹ T. 191 (857), p. 497; T. 192 (857), p. 500; T. 227 (861), ii, p. 6; T. 293 (866), p. 148; T. 311 (868), p. 188; T. 344 (870), p. 267.

¹² Ils sont appelés du nom curieux de *reculae*. c'est-à-dire de biens convenables pour un cultivateur. Ce type de pièce de terre remonte à l'Empire tardif. T. 263 (864), p. 94.

¹³ T. 123 (850), p. 327; T. 140 (851), p. 369; T. 159 (854), p. 418; T. 168 (854), p. 444; T. 174 (855), p. 460; T. 185 (856), p. 489; T. 329 (869), p. 227; T. 369 (874), p. 321; T. 371 (874), p. 326; T. 422 (877), p. 436. Evidemment je ne parle pas ici des polyptyques décrivant des quarts de manses.

¹⁴ T. 390 (875), p. 374.

¹⁵ T. 15 (842), p. 38; T. 35 (844), p. 95; T. 36 et 37 (844), pp. 98 et 100; T. 47 (844), p. 134; T. 120 (849), p. 318; T. 151 (853), p. 403; T. 166 (864), p. 437; T. 209 (859), p. 532; T. 321 et 322 (869), pp. 207 et 210.

¹⁶ Archives du Nord, 4 G, 106, Musée 25.

¹⁷ G. Fournier, *op. cit.*, pp. 241- 251.

délimitent les champs sont d'ailleurs plus souvent mentionnées au sud de la Loire qu'au nord.¹⁸ Bref, l'examen de la grandeur des champs et de la prépondérance des petites exploitations ou des petites et moyennes propriétés qui dominent largement les campagnes apporte une première opposition qui se devine entre deux zones, l'une méridionale, l'autre septentrionale, dûe à leur passé et probablement à des systèmes de mise en valeur différents.

Examinons alors maintenant les terres où s'est répandue la pratique franque du grand domaine avec réserve et manses dépendants, telle qu'en son portrait classique, elle est désormais répandue et expliquée par tous les auteurs.¹⁹ Toujours pour le règne de Charles le Chauve, trois polyptyques au moins nous décrivent ces grandes propriétés composées d'un manse domanial, de manses ingénuiles et de manses serviles. Celui de Saint-Bertin rédigé vers 847-853 couvre en partie la Flandre, le Boulonnais et la Picardie;²⁰ celui de l'abbaye de Montiérender date de l'année 848 et recense surtout des grands domaines situés en Champagne humide.²¹ Celui de l'abbaye de Saint-Rémi de Reims²² concerne surtout la Champagne sèche et les Ardennes lors de sa date de rédaction sur l'ordre de Hincmar en 861. Déjà ils permettent de saisir que ces grands domaines si peu nombreux n'ont pu être créés que grâce à des donations massives de terres de grande surface et à une surveillance de tous les instants par leurs propriétaires, vu la dispersion de ces domaines qui sont loin d'être contigus, ou parfois même la petitesse de certains d'entre eux tel Ruminghen dont la réserve ne fait que trente-cinq hectares.²³ Ce système né au VII^e siècle comme l'a montré A. Verhulst²⁴ s'est-il étendu à d'autres régions mieux dominées par les Carolingiens? Est-il sorti de son pays d'origine pendant la deuxième moitié du IX^e siècle?

Un premier dépouillement des actes de Charles le Chauve donne soixante deux diplômes où le schéma classique bi-parti est nettement cité et explicité, ce qui ne veut pas dire qu'il n'existe point dans les autres. Il n'y est point reconnaissable et c'est pourquoi je n'en parle pas. Mais lorsque le roi confirme la constitution de la mense monastique de Montiérender en 845, l'identité des termes techniques et des

18 T. 44 (844), p. 122; T. 122 (849), p. 324; T. 193 (857), p. 502.

19 G. Duby, *op. cit.*, pp.100-113; G. Fourquin, *Histoire économique de l'Occident médiéval* (Paris 1979), 3^e ed., pp. 80-81.

20 F.L. Ganshof, F. Godding-Ganshof, A. de Smet, *Le polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint Bertin (844-859)* (Paris 1975).

21 C. Lalore, *Le polyptyque de Montiérender* (Troyes 1878). Ferdinand Lot, une fois de plus hypercritique, l'a daté de 832-845 dans 'Note sur la date du polyptyque de Montiérender', *LMA* 35 (1904), pp.107-117.

22 B. Guérard, *Polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Rémi de Reims* (Paris 1853).

23 F. L. Ganshof, *Saint-Bertin, op. cit.*, p.78.

24 Cf. note 2.

toponymes avec ceux du polyptyque permet d'affirmer sans aucune hésitation²⁵ que le régime des terres est le même. Donc je peux déduire en bonne logique que les soixante deux actes de Charles le Chauve qui mentionnent manses seigneuriaux, ingénuailes et serviles, décrivent bien notre fameux système. On le retrouve ainsi en Picardie et en Flandre²⁶ en Ardenne et en Champagne,²⁷ en Ile de France²⁸ et en Lorraine évidemment.²⁹ Il existe aussi en Cambrésis, en Artois,³⁰ en Laonnois, en Perthois, en Beauvaisis, en Mulcien et en Étampuis.³¹ Il a gagné par le pays de Caux, le Bessin³² et s'est répandu en Bourgogne puisqu'il est mentionné en Gâtinais, en Sénonais, en Auxerrois, en Tonnerrois et en Autunois.³³ Enfin depuis Langres et Dijon, il atteint Beaune et Mâcon et paraît s'arrêter là.³⁴ De même il pousse une deuxième pointe vers le sud depuis l'Orléanais jusqu'à Cosne.³⁵ En somme, venu des pays germaniques il a progressé dans des régions situées au sud de la Seine pour atteindre la Neustrie occidentale, la Loire et la Saône. Comme l'a remarqué Lucien Musset, il paraît s'arrêter 'au sud-ouest d'une ligne dont le tracé d'ensemble irait de Senonches à Pontorson'³⁶ et, j'ajoute pour ma part, du Perche non compris à Orléans jusqu'à Cosne et Mâcon en évitant les terres acides du Morvan. Au passage il a fait

²⁵ '... villam Summore Vigma (Sommevoire) que habet quatuordecim mansa.' : T. 70 (845), p. 200. 'In Summa Vigma mansum indomiticatum I. Aspiciunt ad ipsum mansum mansa ingenuila XIII': *Polyptyque de Montiérender*, op. cit., p. 89, I. L'ordre suivi est le même.

²⁶ T. 22 (843), p. 55 ; T. 58 (844), p.165; T. 189 (857), p. 493; T. 303 (867), p. 169; T. 337 (870), p. 248; T. 430 (877), p. 461; T. 434 (877), p. 470.

²⁷ T. 70 (845), p.199; T. 75 (845), p. 212; T. 153 (853), p. 405; T. 185 (856), p. 489; T. 191 (857), p. 497; T. 192 (857), p. 500; T. 202 (859), p. 516; T. 299 (867), p. 157; T. 458 (877), p. 511.

²⁸ T. 65 (845), p. 186; T. 119 (849), p. 316 ; T. 135 (851), p. 358; T. 329 (869), p. 228; T. 363 (872), p. 309; T. 425 (877), p. 451.

²⁹ T. 330 (869), p. 464; T. 431 (877), p. 464.

³⁰ T. 92 (847), p. 246. H. Platelle, *Le temporel de l'abbaye de St Amand, des origines à 1340* (Paris 1962). T. 334 (870), p. 239; T. 357 (871), p. 295; T. 361 (872), p. 301; T. 435 (877), p. 473; T. 436 (877), p. 476.

³¹ T. 65 (845), p.186; T. 157 (853), p. 415; T.168 (854), p.444; T. 172 (855), p. 454; T. 174 (855), p. 460; T. 248 (862), p.261; T. 302 (867), p.166; T. 311 (868), p.188; T. 313 (868), p.191; T. 329 (869), p. 227; T. 336 (870), p. 243; T. 342 (870), p. 264; T. 357 (871), p. 293.

³² T. 24 (843), p. 61; T. 160 (854), p. 424; T. 223 (860), p. 562; T. 399 (875), p. 385; T. 407 (876), p. 409.

³³ T. 16 (843), p. 40; T. 124 (850), p. 330 ; T. 146 (852), p.386; T. 148 (852), p. 392; T. 205 (859), p. 520; T. 261 (863), p. 91; T. 269 (864), p. 106; T. 293 (866), p.147; T. 377 (875), p.341; T. 445 (877), p. 500.

³⁴ T. 206 (859), p. 523 ; T. 326 (869), p. 221 ; T. 352 (871), p. 283.

³⁵ T. 150 (853), p. 401; T. 177 (855), p. 467.

³⁶ L. Musset, *Les domaines de l'époque franque et les destinées du régime domaniale du IX^e au XI^e siècle* (Caen 1945), p. 41.

disparaître d'anciens modes de faire-valoir, comme en Ponthieu, en Vimeu et en Beauvaisis où sont mentionnés des *setici*.³⁷ S'agit-il d'emplacements enclos, ou de sièges d'exploitation d'une ancienne propriété? L'un a visiblement été transformé en petite réserve, mais les autres semblent suggérer la présence de pièces de terre ou de terrains relativement modestes. Quoiqu'il en soit de cette épineuse question, il n'en demeure pas moins vrai que, même dans ces pays, le régime domanial classique est une importation récente, qui n'a pas quatre générations d'âge puisque le vocabulaire antérieur à ces opérations de redistribution des pratiques agraires subsiste encore en 844, 856 et 868. Ces survivances prouvent que le nouveau système a dû élaborer un compromis avec l'ancien pour parvenir à s'imposer.

A plus forte raison faut-il alors déduire la même conclusion des diplômes de Charles le Chauve concernant le Maine, l'Anjou et la Touraine. Déjà Robert Latouche avait remarqué³⁸ l'originalité de cette région et insistait sur l'aspect particulier des régimes agraires de cette zone. Un terme revient souvent dans les documents, au moins six fois, celui de *factus*. Cette unité de terre équivaut certainement au manse de type méridional puisqu'elle est souvent mentionnée avec ses dépendances.³⁹ Or bien que très ancienne, puisqu'elle est citée en Limousin au VII^e siècle, elle a complètement changé d'affectation au IX^e siècle. Elle est englobée maintenant dans un système seigneurial bi-parti puisqu'il est question de plusieurs *facti* dépendants d'une *curtis dominica* ou encore de *facti coloniles* ou

37 'Verculfum (Vercourt) cum seticis in Ragineri Exclusa (Regnières-Escluse) terrisque ad eam pertinentibus, Roconis montem (Roquemont) cum seticis et terris in Marflariis (Moufflers) Sacrocampo (Sarcamp) et Petronutio (Perrois) consistentibus...et in pago Belvacense in loco qui dicitur Gellis (?) setici sex et de vinea aripennos octo, et in Rivitsicurve (Rivecourt) seticis duobus et de vinea aripennos sex; et in Quentvico (Quentovic) seticis duobus, in Mosultro (Mesoutre) in Asco (Acheux) seticis tribus...': T. 58 (844), pp. 165-166; 'in pago Ambianensi de (fisco) quod vocatur Raugia (Roye) in loquo qui dicitur Filcarias (Feuquières) seticos duos qui haben ...(*lacune*) tres qui cinguntur ab omni parte et portione memorati Sancti Petri (St Pierre de Corbie) et c... to una p...quae extenditur ad viam publicam': T. 189 (856), p. 494 ; 'in pago Belloacensi in villa quae dicitur Vallis (Vaux) seticum indomicatum habentem quadrellos CXXX...': T. 313 (867), p. 192. L. Musset voit dans le *seticus* 'une institution-soeur du manse', *op. cit.*, p. 33. Je suis d'accord à condition de préciser qu'il s'agirait plutôt du manse méridional. Il faut peut-être comparer *seticus* avec *sedile*. Mais ce dernier *seticus* est bien trop petit (un hectare soixante quatre) pour faire une réserve. Voir aussi ci-dessous, n. 48.

38 R. Latouche, *Etudes Médiévales, Le Haut Moyen-Age, la France de l'Ouest, des Pyrénées aux Alpes* (Paris 1966).

39 T. 62 (845), p.179; T. 78 (845), p. 220; T. 79 (845), p.222 ; T. 105 (848), p. 277; T. 134 (850), p. 356; T. 239 (862), ii, p. 35; T. 367 (879), p. 319. Je ne peux pas, au vu de l'acte T. 134 qui parle de sept *facti* à Bournand en Poitou, conclure à la présence du régime domanial dans ce comté faute de mention de *curtis dominica*.

serviles.⁴⁰ L'adjectif *colonilis* est particulièrement révélateur là encore à cause de l'équivalence faite avec la servitude. Il s'agit d'anciens lots de terres cultivés par des esclaves qui ont été regroupés en un ensemble domanial, une réserve avec plusieurs dizaines de tenures. La *curtis dominica*, inconnue à l'époque mérovingienne dans le domaine de Tresson situé au sud-est du Mans, y a fait son apparition probablement au IX^e siècle. Le toponyme de Courdeманche en est la preuve.⁴¹ Donc, une fois de plus nous trouvons les preuves de l'importation entre Seine et Loire du système domanial sous la forme d'un regroupement d'anciennes unités de culture. Son succès n'est pas total, mais il est réel. Sémantique et chronologie du vocabulaire agricole sont ici très révélatrices.

Je crois même nécessaire de poser le problème de la manière dont ce nouveau système a été installé. J'ai évoqué des regroupements des terres sous une même autorité. Je n'irai pas jusqu'à parler de remembrement des terres par les nobles francs ou germano-romains car nous n'en avons aucune preuve, et la faveur de la nouvelle terminologie venue du nord n'y incite guère. Néanmoins certains termes particuliers, tels que *haga*, *sepes*, *concides*, c'est-à-dire, haie vive, haie taillée, ou encore haie forestière reviennent souvent et paraissent indiquer un mode de limite ou de fermeture des terres cultivées propre aux Francs puisqu'il est souvent traduit en Germanie par *bifang*, ce qui désigne un espace à défricher créé au milieu des bois en gardant les arbres sur pied comme limites. Plusieurs actes de Charles le Chauve signalent cette pratique,⁴² en Amiénois, en Beauvaisis, en Champagne, et en Ile de France. Charles Higounet vient récemment de montrer l'importance de ces haies forestières en Europe occidentale.⁴³ La loi des Saliens mentionne cette pratique franque comme habituelle.⁴⁴ Les polyptyques parlent couramment de *silva minuta*, mot traditionnellement traduit par 'bois-taillis' et que j'aurai tendance, pour ma part à rendre plutôt par 'bois taillé'. Il s'agit en fait de bois où les jeunes arbres sont émondés constamment pour former des obstacles continus, des limites infranchissables, comme nous les décrivent César pour la Gaule Celtique, et les textes relevés par Charles Higounet pour les grandes haies des XII^e et XIII^e siècles. Lorsqu'un acte de 867 parle de 'treize bonniers de bois

40 'Factos coloniles XXX et serviles XIII cum capella et vineis et silvis et pratis arabilibus sub omni videlicet integritate, sicut ipse in suos dominicos usos eos habebat': T. 105 (848), p. 242. Cette mense monastique est prise sur la *villa* de Soeurdres ce qui veut dire que le système domanial reste intact, les produits du manse seigneurial continuant à être versés à l'abbé qui fait cette donation.

41 M. Rouché, *L'Aquitaine des Wisigoths aux Arabes* (Paris 1979), p. 213 où je démontre l'équivalence en régime agraire méridional entre colon et esclave. C. M. de la Roncière, R. Delort, M. Rouché, *L'Europe au Moyen-Age*, 2 t. (Paris 1969), t.1, p. 76.

42 T.108 (848), p. 287; T. 189 (856), p. 494; T. 299 (867), p.157; T. 313 (868), p.191; T. 398 (867), p. 383. Aucune preuve pour le Maine, l'Anjou et la Touraine, sauf un cas, R. H. Bautier, *Actes de Robert* (Paris 1978), no. 38 (894), p.143.

43 Ch. Higounet, 'Les grandes haies forestières de l'Europe Médiévale', *Revue du Nord* 62 (1980), pp. 213-7.

44 'Si quis concisam vel sepem alterius capulaverit', *Lex Salica* ed. K.A. Eckhardt, MGH, Leg. IV (Munich 1962), 18, 4, 8.

taillé', ou du 'bois taillé des Francs'⁴⁵ ou qu'un autre considère le bois de Vincennes près de Paris comme une haie forestière,⁴⁶ il faut en conclure que cette technique de clôture d'origine celtique adoptée par les Francs et les Saxons⁴⁷ a été répandue partout où l'on créait le régime domanial bi-parti. D'ailleurs elle n'est jamais apparue, même par la suite, au sud de la Loire, à l'exception d'une zone fortement celtisée, le Poitou occidental. Les termes en question ne dépassent pas les limites méridionales de la zone du grand domaine. Le paysage du bocage est donc né très anciennement et il a connu une forte expansion dans le nord de la Francie occidentale au cours du IX^e s. Les nouveaux ensembles de culture, réserve et manses, étaient donc, souvent, mais pas toujours, enserrés par des espaces boisés sans cesse taillés tantôt larges, tantôt réduits à de simples haies vives.⁴⁸

Que l'Austrasie, la Neustrie et la Bourgogne septentrionale aient finalement adopté pour leurs grandes familles nobles ou leurs grandes propriétés ecclésiastiques le système domanial, est compréhensible. L'autorité carolingienne y était forte. Les réformes y furent appliquées mieux qu'ailleurs. Et comme le fait remarquer K. F. Werner, les circonscriptions attribuées régulièrement aux *missi dominici*⁴⁹ concernent surtout 'la Francie proprement dite et la Bourgogne du Nord'. Donc il est normal de voir s'y propager le régime domanial en deux ou trois étapes; reste à savoir s'il pénétra en Aquitaine. Parmi les cinquante deux diplômes de Charles le Chauve qui décrivent une mise en valeur de type méridional, pas un seul ne laisse deviner la présence de notre modèle qui y aurait été importé. Il faut avoir recours au cartulaire de Beaulieu en Limousin pour peut-être trouver une allusion à un manse seigneurial. Dans son testament,

⁴⁵ 'De concidis bunuaria septem et arpennos duos...in alio loco qui dicitur Francorum Concidis, de terra arabili arpennos tres...': T. 398 (867), p. 383.

⁴⁶ 'Concidem quae vocatur Vilcenna, habentem perticas quingentas trigentam septem': T. 108 (844), p. 287.

⁴⁷ M. Rouche, 'Les Saxons et les origines de Quentovic', *Revue du Nord* 59 (1977), pp. 457-478 où je montre la pratique des haies défensives villageoises (*zaun, thun, town*).

⁴⁸ La différence entre 'bois taillis' et 'bois taillés' consiste pour le premier terme en un taillis avec quelques arbres, pour le second en un bois qui a été élagué de telle sorte que les arbres sont très rapprochés, leurs branches entrelacées au point de former une barrière végétale. Il doit être distingué du vieil haut allemand *zaun*, vieil anglais *tun*, anglais moderne *town*, qui désigne une haie d'épineux entourant les villages anglo-saxons pour former une palissade défensive. Quand le bois taillé est réduit en largeur pour former une haie linéaire fermant un champ, ce type de paysage est appelé en français, bocage. Finalement, il vaudrait mieux considérer que les *setici* sont des champs avec une palissade d'osier ou de coudrier entrelacés comme celles qui ont été découvertes lors des fouilles archéologiques de Dorestad et Hamwih (Southampton) entourant une maison centrale de bois. Il est possible aussi que la pratique du *saepes, sepes*, décrite par Palladius (*Traité d'agriculture*, ed. R. Martin (Paris 1976), I, xxxiv, 5, p. 38), soit d'origine romaine. Hubert le Bourdellès m'a confirmé que le latin *saepiticum*, peut devenir par suite de la mutation consonantique en roman du *p* en *t* après une voyelle, *seticum*. Ainsi *seticus, seticum* serait un champ ou un jardin entouré d'une haie plantée.

⁴⁹ K. F. Werner, 'Les duchés "nationaux" d'Allemagne', in *Les Principautés au Moyen Age* (Bordeaux 1979), pp. 29-46.

l'archevêque Rodulf, d'origine franque, lègue au monastère de Beaulieu, qu'il vient de fonder en 855 dans la vicairie d'Arnac, 'casam nostram dominicariam, super fluvium Sordoriam (Surdoire) sitam, cujus vocabulum est Veterinas (Vegennes) cum mansis pertinentibus his duntaxat locis...'.⁵⁰ Suivent alors les noms des esclaves qui tiennent les manses. Mais deux obstacles se dressent devant celui qui voudrait y reconnaître les pratiques septentrionales. Les manses sont situés dans un lieu autre que Vegennes, en Quercy, à Sarrasac et non plus en Limousin. Enfin le terme de *casa* désigne, non un manse seigneurial, mais la maison, la résidence du maître. Tous les autres actes où apparaissent dans ce cartulaire le mot *villa* ou *curtis indomnicata*, *mansus indomnicatus*, ou *dominicarius* nous renvoient à la même constatation, car, ou bien, il y en a plusieurs sur une même propriété, ou bien ils se trouvent en concurrence avec le chef-manse ou cap-manse.⁵¹ Or ce dernier est toujours une terre du maître en faire-valoir direct, sans obligation de corvée pour les dépendants installés sur d'autres manses. Comme le faisait remarquer Gabriel Fournier pour l'Auvergne le 'vocabulaire ne doit pas faire illusion et ce régime, dans la mesure où il a existé, paraît avoir été... tres atténué'.⁵² En fait la mode franque onomastique a caché le maintien de l'ancien système.

Donnons-en encore quelques preuves. Toujours dans le cas de Beaulieu, le comte Geoffroi donne une 'curtis indomnicata' avec une église 'et baccallariis indomnicatis et mansis servilibus'.⁵³ Ces bachelleries domaniales sont des terres appartenant au maître dont l'usufruit a été accordé à titre de *stipendium*⁵⁴ à de jeunes hommes célibataires. Lointains descendants des bucellaires de l'Empire tardif, ils sont payés en échange du service militaire ou ecclésiast par le revenu de cette terre. Tout cela est éminemment archaïque, d'inspiration romaine et non franque. Toutes les propriétés, même les plus grandes sont morcellées en unités, tenues les unes par des hommes libres, les autres par des esclaves, mais sans lien organique puissant avec la demeure du propriétaire. Un même spectacle est offert par la fondation du monastère de Vabres en Rouergue. Si l'on fait le total des donations qui s'échelonnent entre 861 et 874, six *villae* en entiers sont données avec leurs dépendances et, en d'autres lieux que ceux où se trouvent ces

⁵⁰ 'De quibusdam proprietatis meae rebus eligo, quae sunt in pago Caturcino, in vicaria Casiliacense, Saraciacum scilicet, cum ecclesia S. Genesi martiris, necnon et in alio loco, in orbe Lemovicino, in vicaria Asnacense, casam nostram dominicariam, super fluvium Sordoriam sitam cujus vocabulum est Veterinas, cum mansis ad se pertinentibus in his dumtaxat locis, casis, domibus...': M. Deloche, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Beaulieu*, (Paris 1859), n° XVI, 85 G, p.37. Certains font des réserves sur les copies qu'aurait utilisé l'auteur.

⁵¹ E. Magnou-Nortier, *La société laïque et l'Eglise...*, op. cit., pp.134-141.

⁵² G. Fournier, *Le peuplement rural*, op. cit., p. 305.

⁵³ 'Curtam meam indomnicatam quae vocatur Igeracus cum ecclesia in honore S. Martini, constructa, et baccallariis indomnicatis et mansis servilibus: mansum unum ubi...' M. Deloche, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Beaulieu*, n° III (866), p. 10.

⁵⁴ M. Rouche, *L'Aquitaine*, p. 370. Evidemment je me mets ici en opposition avec la définition classique du terme, mais il suffit de lire ce cartulaire pour s'apercevoir que la *bacallaria indomnicata* est l'ancêtre du castellar et non du *fevum*.

propriétés, cinquante-cinq manses, autres unités d'exploitation tenues parfois par des esclaves, souvent sans aucun personnel mentionné, mais toujours avec leurs dépendances.⁵⁵ Ces manses sont de véritables unités de culture autonomes analogues à celui qu'a retrouvé Charles Higounet dans la même région.⁵⁶ Même si certains actes de Charles le Chauve parlent de manses vides ou plutôt de terres vides, n'y voyons là encore aucune allusion au régime domanial.⁵⁷ Partout en Berry,⁵⁸ Poitou,⁵⁹ Angoumois, Saintonge,⁶⁰ Lyonnais, Velay, Vivarais,⁶¹ Toulousain, Septimanie (Languedoc méditerranéen) et marche d'Espagne⁶² nous retrouvons les mêmes constatations qu'en Limousin, Auvergne et Rouergue. L'ancien *fundus* et l'ancienne *colonica* gallo-romains sont appelés *villa* et *mansus* (sauf en Nîmois où l'on cite encore des colonges). Aucune tentative d'y introduire une méthode nouvelle pour concentrer les revenus agricoles dans la main d'un grand propriétaire ne peut y être découverte. Les pays situés au sud de la Loire sont résolument conservateurs dans leur exploitation des terres. Les rois carolingiens n'ont pas cherché à y imposer leurs solutions.

La Bretagne, elle, surenchérit d'archaïsme dans sa mise en culture, des terres.

⁵⁵ *Cartulaire de Vabres*, Manuscrit Doat, 148, actes des années 861-862 et 874. Par exemple pour le premier, je lis 'curtis mea Cassinias (Cassagnes-Begonès) cum appendiciis suis his nominibus Rigilio (?), Alcapias (Saint-Jean d'Alcapières) Turondellos (Thérondels) vel ad ipsos mansellos...' Cf. le mémoire de maîtrise de Mme Causse-Touratier, *Trente chartes du Cartulaire inédit de Vabres* (Lille 1975).

⁵⁶ Ch. Higounet, 'Observations sur la seigneurie rurale et l'habitat en Rouergue du IX^e au XIV^e siècle', in *Paysages et Villages neufs au Moyen-Age* (Bordeaux 1975), p. 151. L'article date de 1950. J'avoue ne pas être d'accord avec le savant auteur sur l'empreinte carolingienne en Rouergue. Lui-même explique d'ailleurs fort bien en quoi le cap-manse n'est que le manse où se trouve la maison d'exploitation par opposition aux autres manses dispersés à travers bois et autres champs. La donation de Berteiz à Vabres (cf. note précédente) qui énumère trente quatre manses dispersés entre douze *villae* empêche de conclure que la 'villa rouergate du IX^e siècle comprenait comme celle de la Francia les deux éléments : réserve et tenures'. En effet une telle donation désarticulerait le régime domanial, s'il existait. Jamais, enfin, un texte méridional ne cite une *villa* comportant un seul et unique manse seigneurial pour un même domaine.

⁵⁷ 'In Monterrione terras apsas... In Verlena terras apsas.' T.149 (852), pp. 398-399.

⁵⁸ T. 178 (855), pp. 473-474.

⁵⁹ T. 448 (877), p. 504.

⁶⁰ T. 13 (842), p. 32; T. 149 (852), p. 398; T. 378 (875), p. 345.

⁶¹ T. 344 (870), p. 267; T. 335 (871), p. 290; T. 378 (875), p. 345; T. 443 (877), p.

496.

⁶² T.15 (842), p. 37; T. 17 (843), p. 41; T. 35 (844), p. 95; T. 36 et 37 (844), pp. 97 et 101; T. 40 et 41 (844), pp. 109 et 114; T. 43 (844), p.120; T. 44 (844), p.123; T. 46 (844), p.129; T. 47 (844), p.134; T. 48 (844), p.139; T. 50 (844), p.145; T. 54 (844), p.153; T. 94 (847), p. 254 ; T. 118 (849), p. 314; T. 120 (849), p. 318; T. 122 (849), p. 324; T. 151 (853), p. 401; T. 164 (854), p. 431; T. 166 (854), p. 437 ; T.193 et 193 bis (857), pp. 502 et 505; T. 203 (859), p. 518; T. 208 (859), p. 529; T. 209 (859), p. 532; T. 210 (859), p. 534; T. 211 (859), p. 536; T. 221 (860), p. 557; T. 222 (860), p. 560; T. 245 (862), p. 52; T. 289 (866), p.140; T. 290 (866), p.142; T. 321 et 322 (869), pp. 207 et 210; T. 340 (870), p. 259; T. 314 (870), p. 262; T. 360 (872), p. 298; T. 388 (840/ 875), p. 368; T. 389 (875), p. 371; T. 390 (875), p. 374; T. 415 (875), p. 429; T. 428 (877), p. 457.

Elle échappe, certes, au pouvoir de Charles le Chauve malgré le court intermède de Nominoë vaguement reconnu comme *missus dominicus*.⁶³ Aussi faut-il consulter les cartulaires de Redon et de Landevennec pour s'apercevoir que là encore le régime domanial bi-parti est absent même si les mots *villa* et manse (orthographié souvent *massus*) sont plaqués sur des réalités celtiques et gallo-romaines. En effet, *villa* est parfois transcrit par *ran* et manse par *tigran*. Chaque donation ou vente mentionne expressément les dépendances, sans allusion aucune à des manses domaniaux. Par exemple vers 847, deux frères sont condamnés à donner aux moines sur l'ordre de Nominoë plusieurs pièces de terres, les unes à moitié, les autres exception faite d'un manse entier ou coupé en deux.⁶⁴ Aucun lien précis n'existe entre ces unités. Le manse, ou *tigran*, breton paraît même n'être souvent qu'une petite terre dotée d'une maison d'habitation parfaitement autonome avec ses dépendances, bois, prés, pâtures, etc... Plus les terres sont situées près de Nantes et plus l'ancien formulaire gallo-romain est courant laissant ainsi soupçonner que la règle générale demeure la grande ou la petite propriété à la manière antique. En pleine terre celte, le cartulaire de Landevennec⁶⁵ ne cite que des dons ou des ventes de propriétés héréditaires (*hereditates*) de *villae* ou de pièces de terre (*tribum*) avec à chaque fois leurs dépendances (*apendiciae*). Rangeons donc la Bretagne parmi les terres du royaume de Charles le Chauve qui n'ont pas subi l'influence du grand domaine franc.

Cette opposition en deux grandes zones géographiques ne doit point cependant être majorée. Si les bornes de pierre et les limites strictes dessinent mieux le parcellaire des champs sur les sols du Midi et de l'Ouest que les épaisses haies et les clôtures d'épineux dans le Bassin Parisien et le Nord, si les grandes propriétés méridionales morcelées s'opposent aux grands domaines du nord de la Loire regroupés autour d'une réserve, ces différences n'en sont pas moins atténuées par des pratiques communes, et quelque peu noyées au milieu des petites propriétés. Les fiscs royaux parsèment uniformément tout le territoire de Charles le Chauve. Dans le Laonnois, le fisc de Voulpaix comporte soixante dix manses formant un bloc massif auquel s'ajoutent de multiples dépendances.⁶⁶ Dans le Carcassès, le fisc de Fraissé englobe plusieurs communes actuelles entre Alzau, le Cabardès,

⁶³ *Histoire de la Bretagne*, sous la direction de Jean Delumeau (Toulouse 1969), pp. 128-152.

⁶⁴ '... duas randremessas, una est quae dicitur Randremes Golbin, excepto uno tigrano, in Ergentet, et dimidium Randremes Bonafont, excepto dimidio tigran Bonafont, et dimidium Randremes Lisuvern excepto dimidium (*sic*) tigran, tradiderunt supradicti fratres supradictam terram cum massis et manentibus ibi habitantibus, cum silvis, pratis, pascuis, aquis, aquarumve decursibus, mobilibus, et immobilibus, cum omnibus appendiciis suis...' *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon*, ed. A. de Courson (Paris 1863), n° CVIII (vers 847), p. 82.

⁶⁵ *Cartulaire de Landevennec*, ed. A. de la Borderie (Rennes 1888), *passim*, esp. pp. 143-79.

⁶⁶ *Quasdam res fisci nostri, id est villam Bospatium (Voulpaix) in pago Laudunensi sitam habentum mansos septuaginta, cum omnibus villulis sibi pertinentibus, cunctisque suis appendiciis...*: T. 302 (867), p. 166.

Laprade et le cours du Fresquel.⁶⁷ Outre ce *latifundium* antique, d'autres terres, morcellées cette fois-ci, appartiennent au roi dans des lieux voisins. L'aspect extérieur des fisco royaux est donc le même d'un bout à l'autre du royaume mais on ne prend pas la peine, dans le comté de Carcassone, de préciser comme à Voulpaix, les divisions intérieures du domaine parce que le lien organique entre réserve et manses n'y a point été créé. Les fisco du Midi sont sans réserve, au contraire du Nord, puisque les actes de Charles le Chauve la mentionnent seulement en Austrasie et Neustrie.

Un autre trait commun caractérise ces campagnes, la tendance et l'encouragement au défrichement. Je ne reviendrai pas sur la technique méridionale et romaine de l'aprision, appuyée sur la pratique de la prescription trentenaire. Cette technique qui consiste à 'arracher au désert' de nouvelles cultures, favorise les petits propriétaires libres sur les terres incultes, propriétés royales d'après la loi romaine. Le précepte de Charles le Chauve de 844 résume fort bien cette politique⁶⁸ destinée à peupler l'Aquitaine, la Septimanie et l'Espagne grâce aux réfugiés espagnols ou gascons. Mais au nord de la Loire, la pratique des essarts apparaît aussi. Les moines de Montiérender sont encouragés à essarter les bois en pratiquant la technique de la haie forestière.⁶⁹ Le paysage diffère seulement: d'un côté la garrigue, de l'autre le bois épais, parfois même le marais et du coup la présence de prairies uniquement réservées à l'usage des vaches en Boulonnais et en Flandre.⁷⁰

L'aspect dynamique de l'agriculture septentrionale paraît même plus important que dans l'extrême frange méridionale à cause de la présence des *hostises*. Ce terme inconnu à l'époque mérovingienne désigne une tenure accordée à un homme libre. Elle se trouve située souvent en bordure des zones cultivées et ne paraît guère liée au système du grand domaine franc. Or elle est strictement limitée aux zones où il s'est répandu : Bassin Parisien et Touraine en particulier.⁷¹ Cette nouveauté carolingienne prouve une fois de plus l'aspect mouvant et changeant des régions situées au nord de la Loire, car ici aucune guerre étrangère n'explique la

⁶⁷ *Fraxinum fiscum nostrum et de Helesau usque in Cabardense et de Prada usque in flumine Fiscovo, quantum ibi nostrum indomnicatum habebamus (pas question du mansus indomnicatus)... et quantam in Basara (Bassé?) fisco habere visi sumus...*: T. 341 (870), p. 262.

⁶⁸ A. Dupront, 'L'aprision et le régime apripsonaire dans le midi de la France', *LMA* 71 (1965), pp. 179-215 et 375-401. T. 46 (844), pp. 129-132.

⁶⁹ 'Quicquid fratrum famuli de jam dictis silvarum concisis extirpare poterint, totum in usus fratrum absque abstractione alicujus permaneat': *Polyptyque de Montiérender, op. cit., ibid.*: T. 192 (857), p. 498.

⁷⁰ 'Vaccaritas cum silvis adjacentibus... in marisco Buosigahem...vaccaritiam cum hortulo...': T. 430 (877), p. 462.

⁷¹ T. 112 (849), p. 299; T. 168 (854), p. 444; T. 399 (872), p. 389; T. 363 (872), p. 309. Pour tout ce qui concerne le grand domaine carolingien, on se reportera à la dernière synthèse particulièrement exhaustive de Yoshiki Morimoto, *Problèmes de la formation de l'économie médiévale en Occident*, résumé français de Seio Chusei, Keisai Keisukatei-no-Shomondai (Tokio 1978), ainsi qu'au colloque tenu à Gand sous la direction d'A. Verhulst, *Le grand domaine aux époques mérovingienne et carolingienne* (Gent 1985).

présence d'individus émigrés et isolés s'attaquant au désert comme dans le Midi.

Ainsi, malgré l'aspect provisoire que présente cette synthèse sur la géographie rurale du royaume de Charles le Chauve, chacun verra qu'il est possible de se libérer de l'emprise des polyptyques pour tenter de mieux saisir le visage des campagnes de cette époque. Du coup 'la royauté' du grand domaine bi-parti carolingien peut être ramenée à ses véritables limites. Sur un fond de petites propriétés et de petites exploitations, il a lentement été propagé par les nobles, les ecclésiastiques et les rois carolingiens. Il a dépassé la Seine dès l'époque de Charlemagne, et atteint la Loire sous le règne de Charles le Chauve, ainsi que la Bourgogne septentrionale. Cette extension se fait en utilisant la vieille technique celtique de la haie forestière. Ceci pose à mon avis, le problème de l'origine et de l'expansion du bocage en France d'une manière inattendue. Le bocage breton, le bocage normand et le bocage de la Thiérache sont certainement des reliquats d'une pratique germano-celtique beaucoup plus étendue autrefois.

Lié au pouvoir réel des rois carolingiens, le modèle du grand domaine avec réserve et manses dépendants n'a pas pu atteindre les régions fortement romanisées situées au sud de la Loire, alors qu'il y était parvenu au nord. Seul son vocabulaire y est utilisé, plaqué sur le système antique du *fundus* gallo-romain qui éclate de plus en plus en unités morcellées. Même la Bretagne a résisté à l'influence franque. Les structures agraires méridionales sont figées en un conservatisme qui ne laisse ouvertes que deux possibilités: morcellement accentué des terres anciennement cultivées ou défrichement par la technique de l'aprision. Encore faut-il souligner que cette dernière solution n'est vraiment utilisée qu'en Septimanie. Dans le nord elle demeure latente, mais elle peut se développer en dehors du grand domaine par le biais de l'*hostise*. L'autorité royale unifie certes ces terres par la présence de ses fiscs, mais elle n'a pas osé implanter dans ceux du Midi les pratiques du grand domaine bi-parti.

Un déséquilibre très net apparaît donc dans les systèmes agraires qui se partagent le royaume de Charles le Chauve. Au nord le paysage et l'exploitation agricoles sont remodelées par d'incontestables nouveautés. Au sud, des innovations carolingiennes ont buté sur un régime des terres antiques, dans tous les sens du terme. Je ne pense pas que les faibles successeurs du fils de Louis le Pieux aient pu répandre les solutions franques dans un pays qui se revolte depuis 838 et leur échappe pour longtemps en 888. Deux pôles de développement agraire vont donc pouvoir alors essaimer autour d'eux, l'un au nord de la Seine vers la Manche, l'autre au sud des Pyrénées vers l'Ebre. Chacun marquera le sol d'une manière différente dans la ligne du système de mise en valeur antérieur, accentuant ainsi cette division que les Carolingiens n'ont pu faire disparaître.

TRADE AND MARKET ORIGINS IN THE NINTH CENTURY: RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT

Richard Hodges

'My dear chap, I know nothing whatsoever about Dark Age trade, or at any rate no more than befits a gentleman', says Gerald Middleton, Professor Emeritus of early medieval history in Angus Wilson's novel *Anglo-Saxon Attitudes* (Wilson, 1958, 37). Gentlemen studied the constitution and Christianity, not economics. This statement, in common with much of this witty and brilliantly contrived story, is a thinly disguised caricature of the state of the art in the early nineteen-fifties. Economics, for example, rate only a small part in Sir Frank Stenton's seminal history of Anglo-Saxon England (1947), but noticeably more in Henry Loyn's textbook written over a decade later (1962). By the time that Loyn was writing his book archaeologists had begun to broaden their interest in Anglo-Saxon England. Whereas when Angus Wilson was engaged in writing his novel the scope of Anglo-Saxon archaeology was largely limited to the Sutton Hoo ship burial, Early Anglo-Saxon burial studies and art-historical surveys of fine jewellery. This was not the case in Germany, the Low Countries or Scandinavia, of course. Here, besides the portentous Professor Pforzheim in Wilson's imaginary University of Halle, there were many archaeologists who since the nineteen-thirties had begun to demonstrate the historical merits of material culture in economic matters. The pre-eminent of these were Holger Arbman and Herbert Jankuhn. By anyone's definition Arbman was a gentleman. During the 'thirties this great Swedish scholar began an enormous catalogue of the finds excavated by Hjalmar Stolpe (1841-1905) at Birka, the Viking-period emporium on an island in Lake Malaren. Stolpe, we now realize, was one of the great archaeologists of the nineteenth century (Graslund, 1980), and Arbman as a result had the benefits of a fine assemblage of data. His catalogues of these finds (1940-43) are exemplary publications, but what would have caught Gerald Middleton's eye was the book in which Arbman makes an appraisal of these data entitled *Schweden und das Karolingische Reich* (1937). Arbman's synthesis is the first great study of economic history using archaeological data. Above all, it revealed that the Vikings were not the plundering barbarians caricatured by ninth-century monks. Quite the

reverse, there was a complex social order which generated equally complex economic connections, including some with the Carolingian Empire.

Perhaps it is a pity that Arbman published his book in German. For at that time Herbert Jankuhn was excavating at Haithabu in North Germany with a view to examining Carolingian relations with the Danes and Slavs. With the benefit of fifty years in which to consider Jankuhn's work, no-one can surely doubt the great significance of his excavations and his promptly published analysis of them (1937). The pity is that he was working in collaboration with the SS, and his book was dedicated to Heinrich Himmler. (For an overview of the historical implications of this excavation see Fehring, 1987, 7-9; its political circumstances are described by Schnapp, 1977.) Although Arbman was completely opposed to the historical model proposed by Jankuhn, there can be little doubt that many like Gerald Middleton were not interested in distinguishing between them. By the nineteen-fifties Arbman had begun to consider other matters, while Jankuhn, after a long war-career, began to practice archaeology again. Freed from his pre-war dogma, Jankuhn concentrated upon building up a picture of Dark Age trade in Western Europe. As one might imagine, however, Gerald Middleton and other historians almost certainly considered that he was not a gentleman, and therefore his work received scant regard in Britain.

Matters altered in England when John Hurst and David Wilson founded the Medieval Archaeology Society in 1956. They effectively initiated the modern discipline in Britain, and with some grace marginalised those whose intellectual horizons concerning post-Roman archaeology were gently satirised by Angus Wilson. In short, the discipline was no longer restricted to gentlemen! One of the most influential scholars in the new Medieval Archaeology Society was Gerald Dunning who in 1956, as it happens, published a seminal paper on trade relations between England and the Continent in the Late Anglo-Saxon period using archaeological data in much the same manner as Arbman and Jankuhn (Dunning, 1956). Dunning's essay was fittingly contributed to the *Festschrift* of one of the old guard, E.T. Leeds. In his essay he made much of the finds (then unpublished) from Hamwih (now known as Hamwic), Anglo-Saxon Southampton, which showed that in England there existed an emporium much like Birka and Hedeby belonging to the enigmatic Dark Age period when, as Stenton had shown, the written sources were largely silent about cross-Channel trade.

Dunning published a more detailed essay on this subject in the journal *Medieval Archaeology* for 1959. This paper influenced Loyn when he introduced Hamwic to generations of undergraduates in his textbook on Anglo-Saxon England (1962), and because the excavations at Hamwic remained unpublished, proved the starting-point when I began my research on Dark-Age trade in 1973. Between 1959 and 1973, however, there began the redevelopment of many old city centres in Europe, this in turn generated the growth of rescue archaeology and, by any previous standards, a huge new body of early medieval data. Urban redevelopment slowed down to some extent in the later 'seventies, but since I contributed my paper to the original Charles the Bald colloquium in 1979, there

has been a renewed burst of development and simultaneously in Britain a concerted drive to fully publish the results from excavations not only over the past twenty years but also from the sites excavated when only gentlemen worked in archaeology. In 1979, with a greatly enlarged data base at my disposal, I was able to reappraise the work by pioneers like Arbman, Dunning and Jankuhn (see also Hodges, 1981; 1982), and to offer an historical model which, in all likelihood, would have been an anathema to Gerald Middleton (cf. Astill, 1985; Lebecq 1986). Now, virtually a decade later, I have been compelled to rewrite my contribution to the colloquium because new data show that my earlier historical model was fallacious in many respects. In eight years, in other words, the study of Dark-Age trade has altered far more radically than it did between 1956 and 1979.

The new configurations in early medieval archaeology offer the historian revolutionary new insights into this period. Rather as carbon-14 dating transformed prehistory (Renfrew 1973), so archaeology promises to bring the economy of the first millennium into perspective. This is bound to make us reconsider afresh the social character of this era. Of course, few of the other contributions to this colloquium will need to be substantially altered, and as a result some historians may be suspicious of the manner in which archaeologists are feverishly refining their models. The pace of history, where it is dependent upon written sources alone, has been slowed by the paucity of new texts with which to cross-examine old ones. In these circumstances, difficult though archaeology may be to interpret, its dynamic development in the latter part of this century should be viewed as a major contribution to historical studies.

This essay, like the first version, is in two parts. Part I uses an anthropological model to describe the zenith and then the decline of cross-Channel trade relations in the Dark Age period. Part II briefly considers the importance of long-distance connections as the ninth-century kingdoms attempted to design a new economic mode based upon competitive market systems (cf. Hodges, 1988; Smith, 1976). This part must still be regarded as little more than a sketch as the archaeological evidence still awaits full publication.

I The rhythms of Dark Age trade

In the first version of this essay I described a trading system that evolved in scale, but essentially remained unaltered until its collapse in the early to mid-ninth century. This model developed the existing theses of Dunning and Jankuhn, and owed much to Professor Sawyer's seminal essay on kings and merchants in this epoch (Sawyer, 1977). The anthropological aspect of the trading system was devised by grafting the work of George Dalton (1975), Marshall Sahlins (1972) and Carol A. Smith (1976) onto this historical context. Historical anthropology of this kind, however, needs to be continually reviewed. As Moses Finley has rightly argued, we must seek to use the historical anthropology of Europe to put the anthropology of America, Africa and Oceanic societies into perspective (1981). Finley himself initiated this process (1984), and scholars like George Duby (1974)

and Jacques Le Goff (1980) are not unsympathetic to the concept. In this particular instance in my earlier essay I laid too great an emphasis upon the primitive rhythms of Dark Age trade. Perhaps I was reacting too strongly to the prevailing belief amongst archaeologists and historians that towns and trade waxed and waned in the first millennium, but remained essentially Dark-Age versions of Roman or Late Saxon ones. In my view, Dark-Age towns are not like Roman or Late Saxon ones, and the differences are fundamental to comprehending the changing patterns of the Dark-Age economy (Hodges, 1982). A second error in the first edition is that I assumed that these changing patterns occurred uniformly within the Dark-Age kingdoms for precisely the same reasons. In this respect I was guilty of drawing back to the level of generalisations that Colin Renfrew had introduced to prehistory (1979). Renfrew's generalisations about prehistory were undoubtedly thought-provoking where, in the absence of written documentation, the level of social analysis is very restricted. But in the early middle ages the political and even the familial configurations of the patchwork quilt of territories enable historians to distinguish between their very different social trajectories. In short, assuming that there was some economic uniformity shared by all the kingdoms is as much a simplification as to assume that Dark-Age towns are versions of Roman ones (cf. Astill, 1985). The results of excavations either published or made in the nineteen-eighties show conclusively that the rhythms of Dark-Age trade are far more complex than I judged them to be. Gerald Middleton, I suspect, would have been dumb-founded!

In 1979 I proposed that the principal economic mode in the Dark Ages was prestige goods exchange, whereby a complex territory directs trade with less complex territories in order to acquire certain prestige goods to maintain largely kin-based societies. I argued that the prestige goods exchange was administered through trading emporia like Hamwic (Saxon Southampton), Ipswich, Quentovic, Dorestad, Hedeby and Birka controlled by local dynasties. The motor for this commerce lay in the primary regions - the Merovingian and Carolingian kingdoms - who fostered two separate trading networks. These networks were called the Rhenish and Western Frankish networks respectively. The first was focussed upon the central Rhineland with its axis at Dorestad, the emporium situated at the confluence of the rivers Lek and Rhine in the delta area of the Netherlands. This network, I contended, owed its origins to the later sixth century, and by c. 800 embraced the North Sea zone including East Anglia, the Low Countries and Jutland. The Western Frankish network extended from the Neustrian kingdom and its heartlands in the Paris basin, with its axes being rooted in the ports of Rouen, Amiens and Quentovic. Traders from this region monopolized the commerce with the West Saxons at Hamwic.

The new data indicate the following stages in the economic history of the primary kingdoms:

1. The collapse of the market economy of Roman Gaul during the later fourth and fifth centuries (Randsborg, 1990).

2. **Small-scale prestige goods exchange involving the Merovingian élites and other élites around the North Sea basin beginning in the late fifth century (Hodges 1989a; 1989b). Beginning of the two trade networks.**
3. **Administered prestige goods exchange controlled at type A gateway communities (impermanent emporia operating for short seasons) (Hodges, 1988) beginning in the late sixth century. The volume of commerce transacted by the two networks is increased.**
4. **Beginning about A.D. 670, administered prestige goods exchange controlled at type B gateway communities (permanently occupied towns) where craft production occurs involving households each manufacturing different commodities. The volume of commerce handled by the two networks grows still larger.**
5. **A period between c. 720 - c. 750 in which the incipient commodity production is disrupted by political decentralisation within the later Merovingian/early Carolingian kingdoms. Frisian traders become a powerful force in the Rhenish trade network. Elsewhere in the primary kingdoms, plundered goods from annual warfare become an important factor in maintaining the economy (Reuter, 1985).**
6. **Beginning at c. 790, administered prestige goods and the beginnings of bulk transportation of commodities made by households in the emporia that specialise in one or two crafts only. The two trade networks are maintained.**
7. **Decline of the emporia c. 820-40, with the result that the skills and technology survive in dispersed élite settlements (associated with palaces, manors and monasteries).**
8. **Starting soon after c. 900, ranked, regional, competitive markets with craftsmen specialising in the manufacture of one or two commodities only. Long-distance trade declines to negligible amounts for about a hundred years.**

In sum, as opposed to the two or three stages in the transition to competitive markets proposed in 1979, it now seems likely that the Rhineland and the Paris basin witnessed up to eight stages. It is also much more evident now that the transition from aboriginal economics to competitive markets took place at different rates within the secondary territories around the North Sea. New archaeological data show that the transition in Wessex, Kent, Mercia, East Anglia, Northumbria, Frisia and Denmark were only tied to some extent to the circumstances in the primary kingdom. Social relations within each of these territories also determined how readily it could emulate the economic mode within the primary kingdom.

New excavations, for example, have allowed us to calibrate the circumstances in Denmark with far greater precision. Here, in contrast to what was once

believed, there existed a complex economy at the end of the fourth century, when the British and Gallic economies crashed (Hedeager, 1987). At this time the Danish economic mode resembled stage 3 (see above) with trade and craft production being focussed at the recently discovered emporium of Lundeberg on Funen and possibly at Dankirke in Western Jutland (Hodges, 1989b). The Danes, in other words, may have possessed more complex economic arrangements than those in sub-Roman Britain or late Roman Gaul. But these arrangements appear to have remained largely unaltered until the early eighth century when, stimulated by Frisian traders, new emporia of the stage 4 type were founded at Hedeby and Ribe.

In England, new excavations during the 'eighties have brought to light remains of emporia at London and York, while the sites at Hamwic and Ipswich are far better documented now. Regional surveys also allow us to put these sites into a geographical context. At present, therefore, the transition appears to take the following form. After the Roman economic collapse there existed only aboriginal economic relations based upon the domestic mode of production (see Hodges, 1989a). About AD 500, however, this altered. At this time Kent and Wessex fell within the sphere of prestige goods exchange emanating from northern France, and similarly eastern England fell within the sphere of Rhenish traders and Scandinavian contacts. With the changes to the Merovingian economy at about c. AD 600, the volume of prestige goods to England increased, and goods became more widely circulated, and perhaps more significant for the maintenance of the political systems in the many different tribes (see Hodges, 1989a). A type A emporium was founded at Ipswich, where in recent excavations the seventh-century riverside settlement has been discovered. No other type A emporium has been found in England, despite intensive efforts to locate a site of this kind at Sarre in Kent (Tatton-Brown, 1988) and at Southampton (Brisbane, 1988). After this, however, the English kingdoms took divergent economic routes. The West Saxons, for example, founded Hamwic in c. 690 as a 45-hectare settlement, with the great majority of its activities being concerned with craft production for the region. As I have argued elsewhere (Hodges, 1989a), it appears to have been modelled to some extent upon Frankish type B emporia such as Dorestad or Quentovic. Indeed, it implies that the West Saxons maintained an economic regime similar to that practised in the Frankish realms. By contrast, there is no evidence for an emporium of this kind in Kent. Here, instead, trade appears to have been managed in eastern Kent by diverse members of the élite. London poses another problem altogether. It seems likely that as early as the mid-seventh century there was a type A emporium located in the Aldwych area, west of the ruined Roman town. But did it become a large sprawling town like Hamwic? Some archaeologists believe so (Biddle, 1984; Vince, 1984), yet the absence of locally-made pottery amongst other things weighs against this thesis (Hodges, 1989a). It may have resembled Ipswich which flourished as a small East Anglian emporium in the age of Sutton Hoo, and then barely altered until the mid-eighth century when it was transformed into a large Hamwic-like centre with strong Rhenish

connections. Northumbria followed much the same pattern. There may have been some controlled seventh-century type A emporium, but by the age of Bede, long-distance trade was of modest significance to the kingdom. The discovery of a nucleated eighth-century settlement at York to the east of the Roman (and later Anglo-Scandinavian) town around the confluence of the rivers Foss and Ouse shows that this kingdom adopted the strategy first implemented at Hamwic in England. But imported goods appear to be uncommon here, as though Eoforwic, as it was known, was concerned primarily with the production of commodities, and only modestly with the transaction of prestige goods (in other words a stage 6 as opposed to a stage 4 economic mode).

By A.D. 800 the diverse economic strategies of the English and Danish kingdoms appear to have become much more uniform, resembling conditions in the Carolingian Empire. This is perhaps not surprising as the political ideology of the Empire evidently proved attractive to kingdoms such as Mercia and Wessex (Hodges, 1989a), and did not pass unnoticed by the Danes (Hodges, 1989b). Although no texts survive to spell out the economic aims of the Carolingian realm, it seems highly probable that a set of well-known principles governed royal policies in this period. Plainly such policies affected the way emporia functioned, and the pattern of trade.

Trade and culture process in the ninth century

(i) The Rhenish network

This network flourished at the zenith of the Carolingian era. Indeed, possibly the clearest indication of Charlemagne's economic policies can be discerned in the remains found at Dorestad, the emporium founded at the confluence of the rivers Lek and Rhine. Excavations soon after the First World War by Holwerda demonstrated how important this site was (Holwerda, 1930). More recent excavations by the Dutch State Archaeological Service have emphasised its critical part in the Carolingian Renaissance (cf. Hodges & Whitehouse, 1983). Dorestad was founded in the 670's but seems to have faltered during much of the eighth century when other small emporia competed to share in the profits of long-distance trade around the North Sea. At the end of the century, however, its fortunes were restored and for forty years or so it acted as an entrepôt for the Rhineland, with its traders being active as far north as Jutland and as far east as East Anglia. The excavation reports (van Es & Verwers, 1980; Kars, 1983) show that the settlement exceeded 50 ha. in area, and comprised a prominent jetty area made of plank walkways, behind which, along the shore, lay a string of dwellings or warehouses each within their own fenced enclosure. In the centre of the settlement lay a large village. The material culture is dominated by vast quantities of traded materials. Colossal quantities of Rhenish pottery made in the Carolingian kilns in the Vorgebirge Hills near Cologne, and also near Mayen in the Eifel mountains make up 80% of the ceramic assemblage (van Es & Verwers, 1980). Glass, metalwork,

quernstones, honestones, mortars, and oak and silver-fir wine barrels emanate from the same region (van Es & Verwers, 1980; Kars, 1983). Imports from other regions are rare. Only fish, brought from the North Sea beyond the Frisian Islands, offers some hint of the perishables that passed through the emporium.

Elsewhere I have linked the rise of Dorestad during the later part of Charlemagne's reign to the Carolingian Renaissance (Hodges & Whitehouse, 1983). In particular, by tracing the distribution of Rhenish materials exported through Dorestad it is possible to form an impression of its commercial sphere. The principal route led northwards through the Frisian archipelago, via Medemblik (Besteman, 1974) and Hamburg to Denmark. At the end of the eighth century it now appears that the emporium at Ribe (Frandsen & Jensen, 1987; Hodges, 1989b) was eclipsed by the foundation of a much larger, planned (type B) emporium at Hedeby. The reason for this shift of trading emphasis remains open to question, but a pre-eminent factor was probably the fact that Hedeby has easy access to the Baltic Sea where the introduction of Abbasid silver and other imported oriental goods was beginning to cause a major change in Scandinavian tribal society (Hodges & Whitehouse, 1983; Hodges, 1989b). Imported goods of this quality were in demand within the Carolingian realms. The problem is that Arabic dirhems and oriental luxuries are seldom discovered in Latin Christendom. Indeed, Heiko Steuer (1987) has recently plotted the European findspots of these objects, revealing a sharp break between the dense numbers of discoveries outside the Carolingian region, and a virtual absence inside it. The reason for this, I propose, is that Charlemagne's economic policy involved a deliberate new emphasis upon commoditisation (Hodges, 1989a; 1989b) in which currency was introduced for cash purposes as opposed to being special purpose money for restricted purposes. To give this currency credibility Charlemagne upgraded the silver content of his deniers (Grierson, 1965; Grierson & Blackburn, 1986). To do this he needed new quantities of silver. The most accessible source of this precious metal lay in the Baltic and North Africa, where abundant quantities of Abbasid silver were in circulation. The imported silver would have been melted down by the state and used to make its own currency. Hence, the extraordinary absence of these coins in the West.

The absence of other precious goods is hardly surprising. Unlike Scandinavia or the Slavic regions, few domestic contexts in which objects of this kind may survive have been excavated. Outside the Carolingian realms, goods were still interred with the dead. But this rarely happened in Latin Christendom. The excavations of the Lombardic monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno, in which the Franks played an influential part, show how rare it is, even in exceptional circumstances, to discover treasures which we know were housed in these places (Hodges, 1990a; 1990b). It is worth noting, nonetheless, that the peak in Dorestad's commercial activities coincides with the decline in Frankish raiding and plundering (cf. Reuter, 1985). As Timothy Reuter points out, these plundered goods (and slaves) played a major part in a network of gift exchange in which the kings attempted to keep their aristocratic retainers in creditary circumstances

(Reuter, 1985; cf. Gregory, 1982). As the Carolingian dynasty transformed the political ideology (Nelson, 1988) and introduced new economic strategies involving commoditisation (cf. Hart, 1983) and a larger workforce, it was inevitable that traditional means such as largesse in gift-giving would be needed to inhibit the proneness of the principal members of the élite to rebel. This may be the context, too, for the marked interest in Anglo-Saxon liturgical goods within the Frankish realms. Mildred Budny has listed a substantial number of these items (1985), and pointed out the paucity of comparable Carolingian goods in England. Not that we should necessarily imagine Frisian traders from Dorestad returning from trips to Ipswich with Anglo-Saxon relics. But we might consider that the Carolingian dynasty and their lords despatched embassies to certain renowned Anglo-Saxon monasteries to obtain goods which would win them support from the great magnate abbeys of the age.

Recent excavations at Ipswich show that it was greatly affected by the boom in commercial activity at the end of the eighth century in the Rhineland. The large emporium with a permanent settlement for craftsmen probably dates from the central decades of the eighth century. Thereafter, it expanded to cover 30-40 ha. in area. Large numbers of imported pots occur in the settlement, and show that large numbers of traders resided temporarily in the port, bringing with them their own domestic wares. The greater part of these imported pots derive from the Rhineland, though a significant number of northern French wares are also represented in the assemblage (Hodges in Wade, 1980; Coutts, forthcoming). However, the large number of imported wares in Ipswich at this time is at variance with the assemblages from Hamwic, London and York, where far fewer imports are recorded. Indeed, as far as Hamwic is concerned, there are grounds for proposing that the number of Frankish traders diminished in this period (see below).

Lebecq (1986) has recently reviewed the evidence for Frisian traders who must have controlled the commerce in the North Sea triangle between Dorestad, Hedeby and Ipswich in this period, offering a modern assessment of the written sources appraised by Jellema (1955). Suffice it to make a few additional notes on the archaeology of these traders here. First, the large numbers of silver sceattas minted in the Frisian region between c. 710 to 750, like the associated large hoards, points to some decentralisation in the control of trade around the North Sea in this era. Rather like the Siassi Islanders in the western Pacific, described by Marshall Sahlins (1972), the Frisians appear to have become entrepreneurs taking advantage of their geographical position. Dorestad, once used by Frankish rulers, suffered as a result. By the end of the eighth century it appears that the Franks had regained control of the region. Certainly Dorestad was the pre-eminent port, and neither single coin-finds nor hoards are found in the region at this time. The exercise of strict control, however, has an interesting manifestation. Unlike Hamwic, where tenemental properties do not appear to have existed (Hodges, 1989a), the dwellings/warehouses concerned with the traders at Dorestad are each set inside a fenced enclosure. Much the same was noted in eighth-century Ribe (Hodges,

1989b) and in ninth-century Hedeby (Jankuhn, 1986). It seems that in contrast to Hamwic, where royal control of the trade was of paramount importance, in the Carolingian and Danish realms trade was administered by royal agents but their control was qualified by the authority of the merchant households. It remains to be seen what light current excavations in Ipswich will throw on East Anglian social relations in this period.

Another feature of the Frisian trading sphere is the abundance of traded commodities in circulation. As we shall see, circumstances in the Western Frankish network were probably different. The mass-produced pots, glasses, jewellery, barrels, quernstones, honestones, mortars, etc. are the output from the late eighth-century surge in productive and scientific activity in the Carolingian heartland (Hodges, 1989b). They reflect the policy of industrial and agrarian commoditisation that Charlemagne was attempting to implement with only partial success in the many regions of his empire. The impact of these goods in the Baltic Sea areas as well as England should not be underestimated. Nevertheless, the volume of discarded material is still baffling. This may be a consequence of boat technology. The Utrecht ship is the only extant example of the keel-less boats favoured by the Frisians. This boat is 17.8 m. long and nearly 4 m. in the beam. Up to forty oarsmen were needed to propel the boat, leaving only limited room for goods in the centre of the vessel. Yet, paradoxically, forty men, if they had to spend any length of time away from home, would almost certainly have taken some domestic belongings with them. It is these which may be represented in the archaeology of places like Ipswich, whereas, it is possible that a different boat design was favoured in northern France. Certainly the Graveney Boat (found in Kent) and now dated to the late ninth century belongs to a different ship-building tradition. This was a heavy clinker-built boat, 14 m. in length, with a relatively flat bottom and a keel-plank which might have supported a light mast and a small sail. The Graveney Boat may represent a step in the transition from keel-less boats of the Migration Period to the sail-propelled vessels of the later tenth century. One important feature of the introduction of sailing ships was that far fewer sailors were needed, and thus the archaeological debris they left would have been smaller, while the quantity of goods that they carried would have been accordingly larger (Hodges, 1982, 94-100).

(ii) The Western Frankish network

Until recently it has been difficult to discuss this network with any authority. The failure to identify the site of Quentovic, perhaps the most important Dark-Age emporium in Latin Christendom (Dhondt, 1962), was most perplexing. In 1984, however, a team from the universities of Manchester and Sheffield discovered the remains of a large nucleated settlement beside the river Canche around the hamlet of Vismarest, near Montreuil-sur-Mer. The settlement appears to be in excess of 30 ha., and may prove to be double this in area. Its material culture shows that it existed from the seventh to ninth centuries, and includes a great range of objects

familiar from the excavations at Hamwic. Some archaeologists and historians are sceptical that it is Quentovic - evidently they await the discovery of the sign at the entrance to the port. In all seriousness, such scepticism is nonsensical; beyond all doubt Quentovic has been located.

A provisional inspection of the pottery (Courtts & Worthington, 1986) reveals many of the wares imported into Hamwic. Tellingly, though, at Quentovic as at Hamwic, there is a paucity of red-painted pottery types, as well as other ninth-century forms, suggesting that either the volume of cross-Channel activity was diminishing by this time or that fewer sailors/merchants were engaged in the carriage of goods.

Hamwic, in any case, was more important from its very beginnings as a centre for regional production than a trading emporium. The large-scale excavations of the Six Dials area in the northern part of the town have brought to light as many as sixty buildings, each engaged in craft activities. I have considered the historical implications of Hamwic elsewhere (Hodges, 1989a). Suffice it to note that it appears to mark an important step towards the formation of market principles in Wessex. The paucity of ninth-century imports, in common with their apparent paucity at London and York, may imply that far greater emphasis was now being given to regional production of commodities rather than the exchange of prestige goods. Hamwic, after all, involved over four thousand persons, and its inception and management bear witness to an undocumented yet critical stage in the development of the English political economy (Hodges, 1989a).

Nevertheless, Frankish traders still visited Hamwic during the late eighth and early ninth centuries. Most of these, to judge from their tablewares, came from the hinterland of Quentovic, though others emanated from the Paris basin, the Loire valley and even Alsace. The range of forms and fabric-variability attest to the diversity of Frankish merchants, while their wares show that Neustria did not share in the same industrial development that has been well-documented in the Rhineland. Indeed, the Rhenish network appears to have been dominated by Frisian entrepreneurs, while it seems likely that agents representing many different members of the secular and ecclesiastical élite were involved in the Western Frankish network. If this assessment is correct it reveals the contrasting economic arrangements in the regions. The more centralised arrangements stemming from the Rhineland were almost certainly fostered by the Carolingian dynasty, and permitted more effective production and distribution of mass-produced commodities. Such differences would not have gone unnoticed in the English kingdoms, and must have influenced domestic policies to some extent.

Evidence of changes in commodity production in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms towards the end of the eighth century is now beginning to be documented. At Ramsbury (Wiltshire), for example, Jeremy Haslam excavated an iron-making foundry which was possibly on a royal estate (Haslam, 1980). The tapping-off features of the last furnace in the sequence, dating to c. 800, differed from the earlier ones, leading Haslam to conclude that Roman iron-making practices had been revived. Pottery production in Hamwic alters during this period too. Coarse-

tempered wares replace the fine sand-tempered types of the early eighth century. These wares were more easily and cheaply made, and appear to have been widely distributed in contrast to the sand-tempered type which was restricted to the emporium alone (Hodges, 1981). Ailsa Mainman has observed the same change in the pottery industry in eastern Kent, and Terry Pearson has shown how new moulding techniques were introduced along with the inception of shelly wares in the East Midlands (Foard & Pearson, 1985). The development of industrial commodities appears to have been matched by changes in agrarian production. The excavations of the monastic sites at Brandon (Suffolk) (Carr, Tester & Murphy, 1980) as well as the village at Raunds (Northamptonshire) show that surplus was no longer being consumed on site (cf. Hodges, 1989a; Wormald, 1984) but was stored. There is a growing consensus that open field systems were being introduced at this time too (Hall, 1982; Hurst, 1984), coinciding with a greater emphasis upon cattle-rearing (Bourdillon, 1988).

So far the archaeological evidence for commodity production either side of the English Channel is limited. But the archaeological and historical sources confirm that the economy was not static. Indeed, bearing in mind the staggering changes of the tenth and eleventh centuries, it would be appropriate to regard the conditions for economic take-off as being created in the first quarter of the ninth century.

Decline and the demise of the networks

The demise of international trade in this period has traditionally been ascribed to the actions of the Vikings. Yet the archaeology does not support this view.

At Dorestad a study of sixteen wine barrels which were re-used as the linings for wells has provided an accurate means of dating the site. These barrels have been dated by dendrochronology to the period 691 - 837. This is admittedly a small sample but it emphasizes that most of the wells were cut in the eighth century, and indeed, only one was cut some time in the 830s (van Es & Verwers, 1980). When taken into consideration with the coins from Dorestad, there appears to be a fall-off in commercial activity within the settlement during the reign of Louis the Pious that is suddenly very marked by the time, for example, that Charles the Bald issued his first coins. The combined evidence would suggest that the trading system emanating from the Central Rhineland, the heartland of the Carolingian Empire, was beginning to break down by the 830s. Dorestad clearly did not disappear as a port at this point in time. Its commercial activities continued on some lesser level until the 860s but we must conclude that the scale of commerce was very modest indeed in its final two decades.

It is likely that sites such as Medemblik and Hamburg which had been way-stations on the Frisian expeditions to Denmark also contracted in size during this period. At Hedeby, the terminus of this trade-route, it is clear that the personality of the port was altering in this age. The influx of Arabic silver dirhems and perhaps associated oriental goods had dropped off sharply (Randsborg, 1980, 152-3). But the port did not decline. Instead, it seems to have intensified its

relations with Norway, south Sweden and the Slavic areas. Furthermore, North Sea pirates almost certainly brought their hauls to market them in this port. A seminal study of the dendrochronology of Hedeby shows that the merchant buildings in the town were regularly rebuilt through this era, adding weight to the view that Viking raiding and trading went hand-in-hand.

At Ipswich long-distance trade may have waned as a result of Dorestad's decline. But excavations in Ipswich now show that the town continued to prosper throughout much of the century. During this period the East Anglian kings were making the investment in commodity production which took place in Hamwic in the previous century (Hodges, 1989a).

The Western Frankish network also appears to have declined after c. 820. The recent small-scale excavations at Vismarest, the site of Quentovic, have brought to light only a small number of ninth-century potsherds. The distinctive red-painted wares of this era are rare (Coutts & Worthington, 1986). Like Dorestad, it is tempting to predict that its economic demise dates from the 820s long before it was raided by Norsemen.

The end of Hamwic has been a matter of some controversy over the years. Addyman and Hill (1968, 64-65) believed the settlement to have continued until the early to mid-tenth century when a switch of focus was suddenly made to the site of medieval Southampton on the gravel ridge to the west. More recently Holdsworth has speculated on a terminal date in the 860s or 870s when the Viking incursion had proved devastating to the English kingdoms (1976, 60). However, a survey of the coinage demonstrates the tenuousness of these arguments. Most of the coins from the excavations are either sceattas of the first half of the eighth century or pennies issued before 820 (Cherry and Hodges, 1978, fig. 1; Metcalf, 1988). Pennies of the reign of Egbert and Aethelwulf, for example, are extremely rare, although a denier of Charles the Bald has previously attracted some attention (Addyman and Hill, 1968, 89; Metcalf, 1988, 55). It is clear from the excavated coinage that there is an absence of coins related to the rise of the West Saxon kings (cf. John, 1966, 35), and moreover, the only tenth-century coins from Hamwic are those reputedly found in the nineteenth century by brick-earth excavators (cf. Cherry and Hodges, 1978, 299-300; Metcalf, 1988, 22-23). When this numismatic evidence is considered with the paucity of ninth-century imported pottery, the early end for Hamwic begins to gain strength (Hodges, 1981, 47). To this end we can add a recent multivariate seriation analysis of twenty large pit groups, a small sample of the larger Hamwic pits, which has shown that there is marked clustering of in-filled pits around the end of the eighth and perhaps early in the ninth century, but very little evidence of further activity (Cherry and Hodges, 1978; Hodges, 1981, 44-51; cf. Timby, 1988, 111-16). The thrust of the evidence points to a decline in the settlement's commercial function some time in the 820s or 830s. Despite these data, however, Metcalf persists in seeking a cataclysmic end to the settlement. He concludes that the Viking raid of 842 brought an end to Hamwic's active existence as a port and town (Metcalf, 1988, 23).

Of course, an end for Hamwic in the 820s or 830s does appear curious. Firstly, Egbert and Aethelwulf were both 'Europeans': Egbert had spent his youth in a Carolingian court, while his son was to marry the daughter of Charles the Bald in 856 (Stenton, 1971, 245 and see P. Stafford's paper in this volume). Continued contact should have been maintained and should have prospered. Secondly, there is an oft-quoted reference to Hamwic made by Nithard in his *Histories* devoted to the wars between the sons of Louis the Pious (Lauer, 1964, 124): 'per idem tempus Nortmanni Contwig depredati sunt inibique mare trajecto Hamwig et Nordhunnwig similiter depopulati sunt'. This raid took place in 842 and we should note that it is the only raid by the Vikings mentioned by Nithard; Dorestad, for example, is not mentioned by this writer despite suffering a series of raids in the 830s. We have no reason to believe that Nithard is recording more than hearsay which has especial significance for him in so far as his family were associated with the region of Quentovic. This reference gives us no notion of scale, and it is quite possible that the settlement attacked by raiders was the royal estate, Nordhunnwig, close to which was the declining coastal community of Hamwic. Two earlier raids in 840 recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* scarcely command more attention, for after Hamwic, the second site is mentioned as Portland where no trading site has been located but where there was a royal settlement. In view of this evidence, and taking into account the dating of Dorestad and the assemblage of imported pottery, it still seems that by the 840s the level of international commerce in the Western Frankish network had declined to a scale that is not determinable archaeologically. Any trade and contact that continued was focussed, perhaps, on the royal and ecclesiastical settlements, and on the new hierarchy of sites in which Winchester, London and Canterbury were attaining some supremacy although on a diminished scale (cf. Hodges, 1989a).

In general terms the evidence suggests that Charlemagne had made a concerted effort to initiate a system of competitive markets based on the regional variability and agrarian specialization that had developed within the Frankish kingdoms over several centuries. This goal was to be partly achieved by exporting manufactured goods and importing raw materials (food?) and metals and, indeed, slaves which might further the expansion of the economy. Furthermore, the importation of silver from the Baltic, if it occurred, would have permitted Charlemagne to upgrade the coinage which was highly centralized, and which might be used with confidence in regional exchange networks in preference to bartering with values expressed in kind.

The paucity of ninth-century archaeological evidence from alleged Carolingian towns demonstrates the failure of this system. There was no urban expansion in Bonn, for example, (Bohner, 1978), or even in Cologne (Borger, 1986); while archaeology has yet to show an urban revival at this date in Trier, or Paris, or Rheims or Orleans or Tours (Galinié, 1988). The royal and monastic nuclei which were the focus of settlement in these old Roman-period towns continued to be the principal features of these places (Hodges, 1982). However, the excavations of the Italian monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno, which had strong Frankish

connections, has begun to throw light on the continued prosperity of such places up until the advent of Viking or in this case Saracen attacks. Instead, following a great phase of expansion between c. 790-820 San Vincenzo and many South European monasteries appear to have suffered a recession after c. 830 which resembles the fate of the emporia (Hodges, 1990a). In sum, the demise of the emporia like the history of the monasteries appears to have been inextricably linked to the political circumstances in the Empire. Long-distance trade, like commodity production, was a feature of the age of the Carolingian Renaissance. With the death of Charlemagne and the subsequent civil wars, the political motor behind the ambitious revival of classical antiquity faltered. Quite what effect this had on Charles the Bald's management of his kingdom remains beyond the scope of the archaeologist. But in England the Anglo-Saxon kings were compelled to invest in commodity production or to face the consequences of an economic malaise. The pre-conditions for an industrial take-off had been created and English society had been prepared for such changes. In Wessex it is clear that the eclipse of Hamwic did not unduly harm the royal dynasty. In East Anglia and Northumbria, however, the evident devaluation of their coinages, yet the prolific persistence in coin-use (as well as coin-loss in the case of Northumbria), reveals the conflicting legacy of Charlemagne's influence.

II Changes in the later ninth century

For the later ninth century there is only miscellaneous archaeological evidence indicating contact between the Carolingian kingdoms and England. It is clear, for example, that the trading networks described above were defunct as the Vikings took command of the seaways in the period between c. 870-890. Long-distance trade, in fact, remained largely defunct until the end of the millennium (Hodges, 1982). Instead, the evidence of contact is to be found in the interchange of military, economic and technological ideas, although in these particular instances archaeology is often uncomfortably imprecise. It is these miscellaneous points which I wish to briefly review here in an attempt to illustrate the origins of the economic system which replaced the system described in the previous section of the paper.

By the mid-tenth century it is clear that a system of hierarchically-arranged markets was taking shape within southern, central and eastern England. The speed with which this system evolved is striking, and it appears to have developed from the burhs founded by King Alfred in Wessex which were subsequently extended to the reconquered Danelaw areas in the tenth century. Alfred's burhs made use of many existing Roman-period defences, and it now seems likely that the idea was in fact derived from these monumental ruins offering obvious protection against small but powerful Viking onslaughts. However, as Martin Biddle points out (1976a, 125), these fortresses, strategically located so that every villager was no more than twenty miles distant from a refuge, were also to become significant foci in the urban revolution of the tenth century. To King Alfred's reign (and to the

reigns of his contemporaries within the Danelaw) we can attribute the radical shift from an economy that was administered through kin-based relationships to one that functioned through tributary relations embedded in a structured market system (Hodges, 1982). This decisive change, of course, had important implications for the concept of kingship. Thus, we must ask whether Alfred's burhs were the result of his own invention, or whether the concept was copied from continental measures being taken against the Danes. Similarly, were the new markets influenced by contemporary circumstances on the Continent or were these a singular West Saxon achievement without European parallel (1976a, 125)?

As we have already discussed, Charlemagne and Louis the Pious were clearly interested in the concept of market-places, and during the period c. 790 - 830 commodity production was revived on a major scale. The concept was comprehended by Anglo-Saxon kings, too. But for political reasons neither the Carolingians nor the Anglo-Saxons were in the position to devise the market concept as they must have imagined it had existed in antiquity. Charlemagne's achievements, however, were not overlooked by Alfred (Hodges, 1989a). Equally, he was the kind of man to be interested in contemporary circumstances on the continent as well. Charles the Bald, for example, had attempted to reassert some of Charlemagne's currency regulations during the 860s in France. Likewise, Alfred may have been impressed by the action Baldwin of Flanders was taking in order to repel the Danes.

Vercauteren (1935-36) has drawn attention to the defensive measures enacted in the western Empire during the ninth century. He has summarised these activities as follows:

1. c. 800 - c. 864: very little evidence of an energetic response to the Viking attacks.
2. 864 - 879: numerous measures taken by the élite to fortify all types of site including the construction of several *castra* and the defending of bridges.
3. 879 - 887: little documentary evidence of further measures of fortification.
4. 887 - 10th century: the creation of a series of fortified centres in Britain and in Flanders.

There has been very little archaeological investigation of these two periods of fortification. Notably Hassall and Hill (1970) have reviewed the evidence for the second period, and Trimpe Burger has summarised the evidence for the Flemish fortresses (1973).

Hassall and Hill (1970) make a strong case for Alfred's burhs being greatly influenced by the measures put into operation following the Edict of Pîtres. They demonstrate the close ties between Wessex and northern France as shown by the references in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and they try to show how the West

Frankish bridge-works on the Seine at Pont-de-l'Arche near Pîtres may have been the model in Alfred's mind when he constructed similar bridge-works over the river Lea in 895. Unfortunately, the excavations at Pont-de-l'Arche failed to successfully date the earthen fortress on the north bank of the Seine ('le fort'), but this short review-article powerfully demonstrated, at least, the extent of the Frankish defences. However, unlike the Alfredian (and later) system, that in West Francia appears to lack the prominent new burhs which are a significant element in the West Saxon achievement (cf. Campbell, 1975; Brooks, 1979). For the most part, the fortifications of West Francia were re-used Roman-period defences.

A defensive system which is similar in its design to that in Wessex has been identified in Flanders and appears to date to the fourth period defined by Vercauteren. A string of coastal defences were created including some Roman-period sites as well as a striking number of new fortresses. These forts extended from the islands of Schouwen and Walcheren (in modern Holland) to the Somme. Of these forts only Oost-Souburg on Walcheren has been extensively investigated, although there have been less important excavations (with regard to this period) at Aardenburgh, Burgh, Middleburg (Trimpe Burger, 1973) and also at Oudenburg. In particular, Trimpe Burger's excavations of nearly half of Oost-Souburg have shown this to be a carefully planned, symmetrical site which was only briefly occupied in the later ninth century, and then abandoned until about the turn of the millennium.

The Flemish coastal fortifications are usually attributed to Baldwin II, Count of Flanders (883 - 918). It was he who refurbished the walls of Bruges, in 883 after their earlier destruction by the Danes (D'Haenens, 1967, 116), and several historians have recently attributed these coastal defences to the period between 885 and 891 when there was a phase of comparative peace as the Vikings attacked the Seine valley settlements (D'Haenens, 1967, 116-122; Trimpe Burger, 1973; Metcalf, 1979, 4-7). The reference in the *Miracula Sancti Bertini* to 'castella...recens facta', recently constructed forts close to the monastery at St Omer, and dating to c. 892-900, again serves to emphasise that these fortresses may have been constructed during the 880s.

There are several reasons for postulating that Alfred could have been influenced by this Flemish system. In particular, he had not only recruited a former monk of St. Bertin's in c. 886, but his youngest daughter was to marry Baldwin II, Count of Flanders, the probable architect of the Flemish defences. Alfred's dealings with Grimbold in the 880's are difficult to assess in this context, although it must be noted that he may have expected to be offered the archbishopric of Canterbury by the West Saxon king. The marriage of Aelfthryth to Baldwin of Flanders on the other hand demonstrates the strong connections between the two areas during the 890s, possibly as a consequence of their similar concern over Viking raids (Grierson, 1940, 84-86). But is it possible to demonstrate that the Flemish system preceded the West Saxon one, or were both these systems imitating the measures first taken by Charles the Bald ?

Martin Biddle believes that the construction of the West Saxon burhs was well advanced by 886 when King Alfred took control of London (1976a, 124; 1976b, 273; 278; see also Davis, 1982). However, David Hill in his essay on the subject of burhs dates Winchester to the close of the reign of Alfred (Hill, 1978, 180); Shaftesbury, less reliably, to 880 (Hill, 1978, 180-81); Chichester, organised for defence by 894 (Hill, 1978, 182). Castle Toll at Newenden was probably under construction in 892 (Hill, 1978, 183); while Portchester Castle was not in royal hands until the reign of Edward the Elder (Hill, 1978, 183). We cannot attach much weight to the Shaftesbury evidence, but, by contrast, there is some basis for dating the system to the last decade of the century and to the first decades of the tenth century. In this context it is worth noting that the New Minster at Winchester, the symbol of the new West Saxon capital - the 'burh church' to quote Martin Biddle (1975) - was not conceived of until the last year of King Alfred's reign, and not completed until some time later. It is, therefore, chronologically possible that Alfred might have been influenced by Baldwin's new fortresses although excavations are now needed to determine further similarities between the designs to substantiate the matter.

Alfred's system of burhs betrays a non-random spacing which is usually explained as an ideal design for refuges so that no-one is more than about a day's walk from safety. By contrast the forts along the littoral of Flanders are spaced closer together and on Walcheren, Domburg, Oost-Souburg and Middleburg are only 6-9 miles apart. There is an impression, at least, that these were built as strategic defences similar to the earlier Roman-period system (Mertens, 1977). Secondly, the form of the new fortresses was markedly different to those being constructed elsewhere in western Europe. As in Francia and Wessex, existing Roman walled centres were refurbished (Aardenburg, Bruges, Oudenburg and Veurne), but in between these forts were placed circular fortresses (at Burgh, Middleburg, Oost-Souburg, ? Souburg, St. Omer (Trimpe Burger, 1973) and probably at Ponthoile (Somme), a site currently only known from aerial photography (Agache, 1970, fig. 1)). These highly distinctive circular earthworks appear to have been prototypes for the mid-tenth-century Trelleborg-type fortresses of Denmark (Olsen and Schmidt, 1977, 92-95, fig. 71), and these same fortresses may have influenced the design of the East Anglian tenth-century burhs where the defences ringing Sudbury and Ipswich, for example, are circular or near-circular. (Interestingly, the defences of Ipswich have now been dated to the end of the ninth century, when the port was under Scandinavian control (pers. comm. Keith Wade).) Thirdly, the West Saxon fortresses are much larger than those in Flanders. Oudenburg, a Saxon Shore fort of the fourth century (Mertens, 1977), covered about 2 ha. in area, while Portchester Castle, one of the smallest and least significant West Saxon burhs was about 3 ha. in area. Oost-Souburg covers only about 2 ha. compared to the 29 ha. covered by Cricklade or the 37 ha. covered by Wareham (Biddle, 1976a, 126). The difference in terms of communal labour is quite striking, while, similarly, the numbers required to defend one of these circular fortresses would have been significantly less. If, for example, 160

men were theoretically required to defend a furlong of West Saxon wall as the Burghal Hidage declares (Hill, 1978, 183), then Wareham would have needed about 1500-1600 men to man its walls. This probably represents something in the order of thirty to forty villages (cf. Hodges, 1982, 133-35). By contrast, if we apply the same figures to Oost-Souburg, a force of less than 400 men would have been required; a force drawn from perhaps ten village communities. (It will be interesting to compare the respective man-hours involved in constructing these defences once Oost-Souburg has been published in full.)

Baldwin II's fortresses appear, therefore, to have been devised for either small populations, which is inconsistent with the dense coastal populations found in archaeological surveys of northern Frisia, or more probably for an immediate military purpose. As a result only Bruges became the focus of tenth-century urban activity. Investigations in Burgh, Middleburg, Oost-Souburg and Aardenburg show that a second period of occupation did not occur until around the turn of the millennium. This is markedly in contrast, of course, to the West Saxon burhs, many of which were flourishing urban centres by about A.D. 1000. To some extent this is also symbolised by the contrast in the coinages of the two regions. Alfred issued heavy silver pennies and even the first English fractions of pennies (Lyon, 1976, 183), while Baldwin was persisting with debased deniers and obols (at Bruges, Ghent and Arras) (Metcalfe, 1979, 5).

Was King Alfred, then, influenced by Charles the Bald's bid to maintain and generate regional growth in his economy? It is obviously a difficult point to discuss in view of the poor evidence available. However, there are a few factors that throw a little light on the issue, and serve to show that our emphasis upon West Saxon and Frankish matters has obscured the powerful impact made upon these territories by the Anglo-Scandinavians.

Alfred founded his economic policy on existing West Saxon traditions of craftsmanship. Native industries that had some two generations earlier operated in Hamwic were now slowly developed to meet new economic demands. This is accurately demonstrated by the case of the pottery industry. In the Middle Saxon period the West Saxon pottery industry was focussed on a few specialists who produced crude, hand-made wares in certain areas within the region (Hodges, 1981, chapter 6; Timby, 1988). The Alfredian and later urban expansion necessitated mass-produced pottery in a wider range of forms. As a result the West Saxon potters appear to have adopted the use of the potter's wheel and they awkwardly adapted their traditional forms in traditional fabrics to new needs. The first vessels are hybrids of the two eras, but by the mid-tenth century (if not earlier) complete wheel-thrown vessels were being made, and during the second half of this century glazed wares were also being made within the region (Hodges, 1981, chapter 6). By contrast, in the Danelaw, new pottery forms were introduced replacing the Middle Saxon Ipswich-type wares which had been made on a slow wheel. The new pottery types were made on a fast wheel in a wide range of forms previously unknown in Anglo-Saxon culture. The change from Ipswich ware to Thetford ware types (and to Lincoln and York ware types, as well) has been

traditionally dated to the second half of the ninth century (see Hurst, 1976, 314-18), but there is no evidence to show that it preceded the Viking conquest of eastern England. In other words, this development appears to be a product of the new economic design, dating to late in the ninth century and clearly flourishing by the first decade of the tenth century. However, these new forms are not imitations of pots made either in Denmark (which were hand-made) or the Rhineland with which eastern England had had connections. Instead, the early tenth-century Danelaw wares appear to be remarkably accurate copies of wares that were produced between the Pas-de-Calais and Normandy (see Hodges, 1981, chapter 7). Indeed, the similarities are sometimes so great that it might be supposed that potters were brought across to Ipswich and elsewhere in eastern England from Neustria before Normandy was ceded to Rollo in 911.

Some light has been thrown on this by recent studies of early Danelaw mints. Dolley (1978), for example, has shown that some of the first moneyers of Jorvik were imitating the coins of Quentovic and Evreux, while Smart (1985; 1986) has used a study of moneyers' names on the coinages of the Danelaw to show that many Franks and even West Saxons were obviously working for the Danish conquerors. The Danes had only limited experience of issuing coinage before they settled in eastern England, and in the case of Northumbria found only copper stycas in circulation. In the final decade of the ninth century, as they set about developing new towns at such places as Ipswich, Lincoln and York, they also sought moneyers and other craftsmen to help in the process of urbanisation. Ten years ago such a conclusion seemed farfetched. Now it appears that apart from a policy of urban revival, the Danes introduced new administrative arrangements for the countryside which included privately-fortified manors almost certainly modelled upon Carolingian *curtis* settlements (Hodges, 1989a). In short, the ambitious and far-reaching impact of the conquerors included bringing to the traditionally less affluent half of England craftsmen and concepts which ensured that the pre-conditions for economic change initiated a century before actually materialised. Whether the Anglo-Scandinavian impetus was stimulated by the changes wrought in Wessex by King Alfred, or vice versa, is unknown. Without doubt, though, the economic expansion of the Danelaw, and its adoption of many Carolingian concepts posed an enormous threat to Wessex. It called for Alfred's supreme skills as a propagandist (Nelson, 1986) to begin the crusade of eliminating this economic threat to his kingdom by presenting it as a military one.

Conclusions

Archaeology sheds only oblique light on the reign of Charles the Bald. However, it shows that he inherited part of an Empire that had just experienced, or was in the process of experiencing, an economic recession of some magnitude. This will have affected not only the merchants and their families in places like Quentovic and Dorestad, but the craftsmen and farmers who had been persuaded to become more efficient and productive by adopting new technology. How

Charles the Bald and his brothers coped with these circumstances must be considered by other contributors to this volume. However, it is far from clear that Charlemagne's economic legacy was being successfully pursued in late ninth-century West Francia, as seems to have been the case in Wessex in A.D. 900. Galinié's excavations in Tours, for example, show that this major centre remained composed of two separate elements formed by the royal palace and the monastery of St Martin until long after the turn of the millennium (1988).

In contrast to Francia, the Danelaw and Wessex appear to have been highly receptive to Carolingian ideas. Alfred certainly borrowed many of the concepts promoted by Charlemagne, and he may have been influenced by Baldwin's Flemish fortifications when he set about constructing a network of refuges to combat Viking raids. The Danish kings, it seems, were particularly innovative and introduced many Carolingian principles to the hitherto under-developed parts of England. Having obtained the skills and concepts, however, there was only limited economic advantage to be gained from trading with the Continent. Instead, in the Danelaw and Wessex greatest investment was made in expanding the basis of commodity production which was articulated through a network of markets. As a result, when French and German traders began to visit England regularly after c.1020, the Anglo-Saxons were able to make much of being a highly developed agrarian economy. From this time, though, trade is no longer concealed from the historian.

Dark-age trade and the beginnings of commodity production are being accurately charted by the number and size of modern excavations in west European towns. But to generalise properly about the processes of change in this formative period we still need more information about the circumstances in the countryside. In France and West Germany especially we are lacking archaeological data from monasteries, major estates and villages. Nevertheless, in ten years or so this will have altered. In the meantime, we can safely conclude that since Angus Wilson published his minor masterpiece, commerce in the Dark Ages has become an important historical issue that gentlemen - and ladies - cannot afford to overlook.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to Janet Nelson for her thoughtful criticisms of the various versions of this paper. I should also like to acknowledge my debt to W.A. van Es, John Mitchell, Klavs Randsborg and Chris Wickham who have helped me over the past decade to develop the ideas advanced here. Finally, I am indebted to the Danish Research Council who afforded me the opportunity to revise the original contribution to the colloquium while I was Visiting Professor in the University of Copenhagen.

FÄLSCHER UNTER SICH: ZUM STREIT ZWISCHEN HINKMAR VON REIMS UND HINKMAR VON LAON

Horst Fuhrmann

English summary: *'Forgers between themselves: on the conflict between Hincmar of Rheims and Hincmar of Laon.'*

Forgery, often practised during the reign of Charles the Bald, was seldom diagnosed then. Of three instances alleged by Hincmar of Rheims against his nephew Hincmar of Laon, only the first had any substance. The second was laughable: the Elder Hincmar himself cited this passage in exactly the same slightly abridged form as did his nephew. The third was unjustified: the relevant papal letter circulated in variant forms, one including the 'forgery'. Compared with the forgeries Hincmar of Rheims perpetrated, his nephew's were trivial.

Nach Wilhelm Levison war das 9. Jahrhundert 'eine Zeit großer Fälschungen',¹ und Heinrich Brunner² meinte, im 9. Jahrhundert sei geradezu eine 'Fälschungsepidemie' ausgebrochen. Ähnlich hat auch Marc Bloch³ das 9. Jahrhundert eingeschätzt: es läge inmitten einer 'Massenepidemie' der Fälscherei. Die Zahl solcher und ähnlicher Urteile ließe sich leicht vermehren. In der Tat: allein während der Regierung Karls des Kahlen (840-877) treffen wir auf Fälscher und Fälschungen in besonderer Dichte, obschon andere Generationen während des ganzen Mittelalters in dieser Kunst auch nicht gerade zurückhaltend gewesen sind. Da sind ein Ebbo von Reims (+ 851) und seine Anhänger, ein Paschasius Radbertus (+ 856/59), da sind die Fälscher von Le Mans, und über allen 'der größte Betrug der Weltgeschichte' (Johannes Haller): die pseudoisidorischen

¹ W. Levison, 'Die Politik in den Jenseitsvisionen des frühen Mittelalters', in: *Festgabe F. von Bezold* (1921) S.89, abgedruckt in dessen Aufsatzsammlung: *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit* (1948) S. 236. Ähnlich äußerte sich C. N. L. Brooke, 'Approaches to Medieval Forgery', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 13 (1968) S. 378.

² H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* Bd. 1 (2 1906) S.557, vgl. E. Seckel, s.v. 'Pseudoisidor', in: *Realencyklopädie für protest. Theol. und Kirche* ³ 16 (1905) S. 284, 27.

³ M. Bloch, *Apologie der Geschichte* (1949; deutsch 1974) S. 100f.

Fälschungen, deren wahre Ausmaße noch gar nicht genau feststehen.⁴ Alle diese

⁴ Die bisherige Forschung ist zusammengefaßt und der Umkreis der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen umschrieben bei H. Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen. Von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit* Bd.1 (Schriften der MGH 24, 1, 1972). Auf zwei Feldern sind bemerkenswerte Ergänzungen erschienen: im Nachweis neuer Pseudoisidor-Handschriften und in der Frage der aus der pseudoisidorischen Werkstatt oder mit ihr im Zusammenhang stehenden Texte. Neue Pseudoisidorüberlieferungen brachten vor allem J. H. Erikson, 'New Pseudo-Isidore Manuscripts', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* N.S. 5 (1975) 3. 115 ff. und H. Mordek, 'Codices Pseudo-Isidoriani. Addenda zu dem gleichnamigen Buch von Schafer Williams', *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* 147 (1978) S.473ff. Auf Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat.1557 (10. Jahrhundert) verweist K.-G. Schon, 'Exzerpte aus den Akten von Chalkedon bei Pseudoisidor und in der 74-Titel-Sammlung', *DA* 32 (1976), S. 549, Anm. 18. Wichtig ist ein Hinweis B. Bischoffs, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit* Bd.2: Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen (1980) S.230, daß in der Münchener Handschrift clm 2940 aus Altomünster sich Fragmente einer Pseudoisidor-Handschrift befinden, die im dritten Viertel des 9. Jahrhunderts wohl in Überitalien geschrieben wurde. Ein weiteres Beispiel der Frührezeption bietet die Handschrift Leiden, Universitätsbibl. Cod. Voss. Q. 108, die auf fol. 68^r-81^r (um 850 in Fulda geschrieben) Exzerpte aus den Fälschen Dekretalen enthält. Nach dem Urteil B. Bischoffs könnte Hrabanus Maurus die Auszüge zusammengestellt haben, vgl. K. A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini* Pars II: Codices in quarto (1975) S.241. - Aussehen und Zusammenhang pseudoisidorischer Texte sind noch verwickelter als bisher angenommen. J. Richter, 'Stufen pseudoisidorischer Verfälschung. Untersuchungen zum Konzilsteil der pseudoisidorischen Dekretalen', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 64 (1978) S. 1 ff., bes. S. 46 f. machte deutlich, daß parallel zur Verfälschung der Hispana Gallica zur Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis 'schon mehrere erdichtete Dekretalen sich zumindest im Entstehungsstadium befanden', daß also die früher vertretene Meinung, die Augustodunensis sei eine Vorstufe, an die sich die Fälschen Dekretalen anschlossen, das Problem verkürzt. Beide Fälschungsvorgänge könnten sich überlappt haben. Es zeigt sich immer deutlicher, daß Ausmaß und Art der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen ungenügend beschrieben sind, wenn man - wie es die frühere Forschung getan hat - auf die Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, die Capitula Angilramni, die Fälschen Kapitularien des Benedictus Levita und schließlich die pseudoisidorischen Dekretalen verweist. Nicht nur daß diese Texte untereinander stark verfilzt sind: es gibt Zeugnisse pseudoisidorischen Wirkens außerhalb dieser genannten Fälschungen, und manche pseudoisidorischen Texte haben schon im Ursprung ein verschiedenes Aussehen. Bei Hinkmar von Laon ließ sich nachweisen, daß pseudoisidorische Texte eines Frühstadiums und außerhalb des pseudoisidorischen Corpus in Umlauf waren, vgl. H. Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung* Bd. 1 (wie diese Anm. oben) S. 138 ff. und Bd.3 (Schriften der MGH 24, III, 1974) S. 679 f., 723 f. Diesen Befund erhärtet K.-G. Schon, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der pseudoisidorischen Dekretalen' demnächst in *DA*: eine Sammlung des Berner Codex 442, die er nach dem früheren Besitzer der Handschrift Collectio Danieliana nennt, enthalte unbekanntes Texte pseudoisidorischer Verfälschung, und mindestens drei verschiedene Handschriftenklassen der Langversion der pseudoisidorischen Dekretalen gingen 'auf die Fälscherwerkstatt selbst zurück'. Der Schluß bietet sich an: 'die Fälscher selbst hatten mehrere Formen ihrer Fälschung verbreitet'. Auf ähnliche Divergenzen ist auch S. Kuttner, 'Universal Pope or Servant of God's Servants: the Canonists, Papal Titles, and Innocent III', *Revue de droit canonique* 30 (1980) kürzlich aufmerksam geworden, und er vermerkt mit Recht: 'All this goes to show what an enormous task lies ahead in a new edition of Pseudo-Isidore'. In der Tat: wenn im Ursprung schon verschiedene Versionen vorlagen, die alle den Charakter eines Archetyps tragen, wie ist dann zu edieren? Hier zeigt sich die Realitätsferne der Lachmannschen Editions-methode.

Falsifikate waren nicht nur zeitgenössisch zu Karl dem Kahlen, dem König über das Westfrankenreich; sie sind auch in seinem Herrschaftsbereich entstanden, und man wird sagen dürfen, daß kaum ein König der abendländischen Geschichte so viele effektvolle Fälscher in seinem Reich beherbergt hat wie Karl der Kahle - sicherlich ohne es zu wissen. Das war die Luft, die auch die zwei Hinkmare atmeten, Onkel und Neffe, Erzbischof von Reims der eine (845-882)⁵ und Bischof von Laon und Reimser Suffragan der andere (858-871;+ 879),⁶ denen beiden man das Manipulieren mit Texten vorwirft.

Trotz der Vielzahl der Fälschungen zur Zeit Karls des Kahlen hören wir nur ausnahmsweise vom Aufdecken irgendwelcher Textbetrügereien. Eine solche Ausnahme ist zum Beispiel die Synode von Verberie (863), wo die Le Mans-Falsifikate verworfen wurden,⁷ vor allem aber die Synode von Douzy (871),⁸ auf der hauptsächlich auf Betreiben Hinkmars von Reims die Absetzung des jüngeren Hinkmar, Bischof von Laon, verhandelt und ausgesprochen wurde. Hauptanklagepunkte und Gründe für die Verurteilung im Prozeß gegen Hinkmar von Laon waren die Verfälschung der Bibel (*sacrae scripturae adulterator*) und der

⁵ Aus dem umfangreichen Schrifttum über Hinkmar von Reims ragen zwei Werke heraus: das durch seine Regesten immer noch unentbehrliche Buch von H. Schrörs, *Hinkmar, Erzbischof von Reims. Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (1884) und die dreibändige Monographie von J. Devisse, *Hincmar, archevêque de Reims 845-882* (Travaux d'histoire éthico-politique 29, 1975/76), dessen Ausführungen allerdings darunter leiden, daß sie - vor allem auf quellenkundlichem Gebiet - mit zahlreichen Fehlern und Versuchen durchsetzt sind, vgl. die Besprechungen des Herausgebers der Briefe Hinkmars R. Schieffer, *DA* 34 (1978) S. 279 ff. und *HZ* 229 (1979) S. 85 ff.

⁶ Nachdem es als biographischen Versuch bislang nur die ungedruckte Dissertation von W. Delius, *Hinkmar, Bischof von Laon*, phil. Diss. (Halle 1924), gegeben hat, liegt jetzt das Buch von P. R. McKeon, *Hincmar of Laon and Carolingian Politics* (Urbana 1978) vor, das allerdings mehr eine buchbinderische Einheit von Einzelstudien darstellt, vgl. W. Hartmann, *DA* 36 (1980) S. 267 f. Das Buch wird ergänzt durch eine Reihe von Detailuntersuchungen McKeon's, die in dem Literaturverzeichnis des Buches genannt sind: hinzu kommt noch McKeon's kurzer Aufsatz 'A Note on Gregory I and the Pseudo-Isidore', *RB* 89 (1979) S. 305 ff. (s. dazu unten Anm. 15). - Über das geistige Leben in Laon im 9. Jahrhundert informiert J. J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930. Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Münchner Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 29, 1978).

⁷ Zur Synode von Verberie vgl. W. Goffart, 'The Privilege of Nicholas I for St. Calais: A New Theory', *RB* 71 (1961) S. 287 ff. und ders., *The Le Mans Forgeries* (1966) S. 78ff.

⁸ Vgl. die etwas zufällige Schilderung bei McKeon, *Hincmar of Laon* (wie Anm.6) S. 132 ff.; ferner Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung* Bd.3 (wie Anm.4) bes. S. 669 ff. und weiter im Register S. 1122 s.v.

Textmißbrauch und Betrug der 'rechtmäßigen Worte' (*verborum catholicorum intersorsor et imposturator*).⁹ Hinkmars von Laon Bibelfälschung hat u.a. darin bestanden, daß er die Geistlichkeit seiner Diözese mit Worten des Epheserbriefes sich hat gefügig machen wollen,¹⁰ fraglos ein Mißbrauch des biblischen Sinnes. Und auch das Zurechtrücken von *verba catholica* oder *verba catholicorum* läßt sich nachweisen. In selbstherrlicher Weise hatte der Laoner Bischof Sätze Papst Leos des Großen für seine Situation zurechtgebogen.¹¹ In beiden Fällen - beim Epheserbrief und beim Schreiben Leos I. - ist es der Reimser Metropolit gewesen, der dem Bischof von Laon auf die Schliche gekommen war, aber der ältere Hinkmar hat noch weitere Unstimmigkeiten in den Schriften seines Neffen aufgespiert, und diesen Vorwürfen wollen wir uns zuwenden.

In keiner Schrift hat Hinkmar von Reims zu den Machenschaften seines Suffragan so ausführlich Stellung genommen wie in seinem großen Werk der 55 Kapitel. Der Reimser hatte es in den Monaten März bis Juni 870 verfaßt und auf dem Konzil von Attigny im Juni 870 nach einer kurzen Ansprache an die dort versammelten Bischöfe übergeben.¹² Die 55-Kapitel-Schrift ist eine Generalabrechnung mit dem ungehorsamen Suffragan, gibt sich aber als eine Antwort auf den *Pittaciolus* Hinkmars von Laon,¹³ auf jenes Exzerptenwerk, das der Suffragan auf der Versammlung von Gondreville im November 869 unter dem Druck Erzbischof Wenilos von Rouen und einiger anderer Bischöfe, denen an einem Ausgleich der beiden Hinkmare gelegen war, herausgerückt hatte. Der Reimser Metropolit hatte sich die Textbehandlung seines Diözesanbischofs im

⁹ Zu diesen Anklagepunkten vgl. Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung* Bd.3 (wie Anm.4) S. 670 f. mit Anm.139; die beiden für Hinkmar von Laon unheilvollen 'Verfälschungen' sind ebenda S. 657 ff. behandelt.

¹⁰ Hinkmar von Laon hatte mit der Aufforderung von Eph. 4,3: *solliciti servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis* die Geistlichkeit seiner Diözese zur Leistung einer Unterschrift unter eine von ihm verfaßte Rechtssammlung bringen wollen, und Hinkmar von Reims fuhr ihn an: *Quod ab apostolo recte dictum tu in quadam praesumptiosa subscriptione tua incongrue posuisti* (PL 126, Sp.308 D), vgl. *Einfluß und Verbreitung* Bd.3 (wie Anm.4) S. 658.

¹¹ Mit einer von Leo I. (JK 402) genommenen Formulierung wollte Hinkmar von Laon seine Geistlichkeit zur Solidarität mit ihm zwingen. Aus der Pönformel Leos (ein Übertreter möge wissen) *nec communionis nostrae futurum esse consortem, qui socius esse noluit disciplinae* wurde beim jüngeren Hinkmar: *Si aliqui secus nolentes fieri socii huius disciplinae, nec habeantur participes communionis nostrae* (PL 126, Sp. 466 C), vgl. *Einfluß und Verbreitung* Bd.3 (wie Anm.4) S. 658 f.

¹² Die dramatischen Vorgänge in Attigny 870 sind in der Literatur häufig behandelt, vgl. zuletzt P. R. McKeon, 'Le concile d'Attigny (870)', *LMA* 76 (1970) S. 401 ff.; ders., *Hincmar of Laon* (wie Anm 6) S. 85 ff.; Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung* Bd.3 (wie Anm.4) S. 667 f.

¹³ Vgl. H. Fuhrmann, 'Zur Überlieferung des *Pittaciolus* Bischof Hinkmars von Laon (879)', *DA* 27 (1971) S. 517 ff. Eine Inhaltsanalyse des *Pittaciolus* ist gegeben in *Einfluß und Verbreitung* Bd.3 (wie Anm. 4) S. 713 ff.

Pittaciolus besehen, und schon in der metrischen Vorrede des 55-Kapitel-Werks erging sich der Reimser in Andeutungen:¹⁴

Quae compilasti vario pro tempore et actu
 Condita de verbis sedis apostolicae,
 Conciliis certis praepone talia sensu
 Cui bonus interpret Spiritus almus abest
 Cor fugiens fictum, quod disciplina salubris
 Non regit atque simul, quae tua vota vomunt.

Kompilationen 'aus den Worten des apostolischen Stuhles', vorgenommen im *Pittaciolus*, werden dem Bischof von Laon vorgeworfen, und Hinkmar von Reims erhärtet den Vorwurf. Mehrfach kommt er in seinem 55-Kapitel-Werk darauf zu sprechen, daß die Worte des seligen Gregor an die Patricia Theoctista, die Schwester des Kaisers Mauricius,¹⁵ 'verfremdet seien', daß der Bischof von Laon 'eigene Worte' eingefügt habe und zwar habe er in den Text eingeschoben: *aut contra ea, quae sub anathemate prohibita, praesumpserit*, und außerdem habe er aus demselben Brief verkürzt und verstümmelt zitiert. Wörtlich hört sich der Vorwurf Hinkmars von Reims folgendermaßen an:¹⁶ *Denique eisdem verbis beati Gregorii, quibus dicit 'Si qui vero sunt qui dicunt, quia compulsus quispiam necessitate se anathematizaverit, anathematis vinculo non tenetur', verbis tuis imposuisti immittens superadiciens 'aut contra ea, quae sub anathemate prohibita sunt, praesumpserit'. In eo autem loco, ubi dixit 'Si qui sunt igitur, qui sub nomine christiano haec quae praediximus errorum capitula aut praedicare audent aut taciti apud semetipsos tenere', detruncasti et pervertisti dicens 'Si qui sunt igitur, qui sub nomine christiano haec aut praedicare audent'.*

In der Tat: Wenn man im *Pittaciolus* Hinkmars von Laon nachsieht, findet man dort die Interpolation und die Textverkürzung, die ihm sein Onkel vor Augen führt.

¹⁴ MGH Poet. 3, S. 417, 9-14. Die Vorlagen sind hier noch nicht ausgemacht, vgl. etwa zu Vers 4 Arator, *De Actibus Apostolorum* I, 627 f. (CSEL 72 [1951] S. 50): ... *quibus adfuit almus (Spiritus)*.

¹⁵ JE 1817; Register Gregors I. XI, 27 (MGH Epp.2, S. 289 ff.). Dieser Brief, der in mehreren Formen des Registers Gregors I enthalten ist, wurde durch Pseudoisidor in die kanonistische Tradition eingeschleust. Er tauchte gleichzeitig im Schrifttum der beiden Hinkmare auf. Eine Aufreihung der entsprechenden Stellen versuchte McKeon, 'A Note on Gregory I' (wie Anm.6) S. 305 ff. zu geben, doch ist ihm manches entgangen, anderes durcheinander geraten. Vor allem aber läßt er die Veränderungen im Wortlaut beiseite.

¹⁶ Dreimal hat Hinkmar von Reims im 55-Kapitel-Werk seinem Neffen vorgeworfen, er habe den Gregorbrief (JE 1817) im *Pittaciolus* verfälscht zitiert: c. 15 (PL 126, Sp. 333 C); c. 22 (Sp. 367 B; die Stelle ist oben angeführt); c. 32 (Sp. 415 A). Und zwar habe der Bischof von Laon diese Verfälschung nicht nur im *Pittaciolus* angeführt, sondern auch in dessen Vorlage, einem *Libellus*, der am 8. Juli 869 von der Laoner Geistlichkeit hat unterschrieben werden müssen, s. oben S. 241 mit Anm. 22.

Gregor I.

Reg XI, 27¹⁷

MGH Epp 2, S. 296, 21-30

Si qui vero sunt, qui dicunt,
quia compulsus quispiam
necessitate, si anathematizaverit,

anathematis vinculo
non tenetur, ipsi sibi
testes sunt, quia Christiani
non sunt, quia ligamenta sanctae
ecclesiae vanis se aestimant conatibus
solvere ac per hoc

nec
absolutionem sanctae ecclesiae, quam
praestat fidelibus, veram putant, si
ligaturas eius valere non existimant
(aestimant, P). Contra quos diutius
disputandum non est, quia per omnia
despiciendi et anathematizandi sunt, ut
(et, Pa. Pb 2), unde se fallere
veritatem credunt, inde in peccatis suis
veraciter ligentur (ligantur Pa Pb 1).
Si qui sunt igitur, qui sub nomine
christiano haec quae praediximus
errorum capitula aut praedicare audent
aut taciti apud semetipsos tenere, hos
procul dubio et anathematizavimus et
anathematizamus (nur
anathematizamus Pb 1.Pa 2).

Pittaciolus¹⁸

(nach Cod Paris BN 5095 fol. 75^v -76^r
und Cod. Metz Bibl. Mun.351 fol. 97^v)

Sanctus Gregorius in epistola ad
Theocistam Patriciam (-ium, Paris) dicit
Si qui vero sunt, qui dicunt (di- über der
Zeile, Metz) quia compulsus quispiam
necessitate, si anathematizaverit,¹⁹ aut
contra ea, quae sub anathemate prohibita
sunt, praesumpserit, anathematis vinculo
non tenetur (tenetur, Paris), ipsi sibi
testes sunt, quia (qui, Metz) christiani
non sunt, quia ligamenta sanctae
ecclesiae vanis se estimant conatibus
solvere ac per hoc (s zu h verbessert, h
zusätzlich über der Zeile, Metz) nec
absolutionem sanctae ecclesiae, quam
praestat fidelibus, veram putant, si
ligaturas eius valere non estimant.
Contra quos diutius
disputandum non est, quia per omnia
despiciendi et anathematizandi sunt, et
unde se fallere
veritatem credunt, inde in peccatis suis
veraciter ligantur.
Si qui sunt igitur, qui sub nomine
christiano haec
aut praedicare audent
aut taciti apud semetipsos tenere,
procul dubio hos anathematizamus

¹⁷ Hinkmar von Laon benutzte, wie die Lesarten anzeigen, die *Collectio Pauli* der Gregorbriefe und zwar eine Handschrift, die den Codices der Gruppe Pa (= Leningrad, Publichnaja Biblioteka im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina F.I.7, 8. Jahrhundert aus Corbie, und Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Patr. 23, 10. Jahrhundert) nahestand.

¹⁸ Für den folgenden Textvergleich sind die beiden hauptsächlichen und noch aus dem zeitlichen Umkreis Hinkmars von Laon stammenden Textzeugen Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 5095 und Metz, Bibl. Mun. 351, herangezogen; eine Sonderstellung nimmt der Codex Salzburg S. Peter a. IX. 32 aus dem beginnenden 11. Jahrhundert ein, vgl. Fuhrmann, 'Zur Überlieferung des *Pittaciolus*' (wie Anm. 13) S. 519 f.

¹⁹ Der Erstherausgeber J. Sirmond, *Hincmari opera* Bd. 2 (Paris 1643) S. 373b druckt hier - sinnfälliger - *anathematizatus fuerit*. Seine Vorlager war die Pariser Handschrift, die

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et ego et omnes
catholici episcopi atque universa
ecclesia anathematizamus, quia veritati
contraria sentiunt (et ergänzt, Pa. Pb
2), contraria loquuntur.

et²⁰ ego et omnes
catholici episcopi atque universa
ecclesia, quia veritati
contraria sentiunt aut (et, Metz)
contraria loquuntur (locuntur, Metz).

Was hat Hinkmar von Laon sich hier zuschulden kommen lassen? Er hat zum einem den Sinn des Textes Gregors I. durch eine Interpolation erheblich verschärft und zum anderen den Wortlaut verkürzt. Die Interpolation hat gewichtige Gründe. Der Bischof von Laon war ab 866 und stärker noch von 868 an in Gegensatz geraten zu König Karl dem Kahlen, der einen Teil des Laoner Kirchenguts beanspruchte.²¹ Einer Unterredung mit dem König war Hinkmar von Laon ausgewichen, einer Zwangsvorführung vor ein Gericht hatte er sich entzogen. Karl der Kahle hatte für den 25. April 869 eine Versammlung nach Verberie einberufen, vor die der Bischof von Laon geladen worden war und von der dieser nicht viel Gutes hatte erhoffen können. Hinkmar von Laon sicherte sich ab. Er versammelte am 19. April 869 den Klerus seiner Diözese, gab ihm eine ausführliche Rechtsbelehrung und verfügte, aufbauend auf Rechtszitate, daß das gesamte Bistum dem Interdikt verfiel, wenn er in Verberie oder anderswo verhaftet werden sollte. Nicht in Verberie, aber wenig später wurde der jüngere Hinkmar auf königlichen Befehl in der Tat festgesetzt. Jetzt trat der heillose Zustand ein, den der Bischof von Laon angeordnet hatte. In der Diözese waren die Weihehandlungen untersagt.

Hinkmars automatisches Interdikt konnte nur wirken, wenn es von seinen Diözesanen ernst genommen wurde, und in diesen Zusammenhang gehört die verschärfende Interpolation: *aut contra ea, quae sub anathemate prohibita sunt, praesumpserit*. Niemand soll gegen das, was unter Anathem verboten ist, einen

anathematizaverit hat, und es dürfte sich, wie bei Sirmond häufig, um eine Konjektur handeln. Hinkmar von Reims behilft sich, indem er *se anathematizaverit* schreibt (PL 126, Sp. 367 C und Sp. 581 B, s. unten Anm. 22), aber Gregor I. hat offenbar *si anathematizaverit*, wohl in medialer Bedeutung, wie schon in der Vulgata. - In der Handschriften der pseudoisidorischen Dekretalen (Hinschius S. 744b und 745b f.) ist der Wortlaut weit gestreut. So begegnet das Sirmondsche *anathematizatus fuerit* auch in verschiedenen Codices (z.B. Grenoble, Bibl. Mun. 473, Vat. lat. 631, Vat. Reg. lat. 976); *aestimant* statt *existimant* (S. 296, 25) ist bei Pseudoisidor - auch in den ältesten Handschriften - verbreitet, doch fehlt überall der Einschub *aut contra ea - praesumpserit*. Er ist zweifelsfrei eine Zutat des jüngeren Hinkmar.

²⁰ W. Meyer (aus Speyer), 'Ueber Hincmar's von Laon Auslese aus Pseudo-Isidor, Ingilram und aus Schreiben des Papstes Nicolaus I.', in: *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse* 1912, S. 225 hielt das Folgende zu Unrecht für eine Zutat des jüngeren Hinkmar.

²¹ Zum Kampf Hinkmars von Laon gegen seinen König und seinen Erzbischof vgl. H. Schrörs, *Hinkmar* (wie Anm.5) S. 324 ff.; Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung* Bd.3 (wie Anm.4) S. 651 ff.; McKeon, *Hincmar of Laon* (wie Anm.6) S. 22 ff. und S. 64 ff.

Versuch wagen. Diese Interpolation soll auch in einem Werk gestanden haben, das Hinkmar von Laon am 8. Juli 869 von der Diözesangeistlichkeit hat unterschreiben lassen.²² An dieses Unterschriftenwerk schließt sich der *Pittaciolus* an, und hier, im *Pittaciolus*, hat Erzbischof Hinkmar von Reims die Verfälschung aufgespießt: eine wirklich schlimme Textverbiegung des jüngeren Hinkmar.

Anders steht es um den zweiten Vorwurf: 'Verstümmelt und verkehrt' (*detruncasti et pervertisti*) habe der Neffe den Text denn er habe weggelassen: *quae praediximus errorum capitula*. Hier dem Bischof von Laon ein Vergehen vorzuwerfen, grenzt ans Lächerliche, denn der jüngere Hinkmar hat lediglich einen ins Leere gehenden Querverweis weggelassen: Wenn die *errorum capitula* nicht angeführt sind, kann schlecht auf sie verwiesen werden. Aber Hinkmars von Reims Dreistigkeit reicht noch weiter. Er selbst hat nämlich den Satz in gleicher 'Verstümmelung und Verkehrtheit' zehn Jahre früher zitiert.

Im Synodalschreiben von Tusey 860, das der Erzbischof von Reims verfaßt hat, heißt es wortgleich wie später beim Neffen:²³ *Si qui sunt igitur qui sub nomine christiano haec aut praedicare audent*, und hier auch ist angeschlossen der Schlußabschnitt *et ego et omnes catholici episcopi* usw. Viel leicht schöpften beide Hinkmare aus einer bereits redigierten Zwischenquelle, doch wie immer: der ältere Hinkmar kreidet dem jüngeren Hinkmar eine Textverunstaltung an, die sich gleichfalls bei ihm findet.²⁴

In seiner Antwort auf die 55-Kapitel vom Herbst 870 spielt Hinkmar von Laon denn auch auf diesen Umstand an:²⁵ *Hoc apostolicae auctoritatis decretum* (Gregors I. Brief an Theoctista in seiner verkürzten Form) *etiam a vestra probitate sic assumendo probatum si ut scripsistis mihi est sequendum ac tenendum*.

Ein weiterer Vorwurf der Verfälschung, den Hinkmar von Reims erhebt, betrifft das Weglassen eines einzigen Wortes, eines Personalpronomens. Im

²² Hinkmar von Reims hat dies in Douzy in seiner Anklageschrift gegen seinen Diözesanbischof Hinkmar von Laon behauptet: *Et in eo, de quo agitur libello, sed et in illo, quem per Wenilonem ... mihi misit, ... verbis beati Gregorii ... quibus dicit: 'Si qui vero sunt qui dicunt, quia compulsus quispiam necessitate se anathematizaverit, anathematis vinculo non tenetur' verbis suis imposuit, immittens et superadiciens 'aut contra ea, quae sub anathemate prohibita sunt, praesumpserit* (*Libellus expostulationis* c. 12, PL 126, Sp. 581 B). Es ist fast wörtlich der Vorwurf von c. 22 des 55-Kapitel-Werks wiederholt (PL 126, Sp. 367 C). Durch Vermittlung Wenilos von Rouen (*per Wenilonem... mihi misit*) hat Hinkmar von Reims auf der Versammlung in Gondreville November 869 den *Pittaciolus* erhalten. Davor spricht Hinkmar in dem oben angeführten Zitat von dem Unterschriftenwerk, so daß sich die Beschreibung des *Libellus*, 'über den gehandelt wird', auf dieses beziehen durfte.

²³ PL 126, Sp. 129 C-D: ... *sanctus Gregorius in epistola ad Theoctistam patriciam dicit: ... Si qui sunt igitur, qui sub nomine christiano haec aut praedicare audent aut taciti apud semetipsos tenere, eos et ego et omnes catholici episcopi atque universa ecclesia anathematizamus, quia veritati contraria sentiunt et contraria loquuntur*.

²⁴ In nicht verunstalteter Form zitiert Hinkmar von Reims den Brief Gregors I. an Theoctista in der Anklageschrift von Douzy (*Libellus expostulationis* c. 34, PL 126, Sp. 628 A-B).

²⁵ PL 124, Sp. 1041 B.

Pittaciolus lautet der Cölestinbrief (JK. 371)²⁶ *Nulli sacerdoti liceat canones ignorare* usw. Hinkmar von Reims fällt - ebenfalls in der Schrift der 55 Kapitel - über den Bischof von Laon her:²⁷ ... *forte noluisti intelligere illa constituta tuos esse canones et ob id in tuo pitaciolo misisti: Nulli sacerdoti liceat canones ignorare, omittens quod ibi habetur 'suos' . Non igitur radendum vel omittendum est pronomen 'suos' de verbis Caelestini*. Und in höhnischem Ton schreibt der Reimser wenig später:²⁸ *Sed forte haec et ea, quae dicimus esse canones, tenere non vis pro canonibus, sed illa, de quibus tua commenta finxisti; ideo peregrino sensu Caelestini verba interposuisti*. Dem jüngeren Hinkmar wird also vorgeworfen, er habe statt *suos canones*, nur *canones* gesagt, damit der Sinn entstände, Rechtserläße schlechthin - und damit auch die von ihm vorgebrachten - müßten die Priester kennen.

Hinkmars von Reims Vorwurf erscheint überspitzt, und die Haltung des Erzbischofs rückt in ein noch bedenklicheres Licht, wenn man sich die Überlieferung des Satzes in einigen Rechtssammlungen ansieht.²⁹ Wohl weist die Dionysiana bzw. die Dionysio-Hadriana das Personalpronomen *suos* auf³⁰ (*Nulli sacerdotum suos lice(a)t canones ignorare*), ebenso die Quesnelliana,³¹ aber in den von der Hispana sich ableitenden Sammlungen steht *suos* nicht,³² und es fehlt entsprechend auch bei Pseudoisidor.³³ Wie an anderen Orten seiner Werke scheint Hinkmar von Reims die Dionysio-Hadriana als Normsammlung anzusehen,

26 Sirmond bringt in seiner Ausgabe des *Pittaciolus* (wie Anm.19) S. 368b einen Text, der von der Pariser (Bibl. Nat. lat. 5095 fol. 71^v) und Metzger Handschrift (Bibl. Mun. 351 fol. 92^r) nicht voll bestätigt wird. Dort steht folgendes: *Ex decretis Caelestini papae. Nulli sacerdoti (sacerdotum Sirmond) liceat canones ignorare nec quicquam facere, quod patrum possit regulis obviare. Quae enim a nobis res digna servabitur, si decretalium normam constitutorum (constitorum Metz) pro aliorum (aliquorum Sirmond) libitu licentia populis permessa frangatur?* Der Wortlaut der beiden Handschriften wird durch Hinkmar von Reims bestätigt.

27 *Opusculum LV capitulorum* c. 32, PL 126, Sp. 414 B.

28 Ebenda c. 32, PL 126, Sp. 414 D.

29 Zur weiteren Verbreitung des Cölestinbriefes JK 371 in den vorseudoisidorischen Kirchenrechtssammlungen vgl. F. Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande* (1870) S. 252 f. §279 nr.3 und H. Wurm, *Studien und Texte zur Dekretalensammlung des Dionysius Exiguus* (Kanonistische Studien und Texte 16, 1939) S. 142.

30 Vgl. den Abdruck der Pithou'schen Ausgabe (1609) S. 425 bei PL 67, Sp. 277 C und die Münchener Handschriften der Dionysio-Hadriana clm 3860a fol.120^r, clm 6355 fol. 178^r, clm 6242 fol. 197^r. Die Version ist auch bei P. Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum pontificum* (1721) Sp. 1072 B berücksichtigt.

31 PL 56, Sp. 581 A.

32 Hispana (PL 84, Sp. 689 C) und Hispana Gallica (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibl. lat. 411 fol. 265^v) stimmen überein: *Nulli sacerdoti liceat canones ignorare*.

33 Vgl. Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis (Vat. lat. 1341 fol. 160^{rb}) und die Falschen Dekretalen (PL 130, Sp.758 A). Die ältesten Handschriften der pseudoisidorischen Dekretalen (Vat. lat. 630, Vat. Ottob. lat.93, New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Libr. 442) stimmen überein: *Nulli sacerdoti liceat canones ignorare*.

ebenso wie er nur nachnikänisches Kirchenrecht gelten lassen wollte.³⁴ Ob er mit der Behauptung, daß 'suos' zum integren Text gehöre, die vom Neffen vielleicht benutzte pseudoisidorische Version zurückweisen wollte, muß offenbleiben. Auf jeden Fall gibt es - wie der von der Hispana ausgehende Überlieferungsstrang zeigt - unverdächtige und unverfälschte Textzeugen, die den Wortlaut so bringen, wie Hinkmar von Laon ihn vorträgt.

Gehen wir die hier angeführten Stellen durch, die Hinkmar von Reims seinem Neffen als Verunstaltungen, wenn nicht gar Verfälschungen vorgeworfen hat: die vielleicht geschmacklose Einbeziehung des Pauluswortes über die Fessel der Einigkeit, die Anwendung eines Zitats Leos I. auf die eigene Situation, die Interpolation und die verkürzende Kontamination des Briefes Gregors I. an die Kaiserschwester Theoctista und schließlich die Auslassung des 'suos' zu 'canones'. Es gibt offensichtlich glatte Verfälschungen (wie den Einschub in den Gregorbrief) und unangemessene und nicht genügend gekennzeichnete Übertragungen der Heiligen Schrift und der *verba catholicorum*. Es gibt aber auch unberechtigte Vorwürfe. In verstümmelter und pervertierter Form (*detruncasti et pervertisti*) hat Hinkmar von Reims selbst jene Passage des Gregorbriefes zitiert, die der Neffe aufgenommen hat, und *unfair* ist die Behauptung des Reimser Metropolitens, 'suos' zu 'canones' im Brief Coelestins I. 'dürfe nicht getilgt oder ausgelassen werden'. Wer den Coelestin rief z.B. in der Hispana-Version oder einer ihrer Ableitungen zitiert, tut dies ohne 'suos' zu 'canones' und hat nichts 'getilgt oder ausgelassen'.

Wenn dies alles ist, was der Erzbischof Hinkmar von Reims seinem Laoner Suffragan vorzuwerfen hat, so schneidet der jüngere Hinkmar so schlecht nicht ab. Auf ganz andere Dimensionen von Fälschung und Verfälschung stoßen wir beim älteren Hinkmar selbst. Daß er es war, der die *Visio Bernardi* konzipierte, der die Privilegien der Päpste Hormisda (JK. + 866) und Hadrian I. (JE. + 2411) für Remigius und für Tilpin aussetzte, wird man plausibel finden, solange nicht gegen die vorgebrachten Verdachtsgründe neue Argumente auftauchen.³⁵

Es bedeutet eine Mohrenwäsche, wenn Jean Devisse in seinem mächtigen, aber von mancherlei Konfusion nicht freien Werk über Hinkmar von Reims seinen Helden von jedem Verdacht einer Fälschung befreien möchte.³⁶ Denn selbst wenn

³⁴ Vgl. Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung* Bd. 1 (wie Anm.4) S. 215.

³⁵ Zu Hinkmar von Reims als wahrscheinlichem Fälscher oder Verfertiger der genannten Stücke vgl. A. Poensgen, *Geschichtskonstruktionen des frühen Mittelalters zur Legitimierung kirchlicher Ansprüche in Metz, Reims und Trier* (1973) S. 73 ff; Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung* Bd. 1 (wie Anm.4) S. 113ff.; H. Zimmermann, 'Zu Flodoards Historiographie und Regestentechnik', in: *Festschrift H. Beumann* (1977) S. 213 f.

³⁶ Vgl. Devisse, *Hincmar* (wie Anm.5), S. 27 ('hypercritique érudite'), S. 590 ('la voie traditionnelle d'une vive hostilité à Hincmar'), S. 657-661, sowie zusammenfassend S. 790 ('Au total, Hincmar ne mérite pas l'accusation de falsification des textes sous laquelle on l'a accablé: le seul faux total que l'on puisse sans discussion lui attribuer est le privilège d' Hormisda à Saint-Rémi') und S. 1098 ('nous sommes en mesure de dire, aujourd'hui, que nous n'avons jamais trouvé de falsification délibérée du texte, par modification, altération, ou captation du sens ... Nous estimons être en mesure de rejeter en bloc l'accusation de falsification systématique portée,

man ihn für unschuldig erklärt bei der Erfindung ganzer Stücke, so bleibt er doch der fingerfertige Kleinmeister der Verunstaltung,³⁷ der einen Satz Papst Leos I. um ein 'non' vermehrt und dem Kirchenvater Augustin unterschiebt; der eine Anklage gegen Kleriker als eine *illaudabilis intentio* statt - vorlagegemäß - als eine *laudabilis intentio* hinstellt;³⁸ der die nur bei ihm anzutreffende hierarchische Kurzformel *metropolitanus seu primas provinciae* erfindet, um die Gefahr einer Unterordnung abzuwenden usw. Neben der Art und Weise, wie der Erzbischof von Reims mit den Texten umspringt, nimmt sich das Verhalten seines Suffragans vergleichs weise harmlos aus. Hinkmar von Reims verfolgte ihn nach der Devise 'Haltet den Dieb' - und hatte Erfolg. Beide Hinkmare verhielten sich zeitkonform, und man sollte bei ihnen nicht eine abweichende Mentalität suchen.

tant en Allemagne qu'en France, si souvent, contre Hincmar'). Devisse' Versuch steht in einer Tradition ähnlicher Vorschläge, vgl. Fuhrmann, 'Studien zur Geschichte mittelalterlicher Patriarchate 2', *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte, Kan. Abt.* 40 (1954), S. 40 Anm. 126; *Einfluß und Verbreitung* (wie Anm. 4), S. 68f. mit Anm. 15; S. 95; S. 115f. mit Anm. 162. Gerade der Versuch von Devisse, die Gestalt des Reimser Erzbischofs von dem Geruch eines Fälschers ganz frei zu halten, ist in verschiedenen Besprechungen seines Werkes auf Kritik gestoßen; vgl. die Anm. 5 genannten Rezensionen R. Schieffers sowie J. L. Nelson, *JEH* 30 (1979), S. 282; Th. Groß, *Francia* 6 (1978), S. 744; H. Dickerhof, *HJ* 96 (1976), S. 441 und D. Ganz, *RBPH* 57 (1979), S. 711 ff.

³⁷ Vgl. Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung* Bd. 1 (wie Anm. 4), S. 113ff., bes. S. 117ff.

³⁸ In der Sirmondschen Ausgabe der *Quaterniones* von 868 steht an der entsprechenden, dem Codex Theodosianus XVI, 2, 41 entnommenen Stelle *illaudabilis intentio* (wiederholt PL 125, Sp. 1046 A), und mit Th. Mommsen habe ich in *Einfluß und Verbreitung* Bd. 1 (wie Anm. 4) S. 120 mit Anm. 174 eine Redaktion von der Hand Hinkmars angenommen. Aber der Sachverhalt ist, wie mich der Herausgeber der Hinkmarbriefe R. Schieffer aufklärt, verwickelter, um nicht zu sagen dramatischer. Entgegen Sirmond steht in den Handschriften der *Quaterniones laudabilis intentio* wie im Codex Theodosianus. Aber die Arbeitshandschriften des Codex Theodosianus aus dem Reims des älteren Hinkmar (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Philipps 1741 fol. 184^r und Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 12445 fol. 19^{vb}); zu ihnen vgl. J. Devisse, *Hincmar et la loi* (Dakar 1962), S. 54 ff. und passim) zeigen eine Veränderung: in beiden Reimser Codices ist *laudabilis* nachträglich zu *inlaudabilis* verbessert. Hinkmar selbst zitiert nun in einer späteren Schrift, in *De presbyteris criminosis* von 876/77, die redigierte Form *inlaudabilis* (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Philipps 1769 fol. 3^v). Wer hat den Codex Theodosianus präpariert? War es Hinkmar von Reims?

ZU DEN BEZIEHUNGEN ZWISCHEN HINKMAR VON REIMS UND HRABANUS MAURUS

Raymund Kottje

English summary: *'On the relationship between Hincmar of Rheims and Hrabanus Maurus'*

Though there was a large age-gap between the two men, the episcopal careers of Hincmar at Rheims and Hrabanus at Mainz overlapped for nearly a decade (847-856). Their careers before they became archbishops differed (Hincmar remained in the background and wrote little, while Hrabanus was abbot of Fulda from 822 to 842 and wrote voluminously), as did their interests and temperaments (Hincmar was a born politician, Hrabanus a teacher). But they were brought together, as archbishops, by the need to deal with two famous cases. In that of Gottschalk, Hincmar sought Hrabanus's help and received an authoritative opinion rejecting Gottschalk's views on Predestination. Hincmar also sought Hrabanus's opinion on Gottschalk's views on the Trinity: here Hrabanus took a softer line. Hrabanus's opinion was also sought, though by some Rheims clerics rather than by Hincmar himself, on the case of Ebbo: here Hrabanus's opinion, though apparently opposed to his own, may have influenced Hincmar. The fact that Hrabanus was the only episcopal colleague whose advice Hincmar sought shows the importance of this contact to Hincmar. Further, Hincmar had in his library copies of Hrabanus's works: one surviving manuscript has glosses in Hincmar's hand.

Mit Hinkmar von Reims (ca. 806-882) und Hrabanus Maurus (780-856) haben fast ein Jahrzehnt lang zwei der herausragendsten Gestalten des fränkischen Episkopats im 9. Jahrhundert gleichzeitig als Bischöfe gewirkt: Hinkmar 845-882 als Erzbischof von Reims im westfränkischen Reich Karls des Kahlen, Hrabanus Maurus 847-856 als Erzbischof von Mainz im ostfränkischen Reich Ludwigs des Deutschen. Sie gehörten nicht nur auf Grund ihrer Stellung als Metropolen und Vorsteher traditionsgeprägter Bistümer, sondern auch durch ihre hohen geistigen Qualitäten zu den einflußreichsten Männern des kirchlichen, politischen und geistigen Lebens ihrer Zeit.

Recht unterschiedlich war allerdings ihr Lebensweg gewesen, bevor sie ihren Bischofsstuhl erhielten. Hinkmar war zwar in jugendlichem Alter Schüler und dann Mönch in S. Denis geworden, hatte aber seit etwa dem 16. Lebensjahr (822) vorwiegend am Hofe und im Dienste Kaiser Ludwigs des Frommen, nach 840 König Karls des Kahlen gelebt. Er scheint in dieser Zeit noch im Hintergrund gewirkt zu haben, ist uns doch aus jenen Jahren keine größere Aktivität bezeugt, keine von ihm verfaßte Schrift bekannt.

Er betrat die Bühne des kirchlichen und politischen Lebens erst mit der Erhebung zum Erzbischof, die er Karl dem Kahlen verdankte. Immerhin läßt die Übertragung dieses seit merowingischer Zeit im Frankenreich als Sitz des hl. Remigius besonders angesehenen Bischofsstuhles erkennen, wie sehr Karl der Kahle Hinkmars Fähigkeiten in den Jahren seines 'stillen Dienstes' offenbar schätzen gelernt hatte.

Hrabanus Maurus hingegen war als ein bereits weithin bekannter Mann zum Mainzer Erzbischof erhoben worden. Er war ebenfalls bereits im Kindesalter Klosterschüler und später Mönch geworden, und zwar in Fulda, der Gründung des Bonifatius. Eine Zeitlang hatte er in Tours als Schüler Alkuins verbracht, war schon als junger Mann durch ein vielbeachtetes Werk über das Lob des hl. Kreuzes (*De laude sanctae crucis*) außerhalb der Klostermauern bekannt geworden und nach einer kurzen Tätigkeit als Leiter der Fuldaer Klosterschule (818-822) zum Abt dieses Klosters aufgestiegen. Sowohl durch sein Wirken als Abt (822-842) und weiterhin zugleich als Lehrer in Fulda wie durch seine außerordentlich zahlreichen Werke, vor allem Kommentare zu fast sämtlichen Büchern der Bibel, hatte er sich im Frankenreich hohes Ansehen erworben. Von vielen Orten, auch von weither, fanden sich Mönche als Schüler in Fulda ein - z.B. Lupus von Ferrières, Walahfrid Strabo von der Reichenau, Otfrid von Weissenburg/Elsaß -, Kaiser, Könige, Bischöfe und Äbte baten ihn um Schriften, besonders Erklärungen biblischer Texte, um Stellungnahmen zu Problemen des kirchlichen Lebens wie auch um seinen Rat. In den politischen Auseinandersetzungen, die das letzte Jahrzehnt der Herrschaft Ludwigs des Frommen durchzogen, gehörte er ebenso wie nach dem Tode Ludwigs zu den entschiedenen Verfechtern der Reichseinheit und dankte wahrscheinlich deshalb nach der Niederlage Lothars gegen seine Brüder Ludwig und Karl als Abt von Fulda ab (842). Aber schon nach wenigen Jahren der Muße erwies ihm Ludwig der Deutsche die höchste äußere Anerkennung, indem er ihn zum Bischof des räumlich größten und politisch wie kirchlich bedeutendsten ostfränkischen Bistums berief.

Unterschiedlich wie ihr Lebensweg waren auch die Interessen und in manchen Punkten die Meinungen Hinkmars und Hrabanus. Von seinem Lebensgang, vielleicht auch seiner Begabung und seiner Wesensart her war Hinkmar ein vor allem politischer Kopf. Er war obendrein ein Mann mit ausgeprägtem Rechts- und Autoritätsbewußtsein. Hraban hingegen war vor allem Lehrer, auch in den meisten seiner Schriften, besaß allerdings auch - erst in jüngster Zeit deutlicher erkannte - bemerkenswerte Fähigkeiten zur Organisation, die es ihm ermöglichten, trotz seines umfangreichen geistigen Wirkens seinen Leitungsaufgaben als Abt von

Fulda und dann als Erzbischof von Mainz nachzukommen. Infolge ihres Altersunterschieds haben beide sich während des Zeitraums ihres gleichzeitigen bischöflichen Wirkens nur mit zwei Angelegenheiten befassen brauchen, die sie beide angingen und auch zu einem brieflichen Kontakt miteinander führten: mit der Praedestinations- und Trinitätslehre des Mönches Gottschalk sowie mit der Gültigkeit der vom Vorgänger Hinkmars, Ebo, nach seiner Wiedereinsetzung als Erzbischof von Reims (840 - ca.844) gespendeten Klerikerweihen. Längst vor Hinkmars Erhebung zum Bischof hatte Hraban zu der Frage der hierarchischen Stellung und der Rechte der Chorbischöfe eine Meinung geäußert, die in wesentlichen Punkten im Gegensatz zu Hinkmars später in heftigen Auseinandersetzungen vertretenen Auffassungen stand, diesem aber anscheinend nicht bekannt gewesen ist.

Es war offenbar Hinkmar, der die Verbindung zu Hraban gesucht hat, nachdem ein Konzil zu Mainz unter dem Vorsitz Hrabans 848 den Mönch Gottschalk wegen seiner unorthodoxen Praedestinationslehre verurteilt, aus dem ostfränkischen Reich ausgewiesen und Hinkmar von Reims ausgeliefert hatte, da das Heimatkloster Gottschalks, Orbais, in dem zur Kirchenprovinz Reims gehörigen Bistum Soissons lag. Hinkmar wandte sich an Hraban, weil er anscheinend noch unsicher war, wie er Gottschalk behandeln sollte, zumal dieser wohl einige rührige Anhänger hatte, die Hinkmar zugunsten Gottschalks bedrängten. Wir kennen die Antwort Hrabans leider nicht.

Erneut erbat Hinkmar Hrabans Rat, nachdem im Frühjahr 849 eine von Karl dem Kahlen einberufene Synode zu Quierzy Gottschalk ebenfalls verurteilt hatte und dieser nun in dem in der Diözese Reims gelegenen Kloster Hautvilliers die ihm auferlegte Haft verbringen mußte. Auch hier blieb Gottschalk unbeugsam. Das Vorgehen gegen ihn löste überdies im Westfrankenreich eine recht lebhafte Diskussion der Fragen aus, die durch Gottschalk gestellt waren. Insbesondere ging es um seine Lehre von einer doppelten Praedestination Gottes: der Guten zur ewigen Seligkeit, der Verworfenen zur ewigen Verdammnis. Als er schon nach knapp einem Jahr ernsthaft erkrankte und in dieser Situation die Kommunion verlangte, war Hinkmar an Hrabans Stellungnahme gelegen. Um Hraban den Diskussionsstand vor Augen zu führen, übersandte der Reimser Erzbischof mit seinem Brief einige Dokumente aus jüngster Zeit: das von Gottschalk der Synode zu Quierzy vorgelegte Glaubensbekenntnis, seine - Hinkmars - Schrift an die 'einfachen Gläubigen seiner Diözese' (*dilectis filiis simplicibus huius sanctae sedis*) über die Irrtümer Gottschalks sowie die dieser Auseinandersetzung gewidmeten Schriften des Bischofs Prudentius von Troyes und des Mönchs Rathramnus von Corbie - beide auf der Seite Gottschalks. Hraban antwortete zunächst (vor Ostern 850) nur kurz, nach Ostern ausführlicher, beide Male aber urteilte er sehr entschieden: Solange Gottschalk seinem Irrtum nicht abschwört, darf er nicht zur Kommunion zugelassen werden, auch nicht in Todesgefahr. Hraban berief sich vor allem auf Bibel und Kirchenväter, stützte sich also auf dieselben Autoritäten, die auch Gottschalk für sich bemüht hatte, um dem Konzil von Quierzy seine Rechtgläubigkeit zu beweisen. Der Mainzer Erzbischof folgte

seiner Antwort zwei Stellungnahmen bei, die er einige Zeit zuvor, als Gottschalk in Oberitalien predigend seine Lehre verbreitete, für Bischof Noting von Verona und Markgraf Eberhard von Friaul verfaßt hatte. Die in ihnen zusammengestellten Argumente aus der kirchlichen Tradition sollten seinem jetzt abgegebenen Urteil zusätzliche Beweiskraft verleihen.

Welchen Einfluß Hrabans unmißverständliche, Härte fordernde Äußerungen auf Hinkmar gehabt haben, wissen wir nicht. Nachgegeben hat der Erzbischof von Reims dem Verlangen Gottschalks jedenfalls nicht, obwohl selbst führende Geister des westfränkischen Reiches, z.B. Abt Lupus von Ferrières und die beiden schon Genannten, Prudentius wie Rathramnus, für den gefangenen Mönch eintraten. Die Auseinandersetzungen haben sich noch lange hingezogen, weit über den Tod Hrabans hinaus, der jedoch schon seit Beginn der 50er Jahre ebenso wie andere Theologen des ostfränkischen Reiches nicht mehr mit der Angelegenheit befaßt gewesen ist.

Von geringerer Bedeutung scheint der Streit über die von Gottschalk verteidigte Formel *trina deitas* gewesen zu sein, die Hinkmar nicht für ganz rechthgläubig hielt. Auch zu dieser Frage wollte er Hrabans Meinung erfahren. Dieser sah darin jedoch nur eine unnötige neue und mißverständliche, nicht schon häretische Formulierung. Sie veranlaßte ihn, erneut nachdrücklich auf den überlieferten kirchlichen Glauben an den einen Gott in drei Personen hinzuweisen. Hinkmar suchte den Streit danach zu beenden, in dem er durch die von ihm einberufene Synode zu Soissons 853 verbieten ließ die umstrittene Formel weiter zu gebrauchen. Da er aber gleichzeitig in einem alten liturgischen Text die Formel *trina deitas* in *sancta deitas* änderte, löste er auch in dieser Angelegenheit eine langdauernde, aber ebenfalls anscheinend ganz auf Teile des westfränkischen Reiches begrenzte Auseinandersetzung aus.

Nicht ganz unberührt ließ hingegen Hraban der unter Hinkmar entfachte zumindest verschärfte Streit über die Gültigkeit der Klerikerweihen, die sein Vorgänger Ebo gespendet hatte. Ebo war 833/34 eines der Häupter der Opposition gegen Ludwig den Frommen gewesen, war deswegen 835 als Erzbischof von Reims abgesetzt worden und hatte die folgenden Jahre an verschiedenen Orten als Gefangener verbringen müssen, zunächst in Fulda unter Abt Hraban. Das Vorgehen gegen Ebo weckte nicht nur Leidenschaften, sondern auch theologische und kirchenrechtliche Fragen. Umstritten war nicht so sehr, ob er durch sein Handeln schuldig geworden war; viel mehr war offensichtlich umstritten, ob seine Amtsenthebung und Inhaftierung rechtmäßig war. Vor allem seitens seiner Freunde und Anhänger suchte und verbreitete man deshalb Texte der kirchlichen Tradition zu der Frage, ob ein in schwere Schuld gefallener Geistlicher sein früheres Amt wieder erhalten bzw. behalten dürfe. Die Auseinandersetzung wurde durch ein weiteres Problem belastet, als Ebo nach dem Tode Ludwigs des Frommen 840 auf Betreiben Kaiser Lothars durch Beschluß einer Synode zu Ingelheim (b. Mainz) in sein Bistum Reims restituiert worden war. Selbstverständlich hat er als Teil seiner Amtsaufgaben nun auch wieder Klerikern seines Sprengels klerikale Weihen erteilt, z. B. zum Presbyter. Von den Gegnern

Ebos ist aber daraufhin nicht nur seine Restitution in sein früheres Bistum bekämpft, sondern auch die Gültigkeit der von ihm gespendeten Klerikerweihen bestritten worden. Ebo selbst kam zwar bald aus der Schußlinie, da er wohl 844 endgültig auf das Bistum Reims verzichten mußte und nun mit Unterstützung des Papstes das Bistum Hildesheim erhielt, wo er bis zu seinem Tode 851 anscheinend unangefochten gewirkt hat. Die von ihm geweihten Kleriker aber mußten erleben, daß sein Nachfolger Hinkmar ihre Weihen für ungültig hielt und daß er sie durch Beschluß einer Synode zu Soissons 853 aus ihren kirchlichen Ämtern zu entfernen suchte.

In dieser Situation erinnerte man sich wieder der Autorität des ostfränkischen Erzbischofs von Mainz und bat ihn um Hilfe. Diesmal war es nicht Hinkmar, sondern 'einige Brüder', vielleicht einige der von der Entscheidung Hinkmars betroffenen Kleriker, die Hraban veranlaßten, sich erneut zu einer Auseinandersetzung in der Kirchenprovinz von Reims zu äußern. Vielleicht dachte man daran, daß er mit dem Ausgangspunkt des Streites, der *causa Ebonis*, durch den bei ihm in Fulda inhaftierten Ebo schon in den Anfängen unmittelbar konfrontiert worden war. Eine Zusammenstellung von Texten zu dieser Frage, die wahrscheinlich noch zur Zeit Hrabans in Fulda erfolgt ist, bezeugt seine Anteilnahme an der damaligen Diskussion und läßt erkennen, daß er keine grundsätzlichen rechtlichen oder theologischen Bedenken gegen die Wiedereinsetzung Ebos hatte. So hatten die von Ebo geweihten Reimser Kleriker Grund zu hoffen, daß Hraban sich für sie bei Hinkmar verwenden werde. Tatsächlich hat Hraban bald nach der Synode zu Soissons einen Brief an Hinkmar geschrieben, offenbar zu Gunsten der betroffenen Kleriker. Ob Hinkmar den Brief beantwortet hat oder ob ihn Hrabans Argumente beeindruckt haben, wissen wir nicht. Die Auseinandersetzung war in der Reimser Kirche beim Tode Hrabans 856 ebensowenig beendet wie die Angelegenheit Gottschalks.

Daß Hrabans Einsatz für die Reimser Kleriker Hinkmar beeindruckt hat, darf man wohl zumindest nicht für unwahrscheinlich halten. Einige Jahre zuvor hatte Hinkmar ja seinerseits Hrabans Rat und Urteil erbeten, als in seiner Diözese die durch Gottschalk ausgelösten Auseinandersetzungen begonnen hatten. Gewiß kann man daran denken, er habe sich an Hraban gewandt, weil er der Vorsitzende der Mainzer Synode gewesen war, die 848 Gottschalk zuerst verurteilt hatte. Aber sie hatte sich nur mit Gottschalks Praedestinationslehre befaßt, nicht mit der von Hinkmar ebenfalls als unorthodox verdächtigten Formel *trina deitas*. Es dürfte also vor allem seine Wertschätzung Hrabans gewesen sein, die Hinkmar zu seinen Briefen an ihn bewogen hat. Diese Annahme wird auch durch die Feststellung unterstützt, daß es im übrigen kein Zeugnis für eine ähnliche Bitte Hinkmars, nämlich um Rat und Meinungsäußerung, an einen anderen Bischof gibt. Außerdem kann in diesem Zusammenhang geltend gemacht werden, daß zur Bibliothek Hinkmars schon früh drei Bände mit Werken Hrabans, und zwar mit seinen Erklärungen der Königsbücher, der Paulus-Briefe an die Korinther (1. u. 2.), Galater und Epheser sowie des 2. bis 5. Buches des Pentateuch (Ex, Lev, Num u. Deut) in der Bearbeitung Walahfrid Strabos gehört haben. Am

bemerkenswertesten ist unter ihnen der Band mit Hrabans Erklärung der Königsbücher. Es ist von einem Reimser Kanoniker Adam schon vor 853 geschrieben worden und enthält Hinweise darauf, daß Hinkmar ihn gelesen hat und daß einige Glossen von seiner Hand stammen.

So machen also die Briefe Hinkmars an Hraban zusammen mit Hinkmars Besitz und Benutzung der Werke Hrabans deutlich, wie sehr auch er den älteren und weithin angesehenen Amtsbruder im ostfränkischen Mainz schätzte. Die brieflichen Kontakte zwischen den beiden werfen überdies ein wohl interessantes Licht auf die geistigen und kirchlichen Verhältnisse im Frankenreich nach dem Vertrag von Verdun.

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A VISUAL EPITOME OF THE EUCHARISTIC 'ORDO' FROM THE ERA OF CHARLES THE BALD: THE IVORY MASS COVER OF THE *DROGO SACRAMENTARY*

Roger E. Reynolds

In memory of another Charles*

The coronation of Charles the Bald in Metz, 9 September 869, has often been seen as the final episode in the rise of the city of St Arnulf to the pinnacle of liturgical practice and scholarship in the Carolingian realm.¹ Almost from the middle of the eighth century and the ascension of Pippin the Short, the name of Metz had been synonymous with the best in the practice of a new liturgical rite that had gradually been penetrating the Frankish realm. For some time prior to Pippin's reign, elements of a rite celebrated in the ancient imperial city of Rome had been filtering across the Alps.² These elements had slowly been combined with the indigenous Gallican rite to form a hybrid, neither purely Gallican nor Roman.

With the Messine bishop Chrodegang and his patron Pippin there began in earnest a systematic Romanization of the Gallican liturgy. Chrodegang himself perhaps visited Rome where he saw at first hand the Roman rite, and when Pope Stephen II sojourned in Frankish territories from 753-55 it was Chrodegang who was his companion.³ Moreover, it was under Chrodegang and his successor Angilramnus that a stationary liturgy something like the one used in Rome was fully

* This paper is dedicated to Charles McCurry (+1980), talented and gracious young member of the Institute of Medieval Canon Law (Berkeley, California) and research specialist on Metz.

¹ See e.g., O. G. Oexle, 'Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulfs', *FMS* 1 (1967), p. 360.

² See J. Deshusses, 'Sur quelques anciens livres liturgiques de Saint-Thierry: les étapes d'une transformation de la liturgie', in *Saint-Thierry: une abbaye du VI^e siècle: Actes du Colloque international d'Histoire monastique, Reims-Saint-Thierry, 11 au 14 octobre 1976* (Saint-Thierry 1979), p. 134.

³ C. Vogel, 'St Chrodegang et les débuts de la romanisation du culte en pays francs', in *Saint Chrodegang: Communications présentées au colloque tenu à Metz à l'occasion du douzième centenaire de sa mort* (Metz 1967), pp. 96-98.

developed for the churches of Metz.⁴ And finally, from later writers we have it that it was Chrodegang who introduced Roman chant and customs and a Roman *ordo* of liturgical celebration into the church of Metz.⁵ So renowned did the cultural usage in the city become in the eighth and ninth centuries that clerics were sent there from as far away as England to learn the Roman liturgy,⁶ and Metz was distinguished as having provided liturgical practitioners for cities the likes of Lyons, which themselves had long traditions of liturgical excellence.⁷ Symbolic of the position and prestige attained by Metz as a liturgical centre during the Carolingian period was the presence of Amalarius, the creative liturgical genius whose interpretations of the liturgy remained the norm for liturgical exposition throughout the Middle Ages and the touchstone to which later liturgiologists returned time and time again.⁸

Excellence in liturgical practice and scholarship in any Carolingian centre was dependent on liturgical books, and Metz undoubtedly had an abundance of these, some made in Metz itself, others imported. A few of these still survive and are counted among the most precious treasures of libraries throughout Europe. There is for example, from the late eighth century the well-known *Metz Martyrologium*, Ms. Bern, Burgerbibliothek 289, with its fragment of the *Ordo Romanus Primus*.⁹ Slightly later are the *Metz Passionale*, MS Montpellier, Bibl. Universitaire (Méd.) 55, written probably in Metz in the beginning of the ninth century,¹⁰ and the almost contemporary Gospel book, Paris, BN Lat. 268, with its 'capitula' and famous list of Messine stational churches.¹¹ Two other Messine Gospel books are dated slightly later, and form part of the so-called Drogo group of manuscripts:

⁴ T. Klauser, 'Eine Stationsliste der Metzger Kirche aus dem 8. Jahrhundert, wahrscheinlich ein Werk Chrodegangs', in his *Gesammelte Arbeiten zur Liturgiegeschichte, Kirchengeschichte und christlichen Archäologie*, ed. E. Dassmann (*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Ergänzungsband 3, Münster/W 1974), pp. 38-43.

⁵ Vogel, *art.cit.*, p. 99; and Oexle, *art.cit.*, p. 289.

⁶ Oexle, *art.cit.*, p. 290.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 290 f. Sigulf the Anglo-Saxon was sent to Metz for liturgical training, and c. 800 Leidrad asked for assistance from Metz in establishing the *ordo psallendi* at Lyons.

⁸ For a small indication of the enormous influence of Amalarius see A. Cabaniss, *Amalarius of Metz* (Amsterdam 1954), pp. 91-95; R. Mönchmeier, *Amalar von Metz, sein Leben und seine Schriften: Ein Beitrag zur theologischen Literaturgeschichte und zur Geschichte der lateinischen Liturgie im Mittelalter*, in *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien*, 1.3-4, (Münster/W 1893); and R. E. Reynolds, 'Liturgical Scholarship at the Time of the Investiture Controversy: Past Research and Future Opportunities', *Harvard Theological Review* 71 (1978), pp. 116f.

⁹ See M. Andrieu, *Les 'Ordines Romani' du Haut Moyen Age* [hereafter Andrieu] I, *les manuscrits* (Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense: études et documents 11, Louvain 1931) 90; and K. Gamber, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, 2nd ed. [hereafter CLLA] (Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia, Freiburg/S 1968), nr. 1065.

¹⁰ See B. Bischoff, 'Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen', *KdG 2. Das geistige Leben*, ed. B. Bischoff (Düsseldorf 1965), p. 235, n.12.

¹¹ See CLLA, nr. 1111.

Paris, BN Lat. 9383¹² and 9388.¹³ Then there are the illustrated computistic manual, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 3307, a copy of a model made at the court of Charlemagne,¹⁴ and the illustrious *Metz Tonar*, Metz, Bibl. mun, 351, with its bilingual *laudes regiae*¹⁵ and Ordinal of Christ.¹⁶ After the middle of the ninth century Metz was the recipient of some of the most lavishly illustrated Carolingian liturgical books still in existence. It is thought that the *Bible of Count Vivian*, Paris, BN Lat. 1, was perhaps given by Charles the Bald to Metz on his coronation¹⁷ and that the *Liuthard Psalter*, Paris, BN Lat. 1152, likewise was sent there in celebration of that event.¹⁸ There is, moreover, the dazzling *Sacramentary of Metz*, Paris, BN Lat. 1141, written in the second half of the ninth century perhaps in Corbie but kept in the cathedral treasury at Metz until the eighteenth century.¹⁹

Art historians have long been familiar with some of the ivory covers made to enfold these liturgical gems, and they have carefully traced the enormous influence of two ninth-century schools of Messine ivory carvers. Together with a number of ivory pieces for liturgical objects,²⁰ the surviving book covers of the Metz schools now grace the collection of many a European library and museum ranging all the way from famous pieces in Paris and Berlin to lesser known items in Frankfurt, Würzburg and Coburg Castle.²¹

While all these Caroline manuscripts and ivories once connected with Metz retain their special place for historians of art and liturgy, none is more precious than a Mass book made during the time of Charles the Bald. The *Sacramentary*, now Paris, BN Lat. 9428, was written and decorated sometime after 844 for a relative of Charles and an illegitimate son of Charlemagne, Bishop Drogo of

¹² See *Drogo-Sakramentar, Manuscrit Latin 9428, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat: Kommentar, Wilhelm Koehler (+), Auszug aus Karolingische Miniaturen 3*, ed. F. Mütterich (Graz 1974), p. 11.

¹³ J. Hubert, J. Porcher, W. F. Volbach, *The Carolingian Renaissance (The Arts of Mankind: New York 1970)*, p. 235.

¹⁴ F. Mütterich and J. E. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting (New York 1976)*, pp. 88f.

¹⁵ E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship (Berkeley 1946)*, pp. 27, 73. Cf. Oexle, *art.cit.*, p. 303.

¹⁶ R. E. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from their Origins to the Twelfth Century (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 7, Berlin 1978)*, pp. 75f.

¹⁷ Oexle, *art.cit.*, p. 356.

¹⁸ Hubert, *Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 56, nrr. 231f.

¹⁹ See *ibid.*, p. 351, nr. 140; *CLLA*, nr. 771, and the facsimile edition in *Sakramentar von Metz: MS. Lat. 1141 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Vollständige Faksimile Ausgabe*, Intro. by F. Mütterich (*Codices Selecti 28, Graz 1972*).

²⁰ Among these objects are the comb of St Heribert in the Schnütgen Museum, the Brunswick casket, and the side panel of a casket in the Kofler Collection, Lucerne, on which see Hubert, *Carolingian Renaissance*, pp. 233-39.

²¹ See Hubert, *Carolingian Renaissance*, pp. 233-39; and J.-B. Pelt, 'La bibliothèque de la cathédrale', in *La cathédrale de Metz*, ed. M. Aubert (Paris 1931), pp. 313f.

Metz.²² Not only does it contain a magnificently illuminated text, but it is encased in a pair of the most remarkable ivory covers made in the Middle Ages. The liturgical text of the Sacramentary seems to have been compiled specifically for Bishop Drogo, who would have used it on the most solemn occasions in Metz. Sequences of Mass prayers for only the most important feasts are contained in the Sacramentary, but underlying the texts as a whole is the most widely distributed of the Frankified Roman Mass books, the so-called *Gregorian of Aniane*. This was a sacramentary based on the ancient Roman Gregorian sacramentary sent by Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne that had been quickly Frankified by the addition of Gallican, Visigothic, and other Roman texts by Benedict of Aniane.²³ Throughout the texts of the *Drogo Sacramentary* there are illuminations illustrating the events commemorated on selected feasts and contemporary ninth-century liturgical celebrations of these events. Thus, not only episodes in the lives of Christ and the saints are depicted, but scenes of the Mass, baptism, and other liturgical rites.²⁴

The two ivory covers for the Sacramentary are, as it were, a pictorial directive as to how the rites written and illuminated within the book itself were to be performed. The front cover portrays in a series of six small panels some of the non-eucharistic ceremonies Bishop Drogo would have been called upon to perform, including baptism, ordination and the dedication of churches. The three remaining panels of this cover depicting initiation rites show events from Christ's life. Sometime since the ninth century, perhaps during the rebinding or repair of the cover, these panels were jumbled among the sacramental scenes and today remain squeezed together in the upper right-hand corner of the cover. A number of scholars have attempted to interpret the initiation scenes of this cover in terms of the scenes from Christ's life - that is, they have attempted to rearrange the scenes in their original order.²⁵ Not all of these attempts have been equally successful and further examination is necessary, but for our purposes the interpretation of the initiation or front cover can be left to one side, and we can concentrate on the back or Mass cover of the *Drogo Sacramentary*. In it there is not only one of the most striking visual epitomes of the early medieval Mass, but also one of the most dramatic portrayals of the Roman eucharistic *ordo* as it was used at the time of Charles the Bald. (See Fig. 15.2, below, p. 260.)

²² The exact date of the Sacramentary is in dispute, on which see Hubert, *Carolingian Renaissance*, p.160; Koehler, *Auszug* (note 12 above), p.17; and F. Unterkircher, *Zur Ikonographie und Liturgie des Drogo-Sakramentars* [Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Lat. 9428] (Interpretationes ad Codices 1: Graz 1977), pp. 10f.

²³ See R. E. Reynolds, 'The Portrait of the Ecclesiastical Officers in the Raganaldus Sacramentary and its Liturgico-Canonical Significance', *Speculum* 46 (1971), pp. 437f.; and J. Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien, ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits* (Spicilegium Friburgense 16, Fribourg/S 1971), pp. 66-70.

²⁴ For a description of the miniatures see Unterkircher, *Zur Ikonographie*, pp. 13-23.

²⁵ See, e.g., T. Bogler, 'Österliche Szenen auf dem Elfenbeindeckel des Drogo-Sakramentars', in *Paschalis Sollemnia: Studien zu Osterfeier und Osterfrömmigkeit*, eds. B. Fischer and J. Wagner (Basel 1959), pp. 108-19 and pls. 1-7.

(1a) In the upper left-hand panel we see in the centre a *ciborium* or altar canopy whose columns are enwrapped with veils and from which hangs a *corona* of lights. Below the *ciborium* is an altar with what may be a book on it, and behind the altar are three faces. To the left of the *ciborium* hang what have been described as phylacteries with relics,²⁶ but which are almost certainly the seven lamps such as Benedict of Aniane gave to his monastery to hang before the altar.²⁷ Below the lamps are three candles being held by seven tonsured figures dressed in albs. Immediately before us sit three figures with their backs to us. To the right a large tonsured bishop sits on his throne under a conch-shaped apse, wearing a chasuble and amice around his neck.^{27a} To the bishop's rear stand two tonsured figures with long-sleeved dalmatics or tunics.

(1b) In the second panel of the upper register there are standing on the left hand eight tonsured, albed figures, one of which holds a thurible. In the centre bowing toward an altar with a book on it is our bishop. To his left are two tonsured figures and to his right are three small individuals with long-sleeved dalmatics. Immediately to our right hand at the altar are three small figures, one with a thurible and two with candles.

(1c) Moving to the third panel in the upper register, we find on the right hand an altar with a book on it and a *corona* of lights above. Our large bishop kisses a figure dressed in a chasuble and amice standing to his right hand. Two figures in long-sleeved dalmatics stand behind the bishop, and there is another individual behind the altar facing him.

(2a) In the second register there is in the first panel our altar with *corona* above it. Behind the altar on our right hand are several damaged figures, the nearest one wearing a long-sleeved dalmatic or perhaps a maniple. In the centre the large bishop bows to kiss a book held by a cleric with dalmatic. Behind the bishop seven or perhaps eight figures stand, the one in the foreground with dalmatic.

(2b) In the centre panel we see in the upper left-hand corner what is in all likelihood a veiled *ciborium* above an altar. Surrounding the altar are seven small tonsured figures. Immediately in front of them are seven figures, four of which in the foreground wear dalmatics. On the right hand a bishop with folded hands faces his *cathedra* under a conch-shaped apse.

(2c) The third panel in the second register shows our large bishop on the left hand with a cleric in dalmatic to his right. Two large figures in the back look toward him while one faces away. Three smaller figures in the foreground look toward what is probably an altar over which hangs a *corona*, while behind the column is one figure and behind the altar a face.

(3a) Moving to the lowest register we find in the left-hand panel two scenes.

²⁶ C. Heitz, 'Le groupe cathédral de Metz au temps de saint Chrodegang', in *Saint Chrodegang*, p. 126.

²⁷ Cf. D. R. Dendy, *The Use of Lights in Christian Worship* (Alcuin Club Collections 41, London 1959), p. 20.

^{27a} For a convenient description of liturgical vestments see J. Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient* (Freiburg/Br. 1907).

To the left of the column dividing the scenes our bishop together with a cleric in dalmatic receives something from a veiled figure who stands at a barrier with three or four figures behind it, another having a veil. In the right-hand scene, the bishop faces the altar with a round loaf on it. To his right is a cleric in a chasuble, and to his rear are two additional clerics.

(3b) In the lowest centre panel there stand on the left hand eight tonsured figures, one carrying a thurible, and immediately in front of them are five clerics in dalmatics. To the right hand a bishop stands before the altar with a chalice on it while a figure to his left holds a book open. Behind the altar are three figures facing the bishop.

(3c) Finally, in the lowest right-hand panel to one side of a structure of some sort stands a bishop giving something to a bowing cleric in a chasuble. Behind this cleric is one figure in the background and four to his rear. On the far left-hand side are six tonsured figures in albs with their mouths wide open.

These panels, which so obviously depict the ceremony of the Mass, have been reproduced singly and as a whole dozens of times in studies both art-historical and liturgical. To survey some of the multiple contexts in which the panels have been reproduced and described is indicative not only of the pictorial wealth in the individual panels, but also of the astonishing array of interpretations assigned to each depiction of the Mass cycle in the panels.

Studies dealing with limited aspects of liturgical and architectural history have traditionally used the Drogo Mass panels as illustration. Joseph Braun in his description of altar apparatus, for example, used a reverse image of panel (1a) to illustrate altar veils.²⁸ Cyril Pocknee in a study of the Christian altar cited the Mass cover to portray the celebrant taking an eastern position at an altar with no reredos or reliquary on it.²⁹ Carol Heitz reproduced the complete cover to show the Metz altar surmounted by a *ciborium* and the bishop's throne against the base of the apse wall.³⁰ And the present author has used the cover to illustrate the liturgical functions of the various ecclesiastical grades in the early Middle Ages.³¹

Much more interesting than these occasional or minor citations of the Drogo Mass cover have been studies that attempt to assign an interpretation to each panel and to rearrange the panels according to what may have been their original sequence. In the nineteenth century there were a number of descriptions of the entire group of panels, but the most complete was that of Charles Rohault de Fleury (who was followed in most details by Fr. X. Kraus):³²

²⁸ J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Munich 1924), p. 134 and pl. 144.

²⁹ C. E. Pocknee, *The Christian Altar in History and Today* (London 1963), p. 94.

³⁰ Heitz, 'Le groupe cathédrale de Metz' p. 126 and pl.

³¹ Reynolds, 'Portrait of the Ecclesiastical Officers', p. 433, n. 9 and fig. 6b.

³² Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe: Études archéologiques sur ses monuments* 1 (Paris 1883), pp. 66f. For the description of Kraus see L. Weber, *Einbanddecken Elfenbeintafeln Miniaturen, Schriftenproben aus Metzser liturgischen Handschriften I: jetzige Pariser Handschriften* (Metz-Frankfurt/M 1913), pp. 7-10.

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| <p>(1a) Preparation for Mass. Celebrant has come from sacristy for second vesting. On throne the chasuble visible. Cleric behind celebrant and others on bench. Curtains of <i>ciborium</i> pulled. Choristers with candles. Votive crown hangs from <i>ciborium</i> to left of which are five or six <i>coronae</i>.</p> | <p>(1b) Celebrant followed by acolytes and clerics bows to altar to recite Confiteor. First censuring has taken place.</p> | <p>(1c) Priest goes to altar and kisses deacon. <i>Corona</i> suspended by three chains and ornamented with precious stones.</p> |
| <p>(2a) Kiss of book on altar held by deacon. Behind a cleric with hands folded. Two others seem to present holy books. Mgr. de Montault thinks this scene went before (1c).</p> | <p>(2b) Celebrant with folded hands goes to throne where he remains until Offertory. Celebrant followed by clerics.</p> | <p>(2c) Priest comes to altar where oblations are ready. Clerics assist him and lift corners of his chasuble.</p> |
| <p>(3a) Priest receives offering from faithful. Takes bread from woman, who kisses his hand. Priest returns to altar to place bread on it. Assistant kisses his hand.</p> | <p>(3b) Mgr. de Montault says this is the oblation of wine of faithful following prayers of Offertory. Chalice is on altar. Deacon holds open missal. Clerics kneel behind. Censuring has begun.</p> | <p>(3c) Communion of a priest. Celebrant begins with superior orders and continues to minor orders.</p> |

From discussions with Mgr. Barbier de Montault, de Fleury was aware that some of the panels might have been rearranged, but in his description he maintained the present sequence and this clearly influenced his interpretation, especially in panels (1a), (2b) and (2c). In (1a), it is not clear why the celebrant is sitting for the second vesting; in (2b) why the celebrant, who is returning to his throne until the Offertory, stands facing the throne; and why in (2c) there is no evidence of the oblations, particularly since they are yet to be given in (3a). Moreover, from some of the individual descriptions it would seem that de Fleury had a more modern Mass ceremonial in mind than one contemporary with Drogo. For instance, in (1b) it is not clear why the prayer is the Confiteor when our earliest evidence of the Confiteor *per se* is from the early tenth century.³³ And in (3b), why should one have to presuppose a missal, when a sacramentary or *libellus* with the canon would more likely have been used?

³³ On the earliest Confiteor formula see J. A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: its Origins and Development [Missarum Sollemnia]*, trs. F. A. Brunner, (New York 1955), i. 299, citing the tenth-century MS, Paris BN lat. 9432; on which see CLLA nr. 910. The Sacramentary of St Gatien, with its Confiteor dated to the ninth-tenth century by Jungmann, I, p. 299 n. 6, is in reality from the early eleventh century; on which see A.-G. Martimort, *La Documentation liturgique de dom Edmond Martène : Étude codicologique (Studi e Testi 279: Vatican City 1978)*, 218, nr. 323.

One of the first authors in the twentieth century to attempt an interpretation of the Mass cover was Charles Pfister, who described the Sacramentary as a whole in his important article on Drogo.³⁴ He (and Henri Leclercq, who repeated his description in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*)³⁵ pointed out first that the original sequence of panels must surely have been modified, and then he described them as:

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| (1a) Bishop leaves the sacristy. | (1b) Bishop inclines toward the altar. | (1c) Bishop gives the pax to an assisting priest. |
| (2a) Bishop kisses the Gospel | (2b) Bishop listens to the Epistle. | (2c) Bishop turns east to hear the Gospel. |
| (3a) Bishop receives oblations | (3b) Bishop consecrates wine in a chalice. | (3c) Bishop gives the archdeacon the <i>pain béni</i> . |

An examination of the panels and Pfister's brief interpretations leaves the reader rather puzzled. In panel (1a) it is quite unclear how a sitting bishop could be entering the church. In (2b) one wonders why the bishop is standing for the Epistle when it was an almost universal rule that he sit. In (2c) it is strange that the Gospel book lies closed on the altar as the bishop turns eastward. And finally, in (3c) one would like more information as to whether the *pain béni* is really like that used in recent French liturgical usage,³⁶ or simply the consecrated Host.

What has remained until today the most thorough description and accurate rearrangement of the panels (here signified by number before description) was published in 1913 by Louis Weber in his volume on Metz liturgical manuscripts.³⁷

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| (1a) 6. Reading of Epistle.
Bishop with chasuble and pallium sits on his <i>cathedra</i> in apse with conch-shaped cover behind the altar. Altar covered by <i>ciborium</i> from which hangs a <i>corona</i> of lights. Curtains hang from columns. Deacons stand to bishop's right and three priests in foreground sit on a bench. Between the columns of the <i>ciborium</i> are three subdeacons. On the left foreground are three acolytes with candles. Behind them is the <i>schola</i> . In left-hand corner is an apparatus, perhaps a beam for lights. | 1b) 2. Veneration.
Clergy bow in veneration and remain until 'Sicut erat'. To right of bishop are three deacons and to left are two deacons. Beside altar are two tapers and a cleric with incense. Another thurifer is behind the bishop, as well as a bearer of the Gospel. The <i>schola</i> is to the rear. | (1c) 3. Bishop kisses clerics.
One priest at bishop's right receives kiss and another moves up at left. Two deacons visible on right and one on left. Gospel is on altar. There is no altar cloth, and curtains and <i>corona</i> are visible. |
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³⁴ Ch. Pfister, 'L'archevêque de Metz Drogon', in *Mélanges Paul Fabre* (Paris 1902), pp. 142f.

³⁵ *DAcL* XI, cols. 867f.

³⁶ Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, p. 454.

³⁷ Weber, *Einbanddecken*, i, pp. 7-10.

(2a) 4. Bishop kisses Gospel before Kyrie. Priests are behind the bishop. One deacon bearing maniple in left hand kisses the corner of the altar. Another bears Gospel for the kiss.

(2b) 5. Kyrie. Seven deacons in dalmatics and subdeacons dressed as acolytes stand behind the bishop who faces east at his throne on a podium. Left is a *ciborium* with curtains.

(2c) 1. Procession of bishop to altar. Bishop without pallium is led to the altar from the sacristy by archdeacon in company of clergy.

(3a) 7. Offering by laity and clergy. Left: bishop at choir screen receives bread from a woman, who kisses his hand. Other faithful in background wait to give offerings. Archdeacon with *tramites* on vestment waits to receive wine. Right: after bishop washes his hands, he goes to altar to receive the offering of clergy. A loaf of bread is already on an altar. A priest with fanon gives bread to the bishop with a hand kiss.

(3b) 8. Blessings of offering during Canon. Bishop stands at the altar and blesses chalice with handles. A cleric holds a sacramentary. Subdeacons are to left of this cleric. Deacons and perhaps an archdeacon are behind the bishop. Two thurifers are behind. Three priests with chasubles consecrate with bishop. Cleric in background is perhaps leader of the *schola*.

(3c) 9. Distribution of communion to clergy. Bishop to left of altar gives Host to priest who kisses his hand. Next to two priests other clerics are visible. To left in foreground are three subdeacons and the leader of the *schola*.

As will be seen, the interpretation of the panels by Weber is remarkably accurate, probably because it is based on careful reading of the works of Amalarius of Metz and the *Ordo Romanus*. From the perspective of current scholarship the only objection to Weber's analysis is that he used the then standard Mabillon edition of the *Ordo Romanus* now superseded by Mgr. Andrieu's magnificent studies and edition.

The year after the appearance of Weber's work, Adolf Goldschmidt, in his monumental study of Carolingian ivories, not only described most of the panels but also attempted a rearrangement according to what he thought was the original sequence (here arranged according to numbers representing his sequence).³⁸

(1a) 3. In the choir of the church the bishop and clergy sit for the Epistle while three deacons are seen from the rear. Over the altar is a *ciborium* and veils. To the left is a row of candelabra and above a beam hung with many candles. The conch over the apse is turned at 90 degrees.

1b) 2. After the 'Gloria patri' the bishop goes before the altar and bows. In front and behind him are acolytes with thuribles and candles. Beside the bishop are deacons.

(1c) 1. At the end of the confessio the bishop turns and gives an assisting priest the pax. There is a Gospel book on the altar that the celebrant will kiss. Above the altar hang lamps.

³⁸ See A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser*, I (Berlin 1914) p. 42 who praises the description of the scenes by Delaroche, Dupon, and Lenormant.

(3a) 5. On left: bishop receives oblation from a woman, who kisses his hand. On right: bread is laid on the altar while the priest kisses the bishop's hand.

(3b) 7. Bishop gives a priest the bread and he kisses the celebrant's hand. The choir with open mouths sings the communion antiphon.

(3c) 6. Bishop blesses wine in a chalice on the altar while an assistant holds book.

Although not as complete as Weber's, Goldschmidt's description and arrangement of the panels is a distinct improvement on Pfister's, but again there are questions. One wonders, for example, what scenes exactly do panels (2a) and (2c) represent, and why (3b) and (3c) have been reversed.

Almost as unusual a descriptive interpretation for the panels as Goldschmidt's was that of Maurice Vloberg, who cited Pelt's monumental work on Metz as his authority.³⁹

(1a) Bishop and assistants listening to the Epistle.

(1b) Introit. Bishop and assistants bow to the altar with a *ciborium*.

(1c) Bishop goes to the altar and kisses clerics.

(2a) Bishop kisses Gospels.

(2b) Bishop turns east for 'Gloria in excelsis'

(2c) Bishop without pallium turns to the altar with the archdeacon and seven deacons.

(3a) Offertory. Woman offers bread, and bishop blesses a chalice with two handles. Deacons kneel behind bishop.

(3b) Not described.

(3c) Bishop gives Host to a priest, who kisses his hand. Other priests wait to receive the Eucharist.

The liturgist begins to sense that Vloberg, a specialist in eucharistic iconography, has a firm understanding of the meaning of each panel until he reaches (2c). Here it is not clear why the bishop is without pallium and why he turns to the altar. Moreover, in Vloberg's description of panel (3a) there seems to be a conflation with (3b).

In 1950 Dom Theodor Bogler, who was later to attempt a reconstruction of the initiation cover of the *Drogo Sacramentary*⁴⁰ wrote an article, 'Das Bild im Dienste der Messkatechese', in which he dealt in a somewhat popular vein with the Mass cover panels (1a), (2a), (3b) and (3c).⁴¹ In the same volume containing Bogler's article there appeared as a supplement a reproduction together with a brief and novel description and rearrangement of the panels (here assigned the numbers of the suggested sequence).⁴²

³⁹ M. Vloberg, *L'Eucharistie dans l'art* (Grenoble 1946), pp. 56, 62f., and 139, n. 38.

⁴⁰ See above, n. 25.

⁴¹ T. Bogler, 'Das Bild im Dienste der Messkatechese', in *Die Messe in der Glaubensverkündigung: Kerygmatische Fragen*, eds. F. X. Arnold und B. Fischer (Freiburg/S 1950), p. 253.

⁴² *Die Messe*, pls. 1-5.

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| (1a) 2. Lection | (1b) 5. Entrance to altar. | (1c) 1. Pax |
| (2a) 4. Kiss of Gospels. | (2b) 3. Collect or singing of Gloria by the bishop standing east toward throne. | (2c) 6. Lavabo. |
| (3a) 7. Reception of offerings. | (3b) 8. Canon. | (3c) 9. Communion. |

The unusual feature in this description and rearrangement is the interpretation of panel (2c) as the lavabo. Unfortunately, there is no evidence of a lavabo bowl in the ivory; according to ninth-century practice the bishop almost always sat for the lavabo; and such an action, according to ninth-century practice, would logically have come between the reception of the oblations from the women and their placement on the altar that is, the lavabo would have split the two scenes in panel (3a). Further, as will be seen later, there is a much simpler explanation for this panel.

Another rather recent attempt to describe and rearrange the panels has been made by Otto Nussbaum in his fundamental study of the position of the ancient Christ altar.⁴³

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| (1a)3. Bishop seated on his throne hears the lection with deacons standing to his right and priests seated to his left. | (1b)1. Veneration of the altar from the front after the entrance. | (1c) Not described. |
| (2a) Not described. | (2b)2. At the Kyrie and Gloria the bishop stands toward the east at his throne with his back to his assistants and the people. | (2c) Not described. |
| (3a)4. Offering: Bishop receives gifts at the altar rail; bishop receives offerings from a priest to place them on the altar. | (3b) 5. Consecration: Bishop stands before the altar. Acolyte may hold 'canon episcopalis.' Sub-deacons are behind the altar. | (3c) 6. Communion. |

Although Nussbaum did not present a description and rearrangement of all the panels, it is the great merit of his work that he, like Weber before him, sensed that behind the positions taken by each of the various clerics there lay the rubrical directions of the *Ordines Romani*. Moreover, by this time the precisions of Mgr. Andrieu regarding the dates of the *Ordines Romani* were well known.

⁴³ O. Nussbaum, *Der Standort des Liturgen am christlichen Altar vor dem Jahre 1000: Eine archäologische und liturgiegeschichtliche Untersuchung (Theophaneia: Beiträge zur Religions- und Kirchengeschichte des Altertums, Bonn 1965), i, pp. 310, 359, 434, n. 88, 442; ii, pl. xxxii with drawings of the Mass cover taken from R. Rohault de Fleury, La messe i (Paris 1883), pl. 4.*

Perhaps the most remarkable recent description and interpretation of the Drogo Mass panels comes in A. G. Martimort's great handbook on the liturgy, *L'Église en prière*.⁴⁴

(1a) Entrance of bishop.	(1b) Veneration of altar.	(1c) Kiss of peace.
(2a) Veneration of Gospel.	(2b) During the Epistle?	(2c) During the Gospel?
(3a) Offertory.	(3b) Consecration.	(3c) Communion.

Here there seems to have been no attempt at rearranging the panels; only an artificial labelling of each panel with many of the curious results found in Pfister's earlier description.

That the decorative panels of a sacramentary as ancient and as sumptuous as the *Drogo Sacramentary* have received so much attention from art historians and liturgists is not surprising, but that they have assigned to them so wide a range of interpretative descriptions borders on the remarkable. But as one begins to examine closely the data upon which these divergent opinions have been based, it soon becomes apparent in most cases that the opinions have rested on vague notions as to how the Mass should have been celebrated in Carolingian times. Is there, however, any evidence as to how the Mass was celebrated in Metz in the period in which the Sacramentary was made? In the written text of the Sacramentary itself there is precious little information beyond the prayer texts. Moreover, in most contemporary sacramentaries the same holds true. There are, however, two sources that have been virtually ignored as keys to the interpretation of the Mass panels. These are, first, the contemporary commentaries on the Mass⁴⁵ and, second and much more important, contemporary *Ordines Romani* that were in use both in Metz and throughout the Carolingian Empire. And indeed, if one reads these sources carefully as one examines the panels of the ivory Mass cover, a proper interpretation of each panel and its original sequence in the whole cover almost leaps out at the viewer.

But what were the contemporary Mass *expositiones* and *ordines* that might have influenced the ivory carvers of the Drogo cover? Among the *expositiones*, those of Amalarius of Metz clearly spring to mind.⁴⁶ As we shall see, the panels partially reflect the work of Amalarius, especially his *Eclogae*,⁴⁷ but much more

⁴⁴ A. G. Martimort, *L'Église en prière: Introduction à la liturgie* (Paris 1961), pl. between pp. 256-57. Also cf. the Engl. trs., *The Church at Prayer: The Eucharist* (Shannon 1973), pl. between pp. 26-27.

⁴⁵ For some of these commentaries see Reynolds, 'Liturgical Scholarship', pp. 110f.

⁴⁶ For the Mass commentaries attributed to Amalarius see *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, 3 vols., ed. J. M. Hanssens (*Studi e Testi* 138-40: Vatican City 1948-50), i, pp. 253-81 (*Missae expositionis geminus codex*); pp. 283-338 (*Canonis missae interpretatio*); ii, pp. 9-56, esp. 255-372 (*Liber officialis*); iii, pp. 225-65 (*Eclogae de ordine romano*); pp. 296-315 (*Ordinis totius missae expositio prior*); 316.21 (*Ordinis totius missae expositio altera*).

⁴⁷ Hanssens iii, pp. 225-65.

clearly they reflect the *Ordines Romani*. These latter texts were, basically, collections of rubrics or stage directions for the performance of the Mass. The Gallican rite in the seventh and eighth centuries would almost certainly have had its own *ordines*, but by the second half of the eighth century it was the Roman *ordines* that were sweeping through Carolingian territories, there to be used and modified by the intrusion of Gallican elements. In fact, a surviving manuscript of the earliest Roman *ordo*, *Ordo Romanus* (hereafter *OR*) *Primus*, was written in Metz itself: Bern, Burgerbibliothek 289.⁴⁸ As will be seen, however, it is not so much *OR I* that is reflected in the Drogo Mass panels,⁴⁹ but later Frankish modifications of the *Ordines Romani*.

Of the Roman Mass *ordines* that might have been modified and used as a source by the ivory carvers there are, possibly: *OR II* (written c.750);⁵⁰ *OR III* (written c. 750-780);⁵¹ *OR IV* (the *Ordo* of St Amand, written perhaps as early as the late seventh century in Ravenna⁵² or more likely c.760-770 in France);⁵³ *OR V* (Mabillon's *OR II* written c. 850-900, used by Weber);⁵⁴ *OR VI* (written perhaps in Metz after 850);⁵⁵ forerunners of *OR IX* (written c. 880-950)⁵⁶ or *OR X*

⁴⁸ See above, n. 9.

⁴⁹ Other ninth-century MSS of *OR I* besides Bern BB 289 listed by Andrieu 1, p. 3 are: Albi, Bibl. Municipale 42 (ex.IXs.: S. France), Cologne, Dombibl. 138 (in.IXs.: Cologne?), Montpellier, Bibl. Univ. (Méd) 412 (in.IXs.: vic. of Tours), Munich, Clm 14510 (826-27: Regensburg), Paris, BN Lat. 14088 (s.IX: Corbie), Vatican, Pal. lat. 487 (in.IXs.: Lorsch), St Gall, Stiftsbibl. 614 (2/2 IXs.: St Gall), Verona, Bibl. cap. XCII (in.IXs.: Verona), Wolfenbüttel, Herz. Aug.-Bibl. 4175 (= Weissenburg 91, in.IXs.: Weissenburg), and Zurich, Zentralbibl. Car. C 102 (s.IX/X: Upper Rhine?).

⁵⁰ The only ninth-century MS of this *ordo* listed by Andrieu 1, p. 4, is St Gall 614 (on which see above n. 49).

⁵¹ There are at least five eighth- or ninth-century MSS of this *ordo* listed by Andrieu 1, p. 4: Brussels, Bibl. Roy. 10127-44 (s.VIII/IX: NE France), Cologne 138, St. Gall 614, Verona XCII and Wolfenbüttel 4175 (on which see above n. 49).

⁵² K. Gamber, 'Der *Ordo Romanus IV*: ein Dokument der ravennatischen Liturgie des 8 Jh.', *Römische Quartalschrift* 66 (1971), pp.154-70; reprinted as 'Die Messliturgie von Ravenna nach dem *Ordo Romanus IV*', in *Liturgie und Kirchenbau: Studien zur Geschichte der Messfeier und des Gotteshauses in der Frühzeit* (Studia patristica et liturgica 6: Regensburg 1976), pp. 120-39.

⁵³ The only MS of this *ordo* listed by Andrieu 1, p. 5, is Paris, BN Lat. 974, a ninth-century MS whose provenance is St Amand.

⁵⁴ Andrieu lists no MSS of this *ordo* before the tenth century.

⁵⁵ All of the MSS of this Messine *ordo* are late and contain the text printed by G. Cassander, *Ordo Romanus de officio missae: Libelli aliquot pervetusti et authentici...* (Cologne 1561), fols. 16^v-24^r. Andrieu 2.236, gives several reasons, not all equally convincing, for assigning the *ordo* to Metz.

⁵⁶ The only MS of this *ordo* listed by Andrieu 1, p. 7 is St Gall 614 (on which see above n. 49).

(written c. 900-950);⁵⁷ *OR XV* (written before 787);⁵⁸ and *OR XVII* (written c.790).⁵⁹ All of these *ordines* were basically Roman, but they all had texts adapted to transalpine liturgical sensibilities.

Keeping in mind these possible sources, let us now look at the panels and see how they reflect not only the ninth-century Mass *expositiones*, but also the *Ordines Romani*. In assigning interpretations to them, it is also necessary to suggest their original sequence, a sequence which most probably represents the *Ordo Romanus* in use at Metz during the time of Drogo and Charles the Bald.

I What was almost certainly the original first scene, that is, the one originally in the upper left-hand corner, is now (2c). It appears to be the entrance of the bishop. The ancient *OR I*, reflecting a complicated Roman situation, had said that the pontiff made his entrance to the Mass supported by an archdeacon and another deacon 'ad caput scolae'.⁶⁰ *OR IV* directs the bishop to process 'per mediam scolam' simply with deacons⁶¹ (at least one of which we can see in our panel (2c)). *OR V*, like Amalarius' *Eclogae*⁶² states that the bishop is to be preceded in the procession by seven deacons,⁶³ and *OR IX* and *X* (both postdating the Drogo cover) specify that the bishop move through two lines of seven deacons, three on one side and four on the other.⁶⁴ This is similar to Amalarius' description in the *Liber Officialis*, where he states that the bishop may process through the midst of seven deacons,⁶⁵ and it is almost precisely the depiction found on the Drogo ivory

⁵⁷ Andrieu 1, p. 8, lists no ninth-century MSS of this *ordo*.

⁵⁸ Andrieu 1, p. 11, lists five eighth- and ninth-century MSS of this *ordo*: Hague Mus. Meerm. West. 10.B.4 (s.VIII²: N. France/Bourges?), Montpellier 412 and Wolfenbüttel 4175 (on which see n. 49) Vatican Reg. lat. 1127 (2/4 IXs.: France) and St. Gall Stiftsbibl. 349 (2/2 VIIIs.: St. Gall; CLA 938). There is also a lost Laon MS of the ninth century containing this *ordo* given in Bugniatère's catalogue of Laon MSS, on which see J. J. Contreni, 'A new description of the lost Laon manuscript of the "Collectio Hispana Gallica"', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* n.s.7 (1977), p. 89, n.4, citing MS 36; and H. Mordak, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich: Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kanonensammlung des fränkischen Gallien: Studien und Edition* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters I, Berlin 1975), pp. 55f., n. 81.

⁵⁹ Andrieu, p. 112 lists two eighth- or ninth-century MSS of this *ordo*: Gotha, Forschungsbibl. Mbr. 1.85 (s. VIII/IX Elsass?; CLA 1209) and Vatican Pal. lat. 574 (s.VIII/IX: Upper Rhine; CLA 96).

⁶⁰ *OR I.45-49*; Andrieu 2, pp. 81-3.

⁶¹ *OR IV.14*; Andrieu 2, p. 159.

⁶² III.1; Hanssens iii.232.

⁶³ *OR V.15*; Andrieu 2, p. 211.

⁶⁴ *OR IX. 3, 4, X. 6*; Andrieu 2, pp. 330, 352. In *OR VI. 21*, Andrieu 2, p. 244, the bishop comes into the tribunal of the church after he has passed through lines of three and four tapers (as was the case in *OR I.49* Andrieu 2, 83). In *OR XV.13*, Andrieu 3, p. 98, the pope is supported by deacons, and in *OR XVII.21*, Andrieu 3, p. 178, deacons stand to the priest's right and left.

⁶⁵ III, v.13; Hanssens ii, p. 275. It may also be five or three deacons according to III, v.14,15; Hanssens ii, pp. 275f.

panel.⁶⁶

II The second panel in the original sequence was most probably the one in which the bishop turns to the priest in a chasuble for the initial pax (1c). In the ancient *OR I*⁶⁷ (which formed the basis for the later *OR IV, VI* and *XV*)⁶⁸ the pope after bowing to the altar gave the pax to the hebdomadarian bishop, archpresbyter and deacons, and in *OR V*⁶⁹ and Amalarius' *Eclogae*⁷⁰ the bishop after entering and saluting the Sancta gave the pax to the priests and deacons. *OR IV*, however, states that the pax is given to the bishop, priest and deacon before the veneration of the altar.⁷¹

III The third panel in the original sequence is, arguably, the present second panel (1b). The ambiguity arises because it is not clear if it represents the veneration of the altar or the first silent prayer before the altar. The difficulty is that in the ancient *OR I* the sequence of events was first, the veneration, then the pax, then prayer 'super oratorium'.⁷² Moreover, the 'Messine' *OR VI* specified that the bishop incline in silent prayer.⁷³ But in *OR IV* it is said that after the pax the bishop stands with head bowed,⁷⁴ and in the later *OR IX* acolytes bearing candles and thuribles are mentioned as present while the bishop prays. This is something like the picture we find in panel (1b) of the Drogo Mass cover.⁷⁵ Hence, panel (1b) may still be in its original position, but contemporary ninth-century Mass *ordines* suggest that it may very well have been the third in the upper register.

⁶⁶ On the lavabo at the oblation cf. *OR I. 75f.*, (in *IV.36* the lavabo is before the reception of oblations, but the implication is that the bishop is seated), *V.47, VI. 42f* (where the bishop sits for the lavabo of the archdeacon), *IX. 24, X. 41-44, XV. 26f.* (where the bishop sits and washes his hands) 30, and *XVII. 36f.* (where the bishop sits after the Oremus to wash his hands); Andrieu 2, pp. 92, 163, 219, 247, 333, 358f.; 3, pp. 100f., 180. To argue, as was done in the volume *Die Messe*, that there is depicted here the lavabo is implausible in light of these same *Ordines Romani*, which specify that after the gifts are received from the women (as in panel 3a, left) and before those of the clergy are placed on the altar (panel 3c, right), the bishop goes to his seat for the lavabo. See above, note 42.

⁶⁷ *OR I. 49*; Andrieu 2, p. 83.

⁶⁸ *OR IV.15, VI. 21, XVI.14*; Andrieu 2, pp. 159, 244; 3, p. 98.

⁶⁹ *OR V.17*; Andrieu 2, p. 212. Cf. *OR IX. 6, X.13, XVII, 24*; Andrieu 2, pp. 330, 354; 3, p. 178.

⁷⁰ *VI.1*; Hanssens iii.234.

⁷¹ *OR IV.15f.*; Andrieu 2, p. 159.

⁷² *OR I.49f.*: 'Pertransit pontifex in caput scolae et inclinat caput ad altare ... et dat pacem ... Quartus uero scolae praecedit ante pontificem ut ponat oratorium ante altare et accedens pontifex orat super ipsum ...'; Andrieu 2, p. 83. *OR V.17*, Andrieu 2, pp. 211f., closely resembles *OR I.49*, but there is no parallel to *I.50*. In *OR X.12f.*; Andrieu 2, pp. 353f., there is a deprecatory prayer before the pax. In *OR XV.14f.*; and *XVII. 98, 178f.*, the pontiff bows in prayer before the pax, and on reaching the altar he prostrates himself in prayer.

⁷³ *OR VI. 21f.*; Andrieu 2, p. 244.

⁷⁴ *OR IV.15f.*; Andrieu 2, p. 159.

⁷⁵ In *OR IX.8*, Andrieu 2, p. 330, the bishop is led to the altar by deacons where he prays, the acolytes remaining where the bishop was in *IX.6*, but in our panel the acolytes with candles and thurible are next to the altar, although one does stand behind the episcopal party.

IV The fourth panel still seems to be in its original position, that is (2a), and has been for both art historians and liturgists one of the most easily recognizable scenes. In most of the eucharistic *Ordines Romani* the bishop accompanied by deacons kisses the Gospels, precisely our scene here.⁷⁶

V A great variety of interpretations has been given, as we have seen, to what was and still remains the fifth panel, (2b). But again, a reading of the *Ordines Romani* illuminates the meaning of the scene. In *OR I* the pontiff simply went from the altar to his throne for the Kyrie and Gloria in excelsis.⁷⁷ But in the later *OR IV* the bishop went from the right hand of the altar (as he does to our right in the Drogo panel) and stood facing east before his throne for the Kyrie. He then turned to the people to intone the Gloria, after which he and his deacons turned east for the remainder of the hymnus angelicus.⁷⁸ Moreover, in *OR V* and the commentary of Amalarius⁷⁹ it is specified that when the bishop thus stood at his throne, the deacons were to stand behind him, 'plures ad dexteram, pauciores ad sinistram altaris' - that is, an arrangement not distantly removed from that in the fifth panel of our Drogo Mass cover.

VI The present panel (1a) was probably originally the sixth panel, and like the fifth, it has caused some remarkable problems of interpretation for liturgists.⁸⁰ But here again, a reading of the *Ordines Romani* would have helped to clear up matters. What we have in panel (1a) is the reading of the Epistle. According to the complicated directions of *OR I*, the acolytes first placed their candles in a line through the midst of the church, the deacons stood around the pope, and the subdeacons stood around the altar. The pope then nodded for the bishops and priests to sit.⁸¹ In *OR IV*, however, the acolytes first placed their candlesticks before the altar (as they have in the Drogo panel), and with his deacons standing

⁷⁶ *OR I.51, IV.17f., V.21, VI.23, IX.10, X.18, and XVII.26; Andrieu 2, pp. 83, 159, 213, 245, 331, 355; 3, p.179.*

⁷⁷ *OR I.51; Andrieu 2, p. 83.*

⁷⁸ *OR IV.18-21; Andrieu 2, pp.159f. Nussbaum (see above, n. 43) has argued that the cathedra is against the east wall of the apse in OR I on the basis of the Drogo cover. In the Drogo panel (2b) it would appear that the cathedra may be at the base of the apse but this is not absolutely certain. C. Vogel, 'Versus ad orientem: l'orientation dans les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge', *Studi medievali* 3rd ser. 1 (1960), pp. 461f., argues from *OR V.21* that the *cathedra*, which was originally at the apse base, was moved to the right hand of the altar. While *OR V.21*, Andrieu 2, p. 213, does not state this specifically - it says only that the bishop goes 'ad dexteram sedem suam' - it cannot be denied in our panel (2b) that the *cathedra* is to the right hand of what may be the altar with *ciborium*.*

⁷⁹ *OR V.21; Andrieu 2, p. 213; Eclogae X.1; Hanssens iii, p. 238. In OR V.24, VI.25, IX.10-12, X.18-22 (where the bishop's throne is 'dextro cornu altaris') and XV.123, Andrieu 2, pp. 213, 245, 331, 355; 3, p.121, there is no direction that the bishop turn east for the Gloria. In *OR XV.16f.*, Andrieu 3, pp. 98f., the pope goes 'post altare ad sedem' and turns east for the Kyrie and Gloria. In *OR XVII.27f.*, Andrieu 3, p.179, the priest goes 'retro altare' and turns east for the Kyrie and Gloria.*

⁸⁰ See above, nn. 34f. and 44.

⁸¹ *OR I.53-55 (in St Gall 614); Andrieu 2, pp. 84-86.*

about him the bishop sat. The subdeacons were to come up around the altar and the priests were to sit.⁸² These directions were made much more specific in some of the later *Ordines Romani*. In *OR V* it was specified that the bishop sit toward the people;⁸³ in *OR XV* the deacons were directed to stand to the bishop's right and left hand;⁸⁴ and finally, in *OR XVII* the throne is pictured behind the altar and the priests are near the altar.⁸⁵

Although the art historian Goldschmidt and the iconographer Vloberg seem to have been somewhat confused about the three panels of the lowest register of the Drogo cover, most commentators have observed correctly that they are in their original sequence and represent the *ordo* of the Mass from the oblation to the communion.

VII In the left-hand scene of the first panel of the lower register (3a) the bishop is receiving oblations from a woman behind a barrier, exactly as he does in *OR I, IV, VI, IX* and *X*.⁸⁶ *OR IV* and *IX* direct that he is to be accompanied by deacons.⁸⁷ (The barrier seen here is, incidentally, something like a closure slab for a Carolingian *schola* in Metz, still extant in the Metz Musée central.⁸⁸ In the right-hand portion of panel (3a), there is depicted a scene that took place at some point after the oblations had been received from the women. According to the *Ordines Romani* the bishop after he had received the women's oblations had gone to his seat for the lavabo. Thereafter he went 'ad altare' according to *OR I*,⁸⁹ or 'ante altare' according to *OR IV*,⁹⁰ there to receive the oblations of the clergy and place them on the altar. While *OR I* and *V* state that the oblations of the clergy are given to the pontiff by priests (such as we find in panel (3a))⁹¹ and deacons, *OR IV* specifies that it is the archdeacon who presents the oblations.⁹²

VIII The eighth panel, our (3b), is almost universally described as the bishop's saying the Canon of the Mass at an altar on which stands a chalice. While this description is not incorrect, it is not as complete as it might be, and a careful comparison of the scenes with the texts of the *Ordines Romani* helps to bring the

⁸² *OR IV.23-26*; Andrieu 2, p. 160.

⁸³ *OR V.26-28*; Andrieu 2, p. 214.

⁸⁴ *OR XV.18-21*; Andrieu 3, p. 99.

⁸⁵ *OR XVII.31,33*; Andrieu 3, p.179.

⁸⁶ *OR I.75, IV.41, VI.41, IX.21, X.38*; Andrieu 2, pp. 92, 162, 247, 332, 358. In *OR V.45, XV.28, and XVII.38*, Andrieu 2, p. 219; 3, pp.101,180, the bishop or priest receives oblations from the people.

⁸⁷ *OR.IV.41, IX.21*; Andrieu 2, pp. 162, 332.

⁸⁸ Cf. Hubert, *Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 29, pl. 24. For a segment of a closure slab that is less similar to the Drogo scene see Hubert, p. 276, pl. 266.

⁸⁹ *OR I.82*; Andrieu 2, p. 93. This is also the case in *OR V.53, VI.48, and IX.28*; Andrieu 2, pp. 220, 247, 333.

⁹⁰ *OR.IV.49*, Andrieu 2, p. 163. This is also the case in *OR XV.32, and XVII.42*; Andrieu 3, pp. 102,181.

⁹¹ *OR I.84, V.53*; Andrieu 2, pp. 93, 220. This is also true in *OR VI.48* (also mentioning 'primicerii') and *XV.32* (also mentioning bishops); Andrieu 2, p. 247; 3, p. 102.

⁹² *OR IV.49*; Andrieu 2, p. 163.

picture into sharp focus. According to *OR I* the pope had stood before the *Sursum corda* or introductory dialogue to the Canon. Behind him were the bishops, and looking at him from behind the altar were subdeacons.⁹³ Later *Ordines Romani* were more specific and reflect the scene in the Drogo panel. They almost all describe the subdeacons as being behind the altar looking across at the bishop,⁹⁴ but in *OR IX* it is specified that they stand there as the *Sanctus* is being sung while behind the bishop stand the deacons and acolytes.⁹⁵ This latter *ordo*, *OR IX*, dating to almost precisely the time of the Drogo ivory, gives us a ceremony of the ninth century, but *OR X*, an *ordo* of the tenth century, modifies the scene in a striking way. The subdeacons remain in the choir facing the bishop up to the *Sanctus*, but they then move down in front of the altar where they stand behind the deacons but before the acolyte who holds a paten and liturgical straw.⁹⁶ In sum, in panel (3b) of the Drogo cover we see the bishop and his clergy arranged from the introductory dialogue of the Canon almost precisely as they would have been according to ninth-century Frankified Roman Mass *ordines*.

IX Strangely, the ninth and final scene in panel (3c), clearly depicting the bishop giving a priest communion, is one of the most difficult scenes to harmonize with extant ninth-century *Ordines Romani*. The difficulty arises from three ambiguities. Is the rigid structure next to the bishop the corner of the altar or the bishop's *cathedra*? Moreover, are the now mute small ivory figures with their mouths open singing the *Agnus Dei* or, as Goldschmidt claimed, the communion antiphon? And finally, which of the communion sequences in the highly divergent texts of the *Ordines Romani* is the ivory panel depicting? Given these ambiguities, there is clearly room for legitimate differences of interpretation. One would seem fairly safe, however, in saying that despite the silence of our ivory choir members they are not singing the communion antiphon. This is because the bishop during this chant communicates the people, not the clergy, according to most *ordines*.⁹⁷ Rather, the choir is more likely singing the *Agnus Dei*, which according to *OR IV*, they sing 'in presbiterio in parte sinistra'.⁹⁸ According to most *Ordines Romani* it is the bishops and priests who communicate from the hand of the pope or bishop during the *Agnus* but almost always the bishop is at (sitting on?) his throne.⁹⁹ There is however in the 'Messine' *OR VI* the directive that the priests come to the altar to communicate.¹⁰⁰ It may be this action that panel (3c) illustrates.

93 *OR I*.86-88; Andrieu 2, p. 95.

94 *OR VI*.53, *XV*.42 (in St Gall 614), *XVII*.44; Andrieu 2, p. 248; 3, pp. 104, 181.

95 *OR IX*.31; Andrieu 2, p. 334. In this *ordo* the acolytes hold patens, but in the Drogo panel (3b) they hold thuribles.

96 *OR X*.49 ('choro ... coram altari retro diaconos'); Andrieu 2, p. 360.

97 E.g., *OR I*.117, *IV*.76, *V*.91; Andrieu 2, pp. 105, 166, 226.

98 *OR IV*.62; Andrieu 2, p. 165. It should be noted in *IV*.57, Andrieu 2, p. 164, that the bishop 'uadit ad sedem suam', but there is no precise statement that he sits.

99 *OR I*.108, *IV*.67, *V*.83, *IX*.42 (the pontiff has risen from his seat and gives priests the Host), *XV*.57; Andrieu 2, pp. 102, 165, 225, 335; 3, p. 109.

100 *OR VI*.68; Andrieu 2, p. 249.

In sum, a reading of the *Ordines Romani* available in Frankish territories during the time of Charles the Bald suggests that the panels on the Drogo Mass cover should be arranged so that in the upper register there would originally have been first (2c), second (1c), and third (1b). In the second register there would have been first (2a), second (2b), and third (1a). In the third register the panels were arranged as they are today. (See Fig. 15.1 below) Given, however, the possibility suggested earlier that the bow before the altar preceded the initial pax, it is quite possible that the only misarrangement has been the reversal of panels (1a) and (2c).

In the rearrangement and interpretations of the scenes suggested in this paper there are admittedly some difficulties. There is, first, the fact that the panels of the middle register all appear to be slightly taller than those of the upper and lower registers and to rearrange them so as to mix the shorter upper with the taller middle panels would imply an original size and visual imbalance. Therefore, until the panels can be removed from the metallic binding strips that hide their edges and then be measured and examined for alteration, any suggested rearrangement will remain not totally convincing. Nonetheless, even if it were found that there was no shortening of the upper (and lower?) panels, several alternative conclusions would be possible: 1) it was not felt necessary to have all the panels of each register of equal height, and the original binding was constructed accordingly; 2) when either ninth-century or later artisans came to affix or reaffix the panels they held considerations of size more important than consistent liturgical sequence and for convenience misarranged the panels. Another difficulty in the interpretations suggested in this paper arises because we are not absolutely certain that at Drogo's time in Metz *OR IV, V, IX* or *X* or even what might be called *OR IVa, Vb* or *IXc* were being used. And finally, the carver of our ivory panels was limited by his medium so that his tiny figures and architectural structures cannot answer all our queries satisfactorily. Nonetheless, what is clear is that the cover is one of the most striking visual epitomes of the Roman Mass *ordines* modified to conform to the eucharistic celebration in the important liturgical centre where Charles the Bald was crowned in 869.

I : 2c Entrance of Bishop	II : 1c Bishop Receives Pax	III : 1b Bishop before Altar
IV : 2a Bishop Kisses Gospels	V : 2b Bishop Stands at Throne	VI : 1a Reading of Epistle
VII : 3a Bishop Receives Oblations	VIII : 3b Canon of Mass	IX : 3c Bishop Gives Priest Communion

Figure 15.1: Reconstruction of the Mass Cover

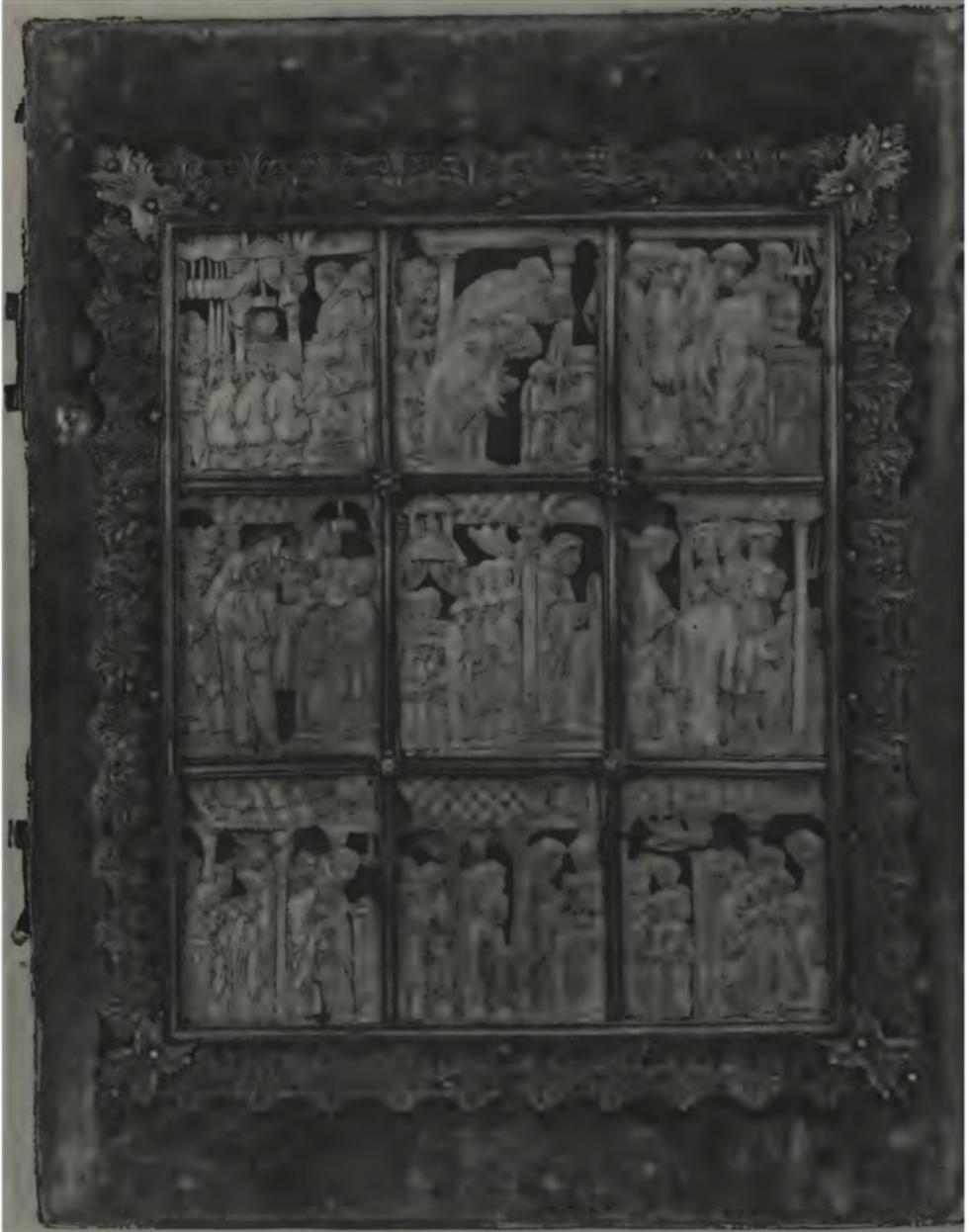


Figure 15.2: Ivory Back of the Drogo Sacramentary
Paris, BN Lat. 9428. Actual size: 193 x 152 mm.

RĀG. READS PRISCIAN

Margaret Gibson

The student keen who's read this book
Comes back to have another look;
The man who's sucked all sources dry
Remembers, Here's the place to try!
It's like a sea without a shore
Once you fall in, you rise no more.

'So said RĀG. when he had finished reading Priscian.'¹ To 'read' here means to study with a master, as for example Anselm's protégé Maurice was advised to 'read' Virgil with the future Prior Arnulf at Christ Church, Canterbury,² and Gilbert Murray 'read' Aeschylus with Sidgwick. Those of us with a sufficiently old-fashioned education studied Virgil in much the same way: line by line - syntax, etymology, historical references - letting nothing slip.

RĀG. is known only from his annotation of MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 7503, a fine folio volume of Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticae* written in the mid-ninth century in northern France. There is a palaeographical case for attributing the book to St Germain-des-Prés, the wealthy and active house on the left bank of the Seine opposite the city of Paris.³ But even with this assistance

¹ RĀG. QVANDO FINIT/ LEGENDO HVNC DIXIT,

Vult avidus lector canas qui scire loquelas

Atque nouas: relegat hunc simul assidue.

Si fontes aliquis cunctas siccare bibendo,

Ipse ualet huius esse memor iugiter

Est etenim fundo similis pelagoque carente -

Lapsus in hoc fuerit surgere uix poterit .

MS Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat 7503, fol. 238 (freely rendered) .

² *Anselmi Epp.* 64: *Anselmi Opera*, ed. F. S. Schmitt (Edinburgh 1946), iii, pp. 180-1 .

³ Professor Jean Vezin, of the École des Hautes Études kindly tells me that the hand is in imitation of the script of Tours, such as is found at St Germain-des-Prés and St Amand in the mid- and later ninth century. For the development of St Germain-des-Prés script in the eighth and ninth centuries see B. Bischoff, *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter*, facs. ed., B. Bischoff, F. Mutherich and B. Fischer (Stuttgart 1965), ii.21-6. For appropriately-named monks at St Germain-des-Prés in the ninth century see A. Molinier, *Obituaires de la Province de Sens* (Paris 1902), I.i.250 [Ragamfred, monk], 251 [Ragamfred, priest], 265 [Ragenard, monk] and A. Wilmart, 'Un sacramentaire a l'usage de Saint-Germain-des-Prés', *Revue Mabillon* 17 (1927), 385 [Ragengaud].

we cannot identify RĀG. himself: 'Raginald', 'Reginbert' - whoever he was, he must stand for any of the anonymous French schoolmasters who expounded Priscian in the later ninth century and who believed in what they were doing, and did it cheerfully. It is worth asking why they did so, and how.

I *Why read Priscian?*

Priscian himself was a provincial Roman who made good. Born in the later fifth century in Caesarea in Palestine,⁴ he found employment as a schoolmaster in Constantinople teaching Latin to (among others) aspiring civil servants whose first language was Greek.⁵ He was working within an established tradition of Latin studies and he still had access to the full range of Latin and Greek authors normally available in the schools of the later Empire.⁶ His pupils already knew some of this material by heart: Priscian could assume that 'Spiritus intus alit' would be placed, and capped, at once. What he offered in his *Institutiones Grammaticae* was a comprehensive guide to the details of Latin usage: the scansion already shows 'spiritus' to be nominative; remember that it is fourth declension not second (*Inst.* vi. 71); 'intus' is an adverb like 'intra', 'intro', 'inter' (*Inst.* xv. 16); 'alit' is a third conjugation irregular verb (*Inst.* x. 36). The reader needs patience and a good memory, for there is no index to the *Institutiones Grammaticae*; Priscian is systematic only to the point of amassing all his material on the noun in books ii-vii and classifying that under the five time-hallowed heads of 'species', 'gender', 'number', 'structure', 'case'. Neither should the reader be too curious as to the reasons for the wearisome variety of forms and irregularities that Priscian lists: at best Priscian will explain a Latin form by citing its Greek prototype, which pushes the problem back a stage without really solving it. But he neither dwells at length on the abstract definitions of the noun or the verb, nor does he propound a theory of language as such.⁷ That was perhaps Priscian's strength. He had a limited objective, which he met exactly; he offered a handlist of facts about the entire vocabulary of Latin and, on a much more restricted scale, basic information on syntax. This completed the student's study of grammar: first the approved authors, then Priscian's guide to the accepted norms in their varying (and sometimes indefensible) usage.

For RĀG. and his pupils the pattern of scholarship was fundamentally the same. They too had begun with Virgil, learning by rote even perhaps before they

⁴ I am persuaded by the argument of Marie Taylor Davis that Priscian's epithet *Caesariensis* refers not to Caesarea in Mauretania but to Caesarea in Palestine.

⁵ Much the best account of Priscian's life and work is R. Helm's entry in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1954), 44, cols. 2328-46. Latin remained the language of imperial administration, even in the East, until the mid-sixth century.

⁶ P. Lemerle, *Le Premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris 1971) cap.III, with references.

⁷ See R. H. Robins, *Ancient and Medieval Grammatical Theory in Europe* (London, 1951), pp. 61-8 et passim.

could read.⁸ Their range of authors was narrower, but it still included little that had been unknown to Priscian, though the Christian Prudentius and Sedulius may have been added to the canon.⁹ But when we remember that Charlemagne's court library included nearly all Claudian,¹⁰ there can be no question of Christian authors ousting the classical poets. Again the wide diffusion of the plays of Terence, some with illustrations that presumably encouraged their dramatic use in the classroom,¹¹ is entirely in line with the choice and use of authors in Priscian's Constantinople: they exercised the student in flexible, spoken Latin. The one major difference was the failure of Carolingian Greek. Even in Charlemagne's time some scholars knew some Greek, and as late as the 820s a few Latin scribes could write it well;¹² but by the later ninth century, despite the example of John the Scot, Greek was fading, at least north of the Alps.¹³ To the ordinary schoolmaster Priscian's explanatory Greek parallels were inaccessible and indeed rapidly becoming meaningless in the hands of equally ignorant scribes. But in all other respects the *Institutiones Grammaticae* provided RĀG.'s pupils with the same guidance, at the same stage, as the pupils of Priscian had been given 350 years before. First the student memorised Virgil and Terence and the rest; then he turned - a shade reluctantly, we may hazard - to the solid A-level grind of the *Institutiones Grammaticae*. If he survived all that, he could write the correct, heavy-footed

⁸ Manuscripts of some standard classical authors (e.g. Virgil, Horace, Statius) and of Martianus Capella and Boethius have certain passages marked with neumes, as though for recitation or chant. The subject needs further investigation; see meanwhile the useful note by V. M. Lagorio, 'Three Vatican manuscripts containing neumes', *Manuscripta* 13 (1969), pp. 40-1.

⁹ See the wide range of early manuscripts used by J. Huemer, *Sedulii Opera Omnia* (Vienna 1885: CSEL 10), pp. li-lij, and M. P. Cunningham, *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Carmina* (Turnhout 1966: CCSL 126), pp. x-xx.

¹⁰ See the fragmentary catalogue of classical authors in the court library preserved in MS Berlin (West), Staatsbibl. Preuss. Kulturbesitz, Diez. B. Sant.66, pp. 218-9: facsimile ed. by B. Bischoff, *Grammatici Latini et Catalogus Librorum* (Graz 1973: *Codices Selecti* xlii), pp. 38-9.

¹¹ L. W. Jones and C. R. Morey, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence prior to the Thirteenth Century* 2 vols. (Princeton/London/Leipzig 1931).

¹² The most striking illustration that I know is the Graeco-Latin Pauline Epistles written in Reichenau c. 820, now MS Cambridge, Trinity Coll., B.17.1 (412): facsimile in W. H. P. Hatch, *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Chicago 1939), pl. L.

¹³ John the Scot's command of Greek is evident not only in his translation of the work of Ps. Denis but in his use of Greek material in his own *De Diuisione Naturae*: lib.i-ii, ed. I. P. Sheldon-Williams (Dublin 1968-72: *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* vii, ix), with references. Sedulius Scottus, on the other hand, did not go much beyond the Bible: F. Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich 1975), i.452-3, with references. For the whole issue of Greek in the West see B. Bischoff, 'Das griechische Element in der abendländische Bildung des Mittelalters', *Mittelalterliche Studien* (Stuttgart 1967), ii, pp. 246-75; W. Berschin, *Griechisch-Lateinisches Mittelalter: von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues* (Bern/Munich 1980); and A. C. Dionisotti, 'Greek Grammars and Dictionaries in Carolingian Europe', in M. Herren with S. A. Brown edd., *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: the Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, King's College London Medieval Studies II (London 1988), pp. 1-56.

Carolingian Latin, in which the range of vocabulary is as wide as the syntactical invention is limited.

II *How to read Priscian*

In Book IV of the *Institutiones Grammaticae* Priscian defines and lists what he terms 'denominatives': that is, nouns and adjectives which derive from another noun or adjective or, less frequently, a verb.¹⁴ Thus: 'solitudo' (from 'solus'), 'caelestis' (from 'caelum'), 'scriba' (from 'scribo'). The notorious example in the later eleventh century was to be 'grammaticus' itself. Was 'knowing grammar', asked St. Anselm, a thing in itself or a quality of the individual man?¹⁵ But that question was asked and answered, essentially in terms of logic, whereas RĀG. and his colleagues were concerned, like Priscian himself, with the practicalities of Latin grammar. What interested them were the categories within which Priscian organised his material, whether his word-lists were complete, and the meaning of unusual or interesting words within these lists.

RĀG.'s manuscript of Priscian already had at least one layer of anonymous annotation, which spelled out what the denominative was and then commented exuberantly on the words within that category. 'A word is termed denominative,' Priscian wrote, 'when it takes its name from another word - whatever its type, that holds good. Denominative is *generally* applicable to any word that derives from a noun: most patronymics (*Inst.* ii. 32-9), possessives (ii. 40-64), comparatives (iii.1-17), superlatives (iii.18-25) and diminutives (iii. 26-44), unless they are verbal or adverbial, are denominatives, i.e. they derive from nouns' (*Inst.* iv. 1, slightly abridged). Here the anonymous glossator stressed *generally*: 'For possessives and diminutives and the rest have a specialised meaning' (fol. 31). He went on to contrast the formal variety of nouns with this blanket term, denominative, and to comment briefly on patronymics, possessives and the rest. But he was far more interested in, so to say, the concrete words than in such abstract categories. In the class ending in '-a' preceded by a consonant, Priscian's first subdivision (-ēla) contains six denominatives based on a noun and two based on a verb. RĀG. in his turn repeats the entire list in the margin - 'cautēla', 'tutēla', 'acutēla', (plus a doublet, 'cutēla'), 'custodēla', 'mandatēla', 'clientēla', 'candēla', 'Suadēla' - without distinction (fol. 32); most of them are words he would scarcely ever find elsewhere, so it is convenient to index them. Sometimes a word will bring to mind its opposite. Priscian's list of denominatives ending in '-ēs' includes 'stragēs' (*Inst.* iv. 2), explained here in an anonymous interlinear note as 'a multitude of men killed' (fol. 31^v). RĀG. observes in the margin, 'When that multitude of men is alive, it is called a legion' (fol. 31^v). Priscian never drifts so

¹⁴ Ed. M. Hertz: *Grammatici Latini*, ed. H. Keil (Leipzig 1855-9), vols. ii-iii. Priscian in fact treats adjectives and nouns as a single class.

¹⁵ *De Grammatico I: Anselmi Opera*, ed. F. S. Schmitt (Seckau 1938), i.145. See further D. P. Henry, *The Logic of St Anselm* (Oxford 1967), pp. 31-116.

from the matter in hand, nor does he yield to the sirens of etymology and antiquarianism. 'Laqueus' (a snare), given as the source of the denominative 'laquear' (*Inst.* iv.18), gives RĀG. the opportunity to discuss the harlot, 'so called because of the rapacity with which she snatches ('rapere') or seizes unhappy men. A brothel ('prostibulum'),' he continues, recalling a word a few paragraphs earlier (*Inst.* iv.13), 'derives its name from the theatrical performances that such women enact' (fol. 34). Again Shakespeare was not the first to exploit the feast of Lupercal (*Inst.* iv .11). RĀG. gave his students a spine-chilling quarter-hour:

Lupercus was the name of the supreme god of Arcadia, who turned men into wolves. A certain man sacrificed a child to him, and ate its flesh; the god turned him into a wolf at once. That is why a wolf prefers human flesh to anything else. The Greek 'Luchios' is 'Lupercus' in Latin, and the Greek 'lichos' the Latin 'lupus'. Lupercal is a temple built in honour of Lupercus. Another explanation is that it is associated with Romulus and Remus, or else that it is a defence against wolves, or that a goat (*capro*: cod. *capro*) was sacrificed there.

Or else the place has this name because the god Pan was worshipped there with games...

'Luperci' was the name given to people who, when they had eaten certain sacrificial meat, were turned into 'lycos' (see above), i. e. wolves, for the Greek 'lycos' is rendered as 'lupus' in Latin (fol. 33).

Here Servius' notes to the *Aeneid* have been heavily overlaid with the medieval werewolf,¹⁶ and - the essence of RĀG.'s kind of commentary - attached to a random word, cited by Priscian for quite another purpose. In an ideal commentary every word would have this degree of exposition: its meaning, its affiliation, its fixed place in the firmament of knowledge.

III RĀG.'s place in history

We need not suppose that RĀG. taught grammar from the *Institutiones Grammaticae* alone. The man in a hurry could, and did, find the basic definitions in Donatus, the fourth-century grammarian who had taught St Jerome and who was commented by two outstanding ninth-century masters, Sedulius Scottus and

¹⁶ *In Aen* viii.342-4: *Servii grammaticus qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen (Leipzig 1883), II.i.249-50. ('Servius' is the best witness to the exposition of Virgil in the schools of Late Antiquity). See too Ovid, *Fasti* ii.381-452, a much rarer text than the *Aeneid* at this time, but possibly also available and annotated. For the werewolf see K. F. Smith, 'An historical study of the werewolf in literature', *PMLA* 9 (1894), pp. 1-42.

Remigius of Auxerre.¹⁷ Again the Carolingian schoolmaster was not teaching Latin language and literature solely from books; if the Late Antique scholarly tradition endured in southern Gaul long enough for Aldhelm to know it in the mid-seventh century,¹⁸ we should probably allow that it was still available in the mid-eighth to Theodulf and Peter of Pisa, as they founded the 'Palace School'. Nevertheless Priscian was unquestionably the principal author in grammar for RĀG. and his colleagues in the later ninth century; and it was they who made the *Institutiones Grammaticae* thoroughly familiar to the Carolingian student. Their work endured for a good century and more: Froumund of Tegernsee was maintaining the same tradition in the time of Otto III, and the monk Hartwig brought exactly the same type of material home to Regensburg from Chartres in the later years of Robert the Pious.¹⁹ The volume of Priscian that Fulbert sent to the bishop of Fünfkirchen in newly-converted Hungary can scarcely have been different.²⁰ So long as the student was satisfied with Priscian's straightforward and unspeculative text, he was satisfied with RĀG.'s style of exposition.²¹ By Anselm's time, he was thoroughly uneasy, and the new efforts to elaborate a grammar that was systematic, abstract and speculatively tight spelt the end of the type of commentary that had first been securely established 'regnante' (*Inst.* xi) 'Karolo' (*Inst.* ii) 'Caluo' (*Inst.* ii, but cf. x.13).

¹⁷ Sedulius Scottus, *In Donati Artem Maiorem*, ed. B. Löfstedt (Turnhout 1977: *CC Cont. Med.* xiB) and *Remigii Autissiodorensis in Artem Donati Minorem Commentum*, ed. W. Fox (Leipzig 1902: Teubner).

¹⁸ See M. Winterbottom, 'Aldhelm's prose style and its origins', *Anglo-Saxon England* 6 (1977), pp. 39-76.

¹⁹ See respectively C. E. Eder, 'Die Schule des Klosters Tegernsee im frühen Mittelalter im Spiegel der Tegernseer Handschriften', *Studien u. Mitteilungen z. Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens* 83 (1972), 39-41, no. 14; and B. Bischoff, 'Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram (Regensburg) während des frühen und hohen Mittelalters', *Mittelalterliche Studien* (Stuttgart 1967), ii, pp. 77-115, at 80-4.

²⁰ F. Behrends, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, no. 82 (Oxford 1976: Oxford Medieval Texts), pp. 148-9.

²¹ Much work remains to be done on the transition from Carolingian to twelfth-century scholarship. For an examination of some of the problems see M. T. Gibson, 'The continuity of learning c. 850-c. 1050', *Viator* 6 (1975), pp. 1-13.

MASTERS AND MEDICINE IN NORTHERN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE BALD*

John J. Contreni

As historians of science and culture trace the legacy of late antique science into the Early Middle Ages, students of the twelfth-century scientific renaissance have begun to acknowledge the European contribution to that renaissance prepared during the Early Middle Ages. It has become increasingly apparent that the Carolingian period was a crucial one for Western science, particularly for medicine. As in art, spirituality, statecraft, education, and almost every field of human endeavour, the Carolingians placed their stamp on medieval medicine. I refer not only to the preservation of precious Latin texts or to texts translated from Greek into Latin, important though they may be. Rather, it is the activity of Carolingian scholars and students that seems of primary importance.

Brian Lawn, in his study of medieval medical problem literature from Salerno, has observed that the question or the dialogue method of problem solving was not unknown to Carolingian Europe: 'Reasoning by inductive analogy, the process of definition and resolution, and confirmation of theory by experiment, were widely taught, in principle, by the didactic *quaestiones et responsiones* found in manuscripts dating from about the ninth century onwards - long before their reintroduction to the Latin West in the Galenic translations of Constantinus.'¹ Medical or scientific theory was not only taught in principle. Loren MacKinney

* This study is a revised and expanded version of 'The Study and Practice of Medicine in Northern France During the Reign of Charles the Bald,' which appeared in J. R. Sommerfeldt and E. R. Elder eds., *Studies in Medieval Culture*, VI and VII (Kalamazoo, 1976): pp. 43-54. I want to thank the organizers of the Charles the Bald colloquium for the opportunity to include my paper in this volume even though I could not participate personally in the colloquium. Research for and writing of the B.A.R. version of this essay was supported by a 1979 Grant-in-Aid from the American Council of Learned Societies. Preparation of the present version provided the opportunity to correct typographical and factual errors, to make stylistic changes, and to add references to more recent relevant studies. Individuals and libraries who generously helped me are acknowledged in the appropriate footnotes to the text. I owe a general debt of gratitude to the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris.

¹ *The Salernitan Questions: An Introduction to the History of Medieval and Renaissance Problem Literature* (Oxford, 1963), xiv.

proved long ago the extent and quality of early medieval practical medicine.² MacKinney drew special attention to the medical history of that benighted century, the tenth, with his work on Richer of Reims, Fulbert of Chartres, and the school of Chartres.³

This paper will shed some different light on the history of medicine during the Carolingian period by focussing on medical studies and the individuals who undertook them in one particular corner of the Carolingian world. It will argue that perhaps the greatest contribution the Carolingians made to medical studies, greater even than the preservation of texts, was to make the study of medicine, like the study of the liberal arts, intellectually respectable.⁴ There always were masters of the healing arts at court: laymen, sometimes Jews, most times *medici* whose names alone have survived.⁵ The significant development in the ninth century is that scholars such as Walahfrid Strabo,⁶ Lupus of Ferrières,⁷ and Abbot Dido of St-Pierre-le-Vif,⁸ were well acquainted with medical learning and practice.

But, first, a word about chronological and geographical limits. Any new history of early medieval medicine will have to be written after extensive codicological investigations. Much of the basic work on the identification of medical manuscripts - has already been done by Augusto Beccaria and Ernest Wickersheimer. Beccaria has compiled a catalogue of European medical manuscripts which date from the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries.⁹ Wickersheimer's focus is narrower, but his yield is richer. Wickersheimer in his

² *Early Medieval Medicine with Special Reference to France and Chartres* (Baltimore, 1937); and, 'Medical Education in the Middle Ages', *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 2 (1955), pp. 835-61.

³ 'Tenth Century Medicine as Seen in the *Historia* of Richer', *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine* 2 (1934), pp. 347-75; *idem*, *Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres* (Notre Dame 1957), pp. 31-34, 45; and, the appropriate sections of *Early Medieval Medicine*.

⁴ For the christianization of the arts, see M.-Th. d'Alverny, 'La Sagesse et ses sept filles: Recherches sur les allégories de la philosophie et des arts libéraux du IXe au XIIe siècle', *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Felix Grat*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1946), 1: 245-78; and G. Mathon, 'Les formes et la signification de la pédagogie des arts libéraux au milieu du IXe siècle: L'enseignement palatin de Jean Scot Erigène', in *Arts libéraux et philosophie au Moyen-Age* (Paris 1967), pp. 47-64. For medical studies, see Pierre Riché, *Les écoles et l'enseignement dans l'Occident chrétien de la fin du Ve siècle au milieu du XIe siècle* (Paris 1979), pp. 276-80.

⁵ Ernest Wickersheimer's *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au Moyen Age*, 2 vols. (Paris 1936) listed 18 named doctors prior to the eleventh century. Wickersheimer did not list references to anonymous *medici* nor, of course, did he catch every named physician for those centuries.

⁶ See MacKinney, *Early Medieval Medicine*, pp. 36-38, for Walahfrid Strabo's *Hortulus*.

⁷ Lupus, 1, p. 242 (no. 65) 2, pp. 2-4 (no. 68), or P. K. Marshall ed., *Servati Lupi Epistulae* (Leipzig 1984), Epp. 60 (pp. 66-7) and 72 (p. 75), for medical discussions in Lupus's letters.

⁸ In the second of the two letters cited in the previous note, Lupus asked Dido, who was abbot from 847 to 869, to cure a friend whom Lupus's own physicians had been unable to heal.

⁹ *I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX, X, e XI)* (Rome 1956).

investigation of French manuscript holdings found *medica* which had eluded Beccaria - especially fragments tucked here and there in non-medical manuscripts.¹⁰

Collating the results of Beccaria's and Wickersheimer's research reveals some important and interesting information. Beccaria described a total of 158 ninth- to eleventh-century medical manuscripts found throughout Europe. Of these, 82, or a little more than one-half, date from the ninth century. Wickersheimer's total for French ninth- to eleventh-century manuscripts comes to 119, of which slightly less than half, 58, are from the ninth century. These figures represent minima. Just as Wickersheimer was able to find almost as many manuscripts in France, 119, as Beccaria found throughout Europe, 158, further research in libraries will turn up additional *medica* concealed from both scholars by vague catalogue descriptions.

What work has been done thus far impressively suggests that primary responsibility for the production of medical treatises in the Early Middle Ages must be granted to ninth-century scholars and copyists. These men and women produced and disseminated an almost bewildering variety of medical recipes, dietary regulations, medical explanations, as well as numerous citations and lengthy extracts from Hippocrates, Galen, Oribasius, Dioscorides, Soranus, Alexander of Tralles, Theodorus Priscianus, Pliny, Quintus Serenus, Cassius Felix, and Marcellus Empiricus, among those most frequently cited.¹¹

We can draw a second conclusion from the two manuscript catalogues. While some knowledge of medicine could be found almost universally in Carolingian Europe - especially at court and in religious communities - there did emerge definite centres of medical study in the ninth century as the origins and provenances of the manuscripts attest. If one were to establish a map showing the origins of those ninth-century medical manuscripts whose origins are known and a second map illustrating the provenances of the manuscripts, the two maps would show roughly overlapping areas of concentration. They would reveal that northern Italy, northern France - that is, the region including Reims, Laon, Corbie, and St. Amand - and the Rhine Valley, in particular the monasteries at Reichenau and St. Gall, were important centres of medical study during the ninth century. Of these regions, I am most familiar with the manuscripts and schools of northern France and can thus better place the manuscripts there in the proper context.

As for the chronological limits, the reign of Charles the Bald (840-877), they are determined not only by the theme of this collection of essays, but also by the sources. Even though Carolingian educators such as Alcuin and Hrabanus Maurus at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century closely allied medicine with the liberal arts and although early Carolingian legislation called for

¹⁰ *Les manuscrits latins de médecine du Haut Moyen-Age dans les bibliothèques de France* (Paris 1966).

¹¹ Beccaria, pp. 439-91 ('Indice dei Testi').

medical studies,¹² we can only begin to discern the application of these ideals during the reign of Charlemagne's grandson later in the ninth century.

In northern France during this period, a group of scholars and some highly placed ecclesiastics, all known to each other, exhibited a more than passing interest in medicine. In fact, only one individual in this region is specifically designated as a *medicus*. Charles the Bald's charter for Notre-Dame of Rheims of 845 mentions a certain *Iohannes medicus*.¹³ Other than this sole reference to a medical 'specialist', medical studies and practice were undertaken by non-specialists, that is, individuals for whom medicine was but one aspect of their expertise.

One of the many medical recipes from the period, preserved in manuscripts at Laon,¹⁴ Avranches,¹⁵ the Vatican,¹⁶ and Cologne¹⁷ well illustrates this point. The recipe, the full text of which follows as Appendix I, is for a medicine which, as

¹² See MacKinney, *Early Medieval Medicine*, pp. 84-96, especially where he complained that 'throughout the early middle Ages medicine was so completely submerged in the liberal arts that it failed to receive the special attention that it deserved.' Isidore of Seville was the first to classify medicine as an art. See Manuel C. Diaz y Diaz, 'Les arts libéraux d'après les écrivains espagnols et insulaires aux VIIe et VIIIe siècles', in *Arts libéraux et philosophie au Moyen-Age*, pp. 37-46.

¹³ See below, n. 26, for this reference.

¹⁴ Laon, Bibl. mun., 403, ff. 166^r-166^v. This twelfth-century codex belonged to the abbey of Valroi. Its principle contents are pseudo-Hegesippus's history; Palladius, *Opus agriculturae*, ff. 119^v-160^r; and excerpts bearing on architecture, ff. 161^r-164^v. For a description, see J. Corbett, *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques latins*, vol. 2: *Manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements français antérieures au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1951), pp. 66-67 (no. 19); and, F. Ravaisson, 'Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Laon', in *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, sér. 1, 7 vols. (Paris 1849-85), 1: 207. I am obliged to the Bibliothèque municipale de Laon for a microfilm of the pertinent folios.

¹⁵ Avranches, Bibl. mun., 235, ff. 51^r-51^v. See Corbett, pp. 10-13 (no. 3). C. Leonardi furnished the best description of this twelfth-century manuscript. See his 'I codici di Marziano Capella', *Aevum* 34 (1960), pp. 3-4. Its provenance is Mont-Saint-Michel. See M. Bourgeois-Lechartier, 'Quelques aspects des miniatures et lettres ornées des manuscrits du Mont-Saint-Michel', *Art de Basse Normandie* 40 (1966): 44; and G. Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* (Caen 1966), pp. 143, n. 53; 162. The 79 folios contain, in addition to the recipe, 27 texts bearing primarily on astronomical subjects.

¹⁶ Vatican, Reg. lat., 1274, ff. 49^v-50^r. This early thirteenth-century codex belonged to Claude Fauchet (d. 1601). It contains in addition to the medicament, the *Opus agriculturae* of Palladius (lacking Book XIV) and an excerpt from Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris*. I am unaware of a published description. Typescript notes prepared in September, 1965, by Franca De Marco are conserved at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. The Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana kindly provided me with a photocopy of ff. 49^v-50^r.

¹⁷ Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig Ms. XII 5. See A. von Euw and J. M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, 4 vols. (Cologne 1979-85), 3, pp. 158-69, for a detailed description of this English manuscript which was written in the early twelfth century with additions by later hands. The recipe occurs in the earliest part of the manuscript at ff. 5^r-v. This important scientific anthology includes astronomical, musical, and computistical texts, some of which also appear in the Avranches manuscript. I am indebted to the late Professor John F. Benton for alerting me to this extraordinary manuscript and for discussing its problems with me.

the recipe concludes, 'not only removes hair, as has already been said, but even represses the onset of noxious humors. Both Bishop Pardulus and Fergus the Grammarian used it frequently.... Moreover, the learned Greeks, as I heard John say, used this medicament a great deal.'¹⁸ There is no clue to the identity of the recipe's compiler, however the mention of Bishop Pardulus allows us to date the original composition of the recipe between 848 and 856 when Pardulus was bishop of Laon.¹⁹ Fergus was an Irish master who was a close friend of Sedulius Scottus, a compatriot. Fergus taught Greek at St Amand and had contacts at Laon among the Irish scholars who gathered there.²⁰ In the company of Fergus and of Pardulus - who, by the way, made the first recorded reference to John Scottus when he asked the Irishman's opinion in the controversy over predestination - the John who is quoted as citing Greek medical practices can only be John Scottus.²¹

Additional evidence links Pardulus and John to medical studies. Only one letter survives from Pardulus's correspondence. This letter, little-known because it appears only in the 1645 edition of the works of Hincmar of Rheims, deals primarily with medical matters.²² In his letter to Hincmar, his metropolitan and close friend, Pardulus offered advice for an illness afflicting the archbishop of Rheims. To judge from the contents of the letter, Hincmar suffered from a severe digestive problem. Most of Pardulus's advice is dietary in nature. We learn that Hincmar was addicted to eating tiny fish, a fondness against which Pardulus

¹⁸ J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland, Ecclesiastical: An Introduction and Guide* (New York 1929), p. 588 (no. 398), alluded briefly to the medicament. It was paraphrased in French by S. Martinet in the article cited in the next note. Both authors refer only to the Avranches manuscript. L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, citing Corbett's catalogue, listed the Avranches and Laon manuscripts in their *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin*, rev. and augm. ed., The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication no. 29 (Cambridge, Mass. 1963) p. 1147.

¹⁹ See S. Martinet, 'Pardule, évêque de Laon, ami de Charles le Chauve, médecin de notre ville', *Fédération des Sociétés d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'Aisne, Mémoires* 16 (1970): 159-69; and, J. J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Medieval Manuscripts and Masters*, *Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung*, 29 (Munich, 1978), pp. 19-20, 123.

²⁰ Sedulius described Fergus as a close friend. See MGH Poet. lat. 3: 199, 518. Fergus's name also appears in the margins of an important ninth-century manuscript along with the names of other Irish masters. See below, note 51, and Kenney, pp. 559-60. B. Bischoff published a reference to *Magister Fergus* which he found in Valenciennes, *Bibl. mun.*, 81. See 'Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters', *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 2, p. 267. In the same study (note 107), Bischoff also brought to light another reference to Fergus found in Paris, B. N., lat. 10307, a manuscript with close attachments to the cathedral school of Laon. See J. J. Contreni, 'A propos de quelques manuscrits de l'école de Laon au IXe siècle: Découvertes et problèmes', *LMA* 78 (1972), pp. 28-37.

²¹ See Florus of Lyons, *De tribus epistolis liber*, PL 121, col. 1052A for the Laon bishop's reference to John. Both J. F. Kenney, *ibid.*, and M. Cappuyns, *Jean Scot Erigène: Sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée* (Brussels 1933), pp. 5, 65, accepted the identification of John Scottus with the John of the recipe.

²² Pardulus's letter, interesting from several points of view, is reproduced in Appendix II. For a recent comment on it, see Devisse, vol. 1, pp. 68-69.

warned him. He also loved greens which the bishop of Laon told him were difficult to digest. Hincmar, however, was not to fast excessively. Meat and fowl could be eaten, but only on the same day they were killed and only after careful preparation. Until he was well, Pardulus urged upon Hincmar the plain, simple, and more moderate meals of monks. Finally, he gave Hincmar a recipe for a potion, a boiled mixture of greens and oil, which he advised the archbishop to take to break down and expel bile.

All of this sounds like a mixture of commonsense and home remedies characteristic of many primitive societies. Yet, in Pardulus's case we can point to a more sophisticated source for his medical knowledge. Among the libraries of northern France, Pardulus's library at Laon had one of the most important collections of medical textbooks and manuals, works by Greek or late antique Roman authors, crammed with the kind of advice and remedies he presented to Hincmar. Pardulus himself in his letter to Hincmar alluded to a learned tradition of medical studies when, at one point, he offered a Greek etymology ('Et ideo plurimum ad continendam sanitatem, quasi hygia Graecorum, proficere non ignoratur') and at another when he supplemented his counsel with a clarification 'secundum philosophos.'

Before examining the contents of Pardulus's library, some of which escaped the catalogues of Wickersheimer and Beccaria, I would like to present evidence which might indicate more than a passing interest in medical studies on the part of John Scottus. Recent studies of John's career have begun to emphasize John the teacher and the student of the liberal arts rather than the 'great' John, the *grand isolé* of the ninth century, the metaphysician, the translator of Greek, and creator of the *Periphyseon*.²³ Some of the evidence used to paint a fuller picture of John's activities is of a medical nature. Claudio Leonardi in 1961 published two short poems by John Scottus. Both are of a satirical and ironical nature in sharp contrast to his panegyrical and theological poems published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Interestingly, both evince a familiarity with medical concerns. The first is: 'If a doctor cuts open our veins, he ought to see to it that his hand does not tremble.' The second ditty reads: 'Bacchus is absent from the parched throats of the Irishmen and unwholesome water fills our stomachs.'²⁴

These two whimsical poems, of course, cannot stand alone as proof of a deep interest on John's part in medical studies. They must be seen in conjunction with other sources such as the reference to John, Bishop Pardulus, and Fergus the Grammarian already mentioned. Also, we might ask whether two other references to medical interest by a John concern John Scottus. A flyleaf attached to a ninth-

²³ See especially the paper by G. Mathon cited in n. 4 above and J. J. Contreni, 'The Biblical Glosses of Haimo of Auxerre and John Scottus Eriugena', *Speculum* 51 (1976), pp. 411-434. See also M. Brennan, 'Materials for the biography of Johannes Scottus Eriugena', *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 27 (1986), pp. 413-60, esp. 416-21 for the Eriugenan medical texts.

²⁴ 'Nuove voci poetiche tra secolo IX e XI', *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 2 (1961), p. 148: 'Quisquis χερσουργος nostras incidere flebas/Audet, prevideat ne sua dextra tremat.' 'Bacchus abest siccis Scottorum faucibus estu/Et ventres nostros morbida replet aqua.'

century manuscript from St Germain-des-Prés bears a medical recipe (*Pulmentum pro hydropicis et pro diversis aegrotantibus*) attributed to a *Johannes medicus*.²⁵ The medicament, a mixture of the leaves or roots of parsley or celery, fennel, watercress, and a little measure of mercury mixed with salt and oil or grease, promises to cure all types of intestinal and digestive problems.

Another, or perhaps the same, *Johannes medicus* appears in Charles the Bald's charter for Notre-Dame of Rheims.²⁶ In his charter, granted when Hincmar of Rheims became archbishop of the city, Charles restored to the church of Rheims property which he had previously distributed to his faithful allies as benefices when the episcopal see at Rheims was vacant. In returning the property, Charles listed the individuals he endowed: among the counts, the clerics, an abess, and untitled beneficiaries, we read the names of Pardulus and John the *medicus*. Pardulus's ties with the court are well known.²⁷ Apparently, John *medicus* was also befriended by Charles and had connections at court. Now, the first appearance of John Scottus in the historical record can be dated approximately to the same period as this charter when Pardulus reported that he sought help on the predestination controversy from 'that Irishman named John at the palace.'²⁸ Were John the *medicus* and John Scottus, both attached to Charles the Bald's court at approximately the same time, the same person?

It would be reckless on the basis of mere homonymy to respond that the John Scottus of the two poems discovered by Claudio Leonardi and the John Scottus who with Bishop Pardulus and Fergus recommended a medicament is the same as these Johns explicitly designated as *medici*. The most that can be said is that John Scottus was interested in medical subjects. Several passages from the commentary on Martianus Capella and from the *Periphyseon* reinforce this point.

In John's commentary on the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (which has not yet received a complete edition), approximately a score of medical references or

²⁵ For the recipe in Paris, B.N., lat. 13013, f. 1^v (from Saint-Germain-des-Prés), see Wickersheimer, *Les manuscrits latins*, p. 126. Wickersheimer dated the script of this text to the ninth century. For a twelfth-century dating, see B. Bischoff, 'Ursprung und Geschichte eines Kreuzsegens', *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 2, p. 276, note 4.

²⁶ Tessier no. 75, vol. 1, pp. 210-3, dated 1 October 845.

²⁷ See Lupus Ep. 71, vol. 2, pp. 9-10: 'Cum repeto memoria intimas vos esse regi...' Epp. 66, 72, and 73 in the same collection illustrate Pardulus's ties to the court. (In Marshall's edition, see Epp. 12 (p. 21), 89 (p.88), 78 (p. 78), 77 (p. 78).) See Lupus Ep. 71, vol. 2, pp. 9-10: 'Cum repeto memoria intimas vos esse regi...' Epp. 66, 72, and 73 in the same collection illustrate Pardulus's ties to the court. (In Marshall's edition, see Epp. 12 (p. 21), 89 (p.88), 78 (p. 78), 77 (p. 78).)

²⁸ PL 121, col. 1052A: '... Scotum, illum qui est in palatio regis, Johannem nomine...'

notes indicate medical learning.²⁹ Of course, some of these references cannot be pressed. 'AESCULAPIUS filius Apollinis artis medicine maximus repertor', is one of these.³⁰ So too, perhaps, is John's explanation of 'EPIMELIA: cura salutis sed non cura illa quae pertinet ad solitudinem, sed ad sanitatem.'³¹ But what is one to make of an explanation of Minerva's bejewelled and sacred cloak that stresses the importance of the chest which houses the lungs and the heart and regulates breathing? The cloak is coloured red, John noted, because humours are drawn into the chest through hidden pores, gathered around the heart, and then ignited by the action of the lungs in contact with the fiercely burning heart thus forming blood-coloured flames.³² The point is not whether John's anatomical understanding is correct or not, but rather that he does choose an explanation requiring some medical knowledge. We can point to another bit of *medica* in the *Annotationes* - uncalled for by the passage upon which John commented - in a note on the opening line of Martianus Capella's allegory in which John explained why Martianus referred to the wedding song as the Hymenaeus:

If you wish to know the meaning of the noun Hymenei, you should know that there are three membranes in animal bodies, of which two are found in the male sex and three in the female sex as medical science has established. Of course, the cerebral membrane, which the Greeks call *menica*, from which the various fistulae of the fivefold senses proceed, are common to all rational and irrational animals. Again, the membrane which separates the intestines, that is, the viscera of the lower stomach and the upper chest, the liver and the windpipe, which the Greeks call *fremos* (from which the

29 *Iohannis Scotti Annotationes in Marcianum*, C. F. Lutz ed., The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication no. 34 (Cambridge, Mass. 1939): 3, 5; 5, 7; 5, 20; 7, 18; 58, 3; 58, 4; 62, 15; 63, 14; 82, 20; 83, 12; 83, 20; 121, 7; 174, 10; 208, 11; 241, 12; 278, 18; 285, 14; 484, 4; 493, 5; 493, 7. The authenticity of many passages of the *Annotationes* remains problematical. For an edition of what is thought to be Eriugena's genuine comments on Book I of the *De nuptiis*, see E. Jeuneau, 'Le commentaire érigénien sur Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis*, Lib. I) d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford (Bodl. Libr. Auct. T. 2, 19, fol. 1-31)', in E. Jeuneau, *Quatre thèmes érigéniens*, Conférence Albert-le-Grand 1974 (Montreal and Paris 1978), pp. 91-166.

30 *Ibid.*(ed. Lutz), 5, 20.

31 *Ibid.*(ed. Lutz), 62, 15.

32 *Ibid.*(ed. Lutz), 7, 18: 'COCCUM et AMICULUM hoc est amictus sacrați pectoris Minerve, ornatum munimen sapientis consilii quo rationalis anima undique ambitur, non incongrue significat. Ut enim cor et pulmones intra septa pectoris tutam possident sedem, ita vitalis rector spiritalibus flabris incensus, non solum corporalibus sensibus verum etiam rationabilibus affectibus, veluti in arce quadam cuiusdam civitatis praesidet. Pulcre etiam pectus cocco indutum addidit, quia humores quibus natura nutritur et augetur corporea, naturali administratione per occultos pectoris poros, circa precordia primo colliguntur, ibique, ardentissimo cordis igne qui pulmonum afflatibus sine intermixtione vivens veluti in ardentis suscitatur flammam, in sanguineum colorem instar flammaram quae coccineae qualitatis sunt mira quadam rubidine tinguntur.' The Oxford manuscript of the *Annotationes* (see above note 29) does not bear this gloss.

word *frenetici* comes), is common to both sexes. However, the membrane in the womb where children are conceived is found only in the female and is called *hymen* by the Greeks - from whence we derive the Hymenaeus which controls conception as the poets' tales would have it.³³

Book One of the *Periphyseon* contains yet another medical lesson very similar in substance to these last two comments from the *Annotationes*. Here, John made the point that 'in the common usage of mortals', predicates of subjects are confusingly applied:

For example: air contains light, and therefore air filled with light is called light; the eye is called sight or vision although in respect of the property of its nature it is neither sight nor vision. For who does not know that the eye is a corporeal part of the head and that it is moist, and that it is that through which the sight pours forth from the brain like rays out of the meninx, that is, membrane. The meninx, however, receives the nature of the light from the heart, that is, from the seat of fire. For sight is the emission of natural light in the sense of seeing of him who possesses it, bursting forth in the manner of rays, which, when it surrounds the colours and forms of sensible bodies without, with marvellous swiftness takes on the form of those coloured visible shapes.³⁴

John's discussion here and in the *Annotationes* of the *menica* and the *membranulae* have been linked on not quite satisfactory grounds with Galen.³⁵ Whatever the ultimate source of his words, the choice and detail of his examples coupled with the depilatory recipe suggest that his acquaintance with medical studies was not limited to the world of books. At the institutions with which John's career is associated in northern France and among his contemporaries in the same region, there is ample evidence that medical studies and practice were widely pursued by scholars.

³³ *Ibid.* (ed. Lutz), 3: 5: 'Si autem vis nosse aethimologiam nominis Hymenei, cognosce tres membranulas in corporibus esse animantium, quarum quidem duas esse in virili sexu, tres vero in femineo, medicinalis physica comprobat. Membranula quippe cerebri quam Greci μηνιγγα dicunt, ex qua diverse fistulae quinquepartiti sensus profluunt, communis est omnibus sive rationalibus sive irationabilibus animantibus. Item membranula que dividit inter ilia, hoc est inferiora ventris viscera et superiora pectoris, iecur cor et arterias, quam Greci φρην dicunt, ex qua frenetici vocantur, omni sexui communis est. Membranula autem ventris in qua puerperia concipiuntur et feminei sexus proprium est, et a Grecis ἡμην vocatur, inde Hymeneus qui corporalibus presidet conceptionibus ut poeticae fabule fingunt.'

³⁴ *Iohannis Scotti Eriugenae Periphyseon (De Divisione Naturae): Liber primus*, I. P. Sheldon-Williams ed., *Scriptores latini Hiberniae*, VII (Dublin 1968), pp. 123-25 (=PL 122, cols. 480C-481A). The translation is that of Sheldon-Williams.

³⁵ *Ibid.* (Sheldon-Williams ed.), p. 236, n. 134, for Galen's Greek text and the editor's comments. Mlle. M.-Th. d'Alverny doubts the pertinence of Galen to John Scottus's text (letter, 1 March 1977). E. Jauneau came closer to the mark when he traced John's discussion to Gregory of Nyssa's *De hominis opificio*. See 'Le commentaire érégénien sur Martianus Capella', p. 103, n. 5.

Several clues point in the direction of Rheims as a centre of medical studies. A Rheims manuscript from the third quarter of the ninth century contains a chart accompanied by instructions to assign numerical values for the letters in the name of an illness or disease.³⁶ The total numerical value for the name when located on the chart which contains a series of numbers, will predict the outcome of the disease. If the number lies in a particular quadrant of the chart, the outcome will be happy; another quadrant will indicate a less fortunate prognosis. It was perhaps because of this kind of medicine that Hincmar consulted Pardulus of Laon about his illness. There is, however, a more representative source for medical studies at Rheims. A leaf from a manuscript originally from St Remigius in Rheims contains directions for a medical recipe, *Potio contra ficum*. The same leaf on which this recipe appears also contains a note on Martianus Capella attributed to a Duncaht, an Irishman who taught at St Remigius.³⁷ Perhaps the medical note and Duncaht's note, although not by the same hand, came from the same source: the school at Rheims.³⁸

Among northern cultural centres in general, the cathedral city of Laon, Pardulus's see and the site of an important group of Irish scholars in contact with John Scottus and their compatriots in the Rhine valley, was the most important centre of medical studies. The evidence for Pardulus's activities at Laon is complemented by additional evidence of varying quality of Laon's significance. Some of this evidence consists of charts like the one just described from Rheims.³⁹ Several Laon manuscripts contain medical recipes for various potions and medical information. Laon's copy of Palladius's *Opus agriculturae* (Laon, Bibl. mun., 426^{bis}) contains several recipes and a calendar indicating what kind of food and water are to be taken during particular months.⁴⁰ A ninth-century manuscript owned by Bishop Dido of Laon (c. 883-895), but copied at St Amand (Laon, Bibl. mun., 199), bears a recipe on a fragment of parchment added to the

³⁶ Laon, Bibl. mun., 407, f. 136^v. See Wickersheimer, *Les manuscrits latins*, p. 35 (no. XXV).

³⁷ London, British Library, Roy. 15. A. XXXIII, ff. 3^r-3^v. For the text of the potion, which both Wickersheimer and Beccaria missed, see Mario Esposito, 'Irish Commentaries on Martianus Capella', *Zeitschrift f. keltische Philologie und Volksforschung* 9 (1913), pp. 159-63.

³⁸ Medical learning at Rheims also informed political theory. See K. F. Morrison, "'Unum ex multis': Hincmar of Rheims' medical and aesthetic rationales for unification', in *Nascità dell'Europa ed Europa carolingia: un'equazione da verificare*, SS Spoleto 27 (1981), vol. 2, pp. 583-712.

³⁹ Laon, Bibl. mun., 445, f. 1^v. Wickersheimer did not know this chart.

⁴⁰ Wickersheimer, *Les manuscrits latins*, pp. 39-41 (no. XXVIII).

end of the manuscript.⁴¹ Another Laon manuscript, now at Paris, contains an excerpt from Isidore of Seville's *Origines* on the healing qualities of various bodies of water.⁴² Sometime during the first quarter of the tenth century, Adelelm of Laon, master in the school and later bishop of the city (921-930), included a medical recipe among the documents he compiled for the *Laon Formulary*.⁴³ Important though these texts are for medical practice and studies at Laon, they are incidental to the real monuments of medical history there. In addition to the scraps, fragments, recipes, and citations just mentioned, Laon possessed two major medical manuscripts of late antique texts, Marcellus' *s De medicamentis* (Laon, Bibl. mun., 420)⁴⁴ and a manuscript bearing a large portion of Oribasius' *s* medical work (Laon, Bibl. mun., 424).⁴⁵ The significance of these manuscripts has long been acknowledged, but they have never been discussed in terms of medical studies at Laon.

The Oribasius codex was copied in northern Italy during the second quarter of the ninth century. This manuscript is bound with two flyleaves from an eighth-century manuscript from Corbie.⁴⁶ Perhaps the manuscript came to Laon via that monastery. In any event, the manuscript was at Laon during the third quarter of the century as marginal notes by Martin Hiberniensis (819-875), the most important Laon master, attest. The same can be said for Laon's copy of Marcellus which was copied during the first quarter of the century somewhere in

41 Folio 138^r: 'Potio pigmentaria ad omnes infirmitates. Scamonia dr[agmae] xii; Euforbio dr[agmae] xii; Alon, similiter; Amoniaci quincunx(?); Granomastice, quincunx (?); Costo, quincunx (?); Cinnamo quincunx (?); Gingiber, quincunx (?); Spico similiter; Cariofilo; Peretro; Zadoar; Diptamen; Bagas; Corale; Galenga; Piper longum; Piper nigrum; Draganto; Reupontico; Carpara radices, similiter; Croco; Ermodactila; Aristolozia; Mirra dr[agmae] vi; Tus dr[agmae] vi; Feniculum sementia calicemi'. The symbols for the measures of *amoniacum*, *granomastix*, *costum*, *cinnamonum* and *gingiber* are difficult to decipher. Although attached to a St Amand manuscript, the script of the fragment bearing the recipe closely resembles known Laon hands.

42 Paris, B. N., lat. 2024, ff. 41^r-42^r. See Wickersheimer, *Les manuscrits latins*, p. 53 (no. XLI). The presence in this manuscript of marginal notes made by Martin Hiberniensis links the codex to Laon. For Martin, see below, n. 47.

43 Paris B.N.lat. 11379, f. 2^v. This portion of the manuscript has been extremely damaged by wear and chemical reagents. Only a portion of the medicament is visible: '[...] IONEM VENTRIS. Betoniam coquis in lacte capr [...]. Probatum est.' For the attribution of this text and the Laon Formulary to Adelelm, see J. J. Contreni, 'Le Formulaire de Laon: Source pour l'histoire de l'école de Laon au début du Xe siècle', *Scriptorium* 27 (1973), pp. 21-29; and *idem*, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, pp. 153-56.

44 See Wickersheimer, *Les manuscrits latins*, pp. 35-36 (no. XXI). Folio 99^v bears a reference to Bishop Rodulfus which Wickersheimer missed: 'Rodulfus episcopus vivat in aeternum'. Beccaria, *I codici*, p. 130, read *iuvat* for *vivat*. There were two Bishop Rodulfuses in the late ninth and tenth centuries to whom this inscription might refer. One presided over the see from 894 to 921, while the other was bishop from 936 to 948.

45 Wickersheimer, *Les manuscrits latins*, pp. 36-39 (no. XXII).

46 E. A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores*, 11 vols. with a Supplement (Oxford 1934-71), 6, no. 767.

northeastern France. This manuscript has been annotated by two hands, one of which can be positively identified as that of Martin.⁴⁷

Martin was at the centre of the school of Laon. He has been reputed for his work on a Greek-Latin glossary and grammar, substantial portions of which he copied. Martin was a friend of Lupus of Ferrières, colleague of John Scottus, patronized by Hincmar of Laon, and had contacts at Charles the Bald's court. His script is found throughout many of Laon's surviving ninth-century manuscripts.⁴⁸

One is rapidly persuaded, in reading his notes in the Laon Oribasius and Marcellus, that Martin was yet another Carolingian scholar for whom medical studies were more than an intellectual ornament. Many of Martin's notes provided explanations of medical terminology found in his texts; occasionally there is a recipe. Most striking, however, are Martin's comments on the utility of various remedies, comments born obviously of practical medical experience.⁴⁹ What is perhaps more significant is that Martin's medical interests were integrated into his concept of education and learning. Martin's definition of wisdom, or philosophy, which we can read in the school manual composed under his direction, is essentially that of Isidore of Seville's *Differentiae* and includes the medical arts.⁵⁰ In his copy of Origen's *Homilies on Numbers*, Martin was especially impressed by Origen's argument that all learning, especially medicine, the science of health,

⁴⁷ Wickersheimer, *Les manuscrits latins*, p. 39, attributed the notes in the Oribasius to the eleventh century. The second hand in the Marcellus codex copied an interesting series of notes at ff. 16^r, 44^v-45^r, 51^v, 69^v, 97^r, 152^v, 157^v. Wickersheimer, *ibid.*, p. 36, published a note on dysentery by this annotator from f. 157^v. Mme. Martinet identified the annotator as Bishop Pardulus (see above, no. 19), but see Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, p. 123, n. 28.

⁴⁸ For Martin, see Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, *passim*.

⁴⁹ In Laon, Bibl. mun., 424, Martin's annotations can be read on ff. 1^r-17^v, 47^r, 59^v-60^r, 69^r, 70^r, 112^r, 127^v, 143^r, 145^v, 162^r-162^v, 186^v. The annotations on ff. 145^v and 163^v are in Tironian notes. In Laon, Bibl. mun., 420, among many notes, occur at f. 11^v, 'pulchra ratio de febribus'; at 13^r, 'pulchra ratio de oculis'; at 19^v, 'utiliter sinapi'. Martin noted 'utile' throughout the margins of this manuscript and, in places, has copied recipes, for example, f. 133^v: 'Ad urinam provocandam probatissimum remedium est potio clara de petro silo et apio et saxifraga cum pipere et melle.'

⁵⁰ Laon, Bibl. mun. 468, f. 9^r: 'Omnis philosophia in tres species dividitur id est in phisicam, aethicam, logicam. Fisis enim natura, aethis mos, logos verbum vel ratio, quod est in naturalem, moralem, rationalem. Phisica autem in quattuor divisiones partitur, id est arithmetica, geometrica, musica, astronomiam quibus adhaerent astrologia, et medicina, et etiam minores artes quas aratores, et fullones, et cimentarii exercent.' For the sources of this note, see Isidore of Seville, *Differentiae* 2, 39 (PL, 83, cols. 93-4), and Jerome, *Epistula* LIII, 6 in *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, I. Hilberg ed., 3 vols., CSEL 54-56 (Leipzig, 1910-18), 1, 452, 10-13. For the note and its manuscript, see J. J. Contreni, *Codex Laudunensis 468: a Ninth-Century Guide to Virgil, Sedulius, and the Liberal Arts*, *Armarium Codicum Insignium* 3 (Turnhout 1984).

comes from God.⁵¹ In his study and practice of medicine, then, Martin was of course pursuing a discipline which had obvious practical benefits. In addition, medical studies were for Martin a constituent part of wisdom, especially of Christian wisdom.

This concept, announced in the eighth and early ninth centuries, lends greater meaning to the medical interests of Carolingian cultural leaders such as Lupus of Ferrières, Walahfrid Strabo, Dido of St-Pierre-le-Vif, and those 'new' names who have been the subject of this paper: Fergus, Pardulus, John Scottus, and Martin Hiberniensis.⁵² When we recall that Martianus Capella's educational handbook - in which he tried to synthesize antique learning for his son - deliberately excluded the study of medicine, the spectacular proliferation of medical texts, the pursuit of medical studies by an intellectual elite, and the incorporation of medical studies into the educational programme during the ninth century assume greater significance.⁵³ What we are witnessing in the ninth century is not simply a 'renaissance' of medical studies, but rather their establishment on new principles and in a new context.

⁵¹ In Laon, Bibl. mun., 298, Martin gave a close reading to Origen's eighteenth homily which argues that all wisdom is from God. At f. 87r, Martin marked the following passage: 'Iam vero de medicinae scientia nec dubitari puto. Si enim est ulla scientia a Deo, quae magis ab eo erit quam scientia sanitatis, in qua etiam herbarum vires, et succorum qualitates, ac differentiae dignoscuntur? See PG 12, col. 715.

⁵² The anonymous Irish master who annotated Bern, Burgerbibliothek 363 illustrated perfectly the incorporation of medical learning into the school curriculum. His manuscript, copied late in the ninth century probably in northern Italy, emanates ultimately from the educational world of Sedulius Scottus and John Scottus. It is famous both for its grammatical texts and for the hundreds of marginal references to ninth-century masters copied into its margins. See H. Hagen, *Codex Bernensis 363 phototypice editus* (Leiden 1897) for a facsimile edition; Kenney, pp. 559-60 (no. 364, vii) for a brief description; and, J. J. Contreni, 'The Irish in the Western Carolingian Empire (According to James F. Kenney and Bern, Burgerbibliothek 363)', in H. Löwe ed., *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart 1982), vol. 2, pp. 758-98, for an analysis of the significance of the marginal annotations. Apparently unnoticed among the marginalia which refer to theological and grammatical topics are ten notices 'De medicina' inscribed alongside the following passages in Servius's commentary on the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*: *Buc.* II. 11, 65; *Georg.* I. 58, 78, 193, 215; III. 415, 459, 526; IV. 396 (G. Thilo and H. Hagen eds., *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, vol. III-1: *In Bucolica et Georgica commentarii* [Leipzig 1887], pp. 19-20, 126, 147-48, 152, 176, 181, 309, 312, 317, 351.

⁵³ See *Martianus Capella*, A. Dick ed., J. Préaux rev. (Stuttgart 1969), pp. 471, 23-472, 6.

APPENDIX I

Where appropriate *e-caudata* or *-e* have been expanded silently to *-ae*. Also *-c-* has been silently replaced by *-t-* in words such as *tercio* and *spacio* to conform to the orthography of the earliest manuscripts. For the manuscripts, see above, notes 14-17. Their *sigla* are:

- A = Avranches, Bibl. mun., 235, ff. 51^r-51^v.
 C = Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig Ms. XII 5, ff. 5^r-5^v.
 L = Laon, Bibl. mun., 403, ff. 166^r-166^v.
 V = Vatican, Reg. lat., 1274, ff. 49^r-50^v.

Psilotrum ad noxios quosque humores extrinsecus desiccandos
 et pilos qui displicent extirpandos

Calcem arefactam et in pulverem redactam sub pondō librarum
 duarum in novum ponito lebetem et statue ad focum et tanto spatio inibi
 5 esse permittite. Donec ipsa fervescat in olla. Fiat etiam apozima ex
 lini semine et uvis malvae radice et malvae cum foliis suis ex furfuribus
 quoque triticeis et pone in cacabum cum aquae modio pendens supra rogam
 ut in eodem commixta pariter ebulliant et exinde candescentem in eadem
 10 olla relinquabis calcem. Denique habeto auripigmenti pulverati uncias
 tres quarum unam mox admiscebis calci post reliquationem suam. Et
 cum miscueris continue commovebis ne nimis densetur aut tenuetur, et
 si unam non videris sufficere, adhibe alteram. Si haec quoque minime
 sufficit adhibebis et tertiam. Et in hoc agnosces suffiendi modum.
 15 Si quamlibet pennam hirsutam miseris et in eam tinxeris et cum ex-
 traxeris et excusseris nichil pilorum in ea parte remanserit qua tinctio
 illam madidam fecit. Quae experientia tibi erit ex eodem auripig-
 mento maior minorve addendi mensura. Et hoc facto sit tibi balneum
 assum confestim paratum et introibis in ipsum. In quo cum ceperis
 20 sudare, sint tibi duo ministri qui tibi ubi vis palpando lenissime corpus
 hoc perungant medicamine. Et si haec processerit unctio ad interiores
 ascellarum partes, ipsas ascellas interea teneto sursum extensas et
 expansas donec laventur ex illa quam diximus decoctione apozimae.
 Et caveto omnimodis ne antea remittas, ne forte alterutrum praemendo
 et ipsam carnem assumat. Statim vero ut haec unctio facta fuerit tota
 25 abluatur illo lomento aquae quam superius praecepi cum quibusdam
 herbis excoquendam. Sit etiam tibi seorsum in qualibet olla ex solis
 furfuribus triticeis facta decoctio et ex ea denuo vice sua lavaberis.
 Quo facto et melle ungeris gratia ablutionis et suavitatis et si necesse
 videris novissime vino in quo micae panis resolutae sunt ablueris. Si

- 30 autem pilos illos qui tolluntur iam nolueris renasci, fel caprae albae et sanguinem vesperilionis commisce hincque perungere et extirpabuntur perpetuo. Praeterea illo die quo haec fient, contentus eris asso balneo non insuper aquario. Non solum autem ut superius dictum est pilos delet, verum etiam noxium humorum impetum reprimat. Quo et frequenter Pardulus utebatur episcopus et Fregus grammaticus qui et dicebat quicumque hoc tertio usus fuerit in martio, non opus est ei febrium molestiam timere in anno illo. Graeci quoque sapientes ut audivi a Iohanne hoc maxime utuntur medicamine nec aliquando fortassis alteram pro desiccandis humoribus curant accipere potionem.

1 Psilotrum] Propsiletrum C desiccandos] dissicandos VA 3 et] om. A 4 novum] novam ACV inibi] ibi L 5 permittite] permute A apozima] id est lexiva add. C 6 semine] et evisci radice et cum foliis suis ex furfuribus hab. L 7 quoque] om. V supra] super L 8 in] om. V eodem] eadem C commixta] comixta V candescentem] scandentem K 9 olla] om. A auripigmenti] auripigmentum A auripigmenti V auripimenti C pulverati] om. A 10 mox] om. V 11 commovebis] removebis L 13 adhibebis] adhibebis V 13 agnosces] cognosces V illeg. A 16 fecit] fecerat C illeg. A auripigmento] auripimento C 17 Et] om. A 19 tibi ubi vis] ubi vis tibi hab. L 20 perungant] perungant CV 21 et expansas] om. C 22 decoctione] coctione A discoctione C 24 assumat] consumas A 25 quam] qua C 26 excoquendam] ex quo quendam AC decoquendam L Sit] Sic A qualibet] qualibus C solis] folis A 27 triticeis] triceis C decoctio] discoctio AC 28 ungeris] ungueris C 29 sunt] sint A 30 iam] om. A 31 hincque] hisque A perungere] perungere C 34 noxium] noxiorum L 35 Pardulus] Bardulus C Fregus] Frigus L 36 hoc tertio usus] hoc unguento tertio K hoc usus tertio L 36-7 non opus est] non est opus A est om. L febrium molestiam] molestiam febrium C 38 fortassis] fortasis C 39 alteram] aliam L desiccandis] siccandis V.

APPENDIX II

Parduli Episcopi Laudunensis ad Hincmarum Remensem
nunc primum ex Codice sancti Remigii Remensis¹

Patri reverentissimo Hincmaro Archiepiscopo Pardulus Episcopus in Domino salutem. Gloria in excelsis Deo, per quem mihi sanitatem vestram omnibus profuturam redditam gaudeo: sine qua nihil boni me habiturum sperabam, quia post Deum vos habeo in omni tribulatione certissimum adiutorem, et in omni necessitate piissimum et benignissimum consolatorem. Neque enim ab ea die qua vos haec infirmitas tetigit, a corde meo excedere potuit habitus nostrae Synodi; sed neque qui simus in eadem praesidentes, aut considerantes, quidve in ea proficere solemus, oblivisci potui. Unde si contigisset mihi ceterisque fidelibus vestris, modo, quod Deus avertat, plus aliquid contrarietatis in hac vestra infirmitate, optabam me aut cito vos secuturum, aut nullatenus in aliquam Synodum ulterius ingressurum. Quapropter, si more solito vos despicitis, et corporis sanitatem vestri causa minime curatis, horum reminisci debetis, et redditam vobis per divinam gratiam sanitatem studiosius custodire, et a cunctis quae huic infirmitati contraria

esse videntur penitus abstinere; a nimio scilicet ieiunio, et a pisciculis minutis, quibus libenter vesci soletis, ab omnibus quoque recentioribus cibus, ab his scilicet, qui eadem die, quando comedi debent, ab aquis levantur; aut, si de volatilibus aut quadrupedibus cibus efficitur, eadem quando occiduntur die minime sumantur. Quae oportet primum exinterare, et diligenti cura sale humores exsiccare, et sic postea quemque, qui sanitatem habere cupit, salubriter sumere.² Sed neque a lardo, sive quadrupedibus abstinere, quoniam sine his stomachum difficile quilibet poterit reparare. Abstineatur praeterea ab omnibus quae cruda comedi possunt, et ab ipso appio quo saepe uti soletis, donec vobis a Domino reddita sanitas plurimum confirmetur, et sic ad siccos, et miseros, tardioresque monasticos cibos redeatur. In ultimo, antequam surgatur a mensa, faba purgatissima cum purissimo pingui ad mensuram decocta sumatur; quae licet secundum philosophos sensum obtundere dicatur, tamen phlegmata et deponere et exsiccare creditur, et reliquum cibum quasi dormientem excitat, et iter ei quasi nescienti quo ab anfractibus et circumvolutionibus extorum egredi debeat, non sine sonitu docet. Et ideo plurimum ad continendam sanitatem, quasi hygia Graecorum, proficere non ignoratur. Vinum quoque non validissimum, neque debile, sed mediocre sumendum est: hoc est non de summitate montis, neque de profunditate vallium, sed quod in lateribus montium nascitur, sicut in Sparnaco in monte Ebonis, et in Calmiciaco ad Rubridum, et in Remis de Milsiaco atque Calmiciaco. Cetera autem, aut nimis furtia, aut valde debilia, et humores nutrientia esse videntur. De conlocutione vero mutua, de qua mandastis, plurimum doleo quoniam his diebus nullatenus vobiscum me loqui posse spero, eo quod ad asperiora loca infra Rigasium sita, equorum solatio maxime destitutus, vos visitare non possum, et ad quem locum planioris viae vos vocare audeam, ignoro. Prout tamen citius Dominus posse dederit, vos ubicumque fueritis requiram, et vobiscum veluti cum Dei Angelo desiderantissime et libentissime loquar. Itineris autem nostri dispositio haec est: xvii Kalendas Ianuarias ad Viridunacum Domino miserante venire volumus, et ibi xvi stare, xv per viam iuxta montes Remorum quae vocatur Barbaria ire, et per Iuncaracum sive Broilum transire, et ita ad Glannam, unde in crastina montem ascendere speramus. Dominus vos ab omnibus adversitatibus ereptum memoriam mei in orationibus vestris semper habere faciat, et faciem vestram prospere videre citissime mihi concedat.

Notes

1. *Hincmar archiepiscopi Remensis Opera*, Iacobus Sirmond ed., 2 vols. (Paris 1645), 2: 838-39. I have expanded the ampersands printed in Sirmond's edition of the letter.

2. See, for this passage, the comment of Hubert Silvestre in his review of Hrabanus Haacke's edition of Rupert of Deutz's *De gloria et honore Filii hominis super Matthaeum*, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 76 (1981), p. 663.

THE DEBATE ON PREDESTINATION

David Ganz

'Il ne faut pas dire qu'il y a ce qu'on voit pas. Il faut dire
comme les autres, mais ne pas penser comme eux.'

Pascal, *Pensées*, 266

I

Discussions about predestination were always an issue in Christian history, as readers of Bede were aware. 'On the one hand was divine faith, on the other side human presumption, on the one side piety, on the other pride.'¹ What must be explained are the specific features of the ninth century debate: why did predestination only become an issue in 848, although Hrabanus Maurus had complained about it in 840? What made the participants take up, and modify, a particular stance? What light can the debate shed on the 'crisis of the Carolingian Renaissance'?² Theological debates reveal a certain academic maturity, but they also involve the expression of views on the relations between man and God which make up daily life. The texts concerning predestination may not be explicit or decodable statements about social order, but the men who wrote them also wrote royal annals, panegyric, treatises on canon law and advice to missionaries. Because it is through the sources which they wrote that we see the reign of Charles the Bald, their theological preconceptions are directly relevant to our interpretation of this reign.

The problems of predestination were debated at Charles's court, in his presence, by men whom he himself acknowledged as teachers. The debate was also about teaching. 'You are not under the law, you are not children, but perfect - as when a teacher tells a boy, don't make mistakes in your sentences, you have got beyond learning grammar.'³ Sedulius Scottus, commenting on St Paul, used the classroom as the image of progress, while Gottschalk's exasperation is preserved

¹ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, I 17, ed. B. Colgrave and R. Mynors (Oxford 1969), p. 56.

² T. Schieffer, 'Die Krise des Karolingischen Imperiums', in *Aus Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift G. Kallen* (Bonn 1957), pp. 1-15.

³ Sedulius, *In Epistolas Pauli*, PL 103, col. 62. Rom. 6: 14.

for us: 'Give me the book, and I will show you'⁴ The debate concerned the very nature of learning itself, fuelled by Gottschalk's use of the syllogism, the result of inspiration during his reading of Jerome on Galatians,⁵ and polarised by Eriugena's use of a dialectic which drew on Augustine's early dialogue. This was attacked as sophistry, 'the *quadrivium* of vanity'.⁶ The correct response to uncertainty about doctrine was not novel argument but the careful assembly of texts. It is no accident that Lyons, Corbie, Ferrières and Rheims were the chief centres. Ratramnus of Corbie noted that Cassian was not always reliable,⁷ Florus of Lyons and Lupus of Ferrières discussed Cicero's views of free will and the search for God,⁸ and an unknown Irishman was to attack the teachings of Gottschalk, Ratramnus and Eriugena in the margins of Servius's commentary on Virgil.⁹ The very range of critical response shows how disturbing were the issues which Gottschalk had raised.

Lupus of Ferrières's sermon on St Judoc enables us to see how one of the participants in this debate described his society: 'We see the fall of noble cities, the leaders cannot agree with their equals, the people is not as great as it was, the generals are not as many or as fine as they were. We have rejected order.'¹⁰ Another humanist, who had been involved in the rebellion against Louis the Pious, was even more pessimistic: 'Now almost all our world lies uncultivated, for all the rules of law are violated, good and evil are mixed, and even if there is peace no region is kept safe, the bonds of consanguinity, name and loyalty are abjured, inconstancy touches everything and no knowledge of good remains. What we do is contradicted, scarcely anyone lives properly. The country is ravaged by civil war, we are lashed from all sides by the enemy sword, and yet there is no end to our greed and guileful acquisitiveness, as if a pot aflame with Vulcanian fire had kindled the hearts of men and women alike, and scarcely any age or any rank is exempt.'¹¹ 'Daily we see brothers and neighbours engaged in such *civil and more than civil wars*, we endure the extermination of men by barbarian and pagan enemies, and the desolation of cities, and we can do nothing more than daily to

⁴ *Oeuvres Théologiques et Grammaticales de Godescalc d'Orbais*, ed. C. Lambot, *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense* 20, (Louvain 1945), pp. 156-7, 206-7, 418-9.

⁵ Prudentius, *De Praedestinatione Contra Joannem Scotum*, PL 115, col. 1352.

⁶ Devisse, I, pp. 206-243. C. Charlier, 'Les Manuscrits personnels de Florus de Lyons et son activité littéraire', in *Mélanges E. Pödechard* (Lyons 1945), pp. 71-84. B. Bischoff, 'Hadoard und die Klassikerhandschriften aus Corbie', in Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* I, (Stuttgart 1966), pp. 49-63.

⁷ Ratramnus's autograph annotation in B. N. Lat. 12240, f. 119^r: 'Quod cassianus non sit sequendus in omnibus'.

⁸ Florus, *Liber Adversus Joannem Scotum*, PL 119, col. 140. Lupus, *De Tribus Quaestionibus*, PL 119, cols. 642-4.

⁹ MS Berne 363, f. 61^v: Servius I, 39; f. 63^r: Servius I, 74 (Gottschalk); f. 65^v: Servius I, 161; f. 88^v: II, 500-1 (Ratramnus).

¹⁰ W. Levison, 'Eine Predigt des Lupus von Ferrières', in Levison, *Aus Rheinischer und Fränkischer Frühzeit* (Düsseldorf 1947), p. 563.

¹¹ Paschasius Radbertus, *In Lamentationes Hieremiae*, PL 120, col. 1212.

await our end, groaning. And yet, as the word of the Lord says, *the end is not yet*.¹² Audradus Modicus, baulked of a bishopric, saw a vision of God dividing Europe among the sons of Louis the Pious, and giving each of them a people to convert. Because Charles had not kept his side of the bargain he was defeated by the Bretons, and attacked by the Vikings.¹³ Audradus had no illusions about the 'régime de la confraternité'. In Lupus's words, 'The more stubborn your crimes, the stronger your punishment.'¹⁴ For the majority of the West Frankish intelligentsia, the events of 833 to 843 revealed how stubborn the crimes had been. The deposition and penance of Louis the Pious was a turning point in the development of society because it showed the intelligentsia that a society regulated by penance could not always find favour in God's sight.¹⁵ Thegan, the Astronomer, the *Annals of St Bertin* and Paschasius Radbertus all use Job as a model for their accounts of the crisis,¹⁶ while Nithard emphasises the resentment of the 'populus'.¹⁷ Thegan's resentment was directed at Ebbo of Rheims. 'If someone were to list all your crimes in a poem, he would outdo the seer of Smyrna, old Homer, Maro of Mincio and Ovid too.'¹⁸ Lothar supported Ebbo, Gottschalk's patron and Hincmar's enemy, until 847, and Hincmar continued to attack his followers until 868. But no one disputed that Ebbo had every right to impose penance on Louis the Pious, because Louis's crimes had been committed in his diocese. Eight of Charles's bishops had signed a letter in 840 calling for Ebbo's restitution, and they included such influential canonists as Theuderic of Cambrai and Rothad of Soissons.¹⁹

II

In the first decade of his reign, Charles the Bald had not only to conquer his kingdom. He also had to secure the loyalty of his clerics. In so far as it is possible to establish how these were appointed, it is evident that an 'old boy network' was used. Of the sixteen clerics at the Synod of Quierzy in 853, six were supporters of Ebbo, four were royal chaplains, three chaplains present were subsequently to become bishops, and three owed their appointments to Hincmar of

¹² Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matthaewm*, PL 120, cols. 800-1 (Matt. 24, 6).

¹³ Audradus Modicus, *Liber Revelationum*, ed. L. Traube, 'O Roma Nobilis', *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 19, 2 (1891), pp. 383-6.

¹⁴ Levison, *op. cit.*, p. 564.

¹⁵ Schieffer, *art. cit.*; J. L. Nelson, *EHR* 92 (1977), pp. 243-4.

¹⁶ *Thegani Vita Hludovici* c. 44, MGH SS II, 600; Astron. c. 46, MGH SS II, p. 634, AB, p. 11; Paschasius Radbertus, *Epitaphium Arsenii*, ed. E. Dümmler, *Abhandlungen der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Phil. Hist. Kl.* (1900), p. 91.

¹⁷ Nithard I, 4.

¹⁸ Thegan c. 44, p. 600.

¹⁹ Devisse, I, pp. 92-3.

Rheims.²⁰ Of the forty-two bishops at the Synod of Tusey in 860, eleven were royal appointments, seven being chaplains, and a further six were appointed by Hincmar.²¹ It is not surprising that the seventh canon of the Synod of Valence (855) attacked ignorant bishops, career bishops who despoiled the church for the sake of gain, and emphasised the need for canonical election.²² Hincmar saw this canon as a deliberate attack on his own position.²³

But influence needed the support of orthodoxy. We have only Hincmar's word that Gottschalk wanted the job of archbishop of Rheims,²⁴ yet Prudentius of Troyes insisted that the royal notary Aeneas could not become bishop of Paris unless he subscribed a declaration of orthodoxy defining his position on predestination and redemption.²⁵ Views on predestination served to define factions among the clerical élite. In describing how this élite legitimated its needs I shall sketch those trends in the polemic which bear upon the preoccupation of the intelligentsia, not with their patristic inheritance and the tradition of religious polemic, but with the threats to their own understanding of the way in which the world was to be ordered and explained. By treating such views as ideology we are able to see how the clerical élite defined its role as a *Heilsaristokratie* ('aristocracy of salvation').

The pessimism of humanists such as Lupus, Florus and Radbertus was accentuated by events. The Viking siege of Paris in 845 seemed incredible to Radbertus; and in the same year the Saracens attacked St Peter's, 'the mother

²⁰ Isaac of Langres, GXt IV, cols. 531-6; Aeneas of Paris, GXt VII, cols. 33-5; Hincmar of Rheims, Rothad of Soissons, GXt IX, col. 340; Pardulus of Laon, GXt IX, col. 514; Lupus of Châlons, GXt IX, col. 866; Emmo of Noyon, GXt IX, col. 988; Hilmerad of Amiens, GXt X, col. 1158; Wenilo of Sens GXt XII, cols. 21-4; Amalric of Tours, GXt XIV, cols. 58-9. The supporters of Ebbo were Theuderic of Cambrai, GXt III, col. 11; Rothad of Soissons; Lupus of Châlons; Emmo of Noyon; Ragenarius of Amiens; Erpoin of Senlis, GXt X, col. 385; Folcuin of Thérouanne GXt X, col. 1533. The bishops at Quierzy are identified from Hincmar's list, PL 125, col. 85.

²¹ The Tusey bishops are identified by P. R. McKeon, 'The Carolingian Councils of Savonnières (859) and Tusey (860) and their Background', *RB* 84 (1974), pp. 109-110. Royal appointments were Franco of Tongres, GXt III, col. 834; Remigius of Lyon, GXt IV, cols. 59-65; Isaac of Langres, GXt IV, cols. 531-6; Godelsandus of Châlons, GXt IV, col. 875; Breduicus of Mâcon, GXt *V, col. 1045; Aeneas of Paris, GXt VII, cols. 31-5; Giselbert of Chartres, GXt VIII, col. 1107; Agius of Orleans, GXt VIII, cols. 1424-6; Hincmar of Laon; Wenilo of Rouen, GXt XI, col. 22; Ansegaudus of Avranches GXt XI, cols. 473-4; Wenilo of Sens, GXt XII, cols. 21-4; Dodo of Angers, GXt XIV, cols. 552-4. Hincmar's appointments were Isaac of Langres, Hildegard of Meaux, Erchanraus of Châlons, Hermenfrid of Amiens, Humfrid of Thérouanne and Amalric of Tours. A clear reminder of chancery training is found in the episcopal subscriptions to the councils of Pîtres and Soissons in J. Mabillon, *De Re Diplomatica* (Paris 1681), Tab. 5, p. 553, and in the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, IV, pl. 75, p. 749; V pl. 89, p. 465: too long ignored by palaeographers.

²² Mansi 15, cols. 7-8.

²³ Hincmar, *De Praedestinatione*, PL 125, cols. 382-93.

²⁴ Hincmar, *De Una et Non Trina Deitate*, PL 125, col. 613.

²⁵ Prudentius, PL 115, cols. 1365-8.

church of the Christian West', killing the many who had taken refuge there, 'quod sine grandi merore nulli dicendum vel audiendum est'.²⁶ These events challenged the destiny of the Empire, and the institutions of its salvation, even the feast-days of the heavenly intercessors were no longer sacred festivals, but were the market days when Vikings chose to attack towns at their most wealthy.²⁷ The saints rose from their graves as witnesses to unbelief, as if at cockcrow, as a sign not to believers but to unbelievers, in a last effort to see if they might be awakened to the true light which is Christ.²⁸ Miracles were replaced by God's scourges.

To Hrabanus Maurus Gottschalk seemed one such scourge. At the age of twenty-one he had argued his way out of Hrabanus's monastery of Fulda, where his father had installed him as an oblate. Other members of the family clan were to become bishops of Hildesheim and Werden,²⁹ but Gottschalk argued that free men had no right to make their sons slaves of God, and that monasticism was a human institution which could, and should, be corrected. Hrabanus labelled this as heresy, and implied that Gottschalk had considerable Saxon support.³⁰ The synod of Mainz allowed him to leave Fulda, and he went to Orbais and Corbie. A letter in a Paris manuscript copied at Rheims which has been seen as his work, implies that in 833-4 he appealed to Ebbo for help against members of his retinue who accused him of plotting against Ebbo and the emperors. This may relate to the 849 charge that he was disturbing 'civilia et ecclesiastica negotia'; links with Ebbo cannot have endeared him to Hincmar.³¹ From Rheims Gottschalk moved to Rome, and in 845-6 he was at the court of Count Eberhard of Friuli, whom Sedulius Scottus called 'tutor Ecclesiae'.³² Here Gottschalk was teaching predestination, and fighting beside Tripemir, the Christian king of Croatia.³³

On Gottschalk's return his teachings were condemned at the Synod of Mainz, in 848, and Archbishop Hrabanus sent him back to Archbishop Hincmar, with a letter:

He declares that predestination is directed both to good and evil, and that there are people in this world who since they are compelled by the predestination of God to go to death, cannot correct themselves of error and sin. As I hear, he has already seduced many, and they are less attentive to their salvation, for they say: "What shall it profit me to strive to serve God, for if I am predestinated to death I shall never escape it, but if,

26 AX, s.a. 845, p. 15.

27 I owe this point to Dr. A. Smyth.

28 *Epitaphium Arsenii*, ed. cit. pp. 61-2.

29 R. Wenskus, 'Sächsischer Stammesadel und Fränkischer Reichsadel', *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 3, Folge 93 (1976), pp. 107-8, 111, 130.

30 Hrabanus, *De Oblatione Puerorum*, PL 107, cols. 419-21, 431-2, 435, 438-9.

31 PL 125, cols. 83-4; C. Lambot, 'Lettre inédite de Godescalc d'Orbais', *RB* 68 (1958), pp. 41-51.

32 Sedulius, *Carmen XXVIII*, MGH Poet III, p. 202. Eberhard was Louis the Pious' son-in-law.

33 Lambot, *op.cit.*, pp. 169, 325.

on the contrary, I behave badly and am predestined to life, without any doubt I shall go to eternal rest".³⁴

At Quierzy, in 849, Charles the Bald presided over the condemnation of Gottschalk and the burning of his writings. He was imprisoned in the monastery of Hautvilliers, where Aeneas the royal notary told him that he could not understand what Augustine taught about the predestination of the wicked to death.³⁵ 'Pondus meum amor meus, eo feror quocumque feror, ac per hoc alibi caritatem dicit esse ipsum onum Christi.' Like Augustine, Gottschalk saw predestination to grace as an earnest of God's love, and of our love for the vision of God who is Himself the reward of our longing. Grace was the instrument of God, and grace was omnipotent.³⁶ Nature alone was impotent, and man should not delight or trust in free will, but in the grace of God which was proved on the tree of life.³⁷ If God had willed that everyone should be saved then he would have said so, but He did not save the wicked, and so He did not die for the wicked. For he who does not believe is now judged, that is, he is now doomed.³⁸ For Gottschalk, to deny predestination was to deny grace, the fragile link between the elect and the salvation of which they could never be sure. Gottschalk's writings record his doubt, his fear of damnation, his inability even to weep. He knew that appearances were deceitful: 'just as a bough in a stream seems broken and your fingers seem shorter seen in water - try it out in the bath - so verisimilitude often deceives those who are careless, not only in secular learning but also in sacred scripture'.³⁹

After the synod of Quierzy Hincmar wrote a treatise to the 'reclusos et simplices' of his diocese. In it he warned them against the false prophet who was preaching to his followers the abandonment of faith and good works.⁴⁰ We know that Gottschalk was in contact with Corbie, and was consulting bishops, and according to Archbishop Amolo of Lyons he asked them to preach publicly that those who had been predestined to damnation could not escape.⁴¹ Hincmar sees him as like the devil transformed into an angel of light, one of the false prophets, whom his readers will know, and whose writings may come into their hands.⁴² He emphasizes that sinners are proud followers of the devil, who rebelled against his Lord and was deposed for his disobedience.

God is prepared to save the lost sheep, for Christ will convert sinners to justice, and so bring men to join the angels in heaven. Sinners, however, deny the

34 MGH Epp V, pp. 481-2.

35 Lambot, pp. 156-7.

36 Lambot, pp. 52-5, 185.

37 Lambot, p. 156.

38 Lambot, p. 157.

39 Lambot, p. 375, cf. Lambot, p. 229.

40 Hincmar, *Ad Reclusos et Simplices*, ed. W. Gundlach, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 10 (1889), pp. 258-309.

41 Amolo, MGH Epp KA III pp. 368-78.

42 Gundlach, pp. 262-3, with Scriptural references.

redemption. Like Adam and Eve, they neglect their own lives and blame their creator for their own neglect, confusing foreknowledge and predestination, and maintaining that some men are created for hell. But God only lets those who abandon Him, by unbelief or apostasy, go to hell. Jesus offered his sacraments to all the apostles, that all might be redeemed, and his predestination is always to good. Those who refuse his sacraments and deny his incarnation and passion have preferred death to life eternal, just as if they had refused to drink the medicine which is an antidote to all illnesses, both present and future. What Hincmar emphasizes is the bond between God's justice and his grace.⁴³ Weber would have characterized this as a bureaucrat's creed, emphasizing order and offering a sacramental guarantee.⁴⁴ Hincmar's authorities were those of Hrabanus and Alcuin⁴⁵ and the Pelagian *De Induratione Cordis Pharaonis*. But he also consulted Lupus of Ferrières and Prudentius of Troyes, both of whom took a strong Augustinian stand.^{45a} Lupus introduced the notion of a withdrawal of grace ('gratiae subtractio', cf. *Heb.* 10.39), but affirmed that the wicked were condemned by their own will. Prudentius denied that God wished to save all mankind as otherwise His omnipotence would be limited, and he supported this position with a collection of biblical and patristic instances.

At the same time, Charles the Bald was asking Lupus about predestination, free will, and the redemption, and he invited Ratramnus to provide him with a patristic dossier on predestination. A fragmentary letter of Pardulus of Laon refers to five writers including Amalarius of Metz who treated these questions.⁴⁶ Charles's personal involvement should come as no surprise. It was a part of his royal functions as they were set down at the Council of Meaux-Paris;⁴⁷ he was rallying to the defence of the visible Church at a time of attack on the validity of its sacraments and the interpretation of its Scriptures, when the Church was called upon to provide a justification of divine punishment.

Both Lupus and Ratramnus, though they were monks trained in leading Carolingian monasteries, see Charles as the arbiter of the dispute. Lupus suggests that, if his answer should fail to satisfy, Charles may wish to hold a council;^{47a} while Ratramnus places the king in the tradition of David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Josiah, Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, all of whom sought to understand 'divinae sapientiae mysteria'.⁴⁸ He appeals to Charles as 'probator et iudex' and accepts that he will be able to correct the treatise. This emphasis on the king is

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 289, 291-2.

44 M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tübingen 1972), pp. 306-7.

45 Gundlach, p. 262, *Devisse*, II, pp. 134-8.

45a Lupus, Ep. 79, II, pp. 36-42.

46 'Plures inde apud nos scripserunt. Et cum quinque ex eis nominasset, inter quos etiam Amalarius scripsisse memoravit', Pardulus of Laon as quoted in the *Liber de Tribus Epistolis*, PL 119, col. 1052.

47 MGH Cap II, pp. 388-421, esp. 395-6.

47a Lupus, Ep. 78, II, p. 36.

48 Ratramnus, *De Praedestinatione*, PL 121, col. f3.

more than an appeal to the obvious patron: it assigns to him a role in keeping with his 'virtus et sapientia'. In the opening paragraph of his *Liber de Tribus Quaestionibus* Lupus expresses his concern for the peace of the Church, which has been disturbed in Italy and in Gaul.⁴⁹ In appealing to Jerome and Augustine, the parents of ecclesiastical philosophy, he depends less on an unwieldy assembly of quotations from their works than do subsequent participants in the debate. His message is that despite the truth of predestination man need not despair. No Christian should fall into the trap of thinking himself one of the number of the damned, and of believing that he cannot be turned from evil and saved by God's clemency. Christ's redemption, and the sinner's own baptism, should encourage him to turn to God, for He will spare the humble and subdue the proud.⁵⁰ Everyone should remember David and Peter: one who repented of his adultery and homicide, and the other who denied Christ. And if those two lead the sinner to despair, rather than to imitate them, then he is to think of the thief on the cross, who found life in the midst of death.⁵¹ 'Maluit enim ex malis bonos vel bona facere, quam mala nulla esse permittere'.⁵² The punishment of unconverted sinners reduces the exaltation of the proud, increases the devotion of the humble, and by both of these it augments the praise of God.⁵³ God's justice is defended; it puts human justice to shame. He is not the author of the Fall, for men fall either by themselves or by the influence of the devil. But as in Adam all have fallen, those priests who are repelled by God's exclusion of some from heaven have failed to understand in what His foreknowledge consists.⁵⁴ Thus Lupus, from the standpoint of a Christian humanist, preserves the pessimism of his sermon and of an Augustinian tradition in which the sacraments do not bypass the limited nature of the elect Church.

Ratramnus's treatise embodies a change in form. Lupus, Arnolo and Pardulus had all written letters. Hincmar's *Ad Reclusos et Simplices*, though it contained a large number of patristic extracts, was designed as a guide for the perplexed. But Ratramnus assembled authorities, both from scripture and from patristic sources, to form a dossier designed to convince by its bulk and authority. The speed with which patristic texts were accumulated in libraries throughout the Carolingian empire made it possible to engage in theological controversy on a regional scale.⁵⁵ But in contrast to the polemics of Augustine, these treatises on predestination were not widely copied; most authors quote so extensively from the work which they are refuting as to imply that their readers will not have access to a copy. The debate

49 Lupus, PL 119, col. 623.

50 Lupus, PL 119, cols. 627-34.

51 Lupus, PL 119, col. 641.

52 Lupus, PL 119, col. 629.

53 Lupus, PL 119, cols. 629-30.

54 Lupus, PL 119, col. 635.

55 E.g. MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 106, ff. 48^v, 49^r, 50^r; MS St. Gall 48, pp. 263, 367; MS Dresden A. 145, ff. 4^v, 88^v, 90^v; Paris B. N. Lat., 9604, f. 58^r; Würzburg M. p. Th. f. 12, ff. 2^v, 4^v, 5^r, 14^v, 21^v; Lyons MS 608, and Charlier, *art. cit.*

derived its momentum from the number of participants, not from the dissemination of treatises. These treatises were indeed written not for wide circulation but as dossiers for kings, bishops or councils. At Corbie it is possible to trace Ratramnus as he excerpted the patristic texts which formed his dossier, and in the patristic florilegium of Hadoard of Corbie there is an attempt to order such material into a systematic exposition of God's nature and His plan for man's salvation.⁵⁶ Ratramnus's own exposition is characterized by his desire to show how God disposes all. In His responsibility for our actions there is a distinction between His function as 'auctor et ordinator' of good projects, and merely as 'ordinator' of evil.⁵⁷ The snares of the enemy can only prevail against His saints as far as He has decreed. In an excerpt from Salvian Ratramnus asks why the condition of the barbarians is so much better than ours, and answers that man can know only that God disposes all things. We cannot know why one man is greater than another, one wretched and another happy, one weak, another strong, but there is no need for human arguments to justify His acts.⁵⁸ But He is not responsible for evil acts, they result from the desires of rational men. We are not to ask why faith is not given to all. In discussing predestination Ratramnus affirms that it does not compel man to sin, for men are not judged because they were predestined but they are predestined to punishment because they were already known to be sinners.⁵⁹ By his own efforts man is unable to gain salvation except by grace, which removes the blindness of his heart and gives him the fulness of virtue, so that the light of justice shines on him and he who perceives it is able, by following the path of virtue, to adhere to it.⁶⁰ God knew from eternity the sins of Cain, of the world before the flood, and of Sodom, but he did not predestine them to commit these crimes, nor were they sinners because of His foreknowledge. Similarly all divine judgement reveals His foreknowledge and predestination, to deny which would be to deny God's judgement of the world.⁶¹ Ratramnus's work ends with an affirmation of the last judgement and the punishment of the followers of Antichrist, not because they were predestined, but because they were sinners. Because God's foreknowledge does not compel anyone to sin, the ordering of the world, its calamities and its final judgement, remain within the frame of God's justice. Both Lupus and Ratramnus had taken up a position closely akin to Gottschalk's; Ratramnus indeed sent Gottschalk a battery of quotations for use in his quarrel with Hincmar about the Trinity.⁶²

⁵⁶ MS Paris, B. N. Lat. 13381 (I am preparing a study of the contents of this florilegium).

⁵⁷ Ratramnus, PL 121, col. 15.

⁵⁸ Ratramnus, PL 121, col. 38.

⁵⁹ Ratramnus, PL 121, col. 55.

⁶⁰ Ratramnus, PL 121, col. 63.

⁶¹ Ratramnus, PL 121, col. 76: 'negari non potest praedestinat praedestinatam nisi forte iudicium, quo iudicandus est mundus, aliquis dicit opus Dei non esse'.

⁶² Hincmar, *De Una et Non Trina Deitate*, PL 125, col. 512. Traces of this collection may be found in B. N. Lat. 2166: Faustus, *De Gratia*.

The intervention of John the Scot, because it extended the notion of divine unity beyond the opposition of God and man, aroused deeply felt hostility.⁶³ John's *De Divina Praedestinatione* starts from the divisions of philosophy, which enable him to set out the treatment of his theme. He described heresy as a boon to the Church in that it necessitates a more attentive and careful definition of catholic doctrine.⁶⁴ Gottschalk's teaching of double predestination, 'stultissima crudelissimaque insania', refutes divine authority and annuls the rules of reason.⁶⁵ Yet in attempting to define the divine attributes John appeared to exceed the requirements of refutation. For him, the unity of God precludes any plurality of His attributes, such as a double predestination implied.⁶⁶ Taking up Gottschalk's use of a classic passage from Isidore's *Sententiae* John distinguished between 'gemina' and 'duplex' and argued that Gottschalk's blasphemous doctrine led him to a further blasphemy against charity:⁶⁷ he denies that grace aids man to do justice.⁶⁸ Employing the dialectical figure of apodeixis John shows that the salvation of the world depends on grace, and that the judgement of the world implies man's free will.⁶⁹ Justice depends on freedom, and correct justice, 'sui cuique tribuere', demands that man keep God's commandments, which is possible only if he has free will. God must command what lies within man's power.⁷⁰ John goes on to deny that God can predestine sin, death, or punishment.⁷¹ How can He punish what He has created? As Cristiani has shown, John linked predestination and law in their function of defining the limits of human action.⁷² It is by predestination that God enables His creation to fill its bounds, which were created by His wisdom. Evil consists of an inability to exist within the bounds of the law, which cannot however be transcended. The wicked find their punishment in their inability to escape from these laws by their impiety.⁷³ So the same law represents eternal life for those who accept it, and punishment for evildoers. Like transitory human law, this law never compels man to sin, but it ensures that the guilty are punished.⁷⁴ So John creates a unified system in which justice demands free will. In the only known manuscript of his work an annotator who has carefully followed John's arguments, noting the unacceptable doctrines on the Fall, free will, human nature, punishment and reward, points out the

63 M. Cristiani, 'La Notion de Loi dans le *De Praedestinatione* de Jean Scot', *Studi Medievali*, 3me Serie 17 (1976), pp. 81-114.

64 *Johannis Scotti, De Divina Praedestinatione Liber*, ed. G. Madec, CCCM 50 (Turnholt 1978), pp. 6-7 quoting Augustine, *De Vera Religione*, 8, 15.

65 Madec, p. 9.

66 Madec, pp. 16-17.

67 Madec, pp. 21-4, quoting Isidore, *Sententiae*, II, 6, 1.

68 Madec, pp. 39-40.

69 Madec, p. 28. Cf. Aulus Gellius 17, 5, 5.

70 Madec, p. 40.

71 Madec, pp. 86-110.

72 Cristiani, *art. cit.*, pp. 108-111.

73 Madec, p. 51.

74 Madec, p. 115.

enormity of his denial of eternal punishment: 'Nec paganus hoc dicit'.⁷⁵ But his system was to earn a more public rebuke.

Prudentius of Troyes made a prolonged and elaborate refutation, in which passages from John's treatise - preceded by a condemnatory *theta* - were each followed by a refutation backed up by extensive patristic excerpts. The surviving manuscript shows that these texts were still being assembled while it was being copied, for some of them were squeezed into the margins to extend sections.⁷⁶ Prudentius begins by attacking John's sophistry which is contrary to the method of the *De Doctrina Christiana*; he notes how St Jerome was divinely chastized for reading Cicero. God is the source of all wisdom, and Prudentius repeatedly attacked John for relying on his own reason and insisted that our understanding of the world is limited: we cannot understand why the just man returns from court condemned, or why the man who procures the death of his neighbour lives, while the man who benefited the lives of many dies. Even conversion is an uncertain process.⁷⁷ A long section, showing Prudentius's mastery of the *De Decem Categoriis*, is concerned with the essence of God and man.⁷⁸ Man's essence involves the natural properties of will, understanding and memory; but the knowledge which enables him to will good or evil comes as a gift from God.⁷⁹ The contrition of Peter, after his denial of Christ, depended on Christ looking at him: this shows that the spur to confession is not in man, but from God. Similarly Matthew was totally bound up in worldly cares, but Christ's look immediately converted him. For Prudentius, grace creates the will to good, turning Paul from a persecuting wolf into a lamb.⁸⁰ John the Scot has denied this possibility of conversion, and so he denies God's power to transform the everyday world. In order to establish divine intervention in history Prudentius refers to the wars between King Rehoboam and his brothers. The punishment of rulers is not fortuitous, it results from God's predestination.⁸¹ It is fear which makes men repent or daily compels them to sin.⁸² Prudentius rejects John's optimism about human nature, as he knows that most men, though Christian, fixed in the damnable mire of vice, do not want a pious life.⁸³ He insists that human history records how men have been punished by God. And he strengthens the argument by an analogy with human law.⁸⁴ In conclusion, Prudentius asserts the reality of

75 MS Paris, B. N. Lat. 13386, f. 145^v; Madec p. 97. All the annotations are printed by Madec, though he ignores the *Notae* symbols of the annotator.

76 B. N. Lat. 2445. PL 115, cols. 1016, 1023-4, 1026, 1029 (on an inserted scrap) 1044, 1051-2, 1053, 1057, 1057-8, 1095, 1096, 1139, 1157, 1167, 1169, 1189, 1195, 1207, 1208, 1211, 1260-1, 1274, 1275, 1288, 1303 are all additions.

77 Prudentius, PL 115, cols. 1027-9 quoting Gregory, *Moralia*.

78 Prudentius, PL 115, col. 1037.

79 Prudentius, PL 115, col. 1051.

80 Prudentius, PL 115, cols. 1062-3.

81 Prudentius, PL 115, col. 1045.

82 Prudentius, PL 115, col. 1081.

83 Prudentius, PL 115, cols. 1085, 1095, 1190.

84 Prudentius, PL 115, col. 1201.

Hell and its punishments, and offers a recapitulation of the work. It forms a systematic counterattack, burdened by patristic quotations, which sought to explain how God worked in time, redeeming or punishing as He chose.

Archbishop Amolo of Lyons wrote to Gottschalk out of fraternal duty, urging him to submit to judgement. He regarded the affair as a symptom of the age predicted by the Apostle, full of ignorance and diseases of the soul, and he reminded Gottschalk of the biblical penalties for those who cause God's children to sin.⁸⁵ He expressed concern at Gottschalk's attack on the sacraments and the priests and rectors of the Church, and his abuse of Scripture. Denying predestination to punishment, he explained that the damned were condemned because they did not want to perform works of salvation.⁸⁶ 'How has the human race sinned against you, how has the Church sinned against you, and so many neighbours and brothers in that Church, that you want to obstruct and close the great and open door of God's affection?' But the force of the Lyons intervention came from Florus, probably the most widely read of Carolingian theologians and an expert in law and liturgy.⁸⁷ He had been secretary to Archbishop Agobard, and had assembled a patristic commentary on the Pauline epistles. Lyons manuscripts preserve his annotating marks for further patristic collections, as well as a marginal commentary on Augustine's *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio* and *De Dono Perseverantiae*. It was he who prepared the collection of Augustinian extracts which accompanied Amolo's letter to Gottschalk. His own answer to John the Scot depended on a set of extracts already used by Prudentius;⁸⁸ nevertheless it has an imposing clarity. Florus, writing 'in his maxime periculosissimis et extremis temporibus', found it disturbing that John had so many admirers.⁸⁹ He wished to defend God's justice, which Scripture describes as the best reward for the faithful, and which all the Church accepts and praises.⁹⁰ He clearly distinguishes the implications of 'scientia', 'praescientia', and 'praedestinatio'. Just as the sun shines on just and unjust alike, so there is one predestination for all but with two effects. Florus's careful analysis of 'operatio' is particularly impressive.⁹¹ Like Prudentius, he sees scourges, toils and tribulations as the necessary compulsion to make men keep God's law. Thus the debate is about God's judgement and punishment of the world. Man is mutable, and not, as John

⁸⁵ Amolo, PL 116, col. 86: 'Videmus tempora novissima et periculosissima, ab Apostolo olim praedicata, plena ignorantiae'.

⁸⁶ Amolo, PL 116, col. 92.

⁸⁷ C. Charlier, 'Florus de Lyon', *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, (Paris 1932-, in progress), V, pp. 514-526.

⁸⁸ It is assumed that the *Liber Adversus Joannem Scottum* precedes the *De Tribus Epistolis*: cf. M. Cappuyns, *Jean Scot Erigène: Sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée* (Louvain 1933), p. 117; B. Lavaud, 'La controverse sur la prédestination au IX^e siècle', *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 15 vols. (Paris 1903-72), XII, p. 2915. But this has not been proved, and MS Paris, B. N. Lat. 2859 has the *De Tribus Epistolis* first.

⁸⁹ Devisse, I, pp. 188-9.

⁹⁰ Florus, PL 119, col. 103.

⁹¹ Florus, PL 119, col. 106 quoting Revelation 11, 16-18.

asserts, simple.⁹² Although human history records the punishment of sinful mankind, Florus recalls that God allowed one hundred and twenty years for repentance before the Flood.⁹³ The crimes of the wicked must be punished, and false kings and prelates will be stripped of their insignia.⁹⁴ Like human law, God's law does not compel men to do evil in that it punishes evil. Florus asserts the reality of the two cities and hopes that present events may serve to secure God's law and to turn men to repentance. The annotations in the Corbie copy of Florus's treatise *Aduersus Johannem Scottum* are concerned with these aspects of his work.⁹⁵ At the same time Florus's *De Tribus Epistolis*, on the other hand, was written as a critique of Hincmar's letter to the church of Lyons with the letter of Pardulus of Laon and the treatise Rabanus had sent to Noting of Verona, which Hincmar enclosed. Hincmar extracted five propositions from Gottschalk's writings, and offered in refutation a doctrine of a single predestination of the just to salvation, and of man's freewill. The *De Tribus Epistolis* was written by Florus out of concern for his simpler brethren.⁹⁶ He expressed alarm that Gottschalk should have preached to the heathen about such difficult topics. Establishing seven rules of faith, he affirmed the predestination to damnation of pagans, Jews and heretics and persecutors of the Church.⁹⁷ He argued that God does not act by chance, but everything is done by His eternal wisdom. Christ did not die to save unbelievers: 'non pro omnibus mortuus est sed pro multis.'⁹⁸ Though Florus opposed Gottschalk's teaching on freewill, he supported his view of predestination and attacked Hincmar's condemnation of treatises which deserved discussion and not burning.⁹⁹

III

The debate had depended upon the division of mankind into only two camps, the elect and the rejected. In both, nature had been transformed by grace. The all-embracing formula allows discussion as to whether pagans can cross this absolute frontier. It becomes a part of a cosmology. Lawmaking, for John, is enlightenment, offering the only means of dispelling man's own darkness. Such analogies secure the system: divine law functions like a superior form of human

92 Florus, PL 119, col. 116.

93 Florus, PL 119, col. 150.

94 Florus, PL 119, col. 170.

95 Florus, PL 119, col. 182. MS Paris, B. N. Lat. 12292, ff. 28^r, 37^r, 39^v, 40^v, 41^r, 44^r, 44^v, 45^r, 48^r, 58^v, 64^v, 67^r. E.g. f. 39^v: 'Dicit quod praedestinatio nihil est aliud quam decretum et praefinitio divini iudicii', PL 119, col. 174; f. 58^v: 'Dicit Florus in primo homine totam naturam peccasse et totam perisse', PL 119, col. 208. This work also survives in Florus' autograph MS and in a Vatican MS perhaps from Fulda: MS Vat., Reg. lat. 240.

96 Florus (not Remigius as Migne supposed), *De Tribus Epistolis*, PL 121, col. 987.

97 Florus, PL 121, cols. 989-992.

98 Florus, PL 121, col. 1021.

99 Florus, PL 121, col. 1030: 'nec ignibus damnandi sed pia et pacifica fuerint inquisitione tractandi'.

law; man redeemed replaces the angels who fell. But any interpretation of these correspondences so as to provide a pattern for man's redemption ignores the gulf between the present world and the extra-temporal *civitas Dei* which Augustine had charted. Because the debate on predestination is concerned with man's understanding of his redemption, it appears irrelevant to the concerns of the *saeculum*, and is discussed only in histories of religion. But this denies the validity of the *civitas Dei* for its inhabitants. The preconditions of all social activity were at stake. As the doctrine of predestination denies any redemptive function to the Christian community, and addresses itself to the individual, it offers no reassurance to those who sought to define that society or its norms. Gottschalk makes this clear in his discussion of how rustic and divine speech can deny the accepted values of power. 'All the Venetians who do their business in the kingdom of the Latins call their lord, that is, the emperor of the Greeks, not "lord" but "lordship". For they say, "Kind lordship have mercy on us", and "we were before the lordship", and "the lordship said this to us". But before you condemn their rustic speech, see what happens in heaven'.¹⁰⁰ The concerns of lordship form part of an all-embracing pattern, in which even oddities of speech can be so explained, but the specific examples alert us to the function of the general concern.

St Ambrose in his *De Officiis* tells a profitable story of Gigas's ring, on Plato's authority, which truly makes me very much amazed that the wisdom of God often wishes to offer so salutary a matter in the mouth of a pagan. Gigas, as he says, was a royal shepherd in a certain land. Going down into a cleft he saw a ring on the hand of a dead man buried in an ancient place which he had broken into, and took the ring, greedy for gold. But when he went up out of there and returned to his companions, for some reason he turned the ring inwards to his palm. Thus he saw the other shepherds, but not one of them could see him. Skilled in the use of the ring he entered the palace, ravished the queen, killed the king, and gained the kingdom. But now hear the fruit of the story. 'Give', says Plato, 'the ring to a wise man so that he may be hidden when he sins', and then he says something much more remarkable and in every way more useful about a wise man. 'He does not wish to sin except if it could always be hidden'. Marvel with me at this most wonderful opinion of a pagan, and, lest you be damned by the Lord, imitate it as is fitting, for it is written in the gospel, 'unless he forsakes all he possesses, he cannot be my disciple' (Luke 14:33). Plato the pagan did not wish to sin, even if it could be hidden, and how sad it is that Plato the Christian does not fear to sin damnably and fatally when certainly it cannot but be revealed. May almighty God who says through his apostle: 'I shall give them a heart to know me and ears to hear' (Jeremiah 24:7) make you read, understand and

¹⁰⁰ Madec, p. 3: 'Ut enim maxima clarissimaque mundi luminaria stellarum lubricationes non despiciunt, sed ad expellendas omnium tenebrarum caligines earum radiis ad perfectionem sui splendoris utuntur'.

fulfil this opinion with eyes and heart illuminated, and not excuse yourself before Christ's judgement. May almighty God 'take away from you a heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh' (Ezekiel 36:26) and not allow you to die, but may he grant you his pity now and in the day of wrath. And if you do not see 'the sword which is girded on the thigh of our most powerful king and all-powerful lord' (Ps. 44:4) why do you not fear that sword which goes forth from his mouth, lest he swiftly chastise you according to your deserts?¹⁰¹

In passing from the mysterious corpse in the cleft to Christ in the judgement seat this passage shows Gottschalk's concern with the levels of omnipresent sin, and his preoccupation with power and with the worthlessness of earthly power. The fruit of the tale is the analysis of the will to sin. Gottschalk's intense and aphoristic style establishes a dialogue of confession with God, which lies outside the conventions of Carolingian theology, in a search for the marriage of form and meaning.

IV

Official concern about the debate over predestination dates from 851. At the second Meerssen conference, Louis, Lothar and Charles agreed to ally against 'the enemies of God' probably referring to Gottschalk.¹⁰² But the diversity of opinions, and the strong hostility provoked by Eriugena's 'court' intervention, may have encouraged Charles to act rather less publicly than Meerssen had implied. In 853 a synod met at Soissons to settle the troublesome problems of Hincmar's election and the status of those clerics whom Ebbo had ordained.¹⁰³ It also set up an enquiry into monastic life and sought to secure ecclesiastical immunities. Forty-four bishops were present on that occasion, but according to Prudentius of Troyes, one of those who had judged Hincmar's election, only a few bishops and abbots met at Quierzy in May 853, to condemn Gottschalk and his allies.¹⁰⁴ Hincmar was later to admit that proceedings at Quierzy had been hasty.¹⁰⁵ The assembly drew up four *capitula*, which Charles himself subscribed. They asserted a single predestination, freewill, God's desire for universal salvation, and the universal validity of Christ's passion. It seems probable that Prudentius was one of those present.¹⁰⁶

The Quierzy meeting seems to have ended the debate in Charles's kingdom for two years, though the impossibility of dating any of Gottschalk's own writings makes it difficult to establish this definitively. But the church of Lyons, which had

101 Lambot, pp. 476-7.

102 Lambot, p. 208.

103 Calmette, p. 20.

104 Mansi 14, cols. 977-989.

105 AB, p. 67.

106 Hincmar, *De Praedestinatione*, PL 125, cols. 295, 368. Devisse, II, p. 200-201.

obtained a copy of the *Quierzy capitula* by 854, was concerned to refute them. The *De Tenenda Immobiliter Scripturae Veritate*, which again was the work of Florus, regarded the novelties of the *capitula* as a sign of the dangers and calamities which were afflicting the Church;¹⁰⁷ these were explicitly linked to the division of the unity of the kingdom.¹⁰⁸ The refutation of the *capitula* depended on the authority of Scripture and of the fathers, and emphasized that the *Hypomnesticon* quoted by Hincmar was not the work of Augustine.¹⁰⁹ In January 855 a provincial synod meeting at Valence acknowledged the patristic learning and the brevity of this treatise. It condemned the *Quierzy capitula* and sought to reform the episcopate.¹¹⁰ The kingdom of Lotharingia, aware of the mounting prestige of Charles, was asserting its independence of West Frankish theology. For Hincmar the fact that Ebbo of Rheims's nephew Ebbo of Grenoble was the prime mover behind the Council of Valence, which so effectively condemned not merely Quierzy but his own episcopate, was especially galling.

If between 855 and 859 the debate appears to have been dormant, this impression is incorrect; it is only that no copy survives of Hincmar's Second Treatise on Predestination. He wrote this work after the apparent volte-face of Prudentius, who had attempted to enforce a predestinarian viewpoint on Aeneas as a precondition of his election to the see of Paris. Hincmar's work consisted of three books, and involved a polemic against Gottschalk, Prudentius, Ratramnus and others who agreed with them.¹¹¹ No other surviving work of Hincmar's is divided into books, so there is a possibility that this was his longest contribution to the debate. But it is lost.

It was not until after the invasion of Charles's kingdom by Louis the German in 858 that an attempt was made to reconcile the different standpoints. On 14 June 859, at Savonnières, Charles assembled a general synod in the presence of forty-two bishops and the kings of Provence and Lotharingia. In May of the same year Charles and Lothar had pardoned Louis's sedition at the Synod of Metz, specifically asserting that the confession of sins should result in their forgiveness.¹¹² The Savonnières synod had been preceded by a meeting of the Lotharingian episcopate at Langres, in early June. They issued a series of decrees on predestination, which explicitly attacked Eriugena. These were a version of the decrees of the Synod of Valence without the condemnation of the Synod of Quierzy, and restricted their attempt to reform the episcopate to Lotharingia.¹¹³ It was the Langres decrees that Remigius of Lyons presented to the Synod of Savonnières. Here the first six *capitula* were concerned with predestination, followed by *capitula* about ecclesiastical councils, the ordination of bishops, the

107 *De Tenenda Immobiliter Scripturae Veritate*, PL 121, cols. 1083-1134.

108 PL 121, col. 1083: 'Ut regni unitas sit discussa ac dilacerata'.

109 PL 121, col. 1108.

110 Mansi 15, cols. 1-14, cf. McKeon, *art. cit.*, p. 103, n. 3.

111 Hincmar, PL 125, cols. 85-93.

112 MGH Cap. II, pp. 441-6.

113 Mansi 15, cols. 537-40.

visitation of monasteries and the defence of their immunities, the restoration of churches, schools and hospitals, and a censure of princes for their thefts. The synod was concerned with the restoration of 'caritas fraterna et concordia pacis' between Louis and Charles, which the ending of the schism in the Church was to secure.¹¹⁴ But in fact any discussion of Remigius's *capitula* was postponed.¹¹⁵ Charles requested that Hincmar respond to them, and Hincmar's Third Treatise on Predestination was the result.

The *De Praedestinatione* begins by recalling that this is an age of controversy. Hincmar stresses that Gottschalk was condemned at Quierzy, and he lists the bishops who were present. He attacks the *capitula* of Valence, the work of Florus, and the *capitula* of Prudentius for Aeneas's election; and he attempts to establish that predestinarianism is an old heresy, which the Church has already refuted. The authority of Rome must be followed. For Hincmar, the argument is about authorities, and he assembled over 1100 excerpts from over 150 works.¹¹⁶ He sought to defend Quierzy, and the treatise makes it clear that his own prestige was at stake. He described his enemies as paltry wretches who did not dare to attack him openly: 'In turbine tumultuoso, qui nuper huic regno accidit, cum aliis suis perdidit, aemuli nostri dicunt nos dicere ... quia liberum arbitrium funditus in homine primo peccante sit perditum'.¹¹⁷

The juxtaposition of the religious and the political crises was not accidental. Hincmar was concerned to refute any suggestion that God is the author of sin. God created man, but it was man who created sin.¹¹⁸ God's just mercy and merciful justice are offered to all. Baptism and the eucharist are the means of salvation.¹¹⁹ Penance can redeem the sinner.¹²⁰ Neither Christ nor Paul asserted that God had predestined sinners to death and to punishment.¹²¹ Hincmar is defending free will, and he sets it within the whole framework of the 113 provinces of the Church, each with its 'catholici doctores',¹²² whose doctrine was attacked by men who had crawled out of their caves like mice. These men were split off from the Church by their 'novelties'. But Gottschalk's yeast threatened the Church. Deserting God, he had been deserted by God.¹²³ Hincmar took his stand on the double condemnation of heresy, and his display of canon law was overwhelming. The Theodosian Code was expertly deployed.¹²⁴ He hoped to find

114 MGH Cap. II, p. 44.

115 McKeon, *art. cit.*, p. 94-7, Devisse, I, p. 223.

116 Devisse, I, p. 228.

117 Hincmar, PL 125, col. 209.

118 Hincmar, PL 125, col. 215, quoting Augustine, *In Joannem*.

119 Hincmar, PL 125, cols. 162-5; Devisse, I, pp. 255-6.

120 Hincmar, PL 125, cols. 241-2.

121 Hincmar, PL 125, col. 118.

122 Hincmar, PL 125, cols. 352-3.

123 Hincmar, PL 125, cols. 381-2.

124 Hincmar, PL 125, cols. 394, 401.

the time to prepare an explanation of the canons.¹²⁵ The *De Praedestinatione* defends the Church against those who strove to make its sacraments void.¹²⁶ It accepts the complexity of God's creation; a soft whistle will calm a horse but will excite a cat.¹²⁷ Within this diversity the fathers, and more especially the canons, offer a guide in the search for 'pax et unitas'.¹²⁸ It is also a defence against the implications of the seventh *capitulum* of the Valence synod, with its suggestion that ignorant men had been appointed to bishoprics.¹²⁹ Human as well as divine laws were under attack.¹³⁰ And so the deposition of Ebbo was vindicated once again, to defend the authority of prelates and of princes.¹³¹ The problems of individual salvation had been extrapolated so as to secure the creed of the bureaucrat.

But the Synod of Tusey, which met in October 860, began with a return to the dilemma of the individual, it met to 'tractare de statu temporis nostri et de periculo pereuntis populi sub manu nostri constituti ... et quomodo peccatis nostris agentibus omnes leges tam divinae quam humanae contemptae sunt omnisque ordo religionis confusus'.¹³²

The synod was to resolve the sins of the people, those sins which had caused many places consecrated to God to be burned and ravaged by evil Christians and the cruel race of the Northmen.¹³³ The Tusey council, meeting four months after Charles, Louis and Lothar had attempted to restore the concord which the invasion of 858 had shattered, combined a statement on predestination with a defence of Church property. God created man and endowed him with free will. By the Fall man was condemned to perdition, but by God's mercy many were saved.¹³⁴ Yet the elect were mingled with the mass of the damned, and the endowments of the Church, given for the salvation of souls, fell into the wrong hands. Christ had sought to redeem all by his sacraments, and to assemble them in one flock, led by his saints. The rules of the Church are valid for all, and not, as some maintain, simply for clerics.¹³⁵ Sadly, it has become normal to regard the theft of Church lands as a custom, although Paul asserted that thieves shall not enter the kingdom of God. It was by endowing the Church that men became the heirs of God and the co-heirs of Christ.¹³⁶

125 Hincmar, PL 125, col. 413.

126 Hincmar, PL 125, col. 365.

127 Hincmar, PL 125, col. 227.

128 Hincmar, PL 125, col. 419.

129 Hincmar, PL 125, col. 387; Devisse, I, pp. 251-2, McKeon, *art. cit.*, pp. 98-105.

130 Hincmar, PL 125, col. 389.

131 Hincmar, PL 125, col. 386: 'Quis episcopus non sit annullatus, quis princeps non reprehensus, quis archiepiscopus non sit confutatus'.

132 Mansi 15, col. 557.

133 *Ibid.*, c. 5.

134 Hincmar, PL 126, col. 122.

135 Hincmar, PL 126, col. 131.

136 Hincmar, PL 126, col. 126.

Thus at Tusey the issue was subsumed, and predestination became an embarrassment to those concerned with the reform of the Church. Although Gottschalk still continued to write, and still had supporters in 866, the debate had become a nuisance to those concerned with the maintenance of a system of penance and Church endowments. It no longer served to define the brittle identity of parties coming to terms with their own inability to resolve or understand their own dilemmas. The authority which Gottschalk and his associates had found in an incomprehensible divinity had returned to the Frankish realms. The personal bonds between Gottschalk and his Creator, expressed in the originality of his moving lyrics as well as in the aphoristic fire of his theological and grammatical writings, 'der Glaube religiösen Virtuositäts',¹³⁷ were of little relevance to the new episcopate. Henceforth the intelligentsia would not impinge on so dramatic and fundamental a concern of their society. Heiric of Auxerre is a different sort of scholar: the gloss had replaced the vision of syllogisms which resolved the mystery of man's place in the cosmos.

The debate on predestination expressed doctrines of power and concern with order. It sprang from the requirements of a society in crisis, in which some of the educated élite were testing the ways in which their patristic learning, their grammar or their discipline of disputation might achieve an understanding of their apparent helplessness. The Church had briefly ceased to serve as the sole focus for their uncertainties. For Gottschalk the judicial ordeal offered the chance of an ultimate proof of divine judgement, and the ordeal was an apt description of the way in which Frankish society was being transformed. The order which, according to Lupus, had been rejected had to be replaced; and a belief in predestination served to pare down the alternatives. In 849 Nominoë, ruler of the Bretons, had been told by the West Frankish episcopate: 'But if you despise our friendly advice, let it be clear that you will have no future place in heaven ...; for your crime will divide you from our society and that of the apostles by the vengeance of anathema, and you will have your place - may God avert this - in hell.'¹³⁸ During the next decade the right of the Frankish episcopate to make such statements was challenged, as were their sacraments and the whole idea of a priestly Church. The debate on predestination involved the nature of human freedom, and with the structure of the Church elect, a questioning of the most fundamental of Carolingian values. It was these values that governed the ideology of that society, all too aware of its sins, all too uncertain of their forgiveness:

Hoc tantum scio quia mihi male est praeter te non solum extra me sed et in
meipso, et omnis mihi copia quae deus meus non est egestas est.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Weber, *op.cit.*, p. 348. For Gottschalk's poetry, cf. B. Bischoff, 'Gottschalks Lied für den Reichenauer Freund', in Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 2 (Stuttgart 1967), pp. 26-34; P. von Moos, 'Gottschalks Gedicht 'O mi custos': Eine Confessio?', *FMS* 4 (1970), pp. 201-30; 5 (1971), pp. 317-358.

¹³⁸ Mansi 14, col. 925 (= Lupus, Ep. 81, II, p. 65).

¹³⁹ Lambot, p. 475, quoting Augustine, *Confessiones*, XIII, 8.

Additional note

This paper was delivered in an effort to integrate the history of Carolingian theology with the political history of the mid-ninth century. Examination of theological manuscripts from ninth-century libraries revealed substantial evidence of annotations relating to predestination, which confirmed statements of Hrabanus and Hincmar suggesting that this issue aroused extensive debate. By exploring the social implications of this debate, I hoped to convince historians of ideas that these ideas deserved consideration in terms of undertakings and misunderstandings which recognised their ideological implications. Recent general histories of early medieval philosophy and theology reject such heresy, but in the meantime the debate on predestination has been the subject of important literature, chiefly in German, some of which explores the consequences of the arguments adopted.

The Carolingian councils of the reign of Charles the Bald have been reedited by W. Hartmann in *MGH Conc III*, and the correspondance of Hincmar by R. Schieffer in *MGH Epp VI*, ii. New light is thrown on links between Gottschalk and Prudentius of Troyes in F. Raedle, *Gottschalks Gedicht an seinen letzten Freund*, in S. Kraemer and M. Bernhard edd., *Scire Litteras. Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben*, Bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. N.F. 99 (Munich 1988), pp. 315-25, a magisterial commentary on *MGH Poet IV*, pp. 934-6, which offers parallels to Gottschalk's verse letter to Ratramnus.

M. Gorman, 'Harvard's oldest Latin manuscript (Houghton Library fms Typ 495)', *Scriptorium* 39 (1985), pp. 185-96, discusses annotations in a ninth-century manuscript of Augustinian treatises, and prints plates. Further plates showing annotations by Ratramnus will be found in my *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Beihefte der *Francia* (Paris 1989).

G. Schrimpf, in a series of articles for anniversary volumes, develops the insights of his monograph, *Das Werk des Johannes Scottus Eriugena im Rahmen des Wissenschaftsverständnisses seiner Zeit*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters N.F. 23 (Munster 1982), esp. pp. 72-131. He discusses John in 'Der Beitrag des Johannes Scottus Eriugena zum Prädestinationsstreit', in H. Löwe ed., *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart 1982), vol.2, pp. 819-65; 'Hrabanus in die ethischen Implikationen der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Gottschalk und Hraban um die Prädestinationslehre', W. Bohne ed., *Hrabanus Maurus und seiner Schule* (Fulda 1980), pp. 164-74; and 'Hraban und der Prädestinationsstreit des neunten Jahrhunderts', in R. Kottje and H. Zimmermann edd., *Hrabanus Maurus. Lehrer, Abt und Bischof*, Mainz Akad. der Wissenschaften und Literatur Einzelveroff. 4 (1982), pp. 145-53. The first article is preferable.

The prosopographical investigation attempted here should be amplified with the aid of the 1985 Oxford D.Phil. thesis of Stuart Airlie, which is the most important recent treatment of Carolingian politics.

JOHN SCOTTUS AND CAROLINGIAN THEOLOGY: FROM THE *DE PRAEDESTINATIONE*, ITS BACKGROUND AND ITS CRITICS, TO THE *PERIPHYSEON*¹

John Marenbon

John Scottus ('Eriugena') is usually regarded by historians as the most brilliant thinker of Charles the Bald's reign, and also as intellectually the most isolated.² They recount how, at the beginning of his career, John was asked to contribute to the controversy aroused by Gottschalk's views on predestination - and responded with a philosophical treatise, so different in method and argument from the writings of the other participants that they could not properly understand it.³ After this, the historians explain, Eriugena came into contact with Greek Christian Platonism and was brought 'as wholly into the Greek tradition as if he had been a Byzantine writing in Greek.'⁴ It was under these circumstances that he composed

¹The following abbreviations will be used for frequently cited works:

JHP Jean Scot Erigène et l'histoire de la philosophie [*Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* 561] (Paris, 1977).

JSE Jean Scot écrivain, ed. G.-H. Allard (Montreal-Paris, 1986).

Jeuneau E. Jeuneau, *Etudes érigéniennes* (Paris, 1987).

Praed John Scottus, *De divina praedestinatione liber*, ed. G.Madec [*Corpus Christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis* 50] (Turnhout, 1978).

Peri. John Scottus, *Periphyseon*, Bks. I-III, ed. I.P.Sheldon-Williams (Dublin, 1968-81), Bks. IV-V, ed. H.J.Floss in *PL* 122.

Schr.JSE G.Schrimpf, *Das Werk des Johannes Scottus Eriugena im Rahmen des Wissenschaftsverständnisses seiner Zeit* (Münster, 1982).

Schr.Pr G.Schrimpf, 'Der Beitrag des Johannes Scottus Eriugena zum Prädestinationsstreit', in *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. H.Löwe (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 819-65.

² See P.E.Dutton, 'Eriugena, the Royal Poet', in *JSE*, pp. 51-80, esp. 52-3.

³ For example, M.Cappuyns comments that 'Jean Scot avait l'esprit trop rempli de vues personnelles, trop synthétique, pour n'être pas foncièrement incapable d'emprunter le langage des controversistes de son temps' (Cappuyns, p. 111), whilst J.Devisse describes Eriugena's treatise as 'si personnel, si neuf, si audacieux, qu'il ne pouvait être compris d'aucun des contemporains...' (Devisse, p. 148). See also *Schr.JSE*, pp. 98-113, *Schr.Pr*, pp. 853-8; and below, n.49.

⁴ I.P.Sheldon-Williams in *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, ed. A.H.Armstrong (Cambridge, 1970), p. 520; and see below, n. 81. Some scholars have, however, stressed the importance of Augustine for the *Periphyseon* - e.g. H.Bett, [*Johannes Scotus Erigena* (Cambridge, 1925), esp. pp. 157-8], and R.Russell ['Some Augustinian influences in Eriugena's *De divisione naturae*', in *The Mind of Eriugena*, ed. J.J. O'Meara and L. Bieler (Dublin, 1973), pp. 30-40. But this has not led them to tie the *Periphyseon* more closely to Eriugena's contemporaries or to his earlier works.

his masterpiece, the *Periphyseon* - a treatise which, they conclude, is set apart not merely from the writings of John's contemporaries, but even from his own early works.

The following paper presents an argument for a different, and less isolated, view of Eriugena. It will suggest that, in the debate on predestination, John shared many of the assumptions and arguments of Gottschalk's two other main opponents, Hrabanus Maurus and Hincmar of Rheims [Sections I and II]; and that John's critics understood his treatise well and criticised some of its weaknesses acutely [Section III]. It will go on to show how, when he was writing the last part of his *Periphyseon*, Eriugena returned to the themes he had discussed in his *De Praedestinatione*; how he modified them in the light of the criticisms they had received; and how he used his new Greek sources to elaborate his earlier ideas, but not to transform them [Section IV]. Finally, it will consider the implications of this argument for the understanding of Eriugena's thought [Section V].

I

The views on divine predestination advocated, from the late 830s onwards, by Gottschalk - a monk first of Fulda, then Reichenau, then Orbais - provoked the most extensive and complex theological controversy of the ninth century, and the only one to involve John Scottus.⁵ Gottschalk had two opponents before Eriugena: Hrabanus Maurus and Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims. Both men considered that it was not sufficient just to use their ecclesiastical authority to punish and (so they hoped) silence Gottschalk: they needed also to justify their rejection of his ideas and to explain their own interpretation of Christian doctrine. Hrabanus set out his counter-arguments in letters to Bishop Noting of Verona (c.840) and Count Eberhard of Friuli (c.846);⁶ Hincmar presented the first of his rebuttals of Gottschalk in the form of a letter to his parishioners (*Ad Reclusos et Simples*) (849).⁷ Although these three documents are made up, for the greater part, of patristic quotations, they are none the less the result of careful thought by their authors. The attitude to Gottschalk they exhibit, and the aims they set in opposing him, would provide the framework for Eriugena's own, bolder contribution.

⁵ No attempt is made in this paper to look at the history of this controversy as a whole. For general accounts of the controversy over predestination, see H.Schrörs, *Hinkmar, Erzbischof von Reims* (Freiburg i. Breisgau., 1884), pp. 88-150; Cappuyns, pp. 102-127; Devisse, pp. 115-279; and D. Ganz, 'The debate on predestination', in the present volume, pp. 283-302.

⁶ Letter to Noting: ed. in *PL* 112, coll. 1530-1553; the preface is in *MGH Epp KA* III, p. 428. Letter to Eberhard: *ibid.*, pp. 481-7.

⁷ Ed. W. Gundlach, 'Zwei Schriften des Erzbischofs Hinkmar von Reims - 2', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 10 (1889), pp. 258-309. Hincmar's other, lengthier contributions to the controversy were written after John Scottus's treatise and will not be discussed here.

Hrabanus and Hincmar shared the same - rather inadequate⁸ - understanding of Gottschalk's doctrine and the same reaction to it. In their view, Gottschalk's doctrine of dual predestination - of the blessed to salvation and the wicked to damnation - made it impossible for men to influence their eternal destiny by choosing to act well or badly. 'Whatever good he performs, and however much of it, the man who is predestined to damnation cannot avoid Hell, nor can the man predestined to glory lose heaven, whatever evil he does' - so Hincmar characterized the consequences of Gottschalk's doctrine, echoing the comments of Hrabanus.⁹ Not only would such a doctrine remove the incentive for Christians to behave well; it was also blasphemous, they argued, since it placed the responsibility for evil on God himself and made him an unjust judge, condemning people for sins they had performed by necessity.¹⁰

In order, therefore, to counter what they thought to be Gottschalk's teaching, Hrabanus and Hincmar had three main tasks: to save God from responsibility for evil; to make it clear that humans have free will; and to show that God is a just judge. These tasks were difficult ones for Hrabanus and Hincmar, because they themselves accepted much of the Augustinian teaching on which Gottschalk's views were based. Both churchmen believed that fallen man cannot, by the use of his free will unaided by divine grace, live a life sufficiently good to lead to his salvation. Both churchmen also believed that this was true even for Christians - who, by baptism, had entered the life of grace and been purged of original sin.¹¹ The free will of Christians still needed further help from God's grace.¹² (Indeed Hincmar specified that a man needed both grace in order to be able to act well, and grace in order to persevere in good living.¹³) As the result of original sin, all human beings, they said, are liable to damnation. But God has predestined some,

⁸ See *Schr^{Pr}*, pp. 822-4, *Schr^{JSE}*, pp. 74-9. It is beyond the scope of the present paper to consider what Gottschalk actually thought, as opposed to the position which Hrabanus, Hincmar and John attributed to him.

⁹ Hincmar, ed. cit., p. 261; cf. Hrabanus, *PL* 112, col. 1532BC; *MGH Epp. KA III*, p. 481: 32-6 (quoted in Ganz, art. cit.)

¹⁰ E.g. Hincmar, ed. cit., p. 269: 'Unde multi suam vitam neglegentes et suam negligentiam in auctorem retorquentes... praescientiam et praedestinationem confuderunt...'; Hrabanus, *PL* 112, col. 1531BC: 'Si enim ... Dei praedestinatio invitum hominem facit peccare, quomodo justo iudicio Deus damnet peccantem, cum ille non voluntate, sed necessitate peccaverit?'; 1540C.

¹¹ Schrimpf fails to take account of this point: see 'Die ethischen Implikationen des Auseinandersetzungs zwischen Hraban und Gottschalk um die Prädestinationslehre', in *Hrabanus Maurus und seine Schule* (Fulda, 1980), ed. W. Böhne, pp. 164-74, at 165; *Schr^{Pr}*, pp. 827-8. A more balanced interpretation is found in J. Gross, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Erbsündendogmas im nachaugustinischen Altertum und in der Vorscholastik* (Munich/Basel, 1963), pp. 332-344.

¹² E.g. Hrabanus, *PL* 112, col. 1546AB: '...si ad effectum boni operis [liberum arbitrium] pertigerit, numeris est gratiae Dei'; cf. col. 1532B.

¹³ Ed. cit., p. 294: 'Gratia adiuvamur, ut bene agere possimus, quod volumus; et gratia corroboramur, ut in bono, quod per liberum arbitrium subsequendo caepimus [sic], perseveremus...'

the elect, to be baptized and to receive the grace to act well and persevere in goodness until their deaths. Everyone else will be damned: both those who have not been baptized and those who, after baptism, live badly and do not repent.¹⁴ Were Hrabanus and Hincmar not, then, forced back to a position indistinguishable from Gottschalk's own?

They believed not. Against Gottschalk's belief in dual predestination, they insisted that God only *predestines* the blessed to salvation. He also *foreknows* both which individuals he will predestine and which he will not predestine and so will go to Hell. But he does not *predestine* anyone to damnation.¹⁵ By this theory of God's single predestination (combined with his prescience of both good and evil), Hrabanus and Hincmar considered that they had removed from God the responsibility for evil which, in their reading, Gottschalk's position implied. Those whom God does not choose as his elect go to eternal punishment either as the result of their own wicked choices of action or else (in the case, for instance, of unbaptized babies) simply as the result of original sin.¹⁶

Hrabanus and Hincmar also thought that, despite their view of grace, they were the defenders of man's free will, which they accused Gottschalk of denying. The fact that the Bible tells us to do or not to do certain things confirms that we have free will, argued Hrabanus; but, he was quick to add, quoting Augustine, our free will is not always good - it needs grace to make it so.¹⁷ Similarly, Hincmar insisted that our bad actions are the result of free will and that, when we act well, free will is also involved, but aided by divine grace.¹⁸

By denying man's free will, Hrabanus had said, Gottschalk made God into an unjust judge, punishing men for crimes which they could not but commit.¹⁹ He and Hincmar both asserted the freedom of the human will, but they were still left with a doubt - which they both felt without ever clearly articulating - as to whether they had succeeded in vindicating God's justice. An everyday example (*not* provided by either of these thinkers) clarifies the nature of this doubt. Suppose I ask someone to deliver an urgent message. If I then lock him up and so actively remove the power of his will to execute my demand, I should be unjust in punishing his failure to deliver the message. But suppose I merely refuse to tell him where he is to deliver the message (and he has no possible way of finding this out): would I not be equally unjust in punishing his failure? If, without the grace which God grants only to the elect, no one can live the life of good works which

¹⁴ E.g. Hrabanus, *PL* 112, col. 1533A; Hincmar, ed. cit., p. 270.

¹⁵ E.g. Hrabanus, *PL* 112, col. 1532B-D; Hincmar, ed. cit., pp. 269-76 and 298-9: 'quia bona, quae ipse [sc. Deus] fecit et, ut faceremus, dedit, et praescivit et praedestinavit; in malis autem nostris vel diaboli operis sola [prae]scientia Dei intellegenda est sine praedestinatione, quia, quae nec ipse fecit nec, ut faceremus, exegit, praescivit tantum, non etiam praedestinavit.'

¹⁶ E.g. Hrabanus, *PL* 112, col. 1549D; Hincmar, ed. cit., pp. 272-3, 292, 299.

¹⁷ *PL* 112, col. 1546AB.

¹⁸ See e.g. ed. cit., p. 272 ('...reprobos autem propria voluntate per arbitrii libertatem...') and p. 269 ('...per arbitrii libertatem adiuti gratia boni futuri...')

¹⁹ See passage quoted in n. 10 above.

leads to salvation, then does not the eternal destiny of any given individual rest on a purely arbitrary divine decision to give him grace or to withhold it?

The two churchmen responded to this worry in different ways. Hincmar, especially in his quotations, tried to make men responsible for their own damnation by suggesting that God withholds his grace from those - like Judas - whose future misuse of their free wills he has foreseen;²⁰ or by describing the damned as those who choose not to accept the grace which they are offered.²¹ By contrast, Hrabanus placed enormous emphasis on the incomprehensibility of God's ways, insisting that it was not for man to question why one individual and not another was numbered among the elect.²² But neither thinker was wholly consistent in his attitude: Hincmar agreed that God's choice in giving grace was simply to be accepted without questioning,²³ whilst Hrabanus in some of his remarks emphasized God's wish that all men be saved and suggested that an individual is damned only when he makes the choice to desert God.²⁴

Hrabanus and Hincmar were, therefore, only partially successful in providing counter-arguments to the views they attributed to Gottschalk. By their theory of single predestination they were able to show that God was not responsible for evil; and they were also able (at least to their own satisfaction) to explain how human beings had free will, although they also needed grace. But, in defending God's justice towards each individual, they tended either to compromise the gratuitousness of God's grace, or to take refuge in asserting God's inscrutability.²⁵

II

John Scottus composed his *De Praedestinatione* at Hincmar's request, with a definition of Hincmar's views on prescience and predestination - and quite possibly his *Ad Reclusos et Simples* - at his disposal.²⁶ At first sight, Eriugena's

²⁰ E.g. ed. cit., p. 275: 'Vires itaque oboedientiae non ideo cuiquam subtrahit, quia eum non praedestinavit, sed ideo eum non praedestinavit, quia recessurum ab ipsa oboedientia esse praevitit', quoting Prosper of Aquitaine, *Responsiones ad capitula Gallorum*, PL 45, col. 1833-44, at 1839. For Judas, see p. 271, (quoting Pseudo-Augustine, *Hypomnesticon* VI, 5, PL 45, col. 1611-64, at 1660).

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 269: 'Sed et est quaedam pars ex humano genere orta ex massa peccati, quae deligit potius adherere deceptoris suo diabolo et permanere in incredulitate et persistere in peccatis proprii [arbitrii] libertate potius quam oboedire creatori suo et adherere mandatis eius et *trahenti se gratiae illius manum oboedientiae porrigere...*'

²² PL 112, col. 1533A-C, 1547D-1553B.

²³ Ed. cit., p. 287, quoting Prosper of Aquitaine, op.cit., col. 1836.

²⁴ Most definitely in his letter to Count Eberhard, ed. cit., p. 483: 25-7: 'Dei ergo voluntas est, ut in bona voluntate maneant, qui et priusquam deseratur neminem deserit et multos desertores saepe convertit'; and see also PL 122, col. 1532B, 1541D.

²⁵ Schimpf recognises a similar problem, but (cf. n. 11 above) restricts it to the matter of who is or is not baptized: see *Schr^{Pr}*, pp. 827-8.

²⁶ *Praed.*, pp. 3:32 - 4:34; cf. *Schr^{JSE}*, pp. 82-3 and *Schr^{Pr}*, p. 832.

treatise seems very different from any previous contribution to the controversy, not only in its ostentatiously logical method of procedure,²⁷ but also in the multiplicity of its arguments and its great emphasis on freedom of the will, both man's and God's. Yet, on analysis, the *De Praedestinatione* turns out to be directed towards the same aims as the treatises of Hrabanus and Hincmar. It too attempts to rebutt Gottschalk by showing (1) that God is not responsible for evil; (2) that human beings have free will; (3) that God is just in his judgements of individuals. For the first two of these aims, John used and developed strategies similar to those of his two predecessors. With regard to the third aim, John shared the difficulty of Hrabanus and Hincmar, but not their unsatisfactory and rather confused way of tackling it.

1. Like Gottschalk's two earlier antagonists, Eriugena claimed that God predestined only the blessed to salvation, not the wicked to their punishment; and, like them, he linked this rejection with a defence of God from responsibility for evil.²⁸ Like them, too, John suggested that a cause of Gottschalk's error was his confusion between divine prescience and divine predestination: predestination always implies prescience, but there can be prescience without predestination.²⁹ John went beyond his predecessors, however, in devising arguments so as to make this position irrefragable. Divine predestination, he reasoned, must be considered to be the working of God's will, or else God's will will itself be subject to its necessity. Were this predestination other than unitary, it would therefore compromise the unity of God.³⁰ Moreover, by analysing the concept of evil, Eriugena was able to show that God *could not* predestine to damnation. Evil, he said, following the Neoplatonic view adopted by Augustine, is not some thing but rather an absence of good - a deficiency rather than a substance. God cannot, then, predestine men to a wicked life or to eternal punishment, because these are evils and deficiencies rather than things. They are caused neither by God, nor by anything else: as deficiencies, they have no efficient cause.³¹

2. Hrabanus and Hincmar had affirmed that fallen human beings have free will, although they need grace in order to live well. Eriugena accepted this position as a counter to Gottschalk's, and he set about clarifying it. Man would not be man unless he had a 'rational will', he argued, and God would not make a rational will which is unfree. It is, therefore, part of human nature, common to all men before

²⁷ See *Schr JSE* pp. 84-108. There is a fine analysis of the use of logical procedures in the *De Praedestinatione* in G. d'Onofrio, *Fons scientiae. La dialettica nell'Occidente tardo-antico* (Naples, 1986), pp. 277-320.

²⁸ *Praed.*, pp. 16:126 - 17:160, 34:1 - 35:27, 110:195-6, 121:1-17.

²⁹ *Praed.*, p. 12:57-8: '...omnis praedestinatio praescientia, non autem omnis praescientia praedestinatio...'; cf. Hincmar, ed. cit., p. 298: '...praescientia potest esse sine praedestinatione; praedestinatio sine praescientia esse non potest...'

³⁰ *Praed.*, pp. 9:1 - 18:185. The idea that God's predestination is part of his essence is also advanced in a passage from the *Hypomnesticon* quoted by Hincmar, ed. cit., p. 299.

³¹ *Praed.*, pp. 62:27 - 65:123.

and after the Fall, to have a free will (*libera voluntas*).³² However, there is an important difference between Adam's unfallen will and the free will of fallen men. Before he sinned, Adam could have used his free will, without the help of grace, to keep God's commandments. This 'strength and power' (*vigor et potestas*) of Adam's free will was not, like the free will itself, part of Adam's substance, but a gift of God's grace. By sinning, Adam lost this gift. Fallen man cannot, unaided by grace, completely fulfil God's commandments, even if he wishes. His will is as free as Adam's, but it has lost the strength and power God had graciously given it.³³

3. Once he had established (as he considered) the freedom of man's will, Eriugena was still left with the further problem that Hrabanus and Hincmar had faced. Despite the assertion of some modern scholars that he was a Pelagian,³⁴ John - like Hrabanus and Hincmar - subscribed to Augustine's doctrine that fallen man needs grace in order to use his free will rightly.³⁵ How then can God be a just judge, if he gives that grace to some, but withholds it from others? Eriugena did not attempt to reply along Hincmar's tentative lines and suggest that God does not give grace to those whose wickedness he foresees.³⁶ Nor, in the manner of Hrabanus, did he evade the question by urging God's inscrutability. He was too well-read in Augustine to accept the former solution; too confident in the powers of rational explanation for the latter to appeal. Instead, John found his own, radical way out of the problem. He denied that it is God who judges and punishes sinners: God is responsible only for framing just laws which no created thing can escape.³⁷ Sinners will indeed receive eternal punishment, he said, but at their own

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 50:45 - 51:82.

³³ *Praed.*, pp. 31:169 - 32:189. This distinction between the free will and its 'vigour and power' is different from the distinction John makes later in the *De Praedestinatione* (pp. 51:109 - 55:233) between the free will (*libera voluntas*) and the free choice of the will (*liberum voluntatis arbitrium*). The free choice of the will is man's innate power to move his will to that which he ought to seek. It is not part of nature, but an ornament of nature, given by God's generosity. Both fallen and unfallen man, Eriugena implies, have it; but it does not stop fallen man from needing grace (see pp. 54:211 - 55:212).

³⁴ E.g. H.Schrörs, *op.cit.*, p. 115, and H.Liebeschütz, in *Cambridge History* (cited n. 4 above), p. 585: 'There is no doubt that Eriugena and Pelagius were near to one another as representatives of faith in Man's power and responsibility for determining the course of his actions by free will.'

³⁵ E.g. *Praed.*, p. 40:176-9: 'Et quis mandata dei custodit, nisi ille qui ea quae ipse prohibet abhorret ne faciat et ea quae iubet desiderat et contendit ut faciat, *adiuvante gratia eius sine qua nihil boni potest facere*'; and cf. pp. 25:198-209, 30:122-6, 32:187-9, 54:211 - 55:212.

³⁶ Hincmar had used texts by Prosper of Aquitaine and from the Pseudo-Augustinian *Hypomnesticon* to put forward this theory. By contrast, Eriugena makes no use of Prosper, and only occasional use of the *Hypomnesticon*.

³⁷ See esp. *Praed.*, pp. 115:41 - 118:252; and cf. M. Cristiani, 'La notion de loi dans le *De praedestinatione* de Jean Scot', in *JHP*, pp. 276-88 (= *Studi Medievali*, 3a serie, 17,1 (1976), pp. 81-114 - with fuller annotation).

hands: 'his own wickedness will punish each man'.³⁸ Moreover, this punishment will not afflict what God has created - the nature of man - but only the evil wills of sinners, which he did not create.³⁹

Eriugena supported this view of God as legislator, but not judge or tormentor, by extending the argument which he had used to deny predestination to Hell. The punishment of sin, as well as sin itself, is an evil, he argued.⁴⁰ Evil is a deficiency and so has no efficient cause. God, therefore, can no more be responsible for punishing the wicked than he can be for their crimes. (Here John parted company with Hincmar, for whom the punishments of sinners, though not the sinners themselves, were the objects of divine predestination.)⁴¹

Eriugena found it much harder to be definite about the nature of sinners' punishments, than about God's lack of responsibility for them. He discussed three main types of punishment, without explaining their relations to one another. The first type depends on the distinction between the universal nature of man and the individual sinner who has misused his own will. Man's universal nature has been redeemed by Christ and will not be punished;⁴² by sharing in it, every sinner has a notion of beatitude, but he knows that he lacks the enjoyment of it which is to be found in the beatific vision; the knowledge of this deprivation is his punishment.⁴³ The second type of punishment is constituted by the deprivation of knowledge itself - 'the darkness of eternal ignorance'.⁴⁴ The third type of punishment is that by which the will is prevented from obtaining what it wrongly desires. John concentrated especially on one particular version of this type of punishment. Evil, he had already stated, is a privation of good. To act evilly is to move away from the source of goodness which is also the source of being. The ultimate desire of the wicked is therefore to distance themselves from their source of being entirely, so that they cease to be and become nothing. But God's laws prevent them from realizing this perverse wish, and, in its frustration - 'the indigence of empty desires' - the wicked are tormented.⁴⁵ All these forms of punishment seem to be purely spiritual. But Eriugena also insisted that, at the end of time, the bodies of the wicked - still endowed with their wholeness and all the goods of nature - will be tortured, in the very same fire which will glorify the blessed.⁴⁶

The *De Praedestinatione*, then, has two aspects. On the one hand, in his understanding of Gottschalk's views, and the aims he pursued to counter them,

³⁸ *Praed.*, p. 110:194: 'Unumquemque igitur sua punit contumacia'; cf. p. 117:204: '...intra semetipsum a seipso cruciatur'.

³⁹ E.g. *Praed.*, pp. 94:30, 94:41 - 95:43, 97:97-9, 116:188-90.

⁴⁰ *Praed.*, pp. 63:41-2, 91:157 - 92:184.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 63:42 - 66:155; for Hincmar, see ed. cit., pp. 307-8.

⁴² *Praed.*, pp. 95:68 - 96:85.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 93:1 - 94:15.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 102:266-8: '...et eo carcere iniquitatis propriae, in quo hic se ipsum incluserat, tenebras aeternae ignorantiae inextricabiliter poenalterque non evitet'.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 97:98-100, 115:41 - 116:159.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 118:1 - 120:62.

Eriugena was close to Hincmar, his patron, and to Hrabanus. On the other hand, John wished to carry out his task far more thoroughly than his predecessors and to avoid the difficulties which had weakened their position. This desire - coupled perhaps with a temperamental preference for the bold and unusual - led Eriugena to advance a sophisticated theory of eternal punishment. Yet even with regard to this adventurous aspect of his treatise, John did not work in the intellectual isolation to which most modern historians have consigned him; for there were contemporaries ready to scrutinize his arguments with a sharp eye for any signs of error or confusion.

III

Two detailed critiques of the *De Praedestinatione* survive, both written shortly after its composition. One, by Prudentius of Troyes, was most probably based on a reading of the whole treatise, of which it contains lengthy extracts.⁴⁷ The other was written by Florus of Lyons on the basis of a set of extracts and Prudentius's piece.⁴⁸ Modern historians have tended, in the main, to be dismissive of both compositions. Prudentius and Florus were, it is said, unable to understand Eriugena's subtle arguments and unwilling to accept his reliance on reason rather than authority. They were (better than average) representatives of a theological tradition where 'things had to be in black and white. There was no room for subtlety, finesse or originality'.⁴⁹

It is easy to see how this assessment was reached. Prudentius and Florus were as harsh in their treatment of Eriugena as Eriugena had been towards Gottschalk. They missed no opportunity for abuse and were willing to take phrases and ideas from the *De Praedestinatione* out of context if they provided an opportunity to contradict or ridicule their author. Prudentius only half recognised, and Florus not at all, the extent to which John's view of original sin and grace shared the Augustinian principles which they themselves advocated.⁵⁰ Both writers complained about John's misuse of authorities (or of his failure to use them),⁵¹ and Prudentius was especially eloquent in rejecting John's claim that a knowledge of the liberal arts (logic in especial) was indispensable for resolving theological

⁴⁷ Ed. *PL* 115, col. 1009-1366. For Prudentius's use of the whole text of the *De Praedestinatione*, see col. 1011B, and cf. Cappuyens, p. 114, n. 4.

⁴⁸ Ed. *PL* 119, col. 101-250; on its composition, cf. Devisse, I, pp. 187-9.

⁴⁹ J.J. O'Meara, *Eriugena* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 48-9; cf. Schrörs, *op.cit.*, pp. 118-9; *SchJSE*, pp. 108-13; and nn. 3 above, and 67 below. A fairer assessment of the two treatises is given by D. Ganz in his article in the present volume (cited in n. 5 above).

⁵⁰ See e.g. Florus, *ed. cit.*, cols. 132B, 145C; Prudentius, *ed. cit.*, cols. 1011B, and, for instances where he partly recognises Eriugena's Augustinian views on grace, 1077D, 1087 - 1088B.

⁵¹ E.g. Prudentius, *ed. cit.*, cols. 1134C, 1154B - 1155C, 1259B-D; Florus, *ed. cit.*, cols. 102B, 163B ff., 213A.

disputes.⁵² Moreover, Prudentius - though not Florus - incorporated in his treatise a voluminous dossier of patristic texts to support his views and contradict Eriugena's.

Yet Prudentius and Florus were in fact far better willing and able to tackle John on his own terms than these indications might suggest. They were agile in using the logical terminology of substance and accidents, and Prudentius took trouble to show off his knowledge of Aristotle's ten categories and of syllogistic technique.⁵³ More important, neither of his antagonists thought it sufficient merely to quote authorities which contradicted Eriugena: they also wished to show that the *De Praedestinatione* was argumentatively inadequate. Sometimes this task involved pointing out contradictions between different passages in John's treatise⁵⁴; sometimes - more ambitiously - it involved analysis of Eriugena's concepts and reasoning. Three of these analytical discussions are particularly interesting. The first shows how well Prudentius located a central difficulty in the position of Gottschalk's adversaries, whilst the other two - about punishment and about the will - may have had an important influence on John himself, or have anticipated his own later thinking.

In line with Hrabanus and Hincmar, John had asserted that fallen human beings have free will, but cannot use it to live a good life without the aid of grace.⁵⁵ Prudentius questioned whether a free will so restricted is free at all. 'How', he asked John, 'can you call that free which, you say, has been so spoiled as a punishment for original sin that it can neither wish to live rightly nor is able to live so, if it wishes.... Who can be called free, unless he uses his own freedom on his will's behalf?' If a man is blind, Prudentius continued, his *will* to see remains, but not his *liberty* to do so.⁵⁶ John had sought to clarify the nature of the fallen will's freedom by explaining that, as a result of sin, man's will had lost its 'strength and its power'. Prudentius did not think that this distinction helped his opponent's case: if a will has lost its strength and power, how can its freedom remain? Eriugena's attempt to loosen the bonds of the will only succeeds in tightening them, Prudentius concluded.⁵⁷ His point is a convincing one. Hrabanus, Hincmar and Eriugena were in fact able to establish only a highly restricted sense of freedom for the fallen will; and this was the cause of their problems in vindicating God's justice.

John had escaped these problems by arguing that sinners are punished by themselves, not by God. He advocated this view by claiming that, like sin itself, punishment is an evil and therefore not a substance, but a deficiency.⁵⁸ Florus

52 Ed. cit., cols. 1013D - 1014A, 1352AB.

53 *Ibid.*, cols. 1037A-D (ten categories), 1052B (syllogistic reasoning).

54 E.g. Prudentius, ed. cit., cols. 1241A, 1252B, 1273C, 1300D - 1301A, 1345AB; Florus, ed. cit., col. 157BC.

55 See above, n. 33.

56 Ed. cit., col. 1087CD.

57 *Ibid.*, col. 1058C.

58 See above, nn. 40 and 41.

accepted this claim, but not the conclusion Eriugena drew from it. Evil, he said, is not a nature and has no substantial existence; nor does it have an efficient cause, but rather a 'deficient' one.⁵⁹ Both sin and its punishment, he agreed, are evils. But, he urged, it remains possible to talk truly of corporeal punishments and their predestination by God. Deficiencies (such as sin, punishment, death and misery) are not substances, but they must be 'in or from a substance'. So, for instance, sin (the abandonment of justice) is *in* a soul, and misery (the loss of happiness) is *in* body and soul. Similarly, punishment can be *in* a soul or a body and, when it is *in* a body, it is also *from* another body, such as a whip or a sword.⁶⁰ And, although the punishment itself (as opposed to the body punished and the whip or sword) is a non-thing (it has no nature or substance), it still makes good sense to say that God predestines punishment. Different types of word, explained Florus, have different ways of signifying. Words like 'sky', 'sea' and 'earth' indicate by their meaning the natures of things, whereas "punishment" does not signify something which subsists in itself, but rather signifies some great evil which is done through the natures of things which subsist'.⁶¹ When God predestines punishment, therefore, he does not 'predestine that it should exist in a nature of its own, but in other truly existing substances and natures, which will truly and substantially show that great evil which is what is meant and understood by the word'.⁶² As his later work shows, John himself would take the point of such arguments.⁶³

Eriugena had put forward a bold and unusual view, not only about the nature of eternal punishment, but about its subjects. God, he had said, does not allow the nature he created in each man to be punished, but rather the evil will of sinners, which he did not make.⁶⁴ Both Prudentius and Florus⁶⁵ rejected this position. Not only, they said, is it novel and without authoritative support. It is also, Prudentius considered, conceptually incoherent, because it involves separating the will from

⁵⁹ Ed. cit., col. 212A-C.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, cols. 161C - 162A.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, col. 217AB: '...quia videlicet istud verbum quod dicitur 'supplicium' non significet aliquam rem vel naturam subsistentem, sicut significant cum dicimus 'coelum', 'terra', 'mare' - haec enim continuo quasdam rerum naturas sua significatione demonstrant. Licet ergo hoc quod dicitur 'supplicium' non significet isto modo aliquam rem per se subsistentem, tamen significat aliquod grande malum, quod per subsistentes agitur naturas rerum. Ita cum nullam sui habeat substantiam, significat tamen illud quod non nisi per res et substantias existentes efficitur'. (My own punctuation.)

⁶² *Ibid.*, col. 217B: 'Ita omnipotens Deus supplicium, quod non praedestinavit ut existeret in natura sui, praedestinavit tamen in naturis et substantiis vere existentibus, quibus tantum malum, quod illo nomine significatur et intelligitur, vere et substantialiter exhibetur'.

⁶³ See below, pp. 000-000.

⁶⁴ See above, n. 39.

⁶⁵ Florus (ed. cit., col. 206AB) called on the faith of the Church to affirm that each rational nature, human or angelic, has a will naturally and inseparably within it. He then went on to show the conceptual impossibility of John's position: 'Quidquid ergo ista natura vult, non potest alienum esse ab ipsa natura, ut ad solam voluntatem referatur; quia quando aliquid vult ista natura, non utique in parte sui vult et in parte non vult, sed tota utique vult'.

the person who wills. The will, he argued, is not something which exists in itself, separately from the being who possesses it, but rather the 'spontaneous movement of the soul'. It is the soul, then, which wills, not the will itself; and so the soul which must bear the responsibility for evil willing.⁶⁶

These remarks on the will have been held up as examples of the failure by Prudentius and Florus to understand the *De Praedestinatione* - indeed, of the general incapability of his contemporaries to grasp Eriugena's thought.⁶⁷ But, as John's later attempt to refine his theory about the subject of punishment would show, they reveal not only an easily-corrected ambiguity in his presentation, but also a much deeper flaw.⁶⁸

IV

John Scottus composed no treatise in reply to the criticisms and abuse of his work by Prudentius and Florus, nor did he try to challenge its condemnation at the Council of Valence (855).⁶⁹ But, although he had the good sense to know when an immediate intervention would be fruitless, Eriugena had too much intellectual assurance (and pride?) to make his silence on the question permanent. In 866, John was completing his masterpiece, the *Periphyseon*.⁷⁰ In its themes and scope, the work seems at first to belong to a different intellectual universe from that of the *De Praedestinatione*. Rather than the invective of controversy with its concentrated attacks on a particular position, here there is the serenity of a scholastic dialogue, between a master and his pupil, which has in its purview all of nature - created and uncreated, creating and not creating, that which is and that which, by its superexcellence, is not.⁷¹ Moreover John's favoured authorities in his new work are no longer Augustine and the Fathers of the Latin tradition, but a set of Greek Christian writers whose work he had translated during the previous

⁶⁶ Ed. cit., col. 1252C: '...quidquid de voluntate (quam constat per se non esse naturam sed naturae, id est animae motum spontaneum) agis, frivolum prorsus et veritati contrarium judicatur: quippe cum voluntas sicut per se non esse, ita per se velle, id est moveri non possit, et quidquid voluntate agitur, volenti procul dubio imputetur'.

⁶⁷ *SchrJSE*, pp. 117-8, *SchrPr*, pp. 842-6.

⁶⁸ See below.

⁶⁹ Cf. Mansi 15, pp. 5 and 6-7. The condemnation was reiterated at the Council of Langres (859).

⁷⁰ See Cappuyns, pp. 189-90.

⁷¹ The best analysis of the structure of the *Periphyseon* is given in *SchrJSE*, pp. 148ff.

years: Pseudo-Dionysius, Maximus the Confessor and Gregory of Nyssa.⁷² Yet, in spite of all this, half-way through the fifth, and last, book of the *Periphyseon*, Eriugena returned to the arguments and ideas he had put forward, with such small success, fifteen years before.

In the first four books of the *Periphyseon* John had discussed God as uncreated creator and the universe he created; the subject of Book Five is the return of all things to God, who is seen from this perspective as neither created nor creating. At this return, the Master argues, good will finally conquer evil and evil will entirely disappear.⁷³ The pupil's response is understandably perplexed: 'Does it not follow that there will be no eternal death of misery, that no punishment for the wicked will remain?'⁷⁴ The answering of this question occupies nearly all the rest of the *Periphyseon*. Eriugena's determination to justify a position which had been so badly received by his contemporaries is evident in the manner of this long section. Again and again, the Pupil is made to query the Master's position, bringing forward objections which the Master then has the opportunity to answer.⁷⁵ John thus forestalled criticisms, by posing and answering them himself. He also lent rhetorical conviction to a theory which had already proved unpopular, by showing an intelligent listener, at first doubting it, then being won round and, finally, thoroughly convinced by the arguments in its favour.

Although Book Five of the *Periphyseon* is concerned exclusively with the end of time, the view of punishment and glory which Eriugena presented here is (1) a restatement of the fundamental position he reached in the *De Praedestinatione*. But (2) it is elaborated, using elements from the Greek tradition which John combined

⁷² See Cappuyns, pp. 128-79; E. Jeauneau, 'Jean Scot Erigène et le grec', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 41 (1979), pp. 5-50 (= *Jeauneau*, pp. 85-132); O'Meara, op. cit., pp. 51-79 [Eriugena's translations]. J. Dräseke, *Johannes Scotus Erigena und dessen Gewährsmänner in seinem Werke De Divisione Naturae Libri V* (Leipzig, 1902); I.P. Sheldon-Williams, 'Eriugena's Greek Sources', in *The Mind of Eriugena* (cited in n. 4 above), pp. 2-15; E. Jeauneau, 'Pseudo-Dionysius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Maximus the Confessor in the works of John Scottus Eriugena', in *Carolingian Essays*, ed. U.-R. Blumenthal (Washington, [c.1983]) (= *Jeauneau*, pp. 175-87); E. Jeauneau, 'La division des sexes chez Grégoire de Nysse et chez Jean Scot Erigène', in *Eriugena. Studien zu seinen Quellen*, ed. W. Beierwaltes (Heidelberg, 1980) [*Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1980, 3], pp. 33-54 (= *Jeauneau*, pp. 341-64); E. Jeauneau, 'Jean l'Erigène et les Ambigua ad Iohannem de Maxime le Confesseur', in *Maximus Confessor*, ed. F. Heinzer and C. Schönborn (Fribourg, 1982), pp. 343-64 (= *Jeauneau*, pp. 189-210); G. Maded, 'Jean Scot et ses auteurs', in *JSE*, pp. 143-86 [use of Greek sources in the *Periphyseon*].

⁷³ *Peri.*, col. 918B ('Malitia itaque consummationem accipiet, et in nulla natura remanebit, quoniam in omnibus bonitas divina et operabitur, et apparebit'); cf. col. 917A - 921B. (Floss's edition of *Periphyseon V* - the best available - does not distinguish between the two recensions which probably exist for this part of the work. The question of whether some phrases or sections of the text represent revisions by Eriugena has therefore been excluded from the discussion in this paper.)

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 921C. On this passage and what follows, cf. E. Jeauneau, 'Le thème du retour', in *Jeauneau*, pp. 365-94.

⁷⁵ See e.g. *ibid.*, cols. 927AB, 938B, 960AB, 964AB.

in an original way and (3) individual features of it are modified, quite possibly in response to the type of objections which Prudentius and Florus had made. Finally, towards the very end of the work, there are (4) two attempts - never fully-developed - at a radical revision. It will be clearest to treat these aspects in turn.

1. The theory of punishment in the *De Praedestinatione* was based on the thesis that God does not punish human nature, which he created, but he allows to be punished what he did not create - the evil wills of the wicked. This thesis is fundamental, too, in the *Periphyseon*. 'In nothing does God punish what he made, but he permits that which he did not make to be punished' - so, more than once, John epitomized the point.⁷⁶ The punishment, he made clear - as he had done in the *De Praedestinatione* - will be self-inflicted; (he tried to refine his ideas about exactly how this will happen⁷⁷). And the freedom of human nature itself from punishment was again emphasised.⁷⁸

In the *De Praedestinatione*, John had combined these daring views about punishment with the idea - common to all the Latin theological tradition - that only one group of humans beings, the elect, will enjoy blessedness in heaven. He maintained this view in the *Periphyseon*,⁷⁹ along with its important corollary, which had also been stated in the earlier work: that, although the glorification of the elect will be the reward for good living, their goodness would not have been possible without God's grace.⁸⁰

2. In his discussion of eschatology in the *Periphyseon*, Eriugena showed many signs of his enthusiasm for Greek learning. Not only did he quote at length from the Greek Fathers, he also made much use of a concept which was commonplace in Greek theology but rare in Latin sources and, when he described the state of the elect at the end of time, he spoke, not of their 'glorification', but of their 'deification' (*theosis / deificatio*). These features of his presentation have led some scholars to conclude that the eschatology of the *Periphyseon* is an 'organic

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, col. 968D; cf. cols. 923C, 927BC; for the parallels in the *De Praedestinatione*, see n. 39 above. Although Eriugena sometimes refers in the active to God 'punishing' sinners, this is a shorthand for his permitting them to be punished, as his description of the methods of punishment makes clear.

⁷⁷ See below, nn. 90-3.

⁷⁸ Not only will human nature not be punished, but at the end of time it will be entirely restored and made incorruptible (cf. n. 100 below). In the earlier books of the *Periphyseon*, which deal with the period before the Return of all things to God, John had made a greater allowance for the effects of sin on human nature than he was willing to do in the *De Praedestinatione*, although he regarded them just as 'superadditions'. Had his discussion of punishment in the later work not been concerned exclusively with the end of time, he might have found it more difficult to re-use in it the fundamental structure of his earlier theory.

⁷⁹ This idea is repeated many times (e.g. *Peri.*, cols. 911B, 978D - 979A, 1001B). Eriugena refers to those who will enjoy blessedness as the *electi* at e.g. *Peri.*, cols. 903C, 944B, 979C, 1015A.

⁸⁰ See e.g. *ibid.*, cols. 949B ('merito suae propriae ac bonae voluntatis, gratia duce'), 984A ('bonorum actuum malorumque differentias, quibus unusquisque in hac vita bene vixit, adjutus Deo per gratiam, seu male, desertus Deo per justitiam...')

restatement' of Greek doctrines.⁸¹ However, John's relationship to the various Greek theories of deification is in fact far more complex. Some elements of them he dropped entirely; whilst he combined other, conflicting elements from them into a pattern set by the fundamental eschatological doctrines he had developed years before in the *De Praedestinatione*. A brief look at the Greek theories will indicate how he effected this transformation.⁸²

The idea of deification - literally, that man could become God - was important from early on in the Greek patristic tradition. Its sources lay in pagan Platonic thought, but the Christian authors were careful not to allow it to compromise divine transcendence. Deification was for them a matter of assimilation to God rather than complete identity with him. Deification was possible, they believed, within this life on earth, although only in heaven could it be achieved to the full, because only there would men become incorruptible.

Within this broad conceptual framework, two different theories were developed in the period up to the early sixth century. Some Fathers, such as Athanasius and Gregory of Nyssa, adopted what has been called the 'physical' theory of deification. They emphasised the Incarnation as that which made deification possible. If God had become man, they said, man could become God. Since God had taken the whole of human nature, the whole of human nature was deified. Other Fathers - in particular Pseudo-Dionysius - took a rather different approach. Although they too believed that it was God's becoming man which had enabled man to become God, they described two different ways towards deification. The first was through mystic contemplation; the second by means of the sacraments, especially the Eucharist. Despite their differences, theorists of both schools tended to think of deification as the ultimate end for all humanity and so endorsed Origen's claim that salvation would ultimately be universal. For Gregory of Nyssa, a wicked life could impede and delay a man's deification, but he looked forward to a day when all rational creatures, finally purged, would be deified; whilst Pseudo-Dionysius wrote that God had established the ecclesiastical hierarchy for 'the salvation and deification of all rational beings'.⁸³

⁸¹ T. Gregory, 'L'Eschatologie de Jean Scot', in *JHP*, pp. 376-92 [also published in Italian, with fuller annotation, in *Studi Medievali*, 3a serie, 16,2 (1975), pp. 497-535], at p. 377. One of the few scholars to note John's differences from his Greek sources in his eschatology is M.L. Colish, 'John the Scot's christology and soteriology in relation to his Greek sources', *The Downside Review* 100 (1982), pp. 138-51. But her conclusion that 'what [John] seems to have done was to extract the Neoplatonism from [the Greek writers], making it the basis of his own speculation...' (p. 149) is very different from what will be suggested below about John's eschatology, though more relevant perhaps to his christology.

⁸² The following account of Greek theories of deification before the time of Maximus the Confessor is based closely on J. Gross, *La Divinisation du chrétien d'après les pères grecs* (Paris, 1938). See also M. Lot-Borodine, *La Déification de l'homme selon la doctrine des pères grecs* (Paris, 1970 - a reprint of articles published in the 1930s).

⁸³ *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 3, col. 376B (cited by Gross, *La Divinisation...*, p. 304); cf. n. 88 below.

In the seventh century, the theory of deification was reshaped by Maximus the Confessor. Devoted as he was both to the Pseudo-Dionysius and to orthodoxy, he was willing neither to abandon the concept of deification nor to tolerate its association with Origen's promise of universal salvation, which had been found heretical. He therefore limited the prospect of deification to the worthy; those who were not worthy would indeed become immutable, but would suffer eternal punishment.⁸⁴

Eriugena rejected certain aspects of these theories completely. He did not accept deification as a possibility for humans in this life,⁸⁵ but only at the end of time, when all things return to God. Nor therefore did he consider that it could be brought about either by participation in the sacraments of the Church, or by the individual's mystic ascent to the divinity. Other elements he retained. He put forward Maximus's view that not all men would be deified - only, as Eriugena called them, the elect. But he was also able to adopt, in a modified form, the universalist views of Gregory of Nyssa and others. By becoming man, Christ had indeed made possible the restoration of the whole human species, but not its deification. At the end of time all men will share in the integrity of human nature and its natural goods (a state not incompatible with eternal punishment); only some will be deified.⁸⁶

Eriugena was probably helped towards this reformulation of the Greek theories by his ignorance of all Gregory of Nyssa's works save the *De Imagine*. In the *De Imagine*, Gregory was not concerned with deification as such, but rather with the physical resurrection and restoration of all things at the end of time.⁸⁷ This emphasis made it possible for John to use extracts from Gregory to support his view about the general restoration of all human nature, and to leave the idea of deification for the elect only. Certain remarks in Maximus, too, would have seemed to give authority to his views and helped him to re-interpret Pseudo-

⁸⁴ This view of Maximus's eschatology is argued convincingly by B.E. Daley in 'Apokatastasis and "honourable silence" in the eschatology of Maximus the Confessor', in *Maximus Confessor* (cit. above, n. 72), pp. 309-39. See, for instance, among the texts known to Eriugena and translated by him, *Ambigua* 7 [*Patrologia Graeca* 91, cols. 1076C, 1088C], *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 2, 47 [ed. C. Laga and C. Steel (Turnhout/Louvain, 1980) with Eriugena's translation, pp. 50:23-5, 322:149-52 (for Latin text)], 63 [*Patrologia Graeca* 90, col. 668C] - all cited by Daley. For the immutability of those not deified, see the passage quoted in n. 88 below.

⁸⁵ The exception which proves the rule is St. Paul, rapt in ecstasy to the third heaven: see *Peri.*, col. 982A.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, cols. 911B, 979C, 980D, 1001B, 1015AB.

⁸⁷ See esp. caps. XXII, XXV-XXVII in John's translation, ed. M. Cappuyns, 'Le "De imagine" de Grégoire de Nysse traduit par Jean Scot Erigène', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 32 (1965), pp. 205-62.

Dionysius in a manner compatible with them.⁸⁸ However, the basic scheme into which he fitted the Greek views on eschatology remained that of the *De Praedestinatione*: the elect, who would be glorified or, as he now said, deified; the others, whose human nature would be whole and free from taint, but who would nevertheless receive eternal punishment.

3. Although he maintained the fundamental position of the *De Praedestinatione*, in his masterpiece Eriugena made important changes in the way he presented his theory of punishment. In the earlier work, his treatment of the methods of self-inflicted eternal punishment had been complicated and uncertain. Now he tried - not altogether successfully - to tidy up his account. He dropped the theory that the damned would receive physical as well as mental torture in the fire which would glorify the blessed⁸⁹ - a somewhat inconsistent concession to a non-spiritual view of eternal life. He gave up, too, the idea that even the damned have a notion of happiness, but cannot enjoy it. He retained, but gave little emphasis to, two other means of punishment suggested in the *De Praedestinatione*: submersion in ignorance,⁹⁰ and deprivation of wrongful carnal pleasures.⁹¹ Rather, he stressed two forms of self-inflicted punishment: on the one hand, 'late repentance'⁹² and, on the other hand, the experience, in the memory, of the sense-impressions (*phantasiae*) of 'transitory and mortal' things - *phantasiae* which, as he remarked on occasion, are 'empty'.⁹³

The most interesting and intricate of the changes in presentation concern the ideas of punishment as a non-thing and of the evil will as the subject of punishment. In thinking again about these subjects, John seems to have taken up

⁸⁸ For example, Jeaneau ['Le thème du retour' (cited above, n. 74, p. 375, n. 49)] mentions a passage from the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* (LIV, scholion 18) which reads, in John's translation: 'Resurrectio nature est reformatio nature in paradiso formationem copiosam faciens, generaliter quidem universali omnium inconversibilitate, specialiter vero per gratiam ineffabili sanctorum deificatione' (ed. cit., p. 474:137-40). An instance of Eriugena's adapting Pseudo-Dionysius is provided by his translation of the passage quoted in n. 83 above: the Greek text states that the ecclesiastical hierarchy was set up for the 'salvation and deification (*sōtēria kai theōsei*) of all men'; but John changes the phrase to 'to the salvation and unity (*salute et unitate*) of all' (*PL* 122, col. 1073B).

⁸⁹ In the *Periphyseon*, John deftly used the physical theory of the *De Praedestinatione* in a purely metaphorical way, to give concrete examples of a spiritual reality, see ed. cit., col. 961BC (cf. *Praed.*, p. 120:52-62) - the asbestos stone; col. 947A - 948C (cf. *Praed.*, pp. 119:18 - 120:51) - air and aether.

⁹⁰ See *Peri.*, col. 972C: '...profundae ignorantiae densissima obscuritas...'

⁹¹ See *ibid.*, cols. 937AB, 967A: '...impetus ejus libidinosus retinebitur, ne, quod illicite appetit, apprehendat'.

⁹² See *ibid.*, cols. 945C, 961B, 968A, 972C, 977A, 1018A.

⁹³ See e.g., cols. 948BC ('...temporalium vero mortaliumque rerum, quibus in hac vita inficitur, phantasticam memoriam infra se et extra in his, qui omni beatitudine privabuntur, [humanitas] sustinebit'), 949BC ('...vanas falsasque phantasias...'), 961B ('...falsis rerum temporalium phantasiis...'), 963B. For the notion of *phantasiae*, see *ibid.*, cols. 961C - 963B, 971D - 972A; cf. J.-C. Foussard, 'Apparence et apparition. La notion de "phantasia" chez Jean Scot', in *JHP*, pp. 337-48.

the criticisms of Prudentius and Florus; or, at least, to have thought independently along very similar lines to theirs. Florus had pointed out that, although punishments are not substances, they are *in* or *from* substances.⁹⁴ In the *Periphyseon*, John adopted and extended this position. Punishments, says the Pupil, are accidents and therefore they must be *in* something; and that thing must subsist and so be made by God. Does this not mean that God will punish what he has made - a conclusion which contradicts the Master's repeated statements that God allows only what he had not made to be punished? In his answer, the Master, who fully accepts the Pupil's description of punishment, argues that the subjects of punishment must be things which are not (and so have not been made by God), but that they must be in something which is and so, as a creation of God's, cannot itself be punished.⁹⁵ In this way John used the idea of a non-thing belonging to a thing (which Florus had proposed) not only in connection with punishments, but also with their subjects.

What, then, are the non-things which are punished eternally? Eriugena's answer to this question takes up the issue raised by Prudentius and Florus when they criticised John for separating man's will from his nature. In the *Periphyseon*, Eriugena took trouble to make it clear that it was not the will, as a faculty, which would be the subject of punishment, but rather the 'perverse and irrational motions of the will'.⁹⁶ The will is indeed part of human nature, created by God and unpunishable; its irrational motions are not part of God's creation and 'are altogether not understood to exist in the nature of things'.⁹⁷

Eriugena thus cleared up the ambiguity which had been the occasion of his opponents' criticisms, but he left a deeper problem unresolved. How can the 'irrational motions of the will', as opposed to the will itself, be the subjects of punishment? It makes sense to say that someone is punished *through* the motions of his will (when, for instance, he desires what he cannot attain or what is harmful to him), but not that these motions are themselves punished.⁹⁸ Punishment requires a degree of consciousness which a mere motion of the will cannot have. Intermittently, John seems to have noticed this problem and proposed the 'conscience' as that in which eternal punishment takes place whilst human nature itself remains free.⁹⁹ This solution, however, carries with it a difficulty similar to

94 See above, nn. 59-60.

95 *Peri.*, cols. 939C - 940D.

96 *Peri.*, col. 959C: '...nullam aliam sedem corruptionis poenisque posse reperiri, praeter rationabilis et intellectualis creaturae perversos illicitosque propriae voluntatis motus...'; and see also e.g. cols. 943C, 955A, 963B. For Prudentius and Florus, see above, nn. 65-6.

97 *Ibid.*, col. 940B.

98 At moments, indeed, Eriugena himself wrote as if it were the irrational motions *through* which punishment will be carried out, although at the same time insisting that the motions themselves would be the subjects of punishment: see *Peri.*, col. 937AB and cf. the passage quoted in n. 99 above.

99 *Ibid.*, col. 955B: 'Et hoc est totum, quod dicitur malarum cogitationum irrationabiliumque cupiditatum poena atque supplicium, dolor videlicet et tristitia, quibus duobus impiorum conscientia intra semetipsum punitur'; and see also cols. 937A, 948D, 978B.

that which Prudentius and Florus had pointed out, since it is no less objectionable to separate the conscience than the will from human nature.

4. For most of the *Periphyseon's* last book, John maintained the division between the saved and the damned which he had made in the *De Praedestinatione*. There will be the blessed - the 'deified' as he now called them; and there will be those condemned to eternal (though spiritual) punishment; in both classes, however, human nature will remain 'good, saved, whole, without wound or disease, incorruptible, impassible, immutable'.¹⁰⁰ Everyone, then, who is not deified, will be punished, although not in his nature but in the irrational motions of his will or, as Eriugena sometimes put it, in his conscience.¹⁰¹

However, quite near to the end of the discussion, John advanced a different view, without remarking on the difference. He had already explained how sense-impressions (*phantasiae*) of temporal things are used in order to effect punishment, although these *phantasiae* themselves are not evil. Now he made the distinction between two forms of sense-impression: one sort 'in which are prepared the rewards for those who in this life lived good, but not the best, lives', and another sort - which will take the form of wild beasts¹⁰² - 'in which the punishments for those who lived badly are dispensed'. Those who are deified, he added, will receive not sense-impressions but rather 'theophanies'.¹⁰³ According to this scheme, then, there is a three-fold division of humanity at the end of time: those who will be deified; those who

by merit of a good life and simple innocence will not only be spared all punishment but will receive the rewards they deserve...so that they will not only possess natural goods, but also in some way become participants in God's superabundant generosity, although they will not be deified;

and those who will be eternally punished for their carnal and intemperate lives, although the integrity of their nature will be restored.¹⁰⁴

But this three-fold division does not represent Eriugena's final thoughts on eschatology. At the very end of the *Periphyseon* there is a passage which implies a rather different view of eternal punishment from anything made explicit earlier in the work. It occurs within John's exposition of the parable of the wise and foolish

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, col. 944B.

¹⁰¹ The two-fold division is particularly clearly stated at *Peri.*, cols. 945BC (*Duo...genera passionum sunt: unum quo deificati in conditoris sui purissimam cognitionem rapiuntur, alterum vero, quo impii in profundissimam veritatis ignorantiam merguntur*), 949B, 961B.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, col. 977BC.

¹⁰³ *Peri.*, cols. 977D - 978A; it is unclear whether, at col. 963C, John anticipated this new theory by suggesting that there is a type of *phantasia* which will reward the just, or whether he meant at this point to equate this sort of *phantasia* with the theophanies which the deified experience.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 978AB.

virgins.¹⁰⁵ The ten virgins stand for all humanity: the five wise ones represent those who will be admitted to the wedding feast - that is to say, they will be deified; the foolish virgins stand for the rest of mankind. What will their state be when all things return to God? John went on to answer this question by considering the condition of Adam before the Fall. As Augustine said, he can have been neither wise - otherwise he would not have sinned - nor foolish - for God would not have created him so. Still, added John, given that he did sin, Adam must have been more foolish than wise, since 'folly and imprudence are the preludes to sin'. And, John continued

We see that most - indeed nearly all - foolish and improvident men are, none the less, happy and content with their noble birth, their large families, their robust bodies, strength and health, their quickness of wit and charm of tongue, a beautiful and attentive wife, numerous offspring and an abundance of lands and possessions - to say nothing of the titles and honours and all those other things on which this world smiles; so happy, that they would choose to live in this way for ever and have no wish to hear or think about the joys of the spirit.¹⁰⁶

It is to this state of 'merely natural goods without the ornaments of virtue', John concluded, that those men will return who are not deified.

What, then, of eternal punishments? From various details in John's interpretation of the parable, the implication emerges that this enjoyment of merely natural goods is a form of punishment. John explained that those who did not enjoy the fullness of participation in the divine light - the burning lamps of the wise virgins - were prevented by 'the irrational motions of their perverse wills'¹⁰⁷ - the very motions which, throughout his discussion, John had marked out as the subjects of punishments. And he interpreted the shout of the foolish virgins, asking to be admitted to the wedding feast, as 'late repentance'¹⁰⁸ - one of the forms of punishment he most frequently mentioned. Moreover, to experience the sense-impressions of 'transient and carnal' things - the other form of punishment to which John often referred in his discussion earlier in Book Five - might be considered the same as being returned to 'a state of merely natural goods'. In a sense, therefore, John had left room all along, for the idea - which becomes evident only here, at the end of the work - that to spend eternity enjoying the sense-impressions of earthly things, even the earthly things which most men greatly esteem, is in itself a punishment for having desired them too much. But he was careful, too, in the earlier discussions, to include material which contradicted

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, cols. 1011A - 1018D. John's discussion of this parable, and its sources, is analysed by P.A. Dietrich and D.F. Duclow, 'Virgins in Paradise: deification and exegesis in "Periphyseon V"', in *JSE*, pp. 29-49.

¹⁰⁶ *Peri.*, col. 1014AB.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, col. 1012C.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, col. 1018A.

so apparently gentle a vision of Hell.¹⁰⁹ Was Eriugena confused, then, or indecisive? Or do the final pages of the *Periphyseon* adumbrate an esoteric theory of punishment which complements, qualifies and, in part, corrects the theory he had advanced more explicitly, judging it more suitable for public exposition?¹¹⁰

V

The previous pages have indicated a series of connections and relations in areas where scholars more usually find discontinuities and differences. Eriugena's mental world was less detached from that of his contemporaries - such as Hrabanus and Hincmar, Prudentius and Florus - than is often supposed; and Eriugena's own later work is closer in important respects to the concerns and arguments of the *De Praedestinatione* than its parade of citations and terms from the Greek Fathers would suggest. It remains to consider the bearing and importance, if any, of such observations. Are they merely historical footnotes, of interest only to Eriugena's biographers? Or do they carry implications for those who wish to understand Eriugena's thought?

In recent years, most discussion of John's thought - as opposed to his life, background, use of sources or influence - has either placed it within the very broad context of Platonism and its history, or has regarded it without a context by concentrating closely on Eriugena's own texts. Both approaches have yielded valuable results. The experts on Platonism have shown how John took up and elaborated many themes which had been treated by Plotinus, Iamblichus, Proclus and the Christian Neoplatonists and which would reappear in later medieval Platonism and in the tradition of German Idealism.¹¹¹ Such studies have not only served to place Eriugena within a certain conception of the history of philosophy: they have also brought into focus his distinctive treatment of some important subjects, such as negation, knowing and being known, divine transcendence and

¹⁰⁹ See e.g. *ibid.*, cols. 945BC, 971B, 972C: 'Peccatorum quippe effectus sunt luctus, gemitus, tristitia, sera poenitentia, ardor insatiabilis cupiditatis, quae in aliquo nullam inueniet quietem, scatens delictorum putredo ac vermiculatio...'

¹¹⁰ John used the idea that writers did not always say openly what they meant as a tool for justifying his reading of Augustine in the *De Praedestinatione* (see ed. cit., pp. 90:136 - 91:155); J.J. O'Meara, *op.cit.*, pp. 43-4. He mentioned the idea at the end of the *Periphyseon*: ed. cit., col. 1015C - 'Multa quippe divina mysteria a sanctis patribus intacta ob hanc causam praetermissa sunt; infirmi siquidem oculi claritatem luminis sufferre nequeunt'. Cf. also J.J. O'Meara, 'Eriugena's use of Augustine in his teaching on the return of the soul and the vision of God', in *JHP*, pp. 191-200.

¹¹¹ Two of the most recent exponents of this approach are W. Beierwaltes [see, for example, 'Eriugena. Aspekte seiner Philosophie', in *Die Iren...* (cited in n. 1), pp. 799-818, and 'Marginalien zu Eriugenas "Platonismus"', in *Platonismus und Christentum*, ed. H.-D. Blume and F. Mann (Münster, 1983), pp. 64-74] and S.Gersh [see *From Iamblichus to Eriugena* (Leiden, 1978), and 'Omnipresence in Eriugena. Some reflections on Augustino-Maximian elements in *Periphyseon*', in *Eriugena. Studien...* (cited in n. 72 above), pp. 55-74].

immanence. Those scholars who have chosen, rather, to consider John's texts more narrowly have succeeded in making available in detail a body of thought which, by its size and complexity, would otherwise have remained forbidding.¹¹²

Both approaches, however, have their drawbacks and limitations.¹¹³ It is easy, when approaching Eriugena as a Platonist, to overlook the great number of themes, problems and arguments in his work quite foreign to the Platonic tradition. There is the danger, too, of allowing Neoplatonic texts unknown to John himself to lend passages in his works a significance which they would not have had for their author. For his part, the close textual interpreter is faced with the constant problem of translating Eriugena's terms into ones which will be understood today. With no context other than that of John's own writings, such translation can easily remain a sort of transliteration - an evasion of the historian's duty to make the past comprehensible.

By recognising Eriugena as a thinker who shared many of his contemporaries' concerns, such difficulties can be tackled. From this perspective, John's unstated assumptions become evident, his aims clearer, and, in their light, the direction and significance of his arguments can better be discovered. It also becomes easier to think about which of his thoughts John might have chosen not to develop explicitly - where apparent contradiction is the result of tact rather than confusion. John's revisions of his own ideas provide a valuable way of gauging his intentions and emphases; the critics of John's time can - if they are not too lightly dismissed - be useful, though not infallible, guides to the modern interpreter. And, although some of the concepts and terms John used are idiosyncratic, many belong to the common currency of Carolingian logical and theological discussion. Their meaning becomes graspable when Eriugena's work is placed within the intellectual context of its period.

There is, moreover, another respect in which the approaches of 'Platonists' and close textual interpreters need to be complemented and corrected. In abstract thought there is usually a tension between the wish to construct a system coherent in itself and the need to explain - to answer important questions about the world as

¹¹² Distinguished exponents of this method include T. Gregory [see, for instance, *Giovanni Scoto Eriugena. Tre studi* (Florence, 1963) and his article cited above, n. 81], J. Trouillard [see 'Erigène et la théophanie créatrice', in *The Mind of Eriugena* (cited in n. 4 above), pp. 98-113] and R. Roques [see esp. *Libres sentiers vers l'érigénisme* (Rome, 1975)]. The two categories of interpreters are not mutually exclusive: many 'textual' interpreters, such as those mentioned, are knowledgeable about the Platonic tradition and make use of this knowledge from time to time in their exegesis; whilst the 'Platonists', in some of their writing on Eriugena, devote themselves to close reading of John's text.

¹¹³ The important recent work on Eriugena by G. Schrimpf [*Schr^{JE}* and *Schr^{Pr}*] does not fit *exactly* into either of these categories. By looking at John in the light of his period's concept of scientific knowledge and method, he has followed to a certain extent the type of approach advocated at the end of this paper. However, Schrimpf tends to emphasise only the *differences* between Eriugena's method and that of his contemporaries. Despite his discussion of John's intellectual context, Schrimpf ends therefore by using an approach close to that of the 'textual' interpreters - with all its advantages and drawbacks.

conceived by the culture of the time. Most of the thinkers widely accepted as great are ones who successfully resolved this tension, answering important questions *through* the construction of a coherent system. But many distinguished thinkers have been less skilful at combining coherence with question-solving. For instance, it has been characteristic of English-speaking philosophers in the mid-twentieth century to concentrate on explanation, answering individual questions about the world without much trying to extend and mould their understanding into systematic form. By contrast, Eriugena tended to systematise at the expense of explaining; but this was just a tendency, not the invariable mark of all his thinking. In the studies of 'Platonist' and 'textual' interpreters, however, Eriugena most often appears *entirely* as a systematiser. The 'Platonists' like to see the *Periphyseon* as a particular version of a Platonic system; whilst the 'textual' interpreters choose to look at John's ideas exclusively from within, observing only their relations with each other, not those with the conceptual world in which their author lived.

By reading Eriugena in the light of the intellectual links between himself and his contemporaries, and between his earlier and later writings, the imbalance can be adjusted. This method shows not only *that* John broached some of the questions central to the culture of his time, and did not abandon them when he left the arena of controversy for the apparently detached speculations of his *Periphyseon*, but also *how* John tackled them: with difficulty - with all the hesitations, clarifications, repetitions, doubts, second thoughts, confusions, incoherencies and self-contradictions which a mere synthesiser could have effortlessly excluded.

THE PALACE SCHOOL OF CHARLES THE BALD

Rosamond McKitterick

Between 873 and 877, Heiric of Auxerre addressed his *Vita Sancti Germani* to Charles the Bald, and in his preface not only praised Charles, the 'wise Solomon', for his learning and enlightened generosity to scholars, but also referred to the wise who went to his court and the palace which merited the name of a 'school' because every day one might devote oneself to scholarly as well as to military exercise.¹ Heiric's reference to the *palatium* as a *scola* is one of the few specific pieces of information concerning the existence of a 'palace school', but it tells us little about either the nature of this 'school' or who belonged to it. Hincmar of Rheims's idea of the court as a school where *disciplina* in its widest sense was acquired, expressed in a letter to Louis the German in 858, is also tantalizingly vague.² The meagre evidence for scholarly activity at the court of Charles the Bald is of little assistance to those who wish, on the analogy of what little is certainly known about the court school of Charlemagne,³ to envisage a circle of scholars at the palace (wherever that was) engaged in literary and philosophical disputation and enjoying a high level of culture. Nevertheless, it is clear that a 'palace school' of some kind existed during the reign of Charles the Bald. I want in this paper therefore to concentrate on some of the difficulties encountered in defining the palace school and its contribution to Carolingian culture. The problem of the palace school should moreover be considered as part of a broader question, namely, the

¹ Heiric of Auxerre, '... ita ut merito vocitetur scola palatium cuius apex non minus scolaribus quam militaribus consuescit cotidie disciplinis': *Vita sancti Germani*, MGH Poet., III p. 429. The dating is according to R. Quadri, *I collectanea di Eirico di Auxerre*, Spicilegium Friburgense II (Fribourg 1966).

² Hincmar of Rheims, 'Et ideo domus regis scola dicitur, id est disciplina; quia non tantum scolastici, id est disciplinati et bene correcti, sunt, sicut alii, sed potius ipsa scola quae interpretatur disciplina, id est correctio, dicitur, quae alios habitu, incessu, verbo et actu atque totius bonitatis continentia corrigat': MGH Cap. II, p. 436. These references and their implications have recently been discussed by P. Riché, 'Charles le Chauve et la culture de son temps', *Jean Scot Erigène et l'histoire de la philosophie*, Colloques internationaux du C. N. R. S. No. 561 (Paris 1977).

³ On the school at Charlemagne's court see F. Brunhölzl, 'Der Bildungsauftrag der Hofschule', *KdG* II, pp. 28-41; W. von den Steinen, 'Karl und die Dichter', *ibid.*, pp. 63-94; and D. Schaller, 'Poetic rivalries at the court of Charlemagne', *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500-1500*, ed. R. R. Bolgar (Cambridge 1971) pp. 151-7.

extent to which the royal court and the king himself played a central or even prominent part in the promotion of Carolingian education and learning in the second half of the ninth century.

The earliest reference to the culture at the court of Charles the Bald is the poem by Gottschalk addressed to Ratramnus of Corbie in 849, in which he refers to the number of masters who reside at the palace, including Lupus (of Ferrières), Jonas (of Autun) and a certain Matgaudus.⁴ To this may be added the indications in the letters of Lupus of Ferrières that educated men of some standing served Charles in his *capella* or chancery, or were simply close to the King: such as Pardulus, bishop of Laon,⁵ Louis, abbot of St Denis,⁶ Ebroin, bishop of Poitiers,⁷ and Hilduin, abbot of St Martin at Tours and St Germain-des-Prés, described by Lupus as *magister ecclesiasticorum*.⁸ John Scotus Eriugena also spent some time at the court. Pardulus of Laon in his letter to the clergy of Lyons in 851 or 852 mentions 'the Irishman called John at the palace'⁹ and in 858 John was asked to retranslate the *Opera* of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and may well have been required to stay at the palace to do so, rather than borrowing the book (now Paris BN gr. 437) which contained the Dionysian corpus. Cappuyns contended that John Scotus was master of the palace school, but there appears to be no evidence to support either this view or the tradition that he was master of the school at Laon.¹⁰ John Scotus appears to have had associations with a number of other centres, such as Rheims and Soissons, besides the court and Laon.¹¹ As well as Lupus and John Scotus, all the scholars who dedicated their works to Charles the Bald, that is, Freulf of Lisieux, Nithard, Ratramnus and Paschasius of Corbie, Hincmar of Rheims, Milo of St Amand, Usuard of St Germain-des-Prés, Jonas of Orleans and some who remain unidentified, may well have visited the court; but there is little indication that any of them, apart from Lupus, John Scotus and Hincmar, did so. Nevertheless the number of works composed for or dedicated to the King, the beautiful books that were presented to him such as the *De Arithmetica* of Boethius and the Vivian Bible from Tours,¹² the San Paolo Bible

4 MGH Poet. III, p. 736, ll. 107-118.

5 Lupus, Ep. 66, pp. 242-4.

6 *Ibid.*, Epp. 14-16, 25, 30, 45, 49.

7 *Ibid.*, Ep. 23.

8 *Ibid.* Epp. 89, 90. On the *capella* of Charles the Bald see J. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige I* (Stuttgart 1959), pp. 142-51.

9 Remigius of Lyon, *De Tribus Epistolis Liber*, PL 121, col. 1052A.

10 M. Cappuyns, *Jean Scot Erigène: Sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée* (Louvain 1933), p. 66, and compare J. J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930. Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Munich 1978), pp. 83-5.

11 Contreni *ibid.*, p. 87.

12 Now Bamberg Staatliche Bibliothek Class. 2 (written c. 845) and BN lat.1 (c. 846) respectively. See H. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours. Studies in Manuscript illumination 7* (Princeton 1977) and W. Koehler, *Die Karolingische Miniaturen I. Die Schule von Tours* (Berlin 1935).

possibly from Rheims,¹³ or the so-called Second Bible of Charles the Bald from St Amand,¹⁴ and the evident interest that Charles took in the intellectual issues of his day, do indicate that there was some kind of learned following associated with the court and that the king and the possibility of his patronage were becoming the focus of intellectual and artistic activity.¹⁵

Charles the Bald's library on the other hand does not seem to have fulfilled the same functions as Charlemagne's library or the libraries of the monastic and episcopal foundations of the West Frankish kingdom.¹⁶ Charles the Bald's books (or at least those I have been able to associate with him), while providing a representative sample of the principal emphases and general preoccupations of Carolingian scholarship in the second half of the ninth century, remain a personal collection and reflect the more limited interests of the king himself. He possessed Freulf of Lisieux's *World History*, Nithard's *Histories*, Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* and two anonymous works on the history of the Franks. His interest in contemporary theology is evidenced by Lupus of Ferrières's *De Tribus Quaestionibus*, Ratramnus of Corbie's two treatises on predestination and his work on the Eucharist, Paschasius Radbertus on the Eucharist, Hincmar of Rheims on the nature of the soul and Jonas of Orleans on the cult of images. Charles also possessed a number of saints' lives and the voluminous *Martyrology* of Usuard of St Germain-des-Prés written specially for the king. Hincmar of Rheims addressed Charles on many different aspects of government and the king also possessed a copy of the capitulary collection of Ansegisus. Most of the extant manuscripts which can be associated with Charles the Bald, however, are liturgical and biblical books, with the exception of Boethius's *De Arithmetica*, Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militari*, the Ansegisus capitulary collection, a copy of the decrees of the Synod of Paris of 825 and some of the minor works of Augustine.¹⁷ Thus the contents of Charles the Bald's library could not have served the needs of a school, for the traditional school texts are absent.¹⁸ The possibility remains, however, that

¹³ The Bible in the church of San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome. See J. E. Gaehde in *FMS* 5 (1971), pp. 359-400; 8 (1974), pp. 351-84 and 9 (1975), pp. 359-89.

¹⁴ BN lat. 2 (c. 870-1).

¹⁵ R. McKitterick, 'Charles the Bald (823-877) and his library: the patronage of learning', *EHR* 95 (1980), pp. 28-47.

¹⁶ B. Bischoff, 'Die Hofbibliothek Karls des Grossen', *KdGII* pp. 42-62; 'Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen', *ibid.*, pp. 233-54, and 'Die Bibliothek im Dienste der Schule', *La Scuola nell'occidente latino dell'alto Medioevo*, 2 vols, SS Spoleto 19 (1972), I, pp. 385-415.

¹⁷ I have discussed all these in detail in my article cited above n. 15.

¹⁸ G. Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter. Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekansons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Munich 1970).

Charles inherited some of the books from the palace libraries of his father and grandfather, and that these books enjoyed more public use.¹⁹

While evidence of scholars at the court of Charles and of works being dedicated to him first appears early in his reign, references to the palace as a place where younger scholars might further their education are rather later and it remains unclear how organized or generally available such teaching was. According to the *Gesta episcoporum Autissiodorensium* of Rainogala and Alagus of Auxerre, some time after 867 Herefrid - who is described as *ex nobilissima Armorici tractus prosapia derivatus*, and who became bishop of Auxerre in 887 - was sent to the palace by his uncle, Bishop Walter of Orleans, in order to complete his education, for at the palace school both noble youths and those destined for ecclesiastical office could study the liberal arts.²⁰ This is a rather more precise account of the palace school than Heiric of Auxerre provided in the preface to his *Vita Sancti Germani*.²¹ The *Life of Radbod*, bishop of Utrecht (899-917), relates how Radbod and his comrades Stephen and Mancio (later to become bishops of Liège (901-20) and Châlons-sur-Marne (893-908) respectively), went to the palace some time after 864²² and were there taught by Manno, *philosophus*. The *Life* relates that Radbod came to the court 'because at that time the study of the sevenfold wisdom flourished between the walls of Charles's home'.²³ His biographer records that Radbod left the court on Charles the Bald's death in 877.

Who was Manno? He was a disciple of Martin Hiberniensis of Laon and celebrated as a master of Laon before he became a master at the palace. Contreni has suggested that it was Martin who entered for the year 843 in the *Annals of Laon* the note, 'Manno scolasticus Laudunensis nascitur'.²⁴ The *Annals of St Maximin of Trier* also record Manno's birthdate, and beside the year 876 a hand, possibly that of Manno himself, has noted that in this year Manno was ordained priest on the 16th Kalends of July.²⁵ Despite these clues Manno remains an elusive figure. Because he would only have been twenty-one in 864, the earliest year in which Radbod could have gone to the palace school, it is possible that Manno was master and Radbod his pupil there rather later, in the 870's. Traube stated firmly that Manno was at court from 864 to 893 but I have been unable to establish how

19 On the possible fates of the libraries of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious see B. Bischoff, 'Die Hofbibliothek unter Ludwig dem Frommen', *Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays presented to Richard William Hunt*, edd. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford 1976), pp. 3-22.

20 MGH SS XIII, p. 400. On the authorship see P. Janin, 'Heiric d'Auxerre et les *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium*', *Francia* 4 (1976), pp. 89-106.

21 *Vita sancti Germani*, cited above n. 1.

22 The year 864 is that in which Radbod's uncle, Archbishop Gunther of Cologne, who taught him, was deposed.

23 *Vita Radbodi Traiectensis episcopi*, MGH SS XV, p. 569.

24 *Annales Laudunenses*, MGH SS XV, p. 1294.

25 *Annales sancti Maximini Trevirensis*, MGH SS IV, p. 6, and see J. J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, p. 137, n. 9.

he arrived at these dates; there seems to be no justification for them.²⁶ To confuse the issue another Manno turns up at a synod presided over by Ado of Vienne in 870; this Manno is described as the *praepositus* of St Oyan (St. Claude) in the Jura.²⁷ This Manno died between 880 and 893 and left some of his books, six of which are extant, to the monastery of St. Oyan.²⁸ Whether or not there was one Manno or two remains uncertain,²⁹ but one final piece of evidence about him which is of great significance is the letter from 'A' to 'E' extant in a Leiden manuscript and dated by Dümmler to the early 870's.³⁰ 'A' states that he met Manno at the palace at Compiègne and asked him about the mechanical arts. In other words, the 'palace school' at which Manno was a master was at Compiègne.

One of the major problems about Charles the Bald's court is that it rarely, or at least the king rarely, stayed in one place for more than a few days, or at most a few weeks, so that to attempt to describe an itinerant court as a centre of learning in any sense would seem futile. What Brühl calls Charles the Bald's *Gastungspolitik* was in marked contrast to the itinerary of his predecessors. Charles moved from palace to palace, town to town and monastery to monastery, mostly within the Ile-de-France region.³¹ Brühl's study of Charles's itinerary shows that the king hardly ever stayed in one place for as long as two or three months, and that the exceptions were the winters he spent at his palaces at Quierzy and Compiègne, albeit he usually moved on somewhere else to celebrate Easter. In contrast to the single visits paid during his reign to places like Nijmegen, Cologne, Herstal, Vienne, Clermont and many others, he made several visits to particular monasteries or palaces such as St Médard, Soissons (7 visits), St Martin of Tours (8), St Quentin (8), Rheims (13), Servais (14), Attigny (14), and St Denis (16). Before 867, St Denis is only mentioned in the itinerary three times, in 844, 845 and 864, but after Charles became abbot there in 867, he often spent the whole of the Lenten season and Easter at St Denis: Easter 868, 869, 871, 872, 874, 875 and 876 are recorded at St Denis in the *Annals of St Bertin*. In 870 and 877, however,

²⁶ L. Traube, 'Zur Überlieferung der Elegien des Maximianus', *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, III (Munich 1920) pp. 38-42.

²⁷ Luc d'Achéry, *Spicilegium XII* (Paris 1665), p. 135, or in the facsimile reprint from the 1723 edition, III (Farnborough 1967-9), p. 3.

²⁸ L. Delisle, 'Notes sur trois manuscrits à date certaine', *BECH* 29 (1868), pp. 217-9, and 'La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Claude de Jura: esquisse de son histoire', *ibid.*, 50, 1889, pp. 301-54.

²⁹ Both Dümmler (see below n. 30) and M. Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich 1911), pp. 252 and 489, thought there was one Manno.

³⁰ E. Dümmler ed., *MGH Epp.* VI, p. 184, and 'Briefe und Verse des neunten Jahrhunderts', *NA* 13 (1888), pp. 347-63, from Leiden Voss lat. 8^o88, ff. 20^v-24^v. See too J. J. Contreni, 'Three Carolingian texts attributed to Laon. Reconsiderations', *Studi Medievali ser. 3*, 17 (1976), pp. 797-813.

³¹ C.-R. Brühl, *Fodrum, gistum, servitium regis: Studien zu den Wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des Königtums im Frankenreich und in den fränkischen Nachfolgestaaten Deutschland, Frankreich und Italien, von 6 bis zum mite des 14 Jahrhunderts* (Cologne 1968), pp. 39-48.

Charles celebrated Easter at Compiègne, and the *Annals of St Bertin* and royal charters record Charles at Compiègne on no less than thirty-five separate occasions, the next most favoured residence being Quierzy with thirty visits. After about 866, however, Compiègne seems to have been the most favoured winter residence, and it was at this palace that he spent more time than anywhere else throughout his reign, but more especially in the latter part of it. It was at Compiègne furthermore that Charles the Bald had a palatine chapel built in imitation of the chapel Charlemagne had had built at Aachen and with the intention that Compiègne would take the place of Aachen in the western kingdom, once all hope of regaining Aachen had been lost after 876.³² Although Compiègne had been both a Merovingian and a Carolingian royal palace, it was only after Charles the Bald's coronation as emperor that he founded the palatine chapel and the monastery of St Mary's at Compiègne.³³ In the foundation charter of 5 May 877, he first describes how Charlemagne had constructed a chapel at Aachen in honour of Mary, the mother of God, and for the salvation of his soul and the dignity of the imperial crown. Charlemagne had given the chapel relics, and embellished it with precious ornaments. Charles the Bald then states: 'We have also desired to imitate our ancestors; and as that part of the empire is no longer available, in the palace of Compiègne which is under our authority we have founded in honour of Mary the glorious mother of God and always virgin, the monastery to which we have given the royal title, and we have endowed it, with God's help, with as many gifts as possible; and we have decided that the clergy, one hundred in number, should beseech the mercy of God there for the maintenance of the church of God, for our parents and grandparents, for our wife and our children, and for the stability of the empire'.³⁴ The monastery was endowed with land, objects of gold, silver and precious stones, relics and vestments.³⁵ Nothing was to be changed and in particular the number of one hundred brethren that Charles had determined was not

³² That is, after the Battle of Andemach in 876. On Compiègne's importance see E. Ewig, 'Résidence et capitale pendant le haut moyen âge', *Revue Historique* 230 (1963), pp. 68-9. See too P. Riché, 'Les représentations du palais dans les textes littéraires du haut moyen âge', *Francia* 4 (1976), pp. 161-71.

³³ According to some manuscripts, a monastic foundation by Charles the Bald at Compiègne, its leader being Hedenulf of Laon, is dated 865, MGH SS IV, p. 6, and according to others (MGH SS II, p. 213, or PL 126, col. 270), the date is 877. The foundation of the monastery could well have preceded that of the palatine chapel by at least two years. Hedenulf's appointment is a further example of the 'interdependence of Laon and the palace' described by J. J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School at Laon*, pp. 84-5.

³⁴ Tessier no. 425, II, pp. 451-3.

³⁵ The diploma of 877 does not mention explicitly the gift of the relics of Cyprian and Cornelius. According to an addition to the *Martyrology* of Usuard, Charles the Bald acquired the relics of Cornelius in Rome in 875, and gave them to Compiègne, AA SS Sept. IV, 14 September, p. 183. It is only in a diploma of 917 of Charles the Simple that Cornelius, Cyprian and Mary, the three patron saints of Compiègne, are associated for the first time, and in 921 the history of the translation of the body of Cornelius to Compiègne was produced, extant in BN lat. 18297, ff. 7-14.

to be reduced. The *Annals of St Bertin* record for 877 the same solemn consecration of this church.³⁶ A description of the palatine chapel has also survived, for the identification of St Mary's of Compiègne with the church described in the poem *Aulae Siderae* attributed to John Scotus Eriugena and extant in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 223, pp. 342-4, seems reasonably certain.³⁷ The poem describes a polygonal church, dedicated to St Mary, with columns of variegated marble, glass in the windows, many altars, porticoes and fine arches, where lamps gleamed and the paintings, paving and stonework were a source of wonderment. The whole was magnificently realised for the hundred brethren for whom the building was intended, and here we may recall the explicit provision for a hundred clerics in the foundation charter of Charles the Bald.³⁸ It was moreover at Compiègne in 877 that Charles received the ambassadors of Pope John VIII.³⁹ At Quierzy in June of the same year, he issued the famous capitulary in which he made provision for his kingdom, lands and possessions in the event of his death.⁴⁰ Three clauses in that capitulary make particular reference to the palace and monastery at Compiègne, and it was to St Mary's Compiègne, together with St Denis and his son Louis, that Charles bequeathed his library.⁴¹ Charles's efforts to make Compiègne his capital were remembered in the eleventh century, for then Compiègne was described as his 'Carlopolis'.⁴² Certainly Compiègne remained in the late ninth and in the tenth century the principal residence of some of the last Carolingians. Louis the Stammerer was consecrated and crowned at Compiègne in 877, and buried there two years later.⁴³ Odo was proclaimed king there in 888, and both St Denis and Compiègne were the most important royal necropolises for the later Carolingians.

In view of the increasing importance of Compiègne from the mid-860's onwards both as the favoured residence of the king and as the substitute for Aachen, and the evidence for the palace school which also dates from the mid-

³⁶ AB, p. 212.

³⁷ M. Foussard, '*Aulae siderae*, vers de Jean Scot au roi Charles', *Cahiers Archeologiques* 21 (1971), pp. 78-89; M. Vicillard-Troickourov, 'La chapelle du palais de Charles le Chauve', *ibid.*, pp. 89-109, and Y. Christie, 'Sainte-Marie de Compiègne et le temple d'Hezechiel', *Jean Scot Erigène et l'histoire de la philosophie* (Paris 1977), pp. 477-81. On the model the palatine chapel provided for later churches, see A. Verbeck, 'Die architektonische Nachfolge der Aachener Pfalzkapelle', *KdG* IV, pp. 113-5.

³⁸ MGH Poet. III, pp. 550-2.

³⁹ AB, p. 212.

⁴⁰ MGH Cap. II, no. 281, caps. 2, 12, 256, pp. 355-561.

⁴¹ 'Et libri nostri qui in thesauro nostro sunt, ab illis, sicut dispositum habemus, inter sanctum Dionysium, et sanctam Mariam in Compendio, et filium nostrum dispartiantur.' One of the books Compiègne received was the Hofschule Antiphony, now BN lat. 17436.

⁴² MGH SS XV, p. 271. Dietrich Lohrmann however thinks the tradition is a ninth-century one, 'Trois palais royaux de la vallée de l'Oise d'après les travaux des érudits mauristes: Compiègne, Choisy-au Bac et Quierzy', *Francia* 4 (1976), pp. 121-40 at p. 126.

⁴³ AB, pp. 219 and 235. And see P. Bernard, 'Une courte histoire des rois de France de Charles le Chauve à Louis V', *BECH* 84 (1923), pp. 257-64.

860's and the 870's, the statement of the writer of the letter to 'E' that the palace school was at Compiègne at least makes sense historically.⁴⁴ Is there any other evidence that can be brought to bear on the cultural importance of the court of Charles the Bald?

Charles the Bald's Prayerbook, now in the *Schatzkammer der Residenz* in Munich,⁴⁵ usually dated 860, is one of the earliest of a group of twelve richly-decorated and distinctive manuscripts ascribed by Wilhelm Koehler to the 'Hofschule Karls des Kahlen'.⁴⁶ Seven of the manuscripts produced by this still unidentified atelier may be associated directly with the king. They are: the Prayerbook, the Psalter of Charles the Bald (Paris BN lat. 1152), the Compiègne Antiphonary (Paris BN lat. 17436), a Psalter in Wolfenbüttel (Herzog August Bib. MS 3025) written almost entirely in gold and silver Tironian notes, a sacramentary fragment (Paris BN lat. 1141), the 'Gospel Book of Charles the Bald' (Paris BN lat. 323) and the Codex Aureus now in Munich (Cim 14000).⁴⁷ Koehler divided the manuscripts of the 'Hofschule' into three groups according to both stylistic and chronological considerations; but he stressed that the school was very shortlived, that the text of the Gospels some of the manuscripts contain is unremarkable, and that there was never a tradition developed in the portrayal of the Evangelists. Of the perhaps eight representations of Charles the Bald surviving,⁴⁸ three or possibly four appear in codices produced by the 'Hofschule'.⁴⁹ The portrait in the Munich Prayerbook, the only member of Koehler's Group 1 (the earliest surviving manuscripts of the 'Hofschule') which can be associated directly with Charles the Bald, depicts the king kneeling in prayer whereas the other manuscript portraits seat the king on a throne.⁵⁰ The painted border round the Prayerbook portrait simulates gold and precious stones; it and the colouring, with the deep blue background, the way the lines of the king's cloak are picked out in gold and white and the lavish use of gold are characteristic of the 'Hofschule' style, albeit the figure itself is said to show some signs of Rheims influence.

⁴⁴ Whether there is any connection between the establishment of the palace school and Lupus of Ferrières's project for reviving learning and the teaching of the liberal arts - a project apparently received by Charles with pleasure and which Lupus described in a letter to Aeneas, bishop of Paris, dated by Levillain to 856-62 (Ep. 122) - remains a matter of speculation.

⁴⁵ P. E. Schramm and F. Mütterich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser* (Munich 1962), No. 43, pp. 130-1 and Plate 43, p. 249. The ivory book-cover of this manuscript is now in the Landesmuseum Zürich.

⁴⁶ W. Koehler, *Buchmalerei des frühen Mittelalters. Fragmente und Entwürfe aus dem Nachlass*, edd. E. Kitzinger and F. Mütterich (Munich 1972), pp. 158-70. The fifth volume of *Die karolingische Miniaturen*, on *Die Hofschule Karls des Kahlen*, edited by F. Mütterich, is in the press.

⁴⁷ On all these manuscripts, see Schramm and Mütterich, *Denkmale*.

⁴⁸ See H. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles of Tours. Studies in Manuscript Illumination 7*, (Princeton 1977), p. 125.

⁴⁹ The coronation picture in BN lat. 1141, f. 2^v cannot definitely be described as of Charles the Bald, albeit it seems very likely.

⁵⁰ With the exception again of BN lat. 1141, f. 2^v.

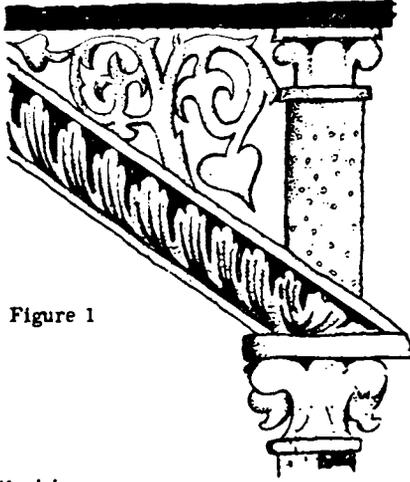


Figure 1

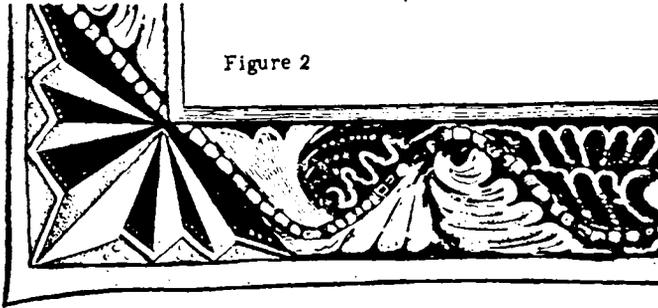


Figure 2

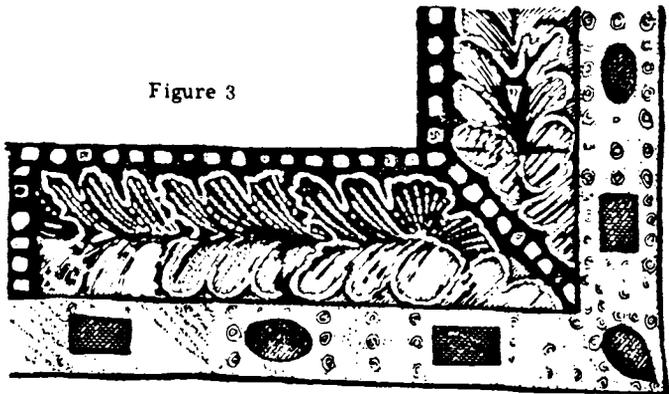


Figure 3

Figures 20.1 to 20.3: Ornamentation in 'Hofschule' Manuscripts

Figure 20.1: Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1152, f.3^v

Figures 20.2 and 20.3: Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1141, ff.2^v and 5

Charles the Bald's Psalter on the other hand, with its charming portrait on f.3^v of Charles enthroned, belongs to Koehler's Group II, and is dated before 869, for in that year Charles the Bald gave it to the cathedral church of Metz on his coronation as king of Lotharingia.⁵¹ Again the characteristic colouring is evident: brown, red and green predominate and the inscription in gold is written on a purple painted panel. There is perhaps a reminiscence of the Tours painting style in the decoration in the spandrels and the acanthus leaf capitals (Fig. 20.1), but the leafwork ornament in the ridge of the arch (Fig. 20.1) is a particular motif of the 'Hofschule'. It can be seen more clearly in the picture of David the Psalmist and his prancing musicians from f. 1^v,⁵² where the greater enrichment of the borders, with the lines of the leaves picked out in white, is much more evident. The distinctiveness of this style will be apparent if it be compared to the styles represented in three of the codices presented to Charles the Bald that were produced in other ateliers. A large part of the Third Bible of Charles the Bald for example,⁵³ was written by the scribe Ingobertus, possibly at Rheims, but the magnificent decoration combines reminiscences of the work of all the major ateliers of the second half of the ninth century - Tours, Rheims, the franco-saxon school and the 'Hofschule'.⁵⁴ The large portrait of Charles the Bald (f.1^r) also includes by his side his queen, probably Richildis,⁵⁵ which is the only known contemporary representation of a Frankish queen. Charles the Bald's First Bible (Paris BN lat. 1, also known as the Vivian Bible) was presented to the king by Count Vivian, lay-abbot of Tours, in 845 or 846, and is perhaps the most beautiful of all the books produced at Tours. Charles the Bald is depicted on f.4^v receiving the gift of the Bible from the brethren of Tours.⁵⁶ The contrast between the style of Tours and that of the 'Hofschule' is even more apparent when the Tours version of David and his musicians from f. 215^v is compared with the 'Hofschule' version.⁵⁷ The franco-saxon style is represented by the Second Bible of Charles the Bald (Paris BN lat. 2); this splendid book was written at St Amand and presented to the king between 870 and 875. It contains no human figures but

51 Colour reproduction in J. Hubert, J. Porcher and W. Volbach, *Carolingian Art* (London 1970), Plate 135, p. 147.

52 Colour reproduction, Hubert, *Carolingian Art*, Plate 134, p. 146.

53 Colour reproduction, Hubert, *Carolingian Art*, Plate 130, p. 140, and compare the frontispiece to Proverbs depicting Solomon from this Bible in F. Mutherich and J. Gachde, *Carolingian Painting* (London 1977), Plate 44.

54 See Gachde's articles on the pictorial sources for the illustrations in *FMS*, cited above n. 13.

55 On the identification and date of the manuscript see E. Kantorowicz, 'The Carolingian king in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura', *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in honour of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr* (Princeton 1955), pp. 287-30.

56 Colour reproduction, Hubert, *Carolingian Art*, Plate 129, p. 139.

57 Colour reproduction, Hubert, *Carolingian Art*, Plate 128, p. 138 or Mutherich and Gachde, *Carolingian Painting*, Plate 22.

simply seventy-four large and intricately patterned initials, of which the beginning of the Book of Genesis from f.11^r is a fine example.⁵⁸

The artist Liuthard was responsible for the painting in Charles the Bald's Psalter, and his work is to be seen in two other manuscripts of the 'Hofschule', Darmstadt Landesbibliothek 746 and the Munich Codex Aureus, (where he is described, with Berengar, as the scribe) the former earlier and the latter later than the Psalter. Of a similar date to the Psalter, but with rather more elaborate presentation of the figures and decorated borders is the Sacramentary fragment, now Paris BN lat. 1141, which appears to have been destined to mark the coronation of Charles as king of Lotharingia in 869, but was never completed.⁵⁹ On f.2^v a young Frankish prince, flanked by two bishops, is being crowned.⁶⁰ The figures have been variously interpreted as Clovis between Saints Remigius and Arnulf (!) or Charles the Bald between bishops Adventius of Metz and Hincmar of Rheims, and the fact that all three figures are nimbed has bothered many art historians. The lettering in the bottom panel of this picture (again painted purple) has in fact come through from the other side of the leaf; it is a great pity the inscription intended for this scene was never added. The characteristic decorative motifs are employed. There is the acanthus leaf border (Fig. 20.2) and the very distinctive use of colour: brownish red, green and blue predominate, the details of the lobes in the acanthus leaves, of the rosettes at the centre of each border, and of the fans in the corners are again picked out in white and gold (Fig.20.2). The clouds above and below the figures and the deep blue background are singular features of this manuscript; Koehler has noted how some of the pictures are zoned like ivory panels.⁶¹ On f.5^r are striking half-figures of saints and angels, while the border is again richly decorated with the characteristic leaf pattern but with an additional bejewelled gold band like that in the Prayerbook (Fig. 20.3). The most resplendent of the 'Hofschule' manuscripts, however, is the Codex Aureus.⁶² It is dated c. 870 and represents the culmination of the 'Hofschule' style. Every square millimetre on the decorated pages is filled with rich colour and ornamental detail.⁶³ The portrait (f.5^v) of the king enthroned and flanked by faithful retainers and angels glitters with gold leaf.⁶⁴ The decorated borders throughout the book vary considerably in intricacy, with sequences of patterns being employed and gold used to pick out every detail. The ornamented initials, of which the M on f.44^v

58 Colour reproduction, Mütterich and Gachde, *Carolingian Painting*, Plate 48.

59 A full facsimile was published by F. Mütterich, *Sakramentar von Metz, Fragment: ms lat. 1141 Bibliothèque Nationale Paris*. Codices selecti phototypice impressi 28 (Graz 1972).

60 Colour reproduction, Hubert, *Carolingian Art*, Plate 140, p. 152.

61 Colour reproduction, *ibid.*, Plate 141, p. 152.

62 Full facsimile ed., G. Leidinger, *Der Codex Aureus* (Munich 1921-5).

63 See for example the ornamented initial reproduced by J. J. G. Alexander, *The Decorated Letter* (London 1978), Plate 10.

64 Colour reproduction Hubert, *Carolingian Art*, Plate 137, p. 149 or Mütterich and Gachde, *Carolingian Painting*, Plate 37.

(Fig. 20.4) is only a minor example, are calligraphic masterpieces; the script of the text is a regular stately uncial, though some elegant minuscule is used as well.

The distinguishing feature, if one can call it that, of the 'Hofschule' group as a whole is its eclecticism: the painting and decoration reflect stylistic influences from various centres, the most important of which are the styles of Rheims, Tours and Metz. This very eclecticism seems to me to be what one might expect from a group of artists from different centres gathered together by a patron in order to produce books for his personal use. The 'Hofschule' style, moreover, was not only a shortlived phenomenon - none of the manuscripts can be dated post-877 - it also appears to have had little influence on subsequent painting styles, apart from the iconography of Jerome in Charles the Bald's Psalter which seems to have influenced the Ottonian school of book painters at Cologne.⁶⁵

There may also have been ivory carvers, goldsmiths and silver-smiths working in conjunction with the 'Hofschule' artists. Products of these craftsmen are, according to Weitzmann, the ivory book covers of Charles the Bald's Psalter⁶⁶ (depicting scenes said to be taken from the Utrecht Psalter) and its borders of leather studded with precious stones and decorated with seed pearls and gold filigree; possibly the ivory book covers of Paris BN lat. 323; those of the Prayerbook; and the magnificent metalwork of the Codex Aureus binding.⁶⁷ The famous throne that Charles the Bald is thought to have presented to the pope on his coronation as emperor in 875 is decorated with ivory carvings (including a portrait of the king) which have been attributed to the same workshop as the ivory book covers of the Psalter and Prayerbook.⁶⁸ Eclecticism also appears to be a feature of these ivories: reminiscences of both the Rheims and Tours styles have been detected, but their strongest affinities are with the 'Hofschule' manuscripts. If ivory carvings, metalwork and decorated manuscripts of such high quality were produced in the same atelier, then we are dealing with a centre that could draw on the best talent available in the kingdom.

There have been a number of attempts to locate the atelier which produced the 'Hofschule' manuscripts. There are no strong palaeographical clues to their origin; discussing the script of Clm 14000, Bischoff says merely that the codices of the 'Hofschule' used to be ascribed to 'Corbie' and that St Denis is now favoured.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ C. Nordenfalk and A. Grabar, *Early Medieval Painting* (Lausanne 1957), pp. 195 and 203, and H. Schnitzler, 'Hieronymus und Gregor in der ottonischen Kölner Buchmalerei', *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für H. Kauffmann*, ed. W. Braunfels (Berlin 1956), pp. 11-18.

⁶⁶ Colour reproduction, Hubert, *Carolingian Art*, Plates 231 and 232, pp. 252 and 253.

⁶⁷ Colour reproduction, *ibid.*, Plate 235, p. 25. There is reason to believe however that the metalwork at least was produced at St Denis.

⁶⁸ K. Weitzmann, 'The iconography of the Carolingian ivories of the throne', *La cattedra lignea di S. Pietro in Vaticano, Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, serie III, *Memorie X*, (Vatican 1971), pp. 217-45. See too the papers by P. E. Schramm and F. Mütterich in this volume.

⁶⁹ B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit I* (Wiesbaden 1974), p. 225.

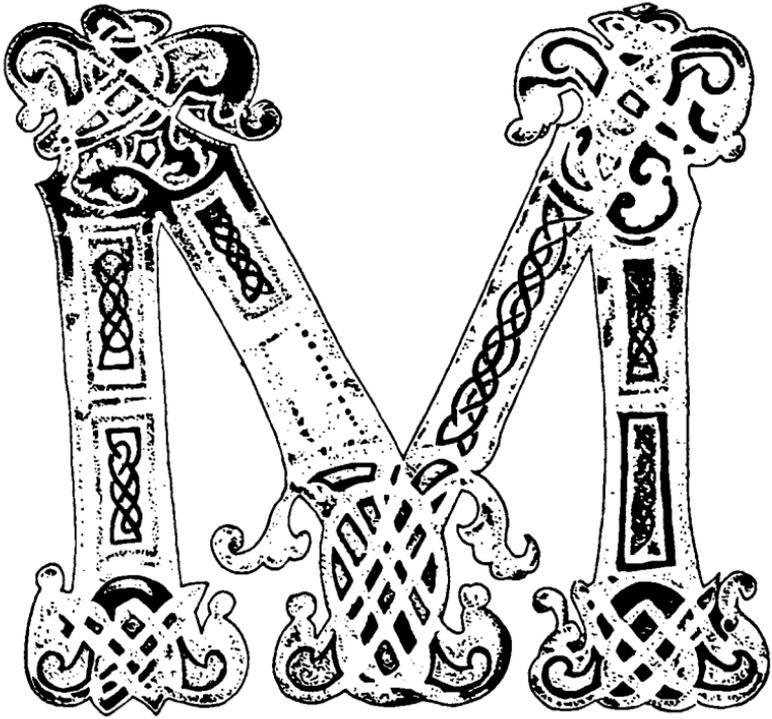


Figure 20.4: Initial M from the Codex Aureus

Munich, Staatsbibl, Clm 14000, f.44: actual size 103 x 108 mm

St Denis may well be a possibility, but the arguments in its favour are unconvincing.⁷⁰ Corbie may also be rejected on palaeographical grounds. In 1968 Bischoff expressed the opinion, in conversation, that Darmstadt 746, one of the earliest of the 'Hofschule' manuscripts, might have been written at Soissons; but he does not seem to have extended this attribution to cover the other manuscripts in this group.⁷¹ On art-historical grounds the 'Hofschule' manuscripts can be assigned definitely neither to Rheims nor to Tours nor to Metz. In 1957 Nordenfalk made the tentative suggestion that the 'Hofschule' should be located at Compiègne.⁷² The only argument, as distinct from doubt, produced against his view was that as the monastery of St Mary's at Compiègne was not founded until 875 or 877, then the possibility of Compiègne had to be ruled out.⁷³ But this rests on the unwarranted assumption that only monks in a monastery could paint books, and ignores the significance of the eclecticism of the 'Hofschule' codices. The 'Hofschule' atelier was active from, at the very earliest, the early 860's until 877. The evidence for the palace school dates from the mid-860's and the 870's. Compiègne itself was the palace most favoured by Charles the Bald, particularly from the mid-860's onwards. I should like, therefore, to revive Nordenfalk's suggestion with regard to the manuscripts and locate the 'Hofschule' atelier, as well as the palace school, at Compiègne.

The evidence for the work of the palace school and 'Hofschule' that I have examined in this paper indicates how prominent a position the royal court enjoyed in the promotion of Carolingian culture. Yet the abundant evidence for intellectual and artistic activity in centres other than the court, including those particularly favoured by Charles the Bald, suggests that it was royal patronage that was of fundamental importance for Carolingian culture, at least in the western kingdom, in the third quarter of the ninth century. Rather than Charles the Bald's favour being reserved for those who may have been at court, the web of royal patronage extended far and wide in the kingdom.

Additional note

Since this paper was written, the most important publication on the palace school manuscripts has appeared, namely, W. Koehler and F. Mütterich, *Die Karolingische Miniaturen V: Die Hofschule Karls des Kahlens* (Berlin 1982).

⁷⁰ I have discussed my reasons more fully in my article cited above n.15.

⁷¹ Cited by L. Eizenhofer and H. Knaus, *Die liturgischen Handschriften der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt 2* (Wiesbaden 1968), p. 93.

⁷² C. Nordenfalk and A. Grabar, *Early Medieval Painting*, p. 154, (he did, however, say 'the court monastery in Compiègne', so earns some of the criticism levelled at him).

⁷³ For example, M. Vieillard-Troiekouff, *art. cit.* above n. 37, p. 96.

CHARLES THE BALD AND THE *CATHEDRA PETRI**

Lawrence Nees

When in 1968 the *Cathedra Petri* preserved inside Bernini's monumental reliquary in the apse of the Basilica of St Peter in the Vatican was first made available for study,¹ most scholars immediately concluded that the throne as a whole was unmistakably Carolingian, and after some initial consternation this conclusion has been accepted by nearly all who have written about it.² Even before 1968, Percy Ernst Schramm had concluded, on the basis of the then very unsatisfactory evidence of an old photograph and a group of drawings, that the throne had originally been made for Charles the Bald.³ After closer examination of the object, the basis for a Carolingian dating of the throne was obvious and unmistakable. Set into the vertical and horizontal wooden framing elements of the

* This brief note is based upon my detailed exposition of the complicated technical, stylistic, iconographic, and historical problems posed by the *Cathedra Petri*, concentrating especially upon the extraordinary Hercules ivories that decorate its front, to be published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in 1990 or 1991 as *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court*. I am grateful to Margaret Gibson for her invitation to contribute to the present volume.

¹ See Fig. 21.1. The original and still fundamental publication is M. Maccarrone *et al.*, eds., *La Cattedra lignea di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana de Archeologia, ser. III, Memorie X (Vatican City 1971).

² See for an extended study N. Staubach, *Das Herrscherbild Karls des Kahlen. Formen und Funktionen monarchischer Repräsentation im früheren Mittelalter* (Ph.D. dissertation, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, 1981), esp. pp. 1-13, with extensive literature to that date. The idea that if not the entirety of the *cathedra* then at least its Hercules panels might stem from the Early Christian period was long maintained by M. Guarducci, *La Cattedra di San Pietro nella scienza e nella fede* (Rome 1982), esp. pp. 48-57. This book essentially repeats the arguments of the author's earlier publication, 'Gli avori Ercolei della Cattedra di San Pietro', *Atti della Accademia dei Lincei*. Anno 368, Memorie, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, ser. 8, vol. 16, fasc. 5 (Rome 1972), pp. 263-350, while discarding all of the various technical and palaeographical evidence that has come to light since the appearance of that study. For the Carolingian data of these panels see especially K. Weitzmann, 'The Heracles Plaques of St. Peter's Cathedra', *Art Bulletin* 55 (1973), pp. 1-37. Weitzmann subsequently published a detailed response to Guarducci's 1972 publication of the throne as 'An Addendum to "The Heracles Plaques of St. Peter's Cathedra"', *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), pp. 248-252.

³ P. E. Schramm, 'Die *Cathedra St. Petri* in der Peterskirche zu Rom', in his *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart 1956), 3, pp. 694-707.

high-backed, pedimented chair, were narrow strips of ivory carved in relief. A large number of these ivory strips presented figures in vine scrolls, while many others were given over to purely ornamental decoration, utilising both classicising acanthus rinceaux and geometric patterns, now universally seen to be 'typically Carolingian' work of the late Carolingian schools of Metz and or of the Court School of Charles the Bald.⁴ At the centre of the horizontal cross bar at the pediment's base was a half-length figure of a crowned ruler holding an orb and a short sceptre, flanked by angels presenting crowns, a ruler whom Schramm identified as Charles the Bald.⁵ Because of its location in Rome, the *cathedra* was immediately associated by many scholars with Charles's assumption of the Roman imperial title in St Peter's basilica, on Christmas Day, 875, and it was presumed to have been brought to the city by or for Charles the Bald at that time. How confident can we be that the *Cathedra Petri* was in fact made for Charles the Bald?

Recognition of Schramm's natural predisposition to recognise in the ivory portrait proof that the *Cathedra Petri* was in fact made for Charles the Bald, thus confirming his own earlier hypothesis, may alert other scholars to treat his identification with caution, but is not therefore necessarily an indication that this identification of the portrait was mistaken. Obviously one cannot say whether or not the image on the *Cathedra Petri* captures the 'true likeness' of Charles the Bald, although it is similar to portraits probably and assuredly of that monarch on the small bronze equestrian portrait from Metz and in the Codex Aureus of St Emmeram.⁶ Certainly the portrait features are closer to those of Charles the Bald than to any other monarch of the period, and clearly much closer than portraits of Ottonian rulers, generally portrayed either clean-shaven or with full beard. Schramm also argued that the presence of the globe and short sceptre are indicative of this ruler, as is the emphasis on offering of palms, although it could of course be argued that the regalia and iconography of other rulers, of which we are totally ignorant, might have taken on the same form. In short, the portrait evidence is consistent with an identification with Charles the Bald and indeed makes him the most likely candidate for identification as the ruler depicted on the *Cathedra Petri*, and no one has cited evidence pointing in a different direction, but the evidence is not entirely conclusive.

⁴ See F. Mültherich, 'Der Elfenbeinschmuck des Thrones', in *Cattedra lignea*, pp. 253-273. More recently see D. Gaborit-Chopin, *Elfenbeinkunst im Mittelalter* (trans. from the original *Ivoires du Moyen Age* by G. Bloch and R. Beyer) (Berlin 1978), pp. 73-77.

⁵ See Fig. 21.2. Cf. P. E. Schramm, 'Kaiser Karl der Kahle, der Stifter des Thrones in St. Peter', in *Cattedra lignea*, pp. 277-293, especially pp. 287-289 for historical and stylistic arguments supporting a dating of the throne (without distinguishing among its different parts) during the period 870-875, that is, after the coronation in Metz in 869. For a more recent and also brief discussion of the *Cathedra* see *idem*, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit 751-1190*, new revised edition, ed. F. Mültherich (Munich 1983), no. 42, pp. 172-173, with a dating 'um 870'.

⁶ For these portraits see Schramm and Mültherich, *Kaiser und Könige* nos. 43 and 40 respectively.



Figure 21.1 *The Cathedra Petri*

It can be said flatly that no explicit evidence links the surviving *cathedra* with Charles the Bald's coronation as Roman emperor in 875. Earlier references which may pertain to the throne reach back into the eleventh century, but the first certain references to the *cathedra* in connection with St Peter's in Rome are found in a sermon by St Anthony of Padua dated 1231 which speaks of the *cathedra materialis* being displayed to the populace, and a Bull of Pope Nicholas III dated 1279 which speaks of it being carried in a procession.⁷ In his study of the history of the *cathedra*, Michele Maccarrone suggested that the throne first appeared as the *Cathedra Petri* in Roman historical sources in the context of the disputed papal election of 1130,⁸ and there is no compelling evidence for its presence in Rome prior to that date. It could conceivably have arrived heaven only knows when and how. However, circumstantial evidence supports the *cathedra's* arrival in Rome in connection with Charles the Bald in or shortly after 875. The closest visual comparison for the unusual arcaded and pedimented throne as preserved in the *cathedra* is found in a portrait of Charles the Bald from his Bible now preserved in the monastery of S. Paolo fuori le mura in Rome. This manuscript is certainly strongly associated with and was probably produced in the scriptorium working for Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims and was probably written in ca.870. Although the S. Paolo Bible too can only be proven to have been in Italy in the eleventh century, it is most likely and as far as I know universally granted by scholars that the Bible was brought to Rome by Charles the Bald in or about 875, most likely for presentation to the Pope.⁹ The burden of proof, it seems to me, rests with those who would separate the histories of these two luxurious works of art, not with those who would link them. As in the case of the portrait evidence, the historical evidence is entirely consistent with the identification of the ruler on the *cathedra* as Charles the Bald, and makes him the most likely candidate, and again no one has profered even an alternative much less a better explanation for how the *cathedra* came to be in Rome if Charles the Bald did not bring it. Again the evidence is not absolutely conclusive, but it is strong.

The first stage of the throne could have been executed as early as the late 840's, although a date in the later 850's or 860's seems preferable on most grounds, including those of style, which connect its relief ivories very closely with the so-called 'Court School of Charles the Bald' variously located by scholars at St. Denis, Rheims, or seen as at least intermittently peripatetic, and with the group

⁷ See M. Maccarrone, 'La storia della Cattedra', in *Cattedra lignea*, pp. 3-70.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20. I hope to provide further evidence for this hypothesis in a forthcoming study devoted to the so-called 'Tomb of Archbishop Hincmar' from St Rémi in Rheims.

⁹ For a discussion of the history of the manuscript, with survey of the earlier literature, see J. Gaehde, 'The Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome: its date and its relation to Charles the Bald', *Gesta* 5 (1966), pp. 1-21, and a brief summary in F. Mütterich and J. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting* (New York 1976), p. 16 and figs. 42-45 (with commentary and description).

of ivories commonly known as the 'Metz group'.¹⁰ According to Florentine Mütterich's fundamental study of the stylistic character of the ivories, various factors such as the very close ornamental connections with the Sacramentary in Paris which stems from Metz, suggest that the throne was very likely made in connection with Charles the Bald's coronation as king of Lotharingia at Metz in 869.¹¹ The luxurious grandeur of the conception does make it very tempting to see some connection with Charles the Bald's assumption of the kingdom of Lotharingia in 869, which gave him control of the symbolically important capital city of his grandfather Charlemagne at Aachen, but there is no definite evidence to support this reasonable speculation.

The style and unusual incised technique of the Hercules ivories initially caused some scholars to envisage their production in the Late Antique period and in the eastern Mediterranean,¹² but Kurt Weitzmann convincingly linked them with the Carolingian period and (although this was not his intent or conclusion) with material produced at centres such as Tours and Rheims in the territories of Charles the Bald.¹³ Danielle Gaborit-Chopin has left open the possibility that the ivories might have been produced in the Lotharingian territories, in or near Metz, at a date still during the reign of the Emperor Lothar, but her point is really that identification of the date and place of production of later Carolingian ivories remains fraught with difficulties, and should not be approached too dogmatically. In the final analysis she too finds association with Charles the Bald the most likely explanation for the stylistic character of the *Cathedra Petri* ivories.¹⁴ Recently I have argued that the evidence of some little-known drawings on fly-leaves in an unusually luxurious collection of capitularies made at Hincmar's Rheims, perhaps as a copy for Charles the Bald himself, links that manuscript with the Hercules ivories of the *cathedra*, and thus suggests a close association of the production of the *cathedra* with Hincmar and Rheims, and thus as readers of the present volume surely do not need to be informed, with Charles the Bald.¹⁵ Once again the available stylistic evidence derived from the study of the ivories of the *cathedra* links it strongly, if inconclusively, with Charles the Bald.

¹⁰ See on the stylistic character and affiliations of the ivories Mütterich, 'Elfenbeinschmuck', in *Cattedra lignea*, pp. 253-273. For A. Goldschmidt's fundamental discussion of the Metz group see his *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser, VIII.-IX. Jahrhundert* 1, *Denkmäler Deutschen Kunst* (Berlin 1914), pp. 38-45; Goldschmidt treated separately another and larger group of ivories which he termed the 'Jüngere Metzger Schule', pp. 46-59. For the most recent discussion of the Metz ivories see Robert Melzak, *The Carolingian Ivory Carvings of the Later Metz Group* (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1983).

¹¹ Mütterich, 'Elfenbeinschmuck', pp. 271-273.

¹² P. Romanelli, 'La decorazione in avorio', in *Cattedra lignea*, pp. 191-216, and Guarducci (above, note 2).

¹³ Weitzmann, 'Heracles plaques', pp. 17, 18, 21, 23, 25 and 32.

¹⁴ Gaborit-Chopin, *Elfenbeinkunst*, pp. 74-76.

¹⁵ L. Nees, 'Unknown Carolingian Drawings of Hercules from the Scriptorium of Reims and the *Cathedra Petri* Ivories', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 46 (1988), pp. 37-54.



Figure 21.2 Portrait panel from the *Cathedra Petri*

Some doubts have been expressed concerning the certainty of the identification of the king represented on the throne with Charles the Bald, especially by Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, in his review of the original Vatican publication.¹⁶ A Carbon-14 dating of the wood of the throne suggested a range of dates ranging from ca. 960 to ca. 1200 A.D.,¹⁷ and since this range appeared to conflict with relatively abundant stylistic and historical evidence placing the manufacture of the throne in the ninth century rather than later, the authors of the Carbon-14 study themselves suggested that their reading was faulty because of repairs to the wood or other unknown factors. Although Schimmelpfennig acknowledged the unreliability of Carbon-14 dating in so recent an object and narrow a range,¹⁸ he was understandably troubled by what he took as the dismissal of the problematic Carbon-14 date, and by the apparent failure to consider other possibilities, especially an Ottonian production. He also objected to the unsatisfying account of the historical connections between the *cathedra* and papal coronations.

Schimmelpfennig's scepticism is certainly healthy, and he is clearly correct in pointing to the many essential historical questions left unanswered and even unasked in the original publication, and in subsequent studies. The problem of the late Carbon-14 dating remains unexplained, to the best of my knowledge, but the fact remains that far more accurate and reliable is the dendrochronological dating of the oak structure of the throne, which can convincingly date the attached ivories to roughly the third quarter of the ninth century, and show that the *Cathedra Petri* was manufactured in northeast Francia, in the general region of Metz.¹⁹ This

¹⁶ B. Schimmelpfennig, 'Die in St. Peter verehrte *Cathedra Petri*. Bemerkungen zu einer unlängst erschienenen Publikation', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 53 (1973), pp. 385-394.

¹⁷ M. Alessio, F. Bella, C. Cortesi, F. Fornasari, and B. Turi, 'Datazione con il metodo del Carbonio-14 di alcune strutture della cattedra lignea in S. Pietro', in *Cattedra lignea*, pp. 173-82.

¹⁸ Schimmelpfennig, 'Cathedra Petri', pp. 387-388: 'sind ja auch die Mängel der C14-Methode bekannt'.

¹⁹ See E. Hollstein, 'Die Cathedra Lignea von St. Peter im Vatikan. Jahrringchronologie', in M. Maccarrone et al., eds., *Nuove ricerche sulla cattedra lignea di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, ser. III, Memorie in 8^o vol. 1 (Vatican City 1975), pp. 79-103, esp. p. 98, and *idem*, *Mitteuropäische Eichenchronologie. Trierer dendrochronologische Forschungen zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte, Trierer Grabungen und Forschungen* 11 (Mainz 1980), p. 170. Hollstein's first publication, 'Jahrringchronologische Untersuchung des Thrones im St. Petersdom', in *Cattedra Lignea*, pp. 171-172, took the form of a letter in response to the article in the 1971 volume by E. Corona which suggested rather a date of 871/2-881/2 for this part of the throne; see E. Corona, 'Indagine dendrochronologica', in *Cattedra Lignea*, pp. 165-170 and his letter replying to Hollstein's contribution on p. 172, which continues to hold to a dating in the second half of the ninth century. Corona presented another and more detailed study in the 1975 volume, 'Indagini tecnologiche e dendrochronologiche sulla cattedra', in *Nuove ricerche*, pp. 107-132. The disagreement between the two scholars is, for the present context, minor, since both place the *cathedra* in the second half of the ninth century, making the identification of the portrait with Charles the Bald possible but not necessary, while ruling out any Ottonian connections.

evidence, although it cannot rule out the possibility of identification with Emperor Lothar or his son Lothar II, is once again consistent with and supportive of an identification of the ruler portrayed on the *cathedra* as Charles the Bald.

In the final analysis the critical and decisive factor in the identification of the ruler portrayed on the *Cathedra Petri* ought to be historical in the broadest sense. What does the portrait and the character of the *cathedra* as a whole say about the nature and responsibilities of a ruler? How can we understand the work's message, and with what ruler is that particular message most likely associated? Unfortunately this most critical and most interesting question is also the most complicated and difficult. The meaning of the *cathedra* is highly controversial, has already elicited a number of extended studies,²⁰ and indeed forces us to expand our notion of the range and character of Carolingian artistic representations of rulership.²¹ The *cathedra* must be placed into an historical context of political events and within the vast and diverse Carolingian speculation concerning rulership expressed in various *Fürstenspiegel* and other writings.²² It is my own view that the apparently unusual features of the *cathedra* in fact accord very well with the major themes of the writings of Hincmar of Rheims and other figures close to Charles the Bald, and that the production of this most unusual work can be understood within the particular historical circumstances of Charles's reign. This is not the place to expand upon this bare assertion, however. In the present context, it is my simple hope to suggest that, although the identification of the ruler on the *Cathedra Petri* with Charles the Bald may be unproven, the combination of the very abundant available technical, stylistic, iconographic and historical evidence, make that identification overwhelmingly likely unless and until convincing arguments to the contrary are brought forward.

²⁰ Among many others see especially N. Gussone and N. Staubach, 'Zur Motivkreis und Sinngehalt der *Cathedra Petri*', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 9 (1975), pp. 334-358, and C. Frugoni, 'L'ideologia del potere imperiale nella Cattedra di San Pietro', *Bolletino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 86 (1976-1977), pp. 67-181.

²¹ D. Gaborit-Chopin, review of *Cattedra lignea* and of Weitzmann, 'Heracles Plaques', in *Bulletin monumental* 131 (1973), pp. 286-291.

²² For the *Fürstenspiegel*, see H. H. Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, *Bonner Historische Forschungen* 32 (Bonn 1968).

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