CREATIVE SELECTION BETWEEN EMENDING AND FORMING MEDIEVAL MEMORY

Edited by Sebastian Scholz and Gerald Schwedler

Creative Selection between Emending and Forming Medieval Memory

Millennium-Studien

zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr.

Millennium Studies

in the culture and history of the first millennium C.E.

―――

Volume 96

Creative Selection between Emending and Forming Medieval Memory

——

Edited by Sebastian Scholz and Gerald Schwedler

Vorwort der Herausgeber

Der vorliegende Band geht aus der Tagung „Creative Selection. Emending and Forming Medieval Memory" von 3.– 5. November 2016 am Historischen Seminar der Universität Zürich hervor. Anlass der Beschäftigung mit dem Thema war das einflussreiche Buch von Patrick Geary *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium,* das 1994 erschien, aber, wie uns scheint, immer noch aktuell ist. Denn gerade bei mittelalterlichen Texten zeigt sich deutlich, welche Bedeutung die Autoren bei der Gestaltung und Erschaffung von Erinnerung, dem gestalterischen, ja kreativen Element bei *oblivio* und *selectio* zusprachen. Daraus ergibt sich indes, dass es heutigen Historikerinnen und Historikern wie Rechtshistorikerinnen und Rechtshistorikern bei in Bezug auf mittelalterliche Texte nicht nur um ein Analysieren des positiv Belegbaren gehen kann, sondern dass auch die unterschiedlichen Formen der Auswahl und Anordnung des präsentierten Materials berücksichtigt werden muss. Durch geschickte Selektion können Texte zur gegenteiligen Aussage verkehrt werden. So sind über die bewährten Analyseperspektiven bezüglich eines Formens, Verformens und Umformens der Überlieferung sowie den durchaus steuerbaren Mechanismen eines Vergessens eben auch jene kreativen Elemente im Bereich der Materialauswahl stärker zu berücksichtigen. Die Malleabilität von Geschichte und Erinnerung, also das nicht immer friktionsfreie „Hämmern" in neue Formen ohne dadurch zu Brüchen zu führen, basiert essenziell auf der jeweils eingesetzten Kreativität und Fähigkeit, sie für neue Sinnzusammenhänge anzupassen.

Die Beiträge dieses Bandes verfolgen die Überlegungen zum Umgang mit dem Wissen über die Vergangenheit und der Konstruktion von Vergangenheit im Mittelalter weiter und beschäftigen sich mit der Frage, wohin uns Gearys überaus anregende Gedanken heute führen. So soll durch die Beiträge demonstriert werden, wie wichtig es ist, sich mit der kreativen Selektion bezüglich vergangener historiographischer Texte auseinanderzusetzten, die unsere Bilder der mittelalterlichen Lebenswelt prägen.

Danken möchten wir der Universität Zürich und dem Schweizer Nationalfonds für die finanzielle Unterstützung sowie dem Redaktionsteam, allen voran Daniela Wiesli und Lisa Busch, Marie Jäcker und Joanna Tonis. Der Dank gilt insbesondere auch den Gutachtern und den Herausgebern der Reihe der Millennium Studien, die die Publikation in dieser Reihe ermöglicht haben.

Zürich/ Kiel den 23.10.2020

Contents

Sebastian Scholz, Gerald Schwedler

Less is More. Medieval Memory as Process of Creative Selection. An Introduction

There is neither the capacity nor a necessity to store everything that can be known. Information about the past in particular cannot be retained in its entirety. In order to be used and made fruitful in new circumstances it has to be organized, arranged and above all: selected. Data from the past accumulates in every generation until it is no longer manageable and understandable; the past becomes a burden. In this sense, the process of selection must be regarded as the fundamental moment – the *Urszene* – of making History, that is, the selection and transformation of an incoherent series of data from the past into coherent historical narratives. Yet selection is not only a rational and intentional process that reduces information: it also implies the unlikely survival of the most condensed texts. Above all, the process of selection depends on many incalculable factors, such as the author who takes decisions to reduce and arrange information, the audiences being guided by their own interests and the media and material transmission. In all three fields, creativity plays an important role, when details from the past are chosen to form part of the reservoir of knowledge for the next generation.

The Middle Ages present an especially extensive field of examples, where contemporary authors and political decision-makers used historical memory for their own purposes. They reduced the material available in order to make the vast 'halls of memory' manageable and manoeuvrable for their own times. In selecting, they made arguments from the past more effective and convincing: less is more. However, selection was many faceted, as it was used to defend or define tradition, consolidate or challenge power, validate or question perspectives, create or deconstruct legitimizing links to the past that have an impact on the future. The right selection of elements could be used as an argumentative base for one side or another.

The handling of historic details by medieval authors has always attracted interest. Authors' manipulation of the past has been analysed as well as their authenticity and reliability, their narrative strategies and even qualities as managers of collective memories and forgers. In 1994, however, a new perspective was established with Patrick Geary's *Phantoms of Remembrance*. His book was an attempt to understand the complex process of constructing memory through non-linear, irrational and subjective means, to "retrieve all sorts of information that together provide the referential field within which to experience and evaluate their daily experiences and to prepare for the future."[1] Various authors and genres have since been reassessed in the light of

---

[1] Patrick J. Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium, Princeton 1994, 28.

Geary's focus on the subjective and even sentimental moments of creating memory, creativity, phantasy and even the allowance of phantoms.

By way of introduction, we want to emphasize the importance of the creative element within the selective strategies of the Early Middle Ages. An initial perspective is early medieval historiography and the creation of influential texts about the past. A second perspective is the creation of memory within one of the most influential institutions, the Papacy.

Creative Selection in Narrative Perspective

When producing narratives about the past – be it through historiography, monuments, even the *narrationes* in documents or any other medium of History – creators of historic fabric have always known more material and sources than they reproduced in their works. They selected their material carefully and – creatively. Metaphorically speaking, historical works can be compared to icebergs with only 15% visible and 85% hidden below the surface i.e. in references, footnotes or implications. The strength of an author is not to tell everything but the intended storyline. As we will see, medieval authors elaborated their truths often from authoritative pre-existing works. They did not copy everything but had to select, shorten and condense. Without massive manipulation, yet by way of intelligent and most creative selection they were able to find 'their' truths in the old texts, eventually contradicting the old texts.[2] This is because to select means to make decisions about what to keep and what to omit. Only very few chroniclers of the Middle Ages admit their selective practice by using the straightforward term *omissio*. In prefaces and prologues they rather use formulations such as *selectio, scinderatio, eligere, scarpere* or, as Fredegar uniquely put it, *sigillare.*[3] To medieval chroniclers, selection did not seem a topic to theorize about but rather to put into practice.

This certainly has to do with the fact that omissio and oblivio were closely related phenomena but disliked in general. Oblivion had the most negative image due to its uncontrollable and allegedly diabolical nature. What we know from the remaining writings from the Middle Ages – a highly selective collection of documents – is that forgetting was seen negatively. Forgetting damaged one of the most human characteristics, *memoria*. According to Augustine, human memory was of such an impor-

---

2 Herwig Wolfram, Einleitung oder Lügen mit der Wahrheit: Ein historiographisches Dilemma, in: Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter, ed. by Anton Scharer, Georg Scheibelreiter, Vienna et al. 1994, 11–25.

3 Fredegar, *Chronicarum Fredegarii scholastici libri IV cum continuationibus*, IV, prologue, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in: MGH SS rer. Merov. 2, Hanover 1888, 123: ... *his quinque chronicis huius libelli nec plurima pretermissa siggyllatem congruentia stilo inserui, quod illi sollertissime absque reprehensionem condederunt.*

tance as God himself was to be found there.[4] Oblivion in turn distanced man from his self as well as from God. Even our modern fear of Alzheimer's still transmits these negative notions about oblivion as deficiency of memory and the loss of self.

It is therefore not surprising that medieval historians distance themselves in prologues and argumentative passages from the accusation of neglectful oblivion or even intentional omission. Be it late antique authors such as Eusebe, Orose, early medieval historiographers such as Gregory of Tours, Einhard, Thietmar of Merseburg or later writers, they all formulate a necessity to avoid omission and express their vision of historiographical "pursuit of completeness".[5] The famous curse of Gregory of Tours in book 10 explicitly includes the demand that later authors should refrain from omitting or rewriting material from his chronicle.[6] Ironically, only few medieval historiographers have been rewritten and used selectively like him. In the historiographical Fredegar collection, finalized in the 660s, almost 85% of Gregory's material was discarded, counting the lines in the MGH-edition.[7] That means only 15% surfaced – we remember the iceberg. Gregory was forced under the surface, while the creative selection in the Fredegar collection used the gaps and lacunae to construct a completely new history.

All this is not new. The function of oblivion has been elaborately shown by Patrick Geary in his 1994 book *Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*. Today, more than two decades later, these ideas are still relevant and it is time to reflect again on one of the central topics in the book: creative selection and the importance of forgetting. The warnings of his colleagues and the anonymous reviewer did not prevent Patrick Geary from touching on such an ephemeral and methodically difficult phenomenon.[8] The reviewer was of the conviction that writing about "scanty records" would be nothing more than trying to make *ex silentio* assertions. If Patrick Geary wanted to write on "structures of forgetting" the reviewer counselled: "Forget it." Yet he or she was only a reviewer, and positi-

---

4 Augustinus, *Confessiones* X, 35, Sed ubi manes in memoria mea, Domine, ubi illic manes?; cf. Gerard J. P. O'Daly, Remembering and Forgetting in Augustine, Confessions X., in: Memoria – Vergessen und Erinnern, ed. by Anselm Haverkamp et al., Munich 1993, 31–46.
5 Peter Johanek, Die Wahrheit der mittelalterlichen Historiographien, in: Fritz Peter Knapp, Manuela Niesener (eds.), Historisches und fiktionales Erzählen im Mittelalter, Berlin 2002, 9–25.
6 Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum decem*, X, 31, ed. by Bruno Krusch, Wilhelm Levison, in: MGH SS rer. Merov. 1,1, Hanover ²1937–1951, 536.
7 When it came to the vast number of episcopal episodes: from more than 200 bishops in medieval Gaul, he only mentioned eight in his book which was based on Gregory. Cf. also Gerald Schwedler, Lethe and "Delete". Discarding the Past in the Early Middle Ages. The Case of Fredegar, in: Collectors' Knowledge. What is Kept, What is Discarded = Aufbewahren oder wegwerfen. Wie Sammler entscheiden, ed. by Anja-Silvia Goeing et al., Leiden 2013, 71–96; Gerald Schwedler, Vergessen, Verändern und Verschweigen. *damnatio memoriae* im frühen Mittelalter, Cologne 2021 (Zürcher Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 9), 282–285.
8 Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance (note 1), xiii-xiv; cf. the French translation: La mémoire et oubli à la fin du premier millénaire, trad. par Jean-Pierre Ricard, Paris 1996.

vism was much stronger these days. In the meantime, the *Phantoms of Remembrance* were well received, and numerous other books and articles have appeared, focussing on forgetting and oblivion in the Middle Ages.[9] They refer to Patrick Geary's reflections that stand at the beginning of a growing field of oblivion studies. Like dwarfs on the shoulders of giants, as Bernhard of Chartres put it (1120), it is possible to see further. The view from Patrick Geary's shoulders – broad shoulders indeed – opens the horizon and gives a wide perspective to approach medieval societies and how they dealt with the phenomena of forgetting. And to add a small personal note, it was a vital experience for me, when I first read the 'Phantoms'. Patrick Geary demonstrated that to understand the workings of medieval memory, it was important to know but eventually leave the path of Maurice Halbwachs, Pierre Nora and Jan and Aleida Assmann and to reverse the perspective.[10] The fluidity of memory, that is temporal or permanent ignorance, as well as its relevance of individual and collective identity needed a historical perspective, not only the sociologists' view. From this angle, oblivion studies are concerned with social contexts on the one hand and with orders of knowledge, *Wissensgeschichte* on the other.

The *Phantoms of Remembrance* of the first millennium have led to new insights through the publication in 1994 and yet have furthered the understanding of dealing with losses in the field of Memory. Recent studies for the early Middle Ages have brought about a wholly new perspective on the usage of the past,[11] especially for the time of the Carolingians.[12] The perception grew that the past was practically 'manufactured' for the present, in order to change, underline or legitimize the one or the other perspective.[13] Above all, Patrick Geary emphasized the high level of re-

---

9 Still more interested in *memoria* than *oblivio* despite their titles: Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, "Memoria" e "oblivio": orizzonte concettuale e riflessione storiografica, in: Memoria, ed. by Michael Borgolte, Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, Hubert Houben, Bologna, Berlin 2005, 11–20; Johannes Fried, Erinnerung und Vergessen; Die Gegenwart stiftet die Einheit der Vergangenheit, in: Historische Zeitschrift 273 (2001), 561–593.

10 Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance (note 1), 10–11.

11 Helmut Reimitz, History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity (550–850), Cambridge 2015; Maximilian Diesenberger, Helmut Reimitz, Zwischen Vergangenheit und Zukunft. Momente des Königtums in der merowingischen Historiographie, in: Das frühmittelalterliche Königtum. Ideelle und religiöse Grundlagen, ed. by Franz-Reiner Erkens, Berlin 2005, 214–269, esp. 242–245; The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe, ed. by Clemens Gantner, Rosamond Mc Kitterick and Sven Meeder, Cambridge 2015; for general Kimberly Rivers, Memory and History in the Middle Ages, in: Writing the History of Memory, ed. by Stefan Berger, Bill Niven, London 2014, 47–64.

12 In general cf. the important study of Rosamond McKitterick, History and Memory in the Carolingian World, Cambridge 2004; also Geoffrey Koziol, The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas. The West Frankish Kingdom (840–987), Turnhout 2012 (Utrecht studies in medieval literacy 19); Mayke De Jong, The Resources of the Past: Paschasius Radbertus and his Epitaphium Arsenii, in: Exzerpieren. Kompilieren. Tradieren. Transformationen des Wissens zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter, ed. by Stephan Dusil et al., Berlin 2017, 131–152.

13 Cf. the practice to read the narratives of 'annals' from the perspective of a later *causa scribendi*: Matthias Becher, Eid und Herrschaft. Untersuchungen zum Herrscherethos Karls des Großen, Sigmar-

flection on oblivion among the medieval writers of history or documents. He made clear that contemporaries of the end of the first millennium were elaborate and partially more radical than various modern theories on oblivion. One of the most explicit medieval writers, who theorized about the need to forget, was Arnold of St Emmeram in Regensburg. In his hagiographic work on the Miracles of St Emmeram, which he wrote as provost of that monastery in Regensburg shortly after 1036, he stated: "Not only is it proper for the new things to change the old ones; if the old ones are disordered they should entirely be thrown away; yet if they conform to proper order of things but are of little use, they should be buried with reverence."[14]

Few medieval and modern thinkers are so explicit about leaving the past behind. Nonetheless, Arnold's uncompromising readiness to leave the past behind, highlighted by Patrick Geary in his work, has so far not entered the theories dealing with oblivion in history: in 'Memory studies', the research canon includes scholars from Halbwachs, Nora, Oexle and Assmann and operates with models from Cicero and the *rhetorica ad Herennium*.[15] On the other side 'Oblivion studies' are not established as institutionalized research perspectives and refer to a much smaller base of theoretical concepts. For various reasons, most of the earlier prominent writers on forgetting are rarely quoted, be it Francis Bacon, Friedrich Nietzsche or Michel Foucault. Such authors share Arnold's radical embracement of forgetting. Yet the theme of forgetting is still neglected in memory studies.[16] There still seems to be the bias that ob-

---

ingen 1993 (VuF. Sonderband 39); Rosamond McKitterick, Constructing the Past in the Early Middle Ages. The case of the Royal Frankish Annals, in: Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Ser. 6, vol. 7, 1997, 101–129; Yitzhak Hen, The Annals of Metz and the Merovingian Past, in: The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages, ed. by Yitzhak Hen, Matthew Innes, Cambridge 2000, 175–190; On the aspect of 'manufacturing' a past for the present: forgery and authenticity in medievalist texts and objects in nineteenth-century Europe, ed. by János M. Bak, Patrick J. Geary, Gábor Klaniczay, Leiden 2015 (National cultivation of culture 7). Cf. also Manufacturing Middle Ages: Entangled history of medievalism in nineteenth-century Europe, ed. by Patrick J. Geary, Gabor Klaniczay, Leiden 2013 (National cultivation of culture 6).

14 Arnold von St. Emmeram, *De miraculis beati Emmerami liber unus et De memoria beati Emmerami et eius cultorum alter liber*, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz, in: MGH SS 4, Hanover 1844, 547: *non solum novis vetera licet mutare, sed etiam, si sint inordinata, penitus abiicere, sin vero ordinaria sed minus utilia, cum veneratione sepelire*. See Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance (note 1), 7.

15 Maurice Halbwachs, La mémoire collective, Paris 1939; Maurice Halbwachs, Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire, Paris 1925. Pierre Nora (ed.), Les Lieux de mémoire, 3 vols., Paris 1984–1992; English translation: Rethinking France: Les Lieux de mémoire, vol. 1: The State, Chicago 1999; vol. 2: Space, Chicago 2006; vol. 3: Legacies, Chicago 2009; vol. 4: Histories and Memories, Chicago 2010. Jan Assmann, Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen, Munich 1999.

16 Gadi Algazi, Forget Memory. Some Critical Remarks on Memory, Forgetting and History, in: Damnatio in Memoria. Deformation und Gegenkonstruktionen in der Geschichte, ed. by Sebastian Scholz, Gerald Schwedler, Kai-Michael Sprenger, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna 2014 (Zürcher Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 2), 25–34; Lucie Doležalová, Tamás Visi, Revisiting Memory in the Middle Ages, in: The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages, ed. by Lucie Doležalová, Leiden, Boston 2010, 1–8.

livion is negative in itself, be it Umberto Eco with his article *An Ars oblivionalis? Forget it!* or Harald Weinrich with his study *Lethe* on forgetting in world literature and all those figureheads of the memory studies.[17] Only few studies underline the importance of the man-made aspect of forgetting.[18] Most recent works on forgetting, addressing themselves as exponents of obliviology, the study of oblivion, as for example the books of Oliver Dimbath in 2015 or Christine Abbt in 2016, have shown how important it is to combine critical theory of forgetting with historical examples.[19]

There is also another important aspect that Patrick Geary pointed out and which would be scrutinized later on by generations of researchers. Geary analysed the logics behind Arnold's suggestion to waste and bury history. The categories that Arnold emphasized to made selections were "order" and "usefulness".[20] It was the aspect of the usage of the past that proved most productive.[21] Despite the many titles of literature on memory and the uses of the past in the Middle Ages, to which modern researchers have contributed their share of pages, there are still many open questions. Yet, it has become clear that there is no general key to explain the aim and practice of historiography. Late antique and medieval authors used their pasts in many different ways, exploiting them for ideas and arguments in order to shape identities and communities.[22] In fact, recent research on historiography has focused not only on interdependencies and intertextual strategies but also on rewriting and compilation.[23]

Within the current interest in the uses of the past, the aspect of the abuse and manipulation of historiography came more to the centre of attention.[24] Patrick

---

17 Eco, Umberto, An Ars Oblivionalis? Forget it!, in: Publications of the Modern Language Association, 1988, 254–261.

18 Harriet Isabel Flower, The Art of Forgetting. Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture, Chapel Hill 2006.

19 Christine Abbt, "Ich vergesse". Über Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des Denkens aus philosophischer Perspektive, Frankfurt am Main 2016. Oliver Dimbath, Oblivionismus. Vergessen und Vergesslichkeit in der modernen Wissenschaft, Konstanz 2014.

20 Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance (note 1), 7–8.

21 Carole Ellen Straw, Richard Lim (eds.), The past before us: the challenge of historiographies of late antiquity, Turnhout 2005; Yitzhak Hen, Matthew J. Innes (eds.), The Uses of the Past in the early Middle Ages, Cambridge 2000.

22 Walter Pohl, Veronika Wieser (eds.), Historiography and Identity I: Ancient and Early Christian Narratives of Community, Turnhout 2019.

23 Rosamond McKitterick, History and memory in the Carolingian world, Cambridge et al. 2004; Histoire et memoire dans le monde carolingien, Turnhout 2009; Walter Pohl, Historiography and Identity: Methodological Perspectives, in: Historiography and Identity I (note 22), 7–50; Peter van Nuffelen, Clavis Historicorum Antiquitatis Posterioris: an inventory of Late Antique historiography (A.D. 300–800), Turnhout 2019; the Clavis is based on the free database https://www.late-antique-historiography.ugent.be/database/.

24 Walter Pohl, Ian Wood, Introduction: cultural memory and the resources of the past, in: The resources of the past (note 11), 1–14; Kai-Michael Sprenger, The Tiara in the Tiber. An Essay on the damnatio in memoria of Clement III (1084–1100) and Rome's River as a Place of Oblivion and Memory, in: Reti Medievali 13/1, 2012, 153–174.

Geary stipulated a strong argument with his statement that creativity and selectivity were of greater influence on the formation of medieval memory than thought before. It became clear that oblivion and manipulation as well as *damnatio memoriae* were central aspects for shaping and constructing individual and collective pasts. Yet the metaphor of the 'phantoms' as a phenomenon of vague and at the same time productive knowledge has not fully been exploited by research. To allow even more room for a positive evaluation of forgetting in the context of creative selection, it might be useful to present some outlines here.

Forgetting is certainly not the dark side of memory, in the way ignorance may be seen as the opposite of knowledge.[25] The difference is the elapse of time, producing not clear borders but vague zones of knowledge and half-knowledge, fantastically encapsulated in the word 'phantoms'. The power of the concept of forgetting lies in the fact that it is an ambiguous idea to indicate the precarious nature of memory and knowledge. Memory is ephemeral and prone to change and manipulation. However, there is wide agreement within memory studies that oblivion can be observed on an interpersonal level and therefore is a historical phenomenon.[26] Oblivion becomes visible, if at all, only from an ex-post perspective or from external sources. This means that the most fruitful approach to analyse oblivion is – despite the abundance of literary and sociological studies – the historical approach. Yet to delineate oblivion, it is important to refer to it in the epistemological categories. One can speak of specified oblivion, if an epistemic process took place whereby the borders between known and unknown were defined. This makes it possible to historicize oblivion, to analyse it as an entity that evolves and changes over time.[27]

Nevertheless, the concept of oblivion as an object of study also opens up the analysis of contexts in which contemporaries were ready to forget freely and times when the general atmosphere was to gather and treasure knowledge from the past. These conjunctures of oblivion are not necessarily parallel to great social changes such as floods, earthquakes and natural catastrophes or wars, epidemics and vast migration movements such as the *Völkerwanderung*. As it seems, the surroundings most inimical to medieval memory were renaissance and reform movements. It can be observed with the reform of the late Merovingian period, the renaissance of the Carolingian times or as Patrick Geary demonstrated, the renaissance of the 12th century. "Back-to-the-roots movements" had and have the attitude to unroot more than they protect.[28]

---

25 Gerald Schwedler, Kai-Michael Sprenger, Remembering and Forgetting, in: A Cultural History of Memory. The Middle Ages, ed. by Gerald Schwedler, London 2020, 147–163.

26 Cornel Zwierlein, Introduction: Towards a History of Ignorance, in: The Dark Side of Knowledge. Histories of Ignorance, 1400 to 1800, ed. by Cornel Zwierlein, Leiden 2016, 1–52, here 1.

27 Gerald Schwedler, Was heißt und zu welchem Ende untersucht man damnatio in memoria?, in: Damnatio in memoria (note 16), 9–24.

28 Constance Bouchard, An Age of Forgery, in: Rewriting Saints and Ancestors, Pennsylvania 2014, 63–86

Phantoms of remembrance in Papal Perspective

Patrick Geary presented basic considerations on how to deal with knowledge about the past and the construction of the past. In doing so, fundamental phenomena in dealing with the past became visible, which are valid for all epochs and also for the present time. They crystallize, among other things, in the questions of how the tradition of the past is preserved, who preserves it, who erases it and who can change it. These questions are central because power and authority over memory have always been important to political and religious leaders. It could be a matter of shaping memory in such a way that it became suitable for one's own self-understanding and demands. The construction of the past was and is a way of constructing the present in order to bring past and present into accord. There are therefore two levels that must be taken into account when dealing with memory. First, there is the history of memory, i.e. all questions concerning the handling of memory; and secondly, the content of memory. That is, which memory was transported, preserved, changed or erased.

The preoccupation with the first level, the history of memory, is a preoccupation with propaganda, with the question of deciding what to remember and how to remember it. But it is also an engagement with the intellectual traditions in which memory was understood and cultivated. Depending on the sources, it is possible to find out what people thought about the past, what memory techniques they used, and in which structures memory was preserved, organized and recalled. At this point the two levels intertwine. For the way in which the past is stored influences the process of how one remembers. A change in the way memory is stored influences its content. Thus, the content of the memory depends on the structures with whose help memories of all kinds are mediated, newly created or changed. The content of memory is therefore subject to a dynamic process and is altered by every change in the structures in which it is incorporated. The content of memory is thus strongly determined by the circumstances of time and external conditions. As a result, the content of memory can be changed, simplified, reinterpreted or even eliminated relatively quickly.

Patrick Geary considered all these elements to be particularly interesting for the 11th century, especially since it was here that the model for the development of high medieval society was created. The model of the culture of remembrance that he has designed, as I have just outlined, can of course be applied in principle to all epochs. In each case it can help us to understand the contemporary approach to memory – and of course this also means to understand the existing tradition – and thus allows us a new access to the sources. We will see how the access to the sources developed by Patrick Geary can be used for very different times and groups of sources.

Based on the approach of Patrick Geary, we would like to refer to the phenomenon of creative selection in the context of papacy. This question has always been of fundamental importance for the history of the pope: how is the tradition of the past preserved, who preserves it, who can change it or erase it. Yet, the construction

of tradition has been a reflected process in Christian thinking ever since. Long before the slogan "invention of tradition" was coined, implying the uncovering of a new perspective, the key concepts for making tradition, *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus* have been accepted for one and a half Millennia.[29]

As an example, we would like to use the letter of Pope Julius I, that he probably sent to the bishops of the East in 341, and that was handed down in the second apology of Athanasius. In the letter, written in Greek, Julius informed a group of bishops in the east of the empire that at a Roman synod, which probably took place in Rome in the spring of 341, Athanasius of Alexandria, Marcellus of Ancyra and other expellees had been accepted into the community of the Roman Church. With this decision, however, the Roman synod defied the judgment of the Synod of Tyre, which had deposed Athanasius in 335. The background and the complicated situation in which Julius' letter was written need not be dealt with here.[30] What is important is that especially one passage of the papal letter was taken up by the church historians Socrates and Sozomenos in the 5th century. Julius had written:

> But if there was an offence at all, the judgement had to be pronounced according to the rules of the Church, but not in the way it was pronounced. It had to be written to all of us, so that what is just could be determined by all. For it was Bishops who suffered injustice, and it was not arbitrary Churches that were affected, but those who were personally led by the Apostles. Why was it not written to us especially about the Alexandrian Church? Or do you not know that it was the custom that it was written to us beforehand and that it is from here that we determine what is just? So if there was such a suspicion against the bishop there, it had to be written to the church here.[31]

Socrates and Sozomenos interpreted this passage in such a way that "without the judgement of the Roman bishop" no valid judgement could be passed in the church.[32] And in the 6th century the church historian Cassiodor wrote in his Historia tripartita that "the church rule certainly commands that synods may not be celebrated without the verdict of the Roman bishop."[33] The pro-Roman tendency of the authors mentioned had thus formulated from the draft a claim which was not at all con-

---

29 Vinzenz von Lérins, *Commonitorium* 2,5, ed. by Claudia Barthold, Michael Fiedrowicz, Mülheim 2011, 186: *In ipsa item catholica ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est.*
30 Myron Wojtowytsch, Papsttum und Konzile von den Anfängen bis zu Leo I. (440–461), Stuttgart 1981 (Päpste und Papsttum 17), 95–104.
31 Athanasius, *Apologia secunda* 35,3–5, ed. by Hans-Georg Opitz, in: Athanasius Werke 2,1, Berlin 1938, 112–113.
32 Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica* II, 17, ed. by Manja Širinjan, Günther Christian Hansen, in: Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller. Neue Folge, vol. 1, Berlin 1995; Sozomenos, Kirchengeschichte III, 10, 1, ed. by Joseph Bidez, Günther Christian Hansen, in: Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller. Neue Folge, vol. 4, Berlin 1960, 113.
33 Cassiodor, *Historia tripartita* IV, 9, 4, ed. by Walter Jacob, Rudolf Hanslik, in: Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 71, Vienna 1952, 165.

tained in the draft, but which was generally represented by the Roman bishops in the 5th and 6th century. Since the Greek original of the letter was hardly available in the West, Cassiodor's *Historia Tripartita*, a Latin translation and summary of the Greek works of Sozomenos, Socrates and Theodoret, now became the decisive carrier of memory, already carrying a deformed memory.[34]

Pseudoisidor used this work in particular for his forgeries, as Klaus Zechiel-Eckes found out in his groundbreaking studies. In the Pseudoisidoric forgeries, however, the whole Julius letter is included. But it is by no means a translation from the Greek original, but a completely newly constructed letter. Pseudoisidor used the information he found with Cassiodor about the case of Athanasius and the role of Julius in this case. In a detailed analysis, Klaus Zechiel-Eckes has shown how Pseudoisidor fabricated his Julius letter from Cassiodor''s *Historia Tripartita*, from genuine papal letters and other sources[35]:

"Therefore I am astonished that you are so bold and act so unwisely and attack the jurisdiction and rights of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles. In fact, it is the mark of his right, as has been said above, that without the authority of this Holy See no one may hold a Synod or call Bishops to a Synod or condemn them and expel them from their Episcopal seats or appoint others in their place, and you have not been afraid to violate all this. That all Bishops who are harassed and accused in any serious case, as often as necessary, may appeal to the Apostolic See at will and take recourse to it as if to a mother, so that they may be piously supported, defended and acquitted by it, as it has always been. The ancient authority of the Apostles and canons has reserved all the more important ecclesiastical matters and judgments concerning Bishops for the decision of the Apostolic See, since it is the Bishops who are rebuked for acting against their brethren in a manner different from that which is pleasing to the Pope in that chair."[36]

Pseudoisidor used his information about the changeable fate of Athanasius and the dogmatic controversy about the validity of the decisions of the Council of Nicaea to es-

---

34 Wojtowytsch, Papsttum (note 30), 104–105.

35 Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, Ein Blick in Pseudo-Isidors Werkstatt. Studien zum Entstehungsprozess der falschen Dekretalen. Mit einem exemplarischen editorischen Anhang (Pseudo-Julius an die orientalischen Bischöfe, JK †196), in: Francia 28,1 (2001), 37–90.

36 Zechiel-Eckes, Ein Blick in Pseudo-Isidors Werkstatt (note 35) 75–76: *Quare miror vos tam audaces esse et tam impudenter egisse et terminos ac iura beati Petri apostolorum principis invasisse. Sui enim, ut paulo superius praelibatum est, iuris erat, ut absque eius sanctae sedis auctoritate nullus deberet aut concilia celebrare aut episcopos ad synodum convocare vel eos damnare aut propriis pellere sedibus aut alios in eorum loco ordinare, quae omnia vos temerare non timuistis. ... Ut omnes episcopi, qui in quibusdam gravioribus pulsantur vel criminantur causis, quotiens necesse fuerit, libere apostolicam appellent sedem atque ad eam quasi ad matrem confugiant, ut ab ea, sicut semper fuit, pie fulciantur, defendantur et liberentur. Cuius dispositioni omnes maiores ecclesiasticas causas et episcoporum iudicia antiqua apostolorum eorumque successorum atque canonum auctoritas reservavit, quoniam culpantur episcopi, qui aliter erga fratres egerint, quam eiusdem sedis papae fieri placuerit*; Translation S. Scholz.

tablish a fundamental right of the Roman bishop to have a say in church proceedings and church organization.[37] Here, the Bishop of Rome became the helper and protector of those bishops who were fighting for truth and justice and were persecuted, accused and deposed by unjust bishops. However, the letter and the wide circulation that the pseudo-isidoric decrees achieved also changed the memory of the episode in question.[38] That there had been a letter of Julius to the Eastern bishops could be deduced without doubt from Cassiodor. It was therefore not surprising that the letter appeared in a collection of old papal decrees. By including Pseudoisidor's knowledge about the trials of Athanasius and the controversy about the nicaenum, a credible document was created, since it corresponded with the information of Cassiodor in large parts. We therefore see as a history of memory how the *Fälscherwerkstatt* (forger's workshop),[39] which was based in Corbie and possibly also in other monasteries, dealt with the sources of tradition at its disposal and understood and cultivated memory in a very special way. We can also see how a completely new content of memory was created here, which finally had a massive impact in the High Middle Ages.

What to expect from this book

Any approach to the theme of creative selection will need a focus. It is hardly possible to aim at a handbook or anthology of neglected, discarded or deleted details in chronicles, of de-selected topics or biographies nor a list of selection strategies as a whole. Each historiographical situation brings about specific elements of selection. The collected papers in this book w approach this from individual perspectives offering insights into the different ways of dealing with knowledge from the past. They pursue the question of what happens to data if transmission is discontinued but still has effect on posterity.

By way of Augustinian *retractatio* Patrick Geary reflects on the *Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* of 1994 and yet extends this with further considerations. He highlights that certain forms of knowledge are considered valuable particularly often and therefore have been more likely to be handed down and preserved. In the area of legal knowledge, for example, the emergence of the chartulary, which was intended to safeguard early medieval legal titles but often disposed of historically valuable material, should be highlighted here. He emphasizes that the forgetting of historical and legal knowledge should be of particular interest, since a 'cleansing' was continuously taking place and thus new images of medieval society were constantly emerging.

---

37 Gotthold Hartmann, Der Primat des römischen Bischofs bei Pseudoisidor, Stuttgart 1930, 65–66.
38 Zechiel-Eckes, Ein Blick in Pseudo-Isidors Werkstatt (note 35) 46–47.
39 Abigail Firey, Canon Law Studies at Corbie, in: Fälschung als Mittel der Politik? Pseudoisidor im Licht der neuen Forschung: Gedenkschrift für Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, ed. by Karl Ubl, Daniel Ziemann, Wiesbaden 2015 (MGH – Studien und Texte 57), 19–80.

Walter Pohl notes that identities were created through 'historical memory' by people identifying with a group (micro/macro group) and trying to find their place in it. Historiographical but above all normative texts influenced this 'shaping of identity', which he proved with some early medieval authors, such as Beda Venerabilis, Gregory of Tours, Fredegar and Erchempert of Montecassino.

Ian Wood reveals arguments of how the biographical situation of an author changes his patterns of selection. If one compares the three works of Jonas of Bobbio, the *Vita Vedastis*, the *Vita Iohannis* and the *Vita Columbani*, which he wrote in different phases of his life, one can see modifications and different focal points represented in his written memory. With increasing age and growing importance within the church hierarchy, Jonas emphasized aspects such as authority and conformity to the rules of the respective protagonists.

Michael J. Kelly places *oblivio* as a specific method of the Visigothic historiographers, especially with Isidor of Seville, at the centre of his considerations. Isidor wanted to erase not only the Visigoth king Gundemar from memory, but also the Council of Toledo in 610, which he had called to organize the church. Here, a personal attitude led to the fact that Gundemar is not only practically absent from Isidor's work and therefore not in the derived sources. More important is that Gundemar is missing in the most important Spanish collection of canon law, the *Collectio Hispana*.

Philippe Depreux deals with creativity and selection at the Carolingian court. He compares various sources in which the royal entourage was recorded and can show that their historiographical mentioning had little to do with their actual importance at court. Later literary representation (or mis-representation) ranged from an explicit *damnatio memoriae* to manipulative selection, especially since lists, by their suggestive power, created arguments on which later claims could be built. Depreux concludes that each list has to be perceived as an individual case and for the explanatory models to be adapted to the manifold possibilities of dealing with memory.

Gerald Schwedler's contribution deals with creative strategies of selection in the work of Gregory of Tours and Fredegar. Both authors are suitable examples for the supposition that there can be no history without selection. *Oblivio* and *omissio* are essential organizational mechanisms to counteract a blockade by overstraining the knowledge systems. Especially in the work of Gregory of Tours one can find a set of text strategies with which historical knowledge was creatively selected and ordered.

The collaborative team of Michael Eber, Stefan Esders, David Ganz and Till Stüber dedicated their paper to the prominent *Codex Remensis* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phill. 1743), one of the most important early medieval collections of canon law. Yet this very manuscript shows that canon law was not only recorded in it, but actively changed through selection processes. Individual decisions and historical circumstances influenced legal knowledge, which was compiled around the middle of the 6th century, but took into account the entire Christian legal tradition. The manuscript includes council texts, treatises, lists of popes and church provinces as well as the Edict of Chlothar II of 614. But the collection shows as well that as early as the

8th century the old Merovingian legislation was no longer considered a living legal life, but was in a sense 'frozen'.

Helmut Reimitz emphasized the scope for memory using the example of Carolingian genealogies. Genealogical texts were thus a conscious decision for one of many options. A certain genealogical diversity was possible. Queen Fredegunde had used the oath as a means to legitimize her son Clothar II. Only in the Carolingian period did manuscripts appear with genealogical lists in the sense of royal catalogues which were even handed down as part of legal collections.

Jörg Sonntag dealt with the connection between memory and religious life in the Middle Ages. He showed how monasteries functioned as places of remembrance, using the example of the regulations for foot washing (*mandatum*) and the common meal. This led to the imitation of biblical role models, through which one wanted to find eternal truth, one's own self was to be absorbed into the role (Mary Magdalene, Jesus, etc.), even a pious oblivion of self was striven for. In the Carthusian order, the aim was to regulate the forgetting of the institutional past by burning the registers every two years.

In his contribution, Manfred Groten opened the perspective on creative selection for the 12th century. In line with Geary's considerations on the phantoms of remembrance in 11th-century Regensburg, he analyses the high medieval perception of Charlemagne as well as the new model for the understanding of History as it was established by Otto of Freising in his historiographic works. These changes indicate the general transformation within the medieval mindset concerning not only the understanding of the individual but also the striving for order and community re-projected into the past.

In conclusion, Gordon Blennemann emphasized that for mechanisms of creative selection, the relationship between form and content, between writing and vocality, and between individual and group, had always stood out. The creative power of the individual is sometimes difficult to grasp, and aspects such as specialization, the role as an outsider, positions of power, hierarchies and above all conditions of transmission determine the classification. Blennemann underlines the concept of selection as a meaningful term: one could assume conscious and unconscious latent moments, which lead to the fact that the respective 'actual' state of relevant knowledge from the past is always changing.

Patrick Geary

Remembering and Forgetting Phantoms of Remembrance: Social Memory and Oblivion in Medieval History after Twenty Years

> For a long time I have been thinking about and arranging to do something which, with the assistance of God, I now undertake because I do not think it should be delayed: I am reviewing my works—whether books, letters, or treatises—with a kind of judicial severity, and, as it were, with a censor's the pen, I am indicating what displeases me.[1]

As I reflect on my *Phantoms of Remembrance*[2] some 22 years after I wrote it, I feel very much as did Augustine of Hippo as he, at a more advanced age, looked back on his own writings with the intention of criticizing his own younger self. I am still satisfied with some of what I wrote. But in many critical ways, the study of medieval memory and oblivion has advanced considerably over the past two decades and it is only right to reflect on areas in which what I wrote then was inadequate or just simply wrong.

When I first began to develop an interest in the history of memory in the 1980s, what Jay Winter has since termed "the memory boom" had not yet begun, and I had only a vague idea of what it was that I hoped to research.[3] My interest was not in historiography per se, it was not in mnemonics as had been studied for the Renaissance by Frances Yates,[4] and it was not in the theology of memory in the Augustinian tradition.[5] My interest was rather drawn to the complex processes of rethinking the past on the part of ordinary clerics and lay persons, less when they were reflecting on memory than when one could observe them in the act of remembering. Having previously written books on the cult of relics[6] and on Merovingian regional history,[7] I

---

1 *Iam diu est ut facere cogito atque dispono quod nunc adiuuante Domino adgredior, quia differendum esse non arbitror, ut opuscula mea, siue in libris, siue in epistulis, siue in tractatibus, cum quadam iudiciaria seueritate recenseam, et quod me offendit uelut censorio stilo denotem.* Augustine, *Retractationum libri II*, I,1, ed. by Almut Mutzenbecher, in: Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 57, Turnhout 1984, 5.
2 Patrick J. Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the end of the first Millennium, Princeton 1994.
3 Jay Winter, The Generation of Memory: Reflections on the Memory Boom in Contemporary Historical Studies, in: Bulletin of the German Historical Institute, Washington DC 27 (2000), reprinted in Canadian Military History, 10 (2001), 57–66, Available at: http://scholars.wlu.ca/cmh/vol10/iss3/5. Winter's most significant contribution to the history of memory is his Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History, Cambridge 1995.
4 Frances Amelia Yates, The art of Memory, London 1966.
5 The philosophical and theological history of memory is the subject of Janet Coleman, Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past, Cambridge 1992.
6 Patrick J. Geary, Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages Princeton 1978. Revised edition 1991.

had been struck by how the sources of early medieval history had been selectively transmitted and, in the process, transformed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. I spent several summers in the Bibliothèque nationale, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, the Bibliothèque royale in Brussels, and elsewhere, looking at Carolingian hagiographical manuscripts as well as at later manuscripts that contained Carolingian hagiography. I saw the myriad ways that these Carolingian texts had been recombined, as they were rebound, recopied, and revised in different types of hagiographical and historiographical collections. I wondered about how the very different convoy of these texts in the eleventh and twelfth centuries might have changed not only the way that they were used but also more subtly how they were understood in their new contexts, in contrast to their meanings at the time that they were written.

Working with Merovingian charter evidence led me to similar reflections: In the 1970s I regularly attended the seminars of Georges Duby, who more than anyone else was capable of making charter evidence speak to fundamental issues of society and culture. His interest, of course, was in the great cartularies of Cluny and other monastic houses of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[8] But why, of the thousands of documents produced prior to the year thousand, were there so few that were transmitted in these cartularies? Had Viking, Magyar, and Saracen raids really destroyed virtually all of the archives of the great Carolingian monasteries? And why did the cartulary form appear east of the Rhine almost two centuries before it developed in the West? Moreover, the texts that I studied, such as the early eighth century testament of Abbo of Provence, had undergone editing in the process of transmission. What did these changes mean about the relationship between copyists and the past?

I had also spent considerable time in Freiburg with Karl Schmid and his team that at the time included, among others, Gerd Althoff and Dieter Geuenich and in Münster in Joachim Wollasch's Sonderforschungsbereich 7 working with Maria Hillebrandt and Franz Neiske, but also with my dear friend the late Otto Gerhard Oexle, who had recently arrived in Münster from Freiburg.[9] My interest was to understand the internal logic and significance of *Libri memoriales*, which was the focus of the Freiburg group, and of necrologies, which was the focus of the Müsteraner.[10] Why

---

7 Patrick J. Geary, Aristocracy in Provence: The Rhone Basin at the Dawn of the Carolingian Age. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia/Stuttgart 1985.

8 Duby's skill at reconstructing a society from charters was most brilliantly demonstrated in his classic La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la region mâconnaise, Paris 1954, but even at the end of his life he continued to meditate on what could and what could not be gleaned from charter evidence, as seen in his L'histoire continue, Paris 1991, esp. 57–70.

9 On the scholarship focused on Libri memoriales, see most recently Dieter Geuenich and Uwe Ludwig. (eds.), Libri Vitae: Gebetsgedenken in der Gesellschaft fdes Frühen Mittelalters, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna 2015. Oexle's pathbreaking studies on memory and many other topics are collected and published in Otto Gerhard Oexle, Die Wirklichkeit und das Wissen: Mittelalterforschung—Historische Kulturwissenschaft—Geschichte und Theorie der historischen Erkenntnis, Göttingen 2011.

10 Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter, ed. by Karl Schmid et al. , 3 vols. in 5, Munich 1978 (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 8).

did these two different forms of quasi-liturgical commemoration develop as they did? Why did the *Liber memorialis* tradition disappear while the necrological tradition carried through the Middle Ages and beyond? Since generations of monks recorded in *libri memoriales* were commemorated only by name, not by date of death, these memorials could not be transferred into necrologies which organized the dead according to the calendar. What then was the effect on monastic communities' ability to remember and to commemorate their dead from this earlier period since they were excluded from the increasingly fundamental form of liturgical commemorative text?

These were the specific professional experiences that turned me toward a history of memory. However there were other considerations that no doubt had a significant influence on my interests. In the 1960s I had studied phenomological existentialism at the Institut supérieur de philosophie at the Université catholique de Louvain and there, through the brilliant teaching of Albert Dondeyne (1901–1985), encountered the work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–1961). His 1944 *Phénoménologie de la perception* emphasized the active process of knowledge acquisition and in particular the importance of memory in making intelligible that which is perceived. Indeed, as Merleau-Ponty argued, perception is only possible if that which is perceived can be understood as intelligible, and this intelligibility is possible only through memory.[11] Thus, far from a passive storehouse or purely receptive faculty, memory must be understood as active and creative.

A final influence was much more personal and familial. In 1988, largely as a favor to my family, I had edited and published the memoirs of my great-great-aunt, Céline Frémaux Garcia (1850–1935), who lived with her mother and siblings between Union and Confederate lines during the American Civil War.[12] The cousin who loaned me the manuscript also provided me with access to the extant family papers and other memorabilia that he had inherited from her. As I edited, annotated, and fact-checked this sad account of a young woman growing up amid the horrors of war in a troubled emigrant family in Louisiana, I saw how what she wrote some forty years after the period that she was recording had been filtered by subsequent life experiences. But also, as I examined the photos, books, and other objects that she had kept from her childhood, I could see how these objects had triggered memories, some extraordinarily vivid and passionate, others largely invented, decades later.

All of these professional, educational, and personal experiences pushed me toward a vague concept of writing about memory. But what I was not reading, and should have been, was the growing theoretical literature on memory in historical perspective being produced by Jan and Aleida Assmann,[13] Mary Carruthers,[14] and Pierre

---

11 Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Phénoménologie de la perception, Paris 1945.
12 Céline: Remembering Louisiana, 1850–1871, ed. by Patrick J. Geary, Athens, Ga. 1987.
13 Especially, Jan Assmann, Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen, Munich 1992.

Nora,[15] works that I only began to read when I was well along in my project. Early on I had engaged with the early theorists of collective memory, especially Maurice Halbwachs,[16] as well as Frances Yates's 1966 *Art of Memory*.[17] Likewise, I had read both in the contemporary experiential psychology of memory that had developed from the pioneering work of Hermann Ebbinghaus[18] and that of the social psychologist F. C. Bartlett.[19] However, I should have spent more time and attention with the work of contemporary historians and theorists who had already blazed a trail for understanding how memory works in human society.

Turning now to this scholarship today, I find particularly helpful Jan Assmann's development of the concept of the social construction of the past, a concept that he freely admits to having taken over from Maurice Halbwachs, but that he developed further.[20] Assmann emphasized the past as a social construction, not a natural growth. Likewise, his distinction between communicative and cultural memory, the former histories of individuals, informal, organic, of short duration, and transmitted by contemporary witnesses; the latter timeless, formal, fixed symbolically, belonging outside normal time, and transmitted by specialized bearers of tradition, is likewise a powerful way of thinking about two poles of memory cultures.[21]

What I find less than satisfactory in much that has been written before and since my own efforts is the way that many theorists posit, or better avoid discussing, the process that moves between communicative and cultural memory, thus creating collective or social memory.

A statement by Aleida Assmann is both typical and, I think, problematic. She wrote:

> Cultural functional memory is connected with individual persons who re-embody it as its bearers and addressees. Collective agents such as states or nations create for themselves a functional identity memory through which they adapt a certain version of the past and define their goals for the future.[22]

---

14 Mary Carruthers, The book of memory: a study of memory in medieval culture. Cambridge 1990; and an edited volume with Jan M. Ziolkowski, The medieval craft of memory: an anthology of texts and pictures, Philadelphia 2002.
15 Especially important was the collection edited by Pierre Nora, Les Lieux de mémoire, 3 vol. in 7, Paris 1984–1986.
16 Maurice Halbwachs, La mémoire collective, ed. by Gérard Namer and Marie Jaisson, Paris 1997; and La topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte; étude de mémoire collective, 2nd ed., Paris 1971.
17 Yates, The art of memory (note 4).
18 Hermann Ebbinghaus, Über das Gedächtnis. Untersuchungen zur experimentellen Psychologie, Leipzig 1885.
19 F. C. Bartlett, Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology, Cambridge 1932.
20 Jan Assmann, Das kulturelle Gedächnis (note 13), 34–48.
21 Jan Assmann, Das kulturelle Gedächnis (note 13), 48–59.
22 Aleida Assmann, Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives, Cambridge 2011, 127–128.

Such a formulation makes abstract collectivities such as states literally agents, subjects that act with intention and purpose every bit as much as an individual person. It suggests that these collectivities have agency and rationality, and ignores the reality that states or nations do not create anything for themselves. Texts are written by individual people and while they may purport to record collective memories, they always necessarily reflect what the individual, perhaps in collaboration with like-minded associates, wants the collective memory to be. They are never the simple representation of the memory of a whole community or society. Here, Rosamond McKitterick's reflections on "collective memory" in her 2004 *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* are particularly insightful.[23] Discussing the *Royal Frankish Annales*' account of the downfall of Tassilo in 788, which claims that those present "remembered his earlier evil deeds," she asks: "In what sense was the memory described in the annals one that was part of collective memory? Who is included in the notion of collective memory? Is the memory based on knowledge of the annals or a real memory among those at Ingelheim in 788...?"[24] Rather than taking such texts at their word, we must remember that individual humans or groups of humans, claiming, to act on behalf of a larger collectivity, generate versions of the past by which they hope to advance their future goals. Certainly, it is not always possible, given our sources, to know who these individuals are. However, to assume that the "collective memory" is the product of collective agents such as states and not the product of cultural brokers, propagandists, ideologues, or the like, misses a key factor in the historical process, that by which individuals are able to impose their versions of the past on others.

A second area that I find a gap between theoretical approaches and historical issues is the much-discussed field of brain science and the study of neural networks. One cannot doubt that important advances in neurological sciences are contributing to the understanding of brain functions including memory, forgetting, and cognition. However again I find the gap between the chemical and laboratory studies of brain function and the historical analysis of memory, as in Johannes Fried's *Der Schleier der Erinnerung*, unclear.[25] His analyses of the weakness and problematic nature of traditional historical sources, largely corresponds to what generations of historians have recognized as the challenge of textual critical history—I do not see how discussions of brain chemistry actually add to this discussion. This is why, in contradiction to Fried's statement that I and others have ignored cognitive science in our study of memory, while not ignoring either neuroscience or experimental psychology, I have concentrated not on formal neurological science but rather the work of scientists in

---

23 Rosamond McKitterick, History and Memory in the Carolingian World, Cambridge 2004.

24 McKitterick, History and Memory (note 21), 4–5.

25 Johannes Fried, Der Schleier der Erinnerung: Grundzüge einer historischen Memorik, Munich 2004.

the tradition of F. C. Bartlett, who concentrate on the social and cultural dynamics of memory.[26]

A third area of theoretical debate that I have found less than useful in my own work subsequent to the publication of *Phantoms of Remembrance* is the dichotomy between orality and literacy. This distinction, which is key in the work of ancient historians such as Jan Assmann and draws considerably on the theoretical work of Jack Goody,[27] initially attracted the attention of medievalists, including Michael Clanchy and Brian Stock, among others. However, both Clanchy and Stock have come to realize that whatever its merits for understanding ancient cultures, orality and literacy work quite differently in medieval societies. In the second edition of his *From Memory to Written Record*, Clanchy largely abandoned his teleological image of the replacement of oral memory by documentation.[28] In his *Listening for the Text*, Brian Stock fruitfully develops what he terms the "weak thesis" of orality and literacy that, in his words, "attempts to account for the interaction of the oral and the written after the initial steps taken. It assumes that a knowledge of writing is not completely new."[29] Certainly, such a view is much more in keeping with our understanding, developed in the English speaking scholarship by Rosamond McKitterick, of the centrality of literacy in early medieval societies.[30] It is unfortunate that McKitterick's insights took so long to penetrate the scholarship on memory systems.

My interest in *Phantoms* was never to evaluate the quality of information transmitted from the past to the eleventh century. Nor was it to look at how eleventh-century historiography might have suppressed, restructured, or reinterpreted the past. My focus was rather on those modes of enregistering and transmitting, the processes of mediation itself, *Medialität*, and the effects that these systems of storage and retrieval had on what would or would not be transmitted.[31] Thus, while much of what has been written subsequently has dealt with narrative sources, with the processes of writing and rewriting chronicles, annals, and hagiography in order to construct a meaningful past, this kind of more traditional historiography has never been my primary focus. My interest was from the start the comparison of different storage and retrieval systems in the early and later periods, the ways that these systems shaped and even created memory, and the effects of changing from one system to another.

---

26 Fried, Der Schleier (note 25), 77–78.

27 Especially, Jack Goody (eds.), Literacy in traditional societies, Cambridge 1968, and The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society, Cambridge 1986.

28 Michael Clanchy, From memory to written record, England 1066–1307, 2nd ed. London 1993.

29 Brian Stock, Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past, Philadelphia 1996, 5–6.

30 Especially Rosamond McKitterick, The Carolingians and the Written Word, Cambridge 1989, and Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe, Cambridge 1990.

31 On Medialität in particular see Christian Kiening, Fülle und Mangel Medialität im Mittelalter, Zurich 2016 and Modelle des Medialen im Mittelalter, Christian Kiening and Martina Stercken (eds.), Das Mittelalter: Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung 15,2 (2010).

Generally, the broad areas I attempted to examine from the perspective of memory systems were family memory; archival memory; institutional memory; and political memory.

Concerning the family memory, I emphasized the role of religious institutions in preserving and thus structuring kinship groups' access to their ancestors. In light of the recent, revisionist work of Hans Hummer, I should have gone still further, recognizing that to a considerable extent religious institutions did not simply preserve and shape family memory, they created these very families through their religious ideology and through their selective preservation of the *memoria* of benefactors.[32]

I also argued that the eleventh century saw a conflict between the continuation of the *memoria* of dead members of families and lineages between the women relatives who were those traditionally responsible for *memoria* of the dead and organized male monastic communities such as the Cluniacs who promised a more secure and efficacious liturgical memory. Since 1994 much has been written on memory and gender and I believe that we have a much more nuanced understanding of the roles of men and women in family memory. Elisabeth van Houts was a pioneer in this field, exploring the question from a wider perspective than mine and placing some of my own observations and hypotheses in a more convincing context.[33] In particular, she has shown that rather than understanding female familial memory and male monastic memory as competitive, their roles were complementary and even collaborative. While she agrees that the evidence of women's responsibility for family memory is most evident in the tenth century, she demonstrates that the disappearance of women as repositories and transmitters of family memory is more related to the ideology of authority than to actual practice. With rare exceptions, male authors do not credit women as the sources of information about the past. Nevertheless, she was able to adduce numerous cases in which women must have been the key figures in the recollection and transmission of family memory to future generations. Moreover, they were often the patrons of the male monastic institutions in which liturgical memory of these same individuals was preserved.

Still, while I must adjust the overall image of women as rememberers that I penned in 1993, I continue to think that my approach, namely to compare not the role of women in memory east and west of the Rhine but rather the representation of women's role in memory, was a valid one. We must be careful not simply to mine narrative sources, whether hagiographical, historiographical, or archival, for anecdotes about women and memory. Rather we must compare different traditions of representing these roles, and ask why representations of the same events should so differ. I continue to believe that regular monastic communities of men such as that of the *ecclesia Cluniacensis* represented women's role in the preservation of memory in ways that

---

32 Hans Hummer, Visions of Kinship in Early Medieval Europe, Oxford, 2018. I am grateful to Professor Hummer for allowing me to read his important book prior to publication.

33 Elisabeth van Houts, Memory and gender in medieval Europe, 900 – 1200, Basingstoke 1999.

were subtly different from the representation of these same roles by secular clergy and especially by women themselves. However I take van Houts's criticism as valid that in spite of how the gendered nature of the memory of the dead may be presented, the actual process was more complementary than antagonistic.

My attempts to understand archival memory is perhaps the aspect of my work that has solicited the most productive criticism. Much of this discussion has been focused on the precocious origins of cartularies in the east and their tardy appearance in the west. I argued that the preparation of a cartulary was no mere gathering and copying of an institution's archive, a transparent view of whatever single leaf documents might have been available at the moment of compilation. Rather, I argued that cartularies were intentionally constructed and that the selection of documents and their organization were meaningful operations. Initially this premise was rejected by some French scholars who believed that cartularies simply reproduced the content of a specific archive without exercising editorial intention either in selection or in organization.[34] However, by and large few doubt today that cartularies are anything but transparent windows into the archives of an institution at the time that they were created. Much more problematic, however, were my attempts to explain the origins of cartularies and the reasons that they first appeared in the East and then largely disappeared in these regions at the same time that they began to be common in the West. Here I think that there is much to revise.

The most basic revision is the actual chronology and geography of their origins. I believed that the first cartulary was that of Fulda, created ca. 828 and tied to the reforms instituted in that monastery by Hrabanus Maurus,[35] while in Bavaria cartularies or fragments of cartularies from Regensburg,[36] Mondsee,[37]Passau,[38] and Freising[39] survive from the 820s to 840s. I saw these Bavarian examples as developments from the dossiers developed in Salzburg as the *Notitia Arnonis and*

---

34 Laurent Morelle, Histoire et archives vers l'an mil: une nouvelle 'mutation'?, in: Histoire et archives, 3 (1998), 119–141.

35 Marburg, Fulda Kopialbuch, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Marburg, K 424. Urkundenbuch des Klosters Fulda, ed. by Edmund E. Stengel, 2 vols., Marburg 1956.

36 Munich, Bayerische Haputstaatsarchiv, St. Emmeram Kl. Lit. 5 ½ (Anamot's Codex traditionum); St. Emmeram Kl Lit. 5 1/4b (fragments of St. Emmeram Traditionsbücher), Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Regensburg und des Klosters S. Emmeram, ed. by Josef Widemann, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte n.f. 8, Munich 1943.

37 Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien Blau 70, Das älteste Traditionsbuch des Klosters Mondsee, ed. by Gebhard Rath and Erich Reiter, Linz 1989.

38 Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Passau Lit. 1, Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Passau, ed. by Max Heuwieser, Munich 1930 (Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen Geschichte N.F. 6).

39 Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Hochstift Freising Lit. 3a, Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising, ed. by Theodor Bitterauf, Munich 1905–09 (Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte N.F. 4–5).

the *Breves Notitiae* [40] and thought that these early cartularies were, like the Salzburg documents, intended to establish rights to property that were thrown into question by the transition from Agilolfing to Carolingian control. More recently, Constance Bouchard has suggested that the cartulary tradition originated in the Rhineland at Fulda, Wissembourg, and Lorsch, apparently ignoring the Bavarian tradition.[41] She saw in the pre-history of the cartulary not the Salzburg documents but the *Codex Carolinus*, a volume compiled in 791 by the royal chancery containing ninety-nine papal letters addressed to the Carolingian rulers between the years 739 and 791. While the contents were radically different (papal letters rather than private charters), she saw in the organization a similarity that suggested that the Carolingian collection might have served as a model for later Rhineland cartularies.

It appears however that we were both wrong. I had completely overlooked what is by far the oldest cartulary fragment, that of one prepared in Chur around the year 800.[42] Peter Erhart, who has studied these fragments, points out that the surviving bifolium, which contain six private charters, was written by a scribe who was active at Chur during the episcopacy of Bishop Remedius, the last Chur bishop to hold both the highest ecclesiastical office and, as *praesides Rhaetiae*, the highest civil position.[43] Remedius's chronology is not exact, with the dates of 780–800 for the beginning of his episcopacy and 806 as the date when Charlemagne ended the union of secular and ecclesiastical office. This may have corresponded with his death, although he may have continued as bishop until ca. 820. In any case, the cartulary he composed is much earlier than either that of Fulda or those from Bavaria. Unlike the rather pedestrian Fulda cartulary, the Chur document is carefully and elegantly prepared in a clear Caroline minuscule. Each charter begins with a title in majuscule that indicates the name of the donor. The two documents on the intact page indicate contemporary numbering in the margin. Not enough of the cartulary has survived to determine its principle of organization, but the rubrics focus on the donor rather than the property donated. Josef Ackermann has suggested that the cartulary might possibly have been prepared during or immediately after the division imposed

---

40 Notitia Arnonis und Breves Notitiae: Die Salzburger Güterverzeichnisse aus der Zeit um 800: Sprachlich-historische Einleitung, Text und Übersetzung, ed. by Fritz Lošek, in: Quellen zur Salzburger Frühgeschichte, ed. by Herwig Wolfram, Vienna 2006 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 44; Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde. Ergänzungsband 22), 9–178.
41 Constance Bouchard, Rewriting Saints and Ancestors: Memory and Forgetting in France, 500–1200, Philadelphia 2015, 11.
42 Josef Ackermann, Fragmente frühmittelalterlicher Handschriften im Klosterarchiv Müstair, in: Schrift, Schriftgebrauch und Textsorten im frühmittelalterlichen Churrätien: Vorträge des internationalen Kolloquiums vom 18. bis 20. Mai 2006 im Rätischen Museum in Chur, ed. by Heidi Eisenhut, Karin Fuchs, Martin Hannes Graf, and Hannes Steiner, Basel 2008, 294–306, III Chartular, 300–304.
43 Peter Erhart, Erratische Blöcke am Alpennordrand? Die rätischen Urkunden und ihre Überlieferung, in: Die Privaturkunden der Karolingerzeit, ed. by Peter Erhart, Karl Heidecker, and Bernhard Zeller, Zurich 2009, 161–171.

by Charlemagne on the bishop of Chur, a division that according to Bishop Remedius's successor Victor III in 823 cost the bishopric more than 200 churches,[44] but this is not at all certain. What is certain is that the arguments that I and others set out to explain the appearance of this fundamental type of memorial book must be reconsidered. However, as in the Bavarian cases, the disruptions of the Carolingian takeover and reorganization of ecclesiastical property and power may somehow lie behind the decision to copy private charters into these codices.

My reflections on institutional memory, in particular those as recorded at Benediktbeuern and Novalesa, were the sections most influenced by my edition of my great-great aunt's memoires. This is because in both of these institutions, as in my family's home in New Orleans, the authors were surrounded by and deeply influenced by fragments of other texts, tombs, physical objects, and other *realia* that they used as objects of memory as they constructed corporate pasts. These objects and fragments did not in themselves constitute a narrative, nor did they hold an intrinsic meaning. However, as tangible connections to a distant past, they became both anchors and guides in the construction of such a narrative, a narrative ultimately intended for the present and the future. Here again I have learned a great deal from subsequent scholarship on the role of the built environment in structuring an understanding of the past. I would reference in particular the extraordinary work of Teemu Immonen on the construction of identity at Monte Cassino in the eleventh century. Drawing on fragmentary manuscript evidence, poorly understood texts, fragments of liturgical objects, and regional churches, he has created a very probable reconstruction of the fresco cycles in the long-vanished church of Monte Cassino dedicated in 1071.[45] But as significant as his extraordinary achievement of detective work and imagination certainly is, even more significant is the way that he elucidated how the different registers of images, one the life of Benedict, another biblical history, and a third the life of Christ, provided the members of the community material for meditation. This meditation moved the mind from one register to another, bringing the remembered history of Benedictine monasticism into salvation history and into the monks' own present identity.

Immonen's study is but one of a growing literature on sacred space and sacred time and their influence on the communities that inhabit it. Equally important in recent years have been the reflection on other ways that the past is sacralized but also structured. A key study is Jean-Claude Schmitt's magisterial *Les rythmes au Moyen Âge*, that reflects on the rhythms of time past, the influence of liturgy and especially biblical language in the denomination of durations within the unrolling of history.[46] Schmitt is particularly sensitive to the special representations of past time and its possible divisions, represented in diagrammatic forms such as that of a rotula, a lab-

44 Ackermann, Fragmente (note 42), 304.

45 Teemu Immonen, Building the Cassinese Monastic Identity: A Reconstruction of the Fresco Program of the Desiderian Basilica (1071), Mustasaari 2012.

46 Jean-Claude Schmitt, Les rythmes du Moyen Âge, Paris 2016, esp. 475–530.

yrinth, chain, or tree, but also in monumental form such as the bronze column of Saint Michel of Hildesheim or the frescos of Monte Cassino.

The fourth aspect of memory that I attempted to examine was that of rulers, elites, and princes, political memory as I termed it, although the designation is certainly anachronistic. This type of memory has been the most studied before and since, particularly by many of the people participating in this conference. Therefore I need not point out how the extraordinary work of the Vienna and Cambridge schools of analysis have perfected the study of the ideological manipulation of the past. Beginning with Walter Pohl's 2001 *Werkstätte der Erinnerung* and Rosamond McKitterick's 2004 *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, and culminating most recently with Helmut Reimitz's magisterial *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Identity*.[47] These studies make it abundantly clear that what I mistakenly called "political memory" is much more: it is really the heart of the ideological construction of corporate identity – identity understood as institutional, ethnic, religious, or regional, which was constantly disputed and challenged through rewritings of narrative and normative texts.

The area of research that most interested me, however, is one that has been relatively less studied, and that is oblivion. Of course, it is hard to study what is not there: this was clear from the start. Oblivion is close to Mary Carruther's concept of "Purged Memory," or Janet Coleman's "blanched memory". Wim Verbaal has particularly developed the investigation of such purged memory in his study of Bernard of Clairvaux. He examines how Bernard understood oblivion both as the result of sin, by which mankind has forgotten its proper relationship to God, and also as a positive virtue, by which individual memories are replaced by memories of God.[48] Bernard urges his monks to forget their past and to forget themselves, to become the young girl, the *adulescentula* of the Song of Songs.

My own interest, of course, is more in the social than the theological aspects of purged memory, and here I have found Vincent Challet's essay on Peasants' revolts memories in the rich collection edited by Lucie Doležalová particularly insightful. Working with the vastly more abundant sources of the late Middle Ages, he explores specific measures taken by royal or princely authorities to impose a *damnatio memoriae* on medieval rebellions. These measures included providing new, negative labels for rebels, coupled granting grace to rebels with an obligation of maintaining silence

---

47 Walter Pohl, Werkstätte der Erinnerung: Montecassino und die Gestaltung der langobardischen Vergangenheit, Vienna 2001 (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Ergänzungsbände 39); McKitterick, History and Memory (note 23); Helmut Reimitz, History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, 550 – 850, Cambridge 2015. One should also mention the collected volume, The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages, ed. by Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes, Cambridge 2000.

48 Wim Verbaal, Bernard of Clairvaux's School of Oblivion, in: Negotiating Heritage: Memories of the Middle Ages, ed. by Mette B. Bruun and Stephanie Glaser, Ritus et Artes: Traditions and Transformations, 4, Turnhout 2008, 221– 237, citing Coleman and Carruthers, 222 note 3.

about their deeds, and even banning words and phrases that might call to mind unsuccessful rebel groups. At the same time, no less than Bernard of Clairvaux, they sought to replace such memories with new ones: to consign to oblivion the ideological causes of revolts while nourishing stories of rape, murder, and torture by peasant rebels. But Challet goes on to suggest that purged memory was only partially successful and such efforts produced in reaction what he calls hidden memory or insurgent memory – made of "trails, passive resistance, and, eventually calls to arms." Of course, by its very nature "hidden memory" cannot be fully recovered any more than the oblivion about which I wrote two decades ago. However if one reads our sources across the grain, tantalizing evidence emerges. Challet mentions, for example, the account in Suplicius Severus's *Vita Sancti Martini* of a popular cult at the grave of unknown Christian martyrs. The saint prayed at the grave and a ghost appeared revealing that he was actually a bandit executed for his crimes.[49] Perhaps, Challet suggests, the *Vita* labeled as bandits those known otherwise as Bagaudes. This is speculation, but should we not perhaps look for other evidence of erasures and rewritings in our texts, not simply within the closed world of historiography but also for evidence of attempts to destroy memory and thus identity, substituting alternative memories and hence identities to wider segments of society? Our focus again would be not so much on the erasures and alternatives themselves as the technologies of memory purging, those political and social measures aimed at enforcing oblivion. With Challet, one might begin with the suppression and substitution of names, but also with narratives, rituals, and commemorations that compel people to accept a particular version of the past and in so doing, to adhere to a particular identity in the present. These strategies of erasure in the fabric of peoples' lives were no less real than the physical erasures, destructions, and reuses I described in the cartularies and charter collections of the ninth and tenth centuries. All were perpetrated to silence or, as my hero Arnold of Regensburg suggested, to discard or bury that which did not conform to the proper order of things.[50]

Thus, two decades after my attempt to write about memory and oblivion, I continue to be drawn more to the latter than to the former: it is a great thing to study, as many fine scholars have done, how the past was recorded and transformed. But if I had it to do over, I would concentrate in attempting to recover not so much the new past that was thereby created, but the old past that was, with only partial success, discarded or buried, but which nevertheless continued to haunt the present as phantoms.

---

49 Vincent Challet, Peasants' Revolts Memories: Damnatio memoriae or Hidden Memories?, in: The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages, ed. by Luvie Doležalová, Leiden 2010, 397–414; 408, citing Jean-Claude Schmitt, Le Saint Lévrier: Guinefort, guérisseur d'enfants depuis le XIIIe siècle, Paris 1979, 39–40.
50 PL 141:992. See Geary, Phantoms (note 2), 165–166.

Walter Pohl
Phantoms of Identity in Early Medieval Historiography

After more than a quarter of a century, it is time to acknowledge the lasting importance of Patrick Geary's *Phantoms of Remembrance*.[1] In the context of many works on social and cultural memory in the Middle Ages, a few published before and many after it, it still stands out as an exemplary study of the ways in which the past was subtly transformed to fit the needs of the present.[2] It reads almost as fresh as when it was written: avoiding the use of loaded terms, wide-ranging in the well-chosen examples, and precise in their interpretation. The book, which appeared in 1994, introduced the "creative process of reforming the relationship between past and present" to early medieval studies.[3] Taking as an example forged Merovingian charters on papyrus, the *Chronicle of Novalesa* or the memories of Pannonian dragons by Arnold of St Emmeram in Regensburg, Geary focused on the way in which memories could be transformed in the context of the manuscript transmission of a text. His observation was that around 1000 many earlier texts were selected, copied, reworked or obliterated, and thus, the lasting memory of the earlier period was reshaped. Most significantly, the book moved the subject beyond the black-and-white world of established dichotomies: "First, historians of memory have focused too much, I think, on the putative dichotomy between individual and collective memory and collective memory and history. Second, historians and anthropologists have overstressed the distinction between oral and written remembering. Finally, previous studies have focused primarily on the formation of conscious narrative memory rather than on the structures by which memories of all sorts are transmitted and created."[4]

Indeed, the study of memory and history has created a surprising number of dichotomies through which humanities and social sciences scholars have tried to get a better grip on a phenomenon to which many of them owed their material. After the Enlightenment and in the process of professionalization of the historical disciplines, generations of scholars tried to establish the superiority of their discipline over naive, non-academic attempts to write or narrate history. Historical memory should go through a progressively-refined set of filters to ensure that nothing could pass as

1 Patrick J. Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium, Princeton 1994.
2 See, for instance, James Fentress and Chris Wickham, Social Memory, Oxford 1992; Otto Gerhard Oexle, Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung im frühen Mittelalter, in: Frühmittelalterliche Studien 10 (1976), 70–95; Karl Schmid, Joachim Wollasch (eds.), Memoria: Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter, Munich 1984; Mary Carruthers, The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture, Cambridge 2nd ed. 2008.
3 Geary, Phantoms (note 1), 9.
4 Geary, Phantoms (note 1), 10.

historical truth that did not correspond to the methodological standards of the discipline. 'Die deutsche historische Schule' of the 19th century was in a sense the apotheosis of the epistemological optimism that allowed professional historians to recount "how it had actually been", "*wie es eigentlich gewesen*", as Leopold Ranke famously put it.[5]

In the 1930s, the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who represented, as Gérard Namer writes, "la gauche durkheimienne", completely reversed the thrust of the argument, and radicalized the underlying dichotomy.[6] Halbwachs distinguished between collective memory and historical memory. According to him, the first represents spontaneous, natural memory and is very selective, whereas historical memory aims at a more inclusive, broader picture, but in a much more self-reflective and therefore manipulative manner. The historical background of his work was the ascent of totalitarianism, against which Halbwachs found a remedy in popular, 'democratic' memory. History, he claimed, strips the past of its magic. It is worth noting that the founding father of the theories of 'collective memory' current in historical research to our day came close to asserting that history ruined the spontaneous memory that a society kept from its past. It is a paradoxical inheritance for historians to work with.

In the 1980s, Pierre Nora followed Halbwachs's model when he edited the three-volume series "Les lieux de mémoire" about the French "places of memory".[7] The concept was a spectacular success and acquired wide currency, so that today we can call almost everything linked to memory a "lieu de mémoire"; not only physical spaces such as the Pantheon or the Louvre, but also cultural artefacts such as the Marseillaise or the Diary of Anne Frank, imaginary figures such as King Arthur or the Hobbit, or events such as the voyage of the Mayflower or the year 1968. It may seem peculiar that a year could be a *lieu*, a 'place' of memory, but the concept inspired numerous studies. In any case, Nora elaborated on the distinction that Halbwachs had made: the original form of collective memory thrives in the milieus de mémoire, "genuine, social and untouched memory". However, these cultures of memory disappear with modernity and with professional historiography, which leads to the "ever faster fall into an irrecoverably dead past, to an indistinctive perception of all things as disappeared". Memory is delegated to specific spaces, museums, ar-

---

5 "Man hat der Historie das Amt, die Vergangenheit zu richten, die Mitwelt zum Nutzen zukünftiger Jahre zu belehren, beigemessen: so hoher Aemter unterwindet sich gegenwärtiger Versuch nicht: er will bloss zeigen, wie es eigentlich gewesen." Leopold von Ranke, Vorrede zu Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker, Leipzig et al. 1824, 1.

6 Maurice Halbwachs, La mémoire collective, Paris 1939; Maurice Halbwachs, Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire, Paris 1925; Gérard Namer, Le contretemps démocratique chez Halbwachs, in: Erinnerung und Gesellschaft, ed. by Hermann Krapoth and Denise Laborde, Wiesbaden 1995 (Jahrbuch für Soziologiegeschichte), 55–64, 57.

7 Pierre Nora (ed.), Les Lieux de mémoire, 3 vols., Paris 1984–1992; English translation: Rethinking France: Les Lieux de mémoire, vol. 1: The State, Chicago 1999; vol. 2: Space, Chicago 2006; vol. 3: Legacies, Chicago 2009; vol. 4: Histories and Memories, Chicago 2010.

chives or memorials, in short, the "lieux de mémoire". The warmth of tradition is transformed into the cold gaze of the unconcerned observer. This dichotomy modifies the, more plausible but still simplifying, distinction between 'hot' and 'cold' societies proposed by Claude Lévi-Strauss – 'hot' societies use their history as a catalyst of change, while 'cold' societies seek their balance through oblivion.[8]

"Such distinctions are deceptive", as Geary commented.[9] As historians, we may regard Pierre Nora's model as a warning not to take our own professional perception of the past for granted. Invariably, we lose the heat of the moment, the immediacy of the living memory. Yet methodologically, the safe grounding in historical methodology may be preferable to the spontaneous warmth of tradition. Nora's distinction also obscures one rather essential point. Professional history has not terminated popular social memory. Neither is it simply its contrary. The "lieux de mémoire" can be brought back to life, in attempts that may seem artificial, but that nonetheless repeatedly had considerable social impact in the history of the 19th and 20th centuries. Historians were often part of such re-invented "milieus de mémoire", often in the context of nationalist ideologies, where the past can acquire explosive political potential. Patrick Geary has addressed the political misuses of the "migration period" in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in his book on the *Myths of Nations*.[10] Only a few years ago, these "barbarian migrations" were back in the focus of ideological misuses in the debates about the wave of immigration in Europe in 2015/16. It was striking to observe how right-wing Germans, who for generations had identified with the Germanic migrants who had overcome decadent Rome, suddenly regarded them as a warning example of the fatal consequences that uncontrolled migration could have on a supposedly superior civilisation.

Whichever form it takes, the dichotomy between 'learned' and 'spontaneous' social memory is not very helpful. This also concerns the related juxtaposition between 'written' and 'oral' memory.[11] Written transmission does not necessarily codify a text, on the contrary: by copying it, it can be constantly modified. Oral transmission, generally believed to be much more liable to changes, may be bound by strategies of co-

---

8 Claude Lévi-Strauss, La pensée sauvage, Paris 1962, 309. For a critique and a more differentiated reading of the uses of the past in different societies, see Jan Assmann, Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen, Munich 1999, 66 – 86.

9 Geary, Phantoms (note 1), 11.

10 Patrick J. Geary, The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe, Princeton 2001. See also František Graus, Die Ohnmacht der Wissenschaft gegenüber Geschichtsmythen, in: František Graus, Ausgewählte Aufsätze (1959 – 1989), ed. by Hans-Jörg Gilomen, Peter Moraw and Rainer Christoph Schwinges, Stuttgart 2002, 50 – 64.

11 Among the extensive bibliography see, for instance, Jack Goody, The Interface between the Written and the Oral, Cambridge 1977; Brian Stock, The Implications of Literacy. Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, Princeton 1983; Walter Pohl and Paul Herold (eds.), Vom Nutzen des Schreibens. Soziales Gedächtnis, Herrschaft und Besitz, Wien 2003 (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 5).

dification, so as to preserve the features of a text over the generations.[12] Koran or Vedic schools do just that until today: they ensure that the pupils learn the text by heart (although it is available in writing). Learning by heart: at least in the English language, the heart can be an organ of memory. Therefore, memories can also be 'discordant'.

It is of particular interest that Geary not only put memory but also forgetting firmly on the map. To a historian, memory may seem as the more natural process whereas oblivion is the stronger force: remembering is always precarious, forgetting is final. Patrick Geary has underlined "the inadequacy of memory".[13] This is a point that Johannes Fried also makes in his book *Der Schleier der Erinnerung*. Fried offers a 100-page summary of the "neurocultural basis of historiography" in order to pave the way for a new approach that he calls "mnemonics".[14] We were not born as historians, he concludes, with an accurate memory of the facts. We remember what our cultural matrix induces us to select and transform from an almost infinite range of things-to-remember. The problem is not simply forgetting but remembering things differently because they seem to make sense that way. As historians, we may see that as a problem. None of the written sources from the Middle Ages offer an accurate representation of things "as they had actually been". Yet the methodological bottom line of Fried's approach remains unclear. It could lead to a sombre epistemological scepticism: we will never know what really happened. In Fried's own successive publications, he has employed "mnemonics" as a trump card in debates about which accounts of certain events (for instance, Henry IV's penance in Canossa) in contemporary sources are more reliable; the analytical potential of the impressive "neurocultural" input in such debates remains unclear.[15] On the whole, Fried has contributed to a general sense of caution in using historiographical sources. However, 200 years of *Quellenkritik* have equipped us with quite sophisticated tools to deal with all the lies and bias, the omissions and distortions in medieval historiography. In my view, we should always remain critical of our work routines, yet avoid encouraging wholesale dismissal of our proven methods.

In reaction to a wave of studies of 'cultural memory', sceptical comments have begun to appear. Gadi Algazi has pointed out that "memory provides us with a very restricted vocabulary for describing the shaping of the past. ... It cannot match the richness of a scholarly tradition that has developed in the course of studying historiography, rhetoric and literature in its wider sense".[16] Indeed, 'memory' has followed

---

12 Cf. Paul Zumthor, La lettre et la voix. De la 'littérature' médiévale, Paris 1987; Brian Stock, Listening for the Text. On the Uses of the Past, Philadelphia 1990.

13 Geary, Phantoms (note 1), 19.

14 Johannes Fried, Der Schleier der Erinnerung. Grundzüge einer historischen Memorik, Munich 2004.

15 Johannes Fried, *Canossa*. Entlarvung einer Legende. Eine Streitschrift, Berlin 2012.

16 Gadi Algazi, Forget Memory. Some Critical Remarks on Memory, Forgetting and History, in: Damnatio in memoria. Deformation und Gegenkonstruktionen in der Geschichte, ed. by Sebastian Scholz,

the trajectory of many terms that have emerged over the past decades as key concepts in historical research, such as 'identity', 'culture' or 'globalization': they seem to hold great promise when they appear, stimulate new questions, are explored by some first-rate scholars in wide-reaching studies, and acquire a rich set of overtones, which makes them attractive as shorthand terms seemingly offering great explanatory potential. Increasingly, they are then employed as buzz-words in many second-rate studies that use them as short-cuts for the interpretation of their material. They begin to be overused, and their meaning becomes vague and contradictory. Soon critical scholars begin to suggest to 'forget memory', culture or identity. I would rather argue that we should keep the terms, but mostly for the questions and approaches they still offer, and not as answers that speak for themselves.[17]

In that sense, Geary's *Phantoms of Remembrance* provides methodological options that merit further exploration. First, the book focuses on memory and oblivion not within the life-span of contemporaries and their written testimonies, but as a gradual process of selection in the course of transmission. The accent here is not so much on the neurological conditions of transformation and deformation of the things remembered, but on the social and cultural process of retaining, guarding or obliterating relevant and formative memories in a given community. This is a line of research that has also become productive in Zurich.[18] Such decisions do not follow a consistent logic, they may be erratic and contingent, and influenced by rather momentary and particular interests. Nevertheless, they can be studied in their social contexts, and, when taken together, may show a certain bias or profile. For instance, we owe most of the classical Latin texts that have been preserved to Carolingian copyists, and their efforts were certainly due to a common impetus to copy on parchment and in a readable hand-writing what one had inherited from a distant past.[19] The 11th century, as Geary describes it, was rather a period of "radical discontinuities" and "artificial continuities", of restructuring the past: "Much of what we think we know about the early Middle Ages was determined by the changing problems and concerns of eleventh-century men and women."[20]

Gerald Schwedler, and Kai-Michael Sprenger, Cologne 2014 (Zürcher Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 2), 25–34, 27.

17 Cf. Walter Pohl, Historiography and Identity – Methodological Perspectives, in: Historiography and Identity 1: Ancient and Early Christian Narratives of Community, ed. by Walter Pohl and Veronika Wieser, Turnhout 2019, 7–50.

18 Damnatio in memoria (note 16). See, in particular, Gerald Schwedler, Was heißt und zu welchem Ende untersucht man damnatio in memoria?, ibid., 9–24, and Sebastian Scholz, Verformungen der Erinnerung, ibid., 109–114.

19 Rosamond McKitterick, The Carolingians and the Written Word, Cambridge 1989; Helmut Reimitz, Carolingian Approaches to History and Identity: An Introduction, in: Historiography and Identity III. Carolingian Convergence and Its Limits, ed. by Helmut Reimitz, Rutger Kramer, and Graeme Ward, Turnhout 2021, 1–37.

20 Geary, Phantoms (note 1), 6–7.

Second, and consequently, the book directed scholarly interest toward the study of manuscript transmission. Research on historical memory in the Middle Ages requires going beyond editions and looking at the way in which texts were modified as they were copied. Traditional critical editions were mainly interested in coming as close as possible to a hypothetical *Urtext*.[21] Variants of a text were regarded as errors or manipulations and collecting them in the apparatus of the edition mainly served the purpose of documenting in what ways the copies varied from the original. Yet many of the changes to a text, "ré-écritures", were in fact deliberate, ranging from correction of what was regarded as a mistake, through subtle adaptations to contemporary interests and attitudes, to major cuts, modifications or additions.[22] The context of a manuscript can provide important clues to the significance and function of a text in the time when it was copied.

Third, Geary widened the horizon to use not only historiography, but also archival practices, charters, wills, personal and familial memories, hagiography and other forms of written memory, in order to establish a broader picture of practices of social memory. Distinction by genre is not always helpful if one wants to understand how a society chose to preserve texts, and which ones. In the rest of this paper, however, I will take a step back to focus once more on historiography.

As if he knew that 'memory' was bound for excessive use, Patrick Geary chose 'remembrance' for the title of his book and addressed it as a 'phantom'. In a masterfully open-ended conclusion, he asked who the phantoms really were: past actors written out of history by its successive re-appropriations? The little-known scribes and archivists who condemned parts of their past to oblivion? Or the modern historians who try to impose their vision of the past on the discipline?[23] One might add that our concepts are phantoms as well, seemingly full of explicatory potential, but elusive and sometimes deceptive if we try to pin down our view of the past with their help. In the following, I will try to chase two of these phantoms, historiography and identity, in order to see how useful they may be in accompanying us further. I will thus move to a subject treated more extensively in other works by Patrick Geary, notably his masterful *Myth of Nations*.[24] It follows a line of research that Hel-

21 Sebastiano Timpanaro, The Genesis of Lachmann's Method. Translated by Glenn W. Most, Chicago 2005.

22 Bernard Cerquiglini, Éloge de la variante. Histoire critique *de la* philologie, Paris 1989; Walter Pohl, History in Fragments. Montecassino's Politics of Memory, in: Early Medieval Europe 10/3 (2001), 343–374; Monique Goullet, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques. Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval (VIIIè-XIIIè)*, Turnhout 2005 (Hagiologia 4); Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger, and Meta Niederkorn-Bruck (eds.), Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift: Historiographie und Hagiographie im Spannungsfeld von Edition und Kompendienüberlieferung, Vienna 2010 (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 18).

23 Geary, Phantoms (note 1), 180–181.

24 Geary, Myths of Nations (note 10).

mut Reimitz and I have pursued in a series of six collaborative volumes on *Historiography and Identity in the Middle Ages* that we are editing.[25]

Both concepts, and all the more their conjunction, are problematic, and have often been criticized and sometimes refuted altogether. Already a hundred years ago, historical positivists became deeply suspicious of 'intentional' historiography and turned to the more reliable 'functional' documentary evidence – a position that some of my teachers in Vienna still strongly advocated. One of them once reacted to a paper about a work of historiography with the remark: "Ich sage nur: Klausur! Klausur! Klausur!" – arguing that medieval monks in their cloisters had no idea of the real world when they wrote their chronicles – true nerds of the Dark Ages. In the 1980s, historiography came under fire as 'fiction of fact' during the linguistic turn.[26] In this respect, post-modernism blended with historical positivism and current trends in literary criticism, three approaches otherwise very different from each other. The literary approach advocated analysing works of historiography as literary texts, which were more useful as a source about the author and his intentions than about the past that they talked about. This was the way in which Walter Goffart introduced the new paradigm into early medieval studies in his enormously influential book *The Narrators of Barbarian History* (1988): early medieval histories, he argued, may tell us more about their authors and "about the age they lived in than the information wrested from their pages."[27] Postmodernism went further than that, also eliminating the author from the equation and regarding the text with all its intra- and intertextual vicissitudes as the only legitimate object of study. It was an exciting time and a fascinating intellectual challenge. However, what became of these critiques was increasingly narrowed down to the simple message that medieval historiography was not a privileged way of access to the past but an opaque barrier: an elite pursuit with partisan intentions, which had little impact on what people thought and did.

---

25 Walter Pohl, Veronika Wieser (eds.), Historiography and Identity I. Ancient and Early Christian Narratives of Community, Turnhout 2020; Helmut Reimitz, Gerda Heydemann (eds.), Historiography and Identity II. Post-Roman Multiplicity and New Political Identities, Turnhout forthcoming; Helmut Reimitz, Rutger Kramer, and Graeme Ward (eds.), Historiography and Identity III. Carolingian Approaches, Turnhout 2021; Walter Pohl, Daniel Mahoney (eds.), Historiography and Identity IV: The Writing of History across Medieval Eurasia, Turnhout 2021; Walter Pohl, Francesco Borri, and Veronika Wieser (eds.), Historiography and Identity V. The Emergence of New Peoples and Polities, 1000 – 1300, Turnhout forthcoming; Pavlína Rychterová (ed.), Historiography and Identity VI: Communities in Transition in Central and Eastern Central Europe (13th–16th Centuries), Turnhout 2021.
26 "Fiction of Fact": Hayden White, The Content of the Form: Discourse and Historical Representation, Baltimore 1978; "Linguistic Turn" in Medieval Studies: Gabrielle Spiegel, History, Historicism and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages, in: Speculum 65 (1990), 59 – 86; and Gabrielle Spiegel, The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography, Baltimore 1997.
27 Walter Goffart, The Narrators of Barbarian History: A.D. 550 – 800. Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon, Princeton 1988, 437.

I have always suspected that this argument is not quite consistent.[28] To validate it, one would need to show that in general elites and their concerns had little impact on what people thought and did. Furthermore, we would have to surmise that medieval institutions invested huge amounts of labour and resources – many hundreds of calf- or sheep-skins for the historiographic holdings of a moderately well-stocked monastic library – in an enterprise that had little effect on anyone. In that vein, Jacques LeGoff in his early book, *Les Intellectuels au Moyen Âge*, argued that monks and clerics of the Carolingian period copied thousands of texts just for penance.[29] We know today that there was more to this ambitious programme of copying manuscripts, and to the recurrent interests in the historiography of a distant past. Therefore, we should acknowledge that the 'linguistic', 'literary' and 'cultural' turns at the end of the 20th century were very helpful to remove old scholarly habits of building huge arguments on isolated passages in relatively remote sources. But we should not relegate the study of historiography to purely literary pursuits. Studies of cultural memory in many contexts often conclude that there is a close connection between shared memories of a group and their identity and sense of allegiance. Jan Assmann, for instance, has developed an impressive theoretical model of cultural memory on the basis of his studies of ancient Egypt and Israel, arguing for the close connection of symbolic systems, cultural continuation and political identity.[30]

I cannot return to the controversial debates on the significance of identity and ethnicity here.[31] As I have argued, social identities are created and maintained in interaction and communication. People identify with a group. The group represents itself, in collective ritual or through speakers, and distinguishes itself from others. Outsiders perceive and describe the group. These interactions can be verbal or symbolic. Identities are the result of an at least partial overlap of these different modes of identification. They may develop from inside identifications or from outside perceptions. This model can explain both the flexibility in allegiances in some cases, and the extraordinary resilience of group identities in other cases.

My interest here – and our interest in the "Historiography and Identity" book series – is in broad and inclusive groups with a distinctive name which are variously defined by shared ethnic, cultural, and/or political characteristics. Historiographic works focusing on such groups – for instance, Jordanes' *Getica*, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, or Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards* – have often been classed as

---

28 For an overview of the debate, see Pohl, Historiography and Identity (note 17).

29 Jacques LeGoff, Les Intellectuels au Moyen Âge, Paris 1957.

30 Assmann, Das kulturelle Gedächtnis (note 8), for his concepts of identity, see 130–160.

31 See Walter Pohl, Introduction. Strategies of Identification. A Methodological Profile, in: Strategies of Identification. Ethnicity and Religion in Early Medieval Europe, ed. by Walter Pohl, Gerda Heydemann, Turnhout 2013, 1–64; Walter Pohl, Von der Ethnogenese zur Identitätsforschung, in: Neue Wege der Frühmittelalterforschung. Bilanz und Perspektiven, ed. by Walter Pohl, Max Diesenberger, and Bernhard Zeller, Vienna 2018, 9–34.

'national histories'; but that is a problematic category.[32] It makes little sense to debate whether these groups – Goths, Franks, Lombards – were 'ethnic' or not. Ethnicity could matter more or less for their cohesion. Yet what we can say on the basis of the sources is that they were regarded as *gentes*, and their names as *nomina* (or *vocabula*) *gentium*.[33]

This, then, is an element in the sources that we need to account for: a system of distinctions between named macro-groups, peoples, which was a fundamental cognitive feature attested in many early medieval texts: not only in historiography, but also in law books, charters (for instance, in royal titles), letters, poems and other genres. These names did not only allow to explain contemporary affiliations, but they could also be used to express collective agency. It was not the kingdom that could act, but the people, either as a collective or through its representatives.[34] As far as memory is concerned, these designations – it would be hard to avoid regarding them as ethnonyms – also established diachronic continuity, often reaching far back into the past.[35] Such identifications could be fictive (for instance, when Huns, Goths or Avars were called "Scythians"), but that only reinforces the impression that historiography could hardly work without ethnonyms that helped to link past and present. They represented both synchronic distinction and diachronic cultural continuation. I would call this system of distinctions 'ethnicity'. A people did not 'have' ethnicity, it had to find its place within the cognitive scheme of ethnicity to be acknowledged as a people.

Historiographic uses did not necessarily correspond with actual ethnic identities (as in the case of the early medieval "Scythians"), but they had to be evidence-based to some extent. To what degree mentions of ancient and early medieval peoples corresponded to self-identifications varied; in some cases, outside denominations triggered self-perceptions. The ancient Germans are almost exclusively attested as an ethnographic umbrella term, and to this day the name has never really become a self-designation.[36] The *Theotisci*, "speakers of the popular language", were also introduced as an outside denomination; but the name eventually established itself as a stable self-identification of "die Deutschen".[37] Florin Curta's hypothesis that a similar thing may have happened with the Slavs seems plausible.[38] The fact that An-

32 Pohl, Historiography and Identity (note 17).

33 For instance, in Isidore, *Etymologies*, ed. by Wallace M. Lindsay, 2 vols., Oxford 1911, 9.2.

34 Walter Pohl, Debating Ethnicity in Post-Roman Historiography, in: Historiography & Identity 2: Post-Roman Multiplicity and New Political Identities, ed. by Gerda Heydemann and Helmut Reimitz, Turnhout 2020, 27–70.

35 Walter Pohl, Ethnonyms and Early Medieval Ethnicity: Methodological Reflections, in: Hungarian Historical Review 7/1 (2018), 5–17.

36 Walter Pohl, Die Germanen, Munich 2nd ed. 2004 (Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte 57).

37 Joachim Ehlers, Die Entstehung des Deutschen Reiches, Munich 1994 (Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte 31).

38 Florin Curta, The Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region c. 500–700, Cambridge 2001.

gles and Saxons became the English may owe its impulse to Gregory the Great's and Bede's preference for the "Angels" over the "Daggers" (or the "Rocks").

This model does not limit historiography to an outside reflection of something arcane that happened inside the group but regards written testimonies as part of the process of identification. However, further research is needed to explore how that could work. Research on historiography and ethnic identity has always, and perhaps too much, concentrated on texts that we might regard as 'foundational', such as the *origines gentium*. This is what Reinhard Wenskus called "Tradition", Anthony D. Smith "mythomoteur" or Jan Assmann, "formative" and "normative texts".[39] The study of myths and norms that explained to members of a group where they came from and how they were supposed to act is still rewarding.[40] It should not be abandoned because they are 'just' myths, and not factual histories; or because we do not have proof that they were known and mattered to all members of the group. *Origines gentium* are interesting for what they do not say, or for how they say it. Why does the *Getica* make so little of the presumed Scandinavian origin of the Goths, and why does it insert the Amal genealogy in such an oblique place, after a minor victory of the Dacians over the Romans?[41] And why do so many authors seem to feel embarrassed when they introduce origin myths or ancient genealogies? They express this discomfort in various ways. Jordanes prefixes the Amal genealogy by an odd and grammatically garbled explanation of what a genealogy is, and that it is all true: *Quorum genealogia ut paucis percurram vel quis quo parente genitus est aut unde origo coepta, ubi finem effect, absque invidia, qui legis, vera dicentem ausculta.*[42] Fredegar, as Ian Wood has shown, introduces a good dose of irony into the key passage that relates the Merovingians' supernatural descent from a sea-monster: "Whether conceived by a beast or by a man, the son received the name Merovech."[43] Paul the Deacon distances himself twice from the Longobard origin story that he relates

39 Reinhard Wenskus, Stammesbildung und Verfassung. Das Werden der frühmittelalterlichen Gentes, Graz 2nd ed. 1977; Anthony D. Smith, The Ethnic Origins of Nations, London 1986; Assmann, Das kulturelle Gedächtnis (note 8), 142.
40 Cf. Walter Pohl, Narratives of Origin and Migration in Early Medieval Europe: Problems of Interpretation, in: Narratives of Ethnic and Tribal Origins. Eurasian Perspectives, Special issue, Medieval History Journal 21/2 (2018), 192–221.
41 Herwig Wolfram, Gotische Studien. Volk und Herrschaft im frühen Mittelalter, Munich 2005, 207–224; Walter Pohl, Gotische Identitäten, in: Theoderich der Große und die Goten in Italien, ed. by Ulrich Wiemer, Munich 2020, 315–39.
42 Jordanes, *Getica*, ed. by Theodor Mommsen, in: MGH Auct. Ant. 5,1, Berlin 1882, 43–138, 13.78, 76. English translation by Charles Christopher Mierow, The Gothic History of Jordanes, Princeton 1915, 73: "Their genealogy I shall run through briefly, telling the lineage of each and the beginning and the end of this line. And do thou, O reader, hear me without repining; for I speak truly".
43 *Chronicarum Fredegarii scholastici libri IV cum continuationibus* 3.9, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in: MGH SS rer. Merov. 2, Hanover 1888, 95; Ian Wood, Fredegar's Fables, in: Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter, ed. by Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter, Vienna 1994 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 32), 356–366.

by calling it a "ridiculous fable", "worthy of laughter and to be held of no account".[44] And Asser, at the beginning of his *Life of Alfred*, interrupts his impressive pedigree of the king with a passage linking the divine pagan ancestor Geat with "comedy's absurd Geta".[45] It would be wrong to conclude that these stories should therefore "be held of no account" by modern research. The more these authors subverted their stories, the less can they be suspected of having concocted them.

Beyond actual origin myths, scholars have looked at what used to be called "national histories": Jordanes' *Getica*, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* or Paul the Deacon's *Longobard History*, and similar works up to the high medieval eastern European Histories such as Cosmas' *History of the Bohemians*, Gallus and Magister Vincentius on the Poles or the *Russian Primary Chronicle*.[46] We are all familiar with the ways in which 19th- and 20th-century national histories have contributed to constructing national identities and ideologies. This model should not be projected back and taken as a guideline for studying medieval histories featuring one people. It is little known that Walter Goffart only attacked the notion that Jordanes and Gregory of Tours wrote national histories: at the same time, he happily conferred that label on the seventh-century works of Isidore, Fredegar, and on the *Origo gentis Langobardorum:* "The century that brought papal history to fruition also generated the first 'national' histories." [47] Whether or not we want to call them 'national' (a label that I would rather avoid): it is not very interesting to find out that Jordanes constructed a Gothic, Bede an English and Cosmas a Czech identity. It is much more productive to note how ambiguous and sometimes broken these constructs are: how their authors react to alternative options, and how they seek to embed the people they feature in a broader frame of identification.

We have learnt much about this from Helmut Reimitz's book about *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity*, a fundamental study about the wide range of strategies of identification in Frankish historiography.[48] Walter Goffart had already established that Gregory of Tours did not write *Historia Francorum*.[49] Reimitz has shown that Gregory deliberately wrote the Franks out of his history, and

---

44 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. by Ludwig Bethmann and Georg Waitz, in: MGH SS rer. Langob., Hanover 1882, 12–187, 1.8, 52.

45 Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, transl. by Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge, London 1983, 1.

46 Many of them discussed in Alheydis Plassmann, Origo gentis: Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen, Berlin 2006, who confusingly terms the entire works as "origo gentis".

47 Goffart, Narrators (note 27), 245. Goffart contrasts these 7th-century histories much too starkly with the earlier works by Jordanes and Gregory of Tours.

48 Helmut Reimitz, History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, 550–850, Cambridge 2015.

49 Walter Goffart, From Historiae to Historia Francorum and Back Again: Aspects of the Textual History of Gregory of Tours, in: Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan, ed. by Thomas F. X. Noble and John Joseph Contreni, Kalamazoo 1987 (Studies in Medieval Culture 23), 55–76.

thus reacted to alternative identifications that began to underline the Frankish character of the kingdom in the very days when Gregory wrote his History. The first evidence for the official use of the title *rex Francorum* by the Franks comes in the letters written by King Childebert II to the Byzantines in the 580s.[50] Gregory, like Bede, essentially wrote a Church history, and unlike Bede, not a *Historia ecclesiastica gentis* (in his case, *Francorum*). Paul the Deacon did write a *Historia Langobardorum*, but he extended it with essential information about the Byzantine empire, the Franks and other matters. Thus, in a ninth-century manuscript from Verona, the so-called *Epitome Philippsiana*, much of the Longobard history could be removed and the other material highlighted in an excerpt from Paul's *History*.[51] The four books of the *Fredegar Chronicle* are similarly broad in their outlook and embed an unproblematic concern for Frankish identity in a vision of a world of *gentes*. The examples could be continued. All these histories offer both more and less than a coherent affirmation of the identity of the people that appears, or may not appear in the title.

What used to be regarded as 'national histories', then, were far from just being streamlined towards affirming the identity of the people in question. Conversely, not only histories dealing with the fates of a particular people played a role in shaping their identities. Ian Wood already concluded in 1990 that "the military concerns of Ammianus, the religious ideals of Orosius and Gregory of Tours, the legal criteria of Gundobad and Sigismund, and the imperial vision of Agobard, are all integral to the history of Burgundian ethnicity and ethnogenesis. In many respects they are more central to that history than are the Burgundians themselves who are defined not by blood, but by those who wrote about them."[52] Many texts contributed to the shaping and re-shaping of the ethnic topography of their time – of course depending on their role in the circuit of communication and identification in which ethnic identities were at stake.

For a long time, modern historical research has privileged a national framing of its historical narratives – a key argument in Patrick Geary's *Myth of Nations*.[53] Early medieval histories of particular peoples are rarely geared towards their subjects in a similar manner. They may highlight a people's achievements and extol its talents and courage (as the Gothic histories of Jordanes and Isidore do), but they do not construct the people as the ultimate instance that confers meaning upon its history,

---

50 *Epistulae Austrasicae*, ed. by Henri M. Rochais, in: Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 117, Turnhout 1957, 28–42, 451–465. See Walter Pohl, Introduction: Early Medieval Romanness – a Multiple Identity, in: Transformations of Romanness in the Early Middle Ages: Regions and Identities, ed. by Clemens Gantner, Cinzia Grifoni, Walter Pohl, and Marianne Pollheimer, Munich 2018, 3–39, at 7.
51 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phill. 1885, fols. 50r-75r; see Giovanna Tondini, Un modello per il regno dei Carolingi in Italia. L'Epitome Phillipsiana e l'identità urbana di Verona dopo il 774, PhD thesis Padova 2011 (http://paduaresearch.cab.unipd.it/3544/1/Tondini.pdf).
52 Ian Wood, Ethnicity and the Ethnogenesis of the Burgundians Ethnicity, in: Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bayern, vol. 1, ed. by Herwig Wolfram and Walter Pohl, Vienna 1990, 53–69, 64.
53 Geary, Myths of Nations (note 10).

as national histories did. It is often the other way around: only God makes the existence and actions of the people meaningful. That also places Goths, Franks or Angles on a par. They might compete for God's special grace, but none of them is consistently presented as 'the' chosen people – except for some rare moments of exuberance.[54]

Early medieval histories offer a variety of identifications. Some are strongly grounded in the vision of a Christian society, or in castigating the present community because it has strayed from this path. Other authors put more emphasis on identities of status or place. When ethnic identities are highlighted this often points to an urge to do so under difficult circumstances: both Jordanes' *Getica* and Paul the Deacon's *Longobard History* were written after the end of the respective kingdoms. On the other hand, where ethnic identities recede into the background that may simply mean that the authors took them for granted. We also have to consider that early medieval texts unproblematically endowed peoples with agency. They also remembered the past as populated by *gentes*, since Noah's sons had initiated their genealogy.

We may picture the early medieval *gentes* as phantoms: ghosts that sometimes seem to be only marginally present in accounts of the business conducted by kings, bishops and nobles. The routine identifications that created and kept alive the *gentes* are rarely highlighted by contemporary sources. Where first-person identifications occur, for instance by our authors themselves, they are often ambiguous. Jordanes acknowledged at the end of the *Getica* that as a Goth he might be suspected of having written in their favour.[55] Gregory of Tours was proud of his senatorial origin and of his family of bishops but never went as far as calling himself a Roman.[56] Paul the Deacon interrupted his history for memories of his Longobard progeny, but otherwise spoke of the Longobards as 'them', not 'us'.[57] Still, a hundred years later Erchempert read Paul's history as a praise of Longobard greatness, unlike his own: "It is the custom of the teacher and writer of history, especially in discussions concerning his kin (*stirps*), to repeat only those things which are recognized to lead to an accumulation of glory". However, "since nothing praiseworthy can be written truthfully at this time about the Longobards at Benevento, I am writing for the purpose not of their rule but of their overthrow, not of their happiness but of their misery, not of their triumph but of their ruin."[58] The distant memory of the Longobards had become much more favourable than Paul may have intended.

---

54 Walter Pohl, Gerda Heydemann, The Rhetoric of Election – 1 Peter 2.9 and the Franks, in: Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms, ed. by Rob Meens et al., Manchester 2016, 13 – 31.

55 Jordanes, *Getica* 60 (note 42), 316, 138.

56 Reimitz, History (note 48), 83 – 87.

57 Walter Pohl, Paul the Deacon – between Sacci and Marsuppia, in: Ego Trouble. Authors and their Identities in the Early Middle Ages, ed. by Richard Corradini, Matthew Gillis, Rosamond McKitterick, and Irene van Renswoude, Vienna 2010 (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 15), 111 – 124.

58 Erchempert, *Historiola*, transl. by Joan R. Ferry, *Erchempert's* History of the Lombards of Benevento. A Translation and Study of Its Place in the Chronicle Tradition, Diss. Rice University Houston 1995, 1, 121 – 122: Erchempert, *Historiola*, ed. by Georg Waitz, in: MGH SS rer. Langob., Hanover

'Then' sometimes feels closer than 'now'. Identities that can build on a shared past tend to be more durable. This imagined trajectory between common past and future makes communities real in the present. Yet it also accounts for a certain vagueness, like a phantom, particularly notable in ethnic identities. When we try to define them, they often seem to dissolve. When we think we can do without them, we realize that something important is missing. That is what makes chasing these phantoms so interesting.

1878, 234 – 64: *Mos enim historiographiae doctoris est, maxime de sua stirpe disputantis, ea tantummodo retexere quae ad laudis cumulum pertinere noscuntur.* See Walter Pohl, Historiography of Disillusion. Erchempert and the History of Ninth-Century Southern Italy, in: Historiography and Identity III. Carolingian Approaches, ed. by Helmut Reimitz, Rutger Kramer, and Graeme Ward, Turnhout 2021, 319 – 54.

Ian Wood
The Selective Memory of Jonas of Bobbio

Writing Merovingian history has traditionally been a little like crossing a river using stepping stones (*Trittsteine*): one moves from one source to the next in as straight a line as one can manage. Rarely is one offered the luxury of an alternative route. The sixth-century stone is Gregory of Tours. For the first half of the seventh we have Fredegar, although even in his own independent composition, the so-called Book IV, he incorporates earlier material, including a *Life of Desiderius of Vienne* and Jonas's *Vita Columbani*. Of course, we all know that this is not a very safe way of proceeding. Gregory's narrative, in particular, has been challenged in recent years.[1] Careful scrutiny of the bishop of Tours's own *modus operandi*, alongside other sources, not least the poems of Venantius Fortunatus, as well as the lawcodes, Church canons, and some hagiography, to which on occasion we can add archaeological evidence, has allowed us to come to a greater awareness of what Gregory did with his material. We know that his view of the past was selective, and his carefully structured presentation of events was intended to provide a particular interpretation – one that has dominated all subsequent readings. We have advanced far less in our understanding of Fredegar's aims, and he still seems to be used predominantly as a repository of information.[2] The intentions of Jonas of Bobbio, who supplies Fredegar with one particularly well-known chapter,[3] are potentially more accessible. Yet because there is little that can be used as a control when we read Jonas, there is still a tendency to take his narrative at face value – even though there are at least two occasions where we can be sure that he is misleading.

In what follows I want to problematise Jonas, and to suggest that his representation of the past has very deliberate aims, which need to be linked to specific circumstances. Others, of course, have also raised questions about Jonas' hagiography, especially in recent years,[4] but their main focus has been on the problem of Columbanian spirituality, rather than on issues of representation and misrepresentation. In order to do so I will take not just the *Vita Columbani*, but also the *Lives* of Vedast and

---

1 Walter Goffart, The Narrators of Barbarian History: Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon, Princeton 1988, 112–234: Martin Heinzelmann, Gregor von Tours (538–594), Darmstadt 1994; Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (eds.), The World of Gregory of Tours, Leiden 2002; Helmut Reimitz, History, Frankish Identity, and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, 550–850, Cambridge 2015.
2 Wood, Fredegar's Fables, in: Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter (eds.), Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter, Vienna 1994, 359–366.
3 Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita s. Columbani* I, 18–20, ed. by Bruno Krusch, *Ionae Vitae Sanctorum Columbani, Vedastis, Iohannis* in: MGH SS rer. Germ. in usum schol. [37], Hanover, Leipzig 1905, 144–294; *Chronicarum Fredegarii scholastici libri IV cum continuationibus* IV, 36, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in: MGH SS rer. Merov. 2, Hanover 1888, 1–193.
4 Alexander O'Hara, Jonas of Bobbio and the legacy of Columbanus: Sanctity and Community in the Seventh Century, Oxford 2018.

John. It is true that there is a strong body of opinion that the *Vita Vedastis* is not by Jonas,[5] and similar doubt has recently been raised about the *Vita Iohannis*. In my opinion, the similarities of thought and expression to be found in the texts are greater than the supposed differences, and what linguistic distinctions there are, may derive from textual transmission or of *réécriture*.[6] Certainly the *Lives* of both John and Vedast stem from the spiritual and hagiographical milieu that was in part created by Jonas: they are works of what can be called Columbanian hagiography. As a result, the tensions that one sees between the *Lives* of Columbanus, John, and Vedast, are either tensions within Jonas himself, at different stages of his career, or within the broader spiritual group to which Jonas belonged. My overall argument, therefore, is not dependent on the sole authorship of all three works, although it is unquestionably tighter if they were all written by one man. For the sake of simplicity, I will refer to Jonas as the author of all three texts, while being mindful of the doubts that have been raised, and, indeed, I will return to the issues raised by an acceptance of single, as opposed to multiple, authors.

I will begin by considering Jonas's supposed knowledge of Gregory of Tours, in order to stress the existence of different opinions about recent history, before turning to his depiction of the arrival in Gaul of Columbanus, and of the establishment of Luxeuil, as well as the subsequent exile of the founder. I will then consider how Jonas presents his own day, alongside the indications that some contemporaries had very different views. I will finally turn to the possibility that Jonas himself may well have offered two *retractationes* as to how the past should be seen. In distinguishing Jonas from his contemporaries, and in suggesting that he himself expressed different opinions in different contexts, and at different stages of his career, I would like to stress the point that when considering the issue of cultural memory, which has been well explored in recent years,[7] we need also to be alive to the role of the individual in creating what came to be regarded as collective memory, but which may in fact have originated as the sound of a lone voice. In Patrick Geary's words, we need to "cover the same ground repeatedly before dissident elements of individual memories can be recovered".[8]

It has been suggested that Jonas is the earliest surviving writer to quote Gregory of Tours. In his edition of the *Vita Vedastis*, Krusch printed the passages relating to

---

5 Anne-Marie Helvétius, Clercs ou moines? Les origines de Saint-Vaast d'Arras et la Vita Vedastis attribuée à Jonas, in: Revue du Nord 93 (2011), 671–689.

6 Albrecht Diem, Monks, Kings, and the Transformation of Sanctity: Jonas of Bobbio and the End of the Holy Man, in Speculum 82 (2007), 521–559; Alexander O'Hara and Ian Wood, Jonas of Bobbio, Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, and Life of Vedast, Liverpool 2017, 61–78.

7 James Fentress and Chris Wickham, Social Memory, Oxford 1992; Patrick Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium, Princeton 1994; Walter Pohl and Ian Wood, Introduction: Cultural Memory and the Resources of the Past, in: Clemens Gantner, Rosamond McKitterick, and Sven Meeder (eds.), The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe, Cambridge 2015, 1–12.

8 Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance (note 7), 12.

Clovis's victory over the Alamans and to the king's baptism in such a way as to indicate a quotation from the earlier writer.[9] He does not suggest a precise borrowing in the passage of the *Vita Iohannis* that deals with the 539 campaign of Mummolus and Buccelin in Italy, although he notes Gregory's treatment of the same events, alongside the accounts of Procopius and Marius of Avenches.[10] Whether or not Jonas knew Gregory's *Histories*, and there are no conclusive verbal parallels, what is striking is the extent to which the accounts differ. The geographical details of Clovis's victory over the Alamans supplied in the *Vita Vedastis* are far more precise than those in Gregory: the battle takes place on the banks of the Rhine, and no one with any knowledge of the *Life* could ever have imagined that this is the same engagement as that at Tolbiac/Zülpich (which Gregory does not associate with Clovis at all).[11] Although the bishop of Tours provides us with a narrative of Clovis's elimination of his rivals in Köln and Cambrai, his is a vision of the Frankish king seen from Tours: Jonas seems to look at Clovis from the perspective of north-eastern Francia: the Rhine, places in the Ardennes and Rheims are the dominant points of reference. Krusch, of course, did not believe that Clovis was baptised at Rheims, noting that neither Nicetius of Trier nor Gregory of Tours makes such a claim, which is first asserted by Fredegar – or perhaps Jonas.[12] He may have been right to argue that the baptism took place at Tours. Ultimately, there is no certain way of deciding. But the *Life of Vedast*, like Fredegar's narrative, is a sharp reminder that writers in different places remembered things differently.

This is equally apparent when we turn to the *Life of John of Réomé*. This is clearly the work of a man with access to Burgundian tradition. Strikingly it deals with the time when consul John ruled Gaul: *eo tempore quo Gallias sub imperii iure Iohannes consul regebat.*[13] I leave aside any discussion of which John the author had in mind (we are probably dealing with the Iohannis Scytha or Flavius Iohannis, respectively consuls in 498 and 499):[14] what is more important is surely the notion that the empire was still continuing, and that it was dominated by consuls – a point of view that may derive from the Gibichungs, who saw themselves as agents of the empire, and used consular dating for their official documents.[15]

---

9 Jonas, *Vita s. Vedastis* 2–3, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in: MGH SS rer. Germ. in usum schol. [37], Hanover, Leipzig 1905, 309–312; Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum* II, 30–1, ed. by Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, in: MGH SS rer. Merov. 1, 1, Hanover ²1937–1951.

10 Jonas, *Vita s. Iohannis* 15, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in: MGH SS rer. Germ. in usum schol. [37], Hanover, Leipzig 1905, 326–344.

11 The siege of Zülpich, Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum* II, 37 (note 9), 88, is not the same as Clovis's victory over the Alamans, II, 30 (note 9), 75–76.

12 Krusch, *Ionae Vitae Sanctorum Columbani, Vedastis, Iohannis* (note 3), 301–308.

13 Jonas, *Vita Iohannis* 2 (note 10).

14 O'Hara and Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio* (note 6), 64–65.

15 Mark Handley, Inscribing time and identity in the Kingdom of Burgundy, in Geoffrey Greatrex and Stephen Mitchell (eds.), Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity, Cardiff 2000, 83–102.

A rather different geographical perspective, however, seems to underlie Jonas's reference to the Mummolus campaign.[16] Unlike Gregory, who associates Mummolus with Guntram, and claims that he fought against the Lombards,[17] Jonas states that Mummolus campaigned alongside Buccelin in the days of Theudebert, by which time imperial rule had ended (*sublato imperii iure*),[18] in other words they were involved in the Ostrogothic wars, which fits well with the evidence of Marius and Procopius.[19] It is, of course, possible that Mummolus fought in two Italian campaigns. What is most striking about the reference in the *Life of John*, however, is that the detail is totally unnecessary: it simply provides a point of chronological reference, that is entirely superfluous, for the tale of a man who caught malaria in Italy and was cured in Gaul. It is perfectly possible that the reference to Mummolus and Buccelin is no more than the reflection of a personal interest of the author: the chronology and the geography mattered to him. This could well be an aside from Jonas, an Italian born in Susa, which is likely to have been in the path of the invading Franks.[20]

There is a much more interesting comparison between Gregory and Jonas to be drawn if we turn to the penultimate chapter of the *Vita Iohannis*, when there is a brief account of his successors: Silvester, Mummolus/Mumolinus (perhaps a relative of the military Mummolus), who later became bishop of Langres, and Leubardinus.[21] It is possible that Silvester is the relative of Gregory who was elected to the see of Langres, but died of an epileptic fit before he could be consecrated. His death was understood to be murder, and Gregory of Tours's brother Peter was accused as the perpetrator. Although he was acquitted, he was later killed by Silvester's son. Gregory then records the appointment of Pappolus to the see, followed by that of Mummolus, who is described as an abbot, although his monastery is not named.[22] Whether or not the two Silvesters are the same, it is clear that the Gregory and the *Vita Iohannis* are talking about the same Mummolus. It is worth asking why Gregory fails to name his monastery. This silence may have ramifications. According to Jonas, John of Réomé was forcibly returned from Lérins to his Burgundian monastery by Gregory of Langres, the great-grandfather of the bishop of Tours.[23] The latter gives no information on this in

---

16 Jonas, *Vita Iohannis* 15 (note 10).

17 Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum* IV, 42 (note 9).

18 Jonas, *Vita Iohannis* 15 (note 10). Gregory talks of this campaign in *Decem Libri Historiarum*, III, 32 (note 9).

19 Marius of Avenches, *Chronicon*, s.a. 539, ed. by Justin Favrod, La Chronique de Marius d'Avenches (451–581), Lausanne 1991; Procopius, Wars, VI, 25, ed. by Henry Dewing, Cambridge, Mass. 1924; Ian Wood, The Frontiers of Western Europe: Developments East of the Rhine in the Sixth Century, in: Richard Hodges and William Bowden (eds.), The Sixth-Century: Production, Distribution and Demand, Leiden 1998, 231–253, at 242, n. 88.

20 O'Hara and Wood, Jonas of Bobbio (note 6), 31–34.

21 Jonas, *Vita Iohannis* 19 (note 10), 342.

22 Gregory, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, V, 5 (note 9).

23 Jonas, *Vita Iohannis* 4 (note 10), 331–332

the biography of his ancestor that he provides in the *Liber Vitae Patrum*.[24] Nor does he even mention the monastic interests of the bishop of Langres. John himself is not included in the original version of the *Liber in Gloria Confessorum*, but later generations found this silence odd, and added a chapter.[25] Was Réomé too closely associated with the murder of Gregory's brother in the historian's mind? Are we presented with an alternative perspective to a segment of the family history of the bishop of Tours? Certainly, Jonas provides us with some information that is out of line with the standard narrative that is dependent on Gregory, and which deserves greater recognition.

So far, I have been making minor observations that illustrate the existence of varying views of the past. We come to a more significant, and better known problem when we turn to Jonas's account of the arrival of Columbanus in Gaul.[26] Here, Jonas presents an image of a holy man who arrives in a decadent country, whose bishops were inactive, and who establishes two monasteries in deserted sites with little or no aid – more importantly for what comes later, in so far as any king is mentioned it is the anachronistic Sigibert I, who died in 575: the relevant king at the time of Columbanus's landing in Gaul and transfer to Burgundy was Guntram, while the Burgundian ruler at the time of the foundation of Luxeuil was probably Childebert II, the son of Sigibert and Brunhild.[27]

We can take these points in order, because they all involve a misremembering or, more likely, misrepresentation of events. However, the dominant narrative of early seventh-century religious history tends to follow the representation of Francia set out in the *Vita Columbani*. First there is the question of the religious state of Gaul, where, according to Jonas, the *virtus religionis* had almost been wiped out by the frequency of enemy attacks (*frequentia hostium externorum*) and the negligence of the bishops (*negligentia praesulum*), with the result that the *medicamenta paenitentiae* and *mortificationis amor* had almost vanished.[28] This passage has probably led to greater misunderstanding than almost any statement about Merovingian history. It tends to be combined with the pessimistic vision with which Gregory of Tours closes his *Histories* (also very carefully constructed), and with the fears that Gregory the Great expressed over Merovingian simony.[29] Historians happily ignore the comment on the threat of external enemies (who are extremely hard to identify, although working in the area of the Scheldt in the 630s and 40s Jonas may well have been aware by

---

24 Gregory of Tours, *Liber Vitae Patrum* 7, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in: MGH SS rer. Merov., 1, 2, Hanover 1885.

25 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Confessorum*, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in: MGH SS rer. Merov. 1, 2, Hanover 1885, 353–354.

26 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, 4–5 (note 3), 158–162.

27 G.S. Murdoch Walker, Sancti Columbani Opera, in: Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 2, Dublin 1957, xxii. O'Hara and Wood, Jonas of Bobbio (note 6), 107–108, n. 107.

28 Jonas, *Vita Columbani*, I, 5 (note 3).

29 O'Hara and Wood, Jonas of Bobbio (note 6), 9.

the threats posed by Saxons, Frisians and Thuringians), and they uphold the view of a low-quality episcopate. It is true that Columbanus himself criticises aspects of the bishops of his day, notably their simony,[30] which was an issue that concerned the bishops themselves in almost every Church council of the period.[31] But Columbanus was also replying to episcopal criticism. He was clearly accused of heresy in c. 600, and was summoned to a council at Chalon-sur-Saône in 603.[32] He refused to attend, but instead appealed to the Pope.[33] Columbanus seems to have been able to stand his ground, until he lost the backing of king Theuderic II in c. 610, but ultimately the theological traditions for which he stood were condemned at the council of Mâcon (626/7),[34] to which we shall have to return. It is, however, important to take into account the episcopal attack on Columbanus, which is not mentioned by Jonas. Nor was the episcopal body challenging him insignificantly: its leader was Arigius of Lyon, arguably the compiler of the first major collection of Gallic canon law, the *Vetus Gallica*, as demonstrated by Hubert Mordek.[35] Columbanus's opponents included at least one of the smartest canon lawyers of the late sixth and early seventh century. Jonas's dismissal of the late sixth-century episcopate had led to a totally unjust *damnatio memoriae*.

Some historians have been equally misled by Jonas's use of the term *medicamenta paenitentiae*, which they have connected to the Irish practice of penance.[36] For such scholars the medicines of penance were introduced by Columbanus. One can dispute this on many grounds. The earliest penitential was not that of Columbanus: among the earlier ones was that of the British ascetic and preacher Gildas, who may well have brought his penitential to Gaul two generations earlier.[37] Nor was private penance as radical a novelty as has been assumed. But there is a more important point. The phrase *medicamenta paenitentiae* was not coined by Columbanus, or even much used by him. It is employed extensively by Caesarius of Arles: it is a phrase of late-antique theology,[38] but it is also touches on legal rhetoric. *Paenitentia*

---

30 Columbanus, Ep. I, 6, ed. by G.S. Murdoch Walker, Sancti Columbani Opera, in: Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 2, Dublin 1957.

31 Odette Pontal, Die Synoden im Merowingerreich, Paderborn 1986, 239.

32 Walker, Sancti Columbani Opera (note 27) xxv-xxvi: Caitlin Corning, The Celtic and Roman Traditions: Conflict and Consensus in the Early Medieval Church, New York 2006, 36–40.

33 Columbanus, Epp. 2–3 (note 30); Corning, The Celtic and Roman Traditions (note 32), 28–29.

34 Corning, The Celtic and Roman Traditions (note 32), 48–55.

35 Hubert Mordek, Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich. Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kirchensammlung des fränkischen Gallien, Sigmaringen 1975.

36 Gerard Mitchell, St Columbanus on Penance, in: Irish Theological Quarterly 18 (1951), 43–54.

37 Ian Wood, Columbanus in Brittany, in: Alexander O'Hara (ed.), Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe, Oxford 2018, 103–111, at 106.

38 Ian Wood, Columbanus, the Columbanian Tradition, and Caesarius, in: Deborah Tor (ed.), The Abbasid and Carolingian Empires: Comparative Studies in Civilizational Formation, Leiden 2019, 153–168.

itself was initially a concept in civil law.[39] As for *medicamenta*,[40] historians have overlooked a phrase in Childebert II's Andernach decree of 594, which talks of *sacerdotis sui medicamenta*.[41] Behind this lies Roman legislation of the fifth and sixth centuries,[42] which was already treating monasteries as suitable places for confinement.[43] Here, one should remember the importance of Lyon in the fields of both canon and secular law.[44] In other words, Jonas steals the language of the Merovingian church and of royal legislation to imply totally unjustly that the bishops were ineffective at the time of Columbanus's arrival in Gaul. Subsequent historians have continued to present *medicamenta paenitentiae* as primarily Irish.[45]

If we turn to the other points, which relate largely to the foundation of Luxeuil, we should begin with the question of royal involvement. As we have already noted, Jonas wrongly claims that Sigibert was ruling at the time of the saint's arrival in Gaul. It is easy enough to see why Jonas talks of Sigibert rather than his son Childebert: the latter was also the son of Brunhild, the Jezebel of the *Vita Columbani*. Jonas deliberately sets up Brunhild and her grandson Theuderic II as Columbanus's evil opponents, and their fall is prophesied by the holy man.[46] Although Childebert, or perhaps Theuderic, was on the Burgundian throne at the time of the foundation of Luxeuil, the ruler when Columbanus set himself up in Annegray was Guntram.[47] There may just be an explanation for Jonas's failure to name him. Gregory of Tours recounts that Guntram's army was active around Vannes at the time when we can calculate Columbanus was in the vicinity. His account of the return of the army is followed by the tragic story of the killing in the Vosges of the forester Chundo, an act that Guntram immediately repented.[48] The shift from Vannes to the Vosges in Gregory's narrative is exactly mirrored by Columbanus's journey. Did Guntram's campaign and the execution of Chundo provide the context for Columbanus's

---

39 Julia Hillner, Prison, Punishment and Penance in Late Antiquity, Cambridge 2015, 104–112.

40 On *medicamenta* in general see Natalie Molineaux, Medici et Medicamenta: the medicine of penance in Late Antiquity, Lanham 2009.

41 *Decretus Childeberti,* 1, 2, ed. by Karl August Eckhardt, in: MGH LL nat. Germ. 4,1, Hanover 1962.

42 *Codex Iustinianus*, I, 4, 26, ed. by Paul Krüger, Berlin 1877; Justinian, *Novellae*, 128, 16; 131, ed. by Rudolf Schoell, Berlin 1954; Claudia Rapp, Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: the Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition, Berkeley 2005, 274, 288–289; Pauline Allen and Bronwen Neil, Crisis Management in Late Antiquity (410–590 CE): A Survey of the Evidence from Episcopal Letters (Vigiliae Christianae Supplement 121), Leiden 2013, 202; Hillner, Prison, Punishment and Penance in Late Antiquity (note 39), 86–88.

43 Hillner, Prison, Punishment and Penance in Late Antiquity (note 39), 314–341.

44 For canon law: Mordek, Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich (note 35); for Roman law, Ian Wood, The Code in Merovingian Gaul, in: Jill Harries and Ian Wood (eds.), The Theodosian Code, London 1993, 161–177, at 165–166; Mark Vessey, The Origins of the Collectio Sirmondiana, ibid., 178–199.

45 Peter Brown, The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000, Tenth Anniversary Revised Edition, Oxford 2013, 252.

46 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, 24 (note 3)

47 O'Hara and Wood, Jonas of Bobbio (note 6), 20–21.

48 Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum* X, 9–10 (note 9).

move to Burgundy and his establishment at Annegray?[49] Did Guntram place Colum-
banus in a monastery founded in memory of Chundo's death? And was this a context
that Annegray and Luxeuil did not wish to remember? Essentially these were royal
monasteries, which Jonas for one did not want to remember as such.

When we move from Annegray to Luxeuil we have to be grateful for the recent
archaeological excavations of Sébastien Bully for allowing a complete reevaluation
of Jonas's account.[50] For Jonas, following a meeting between Columbanus and Sigi-
bert, who asked him to remain in his kingdom, the saint discovered the site of Anne-
gray, a *castrum dirutum in the vasta heremus Vosacus*.[51] Luxeuil is also described as
the site of a fortified *castrum*, frequented only by wild beasts, bears, buffaloes and
wolves, and surrounded by the remains of pagan cult sites.[52] These are clearly stan-
dard depictions of a desert setting appropriate for the establishment of an isolated
monastery. Yet it was reasonable to think that the description of Luxeuil contained
a grain of truth – at least until the recent excavations revealed that in the fifth
and sixth centuries it was a thriving Christian centre, with at least two basilicas,
and a substantial number of burials.[53] What Jonas does is wipe out this Christian
past. If we follow the implications of the recent finds, the famous confrontation be-
tween Columbanus and Theuderic, when the saint orders the king to leave the *famu-
lorum Dei habitationes*, takes on a different meaning from what we once under-
stood.[54] It was easy enough to assume that Jonas refers to an enclosed area, and
that may be what he wanted the reader to understand – the hagiographer goes on
to claim that Columbanus refused to leave the *caenubii saepta*. Historians have
seen the notion of the monastic enclosure as something promoted especially by
the Irish, and have associated it with Columbanus, who uses the word *saepta* on
one occasion in his monastic rule.[55] But in fact the enclosure is not exclusively
Irish: it is already a feature of some Gallic monasteries in the days of Caesarius.[56]
More important, it may not have been relevant to Luxeuil in 610. It may well be
that the religious institutions present at Luxeuil at the time of Columbanus's arrival
were still in existence, and that the saint and his community had to live alongside
them. Luxeuil, in the heart of a zone where kings hunted, and with hot springs,
may also have attracted numerous laymen. When we look carefully at Jonas's ac-
count, Theuderic does not enter an enclosed zone, but rather the refectory, that is

49 Wood, Columbanus in Brittany (note 37).

50 Sébastien Bully, Aurélia Bully and Morana Čaušević-Bully, Les origines du monastère de Luxeuil
(Haute-Saône) d'après les récentes recherches archéologiques, in: Michelle Gaillard (ed.), L'empreinte
chrétienne en Gaule du IVe au IX e siècle, Turnhout 2014, 311–355.

51 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, 6 (note 3).

52 Jonas,*Vita Columbani* I, 10 (note 3).

53 Bully, Bully, and Čaušević-Bully, Les origines (note 50).

54 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, 19 (note 3).

55 Columban, *Regula coenobialis* 8, ed. by G. S. Murdoch Walker, Sancti Columbani Opera, in: Scrip-
tores Latini Hiberniae 2, Dublin 1957.

56 Wood, Columbanus, the Columbanian tradition, and Caesarius (note 38).

no more than a specific building set aside for monks. In other words, Luxeuil in Columbanus's day was far from the isolated desert settlement that Jonas describes. His description was probably not just the innocent employment of a topos but a deliberate strategy to portray Luxeuil as something that initially it was not.

Jonas omits Columbanus's departure from Luxeuil and the subsequent developments at the site. We are simply told that Theuderic ordered the removal of Columbanus and his Irish and British followers, while commanding the Franks and Gallo-Romans to remain.[57] Among those who stayed was Eustasius, who was prevented from leaving Luxeuil, by his uncle, Mietius bishop of Langres. There are a number of problems here. Jonas soon seems to contradict himself, because we are told that Eustasius was subsequently present in Bregenz with Columbanus.[58] Of course we can hypothesise situations in which Eustasius could have left Luxeuil after the enforced departure of Columbanus. The saint himself, however, provides us with further reason for thinking that a good deal was happening, of which Jonas says nothing. According to one of Columbanus's own letters, after his departure the Burgundian, Athala was in charge of Luxeuil, which was clearly in a state of turmoil.[59] However, Athala subsequently turned up at Bobbio, where he succeeded Columbanus as abbot in 615.[60] Eustasius had meanwhile become abbot of Luxeuil, and indeed in c. 614 he had been sent by king Chlothar, after his victory over Brunhild and her descendants, to invite the Irish holy man back to Francia.[61] Jonas says nothing about these complicated changes, but other later sources, which may include genuine information, indicate that the turmoil at Luxeuil in this period was extreme. The *Vita Agili* states that Agilus and Donatus were sent to appeal against the persecution of Luxeuil by Theuderic and Brunhild,[62] while the *Vita Walarici* claims that after Columbanus's departure Valery, who had previously been a monk at Luxeuil, returned to the site and began to restore it, after the expulsion of *saeculares*.[63] What all this amounts to is unclear, but we can be sure that there was a major upheaval at Luxeuil between 610 and 614, and we might guess that it was at this moment that the organisation of the monastery that is implied by the recent archaeology was transformed into something closer to the ideal community represented in the *Vita Columbani*. At all costs, we can note that Jonas, probably deliberately, fails to write anything about the changes that occurred in the second decade of the seventh century, no doubt in

---

57 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, 20 (note 3).

58 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, 27 (note 3).

59 Columbanus, Ep. 4. (note 30).

60 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, 1 (note 3).

61 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, 30 (note 3).

62 *Vita s. Agili* II, 8, Acta Sanctorum, August VI, Antwerpen 1743, 574–587; Ian Wood, Luxeuil in the Merovingian Kingdom, in: Andrew Reynolds, Jayne Carroll, and Barbara Yorke (eds.), Power and Place in the First Millenium AD (forthcoming).

63 *Vita s. Walarici,* 5–11, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in: MGH SS rer. Merov. 4, Hanover 1902; Monique Goullet, Introduction, in: Monique Goullet, Martin Heinzelmann, and Christiane Veyrard-Cosme (eds.), L'hagiographie mérovingienne à travers ses réécritures, Ostfildern 2010, 11–25, at 22.

order to imply greater continuity with the days of the founder than was actually the case.

The next major set of problems in Jonas's narrative are better known, yet not entirely understood. They concern the accusations towards Eustasius and Luxeuil by a one-time member of the community, Agrestius. As Jonas tells us, Agrestius had fallen out with Luxeuil over his desire to become a missionary: he had subsequently moved to Italy, where he became infected by the Aquileian schismatics. He then accused his old companions of heresy. In Jonas's account, the accusations largely concerned minor ritual matters, and Eustasius managed to dismiss them with relative ease at the Council of Mâcon, in 626/7.[64] It is clear, however, that Jonas's account is misleading, if not actually fraudulent, and that the reality was much more complex. First, although Agrestius is presented as having broken with Columbanian tradition, in one important way he had remained closer to Columbanus than had Eustasius – for Columbanus would seem to have supported the schismatics over the issue of the Three Chapters,[65] as Agrestius was to do a generation later. Second, it is highly likely that Eustasius and Luxeuil made a lot more concessions at Mâcon than Jonas implies.[66] It was almost certainly at this moment that the community abandoned the Irish Easter tables and adopted those of Victorius of Aquitaine, which for Columbanus himself were anathema. We also know that Luxeuil distanced himself from certain other British and Irish theological traditions that had been accepted by Columbanus – and Mâcon might have been the occasion for part of this move, although the Irish saint himself has been noted as gradually coming to a realisation that Pelagius was regarded as heretical.[67] One British theologian, who was revered by Columbanus, Gildas, seems to have been discarded by Luxeuil – and here perhaps Jonas's silence over his hero's time in Brittany, before moving to Burgundy, may be significant, for there is a strong possibility that Columbanus upon first landing on the continent stayed in the neighbourhood of Gildas's probable burial site, at St Gildas de Rhuys.[68]

It is no surprise that Jonas was trying to present Columbanus and Luxeuil as having been consistently orthodox – which is, of course, not what the Frankish episcopate believed in 600 and 603, any more than in 626/7. But Jonas seems to be doing more than just defend Luxeuil. He also goes out of his way to denigrate Remiremont. According to Jonas, Agrestius received a good deal of support from Amatus and Romaricus, abbot and founder of Remiremont, respectively.[69] There may be some truth

---

64 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, 9 (note 3).

65 Patrick Gray and Michael Herren, Columbanus and the Three Chapters Controversy – A New Approach, in: Journal of Theological Studies, NS. 45 (1994), 160 – 170.

66 Corning, The Celtic and Roman Traditions (note 32), 48 – 55.

67 Ali Bonner, 'Columbanus' Identity and the Writings of Pelagius', in: Mark Stansbury and Immo Warntjes (eds.), Making Europe. Columbanus and His legacy (forthcoming).

68 Wood, Columbanus in Brittany (note 37), 106 – 107.

69 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, 10 (note 3)

in this, for we learn from the *Vita Amati*, that at the end of his life the saint had the *Tome* of Leo brought to him:[70] this was the text that was at the heart of the Tri-Capitoline schism, for the three figures condemned by Justinian, Theodore, Ibas and Theodoret, had all signed the Council of Chalcedon, which had accepted the *Tome*. On his death, Amatus would seemed to have been affirming his orthodoxy, but doing so in an ambiguous way, which suggested a continuing sympathy for the schismatics.[71] In other words, he may have favoured the theological position adopted by Agrestius.

Jonas briefly sketches the past history of Romaricus: he had been a member of the court of Theudebert II, but had been inspired by the example of Columbanus and the preaching of Eustasius to join Luxeuil. He had then founded a community of nuns (Remiremont), who he subjected to the rule of Columbanus (*regulam beati Columbani*).[72] What exactly *regula Columbani* means has been a matter of dispute, but like Albrecht Diem I do not think that when Jonas, or indeed others, use the phrase that they mean the *Regula Monachorum* or the *Regula Coenobialis* that have have been passed on to us.[73] What is at stake is a much broader notion of the religious life, for which the *Vita Columbani* itself might serve as a model.

In this allusion to the foundation of Remiremont, what is left out is more important than what is included. Historians have been remarkably happy to accept Jonas's account, despite the existence of other sources, which imply a rather different picture.[74] Romaricus was the founder of Remiremont, but he was not its first abbot; that was Amatus. The latter had trained at Agaune, which was most notable for its very elaborate liturgy, which involved the division of the community into six *turmae*, which took turns in singing in church, so that the liturgy should be without interruption – the *laus perennis*. Eustasius encountered Amatus during a visit to Agaune, and persuaded him to move to Luxeuil, which he left soon after to establish Remiremont with Romaricus. This was a community of nuns following the *laus perennis*. Although Friedrich Prinz associated the dissemination of the *laus perennis* with Columbanian communities,[75] this was not, in fact, a regular association, and indeed a tradition of contemplative monasticism which revolved around the liturgy is not easy to equate with the active, even labouring, tradition of monasticism that we find in Columbanus's Rules and in the *Vita Columbani*. Although Jonas wants to portray Remiremont

---

70 *Vita s. Amati* 12, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in: MGH SS rer. Merov. 4, Hanover 1902, 215–221.

71 Ian Wood, The Vita Columbani and Merovingian Hagiography, in: Peritia 1 (1982), 63–80, at 65–6; Ian Wood, La compétition monastique à l'âge de saint Colomban, in: Régine Le Jan, Geneviève Bührer-Thierry, and Stefano Gasparri (eds.), Coopétition, Rivaliser, coopérer dans les sociétés du haut Moyen Âge (500–1100), Turnhout 2017, 113–124, at 118.

72 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, 10 (note 3).

73 Albrecht Diem, Was bedeutet Vita Columbani, in: Walter Pohl and Maximillian Diesenberger (eds.), Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter, Vienna 2002, 63–89.

74 *Vita s. Amati*, passim; *Vita s. Romarici*, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in: MGH SS rer Merov. 4, Hanover 1902, 221–225.

75 Friedrich Prinz, Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich, Kempten 1965, 105–106.

as a Columbanian house that temporarily lapsed into heresy, it is better to see it as a community championing a totally different style of monasticism. And one might add that although it was not in Burgundy but Austrasia, the two communities were only thirty kilometres apart – a day's journey.[76] With powerful patrons at the Austrasian court, it was a rival to Luxeuil. Jonas's excursus on its failings is surely not innocent.

While Jonas denigrates Remiremont, he makes Faremoutiers central to his account of Columbanus's disciples. His promotion of the Faronid nunnery deserves rather more scrutiny that it usually receives.[77] The oddity of his account begins already in Book I, in Jonas's description of Columbanus's journey from Nantes to the court of Theudebert. While the route that the Irish saint took from Luxeuil to the Loire mouth is extremely precisely presented, the journey thereafter becomes impossible to follow, and presents considerable problems of reconstruction.[78] We are told that after the ship that he was supposed to take to Ireland was driven back onto the shore it was understood that God did not wish Columbanus to return home. Suddenly we find him in the court of Chlothar, at that moment – when the king had lost the majority of his kingdom – confined to a relatively small number of cantons around Rouen.[79] We are given no explanation as to why the guards who had taken him from Luxeuil to Nantes had suddenly vanished, nor how he could cross a sizeable amount of territory controlled by Theuderic who had commanded his exile. From Chlothar's court the saint moves back to Paris and Meaux, which Jonas presents as belonging to Theudebert's kingdom, but was probably controlled by Theuderic.[80] At Meaux he was received by Chagneric, whose son Chagnoald may have been a member of the community at Luxeuil, and certainly appears later at Bregenz in Columbanus's company.[81] During his visit the holy man blessed Chagneric's daughter Burgundofara: he then continued on to Ussy, where he also blessed the children of Autharius, Ado and Dado (or Audoin).[82] After that he moved on to the court of Theudebert.[83] Given that Jonas seems to have wrongly ascribed the region around Paris to Theudebert's kingdom, one may wonder whether this is not the result of a desire to dissociate a number of families from the circle of Theuderic, Theudebert's rival and Jonas's *bête noire*.

---

76 Wood, La compétition monastique à l'âge de saint Colomban (note 71), 121.

77 Wood, La compétition monastique à l'âge de saint Colomban (note 71), 119. Yaniv Fox, Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul. Columbanian monasticism and Frankish elites, Cambridge 2014, 195 – 218.

78 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, 24 – 27 (note 3); Ian Wood, Columbanus's journeys, in: Antiquité Tardive 24 (2016), 235 – 240.

79 Fredegar, *Chron.* IV, 20 (note 3).

80 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, 25 (note 3); Fredegar, *Chron.* IV, 26 (note 3).

81 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, 26 – 28 (note 3).

82 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, 26 (note 3).

83 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, 27 (note 3).

The foundation of Faremoutiers itself follows a later visit by Eustasius, who intervened when Chagneric tried to marry off his daughter against her wishes.[84] Eustasius forced Chagneric to allow his daughter to take the veil, and as a result a nunnery was founded and Burgundofara was placed under the protection of her brother Chagnoald and Waldebert, the later abbot of Luxeuil. Faremoutiers looms large in accounts of Merovingian female monasticism because of the twelve chapters devoted to the nunnery by Jonas,[85] and also because Bede reveals that three East Anglian princesses joined the community in the middle or later part of the seventh century.[86] This, however, should not lead us to assume that it was a significant centre of female monasticism – this may be an illusion caused by the distribution of our evidence. And there is one very good reason for thinking that it was a relatively minor house. Burgundofara's will gives us an indication of its original provision, which was not much more than two and a half *villae*.[87] By Merovingian standards this is an insignificant foundation. We, therefore, have to ask why Jonas dedicates so much space the community.

This question is all the more serious, in that there are other nunneries which were associated equally closely with Columbanus and Eustasius, which receive a lot less attention. Above all, there are the communities founded by the family of Waldelenus and Flavia in Besançon.[88] This couple had much closer connections with the Irish holy man than did Chagneric. Jonas himself tells us that it was his blessing that ended Flavia's infertility, and as a result she and her husband handed over their first son, Donatus, later bishop of Besançon, as a child oblate to the community at Luxeuil. He would later found the nunnery of *Palatium*, and his rule for nuns survives. After Waldelenus's death, his widow Flavia founded another nunnery in Besançon, that of Iussamoutiers. Another son, Chramnelenus, was also a monastic founder. To this information we can add the passage in the *Vita Agili* that we have already noted, where it is stated that Donatus and Agilus intervened to protect Luxeuil from Brunhild and Theuderic, after Columbanus's departure.[89] Donatus was a major figure in the Columbanian movement, and Luxeuil owed much to him.

 Given the small scale of the endowment of Faremoutiers, especially when compared to the extent of monastic activity supported by the family of Waldelenus, one must wonder why Jonas privileged the Île-de-France nunnery. There is one piece of evidence that may provide the answer, and that is Jonas's statement that he personally celebrated a mass of commemoration there, thirty days after the death of the nun

---

84 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, 7 (note 3).

85 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, 11–22 (note 3).

86 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, 8, ed. by Bertram Colgrave and Roger Mynors, Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, Oxford 1969.

87 O'Hara and Wood, Jonas of Bobbio (note 6), 311–314.

88 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, 14 (note 3)

89 *Vita Agili* II, 8 (note 62).

Gibitrudis.[90] It is unlikely that it was pure chance that he was present, and one may wonder whether he did not act as the community's chaplain for a while.

Jonas, in fact, plays a role in the *Vita Columbani* at various moments. In the preface, he relates the commission to write the work, and also recounts his conversations with the abbots and monks of both Luxeuil and Bobbio – and he also goes out of his way to insert a comment on his missionary work with Amandus on the Scheldt, which had prevented him from completing the text.[91] In addition, he features prominently in two chapters relating to Bobbio: first he recalls how he was allowed to visit his mother by abbot Athala, but had to return unexpectedly quickly when he fell ill. The sickness was miraculous because it led to his being back at Bobbio before Athala died.[92] He also recounts his involvement in abbot Bertulf's appeal to Rome against the encroachment of bishop Probus of Tortona, an appeal that led to pope Honorius granting a papal immunity to Bobbio.[93] In wondering why Jonas chose to write about Luxeuil, Bobbio and Faremoutiers one is, therefore, presented with the fact that these were three communities with which he was associated – and it may be that he alone had strong connections with all three. In other words, the *Vita Columbani et discipulorum eius* is very specifically an account of Jonas's version of Columbanian monasticism. It seems to reflect his own personal vision, and perhaps no one else's. We are dealing with a question of self-promotion – though we might also suspect that the emotions experienced by Jonas at Bobbio and at Faremoutiers seared those communities into his imagination.[94]

At this point one may wish to note the emphasis that Jonas places on mission – which occurs in his presentation of Columbanus at Bregenz, and more generally in his account of the abbacy of Eustasius.[95] The latter is known from other texts as being involved in missionary activity. Columbanus, by contrast, would seem to have had little interest in pursuing mission to the pagans. Indeed, in one of his own letters he states that he forgot to evangelise the heathen.[96] When one contrasts this with Jonas's personal missionary activity on the Scheldt, one has to ask whether the hagiographer's account of the appearance of an angel, instructing the Irish saint to go to Italy and not to preach to the Veneti or the Slavs, is no more than an invention to hide the fact that Columbanus, unlike Jonas, did not see his calling as a missionary one.

---

90 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, 12 (note 3).

91 Jonas, *Vita Columbani*, praef. (note 3)

92 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, 15 (note 3).

93 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, 23 (note 3).

94 Ian Wood, Differing Emotions in Luxeuil, Bobbio, and Faremoutiers', in: Emotions, Communities, and Difference in Medieval Europe. Essays in Honor of Barbara H. Rosenwein, ed. by Maureen Miller and Edward Wheatley, Abingdon 2017, 31–45.

95 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, 27; II, 8–9 (note 3).

96 Columbanus, Ep. IV, 5 (note 30).

If we are to conclude that Jonas's construction of Columbanus and his disciples was very much a justification of his own monastic and missionary stance, it is worth considering whether there is any evidence for the existence of opposing interpretations of Columbanian monasticism in the seventh century. Modern scholarship has tended to rather construct a widespread Columbanian movement, and has not looked for the fissures within the movement. It has even placed Remiremont within the orbit of Luxeuil, although, as we have already seen, there are good reasons for seeing its brand of monasticism as quite distinctive, and looking back to Agaune rather than to any Columbanian tradition.

One arguably divergent view may be associated with Donatus of Besançon. Students of monastic rules have long been aware that there are three so-called *Regulae mixta*e, which combine the rules of Columbanus and Benedict of Nursia: the *Regula Donati*, the *Regula cuiusdam ad monachos*, and the *Regula cuiusdam ad virgines*. There has been a tendency to group these rules together, as indicating a common spirituality. Recently, however, Albrecht Diem has stressed the differences between them.[97] He has, moreover, argued on stylistic and theological grounds that the *Regula cuiusdam ad virgines* was written by Jonas.[98] If we accept the case, and it is unquestionably strong, Donatus and Jonas emerge as authors of rival rules for nuns. Maybe we are dealing with a further reason for the elevation of Faremoutiers and the comparative neglect of the Waldeleni nunneries and monastery in the *Vita Columbani*. Jonas was claiming that he and the female community with which he was associated were more direct heirs of Columbanian tradition than was Donatus.

A further divergent view might be present in the Fredegar chronicle. Although, as we have already noted, Fredegar transcribes a lengthy passage of the *Vita Columbani*, it may be important that the quotation is from Book I:[99] the *Life of Columbanus* himself. The disciples are not present in this section. That this may be meaningful is suggested by two further references in Fredegar. The first concerns Eustasius.[100] The only time that he appears in the *Chronicle* is in a complex story involving bishop Leudemund who tried to persuade queen Bertetrudis to abandon her husband, king Chlothar, in favour of the patrician Alethius. When persuasion failed, the bishop fled to Eustasius for safety, and the abbot secured his pardon. Albeit no more than a few lines long, this presents us with a very different picture of the abbot of Luxeuil from that to be found in the *Vita Columbani:* this is Eustasius the politician, involved in a rather dubious affair. Even more striking, though, is Fredegar's praise for the *maior palatii* Aega.[101] While noting his tendency to avarice, he stresses his reputation

---

97 Albrecht Diem, Columbanian Monastic Rules: Dissent and Experiment, in: Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion, London 2016, 68 – 85.

98 Albrecht Diem, in: O'Hara and Wood, Jonas of Bobbio (note 6), 282 – 302.

99 Fredegar, *Chron.* IV, 36 (note 3): Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, 18 – 20 (note 3).

100 Fredegar, *Chron.* IV, 44 (note 3).

101 Fredegar, *Chron.* IV, 62, 79, 80 (note 3).

for justice. This stands in stark contrast with Jonas's account of his seizure of property from Faremoutiers – which ends in an act of divine vengeance when he dies.[102] While sharing Jonas's admiration for Columbanus himself, Fredegar seems to have had different views on some of the leading figures of the next generation. He also, perhaps significantly, noted that the monastery of Agaune – the foundation of which he had covered in his abridgement of Gregory of Tours' *Histories* – provided a model for Guntram's monastery of St Marcel at Chalon-sur-Saône.[103] In addition, he referred to the institution of the *laus perennis* by Dagobert at St Denis.[104] Fredegar, despite his admiration for Columbanus himself, would seem to have been more closely associated with the spirituality of Agaune.

Jonas's construction of the past in the *Vita Columbani* thus proves to be one that would not have been accepted by everyone: in Patrick Geary's terms there are dissident elements in his memories. The episcopate would scarcely have accepted his view of the state of the Merovingian church: Agrestius would certainly have had a very different concept of what constitution Columbanian tradition: Donatus would have had more in common with Jonas, but he would not have privileged Faremoutiers against his own foundation of *Palatium*, or his mother's of Iussamoutiers: Fredegar would seem to have had a greater appreciation of the traditions of Agaune, while also approving of Aega, the man who Jonas saw as a predator.

Aega's death (in c. 641) is the last dateable event in the *Vita Columbani*, the composition of which can be dated from Jonas's comments on the death of abbot Bertulf to 642/3. Jonas, however, would seem to have lived on for some while, perhaps becoming abbot of Marchiennes. According to the preface added to the *Vita Iohannis Reomaensis* by a later writer, he wrote the work in 659, after he had stopped at the monastery on the way to the royal court at Chalon-sur-Saône.[105] Recent computer analysis has suggested that there are differences between the Latin of the *Vita Iohannis* and that of the *Vita Columbani*, although it should be said that much of the vocabulary and phraseology, as well as some odd stylistic quirks, including an unusual tendency to switch from the past to the present tense, have their parallels in the *Life of Columbanus*. I am, thus, inclined to believe that the added prologue, which ascribes the work to Jonas, records a genuine tradition even if the text, like many Merovingian works, may have gone through a process of *réécriture* before its earliest manuscript witness, which is only 10th-century.[106] It is worth remembering that Réomé was unquestionably in the orbit of Luxeuil, since its abbot Hunna is recorded as having received his monastic training there.[107] In other words, it would not be sur-

---

102 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, 17 (note 3).

103 Fredegar, *Chron.* IV, 1 (note 3).

104 Fredegar, *Chron.* IV, 80 (note 3).

105 Jonas, *Vita Iohannis*, praef. (note 10).

106 For the language of the Vita Iohannis, personal communication from Alain Dubreucq.

107 Bobolenus, *Vita Germani Grandivallensis* 6, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in: MGH SS rer. Merov. 5, Hanover 1910.

prising if the *Vita Iohannis* had been written by a hagiographer from the Luxovian milieu, even if it was not by Jonas himself.

What is striking, however, is the extent to which the *Life of John* contradicts the vision of the sixth-century Church to be found in the *Life of Columbanus*.[108] Instead it presents a highly favourable picture of late-fifth- and early-sixth-century monasticism, in which the source of inspiration is Lérins – a house that is presented as insufficiently rigorous at the beginning of Book II of the *Vita Columbani*.[109] Not only is Gallic monasticism praised. The hagiographer also provides large numbers of citations from Cassian and from a relatively little-known work, the *Monita* of Porcarius.[110] Furthermore, it cites an early monastic rule, the *Regula Quattuor Magistrum*, which probably originated in Lérinian circles.[111] If we think this disqualifies Jonas from being the author, we should remember that, despite his attack on the early Merovingian episcopate, he drew some of his most distinctive phrases, including *medicamenta paenitentiae* (which also appears in the *Life of John*), from the ex-Lérins monk Caesarius of Arles, and from Gallo-Roman tradition.

John himself died in the mid sixth-century, perhaps two generations before Columbanus's arrival, but the *Vita* continues to list the abbots of the monastery, as we have seen, down to Silvester, Mummolus and Leubardinus. Unlike the *Vita Columbani*, it also implies a good relationship between monastery and bishop. In all sorts of ways, the *Life of John* presents a different past from what we find in the *Vita Columbani*. Yet someone in the circle of Luxeuil was clearly happy to present such an image.

Much the same can be said of the *Life of Vedast* which Krusch ascribed to Jonas on stylistic grounds.[112] The argument has recently been challenged.[113] And it is certainly true that it again presents a vision of the Gallic church that is far removed from that of the *Vita Columbani*. For a start, it is episcopal: there is no monastery in sight. We should, however, beware of thinking that Jonas in later life could not have constructed a picture of a model bishop. While most bishops in the *Vita Columbani* are malign figures, Jonas does provide positive comments on those bishops influenced by Luxeuil: above all there is the presentation of Eligius of Noyon, who was the founder of Solignac, as well as houses in Paris.[114] Moreover, in his own later career Jonas had to work alongside bishops, not least Amandus.[115] The *Life of Vedast*, indeed, belongs to the world of Eligius and Amandus. Geographically, Arras is close

108 O'Hara and Wood, Jonas of Bobbio (note 6), 61–68.

109 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, 1 (note 3); Jonas, *Vita Iohannis* 4 (note 10).

110 Jonas, *Vita Iohannis* 18 (note 10); O'Hara and Wood, Jonas of Bobbio (note 6), 260, n. 133.

111 Jonas, *Vita Iohannis* 5 (note 10); O'Hara and Wood, Jonas of Bobbio (note 6), 250, n. 66.

112 Bruno Krusch, Zwei Heiligenleben des Jonas von Susa, in: Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 14 (1893), 385–448.

113 Helvétius, Clercs ou moines? (note 5).

114 Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, 9 (note 3).

115 O'Hara and Wood, Jonas of Bobbio (note 6), 36.

to their areas of activity. Moreover, the *Vita Vedastis* is first and foremost the *Life* of a missionary saint, and like the *Vita Columbani* it contains an account of the miraculous destruction of beer barrels intended for pagan celebration.[116]

Rather than denying Jonas's authorship, I would argue that the *Lives* of John and Vedast provide alternative images of the past from those to be found in the *Vita Columbani*. The differences may simply reflect a change in the author's attitudes. The *Life of Columbanus* is the work of a relatively young man not yet established in the Merovingian church. The *Life of John* seems to have been written by a figure of some authority, and that of Vedast by a man used to working with authority. Moreover, each of these texts has a different *raison d'être*. The *Life of John* provided a community that had recently received an abbot trained at Luxeuil with an appreciative account of its earlier traditions: that of Vedast provided the diocese of Arras with the account of a founding, missionary bishop, much like the contemporary *Life of Gaugericus*, of the neighbouring diocese of Cambrai.[117] Besides, both these *Lives* belong to a time when the Columbanian bishop Eligius was creating new shrines for the early bishops of the region. I would suggest that in certain respects the *Lives* of John and Vedast are *retractationes* offered by Jonas. And if they are not by him, they present modifications made by hagiographers who belonged to the same circle, of the vision of the past that he had set out in the *Vita Columbani*.

We began with Gregory of Tours, Jonas and Fredegar as stepping-stones, providing a path through Merovingian history. We find that these stepping-stones, and Jonas in particular, are very much less stable than we would like – and that, for the historian, is a loss. But in compensation we find that each of our authors is an individual engaged in representing the past for a number of reasons, at specific moments in time. That makes them very much more complex, with the result that, while we may lose confidence in our ability to relate a neat narrative, we end up with a much deeper awareness of the period we are studying, and also of how individuals in that period were responding to and deploying their knowledge of the past. There were many memories to choose from, and we should try to understand not so much which may be more accurate (which may be an impossible to task), but why a particular memory is privileged at a particular moment.

But there is also another question: why does our reconstruction of the seventh-century follow Jonas? As we have seen, his reading has been questioned from the start. And even if we limit ourselves to what he has to say in Book I of the *Vita Columbani*, which Fredegar acknowledged, it is worth remembering that Columbanus appears in few other texts – in a handful of related hagiographical works,[118] but not at all in, for instance, the *Liber Historiae Francorum*. If we look at the manuscript

---

116 Jonas, *Vita Vedastis* 7 (note 9); Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, 27 (note 3).

117 *Vita s. Gaugerici*, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in: MGH SS rer. Merov. 3, Hanover 1896, 652–658: Charles Mériaux, Une Vita mérovingienne et ses lectures du IXe au XIe siècle. Le dossier de saint Géry de Cambrai, in: L'hagiographie mérovingienne à travers ses réécritures (note 63), 162–191.

118 O'Hara and Wood, Jonas of Bobbio (note 6), 78–83.

output from the sixth and seventh centuries it rather reflects the world of the fifth- and sixth-century Church, which Columbanus supposedly had to revive and reform, clearly late-sixth- and seventh-century Merovingian ecclesiastics, who included such skilled jurists as Arigius of Lyon, still appreciated the writings of their Gallo-Roman forebears.[119] The notion of a sixth-century religious caesura, and spiritual revival engendered by the Irish depends entirely on privileging the interpretation offered by Jonas in the *Vita Columbani*. In fact, the propagation of this reading derives from the nineteenth-century catholics, Montalembert and Ozanam – but that would take us into a different history of remembering and forgetting.[120] We need to recognise that there are alternative stepping-stones that allow us to take different routes across the seventh century, just as there are for us to find our way across the sixth.

---

[119] Ian Wood, The Problem of Late Merovingian Culture, in: Stephan Dusil, Gerald Schwedler, and Raphael Schwitter (eds.), Exzerpieren – Kompilieren – Tradieren: Transformationen des Wissens zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter, Berlin 2017, 199–222.

[120] Ian Wood, The Irish in England and on the Continent in the Seventh Century: Part 1, in: Peritia 26 (2015), 171–198, at 176–178.

Michael J. Kelly

Gundemar the Ghost, Isidore the Historian: Rethinking Visigothic History from the Whispers of its Literature

Introduction

In *Phantoms of Remembrance*, Patrick Geary states that "[t]hose who could control the past could direct the future."[1] Echoing Walter Benjamin's dictum that the past has meaning according to the chain of significations into which it is put and RG Collingwood's encapsulation theory, Geary shows that medieval writers selected elements of the past, discarded others, and organized the material into cognitively mnemonic historiographies, using false plots of comprehensiveness to misdirect historical enquiry.

Embracing Geary's interpretative paradigm, this chapter illustrates how early medieval Iberian authors were attuned to the functions of history-writing and employed mnemonic techniques. The exemplar for this is the fascinating story of the reign of the Visigothic King Gundemar (r. AD 610 – 612), as created by Isidore, bishop of Seville (c. AD 600 – 636). The following reading reveals what the silences and the whispers of Gundemar across Isidore's texts suppress, suggests why they do so, and demonstrates the medieval historiographical legacy of Isidore's attempt to erase Gundemar from historical existence – and thus from all future relevance.

Gundemar's Conciliar Activities

A dithematic name, Gundemar means war.[2] Tragically, Gundemar failed to live up to his name, had little impact on the Visigothic kingdom and its church, and had no memorable or *any* communication with the great clerics of his time, such as Isidore. This is the false narrative that Isidore invented. Why?

---

[1] Patrick Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium, Princeton 1994, 6.

[2] Gunth(j)o (battle) + 'maerja' (famous). Thank you to Wolfgang Haubrichs for his explanation of these linguistic associations. Isabel Velázquez further contends that "guma" or "goma" was Gothic for "man". The slates show that Gund- or Gum- was not uncommon among Goths of the late sixth century. In slate 128, from Salamanca, one 'Gumari-' is making supplication to Reccared (see Isabel Velázquez, Las Pizarras Visigodas: Entre en latín y su disgregación. La lengua hablada en Hispania, siglos VI-VIII, Real Academia Española 2005, 426 – 432).

The answer has to do with Gundemar's council.[3] A plenary council, it dealt in its content with ecclesiastical matters that directly addressed multiple provinces and which affected them all.[4] Gundemar and twenty-six bishops, from every region and province of the kingdom, signed the decretal.[5] Only two attested to being there – Isidore and Innocentius (bishop of Mérida [c. 600–610s]). The main function of the council was to pronounce a decretal concerning the bishoprics of Cartagena and Toledo.[6]

In addition to the decretal, there was a supplementary constitution pronounced by Gundemar the day after the council, containing the signatures of fifteen bishops from around Carthaginensis, or, Carpetania. This Carthaginian constitution was meant, from Gundemar's point of view, to buttress the council's actions as expressed in the decretal, which it did. However, it also provides a rare glimpse into the conflicts and incriminations of the early 610s, otherwise veiled in the historical record.

Following the constitution and its signatures are three short *suggessiones* on behalf of Emilanem, bishop of Mentesa in Carthaginensis.[7] Such an ordering in the texts and use of the *suggessiones* in this way implies a familiarity with the Romano-Visigothic legal tradition. In the *Breviary* of Alaric II, the decretal was a written decision applied universally as law across a unified political unit. Gundemar's court saw the decretal as a royal writ.[8]

The decretal's purpose was twofold: first, the demotion of the bishopric of Cartagena from its status as metropolitan see of the province of Carthaginensis. This demotion would be so absolute that subsequently no bishop of Cartagena would ever sign a Spanish council, from 610 until the end of the kingdom in the 710s. The second function was to elevate the bishopric of Toledo to the vacated post of metropolitan see of Carthaginensis. Gundemar became the first Visigothic king to formally elevate Toledo to the metropolitan status of Carthaginensis.

---

3 The authoritative edition of the Iberian councils is La Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. by Gonzalo Martínez Díez and (from 1982 as co-editor) Félix Rodríguez, 6 vols, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 1966–2002, referred to hereafter simply as CCH, with respective volume noted. For the records of the council of Gundemar see CCH 6, 205–213.

4 IV Toledo 3, CCH 5 (note 3), 184 defines a plenary council as dealing with matters relevant to the wider church, *fidei causa...aut quaelibet alia ecclesiae conmunis*. The restructuring of metropolitan statuses and the seat of the king seems to fit this definition.

5 CCH 6 (note 3), 201: *ob hoc, quia una eademque provincia est, decernimus ut sicut Betica, Lusitania vel Tarraconensis provincia, vel reliquae ad regni nostri regimina pertinentes.*

6 CCH 6 (note 3), 201.

7 CCH 6 (note 3), 212–214.

8 The decretal is opened as such, but in the signatures, Gundemar, in his *propria manu*, refers to the text as *edicti*, hence the reference to the decretal as the *Edictum Gundemari*. If Gundemar saw the decretal as an edict, this further suggests its intention as a royal proclamation, a *lex in confirmatione* (on the latter see Isabel Velázquez, Leges in Confirmatione Concilii: The Relationship between the Monarchy and the Church in Visigothic Hispania, Visigothic Symposia 1 (2017), 57–80).

The promotion of Toledo and demotion of Cartagena aimed at challenging the Byzantine position in the latter. The message of victory expressed by the conciliar activity was an act of propaganda, part of an ongoing war of rhetoric between Visigothic and Byzantine officials.[9] Gundemar opens the decretal with an appeal to the bishops in a manner somewhere between a legalist approach and the pathos of Sisebut's *Vita Desiderii* of a few years later.[10] Referring to the reign of his predecessor Witteric (r. 603–610), Gundemar acknowledges that wrongdoing had been done in Toledo.[11] However, Gundemar would restore order, piety and prestige to the city and its church.[12] The Byzantines had done a poor job defending the integrity of Cartagena, which recently had been subject to the assassination of its bishop, Licinianus, and the deposition of its governor, Comentiolus.[13] Gundemar defended the city's faith and property and restored its dignity, despite stripping it of its authority.

Gundemar built legitimacy for Toledo as primatial see by tying this power back to the Catholic foundations of the kingdom. At III Toledo (the Third Council of Toledo, 589), Gundemar claims, Toledo was elevated to metropolitanate of Carthaginensis. His council was ratifying this move and correcting the error of Eufemius, bishop of Toledo at that council, who had located the city in Carpetania, suggesting the city was not even in Carthaginensis, let alone the center of its spiritual life.[14] Gundemar says that Eufemius, and so by implication King Reccared (r. 586–601), Leander (bishop of Seville, c. 579–600), Massona (bishop of Mérida, c. 573–600), and the senior Goths at the council misunderstood the location of Toledo. However, evoking the populist appeal to commonsense, Gundemar says that Carpetania and Toledo were "undoubtedly" (*procul dubio*) part of Carthaginensis: the matter was settled.[15]

---

9 Evident, for instance, in the Comentiolus inscription of 589 or 590, on which see Jamie Wood, Defending Byzantine Spain: Frontiers and Diplomacy, in: Early Medieval Europe 18 (2010), 292.

10 CCH 6 (note 3), 205.

11 CCH 6 (note 3), 205–206: (...) *sed etiam aeternorum adipisci gloriam meritorum. Nonnullam enim in disciplinis ecclesiasticis contra canonum auctoritatem per moras precedentium temporum licentiam sibi de usurpatione praeteriti principes fecerunt, ita ut quidam episcoporum Carthaginensium provinciae non revereantur contra canonicae auctoritatis sententiam passim ac libere contra metropolitane ecclesiae potestatem per quasdam fratrias et conspirationes inexploratae vitae omnes episcopali officia provehi atque hanc ipsam praefatae ecclesiae dignitatem imperii nostri solio sublimatam contemnere, perturbantes ecclesiastici ordinis veritatem euisque sedis auctoritatem quam prisca canonum declarat sententia abutentes.*

12 In the Oxomensis, Vigilianus and Aemeliensis manuscripts, CCH 6 (note 3), 20.

13 See Wood, Defending Byzantine Spain (note 9), 315.

14 III Toledo, CCH 5 (note 3), 140: *Eufimius in Christi nomini ecclesiae catholicae Toletanae metropolitanus episcopus provinciae Carpetaniae.*

15 CCH 6 (note 3), 206–207: *Illud autem quod iam pridem in generalis synodo concilii Toletani a venerabili Eufemio episcopo manus subscriptione notatum est, Carpetaniae provinciae Toletanam esse sedem metropolis, nos eiusdem ignorantiae sententiam corrigimus, scientes procul dubio Carpetaniae regionem non esse provinciam sed partem Cartagensis provinciae, iuxta quod et antiqua rerum gestarum monumenta declarant.* On Gundemar's argument that Toledo had always been the metropolitan

Formally speaking, then, the decretal starts with an implied demotion, or negation, of Carpetania, suppressing what may have been a vibrant postcolonial phenomenon: the re-emergence of a pre-imperial provincial identity.

The constitution approves the demotion and promotion, respectively, of Cartagena and Toledo, and provides glimpses into otherwise unseen tensions. In the constitution, one sees, if not an outright condemnation of Gundemar's authority, then dissenting opinions by Carthaginian bishops.[16] These bishops, almost all junior or marginal, state that they do not condone Gundemar's specific actions or the precedent of royal authority over ecclesiastical appointments and administration. They confirm that Toledo is a metropolitan see on the basis of prior canon law, by way of II Toledo in 527. They avoid explicitly stating that Toledo is the metropolitan see of Carthaginensis by confirming simply that it is a metropolitan see.[17]

The council was extremely effective, regardless of the possible extent of dissension, which also divided bishops in at least one city in Carthaginensis.[18] Through the council, Gundemar pre-established a way to maintain the ecclesiastical unity of Carthaginensis a decade or so before Toledo's conquest of the city. After Gundemar's council there was no need for any subsequent Visigothic king or council to make this move, and no bishop of Toledo ever again signed Toledo as in Carpetania. Moreover, in affirming the ancient boundaries of Carthaginensis, Gundemar moved the Toledan monarchy closer to Roman tradition, providing it with the cultural capital it needed against the Byzantines.[19] Cementing the move, the next bishop of Toledo, the *vir illustris* and *dux* Helladius (bishop from 614 to his death in 633), was, prior to his conditioning at the monastery of Agali, the governor of Carthaginensis.

The conciliar activities of Gundemar demonstrate the presence of keen jurists and other legal officials in Gundemar's court and their appropriate education in, awareness of, and versatility for adapting imperial and Visigothic law. Evident too are legalist conciliar innovations previously attributed to Isidore's II Seville in 619, as well as explicit imitation of Byzantine practice for the purpose of affiliating Gundemar with the Byzantine emperor.[20] Gundemar approaches this task from multiple angles, for example, signing the decretal as *Flavius Gundemarus rex*. This action in-

---

see of Carthaginensis, see also Jose Orlandis and Domingo Ramon-Lissón, Historia de los concilios de España romana y visigoda, Pamplona 1986, 246–260.

16 Such expressed dissension is nearly unprecedented in conciliar legislation. However, it appears also in III Seville, another council presided over by Isidore and suppressed from the *Hispana*.

17 CCH 6 (note 3), 210: *fatentes huius sacrosanctae Toledo ecclesiae sedem metropolitani nominis habere auctoritatem.*

18 Venerius and Teudorus both signed as bishops of the Carthaginian bishopric of Castolonensis: the former the decretal, the latter the constitution.

19 Meritxell Pérez Martínez, Tarraco en la Antigüedad tardía. Cristianización y organización eclesiática (III a VIII siglos), Tarragona 2012, 363–365.

20 Rachel Stocking, Bishops, Councils and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, Michigan 2000, 129–130 (henceforth BCC).

dicates that the council was an "ornate event" intended to imitate Byzantine-style authority in the presence of the collected Spanish bishops.[21]

Isidore's Reactions

Isidore's first appearance in the historical record is with his signature of the decretal of Gundemar, marking the two men as born into history together, at the same place, at the same time, for the same reason: elevating the authority of Toledo and its monarch. This was not the historical memory that Isidore wanted to be transmitted. Gundemar's council was a traumatic moment for Isidore in which he authorized the unilateral authority of the monarch over ecclesiastical affairs. The effects of the institutionalization of such prerogative quickly became manifest. The next king, Sisebut (r. 612–621), inaugurated his reign by appointing bishops and then reprimanding and replacing others.[22] Isidore's *Sententiae*, *Chronicles*, *De Origine Gothorum*, and *Hispana* exclude Gundemar's council. Together they helped forge a powerful historiographical tradition that almost erased the council and Gundemar himself from the past.

Sententiae

The recognition of the powers that he had afforded to the monarch and their subsequent employment drove Isidore to develop his model of kingship[23] in the *Sententiae*.[24] In them, he attempts to reclaim authority for ecclesiastics. He promotes the monarchy for its salvific potential and claims that royal power is effective only when subordinate.[25] Kings are a punishment from God; their appointment to lead

---

21 Visigothic kings signed a text as *Flavius* when it served rhetorical ("Byzantinizing") purposes in front of Hispanian audiences. For example, Reccared signed III Toledo and a *decretum* as *Flavius*, but signed personal letters as *Rex*. See Gregorius I, *Registri L. VIII-XIV,* ed. by Ludovic M. Hartmann, in: MGH Epp. II, Berlin 1890, IX, 227, 220–221.

22 *Epistulae Wisigothicae* 7 and 3, ed. by Wilhelm Gundlach, in: MGH Epp. 3, Berlin 1892, 668–669 and 663–664; and, Jacques Fontaine, King Sisebut's Vita Desiderii and the Political Function of Visigothic Hagiography, in: Visigothic Spain, ed. by Edward James, Oxford 1980, 126, n. 1.

23 See Marc Reydellet, La Conception du Souverain, in: Isidoriana, ed. by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, León 1960, 457.

24 See Isidore of Seville, Sententiae 3.47–3.51, ed. by Pierre Cazier, in: Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 111, Turnhout 1998. On the dating of Isidore's Sententiae to between 612 and 615 see Jose Carlos Martín, Une nouvelle édition critique de la Vita Desiderii de Sisebut, accompagnée de quelques réflexions concernant la date des Sententiae et du De uiris illustribus d'Isidore de Séville, Hagiographica 7 (2000), 141–145.

25 Isidore, *Sent.* 3.51.3 (note 24): *sub religionis disciplina saeculi potestates subjectae sunt.*

is based on humanity's original sin and the evil that unleashed.[26] Kingship is an office, a duty to be fulfilled.[27] A king's role is to mediate between men. He should be a *rex* and should rule as a leader of the people, equal in the eyes of God.[28] A king is the servant of the people, not an intermediary between God and them, and certainly not between God and the bishops.[29] He is to care for the Christian *regnum*, not show vice against or dictatorship over it.[30] In the *Sententiae*, Isidore created a relationship between the crown and the church that was a partnership of semi-autonomous equals, which he had hoped would persuade Sisebut to embrace a constitutionally limited royal authority.[31]

Chronicles

In his *Chronicles*, Isidore completely ignores Gundemar, refusing to inscribe him or his council into the annals of significant persons and events. World history was to be without Gundemar. Isidore produced two versions of his *Chronicles*. The shorter was made around 627 for inclusion into the *Origines* (*Etymologies*). The longer was completed in 615 or 616 and then revised in 626.[32] Neither include any reference to Gundemar.

De Origine Gothorum

Complementing the historiographical-spiritual work of the *Chronicles* are Isidore's two redactions of the *De Origine Gothorum*. In them, Isidore references Gundemar by saying, essentially, "Gundemar was king after Witteric. He once tore up some Basque lands, another time attacked Roman soldiers, and later died by some regular ailment in Toledo".[33]

---

26 Isidore, *Sent.* 3.51.6, and 3.47.1 (note 24): *Propter peccatum primi hominis humano generi poena divinitus illata est servitutis…Inde et in gentibus principes, regesque electi sunt, ut terrore suo populos a malo coercerent, atque ad recte vivendum legibus subderent.*

27 See Reydellet, La Conception du Souverain (note 23), 458.

28 Isidore, *Sent.* 3.48 – 49 (note 24).

29 Isidore, *Sent.* 3.49 (note 24): *dedit Deus principibus praesultatum pro regimine populorum (…).*

30 Isidore, *Sent.*, 3.48.2 (note 24).

31 The concept, later expressed in IV Toledo 75, CCH 5 (note 3), 248 – 260, may have been derived from Flavius Corippus's *In laudem Iustini August minoris Libri IV* (see Flavius Cresconius Corippus, *In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris Libri IV*, ed. by Averil Cameron, London 1976.)

32 It could also have been revised in the years 631 and 654. For the authoritative edition and further discussion see *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica,* ed. by José Carlos Martín, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 112, Turnhout 2003.

33 Isidore, *Chronica* 59 (note 32).

Since the conciliar activities of Gundemar were, it would seem, only introduced into historical memory in the 680s, the foundational historical record we have of him is this earlier Isidorian account. In it, Isidore avoids associating Gundemar with ecclesiastical affairs, or anything other than military endeavors. Sadly, Gundemar does not accomplish much by battle and does not die gloriously. In censoring Gundemar's actions, Isidore eliminated the origin story of Toledo's becoming metropolitanate and so denied historical significance to Gundemar and agency to Toledo's spiritual primacy.

This historiographical misdirection is evident throughout the text, for example, in the next chapter about Sisebut.[34] Here, Isidore relates the opening of Sisebut's reign with his attempt at bringing people into communion with the church, as opposed to his autocratic control over ecclesiastical affairs. The reader gets no impression from the Gundemar and Sisebut chapters that ecclesiastical authority had been institutionalized in the monarchy, in Toledo, during this decade: Gundemar's depiction is lackluster and Sisebut is painted as zealous but ignorant. Isidore adroitly criticizes these figures without having to preserve the reasons behind the criticism, instead using the representations as pedagogical devices.

The *De Origine Gothorum* was a central component of Isidore's three origins-story narratives to shape a specific spiritual-historical trajectory: by them, memory is invented and directed to encourage future activity. Each of the origins texts – *De Origine Officiorum, Origines*, and *De Origine Gothorum* – was initially developed between the years 614 and 619. As a set, they relate the origins of the offices of the church and the duties of a cleric, the origins of language and knowledge, and the origins of the land and people, thereby consolidating into a pedagogical framework the ideal relationship of church, people, nation, and king.

Hispana

The most glaring exclusion of Gundemar's conciliar activities is from the canonical record constructed by Isidore and his Sevillan network and known as the *Hispana*. Three versions were produced between 633 and 694. They are known respectively as the *Isidoriana*, the *Juliana*, and the *Vulgata*. The *Isidoriana* is the earliest form, written between 633 and 636.[35]

---

34 Isidore, *Chronica* 60 (note 32).

35 On the dates of the construction of the *Hispana* see CCH 1 (note 3), 306–354 and CCH 6 (note 3), 9; Gonzalo Martínez Díez, Concilios españoles anteriores a Trento, in: Repertorio de Historia de las Ciencias Eclesiasticas en España, vol. 5, Siglos I-XVI, Salamanca 1976, 306–307; Felix Rodríguez, Los antiguos concilios españoles y la edición crítica de la colección canónica *Hispana*, in: Monumenta Iuris Canonici 6, ed. by Stephen Kuttner and Kenneth Pennington, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 1980, 3–13. On the manuscript tradition, see the Introduction to CCH 1 and Chapter 2 of CCH 6.

Excluded from the *Isidoriana* are Gundemar's conciliar activities, as well as other councils, including ones led by Isidore. In fact, the majority of councils from across the kingdom, held between 589 and 624, were excluded from the memory of ecclesiastical activities.[36] The only councils from this period, between the conversion of the kingdom to Catholicism at III Toledo to the Isidore-led IV Toledo (633), to be included are two of the councils at Seville, held respectively in 590 and in 619. III Seville, led by Isidore in 624, was excluded from the official canonical records. The image it provides is that of a direct line of orthodox spiritual authority running from Isidore's brother and episcopal predecessor Leander at III Toledo through the *memorable* councils of Seville to IV Toledo when Seville symbolically conquers Toledo. That two councils signed and led by Isidore would have compromised this pedagogical narrative suggests that both must have had effects that Isidore wanted forgotten.

The chaos of the earlier 630s, with active rebellions and royal and episcopal usurpations, may have been seen by Isidore as an opportunity to achieve his aim of overturning the practical legacy of Gundemar's council. The *Hispana* – in the form of the *Isidoriana* – provided a perfect platform for this, especially since bishops had, as Isidore argues in the *De Origine Officiorum*, a special duty (*speciale officium*) to read the Scripture *and* the canons and from that knowledge to go forth and teach, to historicize in the way Isidore wanted.[37]

Isidore had other reasons too for misdirecting the historical memory of Gundemar. The council record shows a general lack of collegiality, with competing junior and senior bishops,[38] and the explicit dominance of Seville and Mérida. This competition contradicted Isidore's vision of the bishop as at peace with his brothers and provided a reason not to have bishops learning and teaching it into the future.[39] Also, Cartagena was intimately associated with Isidore's family: it was his hometown, his brothers Leander and Fulgentius frequented it,[40] papal communication arrived to Seville through it, and its bishop (Licinianus) was a family friend.[41] That it was Cartagena that was demoted, let alone in favor of Toledo, must have complicated matters and influenced Isidore's decision to erase Gundemar's council from the past.

---

36 The list includes the councils of Narbonne (589), II Saragossa (592), Huesca (598), Toledo (of 597), II Barcelona (599) and Egara (614). On the exclusions, see Stocking, BCC (note 20), 16, n. 57. For other excerpts of the *Hispana* and transmission of individual councils see Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum, ed. by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz and CCH 6 (note 3), 41.

37 Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (*de origine officiorum*) 2.5, ls. 67–72 & 171–175, ed. by C. M. Lawson, in: Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 113, Turnhout 1989.

38 Venerius and Teudorus: the former signed the decretal, the latter the constitution.

39 Isidore, *Sent.* 3.32.2 (note 24).

40 In the late 570s (Leander, *Regula* 23, ed. by Jaime Velázquez Arenas, Leandro de Sevilla: De la instrucción de las virgines y desprecio del mundo, Madrid 1979).

41 Isidore of Seville, *De Viris Illustribus* 29, ed. by Carmen Codoñer Merino, El "De Viris Illustribus" de Isidoro de Sevilla: Estudio y Edición crítica. Salamanca 1964. See also Licinius, *Epistula* 1, ed. by Jose Madoz, in: Liciniano de Cartagena y sus cartas. Edición crítica y estudio historicó, Madrid 1948, 84, 92–93.

Isidore never wrote about Gundemar's council, an astonishing silence that suggests a serious concern about proliferating its memory and future functionality. Isidore was not simply omitting Gundemar from the canonical records, he was – intent on breaking the historical cycle of Gundemar – damning his memory. Gundemar was the ghost haunting Isidore the historian.

Other Visigothic Reactions

Braulio

Braulio (bishop of Zaragoza, 631–651), maintained Isidore's silence about Gundemar. In his *De Viris Illustribus* chapter on Isidore, Braulio excluded Gundemar from the list of kings under which Isidore lived, even though Braulio was Isidore's student in Seville during Gundemar's reign, or near to it. Braulio, a close ally of Isidore's and successor to his 'school' was faithful to the narrative that Isidore constructed, potentially with Braulio's assistance (the *Hispana*).[42]

Ildefonsus

In contrast to Braulio, Ildefonsus (bishop of Toledo, 657–667) wrote his own version of the *DVI* and in it re-introduced Gundemar to the list of kings associated with Isidore.[43] Ildefonsus was no friend of Isidore's legacy. With his version of the *DVI*, Ildefonsus challenged the spiritual significance of Seville and the authority of Isidore's texts, such as the *DVI*, saying that Isidore continued the grand tradition of Jerome and Gennadius, as best he could. Unfortunately, he was not quite up to the task and so Ildefonsus had to rewrite the narrative.[44]

---

42 On the "school" of Isidore-Seville see Michael J. Kelly, Isidore of Seville and the "Liber Iudiciorum": The Struggle for the Past in the Visigothic Kingdom, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World 80, Boston and Leiden, 2021.

43 Ildefonsus of Toledo, *De viris illustribus* 9, ed. by Carmen Codoñer Merino, in: Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 114 A, Turnhout 2007.

44 Ildefonsus, *De viris illustribus*, preface (note 43). For discussion see Michael J. Kelly, The Politics of History-Writing: Problematizing the Historiographical Origins of Isidore of Seville in Early Medieval Hispania, in: Isidore of Seville and His Reception in the Early Middle Ages, ed. by Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood, Amsterdam 2016, 93–110.

Julian & Ervig

Julian (bishop of Toledo, 680–690) and King Ervig (r. 680–687) reintroduced Gundemar's conciliar activities into the canonical record at XII Toledo (681). This was a clear affront to the *damnatio memoriae* constructed by Isidore, especially as the purpose was to re-assert royal prerogative on the one hand and absolute authority of the Toledan church over the entire kingdom on the other.[45] Julian, in the first alternative version of the *Hispana* – the so-called *Juliana* – placed Gundemar's council *not* back into chronological order, but rather out of place, making it especially meaningful in the present. The symbolic re-arrangement placed Gundemar's council into an alternative chain of signification.

Extra-Iberian and Post-Visigothic Representations

Fredegar

In his mid-seventh-century *Chronicles*, Fredegar says that "Witteric died this year, and was succeeded as king of Spain by Sisebut." This reproduces the silence on Gundemar found in Isidore's *Chronicles*. It is possible that Isidore was so successful in his erasure of Gundemar that Fredegar, writing only a generation after Isidore's death and only two after Gundemar's, yet outside of the kingdom and away from its political intrigues, never heard of Gundemar.

Chronicle of 741

The *Chronicle of 741* was written in the Iberian Peninsula, although it is mainly concerned with the East. The narration of Iberian history begins with Reccared. The author relies on Isidore's Gothic history – which was copied into the exemplar of the four extant chronicle manuscripts – saying of Gundemar that he reigned for a bit after Witteric.[46]

---

45 The use of *damnatio memoriae* was popular in late-/post-Roman legal codification and can be found throughout Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (*Codex* 1.3.23; *Dig.* 28.3.6.11; *Inst.* 3.1.5). The Roman phrase was *memoria damnata* (but see also *Codex* 1.5.4.4; 7.2.2 and 9.8.6; *Dig.* 28.3.6.11 and 31.76.9; *Inst.* 3.1.5 and 4.18.3). The term *damnatio memoriae* has been in use since Christoph Schreiter's *Iuridicam de Damnatione Memoriae, Praescitu Superiorum* (Leipzig: Ph.D thesis, 1689).
46 On the Chronicle of 741 see Ann Christys, Christians in Al-Andalus: 711–1000, NY 2002: Chapter 3 and Ksenia Bonch Reeves, Visions of Unity After the Visigoths: Early Iberian Latin Chronicles and the Mediterranean World, Turnout: Brepolis, 2016: Chapter 2.

Chronicle of 754

The *Chronicle of 754* was written in Toledo or somewhere in the southeast several decades after Arab-Berber armies had overthrown the Visigothic kingdom. The text is thus also removed from the competitive discourses of Isidore's Iberia;[47] its purpose is to demonstrate the ecclesiastical unity of the Peninsula. The chronicler begins the story of the Visigoths in Iberia with Helladius, Isidore and Sisebut, suggesting a deliberate decision to begin the narrative safely away from the memory of Gundemar, especially since this chronicler relied on the same manuscript of the histories of Isidore as the chronicler of 741.[48] In chapter 18, the chronicler suggests knowledge of the Isidorian version of the *Hispana*. The use of this may explain her or his exclusion of Gundemar.

Chronica Albeldense

The *Chronicle of Albeldense* represents a shift in historical theory that occurred within in the ninth century, when the function of chronicles, histories and origins became blurred. The *Chronicle of Albeldense* builds not on Isidore's *Chronicles*, but rather sees itself in relation to and as a continuation of Isidore's *De Origine Gothorum*. For the most part, it reproduces the representation of Gundemar in that text. However, instead of initiating the chapter with reference to the Byzantine emperor on the throne at the time of Gundemar's ascension, Phocas (r. 602 – 610), it mentions Heraclius (r. 610 – 641), the emperor at the time of Gundemar's passing.[49]

Chronica Naieransis[50]

The three-book, twelfth-century (c. 1160) *Chronicles of Najera* simply replicates Isidore's *De Origine Gothorum* on matters of Gundemar.[51]

---

47 For extended discussion of the Chronicle of 754 see Christys, Christians in Al-Andalus (note 46), 28 – 51.

48 See Rodrigo Furtado, Isidore's Histories in the Mozarabic Scholarship of the Eighth and the Early Ninth Centuries, in: Ways of Approaching Knowledge in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages: Schools and Scholarship, ed. by Paulo Farmhouse Alberto and David Paniagua, Nordhausen, 2012, 264 – 287.

49 Crónica Albeldense, ed. by Juan Gil Fernández, José L. Moralejo and Juan Ignacio Ruiz de la Peña, Universidad Oviedo 1985, 169.

50 Written between 1173 and 1194 at the Benedictine monastery, Santa María la Real, in Nájera, Spain (see Chronica Hispana saeculi XII, Pars II: *Chronica Naierensis*, ed. by Juan A. Estévez Sola, in: Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 71 A, Turnhout 1995).

51 *Chronica Naierensis*, 1.191, l. 1 (note 50).

Lucas de Tuy

Lucas de Tuy, writing his World Chronicle in thirteenth-century Leon, refers to Gundemar by copying Isidore's *De Origine Gothorum* chapter.[52]

Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada

In his *Historia Gothicae*, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada also repeats the Isidorian legacy of Gundemar by citing Isidore's *De Origine Gothorum*.[53]

Historia Silense

The author of the early-twelfth-century *Historia Silense* – intended to glorify Alfonso VI (r. 1065–1109) – was explicitly aware of Isidore's writings, but does not mention Gundemar.[54]

Oxomense Manuscript Tradition

The Oxomense manuscript tradition represents an alternative and a break in the Isidorian historiography of Gundemar. The oldest extant Spanish manuscript of the *Hispana* is the *Codex Oxomense*,[55] the lost Ur-model for which a manuscript is made in Cordoba around the year 775.[56] The *Codex Oxomense* contains a *Juliana* redaction of the *Hispana*[57] and is the archetype of the *codices Vigilanus* and *Aemelianensis*.[58] These represent a single, Toledan-centered manuscript tradition surviving from about 775 to the 990s and are the only to preserve Gundemar's council. Between the creation of the *Codex Aemelianensis* in 994 and the mid-thirteenth-century edi-

---

52 Lucas de Tuy, *Chronica Mundi*, 2.78.1–3, ed. by Emma Falque Rey, in: Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 74, Turnhout 2003.
53 Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada, *Historia de rebus historiae, sive, Historia Gothica,* 2.16.16–18, ed. by Centre Traditio Litterarum Occidentalium, Turnhout 2010.
54 MS Madrid BN 1181.
55 MS Escorial E.I.12.
56 On the relations to a lost 775 manuscript and the Cordoban origins of it in MS Escorial E.I.12 see Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, Pequeñas aportaciones para el estudio de la 'Hispana', in: Revista Española de Derecho Canónica 17 (1962), 382–383.
57 CCH 6 (note 3), 109.
58 The *Codex Vigilanus* was produced between 974 and 976 and the *Codex Aemelianensis* between 992 and 994, see CCH 1 (note 3), 109–132 and CCH 1, 30–33, 111–119.

tion of this *Hispana* tradition, another version of Gundemar's acts existed,[59] although the medieval bishops of Toledo were unaware of it.[60]

Chronica general de España

The *Chronica general de España* commissioned by Alfonso X of Castile (r. 1252–1284) and written between the 1260s and 1280s repeats the information about Gundemar found in Isidore's *De Origine Gothorum*. However, it is the first medieval account to embellish the Isidorian details with contextualization of the situation outside of Spain during Gundemar's reign, indicating a potential awareness of the Oxomense tradition.

Chronica general de España

In 1563, Ambrosio de Morales sat down to continue Florian do Campo's 1553 *Chronica General de España*, which brought the history of Spain to 210 BC. Morales intended to extend the history's chronological scope, but he also wanted to expand the range of material covered.[61] Morales did reintroduce dormant material, such as the history and significance of Carpetania, yet he maintained the general silence about Gundemar. In a reply to Morales, Miguel de Luna, in his *Verdadera historia del Rey Don Rodrigo* (1589) argues that the Goths deserved to lose their kingdom to the virtuous Arabic rulers. His story ignores Gundemar too.

Conclusion

The image of Gundemar as cunning, assertive, and successful in wresting authority over ecclesiastical affairs from clerical hands, and with the blessing of Isidore on top of that, has eluded historians medieval and modern. Isidore's Gundemar has lived a long historical life from the early Middle Ages to the modern world. In that time, he

---

59 CCH 6 (note 3), 44–48.

60 Its only traceable owners – the abbot of Oña, the Bishop of Oviedo, and the abbots of Sahagún, Silos, Cardeña and Carrión – were all located relatively close to one another in the northern Duero plateau.

61 Ambrosio de Morales, La cronicon de España; proseguiendo adelante de los cinco libros que el Maestro Florian de Ocampo dexo escritos, Alcalá de Henares, Juan Yñiguez de Lequerica, September 1574, prologue (unpaginated), 4. Ocampo had been appointed Cronista real in 1539.

has gone from being a haunting figure to a shadowy footnote.[62] The aim of this chapter has been to interrogate Isidore's history of Gundemar and its effects. This has revealed Isidore's turning Gundemar into a narrative ghost, demonstrated the reasons for and historiographical means by which Isidore manipulated memory to suppress the haunting figure, and, finally, indicated, in brief, the medieval legacy of that *damnatio memoriae* and its historical significance.

The historiographical tradition using Isidore and the Visigoths to legitimize centrality, Castilian superiority, Catholic hegemony and autocratic rule often repeats the broader Isidorian tradition, as it was invented from the early eighth century onward. This includes the *damnatio memoriae* of Gundemar. However, contrasting historical narratives – whether Miguel de Luna's to Ambrosio de Morales's, or, centuries later, Américo Castro's to Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz's – which struggle against/for the centrality of the Visigoths, against/for lineage and unity, also tend to repeat the *damnatio memoriae* of Gundemar. Perhaps actualizing this historiographical ghost can help facilitate a short-circuiting of problematic historiographical dialectics on Visigothic Iberia.

Appendix: The Authenticity of Gundemar's Council

The authenticity of the records of Gundemar's council has been a topic of discussion in Visigothic studies since the eighteenth century. The debate today is effectively settled, with a wide consensus of scholars supporting the authenticity of the material. Like historical objectivity, as it is commonly imagined, absolute knowledge about anything from the past (not even "the past" itself) is achievable. As such, there may still arise those who will reasonably challenge the authenticity of the Gundemar material. However, I believe that when we read that material critically against its historiography and the history that it is supposed to represent, the most defendable conclusion, with the evidence we have, is that Gundemar's council was a real event and the records we have pertaining to it are genuine, although edited, as other Iberian conciliar records. At present, I am compiling a comprehensive defense of the authenticity of the Gundemar material, but, because of the significance of the documents to the current chapter, I am including here a brief outline of select reasons to support the authenticity of the material.

There are only two potential points of forgery for the Gundemar conciliar material: the first is the court/ circle of Ervig and Julian of Toledo; the second is the compilers of the Escorial manuscripts, which preserve the records of the council. Neither of these sites are a convincing point of forgery. In the case of the former, several rea-

---

62 Jacques Fontaine, in his thousand-page classic Isidore de Séville et la Culture Classique dans l'Espagne Wisigothique, 2 vols, Paris 1959, mentions Gundemar once, on a single page, as a small part of a footnote.

sons suggest that the Gundemar activities were, in fact, genuine. The earliest historical records we have of Gundemar's council are from the *Juliana* recension of the *Hispana* (remember, they were not included by Isidore in his version, for the reasons explained above). Since the first recording of the council is out of place, some scholars have questioned its authenticity. However, there are perfectly good reasons for the text having been revived and for that act not being a conspiratorial forgery.

It may always be unclear to historians what led to the deposition of Wamba and the election of Ervig – i.e. was it poisoning or a chance sickness that led to him entering a state of penitence, and was this a coup conspired by Julian and Ervig? What is certain is that Ervig and with him Julian felt the need to legitimize the new reign and specifically to reinforce the authority of Toledo. To do so, they made a number of important real and actual moves. For example, in XII Toledo, they eliminated "extraneous" dioceses, such as Elo, and the dioceses created by Wamba (XII Toledo 4).[63] Canon 6 of XII Toledo re-asserts the primacy of the bishopric of Toledo and its right to appoint bishops in other provinces. The records of Gundemar's council would have been precisely the type of documentation needed to re-confirm such Toledan royal and ecclesiastical dominion over the kingdom, and so they were inserted into the *Hispana*.

That the records confirmed Toledo's agenda is cause to be initially skeptical, but the contextualization decreases that suspicion. Finding a document in the archives to defend one's thesis is convenient, surely, but not alone sufficient reason to doubt the text's authority. Moreover, in this case, there is ample evidence to demonstrate that this type of activity was not unusual amongst Visigothic writers and compilers and, excepting when Gundemar has been involved, it has not led historians down the path of forgery claims, suggesting that it is something about what we – modern scholars building from the medieval historiography – believe of Gundemar that fuels the falsification myth.

The thinking behind the creation of the *Hispana* – like the *Liber Iudiciorum* – was to advance a particular narrative, not to collect all previous records into annals or simply "functional" texts. Many conciliar texts were excluded from the *Hispana* and yet are known of by other means – e.g. independent records or discussion in the later councils (e.g. references to III Seville [625] in VI Toledo [638]) – that they did in fact occur. Other council records were re-arranged and reinserted into the canonical record when it was beneficial to do so, for example the council of Huesca (598) was formally recorded in 614 at the council of Egara.

Julian, following the literary-cultural customs of the time, decided to revive archival material that suited his aim. It is crucial to reiterate that the effects of Gundemar's council were felt in real time and can be traced throughout the seventh centu-

---

63 See Antonio Poveda Navarro, La creación de la sede de Elo en la expansión toledana de finales del s. VI en el S. E. Hispánico, in: Actas del XIV Centenario del III Concilio de Toledo (589 – 1989), Toledo 1991, 615 – 617.

ry. If Ervig and Julian forged the Gundemar records, they would also have to have forged the historical record since the 610s, an unlikely scenario. What Ervig and Julian did, like their Visigothic contemporaries, was to manipulate the historical narrative in their favor, including and excluding material to fit their political aims.[64] This was history-writing in seventh-century Hispania.

On the second potential point of forgery, Gundemar's conciliar records come to us via the Spanish manuscript tradition of the *Hispana*. They survive within a collection of documents known as the Appendix Toletana, which effectively preserve their "out-of-placeness". This being out of place has raised doubts about their authenticity, but again the concern seems to be more based on false associations of Gundemar. The Appendix Toletana is preserved in the tenth-century Escorial codices Vigilanus and Aemilianus, which are famous for containing unique materials not otherwise suspected of being forgeries. The Appendix contains seven Toledan documents, primarily from the decades surrounding Gundemar's council, including a letter between Count Froga and Bishop Aurasius of Toledo (*Ep. Wis.* 20) concerning issues referenced by Ildefonsus in his *DVI* 5. In addition to the independent verifications of non-Gundemar material, the marginalia of the *Codex Aemilianensis* (Escorial d.I.1) confirms the once independent and additional circulation of records of Gundemar's council – a not uncommon situation for council records. Written in the margins after the signatures of XII Toledo and just prior to the *Incipit Decretum* of Gundemar is a note by an uncertain hand which reads – *Hoc decretum gundemari regis habetur in meo exemplari.*[65]

From the data presented above, there seems to be insufficient evidence for the Gundemar documents being forgeries, whether of Ervig and Julian or the Escorial scribes. Furthermore, the authenticity thesis fits better with the activities of Gundemar, such as his notable diplomatic activity, construction of Toledan supremacy and involvement in church affairs, as seen in the letters of Bulgar (*Ep. Wis.* 14) and elsewhere. Ervig and Julian's resurrection of the Gundemar documents confirms that he was associated with such activity.[66] That said, I would caution the reader that this short exposition has been meant only as a limited sketch of the fuller pro-authenticity argument – which, in my associated essay, will be buttressed by additional theses – by which to provide sufficient information to instill confidence in the authenticity of the material in question.[67]

---

64 In the *codices Oxomense* and *Vigilianus*, the records of I and II Seville are at the end, after the *Appendix Toletana*, which could indicate that Julian had also cut them from the record.

65 On the potential hand in the marginalia see Augustin Millares Carlo, Tratado Palaeografia Española, Madrid 1983, 51.

66 On this, see Stocking, BCC (note 20), 121, n. 13.

67 For more on the authenticity of Gundemar's council, see Jose Vives, Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, Barcelona 1963, 403–410; Gonzalo Martínez-Díez, Estudio, La Collección Canónica Hispana 1: Estudio, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1966, 209–220; Paul Séjourné, Le dernier père de l'Église. Saint Isidore de Séville, Paris 1936, 86–88; E. A. Thompson, The

Goths in Spain, Oxford 1969, 159 – 160; Jose Orlandis and Domingo Ramos-Lissón, Historia de los concilios de España romana y visigoda, Pamplona 1986, 248 – 252; Isabel Velázquez Soriano and Gisela Ripoll López, *Toletum*, la construcción de una *urbs regia*, in: *Sedes Regiae* (ann. 400 – 800), ed. by Gisela Ripoll and José María Gurt, Barcelona 2000, 521 – 571; and, Meritxell Pérez Martínez, Tarraco en la Antigüedad tardía. Cristianización y organización eclesiática (III a VIII siglos), Tarragona 2012, 403. For arguments questioning the authenticity of the texts, see Giovanni Domenico Mansi (ed.), Conciliorum omnium maxima collectio, 10.511; Felix Dahn, Die Könige der Germanen 5, Leipzig 1885, 175; and Antonino González Blanco, El decreto de Gundemaro y la historia del siglo VII, Los Visigodos. Historia y civilización, Antiqüedad y Christianismo 2, Murcia 1985 and ibid., La historia del S. E. peninsula entre los siglos III-VIII d.C. (Fuentes literarias, problemas y sugerencias), Del Conventus Carthaginiensis a la Chora de Tudmir. Perspectivas de la historia de Murcia entre los siglos III-VIII Antiqüedad y Christianismo 2, Murcia 1985, 71.

Philippe Depreux

In ornamento totius palatii? Selektive Wahrnehmung der königlichen Entourage in frühmittelalterlichen Quellen

„Ich habe Dich bei Deinem Namen gerufen" (Jes 43,1). Nicht nur in der Bibel ist die namentliche Nennung einer Person von großer Bedeutung. Auch in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft spielt der namentliche Ausruf oder die Niederschrift des Namens von Menschen eine wichtige Rolle. Dies ist zum Beispiel der Fall in der liturgischen Praxis der Erinnerung an die Verstorbenen und Lebenden, die sowohl in Diptychen[1] als auch in Büchern[2] festgehalten wurde, und woraus Historiker aufschlussreiche Informationen über den Zusammenhalt der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft gewinnen können.[3] Ebenfalls in anderen Bereichen ist die Nennung der Wirkenden von großer Relevanz – beispielsweise in Urkunden: Dort geht es nicht nur um den namentlichen Hinweis auf Personen, die am Beurkundungsvorgang beteiligt wurden, um Rechtssicherheit zu gewährleisten,[4] sondern auch um das Schweigen über bestimmte Akteure, denn der Verzicht auf eine Nennung ist in politischer Hinsicht von großer Bedeutung.[5]

Der Ansatz, den ich hier verfolgen möchte, betrifft die narrativen Quellen aus der Karolingerzeit: Zum einen geht es darum zu verstehen, aus welchem Grund bestimmte Leute in diesem oder jenem Zusammenhang genannt werden und zum anderen darum nachzuvollziehen, warum die zu erwartende Nennung einer Person umgangen wird.

---

1 Siehe beispielsweise Rolf Bergmann, Die Trierer Namenliste des Diptychons Barberini im Musée du Louvre, in: Namenforschung. Festschrift für Adolf Bach zum 75. Geburtstag, hrsg. von Rudolf Schützeichel und Matthias Zender, Heidelberg 1965, 38–48.
2 Einen hervorragenden Überblick zum Forschungsstand bietet folgender Ausstellungskatalog: Peter Erhart und Jakob Kuratli (Hrsg.), Bücher des Lebens – lebendige Bücher, St. Gallen 2010.
3 Es sei beispielsweise auf die neue Deutung der Namenliste im Prager Sakramentar hingewiesen – siehe Carl I. Hammer, The Social Landscape of the Prague Sacramentary: The Prosopography of an Eighth-Century Mass-Book, in: Traditio 54 (1999), 41–80; Stuart Airlie, Earthly and Heavenly Networks in a World in Flux: Carolingian Family Identities and the Prague Sacramentary, in: Max Diesenberger, Rob Meens und Els Rose (Hrsg.), The Prague Sacramentary: Culture, Religion, and Politics in Late Eighth-Century Bavaria, Turnhout 2016 (Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 21), 203–224.
4 Philippe Depreux, Bitte und Fürbitte am karolingischen Hof. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur politischen Bedeutung der Ambasciatoren- und Impetratorenvermerke (Mitte 8. bis Mitte 9. Jahrhundert), in: Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde 58 (2012), 57–101; Ders., Les mentions hors teneur des diplômes de rois et empereurs aux temps carolingiens, entre notes à l'usage des notaires et instruments de communication politique, in: Olivier Canteaut (Hrsg.), Le discret langage du pouvoir. Les mentions de chancellerie du Moyen Âge au XVIIe siècle, Paris 2019 (Etudes et rencontres de l'Ecole des chartes, 55), 41–75.
5 Geoffrey Koziol, The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas. The West Frankish Kingdom (840–987), Turnhout 2012 (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 19).

Es ist zu bezweifeln, dass eine allgemein gültige Strategie erkannt werden kann; ich möchte vielmehr Beispiele analysieren, die die Vielfalt der Möglichkeiten aufzeigen, wie die Leute in der Karolingerzeit die Erinnerung an die Zugehörigkeit bestimmter Personen zur führenden politischen Elite hervorheben oder auch umgehen konnten.

Dhuoda und die Erinnerungspraxis der Wilhelmiden

Dass je nach Kontext unterschiedlicher Personen gedacht wird, liegt auf der Hand. Dies ist umso leichter nachvollzuvollziehen, wenn man – wie Dhuoda im 9. Jahrhundert – zwischen öffentlichen und privaten Angelegenheiten unterscheidet. Hier geht es tatsächlich um eine Auswahl. Dhuodas *Liber manualis* ist eine wertvolle Quelle für die Erforschung der frühmittelalterlichen memorialen Praxis innerhalb adliger Familien: Die Aufforderung, für die Toten der Familie zu beten, ist Bestandteil der guten Ratschläge der Mutter an ihren Sohn.[6] Es wurde schon betont, dass die Aufrechterhaltung der genealogischen Beziehungen in Bezug auf die Erbschaft eine wichtige Motivation für das Totengedenken ist.[7] Bemerkenswertweise spielt das Amt eine Rolle bei der Wahrnehmung der Toten: Im Werk ist die Aufforderung zu beten in zwei unterschiedliche Teile getrennt dargestellt. Das ganze Buch VIII ist dem Gebet gewidmet. Wilhelm soll für alle beten, insbesondere (der Reihe nach) für die kirchlichen Würdenträger, die Bischöfe und Priester, für die Könige und Hoheiten, für seinen eigenen Herrn (d. h. für König Karl den Kahlen) und für seinen eigenen Vater (Bernhard) sowie für das ganze Volk Gottes; schließlich soll Wilhelm auch für die verstorbenen Eltern seines Vaters, für seinen eigenen Patenonkel (Theoderich) und für sich selbst beten.[8] Getrennt von dieser Aufforderung stellt Dhuoda eine Liste der Verstorbenen auf, für die Wilhelm beten soll. Diese Liste ist im vorletzten Buch (X) des *Liber manualis* überliefert. Es ist besonders bedauernswert, dass das Original nicht erhalten ist,[9] denn die Überlieferung dieser Liste ist problematisch. Zwar wird sie in Buch VIII angekündigt, aber sie ist möglicherweise nicht wirklich Bestandteil des Werkes. Zu Beginn des Abschnittes über die Gebetspflicht Wilhelms gegenüber seinen Großeltern väterlicherseits schreibt Dhuoda: „Bete für die Eltern deines Vaters, die ihm ihr Vermögen

---

6 Patrick J. Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium, Princeton 1994, 49.

7 Régine Le Jan, Dhuoda ou l'opportunité du discours féminin, in: Cristina La Rocca (Hrsg.), Agire da donna: Modelli e pratiche di rappresentazione (secoli VI-X), Turnhout 2007 (Haut Moyen Âge 3), 109 – 128, hier 118.

8 Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, hrsg. von Pierre Riché, Bernard de Vregille und Claude Mondésert, Paris 1975 (Sources chrétiennes 225), 306 – 325; Dhuoda, *Liber manualis*. Ein Wegweiser aus karolingischer Zeit für ein christliches Leben, übersetzt von Wolfgang Fels, Stuttgart 2008 (Bibliothek der mittellateinischen Literatur 5), 138 – 148.

9 Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung siehe Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils (Anm. 8), 45 – 50. Die älteste Handschrift (Nîmes, Bibliothèque du Carré d'Art, ms. 393) datiert vom späten 10. / 11. Jahrhundert.

in gesetzlicher Erbfolge hinterließen. Wer sie gewesen sind oder wie ihre Namen lauteten, wirst Du in den Abschnitten am Ende dieses kleinen Buches verzeichnet finden" (*nomina eorum in capitulis huius libelli in fine inuenies conscripta*).[10] Die Liste aber, obwohl sie als § 5 von Buch X überliefert ist, steht direkt nach dem Schlusseintrag: *Finit hic liber manualis. Amen. Deo gratias.*[11] Auf Buch X folgt ein zusätzliches Buch (XI) über das Gebet der Psalmen, das mit einer ausführlichen Datierung (auf das Jahr 841) endet. Über den ursprünglichen Aufbau des Werkes wissen wir nichts, aber eines steht fest: Dhuoda unterscheidet zwischen dem Gebet aufgrund einer Pflicht in rechtlicher Hinsicht und dem Gebet für die Verstorbenen der Familie: „Hier erfahre kurz die Namen einiger Angehöriger, die ich weiter oben bei der Erwähnung anderer übergangen habe!"[12] Wilhelms Patenonkel, Theoderich, wird an beiden Stellen namentlich erwähnt; in Buch VIII betont Dhuoda die Tatsache, dass Wilhelm dessen Erbe ist.[13]

Einhards Blackout

Im oben angeführten Beispiel geht es ausdrücklich um Erinnerung. Das Vergessen ist aber auch üblich – und ein absichtliches Vergessen scheint nicht selten zu sein.[14] Ein Beispiel sehr geschickter *damnatio memoriae* liefert Einhard im 18. Kapitel seiner *Vita Karoli:*

> Als [Karl] nach seines Vaters Tode mit seinem Bruder das Reich geteilt hatte, ertrug er dessen Feindschaft und Hass mit solcher Geduld, dass es allen bewundernswert erschien, wie er sich von ihm nicht einmal zum Zorn reizen ließ. Die Tochter des Langobardenkönigs Desiderius, die er dann auf seiner Mutter Geheiß geheiratet hatte, verstieß er wieder, man weiß nicht aus welcher Ursache, nach einem Jahre, und vermählte sich mit der Hildigard, einer Frau von hohem Adel aus dem Volk der Schwaben; diese gebar ihm drei Söhne [...].

Diese werden so wie die Töchter namentlich genannt. Auch die folgenden Frauen sowie die Beischläferinnen werden namentlich genannt – nur die Tochter des Langobardenkönigs nicht.[15] Es steht außer Frage, dass Einhard den Namen kannte – nur aus politisch-diplomatischen Gründen nennt er ihn nicht. Ebenfalls Paschasius

---

10 Übersetzung: Dhuoda, *Liber manualis* (Anm. 8), 145; Zitat: Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils VIII, 14 (Anm. 8), 320.

11 Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, X, 4 (Anm. 8), 352.

12 Dhuoda, *Liber manualis* X, 5 (Anm. 8), 163.

13 Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils (Anm. 8), 320 – 322; Übersetzung: Dhuoda, Liber manualis VIII, 15 (Anm. 8), 146 – 147.

14 Dazu siehe Johannes Fried, Der Schleier der Erinnerung: Grundzüge einer historischen Memorik, München 2004.

15 Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, Kap. 18, in: Reinhold Rau (Hrsg.), Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte, Bd. 1, Darmstadt 1987 (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe 5), 188-189.

Radbertus in seiner *Vita Adalhardi* ist vergesslich: *Unde factum est, cum idem impe-*
rator Carolus desideratam Desiderii regis Italorum filiam repudiaret.[16] „Es begab sich
also, dass Karl der Große sich von der erwünschten Tochter des Desiderius trennte.“
Paschasius macht zwar ein Wortspiel mit dem Namen des Königs, benennt aber die
Tochter nicht und es wäre falsch, davon auszugehen, dass sie Desiderata heißen
konnte.[17] Ihr Name wurde vergessen, weil Karls Ehe mit ihr politisch nicht mehr
tragbar war.

Erwähnen, ohne es zu tun

Gelehrte am Hof und in den wichtigsten Bildungsstätten des karolingischen Reichs
wussten nicht nur, ob, wie und wann sie – offen oder verdeckt mittels Pseudonymen[18]
– auf bestimmte Personen hinweisen sollten. Sie konnten auch geschickt über An-
deutungen und literarische Tricks verschlüsselte Nachrichten verbreiten. Eine Ge-
meinsamkeit der *Visio Wettini* (um 824) und der Vision einer armen Frau aus Laon, die
möglicherweise von Heito veranlasst wurde, ist es, dass dort Mitglieder der königli-
chen Entourage vorkommen.[19] In der Vision der armen Frau werden einerseits Picho
(Beggo), der Schwiegersohn Ludwigs des Frommen, und Ludwigs Frau, Irmgard, ge-
quält, andererseits ist der Name Ludwigs – als Inschrift auf der Mauer der himmli-
schen Stadt – sehr schwer zu lesen, während der Name Bernhards von Italien in
Goldbuchstaben erscheint. Es handelt sich um eine scharfe Kritik an Ludwig dem
Frommen und seiner Politik in den ersten Jahren seiner Regierung. Das Vorkommen
des im Jahr 816 verstorbenen Beggo, der vielleicht der engste Mitarbeiter des Königs in
Aquitanien war,[20] kann als Stellungnahme gegen Ludwig verstanden werden. Die

---

16 *Vita Adalhardi* 7, hrsg. von Georg Heinrich Pertz, in: MGH SS 2, Hannover 1829, 525. Zur Bedeutung
der Auflösung des Bündnisses mit Desiderius und der Zurückweisung seiner Tochter nach Italien für
die Laufbahn Adalhards siehe Verena Postel, „Communiter inito consilio“: Herrschaft als Beratung, in:
Politische Reflexion in der Welt des späten Mittelalters. Political Thought in the Age of Scholasticism.
Essays in Honour of Jürgen Miethke, hrsg. von Martin Kaufhold, Leiden 2004 (Studies in Medieval and
Reformation Traditions 103), 1–25, hier 9.
17 Siegmund Hellmann, Desiderata, in: Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Ge-
schichtskunde 34 (1909), 208–209.
18 Zu dieser Praxis siehe u. a. Mary Garrison, The Social World of Alcuin: Nicknames at York and at the
Carolingian Court, in: Luuk A. J. R. Houwen und Alasdair MacDonald (Hrsg.), Alcuin of York. Scholar at
the Carolingian Court. Proceedings of the Third Germania Latina Conference Held at the University of
Groningen, May 1995, Groningen 1998 (Germania latina 3 / Mediaevalia Groningana 22), 59–79.
19 Heito, *Visio Wettini*, hrsg. von Ernst Dümmler, in: MGH Poetae 2, Berlin 1884, 267–275; Walahfrid
Strabo, *Visio Wettini*, ebd., 301–333; Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini*. Die Vision Wettis, übersetzt von
Hermann Knittel, Sigmaringen 1986; Hubert Houben, Visio cuiusdam pauperculae mulieris. Überlie-
ferung und Herkunft eines frühmittelalterlichen Visionstextes (mit Neuedition), in: Zeitschrift für die
Geschichte des Oberrheins 124 (1976), 31–42.
20 Philippe Depreux, Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781–840), Sigmaringen 1997
(Instrumenta 1), 120–122.

Kritik von Mitgliedern der königlichen Entourage in der *Visio Wettini* ist etwas versteckter. Dank der Dichtung von Walahfrid Strabo sind wir über die Identität einiger Protagonisten informiert, denn ihr Name erscheint in Form von Akrostichen. Nur so ist gesichert, dass der König Italiens, der für seine Sünden büßen muss, eigentlich Kaiser Karl der Große (*CAROLUS IMPERATOR*) ist.[21] Dort werden auch weltliche Große genannt: *ODALRIH* und *RUADRIH*.[22] Beide werden im Jenseits bestraft; ihre Mitbewohner werden sogar durch ihren Gestank doppelt bestraft, obwohl sie dort ständig im warmen Wasser baden. Graf Udalrich war ein Angehöriger einer wichtigen Familie, denn so hieß der Bruder Hildegards, der Gemahlin Karls des Großen und Mutter Ludwigs des Frommen. Zwischen 778 und 817 sind mehrere gleichnamige Grafen im Breisgau, Thurgau, Argengau und andernorts nördlich des Bodensees nachgewiesen, sodass es nicht möglich ist, sie genau zu unterscheiden.[23] Vermutlich war Udalrich um 824/825 in St. Gallen nicht sehr gut angesehen. Bei dem Kumpan Udalrichs handelt es sich vielleicht um den Grafen in Rätien namens Roderich, der zwischen 823 und 829 von Bischof Viktor III. von Chur vor Kaiser Ludwig dem Frommen des Raubs von Kirchengut beschuldigt wurde.[24] Es wird vermutet, dass dieser Roderich der Welfenfamilie, d. h. der Familie der Kaiserin Judith angehörte.[25] Falls dies zutrifft, könnten zwei mit der Familie des Kaisers eng verwandte Grafen in St. Gallen um die Mitte der 820er Jahre in der Kritik der Mönche gestanden haben.[26] Sie werden wahrscheinlich für alle Mönche erkennbar gewesen sein, nur muss man Walahfrids Schrift lesen (und nicht nur hören), um sie zu identifizieren.

---

[21] Heito, *Visio Wettini* 11, 271; Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini* V. 446 – 461.

[22] Heito, *Visio Wettini* 10, 270 – 271; Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini* V. 414 – 427, 317 – 318.

[23] Michael Borgolte, Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit: Eine Prosopographie, Sigmaringen 1986 (Archäologie und Geschichte 2), 248 – 254.

[24] Michael Borgolte, Geschichte der Grafschaften Alemanniens in fränkischer Zeit, Sigmaringen 1984 (Vorträge und Forschungen 31), 219 – 229; Reinhold Kaiser, Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter, Basel 2008, 59 – 62.

[25] Karl Schmid, Von Hunfrid zu Burkard: Bemerkungen zur rätischen Geschichte aus der Sicht von Gedenkbucheinträgen, in: Geschichte und Kultur Churrätiens. Festschrift für Pater Iso Müller OSB zu seinem 85. Geburtstag, hrsg. von Ursus Brunold und Lothar Deplazes, Disentis 1986, 181 – 209, hier 195 – 197.

[26] Zum sozialen Umfeld dieser Nennungen siehe Philippe Depreux, Kaiserliche Amtsträger und Entourage Ludwigs des Frommen in und aus Alemannien und dem Elsass, in: Jürgen Dendorfer, Heinrich Maulhardt, R. Johanna Regnath und Thomas Zotz (Hrsg.), 817 – Die urkundliche Ersterwähnung von Villingen und Schwenningen. Alemannien und das Reich in der Zeit Kaiser Ludwigs des Frommen, Ostfildern 2016 (Veröffentlichung des Alemannischen Instituts Freiburg i. Br. 83 / Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs und der Städtischen Museen Villingen-Schwenningen 39), 197 – 206.

Achten auf die Etiquette: Der Reihe nach!

Das Epos *De Karolo rege et Leone papa*, das eine Art Bild „sur le vif" der Familie Karls des Großen im Jahr 799 darstellt, beschreibt das Erscheinen Karls, seiner Frau und ihrer Kinder bei der Jagd:[27]

> Endlich tritt er hervor, umdrängt vom dichten Gefolge, Europas ehrwürdiger Leuchtturm schreitet ins Freie (V. 168 f.). Nun schreitet aus ihrem stolzen Gemach die Königin, die lange verweilt, umdrängt von großem Gefolge, Liutgard mit Namen, Karls schöne Gemahlin (V. 182–184). Vom starken Gefolge geleitet, in Haltung und Gestalt dem Vater ähnlich, tritt endlich Karl heraus, der seines Vaters Namen trägt; er reitet wie gewöhnlich sein feuriges Ross (V. 196–199). Ihm folgt Pippin, benannt nach dem Großvater (V. 200). Darauf folgt die Reihe der herrlichen Töchter: Rhodrud, den andern voran, reitet stattlich einher auf schnellem Rosse (V. 212–214). In der Schar der Jungfrauen dahinter erscheint als nächste Berta, von vielen Mädchen geleitet (V. 219 f.). Gisela folgt hinter diesen in schimmernder Weiße, vom Chor der Jungfrauen geleitet zieht einher die herrliche Prinzessin (V. 229 f.). Rhodhaid erscheint alsdann im Glanz reichen Goldschmucks; freudig schreitet sie raschen Schrittes ihrem Gefolge voran (V. 243 f.). Inzwischen tritt strahlenden Angesichts Theodrada heraus (V. 251). Das Ende des Zuges nimmt Hiltrud ein, ihr ist auch die letzte Gruppe des Hofes zugeteilt. Die Jungfrau selbst hält strahlend sich in ihrer Mitte. Sie hemmt nach kurzem Wege schon den raschen Schritt unweit vom Ufer des Flusses (V. 263–267).

Es wird ständig betont, dass die Mitglieder der königlichen Familie von einer Menge begleitet sind, sie schnell und fröhlich reiten, aber trotzdem geht es hier um eine wohl geregelte Ordnung, wie aus einem der letzten Verse dieser Beschreibung hervorgeht. Als er Hiltrud nennt, schreibt der Dichter: *Agminis extremam partem sibi vindicat Hiltrud, / Illi sorte datur dehinc ultimus ordo senatus* (V. 263 f.). Hiltrud hat nur Anspruch auf die letzte Gruppe, weil das Schicksal es so bestimmt hat – denn: Hiltrud ist die letztgeborene der damals lebenden Töchter Karls des Großen. Bis auf die Tatsache, dass die beiden Söhne als erste genannt werden, entspricht die Reihenfolge genau dem Alter der Kinder.[28] Es ist nicht verwunderlich, dass Ludwig der Fromme fehlt: Diese Jagdszene spielt sich im April 799 ab, denn währenddessen soll Karl der Große im Traum das Attentat gegen Leo III. gesehen haben. Wir wissen, dass Ludwig sich damals in Aquitanien aufhielt.[29] Die Beschreibung des Hofes im Gedicht *De Karolo rege et Leone papa* steht nicht alleine da. Als weiteres Beispiel eines dem Alter ent-

---

27 Wilhelm Hentze (Hrsg.), *De Karolo rege et Leone papa*. Der Bericht über die Zusammenkunft Karls des Großen mit Papst Leo III. in Paderborn 799 in einem Epos für Karl den Kaiser, Paderborn 1999 (Studien und Quellen zur westfälischen Geschichte 36). Die Versangaben beziehen sich auf den lateinischen Text. Die Übersetzung von Franz Brunhölzl wurde dem Beiheft dieser Publikation entnommen.

28 Karl Ferdinand Werner, Die Nachkommen Karls des Großen bis um das Jahr 1000 (1.–8. Generation), in: Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben, Bd. 4, hrsg. von Wolfgang Braunfels und Percy Ernst Schramm, Düsseldorf 1967, 403–482, hier 443.

29 Astronomus, Das Leben Kaiser Ludwigs, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* 9–10, hrsg. von Ernst Tremp, in: MGH SS rer. Germ. 64, Hannover 1995, 308–309.

sprechenden Auftritts von Königssöhnen kann man u. a. die Prognose über die Nachfolge Karls des Großen anführen, wie sie bei Ermoldus Nigellus vorkommt. Paulinus von Aquileia ist zu Besuch am Hof und beobachtet, wie die Söhne Karls des Großen in der ihrem Alter entsprechenden Reihenfolge die Kirche betreten: Zunächst kommt Karl, dann Pippin und zum Schluss Ludwig, der im Gegensatz zu seinen arroganten älteren Brüdern sich vor Gott demütigt. So habe der Patriarch von Aquileia erkannt, dass der jüngste Sohn Karls des Großen dazu geeignet sei, seinem Vater nachzufolgen.[30]

Zwar kann es vorkommen, dass in einer Auflistung aufgrund des Versmaßes die Reihenfolge dem Alter nicht entspricht, wie beispielsweise im Gedicht, das Theodulf von Orléans König Karl gewidmet hat, wo die Töchter Fastradas, Theodrada und Hiltrud, nach der älteren Tochter einer Konkubine in umgekehrter Reihenfolge genannt werden.[31] Wenn dies nicht der Fall ist, muss man nach einer anderen, diesmal historischen Lösung suchen. Dies gilt zum Beispiel für die Beschreibung der Söhne Ludwigs des Frommen im Gedicht *De imagine Tetrici* des Walahfrid Strabo.[32] Zunächst kommt Lothar (alias Josua), gefolgt von Ludwig dem Deutschen, der als Jonathan angeredet wird. Als dritter Edelstein (*tertia gemma*) wird Pippin erwähnt. Er war zur Abfassungszeit des Gedichtes nicht in Aachen,[33] aber die Erwähnung an dritter Stelle ist merkwürdig. Sie ist es umso mehr als Walahfrid den Wunsch äußert, Pippin möge doch an Prestige nicht verlieren: *Tertia gemma suos umquam non perdat honores.*[34] Dieses Gedicht wurde in der bewegten Zeit um das Ende der 20er Jahre verfasst, als Aquitanien der Ort war, wo die Opposition gegen die Politik Ludwigs des Frommen zum Ausdruck gebracht wurde bzw. wo einige Vorkommnisse instrumentalisiert

---

30 Ermold le Noir, Poème sur Louis le Pieux et épîtres au roi Pépin, hrsg. von Edmond Faral, Paris 1932, Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Âge 14, 48–50 (I, V. 600–647). Dazu siehe Philippe Depreux, Gestures and Comportment at the Carolingian Court: Between Practice and Perception, in: Michael J. Braddick (Hrsg.), The Politics of Gesture. Historical Perspectives, Oxford 2009 (Past & Present Supplements, 4), 57–79, hier 74–76.

31 Theodulf, Carmen 25, V. 99, hrsg. von Ernst Dümmler, in: MGH Poetae 1, Berlin 1881, 486: *Rothaidh poma, Hiltrudh Cererem, Tetdrada liaeum.*

32 Walafrid Strabo, *De imagine Tetrici*, hrsg. von Ernst Dümmler, in: MGH Poetae 2, Berlin 1884, 375 = Michael W. Herren, The „De imagine Tetrici" of Walahfrid Strabo. Edition and translation, in: The journal of medieval Latin 1 (1991), 118–139, hier 126 f. Zu diesem Gedicht siehe auch Ders., Walahfrid Strabo's De Imagine Tetrici: an interpretation, in: Richard North und Tette Hofstra (Hrsg.), Latin Culture and Medieval Germanic Europe, Groningen 1992 (Germania latina 1 / Mediaevalia Groningana 11), 25–41.

33 Walafrid Strabo, *De imagine Tetrici*, V. 171 f.. (MGH) / V. 141 f. (Herren): *Tertia gemma suos umquam non perdat honores, / De cuius meritis, quod non mihi visus inussit,/ Haurio florigena laetae dulcedine famae.*

34 Friedrich von Bezold, Kaiserin Judith und ihr Dichter Walahfrid Strabo, in: Historische Zeitschrift 130 (1924), 377–444, hier 393, weist zwar auf diese Bezeichnung hin, deutet sie aber nicht. Zur möglichen Bedeutung dieser Auflistung siehe Depreux, Prosopographie (Anm. 20), 318.

wurden.[35] Diese Erwähnung Pippins von Aquitanien, die gegen die Etikette verstößt, könnte Gerüchte am Hof widerspiegeln.

Zwischen Etikette und Wahrnehmung: Ingelheim 826

Die Beschreibung der Hofgesellschaft, die bei Ermoldus Nigellus zu lesen ist, ist für unser Thema auch besonders interessant. Weder Graf Matfrid von Orléans noch Graf Hugo von Tours haben einen höfischen Titel getragen. Dies hinderte diese wichtigen Mitglieder der politischen Elite nicht daran, protokollarisch an prominenter Stelle aufzutreten, so in der Darstellung der Taufe Harald Klaks bei Ermoldus Nigellus.[36] Der Dichter beschreibt den feierlichen Einzug des Kaisers in die Kirche der Pfalz Ingelheim: „Gänzlich von Golde bedeckt und funkelnd von edlen Gesteinen / Ging er des Weges gar froh und auf die Diener gestützt".[37] Ludwig stützt sich auf seine *famuli*, nämlich auf Hilduin, den damaligen Erzkaplan, und auf Helisachar, den ehemaligen Erzkanzler. Ihre Bezeichnung als *famuli* hebt ihre persönliche Bindung an den Herrscher hervor, denn dieser Ausdruck bezeichnet eigentlich Diener aus der *familia*.[38] Der eine ist Mitglied der *domus* (er steht ihr sogar vor), der andere nicht (bzw. nicht mehr). Diese Beschreibung ist deswegen besonders interessant, weil sie zum Teil Leute erwähnt, die tatsächlich aufgrund ihres Amtes zu erwarten sind: Gerung als Türhüter, Fridugis als Erzkanzler; kurz vorher beschreibt Ermoldus die Gruppe der Geistlichen – davon werden einige namentlich erwähnt. Es herrscht Eintracht und Ordnung – der Einzige, der diese Ordnung stören darf, ist der dreijährige Karl, der vor seinem Vater fröhlich herumhüpft. Diese Beschreibung des kaiserlichen Zuges ist aber keine Auflistung der Teilnehmer an der Reichsversammlung, die in Ingelheim im Juni 826 stattfand: Aus anderen Quellen wissen wir, dass Gesandte des Papstes (nämlich Bischof Leo von Civita Vecchia und der Nomenclator Theofilactus), aber auch sowohl Grafen aus der bretonischen Mark als auch der bayerische Markgraf Gerold und der

---

35 Zum politischen Kontext siehe Philippe Depreux, Der karolingische Hof als Institution und Personenverband, in: Le corti nell'alto medioevo, Bd. 1, Spoleto 2015 (Settimane di studio della fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 62), 137–164, hier 152–163.

36 Ermold le Noir, Poème sur Louis le Pieux (Anm. 30), 176. Dazu siehe Philippe Depreux, Le comte Matfrid d'Orléans sous le règne de Louis le Pieux, in: Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 152 (1994), 331–374. Ich bin mit der Deutung von Alain Dubreucq, Les peintures murales du palais carolingien d'Ingelheim et l'idéologie impériale carolingienne, in: Hortus artium medievalium 16 (2010), 27–38, nicht einverstanden.

37 Ermold le Noir, Poème sur Louis le Pieux V. 2292f., 176: *Resplendens auro nimium gemmisque refulgens, / Innixus famulis laetus abibat iter.* Übersetzung ins Deutsche: Theodor Gottfried Pfund und Wilhelm Wattenbach, Ermoldus Nigellus Lobgedicht auf Kaiser Ludwig und Elegien an König Pippin, Leipzig 1889 (Die Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit 2, 18), 86.

38 *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, hrsg. von Wallace Martin Lindsay, Bd. 1, Oxford 1911, 374 (IX, IV, 43): *Famuli sunt ex propria servorum familia orti.*

friaulische Markgraf Baldricus anwesend waren.[39] Es ist nicht vorstellbar, dass sie alle von der Feier ferngehalten wurden: Daraus ergibt sich also, dass Ermoldus nicht den Hof beschreiben, sondern eine politische Nachricht vermitteln will und dabei nur die in seinen Augen wichtigsten Protagonisten aus- und erwählt.

Selektive Wahrnehmung

Nachdem er die Ernennung Ludwigs des Frommen zum König von Aquitanien erwähnt hat, berichtet der Astronom, wie Karl der Große das politische Personal ersetzt hat:

> Außerdem setzte er in ganz Aquitanien Grafen, Äbte und viele andere, die man gewöhnlich Vassi nennt, aus dem Volk der Franken ein, deren Klugheit und Stärke keiner mit schlauer List oder Gewalt gefahrlos hätte begegnen können; ihnen übertrug er die Sorge um das Reich, wie er es für nützlich hielt, die Sicherung der Grenzen und die Verwaltung der königlichen Hofgüter. In Bourges setzte er zuerst Humbert, bald darauf Sturbius als Grafen ein, in Poitiers Abbo, im Périgord Widbod, in der Auvergne Iterius, im Velay Bullus, in Toulouse Chorso, in Bordeaux Sigwin, im Albigeois Haimo und in Limoges Rotgar.[40]

Obwohl der Astronom behauptet, diese Maßnahme habe ganz Aquitanien betroffen, ist diese Auflistung sehr mangelhaft: Dort werden weder ein Bischof noch ein Abt, nur einige Grafen erwähnt. Wir können nicht beurteilen, ob viele Ortschaften, wie beispielsweise Cahors, Rodez, Saintes oder Angoulême nicht erwähnt werden, weil es dort keinen Anlass gab, die Amtsinhaber zu ersetzen, oder weil diese Franken waren. Dass Amtsinhaber anderer ethnischer Gruppen dem karolingischen Königshaus treu sein konnten, beweist der Vater Benedikts von Aniane, denn der Graf von Maguelonne war gotischer Abstammung.[41] Leider fehlt in vielen Fällen jede schriftliche Überlieferung über diese Leute. Im letztgenannten Fall von Angoulême klagte schon der Verfasser der Geschichte der Bischöfe und Grafen von Angoumois im 12. Jh., dass seine Quellenlage sehr ungünstig sei.[42]

---

39 Siehe Johann Friedrich Böhmer, Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751–918, neubearbeitet von Engelbert Mühlbacher, nach Mühlbachers Tod vollendet von Johann Lechner, mit einem Vorwort, Konkordanztabellen und Ergänzungen von Carlrichard Brühl und Hans Heinrich Kaminsky, Nachdruck der 2. Aufl. (Innsbruck 1908), Hildesheim 1966, 325 (Nr. 829[770]b).

40 Astronomus, Das Leben Kaiser Ludwigs 3 (Anm. 29), 290–293.

41 Dazu siehe Depreux, Prosopographie (Anm. 20), 224 f.

42 *Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium*, hrsg. von Jacques Boussard, Paris 1957 (Bibliothèque elzévirienne. NS. Etudes et documents), 4: *Civitas vero Engolismensium, negligentia scriptorum, ut credimus, memoriae non tradit facta subsequentium episcoporum a Mererio usque ad Launum*, das heißt vom späten 6. Jh. bis zur Mitte des 9. Jh. Robert Favreau, Évêques d'Angoulême et Saintes avant 1200, in: Revue historique du Centre-Ouest 9 (2010), 7–142, hier 15, bestätigt diese ungünstige Quellenlage.

Trotz der Kargheit der Quellenlage sind wir über andere Grafen in Aquitanien informiert. Eine interessante und einzigartige Quelle ist eine Urkunde Ludwigs des Frommen, mit der der König von Aquitanien am 3. August 794 in Jouac die Immunität der zum Kloster Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers zugehörigen Zelle von Nouaillé bestätigte.[43] Diese im Original erhaltene Urkunde ist insofern einzigartig, als sie von Bischof Reginpert (von Limoges), der als Kaplan Ludwigs fungierte, und von 16 weiteren Zeugen durch ihr *signum* bekräftigt wurde.[44] Einige sind als Mitglieder des Hofes nachweisbar, wie beispielsweise Adalbert (als Marschall) oder Erlaldus (als Seneschall). Möglicherweise sind einige dieser Subskribenten auch Grafen, wie beispielsweise der erste von ihnen, Magnarius, der vielleicht identisch mit dem von Karl dem Großen seinem Sohn Ludwig zugewiesenen Berater ist; ein gleichnamiger Graf ist in Narbonne nachweisbar. Immo ist wahrscheinlich Graf von Périgueux gewesen (der Astronom nennt nur Widbod). Es macht keinen Sinn, diese Liste bis ins letzte Detail hier durchzugehen: Es sollte lediglich gezeigt werden, dass andere Namen von Grafen zu Beginn der Regierungszeit Ludwigs des Frommen in Aquitanien bekannt sind.

Als weiteres Beispiel könnte man Ermolds Beschreibung der Belagerung Barcelonas in den Jahren 800–801 anführen: Der Dichter nennt Wilhelm, Heripreth, Liuthard, Bigo, Bero, Santio, Libulf, Hilthibreth und Isimbard. An andrer Stelle berichtet der Astronom über Liuthard: Im Jahr 803 wurde er zum Grafen von Fézensaz (in der Gascogne) gemacht. Als Sohn Graf Gerhards von Paris und Bruder Begos, des engsten Beraters und Freunds Ludwigs des Frommen während seiner Herrschaft in Aquitanien, gehörte Liuthard zweifelsohne zu einer dem Königshaus sehr getreuen Familie.

Es stellt sich also die Frage, warum der Astronom die Grafenliste im dritten Kapitel in dieser Form aufgestellt hat. Einige dort erwähnte Leute sind problematisch – und die Liste ist möglicherweise nicht in allen Punkten vertrauenswürdig. So beispielsweise im Fall von Bourges: Graf Humbert wurde wahrscheinlich nicht von Karl dem Großen eingesetzt; es ist nicht auszuschließen und es spricht sogar vieles dafür, dass er identisch mit dem Grafen von Bourges namens Unibert ist,[45] der sich im Jahr 761 mit Waifar verbündete, wie in der Fortsetzung der Chronik des Fredegar zu lesen ist.[46] Zur Bestrafung wurde Unibert samt *reliqui Vascones* (also doch kein Franke?) nach Francia versetzt, nachdem er einen Eid geleistet hatte.[47] Einige Jahre später wird Unibert wieder als Graf von Bourges bezeugt; diesmal gilt er als Verbündeter Pippins gegen

43 Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen, hrsg. von Theo Kölzer, in: MGH, Die Urkunden der Karolinger 2, Wiesbaden 2016, Bd. 1, 1–5 (Nr. 1).
44 Zu den Identifikationen verweise ich auf Depreux, Prosopographie (Anm. 20), passim.
45 Brigitte Kasten, Laikale Mittelgewalten: Beobachtungen zur Herrschaftspraxis der Karolinger, in: Franz-Reiner Erkens (Hrsg.), Karl der Große und das Erbe der Kulturen, Berlin 2001, 54–66, hier 61.
46 *Fredegarii chronicorum liber quartus cum continuationibus*. The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar With Its Continuations, hrsg. von John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, London 1960, 110. (Continuationes 42).
47 *Fredegarii chronicorum liber quartus cum continuationibus* 43 (Anm. 46), 112.

Waifar.[48] Sein Nachfolger, Sturbius, auch vom Astronom erwähnt, ist ebenfalls keine unumstrittene Persönlichkeit: Adrevald von Fleury, der von seiner Ernennung im Zusammenhang mit dem Aufstand Pippins des Buckligen berichtet, bedauert seine unfreie Herkunft, allerdings interessiert ihn nur sein ebenso als Unfreier geborener Amtskollege Raho von Orléans, weil Fleury Opfer seiner listigen Gierigkeit gewesen sei.[49] Auch andere vom Astronom genannte Grafen haben sich nicht als getreue Unterstützer der karolingischen Herrschaft in Aquitanien erwiesen: Chorso von Toulouse verband sich im Jahr 787 mit einem Basken, wie der Astronom zwei Kapitel später berichtet.[50] Im folgenden Jahr wurde Chorso während einer Reichsversammlung in Worms abgesetzt und durch Wilhelm von Gellone, dessen Urgroßmutter eine Schwester Plectrudis', der Frau Pippins von Herstal, war, ersetzt.[51] Der Astronom weiß also, was aus Chorso wurde. Des Weiteren weiß der Astronom über den Grafen von Bordeaux an anderer Stelle zu berichten: Im Jahr 816 rebellierten die Basken, weil ihr Graf, Sigwin, aufgrund seines „schlechten, ja fast unerträglichen Lebenswandels" abgesetzt worden war.[52] Was war also die Absicht des Astronomus? Nicht über alle von ihm aufgelistete Grafen kann man schlecht reden, aber über einige schon! Dass die Liste im dritten Kapitel nicht vollständig ist, ist eindeutig. Nach welchen Kriterien hat der Verfasser seine Wahl getroffen? Es ist schwer zu sagen. Diese Schrift ist eine Apologie für Kaiser Ludwig: Darf diese Liste als Mittel betrachtet werden, die Entscheidungen Karls des Großen im Schatten des Lobes zu kritisieren oder zu relativieren, weil auch er fehlbar war?

Schlusswort: Hinkmar von Reims und der Glanz des Hofes

Zum Schluss sei auf das Beispiel eingegangen, das dem Titel dieses Beitrags zugrunde liegt. In seinem 882 für König Karlmann verfassten Werk *De ordine palatii* erhebt Hinkmar den Anspruch, den Hof zu beschreiben, wie er in *ornamento totius palatii* in

---

48 *Fredegarii chronicorum liber quartus cum continuationibus* 51 (Anm. 20), 118.

49 Les miracles de Saint Benoît, hrsg. von Eugène de Certain, Paris 1858, 43f. (Miracula I, 18): … *quibusdam servorum suorum, fisci debito sublevatis, curam tradidit regni; atque in primis, Rahonem Aurelianensibus comitem praefecit, Biturigensibus Sturminium, Arvernis Bertmundum, aliisque, ut ei visum est, locis alios praeposuit. Sed Raho, ut ejus debitum exposcebat naturae, nimia insolescens astutia, cupiditate vero crudelior effectus, cum universa quae Aurelianensium fines continere videbantur sibi subjecta cerneret, coenobio duntaxat S. Benedicti excepto, quod ab abbate tunc regebatur Radulfo, consilium habuit, abbate interfecto, praefatum praeripere coenobium; quod maturato peregisset, nisi pietas indulgentissimi Conditoris obviam se tanto facinori opponere disposuisset.* Dazu siehe Dominique Barthélemy, Chevaliers et miracles. La violence et le sacré dans la société féodale, Paris 2004, 129.

50 Astronomus, Das Leben Kaiser Ludwigs 5 (Anm. 29), 296.

51 Astronomus, Das Leben Kaiser Ludwigs 5 (Anm. 29), 298.

52 Astronomus, Das Leben Kaiser Ludwigs 26 (Anm. 29), 364.

der Zeit Karls des Großen und Ludwigs des Frommen festgelegt wurde.[53] Hinkmar erwähnt viele Ämter (nicht alle), nennt aber nur wenige Leute: nur die Erzkapläne, von Fulrad bis Drogo. Warum nur sie? Die Antwort scheint einfach zu sein: Es geht in dieser Schrift um Autorität. Hinkmar beruft sich auf die Autorität derer, die er möglicherweise gerne als seine Vorgänger betrachtet hätte, um seine eigene Autorität zu sichern bzw. sogar zu retten.[54] Es ist möglicherweise ein Grund, warum er sich nicht auf die Zeit Karls des Kahlen beruft. Auch Hinkmars Gedächtnis ist selektiv – und dient seinem eigenen Ruhm.

53 Hinkmar von Reims, *De ordine palatii*, hrsg. von Thomas Gross und Rudolf Schieffer, in: MGH Fontes iuris 3, Hannover 1980, 56.
54 Dazu siehe Steffen Patzold, Konsens und Konkurrenz. Überlegungen zu einem aktuellen Forschungskonzept der Mediävistik, in: Frühmittelalterliche Studien 41 (2007), 75–103, hier 77–88.

Gerald Schwedler

Speech is Silver, but Silence is Golden. Creative Selection and Constructed Oblivion in the Work of Gregory of Tours

> Par définition, la mémoire est sélective.
> Paul Ricœur

It is a common misconception that the foremost task of historians is to collect records. On the contrary, the main endeavour is to omit and select from the overwhelming abundance of past material in order to find – *invenire* – the pertinent detail from specific enquiries and subjects of interest. As early as the classic lectures in rhetoric, such as Cicero's *De Inventione* or the simultaneous and anonymously authored *Ars rhetorica ad Herennium*, the methods for the discovery of arguments are described as *inventio*.[1] However, often the convincing point about historical works is that not all the discovered facts were conveyed and most of them were left out. It can be said of all historical periods that reliable historiography comes to the fore by working out the contours and developments, by condensing mere episodes and contributing to the creation of meaning as well as conveying insights. Subsequent generations of scholars have focused their analyses of earlier historical documents on this construct; they called for deconstruction to expose the presumed statements of facts and implications. It was important to correct erroneous finds and inventions (*inventiones*), and to trace a clear picture of the facts. Since the *narrative turn*, however, 'narrated' history has gained intrinsic significance. The multiplicity of voices replaces exclusive interpretations of the world and history. Therefore, the prevailing trend for the analysis of historiography is to place less emphasis on verifiability and plausibility, while paying greater attention to writing techniques and media-oriented forms of knowledge transfer, where false recollection and phantoms of remembrance are also taken into account.[2]

However, a review of the compiling writing techniques leads to an advance of knowledge when knowledge practices, the transformation of knowledge and cultural change are the centre of attention. The analysis of such writing techniques is particularly rewarding when knowledge transformation is examined during periods of so-

---

1 Cicero, *De Inventione* I,9; cf. *Rhetorica ad Herennium* I,3: *Inventio est excogitatio rerum verarum aut veri similium quae causam probabilem reddant.*/ "Invention is the devising of matter, true or plausible, that would make the case convincing."; Manfred Kienpointner, Inventio, in: Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik 4 (1998), 561–587; N.J. Green-Pedersen, The Tradition of the Topics in the Middle Ages, Munich 1984.
2 Patrick J. Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium, Princeton 1994, cf. Helmut Reimitz, History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity (550–850), Cambridge 2015.

cial upheaval. In these historical situations, what emerged was not the intensified loss of knowledge beyond the everyday context, but rather some form of structural amnesia with whole areas of knowledge being cast into oblivion.[3] Cultural change was noticeable on all social levels and was conditioned by new general ideas, patterns of reception and a transformation of public audiences.[4]

In the field of medieval history, there are various phases of intensified cultural change: the transition from late antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, the revolution of knowledge in the High Middle Ages, the organisational strategies to cope with the explosion of written knowledge in the Late Middle Ages or the change of the reference framework during the Reformation. The present discussion highlights the initial radical change from late antiquity and the early medieval period and the central role of selection methods exemplified by the contemporary witness and protagonist of change, Gregory of Tours, who died in 594.[5] His works give an ideal illustration of how he creatively dealt with the knowledge banks, which were at his disposal, through the preparation of excerpts as well as compilation and transmission. The genre of the ten histories, which Gregory developed based on decades of work, is a literary innovation. It represented a novelty in terms of the arrangement of the material, perspective and particularly the linguistic style. Gregory certainly also had to bear in mind a changed audience. He borrowed less for clearly historical works than for hagiography, which was more familiar to him. In this case, he made no distinction between worldly and religious history. As for St Augustine, the Book of Genesis represents a historical book for him. Gregory's ten history books are to a certain extent a sermon about historical matter – and this is important in terms of the selection of material and the methods of persuasion.

---

3 Alain Guerreau, L'Avenir d'un passé incertain. Quelle histoire du Moyen Âge au XXie siècle?, Paris 2001, 136.

4 Hartmut Böhme, Einladung zur Transformation, in: Transformation. Ein Konzept zur Erforschung kulturellen Wandels, ed. by Hartmut Böhme, Göttingen 2011, 7–39.

5 Martin Heinzelmann, Gregor von Tours (538–594). Zehn Bücher Geschichte. Historiographie und Gesellschaftskonzept im 6. Jahrhundert, Darmstadt 1994. Adriaan Breukelaar, Historiography and episcopal authority in sixth-century Gaul. The histories of Gregory of Tours interpreted in their historical context, Göttingen 1994, 14–18; Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (eds.), The World of Gregory of Tours, Leiden u. a. 2002. Peter Brown, Gregory of Tours: Introduction, in: The World of Gregory of Tours, ed. by Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood, Leiden 2002, 1–28, 1f.; Luce Pietri und Marc Heijmans, Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas-Empire. La Gaule Chrétienne (314–614), 2 vols., Paris 2013, 915–954; Martin Heinzelmann, Gregory of Tours. The Elements of a Biography, in: A Companion to Gregory of Tours, ed. by Alexander Callander Murray, Leiden 2016 (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 63), 7–34.

1 Epitomae: Curse and blessing of abridged versions

The technique of creating epitomes and producing condensed versions of longer works was common practice in late antiquity. Frequently, only these short versions are preserved. Indeed, sometimes they are so regularly handed on that Markus Dubischar proposed the thesis concerning only a 'survival of the most condensed' texts.[6] The method of condensing was also used in historiography during the early medieval period. Furthermore, there was general awareness that, for the epitomes of histories, condensing was not only beneficial when the prefaces in the epitomes of literary works repeatedly emphasized that this was simpler and more quickly comprehensible for the reader, and thus that the content was rendered more readily accessible. Gregory of Tours was aware of the negative consequences and that the practice of condensing and selective rendition tends to distort the meaning or could potentially even reverse it. He articulates this in his impressive condemnation, which attracted widespread scholarly interest, and can be newly interpreted under the viewpoint of selection practice.[7] In the conclusion of the tenth book of his histories, he attempted to oblige forthcoming generations to accept a specific reception of his original work. He writes verbatim:

> And though I have written these books in a style somewhat rude, I nevertheless conjure you all, God's bishops who are destined to rule the lowly church of Tours after me, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ and the judgment day, feared by the guilty, if you will not be condemned with the devil and depart in confusion from the judgment, never cause these books to be destroyed or rewritten, selecting some passages and omitting others, but let them all continue in your time complete and undiminished as they were left by us.[8]

---

6 Markus Dubischar, Survival of the most condensed? Auxiliary Texts, Communications Theory, and Condensation of Knowledge, in: Condensing texts – condensed texts, ed. by Marietta Horster and Christiane Reitz, Stuttgart 2010, 39–67; cf. Markus Mülke, Der Autor und sein Text. Die Verfälschung des Originals im Urteil antiker Autoren, Berlin et al. 2008; Markus Mülke, Die Epitome – das bessere Original?, in: Condensing texts – condensed texts, ed. by Marietta Horster and Christiane Reitz, Stuttgart 2010, 69–90.

7 Erich Auerbach, Mimesis. Dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur, Tübingen 2001 (first edition 1958), 78–80; Helmut Beumann, Gregor von Tours und der sermo rusticus, in: Wissenschaft vom Mittelalter: Ausgewählte Aufsätze, von Helmut Beumann, Köln 1972, 41–70; Walter Goffart, The Narrators of Barbarian History (AD 550–800). Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede and Paul the Deacon, Princeton 1988; Antonio De Prisco, "damnatio" della memoria virgiliana nella "Praefatio" al "Liber in gloria martyrum", in: Proceedings of "Convegno Nazionale di studi su Virgilio" Nocera Inferiore (SA) 2004, 83–95. Mülke, Der Autor und sein Text (note 6), 36f.

8 Gregory of Tours, Libri Historiarum Decem X,31, ed. by Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, in: MGH SS rer. Merov. 1,1, Hanover ²1937–1951, 536: *Quos libros licet stilo rusticiori conscripserim, tamen coniuro omnes sacerdotes Domini, qui post me humilem ecclesiam Turonicam sunt recturi, per adventum domini nostri Iesu Christi ac terribilem reis omnibus iudicii diem, sic numquam confusi de ipso iudicio discedentes cum diabolo condempnemini, ut numquam libros hos aboleri faciatis aut rescri-*

He strongly condemns the suggestion of the distortion of his text as he left it.[9] Nobody is permitted to *eligere et praemittere* (to select and omit) passages from his work. Gregory's condemnation refers to a tradition of condemnations which authors relied on to safeguard their original work. Similar words were already used in the book of Revelation, Chapter 22, Verses 18–19. However, they focus to a lesser extent on the technique of falsification: *si quis apposuerit* and *si quis diminuerit de verbis* – "if anyone adds to" and "if anyone takes away", then biblical plagues shall be added to him and his share of the tree of life shall be taken away.[10] Gregory, who obviously knew the text of the apocalypse, and similarly concluded his work with the condemnation, thus took the liberty of giving a more precise account of this biblical condemnation based on his authorial experience.

Other Christian authors had also endeavoured to protect their work. However, it is unknown whether Gregory knew of their warnings and their occasional condemnations. The earliest explicit author is Hieronymus, an important translator and interpreter of Greek and Hebraic knowledge and an intermediary for Western Christianity. In Letter 71.5 he explained how his work was to be treated overall. This letter is significant for the purposes of research not only because of the text-critical and authentication principles developed by Hieronymus, but also for Hieronymus's reflections on copyright. Here, he explicitly criticizes the copyists for not copying what they found, but only what they understood.[11] The church father Eusebius was

---

bi, *quasi quaedam eligentes et quaedam praetermittentes, sed ita omnia vobiscum integra inlibataque permaneant, sicut a nobis relicta sunt.* English translation source: Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks, trans. Ernest Brehaut (extended selections), Records of Civilization 2, New York: Columbia University Press, 1916. http://www.christianiconography.info/gregoryHistoryFranks.htm (last visited 2021–08–01).

9 Relevation 22, 18–19: *Contestor enim omni audienti verba prophetiæ libri hujus: si quis apposuerit ad hæc, apponet Deus super illum plagas scriptas in libro isto. Et si quis diminuerit de verbis libri prophetiæ hujus, auferet Deus partem ejus de libro vitae, et de civitate sancta, et de his quæ scripta sunt in libro isto.* Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* V,20,2, ed. by Eduard Schwartz and Theodor Mommsen, in: Eusebius Werke II,1, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller (GCS) 9,1, Leipzig 1903, 481; Heinzelmann, Zehn Bücher Geschichte (note 5), 84 and 211; Beumann, Gregor von Tours und der sermo rusticus (note 7) 67–70; Mülke, Der Autor und sein Text (note 6), 36; Reimitz, History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity (note 2), 20 und 144–159.

10 Apc 22, 18, Biblia vulgata, ed. by Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, Stuttgart 1994, 1905 f.: *Contestor enim omni audienti verba prophetiæ libri hujus: si quis apposuerit ad hæc, apponet Deus super illum plagas scriptas in libro isto. 19 Et si quis diminuerit de verbis libri prophetiæ hujus, auferet Deus partem ejus de libro vitæ, et de civitate sancta, et de his quæ scripta sunt in libro isto: 20 dicit qui testimonium perhibet istorum. Etiam venio cito: amen. Veni, Domine Jesu.* Revelation 22:18–19 English Standard Version (ESV): *18 I warn everyone who hears the words of the prophecy of this book: if anyone adds to them, God will add to him the plagues described in this book, 19 and if anyone takes away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God will take away his share in the tree of life and in the holy city, which are described in this book.* Cf. Mühlke, Der Autor und sein Text (note 6), 24.

11 Hieronymus to Lucinus, ep 71,5, ed. by Josef Hilberg, in: Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (CSEL) 55, Vienna, Leipzig 1912, 5 f.: *... qui scribunt non, quod inveniunt, sed, quod intellegunt,*

more direct in his demand to the copyists and permitted them to correct the errors, for example, when he writes *emendas diligenter*, or carefully to amend mistakes.[12] The translator Rufinus is another important cultural mediator. In the dedication letter to Macharius for the Latin translation of *De principis* of Origen of Alexandria (ca. 184 to ca. 253) he writes: "However, I oblige everyone ... that he should add nothing to this text, take nothing away, insert nothing, change nothing but compare it with the original ..."[13] Rufinus precisely differentiates the types of text falsification: there are two types of additions, namely greater ones, such as could appear at the beginning and end of texts (*addere*), as well as insertions in the main text (*inserere*). He refuses to tolerate deletions (*aufferre*) and changes to the actual wording (*immutare*).[14] Cassius Felix might be less well known. In 447, he published a medical compendium based on Greek sources. In a similar way to the apocalypse, he forbade any change by additions or deletions, *addendum vel diminuendum*.[15]

Compared with the background of possible statements of condemnation, Gregory is unique for his sharpness and precision. This gives the reliable grounds to accept his condemnation of *aboleri, rescribere, eligere* and *praetermittere* as a well-known, even familiar technique. As shall be further demonstrated, for the histories he had masterfully perfected the writing technique of the highly-reflected selection of authoritative and well-known facts. Furthermore, he skilfully integrated these into a structure of the divine history of salvation and included well-known stories to narrate his history of salvation. However, in his view he was the only one permitted to leave out and omit content. He therefore refrains from commentary on how he personally inserted the two cited historians, Sulpicius Alexander and Renatus Profuturus Frigiretus, who otherwise were lost to posterity, almost as though they were ornamental spoils in his text (Hist. II, 8 and 9).

---

et, dum alienos errores emendare nituntur, ostendunt suos; cf. Gert Kloeters, Buch und Schrift bei Hieronymus. Münster 1957, 75; Mülke, Der Autor und sein Text (note 6), 27.

12 Eusebius (transl. by Rufinus), *Hist.* 5,20 (note 9), 481/483: "*adiuro te*", inquit, "*qui transcripseris librum hunc, per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, et adventum eius in gloria, cum veniet iudicare vivos et mortuos, ut conferas haec quae scribis et emendes diligenter ad exemplaria, de quibus transcripseris*

13 Rufinus, *Praef. in libros Origenis Periarchon* 1,4, ed. by Paul Koetschau, in: Origenes Werke V. De principiis, GCS 22, Leipzig 1913: *illud sane omnem, qui hos libros uel descripturus est uel lecturus, ... contestor atque conuenio per futuri regni fidem, per resurrectionis ex mortuis sacramentum, per illum, qui praeparatus est diabolo et angelis eius, aeternum ignem: sic non illum locum aeterna hereditate possideat, ubi est fletus et stridor dentium et ubi ignis eorum non extinguetur et uermis eorum non morietur, ne addat aliquid huic scripturae, ne auferat, ne inserat, ne inmutet, sed conferat cum exemplaribus, unde scripserit, et emendet ad litteram et distinguat et inemendatum uel non distinctum codicem non habeat, ne sensuum difficultas, si distinctus codex non sit, maiores obscuritates legentibus generet.*

14 Mülke, Autor und sein Text (note 6), 30; Klopsch, Anonymität und Selbstnennung mittellateinischer Autoren, in: Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 4 (1967), 9–25.

15 Cassius Felix, De la médecine, ed. by Anne Fraisse, Paris 2002, LXXIII: *... unde admoneo, fili dulcissime, ne quid forte huic scripturae addendum vel diminuendum existimes.*

Gregory's claim about his discovery of the ultimate interpretation of history in his work was something that he had in common with many later historians. However, he obviously suspected how his work would be treated, hence he issued such a strongly worded statement. It may be considered an irony of history that no other author of the early medieval period was subsequently relied on so frequently as a mine of information for details that were fragmented, rewritten and misused.[16] This makes it even more valuable to offer a closer insight into his method of selection that was both reflective and creative, as well as offering a highly innovative approach to the past.

2 Praeteritio: The Open Secret of Paganism

A brief consideration of Gregory's monologues is worthwhile before describing which criteria he uses to select and arrange his material. The most noteworthy monologues reveal what he explicitly would not choose to convey in his works. In the preface to the *Liber in gloria confessorum*, a collection of stories of saints, he refers with rhetorical enthusiasm to an extensive list of pagan gods that he intended not to mention. It is relevant to quote Gregory's text at length because of its impressive quality:

> Under no circumstance, may we remember the dishonest fables or follow the wisdom of philosophy, that enemy of God, so we do not fall into disgrace at the Last Judgment of eternal death when God decides. This concern gives me impetus, and it is my wish to describe at length some of the miraculous reports of the gods that were previously hidden; moreover, I have no intention of getting caught in these captive nets and becoming ensnared. I am not writing about the escape of **Saturn**, the fury of **Juno**, the adultery of **Jupiter**, not the injustice of **Neptune**, not the sceptre of **Aeolus** and nor about the wars, shipwreck and kingdoms of the **Aeneas.** I am silent on the dispatch of **Cupid**, and I do not repeat the love affair and entrapments of **Ascanius**, the tears or cruel downfall of **Dido**, not the horrible forecourt of **Pluto**, not the lustful abduction of **Proserpina**, not the three-headed figure of **Cerberus**, I do not consider the prophecies of **Anchises**, not the falsehoods of **Itaka**, not **Achilles's** cunning, not the lies of **Sinon.** Also, I do not report **Laocoön's** advice, not the travails of Hercules and not the conflict, escape and ruinous end of the **Iani.** Nor do I write about the different monstrous appearances of the **furies**, and not about the other fabulous ideas that this author invented both as lies as well as descriptions in heroic verses. But all these things are founded on sand and destined to fade quickly, so we turn

16 Heinzelmann, Zehn Bücher (note 5), 89; Monique Goullet and Martin Heinzelmann. La réécriture hagiographique dans l'occident medieval: Transfomations formelles et idéologiques. Beihefte der Francia, vol. 58, Ostfildern 2003, 109–144; Monique Goullet, Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques: Essais sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval (VIII-XIII s.). Hagiologia 4, Turnhout 2005; Helmut Reimitz, The Early Medieval Editions of Gregory of Tours' Histories, in: A Companion to Gregory of Tours, ed. by Alexander Callander Murray, Leiden 2016 (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 63), 519–565.

now to the divine and evangelical miracles. Here is where the Gospel of St John begins by saying: 'In the beginning was the Word ...'[17]

It is difficult to surpass the power of negation in this passage with its nineteen repetitions of *non*. Gregory took the long list of Greco-Roman mythical figures, which are to be rejected, from the first eight books of Vergil's *Aeneid* that was part of the canon of late antiquity.[18] This passage has inspired multiple studies, since Gregory expresses his explicit rejection of the pagan world of myths.[19] He emphasizes this mainly by selecting the negative characters of the *Aeneid* with malign imaginable attributes.

At first sight, his strategy of defamation seems simple. He lists all the characters from the *Aeneid* with negative connotations; he implies that they are all despicable – even those unnamed figures. However, his approach is more sophisticated. He organizes the names appearing on his negative list not in chronological order, and nor as they appear in Vergil's books.[20] Rather, he classifies them according to other criteria that are original to him. First, he deals with the themes of the quarrelling gods – Saturn, Juno, Jupiter and Aeolus. Next, he adopts a general clause to reject everything that the Aeneas stand for: *bella, naufragio vel regna* – wars, shipwreck and kingdoms. Then, he goes on randomly to name demigods, figures and protagonists of the Underworld, including the abduction of Proserpina; he condemns the epic and

---

17 Gregory of Tours, *Gloria Martyrum*, prol., ed. by Bruno Krusch, in: MGH SS rer. Merov. 1,2, Hanover 1885, 37 f.: *Non enim oportet fallaces commemorare fabulas neque philosophorum inimicam Deo sapientiam sequi, ne in iudicium aeternae mortis, Domino discernente, cadamus. Quod ego metuens et aliqua de sanctorum miraculis, quae actenus latuerunt, pandere desiderans, non me his retibus vel vinci cupio vel involvi. Non ego Saturni fugam, non Iunonis iram, non Iovis stupra, non Neptuni iniuriam, non Eoli sceptra, non Aeneada bella, naufragio vel regna commemoro. Taceo Cupidinis emissionem, non Ascanii dilectionem emeneosque lacrimas vel exitia saeva Didonis, non Plutonis triste vestibulum, non Proserpinae stuprosum raptum, non Cerberi triforme caput, non revolvam Anchisae colloquia, non Itachis ingenia, non Achillis argutias, non Senonis fallacias. Non ego Laguonthe consilia, non Amphitrionidis robora, non Iani conflictus, fugas vel obitum exitiale proferam. Non Eomenidum variorumque monstrorum formas exponam, non reliquarum fabularum commenta, quae hic auctor aut finxit mendacio aut versa depinxit heroico. Sed ista omnia tamquam super harenam locata et cito ruitura conspiciens, ad divina et euangelica potius miracula revertamur. Unde Iohannes euangelista exorsus est, dicens: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum.*
18 Felix Thürlemann, Der historische Diskurs bei Gregor von Tours. Topoi und Wirklichkeit, Bern 1974 (Geist und Werk der Zeiten 39), 96.
19 De Prisco, damnatio (note 7), 91; Jean Meyers, Citations et réminiscences virgiliennes dans les Libri historiarum de Grégoire de Tours, in: Pallas 41, 1994, 67–90, here 75.
20 Saturn, VI 794; Juno, I,27, I,46 f.; Jupiter, Iuppiter, gr. Zeus, son of Saturn, brother to Juno, I,254. Aeolus I,65 f., Dido, Queen of Carthago IV,166 f.; Juno inferna is Proserpina, VI,139; Laookon, priest from Troy II 40 – 249; Cupido, Amor, Eros, son of Venus, I,658 and elswhere; Ascanius, son of Aeneas, I,267 and elsewhere; Dido, daughter of Belus, I,340, founds Carthago, commits suicide; Pluto, VII,327; Proserpina, daughter of Juppiter and Ceres, IV,698 and elsewhere; Cerberus, guardian of Hades, VI,417; Anchises, Trojan, father of Aeneas, II,646 f.; I,723; Itaka, home of Ulixes, II,104; Achill, hero of Aenesis I,468, V,804, killed Hector; Sinon, Greek who told the Trojans the lie about the wooden horse II,79 329; Amphytrioniades /stepson of Amphitrions = Herkules VIII, 103, 214.

stylized harmful chatter of humans and their lies and concludes with the furies and the outlook to other inauthentic fables by Vergil.[21]

The minimal form reveals the author's perceptive intent for structure in referencing what seems unworthy to mention. A short summary below highlights his intent for structure throughout his collected works which has been influential for decades of research.

3 Negative Inventio

A further step towards the methodical analysis of the phenomenon of forgetting by means of erasure, deletions and omissions, requires the introduction of a new concept to organize sections of omitted knowledge: the concept of *negative Inventio*. Since the days of classic rhetoric *Inventio* was defined as the first principle for the discovery of ideas and arguments. Since Aristotle there were other terms, like topics or heuristics, as well as differentiated techniques for the discovery and organization of subject material. However, Cicero's pragmatic approaches or his attributed text *Rhetorica ad Herennium* were valuably developed especially in late antiquity and the early medieval period.[22] Cicero introduces *Inventio* as a target-oriented process of discovery.[23] From late antiquity, this topic was handed down and employed as part of the basic canon for tracing suitable and relevant knowledge. The process of finding was described as an authentic process, so the perception of this activity changed from a receptive and rational process to a productive and creative one. With slight variations, the instruction to find is manifested, for example, in the rhetoricians Iulius Victor or Fortunatian (4th century) or the encylopaedians of the early medieval period Martianus Capella (5th century), Cassiodor (approx. 490 – 583), or Isidore of Seville (approx. 560 – 636), whom Alcuin (735 – 804) also later acknowledges.[24]

The term 'negative Inventio' used in association with *Inventio* is an active and conscious process. In contrast to the 'intention to find' the focus is on 'finding, yet not intending to have found'. Therefore, *negative Inventio* implies those reflections that were deliberately designed to omit information. A concrete example of this is

---

21 Edoardo Bona, Non ego saturni fugam... Cicerone, Virgilio nel Prologo al Liber in gloria martyrum di Gregorio di Tours, in: Tanti affetti in tal momento. Studi in onore di Giovanna Garbarino, ed. by Andrea Balbo, Alessandria 2011, 79 – 94, here 98 f.

22 Renato De Filippis, Loquax pagina. La retorica nell'Occidente tardo-antico e alto-medievale, Roma 2013 (Institutiones 2).

23 Cicero, De Inventione I,9: *Inventio est excogitatio rerum verarum aut veri similium quae causam probabilem reddant.* cf. Rhetorica ad Herennium 1,3: "Invention is the devising of true things or things that seem like the truth, which render the cause as probable." Cicero also adds a catalogus to find further arguments. cf. here the list of circumstances: *quis, quid, ubi, quando, cur, quomodo, quibus adminiculis, De Inventione* II,55.

24 Kienpointner, Inventio (note 1), 561 – 587; De Filippis, Loquax pagina (note 22), 61 – 65.

the method adopted by Gregory of Tours. He wrote the history of the Franks. However, his intention was not to compile a *historia Francorum* – even if later audiences considered this to be so, and several transcripts were described in this manner. Instead, his purpose was to find a narrative context in which he would not write a glorious history of the *gens francorum*. Therefore, he omitted a great deal of what a *historia gentis* would have required. Individual text types not only prove more suitable than others for the purpose of constructing historical content in accordance with personal interests. The selection of the form and the specific construction also enabled the pursuit of a strategy of leaving out and omission.[25]

Another example is relevant here. Gregory remains silent about his election as bishop at the Paris Synod in 573 as well as his investiture in Tours.[26] However, a contemporary poem by Venantius Fortunatus has survived about his ceremonial entry to the diocesan city with evidence of closeness to King Gunthramn.[27] It is highly probable that Gregory owed his position to the monarch's intervention in diocesan affairs – a course of action, which he explicitly refused in all other cases. Gregory could skilfully avoid this blemish, which weighed heavily on his appointment, by constructing the collected ten books of the histories, so that episodes of his life did not appear as crucial, thus not prejudicing the main statement about the victory of the righteous through god's help. Gregory presents himself in numerous further passages as a tolerant and extremely successful bishop who, wherever matters of the *ecclesia* are concerned, acts in a superior manner when faced with hostility from religious as well as worldly opponents.[28] Nevertheless, it weighs heavily that his appointment did not conform to his preferred principles of the bishop's investiture, and it is highly probable that the element of royal participation or another irregularity had to be kept silent.[29] However, Gregory's narrative is structured so that he need not necessarily comment on his own appointment.

However, aside from this clear positive evidence, it is largely Gregory's implicit tendency and pronounced rejection of certain themes that highlight where his structural silence begins. Specific inconsistencies reveal that he did not constantly follow a final plan, and that he repeatedly altered perspectives. This is manifested in changes if his intended portrayal during his work on the histories. The most impor-

---

25 Martin Heinzelmann, Hagiographischer und historischer Diskurs bei Gregor von Tours?, in: Aevum inter utrumque. Mélanges offerts à Gabriel Sanders, ed. by Marc Van Uytfanghe (Instrumenta Patristica 23), Steenbrugis, The Hague 1991, 237–258. Joachin Pizarro, Narrative and the Literary Imagination in Gregory of Tours' Works, in: A Companion to Gregory of Tours (note 16), 337–374. Joaquín Martínez Pizarro, Mixed Modes in Historical Narrative, in: Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West, ed. by Elizabeth M. Tyler and Ross Balzaretti, Turnhout 2006, 91–104.

26 Odette Pontal, Die Synoden im Merowingerreich, Paderborn et al. 1986, 140–142; Heinzelmann, Zehn Bücher Geschichte (note 5), 34.

27 Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* V,3, ed. by Friedrich Leo, in: MGH Auct. Ant. 4,1, Berlin 1881, 106: *huic Sigibercthus ovans favet et Brunichildis honori: iudicio regis nobile culmen adest.*

28 Gregory of Tours, Hist. V,49 (note 8).

29 Heinzelmann, Zehn Bücher Geschichte (note 5), 49.

tant principle regarding the arrangement of the histories' subject matter is his idea of the conflicts of the saints. His aim in the sense of his antithetical presentation method was to highlight the antagonism between good and evil and to portray this as a fight of the faithful and enemies of the church. By such means, he avoided pathos and military tales about heroes.[30] His efforts to avoid a national history reveals his decision about what he felt was worthwhile forgetting, as Paul Ricoeur has described: "One narrative of a drama means forgetting another."[31]

Nevertheless, Gregory explicitly problemizes the *ratio* of silence. Whenever he confesses, for instance, not to have consciously mentioned something, in general, he follows not merely a linguistic but also an educational and moral purpose. In his view, loose talk and spreading rumours about secrets is reprehensible. In an episode integrated in a central section, he describes how one night a drunkard was locked in a Roman church and, confronted by the physical appearance of two saints, became witness to a prophecy that General Aetius would not fall in battle. However, the identity of the party who spread news of the prophecy and dared to divulge god's secret (*arcanumque Dei vulgare... audeat*) had vanished from the face of the earth. The next morning, the drunkard had scarcely imparted his knowledge when he lost his sight.[32] Blindness is a harsh penalty for someone who could not keep to himself trusted secrets – even those that he only heard by chance. However, Gregory emphatically describes the penalty as justified: secrets are not to be revealed, even if one knows them and would dearly like to explain them.

Some of Gregory's omissions are only obvious by comparison with his *curriculum vitae* and his narrated anecdotes in the histories. For instance, he remains silent about why he appeared before King Gunthramn in Orleans as well as the reason for his attendance at the assembly in Lower Besslingen (Luxembourg).[33] As noted before, Gregory frequently portrays himself as a benevolent and successful bishop. He accordingly also remains silent about his personal involvement in other royal diocesan appointments,[34] which generally he does not see as the ideal case. Any intervention by the king in diocesan affairs – especially the appointment of the head – was a matter that, according to his principles, was not advantageous for the church's organization, even if it related to him personally.

---

30 Walter Goffart, Conspicuously Absent. Heroism in the Histories of Gregory 2009, in: The World of Gregory of Tours, ed. by Kathleen Anne Mitchell and Ian N. Wood, Leiden, Boston, Cologne 2002, 365–393; Reimitz, Early Medieval Editions (note 16); Ian Wood, 'Fredegar's Fables', in: Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter, ed. by Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter, Vienna 1994, 358–366.
31 Paul Ricoeur, Gedächtnis, Geschichte, Vergessen, Munich 2004, 689.
32 Gregory of Tours, *Hist.* II,7 (note 8), 49f. *Et ecce nunc illum propero viventem exinde reducturus! Verumtamen obtestor, ut qui haec audierit sileat arcanumque Dei vulgare non audeat, ne pereat velociter a terra.*
33 Gregory of Tours, *Hist.* VIII, 21 (note 8); cf. Heinzelmann, Zehn Bücher Geschichte (note 5), 61.
34 Heinzelmann, Zehn Bücher Geschichte (note 5), 49.

Based on later sources, Gregory's silence on various topics can be more easily understood. For example, the previously mentioned addenda by Fredegar or Paulus Diaconus are relevant here. Gregory therefore conveyed three types of sources in relation to his strategic silence: his original texts, texts by contemporaries and texts of subsequent historiographies. However, aside from this clear positive evidence, it is largely Gregory's personal implicit tendencies and pronounced rejection of certain themes that highlight where his structural silence begins. This kind of forgetting history results from blind spots that are opinion-led or caused by prejudices in Gregory's historiography.

Inevitably, this question leads to an examination of the relationship between what can be positively proved and what is not said or unwritten, or about the quality of omissions and the methodological awareness that a lack of knowledge cannot be rejected from the outset as *argumentum ex silentio*. Alois Hahn already justifiably emphasized that: "Because anyone who talks need not emphasize that he is talking. As for those who keep quiet about silence, would anyone recognize the silence?"[35] Representing the genre of historiography, in Gregory's case it emerged how he used omissions as a structural element of his texts. Although Gregory of Tours often keeps silent, there is method to his behaviour. Gregory demonstrated a considerate and thoughtful approach on his implied silence and the omission of names. This can be regarded as part of his more general theory of omission, whenever defects in specific knowledge hierarchies are to be discussed – especially when highly structured texts are under consideration – and schemes are to be identified and highlighted.

4 Ratio and Creatio: Gregory's Criteria of Selection

Gregory of Tours left a legacy of extensive work by the standards of the early medieval period – ten books of historiography and eight books of hagiography. Research studies often criticize Gregory for his loquaciousness, digressions and erroneous information, and particularly complain that his historiography offends the principles of rational text structure. He already provided apologies, almost in the style of topoi, for his hagiographic works, which offer an insight into his selection and arrangement of material and are intended to protect against contemporary criticism. In the preface to the book on the fame of the confessor, he presents his texts in a works catalogue. Here, he anticipates two potential points of criticism. On the one hand, scholars would not want to count him among authors because his style is too rustic; he makes grammatical errors and even confuses ablatives and accusatives.

---

35 Alois Hahn, Schweigen als Kommunikation und die Paradoxien der Inkommunikabilität, in: Norm und Krise von Kommunikation. Inszenierungen literarischer und sozialer Interaktion im Mittelalter, Berlin 2006, 93–113, here 93.

On the other hand, he proposes no useful argument (*argumentum utile*) in his work. However, he counters this with some thoughtful observations. Firstly, he explains his selection for the martyrs' histories alongside their importance as examples for Christian daily practice with an antiquarian justification. He explicitly stated that it was very difficult to bear (*valde molestum erat*) that they fell victim to forgetting.[36] Implicitly, this promises a logic of collection that aims for completeness. The poor language quality was not the central problem. For he writes: "I do your work and with my rustic style I will employ your intelligence. For, as I believe, these writings will offer you a good deed, so that what I write in a brief, rough and dark style, you treat at length in a luminous and brilliant manner in pleasing verse and on more measured pages."[37]

There follows an explicit invitation to all those who are unsatisfied by his style to record things in their own stylish verses. The 'invention' of the *stilus rusticus*, or the idiom of a 'would-be' country farmer is the innovative dimension of Gregory's time. This sort of unpretentious view of one's own art of expression is more than just a submissive topos of modesty. It indicates that Gregory consciously prefers not to place his style in the foreground. What is his intention? Attention should be fixed on his deliberately structured arrangement of individual episodes and examples. Elaborate words should not be convincing, nor should simple arguments. Rather, the focus is on the arguments overall in a coherent work (*integrum inlibatumque*), where everything is intertwined with everything else and contrasts are permitted as well as a single background interpretation – the divine plan of salvation. The individual who is sure that the appropriate arguments and examples have been chosen and effectively compiled is the only one to accept that wordsmiths can later improve on the style and consolidate the work.

Gregory's clear rejection of the *stilus rusticus* suggests that he by no means valued this as an ideal. He writes about a false prophet who had impersonated Jesus. During a personal encounter, Gregory remarked as follows: "His speech was uneducated (*sermo rusticus*), the breadth of his language was obscene and ugly. No reasonable talk (*sermo rationabilis*) came from his mouth." [38] In this case, the rustic speech – clearly a reference to the pronunciation and words – made it impossible to produce a comprehensible structure of ideas. Therefore, no *ratio* could be achieved by this means.

---

36 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, Praefatio, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in: MGH SS rer. Merov. 1,2, Hanover 1885, 297–298: *...quia valde molestum erat, ut traderentur oblivioni.*

37 Ibid: *Opus vestrum facio et per meam rusticitatem vestram prudentiam exercebo. Nam, ut opinor, unum beneficium vobis haec scripta praebebunt, scilicet ut, quod nos inculte et breviter stilo nigrante discribimus, vos lucide ac splendide stante versu in paginis prolixioribus dilatetis.*

38 Gregory of Tours, *Hist.* 9,6 (note 8), 419: *Erat enim ei et sermo rusticus et ipsius linguae latitudo turpis atque obscoena; sed nec de eo sermo rationabilis procedebat.* Claude Carozzi, Grégoire de Tours historien?, in: Faire l'événement au Moyen Âge, ed. by Claude Carozzi and Huguette Taviani-Carozzi, Aix-en-Provence 2007, 201–218, here 209.

This perception of his view of the effect of argument and style in the field of hagiography makes it possible to adopt a new approach to his final plan for his ten histories. Previous studies focused on the composition and skilful organization of material, especially the work by Martin Heinzelman and more recently by Helmut Reimitz. Now, the task is to show how heavily Gregory relied on silence and creative omissions to compile his historical works. He structures historical events in a highly selective manner in relation to his own teleological perspective.[39] A corpus of the political history of ancient Rome was deliberately omitted. By contrast, details regarding Christ's life or the life of the martyr Martin were newly arranged and integrated in Tours. Byzantium, and even Italy are mentioned only to give some contour to events in Gaul. His priority was always to emphasize the bishops as the impetus of Gaul's history of salvation. They were granted the most space and the most episodes which Gregory skilfully integrated. Precisely for this reason, he had no cause to remain silent about the activity of incapable and dishonourable bishops, since due to his large-scale argument structure, he could prove via other passages the effective intervention of god in the sense of justice. He even juxtaposed personalities from his own family whose life achievements were positive and negative, yet without compiling an honourable family history.[40]

* * *

In conclusion, it can be asserted that Gregory applied the literary techniques of antiquity in his works to structure and embellish his material. He sometimes omitted unwanted or unimportant matters that made no contribution to the development of the subject in the sense of his *inventio*. He rejected pagan content such as the protagonists of the *Aeneid*; besides, it is not surprising that he simply omitted from his historiography antique Emperors or battles that were insignificant for him. Experts have frequently described him as a compiler for his historical work – the 'ten books of histories'. However, this criticism does not do justice to the structural ingenuity with which, thanks to his composition, Gregory relied on specific methods as a form of knowledge concentration such as juxtaposition or emphasis (*gradatio*). This is particularly noticeable wherever he interrupted chronologies.

It is precisely through this indirect literary technique, which involves the industrious interweaving of quotations, anecdotes and other text elements, that a convincing individual authorial personality seems to be in oblivion. Nonetheless, to a certain extent this also seems to have been Gregory's intention, since he purported to convey the truth in an unrhetorical and rustic style. Unambiguous examples on the narrative level should confirm the truth through supernatural, divine signs. The numerous, systematically arranged anecdotes should demonstrate that the 'truth' paves its

---

39 Kathleen Mitchell, Marking the bounds. The distant past in Gregory's History, in: The world of Gregory of Tours, ed. by Kathleen Anne Mitchell and Ian N. Wood, Leiden, Boston, Cologne 2002, 295 – 306, here 296.
40 Heinzelmann, Zehn Bücher Geschichte (note 5), 7.

own way and must not be rhetorically transformed. Gregory composes and links themes and motifs, whereas other authors might also take over the linguistic orchestration.

Michael Eber – Stefan Esders – David Ganz – Till Stüber

Selection and Presentation of Texts in Early Medieval Canon Law Collections: Approaching the *Codex Remensis* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phill. 1743)*
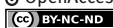
For anyone interested in the period of late antiquity it seems all too familiar that law, legal texts and legal knowledge are subject to highly complex processes of selecting materials, extracting individual passages, interpreting them and adding commentaries. Both the Theodosian Code and the Justinianic codification projects provide ample evidence of how collecting individual decrees, jurists' commentaries and general regulations and assembling them within one codex allowed for the systematization of the material contained therein. At the same time, a codification of law would lead to a suppression of alternative norms.[1] Much of this work was carried out by jurists commissioned by the state or indeed the ruler. This still holds true for the first official redaction of the Theodosian Code with its novels and additions, the so-called *Breviarium Alaricianum* or *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, compiled under the Visigothic King Alaric II in Southwestern Gaul shortly after 500.[2] However, when tracing the numerous compilations and epitomes that were produced on the basis of the Theodosian Code and Alaric's breviary in the post-Roman West between the 6th and 8th centuries (such as the *Epitome Aegidii*, the *Epitome Parisina* or the *Epitome*

---

1 On the methods and aims of late antique legal compilations, see especially John F. Matthews, Laying Down the Law: A Study of the Theodosian Code, New Haven 2001 and some of the essays collected in Jill Harries and Ian. N. Wood (eds.), The Theodosian Code. Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity, London 1993.

2 Detlef Liebs, Geltung kraft Konsenses oder kraft königlichem Befehl? Die *lex Romana* unter den Westgoten, Burgundern und Franken, in: Recht und Konsens im frühen Mittelalter, ed. by Verena Epp and Christoph Meyer, Ostfildern 2017, 63–85.

Guelferbitana),[3] the influence of the state or the ruler becomes less and less apparent. Though it would be misleading to qualify these compilations as "private" collections, it seems obvious that the principles according to which many of these collections were assembled responded to an increasing diversity of needs and interests; it is up to modern research to analyse the profile of each individual collection, often only transmitted within a single manuscript.[4]

This holds even more true for the development of canon law in the West.[5] Naturally, the emergence of canon law, of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and of legal compilations owed much to models of late Roman law.[6] However, in canon law the impact of tradition appears to have been stronger. For canon law could not be perceived as "positive" law that could be flexibly altered and adjusted, but rather was qualified as exercising a corrective function, as it seemed necessary from time to time to adjust the behaviour of Christians and clerics to the rules laid down in the bible. The bible of course required interpretation too, but canon law pretended to look backwards in many different ways, not only to the bible, but also to councils and synods, creating norms that were based on the idea of *consensus*, while it also assigned an important role to the bishop of Rome in adjusting norms and interpreting legal rules.[7] As canon law also comprised a great variety of texts and sources of authority, this must have had an impact on the processes of selection of legal materials such as synodal canons, papal letters, treatises on heresy etc., but also Roman imperial laws

---

3 Detlef Liebs, Römische Jurisprudenz in Gallien (2. bis 8. Jahrhundert), Berlin 2002, 109–120, 202–230 and 254–264. On the Epitome Aegidii and its reception, see now Dominik Trump, Römisches Recht im Karolingerreich. Studien zur Überlieferungs- und ezeptionsgeschichte der 'Epitome Aegidii', Ostfildern 2021.

4 See as a case study Detlef Liebs, Römischrechtliche Glut für ein Bischofsgericht in Burgund. Die Epitome Parisina der Lex Romana Visigothorum, in: XVI Convegno internazionale in Onore di Manuel J. Garcia Garrido, ed. by Giuliano Crifo, Naples 2007 (Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana 16), 63–88.

5 See Hubert Mordek, Das kirchliche Recht im Übergang von der Antike zum Mittelalter, in: Akten des 26. Deutschen Rechtshistorikertages, ed. by Dieter Simon, Frankfurt a. M. 1987 (Studien zur Europäischen Rechtsgeschichte 30), 455–464.

6 Eduard Schwartz, Die Kanonessammlungen der alten Reichskirche, in: Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung 25 (1936), 1–114. On public authority enforcing canon law in late antiquity see Thomas Rüfner, Die gesetzesgleiche Geltung des kanonischen Rechts in der Spätantike, in: Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung 96 (2010), 1–37.

7 On the conciliar idea of *consensus*, see Hermann Josef Sieben, Die Konzilsidee der Alten Kirche, Paderborn 1979, 307–314 as well as Id., Die Partikularsynode. Studien zur Geschichte der Konzilsidee, Frankfurt a. M. 1990, 23–25; Gregory I. Halfond, *Cum consensu omnium:* Frankish Church Councils from Clovis to Charlemagne, in: History Compass 5 (2007), 539–559; Bruno Dumézil, Consultations épiscopales et délibérations conciliaires dans la Gaule du VIe siècle, in: Consulter, délibérer, décider: Donner son avis au Moyen Âge, ed. by Martine Charageat and Corinne Leveleux-Teixeira (France-Espagne, VIIème–XVIème siècles), Toulouse 2010, 61–75; Andreas Weckwerth, Ablauf, Organisation und Selbstverständnis westlicher antiker Synoden im Spiegel ihrer Akten, Münster 2010.

regarding the church.[8] Their selection and incorporation into canon law collections from the 5th century onward made them part of a larger whole, enhancing their authority as historical documents, but also framing them as parts of a series, of what was believed to be an "authentic" tradition.[9] This was by no means simply a process of collecting available texts, but rather involved different clerical actors, entailed individual choices, and was often motivated by special historical circumstances. The ten or so canon law collections from Merovingian Gaul, preserved in manuscripts from the Merovingian or early Carolingian period, all show individual selections of material.[10]

The following contribution largely originates from ongoing work on one such collection today kept in Berlin's State Library–preserved within the so-called *Codex Remensis*, an 8th-century canon law manuscript named after the monastery of Saint-Remi in Reims.[11] The manuscript must have been kept at Reims by the 9th century at the latest, and it continued to be there at least until the 12th, as is attested by the red marginal entry on fol. 147[v]. In the later middle ages, the codex was transferred from Reims to the Jesuit Collège de Clermont in Paris, where it was famously studied by Jacques Sirmond in the first half of the 17th century for his pioneering edition of the Gallic councils and capitularies.[12] Following the suppression of the Jesuit order in France in 1764, the Paris manuscripts were bought by the Dutch bookseller Gerard Meerman in The Hague, and subsequently were acquired at auction in the early 19th century by the English bibliomaniac Sir Thomas Phillipps, who kept them in

---

8 On the variety of sources assembled in late antique and early medieval canon law collections, see Friedrich Maassen, Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters, vol. 1, Graz 1870, 8–419.

9 On the self-image of Gallo-Roman synods and their codification see, among others, Michael Edward Moore, A Sacred Kingdom. Bishops and the Rise of Frankish Kingship, 300–850, Washington D. C. 2011, 52–84; Halfond, *Cum consensu omnium* (note 7); Gregory I. Halfond, The Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils. AD 511–768, Leiden 2010.

10 Hubert Mordek, Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich. Die *Collectio Vetus Gallica*, die älteste systematische Kanonessammlung des fränkischen Gallien. Studien und Edition, Berlin et al. 1975, 4–17; Lotte Kéry, Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140), Washington D. C. 1999; Detlef Jasper and Horst Fuhrmann, Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages, Washington D. C. 2001; Ralph W. Mathisen, Between Arles, Rome, and Toledo: Gallic Collections of Canon Law in Late Antiquity, in: Ilu. Revista de ciencias de las religiones 2 (1999), 33–46; Id., Church Councils and Local Authority. The Development of Gallic Libri canonum during Late Antiquity, in: Being Christian in Late Antiquity. A Festschrift for Gillian Clark, ed. by Carol Harrison, Caroline Humfress and Isabella Sandwell, Oxford 2014, 175–195; Geoffrey D. Dunn, Collectio Corbeiensis, Collectio Pithouensis and the Earliest Collections of Papal Letters, in: Collecting Early Christian Letters from the Apostle Paul to Late Antiquity, ed. by Bronwen Neil and Pauline Allen, Cambridge 2015, 175–205.

11 On this manuscript, see the descriptions by Valentin Rose, Verzeichniß der lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, vol. 1: Die lateinischen Meerman-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Phillipps in der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Berlin 1893, 171–179 and Hubert Mordek, Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta. Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse, Munich 1995, 56–57.

12 Jacques Sirmond, Concilia antiqua Galliae. 3 vols., Paris 1629.

his homes in Middlehill and Cheltenham. In 1887, after long and secret negotiations initiated by Theodor Mommsen, the *Codex Remensis* was sold by Phillipps' grandson to the Royal Prussian library in Berlin along with numerous other manuscripts.[13] Following World War II, it was kept in East Berlin, where it was hardly accessible due to its severely damaged state, and was brought to the Western part of the library shortly after 1990, while it was only restored and rebound in 2013. In 2020, the manuscript was relocated to the State Library's ancient building "Unter den Linden".

Ironically, due to this varied history, none of the most famous modern scholars of early medieval canon law and its manuscript tradition, Friedrich Maassen (1823–1900), Cuthbert Hamilton Turner (1860–1930), Hubert Mordek (1939–2006) and Klaus Zechiel-Eckes (1959–2010), were actually able to use and study the manuscript when writing their major books and/or producing their enduring editions – each of them being at the wrong place at the right time, a history of missed opportunities. When Maassen wanted to use it for his famous "Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande", published in 1870, he did not have the chance to visit Phillipps' library, which is why he had to rely on the description provided by Sirmond 250 years earlier.[14] Turner, in a memorable statement of 1907, wrote that he had wanted to consult the *Codex Remensis* for his monumental edition of the ecumenical councils of the Ancient church, but that the manuscript had just been sold to Germany. To illustrate his frustration at being unable to access the Codex in Berlin, Turner even quoted the Roman poet Horace, writing that it is not granted to everyone to visit Corinth, which is why he asked British colleagues who went to Berlin to inspect parts of the manuscript for him.[15] And Mordek could not see it

---

13 See Alan Noel Latimer Munby, Phillipps Studies, vol. 5: The dispersal of the Phillipps library, Cambridge 1960.

14 See Maassen, Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur (note 8), 638–640. Maassen could, in fact, take a look at the manuscript very shortly before finishing his MGH edition of the Merovingian councils: Concilia aevi Merovingici 1, ed. by Friedrich Maassen, Hanover 1893, XIV, 185 and 193.

15 Cuthbert Hamilton Turner (ed.), Ecclesiae Occidentalis monumenta iuris antiquissima canonum et conciliorum graecorum interpretationes latinae 2.1, Oxford 1907, vii: "Praeter codices quos in praefatiunculis parti i et parti ii tomi I praemissis iam enumerueram, in hac parte nonnisi tres adhibui: quorum ut aetate, ita copia et pretio eorum quae in eo continentur, agmen ducit Remensis (unde nobis R), cuius sedes per uices continuas saeculis recentioribus mutabatur: a Iacobo enim Sirmond, ut uidetur, Parisios abductum et in Collegium Claromontanum Iesuitarum adrogatum, inde una cum ceteris codicibus Claromontanis primum Gerardus Meerman Batauus, deinceps Thomas Phillipps Anglus, postremo respublica Borussorum sibi adquisiuit. codicem ipse non uidi, quippe qui iter longiquum Berolinense suscipere non ualuerim (*non* enim *cuiuis homini contingit adire Corinthum*) neque ut in Angliam per spatium temporis exiguum commodaretur impetrari potuit. utinam adhuc apud nos constitutum contulissem! gratias itaque amplissimas et ago et habeo Magdalensibus meis, qui Berolini degentes uel unam uel alteram codicis particulam mei causa inspexerunt, Reginaldo L. Poole, Arturo E. Cowley, Friderico G. Kenyon, Ioanni K. Fotheringham, Willelmo A. Pickard-Cambridge; necnon Alexandro Souter Cantabrigiensi, quem domicilii iure etiam nostrum possumus appellare. codex notam prae se fert Berol. Phillipps lat. 84: saeculo exaratus octavo; mutilus hodie, incipit a canone Ancyritano V infra p. 66; scriptura Merovingica est et (ut ex exemplaribus phototypicis colligere licet)

for a long time, as it was kept under wraps in East Berlin;[16] he did in fact consult the manuscript shortly after 1990, but only at a point when he had to focus his work on the Frankish capitularies.[17] Zechiel-Eckes sadly died far too early to exploit the manuscript in full, which is why he could only use it for his posthumously published edition of the Siricius decretal.[18] Consequently, comparatively little work has been done so far on this manuscript and on the law collection it contains. What follows is in fact the first comprehensive attempt to do this, by analyzing its palaeographical features, suggesting possible place(s) of compilation and establishing certain principles in its selection of materials. Naturally, such diverse and wide-ranging work can only be done as a collaborative effort involving different disciplines and fields of expertise.

1 Palaeographical features of the *Codex Remensis*

The manuscript as we have it today is clearly the work of several scribes, who all wrote a very stylized Merovingian cursive minuscule, much closer to the script of royal and private charters than to the uncial and half uncial of most Merovingian manuscripts. In 1965 Bernhard Bischoff suggested that the manuscript was one of a group of manuscripts that he believed were most probably copied in Bourges. He grouped it with Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit BPL 114 (CLA X 1959), which contained a copy of the *Epitome Aegidii* along with the formula collection of Marculf and *formulae* relating to the city of Bourges; a second manuscript Bischoff ascribed to this group was Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 4629, which combined the *Lex Salica*, capitularies of Charlemagne from 802–805, and the *Lex Ribuaria*; 's-Gravenage (Hague), Museum Meermanno 10 B 4 was a third manuscript of this group, which contains the *Collectio Sancti Mauri*[19] (CLA X 1572a), another canon law collection; also Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, Theol. 4° 10 (CLA VIII 1141), containing theological writings of Isidore of Seville and others, belonged to this group according to Bischoff, as did two Augustine manuscripts from St Martial in Limoges,

---

lecti perdifficilis." Presumably based on these transcriptions by his colleagues, Turner also used it for his editions of the councils of Laodicea and Constantinople (EOMIA 2.3, published posthumously in 1939).

16 Personal oral communication ca. 1985. See also Mordek, Kirchenrecht und Reform (note 10), 10 n. 38.

17 See Mordek, Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta (note 11), 56–7.

18 Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, Die erste Dekretale. Der Brief Papst Siricius' an Bischof Himerius von Tarragona vom Jahr 385 (JK 255). Aus dem Nachlass mit Ergänzungen hrsg. von Detlev Jasper, Hanover 2013, 46–47.

19 See Cuthbert Hamilton Turner, Chapters in the History of Latin MSS. of Canons VII: The collection named after the ms. of St. Maur (F), Paris lat. 1451, in: Journal of Theological Studies 32 (1930/1931), 1–11.

today kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, under the signatures Lat. 2034 (CLA V, 540) and Lat. 1960.[20]

The Kassel and Paris BnF Lat. 2034 manuscripts are also copied in a cursive minuscule rich in ligatures. Both, like Phillipps 1743, have display capitals that are decorated with a human face (Kassel fol. 16^r, BnF Lat. 2034 fol. 3^v). The Leiden manuscript has display capitals on fol. 18^v, 19^r and 28^v which are similar to those in Phillipps 1743 (though there are no comparable decorated initials). The top lines of folios 21^v, 23^r, 26^r and passages in the contents list are in a script closer to Phillipps 1743. The Hague manuscript has passages copied by a hand very close to those in Phillipps 1743 on folios 181^v lines 2–24, 182^v lines 6–18, on folio 183^v the last 12 lines, all of folio 184^v, lines 12 to the end of fol. 186^v, the opening lines of the Council of Toledo on fol. 189^r and lines 9 and 10 on fol. 190^r.

In addition to the manuscripts listed by Bischoff, Bern, Burgerbibliothek 611, also containing *formulae* that refer to Bourges, and with a section dated to 727, has a scribe close to the scribes in Phillipps 1743 in the excerpts from Isidore on foll. 20^v-40^v, and a scribe in the glossary at the start of the manuscript who uses the b with a ligature to the right linking it to the following letter which is frequent in Phillipps 1743.[21] Bern 611 probably has to be considered as the earliest of the Bourges manuscripts, then Phillipps 1743, Kassel 4° 10, Paris BnF Lat. 2034, then Hague Meermann 10 B 4, then Leiden BPL 114, and lastly Paris BnF Lat. 1960 and 4629. Since the Bern manuscript may be dated around 727, a date in the middle third of the 8th century for Phillipps 1743 would make most sense.

It is difficult to determine how many scribes were involved in copying Phillipps 1743. There are changes of hand at the base of column 1 of fol. 8^v, at fol. 54^r, 65^r, fol. 77^{r-v} 13 lines of col 1, 89^r, fol. 98^r col 2, 159^r-170^v, 176^r, 186^r, 202–231, 236–238, 250, 268. There may be as many as ten scribes. The scribe of the Hague manuscript

---

20 Bernhard Bischoff, Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Großen, in: Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben, vol. 2, ed. by Helmut Beumann, Wolfgang Braunfels et al., Düsseldorf 1965, 233–254, at 241 (repr. in: Bernhard Bischoff, Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte, vol. 3, Stuttgart 1981, 5–38, at 17): "Aus dem riesigen Gebiet südlich der Loire bis zu den Pyrenäen und hinüber nach Septimanien ist nur eine kleine Zahl handschriftlicher Denkmäler namhaft zu machen... Immerhin läßt sich die Herkunft einer Gruppe von Handschriften aus der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts und der Zeit um 800 aus Bourges vermuten. Als Leithandschrift können der illustrierte Leidensis PBL (X. 1576) und die ehemals mit diesem verbundene Lex Salica, Paris BN lat. 4629, dienen, da sie beide Formeln enthalten, in denen Bourges häufig genannt ist." With footnote 57: "Demgegenüber fällt die spätere Provenienz des Leidensis und der verwandten Handschrift Berlin, Phill. 1743 (VIII.1060) aus Saint-Remi wenig ins Gewicht, zumal in ihrer Schrift keine Beziehungen zu der fest mit Reims verbundenen frühkarolingischen Gruppe bestehen (in CLA VIII und X wurde Reimser Entstehung vermutet). In den unmittelbaren Umkreis dieser Handschriften gehören ferner Den Haag, Mus. Meerm.-Westr. 10 B 4 (T. 1) (X.1572a), Kassel, Theol. 4° 10 (VIII.1141); Paris, BN Lat. 2034 (V.540) und 1960."

21 David Ganz, In the Circle of the Bishop of Bourges: Bern 611 and late Merovingian Culture, in: East and West in the Early Middle Ages. The Merovingian Kingdoms in Mediterranean perspective, ed. by Stefan Esders, Yaniv Fox, Yitzhak Hen and Laury Sarti, Cambridge 2019, 265–280.

almost always uses a p open at the base of the bow, while most of the scribes of Phillipps 1743 write p with a closed bow.

The initials of Phillipps 1743 are particularly elaborate. Merovingian manuscripts frequently use initials with fish or birds forming the body of the letter, but Phillipps 1743 has a large number of initials with human heads. Such heads can also be found in two initials in the Eugippius manuscript Paris BnF Lat. 2110, perhaps from Chelles, and they are frequent in the Sacramentary of Gellone, BnF Lat. 12048, copied in the 790's. Phillipps 1743 seems to be unique in using the blessing hand as an abbreviation mark above letters in display capitals.

As may be demonstrated by the beautifully embellished and structured canons of the council of Ephesus of 431 (fol. 186^r), it is perhaps the most elaborate and decorated canon law manuscript that has come down to us from the pre-Carolingian period.

The soldier on fol. 104^v as the initial "I" protects the Gallic synod of Orange held in 441, while the mysterious lady on fol. 20^r, disguised as a "Q", keeps her eye on the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, a 5th-century Gallic law collection. And the gentleman on fol. 35^v, attached to a 5th-century synod of Carthage, reminds the readers as it should remind us early medievalists that the devil is in the detail and occasionally might even be jumping right out of a horn of plenty![22]

2 The contents of the *Codex Remensis:* an overview

The manuscript is noteworthy not only in palaeographical terms, but also historically, as it uniquely transmits several important texts, for instance a dossier relating to the reception of the Three Chapters controversy in Gaul, as well as the famous edict of Paris issued by king Chlothar II in 614. Its canon law collection is the largest we have from the Merovingian period. Moreover, it is known that the *Codex Remensis*, after having been transferred to Reims, was studied there by archbishop Hincmar, the foremost legal expert of his time,[23] as it also contains a number of Carolingian marginal notes that allow us to take a glimpse into the 9th-century Reims workshop.

The codex as we have it was made sometime in the 8th century, probably at an archiepiscopal see like Bourges, as it contains some Tironian notes.[24] It is a copy

---

22 Phill. 1743, foll. 104^v, 20^r, 35^v.

23 See, e.g., Jean Devisse, Hincmar et la loi, Dacar 1962; Simon Corcoran, Hincmar and his Roman legal sources, in: Hincmar of Rheims. Life and work, ed. by Rachel Stone and Charles West, Manchester 2015, 129–155; Philippe Depreux, 'Hincmar et la loi' revisited: on Hincmar's use of capitularies, ibid., 156–169.

24 That particularly metropolitan sees had archives and correspondent workforces is shown by Claire Sotinel, Le personnel épiscopal. Enquête sur la puissance de l'évêque dans la cité, in: L'évêque dans la cité du IVe au Ve siècle. Image et autorité, ed. by Eric Rebillard and Claire Sotinel, Rome 1998, 105–126, at 107–110.
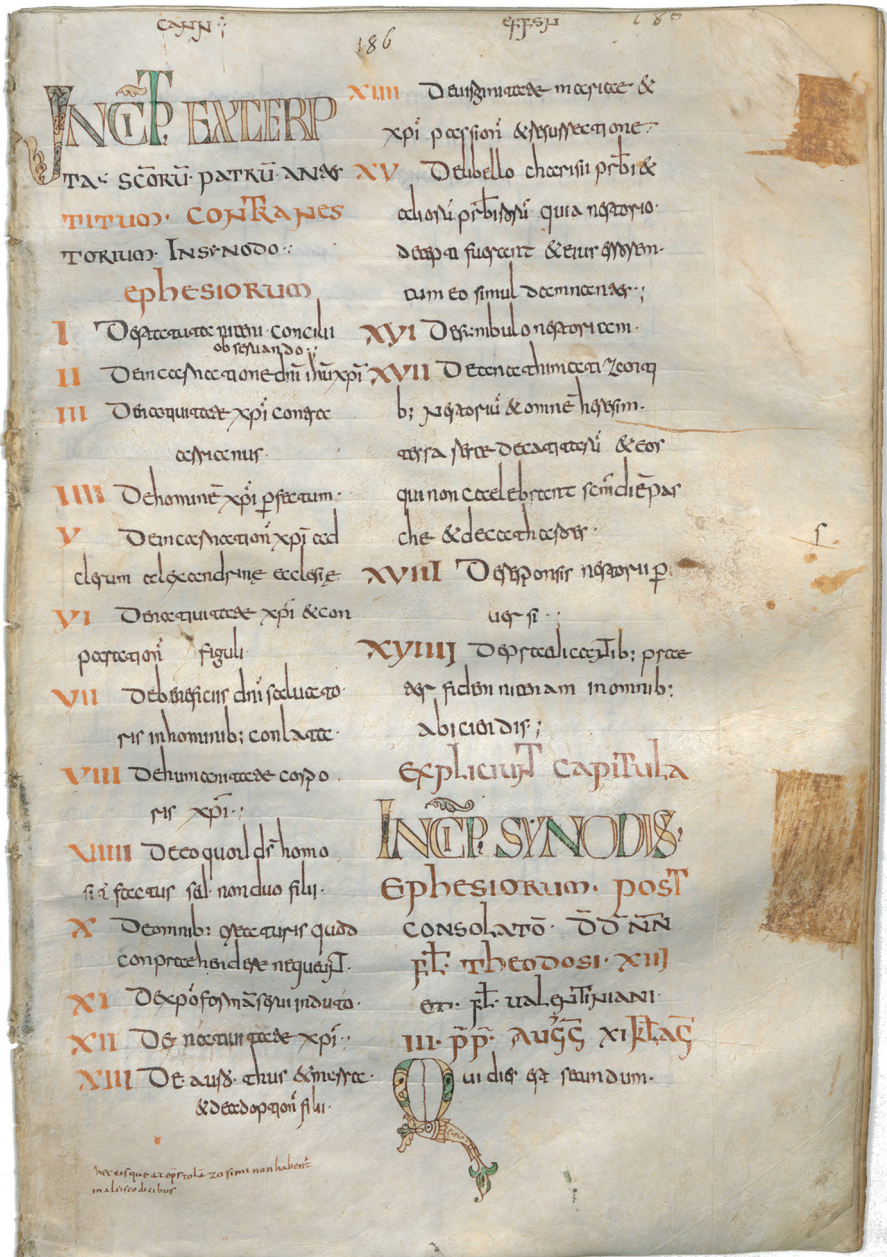
Fig. 1: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Phill. 1743, fol. 186ʳ

of a collection that once had been compiled in the 6th and earlier 7th centuries. Its core part is formed by a collection of conciliar canons stemming from the early

Fig. 2–4: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Phill. 1743, foll. 104ᵛ, 20ʳ and 35ᵛ

church, supplemented by a mixture of papal letters and synodal canons from late Roman North Africa and Gaul that extend well into the Merovingian period.[25]

This is followed secondly by a dossier of texts relating to the Three Chapters controversy, starting with three letters sent by Pope Vigilius during his detainment in Constantinople, enriched by a unique and truly remarkable letter sent by the Milanese clergy to some Frankish envoys who were heading for Constantinople, in which a detailed report of Vigilius' maltreatment in the East Roman capital is given, quite obviously to influence public opinion on these matters in Gaul by painting him as suffering for Chalcedonian orthodoxy.[26] The so-called *Gesta de Nomine Acacii*,[27] an account of the development of the Acacian schism (484–519), written by Gelasius when he was still leading the papal chancery for his predecessor Felix III,[28] should also be regarded as part of this section. A third block, closely linked

---

25 Phill. 1743, foll. 1ʳ-276ʳ.

26 Phill. 1743, foll. 276ʳ-287ᵛ. For a complete edition of this dossier see: Eduard Schwartz, Vigiliusbriefe, in: Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung 1940/2 (1940), 1–31, at 1–25.

27 Phill. 1743, foll. 287ᵛ-291ᵛ. The *Gesta de nomine Acacii* are edited in: Collectio Avellana, vol. 1, ed. by Otto Günther, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiaticorum Latinorum 35, Prague et al. 1895, 440–453.

28 Walter Ullmann, Gelasius I. (492–496). Das Papsttum an der Wende der Spätantike zum Mittelalter, Stuttgart 1981, 245–246.

to this, contains three lists: an index of orthodox and heretical books allegedly written by Pope Gelasius I,[29] a list of popes and another of Roman provinces.[30] While all this was apparently put together shortly after 550, the fourth and last dossier of texts was clearly added only in the early 7th century,[31] that is following the turnabout of 613 and the extermination of the Austrasian branch of the Merovingian dynasty: here, the codex provides the famous legislation inaugurated by king Chlothar II in 614 of which we would otherwise know very little.[32]

3 Assembling canon law collections in Merovingian Gaul

As has already been stated above, a considerable number of Merovingian canon law collections have survived to the present day. Most of these collections present their canon law material in roughly chronological order, as is also the case in the Reims collection. Starting with the Greek councils of the early church,[33] they contain a mixture of conciliar decisions from late antique Africa and Gaul, and of papal letters from the 5th and 6th centuries, while transmitting in some detail the decisions of Gallic synods held under Visigothic and Burgundian kings – that is the synods of Agde in 506 and Epaone in 517. Focusing on Gaul, they are followed by a long series of synods held under Merovingian rule, starting with the first council of Orléans assembled by Clovis in 511, and continuing at least until the fifth council of Orléans convoked by king Childebert I in 549.

In contrast to these collections which present their legal material arranged chronologically,[34] one major collection was produced in the Merovingian period that sought to systematize the legal material by excerpting bits of texts from synodal

---

29 Phill. 1743, foll. 291[v]-293[v]. The standard edition is Ernst von Dobschütz, Das *Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, Leipzig 1912.

30 Phill. 1743, foll. 293[v]-296[v]. The *Notitia Galliarum* is edited in: Chronicorum minorum saec. IV. V. VI. VII., vol. 1, ed. by Theodor Mommsen, MGH Auctores antiquissimi IX, Berlin 1892, 552–612.

31 Phill. 1743, foll. 296[v]-301[v].

32 Chlothar's edict is edited in: Capitularia regum Francorum 1, ed. by Alfred Boretius (MGH Leges II, 1), Hanover 1883, 20–23. See Gernot Kocher, Das Pariser Edikt von 614 und die merowingische Rechtspflege aus der Sicht der Deutschen Rechtsgeschichte, Graz 1976 and Alexander Callander Murray, Immunity, Nobility, and the Edict of Paris, in: Speculum 69 (1994), 18–39. For a survey of its contents, see Stefan Esders, Pariser Edikt, in: Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte, 2nd edition 4 (2018), 213–215.

33 For a survey, see Eckhard Wirbelauer, Kirchenrechtliche Sammlungen, in: Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur, ed. by Siegmar Döpp and Wilhelm Geerlings, Freiburg 2002, 428–437.

34 On historical and systematic collections of canon law, see Maassen, Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur (note 8), 1–7; see also Hubert Mordek, *Dionysio-Hadriana* und *Vetus Gallica*. Historisch geordnetes und systematisches Kirchenrecht am Hofe Karls des Großen, in: Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung 55 (1969), 39–63.

acts, papal letters and so on, depriving them of their original context and redistributing them under systematic headings such as "marriage law", "law of asylum", "perjury" etc. This is the *Collectio canonum vetus Gallica*, compiled in Lyon around 600, famously studied by Hubert Mordek in his classic monograph of 1975.[35] It is here, in the process of systematizing law, that the topic of "creative selection" and of "emending and forming medieval memory" most radically makes sense – and indeed following Mordek several studies have shown how the production of a systematic canon law collection entailed the de-historicizing destruction of the legal provisions' original contexts.[36]

However, the chronologically arranged collections, among them the Reims collection, are also very interesting for this question, as they allow us to look at the tension between tradition and systematization from another perspective. Early medieval scholars believed historical collections to be more authentic, to be more resistant against oblivion and alteration, as it was much more difficult to forge canons within these collections than in the process of producing a systematic collection.[37] For this reason, the issue of "creative selection", of "oblivion" and "forming memory" has to be dealt with in a more subtle way when it comes to analyzing chronologically ordered collections.

Indeed, the composition and structure of these historically ordered canon law collections have long been a matter of debate, with research reaching back to the pioneering works of Maassen and the ingenious Turner, while in more recent times Ralph Mathisen devoted three important articles to canon law collections from 5th

---

35 Mordek, Kirchenrecht und Reform (note10).

36 Roy Flechner, The Hibernensis, Washington D. C. 2019, vol. 1, 66–80; Rob Meens, The Uses of the Old Testament in Early Medieval Canon Law. The *Collectio Vetus Gallica* and the *Collectio Hibernensis*, in: The uses of the past in the early middle ages, ed. by Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes, Cambridge 2000, 67–77; Charles Munier, A propos des textes patristiques et monastiques de la *Vetus Gallica*, in: *Scientia veritatis*. Festschrift für Hubert Mordek zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. by Oliver Münsch and Thomas Zotz, Ostfildern 2004, 41–58; Herbert Schneider, Die Kanonisten und Gregor der Große. Von der *Collectio Vetus Gallica* bis zur *Anselmo dedicata*, in: Gregorio Magno e le origini dell'Europa, ed. by Claudio Leonardi, Florence 2014, 551–576.

37 See Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, Historisch geordnete und systematische Sammlungen des kirchlichen Rechts im frühmittelalterlichen Rätien, in: Schrift, Schriftgebrauch und Textsorten im frühmittelalterlichen Churrätien, ed. by Heidi Eisenhut, Karin Fuchs, Martin Hannes Graf and Hannes Steiner, Basel 2008, 199–221, esp. 207: Historically arranged collections as "seemingly authentic" (*authentisch daherkommend*). The attitude of contemporaries is illustrated by the compilation of the so called *Collectio Bernensis*, a collection of twenty-two conciliar decrees dealing with reasons that could serve for the deposition of unruly clerics. The collection is part of Codex Bern Burgerbibliothek ms. 611, a miscellaneous manuscript probably written in early-8th-century Bourges (see Ganz, In the Circle of the Bishop of Bourges). As Mordek has shown, the compilation was the result of a two-stage process: the compiler first scanned the *Collectio Vetus Gallica* for decrees serving his purpose. However, as he did not fully trust the wording of this systematic collection, he copied the canons from the *Collectio Justelliana*, a time-honored compilation of late antique church councils, apparently enjoying a better reputation than the *Vetus Gallica*, see Mordek, Kirchenrecht und Reform (note 10), 108.

and 6th-century Gaul.[38] These collections share very many texts, though often presenting them in a different order, and, in the case of the Greek material, also different translations. Maassen often supposed the use of one collection by the compilator of another, or of a common source, which seems to suggest he thought that, at least in principle, a stemma of these collections could be established. Duchesne, in a somewhat selective reading of the interdependencies proposed by Maassen, believed that they all ultimately derived from several sub-collections available in the archives of the archiepiscopal church of Arles,[39] a hypothesis that was decisively rejected by Harold Steinacker in 1901.[40] More recently, Mathisen again stressed that these collections, despite their similarities, clearly show traces of local redaction.[41] Moreover, as was already noted by Turner, one also has to take into account the possibility that the parts of a manuscript for some time lay loose, and were rebound in a different order afterwards.[42]

4 Collecting Gallic synodal acts

Ralph Mathisen was the first to produce some kind of synopsis of how the material in seven of the Gallic collections was arranged. It allows us to compare which synodal acta were preserved in what order and context. For instance, the 5th-century *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* are contained in all manuscripts, albeit in different positions.[43] The synod of Orléans of 549, which can also be found in all manuscripts, follows at least some of the previous "national councils" of Orléans in most of them, but is added at a later stage in two manuscripts, and so on. To some of these manuscripts local synods were added, giving the collection the appearance of a local redaction, as Mathisen convincingly argued. Some also transmit later 6th and 7th-century regional material, as for instance one collection, which presents the acts of the famous Third council of Toledo from Visigothic Spain of 589 as a later addition.[44]

38 See Mathisen, Church Councils and Local Authority (note 10); id., Between Arles, Rome, and Toledo (note 10); id., The "Second Council of Arles" and the Spirit of Compilation and Codification in Late Roman Gaul, in: Journal of Early Christian Studies 5 (1997), 511–554.

39 Louis Duchesne, Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule, vol. 1, Paris ²1907, 144–145.

40 Harold Steinacker, Die Deusdedithandschrift (Cod. Vat. 3833) und die ältesten gallischen *libri canonum*, in: Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Ergänzungs-Bände 6 (1901), 113–144, at 122–134.

41 Mathisen, Between Arles, Rome, and Toledo (note 10), 43.

42 Cuthbert Hamilton Turner, Chapters in the History of Latin MSS. of Canons IV: The Corbie MS. (C), now Paris Lat. 12097, in: Journal of Theological Studies 30 (1928/1929), 225–236, at 230.

43 On this collection, see the seminal study of Charles Munier, Les *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*. Édition, études critiques, Paris 1960.

44 See Mathisen's studies quoted above notes 10 and 38. It is this the so-called Collection of Saint-Maur, represented by the manuscripts Paris BnF Lat. 1451, Lat. 1458 (foll. 88r-95v), Vatican reg. 1127 and The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westrenianum 10-B-4 (olim Cod. 9), cf. Gonzalo Martínez

Even though Mathisen did not include it in his study, the *Codex Remensis* seems to illustrate his findings quite well, as there are a couple of traces from local canonistic activity that led to the assemblage of the conciliar material contained in it. As noted above, the manuscript contains a Gallic *collectio canonum* ("Reims collection") whose latest text is the Fifth Council of Orléans 549. The collection, as we have it today, also contains the famous edict of Chlothar II, the conciliar acts of Paris 614 and the fragment of an undated council, otherwise unknown. As these three texts are clearly a later addition to the original collection,[45] we will return to them later. The presentation of the Gallic councils of the original collection has a striking peculiarity that has not been noted so far. The compiler of the Reims collection has arranged the Gallo-Roman and Merovingian synods in chronological order; an exception to this arrangement is the synod of Arles 314, which is inserted at an earlier place in the manuscript. Each synod is preceded by a heading – their uniformity strongly suggests that the headings were added by the compiler. For example, the synod of Epaone 517 starts with the words: *INCIP(IUNT) CAPITULA CONCILII EPAU-NINSIS TEMPOR(E) SIGISMUNDI REGIS,* referring to Sigismund, king of the Burgundians between 516 and 523. The same words, *tempore Sigismundi regis*, precede a synod that was held in Lyon sometime between 517 and 523. As we know from contemporary chronicles, Sigismund was killed in 523 and was followed by his brother Godomarus, who ruled over the Burgundian kingdom until the Frankish conquest in 534.[46] Conspicuously however, the compiler did not leave any trace of Godomarus, as the synods of Arles 524, Vaison 529, Carpentras 527 and Orange 529 are all introduced by the words *tempore Liberi praefecti*. As is well known, Liberius was not a Burgundian king, but an Italian magnate serving as *Prefectus Praetorio per Gallias* after having been appointed by Theoderic the Great in 510.[47] The curious change from Sigismund to Liberius after 523 strongly suggests that the so-called Reims collection was in fact compiled in one of the cities between the river Isère and the river Durance that the Burgundians had lost to the Ostrogoths in that very year. To put it more precisely, the archetype of the Reims collection had probably been composed either in Apt, Avignon, Carpentras, Cavaillon, Embrun, Gap, Orange, Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux, Sisteron or in Vaison.[48]

Díez, La colección canónica Hispana. Vol. 1: Estudio, Madrid 1966, 338–341. That the fragment from Paris, BnF Lat. 1458 (foll. 88ʳ-95ᵛ) originally belonged to the codex Lat. 1451, is noted by Mordek, Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta (note 11), 413.

45 See, for instance, Alphonse van Hove, Commentarium Lovaniense in Codicem Iuris Canonici. vol. 1.1: Prolegomena ad Codicem Iuris Canonici, Mechelen et al. 1945, 275.

46 PLRE II, 517 ("Godomarus 2").

47 On Liberius, see PLRE II, 677–681 ("Liberius 3") and James J. O'Donnell, Liberius the Patrician, in: Traditio 37 (1981), 31–72. On the background, see Christian Stadermann, Restitutio Romanarum Galliarum. Theoderichs des Großen Intervention in Gallien (507–511), in: Frühmittelalterliche Studien 54 (2020), 1–67.

48 For identification of these cities, see Reinhold Kaiser, Die Burgunder, Stuttgart 2004, 71 and Justin Favrod, Histoire politique du royaume burgonde (443–534), Lausanne 1997, 448–449.
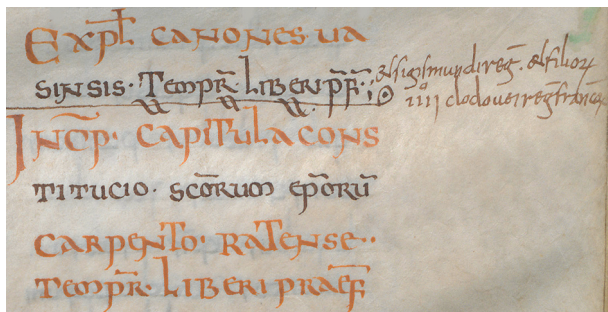
Fig. 5: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Phill. 1743, fol. 135ʳ: Explicit of the synod of Vaison 529, Incipit of Carpentras 527. The upper reference to Liberius is supplemented by a Carolingian scribe: et Sigismundi reg(is) et filior(um) IIII Clodouei reg(is) francor(um)

These findings are supported by a couple of interesting features which, taken together, point to South-Eastern Gaul as a place of composition yet again. It is important to note that Phill. 1743 is the only manuscript transmitting all 56 canons of the so-called "Second Council of Arles". Rather than an actual council that had taken place at a certain time, it is more rightly considered an independent collection of canon law, intended to stress the authority of the metropolitan bishop of Arles.[49] Likewise, our manuscript is the only textual witness to the unabridged papal letter "*Caritatis tuae*", sent by Pope John II to Bishop Caesarius of Arles in 534.

Particularly curious however, is the treatment of the important synods of Agde 506 and Orléans 511, both of which are considered as some kind of "national" councils, as they were assemblies of the newly forming Visigothic and Frankish churches respectively. Tellingly, the synodal acts of Agde are included in an abridged form: References to the Visigothic king Alaric II, originally part of the text, are deliberately omitted. In the original text of the penultimate canon, the synodal fathers render thanks to God and to Alaric for allowing them to convene. In Phill. 1743, the text is arbitrarily rewritten, thus erasing any remembrance of the monarch:[50]

Phill. 1743, fol. 121ʳ
ET QUA IN NOMIni domini omnibus salubriter constitutis synodus cum pace dimittitur, gracias deo agimus, orantes diuina clementia ut haec eadem facerint honore domini per multus annus, ipso iubente et permittente, possimus.

---

49 Knut Schäferdiek, Das sogenannte zweite Konzil von Arles und die älteste Kanonessammlung der arelatenser Kirche, in: Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung 71 (1985), 1–19.

50 In most canonical collections, the canon is abridged in one way or another. The original text is preserved only in the mss. Novara, Biblioteca Capitolare LXXXIV, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 12448, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 2493 (Bibl. 8780–8793). The words which are altered in Phill. 1743 are set Roman.

Original text according to CCSL 148, p. 212

Et quia in nomine Domini omnibus salubriter constutitis synodus in pace dimittitur, gratias Deo primitus, deinde domino nostro regi Alarico agamus, orantes diuinam clementiam ut haec eadem facere in honore Domini per multos annos, praefato rege iubente et permittente, possimus.

While it seems obvious at first that this *damnatio memoriae* was due to Alaric's Arianism,[51] a look at Clovis's council of Orléans suggests that theological differences might not have been the only reason for the rephrasing. Despite Clovis being a baptized Catholic, the redactor has removed his name from the synodal acts of Orléans just as he had done to Alaric's in the acts of Agde. The synod, as presented in Phill. 1743, is lacking any reference to the Frankish king who had sponsored the convention. In this vein, the bishops' address to the king ("*Domno suo*") is removed entirely, and Clovis's name is omitted from the preface.[52] In the same way the canons 4, 5 and 7 are omitted, certainly because they concede far-reaching powers to the (Frankish) royal court. While these three canons are missing in a couple of other manuscripts as well,[53] the adaptation of canon 10 is particularly revealing, as it casts a light on the political circumstances the redactor supposedly wanted to live up to:

> *De hereticis [clerecis om.], qui ad fidem catholicam plena fide ac uoluntate uenerint, uel de basilicis, quas in peruersitate sua [Gothi om.] hactenus habuerunt, id censuimus obseruari, ut si clereci fideliter conuertuntur et fidem catholicam integrae confitentur uel ita dignam uitam morum et actuum probitate custodiunt, officium, quo eos episcopus dignos esse censuerit, cum impositae manus benedictione suscipiant; et ecclesias simili, quo nostrae innouari solent, placuit ordine consecrari.*[54]

In its original form, the canon refers to the situation in Aquitania after the battle of Vouillé. This area, which had hitherto formed the heartland of the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse, was conquered by Clovis's Franks in 507. Among the participants at Clovis's council at Orléans, there were several Aquitanian bishops. They discussed what should happen to churches that had been used für Arian religious services by then. Equally at stake was the destiny of Arian clerics who had converted to Catholicism. At Orléans, the assembled bishops decided that these churches should be used by Catholics. As with newly founded churches, the Arian worship places were to be consecrated making use of the Nicene dedication rite. In contrast, in

---

51 See Bruno Saint-Sorny, La fin du roi Alaric II. Le roi arien, objet d'une *damnatio memoriae* sous les Mérovingiens?, in: *Auctoritas.* Mélanges offerts à Olivier Guillot, ed. by Giles Constable and Michel Rouche, Paris 2006, 193–204.

52 In Phill. 1743, fol. 123ʳ, the council of Orléans 511 starts as follows: *Cum auctore deo ex uocatione gloriosissimi regis in aurilianinsi urbe* etc. As is seen from older manuscripts, such as Paris BnF Lat. 12097 or Cologne Dombibliothek 212, *regis* was originally followed by *Chlotouechi*.

53 Namely Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Phill. 1745, Cologne, Dombibliothek 212, Paris, BnF Lat. 1451, Paris BnF Lat. 1564 and Vatican Pal. lat. 574.

54 MGH Concilia aevi Merovingici 1, 5 (note 14). The words in square brackets are omitted in Phill. 1743.

Phill. 1743 the subject *Gothi* is omitted and the church buildings in question are linked simply to "heretics". This suggests that the ruling was meant to be adapted to an area where the same problem had arisen, while the "heretics" in question were not Goths. This scenario again applies for the Burgundian kingdom, where in 516 Sigismund had come to the throne. As this monarch openly embraced Catholicism, the reconsecration of Arian cult buildings became a realistic option and was thus subject of an animated debate. While the Burgundian synod of Epao 517 finally adopted a more moderate stance towards Arians, there were also more radical voices who would have preferred a solution modeled on the Merovingian approach.[55]

It is interesting to note that there is a close textual proximity between the Gallic councils, as they are presented in the Codex Remensis, and three other manuscripts, strongly suggesting that these manuscripts all derive from a common exemplar.[56] The three manuscripts in question were all written in Northern France: Paris Bibliothèque nationale lat. 3846 (beginning of the 9th century), Berlin Staatsbibliothek Hamilton 132 (end of the 8th / beginning of the 9th century?), and Vatican Lat. 3827 (end of the 9th century).[57] The first two of them transmit the synods as part of the so called "Collection of Saint-Amand",[58] a collection of Gallic and Spanish church councils that, considering the documents it contains, cannot have been assembled before the end of the 7th century.[59] In contrast, Vatican Lat. 3827 is the only textual witness to the "Collection of the manuscript of Beauvais". These two collections are closely related to each other, since both collections share a considerable number of documents, while presenting them in the same order and containing the same textual re-

---

55 For the solution adopted at Epao, see c. 33; that these questions were discussed within the Burgundian episcopacy is illustrated by Avitus, Ep. 7, ed. by Rudolf Peiper, MGH Auctores Antiquissimi 6,2, Berlin 1883, 35–39.

56 The close connection linking the *Collectio Remensis* to the collections of Saint-Amand and Beauvais was first noted by Bertold Bretholz, Die Unterschriften der gallischen Concilien des 6. und 7. Jahrhunderts, in: Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde 18 (1893), 527–547, at 531 n. 1. Bretholz did not further elaborate on this, neither did later scholars.

57 See MGH Concilia aevi Merovingici 1 (note 14), 100. For further information on Paris BnF Lat. 3846 see Mordek, Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta (note 11), 439–442. Berlin Ham. 132 ibid. 29–34 as well as Helmut Boese, Die lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin, Wiesbaden 1966, 72–75 and Abigail Firey, Canon Law Studies at Corbie, in: Fälschung als Mittel der Politik? Pseudoisidor im Licht der neuen Forschung. Gedenkschrift für Klaus-Zechiel-Eckes, ed. by Karl Ubl and Daniel Ziemann, Wiesbaden 2015, 19–79. A description of Vatican Lat. 3827 is given in Mordek, Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta (note 11), 858–863. For further information on the *Collectio Sancti Amandi* and additional manuscripts related to that collection, see Mordek, Kirchenrecht und Reform (note 10), 249–250.

58 Maassen, Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur (note 8), 780–784, named the collection after the monastery of Saint-Amand (situated in what is today Northwestern France), where the ms. Paris BnF Lat. 3846 was kept in the 15th century, as we are told by an ex libris on fol. 1[r].

59 Its latest document is the Eleventh Synod of Toledo of 675. As the Roman synod of Pope Gregory II (held on 5 April 721) is not mentioned in the contents list preceding the collection (see Paris BnF Lat. 3846 at foll. 128[r]-137[v]), it is, among other documents, to be considered as a later supplement.

dactions. Comparison between the two collections makes it clear that the Collection of Saint-Amand must predate the Beauvais collection,[60] while the compiler of the latter collected some of his material from a copy of the Collection of Saint-Amand. In contrast to the earlier collection, the compiler of the Beauvais collection chose to omit most of the 5th-century church councils, whereas, on the other hand, he supplemented the material contained in his exemplar by a couple of documents dating from the 8th and 9th centuries.[61] Now, when comparing these two collections with the Reims collection, we find that they all have numerous features in common, enough to suggest that the compiler of the Collection of Saint-Amand may have collected large parts of his material from an exemplar containing a canon law collection very similar to the one transmitted in Phill. 1743. Given that the Collection of Saint-Amand was composed earlier than the Beauvais collection, it might be useful, for the time being, to limit our focus to the older collection and to take a closer look at the features that the Reims and the Saint-Amand collections have in common.

If we look at how the Gallic church councils are presented within Phill. 1743, it is easy to note that they form a sequence of seventeen Gallic synods that are arranged almost exactly in chronological order. The sequence is as follows: Valence 375 – Turin 398 – Riez 439 – Orange 441 – Vaison 442 – "Second Council of Arles" – Agde 506 – Orléans 511 – Epao 517 – Lyon 518/9 – Arles 524 – Vaison 529 – Carpentras 527 – Orange 529 – Orléans 538 – Orléans 541 – Orléans 549.[62] By contrast, the three synods of

---

60 The chronological precedence of the Collection of Saint-Amand before the Beauvais collection is also noted by Mordek, Kirchenrecht und Reform (note 10), 72 n. 38. On the date of the composition of the Collection of Saint-Amand and its sources see also Martínez Díez, La colección canónica Hispana (note 44), 342–347.

61 Among the later documents which were added by the compiler of the Beauvais collection are the synods of Ver 755, Friuli 796/7, Paris 829, Valence 855 and Savonnières 859, two capitularies of Pippin the Short, the *epistola generalis* of Louis the Pious and his son Lothar I as well as several papal letters by Hadrian I, Leo IV and Nicholas I. The collection is described in Maassen, Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur (note 8), 778–780.

62 Phill. 1743, foll. 95[v]-159[r]. Maassen, Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur (note 8), 565–566 noted that the series Riez 439 – Orange 441 – Vaison 442 – Arles II – Agde 506 – Orléans 511 is found in a number of collections in precisely that order, viz. the collections of Lyons, Corbie, Spanish-Gallic Epitome and Lorsch, even though the latter has the synod of Orange 529 following Arles II. Maassen therefore assumed that they had a "similar source" (on this presumed *collectio antiquissima* see also Schäferdiek, Das sogenannte zweite Konzil von Arles (note 49), 17). It is interesting, in any case, that in the Corbie collection (only transmitted in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12097), the synod of Riez is preceded by the synods of Valence 374 and Turin 398, whereas in between Turin and Riez, we find a papal letter (JK 292: Innocent I to a synod in Toledo) that in Phill. 1743 is placed among other decretals. As far as chronology is concerned, Innocent's letter (ca. 404 A.D.) would in fact deserve a place between those two synods. On the Corbie Collection, see Turner, The Corbie Ms. (note 42); Stefan Esders, Römische Rechtstradition und merowingisches Königtum. Zum Rechtscharakter politischer Herrschaft in Burgund im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert, Göttingen 1997, 31–56; Wolfgang Kaiser, Beobachtungen zur *Collectio Corbeiensis* und *Collectio Bigotiana* (Hs. Paris BN lat. 12097 und Hs. Paris BN lat. 2796), in: Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung 92 (2006), 63–110.

Orléans 511 (an abridged version, containing only the first nine canons), Tours 461 and Vannes 461/91 that follow the chronological dossier,[63] most probably did not form part of the original collection, but were added at a later date, since those texts obviously do not fit into the chronological scheme. Furthermore, the synods of Tours and Vannes were held in North-Western Gaul, whereas all other conciliar acts included in the collection were issued by episcopal assemblies convened in Southern, Central and Eastern Gaul. Apart from the four synods of Agde 506, Orléans 511, Epao 517 and Lyons 518/9,[64] all councils from the sequence from Valence 374 to Orléans 549 are also preserved in the Collection of Saint-Amand, namely in a textual form very similar to the one transmitted in Phill. 1743. These similarities can be illustrated by the synod of Turin 398.[65] In contrast to all the other manuscripts, Phill. 1743 and the manuscripts deriving from the Collection of Saint-Amand count the council's preface as first canon and merge canons five and six into a single canon. Still unlike

---

63 Phill. 1743, foll. 159ʳ-165ʳ.

64 In the *inscriptio* contained in the *Codex Remensis* (fol. 131ʳ), Lyons 518/9 is not identified as a council, but as *epistula temp(o)r(e) sigismundi regis* (see also the explicit at fol. 132ʳ: *expl(icit) epist(u)la contra stephanu(m) temp(o)r(e) sigismundi regis*). If the compiler of the *Collectio S. Amandi* scanned our *collectio canonum* for Gallic councils, he would have easily failed to recognize this document as a council and therefore chose not to include it into his collection. In contrast, the "national councils" of Agde 506 and Orléans 511 that are present in Phill. 1743, are also transmitted within the *Collectio Sancti Amandi*, albeit in versions considerably different from the versions contained in the Reims collection. This might be due to the fact that in the Reims collection these councils were preserved in truncated versions. The compiler, obviously aiming for an exhaustive collection uniting Gallic and Spanish canon law, would have found more complete versions of these councils in other manuscripts, hence preferring them over the Reims collection. Given the widespread diffusion of these conciliar acts, this assumption is perhaps the most plausible scenario. In fact, the redaction of the council of Agde 506 presented in Phill. 1743 lacks one canon and, furthermore, Pope Innocent's letter "*Consulenti tibi*" (JK 293) that had originally been part of the conciliar acts. Compared to the version transmitted in the manuscripts of the *Collectio Sancti Amandi,* the council of Orléans 511, as it is presented in Phill. 1743, lacks three canons, Clovis's letter "*Enuntiante fama*" and the episcopal sees of the conciliar fathers. Curiously, the synod of Orléans 511 appears a second time within the *collectio canonum* in Phill. 1743 (at foll. 159ʳ-161ʳ), this time as part of a later supplement (together with the synods of Tours 461 and Vannes 461/91). Even though this second version closely resembles the one copied into the *Collectio S. Amandi* (it contains the opening letter to Clovis and a subscription list identical to the mss. of the *Collectio S. Amandi*), the compiler of the *Collectio S. Amandi* did copy the council from an exemplar differing from the *Codex Remensis*, whose *capitulatio* and *canones* already finish with canon 9 (counted as canon 11), whereas the mss. of the *Collectio S. Amandi* include all 31 canons (counted as 33 canons). Likewise, the versions of the synods of Tours 461 and Vannes 461/91 in the *Collectio S. Amandi* and the Reims collection differ from each other, cf. Concilia Galliae a. 314–a. 506, ed. by Charles Munier, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 148, Turnhout 1963, 142–158, providing strong evidence that the synods following the chronological collection were in fact a later supplement.

65 On this synod see Ralph W. Mathisen, The Council of Turin (398/399) and the reorganization of Gaul ca. 395/406, in: Journal of Late Antiquity 6 (2014), 264–307.

the other manuscripts, the *capitulatio* in here lists eight canons in total.[66] A common source is likewise suggested by the subscription lists: particularly telling are the last subscriptions of Orléans 549. Instead of listing the names of each bishop followed by the name of his city, in Phill. 1743, the last four episcopal subscriptions lack the names of their respective sees. Even though there is a line shift in the manuscripts pertaining to the Collection of Saint-Amand, the affinity to Phill. 1743 is still obvious.
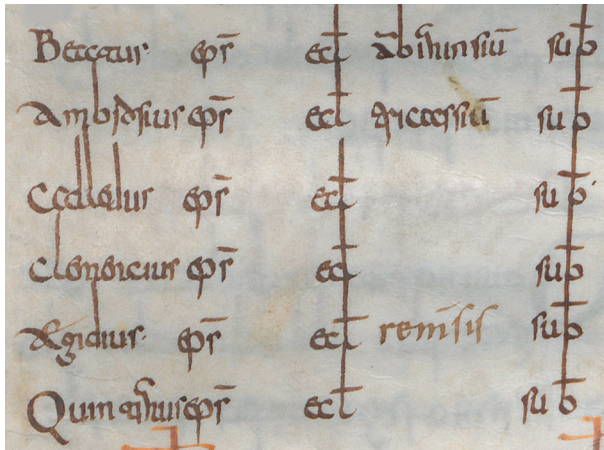
Fig. 6: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Phill. 1743, fol. 159[r]

Phill. 1743, fol. 159[r]:

beatus ep(iscopu)s	*ecl(esiae) a(m)bianinsiu(m)*	*sub(scripsi)*
ambrosius ep(iscopu)s	*ecl(esiae) tricassiu(m)*	*sub(scripsi)*
calledus[67] *ep(iscopu)s*	*ecl(esiae)*	*sub(scripsi)*
clemencius ep(iscopu)s	*ecl(esiae)*	*sub(scripsi)*
aegidius ep(iscopu)s	*ecl(esiae) <rem(en)sis>*[68]	*sub(scripsi)*
quintianus ep(iscopu)s	*ecl(esiae)*	*sub(scripsi)*

Paris BnF Lat. 3846, fol. 135[v]:

beatus ep(iscopu)s	*ecl(esiae) abrincatis*	*sub(scripsi)*
ambrosius ep(iscopu)s	*ecl(esiae) ambianensiu(m)*	*sub(scripsi)*

---

66 Phill. 1743, foll. 98[r]-100[r]; Paris, BnF lat. 3846, foll. 129[r] and 144[r–v]; Berlin, Hammilton 132, fol. 136[v]-137[v]. See also Munier's edition of the Concilia Galliae (note 64), 53 ("*Tabula canonum*") for a helpful overview, but note that Munier did not consult Ham. 132 for his edition. The synod of Turin is also transmitted in the collections of Diessen, Cologne and Albi.

67 Maassen, MGH Concilia aevi Merovingici (note 14), 111 reads *Adledus* instead.

68 Here, a later Carolingian corrector (erroneously) added *rem(en)sis* into the lacuna between *ecl(esiae)* and *sub(scripsi)*; the manuscript was obviously being kept at Reims when this addition was made.

caeledus ep(iscopu)s	*ecl(esiae) tricassium*	*sub(scripsi)*
clemencius[69] *ep(iscopu)s*	*ecl(esiae)*	*sub(scripsi)*
egydius ep(iscopu)s	*ecl(esiae)*	*sub(scripsi)*
quincianus ep(iscopu)s	*ecl(esiae)*	*sub(scripsi)*

Even in passages that at first glance would point to two different sources, a closer look at the manuscripts suggests the opposite. Phill. 1743 is the only textual witness to the complete version of the so called "Second Council of Arles", a series of 56 canons. Paris BnF Lat. 3846, however, transmits only the first 25 and the last 11 canons, whereas Ham. 132 stops at canon 25. Nevertheless, the compiler of the Collection of Saint-Amand must have copied these canons from a 56-canon version as contained in the *Collectio Remensis*. In fact, these two collections are the only ones that merge canons 21 and 22 into a single canon and unlike most other manuscripts, they include canons 10 to 12. Much more significant, however, is the absence of canons 26 to 44, all of which were repetitions of canons that had already been formulated by the synod of Orange 441 in the manuscripts pertaining to the Collection of Saint-Amand. Having noticed that these canons were repetitions, the compiler of the Collection of Saint-Amand chose to save the work and advised his readers to simply consult the synod of Orange: *Hic desunt capitula de sinodo Arausicorum a XXV usque ad XLIIII. Ideo dimisimus quia repperies in ipso sinodo.*[70] The scribe most probably got the information he was about to copy canons from Orange from an exemplar resembling the *Codex Remensis*, where canon 26 (counted as canon 25) starts with the remark: *Capitula de sinodo quae in terreturio arausico caelebrata sunt.*[71] These and many more similarities suggest a strong link between the Reims collection and the Collection of Saint-Amand. Given that the Collection of Saint-Amand contains councils up to the middle of the 7th century,[72] while the Reims collection ceased to be updated one century earlier, the Reims collection seems to have historical priority. In all probability, then, the Collection of Saint-Amand was compiled drawing from different exemplars, among them one containing the acts of the seventeen Gallic synods as preserved in the Reims collection. In order to better understand the genesis of the

---

69 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 132, fol. 149[v] reads: *clementius.*

70 See Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3846, fol. 140[r] in the left margin, quoted according to Munier's edition (CCSL 148, 119). In contrast, Hamilton 132 (at fol. 132[v]) already stops with c. 25 (counted as canon 24), leaving no trace of the final 11 canons. It seems clear, however, that the council was copied from an exemplar similar to Paris BnF lat. 3846, as the canons transmitted in Ham. 132 betray the same peculiarities as in the Paris manuscript. Furthermore, at fol. 132[v], Ham. 132 shows traces of scraping: Thus, following canon 25, four lines were scraped out as well as a marginal note that used to be in the same place as in the Paris manuscript.

71 Phill. 1743, fol. 113[r]. Most of these observations were already noted by Maassen, Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur (note 8), 195–197, followed by Mathisen, The "Second Council of Arles" (note 38), at 517.

72 The latest Gallic council within the Collection of Saint-Amand is the synod of Chalon-sur-Saône, held between 647 and 653. For a comparison of the content of the Gallic *collectiones canonum*, see the table in Odette Pontal, Die Synoden im Merowingerreich, Paderborn 1986, 285.

Reims collection, it might therefore prove useful to compare Phill. 1743 to the manuscripts transmitting the Collection of Saint-Amand.

5 Lists of popes and ecclesiastical provinces in Gallic canon law collections

Consulting all the manuscripts would allow us to be on firmer ground regarding the origins, the selection and redaction of individual texts contained therein. At the present stage, we should draw attention to another feature of more or less all of these collections, crucial to understanding their function – that is a list of popes and a register of the ecclesiastical provinces of Gaul. In fact, in most of these collections a long list of popes either antecedes the material or is inserted later into the manuscript, as has already been emphasized by Louis Duchesne in his edition of the *Liber pontificalis*.[73] For instance, in the collection Cologne, Dombibliothek 212, the list of popes is framed beneath a double arcade,[74] while the Corbie and the Reims collections have one line for each pope, organizing the detailed information provided according to columns. All these lists begin with Peter, of course; however, their respective ends are more revealing. In the Cologne collection, perhaps written in Gap around 600, the list originally extended to Pope Agapetus I, who died in 536; the list was continued by a different scribe, who added seven more popes and ended with Gregory the Great, who must have still been alive, as the dates of Gregory's pontificate had not yet been inserted.[75] In the collection from Corbie the list ended with Pope Hormisdas, who died in 523, but was later continued by adding seven further popes up to Vigilius, whose pontifical years extending to 555 were added by the scribe.[76] In the Reims codex, the list ends with Pope Felix IV, who died in 530, while his and his two predecessors' dates are not given completely.[77] So, while there is a difference as to what extent these lists were continued, it seems likely that there must have been a basic list that originally covered the Roman pontificates into the later 520s, while the continuation of such a list was a matter of local redaction. That there was once a uniform list of popes is confirmed by the fact that the entries in these lists follow exactly the same order: they first give the name of each pope, and then add the exact number of

---

73 Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire par Louis Duchesne, vol. 1, Paris 1886, XIV-XVIII. On the significance of these insertions see Rosamond McKitterick, Rome and the Invention of the Papacy. The *Liber Pontificalis*, Cambridge 2020, 154 – 156.

74 Cologne, Dombibliothek, ms. 212 (*Collectio Coloniensis*), fol. 169ʳ.

75 Cologne, Dombibliothek, ms. 212 (*Collectio Coloniensis*), fol. 169ʳ. For the manuscript's Gap provenance, see Tino Licht, Halbunziale. Schriftkultur im Zeitalter der ersten lateinischen Minuskel (III. – IX. Jahrhundert), Stuttgart 2018, 246 – 253.

76 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12097 (*Collectio Corbeiensis*), fol. 1ᵛ; see also Turner, The Corbie Ms. (note 42), 232 – 234.

77 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phill. 1743, fol. 294ᵛ.

years, months, and even the days he spent in office. The focus of the lists thus is not on a pontiff's life data, but on the exact time-span of his office-holding which is of course a very Roman idea. As this ordering is exactly the same in all manuscripts that contain such a list, it is clear that this cannot have been a local production of knowledge but obviously responded to an official list that was once circulated, very likely by a papal representative such as the apostolic vicar of Gaul, i.e. the archbishop of Arles.[78] It seems that it spread widely from there within ecclesiastical networks. Interestingly enough, it also became integrated into the first book of the chronicle of Fredegar compiled in the 7th century, where the list was continued until Pope Theodore I (642–649).[79]

The historical background to these lists is, of course, the Gallic churches' belonging to the Western patriarchate which made them subordinate to the bishop of Rome – a fact that also explains the insertion of some African canons.[80] It tells us something about the self-perception of the Gallic bishops as they regarded their Gallic canon law responding to the conciliar tradition of the ancient church and as in concord with its interpretation by the pope. On a more practical level, such a list was helpful when using the manuscript, as one could attribute an individual text, a papal letter in particular, not to an exact year, but to the pontificate of individual popes within a series of Roman pontiffs. While the Cologne manuscript with the Gap collection has the list updated to the popes until the late 6th century, the Corbie and Reims collections ended in the 530s or 550s, although we definitely know that later material was inserted into both manuscripts. The Reims list was not even updated when the whole collection was copied in the 8th century – at this time, it seems, this manuscript came to be regarded as an ancient, historical monument which should not be updated by inserting any alterations right into the text, but only by marginal notes which should be easily recognized as later additions. Such an attitude anticipates the breath of Carolingian scholarship, as we shall see later.

There is yet another important text we find in all of these collections, that is the so-called *Notitia Galliarum*. Once compiled as a list of Roman provinces in Gaul in the 5th century, the *Notitia* soon became adapted to ecclesiastical organization, as

---

78 On the apostolic vicariate of Arles, see the studies by Georg Langgärtner, Die Gallienpolitik der Päpste im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert. Eine Studie über den apostolischen Vikariat von Arles, Bonn 1964; Ralph W. Mathisen, Ecclesiastical Factionalism and Religious Controversy in Fifth-Century Gaul, Washington D. C. 1989; Martin Heinzelmann, Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien: Zur Kontinuität römischer Führungsschichten vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert, Zurich 1976, 73–84.

79 Fredegar, Chronicle I, 25: Fredegarii et aliorum chronica, ed. by Bruno Krusch, MGH SS rer. Merov. 2, Hanover 1888, 34–37.

80 Mordek, Kirchenrecht und Reform (note 10), 82; Hubert Mordek, Der römische Primat in den Kirchenrechtssammlungen des Westens vom IV. bis VIII. Jahrhundert, in: Il primato del vescovo di Roma nel primo millennio. Ricerche e testimonianze, ed. by Michele Maccarone, Vatican City 1991, 523–566.

has been shown by Jill Harries.[81] This is even more important as the Merovingian kings actually gave up Roman provincial administration, appointing instead counts for the cities of Gaul who were directly subordinated to the king. Roman provincial organization thus was maintained only in the church's ecclesiastical provinces that would later be called archbishoprics.[82] This is why the *Notitia* became such a widespread and important text, one which we find in more than 100 manuscripts today, several of which later adapted its contents to the emergence of new archbishoprics such as Salzburg or Magdeburg.[83]

That ecclesiastical spatial organization maintained Roman provincial administration has also to be seen in functional terms, as well as in the context of provincial identities, as can similarly be demonstrated for Visigothic Spain.[84] Church historians usually see provincial synods as the lowest part of an ecclesiastical hierarchy of decision-making superseded by general councils on a political level which were presided over by the barbarian king, and reaching its peak in ecumenical councils or later the papal curia. This is, of course, true and is also reflected in our canon law manuscripts. However, in a diachronic perspective, provincial synods can also be understood as successor institutions of the late Roman provincial assemblies.[85] These provincial assemblies were held all over the Later Roman Empire and did not only serve the interests of the governing elite, but additionally brought forward suits against former governors and against judicial corruption, as they could also send appeals and suggestions to the ruler.[86] Synods held in the Merovingian period on a provincial level involved bishops and archbishops as the principal actors dealing with ecclesi-

---

81 See Jill D. Harries, Church and State in the Notitia Galliarum, in: Journal of Roman Studies 68 (1978), 26–43.

82 On the divergence between ecclesiastical and secular geographical administration, see Marcelo Cândido da Silva, Les cités et l'organisation politique de l'espace en Gaule mérovingienne au VIe siècle, in: Histoire urbaine 4 (2001/2), 83–104 and Till Stüber, Der inkriminierte Bischof. Könige im Konflikt mit Kirchenleitern im westgotischen und fränkischen Gallien (466–614), Berlin et al. 2020.

83 On the reception and adaption of the *Notitia Galliarum*, see e.g. Roger E. Reynolds, The *Notitia Galliarum:* an Unusual Bavarian Version, in: Readers, Texts and Compilers in the Earlier Middle Ages. Studies in Medieval Canon Law in Honour of Linda Fowler-Magerl, ed. by Michael Brett and Kathleen G. Cushing, Aldershot 2009, 3–14 and Daniel Carlo Pangerl, Die Metropolitanverfassung des karolingischen Frankenreiches, Hanover 2011, 156–159.

84 See Manuel Koch, Ethnische Identität im Entstehungsprozess des spanischen Westgotenreiches, Berlin et al. 2012.

85 On this aspect of post-Roman continuity, see also, with further readings, Sieben, Die Konzilsidee der Alten Kirche (note 7), 143–147.

86 Joseph Zeller, Das Concilium der *Septem provinciae* in Arelate, in: Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst 24 (1905), 1–19; Id., *Concilia provincialia* in Gallien in der späteren Kaiserzeit, *ibid.* 25 (1906), 258–273; Jakob A. O. Larsen, The Position of Provincial Assemblies in the Government and Society of the Late Roman Empire, in: Classical Philology 29 (1934), 209–220; Jürgen Deininger, Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis zum Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr., Munich 1965; Babett Edelmann-Singer, *Koina* und *Concilia*. Genese, Organisation und sozioökonomische Funktion der Provinziallandtage im römischen Reich, Stuttgart 2015.

astical discipline, liturgy, church property etc., but given the Roman background of provincial assemblies it can hardly surprise us that we also often find lay people present at provincial synods which regularly uttered complaints against corrupt royal officials, unjust judges etc. There was some debate within the Gallic church regarding what precisely the function of provincial synods was and should be in the future, as Gregory of Tours attests,[87] but this also underlines the fact that provincial synods still were a means to articulate the interests and concerns of provincial lay groups to some extent. The inclusion of the *Notitia Galliarum* within our canon law manuscripts thus served to frame the process through which the public sphere became transformed in post-Roman Gaul, and to make provincial synods part of an ecclesiastical hierarchy, thereby confining their function. However, some extant acts of provincial synods as well as revealing segments from narrative sources about synods as judicial assemblies tell us a different story.

6 Collecting papal letters, and a dossier relating to the Three Chapters Controversy

In addition to synodal acts, a great number of papal decretals have survived as part of Gallic canon law collections, the *Remensis* being no exception. While in the collection of conciliar canons, chronological order was applied relatively consistently only within the 17-synod collection described above, the compiler quite clearly attempted to order all papal letters in the *Remensis* chronologically – or at least by successive popes –, though this fact is not immediately obvious in the 8th century codex.

Excerpts from the acts of the council of Ephesos (fol. 186r-201v), filling two quires between the decretals of Innocent I (fol. 173r-185r) and Zosimus I (fol. 202r-204r), seem to have been an addition made only by the copyists in Bourges: Zosimus' first letter is introduced by *expl(iciunt) epist(u)l(e) innocenti incip(iunt) epistule zosimi* (fol. 202r). Additionally, a quire seems to have been misplaced in the exemplar of the 8th century codex: On fol. 208va, Celestine I's letter to the bishops of *Viennensis* and *Narbonensis* breaks off in the middle of the sentence, merging into the end of Leo the Great's letter to the bishops of *Mauretania Caesariensis*. The end of Celestine's letter does not follow until fol. 255va, again with a break in the middle of the sentence: The Roman synod of 501 – apparently included in the collection of papal letters because it was entitled *constitutio facta ad* [sic] *domno symmacho papa de rebus ecl(esi)ae conservandis* – is interrupted, only to be taken up again on fol. 265ra, where it, in turn, directly follows the earlier part of Leo's letter. There are ca. 38 columns of text between the two parts of the synod of 501; taking this as the approximate length of one quire in the exemplar, we would also expect there to be some multiple of 38 col-

---

87 See Gregory of Tours, Libri Historiarum Decem IX 20, ed. by Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH SS rer. Merov. 1,1, Hanover ²1937–1951, 440.

umns of text between the two parts of Celestine's letter. There are, in fact, ca. 188 columns, or almost exactly 5x38, so it seems to have been moved by five quires. Controlling for both these anomalies, the collection of papal letters is almost perfectly ordered by popes; only the inclusion of the letter of Pope Siricius to Himerius of Tarragona in an earlier part of the manuscript, after the canons of Chalcedon and before material related to a synod held in Rome in 502, marks a break with this organizing principle.[88]

This so-called first decretal of the 4th-century Pope Siricius written in 384, recently edited by the late Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, is almost ubiquitous in historically arranged canon law collections, as it is preserved in a large number of manuscripts.[89] In most collections, subsequent papal decretals extend to the popes of the 520s and 530s, while interestingly decretals from later 6th-century popes are transmitted far more rarely – which is telling both regarding the date when these collections were presumably compiled, and the nature of papal relations with Frankish Gaul in the second half of the 6th century. It is well known that the Three Chapters Controversy led to an alienation between the Gallic church and the papacy which Pope Pelagius I and his successors sought to reconcile.[90] And exactly at this time, the apostolic vicariate of Arles lost its importance, while within the Gallic episcopate the archbishop of Lyon assumed some sort of supremacy from the later 560s onward.[91]

We do not to have the slightest trace, for instance, of the fifth ecumenical council held in Constantinople that condemned the Three Chapters. Of course, a Latin trans-

---

[88] On this peculiar grouping, see Michael Eber, 'Historische Ordnung' or Just a Mess? Tracking Dossiers in Early Medieval Canonical Collections, in: The Art of Compilation: Manuscripts and Networks in the Early Medieval Latin West, ed. by Anna Dorofeeva and Michael J. Kelly (in preparation).
[89] On its transmisson see Zechiel-Eckes, Die erste Dekretale (note 18), 24–58. While there is some debate on the role Siricius' predecessor Damasus played in the creation of the genre of decretals, the ubiquity of this text suggests that early medieval compilers would have agreed with Zechiel-Eckes. For recent overviews of the debate see Dominic Moreau, *Non impar conciliorum extat auctoritas*. L'origine de l'introduction des lettres pontificales dans le droit canonique, in: L'étude des correspondances dans le monde romain de l'Antiquité classique à l'Antiquité tardive. Permanences et mutations. Actes du XXXIIe colloque international de Lille 20 – 21 – 22 novembre 2008, ed. by Janine Desmulliez, Christine Hoët-van Cauwenberghe et al., Lille 2010 (Éditions du conseil scientifique de l'Université Lille 3), 487–506, at 494–498; Geoffrey D. Dunn, The Emergence of Papal Decretals. The Evidence of Zosimus of Rome, in: Shifting Genres of Late Antiquity, ed. by Geoffrey Greatrex and Hugh Elton, Farnham 2015, 81–92; David L. d'Avray, Papal Jurisprudence, c. 400. Sources of the Canon Law Tradition, Cambridge et al. 2019, 10–22. On the early history of the transmission of papal letters in general, see also Bronwen Neil, Papal Letters and Letter Collections, in: Late Antique Letter Collections. A Critical Introduction and Reference Guide, ed. by Cristiana Sogno, Bradley K. Storin et al., Oakland 2016, 449–466.
[90] See Ian N. Wood, The Franks and Papal Theology, 550–660, in: The Crisis of the Oikoumene. The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean, ed. by Celia Chazelle and Catherine Cubitt, Turnhout 2007, 223–241.
[91] Langgärtner, Die Gallienpolitik der Päpste (note 78), 144–166; Mordek, Kirchenrecht und Reform (note 10), 75.

lation of the acts of the Ecumenical Council eventually came to Gaul, as did abbreviations of it, but today they are only preserved in collections of much later date.[92] The Three Chapters dossier mentioned above, in fact, is a prime source for the resistance to this council in Gaul. Apart from two manuscripts of the late-8th-century *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana* that contain a truncated version,[93] the Reims codex is the only canonical collection to transmit the letters written by Pope Vigilius in full, and the only one to transmit the letter to the Frankish envoys at all. The addition of the *Gesta de nomine Acacii* to this dossier is particularly telling. It suggests that the compiler was able to trace the roots of the conflict to the council of Chalcedon and the struggle over its heritage, actively shaping the memory of the Three Chapters controversy in terms of the Acacian schism, i.e. the defence of Chalcedonian orthodoxy against Eastern patriarchs and emperors all too willing to compromise with miaphysites.

One could also argue that, by doing so, the compiler was commenting on the controversy: While Vigilius's dossier was clearly designed to improve the disastrous image his wavering had caused, combining it with the *Gesta* might have been the compiler's way of advocating for a return to hard-line 'Western' papal politics like those during the Acacian schism, those of Felix III, Gelasius I and Symmachus in particular.[94] In fact, the *Gesta* end with Felix III excommunicating his own legates to Acacius who were supposed to obtain a condemnation of Peter Mongus, the miaphysite patriarch of Antioch, but ended up being imprisoned and abused in Constantinople until they entered communion with him.[95] This could be read as an argument that excommunication was the appropriate measure for betraying (the Western interpretation of) Chalcedonian orthodoxy, even if it happened under duress.

While it is not at all uncommon for *libri canonum* of this time to contain texts that would not fall under the category of 'canon law' in the strict sense – so much so that the applicability of this concept has recently been called into question[96] –, the Three Chapters dossier also raises interesting questions about how the compiler conceived of his collection as a whole, as these are the only narrative texts in an otherwise normative collection. But since they contain a narrative about threatened papal authority, they evidently were judged to contribute something to the broader context in which the normative texts unfolded their authority, not unlike the list of popes. In fact, anxiety over papal authority caused by Vigilius's mishandling of

---

92 See the translator's note in The Acts of The Council of Constantinople of 553. Translated with an introduction and notes by Richard Price, Liverpool 2009, vol. 1, 104–108.

93 Eduard Schwartz, Vigiliusbriefe (note 26) 27.

94 See Jan-Markus Kötter, Zwischen Kaisern und Aposteln. Das Akakianische Schisma (484–519) als kirchlicher Ordnungskonflikt der Spätantike, Stuttgart 2013, 90–122.

95 Gesta de nomine Acacii, (note 27) cc. 27–29, 451–452.

96 Rosamond McKitterick, The Church and the Law in the Early Middle Ages, in: Studies in Church History 56 (2020), 7–35, at 26–35; see also Rosamond McKitterick, History and Memory in the Carolingian World, Cambridge 2004, 249–256 on canon law collections as more akin to historiography.

the Three Chapters controversy may have been one of the reasons that this re-collection of authoritative texts seemed necessary in the 550s.[97]

7 The legislation of the Frankish King Chlothar II

As with papal letters, around 550, there seems to have been a break in the transmission of Gallic synods: the last one held under Merovingian rule to be transmitted in *all* early Gallic collections is the fifth synod of Orléans assembled under king Childebert I in 549. Decisions of later synods, for example Auxerre and Tours 567, Paris 573, the two famous synods held under King Guntram in Mâcon in the 580s,[98] and a small number of 7th-century synods, are only preserved through individual manuscripts, suggesting that their acts apparently did not spread widely or were not acknowledged everywhere. It is tempting to relate this to the division of Merovingian Gaul after the death of king Chlothar I in 561, and to the civil wars that followed. As it seems, the development of a canon law tradition comprising the whole of Gaul had irrevocably come to an end already by the mid-6th century. For even the legislation issued by king Chlothar II in Paris in 614, which put an end to an age of civil wars and reunited the whole of the Frankish kingdom for the first time since 561, has uniquely come down to us in the *Codex Remensis*,[99] while the acts of the synod of Paris that immediately preceded the publication of Chlothar's edict and which was attended by 80 bishops from the whole Frankish kingdom is transmitted in only one other manuscript.[100]

As we know from historiographical, hagiographical and genealogical sources, the turnover of 613 had a profound impact on Merovingian self-assertion as a rupture and a new beginning in history.[101] However in the *Codex Remensis*, the 7th-century addition comprising Chlothar's legislation of 614 was obviously copied to present it as a continuation of the earlier tradition of synodal legislation and papal letters which had only been interrupted after the fifth synod of Orléans. But the 7th-century

---

97 On the interplay of normative and narrative texts, see also Andrea A. Verardi, Between Law and Literature: The *Liber Pontificalis* and Canonical Collections in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages, in: The *Collectio Avellana* and Its Revivals, ed. by Rita Lizzi Testa and Giulia Marconi, Cambridge 2019, 370 – 387.

98 De Clercq erroneously suggested that the synod of Mâcon a. 581/83 was transmitted in Phill. 1743 (cf. Concilia Galliae a. 511 – a. 695, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 148 A, Turnout 1963, 222). In fact, it is transmitted in Phill. 1745, the so-called Lyons collection to which his siglum *L* usually refers. Maassen, MGH Concilia aevi Merovingici 1 (note 14), 155 provides the correct information.

99 Phill. 1743, foll. 296vb–298vb.

100 Phill. 1743, foll. 298vb–300vb; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5508 (*Collectio Diessensis*), foll. 103vb–106ra.

101 Michael Eber, Stefan Esders and Till Stüber, Die Lebensbeschreibung des Lupus von Sens und der merowingische Machtwechsel von 613/14. Studien, revidierter Text und Übersetzung (in preparation).

addition is different in character from the rest of the collection. While the codex only contains papal letters and synodal canons, many of which were confirmed by emperors and kings, the Edict of Paris is the first document in the codex that is largely devoted also to secular matters.

It was due to the historical importance of the Paris Edict that 19th-century constitutional historians were so deeply interested in the Reims Codex – so keen that they even partly destroyed it! – which is another chapter in the history of selection and oblivion documented in this manuscript that remains to be written. As many letters had become illegible in this part of the codex, scholars used gallnut tincture to make them readable at least for a short moment. The long-term result was that everything turned brown and rendered whole passages completely illegible. In his MGH edition of the Merovingian capitularies published in 1883, when the codex was still in England, Alfred Boretius explicitly stated that his reading and reconstruction of the Paris Edict was only possible as he could use notes made by Georg Waitz, the second president of the MGH and celebrated German constitutional historian. In his travel reports, Waitz explicitly says that on his trip to England in 1877 he took a closer look at the *Codex Remensis*, which was made available to him by Sir Thomas Phillipps' son at Cheltenham. He reports the friendly reception by the Phillipps family who even kindly invited him to share their breakfast table, but omits to say what enabled him to read all the faded passages which Sirmond had not been able to decipher.[102] We cannot ascribe with any certainty who put the reagent on the last folios of the manuscript, as there is also evidence that, when the manuscript had come to Berlin, Mommsen and others undertook new efforts to decipher the illegible passages.[103]

The Paris Edict additionally entails a series of provisions on episcopal succession, studied more recently in detail by Andreas Thier, which were taken up significantly modified from decisions made by a synod that king Chlothar had assembled a week before at Paris.[104] The synodal acts of 614 follow directly upon the edict in the codex, though already in a reduced form, as the scribe did not copy the bishops' subscriptions, which we only find in the "Diessen Collection" that also transmits the synodal acts, but without the Edict.[105] After the edict and the synod, the Reims Codex also uniquely preserves the acts of yet another synod held shortly after, possibly

---

102 See Georg Waitz, Reise nach England und Frankreich im Herbst 1877; Handschriften in englischen und schottischen Bibliotheken, in: Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde 4 (1879), 9 – 42, 323 – 394 and 588 – 625.
103 Communication by David Ganz. Part of the research project will also be an attempt to read these passages again with the help of modern infrared and x-ray technology and rescue them from oblivion.
104 See Andreas Thier, Hierarchie und Autonomie. Regelungstraditionen der Bischofsbestellung in der Geschichte des kirchlichen Wahlrechts bis 1140, Frankfurt a. M. 2011 and Carlo Servatius, *Per ordinationem principis ordinetur.* Zum Modus der Bischofsernennung im Edikt Chlothars II. vom Jahr 614, in: Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 84 (1973), 1– 29.
105 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5508, foll. 105[v] and 106[r]. On the episcopal subscriptions of the synod of Paris in 614, see Catherine Santschi, Les premiers évêques du Valais et leur siège épiscopal, in: Vallesia 36 (1981), 1– 25, 3 n. 15.

in the 620s. What becomes clear from this en bloc addition of three texts to the Reims collection is that Chlothar's legislation was indeed regarded already by some contemporaries as a milestone after an age of civil wars, as it pointed to close cooperation between king and episcopate. But to judge from the other collections, this appears as rather exceptional in our legal records.

8 Using the *Codex Remensis* in the Carolingian period

A number of marginal notes written by different hands show how the Reims Codex was used in the Carolingian period. The first user profile that we can detect may be characterized as that of a 9th-century "historian". For there are several notes which sought to explain the legal texts by furnishing information on the historical circumstances of their genesis. For instance, at the end of the acts of the synod of Epaone held under the Burgundian king Sigismund in 517, our Carolingian scholar added to the dating clause that this was at the time when the sons and nephews of Clovis were kings of the Franks: *et filior(um) v(e)l nepotu(m) clodovei reg(is) franc(orum).*[106] To the synod of Vaison held in 529 under the Ostrogothic praetorian prefect Liberius our marginal scholar added that this synod was held when the Burgundian king Sigismund and the four sons of Clovis ruled as Frankish kings.[107] There is much more historical information provided by this scribe in the margins, often referring to former bishops of Reims etc.[108] Some additions are not quite accurate, but it is remarkable that this learned person sought to present these synods as part of Frankish history. This seems to document a shift, placing more emphasis on the perceived "Frankishness" of the Gallic canon law tradition preserved in this codex.

A number of marginal notes written by a different hand in Caroline minuscule betray some sort of "librarian", or, more precisely, an expert in canon law intimately acquainted with the Reims library. This scholar noted on various occasions that a certain text of the *Codex Remensis* was not available in the other canon law manuscripts kept at Reims: *Haec epistola n(on) habet(ur) in aliis quodicib(us)* – "This letter is not to be found in other manuscripts". He even noted this for single chapters and sentences, or for individual passages with material he had not known so far.[109] This is

---

106 Phill. 1743, fol. 131[r].

107 Phill. 1743, fol. 135[r].

108 See, for example, the note on foll. 294[v] on Remigius of Reims, 34[r] on Betasius, who was bishop of Reims at the time of Constantine the Great, and fol. 159[r] (on this see n. 61 above).

109 E. g. Phill. 1743, fol. 114[v]: *Haec epistola n(on) habet(ur) in aliis quodicib(us);* fol. 7[v]: *Hoc capit(ulum) vel haec sententia minus e(st) in aliis codicib(us) n(ost)ris;* fol. 8[v]: *Et hoc in nullo alio apud nos codice invenit(ur);* fol. 186[r]: *Hec usque at epistolam Zosimi n(on) habent(ur) in aliis codicib(us)* (see the illustration above, fig. 1); fol. 32[r]: *Et hi can(on)es nicaeni XX ep(iscop)orum in aliis codicibus non inveniunt(ur) n(ost)ris.* See also below fig. 7.

a clear testimony that the manuscript cannot have originated in Reims, whereas its incorporation into the Reims library quite obviously was seen as a major step in expanding its sources of canon law.[110] Moreover, it tells us something about the proficiency of legal research carried out in 9th-century Reims, for the learned librarian who produced these notes must have had a tremendous knowledge of canon law, knowing exactly where things were to be found and obviously seeking to fill his arsenal of legal material at hand. We have good reason to assume that he either worked for or indeed actually was Hincmar of Reims. Jean Devisse[111] and Martina Stratmann[112] have already suggested that Hincmar may have used the *Codex Remensis*, for instance for his *Collectio de ecclesiis et capellis*. What is more, Hincmar's authorship of at least some of the marginal notes in the *Codex Remensis* seems likely, as several notes written in capitals allow us to glimpse into the workshop of an extremely self-assured prelate. When dealing with the synod of Rome held in 502 under Theoderic, our commentator bluntly states: *HAEC SYNOD(US) N(ON) EST KATHOL(ICA)*, while a marginal note marks straight below: *haec epistola in recepuore codice(m) non abet(ur)*.[113]

His note betrays a special way of handling the tradition of canon law: As a true "Carolingian renaissance scholar", he was willing to accept old legal knowledge as a textual heritage that deserved to be preserved and should not be destroyed despite being heretical or otherwise, but at the same time he wanted to place it under close scrutiny and censure it. This has not yet been investigated in further detail, but it does not seem likely that Theoderic's once being a heretic caused the Carolingian scholar to regard the Roman synod as "not catholic".[114] Rather, it seems relevant here that the Roman synod of 502, the last in a series of Roman synods held under Symmachus trying to legitimize his papacy against his rival Laurentius,[115] also played an important role in the so-called *Capitula Angilramni*, that is a highly relevant part of the so-called Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries which focus on procedural law and spread first in the archdiocese of Reims to question Hincmar's authority as archbishop. Their main objective was to prevent bishops from being called to

---

110 On the Reims libraries and scriptoria, see Frederick M. Carey, The *scriptorium* of Reims during the archbishopric of Hincmar (845–882 A.D.), in: Classical and medieval studies in honor of Edward Kennard Rand, ed. by Leslie Webber Jones, New York 1938, 41–60; François Dolbeau, *Ex dono Hincmari*. Livres donnés par Hincmar (845–882) à Saint-Remi de Reims, in: *Rerum gestarum scriptor*. Histoire et historiographie au moyen âge. Hommage à Michel Sot, ed. by Magali Coumert, Marie-Céline Isaïa, Klaus Krönert and Sumi Shimahara, Paris 2012, 601–614.

111 Jean Devisse, Hincmar, archevêque de Reims, 845–882, Genf 1976, vol. 3, 1411–1412.

112 Hinkmar von Reims, Collectio de ecclesiis et capellis, ed. by Martina Stratmann (MGH Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui 14), Hanover 1990, 23.

113 Phill. 1743, fol. 85ʳ.

114 On Theoderic's early medieval afterlife, see Andreas Goltz, Barbar – König – Tyrann. Das Bild Theoderichs des Großen in der Überlieferung des 5. bis 9. Jahrhunderts, Berlin et al. 2008, 587–604.

115 Eckhard Wirbelauer, Zwei Päpste in Rom. Der Konflikt zwischen Laurentius und Symmachus (498–514). Studien und Texte, Munich 1993, 9–43; esp. 21–23 for the dating of this synod.
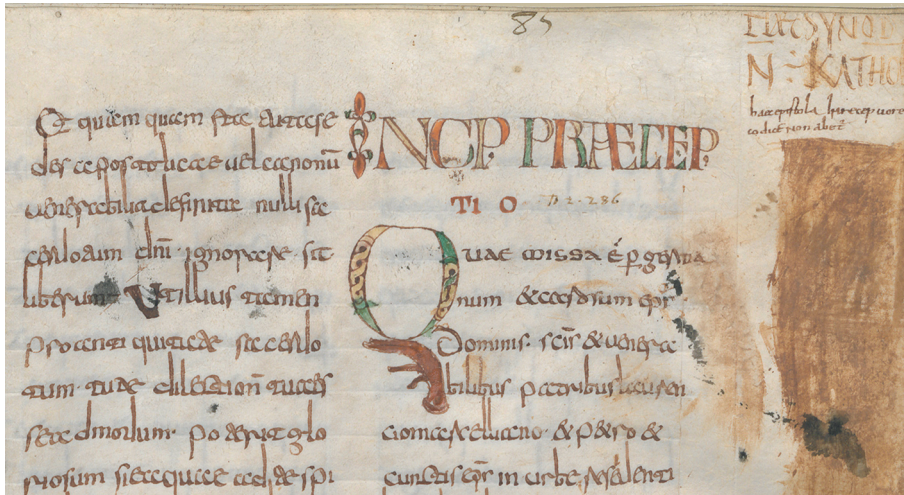
Fig. 7: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Phill. 1743, fol. 85ʳ

trial and deposed by their archbishop.[116] Theoderic's interventions in the Laurentian schism could serve here as an example to outmanoeuvre the higher ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Of course, Pseudo-Isidore and the like were developing their own vision of canon law's past by creating a late antiquity of their own, but their focus appears to be on historical precedent rather than on continuous tradition, as their argumentation echoes an increasing readiness to credit the papacy with being the highest authority in canon law.[117]

9 Conclusion

As the project is still under way, this contribution could only highlight some preliminary insights into what seems to be an extremely relevant document, which upon closer inspection will yield more specific answers to some of the questions addressed at the beginning with regard to canon law. Within one manuscript, we find many different layers of memory and oblivion. Generalizing from the canon law collections, it seems that a first phase in the dissemination of canon law material to Gaul must have ended in the 520s or early 530s, probably to some extent engineered by the apostolic vicar of Arles, while its collection and enrichment through Gallic material within larger manuscripts appears to have come to an end already by the mid-6th century, with later additions being mostly parochial in character and largely consisting

---

116 Karl-Georg Schon, Die *Capitula Angilramni*. Eine prozessrechtliche Fälschung Pseudoisidors, Hanover 2006, c. 2a, 3d and 3i, 9b, 96–97, 100–104, 114–115.

117 See Clara Harder, Pseudoisidor und das Papsttum. Funktion und Bedeutung des apostolischen Stuhls in den pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen, Cologne 2014.

of local material. The Reims Codex is an exception to this rule, as it contains all of the legislation of 614 which was both programmatic in impetus and general in application, as is even attested by later 7th-century sources. However, it apparently did not spread very much, as (to judge from what has come down to us) it was only incorporated into one of the already existing canon law collections. This seems to suggest that by the 7th century the *Spielräume* to circulate new general law in a wide-spread manner must have narrowed considerably.

Nonetheless, the Merovingian collections were still copied in the 8th and 9th centuries, but no new material was added in the course of this process, while the acts of the early Carolingian synods were transmitted within collections of Carolingian law. This attests to a rupture not in the preservation of canon law, of course, but in the configuration of what was regarded as old and as new law. As it seems, canon law of the Merovingian age had become frozen and canonized as "old law" by the 8th century at the latest. Following up to this canonization, the Reims Codex allows us to see some of the first steps of a "Carolingian jurisprudence" so to speak, as efforts were undertaken to comment upon these old texts, to compare them with other texts, to add marginal notes to their content and to store as many of them as possible in order to have them available for all kinds of purposes. What we can observe in the Carolingian period is a new approach to the legal past, with scholars and clerics undoubtedly paying respect to the old tradition, while they were apparently more urgently driven by a need to mobilize as many legal resources as were available; and if they were not, to create them anew by extending historical precedent into an imagined distant period of early Christianity that no one could go beyond. Euphemistically speaking, one could call this a transition from "selection" to "creative selection" and to even more creative "fiction". More realistically speaking, however, this development should be seen as a striking departure from the extremely productive formative period of Western canon law that characteristically took shape in the first century of post-Roman rule in Gaul, torn between the church's imperial tradition and its local adjustment under Merovingian rule.

Helmut Reimitz

Wahlverwandtschaften im frühen Mittelalter. Von den merowingischen Königskatalogen zu den karolingischen Genealogien

Für die Erforschung von Verwandtschaftsverhältnissen spielten Genealogien immer schon eine wichtige Rolle. Vor allem in der relativ begrenzten Quellenlage des frühen Mittelalters boten sie oft Ausgangspunkt und Orientierung für die Erforschung der Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse von Eliten. Seltsamerweise wurden sie aber lange Zeit kaum systematisch untersucht, um die damit zusammenhängenden Muster von Verwandtschaft zu untersuchen, deren vielfältige Geschichte von der Spätantike bis zum Beginn des zweiten Jahrtausends erst vor kurzem Hans Hummer in einer umfangreichen Monographie dargestellt hat.[1] Ein gutes Beispiel dafür ist die in seinem Buch auch ausführlich diskutierte deutsche Memorialforschung, die sich stärker auf die Gegenstände der Erinnerung als auf die Erinnerung selbst konzentrierte.[2] Im Vergleich mit der prosopographischen Forschung, die die Stellung der verschiedenen Positionen in ihren sozialen Zusammenhängen meist wenig problematisierte, war der Fokus der Memorialforschung auf die Verbindung und Vernetzung verschiedener Gruppen im frühen und hohen Mittelalter ein wichtiger Schritt. Sie war auch ein wichtiger Impuls für Patrick Gearys Studie zu den *Phantoms of Remembrance*, in der Geary die Geschichte der Erinnerung selbst zum Thema machte und dabei den Zusammenhang zwischen der Erinnerung und ihrem Gegenstand als offene jeweils besondere historische Prozesse untersuchte.[3] Dabei konnte er nicht nur auf die Vielfalt und Veränderlichkeit der Erinnerungen aufmerksam machen, sondern auch auf die Vielfalt und Veränderlichkeit der Erinnerung selbst. In den verschiedenen Kapiteln des Buches sind nicht nur unterschiedliche Formen des Erinnerns und Vergessens behandelt, sondern ebenso die Frage, wie sich diese Formen im Zusammenhang mit dem Gegenstand der Erinnerung verändern.

Es mag verwunderlich erscheinen, dass das gerade von der Memorialforschung in Deutschland nie wirklich rezipiert wurde. Als man sich in der deutschen Mittelalterforschung stärker der Geschichte der Erinnerung annahm, richtete sich ihre Aufmerksamkeit vor allem auf die Verzerrung und Deformierung von Erinnerung.[4] Die

---

1 Hans Hummer, Visions of Kinship in Medieval Europe, Oxford 2018.

2 Hummer, Visions of Kinship (Anm. 1), 67–79.

3 Patrick Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium, Princeton 1994.

4 Johannes Fried, Der Schleier der Erinnerung. Grundzüge einer historischen Memorik, München 2004, siehe dazu jetzt die kritische Diskussion in: Gerald Schwedler, Vergessen Verändern, Verschweigen und damnatio memoriae im frühen Mittelalter (Zürcher Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 9) Köln 2021. Nicht berücksichtigt werden konnte die neue, erkenntnisreiche Veröffentlichung

Formen der Erinnerung im Mittelalter zu erforschen rückte dabei in den Hintergrund und wurde mit einem recht modernen Willen verdrängt, wahr von falsch, authentisch von manipuliert etc. zu unterscheiden. Erst im letzten Jahrzehnt und teilweise auch als Reaktion darauf wurde der Zusammenhang von Formen der Erinnerung und ihrer Gestaltung mit der Frage nach der Gestaltung und Neugestaltung von Vorstellung von Verwandtschaft oder *visions of kinship* von der Spätantike zum hohen Mittelalter systematischer historisiert.[5] Darauf aufbauend möchte dieser Beitrag versuchen, diese Spielräume mit ein paar Beobachtungen zu Genealogien in der Karolingerzeit weiter auszuloten.

Obwohl es sich bei Genealogien oft nur um kurze listenartige Texte handelt, gibt es wohl nur wenige Textarten, bei denen die Spielräume der Erinnerung, die Vielfalt ihrer Formen und der Möglichkeiten ihrer Gestaltung so offensichtlich werden.[6] Ebenso war jedem Autor, Schreiber, Leser im frühen Mittelalter bewusst, dass ein genealogischer Text die Entscheidung für eine Möglichkeit unter vielen abbildete. Isidors Verwandtschaftsgrade sind nur ein – auch schon im Frühmittelalter – prominentes Beispiel für das Wissen um die vielfältigen Verästelungen genealogischer Strukturen.[7] Die Vielfalt der Möglichkeiten genealogischer Texte waren der fränkischen Welt aber auch schon durch biblische Genealogien bekannt. Schon im alten Testament sind bekanntlich eine Reihe von Genealogien überliefert, die teilweise auch

---

zu den Karolingern, die auch einschlägig für diesen Beitrag ist: Stuart Airlies, Making and Unmaking the Carolingians 751–888, London 2021.

5 Hummer, Visions of Kinship (Anm. 1), 265–323, siehe auch Bernhard Jussen, Perspektiven der Verwandtschaftsforschung zwanzig Jahre nach Jack Goody's „Entwicklung von Ehe und Familie in Europa", in: Karl-Heinz Spieß (Hrsg.), Die Familie in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters, Ostfildern 2009, 275–324; Walter Pohl, Genealogy: A Comparative Perspective from the Early Medieval West, in: Erik Hovden, Christina Lutter und Walter Pohl (Hrsg.), Meanings of Community Across Medieval Eurasia: Comparative Approaches, Leiden u. a. 2016, 232–269; Gerhard Lubich, Verwandtsein: Lesarten einer politisch-sozialen Beziehung im Frühmittelalter (6.–11. Jh.), Köln 2008; Steffen Patzold und Karl Ubl (Hrsg.), Verwandtschaft, Name und soziale Ordnung (300–1000), Berlin 2014 (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 90). Sarah McDougall, Royal Bastards: The Birth of Illegitimacy, Oxford 2017; aus literaturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive siehe aber schon Beate Kellner, Ursprung und Kontinuität. Studien zum genealogischen Wissen im Mittelalter, München 2004.

6 Zu Genealogien, siehe Pohl, Genealogy (Anm. 5), Hummer, Visions of Kingship (Anm. 1), 265–323; Kellner, Ursprung und Kontinuität (Anm. 5), 13–91; nach wie vor: Léopold Génicot, Les généalogies, Turnhout 1975 (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 15); siehe auch den Überblick bis zum Ende des letzten Jahrtausends von Georg Scheibelreiter, Art. Genealogie, in Reallexikon für Germanische Altertumskunde 11, 2. Auflage, (1988) 35–56; Wolfgang Speyer, Art. Genealogie, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 9 (1976), 1145–1268; zu Genealogie als perceptional grid, siehe Gabrielle Spiegel, Genealogy. Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative, in: dies., The Past as Text. Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography, Baltimore, Maryland 1997, 99–110.

7 Isidor von Sevilla, *Etymologiae* 9, 6, 28, hrsg. von R.A.B. Mynors, siehe dazu Karl Ubl, Inzestverbot und Gesetzgebung. Die Konstruktion eines Verbrechens (300–1000), Berlin 2008 (Millennium Studien 20), 16–26, mit weiterer Literatur.

stark voneinander abweichen.[8] Genealogische Reflexionen provozierte bereits das neue Testament mit einem Stammbaum Jesu, der ihn als Nachfahre Davids präsentierte.[9] Allerdings konzentriert sich die Genealogie im Matthäus Evangelium auf die Herkunft Josefs, der ja gar nicht der leibliche Vater Jesu war, und nicht auf Maria. Die Frage wurde schon früh von christlichen Exegeten diskutiert.[10] Dabei schlug man vor, die Genealogie Josefs auch als jene von Maria zu lesen, die eben auch von David abstammte. Daneben entstanden aber zusätzlich noch weitere Erzählungen über Maria, die ihre Abstammung aus dem heiligen und königlichen Geblüt beweisen sollten.

Biblische Modelle spielten bekanntlich für die Gestaltung der sozialen und politischen Strukturen der Nachfolgereiche des weströmischen Imperium eine wichtige Rolle. Peter Brown hat erst unlängst gezeigt, wie stark man auf soziale Modelle aus dem alten Testament aufbaute, um eine neue Welt nach dem Ende Roms und nach dem „end of ancient Christianity" zu gestalten.[11] Schon im Burgunderreich entschieden sich die Bischöfe am Beginn des sechsten Jahrhunderts, inzestuöse Beziehungen nicht auf der Grundlage römischer Traditionen zu definieren, sondern sich dafür an den Vorschriften des Alten Testaments zu orientieren.[12] Man würde daher erwarten, dass auch die genealogischen Muster und Modelle der Bibel genutzt wurden, um soziale, religiöse und politische Positionen zu legitimieren. Wie Walter Pohl aber in einem erst vor kurzem erschienenen Aufsatz über frühmittelalterliche Ge-

---

8 Siehe dazu Kellner, Ursprung und Kontinuität (Anm. 5), 31–45; Pohl, Genealogy (Anm. 5); Speyer, Art. Genealogie (Anm. 6), 1201–1265; Marshall D. Johnson, The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies with Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus, New York und London 2001.
9 Siehe dazu Conrad Leyser, From Maternal Kin to Jesus as Mother: Royal Genealogy and Marian Devotion in the Ninth-Century West, in: Conrad Leyser, Lesley Smith (Hrsg.), Motherhood, Religion and Society in Medieval Europe, 400–1400: Essays Presented to Henrietta Leyser, Farnham 2011, 21–40, Johnson, The purpose of biblical genealogies.
10 Gabriele Broszio, Genealogia Christi. Die Stammbäume Jesu in der Auslegung der christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten fünf Jahrhunderte, Trier 1994 (Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 18).
11 Peter Brown, From patriae amator to amator pauperum and Back Again. Social Imagination and Social Change in the West Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, ca. 300–600, in: Daniel Rodgers, Bhavani Raman und Helmut Reimitz (Hrsg.), Cultures in Motion, Princeton 2013, 87–106; siehe dazu auch Peter Brown, Through the Eye of a Needle. Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, Princeton 2012; zum „end of ancient Christianity", siehe Peter Brown, The Rise of Western Christendom. Triumph and Diversity, 3rd anniversary edition, Oxford 2013, 219–221 und part III, passim. Gerda Heydemann, People(s) of God? Biblical Exegesis and the Language of Community in Late Antique and Early Medieval Europe, in Erik Hovden, Christina Lutter und Walter Pohl (Hrsg.), Meanings of Community Across Medieval Eurasia: Comparative Aproaches, Leiden u. a. 2016, 27–60, mit weiterer Literatur, und in Zukunft: Gerda Heydemann, Exegese, Rhetorik und politische Gemeinschaft im Zeitalter Justinians (in Vorbereitung).
12 Ubl, Inzestverbot und Gesetzgebung (Anm. 7), 118–137.

nealogien zeigte, ist das kaum der Fall – zumindest auf dem europäischen Kontinent.[13]

Aus den ersten Jahrhunderten nach dem Ende des römischen Reichs sind genealogische Texte vor allem von den britischen Inseln überliefert.[14] Studien zu frühmittelalterlichen Genealogien haben sich daher vor allem auf dieses Material gestützt. Jedoch muss man mit den Ergebnissen von Walter Pohl wohl fragen, ob das nicht die Ausnahme war.[15] Aus den anderen Königreichen, die auf dem Boden des ehemaligen weströmischen Imperium entstanden, sind uns nicht einmal Herrschergenealogien erhalten. Für die meisten dieser Nachfolgereiche des weströmischen Imperiums ist das allerdings gar nicht so verwunderlich. Die geringe Bedeutung genealogischer Legitimation passt eigentlich gut dazu, dass sich in den meisten Nachfolgereichen keine Herrscherdynastien etablieren konnten. Nur im Merowingerreich konnten Herrscher sich über ihre Abstammung als Mitglieder der Königisfamilie legitimieren.[16] Am Ende des sechsten Jahrhunderts scheint Gregor von Tours jedoch manchen seiner Leser erklären zu müssen, dass es sich hierbei um ein eigenes System handelte. Der Stand der Mutter spielte keine Rolle für die Erbfolge. Sobald jemand als Sohn eines Königs geboren wurde, hatte er einen legitimen Anspruch auf die Nachfolge.[17] Wie Gregor selbst erfahren musste, war es dementsprechend gefährlich, die Vaterschaft eines merowingischen Königs in Zweifel zu ziehen. Als er beschuldigt wurde, die Königin Fredegund eines Verhältnisses mit dem Bischof Bertram von Bordeaux verdächtigt zu haben, musste er sich vor einem Königsgericht verantworten.[18] An der ehelichen Treue Fredegunds scheint Gregor aber Zeit seines Lebens gezweifelt zu haben und ob der Nachfolger Chilperichs, Chlothar II., tatsächlich dessen Sohn war, schien König Gunthram auch nach dem Tod seines Halbbruders Chilperich nicht gleich zu glauben. Es brauchte einige Anläufe und dauerte Jahre, bis er endlich überzeugt war und die Patenschaft für seinen Neffen übernahm.[19] Die Episode kann gut illustrieren, wie der biologische Faktor nur ein Aspekt der Zugehörigkeit zur me-

---

13 Pohl, Genealogy (Anm. 5).

14 David N. Dumville, Kingship, Genealogies and Regnal Lists, in: Peter Sawyer und Ian Wood (Hrsg.), Early Medieval Kingship, Leeds 1977, 72 – 104.

15 Pohl, Genealogy (Anm. 5), 249 – 255, mit weiterer Literatur.

16 Zu den Merowingern siehe nun: Sebastian Scholz, Die Merowinger, Stuttgart 2015; zur sozialen „Konstruktion" der merowingischen Familie während der Zeit ihrer Herrschaft siehe: Ian Wood, Deconstructing the Merovingian family, in: Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger und Helmut Reimitz (Hrsg.), The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages, Leiden 2003 (The Transformation of the Roman World 12), 149 – 171.

17 Gregor von Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum* V, 20, hrsg. von Bruno Krusch und Wilhelm Levison, in: MGH SS rer. Merov. 1,1, Hannover ²1937 – 1951, 228.

18 Gregor von Tours, *Historiae* V, 47 – 49 (Anm. 17), 257 – 263; zu Gregors Prozess, siehe Ian Wood, The Individuality of Gregory of Tours, in: Kathleen Mitchell und Ian Wood, The World of Gregory of Tours, Leiden 2002, 29 – 46 und Martin Heinzelmann, Gregor von Tours. „Zehn Bücher Geschichte" Historiographie und Gesellschaftskonzept im 6. Jahrhundert, Darmstadt 1994, 45 – 47.

19 Gregor von Tours, *Historiae* VIII, 9 (Anm. 17), 376; erst in einem der letzten Kapitel der zehn Bücher (X, 28, 520 – 522) wird Gunthram Chlothars Taufpate.

rowingischen Familie war.[20] Um Gunthram zu überzeugen, dass Chlothar tatsächlich der Sohn Chilperichs war, versammelte Fredegunde die Großen des Reiches und ließ sie einen Schwur ablegen. Darauf akzeptierte ihn auch der damalige merowingische Senior Gunthram als legitimen Sohn Chilperichs.[21]

Dass die Abstammung allein nicht ausreichte und die Ansprüche eines legitimen Nachfolgers mit den verschiedenen Machtgruppen erst ausverhandelt werden mussten, zeigen auch andere Beispiele aus dem sechsten Jahrhundert.[22] Die Zugehörigkeit zur merowingischen Königsfamilie scheint also weniger biologisch als sozial und vor allem politisch definiert gewesen zu sein und stand in engem Zusammenhang mit der Entwicklung einer „politics of consensus" zwischen den merowingischen Herrschern und ihren Eliten.[23] Das System funktionierte immerhin für fast drei Jahrhunderte – bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts, als der Karolinger Pippin den von ihm selbst eingesetzten merowingischen König Childerich III. absetzte und das fränkische Königtum selbst übernahm.

Trotz dieser langen Dauer merowingischer Herrschaft haben sich allerdings keine Genealogien der Merowinger erhalten, sondern nur Königskataloge.[24] Als eine Ausnahme könnte man ein fragmentarisch erhaltenes Dyptichon, das sogenannte Dyptichon Barbarini, betrachten, in dem auch Angehörige der merowingischen Königsfamilie vorkommen.[25] Allerdings dürfte es sich hier um ein Dokument zum

---

20 Wood, Deconstruction of the Merovingian Family (Anm. 16).

21 Gregor von Tours, *Historiae* VIII, 9 (Anm. 17), 376.

22 Siehe dazu Julia Hofmann, The Men Who Would Be Kings. Challenges to Royal Authority in the Frankish regna, c. 500 – 700, PhD, Oxford 2008; ein besonders gutes Beispiel sind die Konflikte um die Behauptungen Gundowalds, die von einigen Mitgliedern der Familie anerkannt wurden, von anderen wieder nicht. Siehe dazu Scholz, Die Merowinger (Anm. 16), 140 – 142; Bernard S. Bachrach, The Anatomy of a Little War. A Diplomatic and Military History of the Gundovald Affair (568 – 586), Boulder 1994; Constantin Zuckerman, Qui a rappelé en Gaule le Ballomer Gundovald?, in: Francia 25 (1998), 1 – 18; Marc Widdowson, Gundovald, „Ballomer" and the Politics of Identity, in: Revue Belge de Philologie et d'histoire 86 (2008), 607 – 622; Walter Goffart, The Frankish Pretender Gundovald, 582 – 585. A Crisis of Merovingian Blood, in: Francia 39 (2012), 1 – 27.

23 Zu „politics of consensus" im Merowingerreich siehe Ian Wood, Usurpers and Merovingian Kingship, in: Matthias Becher und Jörg Jarnut, Der Dynastiewechsel von 751. Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung, Münster 2004, 15 – 31; Helmut Reimitz, History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, Cambridge 2015, vgl. auch nun (mit etwas anderer Akzentsetzung) Steffen Patzold, Konsens und „consensus" im Merowingerreich, in: Verena Epp und Christoph Meyer, Recht und Konsens im frühen Mittelalter, Sigmaringen 2017 (Vorträge und Forschungen 82), 265 – 297.

24 Zu einem Königskatalog in einer Handschrift, in der dieser mit anderen genealogisch strukturierten Texten überliefert ist (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod Sang. 732), siehe Pohl, Genealogy (Anm. 5), 243; Reimitz, History, Frankish Identity (Anm. 23), 83, 216 – 217; zu den merowingischen Königskatalogen, siehe auch Eugen Ewig, Die fränkischen Königskataloge und der Aufstieg der Karolinger, in: Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters 51 (1995), 3 – 28.

25 Henri Omont, Inscriptions mérovingiennes de l'Ivoire Barberini, in: Journal des Savants (1901), 101 – 105; Heinz Thomas, Die Namensliste des Dyptichon Barberini und der Sturz des Hausmeiers Grimoald, in: Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters 25 (1969), 17 – 63; Rolf Bergmann, Die Trierer Namensliste des Dyptichon Barberini im Musée du Louvre, in: Namenforschung, Festschrift für

Gedenken an die Familie der merowingischen Königin Brunhild handeln. Brunhild war die Tochter des westgotischen Königs Athanagild und die Liste umfasst auch Namen von Mitgliedern ihrer westgotischen Königsfamilie. Dabei werden in der Liste auch Frauen aus Brunhilds „merowingischer" Familie genannt.[26] Die übrigen erhaltenen Texte über die merowingischen Generationen sind Königslisten, in der die Abfolge der Könige und ihre jeweilige Regierungsdauer erwähnt sind.[27]

Die Handschriften, in denen diese Listen enthalten sind, sind allerdings erst aus der Karolingerzeit überliefert und auch in den Listen selbst zeigen sich deutlich karolingische Interessen. In einer Gruppe von immerhin neun Handschriften ist eine merowingische Königsliste überliefert, die erst mit Theuderich III. (gest. 691) beginnt.[28] Damit listet sie nur jene merowingischen Könige auf, die herrschten, nachdem Pippin II. im Jahr 687 mit seinem Sieg in Tertry den Grundstein zum Aufstieg der Karolinger gelegt hatte.[29] In der ältesten Handschrift mit dieser Liste aus der zweiten Hälfte des achten Jahrhunderts wird sie mit dem letzten Merowingerkönig Childerich III. beendet[30] – in allen anderen Handschriften endet die Liste jedoch schon mit dem ersten karolingischen König, Pippin.[31]

Adolf Bach, hrsg. von Rudolf Schützeichel und Matthias Zender, Heidelberg 1965, 38–48; Jean Vezin, Une nouvelle lecture de la liste des noms copiée au dos de l'Ivoire Barberini, Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, NS 7, 1971, 19–56; Karl August Eckhardt, Exkurs IV: Merowinger im Dyptichon Barberini, in: Karl August Eckhardt, Studia Merovingica, Bibliotheca rerum historicarum, Studia 11, Aalen 1975, 262–279.

26 Bergmann, Die Trierer Namensliste (Anm. 25), und Thomas, Die Namensliste (Anm. 25) gingen von einer Liste der in Austrasien regierenden Könige aus, und nahmen an, daß mit dem Eintrag *Clotari* Chlothar II. und *Childeberti*, der Sohn des Hausmeiers Grimoald, Childebertus adoptivus gemeint seien. Schon Vezin 1971 und ihm folgend Ian Wood, Genealogy Defined by Women. The Case of the Pippinids, in: Leslie Brubaker und Julia M.H. Smith (Hrsg.), Gender in the Early Medieval World. East and West, 300–900, Cambridge 2004, 234–256, haben allerdings darauf hingewiesen, daß man mit Clotari auch den Vater Sigiberts I., Chlothar I identifizieren könnte, sowie mit den anderen beiden Namen am Anfang der Liste auch Vorfahren Sigiberts I. Eckhardt, Merowinger, hat den Chlothar im Dyptichon als einen Sohn Theudeberts II. gedeutet und eine Interpretation der Liste als Auflistung der letzten drei Generationen der 613 fast vollständig ausgerotteten Familie Brunhilds vorgeschlagen.

27 Zu ihrer Edition, siehe: *Catalogi regum Francorum praetermissi*, hrsg. von Bruno Krusch, in: MGH SS rer. Merov. 7, Hannover, Leipzig 1920, 471–475, 479–481.

28 Zu einer Liste der Handschriften siehe Catalogus (Anm. 27), 471–472, und vgl. die entsprechenden Beschreibungen der Handschriften in der Bibliotheca legum. Eine Handschriftendatenbank zum weltlichen Recht im Frankenreich http://www.leges.uni-koeln.de/.

29 Zu den Ereignissen siehe Andreas Fischer, Karl Martell. Der Beginn karolingischer Herrschaft, Stuttgart 2012, 25–42, Rudolf Schieffer, Die Karolinger, Stuttgart ⁵2014, 26–33.

30 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. inter Weissenburgenses 97, zur Handschrift siehe jetzt Karl Ubl, Herrscherlisten in Rechtshandschriften. Dynastiebildung und genealogisches Wissen im karolingischen Frankenreich, in: Ellen Widder, Iris Holzwart-Schäfer und Christian Heinemeyer (Hrsg.), Geboren, um zu herrschen? Gefährdete Dynastien in historisch-interdisziplinärer Perspektive, Tübingen 2018, 23–46, zur Handschrift 28–9 siehe auch den Eintrag in der Bibliotheca legum: http://www.leges.uni-koeln.de/en/mss/codices/wolfenbuettel-hab-weissenb-97/, mit weiterer Literatur.

Der Königskatalog ist in allen diesen Handschriften als Teil kleinerer oder größerer Rechtssammlungen aufgenommen und wird häufig in der Literatur als merowingische Königsliste der *Lex Salica* erwähnt. Allerdings ist er in den meisten dieser Handschriften mit anderen Gesetzen und nicht zuletzt mit römischem Recht, und zwar verschiedenen Fassungen der *Lex Romana Visigothorum* zusammengestellt.[32] Wie Karl Ubl gezeigt hat, stammt diese Zusammenstellung der Texte aus der Zeit der ersten karolingischen Könige Pippin und Karl.[33] Es passt gut zu ihren Bemühungen, die karolingische Übernahme des Königtums durch die Betonung einer gemeinsamen fränkischen Tradition zu legitimieren und sich dabei auch als legitime Nachfolger der merowingischen Könige zu präsentieren. Unter Pippin wurde eine neue Version der Lex Salica erstellt, die den alten Text fast unberührt ließ, aber dieser einen langen Prolog voranstellte, der die *gens Francorum inclita* als legitime Herrscherin über die ehemals römischen Provinzen feierte. Zu etwa derselben Zeit erließ der König aber ebenfalls ein Kapitular, das der Bevölkerung Aquitaniens garantierte, nach römischem Recht zu leben.[34] Sowohl durch die Neufassung der fränkischen *Lex Salica* als auch durch die Gewährung römischer Rechtstradition legitimierte sich Pippin dabei als Nachfolger der merowingischen Könige. In den Handschriften, in denen die *Lex Salica* mit römischem Recht und dem Königskatalog zusammengestellt ist, „präsentiert letzterer die Zeit der letzten Merowinger als eine abgeschlossene Epoche und verweist auf einen Neubeginn.“[35] Pippins Sohn Karl setzte diese Legitimationsbemühungen zunächst fort. Wie Karl Ubl rekonstruierte, initiierte Karl als Teil seines Reformprogramms schon Ende der 80er Jahre auch eine Leges-Reform, wobei auch der Text der *Lex Salica* gründlich überarbeitet wurde, in welcher der Katalog nun auch mit dem ersten karolingischen Herrscher Pippin und der Angabe seiner Regierungsdauer ergänzt wurde.[36]

Die Aneignung alter Traditionen stand bei ihrer Überlieferung offenbar im Vordergrund. So scheint es nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass auch die merowingische Königsliste auf einer Vorlage aus der Merowingerzeit beruht. Das legen ebenso andere Überlieferungen der Königsliste nahe, die zwar manchmal weiter in die merowingische Vergangenheit (bis Chlothar II.) zurückgehen, aber im wesentlichen derselben

---

31 Catalogus I (Anm. 27), 480, siehe Eugen Ewig, Die fränkischen Königskataloge und der Aufstieg der Karolinger, in: Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters 51 (1995), 3–28, und nun Karl Ubl, Sinnstiftungen eines Rechtsbuchs. Die Lex Salica im Frankenreich, Ostfildern 2017 (Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter 9), 137–163, mit weiterer Literatur, ders. Herrscherlisten in Rechtshandschriften (Anm. 30), und ders., Die erste Leges-Reform Karls des Großen, in: Andres Speer und Guy Guldentops (Hrsg.), Das Gesetz – the law – la loi, Berlin 2014 (Micellanea mediaevalia 38), 75–92.

32 Ubl, Herrscherlisten in Rechtshandschriften (Anm. 30), 28–30.

33 Zu den verschiedenen Episoden der karolingischen Geschichte der *Lex Salica* zur Zeit Pippins und Karls, siehe Ubl, Sinnstiftungen (Anm. 31), 137–193.

34 *Pippini Capitulare Aquitanicum*, hrsg. von Alfred Boretius, in: MGH, Capit. 1, Hannover 1883, 42–43.

35 Ubl, Herrscherlisten in Rechtshandschriften (Anm. 30), 30.

36 Ubl, Die erste Leges-Reform (Anm. 31), 84–85.

Struktur folgen.[37] In einigen dieser Handschriften ist die „Königsliste der *Lex Salica*" weder mit der *Lex Salica* noch als Teil einer Rechtssammlung überliefert, sondern findet sich in Handschriften mit historiographischen Texten zusammengestellt. In diesen Handschriften wird die Königsliste auch bis zu Ludwig dem Frommen und manchmal bis zu seinen Söhnen fortgesetzt. Diese Fortsetzungen wurden von Bruno Krusch als Katalog III herausgegeben.[38] Allerdings gibt es ebenso innerhalb der Versionen in dieser Gruppe beträchtliche Unterschiede. In den Handschriften, in denen der Katalog mit Rechtstexten zusammengestellt wurde, wird er nur bis Pippin geführt.[39] Auch weichen ergänzende Bemerkungen in den unterschiedlichen Überlieferungen voneinander ab.[40]

> *Catalogus III*[41]
>
> *Chlotarius regnavit annos XLVII*
> *Dagobertus regnavit annos XVII*
> *Sigobertus regnavit annos XXIII*
> *Hildebertus adoptivus*
> *Grimaoldus regnavit annos VII*
> *Hildericus regnavit annos XIIII*
> *Theodericus regnavit annos XVII*
> *Clodoveus regnavit annos IIII obiit in V*
> *Childebertus regnavit annos XVII*
> *Dagobertus regnavit annos IIII obiit in V*
> *Hilpericus regnavit annos V*
> *Theodericus regnavit annos XVII*
> *Carolus sine alio rege imperavit annos VII*
> *Hildericus regnavit annos VIIII*
> *Pippinus regnavit annos XV et dimitio anno*

Das Grundgerüst der Abfolge von den Merowingern zu den Karolingern hat sich auch noch in den späteren Karolingergenealogien erhalten, die bis zu den Urenkeln Karls des Großen reichen und dabei – wie in einer Genealogie aus einer Petersburger Handschrift aus dem Anfang des zehnten Jahrhunderts – mit umfangreichen Geschichtsbüchern zur fränkischen Geschichte von den trojanischen Helden bis zu ihren karolingischen Nachfahren verbunden wurden.[42] Doch wird im Vergleich deutlich, wie

---

37 Ubl, Leges-Reform (Anm. 31).

38 Catalogus III (Anm. 27), 481. Vgl. dazu aber auch Ubl, Herrscherlisten in Rechtshandschriften (Anm. 30) und ders., Leges-Reform (Anm. 31), der die in Rechtshandschriften überlieferten Kataloge nach ihrem handschriftlichen Zusammenhang mit den verschiedenen Fassungen der *Lex Salica* gruppiert.

39 Paris Bibliothèque national lat. 4409; Vatikan, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 846.

40 Vgl. dazu unten.

41 Catalogus III (Anm. 27), 481 in der Version von C1a (Paris Bibliothèque nationale lat. 4409, vom Ende des neunten Jahrhunderts) http://www.leges.uni-koeln.de/en/mss/codices/paris-bn-lat-4409/.

42 St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia F v IV.4; zur Handschrift siehe die ausführliche Diskussion und Beschreibung bei Tischler (mit einer etwas früheren Datierung als Bischoff), Matthias

sehr diese späteren Texte den genealogischen Aspekt betonen. In einer dieser Handschriften, die aus den ersten Jahrzehnten des zehnten Jahrhunderts stammt, werden beim Übergang von den merowingischen zu den karolingischen Herrschern sogar die Rollen vertauscht und die karolingische Mutter nimmt die Rolle des zeugenden Vaters in der Genealogie ein.[43]

> *Genealogia regum Francorum*
>
> *Hildricus rex genuit Ludouuicum quem baptizavit /sanctus Remigius /*
> *Lodouuicus genuit Lotharium et fatres eius*
> *Lotharius genuit Chilpericum et fatres eius*
> *Chilpericus genuit Lotharium magnum **ex Fredegunde***
> *Lotharius genuit Dagobertum et **Bilthildem***
> ***Blithildis genuit Arnaldum** ex Ansberto illustri viro*
> *Arnaldus genuit Arnulfum post Mettensem episcopum*
> *Arnulfum genuit Flodulfum, Uuwalchisum, Ansigisum*
> *Ansigisus genuit Pippinum seniorem **ex Begga filia** Pippini maioris domus*
> *Pipinus senior et dux genuit Karolum seniorem et ducem*
> *Karolus senior et dux genuit dux Pippinum regem et Karlomannum post monachum*
> *Pipinus rex genuit Karlomannum et Carlum inperatorem*
> *Karolus imperator genuit Pipinum, Karolum et Ludouuicum piissimum Augustum*
> *Luduuuicus genuit Lotharius Pipinum Luduuuicum **[ex Er]mengarda** et Karolum calvum **ex Iudith***

Die große Bedeutung von Frauen in den karolingischen und nachkarolingischen Genealogien ist der modernen Forschung natürlich nicht entgangen.[44] Der Vergleich der merowingischen Grundlagen mit ihrer karolingischen Ausgestaltung kann uns aber ebenfalls darauf aufmerksam machen, dass es sich hier nicht um einen Prozess handelt, bei dem nun Frauen in den Genealogien *ihren* Platz einnehmen. Man könnte daraus auch schließen, dass die neue Betonung genealogischer Kontinuität in den karolingischen Genealogien ihnen erst diese Rolle vermittelte.

Tischler, Einharts *Vita Karoli*. Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption, Hannover 2001 (MGH Schriften 48,1–2), 1163–1165; siehe auch Helmut Reimitz, The Social Logic of Historiographical Compendia in the Carolingian Period, in: Herméneutique du texte d'histoire, ed. Osamu Kano (Nagoya 2012), und ders., Livres d'histoire et l'histoire du livre a l'époque Carolingienne, in: Charlotte Denoël, Anne-Orange Poilpré und Sumi Shimahara *Imago libri. Représentations carolingiennes du livre*, Paris 2018 (Bibliologia 47), 107–119.

43 St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia F v IV.4, fol. 169v; Edition des Textes: *Genealogiae Karolorum* IV, hrsg. von Georg Waitz, in: MGH SS 13, Hannover 1881, 246–247. (Hervorhebung durch Fettdruck: Helmut Reimitz)

44 Siehe Valerie L. Garver, Women and Aristocratic Culture in the Carolingian World, Ithaca und London 2009, 68–121, mit weiterer Literatur; Janet Nelson, Gendering Courts in the Early Medieval West, in: Leslie Brubaker und Julia M.H. Smith (Hrsg.), Gender in the Early Medieval World. East and West, 300–900, Cambridge 2004, 185–197. Für die Bedeutung der Abstammung von karolingischen Frauen, siehe Armin Wolf, Königswähler und königliche Tochterstämme, in: Armin Wolf (Hrsg.), Königliche Tochterstämme, Königswähler und Kurfürsten, Frankfurt am Main 2002 (Studien zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte. Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Rechtsgeschichte 152), 1–77.

Dass es sich hier um eine spezifische Entwicklung handelt, könte der Vergleich der oben erwähnten merowingisch/karolingischen Königsliste im Katalog III mit den Versionen zeigen, in denen die Liste um einige interessante Details ergänzt wurde.[45] In diesen Versionen des Katalogs wurden auch schon für die Zeit der Merowinger die Namen von zwei oder vielleicht drei karolingischen Vorfahren integriert.[46] Genannt wird jener Grimoald, der versucht hatte, die Familie der pippinidischen Hausmeier mit der merowingischen Königsfamilie zu verbinden, indem er entweder den merowingischen Sohn des merowingischen Königs, Sigibert III., adoptierte oder seinen Sohn vom merowingischen König Sigibert III. adoptieren ließ.[47] Sicher ist jedenfalls, dass Grimoald versuchte, seine Familie mit der merowingischen Königsfamilie zu verbinden. Wessen biologischer Sohn er auch immer war, er regierte offenbar als Childebert für einige Zeit und wird auch als *Childebertus adoptivus* in dem Katalog erwähnt, und nach ihm sein (Adoptiv)vater Grimoald als Herrscher für sieben Jahre gelistet. Allerdings bleibt es dabei unklar, wer ihn adoptiert hatte. Bei all der Unsicherheit, wie die Verwandtschaft Grimoalds und Childeberts darzustellen sei, auf die Erwähnung der Vorfahren der karolingischen Könige in dem Katalog wollte man offenbar aber nicht verzichten. Nach ihrer Nennung war es nur konsequent, ebenfalls den nächsten karolingischen Regenten zur Merowingerzeit in die Liste einzubauen. Für die königslosen sieben Jahre nach dem Tod Theuderichs IV. im Jahr 737 wird nun die Herrschaft Karl Martells erwähnt, der nach dem Tod des Königs *sine alio rege* – ohne anderen König – weiterregierte.

Noch weiter gingen die Redaktoren des Katalogs, der in den überlieferten Handschriften mit historiographischen Texten zusammengestellt wurde.[48] Darin wurden

---

45 Die zusätzlichen Informationen im Vergleich mit der Version C1a (vgl. oben) sind in der Edition gut ausgewiesen, vgl. Catalogus III (Anm. 27), 481.

46 Siehe oben, (Catalogus III in der Version C1a).

47 Zum Grimoald Coup siehe Matthias Becher, Der sogenannte Staatsreich Grimoalds. Versuch einer Neubewertung, in: Jörg Jarnut (Hrsg.), Karl Martell in seiner Zeit, Sigmaringen 1994, 119–147, der darin erstmals überlegte, ob nicht Childebert der Sohn Grimoalds war; ihm folgend, Ian Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms 450–751, London 1994, 222–224; ablehnend dagegen: Thilo Offergeld, Reges pueri. Das Königtum Minderjähriger im frühen Mittelalter, Hannover 2001 (MGH Schriften 50), 253–257, Stefanie Hamann, Zur Chronologie des Staatsstreichs Grimoalds, in: Deutsches Archiv zur Erforschung des Mittelalters 59 (2003), 49–96; Rudolf Schieffer, Die Karolinger, Stuttgart ⁴2006, 20; Andreas Fischer, Karl Martell. Der Beginn karolingischer Herrschaft, Stuttgart 2012, 31. Dagegen siehe aber Ubl, Die erste Leges-Reform Karls des Großen (Anm. 31), 88–92, der in seiner detaillierten Untersuchung des Königskatalogs und seiner handschriftlichen Zusammehänge des Katalogs mit starken Argumenten Bechers Thesen bestätigt.

48 Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 83 (um 900, Reims); Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 243; (Ende 9. Jhdt., Lorsch), München, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 6 (11. Jh.), siehe zu den Handschriften: Bernhard Bischoff, Katalog der Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen) Teil I: Aachen – Lambach, Wiesbaden 1998, 106; Vatikan: https://hs-lorsch.bsz-bw.de/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=611 (Bibliographie), https://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/bav/bav_pal_lat_243 (Digitalisat); ausführliche Beschreibung und Diskussion: Tischler, Einharts Vita Karoli (Anm. 42), 1540–1547 und 1556–1562; Bischoff, Katalog, 411; München: Hartmut

noch weitere Personen der karolingischen Genealogie eingefügt. In den Handschriften sind die Königskataloge mit der *Chronica maiora* des Beda oder einer Hieronymus-Chronik und dem darauf anschließenden *Chronicon Laurissense breve* bis 817 zusammengestellt. Dabei lassen sich auch textliche Parallelen der Ergänzungen in der Königsliste mit dem *Chronicon Laurissense* feststellen. Auffällig ist etwa, dass nach dem Satz über die Herrschaft Karl Martells: *Carolus sine alio rege imperavit* noch der Zusatz eingefügt wurde, dass ihm seine Söhne Karlmann und Pippin folgten.[49] Dabei wird Pippins Herrschaft als König und seine Regierungsdauer eine Zeile später ebenfalls erwähnt. In diesem Zusatz ging es wohl darum, die Rolle Karlmanns als Erbe Karl Martells neben Pippin nicht zu vergessen. Das passt gut zu dem Text des *Chronicon Laurissense*, der zunächst nicht Pippin, sondern Karlmann als Nachfolger Karl Martells in den Mittelpunkt rückt. Deutlich kommt das im *Chronicon* in der Formulierung zum Jahr 741 zum Ausdruck: *Carlomannus cum fratre Pippino regnavit annos VII.*[50]

In dem Katalog werden aber auch schon frühere karolingische Vorfahren ergänzt: so fügte man in die Aufzählung der merowingischen Könige auch den 714 gestorbenen *maior domus* Pippin II. noch vor den Königen Chlodwig III., Childebert III. und Dagobert III. ein.[51] Dabei wird für Pippin auch seine Herkunft genannt und er als *filius Ansigisi* vorgestellt. Einen weiteren Einschub, in dem der Beginn von Karl Martells Amtszeit als *maior domus* erwähnt wird, nutzten die Redakteure, um ihn als *filius Pippini* in die karolingische Genealogie einzureihen.[52] Vor allem aber die Erwähnung seines Vaters Pippin als Sohn Ansegisels zeigt deutlich den Zusammenhang der Genealogie mit den historiographischen Texten. Denn nach dem Ende der Chronik Bedas beginnt das *Chronicon Laurissense* in diesen Handschriften mit dem Satz, dass nun Pippin der Sohn Ansegisels zu regieren begann: *Pippinus, dux Francorum, filius Ansegisili … obtinuit regnum Francorum per annos septem et viginti cum regibus sibi subiectis Hludowigo, Hildeberto et Dagoberto.*[53]

Hoffmann, Schreibschulen des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts im Südwesten des Deutschen Reiches, Hannover 2004 (MGH Schriften 53/1), 301; Richard Corradini, Die Wiener Handschrift Cvp 430*. Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie in Fulda im frühen 9. Jahrhundert, Frankfurt a. M. 2000 (Fuldaer Hochschulschriften 37), 109.

49 Catalogus III (Anm. 27), 481, Zeile 20.

50 *Chronicon Laurissense breve,* hrsg. von Hans Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Das Chronicon Laurissense breve, in: Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde 36 (1911), 13 – 39, hier 23; Sören Kaschke, Fixing Dates in the Early Middle Ages: The Chronicon Laurissense breve and Its Use of Time, in: Richard Corradini, Maximilian Diesenberger und Meta Niederkorn (Hrsg.), Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift. Hagiographie und Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik, Wien 2010, (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 18), 115 – 122; Richard Corradini, Die Wiener Handschrift Cvp 430*. Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie in Fulda im frühen 9. Jahrhundert (Fuldaer Hochschulschriften, Frankfurt/Main 2000).

51 Catalogus III (Anm. 27), 481, Zeile 11.

52 Catalogus III (Anm. 27), 481, Zeile 16.

53 *Chronicon Laurissense breve* (Anm. 50), 23.

Mit der Erwähung Pippins als Sohn Ansegisels verweisen die beiden Texte zusätzlich auf eine genealogische Konstruktion, die sich in keiner dieser Handschriften findet, die aber zu der Zeit, als das *Chronicon Laurissense breve* bald nach 817 beendet wurde, schon sehr weit verbreitet gewesen sein dürfte. Dabei handelt es sich um die *Genealogia domni Arnulfi*, die auch in manchen der recht zahlreichen Handschriften als *Genealogia domni Karoli* betitelt ist.[54] Die beiden Titel zeigen schon, dass es bei dieser Genealogie um die Abstammung der Karolinger vom ehemaligen *maior domus* und späteren Bischof von Metz, Arnulf, geht. Dabei wird Arnulf aber ebenfalls als Nachfahre der Merowinger dargestellt, da darin seine Großmutter, Blithild, als Tochter des Merowingerkönigs Chlothar, erwähnt ist:

IN DEI NOMINE COMMEMORATIO DE GENE[A]LOGIA DOMNI ARNULFI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS CHRISTI

Ansbertus, qui fuit ex genere Senatorum, preclarus atque nobilis vir in multis divitiis pollens, accepit filiam Flotharii (Chlothar HR) regis Francorum ad coniugem, nomine Bliothilde sive Blithilde, et habuit ex ea filios tres et unam filiam. Primogenitus ipsius habuit nomen Arnoldus, secundo Feriolus, tertius Modericus et filia ipsius Tarsicia. Feriolus quidem episcopus effectus est in Ucecia civitate; martyrio coronatur ibique requiescit in pace. Modericus quidem in Arisido episcopus est ordinatus, ibique confessor Christi requiescit in pace, ubi Deus pro eius merita multa miracula operatur. Tarsicia, virgo Christi, in virginitate sua perseverans in Rodinis civitate, requiescit; pro cuius merita ibidem virtus Christi cotidie ostenditur. Que etiam fertur mortua mortuorum suscitasse. Arnoaldus primogenitus ipsius genuit domno Arnulfo; domnus Arnulfus genuit Flodulfo et Anschiso; Flodulfus divina gratia iubente episcopus ordinatus est; Anschisus genuit Pipino; Pipinus genuit Carolum; Carolus vero genuit domnum regem Pipinum; domnus Pipinus genuit domnum regem Carolum imperatorem; Carolus genuit domnum Ludouuicum imperatorem; Ludouuicus genuit domnum Lotharium imperatorem.[55]

---

54 Otto Gerhard Oexle, Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulf, in: Frühmittelalterliche Studien 1 (1967), 250–364; Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke, Die Karolingergenealogien aus Metz und Paulus Diaconus, in: Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter 34 (1970), 190–218; Eckhard Freise, Die Genealogia Arnulfi comitis des Priesters Witger, in: Frühmittelalterliche Studien 23 (1989), 203–243.

55 Ansbertus, aus senatorischem Geschlecht, ein weitgerühmter und vornehmer Mann mit großem Besitz nahm die Tochet Chlothars, des Königs der Franken, mit dem Namen Blithilde zur Frau; und er hatte mit ihr drei Söhne und eine Tochter. Der erstgeborene erhielt den Namen Arnold, der zweite Feriolus, der dritte Modericus und seine Tochter wurde Tarsicia genannt. Feriolus wurde Bischof in der Stadt Uzes, und ebendort durch das Matyrium gekrönt, wo er auch bis heute in Frieden ruht. Modericus wurde zum Bischof von Arisitum ernannt, und der Bekenner Christi ruht dort in Frieden, wo Gott wegen seiner vielen Verdienste auch Wunder geschehen läßt. Tarsicia, die Jungrau Christi, bewahrte ihre Jungfräulichkeit in der Stadt Rodez, wo sie auch ruht und wo sich die Macht Christi wegen ihrer Verdienste täglich zeigt. Es wird auch berichtet, dass Tote wieder erweckt wurden. Der erstgeborene (Sohn des Ansbertus HR) Arnoldus zeugte den Herrn Arnulf. Der Herr Arnulf zeugte Flodulf und Anschisus, Flodulfus wurde durch den Befehl der göttlichen Gnade zum Bischof geweiht, Anschisus zeugte Pippin; Pippin zeugte Karl, Karl aber zeugte den Herrn König Pippin, Pippin zeugte den Herrn König Karl, den Kaiser; Karl zeugte den Herrn Kaiser Ludwig, Ludwig zeugte den Herrn Kaiser Lothar. (Übersetzung H. Reimitz).

Der Text ist die Fassung, die in der Handschrift, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. lat. 473 überliefert ist (fol. 169v-170v), zu dieser Handschrift siehe Helmut Reimitz, Ein karolingisches

Diese genealogische Konstruktion baut auf dem wenige Jahrzehnte vor der *Genealogia domni Arnulfi* verfassten *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, die Geschichte der Metzer Bischöfe auf, die Paulus Diaconus auf Bitten des Metzer Bischofs Angilram in den 80er Jahren des achten Jahrhunderts niederschrieb.[56] Deutlich wird auch in ihr die Rolle einer Frau, nämlich Begga, für den Erhalt einer pippinidisch/karolingischen Dynastie betont. Anders als im Fall von Blithild, deren Name uns sonst nicht in den Quellen überliefert ist, ist uns diese Rolle für die Tochter Pippins I., Begga, sehr wohl bezeugt. Die Tochter Pippins I. hatte den Sohn Arnulfs, Ansegisel, geheiratet und aus der Ehe stammte der karolingische Hausmeier Pippin II. Es war einer der Leitnamen aus Beggas Familie, die der Sohn Pippin (II.) erhielt, und damit die familiären Traditionen der karolingischen Vorfahren fortsetzte.[57] In den am Anfang des 9. Jahrhundert verfassten *Annales Mettenses priores* wurde ihre Rolle dann auch als *genetrix gloriosa* gewürdigt.[58]

Ferner wird in der von Paulus Diaconus verfaßten Genealogie Ansegisel hervorgehoben. Sein Name wird als eine Form des Namens des Vaters des trojanischen Helden Aeneas, Anchises, erklärt.[59] Wie Anchises waren in der fränkischen Herkunftssage ja auch die Vorfahren der fränkischen Könige und Großen aus Troja ausgewandert. Während Äneas nach Italien ging, wanderten sie aber an den Rhein und etablierten ihre Herrschaft in den ehemaligen gallischen Provinzen des römischen Reichs.[60] Doch sind in der Genealogie die Karolinger nicht nur als Verwandte der

---

Geschichtsbuch aus Saint-Amand. Der Cvp 473, in: Christoph Egger und Herwig Weigl (Hrsg.), Text – Schrift – Codex. Quellenkundliche Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Wien 2000 (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Erg.-Bd. 35), 34 – 90; zu einer Edition siehe Genealogiae, Historiae, Catalogi regum, hrsg. von Georg Waitz, in: MGH SS 13, Hannover 1871, 245 – 248.

56 Paulus Diaconus, *Liber de Episcopis Mettensibus*, hrsg. und übers. von Damien Kempf, in: Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations 19, Paris, Leuven, Walpole MA 2013, Zu einem Vergleich der unterschiedlichen Konzeption bei Paulus Diaconus und in der Commemoratio siehe Oexle, Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulf (Anm. 54), 269; Helmut Reimitz, Social Networks and Identity in Frankish Historiography. New Aspects of the Textual Tradition of Gregory of Tours' Historiae, in: Richard Corradini, Maximilian Diesenberger und Helmut Reimitz (Hrsg.), The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages. Texts, Ressources, Artefacts, Leiden und New York 2003 (The Transformation of the Roman World 12), 229 – 268.

57 Dazu ausführlicher: Wood, Genealogies Defined by Women (Anm. 26), 236 – 238 und 242 – 243.

58 *Annales Mettenses Priores*, hrsg. von Bernhard von Simson, in: MGH SS rer. Germ. in usum schol. [10], Hannover 1905, 2.

59 *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* (Anm. 58), 73, wie mir von Wolfgang Haubrichs erklärt wurde, hätte nur ein Langobarde die Verbindung zwischen den beiden herstellen können.

60 Zu den fränkischen Herkunftsmythen, siehe Reimitz, History, Frankish Identity (Anm. 23), 168 – 172 und 242 – 245; Magalie Coumert, Origines des peuples. Les récits du Haut Moyen Âge occidental (550 – 850), Paris 2007 (Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes 42), 267 – 340; zur Überlieferung und Weiterarbeit an den verschiedenen Fassungen in den Jahrzehnten um 800 in dem mit dem Metzer Bistum eng verbundenen Kloster Lorsch, siehe Reimitz, Transformations of Late Antiquity. The Writing and Rewriting of Church History in the Carolingian Empire: The Example of

Arnulfinger und beide Familien sowie die merowingischen Könige als Nachfahren der trojanischen Helden präsentiert. Die verwandtschaftliche Verbindung der Arnulfinger (und damit ebenso die der Karolinger) mit den Merowingern wird vor allem durch die Heirat des arnulfingischen Spitzenahns der Genealogie, Ansbertus, mit der merowingischen Königstochter Blithild hergestellt.[61] Nach dem Ende des achten Jahrhunderts aber wurde diese Konstruktion durch die Karolingergenealogie verbreitet, die aus dem *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* herausgelöst und überarbeitet als *Genealogia domni Arnulfi* oder *Karoli* überliefert wurde.

Wie Otto Gerhard Oexle überzeugend gezeigt hat, scheint diese Genealogie eine wichtige Rolle für die Bemühungen im Metzer Bistum gespielt zu haben, die Karolinger auf ihre besondere Verantwortung für das Bistum aufmerksam zu machen und die lange Sedisvakanz des Bistums seit dem Tod Angilrams im Jahr 791 zu beenden.[62] Das geschah allerdings erst unter Ludwig dem Frommen, der zunächst einen nicht weiter bekannten Gundulf und im Jahr 822 seinen Halbbruder Drogo zum Bischof von Metz einsetzte. Wie Oexle ebenfalls zeigte, wurde an der Genealogie in Metz weitergearbeitet. Ihre handschriftliche Verbreitung sowie ihre weiteren Bearbeitungen zeigen aber auch, dass sie schon im Laufe des neunten Jahrhunderts in vielen anderen regionalen, politischen und sozialen Zusammenhängen Anschlußmöglichkeiten für verschiedenste Interessen an der Aneignung karolingischer Geschichte bot.[63] Die schon erwähnte Genealogie, die sich am Ende des heute in St. Petersburg aufbewahrten Geschichtsbuchs aus den ersten Jahrzehnten des 10. Jahrhunderts findet, ist nur ein Beispiel dafür[64] – allerdings ein besonders interessantes. Einerseits übernimmt, wie schon erwähnt, darin die merowingische Stammmutter Blithild gleichzeitig den männlichen Part bei der Zeugung ihrer Nachkommen. Andererseits deutet die geraffte Form der Darstellung darauf hin, dass man das Wissen um diese genealogische Konstruktion weitgehend voraussetzte.

Lorsch, in: Clemens Gantner, Rosamond McKitterick und Sven Meeder (Hrsg.), Cultural Memory and the Resources of the Past in the Early Middle Ages, Cambridge 2015, 262–281.

61 Siehe oben; zur Ansippung der Karolinger an die Merowinger siehe Régine Le Jan, Famille et pouvoir dans le monde Franc (VIIe–Xe siècle). Essai d'anthropologie sociale (Paris 1995), 40–50, und 264–265; Ernst Tremp, Studien zu den Gesta Hludowici imperatoris des Trierer Chorbischofs Thegan, Hannover 1988 (Schriften der MGH 32), 28–29; Oexle, Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulf (Anm. 54), 255; Jäschke, Karolingergenealogien (Anm. 54); Eduard Hlawitschka, Die Vorfahren Karls des Großen, in: Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben 1, hrsg. von Wolfgang Braunfels, Düsseldorf 1965, 51–82; Bernd Schneidmüller, Karolingische Tradition und frühes französisches Königtum. Untersuchungen zur Herrschaftslegitimation der westfränkisch-französischen Monarchie, Wiesbaden 1979 (Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen 22), 86–92.

62 Oexle, Die Karolinger in der Stadt des heiligen Arnulf (Anm. 54).

63 Vgl. dazu Helmut Reimitz, Anleitung zur Interpretation. Schrift und Genealogie in der Karolingerzeit, in: Walter Pohl und Paul Herold (Hrsg.), Vom Nutzen des Schreibens. Soziales Gedächtnis, Herrschaft und Besitz im Mittelalter, Wien 2002 (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 5), 167–181, hier: 174–178, mit weiterer Literatur.

64 Siehe oben.

Um die Beobachtungen zu dem komplexen Geflecht von Listen, Genealogien, ihrer Kontextualisierung in den Handschriften und ihrer intertextuellen Zusammenhänge zusammenzufassen: Selbst in diesem vorläufigen und zugleich selektiven Überblick über das Material scheint sich eine Entwicklung abzuzeichnen, in der ein genealogischer Aspekt in Darstellungen der Abfolge von Generationen immer wichtiger wird. Das soll nicht heißen, dass die Konzeption der Familie, wie sie uns in karolingischen genealogischen Texten begegnet, eine karolingische Erfindung ist. Solche Vorstellungen hat es auch schon davor gegeben. Man braucht nur an die am Beginn dieses Artikels erwähnten biblischen Genealogien zu denken. Jedoch zeigt der Vergleich, dass die Bedeutung der genealogischen Aspekte in der Karolingerzeit wichtiger und manchmal sogar der dominante Aspekt der Texte wurde, in denen die Karolinger ihre Geschichte und Herkunft gestalteten. Das war in der merowingischen Konzeption der Königsfamilie noch nicht der Fall. Wie unsere reichhaltigste Quelle für die Merowingerzeit, Gregor von Tours, erklärt, war es vor allem wichtig, die Zeitgenossen davon zu überzeugen, dass man als Sohn eines Merowingerkönigs anerkannt wurde. Wenn das eine genügend große Menge der Großen im Reich bezeugte, konnte man damit sogar diejenigen überzeugen, mit denen man verwandt sein wollte. Überdies legitimierte Gregor von Tours selbst seine Position als Bischof von Tours mit Hilfe einer Konzeption, in der weniger eine biologische als eine spirituelle Verwandtschaft mit seinen bischöflichen Vorfahren betont wurde.[65] Für die merowingischen Großen, wie etwa die Mitglieder der Familie der Pippiniden scheint jedoch die Idee einer biologisch-genealogischen Abstammung ein wichtiges Element der Legitimation ihrer Stellung geworden zu sein. Als die karolingischen Nachkommen der Pippiniden den merowingischen Thron usurpierten, bauten sie vielfach auf ihren aristokratischen Traditionen auf. Sie legitimierten sich dabei als die Familie, die den aristokratischen Familien ihre Stellung und Zukunft in einem karolingisch-fränkischen Königreich garantierte. Dabei wurde ihre aristokratische Kultur gewissermaßen verköniglicht und gleichzeitig die nun als königlich etablierte Tradition als Modell für die Selbstdarstellung und Behauptung der Eliten im fränkischen Königreich und Imperium weiter propagiert. Das dürfte auch für den Zusammenhang von Verwandtschaft und Legitimität zutreffen, wie er sich in den karolingischen Herrschergenealogien abzeichnet.

---

65 Reimitz, Social Networks (Anm. 56); vgl. dazu auch Heinzelmann, Gregor von Tours (Anm. 18), der schon darauf hingewiesen hat, dass man mit einem positivistisch-prosopographischen Ansatz allein kaum Gregors Sicht auf seine Familiengeschichte verstehen kann.

Jörg Sonntag

Phantoms of Remembrance.
Creative Selection in Medieval Religious Life

An analytical investigation like this presents the historian with two main challenges. On the one hand, religious life is a very heterogeneous research field that is truly difficult to address in all its facets, and indeed full of phantoms of remembrance. On the other hand, 'memory' possesses a no less multidimensional nature, and has received particular attention in recent decades. The literature on medieval 'memory' has become almost impossible to handle.[1] Today, it is a well-known fact that people – consciously or not – create their past again and again. The ongoing transformation of knowledge by changing, adding, omitting or 'simply' forgetting facts is questioned by nobody. It is also clear that such phenomena are embedded in manifold cultural circumstances more or less shaped by crisis, concurrence and reforms in politics, economy and belief. Sometimes they are just shaped by coincidence.

In light of these two challenges, there are two main approaches for my study on monastic phantoms of remembrance. The first option is to underpin those well-known phenomena of historiography by adding some paradigmatic case studies: Robert of Molesme († 1111), for instance, who left his Benedictine monastery in 1098 and founded Cîteaux, the motherhouse of the Cistercian Order, was nearly forgotten in the Order historiography until the end of the 12th century. Since the Benedictine tradition of the Cistercians had to be re-emphasized and Bernard of Clairvaux († 1153) had become a rather European saint no more exclusive to the Cistercians, however, Robert was 'discovered' again.[2] Bruno of Cologne († 1101), the founder of the Carthusian Order, offers a similar, but even more significant example. He was promoted intensively in the 16th century. The monks of Cologne were right to recog-

---

1 From an endless number of works I only mention very few: Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (eds.), The Medieval Craft of Memory. An Anthology of Texts and Picture, Philadelphia 2003; Constance Brittain Bouchard, Rewriting Saints and Ancestors. Memory and Forgetting in France, 500 – 1200, Philadelphia 2014; Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen and Mary Franklin-Brown (eds.), Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture, Abingdon 2016[2]. Gerald Schwedler, Was heißt und zu welchem Ende untersucht man 'damnatio in memoria'?, in: Sebastian Scholz, Gerald Schwedler and Kai-Michael Sprenger (eds.), Damnatio in memoria. Deformation und Gegenkonstruktionen in der Geschichte, Cologne 2014 (Zürcher Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 4), 9 – 24, and recently Gerald Schwedler, Vergessen, Verändern, Verschweigen und damnatio memoriae im frühen Mittelalter, Cologne 2021 (Zürcher Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 9).
2 On the vita of Robert of Molesme written around 1220, cf. for instance: Das Leben des hl. Robert von Molesme. Eine Quelle zur Vorgeschichte von Cîteaux, ed. by Kolumban Spahr, Fribourg 1944, XVI-XV, and, more recently, Maria Gemma Tomanio, Roberto di Molesme e la fondazione di Cîteaux, Firenze 2014, in particular 213 – 301.

nize in Bruno one of the very few German founders of a religious order and the German Carthusians gained a lot of prestige by this fact.[3]

Beside this historiographic approach, a second option for a study like this is to face the phantoms of remembrance in religious life by doing something different, that means not to focus on historiography, but rather on other sources such as the monastic customaries, which give us fruitful insights into the rituals in monastic life and the multifaceted, creative selection done there. Rituals indeed offer a brilliant strategy both for and against forgetting. This fact can even be considered one element of their success.

Due to this, I would like to interlink these two approaches, the historiographic and the ritual one. After analysing two paradigmatic rituals, I will examine the 'historiographic misery' of the Hermits of Saint William, an Order scarcely known and researched in comparison to others.[4] Lastly, I shall bring my results into the perspective of this volume, and argue that – unlike any other area of life – medieval *vita religiosa* offers a fundamental means for investigating the cultural phenomena of social memory and oblivion. Religious orders not only possessed the best institutionalized instruments for deleting memory, but also for restoring it.

Rituals

It is a matter of common knowledge that many needs of medieval society could crystallize in religious life. One of the most important aspects may be the wish to be memorized, and indeed, during the Middle Ages, monasteries were places of remembrance (*Erinnerungsorte*) par excellence. A very distinctive element in this sense was the memory of deceased persons, the regular commemoration, in order to enable their souls to find eternal salvation. Since there is plenty of research on this *memoria* and the correlating ceremonies already done by Karl Schmid, Michael Borgolte and others,[5] and its analysis does not fit into our focus on the memory of historical phe-

---

3 I would just like to mention Norbert of Xanten († 1134), the founding figure of the Premonstratensians, and Rudolf of Worms († after 1230), the founder of the Order of St Mary Magdalene. On Bruno of Cologne, who was canonized by Leo X in 1514, see Gerardo Posada, Der heilige Bruno. Vater der Kartäuser. Ein Sohn der Stadt Köln, Cologne 1987.

4 See Kaspar Elm, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Wilhelmitenordens, Cologne, Graz 1962 (Münstersche Forschungen 14); Idem, Zisterzienser und Wilhelmiten. Ein Beitrag zur Wirkungsgeschichte der Zisterzienserkonstitutionen, Cîteaux 1964. This extensive article was identically published in: Cîteaux. Commentarii Cistercienses 15 (1964), 97–124, 177–202, 273–311. On the life of the founder William, see Fabio Figara, San Guglielmo di Malavalle. La storia ed il culto di un eremita medievale, Milano 2009 (TuttiAutori).

5 I only mention a few books: Karl Schmid, Joachim Wollasch (eds.), Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter, Munich 1984 (Münstersche Mittelalterschriften 48); Michael Borgolte, Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, Hubert Houben (eds.), Memoria. Erinnern und Vergessen in der Kultur des Mittelalters = Ricordare e dimenticare nella cultura del medioevo,

nomena and their evolution, my article sets aside this broad field. Instead, I choose two other instances for further consideration: firstly, the foot-washing rituals and, secondly, the daily dinner in the refectory. Both rituals are extensively described in the customaries of the 11th and 12th century and explained in many parenetic texts throughout the Middle Ages.[6]

Medieval monastic foot-washing followed John 12–13, Luke 7 and Gen. 18, 1–5: according to John, on the evening of Maundy Thursday, Jesus got up from the Last Supper, wrapped a linen towel around his waist and washed the feet of all of his disciples. He justified this act with the argument that unless he washed them, they would have no part with him. As he had ordered his disciples to wash the feet of each other, the monastic ritual got the name *mandatum*. According to Luke, a sinful woman wet the feet of Jesus with her tears and wiped them with her hair. Because of this, all her sins were forgiven by Christ. According to John 12, Mary of Bethany washed the feet, dried them with her hair, kissed them and poured perfume on them. Abraham gave bread and wine to the three angels and let their feet be washed.

High medieval monastic life knew two kinds of ceremonies. On the one hand, there was the brotherly washing on Saturday evening and, on the other hand, the daily washing of the three poor in traditional Benedictine circles and of all the visitors in Cistercian monasteries respectively. These two categories culminated in the big rituals on Maundy Thursday where the abbot acted as the main figure to the poor, guests and monks in the monastic cloister. In the High Middle Ages, the procedure in the communities of Cluny, Fruttuaria, the so-called Lothringian reform groups and the Cistercian Order as paradigmatic example cases was as follows:

Berlin 2005 (Jahrbuch des italienisch-deutschen historischen Instituts in Trient 15); Michael Borgolte (ed.), Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften, Berlin 2016.

6 I have already used these two ritual arrangements in my articles: they are paradigmatic to show the constructive interrelation of different role models and the consequences resulting from this strategy. The following passage therefore builds on: Jörg Sonntag, On the way to Heaven. Rituals of *Caritas* in High Medieval Monasteries, in: Gert Melville (ed.), Aspects of Charity. Concern for One's Neighbour in Medieval Vita Religiosa, Berlin 2011 (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen 45), in particular 36–55; Jörg Sonntag, The Horror of Flawlessness. Perfection as Challenge of Life, in: Gert Melville, Carlos Ruta (eds.), Experiencing the Beyond. Intercultural Approaches, Berlin, Boston 2017 (Challenges of Life. Essays on Philosophical and Cultural Anthropology 4), 110–111; and Gerald Schwedler and Jörg Sonntag, Imitieren. Mechanismen eines kulturellen Prinzips im europäischen Mittelalter: Eine Einführung, in: Andreas Büttner, Birgit Kynast, Gerald Schwedler, Jörg Sonntag (eds.), Nachahmen im Mittelalter. Dimensionen – Mechanismen –Funktionen, Cologne 2017 (Beihefte des Archivs für Kulturgeschichte 82), 18.

Foot-Washing of the Monks on Maundy Thursday[7]

Cluny Bernard Late 11th century	Fruttuaria/ St Blasien 12th/13th century	Texts of the Lothringian Reform (E and F) 10th and 11th century	Cistercians 12th century
praelavatio[8]	praelavatio	praelavatio	
The washing is done by the three brothers who serve in the kitchen this week.	—	The washing is done by the three brothers who serve in the kitchen this week.	
This main washing is done by the abbot and at least three monks, supported by at least 12 assistants	Only the abbot washes all the feet (also of the children).	Only the abbot washes all the feet (also of the children).	The abbot and 12 monks wash the feet in the cloister. The remaining monks get their feet washed by others.
Drying the feet.	Drying the feet?	Drying the feet.	Drying the feet.
The abbot and the three helpers kiss the feet.	The abbot kisses the feet.	The abbot gives two foot-kisses.	The abbot and his helpers kiss the feet.
—	The abbot uses his hair to dry the feet.	—	
Two monks wash the feet of the abbot and all the other helpers outside of the chapter room.	The abbot washes the hands of all.	The brothers wash the feet of the helpers. At the end, the deacon washes the abbot's feet. In 'Fulda' (F), the hand washing takes place.	
Hand-washing	The prior washes, kisses and dries the abbot's feet in the chapter room.	The abbot washes all the hands. In 'Fulda', the abbot's feet are washed now.	
Ante et retro by the abbot and his three helpers.	Ante et retro by the abbot and his helpers.		
Reading of John 13/14 in the chapter room.	Reading of John 13/14 in the chapter room.	Reading of John 13/14 in the chapter room.	

---

7 For more examples and the related references, see Jörg Sonntag, Klosterleben im Spiegel des Zeichenhaften. Symbolisches Denken und Handeln hochmittelalterlicher Mönche zwischen Dauer und Wandel, Regel und Gewohnheit, Berlin 2008 (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen 35), 352–369.
8 Here, the monks wash their feet themselves in order to clean them from the dirt. This *praelavatio* is symbolically less important than the next two washings.

Foot-Washing of the Monks on Maundy Thursday *(Continued)*

Cluny Bernard Late 11th century	Fruttuaria/ St Blasien 12th/13th century	Texts of the Lothringian Reform (E and F) 10th and 11th century	Cistercians 12th century
The abbot and the three monks offer wine by giving a kiss on the hand to every brother.	The abbot offers wine by giving a kiss on the hand.	The abbot offers wine by giving a kiss on the hand.	Compline

Foot-Washing of the Poor/Guests on Maundy Thursday[9]

Cluny Bernard Ulrich Late 11th century	Fruttuaria / St Blasien 12th/13th century	Texts of the Lothringian Reform (E and F) 10th and 11th century	Cistercians 12th century
The number of the poor corresponds to the number of the *fratres*.	The number of the poor corresponds to the number of the *fratres*	12 poor	The number of the poor corresponds to the number of the *monachi*.
Venia (Ulrich) *Venia super genua* (Bernard)	genuflection	*adoratio*	[no information]
Foot-washing	Foot-washing	Foot-washing	Foot-washing
Drying the feet	Drying the feet	Drying the feet	Drying the feet
—	Kiss	—	Kiss
—	Using the hair	—	—
Hand-washing	Hand-washing	Hand-washing	—
Drying the hands	Drying the hands	Drying the hands	—
—	—	—	—
Blessed wine and 2 *denarii* are offered to the poor.	Blessed wine and *denarii* are offered.	Blessed wine, clothes and *denarii* are offered.	The monks kneel down and offer one coin.
—	—	—	Kiss on the hand
Venia super genua and prayers	No bow mentioned, prayers	—	*Venia* and the '*Suscepimus*'

---

9 For a broader overview and the diverse references, see, again, Sonntag, Klosterleben (note 7), 600 – 614.

Foot-Washing of the Poor/Guests on Maundy Thursday *(Continued)*

Cluny Bernard Ulrich Late 11th century	Fruttuaria / St Blasien 12th/13th century	Texts of the Lothringian Reform (E and F) 10th and 11th century	Cistercians 12th century
Ante et retro	?	*Adoratio*	Washing the hands by the abbot in the guest house
Prayers in the church	Prayers in the church	Prayers in the church	
Prostration	*Venia* and *Ante et retro*	[no information]	

These rituals gave the opportunity to show obedience towards Christ and they were seen as a means of purifying the monks' souls in particular from the daily affects (*affectus*).[10] In addition, the diverse chants during these rituals ensured that the monks put themselves into the places of diverse biblical figures doing their particular actions in a physically and spiritually congruent way. A very prominent feature was the use of the hair to dry the feet. This procedure took place not only in the reform groups of Fruttuaria but also in those of Hirsau. What is interesting is that, in particular here, the three different women from the biblical stories merged together. Especially the merging of both Mary of Bethany, the sister of Martha and Lazarus, and Mary Magdalene, the sinful woman, into one monastic role model, became a widespread phenomenon. This congruence of the two Marys was based on Gregory the Great. There were not a few medieval authors such as, for instance, Gerald of Salles († 1120) who followed his opinion.[11] In any case, within and by the monastic foot-washing (at least in the reform groups of Fruttuaria/St Blasien and Hirsau), this blended model of one Mary was ritually performed and remembered time and again.

The monastic table community entailed even more of such multifaceted blending role models: the time of day and the silence at the table addressed the Eucharist; the location of the refectory was seen as imitation of the Heavenly Banquet and Paradise. Likewise, the blessing of the wine and bread imitated the New Testament stories of Christ feeding the multitudes and the marriage feast at Cana. The food itself re-

---

10 See for instance Anselmus Cantuariensis [pseud.], *Meditatio super Miserere*, 9, in: Migne, Patrologia Latina, 826 B-C.
11 Cf. Giles Constable, Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought. The Interpretation of Mary and Martha, The Ideal of Imitation of Christ, The Orders of Society, Cambridge 1998, 74 and Jacques Dubois, Comment les moines du Moyen Âge chantaient et goûtaient les Saints Ecritures, in: Pierre Riche Riché, Guy Lobrichon (eds.), Le Moyen Âge et la Bible, Paris 1984, 267. On such merging processes in general, see Sonntag, Klosterleben (note 7), 365, 488, 643, 651 and 656.

minded of Adam and Eve, the children of Israel in the burning oven, Elijah and Christ. When breadcrumbs were swept from the table and eaten, the parable of the beggar Lazarus came to mind. Augmented by the symbolism of light, both in the candles and room's orientation towards east, the monks thus created a holy place, a *locus sanctus*, where, under the eyes of God, Christ and the angels – who were all quite intentionally described as the addressees – a real unity between convent and heaven was fashioned, and the actors actually became transformed.[12]

I could add many similar cases here: Monks did penance like Cain and Job, or they died like and as Jesus, the poor Lazarus, Lazarus of Bethany, or Martin of Tours. Indeed, plenty of actions from the Bible, as a kind of 'director's book', found their realization via diverse symbolic techniques. Monks extracted specific modules of specific role models and combined them to new hybrid imitation clusters in order to charge the situation with holy aura and to train the individual souls. Again, due to this technique, holy auras of the imitated figures (Christ, Lazarus, Mary of Bethany, Adam and Eve, Martin, the angels) were internalized and, at the same time, these figures became present in the imitating persons.

In fact, monastic representation thus preferred to portray time as a state of simultaneous existence instead of acknowledging the passing and changing of times in the present. Augustine wrote about immutable eternity and the metaphysically opposed stream of time in his *Confessiones*. While temporality defines the *conditio humana*, eternity stands as always without any sequence of time as simultaneity. The eternal Word of God, the *principium*, expresses itself, according to Augustine, in a temporal fashion in the Bible. Through imitating various biblical role models in a congruent fashion, the monks expressed this Word, so that the monastic spirit over the course of time would gain a degree of permanence and find eternal truth. The simultaneous assumption of various biblical role models (Mary, Martin, Christ, Lazarus) did not enable monks to experience "all things simultaneously", but "a multiple simultaneity" which glimpsed and symbolically revealed the heavenly beyond and eternity.[13]

One other important element for this process lies in the ritual itself. It is the force of repetition. The memory of the role models and their selected stories in the ritual came to the 'actors'' minds in constant repetition. When enacting a ritual the performers remembered the past, experienced the present and anticipated the future as (theoretically) identical events.[14]

In the eyes of the imitators, such imitation was more than symbolic. It gained a magical, sacred character. Indeed, this was a very special kind of remembrance: a

---

12 See this passage in: Sonntag, The Horror of Flawlessness (note 6), 110 – 111.

13 See this argumentation in: Sonntag, The Horror of Flawlessness (note 6), 110 – 111.

14 On this topic, Jörg Sonntag, Tempus fugit. La circolarità del tempo monastica nello specchio del potenziale di rappresentazione simbolica, in: Giancarlo Andenna (ed.), Religiosità e civiltà. Le comunicazioni simboliche (secoli IX-XIII), Milano 2009 (Le Settimane internazionali della Mendola, nuova serie 2007 – 2011), 239 – 242.

sanctified memory that became an essential part of one's own salvation. What is interesting for our purposes is the creative selection of those specific actions, which – in the social memory of a monastery or religious order – not only derived from actions and characters of specific, real figures in the past. From the level of modern observation, they were rather fictive figures like the 'one' Mary, the 'one' Lazarus or even hybrid phantoms, phantoms sanctified by the combination of specific elements from many different historical occasions. Rituals were the relay-station between these phantoms and the acting monk or nun. Living the life of others, of phantoms and their sanctified memory, was a strongly institutionalized part of every monastery's symbolic order. An empiricist in our days could even argue that reality itself was forgotten; a medieval monk, however, would have claimed the opposite. At any rate, the unnecessary was left aside and – at least in the specific moment of acting – indeed forgotten. This mechanism therefore offers an ideal-typical instance of a *Komplexitätsreduktion*. What remained was the necessary essence expressed and remembered by the acting persons.

Historiography

Yet, all institutions and their various claims of validity supporting and determining them underlay social, moral, political and theological influences, and thus institutions and their symbolic orders were subjected to diverse processes of transformation over time. Due to new spiritual necessities or sometimes just organizational practices, such hybrid imitation clusters and memories distinguished one religious order from the other. However, they were prospectively reorganized again and again, especially in times of monastic reform. Some role models, or rather imaginations and actions linked to them, lost their potency, some achieved more importance, new figures were 'found'. Mainly with the rise of the Order (*Orden*) as an institutional phenomenon and legal entity in the High and Late Middle Ages, the founding fathers of these orders were re-discovered and more and more integrated into the symbolic order (*Ordnung*). Robert of Molesme and Bruno of Cologne have already been mentioned. The history of the Carmelite Order provides us with a quite similar picture. In the 13th century, the hermits from Mount Carmel in the Holy Land fled from the Muslims to Western Europe and had to experience an essential change. They were transformed into preaching mendicants living in or nearby the city by the pope. Since they were desperately looking for one identity during the whole Middle Ages, it is no coincidence that their dress also used for their rituals was suddenly said to have been given by the prophet Elijah, the first Carmelite.[15]

---

15 Jean Cheminot († c. 1350), John of Hildesheim († 1375), or Philippe Ribot († 1391) were prominent figures in the re-invention of the Carmelite Order. Cf. for instance Andrew Jotischky, The Carmelites and Antiquity. Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages, Oxford 2003, 45 – 78 and 211 – 260

Especially here, within religious life, there was a strong competition in the interpretation of the signs, and symbolism was (and is) a basic element of all institutional arrangements. The orders' worlds of signs were not hermetic, but overlapped to a high degree. It was therefore all the more vital to recognize and highlight the contours of the own *propositum*. This power to communicate guiding principles, origins, rituals and rights, which should be preserved, was as important as the power to stand against the strategies (or sometimes just influences) of other religious groups. This fact directly connects to the fate of the Hermits of Saint William (Williamites, Guilelmites, Wilhelmiten) who obviously failed in this attempt.

Kaspar Elm, the leading expert in the history of the Williamites, reported a short story from the early 17th century: in 1620, a defective carriage of the Spanish Cistercian Chrysostomus Henriquez forced him to make an intermediate stop in the small town of Aalst between Ghent and Brussels. The monk came to the Spanish Netherlands in order to write his History of the *Belgica Sacra*, its monasteries and saints. He was accompanied by the prior of the Augustinian Hermits from Bruges who called the attention of Henriquez to a small monastery in Aalst. Both, indeed, visited this monastery and Henriquez was very surprised. The monks there wore nearly the same clothes as he did, they followed the Rule of Benedict, they lived according to similar constitutions, and their rituals and role models were nearly the same. But the brothers in Aalst were by no means Cistercians as the two guests were ensured by the local prior. The brothers were rather hermits – Hermits of St William. The founder of the Williamite Order, William of Malavalle († 1157), was said to have been convinced of monastic life by Bernard of Clairvaux in the 12th century.

All of this was completely new to the Spanish Cistercian Henriquez. He had never heard of those Hermits of St William Subsequently, a big dispute emerged between the Augustinian guest and the local Williamite prior. With reference to many *scriptores*, the Augustinian claimed that the other was allegedly no hermit of William (and no Cistercian), but an Augustinian. The Williamite then brought all of his breviaries to point out that he was not an Augustinian, but a real hermit of William. For the third party, the Cistercian Henriquez, everything was clear: the so-called hermit of William was, in fact, a Cistercian.[16]

The story presented here may sound like a comedy: two brothers discuss the order membership of another who obviously can say whatever he wants. Nobody believes him. The autonomy of his order was in a first step denied by protagonists of

---

and Coralie Zermatten, Die eremitischen Anfänge als Generator der Ordensidentität bei Kartäusern und Karmeliten, in: Mirko Breitenstein, Julia Burkhardt, Stefan Burkhardt, Jörg Sonntag (eds.), Identität und Gemeinschaft. Vier Zugänge zu Eigengeschichten und Selbstbildern institutioneller Ordnungen, Berlin 2015 (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen 67), 158–172. Explicitly on Elijah, see Jane Ackerman, Elijah. Prophet of Carmel, Washington 2002 (ICS Publications), 113–254 and Frances Andrews, The Other Friars. Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages, Woodbridge ²2015, 49–68.

16 On this story, see Elm, Zisterzienser und Wilhelmiten (note 4), 1–4.

other religious communities, possibly forgotten by their recipients in a second step, and indeed – in a last step – completely unknown at least to the guests. This process of oblivion and unknowingness, however, is no reason to wonder. The aforementioned episode is rather symptomatic for the foreign perception of the Hermits of St William.

Already in the Middle Ages, there were plenty of different opinions about the origins of the order's founder, about the order's observance and the convent's daily life. The monks themselves referred to William of Malavalle, and the historiographies of the order not only attributed French origins to him, but also identified him as William X of Aquitaine († 1137) to enhance the order's prestige in the French nobility.[17] In fact, the Hermits of St William experienced a turbulent history shaped by continual new self-discovery processes on their way to one specific collective identity that would distinguish them from other orders. In the beginning, they lived after the Rule of William as hermits – every hermit alone in a cell within the monastery. This rule was already lost in the Late Middle Ages. Pope Gregory IX obliged the hermits to adopt the Rule of St Benedict in 1237/38.[18] In the year 1256, Pope Alexander IV incorporated them into the heterogeneous group of Augustinian Hermits. This meant that they had to observe the Rule of St Augustine. In 1266, they managed to break out, and were re-established as a religious Order living according to the Rule of Benedict.[19] The Williamites created a specific mixed style of religious life, a *propositum* combining eremitical and coenobitic, traditional and mendicant life, solitude and urban matters. Their statutes for example offer a fascinating mixture of their own and Cistercian legal provisions enriched by Dominican elements.[20]

However, the Williamites were not successful in communicating this sustainable, specific identity, which they themselves had been looking for since the 12th century, to the religious world outside of their order. Obviously, there are organizational, spiritual and historiographical reasons for this: firstly, the order's institutional structure is characterized by a significant heterogeneity of its houses, in particular, by a clear distinction between the Italian traditional convents on the one hand and the quite independent monastic communities in the north of the Alps on the other.[21] In addition, the Hermits of St William did not develop characteristic rituals including specific, singular role models. At least, we have no instances for that. Neither did they write outstanding spiritual literature nor any rule commentary. Even in the his-

---

17 Elm, Zisterzienser und Wilhelmiten (note 4), 18 and 22–24.

18 Elm, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Wilhelmitenordens (note 4), 43–47 and Idem, Zisterzienser und Wilhelmiten (note 4), 42.

19 Cf. Elm, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Wilhelmitenordens (note 4), 108–119.

20 See Die Statuten der Wilhelmiten (1251–1348). Zeugnisse der Verfassung eines europäischen Ordens. Edition und Übersetzung ed. by Jörg Sonntag, Regensburg 2018 (Klöster als Innovationslabore 5). On some Cistercian implements from the Ecclesiastica Officia, see also Elm, Zisterzienser und Wilhelmiten (note 4), 29–47.

21 Elm, Zisterzienser und Wilhelmiten (note 4), in particular 29–33.

toriographical stage, they did not manage to delete their flaws and stigma, that is, first of all, the time spent as Augustinians, and to anchor their independence within the collective memory of other religious groups. Papal bulls were obviously not enough. In the eyes of their religious competitors and in the collective memory of many others, the Williamites did not exist. The Augustinians simply had the better historiographers. They just did not mention the Williamites' particularity for prestige reasons. The result was that in large parts of religious life, the Williamites themselves were forgotten and even unknown.

This is surprising because religious communities and orders were normally more aware of potential dangers resulting from external influences. The Carthusians, for instance, differed from all other Orders due to their strong emphasis of seclusion. They were not afraid to be forgotten, but rather to be defamed. As pronounced by the Carthusian general chapter, the errors of the order's members should be hidden from those not allowed to know any internal detail. All transgressions against the order's norms, instead, should be forgotten – inside and outside. This is why the general chapter ordered that all the material resulting from the visitations should be destroyed after two years.[22] In the year 1479, the prior of the monastery in Aggsbach, for instance, lost his position for one month since he had ordered to read and copy letters, which described transgressions of some deviant monks. The official message was clear and stated time and again: *Cartusia numquam reformata, quia numquam deformata*. "The Carthusian Order has never been reformed because it had never been deformed".[23]

An analysis of the Franciscan history sheds light on a similar approach to officially enhance an individual and social forgetting. In fact, the 'real' Francis of Assisi († 1226) and his early religious followers, who called themselves tomfools of God, apparently differed from the figures the Franciscan sources convey after 1260. Bonaventura († 1274), the master general of the order, wrote a new *vitae* of Francis that fit better into the hagiographic tradition and, more importantly, the institutionalized young order's structure. Bonaventura not only created a transformed image of the saint by changing, adding and omitting 'facts' from the older *vitae*. In 1260, the general chap-

---

22 Cf. Heinrich Rüthing, Die Wächter Israels. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Visitationen im Kartäuserorden, in: Marijan Zadnikar (ed.), Die Kartäuser. Der Orden der schweigenden Mönche, Cologne 1983, 182 (note 89) and Gerhard Jaritz, Klosteralltag und Welt im Spätmittelalter. Das Beispiel der Kartäuser, in: James Hogg (ed.), Kartäuserregel und Kartäuserleben, Salzburg 1985 (Analecta Cartusiana 113, 3), 52.

23 On this Carthusian motif, see for instance Florent Cygler, Cartusia numquam reformata? La réforme constitutionnelle de l'ordre cartusien au XIIIe siècle, in: Studia monastica. Beiträge zum klösterlichen Leben im christlichen Abendland während des Mittelalters, ed. by Reinhardt Butz, Jörg Oberste, Münster 2004 (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen 22), 47–72 and Hansjakob Becker, Cartusia numquam reformata quia numquam deformata: Liturgiereformen bei den Kartäusern in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, in: Martin Klöckener, Benedikt Kranemann (eds.), Liturgiereformen. Historische Studien zu einem bleibenden Grundzug des christlichen Gottesdienstes, Münster 2002 (Liturgische Quellen und Forschungen 88), 325–345.

ter of the order even abolished these older *vitae*. Together with them, all statutes given before 1260 were declared as invalid and should be burned for all time.[24] The Franciscans as well as the Carthusians obviously thought that they could regulate forgetting by a legal act. Certainly, the Franciscans were very successful in the case of their early statutes. Some of the old *vitae*, however, such as the "Legend of the Three Companions" was still remembered at some time. Interestingly, all these early texts on the life of Francis and some of the statutes survived in Cistercian monasteries.

Perspectivation

Forgetting as a concrete act is seldom reflected directly in the sources. We need sufficient orientational knowledge (*Orientierungswissen*) to make accurate statements about the existence or the missing of information. That means that only when we know the specific context, the before and the hereafter, can an oblivion be determined. This is one main reason why the field of religious life is most suitable for an analysis of memory as well as oblivion. Both phenomena belong together and do not function separately. For the area of religious life, we have not only the highest concentration, but also the highest spectrum of source material. All the phenomena discussed in this volume could also, and perhaps even particularly, be found here. The religious figures were pioneers and masters in remembering, transforming and deleting (and as a consequence even in 'systematic' forgetting) of knowledge.

This pioneer role is theologically based on the fundamental comprehension of *vita religiosa* as *vita perfectionis*. The fascinating educational paradox was to gain perfection in the future by ostentatiously being perfect in the present, as this article's section on the rituals aimed to demonstrate. In monastic life, presented as *vita perfectionis* again and again, this kind of symbolism (to symbolize, but already to be) was striking. Perfecting always requires selecting the 'best'. Selection, in turn, naturally causes deleting and forgetting. Indeed, the permanent tension between heavenly orientation and earthly necessities in the monasteries caused creativity in many respects. One of them was creativity in selecting the things intended to be either forgotten or remembered in ritual, text and art. I intended to demonstrate that rituals not only perpetuated, deleted, transformed and combined memories. Sometimes

---

24 On these different images on Francis and their evolution, see Gert Melville, Der geteilte Franziskus. Beobachtungen zum institutionellen Umgang mit Charisma, in: Joachim Fischer, Hans Joas (eds.), Kunst, Macht und Institution. Studien zur Philosophischen Anthropologie, soziologischen Theorie und Kultursoziologie der Moderne. Festschrift für Karl-Siegbert Rehberg, Frankfurt a.M., New York 2003, 347–363 and Achim Wesjohann, Mendikantische Gründungserzählungen im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert. Mythen als Element institutioneller Eigengeschichtsschreibung der mittelalterlichen Franziskaner, Dominikaner und Augustiner-Eremiten, Berlin 2012 (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen 49), 41–309, in particular 199–211.

the content of these memories even acquired present meaning in a magical, a sanctified manner. Even phantoms, artificial fictions, became alive – such as the one Mary, the one Lazarus, or other artificial hybrid figures and supposed events that had never existed or happened in reality. The legitimation of both this monastic strategy and, as a result, these phantoms is deeply anchored in medieval Christology, since the actions of all of these role models were seen as incorporated in and derived from Christ's all-encompassing nature. Such a high quality and density of a 'holy' remembering, out of which distinctive religious identities developed, was unique in comparison to other areas of medieval life.

As argued above, in terms of their practices monasteries can be described as total institutions since their symbolic cosmos was nearly all-encompassing. Even the tying of shoes could gain symbolic significance.[25] This strong tendency itself provided both chances and risks. Particularly in the time of monastic reform and spiritual as well as organizational renewal, this overwhelming symbolic cosmos cemented the ritual remembering of those phantoms for a long time, and vice versa. As history has shown, the tendency of overdoing the symbolism, however, also leads to deep and repeated crises. Exaggeration could provoke rejection and, as a consequence, the risk of being ignored, and – at some time – forgotten. In any case, there needs to be a balance for the precarious system of fictions.[26]

In order not to be weakened, ignored or forgotten, it was important for religious communities to stand against other institutional arrangements in the competing views on the interpretation of those signs. Even a systematic deletion of knowledge could obtain a strongly institutionalized form as was shown with the examples of the Carthusian and Franciscan document destructions. These destructions should induce an oblivion (and later unknowingness that means deletion) of the inappropriate and the unfitting (old norms and role models, mistakes, critics) both inside and outside the order. Due to this, my study argues that – firstly – medieval religious life had the

---

25 See, for instance, the anonymous apology (*reprehensio*) attributed to Hugh of Amiens († 1130). According to this text, which defends the traditional Benedictine life against the Cistercian attacks, binding the monk's strappy shoes symbolizes his patience as well as the fact that his whole body would be bound for all time. Cf. *Antibernardu*s, 26 and 30, in: Une riposte de l'ancien monachisme au manifeste de saint Bernard, ed. by André Wilmart, in: Revue bénédictine 46 (1934), 336 and 340. Cf. Gerd Zimmermann, Ordensleben und Lebensstandard. Die *cura corporis* in den Ordensvorschriften des abendländischen Hochmittelalters, Berlin 1999, 351–352 and 393–394. The authorship of Hugh of Amiens is rightly questioned by Ryan P. Freeburn, Hugh of Amiens and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance, Farnham, Burlington 2011, 97–98.

26 Balance – *temperantia*, *modestia*, the golden mean – is a fundamental element in monastic life and based on medieval Christology. On this theorem, see Jean-Claude Schmitt, Die Logik der Gesten im europäischen Mittelalter, Stuttgart 1992 and already his arcticle: Gestus/Gesticulatio. Contribution à l'étude du vocabulaire latin médiéval des gestes, in: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (ed.), La lexicographie du latin médiéval et ses rapports avec les recherches actuelles sur la civilisation du Moyen Âge (Colloques internationaux du CNRS 589), Paris 1981, 377–390. Cf. Sonntag, Klosterleben (note 7), 224–225.

best instruments to ensure that things could be forgotten, because (beyond the rituals) its knowledge was more safely stored in literacy than in any other area of life. In light of this claim, medieval religious life had – secondly – the best instruments to remember, to rediscover the 'unknown', to forget the forgetting. Its high level of institutionalization and *pragmatische Schriftlichkeit*[27] made a permanent oblivion more difficult and more improbable than in other areas of life. In addition, the probability that condemned contents survived in other manuscripts was higher as shown with the preservation of the Franciscan sources in Cistercian houses. One may even think – thirdly – that for every area of religious life there is a kind of institutionally cushioned balance between remembrance and oblivion grounded in the level of literacy (*Schriftlichkeit*). This, most particularly, is the case for administrative records (*Verwaltungsschriftgut*).

However, the areas of religious, urban or courtly life were not separated at all. Even their literacies (*Schriftlichkeiten*) overlapped. In addition, there is still the broad field of rituals where things obviously could also be remembered without any written form. Even the highest institutionalized rituals could be changed (by ritual).[28] The higher this institutionalization of rituals was, the higher the potential to remember them, although some individual elements were ordered to be deleted due to other spiritual and organizational needs, or just because of the above-mentioned exaggerations. Such phenomena are naturally more difficult to determine. To analyse the historical success or failure of remembrance and oblivion properly, we thus may have to consider, firstly, the specific contents of remembrance and oblivion (persons, events, feelings) as well as, secondly, the quality of their 'performances' (texts, rituals, etc.). This investigation becomes much more complicated if, thirdly, we keep in mind the interrelations of the contents of knowledge (*Wissensbestände*), and its social 'stores': the different institutions, communities or orders with their own specific claims of validity and their own balanced memorized and forgotten contents, which are involved or clash together, as in the case of the Augustinians and the Williamites. The latter were not able to get rid of their flaw, to make it forgotten, because this flaw, at the same time, was part of the collective memory of others, the Augustinians. The Carmelites, however, were more successful. They genuinely had forgotten their own past, but reinvented their history and – to a certain degree – themselves. Such entanglements of inside and outside form a core aspect of the immense complexity of remembrance in religious life, and not only there.

---

27 On this term, see Hagen Keller, Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter. Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen. Einführung zum Kolloquium in Münster, 17.–19. Mai 1989, in: Hagen Keller, Klaus Grubmüller, Nikolaus Staubach (eds.), Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter. Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen, Munich 1992 (Münstersche Mittelalterschriften 65), 1–7.

28 Cf. Jörg Sonntag, Der 'gute' Ritualbruch im Kloster, oder: Wenn das Heilige heiligen Ritualen Grenzen setzt, in: Andreas Büttner, Andreas Schmidt, Paul Töbelmann (eds.), Die Grenzen des Rituals. Wirkreichweiten – Geltungsbereiche – Forschungsperspektiven, Cologne u. a. 2014, (Norm und Struktur 42), in particular 198–203.

However, an appropriate analysis is even more complex. In fact, the collective oblivion of an institution in one specific case is not necessarily identical with the oblivion of a member of exactly this institution. That means that although things can be made forgotten by an institution, and although things actually were forgotten in the collective memory of a group, and although this fact may be visualized by their absence in written form, these contents of knowledge may still have been remembered by individuals of this specific group. Thus, fourthly, we have to deal with this problem. However, the question arises if, due to the lack of sources, it is really possible to filter out this content of individual knowledge and oblivion. The answer may be: mostly not, but – for the whole cultural picture – it sometimes may not even be necessary to filter it out.

But is there something that cannot be made forgotten in medieval religious life for both groups and individual monks and nuns? The answer is: yes. These are the classical endoxa of religious, in particular, monastic European culture: God himself, the sacred in general, and the momentous monastic values such as *humilitas* and *caritas*. Petrus Venerabilis († 1156), the abbot of Cluny, argued in this respect that external appearances of rituals change; sometimes they were therefore forgotten, but the spiritual basis of those values such as *caritas* would be preserved in the collective identity for all time.[29] One main aspect for remembrance is, indeed, the rituals: the more deeply one of those values is anchored in the identities of individuals and groups, the harder it is to delete or even transform it and, accordingly, to forget at least some of its aspects.

In any case, we have to avoid anachronisms. Fifthly, we must distinguish the level of the medieval object and the level of modern observance. The results of both levels of analysis are not necessarily congruent. They can be destructions, as in the case of the Franciscan document. The rituals, however, which I have considered as means of remembrance on the level of modern observance are – from the perspective of a medieval monk – not primarily strategies against oblivion, but rather strategies against imperfection, and for sanctification. In addition, there seem to be no generally valid indicators for us historians to determine the reasons of forgetting in full. There was and is hardly one reason for forgetting: all reasons are embedded in a complex cultural, or at least sub-cultural context constituted by institutions supported or attacked by individuals who are at once integrated into a social milieu born of and situated in specific and constantly changing group dynamics.

---

29 *Statuta Petri Venerabilis abbatis Cluniacensis IX*, ed. by Giles Constable, in: Idem (ed.), Consuetudines benedictinae variae (Saec. XI – Saec. XIV), Siegburg 1975 (Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum 6), 39 (Prologue). Cf. Sonntag, Klosterleben (note 7), 39; Sonntag, On the way to Heaven (note 6), 43 and Klaus Schreiner, Puritas Regulae, Caritas und Necessitas. Leitbegriffe der Regelauslegung in der monastischen Theologie Bernhards von Clairvaux, in: Idem, Gemeinsam Leben. Spiritualität, Lebens- und Verfassungsformen klösterlicher Gemeinschaften in Kirche und Gesellschaft des Mittelalters, Berlin 2013 (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen 53), 139–140.

In fact, all kinds of sources may be fruitful for a history of memory. Nevertheless, for the broad field of medieval religious life, this study proposes the genre of rule commentaries as one of the best to identify such processes of creative selection, ritual memory and some of the phantoms connected to them. In explaining, undermining and sometimes relativizing norms by means of biblical citations, and theological or legal *summae*, commentaries could gather and organize knowledge in reference to rituals, liturgies, historiographies, models for life and conceptions of the world. Because commentaries provide an excellent means, an interface, by which historians may research many different fields at once, they fit perfectly into a research perspective on creative selection and the creating of memory that, in fact, should be approached from such different angles as well. With their continual attempts to explain normative guidelines to fit new circumstances, commentaries, like scarcely any other source, possess the potential to depict religious memories and identities. Sometimes they were successful, sometimes not, as in the case of the Pontigny sermons on the Rule of Benedict. One can characterize these 94 sermons composed around the year 1210, the only medieval Cistercian commentary on the Rule, as a type of monastic encyclopaedia since they offer a distinctive, comprehensive concept of both heaven and earth and a fascinating snapshot of monastic theology and medieval society in general. Confronting the Cathars and other religious movements, the text argues for instance that the Rule of Benedict would have been valid in heaven and on earth from the creation of the world until now. In light of socio-political needs, memorizing well-chosen role models and omitting inappropriate facts from the past is an omnipresent strategy.[30]

It remains remarkable that commentaries on religious rules have never been studied in their full complexity. A comparative history still needs to be written. Scholars do not even know how many commentaries exist on the rules of Benedict, Augustine, Basilius, Romuald, Francis or Albert. For this reason, I am currently working to create an online 'Compendium of Medieval Rule Commentaries'.[31] This intends to supply – in a second step – the necessary basis for comparative research, both qualitative and quantitative, that help us towards establishing a sustainable typology of rule commentaries in the Middle Ages. This will help us to offer one more clue to analyse the history of memory and oblivion.

<p style="text-align:center">* * *</p>

This study could have discussed plenty of other issues such as the punishment against individual forgetting, a forgetting considered as error in the *consuetudines*. However, I rather focused on abstract social phenomena. In comparison to the other studies brought together in this volume, my contribution not only aimed to

---

30 Cf. the *Sermones in Regulam s. Benedicti*. Ein zisterziensischer Regelkommentar aus Pontigny, ed. by Jörg Sonntag, Berlin 2016 (Vita regularis. Editionen 6).
31 This database of medieval rule commentaries is hosted by the Saxon Academy of Sciences, and will be online this year.

complement their results with the high and late medieval material from a very specific area of life. It also aimed at demonstrating that religious life itself, its rituals and historiography, is even best suited to an analysis of memory and oblivion since all the discussed phenomena can especially be observed here.

The research field of the creative selection of knowledge continues to be a challenging one, also and specifically for the broad field of religious life. Sometimes it is impossible to filter out the reasons for the loss of knowledge; sometimes it is not even necessary because the cultural consequences may be clear and much more important. Repeatedly, the borders between omission and forgetting became blurred, and the sources do not allow us to commit ourselves to the one and only solution of interpretation. Such an analysis therefore requires a multifaceted approach that includes different genres of sources that, for instance, illuminate the history of institutions and individuals, ideal and practice, historiography and rituals, and as a result social identities in all its facets.

Analysing memory and oblivion remains a necessary comprehensive tool for the comparative history of religious orders. It never loses its actuality since indeed all historical characters stay phantoms, because no source is all-encompassing and all sources are interpreted by us. Thus, every historian sees another Francis, another Bruno or another William of Malavalle. The phantoms change; they did so in the past and they will in the future.

Manfred Groten

Phantoms of Remembrance und hochmittelalterlicher Mentalitätswandel

Patrick Geary hat sein Konzept des selektiven Erinnerns und Vergessens vornehmlich als ein Phänomen der Epoche nach der ersten Jahrtausendwende entworfen.[1] Die Zürcher Tagung hat jedoch eindrücklich erwiesen, dass dieses Modell auch auf die Überlieferung des Frühmittelalters fruchtbringend angewendet werden kann. Diese Feststellung provoziert die Frage, ob damit die von Geary implizit postulierte Sonderstellung des 11. Jahrhunderts in Frage gestellt wird. Im Folgenden soll zunächst versucht werden, in aller gebotenen Kürze diese Sonderstellung zu untermauern, um dann an zwei Beispielen aus dem 12. Jahrhundert den Zäsurcharakter des 11. Jahrhunderts schärfer zu profilieren.

Im Laufe des 11. Jahrhunderts erfuhr die frühmittelalterliche Lebenswelt der lateinischen Christenheit eine tief greifende Verwandlung, aus der letztes Endes die europäische Neuzeit hervorgegangen ist. Die europäische Kultur erhielt in diesem Transformationsprozess ihre entscheidende Prägung. In der deutschen Geschichte wurde lange der Investiturstreit als auslösendes Moment für den Wandel in vielen Lebensbereichen betrachtet.[2] Robert Ian Moore hat den Zeitraum von etwa 970 bis 1215 als Epoche der „ersten europäischen Revolution" charakterisiert.[3] Peter Dinzelbacher bewertete die Zäsur des 12. Jahrhunderts als „mentalitätsgeschichtlich bedeutsamsten Bruch vor der Aufklärung".[4] Die Veränderungen im späten 11. Jahrhundert kündigten die Auflösung oder zumindest ein Verblassen des frühmittelalterlichen magischen Denkens an, sozusagen eine erste Entzauberung der Welt. Getragen wurde der intellektuelle Aufschwung im Laufe des 11. Jahrhunderts von einem Klimaoptimum, das zu einem starken Bevölkerungswachstum führte.[5] Auf dem Land wurde die Siedlungsfläche durch Rodungen erweitert, Städte wuchsen und entwickelten sich zu Zentren von Handel und Gewerbe.

In der Ära des Reformpapsttums setzte eine intensive Auseinandersetzung über die rechte Weltordnung und die Stellung der Kirche in dieser Ordnung ein. Das

---

1 Patrick J. Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millenium, Princeton N.J. 1994.

2 Verwiesen sei hier nur auf die Überblicksdarstellung von Wilfried Hartmann, Der Investiturstreit, München 2007 (Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte 21).

3 Robert Ian Moore, The first European revolution, c. 970 – 1215, Oxford 2000.

4 Peter Dinzelbacher, Christliche Mystik im Abendland. Ihre Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Mittelalters, Paderborn 1994, 97.

5 Wolfgang Behringer, Kulturgeschichte des Klimas. Von der Eiszeit bis zur globalen Erwärmung, Bonn 2007, 86 – 115.

Schlagwort von der Freiheit der Kirche erhitzte die Gemüter.[6] Neue Orden, die Regularkanoniker, aus deren Bewegung der Prämonstratenserorden hervorging, und die benediktinische Reformrichtung der Zisterzienser strebten auf verschiedenen Wegen danach, den Kern der christlichen Botschaft durch ihre Lebensweise zu verwirklichen und zu vermitteln. Im Reich waren Politik und Gesellschaft in der Zeit des Investiturstreits geprägt von einer Umstrukturierung der Adelsgesellschaft[7] und dem Anspruch der Fürsten auf Mitverantwortung für das Reich.[8]

Drei Merkmale des hochmittelalterlichen Mentalitätswandels verdienen besondere Hervorhebung: das Streben nach Ordnung, Individualisierung und Gemeinschaftsbildung.

Charakteristisch für den Mentalitätswandel war die Veränderung der Form, in der Menschen ihre Welt wahrnahmen und mit ihr umgingen. Wie ihre Vorfahren verstanden sie die Welt als ihnen zugedachte Schöpfung Gottes. Die verstärkte Hinwendung zur Welt erzeugte aber seit dem 11. Jahrhundert ein gesteigertes Bedürfnis, die von Gott geschaffene Ordnung besser zu verstehen, um sich ihre Ressourcen effektiver zunutze machen zu können. Nicht nur in den Wissenschaften, sondern auch in der Lebenspraxis kommen rationale Denkmuster und Ordnungsverfahren zum Vorschein.

Zugleich wurden sich die Menschen stärker ihrer Individualität bewusst.[9] Colin Morris hat in einer grundlegenden Untersuchung sogar von der Entdeckung des Individuums im Zeitraum zwischen 1050 und 1200 gesprochen.[10] Diese überspitzte These hat zu Recht Widerspruch gefunden.[11] Neuere Arbeiten haben aber gezeigt, dass im Hochmittelalter durchaus eine veränderte Wahrnehmung von Individualität oder Personalität zu beobachten ist.[12] Was mit der Entdeckung des Individuums gemeint ist, ist das Auftreten einer besonderen Form der Wahrnehmung von Merkmalen der Individualität bei sich und anderen. Diese Merkmale erfahren Wertschätzung und Pflege. Sie bilden die Basis für das Selbstwertgefühl.

---

6 Gerd Tellenbach, Libertas – Kirche und Weltordnung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreites, Stuttgart 1936 (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte 7).

7 Vgl. Manfred Groten, Die Stunde der Burgherren. Zum Wandel adliger Lebensformen in den nördlichen Rheinlanden in der späten Salierzeit, in: Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter 66 (2002), 74–110.

8 Jutta Schlick, König, Fürsten und Reich 1056–1159. Herrschaftsverständnis im Wandel, Stuttgart 2001.

9 Vgl. dazu Peter Dinzelbacher (Hrsg.), Europäische Mentalitätsgeschichte. Hauptthemen in Einzeldarstellungen, Stuttgart ²2008, 29–32.

10 Colin Morris, The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200, London 1972, ²1987.

11 Caroline Walker Bynum, Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?, in: The Journal of Ecclesiastical History 31 (1980), 1–17, dazu die Replik von Colin Morris, Individualism in Twelfth-Century Religion. Some further Reflections, 195–206; Jean Claude Schmitt, La „découverte de l'individu": une fiction historiographique?, in: Paul Mengal und Françoise Parot (Hrsg.), La fabrique, la figure et la feinte. Fictions et statut des fictions en psychologie, Paris 1989, 213–236.

12 Hier sei unter Verzicht auf die Anführung zahlreicher einschlägiger Arbeiten verwiesen auf Harald Derschka, Individuum und Persönlichkeit im Hochmittelalter, Stuttgart 2014.

Komplementär zur gewandelten Wahrnehmung menschlicher Individualität lassen sich auch im Hinblick auf Gemeinschaftsformen fundamentale Veränderungen beobachten. Frühmittelalterliche Gemeinschaften waren vornehmlich solche, in die ein Mensch hineingeboren oder aufgenommen wurde. Seit dem 11. Jahrhundert wurden darüber hinaus zahlreiche nach jeweils eigenen Regeln konstituierte Gemeinschaften zur Verwirklichung religiöser, politischer, wirtschaftlicher und allgemein gesellschaftlicher Ziele geschaffen.

Die Frage, der wir nun nachgehen wollen lautet: Wie funktionierte selektives Erinnern im 12. Jahrhundert unter den oben skizzierten Bedingungen?

Individuum: Die Erinnerung an Karl den Großen im 12. Jahrhundert

Die Neugestaltung der Erinnerung an prominente Personen in einem Zeitalter, das einen zuvor nicht gekannten Individualisierungsschub durchlebte, lässt sich am besten am Beispiel Karls des Großen demonstrieren.

Die Erinnerung an Karl den Großen entfaltete sich nach seinem Tod auf zwei Ebenen.[13] Die Werke der karolingischen Historiographie und die Biographie des Kaisers von Einhard wurden als Bildungsgut geistlicher Eliten in den folgenden Jahrhunderten tradiert und fortgeschrieben.[14] Auf einer anderen Ebene, vornehmlich in den Volkssprachen oral vermittelt, entwickelten sich Karlslegenden, die zunehmend fantastische Formen annahmen.[15] Motive dieser Legenden konnten, wie das Haager Fragment andeutet,[16] fallweise aus der oralen Erzähllebene entnommen und literarisch in lateinischer Sprache bearbeitet werden.

Seit dem 11. Jahrhundert lassen sich auf beiden Ebenen deutliche Veränderungen beobachten. Motive der Karlslegende wurden in Chansons de geste, die im 12. Jahrhundert auch schriftlich fixiert wurden, in epischer Form ausgearbeitet.[17] Wie das Oxforder Rolandslied zeigt, konzentrierten sich die Schöpfer der frühen Chansons de

---

13 Vgl. zum Thema allgemein Wolfgang Braunfels und Percy Ernst Schramm (Hrsg.), Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben, Bd. 4, Düsseldorf 1967; Max Kerner, Karl der Große. Entschleierung eines Mythos, Köln u. a. 2000, 157–180.

14 Zu den Quellen vgl. Kerner, Karl der Große, 65–89.

15 Susan E. Farrier, The Medieval Charlemagne Legend. An annotated Bibliography, New York u. a. 1993.

16 MGH SS 3, Hannover 1839, 708–710. Vgl. Paul Aebischer, Le Fragment de La Haye. Les problèmes qu'il pose et les enseignements qu'il donne, in: Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 73 (1957), 20–37, 273.

17 Zur Gattung vgl. aus einer Fülle von einschlägigen Veröffentlichungen Dominique Boutet, La Chanson de geste. Forme et signification d'une écriture épique du moyen âge, Paris 1993; Alois Wolf, Heldensage und Epos. Zur Konstituierung einer mittelalterlichen volkssprachlichen Gattung im Spannungsfeld von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit, Tübingen 1995.

geste allerdings in erster Linie auf die Taten und den Verhaltenskodex der Heldengestalten aus Karls Entourage.[18] Die außerordentliche Macht und Würde des Kaisers bildeten die Folie für die dramatischen Handlungen, sie wurden kaum eigens thematisiert.[19]

Motive der Karlslegende wurden aber auch in kreativer Auswahl in lateinische Texte übernommen, die den Anforderungen des historiographischen Wahrheitsanspruchs genügen sollten.[20] Dabei wurde Karl in neue Zusammenhänge gerückt, für die es in der traditionellen Karlsliteratur nur schwache Anknüpfungspunkte gab. Bestimmte Aspekte seines Wirkens wurden aus dem ursprünglichen Kontext gelöst und mit zeitgenössischen Anliegen verknüpft. Ihm wurden konkrete Rollen zugeschrieben, sein Wirken auf bestimmte Themen fokussiert.

Eine umfassende *réécriture* der Vita Karls des Großen erfolgte im Anschluss an seine Heiligsprechung 1165.[21] Die im Auftrag Friedrich Barbarossas verfasste Aachener Karlsvita war hagiographischen Mustern verpflichtet, aber sie war sozusagen eine Heiligenvita aus zweiter Hand.[22] Der nicht identifizierbare Autor, wohl ein Aachener Kanoniker, komponierte seinen Text mit Hilfe von Exzerpten aus schon vorliegenden Texten, die er in verschiedenen Bibliotheken, u. a. im Kloster St. Denis, systematisch ermittelte. Sein eigener Beitrag bestand lediglich aus Überleitungstexten und recht exaltierten frommen Betrachtungen. In seiner Textauswahl kommt der methodische Ordnungssinn der Intellektuellen des 12. Jahrhunderts beispielhaft zum Ausdruck. Grundsätzlich kann man von einer thematischen Fokussierung sprechen, die das selektive Erinnern bestimmte.

Die Karlsvita ist in drei Bücher gegliedert. Buch 1 behandelt vorwiegend die Anfänge der Herrschaft Karls und stellt eine Kompilation aus der Überlieferung von Einhard und der karolingischen Annalistik über Thegan bis zu Regino von Prüm dar.[23] Die Zusammenstellung der Exzerpte bewirkt eine sehr geschickt inszenierte Neuakzentuierung des Karlsbildes. Dem Erweis der Heiligkeit des Kaisers dient selbstverständlich die ausführliche Darstellung der Freigiebigkeit Karls gegenüber einzelnen Kirchen und seiner Sorge für die Ordnung der gesamten Kirche.

---

18 Das altfranzösische Rolandslied. Zweisprachig übersetzt und kommentiert von Wolf Steinsieck, Stuttgart 1999, dort Auswahlbibliographie 383 – 388, zur Textgestalt 311 – 312.

19 Vgl. Matthew Gabriele, Asleep at the Wheel? Messianism, Apocalipticism and Charlemagne's Passivity in the Oxford Chanson de Roland, in: Nottingham Medieval Studies 43 (2003), 46 – 72.

20 Zum Wahrheitsanspruch vgl. unten bei Anm. 66.

21 Monique Goullet und Martin Heinzelmann (Hrsg.), La réécriture hagiographique dans l'Occident médiéval. Transformations formelles et idéologiques, Ostfildern 2003 (Beihefte der Francia, 58); Monique Goullet, Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques. Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval (VIIIe-XIIIe s.), Turnhout 2005.

22 Gerhard Rauschen (Hrsg.), Die Legende Karls des Großen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert, Leipzig 1890 (Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde 7).

23 Rauschen, Legende (Anm. 22), 4 – 5.

Durch die Einbettung in den neuen Kontext gewinnen auch die Maßnahmen Karls zur Sicherung des kirchlichen und weltlichen Rechts an Relevanz.[24] Dass die Wahrnehmung Karls des Großen als Gesetzgeber im 12. Jahrhundert verbreitet war, zeigt die deutsche Kaiserchronik, in der es heißt: *der kaiser alsô rîche/ verliez uns manegiu reht guot.*[25] Die um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts wohl in Regensburg entstandene Chronik macht übrigens Karl und Papst Leo III. in einer ausführlichen Erzählung zu einem Brüderpaar.[26]

Karls Rolle als Gesetzgeber wird in der Karlsvita weiter entfaltet in einem Text, der als *pragmatica sanctio* bezeichnet wird. [27] Es handelt sich um das gefälschte Karlsdekret, auf das weiter unten noch näher einzugehen ist. Seine Aufnahme in die Karlsvita soll den hohen Rang des Aachener Marienstifts demonstrieren.

Im ersten Buch der Aachener Karlsvita wird ein Persönlichkeitsbild des Kaisers prägnant präsentiert, dessen Entstehung sich bis in das 11. Jahrhundert zurückverfolgen lässt. Den Hintergrund bildete die verbreitete Vorstellung von Karl als Schutzherr einzelner Kirchen, die ihren Niederschlag in einer großen Zahl von Privilegienfälschungen auf seinen Namen gefunden hat.[28] Die weitere Entwicklung soll hier nur am Beispiel Aachens aufgezeigt werden.[29]

Erste Zeugnisse für eine Rückbesinnung auf Karl den Großen in Aachen sind von Gottschalk von Aachen verfasste Arengen von Urkunden Heinrichs IV. aus den Jahren 1071, 1072 und 1076 sowie in Aachen geprägte Münzen mit dem Bild des Kaisers.[30] Die Münzen liefern einen ersten Hinweis darauf, dass das geschriebene Wort im Hochmittelalter keineswegs das einzige Medium der Erinnerung war. Nach der Heiligsprechung Karls wurde in Aachen der 1215 vollendete Karlsschrein geschaffen, dessen Bildprogramm an der Stirnseite mit Karl dem Großen, Papst Leo III. und Erzbischof Turpin von Reims sowie auf acht Dachreliefs auf der Karlslegende basiert.[31]

---

24 Rauschen, Legende (Anm. 22), 29 – 30. Vgl. Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, hrsg. von Oswald Holder-Egger, in: MGH SS rer. Germ. in usum schol. [25], Hannover u. a. 1911, 33 (Kap. 29).

25 Die Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen, hrsg. von Edward Schröder, in: MGH Deutsche Chroniken 1,1, Hannover 1892, 348 – 349 (V. 14762 – 14814).

26 Kaiserchronik (Anm. 25), 340 – 354 (V. 14315 – 15091).

27 Rauschen, Legende (Anm. 22), 39 – 43: *De excellentia Aquensis ecclesie* (Kap.16).

28 Dieter Hägermann, Urkundenfälschungen auf Karl den Großen. Eine Übersicht, in: Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongreß der Monumenta Germaniae Historica München 16.–19. September 1986, Bd. 3, Hannover 1988 (MGH Schriften 33,3), 433 – 443.

29 Vgl. ansonsten Manfred Groten, Die Urkunde Karls des Großen für St.-Denis von 813 (D 286), eine Fälschung Abt Sugers?, in: Historisches Jahrbuch 108 (1988), 1 – 36.

30 Manfred Groten, Die Arengen der Urkunden Kaiser Heinrichs IV. und König Philipps I. von Frankreich im Vergleich, in: Archiv für Diplomatik 41 (1996), 49 – 72; Julius Menadier, Die Aachener Münzen, Berlin 1913, 1. Teil, 7; 2. Teil, 5 – 6.

31 Hans Müllejans (Hrsg.), Karl der Große und sein Schrein in Aachen. Eine Festschrift, Aachen 1988; Renate Kroos, Zum Aachener Karlsschrein. „Abbild staufischen Kaisertums" oder „fundatores ac dotatores"?, in: Lieselotte Saurma-Jeltsch (Hrsg.), Karl der Große als vielberufener Vorfahr, Sigmaringen 1994, 49 – 61; Kerstin Wiese, Der Aachener Karlsschrein. Zeugnis lokalkirchlicher Selbstdarstellung, in: Karl der Große und das Erbe der Kulturen. Akten des 8. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes,

Eine ältere Erinnerung an Karl den Großen in einem Bildmedium stellt das Aachener Karlssiegel dar.[32] Die älteste Bezeugung dieses Siegels stammt aus einer nur abschriftlich überlieferten Urkunde vom 9. April 1134.[33] Es zeigt im Bildfeld Karl den Großen auf einem Thron sitzend.[34] Die Siegellegende lautet *Karolus Magnus Romanorum imperator augustus*. Das Karlssiegel entspricht damit in seiner Gestaltung im Prinzip den zeitgenössischen Herrschersiegeln, aber es unterscheidet sich konzeptionell grundlegend von ihnen. Alle frühmittelalterlichen Urkundensiegel waren Porträtsiegel.[35] Das Siegelbild zeigte ein Abbild (*imago*) der siegelführenden Person. Das magisch geprägte Weltbild des Frühmittelalters sah eine enge Beziehung zwischen Urbild und Abbild. Das Abbild erschien aufgeladen mit der Autorität des Dargestellten, es war gewissermaßen Emanation der Person und damit ebenso wirksam und mächtig wie diese. Bis ins 11. Jahrhundert hinein wurden ausschließlich von lebenden Personen Abbilder hergestellt. Ein neues Bildverständnis wird eindrucksvoll in der nach 1080 geschaffenen Grabplatte Rudolfs von Rheinfelden greifbar.[36] Das Bild des mit den Insignien seiner Würde ausgestatteten Königs soll nicht mehr dessen Macht projizieren und Gehorsam gebieten, es will vielmehr zeigen, was nicht mehr ist. Rudolf ruht im Grab, sein Wirken im Diesseits hat ein Ende gefunden. Die Grabplatte soll die Erinnerung wach halten an einen König, der im Dienste der Kirche sein Leben gelassen hat. In ähnlicher Weise kann auch die Abbildung des längst verstorbenen Kaisers auf dem Karlssiegel nur als Memorialbild verstanden werden.[37] Das Bild beschwört die Erinnerung an den Kaiser und vergegenwärtigt ihn. Auf diese Weise wird die Gestalt des Gesetzgebers Karl zu einer überzeitlich wirkmächtigen Rechtspersönlichkeit. Diese Vorstellung ist völlig neu.

Leipzig 15.–18. März 1999, Berlin 2001, 257–274; Ernst Günther Grimme, Der Karlsschrein und der Marienschrein im Aachener Dom, Aachen 2002.

32 Manfred Groten, Karlsmythos und Petrustradition. Aachener und Trierer Siegel als Zeichen eines neuen Denkens in der späten Salierzeit, in: Tilman Struve (Hrsg.), Die Salier, das Reich und der Niederrhein, Köln u. a. 2008, 369–399, hier 372–382.

33 Aachener Urkunden 1101–1250, hrsg. von Erich Meuthen, Bonn 1972 (Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde 58), Nr. 24.

34 Wilhelm Ewald (Hrsg.), Rheinische Siegel 3. Die Siegel der rheinischen Städte und Gerichte, Bonn 1931 (Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde 27), Tafel 1,1.

35 Manfred Groten, Vom Bild zum Zeichen. Die Entstehung korporativer Siegel im Kontext der gesellschaftlichen und intellektuellen Entwicklungen des Hochmittelalters, in: Markus Späth (Hrsg.), Die Bildlichkeit korporativer Siegel im Mittelalter. Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte im Gespräch, Köln u. a. 2009 (Sensus. Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst 1), 65–85.

36 Kurt Bauch, Das mittelalterliche Grabbild. Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa, Berlin u. a. 1976, 11–17.

37 Otto Gerhard Oexle, Memoria und Memorialbild, in: Karl Schmid und Joachim Wollasch (Hrsg.), Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter, München 1984 (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48), 384–440.

Sie wurde vorbereitet in der Fälschung des Aachener Karlsdekrets.[38] Dieser im Marienstift verfasste Text wurde nach der Heiligsprechung Karls in ein Privileg Friedrich Barbarossas für das Aachener Stift vom 8. Januar 1166 inseriert.[39] Das Dekret beginnt mit einer ausführlichen Würdigung der Rolle Karls als Gesetzgeber. Anschließend wird über die Gründung des Aachener Stifts und seine Weihe durch Papst Leo III. berichtet. Anlässlich der Weihe versammeln sich kirchliche und weltliche Würdenträger in großer Zahl. Mit Billigung dieser erlauchten Versammlung bestimmt Karl das Marienstift zum königlichen Ort und Haupt Galliens. Durch die Thronsetzung in Aachen sollen Karls Nachfolger das Recht auf die Kaiserkrönung in Rom erlangen. Weitere Auszeichnungen unterstreichen noch die Einzigartigkeit des Aachener Stifts. Die Fälschung reagiert offensichtlich auf reale oder vermeintliche Bedrohungen der Aachener Position. Das Karlsdekret versucht auf dem Weg einer historischen Argumentation den Rang der Marienkirche abzusichern. Dem Gesetzeswerk Karls zugunsten des Stifts wird ewige Gültigkeit zugesprochen. Diese Form der Argumentation mit Autoritäten hatte in der Zeit des Investiturstreits an Bedeutung gewonnen.[40]

Die Datierung der Fälschung ist noch nicht abschließend geklärt. Erich Meuthen hat sie in die Nähe des Jahres 1158 rücken wollen, aber es lassen sich gute Argumente für eine frühere Datierung, vielleicht in die Zeit Heinrichs V., ins Feld führen.[41] Akzeptiert man diese Frühdatierung, kann man das Karlsdekret als Vorlage für die Konzeption des Karlssiegels verstehen.

Während in Buch 1 der Karlsvita über den Nachweis der Heiligkeit des Kaisers hinaus vor allem seine Rolle als Gesetzgeber und Hüter von Recht und Ordnung betont wird, wird Karl in Buch 2 als Pilger charakterisiert. Buch 2 der Aachener Karlsvita basiert auf der *Descriptio qualiter Karolus magnus clavum et coronam domini a Constantinopoli Aquisgrani detulerit*.[42] Die Datierung dieses in Frankreich entstandenen Textes ist umstritten. Rolf Große plädiert gegen den von Léon Levillain vertretenen Ansatz um 1080 für eine Frühdatierung nach 1053.[43] An der Entstehung in St-Denis wird man gegen Gabriele, der den Autor am Hof König Philipps platzieren möchte,

---

38 Manfred Groten, Studien zum Aachener Karlssiegel und zum gefälschten Dekret Karls des Großen, in: Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins 93 (1986), 5 – 30.

39 Die Urkunden Friedrichs I. 1158 – 1167, hrsg. von Heinrich Appelt, in: MGH, Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser 10,2, Hannover 1979, Nr. 502 = Meuthen, Aachener Urkunden (Anm. 33), Nr. 1 – 2.

40 Vgl. Hans-Werner Goetz, Geschichte als Argument. Historische Beweisführung und Geschichtsbewußtsein in den Streitschriften des Investiturstreits, in: HZ 245 (1987), 30 – 69; Horst Fuhrmann, Pseudoisidor, Otto von Ostia (Urban II.) und der Zitatenkampf von Gerstungen, in: ZRG KA 68 (1982), 52 – 69.

41 Vgl. Groten, Aachener Karlssiegel (Anm. 38),15 – 30.

42 Teiledition bei Rauschen, Legende (Anm. 22), 103 – 125.

43 Léon Levillain, Essai sur les origins du Lendit, in: Revue historique 155 (1927), 241 – 276, hier 262; Rolf Große, Saint-Denis zwischen Adel und König. Die Zeit vor Suger (1053 – 1122), Stuttgart 2002 (Beihefte der Francia 57), 42 – 54.

festhalten wollen.[44] Im Fokus des ersten Teils der *Descriptio*, der in die Karlsvita übernommen wurde, steht der Nachweis der Authentizität der ursprünglich in Aachen aufbewahrten Reliquien, die Karl der Kahle nach St-Denis überführen ließ. Für die Sicherung der Provenienz der Reliquien wird Karl der Große als Gewährsmann herangezogen. Aus Erzählmotiven der Karlslegende wird dem Kaiser dazu die Rolle eines Pilgers auf den Leib geschrieben.[45]

Schon um 968 hatte Benedikt von Sant'Andrea am Monte Soratte Kapitel 16 der Karlsvita Einhards überarbeitet, indem er Karl zum Akteur des Erwerbs von Reliquien machte.[46] Dazu ließ er den Kaiser den Orient bereisen. Auch Benedikt ging es um die Authentisierung von Reliquien seines Klosters, für die er die Autorität Karls des Großen in Anspruch nahm. Während bei Einhard der Verkehr Karls mit dem Beherrscher des Orients *Aaron rex Persarum* über Gesandte abgewickelt wird, kann sich Benedikt einen solchen Austausch nur als persönliches Handeln des Kaisers vorstellen, den er deshalb auf Reisen schicken muss.

In Buch 3 der Aachener Karlsvita wird dem Kaiser schließlich noch eine weitere Rolle zugeschrieben, nämlich die des Heidenkämpfers.[47] Dieser Aspekt seiner Persönlichkeit wird auch in der deutschen Kaiserchronik gewürdigt: *Karl was ain wârer gotes wîgant,/ die haiden er ze der cristenhaite getwanc.*[48]

Dem hagiographischen Schema gemäß versammelt der Autor im dritten Buch der Vita zu Lebzeiten des Kaisers geschehene Wunder und berichtet vom Tod Karls. In diesem Buch wird ein anderer aus Frankreich stammender Text der Karlslegende ausgeschrieben, der sog. Pseudo-Turpin, der als Buch 4 des *Liber Calixtinus* in Santiago de Compostela überliefert ist.[49] Der Aachener Autor übernimmt allerdings nur die

---

44 Matthew Gabriele, The Provenance of the Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus. Remembering the Carolingians at the Court of King Philip I (1050–1108) before the First Crusade, in: Viator 39 (2008), 93–117.

45 Anne Latowsky, Charlemagne as Pilgrim? Requests for Relics in the *Descriptio qualiter* and the Voyage of Charlemagne, in: Matthew Gabriele und Jace Stuckey (Hrsg.), The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages. Power, Faith, and Crusade, New York 2008, 153–167. Vgl. auch Matthew Gabriele, An Empire of Memory. The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade, Oxford 2011. Um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts wurde das Thema in der Chanson de geste Le Pélerinage de Charlemagne parodistisch behandelt. Vgl. Paul Aebischer (Hrsg.), Le voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople, Genf 1965.

46 Gabriele, Empire (Anm. 45), 41–44.

47 Jace Stuckey, Charlemagne as Crusader? Memory, Propaganda, and the Many Uses of Charlemagne's Legendary Expedition to Spain, in: Gabriele/ Stuckey, Legend, 137–152; William J. Purkis und Matthew Gabriele (Hrsg.), The Charlemagne Legend in Medieval Latin Texts, Woodbridge 2016.

48 Kaiserchronik (Anm. 25), 350 (V. 15073–15074, erwähnt werden Kämpfe in Sachsen und Spanien).

49 Adalbert Hämel, Der Pseudo-Turpin von Compostela aus dem Nachlaß hrsg. von André de Mandach, München 1965 (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 1965, Heft 1); Matthias Tischler, Tatmensch oder Heidenapostel. Die Bilder Karls des Großen bei Einhart und im Pseudo-Turpin, in: Klaus Herbers (Hrsg.), Jakobus und Karl der Große. Von Einhards Karlsvita zum Pseudo-Turpin, Tübingen 2003, 1–38.

ersten sieben Kapitel seiner Vorlage.[50] Anschließend geht er auf die Sachsenkriege Karls ein.[51] Letztlich wird ausgeführt, dass sich Karls Apostolat auf Sachsen, Spanien, Friesland und das Land der Wenden erstreckte.[52]

Die Platzierung der Exzerpte aus dem Pseudo-Turpin in der Karlsvita bewirkt eine Akzentverschiebung von der in der Vorlage zu beobachtenden Fokussierung auf den Apostel Jakobus hin zu Karl dem Großen. Beim Pseudo-Turpin handelt es sich um eine Transponierung von Motiven der volkssprachlichen Karlslegenden in die Gattung der lateinischen Historiographie. Dieser Medienwechsel wurde bewirkt durch die Einführung eines vermeintlichen Augenzeugen für die berichteten Ereignisse in Gestalt des Reimser Bischofs Turpin.

Die Rolle Karls als Missionar und Heidenkämpfer wird in der Aachener Karlsvita grundsätzlicher aufgefasst als etwa im Rolandslied, wo am Ende Karl wenig Begeisterung zeigt, auf Weisung des Erzengels Gabriel einer von Heiden belagerten Stadt zu Hilfe zu eilen: *Li emperere n'i volsist aler mie: „Deus!“, dist li reis, „si penuse est ma vie!“*[53] Es gibt allerdings schon aus der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts eine Quelle, die Karl zum Akteur der Eroberung von Barcelona macht. Es handelt sich um eine gefälschte Urkunde Karls und Ludwigs aus Urgell, in der es heißt: *in parte Spanie civitatem Barchionensis per dei misericordia expellimus inde gentem paganam.*[54]

Der Autor der Aachener Karlsvita hat ein gewaltiges Quellencorpus, dessen Bestandteile hier nur kursorisch betrachtet werden konnten, gesichtet und für sein Thema relevante Textpassagen ausgewählt und neu komponiert. Sein Werk ist ein gutes Beispiel für die Methode des selektiven Erinnerns im 12. Jahrhundert.

Die Überlieferungszusammenhänge der Aachener Karlsvita zeigen die Kompositionsmethode auf einer höheren Ebene am Werk. Eine nach 1179 entstandene Handschrift aus dem Pariser Domstift Notre Dame enthält als ersten Text die Aachener Karlsvita.[55] Der Kompilator hat aber erkannt, dass in Buch 3 nur der Anfang des Pseudo-Turpin kopiert worden ist. Da dieser Text in Frankreich höher geschätzt wurde als im Reich, übersprang er das Exzerpt in der Karlsvita und nahm den gesamten Pseudo-Turpintext in seine Kompilation auf. Anschließend fügte er auch noch die Vita Einhards hinzu. Damit wurde die Engführung der Aachener Karlsvita konterkariert und dem Leser ein umfangreicheres Dossier zur Beschäftigung mit der Person Karls des Großen geboten. Ergänzt wird diese Sammlung noch durch die Viten heiligmäßiger englischer Könige aus der Feder Wilhelms von Malmesbury. Eine ähnliche

---

50 Rauschen, Legende (Anm. 22), 67–74.

51 Rauschen, Legende (Anm. 22), 75–76.

52 Rauschen, Legende (Anm. 22), 78.

53 Rolandslied (Anm. 18), 306 (V. 3999–4000) dort 307: Der Kaiser hätte am liebsten dort nicht hingehen wollen. „Gott", sagte der König, „wie mühselig ist mein Leben."

54 Die Urkunden der Karolinger 1, hrsg. von Engelbert Mühlbacher, in: MGH DD Karol. I, Hannover 1906, Nr. 307.

55 Rauschen, Legende (Anm. 22), 6–7.

Komposition ist etwas später auch aus dem Kloster Hautmont im Hennegau überliefert.[56]

Gemeinschaft: Otto von Freisings Deutung der Weltgeschichte

Das kollektive Handeln und Erleiden menschlicher Gemeinschaften in Zeiten und Räumen, will sagen: die Geschichte, wurde im Mittelalter als zielgerichtet verstanden. Gott lenkte nach der Auffassung von Theologen und Gelehrten die Weltgeschichte. Sie begann mit der Erschaffung der ersten Menschen bzw. dem Sündenfall und endete mit dem jüngsten Gericht. Das Wirken Jesu auf Erden gab der Geschichte die entscheidende Wendung. Früh- und hochmittelalterliche Darstellungen der Weltgeschichte haben in unterschiedlicher Weise versucht, die Diskrepanz zwischen vordergründigem Ereignisgewimmel und hintergründigem göttlichen Plan zu überbrücken.[57]

Als einer der bedeutendsten Geschichtsschreiber des Mittelalters gilt Bischof Otto von Freising (ca. 1112/13 – 1158).[58] Der jüngere Sohn des Markgrafen Leopold III. und Agnes, der Tochter Kaiser Heinrichs IV., schloss seine Ausbildung zum Kleriker in Paris ab, bevor er 1132 im Kloster Morimond in den Zisterzienserorden eintrat. Seine Schulung im Geiste der Frühscholastik verrät er in seinem Geschichtswerk in einem Exkurs über die logischen Schriften des Aristoteles.[59] Im Jahre 1138 wurde Otto zum Abt von Morimond gewählt und zum Bischof von Freising berufen. Als Reichsfürst sowohl aufgrund seiner erlauchten Abstammung, als auch kraft seines geistlichen Amtes, zugleich aber auch als Adept der asketischen Lebensweise der Zisterzienser und Absolvent der im Reich noch wenig rezipierten französischen Schulen neuen Typs, nahm Otto die Ausarbeitung einer Weltgeschichte in Angriff. Bei seiner 1146 vollendeten *Historia de duabus civitatibus* handelt es sich, wie nicht anders zu erwarten, um ein sehr individuelles Werk, das wie kaum ein anderes geeignet ist, die Stärken und Schwächen der hochmittelalterlichen Gelehrtenmentalität exemplarisch auszuloten.

---

56 Rauschen, Legende (Anm. 22), 7 – 8.

57 Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik bis in das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising, Düsseldorf 1957; Hans-Werner Goetz, Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im hohen Mittelalter, Berlin 1999 (Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters 1).

58 Joachim Ehlers, Otto von Freising. Ein Intellektueller im Mittelalter. Eine Biographie, München 2013, dort zur *Historia* 166 – 213; Hans-Werner Goetz, Das Geschichtsbild Ottos von Freising. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Vorstellungswelt und zur Geschichte des 12. Jahrhunderts, Köln u. a. 1984 (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, Beiheft 19).

59 Otto von Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, hrsg. von Adolf Hofmeister, in: MGH SS rer. Germ. in usum schol. [45], 75 – 77 (II,8); Zweisprachige Ausgabe: Walther Lammers (Hrsg.), Otto Bischof von Freising, Chronik oder die Geschichte der zwei Staaten übersetzt von Adolf Schmidt, Darmstadt. ⁴1980 (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 16).

Die Geschichte von der Schöpfung bis zur Gegenwart wird in der *Historia* in sieben Büchern behandelt, das achte Buch ist dem Ende der Geschichte, der Auferstehung der Toten und dem ewigen Leben gewidmet. Erst aus der Perspektive von Buch 8 erhält nach Ottos Verständnis die Weltgeschichte Sinn.

Als Bischof einer kleinen Diözese des den Welfen von seinem Halbbruder Konrad III. entrissenen Herzogtums Bayern[60] trieb der deprimierende Alltag, die *mutabilitas* der irdischen Verhältnisse Otto zum Studium des göttlichen Heilsplans. *Sepe multumque volvendo mecum de rerum temporalium motu ancipitique statu, vario ac inordinato proventu*,[61] mit diesem Worten beginnt er das Vorwort zum ersten Buch seiner *Historia*. Während um ihn herum die Aufbruchsstimmung des 12. Jahrhunderts immer mehr Menschen erfasste, war Otto, ein Konservativer trotz aller Offenheit für das Neue, davon überzeugt, dass er am Ende der Zeiten lebte.

Otto war gleichermaßen davon überzeugt, dass sich hinter dem chaotischen Wirrwarr der Geschichte ein rational erschließbarer Plan Gottes verbirgt.[62] Einen groß angelegten Versuch, Ordnung in die oft widersprüchlichen Nachrichten der früheren Historiographen zur Weltgeschichte zu bringen, hatte Frutolf von Michelsberg in seiner 1103 abgeschlossenen Weltchronik unternommen.[63] Beflügelt vom Aufschwung der Wissenschaften in Bamberg bemühte sich Frutolf vor allem um die Erstellung einer stimmigen Chronologie der in den Quellen überlieferten Ereignisse. Auf der Grundlage einer kritischen Sichtung biblischer und außerbiblischer Texte erstellte er synoptische Zeittafeln. Otto von Freising stützte sich über weite Strecken auf das Werk Frutolfs, aber ihm ging es um weit mehr als wissenschaftliche Akkuratesse und chronologische Ordnung. Deshalb verzichtete er auf Frutolfs Tabellen und kürzte dessen kritische Erörterungen zu chronologischen Fragen. Auch Otto folgte bei seiner Geschichtserzählung zwar dem Lauf der Zeiten, jedoch nicht im Gleichschritt von Jahren, sondern kursorisch und selektiv.

Otto von Freising hat sich 1157 in dem Schreiben, in dem er den Reichskanzler Rainald von Dassel bat, Friedrich Barbarossa sein aktualisiertes Werk zu erläutern, ausführlich zu seiner Methode geäußert: *Scitis enim, quod omnis doctrina in duobus consistit, in fuga et electione.*[64] Und konkreter: *Sic et cronographorum facultas habet, quae purgando fugiat, quae instruenda eligat, fugit enim mendacia, eligit veritatem.*[65]

Otto streicht zunächst den sattsam bekannten Wahrheitsanspruch der Historiographie heraus. Er benennt allerdings keine Kriterien für die Einlösung dieses An-

---

60 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 68 (II Prol.) beklagt die Kämpfe zwischen seinem Bruder Heinrich (Jasomirgott), seit 1143 Herzog von Bayern, und Welf (VI.).

61 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 6.

62 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 6: *intuitu rationis.*

63 In der Ausgabe *Ekkehardi chronicon universale*, hrsg. von Georg Waitz, in: MGH SS 6, Hannover 1844, 33–223 (als Rezension A der Chronik Ekkehards von Aura).

64 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 4.

65 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 5.

spruchs, etwa die Augenzeugenschaft oder die Nähe zum Geschehen.[66] Grundlegend für das Verständnis seines Werks ist sein Konzept der methodengeleiteten Auswahl (*electio*) von einschlägigem Material aus den „wahren", kritisch geprüften Nachrichten früherer Geschichtsschreiber. Otto will also durch Selektion ein kohärentes Geschichtsbild entwerfen.

Im Vorwort zum ersten Buch der *Historia* beteuert Otto von Freising erneut, dass er sein Material nur aus lauteren Quellen geschöpft habe (*nil ... preter illa, quae in probatorum virorum scriptis repperi*). Dabei verweist er explizit auf seine rigorose Auswahl aus den Quellen (*pauca de multis posuerim*).[67] Aus Augustinus und Orosius will er übernehmen, *quae ad rem propositumve pertinent*.[68]

In Ottos Anliegen, aus dem Studium der Weltgeschichte die Gegenwart als Endzeit zu erweisen, kommt eine spezifisch „deutsche" Befindlichkeit zum Ausdruck, die im Gegensatz steht zu der optimistischeren Grundstimmung im Westen Europas, wo sich nach dem Abklingen des *terreur de l'an mil* im Laufe des 11. Jahrhunderts die Horizonte wieder geöffnet hatten und das Interesse an heilsgeschichtlichen Standortbestimmungen erlahmt war.[69]

Otto von Freising ging es um Sinnstiftung, für die er auf theologische Argumentationsmuster zurückgriff. Angesichts der Tatsache, dass die Gattung der Weltchronik grundsätzlich eine Affinität zur Theologie hatte, erscheint dieses Vorgehen durchaus plausibel, auch wenn es in gewissem Maße die historiographischen Gattungsgrenzen sprengte. Bei Ottos *Historia* handelt es sich – wie bei der gut zwei Jahrzehnte jüngeren Aachener Karlsvita – um ein thematisch zentriertes Werk, das man am besten als Fortschreibung und Aktualisierung der von Augustinus entworfenen Idee einer Geschichte des Gottesstaates charakterisieren kann.[70] Dieses Thema, das die Materialauswahl bestimmt, wird schon im Titel des Werks angesprochen, und Otto beruft sich, wie schon ausgeführt, im Vorwort zum ersten der acht Bücher auf die Vorbilder Augustinus und Orosius.[71]

Otto hat für die Geschichte des Gottesstaates eine dreistufige Periodisierung eingeführt.[72]

---

66 Vgl. Amelie Rösinger und Gabriela Signori (Hrsg.), Die Figur des Augenzeugen. Geschichte und Wahrheit im fächer- und epochenübergreifenden Vergleich, Konstanz u. a. 2014.

67 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 10.

68 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 9.

69 Vgl. Georges Duby, L'An Mil, Paris 1974; Dominique Barthélemy, L'An mil et la Paix de Dieu. La France chrétienne et féodale (980 – 1060), Paris 1999. Kritisch Silvain Gouguenheim, Les Fausses Terreurs de l'an mil : attente de la fin des temps ou approfondissement de la foi ?, Paris 1999.

70 Vgl. Hans-Werner Goetz, Gott und die Welt. Religiöse Vorstellungen des frühen und hohen Mittelalters I, 2, Berlin 2012, 235 – 243.

71 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 9.

72 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 390 – 391 (VIII Prol.).

In der ersten Phase stand der Gottesstaat, als dessen *auctor* Otto Christus bezeichnet,[73] völlig unter der Dominanz der weltlichen Herrschaft und wurde deshalb von den zeitgenössischen Quellen weitgehend ignoriert.[74] Die zweite Phase wurde durch das irdische Wirken Jesu eingeleitet.[75] Das Christentum wurde schließlich im römischen Reich Staatsreligion. Dadurch entstand ein politisch-kirchlicher Synergismus, eine *civitas permixta* oder letztlich nur eine einzige geistlich-weltliche Ordnung. Von der Zeit des Theodosius an, sagt Otto, *quia omnis non solum populus, sed et principes, exceptis paucis, katholici fuere, videor mihi non de duabus civitatibus, sed pene de una tantum, quam ecclesiam dico, hystoriam texuisse.*[76] Diese Einheit unter kirchlicher Führung (*tanquam sopita civitate mundi*) wurde unheilbar zerrüttet durch die Bannung Heinrichs IV. durch Gregor VII. Für Otto kündigte sich im Investiturstreit das Weltende an, wobei er die neuen asketischen Orden als retardierende Elemente wertete. Mit dem Weltende setzt die dritte Phase ein: der Gottesstaat tritt, befreit von irdischer Kontamination, in die ewige Herrlichkeit ein. Die *civitas terrena* durchläuft die umgekehrte Entwicklung: Dominanz, Synergie unter geistlicher Führung, Erlöschen.

Otto von Freising bediente sich noch eines weiteren Ordnungsschemas (*ordo*) zur Strukturierung seiner Geschichtserzählung. Es handelt sich dabei um die Abfolge von vier Weltreichen.[77] Die Idee der vier Weltreiche basiert auf den Traumvisionen Nebukadnezars und Daniels, die Hieronymus in seinem Danielkommentar konkret als die Reiche von Babylon (Assyrer), der Perser und Meder, Alexanders des Großen und der Diadochen sowie Roms identifizierte.[78] Orosius hat das Schema der vier Reiche in seinen *Historiae adversum paganos* in die Geschichtsschreibung eingeführt, allerdings in anderer Zuordnung.[79]

Mit seinem Rekurs auf die Weltreiche steht Otto von Freising keineswegs alleine da. Die vier Weltreiche werden vielmehr auch in zwei deutschen Texten, nämlich im Annolied und in der Kaiserchronik, als Gliederungsschema der Weltgeschichte einem Laienpublikum erläutert. Das wohl um 1080 im Kloster Siegburg entstandene Annolied, dessen überlieferte Fassung vielleicht eine Überarbeitung aus dem frühen

73 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 63 (I,29), daher werden die Bürger des Gottesstaates auch *cives Christi* genannt (zuerst 6 [I,26]).

74 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 124 (II,47).

75 Auch das Annolied setzt mit der Geburt Christi eine Zäsur: *ein niuwe kunincrîchi./ demi muz diu werilt al intwîchin.* Das Annolied, hrsg. von Eberhard Nellmann, Stuttgart ³1986, 42 Str. 31, 15 – 16.

76 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 228 (V Prol.).

77 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 5: *quo ordine currat haec historia.*

78 *Commentariorum in Danielem libri III* <IV>, hrsg. von François Glorie, in: S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera I, 5, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 75 A, Turnhout 1964. Vgl. Régis Courtray, Der Danielkommentar des Hieronymus, in: Katharina Bracht und David S. du Toit (Hrsg.), Die Geschichte der Daniel-Auslegung in Judentum, Christentum und Islam. Studien zur Kommentierung des Danielbuches in Kunst und Literatur, Berlin u. a. 2007, 123 – 148.

79 Paulus Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII*, hrsg. von Karl Zangemeister, in: Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Wien 1882, 5.

12. Jahrhundert darstellt, enthält in den Strophen 8 bis 31 einen knappen Abriss der Weltgeschichte von der Zeit des Ninus bis zu Christi Geburt.[80] In Strophe 11 wird ausgeführt, was die Zeichen in Daniels Traum bedeuten: *die dier vier kunincrîche,/ die diu werilt soldin al umbgrîfen.*[81] Die Tiere werden dann, als Löwe, Bär, Leopard und Wildschwein gedeutet, auf die von Hieronymus identifizierten Reiche bezogen. Aus dem Annolied könnte die Kaiserchronik das Schema übernommen haben.[82] Nach herrschender Meinung wurde die Kaiserchronik vor 1150 in Regensburg gedichtet.[83] In unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft Freisings war also das Wissen um die vier Weltreiche gebildeten Laien zugänglich. Die Kaiserchronik selbst ist ein Produkt des schon wiederholt angesprochenen ordnenden Umgangs mit der Geschichte im 12. Jahrhundert. Sie will Laien anhand von Erzählungen über 55 Herrscher von Julius Cäsar bis zu Konrad III. über den Gang der Weltgeschichte belehren. Dabei beklagt der Autor in der Einleitung die weite Verbreitung von Lügenmärchen und setzt solchen Machwerken seinen eigenen Wahrheitsanspruch entgegen.[84] Was der Kaiserchronik im Vergleich zur *Historia* Ottos von Freising fehlt, ist der durchgängige Bezug auf Gottes Heilsplan.

Vordergründig betrachtet erscheinen die vier Reiche bei Otto von Freising als Formationen gewalttätiger weltlicher Herrschaft, bei näherem Zusehen erweisen sie sich aber als heilsgeschichtliche Ordnungsstrukturen, die Gott als Rahmenbedingungen für die irdische Existenz der Bürger des Gottesstaates zugelassen hat. Das macht Otto deutlich durch den Nachweis typologischer Entsprechungen zwischen den Reichen von Babylon und Rom: *Has enim germanas esse civitates non solum ex hystoriographorum dictis, qui huius regnum quasi patri filium, mediis ac brevibus Medorum seu Persarum ac Macedonum regnis, tamquam parvuli filii tutoribus, non iure hereditatis, sed successione temporis intervenientibus, successise tradiderunt, (...).*[85] Die Illustrationen in der Jenaer Handschrift der *Historia* machen den Zusammenhang zwischen Rom und Babylon sichtbar, indem auf Folio 20ʳ oben die Erbauung Roms, unten die Zerstörung Babylons durch Cyrus dargestellt wird.[86]

---

80 Annolied (Anm. 75), 12–42.

81 Annolied (Anm. 75), 18.

82 Kaiserchronik (Anm. 25), 90–91 (V. 533–590). Vgl. Annegret Fiebig, Vier tier wilde. Weltdeutung nach Daniel in der Kaiserchronik, in: Annegret Fiebig und Hans-Jochen Schiewer (Hrsg.), Deutsche Literatur und Sprache von 1050–1200. Festschrift für Ursula Hennig zum 65. Geburtstag, Berlin 1995, 28–49. Zur Diskussion über das Abhängigkeitsverhältnis von Annolied und Kaiserchronik vgl. Stephan Müller, Vom Annolied zur Kaiserchronik. Zu Text- und Forschungsgeschichte einer verlorenen deutschen Reimchronik, Heidelberg 1999.

83 Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon 4, Berlin u. a. 1983, 951–954 (Eberhard Nellmann).

84 Kaiserchronik (Anm. 25), 79 (V. 27–34).

85 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 68 (II Prol.).

86 Lammers, Chronik (Anm. 59), nach LXX, Tafel 4. Zu dem Bilderzyklus, der wiederum eine auf Selektion basierende Komposition darstellt, vgl. Franz Nagel, Die Weltchronik des Otto von Freising und die Bildkultur des 12. Jahrhunderts, Marburg 2012.

Zum konkreteren Nachweis des planvollen Geschichtsverlaufs verleiht Otto Personen und Ereignissen Zeichencharakter. So soll Josue (*Iesus*) auf Jesus verweisen: *Hic primus officio nomineque formam gerens salvatoris, in terram promissionis, quae huius, unde agimus, typus civitatis est, populus Dei inducere meruit.*[87] Das grausame Regime des Pharao zur Zeit des Auszugs aus Ägypten entspricht dem des Herodes zur Zeit der Geburt Jesu.[88] Am 6. Januar (tatsächlich am 13. bis 15. August 29 v.Chr.) wird der siegreich nach Rom aus dem Osten zurückkehrende Oktavian nach Orosius (6,20) mit einem dreifachen Triumph empfangen und (tatsächlich im Januar 27 v.Chr.) Augustus genannt.[89] Am selben Tag des Jahres lässt Otto die drei Weisen dem Jesuskind huldigen, wobei seine Formulierung den unachtsamen Leser dazu verleiten könnte, beide Ereignisse ein und demselben Tag zuzuordnen.

Otto ist keineswegs darüber erhaben, seine Vorlagen an seine symbolistischen Bedürfnisse anzupassen. Bei Frutolf fand er die Nachrichten, Abraham sei im 43. Jahr der Herrschaft des Ninus geboren, Christus im 42. Jahr der Herrschaft des Augustus.[90] Bei der Behandlung der Zeit des Ninus nennt Otto das 43. oder 42. Jahr für die Geburt Abrahams, an der späteren Stelle ist nur noch vom 42. Jahr die Rede.[91] Nur die „Korrektur" an der Datierung Frutolfs lässt das typologische Kalkül aufgehen, um das es Otto vorrangig geht.

Otto von Freising beschränkt seine Ordnungsbemühungen nicht auf das Muster der vier Weltreiche. An einer Stelle erklärt er seine Absicht, die Weltgeschichte in drei Perioden zu gliedern, von der Herrschaft des Ninus bis zur Gründung Roms, von der Gründung Roms bis zu Christi Geburt und schließlich bis zur Gegenwart.[92] Otto dachte hier wohl an die von ihm verwendeten Jahreszählungen *ab imperio Nini*, *ab Urbe condita* und *ab incarnatione Domini*.

Auf die Gliederung der Geschichte in Weltalter geht er nur im achten Buch ausführlicher ein.[93] Vorher erwähnt Otto nur im Vorwort zum dritten Buch, dass Christus im sechsten Weltalter geboren wurde.[94]

Otto von Freising standen verschiedene Schemata zur Konstruktion von Ordnung in der Weltgeschichte zur Verfügung, die es zu harmonisieren galt. Keines dieser Schemata lieferte ihm den Schlüssel für eine widerspruchsfreie Bändigung des Wirrwarrs der geschichtlichen Ereignisse. Die Subjektivität und Standortgebundenheit des Historiographen erwies sich in letzter Instanz als unhintergehbar.

Das römische Weltreich bildete für Otto von Freising die Matrix für die zweite Phase des Gottesstaates und war damit eng mit diesem verknüpft. Otto huldigte

---

87 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 54 (I,20).

88 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 54 (I,20).

89 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 142 (III,6).

90 *Ekkehardi chronicon universale* (Anm. 63), 36, 95.

91 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 46 (I,7), 142 (III,6).

92 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 43 (I,5).

93 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 411 (VIII,14).

94 Otto von Freising, *Chronica* (Anm. 59), 132 (III Prol.).

selbstverständlich der gängigen Vorstellung von der *Translatio imperii*, der zufolge die Herrscher an der Spitze des Reiches zu seiner Zeit in ungebrochener Nachfolge der römischen Kaiser standen.[95] Anders als nach ihm Gottfried von Viterbo war Otto allerdings kein Propagandist im Dienst einer staufischen Ideologie, die allein das Staufergeschlecht als *prosapia imperialis* zur Weltherrschaft bis zum jüngsten Tag berufen sah.[96] Aber Ottos Deutung des in seiner Sicht fortbestehenden römischen Reiches als alternativlosen Bestandteil des göttlichen Heilsplans setzte ihn dennoch in Gegensatz zum zeitgenössischen Geschichtsverständnis im anglo-französischen Raum, in dem er seine Ausbildung vollendet hatte. Dort war man weit davon entfernt, dem real existierenden Reich noch heilsgeschichtliche Bedeutung zuzuschreiben. Hier sei nur an die Invektive Johanns von Salisbury erinnert: *Quis Teutonici constituit iudices nationum. Quis hanc brutis et impetuosis hominibus auctoritatem contulit ut pro arbitrio principem statuant super capita filiorum hominum.*[97] Ottos Geschichtsdeutung war methodisch hochmodern, aber konzeptionell überholt. Kein Wunder, dass die *Historia* keine weiteren Geschichtsdeutungen inspiriert hat.

Im 12. Jahrhundert wurde nicht nur die Menschheit insgesamt, genauer die Christenheit, als Heilsgemeinschaft in ihrer Geschichte dargestellt, auch regionale und lokale Gemeinschaften wurden als historiographische Sujets entdeckt. Diese innovativen Projekte am Beispiel der *Gesta Treverorum* vorzustellen, würde allerdings den Rahmen dieses Beitrags sprengen.[98]

---

95 Vgl. Werner Goez, Translatio Imperii. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit, Tübingen 1958.

96 Vgl. Odilo Engels, Gottfried von Viterbo und seine Sicht des staufischen Kaiserhauses, in: Hubert Mordek (Hrsg.), Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken. Festschrift für Raymund Kottje zum 65. Geburtstag, Frankfurt/Main u. a. 1992 (Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte 3), 327–345.

97 Karl Ferdinand Werner, Das hochmittelalterliche Imperium im politischen Bewußtsein Frankreichs (10.–12. Jh.), in: HZ 200 (1965), 1–60, hier 40–41 Anm. 2 nach W. J. Millor und H. E. Butler (Hrsg.), The letters of John of Salisbury 1, London u. a. 1955, 206 Nr. 124.

98 *Gesta Treverorum* – Geschichte der Treverer. Ab initiis usque ad MCXXXII annum – von den Anfängen bis zum Jahr 1132, hrsg. von Paul Dräger, Trier 2017. Vgl. Heinz Thomas, Studien zur Trierer Geschichtsschreibung des 11. Jahrhunderts insbesondere zu den Gesta Treverorum, Bonn 1968 (Rheinisches Archiv 68).

Gordon Blennemann

Erinnern und Vergessen. Methodische Gedanken und mittelalterliche Perspektiven zu zwei Paradigmen am Schnittpunkt von *Memoria* und Geschichte

Erinnern und Vergessen – die komplementären Gegenstände dieses Bandes – gehören zu den grundlegenden sozialen Praktiken des Menschen. Historiker begegnen den beiden mit besonderem Interesse, nähern sich ihnen aus einer doppelten Perspektive: aus der methodischen Distanz objektivierender Wissenschaft und zugleich im Bewusstsein der subjektiven Nähe des erinnernden und vergessenden, am kollektiven Erinnerungsprozess beteiligten Individuums. In der Beschäftigung mit dem Erinnern und dem Vergessen reflektieren sie somit nicht allein wissenschaftliche Gegenstände, sondern ebenso die historisch-anthropogene Tiefe eigener sozialer Praxis. Erinnern und Vergessen führen Historiker ins Zentrum des Spannungsfeldes zwischen Distanz und Empathie gegenüber dem historischen Subjekt, zu dem sie in Dialog treten. Rhetorisch und erkenntnistheoretisch betrachtet deuten Erinnern und Vergessen zugleich auf das analogische Verhältnis des Historikers zu den Menschen vergangener Zeiten, deren Erfahrungen und Praktiken er versucht zu ergründen. Sie besitzen damit paradigmatisches Potential.[1]

Diesem Grundgedanken der paradigmatischen Dimension von Erinnern und Vergessen als Beispiele für auf Analogiedenken gestützte Zugangsformen zur Vergangenheit, in denen sich soziale Praxis und historisches Denken verbinden, möchte ich mich auf der Grundlage von Patrick Gearys Buch *Phantoms of Remembrance* und den Beiträgen zu diesem Band – keinesfalls summierend, eher eklektisierend – nähern, um an die bereits von Geary vorgenommene Problematisierung einer für unser Thema zentralen methodischen Trennlinie anzuknüpfen. Ich meine die von Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945) etablierte Trennung zwischen Geschichte und (kollektivem) Gedächtnis.

* * *

Forschungen zu Erinnern und Vergessen als Motoren sozialer Prozesse, in deren Reihe *Phantoms of Remembrance* einen festen Platz einnimmt, haben einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Umdeutung des Spannungsfelds aus methodischer Distanz und Empathie zur produktiven Quelle des historischen Arbeitens geleistet. Patrick Geary verdeutlicht

---

1 Grundlegend ist die Definition des Paradigmas bei Aristoteles, allerdings als induktives Argument, vgl. Aristoteles, Rhetorik, II.2, 1375b25–35, Stuttgart 1999, S. 17. Die Definition des Paradigmas als analogische Erkenntnisform übernehme ich von Giorgio Agamben, Signatura rerum. Zur Methode, Frankfurt am Main 2009, S. 37.

diese produktive Spannung in seinem Beitrag mit explizitem Blick auf die biographische Dimension seiner Arbeiten zur Erinnerungskultur, indem er die Beschäftigung mit einem Teil der eigenen Familiengeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts als einen Ausgangspunkt dieser Forschungen herausstellt.

Dieser methodische Entwicklungsschritt war keineswegs selbstverständlich. Er ist vielmehr Teil einer breiter geführten, kritischen Auseinandersetzung mit methodischen Grundsätzen des Historismus, eine langfristige Debatte, deren Kontextualisierung und Entwicklung Walter Pohl in seinem Beitrag zu diesem Band nachzeichnet. Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886) forderte vom Historiker unbedingte Objektivität. Als Forscher wollte er sein „Selbst gleichsam auslöschen, und nur die Dinge reden, die mächtigen Kräfte erscheinen lassen"[2]. Dieses Grundideal schloss neben der wissenschaftlichen Implikation des Historikers gegenüber seinem Forschungsgegenstand eine unausweichliche Restsubjektivität ein, durch die „im gegebenen Zusammenhang die Unterscheidung und Verknüpfung von Wert-Urteil und Erkenntnis-Urteil gelingen"[3] konnte. Dieser Grundgedanke des Historismus war an strenge methodische Prämissen gebunden, die zwangsläufig zur Ablehnung von Formen außerwissenschaftlichen Schreibens über Geschichte führen musste, da diese als (zu) subjektiv empfunden wurden und damit anrüchig waren, eine Sichtweise, die eine weitere Trennlinie zog: jene zwischen Geschichte und Literatur[4].

Maurice Halbwachs, dessen Gedanken zum Gedächtnis und seinen sozialen Bedingungen sowie zum Konzept des kollektiven Gedächtnisses einen zentralen Ausgangspunkt für die wissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit Erinnern (und Vergessen) als gesellschaftliche Phänomene darstellen, wehrte sich gegen die Grundannahmen des Historismus, indem er der systematisierenden und reflektierenden, dadurch aber auch manipulativen Historie die Natürlichkeit und Offenheit des kollektiven Gedächtnisses gegenüber stellte. Halbwachs beschrieb das Verhältnis der beiden als Dichotomie, als schnittmengenlose Gegenüberstellung von geradezu feindlicher Natur, da er in der Historie ein bürgerliches Elitenphänomen sah, dessen Träger den demokratischen Wert und die ideologische Ungebundenheit des kollektiven Gedächtnisses bewusst verfälschten. Auch wenn dieser gesellschaftskritische Ansatz im Zeitkontext der 20er und 30er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts verständlich erscheint, so hat doch die Idee einer eindeutigen Abgrenzung von kollektivem Gedächtnis und Geschichte den nachfol-

---

2 Leopold von Ranke, Sämtliche Werke, Bd. 15: Englische Geschichte vornehmlich im siebzehnten Jahrhundert. Zweiter Band, Leipzig 1870, S. 103.

3 So Otto Gerhard Oexle, Memoria als Kultur, in: Memoria als Kultur, hrsg. von dems., Göttingen 1995 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 121), S. 9–78, das Zitat S. 11–12, dazu umfassend auch ders., Von Nietzsche zu Max Weber: Wertproblem und Objektivitätsforderung der Wissenschaft im Zeichen des Historismus, in: Rechtsgeschichte und theoretische Dimension. Forschungsbeiträge eines Rechtshistorischen Seminars in Stockholm im November 1986, hrsg. von Claes Peterson, Stockholm 1990, S. 111–145.

4 Dazu die programmatische Monographie Ivan Jablonka, L'histoire est une littérature contemporaine. Manifeste pour les sciences sociales, Paris 2014 (Librairie du XXIe siècle).

genden Forschergenerationen eine definitorische Hypothek auferlegt, die in der Tat, wie Walter Pohl betont, paradox erscheint, wenn man davon ausgeht, dass Historiker – wie eingangs angedeutet – vermittelnd zwischen beiden stehen. Ihre Entwicklung, Gestaltung und wechselseitige Wirkung wären somit als gesamtgesellschaftlicher Prozess zu deuten und dies nicht etwa erst in modernen demokratischen Zusammenhängen.

Denn Historiker in Zeiten vor der sogenannten Verwissenschaftlichung der Geschichtsschreibung taten sich um vieles leichter mit solchen Fragen. Und es ist im Grunde verwunderlich, dass die etwa 350-jährige Methodentradition seit Beginn der Aufklärung noch immer mehr wiegt als die historiographische Praxis der rund 2200 Jahre zuvor. Lesen wir etwa beispielhaft den Prolog einer der zentralen biographisch-historiographischen Erinnerungstexte des Frühmittelalters – Einhards *Vita Karoli Magni* – so begegnen wir dort einem Autor der sein Wirken als persönlichen, durchaus subjektiven Erinnerungsakt in einen gesamtgesellschaftlichen Bedürfnisrahmen einordnet, die Bedeutung seines Berichts als Augenzeuge herausstellt, zugleich die Wertigkeit paralleler Darstellungen akzeptiert, nicht zuletzt aber auch seinen Text – bei aller Bescheidenheitstopik – selbstbewusst als an großen Vorbildern orientierte, rhetorisch-sprachliche Leistung präsentiert[5].

Im Hinblick auf das Erinnerungsbild Karls weist Einhard sich selbst eine Mittlerfunktion zwischen den verschiedenen Traditionssträngen und den an der Erinnerung beteiligten Akteuren zu, welche die vom Autor ausgehende rhetorisch-persuasive Dimension im Sinne des *prodesse et delectare* keineswegs verschleiert. Gerade deshalb sollte man den im Prolog durchscheinenden Anspruch auf eine breitere gesellschaftliche, ja öffentliche Wirkung ernst nehmen, denn Rhetorik war und ist – zumindest auf die Adressaten bezogen – kein Elitenphänomen.

Damit stellt die Tatsache, dass Einhard als Autor individuell oder als Teil einer Interessengemeinschaft durch die Karlsbiographie gewiss zeitgebunden politisch handelte, die Verbindungen seines Textes zum sozialen Gedächtnis seiner Zeit nicht in Frage. Ebenso stehen die Kontextgebundenheit und Intentionalität der Biographie nicht im Widerspruch zu ihrem (narrativen) Anteil an der Gestaltung von Vergangenheit als soziale Konstruktion im Hinblick auf ein frühmittelalterliches Gesellschaftsgefüge, das sich nicht in Gruppendynamiken und Teilöffentlichkeiten erschöpft[6].

<p style="text-align:center">✱ ✱ ✱</p>

---

5 Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, hrsg. von Oswald Holder-Egger, in: MGH SS rer. Germ. in usum schol. [25], Hannover, Leipzig 1911, S. 1–2, vgl. dazu Steffen Patzold, Einhards erste Leser. Zu Kontext und Darstellungsabsicht der „Vita Karoli", in: Viator Multilingual, 42, 2011, S. 33–55.
6 Zur Problematisierung des Öffentlichkeitsbegriffs im Hinblick auf das Frühmittelalter zusammenfassend Hedwig Röckelein, Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen im 9. Jahrhundert. Über Kommunikation, Mobilität und Öffentlichkeit im Frühmittelalter, Stuttgart 2002 (Beihefte der Francia, 48), S. 43–47.

Das Beispiel Einhards zeigt, wie vorwissenschaftliche Sichtweisen auf das Verhältnis von kollektivem oder sozialem Gedächtnis und Geschichtsschreibung, methodische Grundannahmen der modernen Geschichtswissenschaft (zumindest aus meiner Sicht) relativieren können, es sei denn, man sieht in der Methodendiskussion des 18. und vor allem 19. Jahrhunderts eine unhintergehbare Trennlinie zu vormodernen Traditionen. Was bei Einhard – noch ist man geneigt zu ergänzen – als Komplementarität erscheint, wird bei Halbwachs zur (auch gesellschaftlich begründeten) Dichotomie, wobei die Trennung von kollektivem Gedächtnis und Historie – wie bereits betont – vor allem auch aus der kritischen Auseinandersetzung mit der zeitgenössischen Geschichtswissenschaft hervorging. Dabei muss Halbwachs eine gewisse terminologische Inkohärenz eingestehen: In seinem unvollendet geblieben Buch *La mémoire collective* oszilliert er auffällig zwischen der Bezeichnung *histoire* und *mémoire historique* und räumt ein, dass die Bezeichnung „historisches Gedächtnis nicht sehr glücklich gewählt sei, da sie zwei Begriffe" zusammenführe, „die sich in mehr als einem Punkt" widersprächen[7].

Der gewaltsame Tod im Konzentrationslager Buchenwald 1945 nahm Halbwachs die Möglichkeit, diesen Punkt kritisch zu vertiefen. Bei aller Bewunderung und Inspiration hat die Forschung zu Gedächtnisformen und Gedächtniskulturen nach 1945 unter anderem aber an dieser rhetorischen und logischen Bruchstelle im Werk Halbwachs' angesetzt – mit prominenten Ausnahmen, wie Pierre Nora, der die Idee der Dichotomie zwischen kollektivem Gedächtnis und Geschichte politisierte und weiter vertiefte[8].

Jan Assmanns behutsam kritische Beschäftigung mit Halbwachs aus der Sicht der Altertumswissenschaften bestätigt zwar zunächst aus dessen Logik heraus den Gegensatz von Gedächtnis und Historie, trennt sich aber von dem damit verbundenen Gegensatz zwischen Gedächtnis und Tradition und betont die fließenden Übergänge zwischen diesen beiden Polen, die im Ergebnis ebenso zwischen Gedächtnis und „Geschichtsschreibung als Symptom veränderter Erinnerungskultur" bestehen[9]. Kommunikatives und kulturelles Gedächtnis – die beiden Schlüsselkategorien im Werk Aleida und Jan Assmanns – geben diesen fließenden Übergängen einen konzeptuellen Rahmen, da beide Gedächtnisformen als aufeinander bezogene Entwicklungsschritte bestimmt werden[10].

---

7 Maurice Halbwachs, La mémoire collective, Paris 1950, S. 45 (meine Übersetzung): *De tout ce qui précède il résulte bien que la mémoire collective ne se confond pas avec l'histoire, et que l'expression : mémoire historique, n'est pas très heureusement choisie, puisqu'elle associe deux termes qui s'opposent sur plus d'un point.*
8 Pierre Nora, Mémoire collective, in: La Nouvelle Histoire, hrsg. von Roger Chartier, Jacques Le Goff und Jacques Revel, Paris 1978, S. 398–401.
9 Jan Assmann, Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen, München 1992, das Zitat S. 299 sowie zur Auseinandersetzung mit Halbwachs' Gegenüberstellungen von Gedächtnis und Geschichte und Gedächtnis und Tradition S. 42–45.
10 Neben der vorgenannten Monographie Jan Assmanns siehe beispielhaft Aleida Assmann, Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses, München 1999.

Patrick Geary hat in *Phantoms of Remembrance* – ebenfalls in Auseinandersetzung mit Maurice Halbwachs – sein Augenmerk auf eben diese fließenden Übergänge und die in ihnen wirkenden Formen der Vermittlung zwischen Gedächtnis und Geschichte gelegt. Wie bei Jan Assmann rücken so zwangsläufig die Prozesshaftigkeit und damit Fragen der Materialität und Medialität von Erinnern in den Mittelpunkt.

Das für diesen Band zentrale Vergessen ordnet Geary in den breiteren Rahmen solcher sozialen Erinnerungsprozesse ein. Mit Blick auf die Zeitgeschichte hat auch Aleida Assmann jüngst die politisch-gesellschaftliche Bedeutung des Vergessens als aktiver Prozess der Fokussierung und Selektion unterstrichen[11]. Generell hat sich die historische, nicht zuletzt die mediävistische Forschung dem Vergessen als Teilaspekt von Erinnerungstechniken und Erinnerungskulturen gewidmet[12]. Als eigenständiger Fokus der historisch-kulturwissenschaftlichen Forschung hat sich das Vergessen allerdings erst in den letzten Jahren etabliert. Die Arbeiten von Sebastian Scholz sowie vor allem von Gerald Schwedler[13], deren Grundlinien in der Einleitung zu diesem Band dargelegt werden, haben wesentlich zu dieser thematischen Rückung beigetragen. Sie geben der Deutung des Vergessens als politisch-sozialer Prozess nicht allein mediävistisch begründete historische Tiefe. Vor allem setzen sie mit den beiden Begriffen der selektiven Erinnerung und der kreativen Selektion methodisch-konzeptuelle Bezugspunkte, deren analytische Wirkmächtigkeit in den Beiträgen zu diesem Band vor Augen geführt wird. Ich möchte die Ergebnisse dieser Beiträge auf einige Aspekte hin zuspitzen.

<center>* * *</center>

Die Herausgeber des Bandes identifizieren in ihrer Einleitung die Untersuchung von Wissenskonfigurationen und ihrer sozialen Kontexte als zentralen thematischen Schwerpunkt der Beschäftigung mit Selektionsprozessen als Teil frühmittelalterlicher Erinnerungskultur. Durch die Fokussierung auf Texte als Medien solcher Selektionsprozesse ergeben sich daraus nicht zuletzt auch Perspektiven für eine kultur- und vor allem sozialgeschichtliche Neuorientierung traditioneller textgeschichtlicher Forschung.

Die Beiträge bilden eine große Bandbreite von Texttypen als Medien kreativer Selektion ab, die von Historiographie und Hagiographie, über Personenlisten, Genealogien, Briefe, Traktate und kirchliche und weltliche Rechtstexte zu monastischen Normentexten reicht. Solche modernen Gattungszuweisungen kennen allerdings gerade im Hinblick auf unsere Thematik Grenzen. Denn das Potential der Texte für die Gestaltung von Vergangenheitsbildern war wesentlich an ein offenes Textverständnis

---

11 Aleida Assmann, Formen des Vergessens, Göttingen 2016 (Historische Geisteswissenschaften. Frankfurter Vorträge, 9).

12 Vgl. dazu den Forschungsüberblick in Patrick Gearys Beitrag zu diesem Band S. 17–20.

13 Gerald Schwedler, Vergessen, Verändern, Verschweigen und Damnatio memoriae im frühen Mittelalter, Köln u. a. 2021 (Zürcher Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 9).

gebunden, das nicht nur für das Mittelalter spezifisch ist[14]. Die von Patrick Geary untersuchten Chartulare, die um historiographische und hagiographische Elemente ergänzt wurden, sind hierfür ein klassisches Beispiel. Ganz ähnlich verhält es sich mit memorierenden Personenlisten als Teil historiographischer Narration (Philippe Dépreux). Genealogien konnten um narrative Elemente ergänzt und damit zu einer Form von Geschichtserzählung umgeformt werden (Helmut Reimitz). Die serielle Logik von Sammelhandschriften macht sich dasselbe offene Textverständnis zu eigen, indem etwa Rechtstexte ganz unterschiedlicher Natur zu einem kohärenten Rechtsinstrument oder Rechtsmonument zusammengebunden wurden (Michael Eber – Stefan Esders – David Ganz – Till Stüber). Im Falle von Namenslisten und Genealogien hatte die serielle Form einen wesentlichen Einfluss auf die argumentative Kraft des Vergangenheitsbilds, das durch die Personenabfolge getragen wurde. Brüche in der Abfolge konnten leicht kaschiert werden, um Kontinuität zu suggerieren. Die Form des Texts wird hier nahezu zum Argument *sui generis.* Dies hing nicht zuletzt auch damit zusammen, dass solche Listen auf historische, in erster Linie biblische Modelle wie Christusgenealogien und Patriarchenlisten als autoritative Vorlagen rekurrierten.

Die zum Teil breite handschriftliche Streuung der untersuchten Texte und Textkomplexe macht deutlich, dass solche Strategien im Zusammenhang ausgreifender Textnetzwerke entwickelt und verhandelt wurden. Damit stellt sich die Frage nach der Wirkung und dem intendierten oder tatsächlichen Publikum. Die zusammengetragenen Fallbeispiele illustrieren komplexe Formen der Vergangenheitskonstruktionen, die ausnahmslos an schriftliche Fixierung gebunden waren, was nicht zuletzt ihre Verbreitung sicherte. Inhaltliche Veränderungen und Tilgungen, die etwa in den fränkischen Königsgenealogien Aktualisierungen des Geschichtsbildes sichtbar machen, werfen allerdings auch die Frage auf, inwiefern solche Veränderungen vor der Verschriftlichung diskutiert wurden. Für monastische Gemeinschaften sind solche mündlichen Aushandlungsprozesse im Hinblick etwa auf normative Fragen (Jörg Sonntag) aber auch für hagiographische und historiographische Texte dokumentiert, die in der Gemeinschaft zur Diskussion gestellt wurden[15]. Dies gilt ebenso für politische Entscheidungsprozesse im Rahmen von Versammlungen[16].

Hier zeichnen sich Formen partizipativer Literalität[17] ab, welche die zentrale Bedeutung von Schriftlichkeit, aber auch ihr komplementäres, keinesfalls hierarchi-

---

14 Dazu grundlegend Roland Barthes, De l'œuvre au texte, in: ders., Œuvres complètes. hrsg. von Éric Marty, Bd. 3: Livres, textes, entretiens 1968 – 1971, Paris 2002, S. 908 – 916.

15 Vgl. das Beispiel bei Patrick Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium, Princeton (NJ) 1994, S. 11 – 12.

16 Dazu allgemein den Band Streit am Hof im frühen Mittelalter, hrsg. von Matthias Becher und Alheydis Plassmann, Göttingen 2011 (Super alta perennis, 11).

17 Zum Begriff de Literalität in frühmittelalterlichen Zusammenhängen The uses of literacy in early medieval Europe, hrsg. von Rosamond McKitterick, Cambridge u. a. 1990 sowie zum weiteren thematischen Rahmen mit reicher Bibliographie New approaches to medieval communication, hrsg. von Marco Mostert, Turnhout 1999 (Utrecht Studies in medieval literacy 1).

sches Verhältnis zu Mündlichkeit in der frühmittelalterlichen Welt unterstreichen. Und wir sollten nicht vergessen, dass der mündliche performative Vortrag eines literarischen Textes durch einen geschulten Lektor (auch jenseits des Frühmittelalters) hoch geschätzt war, weshalb Paul Zumthor (1915–1995) den Begriff der Vokalität dem Begriff der Mündlichkeit vorzog[18]. Dieselbe Wertigkeit von Vokalität zeigt sich in Formen ritualisierter, näherhin liturgischer Memoria. Es sei etwa daran erinnert, dass für Augustinus Verstorbene durch die mündliche Äußerung ihres Namens in liturgischen Kontexten gegenwärtig wurden[19]. Die Rasur eines Namens in einem als irdische Analogie zum himmlischen Lebensbuch gedachten *Liber memorialis* kam in diesem Sinne der physischen Tilgung aus der Gemeinschaft der Lebenden und der Toten gleich, die ekklesiologisch betrachtet dem Ausschluss aus der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen entsprach[20].

Angesichts der angedeuteten Perspektiven kollektiver Aushandlungsprozesse wäre letztlich auch zu fragen, inwiefern textlich greifbare Vergangenheitsbilder in einem öffentlichen Raum diskutiert und konstituiert wurden. Wenn die Pippiniden nach der Thronusurpation von 751 durch Aneignung vorhergehender Traditionen fränkischer Königsgenealogien ihre eigene familiäre *Memoria* als Teil aristokratischer Erinnerungskultur verköniglichten, dann wird darin vielleicht sogar beispielhaft greifbar, wie sich um den Aspekt der selektierender und transformierender Erinnerung ein differenziertes Verständnis von privatem und öffentlichem Raum formte, zwei Kategorien, die in die Untersuchung antiker Gesellschaften problemlos integriert werden[21].

Dies führt uns zurück zu den bereits für Einhard und seine Karlsvita thematisierten gesellschaftlichen Bezugsebenen, die das Handeln jener Autoren bestimmten, die aktiv – ob als Individuum oder Gruppe – Vergangenheitsbilder im Rahmen kreativer Selektionsprozesse gestalteten. Die gestalterische Kraft von Individuen, die im Sinne der Entwicklung eines kulturellen Gedächtnisses mitunter weit über ihren Zeitkontext hinausreicht, ist zumeist nur für die namentlich Bekannten näher zu fassen. Isidor von Sevilla wird als politisch motivierter Spiritus rector der *Damnatio memoriae* des Westgotenkönigs Gundemar greifbar (Michael J. Kelly). Gregor von Tours bestimmt bis heute durch ein Werk unser Bild des 6. Jahrhunderts, das ein heilsgeschichtlich fundiertes, aber auch aus der Lebenserfahrung des Autors ge-

---

18 Paul Zumthor, La lettre et la voix. De la littérature médiévale, Paris 1987.

19 Augustinus, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, 6, hrsg. von Joseph Zycha, in: Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 41, Prag u. a. 1900, S. 630–631.

20 Vgl. Sebastian Scholz, ,Durch eure Fürbitten ist er Gefährte der Heiligen'. Grabinschriften als Ausdruck des Totengedenkens im Mittelalter, in: Bücher des Lebens – lebendige Bücher. Katalog, hrsg. von Peter Erhart und Jakob Kuratli, St. Gallen 2010, S. 70–82.

21 Public and Private in Ancient Mediterranean Law and Religion, hrsg. von Ando Clifford und Jörg Rüpke, Berlin, München, Boston 2015 (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 65).

speistes sozioekklesiologisches Modell für seine Zeit entwarf[22]. Die Selektionsent-scheidungen Gregors (und Fredegars) gegenüber den ihm verfügbaren Überlieferungen werden dabei als eine die Geschichtsschreibung geradezu definierende Grundbedingung sichtbar (Gerald Schwedler), ein Nachhall Herodot'scher Arbeitsweisen. Für Jonas' von Bobbio Wirken als Autor hat die neueste textgeschichtliche Forschung für die vorkarolingische Zeit recht einzigartige Perspektiven einer biographischen Verortung eröffnet, die vor allem zeigen, wie sehr seine Darstellungen der monastisch-politischen Entwicklungen um die Figur Columbans zeitbezogene Konstruktionen und Beiträge zu aktuellen Debatten um theologische Fragen waren (Ian Wood), die in der hagiographischen Narration offensichtlich oder latent greifbar werden.

Gerade das Beispiel Jonas' von Bobbio, der – vermittelt durch die katholische Geschichtsforschung des 19. Jahrhunderts – zum Kronzeugen des 7. Jahrhunderts wurde, zeigt, wie sehr wir Historiker selbst durch unsere Selektionsentscheidungen eine im Prinzip reiche Überlieferung dem Vergessen Preis geben. Das an hagiographischen Schriften nicht eben arme 7. Jahrhundert ist dadurch ein Stück weit zum Jahrhundert der Hagiographie Jonas' von Bobbio geworden. Anders gesagt: Hinter solchen namentlich bekannten Autoren, die bereits im Mittelalter gelöst von ihren Biographien zu Autoritäten wurden, steht eine anonyme Masse von Männern und Frauen, die mit gleichem Talent Anteil an der Erinnerungskultur ihrer Zeit nahmen und dies nicht allein in Form von historiographischen und hagiographischen Narrativen. Rechtssammlungen etwa zeigen wie durch chronologische oder thematische Ordnungsprinzipien die historische Verortung von Rechtstraditionen betont oder verdeckt werden konnte, um durch die Verbindung der verschiedenen Überlieferungen im frühmittelalterlichen Kontext an die spätantike Rechtsvergangenheit der (zumindest partiellen) Einheit von imperialem und kirchlichen Recht anzuknüpfen. Experten der Ordnung und schriftlichen Fixierung konnte somit bewusst die Rolle zugewiesen werden, die unterschiedlichsten ideologischen Traditionsstränge zu einer im Zeitkontext relevanten Narration zu synthetisieren. Wenn wir davon ausgehen, dass solche narrativen Konstruktionen Teil einer öffentlichen Diskussion um Erinnerungsbilder und Repräsentationen von Vergangenheit waren, dann ist eine solche Rollenzuweisung nicht verwunderlich, denn Experten kommt häufig die Aufgabe zu, öffentliche Diskurse zu katalysieren. Es ist ebenso wenig verwunderlich, dass eine solche Aufgabe mitunter Outsidern zugeschrieben wurde, wenn wir etwa an das Wirken des Italieners Venantius Fortunatus als Hagiograph in der Gallia denken.

Ein Desiderat für künftige Forschungen wäre noch zu formulieren: Historiker beschäftigen sich noch immer zu wenig mit der Bedeutung materieller und bildlicher Zeugnisse als Erinnerungsmedien und Mittel zur Vergangenheitskonstruktion. Im Band kommt der Anteil der Münzen am hochmittelalterlichen Erinnerungsbild Karls des Großen zur Sprache, die zudem auf die Bedeutung der Wechselwirkung ver-

---

22 Dazu grundlegend Martin Heinzelmann, Bischof Gregor von Tours (538 – 594). „Zehn Bücher Geschichte": Historiographie und Gesellschaftskonzept im 6. Jahrhundert, Darmstadt 1993.

schiedener Medien verweisen (Manfred Groten). Ein klassisches Beispiel aus spät-antik-frühmittelalterlichen Zusammenhängen wären die ostgotischen Prozessions-mosaiken in S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass die ur-sprüngliche Ausstattung Hofmitglieder Theoderichs des Großen darstellte und aus diesem Grund in justinianischer Zeit politisch motiviert durch Heiligenprozessionen ersetzt wurde. Dabei blieben allerdings einzelne Teile – vor allem Hände – der ur-sprünglichen Figuren sozusagen als Sichtbarmachung der *Damnatio memoriae* be-stehen[23].

Die Einbindung von Bildzeugnissen bedeutet mehr als eine bloße Bereicherung des Quellenmateriales. Sie eröffnet vor allem Zugänge zu Methodentraditionen der Bild- und Kunstwissenschaft, die für unsere Thematik zentral sind. Ich denke hier vor allem an die bildbezogenen kulturwissenschaftlichen Ansätze Aby Warburgs (1866 – 1929), der als erster das Konzept des sozialen Gedächtnisses einführte[24]. Warburg interessierte sich vor allem für die bildliche Tradition universaler Gesten und Mimiken des Menschen, Pathosformeln, in denen als Teil der Geschichte Grundformen der körperlichen Äußerung des Menschen als Nachleben – so der zweite von Warburg formulierte Schlüsselbegriff in diesem Zusammenhang – greifbar werden[25]. Bilder sind damit zentrale Träger des sozialen Gedächtnisses, in denen vor allem auch un-bewusste, latente Erinnerungsmomente greifbar werden – ein Gedanke der durchaus Parallelen zur von Patrick Geary gebrauchten Metapher der ‚phantoms of remem-brance' aufweist[26].

Warburgs Ansatz der Bilddeutung ist nicht allein ästhetische Theorie, sondern besitzt eine dezidiert politische und soziale Dimension. Denn der Begriff der Pa-thosformel definiert universale menschliche Gesten als Erinnerungsträger individu-eller wie kollektiver menschlicher Erfahrungen. Als Teil des kulturellen Gedächtnisses geht somit von Pathosformeln eine dauerhafte Wirkung aus. Georges Didi-Huberman hat diesen Gedanken kürzlich in einer umfangreichen Ausstellung auf die Geste der Erhebung (*soulèvement*) zugespitzt[27]. Warburg setzte somit den Rahmen für eine his-torische Bildforschung, in der Gedächtniskonzepte eine zentrale Rolle spielen.

Der von Warburg unmittelbar inspirierte Percy Ernst Schramm (1894 – 1970) hat dessen Ansätze für die mediävistische Geschichtswissenschaft verfügbar gemacht, sie

---

23 Dazu zusammenfassend Carola Jäggi, Ravenna. Kunst und Kultur einer spätantiken Residenzstadt. Die Bauten und Mosaiken des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts, Regensburg 2016, S. 180 – 182.

24 Aby Warburg, Schlangenritual. Ein Reisebericht, Berlin 1988.

25 Anfänglich Aby Warburg, Dürer und die italienische Antike (1905), in: ders., Werke in einem Band, hrsg. von Perdita Ladwig, Martin Treml und Sigrid Weigel, Frankfurt am Main 2010, S. 176 – 183, rea-lisiert vor allem im Bildatlas Mnemosyne, dazu ders., Mnemosyne. Einleitung (1929), in: ebd., S. 629 – 639 und ders., Mnemosyne I., in: ebd., S. 640 – 646. Zur Wissensarchäologie der Waburg'schen Ideen Georges Didi-Huberman, L'image survivante. Histoire de l'art et temps des fantômes selon Aby War-burg, Paris 2002.

26 Zum Konzept der Latenz auch Latenz. Blinde Passagiere in den Geisteswissenschaften, hrsg. von Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht und Florian Klinger, Göttingen, Oakville (CT) 2011.

27 Soulèvements, hrsg. von Georges Didi-Huberman, Paris 2016.

zugleich aber auf den Aspekt der politischen Ikonologie eingeengt[28]. Die breite soziokulturelle Ausrichtung Warburgs, vor allem sein Interesse an der Verflechtung von Bildtradition und sozialem Gedächtnis, die nicht zuletzt in Ernst Cassirers (1874–1945) Philosophie der symbolischen Formen ein systematisierend analytisches Pendant fand[29], ist dadurch – zumindest für die mittelalterliche Geschichte – nachhaltig verschleiert worden. Dabei konnte für andere Bereiche der historischen Kulturwissenschaften im Rückgriff auf Warburg gezeigt werden, wie sehr Bilder und Texte und die mit ihnen verbundenen medialen Strategien komplementär oder konkurrierend gesellschaftliche Erinnerungsprozesse bestimmen[30]. Wenn wir den Beitrag der Historie zur Konstruktion des sozialen Gedächtnisses – wie in diesem Band vorgeschlagen – vor allem in der Wirkung medialer Selektionsprozesse fassen, dann stellten Bilder hierfür ganz eigene Strategien zur Verfügung. Die vergleichende Betrachtung von Bild- und Textstrategien im Rahmen solcher Selektionsprozesse dürfte somit – im Sinne Warburgs – weitergehende Perspektiven für das Verständnis frühmittelalterlicher Erinnerungskulturen und deren soziale Kontexte eröffnen.

<p align="center">∗ ∗ ∗</p>

Beunruhigt – wie Maurice Halbwachs – von den aufwallenden Totalitarismen seiner Zeit formulierte Walter Benjamin (1892–1940), „Vergangenes historisch artikulieren" heiße nicht, „es erkennen ‚wie es denn eigentlich gewesen ist'." Es heiße, „sich einer Erinnerung bemächtigen, wie sie im Augenblick einer Gefahr aufblitzt."[31] In deutlicher Abgrenzung vom Historismus entwirft Benjamin hier um den Begriff der Erinnerung eine geschichtswissenschaftliche, vor allem aber auch gesellschaftliche Handlungsmaxime, welche die bei Aby Warburg auf das Phänomen der Pathosformel zentrierte Korrelation von sozialem Gedächtnis, Geschichte und Gegenwart fortdenkt. Ich möchte behaupten, dass der eingangs formulierte Vorschlag, Erinnern und Vergessen als auf Analogiedenken basierende konzeptuelle Zugänge zur Vergangenheit zu denken, Perspektiven einer solchen Bemächtigung von Erinnerung eröffnet. Analogie wäre dabei – entgegen der üblichen sinnreduzierenden Praxis – nicht als schlichte Wesensgleichsetzung zu verstehen, durch die sich historisches Denken in Anachronismen verfänge. Sie wäre vielmehr auf der Grundlage rhetorischer und erkenntnistheoretischer Traditionen als Relationsgleichheit zweier Objekte zu definieren, die

---

28 Zu den persönlichen und gedanklichen Beziehungen zwischen Aby Warburg und Percy Ernst Schramm siehe Lucas Burkart, Verworfene Inspiration. Die Bildgeschichte Percy Ernst Schramms und die Kulturwissenschaft Aby Warburgs, in: Bilder als historische Quellen? Dimension der Debatten um historische Bildforschung, hrsg. von Jens Jäger und Martin Knauer, München 2009, S. 71–96.

29 Ernst Cassirer, Philosophie der symbolischen Formen, 3 Bde, Hamburg 2010. Zum komplexen Verhältnis zwischen Warburg und Cassirer Didi-Huberman, L'image survivante (wie Anm. 25), Paris 2002, S. 433–451.

30 Siehe beispielhaft den Band Märtyrer-Porträts. Von Opfertod, Blutzeugen und heiligen Kriegern, hrsg. von Sigrid Weigel, München u. a. 2007.

31 Walter Benjamin, Über den Begriff der Geschichte, hrsg. von Gérard Raulet, Frankfurt am Main 2010 (Kritische Gesamtausgabe 19), S. 75.

nicht auf den Eigenschaften der Objekte selbst, sondern auf den wechselseitigen Beziehungen zwischen diesen Eigenschaften beruht[32]. Aby Warburgs Konzept der Pathosformel wäre ein Ansatzpunkt, um darüber nachzudenken, wie solch ein komplexes Analogieverständnis für historisches Denken zu nutzen wäre. Es käme darauf an, im Sinne Foucault'scher Wissensarchäologie die Beziehungen zwischen Analogiedenken und Praktiken des Erinnerns und Vergessens zu historisieren. Die Autoren dieses Band bieten hierfür aus der Perspektive des Früh- und Hochmittelalters sinnvolle Anknüpfungspunkte.

---

32 So die Definition bei Hans Höffding, Der Begriff der Analogie, Leipzig 1924, S. 7.

Index: Millennium-Studien zur Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr.

Orte und Namen

Im Orts- und Namensverzeichnis werden die Ortsnamen in der jeweils aktuellen Landessprache geschrieben, historische Regionen und Personennamen unabhängig von der Sprache des Vorkommens in den Artikeln in ihrer deutschen Fassung. Abgekürzt werden Kaiser/emperor (Ks.), König/king (Kg.), Königin/queen (Kgn.), Herzog/duke (Hz.), Graf/count (Gf.), Papst/pope (Pp.), Erzbischof/archbishop (Eb.), Bischof/bishop (B.), Abt/abbot (A.).