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## The art of truth. Historiography and identity in the Frankish world<sup>1</sup>

Over recent decades research on ethnicity and identity in the early Middle Ages has developed a new way of looking at the relationship of “Texts and Identities”. One of the results of research into early medieval ethnicity has been the observation that ethnic identity did not constitute an objective fact or phenomenon, but that it was rather the result of subjective identification. Therefore, the extant texts cannot be interpreted as sources which simply reflect ethnic structures, but should be understood above all as media through which ethnic identities were devised and propagated.<sup>2</sup> Using this approach, histories, origin myths and other myths, but also, for example, legal traditions have been analysed as “mythomoteurs” (to use the phrase coined by A.D. Smith),<sup>3</sup> giving meaning to particular communities. Several case studies have shown that in the early Middle Ages, large-scale ethnic processes were often promoted by texts which were intended to demonstrate the existence of lineages and alliances that stretched far beyond the personal and regional horizons of individual group members.<sup>4</sup>

In this respect, there is still a lot of rethinking and reorienting to do, especially in the context of the transmission and reception of texts written in the Frankish regna of the Merovingians and the Carolingians, where the relatively high number of surviving texts has long been regarded as a succession of complementary parts which constitute a single “grand narrative” of the history of ‘the’

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<sup>1</sup> Having been part of the Texts and Identities group from the beginning of the project, my work on Historiography and identity in the Frankish World has profited from the people involved much more than can be documented in footnotes. I should like to thank above all the founders of this cooperation, Mayke de Jong, Rosamond McKitterick, Walter Pohl, and Ian Wood, not only for having had the idea but also for their continuous advice and support for my research during so many years. Of course I also have to thank all the other participants of “Texts and Identities”. The liveliness and engagement of this group of scholars is, I think, well documented in this volume and it is therefore easy to imagine what pleasure it was for me during the last seven years to have had the privilege of being part of it.

I should also like to thank Peter Brown who lent his characteristically elegant advice with regard to the title.

<sup>2</sup> See now: Walter Pohl, *Identität und Widerspruch. Gedanken zu einer Sinngeschichte des frühen Mittelalters*, in: *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen*, ed. id. (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 8, Wien 2004) 24–35; id., *Aux origines d’une Europe ethnique: Identités en transformation entre antiquité et moyen âge*, in: *Annales: Histoire, Sciences sociales* 60, 1 (2005) 183–208; id., *L’europa meticcica nell’ altomedioevo*, in: *Europa in Costruzione. La forza delle identità, la ricerca di unità*, ed. Giorgio Cracco (Trento, in press); id., *Ethnicity, theory and tradition: a response*, in: *On Barbarian Identity – Critical Approaches to Ethnogenesis Theory*, ed. Andrew Gillett (Turnhout 2002) 221–240; id., *Tradition, Ethnogenese und literarische Gestaltung: eine Zwischenbilanz*, in: *Ethnogenese und Überlieferung. Angewandte Methoden der Frühmittelalterforschung*, ed. Karl Brunner/Brigitte Merta (VIÖG 31, Wien/München 1994) 9–26; id., *Le origine etniche dell’Europa. Barbari e Romani tra antichità e medioevo* (Roma 2000); id., *Die Völkerwanderung. Eroberung und Integration* (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln 2002).

<sup>3</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (London 1986); for a critical discussion of the ethnosymbolic position developed by Smith see Pohl, *L’europa meticcica*.

<sup>4</sup> Walter Pohl, *Geschichte und Identität im Langobardenreich*, in: *Die Langobarden – Herrschaft und Identität*, ed. Walter Pohl/Peter Erhart (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 9, Wien 2005) 555–566; ders., *Memory, identity and power in Lombard Italy*, in: *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Matthew Innes/Yitzhak Hen (Cambridge 2000) 9–28; in general see also: Herwig Wolfram, *Auf der Suche nach den Ursprüngen*, in: *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen. Von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters*, ed. Walter Pohl (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 8, Wien 2004) 11–22; for other case studies cf.: Herwig Wolfram/Walter Pohl/Hans-Hubert Anton/Ian N. Wood/Matthias Becher, *Origo Gentis*, in: *RGA 2. Aufl. 22* (Berlin/New York 2003) 174–210, with a rich bibliography.

Franks.<sup>5</sup> In older scholarship the differences in description and depiction of the origins of the Franks in Gregory of Tours' Histories, Fredegar's Chronicle and the Liber historiae Francorum were often overlooked because these works were considered as independent, free-standing narratives and thus not compared directly. In a more "Texts and Identities"-oriented approach, however, these works should rather be seen as reactions to each other and as offering competing definitions of Frankishness.<sup>6</sup>

This approach, however, leads us not only to engage in the textual comparison of these sources, it also alerts us to the potential of the study of their transmission. It is above all the way and form in which these texts were transmitted that shed an entirely new light on the question of the nature of the relationship between texts and ethnic and political identities. Some of the most important Frankish historical sources have come down to us via different routes of transmission and in a number of (either abbreviated or augmented) versions. They have also often been combined with other texts so as to form greater historical *compendia*.<sup>7</sup> Only a comparison of the different historiographical compilations enables us to appreciate how frequently very similar texts and historiographical traditions could be employed in devising, through their varying contextualisations, very different identities.<sup>8</sup> These – sometimes quite subtle – distinctions in textual content and transmission, however, have remained largely unexamined by scholars of this period. Moreover, where these different versions have received attention, it was often with the aim to establish the best reading, or *Urtext*, of a work. Most attention was therefore paid to the similarities, rather than the differences, between various versions. In the older research tradition, variation was often seen as deviation from the hypothetical *Urtext*, and the copyists and scribes were blamed for their lapses in concentration, their mistakes, and for their general lack of understanding of the texts. For research on processes of identity formation in the Frankish world, however, comparing the differences in textual transmission is of crucial importance. Such comparison provides the key to unraveling the complex process of *écriture* and *réécriture* of collective history and memory in constructing and formulating social, political

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ian N. Wood, Conclusion: in praise of uncertainty, in: Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter, ed. Walter Pohl/Maximilian Diesenberger (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 3, Wien 2002) 303–312, esp. 307f.

<sup>6</sup> For Merovingian history and historiography it was especially Ian N. Wood who introduced me to such a view of the sources: cf. Ian N. Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450–751 (London/New York 1994); id., Defining the Franks: Frankish origins in early Medieval historiography, in: Concepts of National Identity in the Early Middle Ages, ed. Simon Forde (Leeds Texts and Monographs NS 14, Leeds 1995) 21–46; id., Fredegar's fables, in: Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter, ed. Anton Scharer/Georg Scheibelreiter (VIÖG 32, Wien/München 1994) 359–366; id., Deconstructing the Merovingian family, in: The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages. Texts, Resources, Artefacts, ed. Richard Corradini/Maximilian Diesenberger/Helmut Reimitz (The Transformation of the Roman World 12, Leiden/New York 2003) 149–171; cf. already: id., Forgery in Merovingian hagiography, in: Fälschungen im Mittelalter, ed. Horst Fuhrmann (MGH Schriften 33, 5, München 1988) 369–384.

<sup>7</sup> The study on historiographical manuscripts and compendia from the early Middle Ages was pursued above all by Rosamond McKitterick who has made it popular far beyond the circle of manuscript-scholars in numerous books and articles: See now: Rosamond McKitterick, History and Memory in the Carolingian World (Cambridge 2004); cf. also: ead., Introduction: sources and interpretation, in: The New Cambridge Medieval History 2, 700–900, ed. ead. (Cambridge 1995) 3–17, ead., The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages (Aldershot 1995); ead., Books, Scribes and Learning (Aldershot 1994); ead., The Carolingians and the Written Word (Cambridge 1989).

<sup>8</sup> For this approach see Walter Pohl, History in fragments. Montecassino's politics of memory, in: Early Medieval Europe 10 (2001) 343–374; id., Werkstatt der Erinnerung. Montecassino und die Gestaltung der langobardischen Vergangenheit (MIÖG Erg. Bd. 39, Wien/München 2001); id., Paulus Diaconus und die „Historia Langobardorum“: Text und Tradition, in: Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter, ed. Anton Scharer/Georg Scheibelreiter (VIÖG 32, Wien/München 1994) 375–405; Brigitte Resl, Ethnic history and ecclesiastical identity: the example of Passau, in: Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter, ed. Walter Pohl/Maximilian Diesenberger (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 3, Wien 2002) 91–103; ead., Ein Passauer Historikerstreit im 13. Jahrhundert: Ein Versuch, die Geschichte still zu legen, in: Text – Schrift – Codex. Quellenkundliche Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, ed. Christoph Egger/Herwig Weigl (MIÖG Erg. Bd. 35, Wien 2000) 286–303; see also Winfried Stelzer, Studien zur österreichischen Historiographie im 14. Jahrhundert I. Die Chronik des „Anonymus Leobensis“ und die Leobener Martinschronik, in: MIÖG 103 (1995) 369–391.

and ethnic identity.<sup>9</sup> It seems obvious that historians who were engaged in such projects in the early Middle Ages never approached their material carelessly. The use of biblical narratives or patterns in historical works originating in the Frankish *regna* enriched the meaning of the present thus creating an intricate tension between the historical authority of a text and its contemporary meaning.<sup>10</sup>

This area of tension in which, in the Middle Ages, *historia* was and had to be written and read, may be illustrated by an episode in the history of transmission of one of the central texts of Frankish historiography, Gregory of Tours's *Historiae*. This episode – which also serves to exemplify the above-mentioned observations regarding original works and their transmission – concerns the reception of Gregory's work more than 400 years after his death. In the year 1027, a natural phenomenon was observed on the Aquitanian coast, commonly referred to in medieval sources as 'blood rain'. This phenomenon occurs when European rain mixes with Sahara sand that has been transported across the Mediterranean by southern winds. The Aquitanian duke of the time, William the Great, immediately informed King Robert II of the event and urged him to consult the scholars of his realm regarding the possible meaning of this sign. The king thereupon dispatched couriers to the intellectuals of his kingdom, requesting them to search for similar occurrences *in quibusdam historiis* and to provide his messenger with the interpretation of this phenomenon. One of the scholars who responded to King Robert's request, and whose response has been preserved, was Fulbert of Chartres. Fulbert's reply consisted of a number of extracts from different works, but he recommended a passage from Gregory's *Historiae* particularly strongly. Fulbert even provided the king with the full reference for this passage, namely Book 6, Chapter 14 of the *Historiae*. He moreover promised to send the king more information later, but explained that because of the urgency of the request he had first turned to Gregory for an answer *propter auctoritatem religionis suae*.<sup>11</sup>

It is unlikely that Gregory would have objected to Fulbert's use of his work, for a number of reasons. For although he probably had not anticipated that his *Historiae* would still be quoted as a moral and religious authority more than 400 years after their composition, it was this kind of authority to which Gregory had aimed to lay claim with his work, which was never intended as "a history" of the Franks.<sup>12</sup> The complex strategies that Gregory used in asserting such religious and spiritual

<sup>9</sup> An author who has influenced and inspired the approach, I present here is: Patrick J. Geary, esp. with his *Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion in the First Millennium* (Princeton 1994); on early medieval ethnicity see also his: *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton 2002).

<sup>10</sup> For this complex and important context of historiographical work in the Middle Ages see Mayke de Jong, *Old law and new-found power. Hrabanus Maurus and the Old Testament*, in: *Centres of Learning. Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, ed. Jan-Willem Drijvers/Alasdair A. MacDonald (Leiden/New York/Köln 1995) 161–174; ead., *The Emperor Lothar and his Bibliotheca Historiarum*, in: *Media Latinitas. A Collection of Essays to Mark the Retirement of L.J. Engels*, ed. Renée I.A. Nip (*Instrumenta Patristica* 28, Turnhout 1996) 229–235; ead., *The empire as ecclesia: Hrabanus Maurus and biblical historia for rulers*, in: *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Yitzhak Hen/Matthew Innes (Cambridge 2000) 191–226; ead., *Exegesis for an empress*, in: *Medieval Transformations. Texts, Power and Gifts in Context*, ed. Esther Cohen/Mayke de Jong (Leiden/Boston/Köln 2001) 69–100; ead., *Bride-shows revisited: praise, slander and exegesis in the reign of the empress Judith*, in: *Gender in the Early Medieval World. East and West, 300–900*, ed. Leslie Brubaker/Julia M.H. Smith (Cambridge 2004) 257–277; cf. also the special issue on: *The Power of the Word: The Influence of the Bible on Early Medieval Politics* (*Early Medieval Europe* 7, 1998).

<sup>11</sup> *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (ed. and transl. Frederick Behrends, Oxford Medieval Texts, Oxford 1976) 224–222, 274–275; cf. Karl Ferdinand Werner, *Gott, Herrscher, und Historiograph. Der Geschichtsschreiber als Interpret des Wirkens Gottes in der Welt und Ratgeber der Könige (4.–12. Jahrhundert)*, in: *Deus qui mutat tempora. Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel des Mittelalters*, Festschrift für Alfons Becker, ed. Ernst-Dieter Hehl (Sigmaringen 1987) 1–31, at 28ff.; for William of Aquitaine and Fulbert of Chartres cf. id., *Quelques observations au sujet des débuts du „duché“ de Normandie*, in: *Droit privé et institutions régionales. Etudes historiques offertes à Jean Yver* (Publications de l'Université de Rouen 31, Paris 1976) 691–709.

<sup>12</sup> Martin Heinzelmann, *Die Franken und die fränkische Geschichte in der Perspektive der Historiographie Gregors von Tours*, in: *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. Anton Scharer/Georg Scheibelreiter (*VIÖG* 32, Wien/München 1994) 326–344; 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 Honour of Richard Sullivan*, ed. Thomas F.X. Noble/John J. Contreni (Kalamazoo-Michigan 1987) 55–76.

authority have been described by Martin Heinzelmann in his book on Gregory's Histories.<sup>13</sup> But the way in which Fulbert quoted Gregory would also have met with the latter's approval, who, in a dramatic appeal at the end of his *Historiae*, beseeched the readers and copyists of his work to change nothing in the original reading of the text.<sup>14</sup> Judging from Fulbert's use of Gregory, he may indeed have heeded this request, because he appears to have used a copy that was fairly close to Gregory's original.<sup>15</sup> Such textual scruples, however, were far from common in Fulbert's days. Despite the horrible fates, involving the Devil himself and "the second coming of ... Christ and the Day of Judgement ...", which Gregory threatened to all who would omit or rewrite passages from his work, this was exactly what happened.<sup>16</sup> No historiographical work from the early Middle Ages was subjected to so varied and fragmented a transmission as Gregory's Histories.<sup>17</sup> In Fulbert's time alone, and excluding Fulbert's own, comparatively faithful copy, there existed at least two other versions of the work, which were the result of the very treatment for which Gregory had put such high penalties.<sup>18</sup> Interestingly, whereas all of these versions are still extant in a number of early medieval manuscripts, the version of Gregory's text which Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, Gregory's editors for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* series, deemed the "best and most complete", was only preserved in a single manuscript, produced at Montecassino as late as the end of the eleventh century.<sup>19</sup>

The oldest reworked version of Gregory's text probably originated within a few decades after his death and has been preserved in four manuscripts from the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century.<sup>20</sup> Another manuscript of this version was copied around 800.<sup>21</sup> The version preserved in this group of manuscripts includes only the first 6 books of Gregory's *Historiae* and these, in turn, lack several chapters. Ever since Thierry Ruinart's work on this version, published at the end of the seventeenth century, the genesis of the six-book version of Gregory's Histories has been explained in terms of a conscious effort to erase or reduce the clerical or ecclesiastical content of the

<sup>13</sup> Martin Heinzelmann, *Gregor von Tours (538–594) „Zehn Bücher Geschichte.“ Historiographie und Gesellschaftskonzept im 6. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt 1994), engl. transl. by Christopher Carroll (Cambridge 2001).

<sup>14</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* X, 31 (ed. Bruno Krusch/Wilhelm Levison, MGH SS rer. Merov. 1, 1, Hannover 1951) 535.

<sup>15</sup> The chapter which deals with blood rain is counted as chapter 14 of the sixth book only in the full versions of Gregory's Histories, whereas in the reworkings that were produced in the Merovingian and Carolingian period, where particularly in the sixth book of the Histories lots of chapters were left out, the chapter is counted as chapter 8 of the sixth book, cf. Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, Index, liber VI (ed. Bruno Krusch/Wilhelm Levison, MGH SS rer. Merov. 1, 1, Hannover 1951) 264; for the Merovingian and Carolingian reworkings cf. below.

<sup>16</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* X, 31, ed. Krusch/Levison 535; for a recent discussion of this passage cf. Martin Heinzelmann, *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'œuvre de Grégoire de Tours*, in: *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'occident médiéval*, ed. Monique Goulet/Martin Heinzelmann (Beihefte der Francia 58, Sigmaringen 2003) 15–70, esp. 15ff.

<sup>17</sup> Most recent discussion of the manuscripts of Gregory's *Historiae*: Pascale Bourgain, *Gregorius Turonensis ep.*, in: *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo. Medieval Texts and Their Transmission. TE. TRA I*, ed. Paolo Chiesa/Lucia Castaldi (Millennio medievale 50, Strumenti e studi NS 8, Firenze 2004) 152–161; Martin Heinzelmann/Pascal Bourgain, *L'œuvre de Grégoire de Tours: la diffusion des manuscrits*, in: *Grégoire de Tours et l'espace gaulois*, ed. Nancy Gauthier/Henri Galinié (13<sup>e</sup> supplément à la Revue Archéologique du Centre de la France, Tours 1997) 273–317; Bruno Krusch, *Die handschriftlichen Grundlagen der Historia Francorum Gregors von Tours 1*, in: *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 27 (1932) 673–757; id., *Die handschriftlichen Grundlagen der Historia Francorum Gregors von Tours 2: Die Handschrift von Namur und ihre Verwandten (C2\*, 3, 3\*, 4)*, in: *Historische Vierteljahresschrift* 28 (1933) 1–21; cf. also the introduction to the edition, which was partly revised by Levison and Holtzmann.

<sup>18</sup> Manuscript-groups B, C and D in the classification of Bruno Krusch.

<sup>19</sup> Monte Cassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia cod. 275, cf. Bourgain, *Gregorius Turonensis* 154; Bourgain/Heinzelmann, *L'œuvre de Grégoire de Tours* 277f.; from this version, however, fragments from the seventh century survived, cf. *ibid.* 278f.

<sup>20</sup> Cambrai, Bibl. municipale 624 (684) (B1); Leiden, Bibl. univ. Voss. lat. Qu. 63 (B3), Paris, BN lat. 17654 (B4); Paris, BN lat. 17655 (B5), cf. Bourgain/Heinzelmann, *L'œuvre de Grégoire de Tours* 282; Bourgain, *Gregorius Turonensis* 155.

<sup>21</sup> Bruxelles, Bibl. royale 9403 (B2); cf. Bourgain/Heinzelmann, *L'œuvre de Grégoire de Tours* 282; Bourgain, *Gregorius Turonensis* 155.

work, in order to put a greater emphasis on the history of the Frankish kings.<sup>22</sup> Until relatively recently, the same point of view was taken by the influential Walter Goffart.<sup>23</sup>

Such a distinction, however, cannot easily be made, especially since the dividing line between political and ecclesiastical narratives is extremely faint in the Merovingian period. In a number of his works, Peter Brown has pointed out the difficulties in making such a distinction between secular and ecclesiastical spheres in the late antique and early medieval period. Moreover, he has shown that, in this period, the establishment of spiritual authority was often closely linked to attempts to justify or consolidate social and political power.<sup>24</sup> With regard to Gregory, Ian Wood has demonstrated in three recent articles how Gregory's *Historiae* are imbued by the author's desire to justify his position as bishop of Tours.<sup>25</sup> In order to do this, Gregory carefully drew out the noble origins of his family, which he portrayed as one of the holiest and most distinguished families of Gaul. The spiritual traditions of Gregory's own family became subtly interwoven in his history of Gallia.<sup>26</sup>

Elaborating on these insights, I have suggested elsewhere that it was Gregory's "individuality", his positioning of himself as author and actor within the framework of his text by means of descriptions of his own family, and its political and spiritual networks, which the compilers of the six-book version sought to remove from the *Historiae*.<sup>27</sup> A detailed comparison of the original with the six-book version shows that the passages omitted were mainly those by which Gregory located himself, his familial network and its traditions in his *Historiae*. Therefore, the aim of the compilers of the six-book recension appears to have been not so much to emphasise Frankish politics as to downgrade Gregorian politics. This they achieved by detaching the work from its place and role in Gregory's spiritual and social network, his family's influence in southern Gallia, and its ties with the Austrasian *regnum* under Sigibert I, Brunhild and Childebert II. Such an analysis of the nature of the omissions in the six-book version does not only concur with the geographical shift in political and social power to the northwest of Francia and the centres on Seine and Oise with the rise of Chlothar II.<sup>28</sup> It is also congruent with the *damnatio memoriae* of Brunhild and her descendants at this point in time. Finally, in leaving out the last four books of Gregory's *Historiae*, the compilers excluded those nar-

<sup>22</sup> Thierry Ruinart, Praefatio. In novam editionem sancti Gregorii episcopi Turonensis, in: Sancti Georgii Florentii Gregorii episcopi Turonensis Opera omnia, necnon et Fredegarii scholastici Epitome et Chronicum, ed. Thierry Ruinart (Paris 1699), repr. in: PL 71 (Paris 1879) 9–114; cf. Heinzelmann, Gregory of Tours 198.

<sup>23</sup> Goffart, From *Historiae* to *Historia Francorum*.

<sup>24</sup> Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom. Triumph and Diversity AD 200–1000* (Malden- Massachusetts/Oxford/Victoria 2003); for late Antiquity see also Robert Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge 1990); Conrad Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great* (Oxford 2000); for the early Medieval period see now esp. Mayke de Jong, *Ecclesia and Frankish policy. Some suggestions for further discussion*, in: *Staat im Frühmittelalter*, ed. Stuart Airlie/Walter Pohl/Helmut Reimitz (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 11, Wien 2006) 113–132; ead., *Religion*, in: *The Short Oxford History of Europe: The Early Middle Ages: Europe, 400–1000*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Oxford 2001) 131–164, with further literature.

<sup>25</sup> Ian N. Wood, *Constructing cults in early medieval France: saints and churches in Burgundy and the Auvergne, 400–1000*, in: *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Alan Thacker (Oxford 2002) 155–187; id., *The individuality of Gregory of Tours*, in: *The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. Kathleen Mitchell/Ian N. Wood (Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions 8. Medieval and Early Modern Peoples, Leiden/Boston/Köln 2002) 29–46; id., *Topographies of holy power in sixth-century Gaul*, in: *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Mayke de Jong/Frans Theuvs/Carine van Rhijn (The Transformation of the Roman World 6, Leiden 2001) 137–154.

<sup>26</sup> Wood, *The "individuality" of Gregory of Tours*; Helmut Reimitz, *Social networks and identity in Frankish historiography. New aspects of the textual tradition of Gregory of Tours' Historiae*, in: *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages. Texts, Resources, Artefacts*, ed. Richard Corradini/Maximilian Diesenberger/Helmut Reimitz (The Transformation of the Roman World 12, Leiden/New York 2003) 229–268, esp. 245ff.

<sup>27</sup> For this and the following see: Reimitz, *Social networks* 255ff.

<sup>28</sup> Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms* 140ff.; Eugen Ewig, *Die Merowinger und das Frankenreich* (Stuttgart 1993) 117ff.; id., *Die fränkischen Teilreiche im 7. Jahrhundert (613–714)*, in: *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien*, ed. Hartmut Atsma (Beihefte der Francia 3, 1, München 1976) 172–230, at 174ff.; Paul Fouracre/Richard Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography, 640–720* (Manchester 1996) 4ff.; Régine Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VII<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> siècle). Essai d'anthropologie sociale* (Paris 1995) 388ff.; cf. also Helmut Reimitz, *Neustria*, in: *RGA* 2. Aufl. 21 (2002) 126–131.

ratives which contained the political framework for the rule and overlordship of the Burgundian King Gunthramm, as well as that of his Austrasian successors, King Childebert II and his mother.<sup>29</sup>

That it was the social and political context around the middle and in the second half of the seventh century which informed the contents of the six-book version can also be deduced from its manuscript transmission. Towards the end of the seventh century, interest in Gregory's work was particularly strong in the new cultural and political centres of northern Gallia. Accordingly, the four oldest manuscripts of the six-book recension, produced around 700, seem to have been written in monastic and cultural centres of the ruling elites in the northern and northeastern parts of the Frankish realm like Corbie or Luxeuil.<sup>30</sup> That Gregory's stories about Frankish kings retained their ambivalence in the six-book version<sup>31</sup> in this context of dissemination, close to the new centres of royal power, also indicates that Gregory's *Historiae* had not simply been reworked into a history of the Franks and their kings. The six-book recension preserved the character of Gregory's original work, which presented a collection of case histories that dealt again and again with the problem of negotiating social positions and which could therefore be used in developing social rules and strategies.<sup>32</sup> Incidentally, one reason for the popularity of Gregory's *Histories* may also be explained by the distinctive Gospel-based form which Gregory's account acquired from the moment when he enters the narrative as bishop of Tours. This particular literary strategy might have served to highlight the relevance that these narratives had to the present-day situation of the contemporary reader. However, in order to conserve the relevance of Gregory's lessons (which were especially relevant in the context of episcopal politics), it was necessary that his narrative should be freed from Gregory's particular personal, social, and geographical perspective.<sup>33</sup>

That the seventh- and eighth-century versions of Gregory's *Histories* did not aim to present a Frankish recasting of the work can also be shown by a comparison of the representation of the Franks and their social and political networks in the original with that of the six-book recension. The use of the word *Franci* did not increase, nor become more specific in the six-book recension, and the Roman word for the setting of Gregory's *Historiae*, *Gallia*, was not brought up to date either.<sup>34</sup> That Frankish chroniclers of the seventh and eighth centuries could think such interventions necessary can be inferred from the contents of two other historical works from the Merovingian period

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Ian N. Wood, Jonas, the Merovingians and pope Honorius: Diplomata and the Vita Columbani, in: *After Rome's Fall. Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History, Essays presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. Alexander C. Murray (Toronto/Buffalo/London 1998) 99–120; id., Merovingian kingdoms 194ff.; Mayke de Jong, Monastic prisoners or opting out? Political coercion and honour in the Frankish kingdoms, in: *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. ead./Frans Theuvs/Carine van Rhijn (The Transformation of the Roman World 6, Leiden/Boston/Köln 2001) 291–328, at 307ff.; Barbara H. Rosenwein, Negotiating Space. Power, Restraint and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe (Manchester 1999) 307ff.; Janet L. Nelson, Queens as Jezebels: the career of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian history, in: *Studies in Church History, Subsidia 1* (1978) 31–77; Régine Le Jan, Convents, violence and competition for power in seventh-century Francia, in: *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Mayke de Jong/Frans Theuvs/Carine van Rhijn (The Transformation of the Roman World 6, Leiden/Boston/Köln 2001) 243–270.

<sup>30</sup> For the oldest manuscripts cf. above n. 19; Heinzelmänn/Bourgain, *L'œuvre de Grégoire de Tours* 282f.; Heinzelmänn, *Gregory of Tours* 197ff.; Bourgain, *Gregorius Turonensis* 155; for Paris BN lat. 17655 from Corbie, whose first three folios are written in a Luxeuil script see David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Beihefte der Francia 20, Sigmaringen 1990) 38ff.; 124; for the suggestion that Paris, BN lat. 17654 was written in Jouarre see Rosamond McKitterick, *Nuns' scriptoria in England and Francia in the eighth century*, in: *Francia 19* (1992) 1–35.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Ian N. Wood, *Gregory of Tours* (Bangor 1994) 47; see also Guy Halsall, Nero and Herod? The death of Chilperic and Gregory's writings of History, in: *The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. Kathleen Mitchell/Ian N. Wood (Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions 8. Medieval and Early Modern Peoples, Leiden/Boston/Köln 2002) 337–350; for a less ambivalent reading as concerns the portrayal of kings cf. Heinzelmänn, *Gregory of Tours* 139ff.

<sup>32</sup> Peter Brown, *Gregory of Tours: Introduction*, in: *The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. Kathleen Mitchell/Ian N. Wood (Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions 8. Medieval and Early Modern Peoples, Leiden/Boston/Köln 2002) 29–46.

<sup>33</sup> Especially as a reaction to the increasing royal use of strategies of ecclesiastical and religious power since Chlothar II, the *Histories* could have aided the assertion of ecclesiastical interests in the seventh century context of the "redistribution of resources between bishops, monasteries and the king", as Janet Nelson put it (*Queens as Jezebels* 39); see also De Jong, *Monastic prisoners* 307ff., Le Jan, *Convents, violence and competition for power*; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space* 59ff.; Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms* 197ff.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Reimitz, *Social networks* 237ff.

which used the six-book recension for their account of Frankish history up to the end of the sixth century: the Chronicle of Fredegar and the *Liber historiae Francorum*.<sup>35</sup> In Fredegar's Chronicle, which originated around 660,<sup>36</sup> a section from the six-book recension was integrated as part of a "chain of chronicles",<sup>37</sup> in which a sizeable portion of Gregory followed excerpts from the *Liber generationis*, the Chronicle of Jerome and Hydatius. In some of the oldest manuscripts of the Chronicle, this section was even marked with the title: *liber quartus, quod est scarpsum (!) de cronica Gregorii episcopi Toronaci*.<sup>38</sup>

In contrast to its six-book source, however, the emphasis in the Fredegar Chronicle has undeniably shifted towards a history of the Frankish kings and their people. This is particularly obvious from one of the most remarkable additions to Gregory's text, namely, an exposition of the Frankish *origo*, in which the descent of the Merovingian kings is traced back to the heroes of Troy.<sup>39</sup> This passage in the Chronicle also shows the extent to which the contents of this work deliberately challenged Gregory. Gregory had accompanied his account of the origin of the Frankish people with a long discussion of old Roman sources, which he prefaced with a statement of his own position:<sup>40</sup> *De Francorum vero regibus, quis fuerit primus, a multis ignoratur*.<sup>41</sup> In the passage in the Fredegar Chronicle, the same words are used to introduce the Frankish *origo* ... but only to reject them on the basis of the greatest possible spiritual and literary authorities: *De vero Francorum regibus beatus Hieronymus scripsit, quod prius Virgilii poetae narrat storia: Priamum primum habuisse regi*.<sup>42</sup>

Furthermore, this new interest in the Franks is not only reflected by the inclusion of the Frankish *origo*, it can also be inferred from the nature and number of references to *Franci* in the Chronicle, which provide a stark contrast with Gregory's text. To illustrate this, the story of the conflicts between Franks and Saxons and Chlothar I may be useful, as it provides good evidence of the multiplication of the term *Franci* in Fredegar's Chronicle. In Gregory's *Historiae*, as well as in the six-book recension, the Franks are labeled as *Franci* only once in the description of the lengthy negotiations preceding the fight.<sup>43</sup> In the much shorter account of this episode in the Chronicle, however, the term *Franci* has been added no less than three times. On top of this, the same story helps identify a distinct redefinition of Gregory's use of the word *Franci* in the Chronicle. Gregory started his chapter with the remark that (555) *post mortem Theudovaldi*, the *regnum Francia* was taken over by

<sup>35</sup> Fredegar, *Chronicae cum continuationibus III* (ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SS rer. Merov. 2, Hannover 1888) 89–118; *Liber historiae Francorum* 5–35 (ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SS rer. Merov. 2, Hannover 1888) 245–304; for a short discussion of the reworking of Gregory of Tours in the Fredegar-Chronicle see Roger Collins, *Fredegar (Authors of the Middle Ages 13, Aldershot 1996)* 98, 102f.; in the *Liber historiae Francorum*: McKitterick, *History and Memory* 9ff.; Richard Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber historiae Francorum* (Oxford 1987) 31ff., who deals more with the additional material; cf. also Helmut Reimitz, *Die Konkurrenz der Ursprünge in der fränkischen Historiographie*, in: *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen. Von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters*, ed. Walter Pohl (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 8, Wien 2004) 191–209.

<sup>36</sup> For the dating to 662 see Wood, *Fredegar's fables*; cf. however Collins, *Fredegar* 107ff. [31ff.], who also considers a later date of compilation (before 714) possible.

<sup>37</sup> Ian N. Wood, *The chain of chronicles in BL Add. 16974*, in: *Zeit und Vergangenheit im fränkischen Europa: Karolingische Annalistik im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, ed. Richard Corradini/Helmut Reimitz (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 14, Wien, in preparation).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Fredegar, *Chronicae III*, ed. Krusch 89, index with note a.

<sup>39</sup> For an overview on the discussion and literature on the origin myths of the Franks see Hans Hubert Anton, *Origo gentis: Die Franken*, in: *RGA 2. Aufl. 22* (2003) 189–195; cf. however Eugen Ewig, *Trojamythos und fränkische Frühgeschichte*, in: *Die Franken und die Alemannen vor der Schlacht von Zülpich*, ed. Dieter Geuenich (RGA Erg. Bd. 19, Berlin/New York 1999) 1–30; id., *Zum Geschichtsbild der Franken und den Anfängen der Merowinger*, in: *Mediaevalia Augiensia. Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. Jürgen Petersohn (Vorträge und Forschungen 54, Stuttgart 2001) 43–58; Wood, *Defining the Franks*. See also the forthcoming studies of Magali Coumert, *Les récits d'origine des peuples dans le haut Moyen Âge occidental (milieu VI<sup>ème</sup> – milieu IX<sup>ème</sup> siècle)*, and Alheydis Plassmann, *Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen*. I should like to thank them for sending me an unpublished version of their studies and for many interesting and inspiring discussions.

<sup>40</sup> Reimitz, *Die Konkurrenz der Ursprünge*.

<sup>41</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Historiae II*, 9, ed. Krusch/Levison 52.

<sup>42</sup> Fredegar, *Chronicae III*, 2, ed. Krusch 93.

<sup>43</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Historiae IV*, 14, ed. Krusch/Levison 146f.

Chlothar.<sup>44</sup> This is one of the rare instances where Gregory uses this word.<sup>45</sup> In the Chronicle of Fredegar, by contrast, the author appears to have wanted to avoid the use of the word *Francia* in this narrow sense. He therefore changed the opening of this section to: *Ipsoque anno Theodebaldus obiit, regnumque eius Chlotharius accepit.*<sup>46</sup> A number of instances of this attempt to broaden the term *Franci* and *Francia* can be found throughout the Chronicle. They could be explained in terms of an Austrasian chronicler's reaction to the process of reserving the term *Franci* for the western ruling elite of the Seine-Oise area. Such a redefinition of Frankishness had taken place since the reorientation of Frankish politics under Chlothar II and is recorded also by other hagiographical texts from the second half of the seventh century.<sup>47</sup>

A similar use of the word *Franci* is made in the *Liber historiae Francorum*, which originated some six decades after Fredegar's Chronicle, in 726/27. Like the Chronicle, the *Liber historiae Francorum* used the six-book version of Gregory's Histories as the main source for its account of Frankish history up to the death of Chilperich I (in 584).<sup>48</sup> Moreover, the *Liber historiae Francorum* (which, in fact, is even attributed to Gregory of Tours in a number of eighth- or ninth-century manuscripts),<sup>49</sup> also contains a version of the Frankish origin myth.<sup>50</sup> However, in the *Liber historiae Francorum* the *origo*-account is placed before the excerpt from Gregory, and is introduced by a sentence which could be seen as a reaction to Gregory's unsuccessful search for documentation about the first kings of the Franks (*De Francorum vero regibus, quis fuerit primus, a multis ignoratur*). In answering this problem, however, the text leaves little room for doubt concerning the origin of the Frankish kings: *Principium regum Francorum eorumque origine vel gentium illarum ac gesta proferamus.*<sup>51</sup> The Frankish origin myth which follows incorporates some elements of Gregory's discussion of the question of the origin of Frankish kings, yet presents these in the form of a continuous and clearly structured history of the Frankish kings and their people from the time of the destruction of Troy onwards.<sup>52</sup> The certainty and clarity with which the author of the *Liber historiae Francorum* presents this genealogy matches his confident portrayal and understanding of contemporary Frankish identity in the rest of the work.

In comparison to Gregory, the author of the *Liber historiae Francorum* employs the term *Franci* to refer to the Neustrian political elite concentrated in centres along the Seine and the Oise. In contrast to these 'original' Franks he chose to designate the Franks of the eastern part of the Merovingian realm as *Austrasii vel Franci superiores*.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, he projected this political-geographical division of the Frankish world into the past, building it into his adaptation of Gregory's account. Thus, the story of Chlothar's succession to Theudebald's throne, mentioned above, is also included in the *Liber historiae Francorum*, but – like Fredegar – its author chose to avoid the association of

<sup>44</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* IV, 14, ed. Krusch/Levison 145: *Igitur Chlothacharius post mortem Theudovaldi cum regno Franciae suscepisset...*

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Reimitz, *Social networks* 239 with note 53.

<sup>46</sup> Fredegar, *Chronicae* III, 50, ed. Krusch 106.

<sup>47</sup> Apart from the *Liber historiae Francorum* (cf. below) the term *Franci* is consequently used for the elites in the western *regnum* in the *Vita Domnae Balthildis* (ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SS rer. Merov. 2, Hannover 1888) 475–508, which was written before 680, and in the *Vita Audoini* (ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SS rer. Merov. 5, Hannover 1910) 536–567, which is about one generation later; cf. Eugen Ewig, *Die fränkischen Teilungen und Teilreiche (511–613)*, in: *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien* 1, ed. Hartmut Atsma (Beihefte der *Francia* 3, 1, München 1976) 114–171, at 152ff.

<sup>48</sup> *Liber historiae Francorum* 5–35, ed. Krusch 245–304; McKitterick, *History and Memory* 9ff.

<sup>49</sup> E.g.: Vaticanus Pal. lat. 966 (B2a<sup>2</sup> in the classification of Bruno Krusch): *Incipit liber sancti Gregorii Turonensis episcopi gesta regum Francorum*; Vaticanus Ottob. 663 (B2a<sup>1</sup>): *Incipit liber sancti Gorii (!) Toroni episcopi gesta regum Francorum*; London MS Arundel 375 (B1a): *Incipit liber sancti Gregorii Turonis episcopi gesta regum Francorum*; Vaticanus Reg. lat. 713 (A3b): *Incipit liber hystoriae Francorum a Gregorio Turonensis urbis episcopo edita*; cf. *Liber historiae Francorum* 1 (ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SS rer. Merov. 2, Hannover 1888) 241 with notes a und c.

<sup>50</sup> *Liber historiae Francorum* 1–4, ed. Krusch 241–244; Wood, *Defining the Franks*; McKitterick, *History and Memory* 9ff.

<sup>51</sup> *Liber historiae Francorum* 1, ed. Krusch 241.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Reimitz, *Die Konkurrenz der Ursprünge*.

<sup>53</sup> Gerberding, *Rise of the Carolingians* 146ff.; Paul Fouracre/Richard Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France* 79ff.; cf. also Wood, *Defining the Franks*.



the term *Francia* with the eastern part of the Merovingian regnum. Instead, he replaced Gregory's use of *Francia* with the broader statement that, after the death of Theudebald, Chlothar *regnumque eius cum thesauris multis accepit*.<sup>54</sup> However, he had already defined Theudebald's regnum more closely in the sentence leading up to this statement: Theudebald, he wrote, succeeded his father *in regnum in superiores Francos in Auster*, and is subsequently referred to as *rex in Auster*.<sup>55</sup>

Therefore, in contrast to the six-book recension, both the Chronicle of Fredegar and the Liber historiae Francorum were intended to offer a specific interpretation of Frankish ethnicity and identity in relation to both their own past and Gregory's Histories. In particular, the subsequent development of these works – in the form of their later transmission and influence – illustrates their importance in constructing and conferring concepts of Frankish identity, for rather than reflecting a static reality of stable identities, they formed part of a process of negotiating conflicting and changing identities. The nature and contents of these identities cannot be understood merely on the basis of the texts' contents, but must be reconstructed on the basis of their transmission and reception.

The large number of early medieval manuscripts of both the Chronicle of Fredegar and the Liber historiae Francorum<sup>56</sup> shows that the identities that they projected were such that they could solicit interest and imitation. Consequently, both of these works became themselves historiographical sources and later served the legitimisation efforts of the rule of Pippin III before and after his rise to royal power, as well as the further ascent of the Frankish dynasty under Charlemagne. For example, because of its emphasis on the eastern part of the Frankish realm and its positive portrayal of the political role of the Arnulfings and Pippinids (whom the Carolingians would later regard as their ancestors), the Chronicle of Fredegar provided a useful historiographical foundation for any elaborations or continuations of Frankish history into the times of Charles Martell and his successors. In addition, the Carolingian Continuations of the Chronicle of Fredegar<sup>57</sup> could build upon the broad definition of *Franci* in the Chronicle, which, in turn, was also used to support the claim in the Continuations that the Carolingian kings ruled by the consensus of all of the Franks. A similar, perhaps even more affirmative concept of Frankishness and Carolingian rule was painted in the Annales regni Francorum. In their account of the political ascent of the Carolingians from 741 onwards (which, especially with regard to the first part of the Annales treating the period up to the 790s, is as triumphant as it is selective),<sup>58</sup> the assertion that the Frankish kings acted in accord with the wishes of the Franks forms the central theme of the narrative.<sup>59</sup> It must be observed, however, that, due to the political success of the Carolingians during the second half of the eighth century, such a use of the term *Franci* would have been increasingly linked with its establishment as synonymous with 'political achievement and integration'. Moreover, it was this same Frankish success which fuelled the increase in discussions of Frankish origin and identity that can be discerned in the re-arranging and rewriting of historiographical texts from this period.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Liber historiae Francorum 27, ed. Krusch 286.

<sup>55</sup> Liber historiae Francorum 27, ed. Krusch 285.

<sup>56</sup> For the manuscripts of the Liber historiae Francorum cf. the introduction in Liber historiae Francorum, ed. Krusch 215–238; for the Fredegar-Chronicle: Fredegar, Chronicae, ed. Krusch 1–18; Bruno Krusch, Die Chronicae des sogenannten Fredegar, in: NA 7 (1882) 247–351, 421–516; Collins, Fredegar 119ff. [39ff.].

<sup>57</sup> Collins, Fredegar 112ff. [32ff.]; Rosamond McKitterick, Die Anfänge des karolingischen Königtums und die Annales regni Francorum, in: Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter, ed. Walter Pohl/Maximilian Diesenberger (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 3, Wien 2002) 151–168, esp. 155ff.; cf. also Wilhelm Wattenbach/Wilhelm Levison/Heinz Löwe, Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter. Vorzeit und Karolinger 2: Die Karolinger vom Anfang des 8. Jahrhunderts bis zum Tode Karls des Großen (Weimar 1952) 161ff.

<sup>58</sup> Matthias Becher, Eine verschleierte Krise. Die Nachfolge Karl Martells 741 und die Anfänge der karolingischen Geschichtsschreibung, in: Von Fakten und Fiktionen. Mittelalterliche Geschichtsdarstellungen und ihre kritische Aufarbeitung, ed. Johannes Laudage (Köln/Weimar/Wien 2003) 95–133; id., Eid und Herrschaft. Untersuchungen zum Herrscherethos Karls des Großen (Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband 39, Sigmaringen 1993) bes. 74ff; McKitterick, History and Memory 101ff.

<sup>59</sup> McKitterick, History and Memory 102ff.

<sup>60</sup> For this see at greater length my forthcoming study: Historiographie und Identität in den fränkischen Regna der Merowinger und Karolingerzeit.

But the Continuations of the Chronicle of Fredegar did not simply retain the historiographical definition of *Franci* found in the Chronicle. In fact, already from the first decade of the ninth century onwards, the Continuaciones Fredegarii are preserved not only as part of Fredegar's chain of chronicles, but also, for example, in a group of three historiographical compendia of the ninth and tenth centuries, Paris, BN lat. 10911; Wien, ÖNB lat. 473; St Petersburg, NLR lat. F.v.IV.4, in which they were included as continuations of the *Liber historiae Francorum*.<sup>61</sup> In itself, this combination is not as curious as the name *Continuaciones Fredegarii* might suggest, because the contents of the first ten chapters of the Continuaciones correspond with the last ten chapters of the *Liber historiae Francorum*. Rather than building on the original *Liber historiae Francorum*, however, the Continuaciones followed a later version of it which originated about ten years after the original *Liber historiae Francorum*. In this later version, the Neustrian perspective of the *Liber* had been neutralised in favour of an even stronger Austrasian-Carolingian outlook.<sup>62</sup> It is, therefore, all the more remarkable that the Continuaciones follow the Neustrian version of the *Liber historiae Francorum* in the three manuscripts mentioned above.

In all three manuscripts, an ensemble of three texts is found: first the *Liber historiae Francorum*, followed by the Continuaciones Fredegarii up to the death of Charles Martell, and thirdly the *Annales regni Francorum*, running from 741/2 until 829. In the manuscripts from Vienna and St Petersburg, a number of other texts were added to this trio, but the manuscript from Paris contains only these three works. The Parisianus is a beautiful manuscript, described by Bernhard Bischoff as dating from the second quarter of the ninth century and originating from north-western France.<sup>63</sup> Its contents are carefully aligned. Thus, in order to avoid repetition between the last chapters of the *Liber historiae Francorum* and the first ten chapters of the Continuaciones, only chapters 11 and following of the latter work were included in the manuscript, but were counted as Chapters 52–55 of the *Liber historiae Francorum*. That Paris BN lat. 10911 was copied by two scribes simultaneously is suggested by the fact that, after the end of the Continuaciones, there originally followed a number of empty leaves until the end of the quire.<sup>64</sup> After these empty leaves (which acquired their texts only around 1200) the *Annales regni Francorum* take over the historical narrative in the subsequent quire in the same careful, though sometimes slightly archaic style. Although the manuscript was copied after 829, some features of the script are reminiscent of a classical Carolingian minuscule from around 800.<sup>65</sup>

This appropriation of the Neustrian-Merovingian past to complement the Carolingian success story may not match the usual assessment of the texts, in particular of the Continuaciones as a sequel to the Austrasian-Pippinid historiography of the Chronicle of Fredegar. Yet such an annexation of the Merovingian past by Carolingian historians is in tune with other historiographical tendencies which existed during the reign of Louis the Pious. Another example is the composition of the *Gesta Dagoberti* during the 830s, which was aimed at persuading aristocratic groups of their links with the

<sup>61</sup> For the manuscripts in which the Continuaciones do not continue the Fredegar-Chronicle cf. Krusch, *Die Chronicae* 324ff.; Collins, *Fredegar* 129.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Wattenbach/Levison/Löwe, *Geschichtsquellen* 161ff.; Collins, *Fredegar* 113ff. [33ff.].

<sup>63</sup> I should like to thank Birgit Ebersperger, the editor of „Bernhard Bischoffs Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts“, for her information; cf. also Pierre Desportes/François Dolbeau, *Découverte de nouveaux documents relatifs au Polyptique de Saint-Remi de Reims. A propos d'une édition récente*, in: *Revue du Nord* 68 (1986) 575–607, at 585 with note 35; see also McKitterick, *History and Memory* 13ff; Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli* 1157f., who makes the suggestion that the manuscript is from Fleury and dates to the late ninth century, which is not very likely. For a discussion of some of his arguments cf. Helmut Reimitz, *Der Weg zum Königtum in historiographischen Kompendien der Karolingerzeit*, in: *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751. Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung*, ed. Matthias Becher/Jörg Jarnut (Münster 2004) 277–320.

<sup>64</sup> Paris, BN lat. 10911, fol. 53r–55v; on which around 1200 an excerpt from Eutropius's *Historia Romana* (Paulus Diaconus) from Otho until Domitian was written followed by the pseudo-Alexandrian *Epistola de situ Indiae*.

<sup>65</sup> This slightly archaic character of the script is one of the reasons why Matthias Tischler thinks that this manuscript was written in the late ninth century (cf. above n. 63). However, such hand can already be regarded as archaic around the middle of the ninth century; cf. Reimitz, *Der Weg zum Königtum*.

ruling family and other aristocratic groups in western *Francia*.<sup>66</sup> I have argued elsewhere that a similar motive may also have inspired the compilation of the Paris-compendium in which the Carolingian rise to power is anticipated and embedded in a narrative in which the *omnes Franci* of the *Annales regni Francorum* are historiographically defined as the elites of the Western parts of the Frankish realm.<sup>67</sup>

The continuation and further expansion of such historiographical efforts to form a West-Frankish identity in the kingdom of Charles the Bald are well-documented in a number of texts as well as other historiographical compendia. Not least the other two above-mentioned historiographical compendia could be regarded as examples for the further development and expansion of historiographical resources during his reign, like those transmitted in the Paris Manuscript.<sup>68</sup> The contents of the second oldest manuscript of the aforementioned group of compendia, Wien, ÖNB lat. 473, can also be explained in terms of an attempt to appropriate the Neustro-Frankish history of the western regions of the empire. In the Viennese manuscript, the *Liber historiae Francorum*, *Continuationes* and *Annales regni Francorum* were combined with some other texts. On the basis of the selection, form and order of these texts, this manuscript can be linked with the coronation of Charles the Bald in 869 in Metz in the *regnum Lotharii*.<sup>69</sup> The short catalogue at the end of the manuscript which summarizes the codex's historical narrative from Priamus to Louis the Pious in a mere three pages provides one of the most important arguments for such a hypothesis. In it, the development of Carolingian rulership and power is described as a continuous Neustro-Burgundian *successio* of Merovingian kings and *maiores domus* after Chlothar II. Thus, by erasing its Austrasian elements, Carolingian history is depicted as an uninterrupted, western Frankish affair.<sup>70</sup>

This interpretation is also supported by the manuscript's particular version of the *Liber historiae Francorum*, in which the Neustrian perspective was emphasised even more, while a number of references to Austrasian or Burgundian kings after Chlothar I were simply deleted. The result was the concentration of the text on the Neustrian kings after Chilperich I, by which the accession of Chlothar II to a Neustro-Burgundian *regnum Francorum* could be underlined. Indeed, in the Viennese version, Chlothar is not elected to the kingship by the *Franci* of Austrasia and Burgundy (as he is in the version of the *Liber historiae Francorum* in Paris, BN lat. 10911), but by the Franks from Burgundy and Neustria. On top of this, not only are the Austrasian kings left out of the narrative, but also all references to those Franks who in the Paris version of *Liber historiae Francorum* would be

<sup>66</sup> *Gesta Dagoberti I. regis Francorum* (ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SS rer. Merov. 2, Hannover 1888) 396–425; cf. for the context of this text Maximilian Diesenberger, Hair, sacrality and symbolic capital in the Frankish kingdoms, in: *The Construction of Communities. Texts, Resources, Artefacts*, ed. Richard Corradini/Maximilian Diesenberger/Helmut Reimitz (*The Transformation of the Roman World* 12, Leiden/New York 2003) 173–212, at 202ff.; Laurent Theis, Dagobert, Saint-Denis et la royauté française au moyen âge, in: *Le métier du historien au moyen âge*, ed. Bernard Guenée (*Publications de la Sorbonne, série Etudes* 13, Paris 1977) 19–30; Max Buchner, Zur Entstehung und zur Tendenz der 'Gesta Dagoberti'. Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Eigenkirchenwesen im Frankenreiche, in: *Historisches Jahrbuch* 47 (1927) 252–274, at 271f.; Léon Levillain, Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque Mérovingienne, in: *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes* 82 (1921) 5–116, at 104ff.; earlier signs of this historiographical tendency, however, can be witnessed in the *Genealogia domni Arnulfi*, which originated in the first decade of the ninth century in Metz. In this work, the Carolingians are portrayed as relatives of the Merovingians, namely, it is claimed that Arnulf's grandfather, Ansbart, was married to the daughter of Merovingian king, Chlothar; cf. Ian N. Wood, Genealogy defined by women. The case of the Pippinids, in: *Gender in the Early Medieval World. East and West, 300–900*, ed. Leslie Brubaker/Julia Smith (Cambridge 2004) 234–265; Otto Gerhard Oexle, Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulf, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1967) 250–364; Helmut Reimitz, Ein fränkisches Geschichtsbuch aus St. Amand. Der Cvp 473, in: *Text – Schrift – Codex. Quellenkundliche Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, ed. Christoph Egger/Herwig Weigl (*MIÖG Erg. Bd.* 35, Wien 2000) 34–90, esp. 60ff.

<sup>67</sup> Reimitz, *Der Weg zum Königtum*.

<sup>68</sup> As the compendium from St Petersburg dates from the first third of the tenth century it can only be a copy of a History book for Charles the Bald, cf. below n. 74.

<sup>69</sup> Reimitz, *Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch*.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. the edition and the commentary of the text in the manuscript: Reimitz, *Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch* 52f.; cf. also the edition in: *Domus Carolingicae Genealogiae* (ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS 2, Hannover 1829) 310ff.

referred to as *Franci superiores*, in other words, Austrasians.<sup>71</sup> In short, the *gesta* from Clovis to Chlothar II follow a selective path through Merovingian history. By eliminating the Austrasian dimension of Frankish rule and topography, the *gesta regum Francorum* (as the *Liber historiae Francorum* is called in a number of ninth-century manuscripts) narrow the scope of the narrative down to Chilperic and his descendants. This serves an important purpose: by omitting mentions of the Austrasian competition, it is suggested that the Neustrian kings had been able to establish their dominion as far as the Rhine. To translate this historical strategy to the political context of 869, the version of the *Liber historiae Francorum* in this compendium attempts to argue that the *regnum Lotharii* had always belonged to the western Frankish kingdom.<sup>72</sup> The *regnum Lotharii*, however, only belonged to Charles the Bald's western Frankish kingdom for about a year. Consequently, it is not strange that the models of historiographical legitimisation and Frankish identity preserved in the Vienna manuscript were not further used or built upon in the Frankish kingdoms under the Carolingians.<sup>73</sup>

The third manuscript in this group, St Petersburg, NLR lat. F.v.IV.4, copied in the first half of the tenth century, evidently originated from the same branch of transmission as the Paris compendium, but introduces us to a new stage in the appropriation of Frankish history. Matthias Tischler argued recently and convincingly for a localisation of the compendium's production in Soissons around 920/930.<sup>74</sup> He explains the Reims influence on the style of the script as a result of the close connections between Soissons and Reims at the time when Abbo of Soissons was in charge of the affairs of Hugo, son of Heribert II of Vermandois. Hugo had been made archbishop of Reims whilst still a minor.<sup>75</sup> An intensified interest in Carolingian history at Soissons at that time, in particular in Louis the Pious's reign, is also attested by the work of Odilo, who died after 930. For his *Translatio s. Sebastiani* he was able to utilize chapter 40 of the *Vita Hludowici* and the *Annales regni Francorum* for 826.<sup>76</sup> His interest in this period is further reflected in the *Miracula* which follow the *Translatio*, into which he integrated an account of Louis' confinement in Soissons in 833.<sup>77</sup>

On the other hand, the contents of the compendium could also have been of interest for Heribert II of Vermandois and his associates. Heribert was lay abbot of St Medard in Soissons, as well as count of Soissons, and was descended in a direct line from Pippin of Italy.<sup>78</sup> His father, Heribert I, had, along with Fulco of Reims, played a decisive role in the royal election of the Carolingian Charles the Simple.<sup>79</sup> In the conflict between Charles and Robert I, Heribert II switched sides in 923 and

<sup>71</sup> Cf. the examples in Reimitz, *Der Weg zum Königtum*; for a digital edition of the three history books, which allows to compare the different versions of the *Liber historiae Francorum* see *Drei fränkische Geschichtsbücher aus der Karolingerzeit*: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 10911, Wien, ÖNB lat. 473, St. Petersburg, NLR lat. F.v.IV.4, ed. Richard Corradini/Karl Giesriegl/Helmut Reimitz (<http://www.oew.ac.at/gema/dbfg.htm>. [forthcoming]).

<sup>72</sup> Reimitz, *Der Weg zum Königtum*.

<sup>73</sup> For the reception of the features of this compendium in the chronicle of Benedict of St Andreae cf. Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli* 476ff.

<sup>74</sup> Comprehensive descriptions and discussions of the manuscript: Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli* 1163ff.; Ernst Tremp, *Die Überlieferung der Vita Hludowici des Astronomus* (MGH Studien und Texte 1, Hannover 1991) 50ff.; Rosamond McKittrick, Charles the Bald and his library. The patronage of learning, in: *English Historical Review* 95 (1980) 28–47; cf. now ead., *History and Memory* 58, 112.

<sup>75</sup> For Hugo as archbishop of Reims see Michel Sot, *Un historien et son église. Flodoard de Reims* (Paris 1993) 320ff.

<sup>76</sup> Odilo, *Translatio S. Sebastiani* (ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS 15, 1, Hannover 1887) 377–391 (excerpts); PL 132 (Paris 1853) 579–622; cf. Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli* 1167ff.; cf. however Tremp, *Überlieferung* 52.

<sup>77</sup> Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli* 1168f.; see also Gerda Heydemann, *Heiligen aan de wandel. Martelaren uit de Romeinse catacombe Inter duas lauros in het Frankenrijk*, in: *Millenium. Tijdschrift voor Middeleeuwse studies* 18 (2004) 3–28.

<sup>78</sup> For the counts of the Vermandois and Heribert II cf. Helmut Schwager, *Graf Heribert II. von Soissons, Omois, Meaux, Madrie sowie Vermandois (900/06–943) und die Francia (Nord-Frankreich) in der 1. Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Münchener historische Studien. Abteilung mittelalterliche Geschichte 6, Kallmünz/Opf. 1994); Karl Ferdinand Werner, *Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit des französischen Fürstentums V.*, in: *Die Welt als Geschichte* (1960) 87–119; id., *Die Nachkommen Karls des Großen (1.–8. Generation)*, in: *Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben* 4, ed. Wolfgang Braunsfels/Percy E. Schramm (Düsseldorf 1967) 403–482, at 458; Robert Fossier, *Le Vermandois aux X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in: *Media in Francia. Recueil de mélanges offert à Karl Ferdinand Werner à l'occasion de son 65<sup>e</sup> anniversaire* (Paris 1989) 177–186; Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, s. v. Herbert II.

<sup>79</sup> For the career of Heribert I see Schwager, *Heribert II.* 26ff. with further literature.

then, after the death of Robert, supported the new king, Rudolf of Burgundy, who was crowned king in Soissons in 923. When Heribert took Charles the Simple prisoner, he was rewarded by Rudolf with the installation of his younger son Hugo as archbishop of Reims. But Heribert's systematic augmentation of his own position of power soon led to conflicts with Rudolf, so that in 927/28 Heribert even had Charles, whom he had still been holding prisoner, set free, paid homage to him, and led him to Reims. However, having allied himself with Rudolf once more, Heribert duly had Charles III returned to custody.<sup>80</sup>

It is easy to imagine that, in the troubled times of the late 920s, those in the sphere of influence of the counts of Vermandois in Soissons and in Reims would have been interested in a historiographical compendium such as the one we find in the St Petersburg compendium. Themes such as the balance of power between the *Franci* (defined as the political elite along the Seine and the Oise) and their kings, the deposition of kings who ruled only in name, indeed even the deposition, imprisonment and restoration of kings and an emperor were questions of the highest possible relevance for contemporary politics in the early decades of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The manuscript therefore originated within a network of prominent families in western *Francia* who were seeking to emphasise the identification of their area of influence with the former political centres of the Frankish kingdom under the Merovingians. At a time when some of the regional *principes*, such as the Vermandois, were themselves of Carolingian descent, Carolingian tradition also played a key role, as the members of the ruling class could employ it to legitimate their position as equal and worthy political partners of the king.<sup>81</sup>

It is important to note that neither the choice of the traditions appropriated as resources of identification nor their employment to establish new identities were in any way haphazard. A comparison of the two compendia in the manuscripts from Paris and St Petersburg demonstrates the large role played by the endeavour to achieve authenticity in the appropriation of historiographical traditions. As mentioned above, the fact that the pages following the end of the *Continuaciones* in the Paris manuscript originally remained empty and the *Annales regni Francorum* took up the continuation of the history book only with the next quire means that the two parts of the manuscript were copied independently.<sup>82</sup> There is nothing to suggest such a method of production in the compendium from St Petersburg, but pages were nevertheless left blank between the *Continuaciones* and the beginning of the *Annales regni Francorum*; not, as one would expect, at the end of the quire, but in its middle.<sup>83</sup> As a result, in the St Petersburg manuscript an annual table running from 532 to 810 was inserted into the space which had been left blank in the Paris manuscript. In it, a number of small entries were made referring to the successions to power and deaths of Carolingian rulers from 697 onwards. It is possible that the manuscript's Vermandois context could have played a role

<sup>80</sup> For Charles III see Bernd Schneidmüller, Karl III. (893/98–923/29) and Franz J. Felten for Robert I (922/23) and Rudolf of Burgundy (923–936), in: *Die französischen Könige des Mittelalters. Von Odo bis Karl VIII.*, ed. Joachim Ehlers/Heribert Müller/Bernd Schneidmüller (München 1996) 23–35 and 36–47; Rudolf Schieffer, *Die Karolinger* (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln 2000) 201ff.; Karl Ferdinand Werner, *Die Ursprünge Frankreichs bis zum Jahr 1000* (Geschichte Frankreichs 1, Stuttgart 1984) 488; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987* (Cambridge 1983) 305ff.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Bernd Schneidmüller, *Wahrnehmungsmuster und Verhaltensformen in den fränkischen Nachfolgereichen*, in: *Deutschland und der Westen Europas im Mittelalter*, ed. Joachim Ehlers (Vorträge und Forschungen 56, Stuttgart 2002) 262–302; id., *Karolingische Tradition und frühes französisches Königtum. Untersuchungen zur Herrschaftslegitimation der westfränkisch-französischen Monarchie* (Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen 22, Wiesbaden 1979); id., *Nomen patriae. Die Entstehung Frankreichs in der politisch-geographischen Terminologie* (Nationes 7, Sigmaringen 1987) bes. 17ff.; McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms* 305ff.; Werner, *Die Ursprünge Frankreichs* 467ff.; Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir* 249ff.; ead., *Continuity and change in the tenth-century nobility*, in: *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne Duggan (London 2000) 53–79; see also Herwig Wolfram, *Lateinische Herrschertitel im neunten und zehnten Jahrhundert*, in: *Intitulatio II. Lateinische Herrscher- und Fürstentitel im neunten und zehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. id. (MIÖG Erg. Bd. 24, Wien/Köln 1973) 115ff.; Karl Brunner, *Die fränkischen Fürstentitel im neunten und zehnten Jahrhundert*, in: *Intitulatio II. Lateinische Herrscher- und Fürstentitel im neunten und zehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. Herwig Wolfram (MIÖG Erg. Bd. 24, Wien/Köln 1973) 179–340, at 260ff.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. above p. 96 with n. 64.

<sup>83</sup> St Petersburg, NLR F.v.IV.4, fol. 35r–36v.

in the entry of these Annals, since they end in 810 with an entry mentioning the death of Pippin of Italy, the ancestor of Heribert of Vermandois.<sup>84</sup>

The way in which the blank pages of the Paris history book were utilised in the St Petersburg manuscript indicates not only to which lengths its scribes went in order to prevent the authenticity of the historiographical representation being endangered, but also the possibilities available to the compilers to manipulate the interpretation of already established historical resources, above all through the appending and juxtapositioning of additional texts.<sup>85</sup>

Even more striking than the incorporation of additional short annalistic entries into the compendium is the inclusion of both imperial Vitae: Einhard's *Vita Karoli*,<sup>86</sup> and Astronomer's *Vita Hludowici*, in the Petersburg manuscript.<sup>87</sup> It is worth noting that with the inclusion of Astronomer's work in the compendium, a text was selected which was not only topically and stylistically cohesive with the *Vita Karoli*, but which also drew substantially on the text of the *Annales regni Francorum* between 814 and 829.<sup>88</sup> However, in many instances the reports which the Astronomer appropriated from other texts were supplemented. For instance, in the report about Einhard's translation of the relics of Marcellinus and Petrus, the unfriendly tone of the Annals' brief note about the event is duly amended. Einhard is even referred to as praiseworthy, and his undertaking thrown into a much more favourable light.<sup>89</sup> However, the role and definition of the *Franci* are also lent a markedly different accent in the Astronomus' representation.

Whereas the *Franci* are described as also living east of the Rhine in Germania in Einhard's *Vita Karoli*,<sup>90</sup> the Astronomer calls the inhabitants of these areas *Germani* or *populi Germanici*.<sup>91</sup> In his version, the *regnum Francorum* includes all of *Germania* and *Gallia*, though *Gallia* continues to be divided into *Aquitania*, *Burgundia* and *Francia*.<sup>92</sup> From this *Francia* came, according to the Astronomer's version, the *vassi ex gente Francorum* with whom Charlemagne sent his minor son Louis, King of Aquitaine, to rule Aquitaine.<sup>93</sup> Clearly the Astronomer's text takes inspiration from the *Liber historiae Francorum* as much in its regional classification as in its representation of the political role of the Frankish nobility. The concept of Frankishness, however, becomes more acutely demarcated and distilled in his work, which can be seen as a reaction to a development that it had become more widespread in the process of expansion under the Carolingians, as described in the *Annales regni Francorum* or Einhard's *Vita Karoli*.

Such additional efforts to identify the meaning of the term Frankish with greater precision were by no means deemed universally necessary when the Astronomer was writing and compiling his text

<sup>84</sup> The text has been edited under the title *Annales Bawarici breves* (ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS 20, Hannover 1868) 8; but nearly one century ago Friedrich Kurze, *Die Annales Laubacenses und ihre nähere Verwandtschaft*, in: NA 39 (1914) 13–41, at 41, suggested to call them *Annales regum Suessionenses*, for there is nothing in the text which links it with Bavaria, cf. also Lothar Boschen, *Die Annales Prumienses. Ihre nähere und weitere Verwandtschaft* (Düsseldorf 1972) 134ff., 144ff.

<sup>85</sup> Gert Melville, *Kompilation, Fiktion und Diskurs. Aspekte zur heuristischen Methode der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreiber*, in: *Historische Methode*, ed. Christian Meier/Jörn Rüsen (Beiträge zur Historik 5, München 1988) 133–153; id., *System und Diachronie. Untersuchungen zur theoretischen Grundlegung geschichtsschreiberischer Praxis im Mittelalter*, in: *Historisches Jahrbuch* 95 (1975) 33–67, for Carolingian history books see also McKitterick, *History and Memory* 28ff.

<sup>86</sup> Tischler, *Einhard's Vita Karoli* 163ff.

<sup>87</sup> Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*; Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* (ed. Ernst Tresp, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 64, Hannover 1995); Tresp, *Überlieferung* 128ff.; For a new look at the Astronomer: De Jong, *Bride-shows revisited*.

<sup>88</sup> The two texts can be easily compared in the edition and translation of Ernst Tresp, where the full passages of the *Annales regni Francorum*, which were used by the Astronomer, are printed below the edited text.

<sup>89</sup> See the discussion in the Introduction in Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici*, ed. Tresp 75ff.

<sup>90</sup> Einhard, *Vita Karoli magni* (ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. separatim editi [25], Hannover 1911) 13.

<sup>91</sup> Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici* 20, ed. Tresp 342; *ibid.* 40, ed. Tresp 435; *ibid.* 45, ed. Tresp 461; cf. De Jong, *Bride-shows revisited*.

<sup>92</sup> Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici* 29, ed. Tresp 382; *ibid.* 49, ed. Tresp 482.

<sup>93</sup> Astronomus 3, ed. Tresp 291.

in the West Frankish Kingdom around 840. To the producers of the Paris historiographical compendium made at the same time, the historiographical definition of *Franci* employed in the *Liber historiae Francorum* apparently seemed perfectly adequate. Towards the end of the ninth century, however, and especially from the tenth century onwards, the Astronomer's re-localisation of the *Franci* was indisputably becoming an important resource for identification in the region described as *Francia* in the text. As Ernst Tremp has shown, a significant concentration in the transmission and reception of the text in precisely this region can be observed from this point onwards.<sup>94</sup>

So far I have analysed the development and continuation of historiographical resources by following some stages of the transmission of the text-ensemble of the *Liber historiae Francorum*, the *Continuationes* and the *Annales regni Francorum*. This was, however, not the only history that was copied and further developed in the early medieval Frankish world. For instance in the archives of Rheims, where both the Paris-compendium and the exemplar from which the Petersburg-compendium was copied were kept,<sup>95</sup> we have good evidence that other histories and historical collections were preserved in the library. Exactly at the beginning of the tenth century, when the St. Petersburg manuscript was copied, the library there would have had a number of alternative visions of the past to offer. There are still a number of extant historiographical compendia from Reims, which built on quite different textual traditions than the three manuscripts discussed, for example a manuscript, kept today in London, containing the *Liber historiae Francorum* in its Austrasian reworking, and followed by the *Annales Mettenses priores*.<sup>96</sup> Similarly, we also find a history book in Rheims containing the chronicle of Fredegar, in which the story is continued by various Carolingian Annals.<sup>97</sup> Hincmar of Reims himself probably incorporated his *Annales Bertiniani* into a big compendium which is still preserved in most of the manuscripts of the *Annales Bertiniani*, and of which the oldest exemplar, St Omer 697 and 706 is also likely to have been a historiographical export from Rheims.<sup>98</sup> In this manuscript, both Hincmar's and Prudentius's annals make up the end of the compilation. The *Annales regni Francorum* are found in the same compilation,<sup>99</sup> but these texts conclude the historical sweep of the codex beginning with Roman history texts,<sup>100</sup> continuing with a Carolingian version of Gregory of Tours' *Historiae*,<sup>101</sup> together with Fredegar's book IV and its continuation up until the death of Charles Martell.<sup>102</sup> This compendium was almost certainly connected with the attempt to

<sup>94</sup> Tremp, *Überlieferung* 149ff.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Reimitz, *Der Weg zum Königtum*.

<sup>96</sup> London, BL MS Arundel 375; cf. Yitzhak Hen, *Canvassing for Charles: The Annals of Metz in Late Carolingian Francia*, in: *Zeit und Vergangenheit im fränkischen Europa: Karolingische Annalistik im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, ed. Richard Corradini/Helmut Reimitz (*Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 14, forthcoming).

<sup>97</sup> Vatican, Reg. lat. 213: Fredegar-Chronicle with the *Continuations* to 768, continued by the so-called *Fragmentum Chesnii* (ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS 1, Hannover 1826) 33f., fol. 149r–151v; and the *Annales regni Francorum* a. 791 (... *Dei solatium postulerunt pro salute exercitus et adiutorio Domini nostri Iesu Christi et pro victoria et vindicta super Auaros.*) to 806 (*Sclauisque pacatis Karlus cum exercitum regressus in loco, qui dicitur Silli, super ripam.*) fol. 151v–157v; for some observations on a particular interest in the Bavarian "regnum" under Tassilo in this compendium see the contribution of Max Diesenberger in this volume.

<sup>98</sup> Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale 697+706, a codex which is today preserved in two parts, of which the first part (cod. 697) contains: Eutrop, *Historia Romana*; Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*; *Notitia Galliarum*, and the second part (cod. 706): Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*; Fredegar IV *cum continuationibus* (1–24); *Annales regni Francorum*; *Annales Bertiniani*. Cf. to this manuscript and to the other manuscripts of the *Annales Bertiniani*: *Annales de Saint-Bertin* (ed. Félix Grat/Jeanne Vieillard/Suzanne Clémencet, Paris 1964) XXIIff.; McKitterick, *History and Memory* 50f.; see also the discussion of the manuscript tradition in the English translation of the *Annales Bertiniani*: Janet L. Nelson, *The Annals of St Bertin* (Manchester 1991) 15ff.

<sup>99</sup> *Annales regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829 qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi* (ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. [6], Hannover 1895) XI; Friedrich Kurze, *Über die karolingischen Reichsannalen von 741 bis 829 und ihre Überarbeitung I. Die handschriftlichen Grundlagen*, in: NA 19 (1894) 295–329, 314ff.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Brian Croke, *Count Marcellinus and His Chronicle* (Oxford 2001) 239f.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Bourgain/Heinzelmann, *L'œuvre de Grégoire de Tours* 288; Bourgain, *Gregorius Turonensis* 156.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Collins, *Fredegar* 129 [49]; Krusch, *Die Chronicae* 323.

devise a specific identity resource in the Frankish kingdoms.<sup>103</sup> However, it does not seem to have been used much for the affirmation and furtherance of political identities in the late- and post-Carolingian West. It was transmitted above all thanks to the important role it played in the historical argument put forward for the restoration of the diocese of Arras at the end of the 11th century.<sup>104</sup> As a historiographical resource for the self-identification amongst the West Frankish elite in the late and post-Carolingian West the compendium of texts, as compiled in the St Petersburg history book, played a much more important role. This can be demonstrated in the manuscript itself, in which we find a genealogy of the Counts of Boulogne-sur-mer added as late as 1200, continuing a Merovingian and a Carolingian genealogy.<sup>105</sup> Furthermore the texts in the compendium were used in later historiographical writings. Thus Ademar of Chabannes, Aimoin and those who continued his work, the Capetian Chroniclers in St Denis and St Germain de Près, and – descending from these – the *Chroniques de rois de France* and the *Grandes Chroniques* can be shown in their own works to have built either directly or indirectly upon the whole history book or on its historiographical elements.<sup>106</sup>

This success history, however, threatens to distract from the discontinuous process of adaptation and appropriation of the historiographical resources of the Frankish world, as witnessed by the different strategies of distinction in the three compendia. Still more importantly, the success of these histories can hide the fact that they appeared at the end of the Carolingian era as one model of shared memory among others, and should be seen as the product of sustained conflicts about collective history and identity. The comparison of the St Petersburg compilation with its counterpart in the compendium in Paris, BN lat. 10911 reveals the painstaking work and intricate strategies which underlay the creation and recreation of history in these struggles over memory. The transmission of the *Liber historiae Francorum-Continuationes-Annales Regni Francorum*-trio in combination with all of its visual and textual characteristics (which, judging from the St Petersburg-manuscript, could be preserved even into the third generation of manuscripts)<sup>107</sup> also reflect an interest in authority. But a look at the Carolingian historiographic workshops shows that this search for authenticity did not only help to legitimize the propagation and promotion of a common history, but also its construction and compilation. The several strategies which could be employed in such endeavours may also be illustrated by the transmission of Gregory's *Historiae*. In the later transmission of his text, Gregory's arrangement of his histories in the form of case studies was preserved in as much as these case studies continued to form the building blocks of subsequent recensions and reworkings. Furthermore, however much the selection of particular case studies might vary in different versions, the contents of the individual chapters remained in most of the cases relatively constant. Whether we compare the work of Gregory himself, of the different compilers and users of his text, or of the anonymous authors of Carolingian compendia, what emerges is a common and distinctive method. This method

<sup>103</sup> For this and the following see the fuller discussion in Reimitz, *Historiographie und Identität*, forthcoming; for Hincmar and Gregory of Tours cf. Janet L. Nelson, *The Merovingian Church in Carolingian retrospective*, in: *The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. Kathleen Mitchell/Ian N. Wood (*Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions* 8. *Medieval and Early Modern Peoples*, Leiden/Boston/Köln 2002) 241–260; Michel Sot, *Les dix livres d'histoire chez les écrivains carolingiens*, in: *Grégoire de Tours et l'espace gaulois*, ed. Nancy Gauthier/Henri Galinié (13<sup>e</sup> supplément à la *Revue Archéologique du Centre de la France*, Tours 1997) 319–329.

<sup>104</sup> For this context see Lotte Kéry, *Die Errichtung des Bistums Arras, 1093/1094* (*Beihefte der Francia* 33, Sigmaringen 1994); cf. also Heinrich Sproemberg, *Die Gründung des Bistums Arras im Jahre 1094*, in: id., *Mittelalter und demokratische Geschichtsschreibung* (Berlin 1971) 119–153.

<sup>105</sup> *Genealogia comitum Bulonensium* (ed. Ludwig Bethmann, MGH SS 9, Hannover 1851) 300f.; *Genealogiae breves regum Francorum II* (ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 13, Hannover 1881) 250.

<sup>106</sup> Tremp, *Überlieferung* 5ff.; Bernd Schneidmüller, *Ein Geschichtskompilium des frühen 13. Jahrhunderts aus St. Denis* (Vat. Reg. lat. 550) als Vorläufer der *Grandes Chroniques*, in: *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 67 (1987) 447–461; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of St. Denis. A Survey* (*Medieval classics. Texts and Studies* 10, Brookline-Mass./Leiden 1978) 68–71; Pascale Bourgain, *La protohistoire des Chroniques latines des Saint-Denis* (BNF, lat. 5925), in: *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. Françoise Autrand/Claude Gauvard/Jean-Marie Moeglin (*Histoire ancienne et médiévale* 59, Paris 1999) 375–394.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. above p. 97, n. 68 and p. 99, n. 83, for a fuller discussion of the comparison of the two manuscripts with plates see: Reimitz, *Der Weg zum Königtum*.



might perhaps best be described as an art, namely 'The art of truth', which depended mainly on the ability to adapt and adopt history without compromising the authority of its representations; and this especially if and when history served as a source for the construction and creation of identity. Walter Pohl suggested some years ago that we should analyse ethnogenesis as corresponding to the formation of a discourse which seeks to articulate its meaning.<sup>108</sup> Given the fundamental openness of identity processes, this would of course mean that the discontinuities and contradictions in dealing with traditions and resources for the construction of identity should be taken into account. As I have tried to show, in my analysis of a number of examples of Frankish historiography, the investigation of the transmission and reception of historiographical texts and concepts can form an important contribution to such a project. Above all, the analysis of the use and handling of historiographical resources enables us to track the continually fluctuating and dynamic relationship between discourse and identity through history.

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<sup>108</sup> Pohl, *Tradition, Ethnogenese und literarische Gestaltung* 21f.

