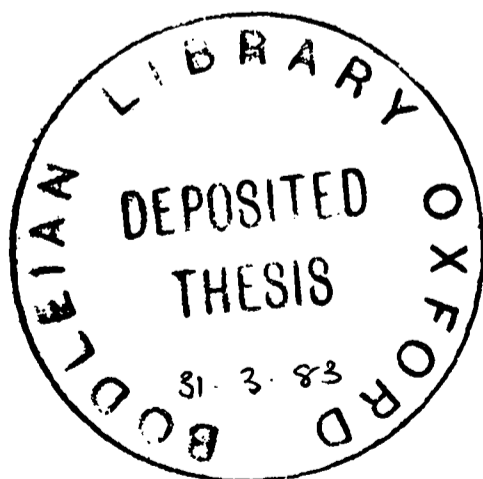


## ABSTRACT

### A Critical Study of The Liber Historiae Francorum

(Thesis submitted to the University of Oxford for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Richard A. Gerberding, Pembroke College, Trinity Term 1982) [i.e. 1983] HT

Although the Liber Historiae Francorum is the only surviving contemporary chronicle which treats the fifty years spanning the turn of the seventh to the eighth century in Frankish Gaul, it has been generally mistrusted by students of the period. This thesis is an attempt to discover whether the reputation is just or whether the chronicle might yield new information about the later Merovingian age. In so doing it asks three questions: 1) Is the work's latest edition, which is now nearly 100 years old, still the best version of the text we can achieve? 2) How accurate is the LHF's description of events? 3) Does a study of the author and his attitudes yield any insight into the nature of late Merovingian politics and society? The study concludes that the edition is an accurate rendering of the surviving manuscripts and an adequate basis for study of the work. This is true despite the fact that the contents of one early manuscript, which was unknown to the work's editor, calls into question the currently held assumptions concerning order, date, and composition of the LHF's recensions. Although the chronicle does indeed contain many errors in its earlier parts, for the period from the 650's (LHF-43) to the end of the work, there are a surprising number of instances where its version of events is either as believable as or more probable than the currently accepted view. An analysis of the author and his attitudes outlines a picture of late Merovingian politics as conducted by factions of leading Neustrians, whom the chronicler calls the Franci, and who could find unity in the loyalty due the legitimate Merovingian king.



ABSTRACT

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE LIBER HISTORIAE FRANCORUM

Oxford University  
D.Phil. Thesis  
by  
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October, 1982 [i.e. 1983] 917

This thesis was undertaken in order to discover whether the Liber Historiae Francorum had been fully exploited or whether it could yield more information concerning Gaul in the Merovingian age. There was initial suspicion that in many ways the LHF was as yet largely untapped. In the nearly one hundred years since its edition in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, it has been the subject of only one historical study, and in its several brief appearances in other scholarly works it was often mistrusted and maligned because it was thought to be riddled with error. Indeed, its unknown author had become known as the "Fabulator Anonymus".

The LHF author does make many errors. For instance, he tells us that King Childebert I attacked Toledo in 532, something he did not do. He has Theudebert I invade Italy and conquer the Lombards, making them tributaries of the Franks in cir. 536/37, some thirty years before they arrived south of the Alps. He has Dagobert I rule twenty-nine years longer than he did and he claims Clothar III died at least a decade prematurely. He also included stories in his chronicle which, in lauding military valour and a Ulysses-like craftiness, smack more of a good tale than of any historical account. Since the LHF sports these characteristics, it is easy to see why it has earned its reputation.

Unfortunately, however, because some parts of the chronicle were so obviously inaccurate, the entire work had become unjustly tainted and rather neglected.

It is difficult for the historian to be better than his sources. When I applied this aging maxim to the author of the LHF, it gave me the basis for a fresh look at his work. It soon became obvious that his major inaccuracies were in the period for which he would have needed older sources whereas, beginning with about the year 650, that is, within the period of his own or his elder contemporaries' memories, his errors became decidedly fewer. Although this has long been recognised by scholars, they were still often very willing to abandon his version of events even in this period when it conflicted with their own. We see this especially in the coup of Grimoald I, in the 650's, and in the wars Charles Martel undertook against the Neustrians in 717 and 718. I decided to do the opposite: that is, to take the LHF seriously, to construct, as best I could, a scenario based on the chronicle, and then to test this version of events by comparing it with information from other contemporary sources. The approach yielded a surprisingly long list of instances where the version derived from the LHF was, if not more probable than, then at least as believable as, the differing views currently put forth in the secondary literature. Among others, it produced a more probable scenario for the events during and after the coup of Grimoald I. It eliminated the supposed first reign of Dagobert II. It revealed that it was most likely Pippin II and Duke Martin who held the dominant position in Austrasia in the late 670's. It provided a new date for the battle of Lucofao.

It suggested the local political basis of Charles Martel's authority in his early years and it provided new dates both for the campaign which included the battle of Soissons (718) and for the rule of Clothar IV.

Once I had thus seen that the LHF author was not a wanton story teller and had written a more accurate account of events from cir. 650 to 722 than had been claimed, I was then willing to take seriously the outlook on Merovingian political structure which he seemed to betray in his work. This meant considering the work as a whole and not separating the sections containing "popular stories" or "fables" from the "historically valuable" sections. It meant wringing a picture of Frankish society from his attitudes and perspective as he presents the Franks' history to us from its supposed beginnings in far-off Troy to the period in which he wrote, under Theuderic IV and Charles Martel. In this light, we see the central role of the Franci, a word I have left untranslated to emphasize the sense in which he used it. To the author of the LHF, the proper history of the Franks was a history of the Franci, the powerful landholding, warrior-nobility of the Seine and Oise valleys, who filled the important offices of the realm, elected the legitimate Merovingian kings, and then ruled in conjunction with them by means of the age-old mechanism of advice and counsel (consilium). We see no religious state with a Christian king at its head in the LHF; it was mayors, not bishops, who directed matters politic. The Church is not presented as the purveyor of peace, culture, and learning but as the source of holy, clairvoyant men, magic relics, support and aid, usually for the pursuits of battle. We find no antipathy between

powerful mayors, Pippinid or otherwise, and a roi fainéant; mayor and king were dependent on each other, both supporting the same system. We also find little inkling of the coming Carolingian age. Pippin II and Charles Martel, although each in his day obviously the most important magnate of the realm, were to be welcomed, as Erchinoald and Ebroin before them, as strong men who would govern under a legitimate Merovingian, keeping peace among the factions of the Franci.

The first section of the thesis (chapter II) reviews Bruno Krusch's edition of the LHF in light of some manuscripts of the chronicle I was fortunate enough to discover. One of these, BN Lat. 7906, questions the assumption that the LHF was written in two distinct and sequential recensions. This is followed by the major section of the study which progresses chronologically through the LHF. It begins (chapter III) with the Franci's supposed origins in Troy. Although the story is a patent fable, several of its elements show the influence of a literary tradition, some may contain pieces of real history, and the geography it presents is a good indication that the LHF author was well versed in the latest cosmographical teaching of his day. Chapter IV is a comparison of the LHF's text with that of the author's chief source, the Historia of Gregory of Tours. These portions of the LHF, which continue the history of the Franci to the later part of the sixth century, are not simply an extract of Gregory's work; the LHF author made over eighty additions. Although most are minor, some yield new information about the period which Gregory covered and when grouped and ordered, they provide valuable insight into the LHF author's view of Frankish society. Chapter V shows that a believable picture of events surrounding the coup of Grimoald I in the 650's can be formed by trusting the information provided by the LHF. Chapter VI examines Neustria's factional politics in the 660's and 670's and the Pippinid takeover of the western kingdom from the 680's to the 720's is

examined in chapters VII (Pippin II) and VIII (Charles Martel). Here, using the LHF as a guide, we find that it was not a simple act of military conquest which secured Neustria for the new family from the east but that the Pippinids made their way to control slowly, by means of important marriage alliances, factional loyalties, and the other mechanisms which the Neustrian Franci had traditionally used to meter the matters of power. The thesis ends (chapter IX) with an analysis of the LHF author, his attitudes, and what they tell us about his position and the society in which he lived.

A CRITICAL STUDY  
OF THE  
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Thesis submitted to the University of Oxford  
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the degree of  
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by

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Pembroke College  
Oxford

October 1982 [ie 1983] <sup>ML</sup>

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AASS</u>	<u>Acta Sanctorum</u>
<u>Archiv</u>	<u>Archiv der Gesellschaft fuer aeltere deutsche Geschichtskunde</u>
<u>BEDC</u>	<u>Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes</u>
<u>DA</u>	<u>Deutsches Archiv fuer Erforschung des Mittelalters</u>
<u>MGH, Auct. Antiq.</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi</u>
<u>MGH, Dipl.</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomata Imperii</u>
<u>MGH, SS</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores</u>
<u>MGH, SSRG</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum In Usus Scholarum</u>
<u>MGH, SSRL</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum</u>
<u>MIÖG</u>	<u>Mitteilungen des Instituts fuer oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung</u>
<u>NA</u>	<u>Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft fuer aeltere deutsche Geschichtskunde</u>
<u>PL</u>	J.-P. Migne, <u>Patrologia Latina</u>
<u>Settimane</u>	<u>Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo. (Spoleto)</u>
<u>SSRM</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum</u>
<u>ZSRG</u>	<u>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung fuer Rechts- geschichte, Germanistische Abteilung</u>

The shortened titles for works repeatedly cited are listed in parentheses at the end of that work's entry in the Bibliography.

## CHAPTER I — INTRODUCTION

The two and a half centuries in which the Merovingians ruled the regnum Francorum have bequeathed us only three major works of history. We still have many of the period's edicts, charters, saints' lives, letters, laws, formularies, and the like, but the work of only three men (or groups of men) who strove to compile and record the events of their own and their predecessors' eras have survived. Adequate attention has certainly been given to the first two of the three. Gregory, bishop of Tours, who finished his Historia Francorum in 594, has become a byword for credibility as scholars seek but rarely find factual error in those things which Gregory knew best. Gregory's works are easily accessible and have always peppered the texts and notes of serious Merovingian scholarship.<sup>1</sup> In the mid-seventh century, in Burgundy, the second of these works appeared in the form of a compilation of six loosely connected chronicles, which have come to be known as the Chronicles of Fredegar. Fredegar, too, has enjoyed a good reputation among historians and to the sixth chronicle (or to the fourth book, according to how the work is divided) scholars universally acknowledge their debt for the light it throws on things Merovingian from the point where Gregory left off up to the year 642. Fredegar is also easily accessible to the modern student and although the frequency of his appearances in modern texts does not rival that of Gregory, he is by no means

1. Bruno Krusch edited the Historia twice for the MGH, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum series, first in 1884 with Wilhelm Arndt as vol. I and again in 1937 with Wilhelm Levison as vol. I (ed. alt.). Gregory has also been translated into English several times: O.M. Dalton, The History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours, (2 vols.), Oxford, 1927; Ernest Brehaut, History of the Franks by Gregory Bishop of Tours, New York, 1973; and in the Penguin Classics series by Lewis Thorpe, Gregory of Tours, The History of the Franks, New York, 1974.

suffering from lack of learned attention.<sup>1</sup>

This brings us to the third of the Merovingian historical works and the one which is the subject of this thesis – the Liber Historiae Francorum – a work probably completed in 726/727 in Neustria. In contrast to his predecessors, from the beginning scholars have given the LHF author wary treatment. "At cave nimis fidas ei qui ab eruditis 'fabulator anonymus' merito appellatus est." warned Krusch in the introduction to his MGH edition.<sup>2</sup> Krusch's great rival, Godefroid Kurth, painted a somewhat more sympathetic picture of the 'fabulator anonymus' in two articles, one pre-dating and the other post-dating Krusch's edition, but even this failed to arouse much enthusiasm among scholars for the eighth-century source.<sup>3</sup> Since the appearance of Kurth's second article in 1919, the LHF has been confined to footnotes or at best been accorded a paragraph of two in journals and monographs. The philologists have been somewhat kinder but they have held very closely to their own field, seldom daring beyond it to yield any historical deductions.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless the LHF is still our most valuable contemporary

1. A scholarly edition of the Fredegar Chronicle is easily available in two places: in Bruno Krusch's MGH edition (SSRM, II, 1888, pp.1-193), and in a monograph by J.M. Wallace-Hadrill (The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with its Continuations, London, 1960). Wallace-Hadrill omits the first three books of the Chronicle and edits the historically more valuable fourth book and the continuations. He has also produced a valuable English translation which is of inestimable help in understanding Fredegar for anyone not thoroughly versed in the chronicler's "wild Latin", as Krusch called the Merovingian language (B. Krusch, "Der Staatsstreich des fraenkischen Hausmeiers Grimoald I", in: Festgabe fuer Karl Zeumer, Weimar, 1910, p.428).

2. B. Krusch, MGH, SSRM, II, p.218.

3. Godefroid Kurth, "Etude Critique sur le Gesta Regum Francorum", in: Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, 3e série, t.18, (1889), pp. 261-289; and "Etude Critique sur le Liber Historiae Francorum", in: Godefroid Kurth, Etudes Franques, vol. I, Paris, 1919, pp.31-65.

4. Pauline Taylor, The Latinity of the Liber Historiae Francorum, New York, 1924; Idem, "The Vocabulary and Style of the Liber Historiae Francorum", in: John D. Fitz-Gerald and Pauline Taylor, Todd Memorial Volumes – Philological Studies, Vol. II, New York, 1930, pp.207-214; and Mario Pei, The Language of Eighth-Century Texts in Northern France, New York, 1932.

source for the fifty years which span the turn of the seventh into the eighth century. Our medieval predecessors were much more enamoured of this chronicle, for, remarkably enough, this little book was the most widely read and the most frequently copied of all the early-medieval, Frankish, historical works, far surpassing Gregory, Fredegar, and other writers from later centuries. Although we do possess an excellent edition of the LHF in Krusch's work in the MGH,<sup>1</sup> we have neither a scholarly English translation<sup>2</sup> nor an adequate body of learned literature which will help us to learn from the LHF all that it has to teach us. It is because of this lack of modern attention that this present thesis was undertaken.

I have approached the Liber Historiae Francorum in three ways. First, I examined its editions and some of its manuscripts to assure myself that the text we have is the best available rendering of the work. The results of this study form Chapter II of the thesis. I then studied the LHF as a contemporary source, examining what it contains and what it can tell us about the period it describes. This study concentrates on LHF-43 to LHF-53, which treat the second half of the seventh century and the first decades of the eighth and is the period for which the LHF is historically most valuable. This study forms Chapters V, VI, VII, and VIII of the thesis. And finally, I examined how the LHF reflects its author and the

1. SSRM, II, 1888, pp.215-328.

2. Otto Abel and Wilhelm Giesebrecht have translated large sections of the work into German but they were working without benefit of Krusch's edition and omitted several important passages. (Otto Abel, "Die Taten der Frankenkönige und deren Fortsetzung bis zum Jahr 736", in: Idem, Die Chronik Fredegars und der Frankenkönige, Berlin, 1876, pp.62-71; and Wilhelm Giesebrecht, Gregor von Tours, vol. II, Berlin, 1851, pp. 282-302.) Bernard Bachrach has produced a translation of the MGH "A" recension in English. But it is in error in so many places that it is not of great value (Bernard S. Bachrach, Liber Historiae Francorum, Lawrence, Kansas, 1973).

period in which he wrote. Here I examined his conception of the ancient origins of his people (Chapter III), his treatment of his major source, Gregory of Tours, (Chapter IV), and the other clues his work gives us about himself and his times (Chapter IX). Chapter X is a brief summary of these three approaches.

CHAPTER II — THE EDITION OF THE LHF

(Manuscripts, Sources, and Recensions)

The student of the Liber Historiae Francorum is extremely fortunate in having the masterly edition of the work which Bruno Krusch prepared for the Monumenta Germaniae Historica nearly 100 years ago.<sup>1</sup> Although the results of my work with the chronicle and its manuscripts suggest that certain changes should be made to his edition, they are but minor ones: fine tuning in an already clear and accurate production. Krusch had predecessors as editors of the LHF upon whose work he based much of his own and his debt to whom he clearly acknowledged. His achievement, however, stands a quantum jump above theirs and the older editions' value today lies chiefly in the interpretative notes which they contain. This is especially true for the notes in Bouquet's edition, which in many cases are still extremely helpful.

The LHF was first put into print in 1613 by Marquardus Freher.<sup>2</sup> His was an edition of what Krusch would call the B recension with chapter headings taken from the index of one of the A recension's early manuscripts. André Duchesne, in 1636, was the next to publish it.<sup>3</sup> He repeated Freher's edition, adding variants from three more B manuscripts in his notes. Duchesne was the first to notice that there were two versions of the work and he edited the A recension from ms. Cambrai A.803<sup>4</sup> in a parallel text. Since this manuscript does not contain a complete LHF but ends with the story of Chramn in chapter 28, Duchesne assumed that he had discovered

1. SSRM, II, (1888), pp.215-328, and SSRM, VII, (1920), pp.772-775.

2. Marquardus Freher, Corpus Francicae Historiae, Hanau, 1613, pp.55-85.

3. André Duchesne, Historia Francorum Scriptores coetanei, vol. I, Paris, 1626, pp.690-720.

4. Formerly Cambrai ms. S. Mariae 711.

an earlier version of the work. In 1862 J.-P. Migne repeated Duchesne's edition in volume ninety-six of his Patrologia Latina.<sup>1</sup> Seven years later Martin Bouquet's editors brought out a far better edition.<sup>2</sup> They had more manuscripts of the A version available to them and, since these contained a complete LHF, they recognised that A could not claim to be the earlier recension simply because one of its manuscripts ended with an event in the mid sixth century. Although this edition is also in large part a repeat of Duchesne's, its critical apparatus reflects a much greater number of manuscripts and its comments on the contents of the work, too, reflect a greater understanding. Its editors noted, for instance, that A and B are really the same history and that it treats the 140 years after 584 far less fully than it does the preceding century. As most do, they mistrusted the LHF as a source and reported that scholars have dubbed its author the Fabulator Anonymus.<sup>3</sup>

All these editors entitled the work the Gesta Regum Francorum because these words form part of the title in the oldest B manuscripts. In fact, the earliest reference to the work which I have found, one from the mid ninth century, also refers to it in this way.<sup>4</sup> The A manuscripts on the other hand call it the Liber Historiae Francorum and when Krusch convinced himself of the priority of A over B, he also renamed the work with A's title. Almost without exception this title has now become the accepted one.

1. J.-P. Migne (ed.), PL, vol. 96, Paris, 1862, col. 1421-1464.

2. Martin Bouquet, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, vol. II, Paris, 1869, pp.539-572.

3. Ibid., p.539.

4. "29. De percussione divinitus Theoderici regis secundum scripta in vita quidem sancti Columbani, iuxta tamen Francorum Gesta veneno periit, suae autem reginae odio Brunehildis" (Vita Faronis Episcopi Meldensis, in: SSRM, V, p.185, written in the 860's).

## The Manuscripts

Krusch knew of fifty manuscripts of the LHF. He personally examined about six, relying on the notes, transcriptions, or editions of other scholars for the rest. In order to assure myself of his work, I personally examined fifteen LHF manuscripts and of these I collated four with his edition. Krusch magnificently withstood the test. His edition is a complete and accurate reflection of what the manuscripts contain. His rendering was not significantly challenged by the variants contained in four manuscripts of the LHF which I discovered. These were copies of the LHF unknown to either Krusch, cataloguers, or subsequent students of the work. I have listed the changes to Krusch's edition which I would recommend in Appendix I. Before summarising what the manuscripts and the codices containing them reveal about the LHF, I shall briefly describe the four newly discovered ones.

### 1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Duchesne, nro. 91

This is the least important of the four discoveries. The codex which contains it comprises many works written on various materials of differing physical dimensions and bound together in a modern binding. In its present state it is not a medieval codex but rather a book put together by modern means of binding and folio restoration.

BN Duchesne 91 contains two copies of the LHF, which for convenience I shall name Duchesne 91(1) and Duchesne 91(2). I examined the codex because Krusch listed it in his introduction, correctly noting that it is a transcription of the first A2 manuscript (Cambrai A. 803).<sup>1</sup> Krusch was referring to Duchesne 91(2); he did not know of, or did not choose to mention, Duchesne 91(1).

1. SSRM, II, p.222.

Duchesne 91(1) is a late copy of the LHF. It is written on paper which has a large water mark roughly resembling a squat R. Since water marks are first noted in continental manuscripts of the late fourteenth century, we can reasonably assume this manuscript postdates them. It also evidences no pricking or ruling, uses modern punctuation, and capitalizes all proper names. It is not a grand book and is not decorated in any way. It is entitled "Gesta Francorum" but in a hand different from that of the text. There are no chapter divisions, no rubrics and no marginalia commenting on matters of content.

Duchesne 91(1) is a copy of the LHF B recension. It contains the complete LHF from folio 1 to folio 25v, where it continues unbroken into chapter 22 of Fredegar's Continuator. At the end of chapter 33 of the continuation the scribe wrote "finis" and therewith concluded his "Gesta Francorum".

Since the manuscript is such a late one, I did no more than inspect it in a few places, where I noted vocabulary changes and the like. I gained nothing of importance from it.

## 2. Vatican, Reginensis Latine 620

This is a small codex (133 mm wide x 210 mm high) and contains many hands and many works. Some of them, although not the LHF, evidence scripts of the Carolingian period. The last page of the manuscript (f.63v) has the following colophon:

Iste liber est monasterii beatae  
marie de amberto ordinis celestinorum

Vat. Reg. Lat. 620 is a collection of secular histories and contains the following works:

Descriptio Asie, Europae, Africe Secundum Volium. (f.1)

De Nativitate Alexandri Magni. (f.4)

De situ Kartaginis. (f.6)

De Caesare Augusto. (f.6v)

Liber Historiae Francorum. (f.7)

A continuation of the LHF up to Henry I. (f.10)

Exceptiones de ordine Ecclesiae secundum Amalarium.

Vita Mohometis carmine scripta a quodam clerico nomine Gualterio Francigena.

Anonymi nativitas Alexandri Magni auctoris vetusti non contemnendi.

The LHF, which extends from folio 6 to folio 10, is much abbreviated. This, however, seems to be the form in which the scribe wrote it. None of his sections is missing and his continuation flows on from the main work without a break. This is the only place I have seen the LHF in this abbreviated version.

### 3. Vatican, Reginensis Latine 745

This is a thirteenth-century codex, written in two columns on large folia (224 mm wide x 315 mm high). Despite its size and the fact that it is neatly and carefully written, the codex does not have a grand appearance. It is not illuminated and the only decoration it boasts is the appearance of its simple, slightly oversized initials in blue or red. Although it is now covered with a modern binding, its contents are most likely the original ones:

f.1 A page of notes and comments in medieval and modern hands

f.1v-17 Liber Historiae Francorum

f.17-17v A Merovingian-Carolingian genealogy

It follows on as if it were another chapter of the LHF.

f.17v-62 A Continuation of the LHF to Louis VI of France

The scribe has made no physical indication that this is a different work from the two which precede it. This is still part of his gesta from

Valentinian to Louis. The contents of the initial chapters in this section overlap somewhat the information given in the last chapters of the LHF.

f.63-245v Paul the Deacon's Historia Romana<sup>1</sup>

Here the scribe began the second work of his codex. He set it off with a rubric and a large initial P.

In his list of LHF codices, Krusch mentioned a lost manuscript which had been used by Duchesne in his edition.<sup>2</sup> Krusch called the lost codex the 'Thuanus' after its owner, Francois De Thou. The Thuanus and other codices in its group have emended the LHF in two places with lengthy passages, both of which appear in this manuscript.<sup>3</sup> When I collated these sections with Duchesne's edition of them from the Thuanus, the manuscript exhibited omissions which would render impossible any identification of it and the lost codex. It is rather to be placed beneath the Codex Thuanus in Krusch's stemma.

The manuscript is a close copy of the B recension with only minor variants up to chapter 38. From this point on the wording in several passages shortens to a summary of B's account. Some of its variants are worth noting. In LHF-29 (edition, p.288, line 29), the manuscript tells us that Compiègne was a royal villa, information which the original LHF does not give us.<sup>4</sup> In LHF-31 (edition, p.292, line 35), the manuscript adds the following phrase referring to Queen Fredegund: de villa sancti vedasti que vocatur balbancurt.<sup>5</sup> I know of no other medieval source which

1. This manuscript also was not used in the MGH's edition of the Historia Romana.

2. "B2c<sup>5c</sup>. Codex Thuanus a Chesnio adhibitus ... Is iam latet." (SSRM, II, p.232).

3. Krusch has reproduced them as note ++ on page 247 of his edition and as note ++ on page 285.

4. Duchesne included the information in his edition, p.709.

5. Perhaps Ballancourt, Seine et Oise, 14 kilometres from Corbeil.

mentions Fredegund's place of birth. In LHF-35 the manuscript omits the report of Prince Theoderic's death. The manuscript varies significantly from the edition in the words it uses to praise King Dagobert in LHF-42:

Edition (p.314): Fuitque ipse Dagobertus rex fortissimus, enutritor Francorum, severissimus in iudiciis, ecclesiarum largitor.

Manuscript: Qui ipse dagobertus fuit nutritor orphanorum et benignissimus in francos. In iudicio iustus, ecclesiis largus.

The Merovingian ideal of the harsh and manly warrior king had softened considerably. Except for these, the variants are of little or no importance.

#### 4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Latin 7906

This is one of the earliest extant manuscripts of the LHF. Krusch probably passed it by, because both Georg Pertz and the older BN printed catalogue described the manuscript as containing, "Gregorii Turonensis lib. I hist. Franc."<sup>1</sup> E.A. Lowe also did not recognize the work to be the LHF; he called it the Gesta Regum Francorum, a phrase taken from the manuscript's incipit.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript has been rebound and appears now in a pamphlet collection. The third pamphlet, the one containing the LHF, extends from folio 59 to folio 86. Lowe attributed this section to the eighth century and described the script as "early Caroline miniscule". This pamphlet was originally combined with other material now bound in BN Lat. 5018 and once formed a codex containing:

Vergil's Aeneid (Books I, 1-128 and III, 682 -V, 734)  
 The History of Dares Frigius  
 The LHF  
 Bede's Chronicle (ad A.D. 408)

1. Georg Pertz, "Handschriften der Koeniglichen Bibliothek zu Paris", in: Archiv, VII (1839), p.69; and the Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae, Pars Tertia, Tomus Quartus, Paris, 1744, p.liii. (The new BN catalogue has not yet reached 7906).

2. E.A. Lowe, Codices Latini Antiquiores, Supplement, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950, p.22, entry number 1744.

Both Lowe and Bernhard Bischoff considered this original codex to have been written at Lorsch or somewhere nearby.<sup>1</sup>

BN Lat. 7906 is by no means a grand or magnificent book. The pamphlet containing the LHF has very little decoration and the LHF itself has none at all. The only colour used is a yellow background wash, sometimes highlighting the headings. The display scripts are simple rustic capitals and rounded uncials. The book is of the small size (17½ mm wide x 230 mm high). BN Lat. 7906 was both an exciting and a troubling find.

In its original codex, this copy of the LHF was bound with other secular historical works. Although the scribe has given us no indication by means of any visual emphasis of what he considered particularly important, it seems likely that the works were first placed together because of their Trojan content. There are some, although not many, marginal comments by a near-contemporary hand in the LHF. These make it clear that the annotator was interested in the information the LHF provides concerning Germanic and military matters. There are none of the usual marginalia drawing attention to the Merovingian kings or explaining their familial relationships to one another. The noting of "S Remigius" in the lower margin of folio 87 is the only indication of an expressly Christian interest. This annotator made the following marginal comments:

sycambria	(f. 81v = edition, p.242, line 7)
valentinianus	(f. 81v = edition, p.242, line 12)
alemmanus et suevos vincunt franci	(f. 86v = edition, p.262, line 4)
S Remigius	(f. 87 = edition, p.263, line 23)
Gotti Parisiis	(f. 88 = edition, p.268, line 11)
francisca	(f. 88 = edition, p.268, line 13)

This was the only medieval hand which added comments to the LHF's margins

1. Lowe, Ibid. Bernhard Bischoff, "Bibliographie - Fruehkarolingische Handschriften und ihre Heimat", in: Scriptorium, XXII (1968), p.311.

and it could have been the same scribe who made the only two corrections which the manuscript exhibits in the text.<sup>1</sup> The work remains largely as the original copyist left it.

Since this is one of the few very early LHF manuscripts, its language demands careful attention. Unfortunately the manuscript has so many omissions<sup>2</sup> and so many errors which are obviously copying mistakes<sup>3</sup> that it may reflect one scribe's carelessness more than it does the "state of the Latin" in the mid or late eighth century. There was, however, an obvious and conscious attempt on the scribe's part to use the classical -um rather than the "Merovingian accusatives", ending in -o or -u, which are found in the edition.<sup>4</sup> The LHF in Krusch's edition often interchanges the third declension accusative and ablative endings and it rarely provides a correct dative. BN 7906, however, quite frequently renders these things in their classical form.<sup>5</sup> Even so, in many other places the language of the manu-

1. On folio 82 (edition, p.244, line 10) filio priamo is corrected to filium priamo, and on the same folio (edition, p.244, line 17) faramundo ipsius filio is corrected to faramundum ipsius filium.

2. He omits the following: LHF-2 (p.243, line 4) vel audacia; LHF-8 (p.250, line 9) In illis diebus; LHF-10 (p.252, line 10) autem; LHF-10 (p.252, line 26) benigniter; LHF-10 (p.253, line 13) et; LHF-10 (p.253, line 18) -que; LHF-11 (p.255, line 19) et molestus coepit ... istius sacculum suum (line 22); LHF-12 (p.256, line 9) quia; LHF-12 (p.256, line 10) Tu; LHF-12 (p.255, line 17) ut; and LHF-13 (p.259, line 2B) cum.

3. A few examples: In LHF-6 (p.258, line 5) the manuscript has potaretur while the edition has poteretur. Neither form existed in classical Latin. In LHF-7 (p.248, line 21) the edition has dum ab eo and the manuscript has dare ab eo, which has no sense. In LHF-7 (p.250, line 2) the manuscript repeats the words utiliorem cognovissem. In LHF-8 (p.251, line 6) where the edition has indeque the manuscript has innudens which makes no sense. And in LHF-10 (p.253, line 12) the edition has franciscam eius and the manuscript franciscam omnes which again has no sense.

4. LHF-8 (p.250, line 12) edition: maximo exercitu, manuscript: maximum exercitum; LHF-10 (p.252, line 9) edition: illo urceo, manuscript: illum urceum; LHF-10 (p.253, line 19) edition: alio exercitu, manuscript: alium exercitum; and LHF-13 (p.259, line 24) edition: consilio, manuscript: consilium.

5. This is a very common occurrence, examples of which are found on every folio.

script is more confusing than that of the edition.<sup>1</sup> Thus I was unable to decide whether BN 7906 presents a picture of a more or less regular latinity than does the edition.

The most troubling aspect of BN Lat. 7906 is, however, that it switches recensions in the middle of chapter 12. Up to this point the manuscript has been a copy of A but from here on it is B. I find this hard to explain. Krusch and all the scholars after him have taken the fact that the manuscripts of the LHF divide themselves neatly by their textual variants into two groups to mean that there were two early recensions of the work. Thus in the later manuscripts, when the wording of one recension is found in a manuscript of the other, it is explained as an interpolation. But with BN 7906 we have a very early manuscript, in which there are no interpolations. Up to mid LHF-12 it is pure A and thereafter pure B.<sup>2</sup> A logical explanation for this is, of course, that the scribe copied an A codex up to mid LHF-12 and then switched to copying a B codex. This assumes that some scriptorium near Lorsch in the eighth century was already in possession of two recensions of the work. The acquisition of the two must have been very nearly simultaneous, otherwise we should expect any considerable time interval to have left some physical mark in the form of a change in hand or in ink or perhaps even another small work to have been inserted to fill up the remainder of the folio. But the manuscript continues as if there were no break. There is some other evidence which may support this "hybrid" explanation. First,

1. For example: LHF-7 (p.249, line 21) A regno Francorum in the edition and A rex francorum in the manuscript; LHF-7 (p.250, line 5) the manuscript exhibits concoepit where the edition has the correct concipiens; LHF-9 (p.251, line 14) the edition has resedebat (meaning obsedebat) whereas the manuscript has resedeat; and LHF-9 (p.251, line 25) where the edition has missos, the manuscript has misso which makes no sense.

2. There may be one interpolation, but it occurs only a few words before the first clear evidence of B. Here (edition, p.256, line 27) the A should read fusus and the B effusus. The manuscript has fusus with an e written above.

te recuperem simulat. uel quae causa r & rexisti pallium meum. & ille  
 dix. loquebat obsecro seruuuui reri & o tecum. & illicat. loquere.  
 Quidix. domnus meus chlodouear rex francoix misit me ad te uult te ha  
 bere ad regina. ecce anulum eius & reliqua ornata sponsalia. Respe  
 xit hostiu camere. non inuenit sacculum suu. & inuenit eu. recepit  
 q; illa absconditior nacta sponsalia. Accepto q; anulo. que chlodouear  
 rex miserat p aurelicenum repositum illum in thesaurum auunculiu. chlo  
 doueoq; salutem dicto licitum non est xpiente / paganum nubere. uideo  
 misericordia curare nemo sciat quomodo lub & dnr meus. quem ego cor  
 omnibus confiteor sic fiat. tu uero uiue in pace. At ille uenit nuncia  
 ut hęc dominosuo. XII. Anno Insecuto misit chlodouear aurelicenum  
 legatum suum ad gundobodum p sponsa sua chrodhild de. Audiens hęc  
 gundobodus. territus corde ait. uti dicit amner fastissimi consilium. Ami  
 mei burgundioner. quade occasione quaerit chlodouear **aduersuor**  
 numquam uult neptamea. & ait ad aurelicenu explorare uenisti domus  
 nra occasione querendi. renuncia dno tuo quia frustra mendaciulo querere.  
 sponsam habere neptamea. Et aurelicenu constanter loquit dicens ei;  
 si mandata dnr meus chlodouear rex. si uis uis de se sponsa sua locu ei pre  
 parare denominato ubi uis quando chrodhilda sponsa sua recipiat. si au  
 uis. ille cum exercitu francoix in occursum tuum uenire disponit. & ille ait.  
 ubi cuq; uult ueniat. & ego ire contra eu dispono cum hoste plurima bur  
 gundionum ut decidat ruina eius ad inuentione. que p p & racturest  
 cor multar gentib; & iudicatur scingur multorū qui futurē in mani  
 l. uestri. Audiens hęc burgundioner quierant consiliari eius  
**insuenter** ualde ita chlodouear. Consilium dederit gundobodo dicens  
 Inqueratur **rex ministris & cubicularis publicis** si non fuerit aliquis ido

Last  
 clear  
 evidence  
 of A.

First  
 clear  
 evidence  
 of B.

although the manuscript shows the same lack of consistency in the spelling of proper names as do most of the other LHF manuscripts, it does cease to spell Clovis in the fashion, flodoveus, and takes up the more normal spelling, chlodoveus, just one folio before it switches recensions.<sup>1</sup> Second, once the manuscript has switched to B, the number of "mistakes", that is, the number of times its wording varies more from classical usage than does the corresponding wording in the edition, drastically decreases. Both these things could mean that the scribe did indeed create his LHF from two different manuscripts, the second of which (the B) spelled Clovis with a ch rather than an f and was easier for him to read.

Even if we assume that it was not this scribe but the scribe of his exemplar who created the hybrid, this explanation is not totally satisfying. The smoothness of the transition, the fact that it occurs in mid chapter and not at a logical breaking point, and the lack of interpolation certainly at least raise the question of whether this manuscript or its exemplar, might not have been created as a whole rather than as a hybrid. Much of the textual scholarship concerning both the LHF and the Continuations of Fredegar has depended on Krusch's clear cut division between the LHF's A and B recensions. Krusch believed that a complete A was written in 727 and likewise that by 736 a complete B existed. He based the belief that B was completed by 736, on evidence which shows that the first continuator of Fredegar, whom we know to have written in 736, used the last nine chapters of an LHF B codex as his major source. If we examine Krusch's assumptions more exactly, however, we realize that what he knows is only that the Fredegar continuator used an LHF codex in which the last nine

1. The first chlodoveus spelling occurs in the middle of folio 84v (edition, p.254, line 14). The last clear evidence of the A recension occurs on folio 85, line 23 (edition, p.256, line 27) and the first evidence of the B recension two lines later on the same folio (edition, p.256, line 29).

chapters were from B. Since Krusch knew of no early manuscript wherein the last chapters came from a recension different from the earlier ones, he naturally assumed that the entire B recension had been completed by 736. Does BN Lat. 7906 cast doubt on Krusch's conception of two neatly defined recensions, one Neustrian and the other Austrasian, each with its own publication date? Could it not be that the evolution from A to B was more complicated and contained more stages than just one? If so, it would mean that the first firm date ante quem for B, as we now have it, would be the date of the earliest B manuscript and not 736. For the moment, any positive evidence for these assumptions will have to come from BN Lat. 7906, for it is the only manuscript of its kind which I have found.

There are several other points about the LHF which can be learned from its manuscripts but which are not evident from its edition. As Appendix I shows, the latinity of the A3 group of manuscripts is much closer to classical norms than the edition would lead us to believe. No group, however, shows any particular concern for consistency in the spelling of proper names. The spelling of a name often varies on the same folio, sometimes on the very next line. In the medieval codices the LHF was usually bound with other works of a secular as opposed to hagiographic or ecclesiastical character. Its most common neighbours were the Lorsch Annals, various works relating the deeds of the Frankish kings into which the LHF was often subsumed, Einhard's Vita Karoli, Merovingian genealogies, Paul the Deacon's Historia Romanorum, the Historia of Dares Frigius, Erchanbert's Breviarium, and various local annals and histories. Most of the codices I examined were carefully prepared but none was illuminated or made to appear opulent in any way. The marginal notation and the sections given visual emphasis seem to indicate that the LHF was copied and preserved chiefly because of the information it contained concerning the early Merovingian kings. The interest usually extended no further than to the

grandsons of Clovis. Clothar II, Dagobert I, and the Pippinid mayors drew no special attention. Unfortunately the origin of only a few manuscripts is known and these offer no help in determining where the LHF was written.

### The LHF's Sources

Following MGH printing convention, whenever Krusch could determine that the LHF author had taken material from an earlier written source, he placed that material in a smaller type in his edition. In addition to Gregory of Tours, from whom the author took the majority of his chapters four to thirty-five, we can find very little which he borrowed directly from other authors. Krusch's edition correctly identifies almost all of the LHF's known sources. There are, however, some minor omissions, some places where I would disagree with the indication of which words have been borrowed and which not. Since these too affect the appearance of the edition, I have included them in Appendix I.

In copying his main source, the Historia of Gregory of Tours, the LHF author used a manuscript from the B group of Gregory's work.<sup>1</sup> This group of codices contains only the first six books of the Historia and these are often abridged.<sup>2</sup> One of the chapters this group omits is Historia, IV-19<sup>3</sup> and yet Krusch has indicated this as the source for the LHF's report of Saint Médard's death in LHF-29. Krusch was at a loss to explain this ("...satis mirum est...")<sup>4</sup> yet there are, I think, two possible explanations. The LHF's wording of this report bears a striking resemblance to

1. Krusch, SSRM, II, p.217.

2. Krusch, SSRM, I (ed. alt.), p.xxii; Georg Pertz, "Die Italiaenische Reise des Herausgebers", in: Archiv, V (1824), pp.51-52.

3. SSRM, I (ed. alt.), p.152, note a).

4. SSRM, II, p.217.

Gregory's but it is not a direct extract. The author also did not preserve Gregory's order but inserted this piece found in Historia, IV-19 between his own verbatim copying of IV-20 and his summary of IV-21. This could mean that in addition to the B codex of Gregory which the LHF author usually copied, he also had a codex from another group available to him. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that, as we shall see,<sup>1</sup> the LHF author could have occasionally taken small items of information from the last four books of the Historia, books which the B manuscripts do not contain. It could also mean, however, that he was using the same source as Gregory had used. Gregory tells us that he had read a book of Saint Médard's miracles<sup>2</sup> which Krusch demonstrated<sup>3</sup> could not have been the Vita Sancti Medardi,<sup>4</sup> attributed by some to Venantius Fortunatus,<sup>5</sup> which we still have. As we shall see again and again, the LHF author had a special relationship to the Soissons area and thus it is not at all improbable that he would have used such a book. Whether it was this lost source, another codex of the Historia, or both, we cannot say. In any case I would recommend that this section, in any future edition, be printed in the larger type face and that a note be inserted indicating Historia, IV-19. This is MGH printing convention for cases where the link to the source is probable but not proven by direct borrowing.

The LHF author used the Etymologies of Isidore of Seville in two places; one Krusch indicated, the other he did not. The LHF's etymology of Germany found in LHF-5(B) is a direct borrowing from Isidore:

1. Below, Chapter IV, p. 90.

2. Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis Liber in Gloria Confessorum-93, in: SSRM, I-2, p.357.

3. Ibid. note 3; and MGH, Auct. Antiq., IV-2, pp.xxv-xxvii.

4. Vita Sancti Medardi, in: MGH, Auct. Antiq., IV-2, pp.67-73.

5. See Wattenbach-Levison, Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter, Weimar, 1952, p.97, note 212.

LHF-5(B): ...Germanias, eo quod inmanea corpora sint inmanisque nationes, sevissimis durate semperque indomiti, ferocissimi quorum fuisse centum paugus traditur scriptura.

Etymolog., IX,2,97: Germaniae gentes dictae quod sint immanea corporea, immanesque nationes saevissimus duratae frigoribus, qui mores ex ipso caeli rigore traxerunt, ferocis animi et semper indomiti raptu venatuque viventes.  
98: Seuvi...quorum fuisse centum pagos et populos multi prodiderunt.<sup>1</sup>

This Krusch indicated in the small type but he did not note that the LHF's use of the word francisca in LHF-10 and LHF-17 was most likely also taken from the same work:

Etymolog., XVIII,6,9: ...quas (secures) et Hispani ab usu Francorum per derivationem franciscas vocant.

The LHF author is the first Frankish writer we know of to have used the word. The others who have used it have taken it from him.<sup>2</sup>

When Isidore summarised the progression of years at the end of his Chronicles, he provided the stimulus for later authors to continue the summary up to their own times. One such man, probably a Neustrian who was either living in Burgundy or at least very interested in Burgundy's king, Theuderic II, extended Isidore's work up to the year 624. Somehow this continuation of Isidore was separated from the original chronicle and attached to the Chronicle of Marius of Avenches. In his notes to the LHF edition, Krusch still referred to it as Marii Appendix.<sup>3</sup> Theodor Mommsen, however, recognised that it had been misplaced and included it correctly, following Isidore, in the MGH edition.<sup>4</sup> This Auctarium seems to have been

1. Isidori Hispalensis episcopi, Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX, W.M. Lindsay (ed.), vol. I, Oxford, 1911.

2. Kurth, "Etude critique", p.42.

3. SSRM, II, pp. 217; 309, n.2; and 310, notes 3 and 7.

4. Additamenta ad Chronica Maiora, I. Auctarium a. 624, in: MGH, Auct. Antiq., XI, pp.489-490.

a far more important source for the LHF author than the work of Isidore himself. It has been held up as the source for the LHF's information concerning the last days of Brunhild and the union of the three Frankish kingdoms under Clothar II.<sup>1</sup> From it he probably took the report that Theuderic II had killed the son of Theudebert II by beating his head against a rock:

Auctarium-7: ...qui (Theudericus), vivente adhuc germano suo, nepotem proprium ad petram in albis elidi iussit.

LHF-38: Minorem enim in albis ad petram percussum cerebrum elisit.

Since Fredegar gives us nearly the same account, although sparing the Burgundian king, Theuderic (he says it was done a quidam<sup>2</sup>), we can assume that the LHF in its A version is correct. The B recension, on the other hand, omits the story in LHF-38 and, transposing it to LHF-39, applies it incorrectly to Brunhild, making her the murderess of Theuderic's, not Theudebert's, son. These things Krusch noted correctly. The Auctarium could also have been the source for the LHF's report of Clothar II's accession to all three Frankish kingdoms, a fact which Krusch noted. There is, however, another possible source for this account which the edition does not suggest: Jonas of Bobbio's popular Vita Columbani:

Auctarium, -9: monarchiam praenuncupatus rex (Clothar II) in tribus regnis obtinuit.

Vita Columbani I, -29<sup>3</sup>: Clotharius potitus est trium regnorum solus monarchiam.

LHF-40: Clotharium regem in totis tribus regnis in monarchiam elevaverunt.

1. B. Krusch, "Die Zusaetze zu den Chroniken Isidors", in: MIÖG, XVIII-1 (1897), pp.362-365.

2. Fredegar, IV-38.

3. Vita Columbani Abbatis Discipulorumque eius Libri Duo Auctore Iona, I-29, in: SSRM, IV, p.106.

Krusch also listed only the Auctarium as a possible source for the LHF's report of Brunhild's last days. The story was a popular-one, Fredegar too retells it,<sup>1</sup> and the list of possible sources for the LHF account here grows longer:

- Auctarium, -8: ...praefata regina ... camelo inposita multis sui spectaculum praebuit: postremo ferocissimi conligata pedibus equi tergo extremum spiritum exalavit. Cuiusque deinceps corpusculum incendentes populi sepulcrum ignis fuit.
- Vita Columbani I, -29: Brunichildem vero primo ignobiliter camelo inpositam hostibus girando monstravit, postque indomitorum aequorum caudis inretitam miserabiliter vitae privavit.
- Vita Desiderii, -21<sup>2</sup>: In huius centri fastigium vestibus detecta antefata (Brunhildis) sustollitur coramque vultibus hostium ignominiose deducitur...Dehinc (caudis) sonipedum indomitorum arctatur...sic equis ferventibus corpus ... decerpitur ... tenetur piceis arsura bullientibus undis.
- LHF-40: ... in camelo levata toto hoste gyrata, deinde equorum indomitum pedibus legata; dissipatis membris, obiit. Ad extremum sepulchrum eius ignis fuit, ossa ipsius combusta.

In LHF-39 the author ascribes two crimes to Brunhild which she did not commit. He has her poison Theuderic II, who actually died of dysentery,<sup>3</sup> and he has her murder Theuderic's sons, when it was Clothar II who put the princes to death.<sup>4</sup> The LHF author betrays no love for the Burgundian queen, reporting too that the combined armies of Franci and Burgundians shouted that she was most deserving of the vilest death: "... Brunchilde morte turpissima esse dignissima..."<sup>5</sup> A comparison of the

1. Fredegar, IV-42.

2. Sisebut, Vita Desiderii Episcopi Viennensis, -21, in: SSRM, III, p.637.

3. Fredegar, IV-39 (although in IV-42, Fredegar does have Clothar II accuse Brunhild of having killed Theuderic); and Sisebut, Vita Desiderii, -19.

4. Fredegar, IV-42; Jonas, Vita Columbani I, -29.

5. LHF-40.

texts cited above shows that the wording of the Auctarium is the closest to the LHF's but the LHF's enmity toward Brunhild is very much akin to that contained in the two vitae.<sup>1</sup> This and the obvious textual similarities make their use here as sources also a real possibility. Although the edition should draw attention to all three, in no case should it indicate a certain or direct dependence.

"Das beliebteste Buch der Franken waren die Schriften des Sulpicius Severus ueber den h. Martinus", declared Krusch and he numbered the LHF author among Sulpicius' admirers.<sup>2</sup> The LHF's borrowing from Sulpicius is not historical but stylistic. It would be hard to discern, for instance, that his phrase "cedendum itaque tempore" (LHF-48) actually came from understandable Latin. He must have considered it good style indeed for he used it again in LHF-50, merely substituting enim for itaque. His source was Sulpicius' Vita Martini, -6 where Saint Martin thinks it good to "yield to the conditions of the times" and retired to the island of Gallinaria: "cedendum itaque tempori ratus, ad insulam... secessit".<sup>3</sup> The LHF author, however, seems to have misconstrued the phrase and took it to mean simply, "in the following time".<sup>4</sup>

Style is a revealing clue to what looks like another book the LHF author may have read. In LHF-36, when relating how Fredegund and the boy king, Clothar II, defeated the Austrasian invaders by means of the moving woods trick, the LHF author described daybreak with a phrase which is far too elegant to have been of his own making: "et aurora diei

1. See: Janet Nelson, "Queens as Jezebels: The Careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History", in: Studies in Church History, (Subsidia I), 1978, p.59.

2. B. Krusch, "Die Faelschung der Vita Genovefae", in: NA, XVIII (1892), p.32.

3. Vita Sancti Martini, VI-5, in: Jacques Fontaine (ed.), Sulpice Sévère, Vie de Saint Martin, vol. I, Paris, 1967, p.266.

4. Krusch, "Die Faelschung", p.33.

iniciu[m] daret". Indeed, the same phrase is found in the seventh-century Passio Praejecti, -26.<sup>1</sup> Praejectus was a political enemy of Leudegar of Autun and this vita is one of the few sources which paints Ebroin in a favourable light. If the LHF author had read it, it might help to explain why his own picture of Ebroin was milder than what we should expect from an author writing in the early eighth century.<sup>2</sup>

In LHF-4 Krusch again used small type to indicate that the source for the author's report concerning the four, ancient, transrhenish, Frankish, lawgivers was the prologue to the Lex Salica.<sup>3</sup> Krusch based this conclusion on the earlier work of Waitz and Brunner.<sup>4</sup> Godefroid Kurth, however, held that it was the other way round, that is, the prologue had used the LHF as its source.<sup>5</sup> Krammer joined with Kurth in a detailed article published in 1910, declaring that the prologue, in both its long and short version, was a "Publikationspatent Koenig Pippins".<sup>6</sup> In 1916 Krusch published an equally thorough study and claimed to have destroyed Krammer's work.<sup>7</sup> Kurth<sup>8</sup> then switched sides, taking the position opposite his own former ally, Krammer, and this view seeing the prologue as the older work has

1. "Sed cum iam aurora diei daret initium..." (Passio Praejecti Episcopi et Martyris Arverni, -26, in: SSRM, V, p.241.

2. See below Chapter VI, p.152.

3. SSRM, II, p.244.

4. Ibid., p.217.

5. G. Kurth, "Etude critique sur le Gesta Regum Francorum", in: Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, 3e série, t.18 (1889), pp. 287-288.

6. M. Krammer, "Zur Entstehung der Lex Salica", in: Festschrift fuer Heinrich Brunner, Weimar, 1910, pp. 438, and 454-455.

7. B. Krusch, "Der Umsturz der kritischen Grundlagentender Lex Salica", in: NA, XL (1915-1916), pp.499-579.

8. Kurth, "Etude critique", p.43.

now become widely accepted, although not without reservation.<sup>1</sup> Since no manuscript of the prologue predates the LHF, both sides use internal textual arguments almost exclusively in trying to prove their cases. They often base their contentions concerning the relationship between the LHF and the prologue to the Lex Salica on the spelling of the names of the four law-givers, in an attempt to decipher which was more likely to have contained the original spelling and which more likely to have changed it, and on attempts to decide who would have left out certain information. We must ask ourselves here, as we shall for Trojans, Attoarii,<sup>2</sup> and other matters dealing with the supposed ancient history of the Franks, how the LHF author came to know of the names of the law-givers and their dwelling places.<sup>3</sup> The prologue to an ancient tribal law would have been just the sort of source to preserve ancient legends and information for an eighth-century author. But the relationship of the prologue to the Lex Salica to the LHF is far from certain and until the question can be more firmly resolved, the edition's print for the report in LHF-4 should be in the large type and a footnote inserted referring to the Prologue.

This list, meagre as it is, comprises all the extant sources for the LHF which we can locate and which any future edition should indicate. There are suggestions, some strong, some not so, that the author also used

1. Franz Beyerle, "Ueber Normtypen und Erweiterungen der Lex Salica", in: ZSRG, 44 (1924), pp.225-230, especially p.225f, note 5; W. Levison, in: Wattenbach-Levison, Geschichtsquellen 1952, p.155; K.A. Eckhardt (ed. and trans.), Pactus Legis Salicae, vol. I, Goettingen, 1954, pp.169-170; R. Buchner, Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter, Vorzeit und Karolinger. Beiheft: Die Rechtsquellen, Weimar, 1953, p.21, note 77; R. Sprandel, "Der Merovingische Adel und die Gebiete oestlich des Rheins", in: Clemens Bauer, Friedrich Mauer, Gerhard Ritter, and Gerd Tellenbach (eds.), Forschung zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte, V, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1957, p.9; and E. Zoellner, Geschichte der Franken bis zur Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts, Munich, 1970, p.131.

2. See below Chapter III, pp. 48 - 62 , and Chapter IV, p.83.

3. See the possible place names from later sources listed by K.A. Eckhardt (Pactus Legis Salicae, vol. I, p.168, note 295).

written sources now lost to us. He himself mentions the "scriptores" who lie concerning the character of Clovis II.<sup>1</sup> He usually provides regnal years for the Neustrian kings and this indicates he most likely had access to a royal catalogue, a suggestion Krusch properly noted in the edition.<sup>2</sup> There is also the possibility that he used other sources, such as charters, vitae, and local annals, for some of the information he added to reports he took from Gregory of Tours' Historia.<sup>3</sup> The connection in none of these cases, however, is strong enough to warrant noting in the edition.

### The Recensions

Krusch edited the LHF in two recensions, which he called simply A and B, in parallel texts. This is an accurate reflection of the LHF as we have it now in the manuscripts which have survived. My own conclusion, however, is that we must be very cautious in saying any more than that; that is, I am less willing than was either Krusch or Kurth to declare that A was written before B or to argue that the author of A was the same or a different man from the author of B. It is clear that, while in many places the wording varies significantly between the two versions, these differences in words do not allow us to form a picture of differences in political perspective, in date of composition, or in geographical home for the author.

Krusch claimed that the authors of the two recensions were different men, A being a Neustrian and B an Austrasian.<sup>4</sup> Most scholars who have followed him have agreed.<sup>5</sup> Kurth rejoined that B was nothing more than

1. LHF-44.

2. SSRM, II, p.251, note 1.

3. See below Chapter IV, p.90.

4. Krusch, SSRM, II, p.219 and in his supplement to Wilhelm Wattenbach's Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter, (5th edition), vol. I, Berlin, 1885, pp.404-406.

5. Thus Wilhelm Levison (Wattenbach-Levison, Geschichtsquellen 1952, p.115) and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill (Fredegar, p.xxv).

the A author revising and correcting his own work.<sup>1</sup> Eugen Ewig too saw the work of an Austrasian Bearbeiter, who supposedly added the favourable comments about Charles Martel in the A recension.<sup>2</sup> Ewig's Bearbeiter is the result of his attempt to explain pro-Martel, i.e. "Austrasian" content in a Neustrian chronicle. As we shall see, however, it is quite possible to make sense of the LHF author's respect for Charles Martel from an understanding of the author's own political standpoint<sup>3</sup> without the invention of another reviser, who otherwise left us no clue of his handiwork. Kurth correctly noted that Krusch's case for B's Austrasian authorship rested on the fact that B contains a report of the death of the Austrasian king Childebert II, including his regnal years, which is not found in A. This information, according to Kurth, would not have been limited to an author living in Austrasia and thus to argue from it that B was an Austrasian, was to base the contention "sur une pointée d'aiguille".<sup>4</sup> If we also note that this same Childebert and his father, Sigibert I, before him, ruled Soissons, the ancient Neustrian capital, for a time<sup>5</sup>, then a Neustrian author's interest in him becomes even more explicable and Krusch's Austrasian author fades even further from probability.

In his introduction to the edition, Krusch listed his six reasons for believing A to have preceded B.<sup>6</sup> None of them, however, seems strong enough to prove his case: 1) In LHF-37, B contains the words visus fuit

1. Kurth, "Etude critique", pp.33-38.

2. Eugen Ewig, "Zum christlichen Koenigsgedanken im Fruehmittelalter", in: Theodor Mayer (ed.), Das Koenigtum. Seine geistigen und rechtlichen Grundlagen, (Vortraege und Forschungen, 3), Lindau-Konstanz, 1956, pp. 42-43.

3. See below Chapter IX, pp.279-281.

4. Kurth, "Etude critique", p.38.

5. See below Chapter IX, p.251.

6. SSRM, II, p.219.

which Krusch says make the passage much clearer. He argues that if A had read B, he would not have omitted those words, thus making the passage more obscure. 2) In LHF-27, B omits predita in the following phrase describing Queen Clothild: bonis operibus predita. These first two arguments are mutually contradictory. In number one B is said to be the second version because it is clearer, yet in number two the same claim is made because it is less clear. In addition, the phrase in number two is taken from Gregory of Tours (Hist., IV-1) and, since both versions show much evidence of independent access to Gregory's work, it is possible that A came after B and supplied the missing word from its original source. 3) In LHF-31, B supposedly corrupted ad coepta to accepta, which has no sense in the sentence. In addition to the fact that such a change is far more likely to have been a scribal error than a recasting by an author revising a text, this phrase, too, comes from Gregory (Hist., IV-28) and once again it is impossible to say whether he who wrote second was corrupting or correcting. 4) In LHF-38, B allegedly took the story of the murder of Theudebert II's son, who was beaten against a rock, from the A version and applied it instead to the son of Theuderic II in LHF-39. As we have seen, the most likely source for this story is the Auctarium to Isidore's Chronicles which agrees with the A version. But here, too, it is impossible to say whether a corruption or a correction was made by the author of the younger version. 5) In LHF-31 when Galswintha asked Chilperic for permission to return to Spain, the three sources read as follows:

Greg., <u>Hist.</u> , IV-28:	...redire permittetur ad patriam...
<u>LHF-31</u> (A):	...redire permittet ad patrem suum...
<u>LHF-31</u> (B):	...redire dimitteret in patria ad patrem suum...

Krusch argued that A was taken from Gregory and that B excerpted A, filling him out from Gregory. But the sequence could also have been the other way round, with B basing himself on Gregory and then A simplifying B by com-

paring him with the Historia. 6) Finally, in LHF-51 and 53, the half years of the rule of Pippin II and the reign of Chilperic II, which A accurately notes, were supposedly then omitted by B. But since these are the only half years included in all the regnal years the LHF provides, we cannot be sure whether B omitted something A had written or whether A added information to B's account.

In the B manuscripts, the words anno sexto are missing in the last sentence of the final chapter (LHF-53); the word nunc, however, is retained. This is the sentence which tells us when the author completed his work and the two versions both referring to Theuderic IV read as follows:

LHF-53 (A): ...qui nunc anno sexto in regno subsistit.

LHF-53 (B): ...qui usque nunc in regno subsistit.

We can see that the A version was completed in Theuderic's sixth year which fell in 726/727. Krusch and all scholars since him have assumed that the B version of this sentence means that this recension was completed during the reign of the same king but after 727. This is, however, not what the Latin says: the B version could have been written at any time during Theuderic's reign, not necessarily after 727. If B did indeed precede A, that is, if it was written before 726 and closer to Theuderic's accession, it might help to explain why it is that the LHF makes no mention at all of any event which happened during Theuderic's reign.

Added to the facts that Krusch's six arguments cannot be taken as conclusive and that the B version of the LHF's last line does not necessarily mean after 727, there are other factors which make a neat division of two recensions, with A preceding B a far less stable proposition than its appearance in the edition would lead us to believe. We have already seen the evidence gained from the eighth-century manuscript, Paris BN 7906, suggesting that A and B could have grown up piecemeal and not as

two distinct recensions. In LHF-8 the A recension has the words in ea urbe whereas B reads in ea civitate. However, in two important manuscripts of the A family, in readings which Krusch missed, we find the word civitate.<sup>1</sup> There are also two manuscripts in the A family, ones on which Krusch based his edition, which leave out the words anno sexto in the work's last line.<sup>2</sup> These, along with the fact that the earliest manuscripts we have for the LHF were not written until the end of the eighth century,<sup>3</sup> suggest caution in assuming that, since the manuscripts divide into an A group and a B group, there were also necessarily two distinct and sequential recensions of the work itself.

1. In ms. Paris BN Lat. 5596 (Krusch's A1b) and in ms. Vatican reg. Lat. 713 (Krusch's A3b).

2. A1b and A1\*b. See the edition, p.328, note m.

3. Ms. Bern 599 (a1a) dated by Pertz ("Italienische Reise", p.485) and by E.A. Lowe, CLA, vol. VII, Oxford, 1956, p.8 number 865; and ms. Paris BN Lat. 7906, cf., Lowe, CLA, Supplement, p.22, number 1744.

CHAPTER III — THE LHF AND THE ORIGINS OF THE FRANKS

About the year 240 AD the tribune of the sixth Gallican legion at Mainz, Aurelian, met and defeated an army of attacking barbarians. According to his biographer, an author calling himself Vopiscus and writing between 303 and 316, the name of these invaders was "Franci" and this is the earliest event we know of where the participants were specifically called "Franks".<sup>1</sup> By the year 300, that is, well before the period of the great "barbarian invasions", there had been many contacts between the Romans and the Franks and from the Roman records of where these contacts occurred, we can see that for the most part these people were then living in what is today the Netherlands north of the Rhine.

Even though the year 240 AD is the earliest for which we find specific reference to the term "Frank", we can nonetheless trace Frankish roots back much further in this and in other areas along the Rhine. In Latin and Greek sources of the late Roman period we are often told that other tribes were "also called Franks" or "belonged to the Frankish nation". In some cases, earlier records then show us where these tribes lived centuries before the name Frank first appeared. The literature concerning the questions of which German tribes made up the Franks and to which group of Franks each belonged is legion and, by the nature of the sources it uses, full of conjecture and beset with controversy.<sup>2</sup> Nonethe-

1. Vopiscus, Flavi Vopisci Syracusii Divis Aurelianus, 7,1, in: Ernest Hohl (ed.), Scriptores Historiae Augustae, vol. II, Leipzig, 1965, p.153. The date is from Gustav Richter, Annalen der deutschen Geschichte im Mittelalter. 1. Abteilung: Annalen des fraenkischen Reichs im Zeitalter der Merowinger, Halle, 1873, p.7.

2. An ambitious attempt to define the composition of the "Frankish confederation" and one upon which much subsequent literature is based is A. Dederich, Der Frankenbund. Dessen Ursprung und Entwicklung, Hannover, 1873. R. Wenskus, Stammesbildung und Verfassung, Koeln-Graz, 1961, pp. 512-541 provides a good overview of the various theories. See also Eugen Ewig, Trier im Merovingerreich. (Civitas Stadt Bistum), Trier, 1954, p.61;  
(cont.)

less, for our purposes here in tracing the Franks' origins as far as possible, we can find the names of several important tribes whom late Roman authors called Franks and who lived as Rome's neighbours centuries earlier.

For what seems to have been the largest and most important group of the Franks, the Salians, unfortunately our written records mentioning the name go back no further than they do for the term "Frank" itself.<sup>1</sup> The Sigambri are mentioned frequently by Caesar, Tacitus, and other ancient authors and it is from their works that we know they lived north of the Rhine, between the Ruhr and the Sieg. Some Roman authors make a close connection between the Sigambri and the Franks, although they never make the two expressly identical.<sup>2</sup> In many works of the Frankish period, including Gregory of Tours and the LHF,<sup>3</sup> "Sigamber" was used as a poetic term for Frank.<sup>4</sup> This could indicate that these authors assumed that

2. (cont.) Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, VII, Stuttgart, 1910/12, col.83; Richter, Annalen, p.2; Walter Schütze, Deutsche Geschichte von der Urzeit bis zu den Karolingern, II. Band: Das merowingische Frankenreich, Stuttgart, 1896, pp.46-47; Zoellner, Geschichte der Franken, pp.1-2; and Johann Wilhelm Loebell, Gregor von Tours und seine Zeit (2nd ed.), Leipzig, 1869, p.384, none of whom agrees completely.

1. "...Francos ... quos consuetudo Salios appellavit..." (Ammianus Marcellinus, Rerum Gestarum Libri, XVII, 8,3, in: C.U. Clark (ed.), Ammiani Marcellini Rerum Gestarum Libri Qui Supersunt, vol. I, Berlin, 1910, p.119; Zosimos, Historia Nova, III-6, in: L. Mendelssohn (ed.), Zosimi Historia Nova, Leipzig, 1887, p.119; and Panegyricus Constantino Augusto Dictus, 5,3, in: R.A.B. Mynors (ed.), XII Panegyrici Latini, Oxford, 1964, p.189.

2. "Ut Salius iam rura colat flexosque Sygambrus In falcem curvent gladios..." (Claudian, writing about 395-408, De Consulatu Stilichonis, I-222, in: MGH, Auct. Antiq., X, p.197); Sidonius Apollinaris, Carmen 13, v.31, written before 467, in: MGH, Auct. Antiq., VIII, p.232; and John Lydus, De Magistratibus, III-56, in: R. Wuensch (ed.), Joannis Lydi, De Magistratibus Populi Romani, Leipzig, 1903, p.145.

3. Gregory, Historia, II-31. LHF-31.

4. See G. Kurth, Histoire poétique des Mérovingiens, Brussels and Leipzig, 1893, pp.525-527.

the two tribes had at one time been one. It would be safer for us to say only that there had been some sort of connection.

There are other tribes, however, through which we can more successfully trace the Frankish roots. The Attuarii, whom Ammianus Marcellinus tells us were Franks,<sup>1</sup> can be found living in Germany north of the Rhine and west of the Lippe in cir. 30 AD.<sup>2</sup> A map now called the Tabula Peutingeriana, which was most likely drawn originally by the Roman cosmographer Castorius in the early 360's, although the earliest copy we have of it is from the late twelfth century, tells us that the Chamavi were Franks.<sup>3</sup> From Tacitus we find them also along the north bank of the Rhine near the Ijssel.<sup>4</sup> The late fourth-century historian, Sulpicius Alexander, as he is quoted by Gregory of Tours, shows us that in the 390's the Bructeri, the Amsivarii, and the Chatti were subject to Sunno and Marcomer, subreguli of the Franks.<sup>5</sup> We find the Bructeri in the early first century north of the Rhine around the modern city of

1. "Julianus...Rhenus exinde transmisso, regionem subito pervasit Francorum, quos Attuarios vocant..." (Ammianus Marcellinus, Rerum Gest., XX-10, 2, in: ed., p.206).

2. Velleius Paterculus, Ad M. Vinicium, II-105, in: R. Ellis (ed.), Velleii Paterculi Ad M. Vinicium Libri Duo, Oxford, 1898, p.114; see Dederich, Frankenbund, p.1.

3. "Chamavi qui et Pranci", usually taken to mean, qui et Franci. An exhaustive and careful study of the Tabula was made by Konrad Miller, Itineraria Romana. Roemische Reisewege an Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana, Stuttgart, 1916. The Tabula is usually listed as containing the oldest mention of the term Frank in the Roman sources. Since, however, Miller's dating of it to 361-363 (op.cit., p.xxx) seems extremely probable, the Vopiscus section of the Historia Augusta (i.e. Vita Aureliani, -7, see above page 30, note 1), which may have been written under Diocletian or Constantine, is our more likely first reference.

4. Tacitus, Germania, 33 and 34, in: M. Winterbottom and R.M. Ogilvie (eds.), Cornelii Taciti Opera Minora, Oxford, 1975, p.54; and Annales, XIII-55, in C.D. Fischer (ed.), Cornelii Taciti Annalium ab Excessu Divi Augusti Libri, Oxford, 1906.

5. Gregory, Historia, II-9. Ewig (Trier, p.61) says that the Chatti mentioned here should be replaced by the Attuarii (Chattuarii) for geographical reasons. It seems, however, safer to take Sulpicius Alexander at his word.

Muenster.<sup>1</sup> We can find no earlier trace of the Amsivarii, unless they were the same as the Angrivarii who at the time of Tacitus were further to the east around the Weser.<sup>2</sup> With the Chatti we should probably include the Batavi, since Tacitus tells us they were once the same tribe and these we find, according to the same author, north-east of the Rhine, in modern Hesse.<sup>3</sup> It is also along this section, on the right bank of the middle Rhine, that the Tabula Peutingeriana has the word Francia.<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately the etymologies of the various names associated with the Franks do not add very much to what we have learned from the Roman sources about their origins. There is, in fact, very little agreement about the derivation of any of these names. It is unclear whether the name Salian is derived from the river Sala (the modern Ijssel) and the Salland round about where they may have lived<sup>5</sup> or whether, as Frommhold believes, it comes from the Germanic word, sal, relating to a particular type of dwelling they used.<sup>6</sup> It is unlikely that Salian has anything to do with "sea" or "salty"<sup>7</sup> since the early reports of pirate raiding use the word Frank not Salian and because the Romans did not meet the Salians as a sea-faring people but as a tribe moving by land into Batavia and Toxandria.

Despite the references during the Frankish period to a city in the

1. Velleius Paterculus, Ad. M. Vicinium, II-105; Tacitus, Germania, 33.
2. Tacitus, Germania, 33.
3. Ibid., 29-30.
4. Miller, Itineraria, p.614.
5. Wenskus (Stammesbildung, p.526) rejects the derivation from Salland.
6. G. Frommhold, "Der altfraenkische Erbhof: ein Beitrag zur Erklarung des Begriffes der terra salica", in: Untersuchungen zur deutschen Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte, 148, Breslau, 1938, p.12.
7. Jacob Grimm, Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache, vol. I, Leipzig, 1848, p.529 allows either the deviation from Sala/Salland or from sal, the dwelling, but makes no mention of "sea" or "salty".

distant past named Sigambria, in the source of the tribal name Sigambri we seem to be dealing with two recurring etymological themes: that of the national weapon or of military virtue. The eighth-century cosmographer Aethicus Ister said the name came from two German words meaning curved and sword, the curved sword being the weapon they used in their life of raiding.<sup>1</sup> We find an echo of the same etymology in a poem by the late fourth-century Claudian.<sup>2</sup> Jacob Grimm, on the other hand, sees the name derived from "sigu" meaning victory, and "gamber" meaning excited or energetic,<sup>3</sup> giving the tribal name the sense of "those mighty in battle". Neither possibility gives us any clue to the Sigambri's origins.

The same two themes appear in scholars' explanations for the meaning of the word Frank. The name could have come from framea, the word used in Latin for the Franks' national weapon, a throwing axe.<sup>4</sup> In Old High German the word appeared as francho, franca in Anglo-Saxon, and frakke in Old Norse. The same sort of development may have occurred in the name Saxon from sahs, or sword, their national weapon.<sup>5</sup> The most widely accepted opinion, however, is that Frank derives from the old Germanic word freh or frec meaning wild or brave.<sup>6</sup> Leo points out the intriguing fact that in Gaelic-Celtic, the word ffrank means curly, hairy, i.e.,

1. "Sichambriam, barbara sua lingua nuncupant, id est gladio et arcum more praedonum externorumque posita". (Origo Francorum Aethici, -4, in: SSRM, VII, p.526.

2. "...flexos Sygambrus/In falcem curvet gladios, ..." (Claudian, De Consulatu Stilichonis, I-222, in: MGH, Auct. Antiq., X, p.197.

3. Grimm, Geschichte, vol. I, p.525.

4. H. Leo, Vorlesungen ueber die Geschichte des deutschen Volkes und Reiches, vol. I, Halle, 1854, p.255.

5. Oskar Dippe, "Die fraenkischen Trojanersagen", in: Matthias Claudius-Gymnasium in Wandsbek Bericht ueber das Schuljahr 1895-96, Wandsbek, 1896, p.vi.

6. Wallace-Hadrill, The Long-Haired Kings, London, 1962, p.81; G. Kurth, "Francia et Francus", in his: Etudes Franques, vol. I, Paris, 1919, p.91; and Zoellner, Geschichte der Franken, p.1.

crinitus.<sup>1</sup> None of the probable etymologies of Frank, however, take us beyond the German language to any contact with other peoples or areas.

Thus, looking back with scholars from the late nineteenth and the late twentieth century we can trace the origins of the Franks no earlier than to the period when the Romans began to establish and defend the Rhine as their border. The Franks were western Germans and as far back as we can see they had always lived in Germany. We find no evidence of a migration from Asia, the Danube lands, Scandinavia, or elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> This, however, was definitely not the view of Gregory of Tours, the author of the LHF, and of other authors looking back from the centuries when the Franks ruled Gaul. For them the Frankish origins could be traced much further back and to far distant lands. It is to their views that we must now turn.

The first four chapters of the Liber Historiae Francorum tell the story of the origin of the tribe. The LHF author was not the first to trace Frankish history further back than we can see it for both Fredegar and Gregory of Tours before him wrote of the Franks before they appear in Germany. Although the three works vary greatly one from another, what they have in common has been considered enough to suggest that they all echo the same basic story. That story, stripped of its variants, tells us that the Franks were once Trojans, who lived for a while near the Sea of Azov and then in the lands of the lower Danube before coming to the lower Rhine where, through conflict with the Romans, they forced their way into Gaul.

1. Leo, Vorlesungen, vol. I, p.256.

2. Thus Alfons Dopsch, The Economic And Social Foundations of European Civilization, London, 1937, p.103; Richter, Annalen, p.2; Loebell, Gregor, p.384; and Samuel Dill, Roman Society in Gaul in The Merovingian Age, London, 1926, p.5.

Gregory is the most conservative; he traces the origins of the Franks no further back than to their supposed life in Pannonia on the lower Danube.<sup>1</sup> Many believe that Gregory's mentioning of Pannonia is enough to reveal that he knew the stories of the Franks' Asian origins but that he refused to repeat them because he did not believe them.<sup>2</sup> Gregory, however, was not interested in the origin of the Franks in the way the later authors were. For Gregory the Franks first become important when they become Christian. When he treats their early history<sup>3</sup>, he shows no concern about knowing or not knowing where they might have come from. The passages he quotes from his sources concerning them, and even his comments about the type of early rulers they had, whether duces or regales, all lead to emphasize one thing: that the Franks had a king early on and that Gregory has been frustrated in finding out his name.<sup>4</sup> Gregory is indeed very interested in the names of kings; he almost seems to equate knowledge of the king's name with knowledge of the tribe's early history itself. In book I-17 he promises to tell us which other kingdoms were in existence at the time of the Hebrew nation and something about their nature. He then, however, proceeds to list nothing more than the names of their kings. At the end of his chapter on the early history

1. "...eosdem de Pannonia fuisse degressus." (Gregory, Historia, II-9, ed., p.57).

2. Loebell, Gregor, p.337; Ferdinand Lot, in his review of Godefroid Kurth's Histoire poétique des Mérovingiens, in: Le Moyen Age, VI (1893), p.132; and K.L. Roth, "Die Trojasage der Franken", in: Germania. Vierteljahrsschrift fuer deutsche Alterthumskunde, I (1856), p.40.

3. Historia, II-9.

4. "De Francorum vero regibus, quis fuerit primus, a multis ignoratur. Nam cum multa de eis Sulpici Alexandri narret historia, non tamen regem primum eorum ullatinus nominat, sed duces eos habuisse dicit." (Historia, II-9, ed. p.52); "Iterum hic (Sulpicius Alexander), relictis tam ducibus quam regalibus, aperte Francos regem habere designat, huiusque nomen praetermissum, ait..." (ibid., p.55); "Mouet nos haec causa, quod cum aliorum gentium regis nominat (Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus), cur non nominet et Francorum." (ibid., p.56); and "Hanc nobis notitiam de Francis memorati historici reliquere, regibus non nominatis." (ibid., p.57).

of the Franks, after he has carefully laid out his sources for us and four times expressed his frustration at not being able to find the names of the early kings, he summarizes the names he has been able to find. He has read the name of a King Theudomer in the consular lists and he knows that Merovech was the father of Childeric. He tells us of King Clodio without naming his source ("Ferunt etiam...") and about whose supposed relationship to the Merovingian line he makes clear he has no certain and trustworthy authority ("...quidam...adserunt."). The impression is that, in all of this, Gregory has been careful to tell us what he is sure of and what he is not. Thus, given his interest in the names of kings and his willingness to include doubtful names as long as he admits his doubt, if he were aware of the material containing the Trojan origins, it seems strange that he did not include at least some of the names, Priam, Friga, Francio, or Faramund, whom that material claims to have been early kings of the Franks, and indeed in the case of Priam (Fredegar) and Faramund (LHF), claims to have been their all-important first king.

When we come to the origin of the Franks in the Chronicle of Fredegar, we have the first known written claim that the Franks were descended from the Trojans. In fact, Fredegar does not even stop there. With the few words he added to the Liber Generationis,<sup>1</sup> he tells us that the Trojans in turn are descended from Cetthin, a grandson of Noah. The story connecting the Franks to the Trojans comes in two places in Fredegar: first in a section added to the extractions from the Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle<sup>2</sup> and second in another section added to the summary of

1. "...Cetthin, unde Trociane, Frigiiae, Macedones." (Fredegar, I-5, in: SSRM, II, p.21).

2. Fredegar, II-4, -5, and -6.

the first six books of Gregory of Tours' Historia.<sup>1</sup> Edmund Luethgen<sup>2</sup> first and then Krusch<sup>3</sup> showed that the second Fredegar report is really a condensed and reworked version of the first. The fact that Fredegar contains these two versions, which are related in this way to each other, is extremely strong evidence for the "multiple authorship" theory of the chronicle's composition.<sup>4</sup> For our purposes we shall assume that there were at least two Fredegar authors, one writing in cir. 613 and the other after 642, and begin by summarizing each man's version of how the Franks came from Troy.

The first Fredegar's report is the longer of the two; he writes:<sup>5</sup>

In that time Priam carried off Helen. The ten-year Trojan war grew up on account of an apple which was the prize of three women fighting over beauty, one of these promising Helen to the judge, a shepherd. Memnon and the Amazons brought aid to Priam. Out of this came the origin of the Franks. The first king they had was Priam; it is written throughout books of history how later they had Frigas as their king. Afterwards they were divided into two groups. One group reached Macedonia and they were called Macedonians after the people by whom they were received and after the region of Macedonia. They had been invited by these people, who were being oppressed by the neighbouring tribes, so that they could offer them help. After they were united with these people, they grew numerous in offspring. From this tribe the bravest Macedonian warriors were created and their reputation later confirmed this in the days of King Philip and his son Alexander — such was their bravery.

5. That other group, however, which set out from Phrygia, having been deceived through treachery by Ulysses, were nonetheless not taken prisoner but driven out from there and, travelling through many regions with their wives and children, they chose from among themselves Francio for their king. And it was after him that later they were named "Franks" because this Francio is said to have been very brave in battle.<sup>6</sup> Waging war for a long period with many tribes, devastating part of Asia, and

1. Ibid., III-2.

2. Edmund Luethgen, Die Quellen und historischer Wert der fraenkischen Trojasage, Bonn Dissertation, 1875, p.54.

3. Bruno Krusch, "Die Chronicae des sogenannten Fredegar", in: NA, VII (1882), p.440.

4. For excellent historiographical summaries of this long controversy see Wallace-Hadrill, Fredegar, pp.xiv-xxv and Walter Goffart, "The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered", in: Speculum, XXXVIII (1963), pp.207-209, each of whom comes to a different conclusion.

5. From: SSRM, II, pp.45-47 (my translation).

6. I have altered Krusch's punctuation here.

turning toward Europe, (the group) settled down between the Rhine, the Danube, and the sea.

6. And there Francio died. Since only a small band of them remained because of the wars they had waged, they set up duces from their own number. And constantly spurning foreign domination, they carried on for a long time with their duces until the time of the Consul Pompey, who, fighting both with them and with the other nations of tribes who lived in Germany, brought them all under Roman domination. But the Franks quickly entered an alliance with the Saxons and, rebelling against Pompey, cast off his authority. Pompey died fighting against many tribes in Spain. From after these events up to the present day no tribe has been able to conquer the Franks, but rather they were able to subjugate them to their own authority. And in the example of the Macedonians, who were of the same stock, although they had been worn away in deadly wars, nonetheless they have always undertaken to live free from external domination. Tradition confirms that there was a third tribe from the same origin, The Turks, and that when the Franks in their travels and many battles crossed over and entered Europe, a group of them settled in that same place, above the bank of the River Danube between the Ocean and Thrace. They elected from their midst a king named Turquotus from whom they got their name, "Turks". The Franks made this journey with their wives and children and there was no tribe who was able to resist them in battle. But since they waged many wars, and since their numbers were diminished by Turquotus, when they settled near the Rhine a small band remained. From the taking of Troy to the first Olympiad 406 years elapsed.

8. ... Then in that same time the first king of the Latins arose and, seeing that they had fled from Troy, he was from the same family as Frigas. Through the same taking of Troy and the inundation of Assyrians and their persecution they had gone out in two groups from that city and region. From this they established one kingdom of Latins and another of Phrygians. ... Aeneas and Frigas are said to have been brothers.

Not only will the contents of the later accounts of this story vary in many instances from this first one, but their purposes too will be strikingly different. It is patent even from our translation of the first Fredegar that he was anxious to portray the Franks as a war-like people who had a long and proud tradition of independence and that he was particularly concerned to show their superiority to the Romans. The second Fredegar gives us the same story but with a different emphasis. He writes:<sup>1</sup>

2. Saint Jerome wrote about who the kings of the Franks formerly were and before him the Poet Virgil's history relates this: that they had

1. From: SSRM, II, p.93 (my translation).

Priam as their first king; that when Troy was taken by the trickery of Ulysses they set out from there; that later they had Friga as their king. A two-part division occurred and one group came to Macedonia; the others, called the Frigii, travelled through Asia with Friga and settled on the shore of the River Danube and the Ocean. Again there was a two-part division and a group comprising half of them with Francio their king entered Europe. Travelling across Europe with their wives and children they occupied the bank of the Rhine and not far from the Rhine they undertook the building of a city in the image of and with the name of Troy. It was indeed begun, but the task remained uncompleted. The remaining group of them, who stayed on the bank of the Danube, elected a king from among themselves named Torcot, after whom they were called "Turks" and after Francio the others were called "Franks". For many years following they with their duces continually warded off foreign domination.

A few paragraphs later, when the author is telling us that the Franks' period of rule by duces has ended, he assures us that they again chose their king from the original Trojan royal family:<sup>1</sup>

9. The Franks chose from among themselves a long-haired king, just as there had been in earlier times. Carefully taking him from the family of Priam, Friga, and Francio, they established over themselves a man named Theudemar, son of Richemer ...

This second report begins by telling us that it was Saint Jerome who wrote about the early kings of the Franks. By this the author could have meant neither Jerome himself, who mentions the Franks only once,<sup>2</sup> nor any of the continuators of Jerome's translation of Eusebius' Chronicle, who also say nothing of Priam or Friga as early Frankish kings. By Jerome he meant the account of the first Fredegar, which its author claims to have taken from the work of Saint Jerome. This second version is totally dependent on the first with two small exceptions: the second author mentions the poet Virgil, which the first does not, and he adds the building of the city "ad instar Trogiae nominis".<sup>3</sup> We cannot be certain

1. Ibid., pp.94-95.

2. "... inter Saxones quippe et Alemannos gens eius, non tam lata quam valida, apud historicos Germania, nunc Francia vocatur". (Jerome, Vita Hilarionis, 13,3, in: Christine Mohrmann (ed.), Vita di Martino, Vita di Ilarione, In Memoria di Paola, Verona, 1975, p.102.

3. Krusch, "Die Chronicae", p.440; Kurth, Histoire poétique, p.508; and Dippe, "Trojanersagen", p.vii.

why he would mention Virgil, for the great Augustan poet never made any Frankish connection to Troy, unless he meant that (his) Jerome wrote about Frankish kings and Virgil about the fall of Troy. The best explanation for the new city of Troy on the Rhine is that it was the former Roman colony at Kellen near modern Xanten which was then properly called Colonia Traiana but was already known as Colonia Troiana in the late third-century Itinerarium Antonini Augusti.<sup>1</sup> The seventh-century Cosmographer of Ravenna also calls the same city Troia.<sup>2</sup> The city was in ruins at the time Fredegar wrote and thus to him it would have appeared uncompleted.<sup>3</sup> Although these are the only two variants in the content of the two versions, there is a great divergence in their purpose. In the second account, gone is the image of the Franks as a people with a long and proud history of struggle through war and one who were not only of the same stock as the Romans but indeed their superiors in battle. The second Fredegar does not seem to be very interested in Romans. He makes no specific reference to the Franks' common blood with them, as the first author repeatedly does, nor does he mention that Franks defeated Romans in battle. In fact, second Fredegar's version of the Trojan origin of the Franks does not mention the Romans at all.

At least part of the reason for this fundamental difference in the treatment each author gives the Frankish origins must lie in the different literary task each had before him. The first Fredegar was copying and expanding the Chronicle of Eusebius and Jerome, whereas the second author was doing the same to the History of Gregory of Tours. As we saw, in

1. E. Bickel, Arminusbiographie und Sagensigfrid, Bonn, 1949, p.102; and Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopaedie, vol. IV, col. 511.

2. Konrad Miller, Mappaemundi. Die aeltesten Weltkarten, vol. VI, Stuttgart, 1898, p.11; and Hildebrecht Hommel, "Die Trojanische Herkunft der Franken", in: Rheinisches Museum, 99 (1956), p.326.

3. Kurth, Histoire poétique, p.513.

Gregory's treatment of the origin of the Franks, he emphasized his frustration in not being able to discover the names of their kings. Second Fredegar, however, had now found the names in First Fredegar's interpolated Jerome; he now knew what Gregory had not. Thus where Gregory wrote: "De Francorum vero regibus quis fuerit primus, a multis ignoratur", he could now write: "De Francorum vero regibus beatus Hieronymus qui iam olim fuerant, scripsit". And also where Gregory said, "...non regem primum nominat", he could now say, "primum regem Priam habuisse".<sup>1</sup>

This brings us to the third version of the Frankish Trojan origins. This is contained in the first four chapters of the LHF and is the one which interests us the most. The LHF author gives us no evidence of having excerpted either of the two previous accounts. This and the fact that only in the broadest outline do Fredegar and the LHF agree in the content of their Trojan stories strongly suggest that this latest version appeared independently of both the earlier ones. We shall find, as we read the LHF author's account, that it is more coherent, better organised, and more single-minded than the ones in Fredegar. In a word, the LHF is more limited to matters Frankish. He writes:<sup>2</sup>

1. Let us set forth the beginnings of the Franci's kings, their own origin and that of the tribes as well as their deeds. In Asia there is a stronghold of the Trojans where a city called Ilium is, in which Aeneas ruled. This was a strong and mighty tribe, men exceedingly prone to warring again and again, provoking constant combat, and conquering the neighbouring lands all around them. But the kings of the Greeks rose up with a great army against Aeneas and they fought against him in a great slaughter and there a great army of Trojans fell. Aeneas fled and shut himself up in the city of Ilium and they fought against this city for ten years. For, after the city was captured, the king Aeneas fled to Italy to engage tribes there for the fight. Others of the leading men, that is, Priam and Antenor, with the remaining Trojan army, 12,000 soldiers, boarded ships, escaped, and came to the banks of the river Don. And having entered the Sea of Azov, they arrived within the borders of the Pannonians adjacent to the Sea of Azov and they began to build a

1. Cf. Luethgen, Die Quellen, p.14.

2. From: SSRM, II, pp.241-244 (my translation).

city to be a memorial to themselves and they called it Sicambria. And there they lived for many years and grew into a great tribe.

2. At the same time the depraved and evil tribe of the Alans rebelled against Valentinian, emperor of Romans and tribes alike. Then he raised a huge army from Rome and went out against them. He engaged them in battle, overcame them, and defeated them. Since they were defeated, they fled across the River Don and entered the Sea of Azov. Then the emperor said, "Whoever shall be able to enter this marshland and to force out this evil tribe, for them I shall cancel tax payments for ten years". Then having come together, /the Trojans (A) / the Franci who had been driven from Troy (B) / prepared ambushes and, as they had been taught to do that and as they also knew the area, they entered the Sea of Azov along with another army of Romans, drove the Alans from there, and cut them down with the sword. Then the Emperor Valentinian named them "Franks" which means "wild" in /Greek (A) / Latin (B) / because of the hardness and bravery of their hearts.

3. Therefore after ten years had passed, the above-mentioned emperor sent tax collectors together with Duke Primarius from the Roman senate in order to collect the customary tax from the Franci. They, however, because they were wild and uncivilised, having taken counsel to their own detriment, said one to another, "The emperor with the Roman army was not able to eject the Alans, a strong and defiant tribe, from their hiding places in the marshlands. Why then should we, who conquered them, pay taxes? Let us therefore rise up against this Primarius and these collectors and let us destroy them and let us not pay taxes to the Romans and we shall be perpetually free". And indeed they prepared ambushes and killed them.

4. When the emperor heard this he was consumed with fury and great anger. He ordered an army of Romans and other tribes with Aristarcus, the Princeps Militiae, to be assembled and sent it against the Franci. And there was a great slaughter of each army. The Franci, who were being cut down and killed, saw that they could not resist such a great army and took to flight. And there Priam, the strongest of them, fell. They therefore left Sicambria and came to the farthest reaches of the River Rhine in the strongholds of the Germanies. And here they settled with their leaders Marchomir, Priam's son, and Sunno, the son of Antenor, and they lived there for many years. When Sunno died, they decided to establish one king for themselves just as other tribes had. Marchomir gave them this plan and they chose his son, Faramund, and raised him over them as their long-haired king.

In addition to the above accounts there are two other eighth-century works which have been seen as belonging to the body of material relating the Trojan origin of the Franks. The first is the Historia Daretis Frigii De Origine Francorum<sup>1</sup>, which the first of Fredegar's Childebrand continua-

1. Edited by Krusch in: SSRM, II, pp.194-200.

tors adapted and included in the Jerome portion of Fredegar's chronicle.<sup>1</sup> The second work, probably written sometime after 768,<sup>2</sup> is entitled Origo Francorum and is by the eighth-century cosmographer calling himself Aethicus Ister.<sup>3</sup> Although the edited titles of these works proclaim that they treat the origins of the Franks, in fact neither does. They have probably been thought to do so because, in treating the aftermath of Troy's fall, they mention two supposed Trojan nobles named Francus and Vassus. Nowhere, however, is there any mention of the Franks, much less of their connection with Troy or with these two Trojan leaders. Aethicus does follow Francus and Vassus through Raetia into the trackless portions of Germany to the west of the Sea of Azov, where they founded a city called Sicambria but there he stops, drawing back from naming these people Franks or ancestors of the Franks.<sup>4</sup> It may well have been the case that the stories of the Franks' Trojan origins were so widespread by the time these men wrote that they could assume their audiences would infer from the name Francus the fact that Franks and Trojans were related, something many modern scholars have apparently done.<sup>5</sup> Even so, Frankish Trojan origins were by no means central or even important for either account, both of which deal rather with Troy and its fall. This, together with the fact that they were written after the LHF, makes it advisable to discuss them no further.

1. Krusch, "Die Chronicae", p.515.

2. Kurt Hillkowitz, Zur Kosmographie des Aethicus, Frankfurt, 1973, p.xiv.

3. Krusch edited the Origo Francorum which is a part of Aethicus' Cosmography, in: SSRM, VII, pp.517-527.

4. Origo Francorum, -4.

5. E. Zoellner (Die politische Stellung der Voelker im Frankenreich, Vienna, 1950, p.66) names Francus and Vassus "Ahnherren der Franken". See Dippe, "Trojanersagen", p.xx; Krusch, SSRM, II, p.517; Kurth, Histoire poetique, p.514; and E. Faral, "La legende de l'origine troyenne des Francs", in: Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 255 (1929), pp. 287-288.

If we compare the content of the Trojan stories in the LHF with those in Fredegar we find many significant differences. -Because Fredegar copied Jerome, he seems to have had a better idea of when Troy fell. He tells us that it happened in the 406th year before the Olympiad calculation method and, since he tells us that Philip and Alexander had Franks in Macedonia, he must have thought Troy to have fallen before their time. The LHF, on the other hand, makes Troy's fall contemporary with Emperor Valentinian. In the important question of how the Franks got their name, Fredegar gives us an eponym, King Francio, whereas the LHF tells us the word originally meant fierce. Both sources tell us the Franks founded a city. For the LHF, whose geography could seem to us to be muddled, it was near the Sea of Azov on the Danube in Pannonia and was called Sicambria. For Fredegar, the city was a new Troy built on the Rhine. Romans and Roman overlordship are an important theme in first Fredegar; this is not so for the LHF. In Fredegar's account, the Franks were first subjected to the Romans after they came to the Rhine and then only for a short time. In the LHF the Franks were already tributaries of the Romans when they lived in Pannonia. The LHF's Roman leaders are Valentinian, Primarius and Aristarchus; in Fredegar we find instead the consul Pompey. And finally, Fredegar gives us information about several other tribes: the Macedonians, Phrysiens, Turks, and Saxons. The LHF only mentions the Alans.

This comparison of the LHF's contents with Fredegar's leads to four important conclusions. First, the wide divergence between them strengthens the probability that the LHF was written without knowledge of Fredegar's account. Second, it also makes it very probable that the Frankish Trojan origin stories were widespread and varied by the time the LHF author wrote. This in turn calls into question, although it does not refute, the argument

initiated by Heeger and adopted by Faral, Krusch, and Kurth<sup>1</sup> that it was Fredegar who invented the story. If the story had had one particular inventor who created it at one particular time, we might not expect the appearance of such a divergent and independent version. Third, the comparison points up how unimportant Romans and their hegemony were to the LHF author. When the Romans enter the LHF's story, it is not they but the Alans who are the enemy and the Romans' involvement is used to emphasize the Franks' ferocity and warlike qualities, not their freedom from Roman domination as it does in Fredegar. Fourth and finally, comparing both accounts emphasizes how exclusively Frankish the LHF author's is. The author's purpose was neither to show how Franks, Romans, Macedonians, or Turks are related to each other, nor to explain the derivation of other people's names, nor to relate their fates. His concern here at the beginning of his chronicle is as it will remain throughout: the Neustrian Franci.

This fourth point also receives a certain amount of reinforcement from a comparison of the form and style in the two accounts. This is especially true when the LHF is compared with the longer account in the first Fredegar. The LHF version is much simpler and much clearer both in its organization and in its language. It is a single unit<sup>2</sup>, organized chronologically and geographically, and it does not deviate to include related or tangential information. Its language, too, shows a strong

1. Georg Heeger, "Ueber die Trojanersagen der Franken und Normannen", Programm Landau, 1890, p.18; Faral, "La legende", p.262; Krusch, "Die Chronicae", pp.473-475; and Kurth, Histoire poétique, pp.511-512.

2. Kurth (Histoire poétique, p.514) radically disagrees. He sees the LHF as the marriage between two distinct legends: one, the Troy story, describing the Franks' early kings, and the other, the episode with Valentinian and the Alans, set forth in order to explain the derivation of the name Frank. Kurth may have transferred too much of his thinking about Gregory, who was concerned with early kings, on the one hand and too much from Isidore, who wrestled with two possible etymologies, on the other, to his analysis of the LHF. Viewed from within itself, the LHF evidences no division between these two supposed sections.

preference for uncomplicated structures. It uses, for example, parallel rather than dependent constructions and is almost totally void of relative pronouns and subordinating conjunctions. The author had a single purpose in mind, to relate the origins and deeds of the Franci, and he built his story accordingly.

Oskar Dippe, in an often insightful article, which has nonetheless been largely neglected, argues that the LHF's version of the Trojan origin legends has an epic quality ("episches Gepraege") about it, due to this very simplicity of its language. He goes on to say that this impression is heightened by the fact that the text can be ordered into lines of verse without changing any of the words. Emphasising that the rhythm results from Germanic accentuated meter rather than the classical quantitative, he exhibits several examples among which is the following:<sup>1</sup>

1. Princípium régum Francórum/eórumque orígine  
vel géntium illárum/gésta proferámus.
2. Est autem in Ásia/ópidum Trojanórum,  
Ubi est civitas/quae Ílium dicitur,  
Ubi regnavit Aeneas.
3. Géns ílla/fórtis et válda,  
víri bellatóres/átque rebélles nímis,  
inquiéta certámina objurgántes,  
per gýrum finítima debellántes.

Dippe is quick to point out his conviction that the LHF version was neither meant to be a song nor was it derived from any sort of epic or popular poem. It was rather a work written in prose by a capable and well-read author. To Dippe's points of rhythm and simplicity of language we would add that the subject matter (Troy, Aeneas, far-off Asia) and the high-sounding biblical and perhaps even Virgilian vocabulary, (principium, surrexerunt, debellantes) also add an epic weight and dignity. This was the tone which the author thought appropriate for the origins of the Franci.

1. Dippe, "Trojanersagen", pp.xvi-xvii.

There have been differing opinions in the literature concerning how these stories of the Franks' beginnings grew up. An older, but not yet thoroughly discredited view, saw them as stemming from popular sagas and containing here and there elements reminiscent of actual events in the Franks' early history.<sup>1</sup> The later and now accepted view is that they were the product of learned invention in the eighth century.<sup>2</sup> The real answer is that they most likely contain elements of both history and literary invention.

When we look for real historical events or situations which may have found their way into the Frankish Trojan origin stories, we do indeed find some, although not as many as were once supposed. In some manuscripts of a work now called the Chronica Gallica,<sup>3</sup> written perhaps in Marseilles in the mid fifth century<sup>4</sup> but for a long time falsely attributed to Prosper Tiro, we find mention of the Franks' supposed early kings. Both Priamus (for 383) and Faramund (418), who the LHF version tells us was the first king of the Franks, are listed as ruling in "Francia".<sup>5</sup> Although this information is found in a work which was written some three hundred years before the LHF, unfortunately it first appears in that work's later manuscripts and is now known to have been interpolated into it from the Chronicle of Sigibert of Gembloux.<sup>6</sup> With the other Frankish leaders mentioned by the LHF, Sunno and Marchomir, we are on safer historical

1. This view was held by, among others, Roth, Dederich, and J. Wormstall, "Die Herkunft der Franken von Troja", in: Literatur Zentralblatt, 1869, p.381.

2. This view is best summarised by Kurth (Histoire poétique, pp.513-516) and is dependent on the work of many: Loebell, Luethgen, Heeger, Krusch, and Dippe.

3. MGH, Auct. Antiq., IX, pp.617-662.

4. Wattenbach-Levison, Geschichtsquellen 1952, p.84.

5. See Theodor Mommsen, in: MGH, Auct. Antiq., IX, p.619.

6. O. Holder-Egger, "Untersuchungen ueber einige annalistische Quellen sur Geschichte des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts", in: NA, I (1876), p.97.

ground. They are mentioned both by Gregory of Tours<sup>1</sup> and by the early fifth-century author, Claudian.<sup>2</sup>

In the first century AD under the Emperor Tiberius, a Sigambrian cohort was stationed on the lower Danube.<sup>3</sup> As we have seen, not only was there a close historical connection between the Sigambri and the tribes who would later be called the Franks, but beginning at least with Sidonius Apollinaris and Gregory of Tours, Sigamber became a poetical name for Frank. The accepted view today is that the LHF author made up his accounts of the Franks living in Pannonia after the fall of Troy from the few words he found in Gregory of Tours: "...eosdem de Pannonia fuisse degressus."<sup>4</sup> But given the fact that Sigambrian forces are known to have actually served in the area, we cannot rule out the possibility that the LHF author's name for the Trojan-Franks' Pannonian city, "Sicambria", and his report of their stay in that province came from a source either other than, or in addition to, Gregory.

Near Budapest, in the city called O-Buda (old Buda), the ruins of the ancient Roman Aquincum, one of the principal stations of the legions in Pannonia, can still be seen.<sup>5</sup> In the late medieval Hungarian national chronicles this location was actually known as Sicambria.<sup>6</sup> During the

1. Gregory, Historia, II-9.

2. Claudian, De Consulatu Stilichonis, I-241.

3. Tacitus, Annales, IV-47.

4. Gregory, Historia, II-9, ed. p.57.

5. Alexandre Eckhardt, "Sicambria, capitale légendaire des Français en Hongrie", in: Revue des Etudes hongroises, VI (1928), p.166.

6. In the thirteenth-century Gesta Hungarorum, by Simon Kézai, chapters 9, 11, 13, 15, 19, and 20, in: A. Domanovszky (ed.), Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum (E. Szentpetery, series ed.), vol. I, Budapest, 1937, pp. 149, 152, 156, 157, 161, and 162; and the fourteenth-century Chronicon Henrici de Muegel Germanice conscriptum, -4, -9, and -11, in: E. Travnik (ed.), Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum, vol. II, Budapest, 1938, pp. 112, 119, and 125. See C.A. Macartney, The Medieval Hungarian Historians, Cambridge, 1953, for a critical discussion of authors and dates; and Jacob Grimm, Geschichte, vol. I, p.523.

reign of King Matthias Corvin (1458-1490), while laying the foundations for some buildings of Queen Beatrice (d. 1476), workers supposedly uncovered a Roman stone bearing the inscription:<sup>1</sup>

LEGIO SICAMBRORVM HIC PRAESIDIO  
COLLOCATA CIVITATEM AEDIFICAVERT  
QVAM EX SVO NOMINE SICAMBRIAM VOCAVERVNT

Eckhardt has explained away the inscription as fiction, saying that it was invented by the Italian humanist Bonfini who visited the court of King Matthias and who wrote a history of Hungary. Bonfini's humanistic tastes were allegedly so insulted by the stories of Trojan origins for Sicambria that he made up a new one. Since King Matthias had begun to collect inscriptions from the Roman era which were then being unearthed, they were easily accessible but, since they were often fragments, they were not so easy to read. Nonetheless somehow Bonfini managed to decipher the one quoted above.<sup>2</sup> Such an inscription does indeed seem highly suspicious<sup>3</sup> but Eckhardt's reasons for dismissing it will not do. In Bonfini's history he shows absolutely no trace that his "humanist's tastes" were insulted by the Trojan origin legend. He repeats the report that the Trojans under Antenor founded Sicambria and adds no words of scepticism. He does quote the inscription but he also says that he is not sure whether Sicambria was named for the Sigambri or for some other reason, alluding, possibly, to the "curved sword" etymology of the name.<sup>4</sup> Added to this is the fact that Bonfini was by no means the first to be able to read the inscription. It is quoted by Peter Apian, writing some

1. A. Eckhardt, "Sicambria", p.194.

2. Ibid., pp.193-194.

3. I can find no mention of it in recent works on Pannonian inscriptions.

4. "Quae (urbs) sive a Sicambris populis Germaniae Rheno finitimae, quam olim Galli infestabant, sive alia ex causa Sicambria vocata sit, non satis conpertum habeo." (Antonius Bonfinius, Rerum Ungaricarum Decades Quattuor cum Dimidia, Frankfurt, 1581, p.881).

forty-seven years before Bonfini.<sup>1</sup> The inscription may have been invented but Bonfini did not do it. Eckhardt assumed the name Sicambria was first applied to the ruins near O-Buda long after the Roman period through the influence exercised in Hungarian literature by French sources carrying the Trojan origin story, which was in turn derived from the original report in the LHF. For Eckhardt the final blow to any possible thought that Sicambria was an actual Roman name for the location came in 1778 when the Hungarian archaeologist, Schoenvisner, discovered that the Roman settlement had really been called Aquincum: "Avec la découverte du nom d'Aquincum, Sicambria sombra avec tous ces Francs et ses Huns."<sup>2</sup> But once again the case is not as closed as Eckhardt would have it. The inscription and the origin of the name Sicambria for the ruins near O-Buda intrigued another sixteenth-century author, Wolfgang Lazius. From his work we gain two important points. First, he noticed that Ammianus Marcellinus, who listed all the other significant places in Pannonia under Julian and Valentinian, did not mention O-Buda at all under any name. He thus concluded that the location was most likely deserted by the late fourth century. This supposition allowed him to declare that the Sicambria of which the inscription spoke was founded under Valentinian II in the ruins of the former Roman city at O-Buda.<sup>3</sup> Whether or not that was true, his reasoning does show that Aquincum and Sicambria could have very easily been two names for the same location, one dying out before the other was founded. And second, Lazius shows us that the connection of Sicambria with O-Buda was in his day more broadly based than was likely to have come about through the influence of French literature on Hungarian national

1. Petrus Apianus, Inscriptiones Sacrosanctae Vetustatis, Ingolstadt, 1534, p.492.

2. A. Eckhardt, "Sicambria", p.197.

3. Wolfgang Lazius, Reipublicae Romanae in Exteris Provinciis, Frankfurt, 1598, p.951.

chronicles. It seems that in the late sixteenth century, this village near O-Buda, which contained the Roman ruins, still preserved the ancient name Sicambria in the local language; the place was known as Schambry in Hungarian.<sup>1</sup>

Once again we are frustrated in the attempt to say anything definite about this and its possible role as a source for the LHF author's Trojan origin story. But the fact that in the late sixteenth century there was a strong local tradition, complete with a (probably bogus) Roman inscription stone, locating a Roman city called Sigambria on the Danube in Pannonia right where the LHF said it was and near to where Tiberius' Sigambrian cohort was likely to have been stationed, does leave open the possibility that somehow a little piece of real history about a real city during the Roman period filtered its way in a confused and distorted form to the LHF author through a means other than Gregory's few words: "de Pannonia fuisse degressus."

Loebell mentions the interesting point that ever since Attila and his Huns poured west over Europe, the idea became widespread that conquerors came from the lower Danube lands.<sup>2</sup> This idea as well may have had some direct influence on the LHF author.

The Black Sea is also not totally alien to the real history of the Franks; the Emperor Probus (276-282) settled Frankish prisoners of war on its shores. Some of these managed to sail back to the lower Rhine via the Aegean and the Mediterranean on a voyage filled with looting and

1. "Sed pagus adhuc proximus, vetus nomen Sicambriae retinuit, tametsi barbare Schambry Hungari appellent..." (Lazius, loc. cit.)

2. Loebell, Gregor, p.383.

pillage.<sup>1</sup> In this adventurous escapade we may have another snippet of real history, which somehow lay at the base of the stories claiming that the Franks lived near the Black Sea.<sup>2</sup> The Trojan origin stories, however, have the Franks move from the Black Sea to the Rhine by land and not by sea.<sup>3</sup>

It can hardly be coincidence that the LHF author chose Valentinian as the leader for his Romans. Not only did Valentinian I actually spend most of his career defending the western empire's northern borders against the Franks and others, but he also was himself a Pannonian<sup>4</sup> and established one of his imperial residences at Sirmium in that province.<sup>5</sup> Although it is possible that the LHF author obtained the name Valentinian from Gregory, the bishop of Tours is not a very likely source because he only refers to Valentinian I in order to use his name for dating,<sup>6</sup> depicts Valentinian II as a helpless puppet shut up in Vienne<sup>7</sup> and mentions Valentinian III only as Aetius' rival.<sup>8</sup> Valentinian's great enemies were the Alamanni, not the Alans as the LHF has it. These names could have become confused along

1. Zosimos, Historia Nova, I-71, in Mendelssohn (ed.), p.52; Incerti Panegyricus Constantio Caesari Dictus, 18,3, in: R.A.B. Mynors (ed.), XII Panegyrici Latini, Oxford, 1964, p.227; Vopiscus, Probus, 18,2, who mentions the incident but not the Franks. Cf. Richter, Annalen, p.8; Zoellner, Geschichte der Franken, p.11; Luethgen, Die Quellen, p.26; and Edward Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. I, London, 1776, pp.339-340.

2. Dill, Roman Society, p.6; and Dederich, Frankenbund, p.69.

3. Luethgen, Die Quellen, p.13.

4. Ammianus Marcellinus, Rerum Gest., XXX, 7,1.

5. Ibid., XXVI, 5, 4.

6. Gregory, Historia, I-39, I-41, and X-3.

7. Ibid., II-9.

8. Ibid., II-8.

whatever route the information about Valentinian reached the eighth century.<sup>1</sup>

Another detail in the LHF's account of the Frank's early history which has a true rather than an invented ring to it is their connection with swamps. The swamps they actually did inhabit were on the lower Rhine rather than in the marshlands near the Sea of Azov as the LHF says, but we do in fact find the Franks in their early years living in swamps and the Sigambri known as "paludicolae", the swamp dwellers.<sup>2</sup> The LHF author also managed to place the Alans correctly. Even though the Franks first met them as invaders of their own territory during Attila's campaigns, the author nonetheless tells us they lived on the River Don and the Black Sea which was in fact their ancient homeland.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the resemblance which a few parts of the Trojan origin stories have to the real early history of the Franks, the majority of their contents is clearly not historical and came about either by learned invention or misunderstanding. There are two generally accepted theories which seek to explain the stories' origins on these grounds.

The first claims they came about through a mistake. When Fredegar was reading the sections in Jerome's chronicle which deal with the fall of Troy, he supposedly mistakenly thought that by Frigi Jerome meant

1. Faral ("La légende", p.284) thinks the LHF author's source for Valentinian was Orosius' Historia, VII, 32,10 which speaks of the emperor's campaigns against the Saxons in "litoribus et paludibus inviis". Since the author knew from Gregory that Valentinian's enemies were Alans, not Saxons, he supposedly made the substitution and thus had the basis for his story. It would, however, be difficult to make the Alans Valentinian's enemies from what Gregory tells us.

2. "...ad paludicolas Sygambros..." (Sidonius Apollinaris, epistola, IV, 1,4, in: MGH, Auct. Antiq., VIII, p.53); "Franci inviis strati paludibus." (Vopiscus, Probus, 12,3, in: E. Hohl (ed.), Scriptores Historiae Augustae, vol. II, Leipzig, 1965, p.212).

3. "...(The Alans) latrocinando et venando ad usque Maeotica stagna et Cimmerium Bosporum...discurrentes..." (Ammianus Marcellinus, Rerum Gest., XXXI, 2,21).

Franci. "Primus rex" became "Priamus rex" and thus the basic components of the Frankish Trojan origin stories came into being.<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, however, the independent existence of the Trojan tradition in the LHF makes this explanation of its origin through a single author unlikely. It is more probable that the tradition was older than Fredegar and, if he did make such a mistake, he did so already aware of the Franks' supposed beginnings in Troy.<sup>2</sup>

The second theory argues that the Trojan origin stories for the Franks were at least in part the natural result of living in Gaul, where the same claims had long been made for the native Gallic tribes. The connection between Troy and Gaul existed even before Virgil made the Romans the children of Ilium. Ammianus Marcellinus, echoing the Greek historian, Timagenes, who wrote in the first century BC, says: "Aiunt quidam, paucos post excidium Troiae, fugitantes Graecos ubique dispersos, loca haec (Gallias) occupasse tunc vacua."<sup>3</sup> The oldest Trojan tradition was that of the Adriatic Venetii in which the Trojan prince Antenor founded Padua after the fall of Troy.<sup>4</sup> The story has a striking parallel to the second Fredegar's account in that the new Venetian city was also first called Troy. In the first century the Arverni were claiming to be

1. The theory was first set forth by Heeger (as repeated in: "Trojaner-sagen", pp.18-23) building on Krusch's work ("Die Chronicae", pp.473-475). Kurth (Histoire poétique, pp.511-513) and Faral ("La légende", pp. 275-76) agree.

2. Luethgen, Die Quellen, p.17.

3. Ammianus Marcellinus, Rerum Gest., XV, 9,5. Cf. Roth, "Die Trojasage", p.50.

4. "Et in quem primum egressi sunt locum Troia vocatur pagoque inde Troiano nomen est; gens universa Veneti appellati." (Livy, Ab Urbe Condita, I-1, in: R.S. Conway and C.F. Walters (eds.), Titii Livii Ab Urbe Condita, Oxford, 1914, vol. I); Strabo, Geographia, XIII, 1,53; and Pliny the Elder, Naturalis Historia, VI, 2.

the Romans' brothers by virtue of Trojan descent<sup>1</sup> and shortly thereafter we find their old enemies the Aedui making the same fraternal claim, although for them we find no mention of Troy.<sup>2</sup> Later authors such as Ausonius and Sidonius Apollinaris were also aware of the Gallic tradition<sup>3</sup> and in such an atmosphere ideas of Trojan beginnings could have been very easily transferred from the Gauls to the Franks.<sup>4</sup>

There are some passages in the various literary and historical sources we still have which, if they were known either directly or indirectly to Fredegar or the LHF author, could have been used as learned building blocks for parts of the Frankish Trojan origin stories. For instance, Ovid, often as popular as Virgil himself in the middle ages, couples the names Priam and Antenor<sup>5</sup> as does the LHF. King Friga and his country Frigia in Fredegar most likely came from the mention of Frygas and Frygia in Jerome's adaptation of Eusebius' chronicle<sup>6</sup> and, if not from there, then from some learned reminiscences of the passages in Virgil, where the Trojans are called Phrygians.<sup>7</sup> This is a far more

1. "Arvernique, ausi Latio se fingere fratres / sanguine ab Iliaco populi..." (Lucan, Bellum Civile, I-427, in: A.E. Housman (ed.), M. Annaei Lucani Belli Civilis Libri Decem, Oxford, 1950, p.18).

2. Tacitus, Annales, XI, 25,1.

3. Ausonius, Epitaphia Heroum, VI, cf. J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, "Fredegar and the History of France", in: Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, XL (1957-58), p.536. For Sidonius see Hommel, "Trojanische Herkunft", p.336.

4. Wallace-Hadrill, "Fredegar and the History of France", p.536; Hommel, "Trojanische Herkunft", p.339; and Dippe, "Trojanersagen", p.iv.

5. "...et moveo Priamum Priamoque Antenora junctum." (Ovid, Metamorphoses, XIII, 201). My thanks to Mr. Michael Dewar for pointing this out.

6. (Erectheus' year: XXXVIII) "Frygas rexit Tantulus qui primus Maeones vocabantur". (Cecrops II's year: XXXVIII) "Mida rexit in Frygia", in: J.K. Fotheringham, Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones, London, 1923, pp. 79 and 83.

7. "...Priami imperio Phrygibusque ..." (Virgil, Aeneid, II, 191 et passim).

likely explanation than seeing Fredegar's source in a misspelling of Frisian, a reference to the Teutonic god Frigg, or in an etymologically older form of Franci meaning free.<sup>1</sup> The report that the Franks abandoned rule by several dukes and chose for themselves one king is not only strikingly parallel to the Biblical account for the Hebrews<sup>2</sup> but also to what Paul the Deacon believed happened in the early history of the Lombards.<sup>3</sup> The name of the city which the Franks supposedly founded in Pannonia, Sicambria, must certainly be an echo of the ancient Sigambri, a tribe which, as we have seen, had close connections with the ancestors of the Franks. Although we cannot rule out the possibility that this city's name came about because the memory of the real and historical connection between Sigambri and Franks was somehow kept alive, the LHF author is more likely to have been moved so to name his city because of the literary tradition which made Sicamber a poetic name for Frank. The most obvious example of this use of the word, and an example we know the LHF author read, is Gregory of Tours' account of the baptism of Clovis, in which Bishop Remigus calls the king "Sicamber".<sup>4</sup> There are many other instances of the poetic usage.<sup>5</sup>

The LHF (A) author tells us that the word Frank comes from the Greek ("Attica lingua") meaning "fierce"; Fredegar says it is taken from the

1. Roth, "Die Trojasage", p.43.

2. "...ut regem sibi unum constituerent, sicut ceterae gentes." (LHF-4); "Constitue nobis regem ... sicut et universae habent nationes." (I Samuel, 8:5); cf. Deuteronomy, 17:14.

3. "...regem sibi ad ceterarum instar gentium statuerunt". (Paul the Deacon, Historia Langobardorum, I-14, in: MGH, SSRL, 1878, p.54.

4. Gregory, Historia, II-31.

5. See Kurth, Histoire poétique, pp.525-526 for a list of passages to which should be added: Sidonius Apollinaris, Epistola, IV-1, VIII-9, and Carmen, VII, line 42, in: MGH, Auct. Antiq., VIII, pp.53, 136 and 204; and Venantius Fortunatus, Carmen, VI-2, in: MGH, Auct. Antiq., IV-1, p.133.

name of one of their early leaders, Francio. In works predating these two authors there are traces of each of these etymologies. Isidore of Seville mentioned them both.<sup>1</sup> John Lydus chose the one Fredegar would prefer and states they were called Franks after a leader: "ἐξ ἡγεμονος".<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, we have at least one fourth century source, Libanius, who gives us a military etymology, as the LHF author did, and does so in the "Attica lingua".<sup>3</sup>

The LHF author both here at the beginning and, as we shall see, throughout his chronicle shows a keen interest in geography. This raises the question of where he obtained his geographical information and whether or not he had access to a map. For the Trojan origin stories he would have needed one on a large scale, a map of the world. We know such world maps existed near to the time the LHF author was writing. We still have one preserved in an eighth-century St. Gall manuscript of Isidore of Seville's Etymologies.<sup>4</sup> The Cosmographer of Ravenna, who wrote about 650, would have included a map with his work, although we no longer have it and must reconstruct it from the text. We are told that Pope Zacharias (741-752) painted one in the Lateran: "orbis terrarum descriptionem depinxit."<sup>5</sup> Einhard tells us that Charlemagne had a "totius mundi descriptionem"

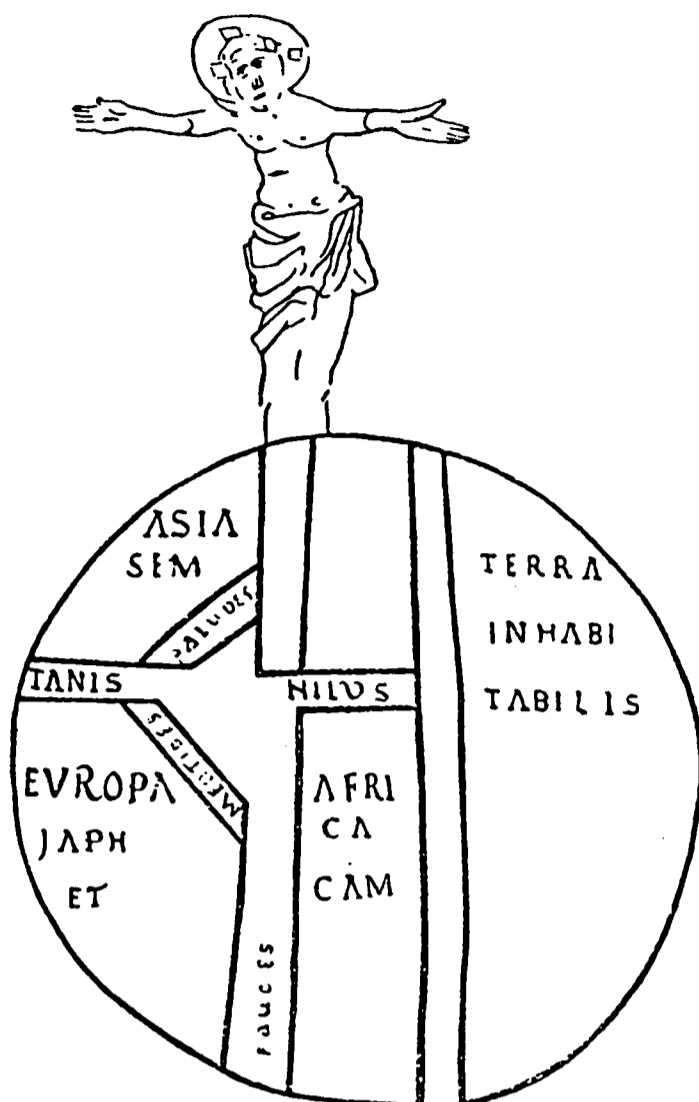
1. "Franci a quodam proprio duce vocari putantur. Alii eos a feritate morum nuncupatos existimant. Sunt enim in illis mores inconditi, naturalis ferocitas animorum." (Isidore of Seville, Etymolog., IX, 2,101, in: W.M. Lindsay (ed.), vol. I, Oxford, 1911.

2. John Lydus, De Magistratibus, III-56. (see p.31, note 2).

3. Libanius, Laudatio Constantii et Constantis (oratio LIX), 127, in: R. Foerster (ed.), Libanii Opera, vol. IV, Leipzig, 1908, pp.273-274. See Roth, "Die Trojasage", p.39; and Dippe, "Trojanersagen", p.xiii.

4. St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek ms. 237. See M. Destombes, Mappemondes, Amsterdam, 1964, p.30.

5. Leo Bagrow, History of Cartography (revised by R.A. Skelton), London, 1964, p. 42.



27. Die älteste bekannte Weltkarte.  
Palimpsest im Isidor-Cod. 237 der St. Galler Stifts-  
bibliothek p. 1, Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts.<sup>1</sup>

engraved on a silver table.<sup>2</sup> These early medieval maps followed Roman and Greek cosmographical conceptions of the world and pictured it as a disc of land surrounded by the ocean. There were two types, one which divided the world into seven "zones" and one which divided it into three continents, Asia, Europe, and Africa.<sup>3</sup> It is the idea of the world represented by this second type which matches the geography found in the LHF's Trojan origin stories. Here east is represented at the top and Asia takes up the whole of the upper half of the world. It is separated

1. From Miller, Itineraria, vol. VI, p.58. The manuscript is not from the seventh century as he claims but from the eighth.

2. Einhard, Vita Karoli Magni, 33.

3. Bagrow, Cartography, pp. 42-43.

from Europe and Africa by a line of water consisting of the River Don, the Sea of Azov, the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Nile. The lower half is separated into two quarters by the Mediterranean, with Europe occupying the one on the left and Africa the one on the right. These maps are now called "T-0" types because the dividing lines of water form a T within the O of the world. In these representations the River Don (Flumen Tanais) and the Sea of Azov (Meotides Paludes) feature much larger than their actual size warrants; in fact, they share the limelight with the Nile and the Mediterranean. We have no way of knowing whether the LHF author had seen such a map but the fact that, when describing the far off and ancient origins of the Franci, the two places he mentions are the River Don and the Sea of Azov certainly suggests that, if he did not see a map directly, he was nonetheless conversant with the contemporary state of geographical knowledge. Without discovering a specific source for his version of these stories, we also have no way of knowing how much geography he invented, how much he found already described or in what form his information came to him. His geographical description of the Franks' progression from Troy to the Rhine, i.e., the River Don, the Sea of Azov, Pannonia, and then to the Rhine, has made him seem inventive, careless, and extremely dependent on the short mention of Pannonia in the one major source of his we do have, Gregory of Tours. It has also been suggested that his use of Pannonia was really the result of confusion with some other similar sounding name like Baunonia or Batavia.<sup>1</sup> To me, however, this geographical framework suggests the opposite: that is, it did not come about by invention or confusion but rather reflects the latest cosmographical teaching. The LHF's view of the world's geography seems the same as that contained in the works of Orosius, Isidore of

1. Zoellner, Geschichte der Franken, p.4; Wenskus, Stammesbildung, pp.530-531.

Seville, the Cosmographer of Ravenna, and in a Frankish work of the seventh or eighth century called the Versus de Asia et de Universi Mundi Rota.<sup>1</sup> This last, because it is Frankish, is of particular interest.

The Rotais largely a versification of the cosmographical sections of Isidore's Etymologies and follows rather closely Isidore's order in the regions and countries it describes. It begins with the words: "Asia ab oriente vocata antiquitus"; the LHF author too begins his work with Asia: "Est autem in Asia opidum Troianorum...". For both authors Asia was the proper beginning: ancient, distant, and probably shrouded in a good deal of mystery. At line 46 the author leaves Asia and enters Europe:<sup>2</sup>

46 Scithia vocatur prima Europae provincia,  
Meothidas paludes iuncta sistitque Alaniae;  
Vertitur exinde locus qui nuncupatur Dacia.  
Unde Gotia eminet adversus Dalmatia,  
Pannonia ad cisalpinos montesque conglomerat,  
51 Cespitem ubertim ferens, ad iumentis pabula.  
Germania nuncupatur iuncta Reno flumine

The kinship between the geographical information given here and that in the LHF's Trojan origin stories is striking. The order in which he describes the regions is the same as that travelled by the LHF's Trojan-Franks, that is, from the Meotides Paludes, which joins the country of the Alans, to Pannonia, and then into Germany on the Rhine. We can make no claim that the LHF author had read the Rota; in fact, since it describes Neustria as the area between the Seine and the Loire, it very well may be a product of the later eighth century rather than the late seventh, as accepted opinion currently holds.<sup>3</sup> But the striking

1. Edited by Georg Pertz, in: "Ueber eine fraenkische Kosmographie des siebten Jahrhunderts", in: Abhandlungen der Koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, (1845), pp.253-270.

2. Pertz, "Kosmographie", p.266.

3. Cir. 700 (Miller, Mappaemundi, VI, p.58); under Sigibert III or Clovis II (Pertz, "Kosmographie", p.260); and late seventh/early eighth century (Wattenbach-Levison, Geschichtsquellen 1952, p.118).

similarity with the LHF in its geographical information does show that the LHF author was not inventing or confusing his place names but was rather working with his age's learned conceptions of global geography. This can also be seen from an inspection of Konrad Miller's marvellous graphic reconstruction of the world, as Isidore of Seville saw it.<sup>1</sup>

Isidore was a source we know both the LHF (B) author and the author of the Rota to have used. Here too we see the predominance of the Meotides Paludes, the Alans, Pannonia, and Germany – all on a neat and direct progression from far-off Asia to the Franci's new home on the lower Rhine.

In summary, we are forced to admit that we know very little about how these stories of the Trojan origins of the Franks came into being. Although they do contain elements of the Franks' real early history, they are, of course, predominantly fiction. Although here and there in many literary and historical works preceding the seventh century we can find bits and snippets which at some point or points could have come together to form various parts of the stories, we have no source older than the first Fredegar author which makes a connection between Franks and Trojans. Because of the independence and divergence in content between the Fredegar and LHF versions, it would seem probable that the legend did not have one single author but rather grew up piecemeal somewhere in Frankish Gaul where the Gauls themselves had long had a Trojan origin tradition. The stories are learned as opposed to popular and this is emphasized by the fact that the geographical information in the LHF's version shows the decided influence of late antique and early medieval cosmography.

If we know so little about how the stories came into being, are we

1. Miller, Mappaemundi, VI, Tafel 2.



(From: Konrad Miller, Mappaemundi, vol. VI, Tafel 2.)

able to say more about why? The standard answer is they were written to show that the Franks had an ancestry common and equal to that of the Romans. Heinz Loewe sees them as a literary reflection of the merging of the two peoples, the Franks and the Gallo-Romans, which he thinks completed itself in northern Gaul in the late seventh century.<sup>1</sup> Rudolf Buchner sees their claim of an equal heritage for Franks and Romans as created by Roman authors in order to enhance the status and reputation of the Franks.<sup>2</sup> Helmut Beumann sees the Troy saga as a characteristic of the emancipation of the Franks from Roman imperialism.<sup>3</sup> And Erich Zoellner considers the myth a conscious construction of educated Romans in order to aid the German princes in their attempt to find a place for their family and people in Roman history.<sup>4</sup> All of these answers and their underlying concern with Romans probably do apply to the use Fredegar made of the Troy legend but they certainly do not apply to the LHF and the point needs emphasis.

As we have seen, the Trojan origin material in Fredegar's chronicle is indeed concerned with the Romans and the Franks' struggle for independence from them. In addition to this, the major portion of Fredegar's entire work is essentially a rather disjointed compilation of major late Roman and early medieval chronicles whose pages are often filled with events of Roman history. None of this is true for the LHF. With the

1. Heinz Loewe, "Von Theoderic dem Grossen zu Karl dem Grossen", in: idem. Von Cassiodor zu Dante. Ausgewahlte Aufsatz zur Geschichtsschreibung und politischen Ideenwelt des Mittelalters, Berlin, 1973 p.50.

2. Rudolf Buchner, "Das Geschichtsbewusstsein der Germanen", in: Mannus Zeitschrift fuer Deutsche Vorgeschichte, XXIX (1937), p.468.

3. Helmut Beumann, "Zur Entwicklung transpersonaler Staatsvorstellungen", in: Theodor Mayer (ed.), Das Koenigtum. Seine geistigen und rechtlichen Grundlagen, Lindau-Konstanz, 1956, p.223.

4. Zoellner, Die politische Stellung, p.48.

exception of the "Greek speaking" Valentinian who gave the Franci their name, the few Romans who do appear in the LHF almost always do so for dating purposes only. If the LHF author were looking to equate Franks and Romans, he would have found opportunity enough in his main source, Gregory of Tours. In one episode, while being shown a host of magnificent items lauding the fame of the Romans, King Chilperic shows Gregory a great golden dish which he had had made "ad exornandam atque nobilitandam Francorum gentem..."<sup>1</sup> The LHF author passes over this comparison in silence. More subtle evidence for this equation of the status of Franks and Romans has been deemed to come from a supposed change in the definition of the word gens. After about 700 when the Franks and Gallo-Romans allegedly merged into one people in northern Gaul, gens no longer meant just the barbarians who lived outside the Roman culture area. Authors now also referred to the Romans as a gens thus showing their equality with the other peoples.<sup>2</sup> In the LHF, however, we find the word used in the old definition: "contra Valentinianum imperatorem Romanorum ac gentium".<sup>3</sup> To the LHF author, the status of Romans vis-à-vis the Franks was not a central theme.

Why then did the author include the Trojan stories? If we take him at his word, he tells us in the first line: he will set forth the origin of the Franci's kings and their own beginnings. To sing the Neustrian Franci's deeds of old was not only his reason for including the Trojan story but the basic motivation in writing his whole chronicle and we shall see this over and over again as we progress through the LHF.

1. Gregory, Historia, VI-2.

2. Loewe, "Von Theoderic", p.50.

3. LHF-2.

CHAPTER IV — THE LHF AND GREGORY OF TOURS

From his chapter five to the first part of his chapter thirty-five, the author of the Liber Historiae Francorum constructed his work largely by abridging the first six books of Gregory of Tours' Historia. In making this abridgement, in which he reduced six of Gregory's comparatively lengthy books into thirty shortish chapters, the LHF author was obviously compelled to make many changes. It is these which will be the subject of this chapter. To study what the LHF and Gregory have in common would be a study of Gregory and that lies beyond our scope. Some sections of Gregory the LHF author copied almost verbatim; others he summarised in his own words. He altered some and he both omitted great portions of Gregory and from time to time added information. We shall begin by briefly noting the sorts of material the LHF author omitted and then proceed to a detailed inspection of what he thought necessary to add, an inspection which will help to make clear some of the differences between these two important Merovingian sources and their authors.

The most striking omission made by the LHF author was to leave out almost all of Gregory's religious content. These were the very matters closest to Gregory's heart. He had begun the Historia by setting out his religious beliefs so that his readers would be assured he was a Catholic uninfected by Arianism. The fight against this heresy lay at the base of his appreciation for the Merovingian kings and became a recurring theme throughout his work. Gregory's pages are full of stories of good bishops and bad bishops, miracles, church foundations, councils, acts of piety and the like. He was also very conscious that he was the successor of Saint Martin and he sought the Saint's guidance in all that he did.<sup>1</sup>

1. J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Work of Gregory of Tours in the Light of Modern Research", in: Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, (fifth series), vol. I, (1951), pp.27-28.

None of this carried the same importance for the author of the LHF. He does not take up the sword against heresy nor does he champion Saint Martin, Saint Denis, or for that matter any other saint. He lists no Church councils and adds no story of a miracle or church founding, unless it had a military or political connection. Here in his abridgement of Gregory of Tours, as throughout his chronicle, the author of the LHF evidences surprisingly little concern for the affairs of the Church.

Even in the political and military sphere the LHF author passed over almost everything found in Gregory that did not directly concern the Neustrian Franci.<sup>1</sup> Many important events in the history of the eastern Franks, the Austrasians, find no echo in the LHF. He ignored many important events in the history of the Auvergne, an area close to Gregory's interests. Queen Radegund, the Thuringian princess and "grande figure de femme du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle"<sup>2</sup> finds no place in the LHF. Burgundy too is not of prime importance for him, and Burgundy's "good king" Gunthram plays a far smaller role in the LHF than he does in the Historia. Even Gunthram's power to heal the sick,<sup>3</sup> of which much has been made in current theories of Merovingian kingship,<sup>4</sup> was not taken up by the author of the LHF. In short, if the matter was not Neustrian and political, it could probably be left out.

When we shift from what the LHF author omitted in his use of Gregory to what he added, we find the comparison much more revealing. The most careful and insightful examination of these additions is that conducted

1. Godefroid Kurth, "Etude critique", p.46.

2. D. Tardi, Fortunat, Paris, 1927, p.78.

3. Gregory, Historia, IX-21.

4. See J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, Early Germanic Kingship in England and on The Continent, Oxford, 1971, p.19.

by Godefroid Kurth. He concluded that there were less than 30 cases where the LHF author added to what he found in Gregory. These additions were small, most were geographical and, where they concerned information which the LHF author could not have gleaned from a part of the Historia other than the one which he was in the process of copying, they usually concerned the Parisian churches of Saint-Germain des Prés and Sainte-Geneviève. Kurth also declared that with one exception, the story of Chramn in LHF-28, none of the additions suggest that the LHF author was using a written source beyond Gregory whom he augmented with his own knowledge of geography. Thus, according to Kurth, they add nothing to our knowledge of the period Gregory treated.<sup>1</sup> My examination of the additions the LHF author made to Gregory's text has yielded far different results. There are not less than 30 cases but rather over 80. Although for the most part they are indeed small, they are neither primarily geographical nor especially concerned with the Parisian churches. When examined and ordered they yield nine important conclusions about the LHF and in the following I have grouped them accordingly, although this has in a few cases required some duplication and combination. One such group is, of course, the geographical information he added but we shall also find instances which could indicate that the LHF author was using written sources other than Gregory and also some which add to our knowledge of Gregory's period.

### I. Emphasis on the Nobility

The first and perhaps the most important group of additions shows that the LHF author saw a greater role for the Franci and royal advisors in political affairs in places where Gregory was more likely to leave matters to kings:

1. Kurth, "Etude critique", pp.49-53.

1) In LHF-6 the author makes Childeric I's counsellor, Viomadus, a much more active party in the story of the king's exile among the Thuringians than does Gregory. Gregory does not even give us his name calling him simply "...hominem sibi carum...". (Hist., II-12).

2) In LHF-11, -12, and -13 the author gives us another royal counsellor whom Gregory does not mention. This is Clovis' advisor, Aurelian, who is the hero in the LHF's long story of Clovis' courtship of Clothild. Gregory simply says that the Burgundian king, Gundobad, was afraid to refuse Clovis' request for his niece and so he handed her over (Hist., II-28). The LHF on the other hand dedicates the greater part of three chapters to laying out the cunning and loyalty of Aurelian in obtaining the Burgundian princess. Doubt has been expressed about Aurelian's authenticity,<sup>1</sup> but, since he is also mentioned by Fredegar in the same connection<sup>2</sup> and since we know there to have been a number of men by that name<sup>3</sup> who could have been an advisor to Clovis, there seems little reason to doubt that he did exist.

3) In LHF-15 it is again Aurelian who suggests that Clovis turn to the Christian God in order to secure his victory over the Alamanni. In Gregory's account (Hist., II-30) of his conversion, the king turns to Christ on his own.

In addition to these royal advisors, there are eleven cases where the LHF author either added the word Franci to Gregory's account or where he made the Franci the active agents in actions Gregory attributed to the king:

1. "...wohl eine unhistorische Gestalt..." (Zoellner, Geschichte der Franken, p.56).

2. Fredegar, III-18, in: SSRM, II, pp.99-100.

3. Karl Stroheker, Der senatorische Adel im spaetantiken Gallien, Tuebingen, 1948, lists four men named Aurelianus who were Clovis' contemporaries. His number 46 on page 150 seems the most likely candidate.

- 4) Greg., Hist., II-12: "virorum furentium animos"  
LHF-6: "animos furentium Francorum"
- 5) Greg., Hist., II-18: "Igitur Childericus Aurilianis pugnas egit"  
LHF-8: "Tunc Childericus rex commovit maximo exercitu hostium Francorum usque Aurilianis civitate pervenit..."
- 6) Greg., Hist., II-27: "illi quorum erat mens sanior."  
LHF-10: "illi Franci qui bono animo fuerant"
- 7) Greg., Hist., II-27: "unus levis, invidus ac facilis"  
LHF-10: "unus Francus levis"
- 8) At the end of LHF-15 the author added to Gregory's account (Hist., II-31) of Clovis' baptism that sometime after the king himself was baptised his whole army of Franks was as well: "...baptizaturque postea cunctus populus Francorum."
- 9) Greg., Hist., II-37: "omnibus"  
LHF-17: "proceribus Francorum"
- 10) Greg., Hist., II-37: "commoto exercitu Pectavas dirigit"  
LHF-17: "cunctum exercitum suum, populo Francorum Pectavis dirigit"
- 11) When Gregory relates the story of Clovis' elimination of Ragnachar, the king of Cambrai, the Franci play no active role in inciting Clovis (Hist., II-42). In LHF-18, however, it is the Franci who arouse Clovis against Ragnachar: "...Franci, qui erant cum eo, consentiebant Chlodoveo, commoventes eum adversus Ragnachario."
- 12) To Gregory's account (Hist., III-7) of Theuderic I's and Clothar I's campaign against the Thuringians in 531, the LHF author (LHF-22) adds that the Franci pursued the fleeing Ermenfred: "...illic eum persequentes Franci."
- 13) In the same account, Gregory says that Clothar came back; the LHF author ignores the king and reports the return of the Franci:

- Greg., Hist., III-7: "Chlothacharius vero rediens"  
LHF-22: "Franci ... reversi sunt"
- 14) Greg., Hist., IV-10: "commoto contra eos exercitu"  
LHF-27: "commoto Francorum exercitu"

## II. Emphasis on Treasure and Booty

Eight times the LHF author added a mention of treasure or booty to Gregory's text in the various campaigns of the Franci or in the dealings of their kings. These are our first indication of how important treasure and booty were to the LHF author. We shall have occasion again to see them as central to his idea of how the Merovingian political and military system worked. Just as the king was the proper focus for the warriors' loyalty, gold was in turn their proper reward:

- 15) When Clovis defeated Syagrius and assumed the kingdom of Soissons, the LHF author added that he gained Syagrius' treasure as well:

Greg., Hist., II-27: "regnoque eius acceptum"  
LHF-9: "totumque regnum eius ac thesauros Chlodoveus recepit"

- 16) With the exception of its last sentence, the whole of LHF-13 is an addition to Gregory's Historia. The chapter is the story of the successful attempt of Aurelianus to claim Clothild's treasure from her uncle, King Gundobad of Burgundy.

- 17) The LHF author added the taking of treasure and booty to Gregory's account (Hist., II-32) of Clovis' war against Gundobad and Godegisel of Burgundy:

LHF-16: "Chlodoveus vero, ablatis thesauris, cum preda maxima, reversus est victor."

- 18) In LHF-22 the Franci return "cum multa preda et spolia" after defeating the Thuringian king Hermanfrid in 531. Gregory does not mention the

booty (Hist., III-7) but rather concentrates on the king's daughter, Radegund.

19) In LHF-23 the author added the claim to Gregory's report (Hist., III-10) that Childebert I entered Toledo after he defeated Amalric in 531. This is a mistake; according to Procopius, Childebert did not advance that far.<sup>1</sup> The addition of Toledo, I think, was due to an incorrect deduction on the author's part, stemming from the tales of Spanish treasure, the capture and disposition of which are the points of major interest in this chapter. When listing the booty Childebert gathered on this campaign, the author added to Gregory's account that the ecclesiastical artifacts were part of the valuable vases of Solomon: "de vasis Salomonis preciosissimis." Spanish treasure held a fascination for the Franks. Fredegar reports a golden disk (orbiculus) weighing 500 pounds which Aetius gave to the Gothic king, Thorismund, in payment for his help against the Huns in 451.<sup>2</sup> Nearly two centuries later the nobleman, Sisenand, promised it to Dagobert I in return for help in securing the Gothic throne but he later sent him 200,000 solidi instead of the dish.<sup>3</sup> The Gesta Pontificum Autissiodorensium, in relating a gift of Brunhild's to the Church of Saint Germain in Auxerre, also noted that it had come from Thorismund's treasure.<sup>4</sup> In none of these Frankish mentions of Gothic treasure, however, do we find the connection to Solomon. It is probable that the Goths themselves thought their treasure to have come from Solomon's temple by way of Titus

1. Procopius, History of the Wars, V, 13, 11-13, in: H.B. Dewing (ed. and trans.), vol. III, London, 1919, pp.136-137. Procopius calls the Frankish king Theudebert but the campaign is the correct one. Cf. E.A. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, Oxford, 1969, p.12.

2. Fredegar, II-53.

3. Ibid., IV-73.

4. Gesta Pontificum Autissiodorensium, 20, in: L.-M. Duru (ed.), Bibliothèque Historique de l'Yonne, vol. I, Paris, 1850, p.337.

and its Roman destroyers for the sources written by the Arabs, into whose hands much of the treasure fell after the Moslem conquest of Spain, make this claim for its origin.<sup>1</sup> In 711, that is, only twelve years before the LHF author completed his work, the Moslem commander Tarik took Toledo, a city heaped with Gothic treasure and almost abandoned by the Goths, many of whom had fled to the north before him.<sup>2</sup> Proceeding to Guadalajara and then to an unnamed city, he captured from those fugitives what appears to be the same precious dish mentioned above. In the course of this exchange the object is now called the plate of Solomon.<sup>3</sup> Christian Goths fleeing north into the lands of the Franks at about the time the LHF author was writing would have brought with them these tales of the fabulous treasure of Solomon stored at Toledo. Thus it could have seemed logical to the LHF author, having read in Gregory that Childebert I had returned from a Gothic campaign with great amounts of treasure, that Childebert's booty had been a part of Toledo's fabulous treasure of Solomon and that Childebert must have captured that city in order to get it.

20) In LHF-27 the author added to Gregory's Historia, IV-9 the fact that Clothar I acquired great amounts of treasure along with Theudevald's kingdom at that king's death in 555.

21) To the story of the rebellious prince, Chramn (Greg., Hist., IV-17), the LHF author added the report that he took multos thesauros to Paris in order to form an alliance with his uncle, Childebert I, against his father, Clothar I.

1. Sources in: F.W. Lembke, Geschichte von Spanien, vol. I, Hamburg, 1831, pp.421-22.

2. E. Lévi-Provençal, Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane, vol. I, Paris, 1950, p.23.

3. Lembke, loc. cit. The Kitáb ar-Rawd al-mi'cār, -122 reports that the dish of Solomon was taken in Toledo and that in the unnamed city Tarik acquired another one. See E. Lévi-Provençal (trans.), La Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen-Age, Leiden, 1938, pp.158-160.

22) In 561 Chilperic invaded the Champagne. To Gregory's account (Hist., IV-23) the LHF author (LHF-30) added that Chilperic not only burned the area but also looted it:

LHF-30: "Campania sucensa atque predata"

### III. Emphasis on Tribute from Foreign Peoples

The LHF author was more concerned than was Gregory to show that the Franks subjected the foreign tribes they conquered to tribute. He added mention of this to Gregory's text in three places.

23) In the tenth year of Clovis I's reign (491?) he conquered the Thuringians:

Greg., Hist., II-26: "suis dictionibus subjugavit."

LHF-10: "sub tributo servire fecit"

24) In LHF-15, after Clovis victory over the Alamanni, the LHF author adds "...sub jugo tributario constituit" to Gregory's text (Hist., II-30).

25) Gregory (Hist., III-32) tells us that in 539 Theudebert I returned from Italy with large amounts of booty to which the LHF author added (LHF-26) that he subjugated the vanquished, whom he mistakenly thought were the Lombards, to tribute: "...ipsosque Langobardos tributarios subjugavit...".

### IV. Increased Military Violence

Fourth, despite Gregory's vision of the Franks as having brought a much needed manliness and vigour, albeit violent, into Gaul,<sup>1</sup> Gregory's picture was not quite violent enough for the LHF author. In nine places he added devastation, depopulation and other acts of military violence

1. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Work of Gregory", pp.36.38.

to Gregory's reports:

26) In 463 Childeric waged war near Orléans. Gregory says no more than that, whereas the LHF reports a mighty force and devastation of the land:

Greg., Hist., II-18: "Igitur Childericus Aurilianis pugnas egit."  
LHF-8: "Tunc Childericus rex commovit maximo exercitu hostium Francorum usque Aurilianis civitate pervenit terras quoque illas vastavit."

27) In the tenth year of his reign Clovis conquered the Thuringians. Gregory reports the campaign succinctly whereas the LHF author elaborates, adding devastation and bloodshed.

Greg., Hist., III-27: "Nam decimo regni sui anno Thoringis bellum intulit eosdemque suis dictionibus subiugavit."  
LHF-10: "Chlodovechusque exinde decimo anno regni sui, commoto Francorum grande hoste, in Toringam abiit Toringosque plaga magna prostravit, devictoquo populo eorum, tota illa terra vastata, sub tributo servire fecit."

28) In 524, when the Franks conquered Burgundian territory, once again the LHF author enlivened Gregory's account with military violence:

Greg., Hist., III-6: "Quod Franci cernentes atque cognuscentes Chlodomerem interfectum, reparatis viribus, Godomarum fugant, Burgundiones oppraemunt patriamque in suam redigunt potestatem."  
LHF-21: "Quod videntes Franci, nimio dolore et ira commoti, Godmarum persequentes exterminant, Burgundiones peremunt, cunctasque regiones vastantes, a puero usque ad senem interementes reversi sunt."

29) We can note the same difference between the two authors' accounts of the aftermath of the Franks' victory over the Saxons in 531:

Greg., Hist., III-7: "...regionem illam cupassunt et in suam redigunt potestatem."  
LHF-22: "Totam regionem illam vastantes atque captivantes, depopulant."

30) In 531 when Childebert I invaded Spain, Gregory (Hist., III-10) tells us that Amalric tried to flee simply upon hearing of the Frankish

advance. The LHF author, on the other hand (LHF-23), added that the two sides fought a battle and it was after being soundly defeated that Amalric fled. In this addition the LHF author seems to have been more accurate than Gregory for his report is in accordance with the report in the Chronica Caesaraugustana for the year 531 which relates the battle between Childebert and Amalric in Narbonne.<sup>1</sup>

31) When in 541 Childebert I and his brother Clothar I once more invaded Spain, the LHF author again added military violence to Gregory's account of the siege of Saragossa:

Greg., Hist., III-29: "Qua ingressus cum Chlothachario, Caesar-augustanam civitatem cum exercitu vallant atque obsedent."

LHF-26: "In qua ingressi, ipsa terra vastantes succendunt, interficientes populum. Cesaragustanam civitatem circumdantes, obsederunt."

32) The LHF author greatly expanded Gregory's account of Clothar I's campaign against the Saxons in 556. He changed Gregory's words to mean that Clothar defeated a great army rather than the greater part of the enemy's army and added the familiar Frankish devastation of the conquered territory.

33) When Clothar continued against the Thuringians because they had helped the Saxons, the LHF author changed Gregory's word "devastans" (Hist., IV-10) to the more bloody "depopulans" (LHF-10).

34) The LHF author is again more violent in his description of Chilperic I's invasion of the Champagne which took place in 561 while Sigibert was away fighting the Huns:

1. "a. 531 His consulibus Amalricus rex cum Hildeberto Francorum rege in Gallia superatus Narbonensi in proelio, Barcinonem fugiens venit ibique a Franco nomine Bessone angone percussus interiit". (MGH, Auct. Antiq., XI, p.223).

- Greg., Hist., IV-23: "...Chilpericus, frater eius, Remus pervadit et alias civitates quae ad eum pertenebant, abstulit."
- LHF-30: "...Chilpericus, frater eius, hoste collecto, Remus pervasit, Campanis sucensa atque praedata vastavit."

#### V. Geographical Additions

As Kurth pointed out, a large number of the additions the LHF author made concern geographical details. As we have already seen in his Trojan material and as we shall see again, the author had a keen interest in geography. There are sixteen such additions which can be classified as geographical and while many of them seem to add correct information and some are as likely to be right as wrong, in others the author seems to be in error.

35) Gregory (Hist., II-9) tells us that the Franks came from Pannonia, first inhabited the banks of the Rhine, then "transacto Rheno", passed through the land of the Thuringians and there established long-haired kings over themselves in the various districts. He goes on to say that the most noble of these kings was Clodio who ruled apud Dispargum castellum which was in the land of the Thuringians. This has been taken to mean that the Thuringians, or at least some of them, Dispargum, and Clodio were all located on the west side of the Rhine. The LHF, on the other hand, places all three in regionem Germaniae. Since Germany always refers to lands across the Rhine for the LHF author, and since he expressly tells us that Clodio crossed the Rhine in order to rout the Romans at Cambrai, we can see that for him the Thuringians, Dispargum, and Clodio were east of the river.

These additions in the LHF have been universally rejected and the above interpretation of Gregory taken as authoritative despite the complication arising from Gregory's Thuringians being on the wrong side of the Rhine. One attempt to explain this claims that there was a second kingdom

of Thuringians on the left bank of the Rhine, a kingdom which seems to have disappeared sometime during the last years of Clovis' reign. Krusch called these Thuringians fictitious<sup>1</sup> although Kurth<sup>2</sup> and some recent scholarship<sup>3</sup> accept the theory. Krusch preferred to change Gregory's text making Tungri (i.e., from Tongres) out of Gregory's Thoringi.<sup>4</sup> Krusch's explanation has become the accepted one<sup>5</sup> and Dispargum has been sought to the west of the Rhine. Krusch chose Asberg, near Mörs, again claiming that Gregory's text had become corrupt. Apud Dispargum had supposedly come from Asciburgium, the Latin form for Ansberg.<sup>6</sup> There are other opinions. Grimm thought it came from Fanum Martis from a temple of Mars on the present site of Corbie.<sup>7</sup> Zoellner chose Duysburg, south-east of Brussels.<sup>8</sup> Samuel Dill thought it to have been somewhere between Brussels and Louvain,<sup>9</sup> and Longnon could not decide.<sup>10</sup> Why then did the LHF author locate it across the Rhine? Kurth replied he did so because in his day he knew of no Thuringia on the left bank and thus he assumed Dispargum must have been to the east of the River.<sup>11</sup> The other answer is, of course, he did so because that is where Dispargum actually lay. There is as much etymological evidence for Dispargum being the Latin name for the German

1. Krusch, SSRM, I (ed. alt.), p.58, note 2.
2. Kurth, "Etude critique", p.49.
3. Zoellner, Geschichte der Franken, pp. 27 and 54.
4. B. Krusch, "Die Unzuverlaessigkeit der Geschichtsschreibung Gregors von Tours", in: MIÖG, XLV (1931), pp.486-488.
5. Wattenbach-Levison, Geschichtsquellen 1952, p.104.
6. Krusch, "Die Unzuverlaessigkeit", pp.488-489.
7. J. Grimm, Geschichte, vol. I, pp.529-530.
8. Zoellner, Geschichte der Franken, p.27.
9. Dill, Roman Society, p.8.
10. Auguste Longnon, Géographie de la Gaule au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, Paris, 1878, p.619.
11. Kurth, "Etude critique", p.49.

city, Duisburg<sup>1</sup>, as for any of the Belgian choices listed above and Duisburg is on the east bank of the Rhine. These changes in the LHF give us cause to reread Gregory. Doing so, we find that he expressly used the plural, litora Rheni, meaning that after coming from Pannonia the Franks settled on both banks. It has thus been a mistake to think "transacto Rheno" meant that they crossed from east to west before travelling through the land of the Thuringians; it is far more probable that they crossed from west to east.<sup>2</sup> This reinterpretation with the aid of the LHF eliminates the need to postulate a second Thuringian kingdom on the Rhine's left bank, to change Gregory's Dispargum to Asciburgum, or to make Tungri out of his Thuringi. It also makes the two Merovingian sources agree.

36) In LHF-12 the author added to Gregory's account (Hist., II-28) of Clovis' and Clothild's marriage a claim that it took place in Soissons. This is a natural addition, since Soissons was Clovis' principal residence at the time and since, as we shall see, this city and the area around it were of particular interest to the LHF author.

37) In the story of the founding of what is today the church of Sainte Geneviève in Paris, the LHF author referred to it as Saint Peter's (LHF-17). Kurth thought that this piece of added information must have come from a source other than the Historia because Gregory referred to the same church as the Church of the Apostles.<sup>3</sup> This, however, is not always true. In the first chapter of the book IV Gregory clearly identifies the same church as Saint Peter's.

38) In LHF-17 the author added a few words to Gregory's text (Hist., II-37) which could change our opinion concerning where Clovis achieved his famous

1. See the references listed by Krusch in "Die Unzuverlaessigkeit", p.488, n.3.

2. A suggestion by Professor Wallace-Hadrill made in conversation.

3. Kurth, "Etude critique", p.47.

victory over Alaric and the Goths in 507. Both authors say it happened at the miliario decimo from Poitiers in a place called campo Vogladense. Ever since Longnon's convincing exposition<sup>1</sup> identifying the location of campo Vogladense, it has been generally considered to be the modern town of Vouillé which is about ten miles from Poitiers and it is from this city that the famous battle has taken its name. The LHF author, however, when copying Gregory's account, modified campo Vogladense with the following phrase: super fluvium Clinno. This is the River Clain and it runs no closer to Vouillé than nine miles. Taking the LHF author at his word, it seems that we have been assigning the wrong modern name and location to Gregory's campo Vogladense.

In an article published in 1919, Lecoindre,<sup>2</sup> demonstrating an enviable command of the local terrain and sporting much plausible and highly entertaining conjecture concerning the military tactics involved, showed that the battle took place not at Vouillé but at Voulon, a town some sixteen miles from Poitiers. He based his arguments not on the LHF, which he distrusted, but on new evidence which he was able to bring to bear. A Roman miliarum was uncovered on the Roman road from Poitiers to Saintes at the town of Rom declaring that Poitiers was sixteen units away. Rom is not sixteen Roman miles from Poitiers but rather sixteen Gaulish leagues. Using this and several written texts, he was able to demonstrate that in Gaul the Roman miliaria were laid out not in miles but in leagues and the tenth league from Poitiers along that same road fell in the midst of the battle site near Voulon which he had picked out.<sup>3</sup> Gregory and the LHF are not the only sources which mention the battle. Maximus of Sarra-

1. Longnon, Géographie, pp.576-587.

2. Lecoindre, "La Bataille de 507 entre Clovis et Alaric", in: Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 3<sup>e</sup> série, tome IV, (1916-1918), pp.423-456.

3. Lecoindre, "La Bataille", p.445.

gossa, writing about 600, says it happened at a place called Boglodoreta.<sup>1</sup> The first part of this name, Boglod-, has long been recognised as the same as Gregory's Voglad-, V's and B's being often interchangeable. The second part, -reta, however, had been a puzzle. Lecointre points out that next to his battle site near Voulon lies the hamlet of Rets which is obviously Maximus' Boglodoreta, the Rets of Voulon. Hincmar, too, in his Vita Remigii, -19, mentions the battle and says it was fought at campo Moglotinse.<sup>2</sup> Most, including Krusch who edited the vita, have considered this to be a corruption of the LHF's Vogladinse which Hincmar was copying at this point. Lecointre, however, points out that there is no need to emend Hincmar's text for Moglotinse is modern Mougou which lies on the other side of the battle site on the River Vonne and to which the retreating Goths would have drawn the Franks.<sup>3</sup> Placing the battle at Voulon even allows Lecointre to reconstruct Clovis' movements so that he would have crossed the Vienne at a ford still known among the locals as the "gué de la Biche" from the story in Gregory where a stag sent by God revealed the crossing to the king.<sup>4</sup> And last, but for our purposes certainly not least, Voulon does lie on the Clain. Thus detective work done in the twentieth century has vindicated an addition made to Gregory in the eighth and the battle of Vouillé should be known as the battle of Voulon.

39) In LHF-19, while copying Gregory's account (Hist., III-3) of a raid by the Danish king Chlochilaich on one of the districts in Gaul ruled by King Theudebert I, the LHF author added the words: "Attoarios vel alios".

Greg., Hist., III-3: "Egressi ad terras, pagum unum de regno Theudorici devastant atque captivant..."

1. Ibid., p.426.

2. SSRM, II, p.311.

3. Lecointre, "La Bataille", p.445.

4. Ibid., p.443.

LHF-19: "... Gallias appetent, Theuderico paygo  
Attoarios vel alios devastantes atque  
captivantes..."

This is at once one of the most famous and one of the most puzzling passages in the entire LHF. It is famous because it has been taken as historical substantiation for the episode in the Anglo-Saxon epic Beowulf in which Hygelac, king of the Geats, is killed fighting the Hetware in Frisia.<sup>1</sup> In making this connection, Gregory's and the LHF's king of the Danes, Chochilaico, is equated with Beowulf's king of the Geats, Hygelac, and the Anglo-Saxon name Hetware with the LHF's mention of the Attoarii, that is, the Chattuarian Franks.<sup>2</sup> Beowulf also mentions a Frankish leader Daeghrefn<sup>3</sup> which seems to be linked through linguistic variation to the Merovingian name Dagobert.<sup>4</sup> Walter Goffart has argued that the LHF account varies from Gregory's in three ways and that all three variants are contained in Beowulf, thus making the LHF's version more in agreement with the Anglo-Saxon epic than is Gregory's.<sup>5</sup> For Goffart these variants are: 1) the LHF's addition of the Attoarii; 2) Gregory says that the Franks came with a strong army whereas the LHF says it was a large army; and 3) Gregory says the Franks defeated the Danes in a naval battle whereas the LHF says the battle was on land. I see no difference between Gregory's strong army ("cum valido exercitu ac magno armorum apparatu") and the LHF's large army ("cum magno exercitu"); both authors mean a mighty

1. Beowulf, lines 2354 to 2368.

2. The literature discussing this connection is legion. See the important works listed by Krusch in SSRM, I (ed. alt.), p.99, note 2 and more recently: Dorothy Whitelock, The Audience of Beowulf, Oxford, 1951, pp. 39-46; G. Storms, "The Significance of Hygelac's Raid", in: Nottingham Medieval Studies, XIV (1970), pp.3-26; and Walter Goffart, "Hetware and Hugas: Datable Anachronisms in Beowulf", in: Colin Chase (ed.), The Dating of Beowulf, Toronto, 1981, pp.83-100.

3. Beowulf, line 2501.

4. H.B. Woolf, The Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving, Baltimore, 1939, p.193.

5. Goffart, "Hetware", pp.85-87.

force. There is also no disagreement between them concerning the land and sea battle, since it is clear from both accounts that the Danish king remained ashore until his ships should return to the sea and it was here on shore that he was killed by the Franks. If, however, Beowulf's Hetware are the LHF's Attoarii, then simply using this point alone without the other two, Professor Goffart certainly is correct in saying that the LHF is closer to Beowulf than is Gregory. His purpose in calling attention to this difference between Gregory and the LHF is to support his contention that the Beowulf poet had knowledge of the LHF, perhaps indirectly, when he wrote his version of the attack.<sup>1</sup> Dorothy Whitelock has also said she thought this possible, although unlikely.<sup>2</sup> Although questions concerning Beowulf fall far beyond the competence of this study, I too would register a very sceptical reaction for reasons which do concern the LHF. In addition to the fact, which Professor Goffart himself admits,<sup>3</sup> that we have no indication at all that a manuscript of the LHF ever crossed the channel in the early middle ages, a closer look at this addition of the Attoarii by the LHF may suggest the exact opposite of the suppositions Goffart has made concerning the LHF author and his sources, suppositions he needs to make his case for Beowulf.

Our problem is, of course, not how the Hetware got into Beowulf but how the Attoarii got into the LHF; in other words, what was the author's source? In Goffart's argument he had none; for him, the added detail is not only a) false, but b) freely added by the author in order to lend "dramatic colour to the narrative" because of the supposed interest in a Saxon raid on the same territory in 715.<sup>4</sup> We shall treat these points separately.

1. Ibid., p.87.

2. Whitelock, The Audience, p.41.

3. Goffart, "Hetware", p.87.

4. Ibid., pp.85-86.

Goffart thinks the detail false because it would require of the Danes "a voyage of several days up the Rhine, excluding any possibility of surprise". He thinks that, according to Gregory, the action was a simple coastal raid, whereas the LHF has wrongly embellished it into a more complicated military operation. This is, however, once again seeing more difference between the two accounts than there is. From Gregory's account we learn that the operation was not a simple one. After the Danes had accomplished their looting and plundering of the district which Gregory does not name, their king remained behind until the ships had again reached the open sea: "sed rex eorum in litus resedebat, donec navis alto mare conpraehenderent, ipse deinceps secuturus". Establishing a rear guard like this, especially one led by the king himself, is not a likely tactic for a simple coastal raid where a quick and direct escape is possible. It is, however, a logical measure to protect booty-laden ships which were forced to travel some distance to get to the sea. Thus Gregory's account certainly allows for his unnamed district to be the pagus Attoarius and the addition by the LHF cannot be rejected as false on the grounds that it conflicts with Gregory.

Goffart's other contention, that the Attoarii were freely added by the LHF author for dramatic effect, also deserves scrutiny. Kurth, too, thought the detail was gratuitously added by the author depending on nothing more than his own geographical knowledge.<sup>1</sup> The problem with this theory is that in early eighth-century geography the pagus Attoarius did not refer to the ancient land of that tribe in the hilly region on the Ruhr but to the area around Dijon in Burgundy. It was in this area that a large number of Chattuarian war prisoners were resettled, probably by

1. Kurth, "Etude critique", p.50.

the Emperor Julian in the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> Goffart thought that "... the Attoarii went unnoticed in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries..."<sup>2</sup> and this is certainly true for the area in which he would like to put them. But in so thinking, he has overlooked a group of five private and one royal charters from the years 663, 664, 715, 721, 734, and 746, all of which mention various possessions in pago Athoariorum not far from Dijon.<sup>3</sup> All but one of these charters have been preserved in cartularies and late medieval monastic chronicles and their present form clearly deviates from Merovingian practice in many ways. There are several factors, however, which suggest that their mention of the pagus Athoariorum is not a later addition. First, we are not totally dependent on the late medieval works for their preservation for in one case we have a manuscript written about the year 800.<sup>4</sup> Second, the mention does not appear in those sections of the charters which scholars note as having been emended. And third, pago Athoariorum is found in charters preserved in three separate works which also make it more likely to have been part of the original Merovingian instruments than added later.<sup>5</sup> The mention of the Saxon raid on the Attoarii in 715 which Goffart thinks caused the LHF

1. Ludwig Schmidt, Geschichte der deutschen Staemme bis zum Ausgang der Voelkerwanderung, vol. II, Berlin, 1915, pp.447-448.

2. Goffart, "Hetware", p.85.

3. J.M. Pardessus, Diplomata, chartae, epistolae, leges, aliaque instrumenta ad res Gallo-Francias spectantia, vol. II, Paris, 1849, nr. CCCXLVIII, p.131 from 663; nr. CCCLI, p.134 from 664 (also in MGH, Dipl. I, nr. 42, p.39), Peter Classen ("Kaiserreskript und Koenigsurkunde II", in: Archiv fuer Diplomatik, II (1956), p.44, note 207) is not sure of its authenticity but allows that the forms of address have Merovingian character (ibid., p.62, note 297); nr. XDI, pp.299-300 from 715; nr. DXIV, pp.323-325 from 721; nr. DLIV, pp.365-366 from 734; and DLXXXVII, pp.399-400 from 746.

4. Ibid., nr. DXIV, pp.323-325 from 721. See the editors' note 1.

5. Ibid., nrs. CCCXLVIII (663) and CCLI (664) from the Chronicon Besuense (Beze) written in 1119; nr. DLIV (734) from the Chronicon Sancti Benigni at Dijon; nr. DLXXXVII (746) from the cartulary of Saint Praejectus at Flavigny.

author to make the geographical addition for dramatic effect, is first contained in the early Carolingian annals, the oldest of which are the Annales Sancti Amandi.<sup>1</sup> The first section of these annals ends before the year 771. Their entry for the year 715 reads: "quando Saxones vasta-verunt terram Chatuariorum". What has been passed over in connecting this mention of the Attoarii with the LHF's is the word quando, i.e. "at that time". This is good indication that this is one of the entries not recorded concurrently with the event itself as these early annals grew up, but added later.<sup>2</sup> If this is true, it then seems that, until the LHF author reapplied the Attoarii to their ancient Roman place of habitation, we have no indication at all that this area was known as the pagus Attoariorum, a fact which is all the more significant since, as we have seen, sources predating and contemporary with the author use the term for the area in Burgundy. Thus in adding pagus Attoarius to Gregory's account of the early sixth-century Danish raid it seems less likely that the LHF author was simply applying his knowledge of current geography, since at least some current geographical usage conflicted with what he added. It seems more probable that he was doing what Goffart and Kurth assumed he was not: relying on some source now lost to us which contained a much older view of the Attoarii and their geography.

40) When summarizing Gregory's account (Hist., III-7) of Theuderic I's and his brother Clothar I's campaign in 531 against the Thuringians, the LHF author (LHF-22) added that the Franks crossed the Rhine when invading Thuringia. This is another indication that for him the Thuringians lived east of the river.

1. MGH, SS, I, p.6.

2. Levison's translation and interpretation of quando in these annals: "Das war damals ... deutet eher auf ein spaeteres Besinnen und Ueberdenken der Vergangenheit." (Geschichtsquellen 1952, p.184).

41) In LHF-23 the author added that Clovis' daughter, Clothild, was buried at her father's side in Saint Peter's in Paris, whereas the chapter of Gregory he was copying (Hist., III-10) simply says she was buried next to her father in Paris. We need look no further than another chapter of Gregory himself for the source of the LHF's information. In the first chapter of book IV, Gregory tells us that Clothild's mother, also called Clothild, was buried next to her husband in Paris at the Church of Saint Peter.<sup>1</sup>

42) In LHF-24 the author added to Gregory (Hist., III-18) that Clodovald, the son of Clodomer of Orléans, was buried in Noviente villa Parisiace suburbane. Clodovald is the well known Saint Cloud and his burial place has now taken his name.

43) In LHF-25 the author is retelling Gregory's account (Hist., III-28) of Childebert I's and Theudebert I's campaign against Clothar I after Theuderic I's death in 533/34. Clothar, knowing he could not withstand their forces, fled into a forest. Gregory does not tell us which forest but the LHF author names it Arelauno which Longnon identified as the Forêt de la Brotonne, near Rouen.<sup>2</sup> The LHF is our only source for this information and it seems suspicious; this is also the case for another of the author's additions to Gregory concerning the Rouen area.<sup>3</sup> It is suspicious because in the 530's Clothar did not control the Rouen area but rather it belonged to Childebert<sup>4</sup> and it seems strange indeed that Clothar would seek refuge in the territory of his pursuer. It could be that either the LHF author has added false information to Gregory or that Longnon has

1. Kurth ("Etude critique", p.50) was thus incorrect in thinking the information could not have been deduced from Gregory.

2. Longnon, Géographie, p.137.

3. LHF-32. See below page 89, addition number 47.

4. Longnon, Géographie, plates II and III.

misidentified the silva Arelauno. I would prefer to look for it somewhere near Soissons, which was Clothar's capital.

44) In LHF-27, while copying Gregory's account (Hist., III-37) of King Theudobald's accession, the LHF author added that the new king's kingdom was "...in superiores Francos in Auster." This is the first time he uses the geographical term for Austrasia. Referring to the eastern Frankish kingdom as Austrasia is popular with the LHF author; he does it over fifteen times in his work, the first four times he added it to Gregory's words. Gregory never used the term Austrasia, although he did use Austrasians but this only twice (Hist., V-14 and V-18) and thus it is reasonable to assume that the term was only beginning to gain currency when Gregory was writing.<sup>1</sup>

45) In LHF-27 the author added that during Clothar I's campaign against the Saxons after Theudevald's death (555) he engaged the enemy on the River Weser. Krusch, as was his wont for anything he could not corroborate from Fredegar or Gregory, doubted the veracity of the addition.<sup>2</sup> I can find no reason to do so. Gregory reports this campaign in two places, in a summary account (Hist., IV-10) and in a much more lively and expanded version which extols the tactical wisdom of Clothar (Hist., IV-14). It is easy to see why the LHF author chose to copy Gregory's first version, for the second makes the Franci appear foolhardy due to their greed. But the fact that Gregory recounts the same campaign in two places in two very different styles is good indication that his information was not limited to one source. In other words, Clothar I's Saxon war was a popular theme and thus one whose geography could have reached the LHF author through a

1. E. Ewig, "Die fraenkische Teilungen und Teilreiche (511-613)", in: Mainz, Akademie der Wissenschaft und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, IX (1952), p.694.

2. SSRM, II, p.311, note 3.

source other than Gregory. There seems little reason for him to have invented the inclusion of the Weser.

46) In LHF-31 the author reports that the burial of Charibert, king of Paris (died 567),<sup>1</sup> took place in the basilica of Saint Roman de Blaye near the mouth of the Gironde. This is an incorrect addition (Hist., IV-26) for King Charibert was buried in his capital city of Paris.<sup>2</sup> The LHF author most likely confused two kings both named Charibert.

Charibert II (died 632),<sup>3</sup> son of Clothar II, was given Aquitaine to rule by his brother Dagobert I.<sup>4</sup> It is most likely this Charibert who was buried in Blaye.<sup>5</sup>

47) In LHF-32, while copying Gregory's account (Hist., IV-50) of the civil war in 575 in which Chilperic I and Gunthram attacked their brother Sigibert I, the author added the words: per Rothomaginsem fugiens. The addition is suspicious because he meant it to refer to Chilperic's flight from Reims to Tournai and Rouen is hardly on the way. Kurth thought that the author added Rouen because he found in Gregory that Rouen lay on the route taken by Sigibert who was pursuing him.<sup>6</sup> This is not the case. According to Gregory,<sup>7</sup> Sigibert did not go to Rouen until after Chilperic had shut himself up in Tournai. Even then he did not himself pursue him but rather returned to Paris before setting out for Vitry, near Arras,

1. B. Krusch, "Chronologica Regum Francorum Stirpis Merovingicae", in: SSRM, VII, p.488.

2. Gregory of Tours, Gloria Confessorum, -19.

3. Krusch, "Chronologica", p.493.

4. Fredegar, IV-57.

5. See Krusch, SSRM, II, p.291, note 1; and Karl Heinrich Krueger, Koenigsgrabkirchen der Franken, Angelsachsen und Langobarden bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts, Munich, 1971, p.34, note 17.

6. Kurth, "Etude critique", p.50.

7. Gregory, Hist., IV-51.

where he was recognized as king by those deserting Chilperic. According to Gregory, Sigibert's movements make sense; according to the LHF, Chilperic's do not. With this addition we have a second piece of geographical information concerning Rouen which must be taken with caution.<sup>1</sup>

48) In the same chapter and in describing the same war, where Gregory said Chilperic sent his son, Theudebert, citra the Loire, the LHF author said he sent him ultra. From this we can tell that the author was writing in some location north of the Loire.

49) In LHF-33 the author added to Gregory (Hist., V-2) that Chilperic's son, Merovech, passed through LeMans on his way from the area around Poitiers to Rouen. The information seems reasonable and there is little reason to doubt it.

50) In the same chapter the author inserted an account of Saint Germain's death which he took from Gregory's Historia, V-8. To Gregory's words he added that Saint Germain was buried in the church of Saint Vincent in Paris. Once again it was probably Gregory himself who was the source of this added information: "...apparuit eis beatus Germanus... basilicam sancti Vincenti, in qua sepulchrum habetur beati antestis...." (Hist., VIII-33) and thus the addition does not serve as another indication of the author's "...connaissance spéciale de Paris et de ses faubourgs." as Kurth supposed.<sup>2</sup>

## VI. Historical Additions

In addition to those already mentioned under other headings, there are several places where it is more reasonable to assume that what the LHF author has added to what he found in Gregory did actually happen

1. See above p.87, addition number 43.

2. Kurth, "Etude critique", p.51.

than it is to doubt what he says. These additions are small points of history and we do not know their source. Many of them could be nothing more than logical conclusions drawn by the author himself.

51) LHF-5 is our only source for the claim that Clodio captured Tournai. Gregory (Hist., II-9) mentions only his residence in Dispargum and his campaign against Cambrai. Vercauteren thought that the LHF's addition of Tournai was most likely correct.<sup>1</sup>

52) What the LHF author says about King Merovech in the same chapter differs from Gregory's account (Hist., II-9) in that he seems to be more certain than Gregory of Merovech's descent from Clodio (he omits Gregory's words fuisse adserunt) and in that he adds the words: "Ab ipso Merovecho rege utile reges Francorum Merovingi sunt appellati." Some feel, on the other hand, that the dynasty's father would have had to have lived far earlier than this<sup>2</sup> and indeed we have older references to Frankish leaders whose names contain the syllable Meru.<sup>3</sup> But despite these earlier appearances, the LHF author may still have been correct. We are reasonably sure that his King Merovech was a historical character since he is mentioned by Gregory.<sup>4</sup> The use of his name for the family's children, however, seems to have undergone an eclipse of over a century. There

1. F. Vercauteren, "Etude sur les civitates de la Belgique seconde", in: Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique. Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, 2<sup>e</sup> sér., 33 (1934), pp.236-237. Zoellner, Geschichte der Franken, p.28 agrees whereas L. Schmidt (Geschichte der deutschen Staemme, vol. II, p.454) distrusts the LHF's addition.

2. J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi, A History Of The Fall Of The Roman Empire, vol. I, London, 1834, pp.174-175; Zoellner, Geschichte der Franken, p.29.

3. Merogaisus, captured by Constantine shortly after his accession (Incerti Panegyricus Constantino Augusto Dictus, II, 5,) and the magister peditum, Merobaudes (Ammianus Marcellinus, Rerum Gest., XXX, 5, 13; Greg., Hist., II-9; and others). There is disagreement over the meaning of the name-part. One school derives Meru from the name of the united Meuse and Waal, the Merve, another traces it to the word for sea, Meer. See Richter, Annalen, p.21.

4. Greg., Hist., II-9.

never was another reigning king named Merovech but we do have record of four royal sons of that name all of whom were born between cir. 560 and 612.<sup>1</sup> It is not until the second Fredegar author that we find the first mention of the family name Merovingian and he, too, derives it from the fifth-century King Merovech rather than from any earlier Frankish leader with Meru in his name.<sup>2</sup> Thus given that the name was not used as far as we know during the first hundred years of the family's Gallic rule, it would seem that the early bearers of it had either been forgotten by royal parents or were unimportant to them as they chose other names for their offspring. When the name does again appear in the second half of the sixth century, it does so exclusively as Merovechus or in one case as the closely akin Meroeus, which is a good indication that the family was remembering the fifth-century king with the same name form. I would think it is no coincidence that it was during the troubled sixty years before Clothar II and Dagobert I restored an element of stability to royal politics that the name reappeared and enjoyed a remarkable popularity. In fact at one point all three concurrently ruling monarchs, Clothar II, Theuderic II, and Theudebert II had sons named Merovech. The emergence of an ancient and long unused royal name, breaking the more usual Frankish practice of using name parts from a father's or grandfather's name, must reflect a heightened sense of the need for legitimacy, dynasty, and familial stability during troubled times. The creation of a family name, formed in this case by the addition of the patronymic ing to Merovech, could be another reflection of the same need. If so, I would suspect

1. Merovech, son of Chilperic I and Audovera, born before 561 (Greg., *Hist.*, IV-23) and killed in 577 (*ibid.*, V-18); Merovech, son of Clothar II who died between 604 (Fredegar, IV-26) and 613 (*ibid.*, IV-42) as an adult; Merovech, son of Theuderic II, born in 606/607 (*ibid.*, IV-29) and sentenced to exile in Neustria in 613 by Clothar II where he died several years later (*ibid.*, IV-42); and Merovech, son of Theudebert II who was killed as a "parvolus" by Theuderic II in 612 (*ibid.*, IV-38).

2. Fredegar, III-9.

that it grew up during the same period and reflected the memory of the same king since our first record of it comes some thirty years later. If these conjectures are correct, then both the four princes named Merovech and the family name Merohingici (Fredegar) or Merovingi (LHF) do stem from the fifth-century son of the sea beast and not from some earlier ruler.

53) In LHF-8 the author adds to Gregory's report (Hist., II-18) of the Saxon leader, Adovacrius', attack on Angers in 463 that he had come with a naval force. There seems little reason to doubt the addition since Angers lies on a navigable portion of the Loire and we know the Saxons to have been sea pirates.<sup>1</sup>

54) In Historia, II-28, Gregory says that the Burgundian King Gundobad exiled both his nieces, Crona and Clothild, after he had killed their father, King Chilperic. The LHF author (LHF-11), however, who is building up to the story of Aurelianus' courtship of Clothild for Clovis, adds that Gundobad kept Clothild with him at home. This was most likely the case since Gundobad was later able to give her in marriage to Clovis. The addition is a small one but significant in that it shows Gregory was not always the absolute authority for the LHF author. Here where Gregory conflicted with the courtship story, the LHF author changed Gregory.

55) Between copying Historia, II-28 and II-29, the LHF author inserted in LHF-14 a summary of Clovis' conquest of northern Gaul. In this he says it happened in two stages: first he took the area up to the Seine and thereafter (sequenti tempore) he extended his rule to the Loire. Krusch doubted the authority of the addition<sup>2</sup> and Kurth thought the author took the

1. "Mare ... quod Franci et Saxones infestabant." (Eutropius, Brevarium ab Urbe Condita, IX-21, in: MGH, Auct. Antiq., II, p.162).

2. Krusch, SSRM, II, p.260, note 1.

information from a popular legend dealing with Clovis' advisor, Aurelian.<sup>1</sup> Summarising more recent scholarship, however, Zoellner puts more trust in the LHF's account and reports that, after Clovis defeated Syagrius at the battle of Soissons (486 or 487), he was only able to occupy the territory up to the Seine. His conquest of the area between the Seine and the Loire did come at a later stage.<sup>2</sup> We do not know what sources the LHF author was using but his addition in this case seems to have been correct.

56) In the same chapter the author added to Gregory's account (Hist., II-30) of Clovis' war with the Alamanni, in which he was converted to Christianity, that the Suebi were also part of the enemy force.

57) In LHF-31 the author added a word to clear up a misunderstanding in Gregory. Enraged by Chilperic's murder of Queen Galswintha, according to Gregory, the king's brothers ejected him from his throne. This was obviously not the case since we know that he ruled on long afterwards. The LHF more correctly says they wished to eject him:

Greg., Hist., IV-28: "...eum a regno deieciunt."

LHF-31: "...eum de regno eiecere voluerunt."

58) In the same chapter, in the midst of the long story which the LHF author added about how Fredegund tricked Queen Audovera, he gives us the name of Audovera's daughter, Childesinda. The LHF in this addition to Gregory is our only source for the name.<sup>3</sup>

## VII. Additions Revealing Facets of Frankish Life

In several places the LHF author added information to Gregory's account which informs us not so much about historical events as about

1. Kurth, "Etude critique", pp.49-50.

2. Zoellner, Geschichte der Franken, pp.48-49.

3. E. Ewig, "Studien zur merowingischen Dynastie", in: Fruehmittelalterliche Studien, 8 (1974), p.32.

Frankish conditions or customs.

59) The LHF author is the first Frankish writer to use the word francisca meaning an axe. Other authors, including Gregory, refer to this weapon as securis or bipennis interchangeably. The LHF author added the word to Gregory's story of the vase of Soissons (Hist., II-27) in LHF-10 and he used it again in his own tale of Clovis and Clothild planning the construction of Saint Peter's Church in Paris (LHF-17). Kurth has plausibly traced the author's source of the word to a passage in Isidore's Etymologies, a work we know the LHF author to have used elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

Isidore says that the Spanish call the securis a francisca because of its use by the Franks.<sup>2</sup> By the addition of this one word, that is by calling an axe not an "axe" but a "Frankish", the LHF author gives us good indication that this was the characteristic Frankish weapon. When he again uses the word for the weapon which Clovis, in his dramatic gesture, hurls through the air to mark the spot of the future Church of Saint Peter, he also lets us suspect that the weapon was designed to be thrown. Gregory often relates the use of axes by the Franks but they are never thrown, except in one case and then in anger in a domestic scene and not militarily.<sup>3</sup> What we learn from the LHF's addition is borne out not only by archaeological findings, which report the discovery of hundreds of such short throwing axes in Frankish graves,<sup>4</sup> but also by Procopius, who describes the Frankish military tactics of throwing the axes together on a given signal.<sup>5</sup>

1. Kurth, "Etude critique", p.42.

2. "...quas (securis) et Hispani ab usu Francorum per derivationem franciscas vocant..." (Isidore, Etymolog., XVIII, 6, 9, in: Lindsay (ed.), vol. II.)

3. Greg., Hist., IX-35.

4. Edouard Salin, La civilisation Mérovingienne d'après les sépultures, les textes, et le laboratoire, vol. III, Paris, 1957, pp.23.45.

5. Procopius, History of the Wars, VI, xxv, 3 ff, in: H.B. Dewing (ed. and trans.), vol. IV, London, 1924, p.85.

60) In LHF-11, when describing the young bride-to-be, Clothild, the LHF author replaces Gregory's phrase (Hist., II-28), "de regio esset genere" with the adjective pulchram. If the author meant to express Gregory's meaning with another word, this substitution could suggest that he associated royal birth with physical beauty.

61) In LHF-16, when copying Gregory's account (Hist., II-32) of the institution of rogations at Vienne by Saint Mamertus, the LHF author added that they lasted three days. He could have learned of the three-day observance from Avitus of Vienne's sermons on the subject<sup>1</sup> or the institution could have been part of his own church's practice.

62) According to Gregory (Hist., IV-26), Queen Ingoberga attempted to dissuade her husband, Charibert, from his amorous intentions toward Merofled by showing him that his concubine's father was a lowly woolworker. When repeating the story, the LHF author changed it slightly by having the Queen reduce Merofled's father to this status (LHF-30). This change calls attention to the fact that woolworking was not simply an occupation of low status but an object of disdain and ridicule. Fredegar too, in telling a story about the Byzantine general, Narses, said that the Emperor's wife Sophia sent Narses an implement for women's work made of gold saying that he was a ruler of woolworkers not of the nation.<sup>2</sup>

#### VIII. Additions Which Suggest Use of Written Sources Other Than Gregory

Kurth felt that, with the exception of the things he took from Isidore, the additions the LHF author made to Gregory gave no suggestion of his use of any other written source. For Kurth, the author either deduced his added information from Gregory's text, took it from oral

1. Avitus of Vienne, Homilia in Rogationibus, in: MGH, Auct. Antiq., VI-2, p.110.

2. Fredegar, III-65.

sources or some récit populaire, or simply invented it himself.<sup>1</sup> It is true that we have no extant work other than Isidore to hold up as evidence of a source of these additions and it is also true that several of them, especially the longer ones dealing with the Soissons area, do smack of a good popular tale. Nonetheless, there are several cases where the use of another written source is a very real possibility. Although I must underscore that in no case can we prove such a use, the suggestion of one is often strong enough to warrant serious questioning of the currently accepted supposition that the "fabulator" was himself the inventor of all that he added to Gregory.

63) In addition to the LHF author's introduction of the word, francisca, noted above, the B version of LHF-5 also evidences use of Isidore's Etymologies. The author added Isidore's derivation of Germania from the German's physical and national size ("...quod sint inmania corpora inmanesque nationes...")<sup>2</sup> to Gregory's account (Hist., II-9) of Clodio's rule at Dispargum. These two uses of the Etymologies form the only traceable application of a known written source in the LHF's additions to Gregory.

64) In LHF-8, between retelling Gregory's accounts of the birth of Clovis (Hist., II-12) and the death of Aegidius (Hist., II-18), the author added a report of a campaign of the Franks against Cologne and Trier. Krusch's edition<sup>3</sup> indicates that the author took the part of this report relating the action against Trier from Gregory's Historia, II-9. This is highly unlikely since there Gregory is clearly reporting the Franks' incursions conducted under their early leaders and not those which took place during the time of Childeric and Aegidius. The campaign against Cologne and Trier is rather one unit, it is added to what Gregory

1. Kurth, "Etude critique", pp. 49, 50, and passim.

2. Isidore, Etymolog., IX, 2, 97.

3. SSRM, II, p.250.

tells us, and reflects an actual attack by the Franks on those cities begun sometime before 459/460.<sup>1</sup> In this addition the LHF author in the A version provided another etymology. This time he derived the name Colonia from the coloni whom the Franks found living there. We have no earlier record of this absurd derivation but since such etymologies abound in both cosmographical and other types of early medieval works, and since we have seen him copy his etymology of Germany from Isidore, it seems very possible that he copied this one as well. The same holds true for another part of the passage where he reports that Aegidius was Cologne's defender and was forced to flee due to the Franks' victory. This detail and the campaign in which it is set, dating from the mid fifth century, are not the sorts of things an author writing in 727 is likely to have invented. A source from which to copy is a more probable explanation.

65) and 66) The LHF author provided us with regnal years for King Clodio (LHF-5) and for King Childeric I (LHF-9). This is information Gregory does not give us and which cannot be deduced from the Historia. Krusch, although he doubted the value of this information, thought the LHF author had access to a royal catalogue which has since been lost.<sup>2</sup> This seems very likely. We have no way of checking the twenty years he claimed for Clodio but the twenty-four he assigned Childeric seem reasonably accurate and thus once again something he is unlikely to have invented. We know from his son Clovis' accession that Childeric died in 481/2<sup>3</sup> and counting backwards twenty-four years we can put his accession in 457/458. The first activity we have for him which is datable is his participation in the battle of

1. Schmidt, Geschichte der deutschen Staemme, pp.458-459; and Ernst Stein, Geschichte des spaetroemischen Reiches, vol. I, Vienna, 1928, p.559.

2. SSRM, II, p.251, note 1.

3. Krusch, "Chronologica", p.486.

Orléans in 463,<sup>1</sup> which falls within the twenty-four years.<sup>2</sup>

67) Between the sections which the LHF author copied from chapter 28 and chapter 29 of Gregory's Historia, book II, he added the claim that, after Clovis had conquered the territory up to the Loire, his advisor Aurelian received the city and the duchy of Melun. This detail might indicate that the source for the many stories which the author included about Aurelian came from civic annals or a local vita from that city. Hincmar also talks about Aurelian in his Vita Remigii,<sup>3</sup> reducing the LHF's tales to a one-sentence summary and then repeating this information about the duchy of Melun. When referring to Aurelian's role in Clovis' courtship Hincmar says, "...interueniente Aureliano consilario ac legatario suo, nutu devino in conjugem sumpsit, sicut lector in suo loco plenius legere potest". If in suo loco does not refer to the LHF itself then perhaps Hincmar too was reading these same local sources.

68) In LHF-17 the author added to Gregory's account (Hist., II-37) of Clovis' operations after his victory over the Visigoths in 507 the claim that he ordered a Frankish force to remain behind in Saintes and Bordeaux "ad Gothorum gentem delendam." Gregory reports only that Clovis had taken his winter quarters in Bordeaux before leaving for Toulouse and Angouleme. Kurth thought that the LHF author simply invented what he added to Gregory and included Saintes because of its proximity to Bordeaux.<sup>4</sup> It seems more probable, however, especially since the author was aware of this military

1. Greg., Hist., II-18. The date is from Marius of Avenches (Marii Episcopi Aventicensis Chronica, ann. 463, in: MGH, Auct. Antiq., IX, p.232).

2. Zoellner (Geschichte der Franken, p.39) objects to the 457/458 accession date because it does not leave room for the eight years that Aegidius ousted Childeric before his own death in 664. Besides the fact that the dates, if stretched, do leave room for nearly eight years, we do not know whether or not Childeric's twenty-four years were meant to include Aegidius' eight.

3. Hincmar, Vita Remigii Episcopi Remensis, -12, in: SSRM, III, p.293.

4. Kurth, "Etude critique", p.50.

operation and could mention the two cities specifically designated to hold the Frankish force, that he had access to more information about the campaign than Gregory related.<sup>1</sup>

69) When describing Clovis' sons' wars against the Burgundians in the 520's, Gregory mentions that the Burgundian king, Sigismund, founded a monastery at Agaune (Hist., III-5). When the LHF author came to repeat this (LHF-20), he added the name of the foundation, "...monasterium sanctorum martyrum Agaunensium in Burgundiam, sancti Mauricii cum sociis suis sex milia 600." Although Gregory mentions the monastery several times in the Historia, he neither uses Saint Mauritius' name in connection with it nor mentions the 6,600 martyrs.<sup>2</sup> The story of the famous Theban legion under the command of Mauritius, which was martyred by Maximian during Diocletian's persecution, was popular during Merovingian times and there are several written accounts referring to it which predate the LHF. We have an ancient Passio commemorating it written by Bishop Eucherius of Lyons in the mid fifth century.<sup>3</sup> Venantius Fortunatus dedicated a poem to the event<sup>4</sup> and mention of it is found both in Jerome's Martyrology<sup>5</sup> and in Willibrord's Calendar.<sup>6</sup> The

1. M. Rouche (L'Aquitaine des Wisigoths aux Arabes (418-781)), Thesis Université de Lille III, 1977, p.38, note 1) has tried to piece together the Frankish military movements in Aquitaine in 507/8. He might have been more successful had he taken account of this report in the LHF.

2. Greg., Hist., III-5, III-6, and X-31 where he mentions the "beata legio".

3. Passio Acaunensium Martyrum auctore Eucherio Episcopo Lugdunensi, in: SSRM, III, pp.20-41, for which we have a VI-VII century manuscript (Paris, BN Lat. 9550), perhaps from Lyons. See E.A. Lowe, CLA, vol. IV, p.21.

4. Venantius Fortunatus, Carmen, II-14, "De sanctis Agaunensibus", in: MGH, Auct. Antiq., IV-1, pp.42-43.

5. Martyrologium Hieronymianum, entry for X Kl. Oct. in: AASS, Nov. II-1, p.124. See the exhaustive study by L. Dupraz, Les Passions de S. Maurice d'Agaune, Fribourg, Suisse (Studia Friburgensia, N.S. 27), 1961, who nonetheless missed the mention of the martyrs in the LHF.

6. The entry for 10. Kal. Oct. in: H.A. Wilson, The Calendar of Saint Willibrord, London, 1918, p.11.

founding of the monastery had also been a popular subject.<sup>1</sup> If the LHF author did not add the name simply from his own common knowledge, then either Eucherius' Passio, the martyrology, or the calendar could have served as his source. In none, however, is the wording close enough to his own to prove a direct dependence.

70) In the early 530's the Thuringian king, Hermanfred, was pushed from the city walls at Zulpich and fell to his death. Gregory expressly says that he does not know who pushed him (Hist., III-8). When Fredegar copied this passage from Gregory, he added that it was King Theuderic's son, King Theudebert I, who did it.<sup>2</sup> The LHF author, while not admitting his ignorance, avoids the issue by putting the sentence in the passive ("compulsus de muro urbis ipsius...") and yet goes on to add that Theuderic killed Hermanfred's children (LHF-22). Kurth said he made up the statement about the murder of the children out of thin air.<sup>3</sup> There must, however, have been sources available concerning this famous incident. The fact that Fredegar was able to add what Gregory says he did not know seems to suggest this and indeed Gregory himself says that he has found several opinions concerning the matter: "multi tamen adserunt, Theudorici in hoc dolum manifestissime patuisse".

71) In LHF-26, when the author is retelling Gregory's account (Hist., III-29) of Childebert I's and Clothar I's Spanish campaign in 541, he added that Childebert obtained the cloak of Saint Vincent from the bishop of Saragossa and that he built a church in honour of the saint when he

1. Avitus of Vienne, Homilia Dicta in Basilica Sanctorum Acaunensium in Innovatione Monasterii vel Passione Martyrum, in: MGH, Auct. Antiq., VI-2, pp.145-146; Marius of Avenches, Chronica, for year 515; Passio Sancti Sigismundi Regis, -6, in: SSRM, II, p.336; and Fredegar, III-33. See J.M. Theurillat, L'Abaye de Saint Maurice d'Againe, Sion, 1954, for a critical discussion of sources and dates.

2. Fredegar, III-32.

3. Kurth, "Etude critique", p.47.

returned to Paris. In another chapter (Hist., IV-20) Gregory relates that Childebert had constructed the Church of Saint Vincent but the LHF's story of acquiring the cloak came from elsewhere. Although some written source from that church lauding its relics is a very real possibility, the mention of Spain, Saragossa and Childebert I, the same king who had supposedly brought back part of Solomon's treasure ten years earlier,<sup>1</sup> certainly raise the likelihood that a source bemoaning the Frankish rape of Saragossa's most valuable relic may have come north with Goths fleeing the Arabs at about the time the author was writing.

72) In LHF-28 the author was able to elaborate what Gregory (Hist., IV-16-20) related about Chramn, the rebellious son of Clothar I. He added that when Clothar heard Chramn was oppressing the region he had been given to govern, he ordered him to return and this Chramn refused to do. He also gives us the name of Chramn's wife, Chalda, which Gregory does not. It is here, in going beyond what Gregory says about Chramn, that Kurth sees the only exception to his premise that what the LHF author added to Gregory he either derived from Gregory himself or took from his own special knowledge of Paris and its suburbs. "And since there is not the slightest indication that the LHF had available another written source..." he concluded that this must have come from an oral tradition.<sup>2</sup> I disagree. As Kurth himself points out, part of the LHF's addition came from a very available written source: the Bible. The LHF's description of the rebellious Chramn, "pulcer et decorus nimis", are the words used in II Samuel, xiv, 25 to describe King David's rebellious son, Absalom. And the fact that an author writing over 160 years after the fact was able to specify the name of Chramn's wife, certainly more than leaves open the possibility that his source for it was some written work.

1. LHF-23. See above page 72, addition number 19.

2. Kurth, "Etude critique", pp.50-52.

73) In LHF-29, when retelling Gregory's accounts of the death of Saint Médard (Hist., IV-19) and the last years of Clothar I (Hist., IV-21), the author added that Clothar made many donations both to the Church of Saint Médard in Soissons and to many holy places of other saints ("per multas basilicas sanctorum"), probably in the area around Tours. These additions could, of course, be nothing more than topoi for royal generosity, used to enhance a favourite king of Soissons. They could, on the other hand, also indicate that the author had access to a collection of royal donation charters or a register of them. For Clothar I no more than a fragment of a donation for the monastery of Saint-Maur-sur-Loire near Angers<sup>1</sup>, preserved in a twelfth-century cartulary, has survived. However, the supplement to the Vita Sancti Médardi written by an anonymous author in Soissons in the ninth century reports that Clothar donated to the monastery at Soissons an entire royal fisc called Croviacus (modern Crouy).<sup>2</sup> If the LHF author could have seen some record of this act, it certainly would have given him cause to write of Clothar and this same monastery, "tribuens illic multis facultatibus".

74) In LHF-32 the author retells Gregory's account (Hist., IV-47) of a persecution inflicted on the area around Poitiers. Gregory compares the persecution to Diocletian's, whereas the LHF author says it was like the one which occurred under the Emperors Maximian and Diocletian. Gregory does not mention Maximian in the Historia and the LHF's use of his name here could suggest that the author had other sources concerning Christian persecutions. It is worthwhile noting that Eucherius' Passio Acaunensium, suggested as a possible source for addition number 69 above, also couples

1. MGH, Dipl. I, nr. 6, p.8.

2. Supplementum ad Vitam Sancti Medardi, I, 12 and 13, in: AASS, Jun. II, p.84.

the names Maximian and Diocletian and attributes to them a great slaughter of Christians.<sup>1</sup>

#### IX. Additions Which Give Queen Fredegund A More Active Role

In chapters 31 to 34 the LHF author adds Queen Fredegund to Gregory's account five times. This queen of Soissons was a favourite topic of the author; he will mention her many times again after he leaves off copying Gregory. The additions are significant in two ways. First, they in part reveal the author's interest in Soissons and its history. Later, when the royal house has moved to Paris, the author will not give to the powerful queens who ruled there, queens such as Nanthild and Balthild, the same amount of attention as he does to Fredegund. And second, they, along with other stories he will relate later, do probably suggest that the author was relying on local popular traditions as Kurth thought.

75) In the Historia, IV-28, Chilperic orders a servant to strangle his queen, Galswintha; in LHF-31 he does it himself "per consilium pessimum Fredegundis". Evil advice, however, was probably not the reason for Galswintha's death; it was more likely politics. In 568, her father, Athanagild, the Visigothic king, died leaving the kingdom in turmoil. Thus the marriage no longer had any political significance for Chilperic.<sup>2</sup>

76) In the same chapter the author added the long story of how Fredegund managed to have Chilperic put aside his other wife, Audovera, and marry her. As the LHF tells the story, she did so by convincing Audovera to stand as godmother to her own child. When Chilperic discovered this, he raged at Audovera, telling her she had acted stupidly. He then banished her and married Fredegund. The basis of the trick and the reason why

1. Eucherius, Passio Acaunensium Martyrum, -2, in: SSRM, III, p.33.

2. Rouche, L'Aquitaine, p.54.

Audovera had to be banished was the canonical prohibition of marriage between godparents.<sup>1</sup> We are beginning to see that for the LHF author Fredegund had a very crafty mind.

77) In Gregory's account (Hist., IV-51) of Fredegund's murder of King Sigibert I, she plied two servants with drink and sent them off to assassinate the king. In LHF-32, however, we have in addition the speech with which she convinced them to do it. She said that if they accomplished it and escaped, she would reward both them and their heirs richly. If on the other hand they were caught, she would richly endow the holy places on their behalf. The crafty queen has offered them a no-lose proposition.

78) In the same chapter it is Fredegund who announces the good news of Sigibert's death to Chilperic, whereas in Gregory (Hist., IV-51) he learns it from messengers.

79) In LHF-33 it was Fredegund who provoked Chilperic to grow suspicious of his son Merovech's activities after his marriage to Brunhild. In Gregory's account (Hist., V-3) she is not mentioned.

80) In LHF-34 it is again Fredegund's advice which causes Chilperic to levy the new and heavy taxes throughout his realm. Gregory (Hist., V-28) has him do it of his own accord.

#### X. Mistakes and Miscellaneous Additions

There are five other additions the LHF author makes to Gregory in which he was either in error or added things arbitrarily.

81) In LHF-26 he commits a schoolboy howler. In retelling Gregory's account (Hist., III-32) of Theudebert I's Italian campaign of 539, the author adds that the king defeated the Lombards. They, of course, did

1. Loebell, Gregor, p.23.

not arrive in Italy until 568.

82) In LHF-33 the author reports a legation which King Childebert sent to Chilperic, requesting the return of his mother Brunhild. Chilperic acquiesced and returned the queen. Gregory makes no mention of these matters.

83) In the same chapter the LHF author takes an opportunity to malign Brunhild. When retelling Gregory's report that Chilperic had begun to suspect his son Merovech, the author slips in a mention of Brunhild's sins:

Greg., Hist., V-3: "...rex propter coniugatione Brunchildis suspectum habere coepit Merovechum..."

LHF-33: "...Chilpericus rex propter coniugationem Brunchildis vel eius maleficia Merovechum suspectum habebat..."

84) It is perhaps fitting to mention, as the last addition, the first joke recorded in Frankish history. In LHF-17, when Clovis I was attempting to retrieve the horse he had donated to Saint Martin, he ordered that the church's paupers be given one hundred solidi. This was done but the horse refused to move. The king then ordered that another hundred be given and suddenly the horse began to walk. To this the king replied, "Vere beatus Martinus bonus est in auxilio et carus in negotio".

In summary, it bears repeating that, far from these additions being few in number and inconsequential in content, they are numerous and some of them rather important. From them we detect the LHF author's emphasis on the role of the Franci, the importance he attributes to treasure, booty, and tribute, his interest in geography and in Queen Fredegund and the area around Soissons. Some of them reveal minor facts in the history of Gregory's period which cannot be gleaned from the Historia and there is here and there the suggestion at least that the LHF author had other written sources available to him.

There are many other differences between the work of the sixth-century bishop and the eighth-century Frank. The most striking are, of course, Gregory's far greater eloquence, accuracy, and command of his material and, as we have already noted, his Christian point of view. Gregory's kings are Christian kings and their people's history stands in direct Biblical succession. For the LHF, on the other hand, the kings are certainly Christian but more importantly they are Frankish and their people's history does not stretch back to the Bible but to Troy. Gregory, too, is said to have made little distinction between the Frank and the Roman of his day<sup>1</sup> and, due to his troubles with Chilperic and his royal counts, is said to have shown an Austrasian bias in his writing.<sup>2</sup> As we have seen, however, the LHF makes it very clear who was a Frank and who was a Roman and his perspective is decidedly Neustrian. But the most fundamental difference between the two works lies in the different purpose each author had in writing. "Gregory became an historian because the Catholic communities of Gaul seemed to him to stand in imminent danger; the times were bad enough to call forth an explanation: his own church, the church of Tours required it".<sup>3</sup> Gregory is primarily concerned with recording and explaining the current state of Gallic affairs; seven and a half of the ten books in his Historia deal with the events which happened within his own lifetime. Gregory himself often features as an active participant in the events he describes and his work even includes a "testament". In other words, Gregory is primarily writing about the present in order to preserve it for the future. He tells us so expressly in his opening lines: "...pro commemoratione praeteritorum,

1. Wattenbach-Levison, Geschichtsquellen 1952, p.105.

2. Rolf Sprandel, "Merov. Adel", p.27.

3. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Work of Gregory", p.33.

notitiam adtingerint venientum..."<sup>1</sup> In preserving the events of the present for the future Gregory's work is basically forward looking. Not so the LHF. Its author was primarily concerned to conserve not the present for the future but to compile the deeds of old for the present. Shortly after Charles Martel modified the dominant position of the author's beloved Neustrian Franci, he wrote a work which was essentially backward looking. Out of 87 pages of edited text only ten or eleven contain the events which could have happened within his lifetime. The entire last six years before the date he finished his work receive not a single mention. The author himself is so absent from the events he describes that we cannot even deduce with certainty from them who he was or where he wrote. He left us no testament and made no mention of generations to come. He was not looking forwards with fear for the state of the Church as Gregory had, but rather he was looking backwards with longing to the days when the Neustrian Franci did mighty deeds and their kings were mighty warriors: "Principium regum Francorum eorumque origine vel gentium illarum ac gesta proferamus".

1. Greg., Hist., Praefatio, in: SSRM, I (ed. alt.), p.1.

CHAPTER V — THE LHF AND THE COUP OF GRIMOALD I

Grimoald I, son of the first Pippin and trusted mayor of the palace for the Austrasian king, Sigibert III, managed a successful coup against the legitimate Merovingian ruler in the 650's. Despite the fact that chapter 43 of the LHF contains our only surviving coherent account of that coup, and despite the fact that with the 650's the LHF is moving into the period where its information is historically most accurate, today's most widely accepted view of these important events mistrusts the Chronicle and disagrees with important facets of its narrative. This chapter will examine scholars' reasons for that disagreement and then suggest ways in which their current views, the LHF, and the other sources could be brought into accord.

There has been much learned controversy concerning when and how the coup took place and what happened in its aftermath. The picture currently held by most scholars is based largely on work done by Krusch<sup>1</sup> and can be summarised as follows:

When King Sigibert III died in Austrasia in 656, he left behind his widow, Queen Chimnechild, and his mayor, Grimoald, who held the royal reins for four or more years under the legitimate Merovingian rule of the king's infant son, Dagobert II. Grimoald, however, then managed to gain the upper hand, had the young king shorn, and sent him off to Ireland on a pilgrimage. If Grimoald's coup was not carried out by the direct instigation of the Neustrian nobility, who saw thereby a chance to end the legitimate Austrasian royal line and thus extend their control over the eastern kingdom,<sup>2</sup> it was probably at least done with their concurrence.

1. B. Krusch, "Staatsstreich".

2. Edward Hlawitschka, "Die Vorfahren Karls des Grossen", in: Wolfgang Braunfels (ed.), Karl der Grosse, vol. I, Duesseldorf, 1965, p.59.

This is suggested by the fact that the agent for Dagobert's pilgrimage was Bishop Dido of Poitiers, a member of a powerful Neustrian family. Once the legitimate Merovingian was out of the way, the ambitious Grimoald went a step further and placed his own son on the Austrasian throne. The boy was called Childebert, a name well suited for an adopted Merovingian because its former bearer, Childebert II, had also been adopted by King Gunthram.<sup>1</sup> This last was certainly not part of the Neustrians' expansionist designs and it angered them. The West, the legitimate line, and Grimoald's enemies within Austrasia led by Chimnechild and her mayor, Wulfoald, eventually prevailed, and in 661/662 Grimoald was swept from power and executed. Childeric II, the son of the Neustrian regent, Balthild, was then married to Bilichild, daughter of the Austrasian queen, Chimnechild, and imposed by the Neustrians as king of Austrasia.<sup>2</sup> Chimnechild's and Wulfoald's party had won over Grimoald's and a decade of relative peace settled over Francia.

There is another detail in Grimoald's story which should be mentioned because prominent scholars have accepted it as true.<sup>3</sup> This is the story of Sigibert III's adoption agreement which comes from the twelfth-century Vita Sigiberti written by the monk Sigibert of Gembloux.<sup>4</sup> According to this story, because King Sigibert so trusted Grimoald, he chose the mayor's son, Childebert, to be his heir in the event he should die without male offspring. This agreement could have been the reason why the

1. Gregory, Historia, V-17. See Heinz Thomas, "Die Namenliste des Diptychon Barberini und der Sturz des Hausmeiers Grimoald", in: DA, XXV (1969), p.38.

2. Vita Sanctae Balthildis, -5, in: SSRM, II, p.487. See E. Ewig, "Die fraenkische Teilreiche im 7. Jahrhundert", in: Trierer Zeitschrift, XXII (1953), p.123.

3. Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.120; Léon Levillain, "Encore la succession d'Austrasie", in: BEDC, 106 (1945/46), p.301; and Georg Waitz, Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte (3rd ed.), vol. II, Kiel, 1882, p.700, note 5.

4. Vita Sigiberti, V-15, in: Bouquet, Recueil, vol. II, p.602.

Carolingian authors of the royal catalogues included the word adoptivus after Childebert's name in their lists.<sup>1</sup> Despite the story's acceptance, it seems unlikely. Sigibert was in the flower of youth at the time of this supposed agreement and any fear of dying childless would certainly have been an empty one<sup>2</sup> — as the subsequent birth of his son, Dagobert, proved. Merovingian kings could, of course, designate their heirs but they were certainly not empowered to choose anyone who was not a scion of the sacred royal blood.<sup>3</sup> It seems much more reasonable that Childebert's claim to being an adoptivus was less Merovingian foresight than it was a Pippinid post facto ploy.

This picture of Grimoald's coup disagrees with the report in the LHF in two important ways: 1) The LHF makes no mention of a "first reign" for Dagobert II. In fact, the best interpretation of what the LHF author assumed took place is that upon Sigibert III's death, Grimoald immediately tonsured Dagobert and sent him to Dido putting his own son on the throne. 2) The LHF tells us that Grimoald's judge was the Neustrian king Clovis II whereas it is currently argued that it must have been that king's successor, Clothar III.<sup>4</sup> This picture of events in the Frankish regna in the 650's is not drawn from any one source, but pieced together from snippets of information which have come down to us in many forms. In

1. Léon Levillain, "La succession d'Austrasie au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle", in: Revue historique, 112 (1913), p.67.

2. Bouquet's editors, Recueil, vol. II, p.602.

3. Heinrich Bonnell, Die Anfaenge des karolingischen Hauses, Berlin, 1866, p.111.

4. By supposing that Childebert could rule on after Grimoald had been executed, Levillain ("Encore", pp.302-303) and Ewig ("Noch einmal zum 'Staatstreich' Grimoalds", in: Clemens Bauer, L. Boehm, and M. Mueller (eds.), Speculum historiale: Geschichte im Spiegel von Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung, Freiburg-Muenchen, 1965, pp.454-457) agree that Clovis was Grimoald's judge and yet have the coup end in 661/662.

order to evaluate accurately the LHF's report and to see why modern scholarship takes it to task, we must review the other sources.

Let us begin with the Merovingian royal catalogues. The catalogues which contain regnal years are not, strictly speaking, Merovingian sources; they were drawn up during the Carolingian era. These Carolingian products have been edited several times,<sup>1</sup> but the best edition with the most complete accompanying study was produced by Krusch, Levison and many of their colleagues and published by Krusch in the Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, vol. VII.<sup>2</sup> Of the five catalogues Krusch reproduced, only numbers II and III<sup>3</sup> concern the LHF's account of the Grimoald coup. Because both catalogues ignore the Neustrian king, Clovis II, Krusch assumed that the author of their common ancestor was an Austrasian.<sup>4</sup>

These catalogues contain more good news than bad for the LHF's account of events. Between the names of the Austrasian kings, "Segobertus" (Sigibert III) and "Heldericus" (Childeric II), there appears in catalogue II the name, "Heldobertus". This could be a name for the son of Grimoald whose story the LHF has told us while failing to name him. The author of the earliest manuscript of the later catalogue (number III) expanded the entry with words which make it clear whom he considered this Childebert to be: "Hildebertus id est adoptivus". One ninth/tenth century codex goes even further:<sup>5</sup> "Childebertus id est adoptivus Grimoald regnavit ann. VII".

1. By Pertz in: MGH, SS, II, pp.307-308; by Waitz in: MGH, SS, XIII, p.724; Bouquet, Recueil, vol. II, p.691; and by Holder-Egger in: NA, X (1885), p.691.

2. The study is included in the prologue (pp.468-482) of his article "Chronologica". Here he edits and discusses four catalogues. A fifth, which he discovered later, he called praetermissus and edited it in the same volume pp.850-855.

3. Ibid., pp.480-481.

4. Ibid., p.474.

5. Vat. Reg. Lat. 846. See Krusch, "Chronologica", p.473, number Clb.

Thus these catalogues corroborate the LHF's claim that Grimoald managed a successful coup. This is important support because it comes from sources independent of the LHF.

The catalogues make no mention of Dagobert II ruling during this period. In fact, they do not mention Dagobert II at all; they assign him neither a first nor a second reign. Since the LHF does not often concern itself with Austrasian kings, we are not surprised to find that it ignores Dagobert's second reign, but, as we have seen, its account of the Grimoald years also leaves no room for a first reign, and in this too it and the catalogues agree.

This is where the agreement has been seen to stop. The catalogues also contain the number of years each king was to have reigned. In catalogue II, Childebert is said to have reigned for seven years. The catalogue III manuscripts, however, attribute those seven years to Grimoald, some making no indication of years for Childebert, others claiming one year for him as well. Whether this father and son team held the field for seven or for eight years makes little difference for our immediate purposes. In either case, historians have seen an obvious conflict between this information and the LHF's account which, in claiming that Clovis II was Grimoald's judge, appears to want the mayor's coup over with in a few short months.

We have another king list - this time not a catalogue as such, but a list of kings written in Merovingian script directly on the ivory of an altar diptych, now called the Diptych Barberini.<sup>1</sup> The king list is only partially preserved and contains the following names: Heldeberti, Theudeberti, Theuderici, Clothari, Sygisberti, Childeberti, Athanagildi,

1. Rudolf Bergman, "Die Trierer Namenliste des Diptychons Barberini in Musée du Louvre, in: Namenforschung - Festschrift fuer Adolf Bach, Heidelberg, 1965, p.38.

Fachilevvae, and Ingundae.<sup>1</sup> The last three names indicate that the king heading the list is Childebert II because Fachilewa, Ingúnd, and Athana-gild were members of his family. Here we have the record of a Merovingian churchman who listed the names of the Austrasian kings from Childebert II to the adopted Pippinid, Childebert III. Thomas' shrewd analysis of this king list has enabled it to tell us much more than it would at first glance.<sup>2</sup> The list was prepared for liturgical purposes; it was used to read the names of royal protectors during prayers for their salvation. Since Gallic liturgical practice read the names of deceased kings separately from those of living ones, we can assume that all the patrons on the list were already dead when it was written. It is also not a complete list; it does not contain all the kings between the two Childeberts: Sigibert II, Dagobert I, and perhaps Dagobert II, if we were to find a first reign for him, are missing. Why were these kings left out? Thomas answers that they were excluded because these were the kings who were inimical to Grimoald's party. Sigibert II was the infant monarch under whom his great grandmother, Brunhild, had opposed Grimoald's father, Pippin. Dagobert was passed over because to read "Dagobert" from the altar would recall not Dagobert I, but Dagobert II, whom Grimoald had recently tonsured and banished. Thus the list seems to have been written by clerical partisans of the Pippinid faction. Since it is very unlikely that a church would dare to read such a partisan list aloud from the altar once the party it supports had been swept from power, and since Childebert is included with the deceased monarchs, it appeared to Thomas that the list was written after Childebert's death but before Grimoald's.

What, then, does the king list in the Diptych Barberini have to say concerning the LHF's account of the Grimoald years? First, if we can

1. Thomas, "Die Namenliste", p.20.

2. Ibid., pp.32 and 33.

believe that the "Heldobertus" found in the Carolingian catalogues was indeed the unnamed son of Grimoald whom the LHF describes, then the Childebert found here is our first substantiation from the Merovingian era that the coup which the LHF relates did indeed take place. Second, if Thomas is correct in surmising that the list was written between the death of Childebert and the fall of Grimoald, then it appears that the son preceded the father into the grave – something which the LHF does not deny but also does not tell us. The first piece of the information the diptych gives us, i.e. that some Merovingian cleric thought there to have been a king named Childebert who followed Sigibert III, does appear to support the LHF's story. However, to place the date of the list between the deaths of Childebert and Grimoald, which is the same as having it tell us that Childebert died before Grimoald, depends, in Thomas' argumentation, on making the list a partisan one and this supposition in turn depends on the reasons why certain kings were omitted. If they were indeed omitted for political reasons, then it is probable that Thomas has given us an order of deaths for the two Pippinids which we can believe. If, however, the list was composed for other reasons – as, for instance, to invoke prayers for those royal patrons who had donated property to the institution in which it was written – then the Diptych Barberini has nothing to add to or subtract from the LHF.

The oldest source relating the events of the Grimoald coup is not the LHF but the Vita Wilfridi by Eddius Stephanus which clips any claim for the LHF's priority by about a decade.<sup>1</sup> This source, more than any other, validates the LHF's account:

1. Levillain, "La succession", p.64 notes the primacy of the vita. According to Bertram Colgrave, ("The Earliest Saints' Lives Written in England", in: Proceedings of The British Academy, XLIV (1944), p.57), it was written between 710 and 720.

Nam supradictus rex (Dagobert) in iuventute sua ab inimicis regnantibus in exilium perditionis pulsus, navigando ad Hiberniam insulam, Deo adiuvante, pervenit. Post annorum circulum amici et proximi eius, viventem et in perfecta aetate florentem a navigantibus audientes, miserunt nuntios suos ad beatum Wilfrithum episcopum, petentes, ut eum de Scottia et Hibernia ad se invitasset et sibi ad regem emisisset.<sup>1</sup>

Here is strong substantiation indeed for the LHF; it is, unfortunately, the only other direct report of these events by a contemporary narrative source. The other sources only contain passages which demand a good deal of interpretation before they can either support or attack the eighth-century Neustrian author.

The following passage from the Vita Sanctae Geretrudis has been used by Krusch<sup>2</sup> and others who have followed him<sup>3</sup> to demonstrate that the LHF's account is incorrect:

Contigit autem ex odio paterno, ut reges, reginae, etiam sacerdotes per invidiam diabuli illam de suo loco primum per suasionem, postmodum vellent per vim trahere, et res Dei, quibus benedicta puella praeerat, iniquiter possiderent.<sup>4</sup>

The subject of the passage is Wulfetrud, Grimoald's daughter and Saint Geretrud's niece. Geretrud, sensing that she was about to die, installed Wulfetrud as abbess of Nivelles three months before her death, which eventually came about on Saint Patrick's day, 17 March.<sup>5</sup> The transfer of authority took place without a hitch, but sometime after, as can be seen from the above passage, Wulfetrud experienced trouble from the outside. The attempts to oust her were made first in a milder form, but later by means of force. Wulfetrud held on, however, and ruled the

1. Vita Sancti Wilfridi Auctore Eddio Stephano, -28, in: H. Moonen (ed.), Het Leven van Sint Wilfrid, S'Hertogenbosch, 1946, p.114.

2. "Staatsstreich", p.430 and "Chronologica", p.477.

3. Levillain, "La Succession", p.72, and Thomas, "Die Namenliste", p.26.

4. Vita Sanctae Geretrudis, -6, in: SSRM, II, p.460.

5. Ibid., chapter 7.

monastery for eleven years. Using information the vita provides, Krusch calculated Geretrud's death date as 17 March 659 and going back three months from that date he placed Wulfetrud's accession in December of 658.<sup>1</sup> If the LHF were correct and if Wulfetrud's father, Grimoald, had been executed by Clovis II, he would have been out of the picture since before mid-November 657.<sup>2</sup> The fact that Grimoald's daughter could assume control of a major monastery, and do so seemingly without opposition, is a good indication that her father was still in power – that is, that Grimoald was still in control of Austrasia after the date which, according to the LHF account, he must have been executed. Furthermore, according to Krusch, the odium paternum which later motivated her opponents is a clear reference to Grimoald and makes it even more likely that he outlasted 657.<sup>3</sup> Krusch also claimed that even the plural nouns reges and reginae help indicate the error in the LHF. For if what it says were correct, there could have been only one king in Francia until 662, Clothar III of Neustria. This monarch (or rather his party) certainly would not have waited to apply pressure against Wulfetrud until a date when kings (plural) again ruled – that is, they would not have waited without reason until after 662 when his brother, Childeric II, began to rule as well by assuming the throne in Austrasia. That reason, of course, could only have been Grimoald's rule.<sup>4</sup>

1. "Staatsstreich", p.430.

2. This seems to me to be the most solid ante quem for Clovis' death. It is the last date probable for the accession of his successor, Clothar III. Cf. Courtois, ("L'Avènement de Clovis II et les règles d'accession au trône chez les Mérovingiens", in: Mélanges d'histoire du moyen-âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen, Paris, 1951, p.160) who follows Krusch, "Chronologica", pp.495-497.

3. Krusch, "Chronologica", p.477; Hlawitschka, "Vorfahren", p.76; Thomas, "Die Namenliste", p.26.

4. Krusch, "Staatsstreich", p.430.

This interpretation of the Vita Sanctae Geretrudis, which attacks the LHF's account, can be disarmed in many ways. First, the monastery of Nivelles lay in the Duchy of Dentelin, i.e., in that part of old Austrasia which at this time was retained under the control of Neustria.<sup>1</sup> Thus Austrasian politics may not have had as much direct influence on the welfare of the abbey's leaders as the interpretation assumes. This is especially true in this case since it was not through Geretrud's paternal ancestors – through Pippin's family with its Austrasian connections – but through her mother's relatives, who were local nobles, that she had power and influence in the Nivelles area.<sup>2</sup> Second, although odium paternum is obviously a reference to Wulfetrud's father Grimoald, it is wrong to assume that paternal hatred must die with the father, especially in a society organized around the feud where hatreds live on from generation to generation. Odium paternum could also be an expression of party or factional hatred and as such would tell us nothing about whether Grimoald was alive or dead at the time this particular outburst erupted. And third, the use of the plural nouns, "kings and queens", does not necessarily mean that they were ruling simultaneously; it could just as well mean sequentially. I also note that the word reges is missing in the B version of the Vita, which Krusch edited in a column parallel to A. In this version it is only the reginae who oppose Wulfetrud and we certainly do not have to wait for 662 to find the two powerful Queens, Balthild in Neustria and Chimnechild in Austrasia, both very much involved in the politics of the day.<sup>3</sup>

But even if we assume for the moment that the above counter-arguments are wrong and that Krusch and his followers' opinion is correct concerning

1. Levillain, "La Succession", p.72.

2. An exhaustive investigation of this family and its powerful social position has been conducted by Alexander Bergengruen, Adel und Grundherrschaft im Merowingerreich, Wiesbaden, 1958, pp.109-117.

3. Vita Sanctae Balthildis, -5 (SSRM, II, p.487). Cf. Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.123; and Nelson, "Queens", pp.46-52, for the position of these queens.

the meaning of those words, the Vita Sanctae Geretrudis can still be considered a source substantiating rather than contradicting the LHF. Krusch's whole argument is based on the supposition that the change of abbess and the subsequent outbreak of odium paternum took place after the date by which, according to the LHF, Grimoald must have been executed – that is, that they took place after mid-November 657. These events, however, did not. And to prove that they antedate Clovis II's death we must now challenge Krusch at his own somewhat dubious game of constructing precise chronologies from the imprecise chronological information contained in Merovingian sources.

The pivotal date for Krusch's argument is the date Saint Geretrud died. He placed this on 17 March, 659 and he was wrong. Geretrud actually died on 17 March, 657, when Clovis II was still alive and ruling. How did Krusch make a two-year mistake? He did so because, 1) he either simply added up years without considering the months or he assumed his source did not differentiate between cardinal and ordinal numerals (a mistake, as we shall see, he has made in more than one place), and 2) he used the wrong year for King Dagobert I's death. To assign Saint Geretrud a new death date, we must carefully retrace Krusch's calculations.

Krusch began by establishing the day of her death as 17 March, which not only chapters 6 and 7 of her vita relate, but which is also confirmed by both Bede's and Usuard's martyrologies.<sup>1</sup> Since Krusch thought that Geretrud was fourteen on her father's death ("Post annos vero 14 cum patris eius Pippinus de (h)ac luce migrasset..."),<sup>2</sup> and 33 when she herself died ("...tricesimo et tertio aetatis suae anno..."),<sup>3</sup> and since he thought the date of her father's death to be 640, he concluded that 659 was the proper

1. Krusch, SSRM, II, pp.447-448.

2. Vita S. Geretrudis, -2, in: SSRM, II, p.455.

3. Ibid., chapter 7 (p.463).

year. This result depends on Pippin I's death year being 640.<sup>1</sup> All the computations of Pippin's death trace themselves back to Fredegar's indication that Pippin died about a year after the death of King Dagobert I.<sup>2</sup> Krusch had gone to some length to prove that Dagobert died on 19 January, 639.<sup>3</sup> This computation, however, was a mistake and one which by chain reaction affected the rest. More recent scholarship has proved that Dagobert actually died a year earlier on 19 January, 638.<sup>4</sup> This means that we must move Pippin's death back a year as well to 639. If, however, we were to add 19 to 639 the sum would be 658, which is still not 657, the true year of Geretrud's death. To reach 657 we must eliminate the other of Krusch's errors, this one concerning the indications of Geretrud's age given in the Vita. The author of the Vita was careful in his wording. For Geretrud's age at her father's death, he used the words: "Post vero annos 14 ...", which means she had passed the 14th year of her life. For her age at death, however, he used the words: "...tricesimo et tertio aetatis suae anno...", which means she was in the 33rd year, having passed her 32nd birthday. Thus if she passed her 14th birthday in early 639, she would have passed her 32nd in early 657, and that places her in her 33rd year when she died on 17 March of that year.

We are not totally dependent on these calculations for our conclusion has strong independent confirmation. The Vita Sanctae Geretrudis is followed in one class of its manuscripts by a work entitled, De Virtutibus,

1. This is the usual date given: Krusch, SSRM, II, p.447; J.F. Boehmer and E. Muehlbacher, Regesta Imperii - Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern, 751-918, (2nd ed.), 1908, p.3; Ewig, "Teiltreiche", p.117; and Hlawitschka, "Vorfahren", p.73.

2. Fredegar, IV-85.

3. "Chronologica", pp.491-493.

4. The work is Courtois', "L'avènement", p.159. Wallace-Hadrill, Fredegar, p.67, note 1, agrees. A pre-Krusch school had also used these dates. See Bonnell, Anfaenge, p.106.

Quae Facta Sunt Post Discessum Beate Geretrudis Abbatisse.<sup>1</sup> This was written about the year 700.<sup>2</sup> In chapter 10 of these Viřtutes the author tells us that in the 33rd year after Geretrud's death, a lady named Begga received from the congregation at Nivelles the necessary religious equipment with which to furnish a monastery which she had constructed.<sup>3</sup> In the second year after she had arranged these matters, she died. Thus far we have come either 33 or 34 years from Geretrud's death. A few days later a holy noblewoman, named Adula, came to the monastery and, among other things, demanded to know when Geretrud's anniversary was celebrated. To this a famula replied, "Quinta ebdomada in quadragesima in sexta feria".<sup>4</sup> It was in the year 691 that the sixth day of the fifth week of Lent fell on 17 March. Working backwards for 33 years we should arrive at a death date for Geretrud of 17 March, 658, but using 34 we again arrive at our preferred date of 17 March, 657. Krusch was well aware of these figures but rejected them out of hand because they did not agree with his date of 659, preferring instead to accuse the author of the Virtutes of having erred.<sup>5</sup>

There is yet more evidence to indicate that Saint Geretrud died before King Clovis. The Virtutes which follow Vita Sanctae Geretrudis are themselves followed by the work of a continuator. Krusch judged this Continuatio to have been written in the early 780's.<sup>6</sup> In his chapter 4 the author of the Continuatio relates the story of a young

1. In: SSRM, II, pp.464-474.

2. Krusch, SSRM, II, p.449.

3. SSRM, II, p.469.

4. Ibid., p.470.

5. "Itaque scriptorem falli manifestum est..." (SSRM, II, p.449).

6. Ibid.

crippled girl who was healed by Saint Geretrud in a vision.<sup>1</sup> He tells us that this girl was healed in the 15th year of Charlemagne's reign and in the 127th year after Saint Geretrud's death. The 15th year of Charlemagne's reign has, of course, firmly established dates. It extends from 24 September 782 to 23 September 783. We also know the day of Geretrud's death: 17 March. Thus any date between 17 March and 23 September 783 falls both in Charles' 15th regnal year and in Saint Geretrud's 127th death year only if the Saint died on 17 March 657.<sup>2</sup>

Three separate routes have now converged to suggest that Saint Geretrud died on 17 March 657. The implications of this new finding are many. It forms another plank in Courtois' platform of proof that Dagobert I died in 638 and not in 639. It means that Pippin I's death year must now be reported as 639 and not as 640. But most important for our purposes, it means that in showing that Wulfetrud assumed control of Nivelles before Clovis II died, the Vita Sanctae Geretrudis has been transformed from one of the LHF's fiercest opponents into one of its strongest supporters.

Added to the Vita Fursei in the manuscripts Krusch assigned to the D class, there is preserved a short epilogue called the Additamentum Nivialense de Fuilano.<sup>3</sup> Krusch, and Ewig following him, considered this short work to have been written by an author contemporary with the events he describes.<sup>4</sup> The story is a good piece of early medieval adventure.

1. SSRM, II, p.473.

2. It should be pointed out that Krusch used the same information in the Continuatio to calculate a death year for Geretrud of 656. For our purposes of showing that Geretrud died before King Clovis II, this date is also entirely acceptable. Since, however, the other possible result of the calculation, i.e. 657, agrees with the results of computations from the vita and the virtutes, it is to be preferred.

3. SSRM, IV, pp.449-451.

4. Krusch, SSRM, IV, p.428; and Ewig, "Noch einmal", p.456.

After Foillan had packed up his books and holy implements and fled from Britain to Peronne in Gaul, he and his companions fell out of favour with the Neustrian mayor of the palace, Erchinoald. They again fled, this time northward, where Itta abbess of Nivelles equipped the refugees so that they could found another monastery. This Foillan did at Fosses. Sometime later, after Itta's death, while undertaking a journey on monastery business, Foillan arrived at Nivelles where on the vigil of Saint Quentin (30 October), he said mass before proceeding. During the same night, however, he and his party were led astray into a nearby village and murdered. The bodies were stripped and hidden and were not found for seventy-seven days (16 January). It happened that on this day both Grimoald and Bishop Dido of Poitiers had come to Nivelles, "locorum sanctorum visitandi gratia"<sup>1</sup> and when they heard that the bodies had been found by searchers whom Abbess Geretrud had sent out, they both took part in the solemnities of the burial.

The important part of the story for our purposes is, of course, the appearance of Grimoald and Dido together in the Pippinid family monastery. If there be any doubt that the LHF is correct when it relates that it was the Neustrian Dido who was Grimoald's agent for Dagobert's removal, this confirmation by an independent contemporary source that a personal and co-operative meeting of the two men took place should erase it. Paul Grosjean conjectures that the visiting of the holy places was a cover-up for a political conference between the two leaders.<sup>2</sup> Ewig thought that the most probable date for this conference would have been 16 January 656 – just two weeks before King Sigibert III's death when the problems of the expected royal succession would be on the minds of both men.<sup>3</sup> Ewig's

1. SSRM, IV, p.451.

2. "Notes d'hagiographie celtique 38-40", in: Analecta Bollandiana, 75 (1957), p.391.

3. Grosjean, ibid., and Ewig, "Noch einmal", p.456.

date for the meeting is possible. As the source tells us, the meeting took place seventy-seven days after Foillan was murdered. The Additamentum is the only source giving any indication of when that murder might have taken place; no other contemporary source, be it insular or continental, gives us a clue. The author has told us only that the bodies were discovered on 16 January of some year after Itta's death and before Geretrud retired as abbess of Nivelles. Ewig used the dates of these ladies' tenure calculated in the old way from the Vita Geretrudis and thus his range of possible dates extended from 16 January 653 to 16 January 658. We have, however, already shown that Geretrud's dates drawn from that Vita need to be moved back two years and, if we examine Itta's death date, we find the same true for hers. She died "...post obitum... Pippini... anno duodecimo",<sup>1</sup> i.e., in the twelfth year after Pippin's death – not twelve years after as Krusch had calculated – and so her death came in 650 not 652. Thus the more correct range of dates for the meeting extends from 16 January 651 to the same day in 656. There is no external evidence which would make the choice of any one of the years within the range any more probable than any other. Ewig's favourite of 656 may well be correct. However, the wording of the Additamentum draws me to prefer a date which falls as early as possible within the range. This is because the author relates Itta's death and Foillan's setting out on his fatal trip in the very same sentence.<sup>2</sup> The impression is that the author did not consider these two events to have been separated by any great expanse of time. Thus I would choose 16 January 651 as the date for Grimoald's and Dido's meeting. This date also fits a new chronology for the period, which I shall propose at the end of this discussion.

1. Vita S. Geretrudis, -3.

2. "Contigit hic postquam predicta Dei famula... ad superna conmigavit regna, vir Domini Foilnanus... iter adgrediens..." (SSRM, IV, p.450).

It fits the chronology in such a way that both Grosjean's and Ewig's arguments will support rather than reject the new choice.

A passage from the Vita Boniti<sup>1</sup> has also been included among the sources reflecting on the Grimoald coup. This vita was most likely written shortly after 711, the year of the Saint's translation.<sup>2</sup> In chapter three the author tells us that, after the death of Sigibert (III) and after the death of his sons ( filiisque defunctis ), his nephew ( pronepos ) took the throne. Although Sigibert may have had several children who died in their youth, it requires some searching to find two who could have ruled and thereby confirm the author's use of the plural filiis. Dagobert II was Sigibert's own son and, as we have seen, Grimoald's son, Childebert, was made out to be the king's adopted heir. If we assume that these two were the filiis defunctis to whom the author referred, then we must place the date of the passage in a time after both their deaths. Although we have no account of Childebert's death, we also have no reason to believe that he outlived his father and thus we can assume he died either before or when Grimoald was toppled from office. By this time, too, Dagobert was believed to be dead. We know this from the surprise at finding him alive expressed by his friends some two decades later.<sup>3</sup> Thus we could interpret the passage, along with Krusch, to mean that, after Sigibert and his sons were dead or presumed to be dead, the son of the king's brother ( pronepos ) took over. If only the author had named the nephew! Sigibert's brother, Clovis II, had three sons, all of whom at some time occupied a Merovingian throne. If the author meant Clothar III, who began to rule Neustria in 657, then the vita has no quibble with the LHF for if Grimoald had been condemned by

1. Vita Boniti Episcopi Arverni, in: SSRM, VI, pp.110-139.

2. Wattenbach-Levison, Geschichtsquellen 1952, p.165.

3. Eddius, Vita S. Wilfridi, -28. See Krusch, "Staatsstreich", p.431.

Clovis just shortly before he died, then the pronepos, Clothar, would have acceded to both kingdoms upon his father's death. If, however, the author meant Childeric II, who first assumed the Austrasian throne in 662, then he does appear to be disagreeing with the LHF, which does not allow Sigibert's "son" Childebert to live that long. In fact, even the choice of Clothar III as the unnamed nephew does not necessarily mean that the two sources agree. Since Clothar could have taken over the Austrasian throne at any time between 657 and 662, he could have left ample room for Grimoald and Childebert to outlive Clovis II.<sup>1</sup> Do we then have in the Vita Boniti definite evidence which can be used to contradict the LHF? No, we do not. In fact, not only does the Vita contain no definite contradictory evidence, it contains no possible contradictory evidence. In the Life of Bishop Bonitus the author was concerned with two Merovingian kings: with Sigibert III, at whose court Bonitus served first as princeps pincernarum and later as referendarius, and with Theuderic III, who made him prefect of Marseilles.<sup>2</sup> It is now obvious who the pronepos is. It is Theuderic, Clovis II's son, who took the throne of Austrasia in 679 after Dagobert II's murder. By filiis defunctis the author of the vita did not mean any presumed death; he was well aware of when Dagobert died. The simple fact that he wrote after Dagobert II had been supposedly found, reinstated, and then murdered, makes Krusch's interpretation of the assumed death impossible in and of itself. This passage from the Vita Boniti, therefore, deals with the year 679 and has absolutely nothing to do with Grimoald.

Altmann, a ninth-century monk of Hautvillers, appears to have been looking at some charters as he was writing his Vita Nivardi Episcopi

1. As Krusch points out: "Staatsstreich", p.431.

2. Vita Boniti, chapters 3-5; SSRM, VI, pp.120-121.

Remensis.<sup>1</sup> In addition to a charter of Grimoald's, he summarized the contents of two documents, one each from King Childebert and King Clovis:

Praeceptum etiam immunitatis a Childeberto rege super theloneis et quibusdam tributis ecclesie Remensi obtinuit. Cui Ludovicus quoque rex, sub ecclesie sue nomine, res quasdam in Malliaco super fluvium Vidulam, quas quibusdam infidelibus suis eiectis receperat, auctoritatis sue precepto concessit.<sup>2</sup>

The only Childebert who could have ruled during Nivard's lifetime was the adoptivus mentioned in the king lists and thus, if Altmann did indeed have valid documents in front of him, we have in his mention of Childebert another scrap of evidence supporting the LHF's account. When we come to what Altmann tells us about Clovis II's charter, however, we find much more important support for the LHF's version of events. The village of Mailly in the diocese of Reims was part of the kingdom of Austrasia; thus here we have the Neustrian king involved with infidelibus suis in territory which was not his – not his unless he had assumed the Austrasian throne in addition to the Neustrian.<sup>3</sup> If this were the case, the infideles could very well be the party of Grimoald the usurper, whom Clovis had condemned and executed. This interpretation fits perfectly with the inferences which must be drawn from the way the LHF author saw these years, that is, after Clovis removed and executed Grimoald, that he, and then his son Clothar III after him, ruled both kingdoms. Krusch quickly pointed out that this was not the only possible interpretation of Altmann. He assumed that the charter the monk was reading reflected only the results of a border war of Clovis' and not his toppling of Grimoald and assumption of the whole Austrasian kingdom.<sup>4</sup> However, no one can say

1. SSRM, V, pp.157-171.

2. Vita Nivardi, -6, in: SSRM, V, pp.163-164.

3. Levillain, "La succession", p.65.

4. "Chronologica", p.476.

for sure whether Krusch was correct or not; the Vita Nivardi, taken on its own, allows for both interpretations and thus offers no contradiction with the LHF.

A certain Bonefatus donated his portion of Goerlingen, a villa in the Saar district, to the monastery of Weissenburg. We know of Bonefatus' transaction from his donation charter which he dated, "anno VI regno domno hildeberto glorioso rege".<sup>1</sup> By the ability to date Bishop Dragobod, the charter's addressee, and some of its witnesses, scholars have made a very strong case for considering this Bonefatus to be that dux of the Gundoin family who was active in Alsace in the mid-seventh century. Here again, when we look for a King Childebert who could match Duke Bonefatus' dates, we can find none other than the adoptivus.<sup>2</sup> The charter, since it was dated in King Childebert's sixth year, tells us that he ruled at least five years and thus could become the first of the sources we have considered since the royal catalogues to contain evidence which directly conflicts with the LHF. Using the accepted chronology for these years, a five year rule for Childebert is, of course, impossible if Grimoald were to fall to Clovis II's judgment. As we shall see, however, the conflict between the LHF and Bonefatus' charter is only apparent.

Our next source is the donation charter of Grimoald's in which he donated the villa of Germigny, near Reims, to the monasteries of Stavelot-

1. Karl Gloeckner and Anton Doll (eds.), Traditiones Wizenburgenses, Darmstadt, 1979, nr. 203, pp.415-417; C. Zeuss, Traditiones possessionesque Wizemburgensis, Leipzig, 1862, nr. 203, pp.194-195; Pardessus (Diplomata II, no. XII, p.430) dated the charter under Childebert III (700) but noted the problem with Dragobod's dates in so doing (ibid., note 3).

2. F. Himly, "Les plus anciennes chartes et les origines de l'abbaye de Wissembourg", in: BEDC, 100 (1939), p.287; Horst Ebling, Prosopographie der Amtstraeger des Merowingerreiches von Clothar II (613) bis Karl Martel (741), Munich, 1974, pp.88-89; Ewig, "Noch einmal", p.455; and Thomas, "Die Namenliste", pp.25-26.

Malmedy.<sup>1</sup> This charter has been the subject of a long dispute concerning the meaning of the word, exemplaria, in the charter's dating clause: "Facta exemplaria sub die Kalendis Augusti Anno IIII regni domini nostri Dagoberti regis". The charter is an extremely important piece of evidence for the period because it is the only basis upon which scholars can construct a first reign of Dagobert II (a fact which has gone unmentioned in the secondary literature); there is no other indication that he ruled prior to the time he supposedly returned from Ireland in 675. Because the charter is so controversial and so crucial for our assessment of the validity of the LHF's view of the Grimoald years, it is necessary for us to review what scholars have said about it.

Does the anno IIII refer to the fourth year of a first reign of Dagobert, which would date the charter in the year 659, or does it refer to the fourth year of Dagobert's second reign, putting it in 679? It is obvious that, since it is Grimoald's charter, if we want the anno IIII to be 679, then exemplaria must mean "copy" because Grimoald was long dead by the 670's. This was the first interpretation scholars gave to the word and thus they put the charter safely out of reach of the Grimoald years.<sup>2</sup> Krusch, with his usual amount of patience with what he thought to be the errors of others, called this opinion "Unsinn" and insisted that the anno IIII was not the date of any copy, but that of the original and thus not only did Grimoald make the donation in 659 but he did so in the fourth year of a first reign of Dagobert II.<sup>3</sup> The reasons he gave were largely linguistic, buttressed by the very pointed question: Who ever

1. Joseph Halkin and C.G. Roland, Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy, Brussels, 1909, p.8, nr. 3.

2. Thus Pertz in: MGH, Dipl., I, p.42; Muehlbacher in: Boehmer-Muehlbacher, Regesta, p.4; and Halkin-Roland, Stavelot-Malmedy, p.10.

3. "Staatsstreich", pp.427-429.

heard of dating a copy exactly and then losing the original date? For Krusch the case was settled and he never changed his mind.

Halkin and Roland, the editors of the Stavelot-Malmedy charters, on the other hand, were convinced that exemplaria meant copy and that the document was a copy of Grimoald's original charter made for presentation to King Dagobert II.<sup>1</sup> They did not, however, venture a guess as to when that presentation was made. Karl Gloeckner emphasized that King Sigibert III is referred to in the charter as domnus gloriosus rex, a term which designates live kings and not as quondam which designated deceased ones. Thus the original donation had been made while Sigibert was still alive and this must be a copy dating from 679.<sup>2</sup> Then Louis Dupraz, while seemingly proving the case for exemplaria meaning copy by citing a convincing parallel example drawn from a charter for Le Mans, nonetheless returned the date of the anno IIII to a first reign for Dagobert.<sup>3</sup> He did so by noting that there seemed to be a change in the accepted version of who founded Stavelot-Malmedy. The charters which postdate Sigibert III no longer make any mention of Grimoald's role with either founding or fostering the dual monastery.<sup>4</sup> Even two royal charters, confirming that the monasteries owned the villa Germigny, replace Grimoald with Sigibert III as the villa's donor.<sup>5</sup> Thus he thought the copy of Grimoald's original

1. Stavelot-Malmedy, p.10. J. Fischer (Der Hausmeier Ebroin, Bonn dissertation, 1954, p.22, note 1) is the only author mentioned in the current literature who still believes that the fourth year of Dagobert represents the date of the actual donation. He interprets exemplaria to mean copy in the sense of simultaneous copies.

2. Cf. Thomas, "Die Namenliste", p.23, note 30.

3. Louis Dupraz, Contribution à l'histoire du Regnum Francorum pendant le troisième quart du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Fribourg en Suisse, 1948, pp.117-150.

4. See Muehlbacher's comments, Boehmer-Muehlbacher, Regesta, p.4.

5. Confirmation of Childeric II (Halkin-Roland, Stavelot-Malmedy, nr. 8, p.24) and a confirmation of Dagobert II (ibid., nr. 9, p.27).

charter must have been made before the mayor fell from power, that is, it must have been made during a first reign of Dagobert II, for if it were made during his second reign, it would be in direct contradiction with the official line. If the debate had rested there, Krusch would have been vindicated, Dagobert would have had his first reign, and the LHF would have been challenged by another source.

But rest it did not. The opposing view found a new champion when Eugen Ewig took up the question again. Ewig granted that Dupraz' conclusions concerning the change in the official version of Grimoald's involvement with the monasteries were true, but he pointed out that, while the official version may reign at court, it certainly would not do so in the monastery. This would be the case at Stavelot-Malmedy, especially in 679, just five months before Dagobert II's murder and the Pippinids' return to power. Certainly these events would have been predicted in the family abbey and copying out the charter of their real founder allegedly shows how the loyal monks were preparing for the coming change of climate. Ewig also noticed that, if we placed Grimoald's charter in a first reign of Dagobert, it would conflict with Bonefatus', which, as we have seen, would have Childebert and not Dagobert rule for at least the first five years after Sigibert III's death.<sup>1</sup>

Despite these arguments of Krusch, Dupraz, and Fischer, it seems to me that, in defeating Dupraz' dating, Ewig was indeed correct — correct, however, for the wrong reasons. It is not necessary to postulate a "family version" opposing an "official version" of the founding of Stavelot-Malmedy for there was always only one account. Grimoald never acted as anything more than Sigibert's agent in the legal execution of these matters. It was clear from the beginning to all concerned that

1. Ewig, "Noch einmal", p.456.

Stavelot-Malmedy was a royal foundation on royal land. Germigny was not Grimoald's property, there was no Pippinid land in the Reims area, it lay beyond the Meuse much farther to the east.<sup>1</sup> With Germigny, Grimoald was passing on land, which as he declares in the charter itself, he had obtained from Sigibert. Although Stavelot-Malmedy lay in the midst of a Pippinid area of influence, we have no record at all of Grimoald donating his own land to the monasteries. In fact, Stavelot-Malmedy is a relatively late recipient of Pippinid largesse. The first mention the monasteries' cartulary makes of a donation of actual Pippinid land is not until a charter of Carlomann dated 6 June 747.<sup>2</sup> In omitting Grimoald's name, the confirmations of the monasteries' lands by Childeric II and Dagobert II in no way indicate a "new version" of the founding history, they simply reflect the fact that the abbeys' origins were royal.

If we dig deeper into the cartulary of the monasteries this becomes even more evident. In Sigibert's foundation charter, dated about 648, the king declares it was he who built the abbeys: "...concessimus eius ut ibi monasteria ... construerentur ..."<sup>3</sup> In his only other surviving charter for his new foundation, one which concedes certain toll rights, he exposes

1. Bonnell, Anfaenge, pp.52-133. This monumental nineteenth-century work has suffered very little from later revision. F.L. Ganshof ("Manorial Organization in the Low Countries in the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Centuries", in: Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 4, 31, 1949, pp.30f.), Bergengruen (Adel und Grundherrschaft, p.201) and Heinz Zatschek (Wie das erste Reich der Deutschen entstand, Prague, 1940, p.36) modify Bonnell's picture by adding lands in Belgium, but there is no mention of Pippinid lands in Reims.

2. Halkin-Roland, Stavelot-Malmedy, nr. 17, p.46. Halkin and Roland list as a lost charter (nr. 14, p.39) a donation made by Pippin II of the villa Lethernau (Lierneux) to the dual monastery. We find, however, that Lierneux is mentioned as royal land ("curtes nostras") as late as 667 in a charter of King Childeric II (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 29, p.28) and thus this transaction too is not a gift of Pippinid land but once again it is the transfer of royal property to the abbey. See Bergengruen, Adel und Grundherrschaft, p.119.

3. Halkin-Roland, Stavelot-Malmedy, nr. 2, p.7.

Grimoald's role in the founding but again states that the abbeys were built on royal land:

... quae vir illuster Grimoaldus major domus ... suo opere in vasta heremi Ardensis construxit, quemadmodum nos loca ipsa ad ipsa monasteria aedificanda, pro nostra preceptione ex foreste nostra concessimus...<sup>1</sup>

Since the lands, including Germigny near Reims, were royal property, we should only expect that the legal instruments, the confirmations by Childeric II and Dagobert II, would have Sigibert as the donor and founder. There was only one "version", a royal concession made by the king. It was maintained from the beginnings of the abbeys and its propagation certainly did not depend on whether or not the Pippinids were in power. If we look beyond the confirmations of Childeric and Dagobert to those of Theuderic III, we find the same royal story. Theuderic's confirmations come from the period when the Pippinids again controlled Austrasia.<sup>2</sup> They were issued after that change of political climate which Ewig claimed had been anticipated within the monastery, had actually come about. Nonetheless Grimoald was not resurrected as the abbeys' benefactor, "avunculus noster Sigibertus quondam rex" continues to be the source of Stavelot-Malmedy's creation.

Since, therefore, there was no change of version for Stavelot-Malmedy's origins, we cannot, as Dupraz has done, use that supposed change as reason to date the copy of Grimoald's Germigny charter in 659. So, too, are we equally unable to date the charter in 679 by assuming the "new version" would not apply within the monastery, as Ewig has done. In fact, not only are these arguments of both careful scholars weak, but neither

1. Ibid., nr. 4, p.12.

2. Ibid., nr. 10, p.29 dated cir. 681; and nr. 11, p.33, dated in the same year. Pertz (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 77, p.193) lists this last confirmation under his Spuria; Halkin and Roland, however, show good cause for considering it to be genuine.

of these two dates seems the most likely for this important document.

Ingrid Heidrich, in her thorough and insightful study of the charters of the Pippinid family, offers the most plausible solution to the date of the anno IIII, tucked away unobtrusively in a footnote.<sup>1</sup> For some reason scholars had overlooked the fact that the Dagoberti regis might not refer to Dagobert II at all but to Dagobert III.<sup>2</sup> If this were the case it would put the manufacture of the copy in the year 714. In this year it would find an important role as a part of Plectrud's attempts to remind those who were bound to her of the deeds of the Pippinid family. This reminiscence had become crucial as she and the legitimate side of the family were battling with Martel for control. We can see other examples of her attempts in a protection charter of hers for Echternach<sup>3</sup> and perhaps also in Dagobert's confirmation for Saint-Wandrille, which was issued at the urging of Theudoald, that is, at the urging of the regent, Plectrud herself.<sup>4</sup> Martel's documents during the period show him using the same tactics in the attempt to lure Stavelot-Malmedy into his camp.<sup>5</sup> Thus not only has Heidrich's examination of Grimoald's charter removed it from any possible "first reign" of Dagobert II, but it has also found a very convincing political environment in the year 714 which explains why it was copied.

Thus, in summary, what can we say about the date of the copy of Grimoald's donation charter for Stavelot-Malmedy? We have rather good

1. "Titular und Urkunden der arnulfingischen Hausmeier", in: Archiv fuer Diplomatik, 11/12 (1965/66), p.237.

2. Dupraz (Contribution, p.139) considered the possibility briefly, but then rejected it, apparently because Grimoald and Remacius were no longer alive during Dagobert III's reign (!).

3. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 6, p.95.

4. Gesta Santorum Patrum Fontanellensis Coenobii, III-4, F. Lohier and R.P.J. Laporte, (eds.), Paris and Rouen, 1936, p.29.

5. MGH, Dipl. I, nrs. 9 and 10, p.97.

reasons for believing it to have come from the year 714, some reasons for believing it came from 679, but absolutely no reason to believe it came from 659. In fact, any case for 659 is fatally smitten by the directly conflicting evidence of Duke Bonefatus' charter for Weissenburg. The crucial result of this is that, since the copy of Grimoald's charter cannot be placed in a first reign of Dagobert II, we have absolutely no contemporary indication that the reign ever took place.

In a charter of Clovis III from 692,<sup>1</sup> we find the king renewing for Saint-Denis a donation of fiscal revenue which was exacted in Marseilles. He tells us that his great grandfather, Dagobert (I), had begun the practice and that his forebear, Sigibert (III), his uncles, Clothar (III), and Childeric (II), and his father, Theuderic (III), had all confirmed and renewed it. What could this charter possibly have to do with the Grimoald years? Its relevance comes from the inclusion of Clothar III among this list of Austrasian kings. Marseilles was Austrasian territory; it was part of Austrasia's southern Gallic enclave. Krusch, in his attempts to ward off any evidence that might contradict his view that it was Dagobert II and Childebert adoptivus who ruled Austrasia in the late 650's, was obviously perplexed by Clothar's appearance here and tried to explain it away by saying that the southern territories, because they were so far from the homeland, must have been severed from Austrasia and joined to Neustria. Thus these men must have controlled Marseilles by virtue of their rule over Neustria and not as kings of Austrasia.<sup>2</sup> This, however, cannot have been true, for not only do we have no evidence of any such cutting away of the Gallic lands, but the charter names Sigibert as one of the preceding confirmants of the Marseilles income and Sigibert

1. Ibid., nr. 61, p.54. The date is Pertz'.

2. "Chronologica", p.477.

never ruled Neustria. This charter contains a list of kings who ruled Austrasia and includes Clothar III among them. This is strong support for the LHF's view of the period. For if Grimoald were indeed condemned by Clovis II, it follows that the king who would have filled the resultant vacuum in Austrasia would have been Clovis' successor, Clothar III.

We must briefly mention two other important sources of the period because they both refused to mention the Grimoald coup. Fredegar's very silence on the matter has also been used to suggest that Grimoald continued to rule after the death of Clovis II. Fredegar's narrative leaves off in about the year 642. However, there is some evidence that another author was at work on the chronicle around the year 658 because it contains a eulogy<sup>1</sup> to Erchinoald who died between Clovis II's death and 659.<sup>2</sup> Thomas, while admitting that it is an argument e silentio, contended that, since this last Fredegar, writing in 658, says nothing about Grimoald's sensational end, it is good indication that Grimoald was still in power.<sup>3</sup> It, of course, indicates nothing of the kind. The first continuator of Fredegar, who not only wrote long after Grimoald's fall, but who also had the LHF's report of the event in front of him, also passed by the mayor's demise in silence. The Annales Mettenses Priores, written about 805,<sup>4</sup> go even further. They not only fail to mention Grimoald's daring usurpation, they deny he ever existed.<sup>5</sup> As

1. Fredegar, IV-85.

2. Ebling, Prosopographie, p.138.

3. "Die Namenliste", p.27.

4. Irene Haselbach, "Aufstieg und Herrschaft der Karolinger in der Darstellung der sogenannten Annalen Mettenses Priores", in: Historische Studien, 406 (1970), p.17.

5. "Sane quia huic (Pippin I) masculini sexus proles defuerat, nepoti Pippino superstiti nomen cum principatu dereliquit". (Annales Mettenses Priores, for its year 688, in: B. de Simson (ed.), MGH, SSRG, 1905, pp.2-3.

Haselbach points out, he was most likely omitted in order not to blemish the Annals' account of the Carolingian house's divinely preordained rise to power.<sup>1</sup> It is thus patent that mentioning or not mentioning Grimoald will depend on many and far more complicated factors than simply whether or not a document was written before or after the mayor fell from power.

Finally, there is one source which at this point I must exclude from consideration because I can only conclude that the author made a mistake. I would much prefer to make sense of it, but I cannot. According to Paul the Deacon's Historia Langobardorum, V-32, King Grimoald of the Lombards entered into a treaty of lasting peace with Dagobert, king of the Franks.<sup>2</sup> This King Grimoald ruled the Lombards from 662-671, that is, he ruled too late for the usual dates of a first reign of Dagobert II and too early for the dates of his supposed second reign. The only possible way for Paul's information to be correct would be if somehow Dagobert's first reign had extended up to the point Childeric II is known to have taken the Austrasian throne, in late 662.<sup>3</sup> As we have seen, however, this would directly conflict with the information given us by the royal Catalogues, Bonifatius' charter, and by the LHF. Thus I am forced to conclude, along with others,<sup>4</sup> that Paul was in error.

We have now finished our investigation of the sources and are thus able to attempt to make sense of the information they provide. Do they indeed give us cause to suspect that the LHF was ill informed about these years, when it asserted that Grimoald was sentenced by Clovis II? This

1. "Aufstieg", p.47.

2. MGH, SSRL, I, p.154.

3. This is supposed by Levillain, "La succession", p.69, but defeated by Krusch, "Chronologica", p.475, note 5.

4. Waitz, in his edition (SSRL, p.155, note 1); R. Jacobi, Die Quellen der Langobardengeschichte des Paulus Deaconus, Halle, 1877, pp.41-43 where he discusses Paul's inaccuracy with Frankish history.

certainly has been the assumption of modern scholarship. Some have suggested that some slip of the quill substituted Clovis for Clothar, who was held to be the real judge of Grimoald.<sup>1</sup> This was certainly not the case for the LHF author begins his next chapter (44) with an account of Clovis II defiling Saint Denis' relics and then goes on to recount the king's death. The LHF author was firm in his conviction that Grimoald's judge was Clovis. Clearly we have a dispute between the Merovingian writer and his twentieth-century critics but on whose side do the sources fall in the matter?

All the extant sources written before the LHF which deal with the Grimoald years can be brought into accord if we are bold enough to commit regicide five years earlier than Krusch did. In their attempts to make sense of the various accounts of the Grimoald years, scholars have not noticed that the whole scenario depends on the date King Sigibert III died. Krusch put the monarch's demise on the first of February, 656, a date which, of course, leaves very little time for Grimoald to take the Austrasian throne for his son, be removed from power, and be judged by Clovis II before this king's death in the autumn of 657. Sigibert, however, did not die in 656 but rather in 651. In order to remove the king five years earlier than Krusch did, we must again return to what the great German scholar so rightly called a "parum iucunda disquisitio",<sup>2</sup> i.e., calculating Merovingian chronology.

The first question we must ask is, of course, "Is there any direct evidence that Sigibert III was alive after 1 February, 651?" The answer is there is none. Four of Sigibert's charters have come down to us along

1. F. Himly, "Les plus anciennes", pp.290-291. Ewig considers this solution, but then rejects it ("Noch einmal", p.457). See L. Léveillain, "Encore", p.301.

2. "Chronologica", p.479.

with six pieces of correspondence which directly concern him and none of this dates from after February, 651. This is, however, not immediately apparent from the editions; editors have occasionally assigned incorrect dates to some pieces. Most of this material has been dated between 639 and 648 with only minor disagreements.<sup>1</sup> There is another group of documents which scholars can date no more precisely than to say they must fall within the limits of Sigibert's reign and thus are, of course, no help in dating his death.<sup>2</sup> Even Sigibert's toll concession charter for Stavelot-Malmedy,<sup>3</sup> although dated incorrectly by its most recent editors, was issued before 1 February, 651.<sup>4</sup> There are also no accounts from

1. In this period we can include the following charters: Sigibert's founding charter for Cougnon (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 21, p.21 and Halkin-Roland, Stavelot-Malmedy, nr. 1, p.1) dated 644; Sigibert's charter for Stavelot-Malmedy (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 22, p.22, and Halkin-Roland, nr. 2, p.5) dated early 648; Grimoald's charter donating Germigny to Stavelot-Malmedy (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 1, p.91, and Halkin-Roland, nr. 3, p.8) dated 650. We can also include the following letters: Desiderius' letter to Sigibert probably written soon after Dagobert I's death (MGH, Epistolae, III, nr. I-1, p.195, and Dag Norberg (ed.), Epistulae Sancti Desiderii, in: Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensa, VI, Uppsala, 1961, nr. I-3, p.15) dated cir. 639; Desiderius' letter to Sigibert (MGH, nr. I-3, p.194 and Norberg, nr. I-4, p.16) dated cir. 639; Desiderius' letter to Grimoald (MGH, nr. I-6, p.196 and Norberg, nr. I-6, p.20) dated soon after Grimoald became mayor of the palace, cir. 643; Sigibert's letter to Desiderius forbidding the bishop to attend the Austrasian synod (MGH, nr. II-17, p.212 and Norberg, nr. II-17, p.69) dated cir. 644 (MGH) and before September 643 (Norberg).

2. In this group we find: Sigibert's charter for Speyer (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 24, p.24) which Pertz dated 653 because he believed that year to be Sigibert's last; Desiderius' letter to Grimoald concerning Abbot Lupus and the monastery of Saint-Amand (MGH, Epistolae, III, nr. I-2, p.193, and Norberg, nr. I-2, p.12); and Sigibert's letter to Desiderius which mentions Abbot Betto (MGH, nr. II-9, p.207 and Norberg, nr. II-9, p.57).

3. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 23, p.23 and Halkin-Roland, Stavelot-Malmedy, nr. 4, p.10.

4. Halkin and Roland assigned limits for the charter's dates of 19 January 652 to 19 January 653 using the following reasoning. Since the charter mentions the fourteenth year of Sigibert's reign: "deinceps inantea hoc est de anno quarto decimo..." they calculated fourteen years from 634, which is the year Sigibert took the throne in Austrasia, and obtained 647. This they rejected as the charter's date because it calls Remaclius a bishop and he did not obtain his episcopal title until 648. Thus they were forced to calculate the fourteen years from Dagobert I's

(cont.)

contemporary saints' lives or any narrative sources which show Sigibert to be alive after this date. In other words, we have no contemporary evidence which indicates Sigibert lived as long as Krusch said he did.

Why then did Krusch assume Sigibert died in 656? He did so by trusting the years the royal catalogues tell us Sigibert ruled. Krusch's sole reason for assuming that Sigibert ruled on five years after all contemporary record of him stops is that the Austrasian royal catalogues assign him 22 and 23 years.<sup>1</sup> This might be reason enough to extend his reign if it were not for several considerations. Krusch himself warns us that the year-indications for some kings are greater than they should be,<sup>2</sup> and, if we look closely at how he used these catalogues, we discover that out of all the kings who ruled Austrasia from the beginning of the catalogues (Clothar II) up to the end of the seventh century (Clovis III), the time indications for the Grimoald years (Sigibert III and Childebert the adoptivus) are the only ones, with the exception of Theuderic III, which Krusch thought the cataloguers got right. Even in his enthusiasm to have these catalogues accepted as reliable sources, he was forced to

4. (cont.) death, which, following Krusch, they considered to be 19 January 639, and thus ended up with 652-653 for the charter. The reasoning is obviously wrong. A charter for Stavelot-Malmedy will of course have Sigibert's regnal years dated according to the year he assumed the throne in Austrasia. If we reread the charter it becomes clear that "de anno quarto decimo..." is not the charter's date, but refers to some point in the past and thus the charter was written after Remacius became a bishop. In addition, Krusch went to a great deal of trouble to prove that an eighth-century Austrasian computist equated the tenth year of Sigibert's reign with 643 ("Chronologica", p.493 and "Chronologisches aus Handschriften", in: NA, X (1884), p.89ff). Thus it is clear that we must calculate from 634 and not from 639.

1. "Chronologica", pp.483 and 493-494. Cf. Wilhelm Levison, "Das Nekrologium vom Dom Racine und die Chronologie der Merowinger", in: NA, XXXV, 1910, p.43. Krusch at one time thought that chapter 35 of the Vita Desiderii proved that Sigibert was alive in November of 655 ("Zur Chronologie der Merowingischen Koenige", in: Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte, XXII (1882), pp.471-472) but when he came to edit the Vita he saw that this was not the case (MGH, SSRM, IV, p.554).

2. "Chronologica", p.480, note 5.

admit that all the others were wrong. The most important reason, however, for rejecting 656 as Sigibert's death year is that this choice makes the other sources conflict with one another in the ways we have outlined above, whereas choosing 651 brings them all into accord with the exception of "annus XXII" in this notoriously inaccurate catalogue. Let us then briefly reconstruct the scenario for the 650's in order to watch the conflict melt away.

On 16 January, 651, sensing the coming death of the monarch, the two powerful Austrasian magnates, Grimoald, mayor of the palace, and Dido, bishop of Poitiers, met in the abbey at Nivelles to discuss what should be done (Additamentum Nivalense). Several weeks later, when Sigibert did succumb, Grimoald tonsured the king's son, Dagobert, and sent him to Dido in order that he might be packed off to Ireland (LHF). He then placed his own son on the throne, calling the boy by the Merovingian name, Childebert (royal catalogues). Childebert ruled Austrasia for at least five years (Duke Bonefatus' charter) but his end came in the summer of 657 when the Neustrians invaded Austrasia (Vita Nivardi) and, dragging Grimoald from power, brought him to their king, Clovis II, to be condemned (LHF). It was during this invasion that Grimoald's daughter, Wulfetrud, experienced armed harassment at her abbey of Nivelles — an abbey which she had peacefully assumed control of in late 656 as her father was still in control of Austrasia (Vita Geretrudis). Several months after Grimoald's death, King Clovis also died and was succeeded as king of both Neustria and Austrasia by his son, Clothar III (Clovis III's confirmation for Saint-Denis).

It is now obvious that historians have been too eager to doubt the LHF when it tells us that Grimoald was condemned by Clovis for, as we have seen, the LHF author agrees completely with every source we have

that was written before he did. In order for anyone to doubt the LHF, he must do as Krusch did and base himself on the single numerical indication (annus XXII) of royal catalogues produced in the Carolingian age – an unstable platform indeed.

CHAPTER VI — THE LHF AND THE AGE OF SAINT AUDOIN

The picture which recent historians give us of Frankish politics in the three decades following the collapse of the Grimoald coup differs in many important respects from the view of the author of the LHF. This is sometimes a difference of chronology, sometimes a different picture of the factional alignments, but most importantly it is a different understanding of the basic dynamic of the political system. This chapter will begin with a brief summary of the current view of these years and then examine their differing aspects in the LHF.

Sometime after Clothar III's accession in 657 and before the year 659,<sup>1</sup> the mayor, Erchinoald, died and only after what appears to have been considerable shifting and manoeuvring among the factions of the nobility was Ebroin elected to take his place. Out of the whole morass of later Merovingian mayors and magnates, historians separate this man and designate his career as pivotal for the age. Although they agree that he was important, they differ widely when explaining why. They present him to us in roles varying from the destroyer of the Merovingian empire<sup>2</sup> to its saviour, at least temporarily, against the ebb toward mediatization.<sup>3</sup> His tyranny is seen as a new and dangerous sort<sup>4</sup> or merely as a ritual and literary foil, employed by the ecclesiastical historiography of his age.<sup>5</sup>

1. The date comes from a charter of Clothar III (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 37 p.34 and Ph. Lauer and Ch. Samaran, Les Diplômes originaux des Mérovingiens, Paris, 1908, nr. 11) in which Erchinoald is already termed quondam. Beware of references to LHF-45 as the source for the date of Erchinoald's death (e.g. Ebling, Prosopographie, p.139 and Ferdinand Lot, "Encore la chronique du Pseudo-Frédégaire", in: Revue Historique, CXL (1914), p.336). The death date cannot be determined from the chronicle.

2. Rolf Sprandel, "Merov. Adel", pp.66-67.

3. Alfons Dopsch, Foundations, p.211.

4. Wallace-Hadrill, Long-Haired Kings, p.236.

5. Edward Peters, The Shadow King. Rex Inutilis in Medieval Law and Literature, 751-1327, London, 1970, p.81, who sees Bede's use of Penda in the same way.

We can also find him trumpeted as the champion of the western and supposedly Roman part of Francia, battling the increasing power of the eastern and supposedly German section.<sup>1</sup> In all this variety of opinion, however, there is a common thread which binds Ebroin closely to the functions of executing centralized, royal, power.<sup>2</sup> It is the tension between this royal power on one hand and the designs and desires of the nobility on the other which characterizes for most historians the basic political dynamic of the age. As we shall see, however, this was not how the LHF author viewed the period. He saw late Merovingian politics set in motion by other causes.

Until shortly before the regent queen, Balthild, "retired" to the monastery at Chelles,<sup>3</sup> she and Ebroin have been seen as joint commanders in the battle to extend this centralized Neustrian power. Their first attack is seen to have taken place in the south.<sup>4</sup> Queen and Mayor set about rearranging the ecclesiastical structure so that it might become an instrument more responsive to their designs. According to the Vita Wilfridi, Balthild had nine bishops killed,<sup>5</sup> seemingly in order to install her own men. She also launched a "reform" of the kingdom's major religious centres (the seniores basilicas).<sup>6</sup> In St. Denis (Paris), St.

1. Franz Steinbach, "Austrien und Neustrien", in: Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter, X (1940), p.220.

2. The standard view from Bonnell (Anfaenge, pp.122 and passim.) to Ewig ("Beobachtungen zu den Klosterprivilegien des 7. und fruehen 8. Jahrhunderts", in: Josef Fleckenstein and Karl Schmidt (eds.), Adel und Kirche, Freiburg, 1968, p.122) to Haselbach ("Aufstieg", p.53) and Rouche (L'Aquitaine, p.394).

3. Vita S. Balthildis, -10.

4. We know she installed Erembert, a monk of Saint Wandrille, as Bishop of Toulouse (Vita Eremberti, -11).

5. Vita Wilfridi, -6. The Vita S. Balthildis, -4 gives us the name of one of them. She had Aunemund, the metropolitan of Lyons and a leader of Burgundian resistance killed by her duces and appointed her loyal follower, Genesisius, in his place. See Nelson, "Queens", pp.62-63.

6. Vita S. Balthildis, -9.

Germain (Auxerre), St. Médard (Soissons), St. Pierre (Sens), St. Aignan (Orleans) and in Saint Martin's at Tours, she saw to it that a mixed Benedictine and Irish rule was instituted and that the monasteries were equipped with episcopal privilege and royal immunity so that they could choose their own abbots and conduct their own affairs. This nurturing of the religious life of her kingdom appeared to her hagiographer as a natural outcrop of the queen's remarkable piety. To the more worldly, however, it is seen as the means by which the central powers wrenched control of Francia's holy places away from the powerful local bishops.<sup>1</sup>

Some time between 18 October and 9 December 662<sup>2</sup> Balthild set her son, Childeric, on the throne of Austrasia.<sup>3</sup> This accession of Childeric in Austrasia is usually taken as another plank in Balthild's and Ebroin's ever-growing platform of Neustrian royal power.<sup>4</sup> When we let the LHF author help us observe this event, however, we shall find ourselves drawn to a more accurate conclusion.

Balthild's and Ebroin's partnership probably ended shortly before the queen's retirement to the monastery at Chelles, in late 664 or early 665.<sup>5</sup> A group of Frankish nobility had murdered the Bishop of Paris,

1. Cf. Ewig, "Klosterprivilegien", p.61 and Reinhold Kaiser, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Civitas und Dioezese Soissons in roemischer und mero-wingischer Zeit, Rheinisches Archiv, 89 (Bonn 1973), pp.250-251.

2. Ewig, "Merov. Dynastie", p.23.

3. Vita S. Balthildis, -5.

4. Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.123; and Dupraz, Contribution, pp.177 and 355. Fischer (Ebroin, pp.87-88), however, sees it as simply a succession by the next in line.

5. Sigobrand became bishop in 664, the last royal charter we have which Balthild signed as regent is from August of the same year (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 40, pp.40-41), and it was also in 664 that Clothar III probably reached the age of majority, i.e. twelve years (Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.124). Since the queen did not sign a charter of Clothar's from August of 665 (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 42, pp.39-40) it is reasonable to assume that she had by that time laid down the reins of state.

Sigobrand, and since they feared that the queen might attempt to punish them, they got rid of her by "convincing" her to take the veil. It may have been Ebroin himself who led the faction which retired the queen.<sup>1</sup>

It is not until the 670's that we can clearly see Ebroin, now confronted with a strong party opposed to his supposed centralizing policies, at the head of which stood the two brothers, Bishop Leudegar of Autun and Count Gaerin of Paris. When, in 673, Ebroin had begun to move against Leudegar, King Clothar III died<sup>2</sup> and the situation drastically changed for the strong-minded mayor. He quickly saw to it that the deceased king's brother, Theuderic III, was raised to the Neustrian throne. In what appears to be a move of foolish highhandedness, he prevented the nobility from coming together to perform their traditional functions of oath-swearing at the elevation of the new king.<sup>3</sup> Reaction was swift and drastic. A group of enraged nobles turned to Childeric II, Theuderic's brother, who was ruling in Austrasia, and called him, along with his mayor, Wulfoald, to take up rule over them.<sup>4</sup> They then captured and tortured both Theuderic and Ebroin, sending the king off to Saint Denis and the mayor to Luxeuil.<sup>5</sup> In the Passio Leudegarii I,-7, scholars have found what they have considered to be more strong evidence for the tension between the forces of royalty and those of the nobility. Here we learn that the Neustrians, far from allowing their new king to reign with a free hand, bound him on his accession in the west by certain conditions, all of

1. Dupraz's conclusion (Contribution, p.358). Ewig agrees ("Teilreiche", pp.123-124).

2. Clothar III died between 10 March and 15 May 673 (Krusch, "Chronologica", p.497).

3. Passio Leudegarii Episcopi et Martyris Augustodunensis I,-5 in: SSRM, V, p.287.

4. LHF-45, Passio Leudegarii I,-5 and -6.

5. LHF-45, Passio Leudegarii I,-6.

which, of course, benefitted themselves. Despite his solemn decree, Childeric did not keep the restrictions for long and soon a supposed new conflict between crown and nobility broke out. Once again Leudegar of Autun is seen as the champion of the movement against the encroachment of royal power. Childeric, however, was too much for him and the bishop was captured and banished to Luxeuil – the very monastery where his old enemy, Ebroin, was locked away.<sup>1</sup> Tension continued to mount until in the autumn of 675<sup>2</sup> the ambitious king along with his pregnant queen, Bilichild, fell to the assassin's knife.<sup>3</sup> Now there was no king and the inevitable resulted: the regnum crumbled into anarchy.<sup>4</sup> Historians term the event a succession crisis and see in it yet another beginning of the end for the Merovingian dynasty.<sup>5</sup> Both Ebroin, who had very likely been involved in the plot,<sup>6</sup> and Leudegar, strange cell mates indeed, emerged from Luxeuil. Wulfoald beat a wise and hasty retreat to Austrasia while the Neustrians pulled Theuderic from his confinement in Saint Denis and again placed him on the throne. It was Leudesius, the old mayor Erchinoald's son, whom they chose for Theuderic's mayor of the palace. The power behind the reinstatement was once again Bishop Leudegar and his

1. Ibid., chapters 12 and 13.

2. Between 11 August and 14 November 675 (Dupraz, Contribution, p.273). Between 10 September and 15 November 675 (Krusch, "Chronologica", pp. 497-498).

3. LHF-45; Passio Luedegarii I,-13; Vita Lantberti Abbatis Fontanellensis et Episcopi Lugdunensis,-5.

4. "...et dum rex tunc non erat stabilitus in culmine, quod unicuique rectum videbatur in propria voluntate, hoc agebant sine formidine disciplinae". Passio Leudegarii I,-15, in: SSRM, V, p.297.

5. Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.128. Wallace-Hadrill, Long-Haired Kings, p.236.

6. Dupraz, Contribution, p.362. Ewig ("Teilreiche", p.128) notes that Ebroin later gave the position of Count of Paris to Ingilbert, one of the conspirators named by LHF-45. "...cum nullus eum (Chilpericum) prior quam ipse (Ebroinus) voluit interire..." (Passio Leudegarii I,-29).

brother, Count Gaerin.<sup>1</sup>

With Wulfoald supposedly holding sway in Austrasia and Leudegar in control in Neustria, Ebroin was left odd man out. But the wily former mayor did not remain on the sidelines for long. Raising a sizeable following, he left Luxeuil and invaded Neustria. Some of his associates were from the old days when he, Balthild, and Clothar III had run the country,<sup>2</sup> but most of his force seems to have been composed of men either seeking vengeance with Leudegar's party or disgruntled with Wulfoald's rule.<sup>3</sup> Sporting a youth they claimed was a son of Clothar III as their King Clovis,<sup>4</sup> Ebroin and his party, in the autumn of 675, marched toward the north-west. In a lightning campaign, he snatched up the royal treasury and then tricked Leudesius into meeting him. Once he had killed his luckless rival, he once again assumed the office of mayor.<sup>5</sup> Ebroin could now well afford to abandon his pretender, Clovis, and recognize the legitimate Theuderic. This, however, did not give him control of all

1. "Eratque ex Burgundia in hoc consilio beatus Leudegarius Augustudunensis episcopus et Gaerinus, frater eius, consentientes". LHF-45, in: SSRM, II, p.318.

2. Audoin, Bishop of Rouen (LHF-45) and Waning, Clothar III's comes palatii (Passio Leudegarii I, -30).

3. The names can be gathered from the Passio Leudegarii I: Duke Waimer of Champagne (chapter 25), Desideratus, former Bishop of Chalon (chapter 20), Bobo, exiled Bishop of Valence (chapter 20), and Duke Adalric/Eticho of Alsace (chapter 26). Ewig's ("Teilreiche", p.129) and Dupraz's (Contribution, p.366) contention that the Pippinids were Ebroin's allies is highly unlikely. The Passio Leudegarii I, -25 tells us who Ebroin's Austrasian allies were, "Inter ceteras dux quidam erat Campaniae, Waimerus vocatus in nomine qui... a finibus Austrasi venerat cum Deidone". It is also not necessary to assume along with Ewig (loc.cit.) that Reolus of Reims was a partisan of Ebroin at this early date.

4. Passio Leudegarii I, -19.

5. LHF-45. Ewig ("Teilreiche", p.129) follows the geographical information provided by the Passio Leudegarii I, -18 which has Ebroin direct his attack towards Paris and capture both Theuderic and Leudesius in Nogent-les-Vierges. Earlier in the same article (p.91, note 13) he also notes the conflicting information from LHF-45.

Francia, for the East had caught a second wind — from Ireland.

Between 2 April and 30 June 676,<sup>1</sup> we are told that Dagobert II was recalled from his long exile in Ireland and placed on the throne of Austrasia.<sup>2</sup> If Ebroin had any immediate designs on the East, this stopped them. The Neustrians were foiled; the Austrasians once more had an independent king and the stage was set for more conflict between the two Frankish kingdoms.<sup>3</sup>

Once back in power, Ebroin set about strengthening his position and the familiar blood-letting began again. Count Gaerin was taken and killed and then his brother, Leudegar, also earned his martyr's crown<sup>4</sup> on 3 October 678 or 679.<sup>5</sup> Reminding us of the tactics from Balthild's days, we soon hear of a rash of episcopal banishments throughout Burgundy and the south with the vacant chairs being filled by loyal followers.<sup>6</sup>

The Austrasians' new position of independence created an explosive situation; war could be expected and war resulted.<sup>7</sup> By mid 677 the

1. Krusch, "Chronologica", p.494.

2. Vita Wilfridi, -28.

3. Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.129. It is this careful German scholar who has expressed most clearly the view which sees many of the events of the Ebroin years in terms of Austrasian vs. Neustrian conflict. There are many other historians who concur: Henry S.L.B. Moss, The Birth of the Middle Ages 395-814, Oxford, 1937, p.199; Gabriel Fournier, L'Occident de la fin du Ve siècle à la fin du IXe siècle, Paris, 1970, p.132; Steinbach, "Austrien", passim; and Kurth, "Etude critique", p.55.

4. LHF-45; Passio Leudegarii I, -29 (Gaerin); -35 (Leudegar).

5. Ewig's date ("Teilreiche", p.129).

6. Ewig lists examples (loc. cit., p.130).

7. Report of this war is given in the Vita Sadalbergae, -13 (SSRM, V, p.57). This vita is a source dangerous enough, but this particular piece of information can be believed. Levillain ("La succession", p.83) provides diplomatic proof that the war took place and Dupraz (Contribution, p.368) adds more which could be interpreted as supporting the vita.

Austrasians had probably gained the upper hand.<sup>1</sup> Any advantage they may have enjoyed, however, was short-lived for soon their king, Dagobert, fell to the assassin's knife. It is at this point too, with his king gone, that Wulfoald supposedly disappears from the sources, fatefully leaving the eastern kingdom in the hands of Pippin and his followers. Hostilities between east and west were again not long in coming, erupting in the battle of Lucofao. LHF-46 is the only source which can provide an indication for the date of this famous battle. It has been understood to tell us that it happened after Dagobert II's death but while Ebroin was yet alive. Dagobert's murder is generally placed on 23 December 679<sup>2</sup> and Ebroin is assumed to have died before 15 May 680<sup>3</sup> and thus the conclusion has been drawn that the battle took place sometime during the winter of 680.

Once again the causes for the hostilities are usually thought to lie

1. Ewig's conclusion ("Teilreiche", p.133) who follows Levillain ("La succession", pp.85-8 ) who in turn bases himself on E.-J. Tardif, Les chartes mérovingiennes de l'abbaye de Noirmoutier avec une étude sur la chronologie du règne de Dagobert II, Paris, 1899. The deduction results from a skillful analysis of the various territories which appear to have been Austrasian after this date.

2. Levison ("Das Nekrologium", p.45) decided to accept the indication in the calendar of Queen Emma, Lothar's wife, and in the Vita Dagoberti III. Regis Francorum, -15 that Dagobert's memory was celebrated on 23 December. Dagobert is included under the same date in some of the manuscripts of Usuard's Martyrology (ed. J. Dubois, Le Martyrologie d'Usuard, (Subsidia Hagiographica, XL) Brussels, 1965) and perhaps in a Liège manuscript of Ado of Vienne's martyrology as Krusch noted (SSRM, II, p.519), although none of Ado's editors mention it. Krusch ("Chronologica", p.494); Dupraz (Contribution, p.348); and Ewig ("Teilreiche", p.134) follow Levison. From the Vita Wilfridi, -33 and from diplomatic evidence we learn that Dagobert did indeed die sometime after the spring of 679, but the choice of 23 December is only as safe as the later sources. See Krusch's review of Julien Havet's Questions Mérovingiennes, in: Historische Zeitschrift, NF 27 (1889), p.110.

3. Dupraz, Contribution, p.352; and Fischer, Ebroin, pp.171-74.

in Ebroin's desire to expand Neustrian royal power.<sup>1</sup> Those who assume that he had been allied with the Pippinids since the days of his dramatic return from Luxeuil in 675 see this battle as proof that the four-year pact was now dissolved.<sup>2</sup> They assume that Ebroin and Pippin had been united by their common enmity toward Dagobert and Wulfoald but, now that the eastern king and his mayor had disappeared, so too had the reason for Ebroin's and Pippin's friendship. The result was east clashed with west and the Austrasians were thoroughly routed.

For the LHF author the important events of this period were not set in motion because of a basic antipathy between a centralising royal power on the one hand and a local nobility party on the other, but by the manoeuvrings of factional politics among the Franci themselves. We can see this in many ways.

One indication is the author's failure to condemn Ebroin, the supposed master architect of the Neustrian crown's designs. This attitude is in sharp contrast to the position taken by the author of the Passio Leudegarii I for whom Ebroin was a tyrannous villain. When this author tells of the events surrounding Ebroin's fall at King Clothar's death in 673, he claims it was Ebroin's oppressive measures and specifically his refusal to allow the nobility to convene for the traditional solemnities at Theuderic's accession which prompted the overthrow.<sup>3</sup> The LHF author, on the other hand, while never overtly praising Ebroin, also never condemns him. When the Continuator of Fredegar (chapter 2) relates Ebroin's execution of Leudesius, he calls him Ebroin's conpater. This relationship

1. Haselbach, "Aufstieg", p.54, and Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.134. Bonnell (Anfaenge, p.123), however, assumed it was the Austrasians who caused the war because of their desire to regain the Champagne.

2. Dupraz, Contribution, p.105. Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.134 agrees.

3. Passio Leudegarii I, -5.

of "fellow father" means that one of the men had stood as godfather to a child of the other. The Christian rites of baptism were a means by which strong and sacred alliances were concluded, the ties of which were seen to be as binding as those of blood.<sup>1</sup> The fact that Ebroin actually killed a man with whom he was bound by the sacred relationship between conpatres is certainly employed by the continuator to demonstrate his deep disapproval of him. This negative image of Ebroin is much more representative of the other late Merovingian sources<sup>2</sup> than is the LHF's, and the addition by the continuator makes especially patent how neutral the LHF's position was in respect to the powerful mayor. Even Ebroin's eventual assassination is presented in an emotionally balanced fashion and in terms of factional politics. We are told that he increasingly oppressed the Franci and plotted against a leader named Ermenfred who in turn atrociter slew Ebroin and fled to Pippin in the east.<sup>3</sup>

The substantial religious reform programme of Queen Balthild finds absolutely no mention in the LHF. If this were perceived as an ecclesiastical matter, we should expect the LHF author to pass it by for he was not concerned to record the affairs of the Church. However, as we have seen, noted scholars tell us that this was a highly political act whereby the crown sought to take control of the holy places away from the local powers. Even so the LHF author is silent concerning it.

For the LHF author Childeric's accession in Austrasia in 662 was also

1. Scholarship has been unhappily thin for this extremely important aspect of the early medieval political structure. James Campbell has briefly considered baptism's role among the English royal families ("Observations on the Conversion of England", in: The Ampleforth Journal, 78-2 (summer 1973), p.18) and Arnold Angenendt has summarized the literature and sources for the Frankish sphere ("Taufe und Politik im fruehen Mittelalter", in: Fruehmittelalterliche Studien VII (1973), pp.143-168).

2. Paul Fouracre, Ebroin, dissertation, University of London, 1981, chapter 1.

3. LHF-47.

not another step in the outward march of Neustrian royal power.<sup>1</sup> It did not happen "ordinante domna Balthilde" as it did for the queen's biographer.<sup>2</sup> Austrasia was not even new territory for the Neustrian branch of the royal family since, as we have seen, the LHF's view of the Grimoald coup makes it likely that the author saw Clothar III as already ruling all three kingdoms. Instead, he tells us that it was the Franci who sent (diregunt) Childeric into Austrasia. Once again it was they who directed the political order.

There is another significant omission in the LHF account. The conditions to which Childeric II was forced to agree when he was called to rule Neustria in 673 are also not mentioned. We know about these conditions from the Passio Leudegarii I,<sup>-7</sup> and they have been taken by historians as more evidence of the power struggle between crown and nobility, that is, they have been considered a means by which the Neustrian nobility sought to control royal power. Although widely accepted, the interpretation seems misguided. Especially in their stipulations that the leaders of one area should not interfere in others and that the chief position (most likely a reference to the mayoralty) should be held in succession by the various parties so that "nullus se alio anteferre auderet",<sup>3</sup> seem clear indications that these were measures instituted by the nobility to control each other, not the crown.

For the LHF author, the force which set national Frankish politics in motion was not conflict between crown and nobility but its opposite: cooperation. In 673, once the Franci had locked Ebroin and Theuderic III away, they called his brother Childeric II, now king in Austrasia, to

1. LHF-45.

2. Vita S. Balthildis, -5.

3. SSRM, V, p.289.

rule over them. But with him, they had no joy:

Erat enim ipse Childericus levis nimis omnia nimis incaute peragebat, donec inter eos odium maximum et scandalum crevit, Francos valde oppremens.<sup>1</sup>

Here for the first time we are told expressis verbis what constitutes royal oppression in the eyes of the author of the LHF. The harmony of the political order is broken and scandalum and odium grow up among the powers when the king acts incaute, that is, when the king acts without listening to the great men of the realm. The opposite of such rash behaviour is to act consilio accepto. This is how a king should rule: having taken the advice of the warriors. But Childeric clearly did not. In fact, he even went so far as to have one of the Franci, a warrior named Bodilo, bound and whipped in violation of the law.<sup>2</sup> Violating the law in the eyes of the LHF was the same crime as acting without consilium. As we remember from LHF-4, law was not an expression of royal will given to the people by any law-giver king, but rather it was the code of the Franci, themselves, drawn up by the four ancient Consularii. The use of the term is significant.

This view of the Frankish political structure as one where a legitimate king acts as the regulator of the designs and desires of the various factions by means of prudent consultation with the leaders, is clearly evident from the contemporary Passio Leudegarii I. Even though this writer's inclination is far more pious than is the LHF's, his picture of matters politic seems most akin to the Neustrian chronicler's. It is actually the Passio Leudegarii and not the LHF which gives us the most detailed account of the events surrounding Childeric II's murder. Although for the hagiographer the scenario is seen in terms of good and evil, it

1. LHF-45.

2. See Pactus Legis Salicae, XXXII which forbids the binding of a free man.

nonetheless began because the all-important mechanisms of consilium went awry: "Nam sepe dictus (!) rex pravorum inlectus consilio...".<sup>1</sup> This led to a depraved way of living (dissoluta conversatio) and the resultant divine judgement.<sup>2</sup> These events are reminiscent of what Fredegar tells us happened to Dagobert I when he left the good counsel of Pippin and moved to Paris.<sup>3</sup> Consilium was the mechanism which bound rex and Franci into one political order; neither could exist without it.

As we have seen, the LHF author viewed the history of his people in terms of the actions of the great warriors, the Franci, but it is only for this period in which he adds more detail that we can begin to use him to help create a picture of who belonged to which faction. Despite the careful work of such seasoned scholars as Eugen Ewig, Eduard Hlawitschka, Rolf Sprandel, and others, we are still unable to delineate systematically the members of even the major Merovingian factions. Our inability to know who was siding with whom comes about not only because of the scarcity of sources but also because of the very nature of a society built on the feud. While some hatreds and alliances are kept alive by long histories of cooperation or revenge, in others the loyalties change so quickly that even if we had more information, we should find it very difficult to keep abreast.<sup>4</sup> Thus, as we cannot achieve the surety or the detail we

1. Passio Leudegarii I,-12.

2. Ibid., chapter 13. The Fredegar Continuator (chap. 2) takes this opportunity to deviate from the LHF's account in his wording. In so doing he too makes it clear that he shared this view of the political order. He specifically mentions that family rose up against family (gentem invicem Francorum) because Childeric was too rash in his actions (rex levis atque citatus nimis).

3. Fredegar, IV-60 and 61.

4. The caution against seeking a system of lasting alliances and loyalties among the great Merovingian factions is one I have taken from the careful and thoughtful work of Dr. Paul Fouracre (Ebroin, chapter 2).

might want, for our purposes we must content ourselves with sketching in broad outline. The factions the LHF author mentions in his chapter 45 are a great aid toward this end. In fact, this important chapter is almost a catalogue of his Merovingian great. It begins and ends with the same family; that of Erchinoald and his son, Leudesius, whose base was in the area around Amiens.<sup>1</sup> It tells us of the difficult decision the Franci had in choosing Ebroin as mayor. Although we cannot be sure, this may have been because Ebroin was not the head of a great family, as the mayors Aega and Erchinoald before him had been, but was rather the agent of one or perhaps of several, the most important of which was most likely Audoin's with its base around Soissons.<sup>2</sup> Although we do not know the specific origins of either the assassins, Ingobert and Amalbert, or of the Francus, Bodilo, the LHF does tell us that they were united in the conspiracy against Childeric II and from other sources we know that they came from Neustrian families with a long tradition of influence, some of whose members had exercised authority in Burgundy.<sup>3</sup> Leudegar, the leader of the last Neustrian family mentioned in LHF-45, also exercised authority in Burgundy as Bishop of Autun. His family, however, was Neustrian and his brother, Gaerin, was Count of Paris. If we add to these the family of Warrato, whose vast holdings were on the lower Seine,<sup>4</sup> we have at least a list of five of the great Neustrian families.

The murder of Childeric II was a result of his refusal to pay heed to these old Neustrian families; instead, it was Wulfoald of Verdun,

1. Ewig, "Teilreiche", pp.90-91.

2. Vita Audoini Episcopi Rotomagensis, -1, in: SSRM, V, p.554.

3. Ingobert was Gaerin's successor as Count of Paris (Ebling, Prosopographie, p.175) and Amalbert probably the brother of Flaohad, the Frankish mayor of the palace in Burgundy (Fredegar, IV-90).

4. Bonnell, Anfaenge, p.127.

longtime rival of Pippin's family in Austrasia, who was Childeric's mayor and chief advisor. The LHF gives us the names of three of the conspirators who killed the king: Ingobert, Amalbert, and Bodilo, and although we do not know exactly how the chronicler saw the alignments, we can surmise he thought that one faction, i.e. the three named Franci with the backing of the Ebroin-Audoin group,<sup>1</sup> carried out the murder plot. But it was another faction, composed of Leudegar's and Leudesius' families, who quickly moved to fill the vacuum caused by the king's death. They restored Theuderic III to the throne and procured the mayoralty for Leudesius.<sup>2</sup> Neustria had yet a good deal of in-fighting left before it as only one faction of the old established families had prevailed, but the king who had not listened to the Franci had been murdered and the outsider, Wulfoald, driven back whence he had come.

As is unfortunately so often the case with Merovingian history, the current view of what transpired during the exciting last half of the 670's is a picture built like a house of cards, resting on a single phrase in a single source. The phrase in point for the years 675-680 is decedentibus regibus found in the first sentence of LHF-46.<sup>3</sup> Despite the confidence with which these years are described by scholars, it is only the interpretation of these two words which determines not only the scenario of events but also the identification of the players themselves:

1. His view is most likely correct since Ingobert could hardly have subsequently become Count of Paris without Ebroin's support. See Ebling, Prosopographie, p.350 and Dupraz, Contribution, p.362, who reaches the right conclusion but for the wrong reasons.
2. The Passio Leudegarii I, -16 to 23 provides much more detail, which sometimes slightly conflicts with the LHF's view.
3. To be pedantically more accurate, the crucial phrase most often quoted has been "defunctis regibus" which is the way the LHF's account is rendered by the Fredegar Continuator (chap. 3).

Eo quoque tempore, decedente Vulfoaldo de Auster, Martinus et Pippinus junior, filius Anseghiselo quondam, decedentibus regibus, dominabantur in Auster, donec tandem aliquando hii duces in odium versi contra Ebroinum...

The question naturally arises who were the kings the author meant? The universal answer has been that he meant Dagobert II and it must be wrong. Dagobert is the one king the LHF author could not have had in mind. Either he did not believe that Dagobert had returned to become king or he did not want us to know of it because nowhere does he mention him after Grimoald packed him off to Ireland in LHF-43. The LHF is totally silent about Dagobert's accession, rule, and murder.

For chronological reasons the choice of Dagobert also falls away. The LHF author is usually frustratingly obscure in his imparting of temporal information. However, here he uses one of the few such indications in the entire chronicle which is refreshingly clear. He describes the lapse of time between the kings' deaths and the battle of Lucofao with the words: "...donec tandem aliquando..." which is hardly a phrase which could apply to the mere four and a half months which form the largest lapse possible between Dagobert's generally accepted date of death (23 December 679) and the latest possible date usually given for Ebroin's death (14 May 680)<sup>1</sup>, which is also the latest possible date for the battle. The LHF author obviously meant kings who died earlier than Dagobert II.

Choosing Dagobert also ignores the fact that the author distinctly says "regibus" in the plural. The days are long since over when rex

1. Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.135; Fischer, Ebroin, p.172; Dupraz, Contribution, p.352; Levillain, "La succession", p.90; R.L. Poole, Studies in Chronology and History, Oxford, 1934, p.61; and E. Vacandard, Vie de Saint Ouen, Paris, 1902, pp.288-289. On the other hand, Fouracre (Ebroin, chapter 5) and Krusch (SSRM, V, p.320, n.5) assume he lived longer.

could mean simply "royal personage", as it sometimes did in Gregory of Tours; the LHF author meant reigning kings and more than one must have died.

It will become obvious whom the author had in mind if we move backwards a few lines within the work itself. Here we find his report of the death of Clothar III and the murder of Childeric II, both monarchs, as we have seen, whom he considered to have ruled in Austrasia. These are the decedentibus regibus. Exposing the fact that it was Clothar and Childeric and not Dagobert who were meant in the beginning of chapter 46 could remain a sleepy footnote in any study of the LHF were not the entire current picture of what happened in Francia from 675 to 680 based on this report. Let us be more specific.

All historians seeking to find a date for Wulfoald's death, or at least for his disappearance from history, have coupled it with Dagobert's murder because of this sentence in LHF-46.<sup>1</sup> There is no other indication of when he disappeared. We know only that he had escaped to Austrasia when Childeric II was murdered.<sup>2</sup> Thus, instead of assuming he disappeared in 679 with Dagobert II's murder, we now see that the LHF author coupled his fall from power with Childeric II's murder in November 675. The new picture the LHF author allows us to construct once again shows how familiar he was with Frankish factional politics in the late seventh century.

If Wulfoald fell from power after the death of Childeric II, it means that neither was he instrumental in recalling Dagobert II nor did he retain the leading position of influence under the new monarch, even though

1. Thus Vacandard, Ouen, p.286; I. Haselbach, "Aufstieg", p.54; Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.134; and Ebling, Prosopographie, pp.241ff.

2. LHF-45.

he is given this leading position in the modern accounts of the period.<sup>1</sup> When we seek the basis of the assumption, we end up once again at decedentibus regibus. It is only because of this one phrase which was thought to reveal his disappearance coinciding with Dagobert's murder that the important role could be fabricated for him. Although his connection with Childeric II is recorded for us by several contemporary sources,<sup>2</sup> nowhere is there any evidence that he had anything at all to do with Dagobert. Even Eddius' report in the Vita Wilfridi, -28, which has been universally used to document Wulfoald's supposedly decisive role in recalling Dagobert, says nothing of the kind. Eddius tells us only that Dagobert was recalled by "amici et proximi eius"; no names are mentioned. Wulfoald's inclusion among Dagobert's amici had no other support than the assumption that he lived as long as Dagobert did. It is now clear that understanding whom the LHF author actually meant by decedentibus regibus has produced a radical restructuring in our picture of Austrasian factional politics during the reign of Dagobert II for it was not Wulfoald but Pippin and Martin who were dominant in Austrasia from 675 to 680. We must now consider whether this new interpretation can find support beyond the LHF. Although we shall find some, we are still primarily dependent on the chronicle itself.

An indication of which was Austrasia's leading faction might come from an examination of Dagobert's whereabouts and the beneficiaries of his charters. If Dagobert served the purposes of Wulfoald's faction, we should expect to find him more often on Wulfoald's home ground than on

1. Thus: E.-J. Tardif, Noirmoutier, p.34; Vacandard, Ouen, p.283; Krusch, "Staatsstreich", p.432; Levillain, "La succession", p.78; Dupraz, Contribution, p.366; Haselbach, "Aufstieg", p.54; and Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.129.

2. LHF-45 and -46; Vita Lantberti, -3; Passio Praeiecti, -25; and Passio Leudegarii I, -9.

Pippin's. We have only one mention of Dagobert's presence in which we can place any credence at all. This reports him hunting near Stenay in the Ardennes,<sup>1</sup> in an area in which the Pippinids are known to have had vast holdings.<sup>2</sup> It is also, however, an area in which a younger Count Wulfoald is known to have had extensive lands. If the older Wulfoald were the younger's relative,<sup>3</sup> then the area around Stenay must be considered common ground to both Wulfoald's and Pippin's factions and Dagobert's presence here offers us no clue as to whose was the ruling faction. An examination of Dagobert's charters is also of little help. Pertz's edition of the Merovingian diplomata contains two genuine charters for Dagobert. One is a donation charter for the monastery of Weissenburg,<sup>4</sup> a monastery which in the late seventh century was still in the hands of families inimical to the Pippinids. It would be hard to imagine Dagobert donating land to Weissenburg if he owed his crown to Pippin. However, when it is noticed that the abbot requesting the grant is Ratfrid whose abbatial years extended from 693/94 to 725/26,<sup>5</sup> it becomes obvious that Pertz got the wrong Dagobert. It was Dagobert III who issued the charter in 712.<sup>6</sup> Dagobert II thus did not grant land to Pippin's enemies and his one remaining charter is a confirmation for Stavelot-Malmedy,<sup>7</sup> another monastery for which we do not yet find evidence of

1. Vita Dagoberti III, -12.

2. The first scientific identification of these holdings was by Bonnell, Anfaenge, pp.78-80. See also: Zatchek, Wie das erste Reich, p.37; Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.137; and especially Bergengruen, Adel und Grundherrschaft, pp.192, 203, and passim.

3. Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.123; and Ebling, Prosopographie, p.242.

4. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 44, p.41.

5. Himly, "Les plus anciennes", p.293.

6. P. Classen, "Kaiserreskript II", p.50; K.F. Stumpf, "Ueber die Merowinger-Diplome", in: Historische Beischrift, XXIX (1873), p.385; and Himly, "Les plus anciennes", pp.282-83.

7. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 45, p.42.

Pippinid influence since the area around Liège was most likely still in the hands of local families in the late 670's.<sup>1</sup>

Our contention does, however, gain some support from the report of the eleventh-century author of the Calendar of the Church of Vienne:

... quo tempore Pipinus, Ansegelli filius, et  
Martinus, frater eius, Austrasiorum regnum  
sub rege disponebant.<sup>2</sup>

This source has been an embarrassment for those trying to make sense of the politics of the late 670's according to the old view. Here is a direct statement that Pippin and Martin did indeed rule "sub rege" and if it was they who enjoyed the royal patronage, Wulfoald could not have done so. In order to reconcile this report with the dominant opinion, Krusch was forced to propose the unsupported textual emendation of substituting sine for sub.<sup>3</sup> This tampering is now no longer necessary.

The Pippinid takeover in Austrasia five years earlier than has been assumed will become more obvious if we return to consider what we know about the battle of Lucofao itself. We have seen that the battle must be dated after decedentibus regibus but before Ebroin's death. According to the old interpretation of the LHF it must have happened after Dagobert's death, but now it is clear that it may have taken place while Dagobert was still alive. In fact, it is probable that this was the case.

In the eyes of the LHF author, the interdependent relationship between the Franci and their kings was the sine qua non for the exercise of large scale political power. Government in the Merovingian era was largely a

1. See below, Chapter VIII, p. 218.

2. C.U. Chevalier (ed.), "Hagiolum Viennense", in: Documents inédits relatifs au Dauphiné, vol. II, 1868, p.2.

3. "Fortasse autem pro sub scribendum est sine ex L.H.Fr., quo scriptor etiam aliis locis usus est." (SSRM, II, p.579).

local and familial affair, controlled by ties of personal loyalty and regulated by the rules of the blood feud. Matters which demanded cooperation between or among the various local interests found only one vehicle for action: the king, duly inaugurated and an offspring of the sacred Merovingian blood. In other words, the way to raise a following larger than one's own faction was to exhibit a Merovingian or a Merovingian pretender. Without the aura of royal leadership, few would rally to the cause and the movement would gain no scale.

It is clear from the LHF's language that the author considered the battle of Lucofao to have been a major confrontation; it was no small squabble.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the chronicle makes no mention of an Austrasian king; the fielding of this force in the LHF's account was totally Pippin's and Martin's doing. Nonetheless, it seems highly unlikely that in the late 670's Pippin's position was such that he could have raised a following sufficiently large to challenge Ebroin and King Theuderic, without himself having the attracting power of a king. We hardly need add that it would seem impossible for Pippin to do so if, as the old view maintained, Wulfoald had held the royal favour until a few short weeks before the campaign. Pippin would have needed a king, just as his uncle, Grimoald I, had been compelled to make a Merovingian, called Childebert, out of his cousin in order to hold power and just as Ebroin had needed a pretender, in the form of his King Clovis,<sup>2</sup> in order to attract a following for the campaign in 675. Thus, although the correct interpretation of decedentibus regibus allows us to date the battle of Lucofao anywhere from Childeric II's murder in 675 to Ebroin's death in the early 680's, it seems far more probable that it occurred before

1. "...exercitum plurimum Austrasiorum...cede magna...infinita turba populi..." (LHF-46).

2. Passio Leudegarii I, -19.

Dagobert's death than after it. This is especially likely since the chronicle leaves no doubt that it was the Austrasians who took the offensive.<sup>1</sup>

Let us summarize the two views of the period and the battle as we have seen them thus far. The old view coupled Wulfoald's disappearance with Dagobert II's death in December of 679 and dated the battle of Lucofao in early 680. A correct interpretation of decedentibus regibus, however, tells us that Wulfoald disappeared and Pippin and Martin took over shortly after Childeric II's death in 675 and that the battle could have happened any time thereafter as long as Ebroin lived. A clear understanding of the importance of Merovingian kings for large scale political action makes it more probable that the battle occurred before rather than after Dagobert II's death. How then can we explain the LHF's silence concerning Dagobert? For no matter which view one accepts, this enigmatic king is a central figure.

Dagobert II was all but buried from the view of history until the Bollandist, Henschen, dug him out again in the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> Not only was he ignored by the LHF, but by the Fredegar Continuator, the royal cataloguers, the Annals of Metz, and by every other major early Frankish narrative source whose primary concern was the late Merovingian era. By the ninth or tenth century, when the author of the Vita Dagoberti III wrote,<sup>3</sup> his memory had become hopelessly confused with that of Dagobert I and Dagobert III. An argument from silence is by definition weak, but surely a silence this loud must cause us to suspect that there

1. "...hii duces in odium versi contra Ebroinum... aciem dirigunt" (LHF-46).

2. Ludwig Traube, Zur Palaeographie und Handschriftenkunde, Munich, 1909, p.18.

3. Krusch, SSRM, II, p.509.

was something unusual about Dagobert's position. We cannot conclude that he did not exist at all because the mentions made of him in Eddius' Vita Wilfridi, the Martyrology of Ado, the confirmation for Stavelot-Malmedy and a few other records<sup>1</sup> make it clear that at least some contemporaries thought that he ruled. In the LHF's case we also cannot conclude that the chronicler was ignorant of him. If Dagobert's reign did not fall within the chronicler's own lifetime, he certainly would have had older acquaintances who would have been contemporaries of the king. Why then the silence?

Let us postulate that the LHF author ignored the king we know as Dagobert II because he knew him to be a pretender. The fantastic recall from a far-off and forgotten Irish monastery must have appeared to him as it does to us: a delightful wisp of medieval fantasy. Dagobert probably remained in his monastic exile and the LHF author ignored the king pretending to take his place, just as he had ignored Ebroin's pretender, Clovis III, and just as he had refused to give Grimoald's son the Merovingian name of Childebert. The LHF is the story of the Franci and their kings but to be a king meant to be a Merovingian.

We do have some hints that this conjecture may not be entirely invention. Some time before the year 1154, an anonymous clerk at the abbey of Pontlevoy wrote a work called the Liber de compositione castris Ambaziae.<sup>2</sup> It is clear that the Merovingian sections of this work in part draw on sources other than the ones which have come down to us.

1. Dagobert II is also mentioned in: the Vita Sadalbergae, -13; a charter of Bishop Ansoald of Poitiers (Tardif, Noirmoutier, pp.25-28); the municipal Gesta for Noirmoutier (ibid., passim); the Inventio Memii, -1 (SSRM, V, pp.365-366); and a few other places.

2. Published in: Marchegay et Salmon, Chroniques d'Anjou, vol. I, Paris, 1856, pp.23-24.

Due to an examination of the etymology of a proper name in the work, along with other factors, Auguste Longnon was able to conclude that what the author did not take from the standard sources or invent himself came from a local popular tradition.<sup>1</sup> When the clerk relates the story of Dagobert II, he tells us that the banished prince refused to leave his exile in the monastery, preferring instead to continue in the religious life. Thus, according to one popular tradition, at least, Dagobert II never ascended the throne.

We can add a little more weight to our supposition if we consider for a moment the role of Queen Chimnechild, who is usually considered to have been his mother.<sup>2</sup> If the new king was an imposter, surely she would have known it. However, the very fact that she stayed in power after Dagobert was sent to Ireland is strong indication that he was not her son. Ruling Merovingian queens exercised control only during the minority of their male offspring. Whenever the son or grandson either matured or left the throne through death or foul play, the queen lost her power. Thus if Dagobert were Chimnechild's son, we should expect her to have been sent to a nunnery when he was exiled to Ireland. She, however, managed to bridge the gap of the Grimoald years and return as regent for her daughter, Bilichild, and her son-in-law, Childeric II. Since Dagobert's exile had no effect on the widowed queen's status, it seems highly unlikely that she was his mother and thus she would not have been in a position to expose the pretender. If Sigibert III's son, Dagobert, remained in Ireland, it would explain why the LHF author and all the other

1. A. Longnon, "Un vestige de l'épopée mérovingienne – La chanson de l'Abbé Dagobert", in: Romania, XXIX (1900), p.493.

2. It was Professor Walter Goffart in conversation who planted the seeds of doubt concerning Chimnechild's connection to Dagobert.

major Merovingian sources ignored the man pretending to take his place. It is only Eddius, the Anglo-Saxon monk of Ripon, who shows us he believed the real Dagobert to have returned. It is worth adding here that R.L. Poole had reservations about Eddius, noting that he tended to magnify Wilfrid's involvement in Frankish politics and especially to exaggerate his role in Dagobert's return.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, in order to raise their "exercitum plurimum Austrasiorum", Pippin and Martin would have needed a king, whether fraudulent or legitimate, and in the man some called Dagobert, they found him.

The LHF's exposure of Wulfoald's earlier retirement also has implications for the factions involved in Dagobert's murder. Because he has been seen as Wulfoald's king, his murderers have been sought among Ebroin's party,<sup>2</sup> the Pippinids,<sup>3</sup> or even among these two enemies joined together in a pact<sup>4</sup> – a pact for which there is absolutely no evidence. The increasing animosity between Pippin and Ebroin, however, makes Ebroin's faction by far the more likely candidate. This view gains a certain amount of support from the fact that the assassin supposedly mentioned in a Liège manuscript of the Martyrology of Ado,<sup>5</sup> a certain Johannes, may have later received the manor of Taverny in precarial possession from the Abbey of St.-Denis as a reward from Ebroin.<sup>6</sup>

1. R.L. Poole, "Saint Wilfrid and the See of York", in: idem, Studies in Chronology and History, Oxford, 1934, pp.60-62.

2. Tardif, Noirmoutier, pp.55-56.

3. Vacandard, Ouen, p. 286.

4. Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.134; Dupraz, Contribution, p.105; and Levillain, "La succession", p.88; Fischer (Ebroin, p.166) wisely disagrees.

5. Quoted by Krusch in SSRM, II, p.519.

6. "...et postea Johannes ad petitionem illustris viri Ebroini maioris domus ipsam curtem per precarium tenuit." (Charter of King Pippin, from 754, in MGH, Diplomata Karolorum, I, nr. 7, p.11). Cf. Dupraz, Contribution, pp.370ff.

On the other hand, the unsuccessful warrior king, Dagobert, may not have been far at all from the knives of disappointed members in Pippin's own following.<sup>1</sup> Merovingian kings were expected to win, not lose, their wars. The position of the king who failed would not have been very secure – especially if word got around that he was a pretender.

Bishop Audoin of Rouen appears again in LHF-47 and it is here too that we are introduced to the Mayor Waratto. These two powerful men were central to the LHF author and the way he saw late seventh-century Frankish society. While by no means neglected in the secondary literature, these magnates have not been given the same emphasis which they receive in the LHF.<sup>2</sup> We must ask why the chronicler thought them so important.

Audoin was a holy man; we are told that he died "full of days", that is, blessed with a long and holy life, and "renowned for his miracles". The LHF author, however, was a political writer and holiness for him was always seen in terms of its political, if not military, effects. We cite, among many examples, his account of Clovis I's conversion in order to win the battle against the Alamanni (LHF-15), Clovis' pious gifts to Saint Martin in order to assure military success against the Visigoths (LHF-17), the desire of Kings Childebert I and Clothar I to obtain the cloak of Saint Vincent in order to benefit their army (LHF-26), or the accounts of the holy Germanus warning the Austrasian King Sigibert I not to take up arms against his brother, the Neustrian King Chilperic (LHF-33). It is in this same political sphere that we shall find the reasons for the special

1. A suggestion made by Dr. Fouracre in conversation.
2. The exception is Rolf Sprandel ("Merov. Adel", p. 49) who probably goes too far in claiming that it was Audoin and not the royal court which formed the focal point of Merovingian political life.

relationship<sup>1</sup> the holy Audoin enjoyed with the LHF author.

Audoin was born about 603, near Soissons,<sup>2</sup> into that group of families which the LHF author refers to as the Franci, that is, the powerful, Neustrian, land-holding, warrior-nobility. Shortly after Audoin's birth, the family took up residence at their villa at Ussy, near Meaux.<sup>3</sup> His father Authar or his mother Aiga was related to Chagnerich, another important Francus from the Meaux area and conviva of King Theudebert II.<sup>4</sup> From the land donations of the children of these two noblemen, we can see that Audoin was born into a family with an extensive local basis in Soissons and Meaux<sup>5</sup> and with holdings in other parts of the regna as well.<sup>6</sup> Like many other scions of influential families, the young Audoin – or Dado, as he was known before he became Bishop of Rouen<sup>7</sup> – found himself as a man at arms in the royal entourage<sup>8</sup> where, under Dagobert I, he rose to the position of referendarius.<sup>9</sup> While still a layman, he and his two brothers commanded the necessary wealth and influence to be able to found the monastery of Rebais on fiscal property and then to donate many lands

1. "...ut inter ipsum (the author) et sanctum (Audoin) necessitudinem quandam intercessisse nemo negare possit". (Krusch, in: SSRM, II, p.216).

2. Vita Audoini, -1, in: SSRM, V, p.554.

3. Jonas, Vita Columbani I, -26 reports the Irish Saint visiting the family there.

4. Ibid. The family connection is Bergengruen's conclusion (Adel und Grundherrschaft, p.77).

5. Bergengruen (ibid., pp.66-80) in his careful, if somewhat controversial study, has made a detailed examination of the family's position and holdings in the Soissons and Meaux areas.

6. Vacandard, Ouen, pp.5-6.

7. "Venerabilis ergo Adoinus cognomento Dado..." (Vita Audoini, -1).

8. "Sub cuius (Dagoberti) dominationis imperio praedictus vir Domini militabat in tempore". (Vita Audoini, -2).

9. Fredegar, IV-78; Dado signed three charters of Dagobert I (MGH, Dipl., I, nrs. 15-17, pp.16-19); "...annulo regis adeptus..." (Vita Audoini, -2).

of their own to the new foundation.<sup>1</sup> From reports of Audoin's activities as referendary, royal intimate and later as bishop, we know that he exerted influence not only over the court directly but also over the most powerful lay and ecclesiastical magnates of the realm. The length of the list of Audoin's "friends" is an impressive indication of the Bishop's central position:

Eligius, goldsmith and minter for Clothar II, counsellor of Dagobert I, and later bishop of Noyon.<sup>2</sup>

Desiderius, royal treasurer for Dagobert I and later bishop of Cahors.<sup>3</sup>

Agilus, abbot of Rebais.<sup>4</sup>

Filibert, abbot of Rebais, Jumièges, and Noirmoutier.<sup>5</sup>

Chrodobert, counsellor of Queen Balthild and bishop of Paris.<sup>6</sup>

Faro (or Burgundofaro), referendary for Dagobert I and later bishop of Meaux.<sup>7</sup>

1. Vita Columbani I,-26 (which does not mention his brothers' involvement); "...illustris vir Dado, referendarius noster, eiusque germani Ado et Rado, monasterium ... quod vulgo appellatur Resbais ... construxerunt". (Charter of Dagobert I, MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 15, p.17); Vita Filiberti Abbatis Gemetecensis et Heriensis, -2, in: SSRM, V, p.585; and the most complete account in the Vita Sancti Agili Abbatis, -4, in: AASS, Aug. VI, p.582.

2. Eligius was an intimate of Audoin and the connection is mentioned in many places: in a letter of Desiderius, bishop of Cahors (D. Norberg, Epistulae, nr. I, ll, p.30); in the Vita Eligii Episcopi Noviomagensis, -12, in: SSRM, IV, p.679. (The Vita Eligii which we now have claims to have been written by Audoin but was actually completed in the mid eighth century. Audoin, however, probably did write a forerunner much of which is likely contained in the surviving work. Cf. Vacandard, Ouen, p.235 and Wattenbach-Levison, Geschichtsquellen 1952, pp.127-128); and in Vita Desiderii, -4.

3. His letter (Norberg, loc. cit.).

4. Vita Agili, passim.

5. Vita Filiberti, -1.

6. Vita S. Balthildis, -5. Audoin may have sent a copy of his Vita Eligii to Chrodobert for correction, although this is not certain. The Chrodobert mentioned may also have been the contemporary bishop of Tours, who had the same name. See Krusch in SSRM, IV, pp.651 and 741.

7. Pardessus, Diplomata, II, nr. 275, p.39.

Wandrille, counsellor for Dagobert I and later founder and first abbot of the monastery of St.-Wandrille.<sup>1</sup>

Ansbert, referendary for Clothar III, later abbot of St.-Wandrille and then Audoin's successor as bishop of Rouen.<sup>2</sup>

Ebroin, counsellor of Queen Balthild, mayor of the palace for Clothar III and Theuderic III.<sup>3</sup>

Geremar, a nobleman with extensive landholdings in the Beauvais area, counsellor for Dagobert I, and founder and abbot of both Saint-Samson-sur-Risle and of Saint-Germer-de-Fly.<sup>4</sup>

Waratto, count (possibly in Rouen), and mayor of the palace for Theuderic III.<sup>5</sup>

This list is comprised only of those magnates whose connection to Audoin we can see, but it is reasonable to assume that his influence extended to many more of the Frankish nobility whose relationships with him are now

1. Vita Wandregiseli Abbatis Fontanellensis, -13 and 14, in: SSRM, V, pp.20-21.

2. The relationship between Audoin and Ansbert was a particularly close one. Ansbert wrote an acrostic poem in Audoin's honour (edited by Vacandard, Ouen, p.360). Audoin is said to have consecrated Ansbert's wife into the religious life (Vita Ansberti Episcopi Rotomagensis, -2) and Ansbert himself into the priesthood (ibid., chap. 7).

3. LHF-45; Vita S. Balthildis, -5; Vita Filiberti, -24; and Passio Ragneberti Martyris Bebronensis, -4, in: SSRM, V, p.210.

4. Audoin's close connection to Geremar is attested by the Vita Geremari Abbatis Flaviacensis, -7, -8, etc. (SSRM, IV, pp.626-633). Krusch (ibid., p.627) places no trust in the vita. Nonetheless it is patent even without the vita's testimony that a nobleman founding monasteries in the Rouen area during Audoin's tenure would have needed his cooperation and sponsorship.

5. We have no strictly direct evidence of a close relationship between Audoin and Waratto; however, many things indicate that there must have been one: Audoin's warning to Waratto's son Ghislemar in LHF-47 not to supplant his father; Waratto's presence in Condedus' charter for St.-Wandrille (Vita Condedi Anchoretæ Belcinnacensis, -8 indicates his concern for the monastery that was so crucial for Audoin; the Vita Ansberti, -21 expressly tells us that once Waratto and his family no longer held sway at court, Audoin's close friend and successor, Ansbert, came to grief with Pippin; the fact that, judging from Waratto's grandson Hugo's donations of family land (Gesta Font., IV-2), Waratto was an extremely important land holder in the Rouen area; and the many reports of Audoin's activities at court while Waratto was mayor.

hidden from our view.<sup>1</sup> With his tentacles stretching into so many important corners, it is not surprising that we often find the bishop acting as royal ambassador, peace maker, negotiator, or judge. As early as 632 Dado witnessed Eligius' extensive land concession to Solignac.<sup>2</sup> He signed the document without a title, an act which indicates the status he enjoyed as a member of a powerful family even before he became a royal referendary. Fredegar relates the curious story of Judicael, king of the Bretons, who, when he came to swear allegiance to Dagobert I in 637/638, refused to dine with the king but sought out Audoin's company instead.<sup>3</sup> As bishop of Rouen, we find him settling a land dispute under royal assignment<sup>4</sup> and intervening with Ebroin in order to stave off the death sentence for Ragnebert.<sup>5</sup> Even when the Franci opposed to Ebroin managed to dislodge him along with Theuderic III and to call in Childeric II (673-675), Audoin was not a force to be tampered with. If

1. Vacandard (Ouen, pp.38 and 190) presents a much larger list. When tracing his sources, however, we find that his only extant evidence is that the additional men either served at Clothar II's court or were connected with the monastery of Saint Wandrille, both of which, while suggesting Audoin's influence, do not allow us to see it with much certainty. Vacandard includes the following: Arnulf, bishop of Metz; Rusticus, Desiderius' brother and bishop of Cahors; Syagrius, Desiderius' brother, count in Albi and patricius of Marseilles; Paul, bishop of Verdun; Cyran, founder of Longrey; Romanus, bishop of Rouen; Romaricus, founder of Remiremont; Sulpicius, bishop of Bourges, Herbland, abbot of Indre in Nantes; and Erembert, bishop of Toulouse. Because Erchinoald sold Wandregisel the land to found his monastery (Gesta Font., I-4) Sprandel ("Merov. Adel", p.51) would include this mayor among Audoin's friends as well. Even though the network of Frankish aristocratic alignments was constantly changing, given the animosity between Audoin's partisan Ebroin and Erchinoald's son, Leudesius, any lasting bond between Audoin and Erchinoald seems highly unlikely.

2. The charter is edited by Krusch in: SSRM, V, pp.743-749. Krusch convincingly argues for the document's authenticity despite previous scholarship's doubts (ibid., pp.743-745).

3. Fredegar, IV-78.

4. Vita Lantberti, -4.

5. Passio Ragneberti, -4.

we can trust the date given by a second Life of Audoin, written by a cleric in Rouen before 845, it could be that Audoin returned from an extended trip to Rome in 675<sup>1</sup> to be given a magnificent welcome by King Childeric and his court.<sup>2</sup> Audoin lent his authority to Ebroin's cause as the mayor made his military bid for power in 675<sup>3</sup> and it is shortly hereafter, in 676 or 677, that we find him also acting as a direct agent for Ebroin's political designs by condemning his old friend Filibert to prison.<sup>4</sup> Then at last, even as he was approaching 80 years of age, it was again Audoin whom the Neustrians sent to Cologne as their ambassador of peace to the Austrasians.<sup>5</sup> We are not told who specifically sent or received the bishop, but in Austrasia it would have been Pippin and, if the order of events in the second Vita Audoini can be trusted, it was from Waratto that he carried the Neustrian offers. These would have been important negotiations with which Waratto reestablished order after the clashes which erupted during Ghislemar's tenure. Even his death occurred while he was again on royal business at the king's residence in Clichy.<sup>6</sup>

It is of no small importance to note that Audoin was not a local man but a stranger to the lower Seine's most important city. He was not even a cleric at the time of his appointment but rather a courtier and thus was forced to spend the statutory year in orders before he could assume the episcopal seat<sup>7</sup> – a fact which makes the political nature of

1. Levison, SSRM, V, p.548. In his notes for the edition of the Vita Audoini, Levison has edited the portions of the Vita II which vary from it significantly.

2. The royal welcome is mentioned by Vita I, chapter 11. It is from the chronology derived from Vita II that we deduce that the king must have been Childeric II. Cf. Vacandard, Ouen, p.244.

3. LHF-45.

4. Vita Filiberti, -25.

5. Vita Audoini, -13 and -14.

6. "Dum, Domino protegente, Clipiaco villa pro necessitate regis et populorum advenisset..." (Vita Audoini, -15).

7. Vita Audoini, -7.

his appointment all the more clear. With few exceptions, the members of Audoin's network of influential friends came from that group of nobility whose families' lands encircled Paris, largely to the north and east.<sup>1</sup> We should err if we were to see in Audoin's prominent position an indication of the increasing political importance of the area around Rouen. He began and remained an agent of the nobility of the upper Seine and Oise valleys – the area of the Neustrian heartland and of the old and powerful families which the LHF author termed the Franci. There is evidence enough that this magnate from farther up the Seine was not always popular with the local powers. The monks of Penitale drove Geremar, the man Audoin had set over them as abbot, from their monastery.<sup>2</sup> Even the monks of Jumièges showed great reluctance to accept the candidate he proposed to succeed Abbot Filibert.<sup>3</sup> We should probably be able to see many more such clashes between Audoin and his flock, had he not so quickly become an object of national veneration from whose halo the ninth-century Saint-Wandrille hagiographers, who tell us about him, strove to gather as much reflection as possible for their own heroes. The LHF, however, is not a Saint-Wandrille production and its author had his eyes firmly fixed on the politics of this world, not the glories of the next. It was Audoin, the rich Francus from Soissons, the royal

1. Agilius from near Meaux (Vita Columbani I,-26); Faro from near Meaux (Bergengruen, Adel und Grundherrschaft, p.77); Wandrille from near Verdun (Gesta Font., I-2 and Vita Wandregiseli,-3); Ansbert from Chaussy near Magny (Vita Ansberti,-1); Ebroin from Soissons (Ebling, Prosopographie, p.132) and Geremar from Vardes near Beauvais (Vita Geremari,-1). We have no indication of the origins of either Chrodobert of Paris or Chrodobert of Tours. The exceptions to the above were Desiderius of Cahors who was born near Narbonne (Vita Desiderii,-1) and who had paternal possessions near Albi (ibid.,-35), Filibert from Eauze near Aire (Vita Filiberti,-1), and Eligius from Limoges (Vita Eligii,-1).

2. Vita Geremari,-10.

3. Vita Filiberti,-27.

intimate, influential counsellor, bishop and powerful manipulator at the very centre of Neustrian politics, who was so important to him and who found such a place of emphasis in his work – a work which relates no miracles and the election of no other bishop.

Rather than Audoin, it was Waratto who represented the local nobility from the Rouen area. We first find him mentioned as a juror in a royal placitum of Clothar III, from about 659, which settled a dispute between the church of Rouen and the monastery of Saint-Denis.<sup>1</sup> He appeared again in an important charter for Saint-Wandrille from 680<sup>2</sup> and we have the report of his selection as mayor on Ebroin's death in LHF-47. We know that his family lands were located to the north-east of Rouen because of land donations in the area, made to Saint-Wandrille both by Waratto himself<sup>3</sup> and by his grandson, Bishop Hugo, who signed over many properties which he had inherited from his mother, Anstrud, Waratto's daughter.<sup>4</sup> The LHF author describes his selection in the following words:

Franci vero consilio pertractantes Warattonem virum  
inlustrem in loco eius (Ebroini) cum iussione regis  
maiolem domo palacii constituunt.

We cannot tell from his words whether the choice was a peaceful one or whether it resulted from a good deal of squabbling; we can see, however, that the LHF author thought there to have been something special about it. When the selection of a new mayor resulted in a man from the same family or faction as his predecessor, the author often described the event with verbs such as "effectus est"<sup>5</sup> or "instituunt"<sup>6</sup> without any

1. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 37, p.34. Lauer and Samaran, Diplômes, nr. 11, p.9.

2. Vita Condedi, -8 (SSRM, V, p.650).

3. Vita Filiberti, -31.

4. Gesta Font., IV-2.

5. The election of Grimoald II (LHF-49).

6. The election of Theudoald (LHF-50).

embellishment. Although it is very probable that Waratto was Audoin's candidate, not only because it was indeed he who was chosen mayor but also because Audoin so firmly took his side in the dispute with his son Ghislemar, there were nonetheless other forces in play. These could have been the same elements who would come to support Ghislemar in displacing Waratto; the sources, however, do not tell us who they were. It is possible to see the resultant rift between father and son as due to one or to a combination of the following factors: to Ghislemar's personal ambition; to the reaction of local elements in the Rouen area who feared Waratto's close ties with Audoin's party; or to Ghislemar's disapproval of his father's dangerous alliance with Pippin, who was by now a formidable and ambitious power in the east. Even though the Fredegar Continuator<sup>1</sup> provides us with more detail about the military clashes between Ghislemar and Pippin, he does not expand beyond the LHF's moral condemnation of a son's usurpation against his father in explaining the event. Nonetheless, as we shall see in Chapter VII, it will be indeed through Waratto's family that Pippin and the dynasty of the future will make its entry into the Neustrian ruling circles and perhaps this "filius efficax industriusque" had a clearer prevision than his father of the dangers to come.

1. Fredegar Cont., -4.

CHAPTER VII — THE LHF AND PIPPIN II

About 686<sup>1</sup> the Mayor Waratto died and Berchar, a member of Waratto's family,<sup>2</sup> was chosen to fill his place. This does not seem to have been to the liking of all the Franci; Reolus, bishop of Reims, Audoramn, who probably later became Count of the Palace under Clovis III,<sup>3</sup> and many others deserted Berchar and went over to Pippin in the east.<sup>4</sup> It soon came to blows between the Pippinids and the Neustrians resulting in the famous battle of Tertry near Saint-Quentin in 687.<sup>5</sup>

Since Bonnell's ground-breaking work in the 1860's,<sup>6</sup> careful scholars have cautioned against overemphasizing the importance of this victory at Tertry. It is clear that it was a theme of the Carolingian era to see the battle as the turning point after which the Pippinid mayors managed to shut away their nominal Merovingian masters and to take the rule of all

1. Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.138.

2. There is disagreement about Berchar's exact familial connection to Waratto. The LHF makes no claim that Berchar was related to Waratto. The Fredegar Continuator (-5) tells us that he was Ansfléd's son-in-law, but does not tell us which of her daughters he married. The Annales Mettenses Priores (their year 693) name the daughter Anstrud. The Gesta Font., IV-1, which are known to have used Ann. Met. Pr., give us the same information. This is the version Krusch (SSRM, II, p.323) and most scholars accept. Lohier and Laporte (in their edition of the Gesta Font., p.37, note 94), however, reject this, the narrative sources' version, and claim instead that Berchar was married to Ansfléd and that Anstrud was their daughter. This version derives from a charter of Childebert III's for Tussonval in 697 (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 70, p.62 and Lauer and Samaran, Diplômes, nr. 27) which names Anstrud as Drogo's wife and Berchar as his father-in-law. Ewig ("Teilreiche", pp.140-141, note 217) proposes an unsuccessful solution to the conflict by suggesting that the charter used the term father-in-law (socer) only in a loose sense. This cannot be true because Drogo's defence in this placitum rests on his claim that his wife Anstrud inherited the land in question (Noisy-Sur-Oise) from her father Berchar ("ad partem coniuge sui Adaltrute ligibus reddeberitur").

3. Ebling, Prosopographie, p.68.

4. Fredegar, Cont., -5.

5. The date comes from the Annales Sancti Amandi (MGH, SS, I, p.6).

6. Bonnell, Anfaenge, p.125.

Francia firmly in their grip.<sup>1</sup> An over-emphasis of Tertry's importance still lingers in the literature,<sup>2</sup> even though we now see that Pippin laid his foundations for the rule of Neustria not by any one military victory, but by a more gradual and more lasting process, based on the politics of family and landholding. Since Berchar still appears as mayor of the Palace in a charter of Theuderic's in the following year,<sup>3</sup> it seems that the victory at Tertry was not even enough to allow Pippin the immediate opportunity to take over the royal Neustrian court. Such a takeover demanded Berchar's removal and this Pippin presumably arranged<sup>4</sup> shortly thereafter with the complicity of Ans fled, Waratto's influential widow and matrona of Berchar's family, who in turn made use of that time-honoured Merovingian political tool: the assassin's knife. The LHF tells us that after Berchar's murder Pippin allowed himself to be made mayor of the palace by Theuderic III and, leaving a trusted lieutenant named Norbert to care for his interests at the Neustrian court, returned to his Austrasian homeland.<sup>5</sup> It seems that the victory at Tertry and the assumption of the mayoralty, more than extending Pippin's hand over Neustria, allowed him to consolidate his position in Austrasia.<sup>6</sup> His

1. Ann. Mett. Pr., in their year 691 (MGH, SSRG, p.12), and Erchanberti Breviarium, in: MGH, SS, II, p.328.

2. "...from henceforward he (Pippin) was master of France..." (Moss, Birth of the Middle Ages, p.199); "This gave the dynasty later to be known as the Carolingians the virtually undisputed rulership over the Frankish lands in Gaul and Germany." (Stewart C. Easton and Helene Wieruszowski, The Era of Charlemagne, Toronto, 1961, p.17); "...thus extending his (Pippin's) authority over Neustria as well as Austrasia." (Bernard S. Bachrach, Merovingian Military Organization, Minneapolis, 1972, p.98).

3. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 57, p.51 and Lauer and Samaran, Diplômes, nr. 17 of 30 Oct. 688.

4. Bonnell, Anfaenge, p.127; Haselbach, "Aufstieg", p.55; Ewig, "Teil-Reiche", p.138; Josef Semmler, "Episcopi potestas und karolingische Klosterpolitik", in: Vortraege und Forschungen, XX (1974), p.305. Pippin's involvement in Berchar's murder is an assumption; it is not stated by the sources.

5. LHF-48.

6. Haselbach, "Aufstieg", pp.55 and 56.

authority in Austrasia had not been based on any function as a royal official, but rather was grounded in his position as family head, landholder, and leader of a large faction of powerful local nobility.<sup>1</sup> It was this same type of rule that he would now begin to extend slowly and carefully over Neustria through the local rule of the Neustrian Franci who had deserted to him and through other partisans.<sup>2</sup> The most important step in this process was the alliance which he formed with Waratto's family, sealing it by marrying his son Drogo to Anstrud, Waratto's daughter, in the early 690's.<sup>3</sup> This bound the Pippinids to the family that not only had been in such control of the court that they had held the Neustrian mayoralty practically as a family possession since Ebroin's death, but also to a family with extensive land holdings throughout the lower Seine.<sup>4</sup> In this chapter we shall observe both Pippin's move into Neustria and the LHF author's reaction to this important new factor in the political life of the Franci.

Although the LHF author was convinced that the most important event in these years was Pippin's appearance in Neustria, for him it was not the event which occluded all others. In fact, in comparing his account with that of the Annales Mettenses,<sup>5</sup> the Brevarium of Erchanbert or even with Fredegar's Continuator,<sup>6</sup> it becomes obvious that the LHF author is once again more interested in the inner workings of the politics of the Franci and less in the new power in the east. He gave the battle of Tertry far

1. Bonnell, Anfaenge, p.125.

2. Ewig, "Teilreiche", pp.139-142.

3. 691 (Ewig, ibid.); 693 (Theodor Breysig, Jahrbuecher des fraenkischen Reiches 714-741. Die Zeit Karl Martells, Leipzig, 1869, p.2).

4. Aubin, "Herkunft", p.47; Zatschek, Wie das erste Reich, pp.32-33; Bonnell, Anfaenge, p.127; and Ewig, "Teilreiche", pp.140-141.

5. Ann. Mett. Pr. in their year 691 (MGH, SSRG, pp.7-12).

6. Fredegar, Cont., -5.

less emphasis than he had given the battle of Lucofao and he seems to lament the conflict not so much because of Pippin's victory but because Franci had once again fought against Franci. After telling us that Pippin won the battle, he again returns to the politics of Waratto's family, telling us of Berchar's murder and mentioning Ans fled's complicity. He clearly states that not until after these events ( Post haec) did Pippin assume the mayoralty. The impression left is that Pippin's way into the west was paved more by Ans fled's actions than it was by Pippin's victory. Even though the one event would have influenced the other, this suspicion is confirmed when we examine Pippin's and his family's position in 687.

"Tu, felix Austria, nube!" has here a particularly apt, if anachronistic, ring to it. Pippin was a rich and powerful Austrasian nobleman in his own right but a large portion of his landed possessions had come into his control through his wife Plectrud. It was her family and not his who had owned the huge complex of estates around the Luxembourg monastery of Echternach which in 687 formed the most important part of Pippinid family holdings.<sup>1</sup> In 687 the Pippinids had only a few holdings west of the Meuse<sup>2</sup> and these fell far short of the sort of vast basis they would have

1. E. Hlawitschka, "Zur landschaftlichen Herkunft der Karolinger", in: Rheinische Vierteljahrsblaetter, XXVII (1962), p.15.

2. The first scholar to scientifically search for the geographical location of the Pippinid family holdings was Heinrich Bonnell (Anfaenge, pp. 52-133). Bonnell concluded that the family heartland was not centred on the Belgian localities of Landen or Heristal as several late medieval sources maintained, but rather to the east of the Meuse. His research is exact and detailed and has largely stood the test of subsequent scrutiny. F.L. Ganshof ("Manorial Organization", pp.30ff.) has since pointed out that the family probably had land around Nivelles prior to 687. Bergengruen (Adel und Grundherrschaft, p.201) and Zatschek (Wie das erste Reich, p.36) have added a few more holdings west of the Meuse. H. Aubin ("Die Herkunft der Karolinger", in: Karl der Grosse oder Charlemagne?, Berlin, 1935, p.45) suspected that the origins of Pippin's family might be buried somewhere around Nivelles, but all agree that the Pippinid "cradle" is to be found east of the Meuse where Bonnell had placed it.

needed to arouse the requisite respect and following among the Franci for an immediate take-over of power. Ansflod, however, did have the landed power base Pippin needed.<sup>1</sup> The marriage alliance he formed with her family was the first in which the Pippinids had taken a wife from other than local Austrasian nobility. As far as we can see, they had never married royalty nor entered a conjugal alliance beyond the area where their own estates lay and where they had their monasteries.<sup>2</sup> The Drogo-Anstrud marriage shows us that Pippin was beginning a permanent move into the world of wider politics.

In Pippin's assumption of power in Neustria we can see him securing and developing the various lines of control by which Frankish society was governed. Even as the LHF author moves quickly through these years, he takes time to note that, before returning to Austrasia, Pippin took charge of the royal treasure. Treasure was important to the author; we were told when Ebroin got hold of it in 675<sup>3</sup> and we shall hear again when Martel takes it from Plectrud.<sup>4</sup> Treasure, gold, "ring giving" – this was the traditional way a war leader had both gathered and had rewarded his Franci for battle. The importance of treasure to the LHF author and its connection with the military campaigns of Ebroin, Pippin, and Martel shows us that, despite the fact that the Franci had become a settled and landed aristocracy, one of the traditional means of binding warrior to leader had retained its potency.

Pippin also knew how to move in the newer world of the late seventh

1. It is Heinz Zatschek (Wie das erste Reich, pp.32-35) who has published the clearest and most detailed account of how this alliance provided Pippin with the landed base in the west.

2. Aubin, "Herkunft", pp.47-48.

3. LHF-45.

4. LHF-52.

century. We remember that when Queen Balthild and Ebroin were busy binding various local areas more closely to themselves they "reformed" the seniores basilicas and took measures to wrest their control away from the powerful local bishops.<sup>1</sup> Pippin, too, made extensive use of the ecclesiastical establishment as an effective means of both gaining and then efficiently managing a local area. The Pippinid encroachment came on two prongs: first, Pippin exploited the Frankish monasteries in their developing role as an effective means of local political control, and second, he placed his own followers in the realm's episcopal sees. Neither of these two policies was a Pippinid novelty but what was new for Franci was that now the powerful family from the east was active on a local level in their home territory.

As in so many Merovingian investigations, in trying to discern how and when a monastery was turned to political purposes, we are quickly reminded that we are dealing with the dark ages; the sources provide us at best with a dim glimpse. We can, however, at least suspect that a Klosterpolitik was afoot when we are able to detect one of these four events: 1) the installation of a partisan as diocesan bishop, who in turn installs a partisan as abbot in a local monastery; 2) a partisan founding and heavily endowing a monastery; 3) a monastery freeing itself from the control of the local bishop by obtaining an episcopal privilege and gaining significant economic strength by securing the royal immunity and receiving landed donations from a particular faction; and 4) indication that a particular secular magnate is able to treat a monastery as his private property. The proprietary monastery belongs much more to the Carolingian age than it does to the Merovingian but we can nonetheless see signs of its beginnings in the earlier period. The best evidence for

1. Above Chapter VI, p. 145, and Ewig, "Klosterprivilegien", p. 61.

this in the seventh and eighth centuries is the assumption of a monastery under the magnate's "protection".<sup>1</sup>

It will come as no surprise to us to learn that Pippin's way into Neustria's ecclesiastical structure came through the monastery of Saint-Wandrille near Rouen. We have seen that he had already nurtured an important alliance with Ansfred's faction, the most powerful family in the area. His next step, and in many ways the most crucial one for him, was to gain control of the powerful episcopal seat in Rouen. In accomplishing this, Pippin wasted little time. Between mid-689 and 691<sup>2</sup> he managed to exile Ansbert, Audoin's successor as bishop, and install his own loyal follower<sup>3</sup>, Gripho, in the episcopal chair. This was quite a coup and just how Pippin managed it we are not told. We know only that he had the support of those envious of Ansbert<sup>4</sup> and these would have been most probably the local nobility, that is, adherents of Ansfred's family.

Once the see was in his grasp, the process continued in earnest. In Childebert III's seventh year (701), Bainus became abbot of Saint-

1. See L. Ueding, "Geschichte der Klostergründungen der fruehen Merowingerzeit", in: Historische Studien, 261 (1935), pp.245-266; J.M. Besse, Les moines de l'ancienne France (période gallo-romaine et mérovingienne), Paris, 1906, p.550; Semmler, "Episcopi", pp.385-386; and Franz Felten, Aebte und Laienaebte im Frankenreich, (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 20), Stuttgart, 1980, pp.129-135. Felten does not think the political use of monasteries to have been important in the Merovingian period. Although their importance falls far short of what it will later become under the Carolingians, Felten's opinion fails to sufficiently consider their role on the local level.

2. Semmler, "Episcopi", p.308.

3. Ewig ("Teilreiche", p.141) speculates that Gripho might have been a relative of Pippin's because the same name was given to a bastard of Martel's. A. Halbedel (Fraenkische Studien. Kleine Beitræge zur Geschichte und Sage des deutschen Altertums, Berlin, 1915, p.30) considers his name a shortened form of Grimoald.

4. "...isdem princeps (Pippinus) per invidorum consulta admirabilem Ansbertum de sede Rotomagensis aecclesiae expulerat, atque ad exilium direxerat..." (Gesta Font., II-1); and "...malignorum...qui Pipino principe fraudulenter suggerent, praefatum virum sanctum adversus eum contraria tractasse consilia". (Vita Ansberti, -21).

Wandrille.<sup>1</sup> Two years later Pippin founded the monastery of Fleury, appointed Bainus as its rector, and donated his new foundation to Saint-Wandrille.<sup>2</sup> The fact that Pippin chose Bainus as the leader of his new foundation is a good indication that he was a Pippinid supporter, which in turn lets us suspect that Pippin was exercising influence over the choice of abbots in Saint-Wandrille at least by the time of Bainus' selection there, that is, at least by 701.<sup>3</sup> Pippin followed in 704, 706, and in 707 with extensive land donations<sup>4</sup> and in this last named year he took both Saint-Wandrille and Fleury under his protection. The charter attesting this fact was signed, as we might expect, by Bishop Gripho.<sup>5</sup> Jumièges, the other important monastery near Rouen, was also drawn into the Pippinid network with the appointment of Godinus as abbot in about 710.<sup>6</sup> The base was now built and, except for a brief lapse after Pippin's death, the Rouen area was to remain a bastion of Pippinid support. The man about to embody this fact was to be Hugo, offspring of the Drogo-Anstrud union, who would at one time come to hold the titles of bishop of Rouen, Paris, and Bayeux and abbot of Saint-Wandrille and

1. Gesta Font., II-1.

2. Ibid.

3. We do not know the political leanings of Hiltbert, who was abbot of Saint-Wandrille from 684 to 701 and Bainus' immediate predecessor. From a lacuna in the abbey's Gesta, however, we might be able to suppose that he did not belong to Pippin's party. The Gesta, which show a heavy Carolingian bias, treat all of the early abbots extensively with the exception of Lantbert, Ansbert, and Hiltbert who receive only the mention of a sentence or two. It might be that the deeds of these abbots were either slighted by the author or exorcised by a copyist in order to make the accomplishments of the Pippinid abbots seem grander.

4. The author of the Gesta Font. summarizes the contents of several of Pippin's donation charters (Gesta Font., II-3).

5. "...ipsa loca perenniter tuenda consistant". (Gesta Font., II-2).

6. Dom Laporte ("Les listes abbatiales de Jumièges", in: Jumièges, Congrès Scientifique du XIII<sup>e</sup> centenaire, vol. I, Rouen, 1955, p.451) makes it very probable that he was the same as the Godinus who had become bishop of Lyon in 688 with the support of Pippin.

Jumièges.<sup>1</sup> It is significant that the boy, Hugo, was now being kept by his grandmother, Ansfléd, who brought him up in Rouen.<sup>2</sup>

The first indication we have of Pippinid influence in the monastery of Lobbes comes from the year 689. In that year Pippin installed Ursmar as the foundation's second abbot at the request of Duke Hydolph, one of the local nobility.<sup>3</sup> Pippin's role in the abbatial selection may indicate that he was beginning to exercise proprietary rights over the monastery.<sup>4</sup> We see his influence continuing in 711 with the installation of the third abbot, Ermino, who would govern the monastery until his death in 737.<sup>5</sup> Ermino had been attached to the cathedral at Laon and that city's bishop, Madelgar, did not want to release him to become Lobbes' abbot. He relented, however, when requested to do so by Haeledald, "homo magnus in palatio Pippini..."<sup>6</sup>

This take-over of an important monastery in southern Belgium should also come as no surprise, since Lobbes was in the area where Pippin's family had long held sway, at least since the days of his grandfather, Pippin I.<sup>7</sup> The family founded many monasteries in the area. To the north lay both Nivelles, founded by his grandmother, Itta, and then governed in

1. Gesta Font., IV-1.

2. The information comes from a section awkwardly interpolated into the Annales Mettenses Priores in their year 693 (see De Simson's note 5, p.16 of his edition) and then copied in turn into the Gesta Font., IV-1.

3. "... siquidem (Ursmarus) a Pippino potestatem redimendi acceperat". (Anso of Lobbes, Vita Ursuari Episcopi et Abbatis Lobbiensis, -2, in: SSRM, VI, p.457. Cf. Joseph Warichez, L'abbaye de Lobbes depuis les origines jusqu'en 1200, Tournai, 1900, pp.15-20; and Felten, Aebte, p.129.

4. Friedrich Prinz, Fruehes Moenchtum im Frankenreich, Munich-Vienna, 1965, p.205.

5. Levison, in: SSRM, VI, p.446.

6. Anso of Lobbes, Vita Erminonis Episcopi et Abbatis Lobbiensis, -3, in: SSRM, VI, p.463.

7. Ganshof, "Manorial Organization", p.30.

turn by his aunt, Saint Geretrud, and his cousin, Wulfetrud,<sup>1</sup> and Nivelles' important colony, the monastery at Fosses.<sup>2</sup> Adalgund's foundation at Maubeuge, which lay to the south of Lobbes, had close connections with Nivelles<sup>3</sup> and nearby Hautmont was founded by Vincent-Madelgar, a known devotee of the Pippinids at the end of the seventh century.<sup>4</sup> It was his wife and Adalgund's sister, Saint Waudru, who founded the monastery at Mons, a little to the north-west.<sup>5</sup> Slightly to the east of Lobbes, on the Meuse, lay Andenne, founded by Pippin's mother, Begga, in cir. 690.<sup>6</sup> Although the above is an impressive list of Pippinid-controlled monasteries in southern Belgium by the turn of the century, we are justified in suspecting that even this is not complete and that the familiar lack of evidence hides yet others from our view.<sup>7</sup>

When we leave Belgium and move to the east into Austrasia, we also find that here in the Pippinid heartland the traces of the family's control of the monasteries begin to occur in the last decade of the century. The oldest "family" monastery in the area was Saint Arnulf's in Metz. We can assume that there was some sort of monastic institution here since the

1. Vita S. Geretrudis, passim.

2. Additamentum Nivialense, in: SSRM, VI, pp.449-451.

3. J. Laporte, "Les monastères francs et l'avènement des Pippinides", in: Revue Mabillon, XXX (1940), p.3.

4. Ibid., p.3.

5. Ibid.

6. De Virtutibus S. Geretrudis, -10. Andenne is not named here. L. Van der Essen (Étude critique et littéraire sur les Vitae des saints mérovingiens de l'ancienne Belgique, Louvain, 1907, pp.182-186) makes the connection. Cf. Prinz, Fruehes Moenchtum, p.188.

7. One very likely candidate was the monastery of Saint Trond which was located amongst these more obviously Pippinid monasteries in Belgium. We cannot see whether Pippin was able to affect the selection of any of its abbots but we do have a report that he made a pilgrimage there some time between 695 and 714 and that he donated a great deal of property to the abbey (Vita Trudonis Confessoris Hasbaniensis, -23, in: SSRM, VI, pp.292-293). Levison noted that the language of the vita indicates that the author was looking at a donation charter as he wrote (ibid., p.267).

translation of Arnulf's relics in 643,<sup>1</sup> but it is not until 691 that we have direct evidence of the family taking interest in the abbey.<sup>2</sup> This was because a Klosterpolitik had not been necessary for the Pippinids in Metz since the episcopal chair of that city was held by their partisans since the advent of Bishop Chlodulf. The other important Austrasian monastery predating the 690's which has been seen as being in Pippinid family possession<sup>3</sup> was the double abbey of Stavelot-Malmedy. These houses were founded by Sigibert III through the agency of his Pippinid mayor, Grimoald I, in the early 650's. Even though Grimoald's role in the royal abbeys' beginnings is clear, it is not until near the end of the century that we can see the first hint of evidence for Pippinid influence in the double monastery.<sup>4</sup> Some time between 687 and 714 Pippin donated to them the huge system of estates centred around the villa of Lierneux. This donation probably followed his securing for the abbey a royal confirmation of all its immunities from Theuderic III.<sup>5</sup>

1. Prinz, Fruehes Moenchtum, p.190.

2. A donation charter of Plectrud and Pippin (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 3, p.92). Even this is not above suspicion since parts of it at least seem to have been forged. Cf. Heidrich, "Titulatur", p.248; and G. Wolfram, "Kritische Bemerkungen zu den Urkunded des Arnulfklosters", in: Jahrbuch des Gessellschaft fuer lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, I (1888-89), pp.41-49.

3. Ewig, "Noch einmal", p.456.

4. Halkin-Roland, Stavelot-Malmedy, nr. 14, p.39 which is a deperditum. The editors can only date it between 687 and 714.

5. The confirmation is listed as spurious by Pertz (MGH, Dipl., nr. 77, p.193) who was the first to edit it. It has since, however, been shown to be genuine. Cf. Stumpf, "Merovinger-Diplome", p.402; and especially Halkin-Roland, Stavelot-Malmedy, p.33. In both its editions the charter carries the date of cir. 681 which would mean that Theuderic granted it while Ebroin or perhaps Waratto was still the Neustrian mayor. This seems highly unlikely, especially since in no other of Theuderic's charters does the king deal with any Austrasian land or favour any Austrasian monastery. This charter is closely related to another (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 53, p.47; and Halkin-Roland, Stavelot-Malmedy, nr. 10, p.29) in which Theuderic confirms certain of the abbey's lands and privileges and which is also dated cir. 681 by the editors. Neither charter presents any reason why they should not be dated toward the end of Theuderic's reign in the early 690's when they would have been issued at the request of Pippin and not of Ebroin. This makes far more sense for an Austrasian monastery.

Outside of the above two notable exceptions, all the great Pippinid family monasteries in Austrasia were founded in the last decade of the seventh century or in the first few years of the eighth. On 1 November 698 Irmina, Pippin's mother-in-law and abbess of the nunnery at Oeren, donated the lands which were to grow into the powerful Carolingian abbey of Echternach to the Anglo-Saxon bishop Willibrord.<sup>1</sup> In about 706 Pippin and Plectrud took the abbey under their protection.<sup>2</sup> In about the same year they, along with Beregisel, founded Saint Hubert (Andaginum) in the northern Ardennes.<sup>3</sup> This abbey, too, grew to be the centre of a massive system of Carolingian estates. Some time between 695 and 710 the monastery at Kaiserswerth on the Rhine was founded<sup>4</sup> and in 714 Plectrud and Pippin took Susteren, near Liège, under their protection.<sup>5</sup>

Moving into the Champagne, that much troubled border area between Neustria and Austrasia, we again see Pippin securing control over important monasteries. The seventh-century history of the Champagne is a litany of raids, counter-raids, feuds, desertions, revenge and murder. In the latter part of the century the area's most important monastic figure was Saint Berchar, protégé of Bishop Nivard and the first abbot of both Hautvillers and Moutier-en-Der. Proving Pippinid influence in the first of Berchar's monasteries is a tricky business because one can never be quite sure where Berchar's political loyalties lay, even though throughout his career he seems to have been in the thick of the Champagne's political intrigue. Since Bishop Nivard, the man who had appointed him abbot, and Bavo, the

1. Camill Wampach, Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach im Fruehmittelalter, I-2, Quellenband, Luxemburg, 1930, nr. 3, pp.17-20.

2. Ibid., nr. 15, pp.41-43.

3. Vita Beregisi Abbatis, I-16, in: AASS, Oct. I, p.526. Although the vita is a late one, written in the early tenth century, its author seems to have used an authentic donation charter of a Count Grimbert from 725 which mentions the founding. See Prinz, Fruehes Moenchtum, p.206. The foundation date, 706, is Mabillon's (Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, vol. II, Paris, 1704, p.16).

4. Prinz, Fruehes Moenchtum, p.203.

5. Wampach, Echternach I-2, nr. 24, pp.57-60.

owner of the land where Hautvillers was to be founded, were both members of Leudegar's faction<sup>1</sup> in the bloody 670's, it is reasonable to assume that this is where Berchar placed his loyalties as well. Although we have no reason to believe that there was any rift between Berchar and his patron, Nivard (Bishop of Reims, cir. 657-673), relations with Nivard's fiery successor, Reolus (bishop of Reims 673-688/92), were clearly more strained. Despite the fact that Reolus, while still a count and not yet bishop, had married Nivard's nepta<sup>2</sup> (niece, not granddaughter), his support of Ebroin would have at some point probably caused a great deal of friction with Leudegar's friends, Nivard and Berchar. The Vita Nivardi tells of a particularly bloody feud between Reolus and a local nobleman named Teodoramn, who belonged to the "...facione contra Reolum comitem..."<sup>3</sup> and who eventually became a monk in Berchar's monastery of Hautvillers.<sup>4</sup> We are told that Nivard managed to effect a peace between Reolus and Teodoramn before the latter took up the monastic life but not before the revenge had cost each the life of a son. In addition to Berchar's friendship with Teodoramn, there was another reason which would have caused friction between the abbot and Reolus. This stems from the nature of the episcopal privilege which Berchar's monastery, Hautvillers, enjoyed. It was Nivard who had granted it,<sup>5</sup> and, from the edition we have, it appears to be a usual privilege. Altmann, however, also had it in front of him as he wrote the Vita Nivardi, -10 and from his description it is clear that the

1. Laporte, Les monastères, p.3; Vita Lantberti, -3.

2. Altmann, Vita Nivardi, -1.

3. Ibid., chapter 8.

4. Ibid., chapter 10.

5. Pardessus, Diplomata, II, nr. 346, pp.128-29. There is no way to assign a definite date to the charter as Pardessus all but admits in his notes.

whole privilege has not come down to us.<sup>1</sup> The part which Altmann saw but which we no longer have is significant. In it Berchar is allowed to keep Hautvillers "...in sui juris dominatione..." until his death but then the bishop of Reims was to govern the monastery and to have it under his protection.<sup>2</sup> The word protection is, as we have seen, a signal for us to suspect that proprietary rights over the monastery are on offer and in this case they were to be held by the bishops of Reims once Berchar had passed from the scene. This could explain why in 686 Reolus, at considerable expense to his own family holdings, donated the huge villa Gaugiacum, near Châlons, to his probable rival Abbot Berchar in order to found a nunnery.<sup>3</sup> Although Gaugiacum was much closer to Berchar's other monastery, Moutier-en-Der, Reolus' donation charter specifically states that, if the nuns wished to move on to serve God elsewhere, Gaugiacum should fall to the ownership of Hautvillers<sup>4</sup> - the monastery which Reolus or his successor would some day govern and "protect". It is also noteworthy that the date of this donation (686) falls at about the same time as Reolus switched his political allegiance from the Neustrian side to Pippin in the east.<sup>5</sup> If the two events are not coincidental, then we might be able to suspect Pippinid design in this strengthening of Hautvillers' economic position.

Pippin's intrusion into the affairs of Berchar's other monastery, Moutier-en-Der, is far more patent. Although the abbey claimed to have

1. Levison, note 5 to Altmann's text, SSRM, V, p.168. Altmann is the source for the description of the privilege, it is not Flodoard as Pardessus' notes indicate (Diplomata, II, p.128, note 2).

2. "... ipsum cenobium gubernet et eosdem monachos contra omnes adversantes defendat..."

3. Pardessus, Diplomata, II, nr. 406, pp.200-202. Today called Vecqueville (Bergengruen, Adel und Grundherrschaft, p.212).

4. This apparently did happen at some point. Cf. Pardessus, ibid., p.201, note 1.

5. Fredegar, Cont., -5.

an immunity from Childeric II from 664 to 673 and a confirmation of it in 683 from Theuderic III, the former document has been shown to be a tenth-century forgery and the latter to have been interpolated.<sup>1</sup> It is again the 690's which produce our first authentic evidence of the monastery's increasing political importance. In 692 Bertoend, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, granted Berchar the episcopal privilege for Moutier-en-Der;<sup>2</sup> his charter specifically states that he did so at the request of Pippin.<sup>3</sup> The Austrasian magnate's weight was obviously making itself felt in the area at the local level, but how the influential Berchar accepted the changing politics on his doorstep remains unclear. The noble abbot was assassinated shortly after 692,<sup>4</sup> a clear indication that to the end this "viro religiosissimo sancto"<sup>5</sup> was tangled in the Champagne's political web, but whether the perpetrators were pro- or anti-Pippinid factions or combatants from a local unrelated feud, we do not know. He was replaced by Synaulius,<sup>6</sup> about whom we know nothing.

1. Childeric's immunity which is listed as genuine by Pardessus (Diplomata, II, nr. 367, p.157) and by Pertz (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 31, p.30) has been shown to be a forgery (Wilhelm Levison, "Die Merowingerdiplome fuer Montier-ender", in: NA, XXXIII (1908), pp.745 and 753 ff.) Prinz (Fruehes Moenchtum, p.182) points out that Theuderic's confirmation (Pardessus, Diplomata, II, nr. CCCCIII, p.196 and MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 55, p.49) is interpolated.

2. Pardessus, Diplomata, II, nr. 423, pp.221-222. See Ewig's analysis and reedition of parts of the charter in: "Das Formular von Rebais und die Bischofsprivilegien der Merowingerzeit", in: Aus Reichsgeschichte und nordischer Geschichte: Festschrift Karl Jordan (Kieler Historische Studien, 16), Stuttgart, 1972, pp.17-31.

3. "Quoniam igitur gloriosus domnus Clodoveus rex, et vir inlustris Pipinus, major-domus, pie religiosa sollicitudine perspicue nobis postulate noscuntur..." (Pardessus, Diplomata, II, p.221).

4. Adso of Moutier-en-Der (d.992), Vita Sancti Bercharii, -19. Laporte (Les monastères, p.15) says he was murdered shortly after 686, however Berchar's presence in Bertoend's privilege proves that he was still alive in 692. See Pardessus, Diplomata, II, p.200, note 2.

5. Bertoend's privilege (Pardessus, Diplomata, II, p.221).

6. A fragment of an abbatial catalogue was published by A. Duchesne under his Latinised name, "Quercetanus", in his notes to the letters of Peter the Venerable at the end of Marrier's Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, Paris, 1614, p.114.

There is one other nearby monastery which we might be able to see falling to Pippinid influence during this period. This is the foundation at Tussonval. The case for its inclusion among Pippin's houses is not a very strong one but it nonetheless merits consideration. If we can trust a charter which seems to me to have a great deal suspicious about it,<sup>1</sup> in 697 at a placitum of Childebert III, Drogo, Pippin's son, received an adverse judgement and was required to restore the extensive villa of Noisy with all its dependencies to Magnoald, abbot of Tussonval. Although the proceedings describe the judgement as falling against Drogo, this outcome may actually express Drogo's intentions. We can see how this might have been true by examining another placitum in which a monastery wins a case against a noble party. In 702 Childebert's court decided against the noble lady, Adalgud, and judged that the property in Limours, once belonging to her and her husband, now belonged to the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.<sup>2</sup> This is exactly what Adalgud wanted for not only does she produce no evidence to combat the suit but we still have her original donation charter,<sup>3</sup> of which this placitum seems to be a sort of royal confirmation. Thus, by analogy, Drogo, who also presents no contrary evidence, although he makes a verbal defence, may also have used a royal court hearing to confirm his substantial endowment of Tussonval.<sup>4</sup> If that was

1. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 70, pp.62-63. Pardessus, in his edition (Diplomata, II, p.241), points out three irregularities in the charter: 1) Berchar is called Drogo's father-in-law, whereas he was most likely his wife's previous husband; 2) Charderic is called bishop whereas he is only known as abbot elsewhere; and 3) the phrase "ad vicem... jussus recognovit" is extremely rare in Merovingian diplomata. To these I would add the fact that the land in question (the villa Noisy) seems to have been already confirmed by another of Childebert's placita as belonging to Saint-Denis (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 64, pp.56-57).

2. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 73, pp. 64-65. A more recent edition in: René Poupardin, Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés. vol. I (558-1182), Paris, 1909, nr. XII, p.19.

3. Poupardin, Recueil, nr. X, p.15. Also, Pardessus, Diplomata, II, nr. 442, p.243.

4. "Dès 697, il (Drogo) s'était laissé condamner à restituer..." (Laporte, Les monastères, p.17).

the case, the Pippinid finger is most likely meddling in this monastery as well.

This is all that we can see of Pippin's Klosterpolitik. Although there are probably other Pippinid houses hiding from our view, we have seen enough to discern a pattern. The geographical extent of Pippin's influence in the monasteries was massive. If we plot it as we have found it, we see it in the west near Rouen, sweeping northward through modern Belgium, south through the Carolingian heartland in Luxemburg and out into the Champagne. The important point is that this great arc bordered but does not seem to have included the vital areas which would have made Pippin the true successor of Audoin and Ebroin: the upper Seine and the Oise valleys, the homelands of the Franci. We can also find no trace of his influence in the seniores basilicae, so vital to Balthild's and Ebroin's designs. St.-Médard (Soissons), St.-Pierre (Sens), St.-Aignan (Orleans), St.-Germain (Auxerre), St.-Martin (Tours) and most importantly the great Parisian houses of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Saint-Denis<sup>1</sup> do not record his influence. Although we cannot, of course, rule out the ever-present possibility that Pippin's apparent absence during these years in these monasteries of the Franci's heartland is due to a lack or a loss of evidence rather than to an actual lack of his influence, the danger of this is significantly lessened by the inclusion

1. Saint-Denis shows us its first direct connection with the Pippinids in 710. This is found in a placitum of Childebert III (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 77, p.68) where a judgement is rendered against Pippin's son Grimoald requiring that the tolls from the fair at Saint-Denis be retained by the abbey. Here again the placitum may be the legal expression of what Grimoald actually wanted. All of Clovis III's and Childebert III's surviving charters which deal with Saint-Denis prior to 710 merely confirm previously held rights or lands for the abbey with one exception. This is a charter from 706 (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 75, p.66) in which Childebert donates the villa Solesmes, near Cambrai, to the abbey. The charter is not above suspicion; it lists the wrong abbot at Saint-Denis (Pardessus, Diplomata, II, p.272, note 1). Even if it is genuine, and despite the fact that Pippin is known to have had great influence over Childebert, this one royal charter is too thin a basis to suspect Pippinid influence in the abbey. We must wait for Martel.

among this group of St.-Denis, of all Merovingian monasteries the one for which the surviving documentation is the greatest.

When we turn from abbots to search for Pippinid bishops, we find a strong indication that Pippin's influence was limited in the same way. We have seen him drive Bishop Ansbert from Rouen and replace him with his partisan, Gripho, between 689 and 691.<sup>1</sup> We have no indication of leanings of the bishops in Rouen's suffragan dioceses until Drogo's son, Hugo, becomes bishop of Bayeux a little before 723. As Bishop of the Morini/Térouanne we find Bainus,<sup>2</sup> the man who became abbot of St.-Wandrille in 701 and whom Pippin also installed as rector of Fleury two years later.<sup>3</sup> Moving north and eastward we find two loyal Pippinid enclaves: the famous Anglo-Saxon Bishop Willibrord in the diocese of Utrecht and, along the Meuse, Bishops Lambert and Hugbert in Tongres-Maestricht-Liège. Although we do not know who was bishop in Cologne during these years,<sup>4</sup> we do know that it was a Pippinid city<sup>5</sup> and thus it is reasonable to assume that both its bishop and its abbots were safely in Pippin's sphere. In Trier we find the notorious dynasty of Basin and Leotwin, staunch Pippinid supporters, who were instrumental in the founding of Echternach.<sup>6</sup> There is no reason to suspect that Metz under Bishop Abbo<sup>7</sup> had slipped from the Pippinid control it so obviously displayed when Chlodulf, Bishop Arnulf's son, held the episcopal chair in mid century. It is also a reasonable assumption that Bishops Garibald of Toul and Armonius of

1. Gesta Font., II-1.

2. Louis Duchesne, Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule, vol. III, Paris, 1915, p.134.

3. Gesta Font., II-1.

4. See Duchesne, Fastes, III, p.180.

5. Bede, Hist. Ecc., V-10; LHF-52, etc.

6. Wampach, Echternach I-2, nr. 3, pp.17-20.

7. Duchesne, Fastes, III, p.57.

Verdun were Pippinid partisans, not only because their dioceses included known Pippin lands but because the former signed two Echternach charters of Plectrud and Pippin<sup>1</sup> and the latter entered into a land exchange with the couple.<sup>2</sup> We have seen that Reolus, the bishop of Reims, deserted the Neustrians to go over to Pippin shortly before the battle of Tertry<sup>3</sup> and that Pippin kept control of this important see by replacing Reolus on his death with Rigobert, a Ripuarian and loyal supporter,<sup>4</sup> until Pippin's death. It was he who baptized his son, Charles Martel.<sup>5</sup> In Laon Bishop Madalgar, despite his greedy attempt to usurp the nunnery of Pippin's friend, Anstrud,<sup>6</sup> remained firmly in the Pippinid camp.<sup>7</sup>

A reasonably certain case can be made for including the preceding bishops among Pippin's adherents and there remain only a few possible candidates whom we might add. Godinus of Lyon, bishop from about 688 to 701,<sup>8</sup> seems to have gained the see through Pippin's help.<sup>9</sup> As we have seen, Bishop Bertoend of Châlons-sur-Marne granted a privilege for Berchar's monastery at Moutier-en-Der in 692 expressly at the request of Pippin.<sup>10</sup> This of itself is not enough to allow us to make any pronouncement concerning the bishop's political allegiance. Professor Ewig, however, has conducted an extensive study of the formal aspects of

1. Wampach, Echternach I-2, nrs. 14 and 15, pp.38-43.
2. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 3, p.92.
3. Fredegar, Cont., -5.
4. Vita Rigoberti Episcopi Remensis, -4 and -5 (SSRM, VII, pp.64-65).
5. Ibid., chapter 8, p.66.
6. Vita Anstrudis Abbatissae Laudunensis, -16, in: SSRM, VI, p.73.
7. Anso, Vita Erminonis, -3. Cf. Laporte, Les monastères, p.15, and Semmler, "Episcopi", p.312.
8. Duchesne, Fastes, II, p.171.
9. Laporte, "Listes abbatiales", p.451.
10. "Quoniam igitur gloriosus domnus Clodoveus rex et vir inlustris Pipinus, major-domus, pie religiosa sollicitudine perspicue nobis postulasse noscuntur..." (Pardessus, Diplomata, II, p.221).

Bertoend's privilege and the other episcopal privileges of the later seventh century.<sup>1</sup> One of the most significant conclusions Ewig draws from his analysis is that the formal influence exercised by the important privilege granted by Bishop Burgundofaro of Meaux for the abbey at Rebais in 637 reached its height in the 660's and 670's.<sup>2</sup> This finding is certainly congruent with what we know about the Franci, their heartland, and their politics. As we have seen, Burgundofaro's family, Meaux, and the abbey at Rebais were all central to the Audoin-Ebroin faction and the years in which Ewig noticed the greatest formal influence of Burgundofaro's privilege were also the years in which Audoin and Ebroin reached their political zenith. Since Bishop Bertoend's privilege now shows a slackening of diplomatic influence from the formulas of the old Franci, might we then be able to conclude that their political influence with him was waning as well? "Perhaps" is the best we can answer. Constantinus, the bishop of Beauvais, signed two charters of Plectrud's and Pippin's for Echternach in 706,<sup>3</sup> which might be enough to include him as one of their supporters. In 690, Bonitus, a former Austrasian royal official and member of the local senatorial nobility, succeeded his brother Avitus as Bishop of Clermont. His vita tells us that he did so with the permission of Pippin.<sup>4</sup> About the year 700 he resigned his seat and requested that a certain Norbert succeed him.<sup>5</sup> The fact that this Norbert accedes in Clermont about the same time that Pippin's representative of the same name disappears from the Neustrian royal court has led to speculation that the two might be the same man.<sup>6</sup> If this were true, then we should see

1. Ewig, "Das Formular", pp.17-31.

2. Ibid., p.5.

3. Wampach, Echternach I-2, nr. 14, pp.38-40 and nr. 15, pp.41-43.

4. Vita Boniti, -5.

5. Ibid., chapter 15.

6. Ewig, "Teilreiche", pp.141-142.

definite Pippinid episcopal influence in the Auverne. Making Norbert leave the court for the see of Clermont, however, is in direct conflict with the report of his death in LHF-49. A last possible candidate would be Bishop Vulfram of Sens. He had assumed the episcopal office at least by 693/4<sup>1</sup> and seems to have laid it down again by 696/7<sup>2</sup> in order to become a missionary to the Frisians.<sup>3</sup> He also gave up his missionary work and entered St.-Wandrille to take up the monastic life.<sup>4</sup> It is his work among the Frisians and his connections with St.-Wandrille, rather than anything he did as bishop of Sens, which might lead us to think that he was a follower of Pippin. It is a reasonable conjecture that Pippin sent Vulfram to the Frisians because he wanted a loyal supporter to carry out missionary work there,<sup>5</sup> especially since we know him to have done so in the case of Willibrord.

Unfortunately many Frankish bishops in the last decade of the seventh and the first decade of the eighth centuries remain almost completely hidden from our view. Episcopal catalogues of varying degrees of reliability have survived for most sees but it is very often the case that we have no information about the men listed in them. In the following dioceses we are not even certain who was bishop between 690 and 711, much less do we know what his political leanings were likely to have been: Troyes,<sup>6</sup> Chartres,<sup>7</sup> Maçon,<sup>8</sup> Chalon-sur-Saône,<sup>9</sup> Langres,<sup>10</sup> and

1. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 66, p.58.
2. Levison, SSRM, V, p.657.
3. Vita Vulframni Episcopi Senonici, -3, in: SSRM, V, p.663.
4. Ibid., chapter 11.
5. Laporte, Les monastères, p.14.
6. Duchesne, Fastes, II, p.451.
7. Ibid., pp.424-25.
8. Ibid., p.197.
9. Ibid., p.194.
10. Ibid., p.187.

Senlis.<sup>1</sup> For others we have the names which we can date from charters and other sources but still have no indication of factional loyalty. Bishop Ursinian of Amiens, who is mentioned in royal charters from 692 and 697,<sup>2</sup> has left us no indication whether or not he was a Pippinid supporter. We can make no comment about either Bishops Hildebert or Hunold of Cambrai-Arras, who were appointed during the period,<sup>3</sup> or about Bishop Transmar of St. Quentin-Noyon-Tournai.<sup>4</sup> Bishops Tetric, Flocoald, and the ambitious Savaric are all mentioned by the ninth-century Gesta Pontificum Autissiodorensium for the period<sup>5</sup> but neither from its information nor from the charters in which they appear<sup>6</sup> can we decipher if their political affinities lay with Pippin. Bishop Ansbert of Autun is also mentioned in several charters of the period<sup>7</sup> but the information is of no avail in placing him politically.

When we turn to the dioceses in the Frankish heartlands, in the upper Seine and Oise valleys, we find no evidence of Pippinid influence in the choice of bishops. In fact, there is at least one very important piece of evidence to suggest that the old Frankish families managed to maintain continuous control, keeping Pippin's men out. For both Soissons and Meaux, unfortunately, neither episcopal catalogue nor any other evidence has survived which would tell us who held the episcopacy during the reigns of Clovis III and Childebert III.<sup>8</sup> But in the central and crucial diocese

1. Op. cit., vol. III, pp.117-118.

2. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 64, p.57 and nr. 70, p.62.

3. Duchesne, Fastes, III, p.111.

4. Ibid., pp.104 and 115.

5. Gest. Pont. Autiss., -24, -25, and -26.

6. Tetric perhaps as "Tretector" in Pardessus, op. cit., nr. 435, p.235. (Cf. Duchesne, Fastes, II, p.444, and Mabillon, Annales, vol. I, pp. 603-04) and Savaric in MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 66, p.58; nr. 70, p.62; and Pardessus, op. cit., nr. 435, p.236.

7. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 60, p.54; Pardessus, Diplomata, II, nr. 435, p.235, and nr. 437, p.237.

8. Cf. Duchesne, Fastes, III, p.91.

of Paris one and the same man, Bishop Turnoald, held the see from at least the third year of Clovis III<sup>1</sup> (693) continually until some time after 28 February 717. On that date Turnoald, as custos of the abbey of St.-Denis, received a huge land donation from King Chilperic II "ad petitione inlustri viro Raganfredo, maiorim domus...".<sup>2</sup> It is extremely unlikely that a man who enjoyed such favour of Chilperic II and Raganfred would have been a partisan of their enemies, the Pippinids. This, as this evidence is, it is at least some indication that, although Pippin managed to change the leaders on Neustria's edges, the ecclesiastical offices which meant the most to the Franci were kept from him.

In April of 697 we see Childebert III in his beloved residence at Compiègne for the last time.<sup>3</sup> Hereafter we can find him only in Quiersy,<sup>4</sup> near Noyon, and especially in Montmaq,<sup>5</sup> between Noyon and Compiègne. In the charter dated at Quiersy (February 701) we are told that this royal villa now belongs to Grimoald, his mayor of the palace. The facts that (a) we can no longer see Childebert visiting the royal residences around Paris, that (b) he seems to have been excluded also from Compiègne,<sup>6</sup> and that (c) the important villa of Quiersy seems to have been handed over to the Pippinids, are enough to indicate to some that 697 is the year in which Pippin came to full authority over the Neustrian central government.<sup>7</sup>

1. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 66, p.58.

2. Ibid., nr. 87, p.77.

3. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 71, p.63.

4. Ibid., nr. 73, p.64; and nr. 76, p.67.

5. Ibid., nr. 75, p.66; nr. 77, p.68; nr. 78, p.69; and nr. 79, p.70.

6. We do not find a king again in Compiègne until Chilperic II issues a charter there in 717. (Ibid., nr. 81, p.72).

7. "...das Jahr 697 einen Einschnitt bildete..." (Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.140, note 213) and "...Diese Machtzunahme Pippins kam allerdings erst 697 voll zum Tage, ... wonach mit 697 die Merowinger ihre bisherigen Pfalzen und wichtigsten neustrischen Domaenen aufgeben mussten". (Herwig Wolfram, "Der heilige Rupert und die antikarolingische Adelsopposition", in: MIÖG, LXXX (1972), p.12, note 30). Wolfram's only example, however, is Quiersy.

The evidence, however, does not support these conclusions; in fact, it may indicate the opposite. It is dangerous to conclude anything from the fact that Childebert shifted his residence from Compiègne to Quiersy and Montmaq since they all three nestle along the Oise within a ten mile radius of each other. It is not particularly significant that the villa Quiersy was handed over to Grimoald. As the case of Lagny-le-Sec so clearly illustrates, it was common practice for the king to make over a large villa to whoever was his mayor.<sup>1</sup> It is significant, on the other hand, that the king no longer frequently issued his charters from the royal Parisian residences, but there was no break in this respect in the year 697. We have no definite indication that Childebert had ever issued a charter from the Paris area.<sup>2</sup> It was during the last years of his brother, Clovis III's, reign that the shift out of Paris took place.<sup>3</sup> Rather than in 697, it seems that, as soon as possible after the mayor Berchar's death, Pippin arranged for the royal court to leave Paris and to meet further up the Oise. This may have been so that it would be closer to southern Belgium and northern Luxemburg, areas where the Pippinids held sway locally. Far from Childeric's exclusion from Compiègne indicating the final Pippinid triumph over the central government, it is more likely an indication of brewing trouble in those Neustrian circles which mattered. Compiègne was a traditional site of the yearly Merovingian

1. "... villa noncupanti Latiniaco ... qui fuit inlustrebus viris Aebroino, Warattune et Ghislemaro, quondam maioresdomos nostros..." (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 57, p.51).

2. One possible exception is his charter for Tussonval (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 69, p.61) which is dated in "Noviginto". This is close to the spelling "Noviento" which is the royal villa at Saint Cloud near Paris. "Noviginto" is however the usual spelling for Nogent-sur-Marne, mentioned in Gregory of Tours. Since the charter deals with nearby Tussonval, Nogent may well have been its place of origin rather than Saint Cloud. See A. Jacobs, "Géographie de Frédégaire, de ses continuateurs et des Gesta Francorum", in: Revue des Sociétés savantes, 2<sup>eme</sup> sér. 2 (1859), p.335.

3. The last Parisian charter which we still have was issued by Clovis in Luzarches in November 692 (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 64, p.56).

March field<sup>1</sup> – that great spring gathering of the king and his Franci for military purposes, matters of state, and legal proceedings.<sup>2</sup> After Childebert ceased to frequent Compiègne, the long lists of Franci which we can see in three royal charters<sup>3</sup> issued since the battle of Tertry disappear. Perhaps Childebert's avoidance of Paris, the traditional seat of the Neustrian royal house, his abandonment of Compiègne, a traditional field for the important March gathering, and the disappearance of the important Neustrian magnates from his charters all indicate that, as the king fell more and more under the sway of Pippin's family, Neustria's powerful Franci more and more withdrew their support. As we shall see, after Pippin's death, the same Franci who had once been Childebert's courtiers<sup>4</sup> were only too willing to create one of their own number mayor, make a former monk their king, and launch a full scale rebellion against Pippin's heirs in an attempt to rid themselves of this overbearing family from the east. We might be able to conclude that the decided change in the inner workings of the Neustrian court in the decade following 697 was a gradually increasing desire on the part of the old Franci to reclaim their traditional position of control, rather than any dramatic arrest by Pippin of the Neustrian heart.

When we turn from the activities in Francia's centre to the events occurring in its outlying regions and the areas beyond its borders, we find careful scholars portraying changes here too that took place in the

1. See Ewig's list of royal appearances in Compiègne during the month of March in: "Teilreiche", pp. 89-90, note 6.

2. "Singulis vero annis in Kalendis Martii generale cum omnibus Francis secundum priscorum consuetudinem concilium tenuit". (Ann. Mett. Prior. for their year 692).

3. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 64, p.56 (Clovis III, Nov. 692); nr. 66, p.58 (Clovis III, Feb. 693); and nr. 70, p.62 (Childebert III, March 697 in Compiègne.)

4. Ingrid Heidrich ("Titulatur", p.199) has shown that Childebert III's courtiers who disappear from view during the last years of his reign reappear under Childeric II and Raganfred.

same decade. K.F. Werner, in his examination of the political structure on the periphery of the Frankish empire, brings to light the deep seated changes afoot in the way these areas were governed. The developments he describes reach their apogee about the year 700.<sup>1</sup> Citing examples from Aquitaine, Bavaria, and Alemannia, he notes the rise of a new sort of ruler whom the contemporary sources describe as "dux" or "princeps". These leaders came from the Frankish families originally installed by the Merovingian kings but they now exercised an independent local rule. This sort of government was a strong one and for the most part brought with it a substantial degree of peace, stability, and prosperity.<sup>2</sup> Michel Ruche in his exhaustive study of Aquitaine has noticed the same development in the south. He sees Norbert's installation as bishop of Clermont in 701 as the last act of Frankish intervention in Aquitaine.<sup>3</sup> He interprets the gaps which appear in the episcopal lists of most Aquitainian cities after the turn of the century as resulting from the usurpation of the episcopal seats by local powers who then installed lay partisans who were bishop only in name.<sup>4</sup> Aquitaine was on the march to independence and after 700 slipped from Merovingian control. Paul Fouracre has recently emphasized that Marseilles and Provence at first showed substantial allegiance to Childebert III but then, after his death, rose in revolt against Pippin. It was under Childebert that the Miracula Martialis were written, a source which shows great respect for the Frankish king. Antenor, the patricius of Provence, is found among the list of nobles in Childebert's charter of 697. More royal coins, minted in Marseilles, survive from Childebert's reign than from the whole of the last half of the seventh

1. K.F. Werner, "Les principautés périphériques dans le monde franc du VIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle", in: Settimane, XX (1972), p.505.

2. Ibid., p.513.

3. Ruche, L'Aquitaine, p.94.

4. "episcopi vocati" (Ruche, ibid., p.95).

century. But once Childebert had passed from the scene, Antenor led an armed revolt against the Franks.<sup>1</sup>

In 709/710 Pippin crossed the Rhine and led a large force against the Alamanni.<sup>2</sup> In this act scholars see another of the decade's watersheds between the Merovingian and Carolingian ages. The Merovingians had had their forays, aimed primarily at gaining tribute and booty, but beginning now with Pippin's incursion, the Frankish aim became the conquest and control of the transrhenish lands.<sup>3</sup> It is nonetheless important to bear in mind that during this early stage at least, these were the wars of an eastern family, conducted still further to the east, in an area where it already had landed interests. Pippin's activity across the Rhine was more a precursing glint of the age to come; his family had not yet secured the west to the point where these campaigns would affect Neustria's Franci directly and thus they did not interest the author of the LHF.

The most striking result from comparing the account of these years by the LHF with the views outlined above is that the LHF author was not at all interested in those things which are most important to modern scholars. Nowhere does he mention a single monastery; nowhere an important episcopal seat changing hands. He does not read charters to us nor does he tell us who came into possession of what important estate-complex. He portrays

1. Fouracre, Ebroin, chapter VI.

2. LHF-49; Annales Laureshamenses (in: MGH, SS, I, pp.22-23); Annales Alamannici and Annales Nazariani, in: Walter Lendi, Untersuchungen zur Fruehalemannischen Annalistik. Die Murbacher Annalen, Scrinium Friburgense, Freiburg (Switzerland), 1971, pp.146-147.

3. "An keiner Stelle vielleicht wird der Unterschied zwischen der Merowingerzeit und der Karolingerzeit so schlagartig sichtbar wie an dem Zug ueber den Rhein von maiordomus (which technically Pippin was not) und Adel im Jahre 709". (Sprandel, "Merov. Adel", p.117). Wallace-Hadrill also stresses the difference in the treatment of the lands across the Rhine, but more correctly emphasizes that the movement occurred under Charles Martel. ("A Background to Saint Boniface's Mission", in: P. Clemons and K. Hughes (eds.), England Before the Conquest, Cambridge, 1971, pp.141-142).

the turn of the eighth century in the same way he has portrayed the whole of his history; that is, in terms of the Franci, their kings with their succession and their wars. There is, however, one important new element. Into his familiar system he must now try to fit the fact that Neustria's most important family was no longer Neustrian at all.

The accession of Childebert III in 694 brought to the throne the one monarch of all the Merovingians for whom the LHF author had the most praise. He calls him "vir<sup>1</sup> inclytus" at his accession and "bonae memoriae domnus Childebertus rex iustus" at his death.<sup>2</sup> Kurth and Krusch saw in these accolades an indication that the author had known Childebert personally,<sup>3</sup> but surely they let us suspect more about Childebert than that. The LHF author would have been alive during the reigns of at least four other Merovingian kings. If he were of a status enabling him to know Childebert personally, he would have most likely known some of the others as well but he heaps praise on none of them. As we have seen, he praises and condemns with reason and we shall not be far from the mark if we seek his reasons for praising Childebert in the king's relationship with the Franci. Childebert III was probably the one later Merovingian who ruled the way the LHF author thought a king should rule. We have seen that for the first part of his reign, at least, he preferred to reside at Compiègne, the site of the traditional gathering of king and Franci for the March field. Childebert, too, seems to have preferred to rule by placitum, that is, to make his decisions in consultation with the viri inlustres and the optimates

1. LHF-49. Ewig ("Merov. Dynastie", pp.28-29) points out that if we take the LHF's report literally, Clovis died a puer and Childebert acceded already a vir; this could only have happened if Childebert had another mother than did Clovis. Since only Clovis is mentioned by the LHF as a son of Queen Chrodhild, Childebert may well have been the son of a concubine.

2. LHF-50.

3. Kurth, "Etude critique", p.55.

of his realm. We have seen his court full of Neustria's Franci with even Antenor the patricius of Provence in attendance. And Childebert was not a puer but a vir; he lived to be over thirty, which was almost unique among the last of Clovis' line.<sup>1</sup> We might detect a note of longing, in the LHF's praise of him, for the days when an adult king ruled amid those who should properly make up a Merovingian's court: Neustria's old-line Franci.

For the last three years of Pippin's tenure we know neither much about what took place nor do we know much about King Dagobert III who ruled during them. The annals list campaigns for these years which the Franks carried out against the Suevi and the Alamanni; the accounts based on the Annales Sancti Amandi make a Walaric and a "quidam episcopus" the Frankish leaders whereas the Annales Mettenses Priores, true to their Carolingian purposes, claim that Pippin himself took the field.<sup>2</sup> Since none of the annals make any mention of the king taking part and since the LHF makes no mention at all of the campaigns, it is probable that these were Austrasian undertakings, conducted for Pippinid familial purposes or border defence, which did not involve the Neustrian Franci. It was during these years also that a temporary peace was finally achieved with the Frisian Radbod. We suspect this to have been the case because the report of the marriage between Pippin's son, Grimoald, and Radbod's daughter, Theudesinda, falls in this period<sup>3</sup> and because the Annals of Metz take the trouble to note that there were no wars at all in the year 713. By March of 714 Pippin had fallen ill; so ill, in fact, that he was unable to complete the legal proceedings which made the monastery of Sustern over to Bishop

1. Ewig ("Merov. Dynastie", pp.50 ff) provides a list of the ages of the Merovingians based on many shrewd calculations.

2. Annales Mettenses Priores for their year 712.

3. LHF-50 and Annales Mett. Pr. for their year 711.

Willibrord's foundation at Echternach.<sup>1</sup> It was while hurrying to the side of his ailing father that Grimoald II, Pippin's only surviving son by his wife Plectrud, was murdered by a certain Rantgar as he worshipped in the Church of Saint Lambert in Liège.<sup>2</sup> We know no more about Rantgar than his name and the fact that the LHF calls him a gentile, by which he probably meant Frisian, although there still were pockets of paganism in the Liège area in the early eighth century<sup>3</sup> and the name Rantgar is Frankish.<sup>4</sup> After Grimoald's murder Plectrud seems to have placed her hopes for continued control in Grimoald's six-year-old son,<sup>5</sup> Theudoald, who then became mayor of the palace by his grandfather Pippin's command.<sup>6</sup> For some, the fact that Pippin could have this young boy appointed mayor proves that the Pippinids were now in undisputed hereditary control of that office and of the Frankish government.<sup>7</sup> Although there is little doubt that

1. "Et quia nos propter egritudinem in ipsa carta scribere non potuimus, Blittrudem conjugem nostram rogavimus et postestatem dedimus ut ipsam firmare ad nostram vicem deberet..." (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 6, pp.95-96).

2. LHF-50, Fredegar, Cont., -7; Annales Sancti Amandi, Tiliani, Laubacenses, and Pétaviani for their year 714 (MGH, SS, I, pp.6-7); and the Annales Mett. Pr. also for 714.

3. Eugen Ewig, "Les Ardennes au haut-moyen-âge", in: Anciens Pays et Assemblées d'Etats, vol. XXVIII, Namur, 1963, pp.8-9.

4. M.-T. Morlet, Les noms de personne sur le territoire de l'ancienne Gaule du VI<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Paris, 1968, p.187; and Ernst Foerstemann, Altdeutsches Namenbuch I (Personennamen), Bonn, 1900, col. 1246.

5. We can calculate Theudoald's age from the report of his birth in LHF-49. Here he is said to have been born about the same time that Drogo died. As we have seen, Drogo's death can be dated in 707 from the Gesta of Saint Wandrille and thus if Theudoald were born in 707 or 708, he would have been six or seven years old at his father's death in 714. The Fredegar Continuator (chapter 7) calls him "filio parvulo" in 714 and the Annales Mett. Pr. (year 714) also claim that he was still a boy at his father's death. As Bonnell cautions (Anfaenge, p.130), it is wise to treat any information these annals provide with scepticism when they are trying to bolster their case for Martel's rightful succession. Nonetheless in setting Theudoald's age at 25 in 714 and in claiming that the LHF does not provide us with an indication of how old he was, Bonnell is clearly wrong.

6. LHF-50.

7. Thus E. Muehlbacher, Deutsche Geschichte unter den Karolinger, Stuttgart, 1896, p.33.

Pippin did control the offices of the Neustrian central government and could pass them out to members of his family as he saw fit, as we have seen, it would be a mistake to equate control of these offices with control of Neustria. As the events after his death will prove only too soon, the Franci were far from ready to accord to Pippin's family the same hereditary claim to position that they still gave to Clovis'.

CHAPTER VIII — THE LHF AND CHARLES MARTEL

This chapter will use the LHF as a guide in an attempt to trace the early career of Charles Martel, the man who controlled the political affairs in the Regnum Francorum both during the last years which the chronicle treats and during the time in which the author wrote. In so doing, we must first struggle with the puzzling question of how Martel managed to gain control in the family succession crisis after Pippin's death in 714. Plectrud seemed to hold all the advantages: she was rich in her own right and came from a powerful family; in Theudoald she held Pippin's designated successor as mayor of the palace; she controlled the Pippinid treasure; and she seems to have been Austrasia's leader, recognised by the Neustrians and other foreign powers. Martel, on the other hand, had been recently imprisoned, did not have his father's blessing to succeed as mayor, and if Plectrud's and Pippin's charter for Susteren<sup>1</sup> is at all a revealing example of how the couple arranged their affairs, he also could have been excluded from inheriting or controlling Pippinid lands.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless it was this supposed outcast, seemingly with all the means of acquiring political control set against him, who in the end made his authority felt and conquered the eastern and western kingdoms alike.

Although once again the sources are too thin to provide us with a clear picture of how Martel succeeded, using the LHF and certain accepted assumptions about Frankish politics as guides, I would propose the following answer to the question: Charles Martel was successful in his bid to succeed his father because he was supported by the powerful local nobility in the Maestricht/Liège area along the middle Meuse. With the military

1. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 6, pp.95-96.

2. Hlawitschka ("Vorfahren", p.62) concludes that Martel was an equal heir with Plectrud's offspring for Pippin's land but not for the "principatum". I can find no evidence for this view.

resources drawn from this area, he managed his victorious ambush of the Neustrians at Ambleve in April of 716. After this victory, his local following was augmented by men of a "national" stature, i.e. by Austrasia's important bishops and counts. With their might behind him, he was then able to undertake a larger campaign against the Franci in the spring of the following year. But it was his local following around Liège which gave him his start and it is there, too, that we must begin.

Charles Martel's origins are enigmatic to say the least. While the contemporary sources focused their attention on Pippin's wife Plectrud, her family, and her offspring, Martel's maternal connections were left decidedly in the shadows. The LHF author assures us that Martel was Pippin's son by a wife,<sup>1</sup> that is to say not by a concubine, and the Fredegar Continuator calls her educated, of noble birth, and gives us her name, Alpaïda.<sup>2</sup> Since it was not uncommon for the men in the leading families of both the Merovingian and Carolingian periods to have more than one wife simultaneously,<sup>3</sup> despite the Church's objection to the practice, and since the information comes from contemporary sources,<sup>4</sup>

1. "ex alia uxore" (LHF-49).

2. "Pippinus aliam duxit uxorem nobilem et elegantem nomine Chalpaïda..." (Fredegar, Cont., -6).

3. Joseph Dewez ("Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire d'Alpaïde, mère de Charles-Martell", in: Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des sciences et belles-lettres de Bruxelles, III (1826), p.320) has found the German origins of this polygamous custom described by Tacitus (Germania, -18) who says that the Germans alone among the barbarians contented themselves with one wife except for the nobles who had the right to maintain more than one. Edward Hlawitschka ("Vorfahren", p.55) calls the union a "Friedelehe", an ancient form of German marriage where the husband does not assume the Munt for the wife and which was common until well into the ninth century.

4. Aubin ("Herkunft", pp.45-46) admits that her status as a wife could be questioned on the basis that the sources that term her such were written when her son's family was in power. In this Aubin echoes (but does not mention) the sentiments of many medieval authors, the first of whom was Anselm, a canon at Liège, who wrote the following cir. 1056: "Hanc passionis eius (Saint Lambert's) causam scriptorem vitae ipsius ideo tacuisse arbitrator, ne, ut fit, eorum incurreret offensam, quorum maiores tali notati essent infamia" (Anselmi Gesta Episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium, -8 in: MGH, SS, VII, p.195). Aubin nonetheless does not find this grounds enough for demoting her.

historians have generally accepted Alpaida's noble birth and her status as wife as being true. They have done so despite a popular local hagiographical tradition, originating in Liège in the eleventh century, which saw her as a concubine and Saint Lambert (bishop of Liège cir. 670/75 to cir. 705) as her morally outraged accuser.

In the Paris manuscript Lat. 10911 of the LHF, written in Liège in the ninth century,<sup>1</sup> Alpaida is named as Pippin's other wife in the text of chapter 49. Above her name in a near-contemporary hand are written two significant words – "soror Dodonis".<sup>2</sup> The claim that Alpaida was the sister of Dodo, the powerful domesticus from near Liège,<sup>3</sup> has been universally rejected by recent historians.<sup>4</sup> The reason Alpaida is not considered to be Dodo's sister, is that her being so forms a central part of a later hagiographical tradition which grew up in Liège, seeking to make Saint Lambert's martyrdom the result of moral rather than political causes.<sup>5</sup> The oldest life of Saint Lambert which we have was written sometime in the first half of the eighth century.<sup>6</sup> It is clearly the most trustworthy and makes no mention of Alpaida. In this vita, Lambert is killed by Dodo's men in the course of a local vendetta in which two of

1. Krusch, SSRM, II, p.222.

2. Krusch did not collate this manuscript for his original edition of the LHF himself but rather relied on Bethmann, who did not think much of the manuscript, to do it for him (SSRM, II, p.222). Kurze later recollated the manuscript and noted the addition of the two words which Krusch then published in his corrections to the MGH edition. (SSRM, VI, p.775).

3. "In diebus illis erat Dodo domesticus ... et erant ei possessiones multae et in obsequio eius pueri multi". (Vita Landiberti Episcopi Traiectensis Vetustissima, -11, in: SSRM, VI, p.365).

4. Dewez, "Mémoire", p.330; Van der Essen, Etude critique, pp.20-52; Laporte, Les monastères, pp.18-19; Levison, Geschichtsquellen 1952, p.166; and Matthias Werner, Der Luetticher Raum in fruehkarolingischer Zeit, (Veroeffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts fuer Geschichte, LXII) Goettingen, 1980, p.125.

5. See especially, Van der Essen, Etude critique, pp.20-52 and Krusch's introduction in the MGH edition of the Vitae Landiberti (SSRM, VI, pp. 299-353).

6. Shortly after 727 (Levison, Geschichtsquellen 1952, p.166); after Pippin III took power (Krusch in his introduction, p.309).

Dodo's close relatives had been killed.<sup>1</sup> Although Lambert was indeed unfairly killed, he had hardly found his death in defence of the faith. Ado, archbishop of Vienne (859-875), provided Lambert with a far more pious cause of death. In his often fanciful Martyrology, which he wrote in the 850's,<sup>2</sup> Ado tells us that Lambert was killed "ab iniquissimis viris de palatio regio missis..." because the saint, enkindled by his religious zeal, had rebuked the royal house.<sup>3</sup> In a metric life of Saint Lambert, written some fifty or sixty years later and dedicated to Bishop Stephen of Liège (901-920), we find both the above reasons for Lambert's death. As in the oldest life, Dodo is the perpetrator of the martyrdom because of his anger over the death of his relatives, but added now is a new cause of Dodo's hatred for the bishop: Lambert had been railing against the unchaste life of Dodo's sister, whom the author does not name.<sup>4</sup> A little later, Bishop Stephen himself revised the oldest Life<sup>5</sup> but, despite the existence of the metric version, he made no mention of any concubine of Pippin's nor of any railing by Lambert against the princely house. By 1056, however, Anselm, a canon at Liège, included in his Gesta Episcoporum an account which now names Alpaيدا as Dodo's sister and as Pippin's concubine and Lambert's vehement incriminations against this illicit union as the incitement which moved Dodo to kill him. This story then, which picked up more life and detail as it went, found its way into

1. Vita Landiberti Vet., chapters 11 to 17.

2. Levison, Geschichtsquellen 1952, p.61.

3. Migne, PL, 123, col. 360. Cf. H. Quentin, Les Martyrologues historiques du moyen-âge, Paris, 1908, p.581.

4. "Qui (Dodo) noscendo necem dictorum corpore fratrum  
Sat memor in dictis, quae sunt de carne sororis,  
Praesulis exitium coepit disquaerere sacri", (Carmen de S. Landberto,  
cap. XXVIII, lines 336-339, in: MGH, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, IV,  
pp.151-152).

5. Stephen of Liège, Vita Landiberti Episcopi Traiectensis Auctore Stephano, in: SSRM, VI, pp.385-392.

the two later lives of Saint Lambert, that of Sigebert of Gembloux (d. 1112)<sup>1</sup> and of the canon Nicolas (cir. 1143),<sup>2</sup> and into much other later medieval literature as well.<sup>3</sup> The recent secondary literature has certainly been correct in rejecting as a pious legend the story of Lambert's recriminations against Alpaïda as the motive for his death. But in throwing out that story, scholars have been too hasty when they also threw out the indication that Dodo and Alpaïda were brother and sister simply because that relationship appears as central to the legend. This is the case for many reasons. First, it is true the legend demands that Pippin must somehow incite Lambert's moral indignation, but it is not true that the legend had to invent the Dodo-Alpaïda relationship in order to do so. As we have seen, Ado of Vienne certainly managed to provide Lambert with a morally rather than a politically based martyrdom, with no mention at all of the domesticus or the concubine, and the poet also did so, without naming Alpaïda in his metric life. Second, not only is the brother-sister relationship not necessarily a central fixture of the legend, but we are not dependent on the legend at all in order to know that it existed. To be told that it is Alpaïda who is Dodo's sister from the works which contain the legend, we must wait for Anselm's Gesta Pontificum, written about 1056. The mention of her name, however, in the LHF manuscript (Paris Lat. 10911) caused someone to note that she was Dodo's sister, long before Anselm had ever set quill to parchment. And third, it is clear that Dodo and Pippin were closely allied politically,<sup>4</sup> and thus

1. Sigebert of Gembloux, Vita Landiberti Episcopi Traiectensis Auctore Sigeberto, chapters 18 and 19 (SSRM, VI, pp.400 and 400-401).

2. Nicolas, Vita Landiberti Episcopi Traiectensis Auctore Nicolao, chapters 14-16 (SSRM, VI, pp.418-426).

3. Krusch, SSRM, VI, pp.336-352.

4. "Dodo domesticus iam dicti principes (sic) Pippini..." (Vita Landiberti Vet., -11).

it is by no means improbable that Pippin would have sealed this important alliance by marriage. Thus, rather than the Liège hagiographers having invented a familial relationship in order to exonerate their patron, they were able to build their legend around a brother-sister pair that had, indeed, existed.

Having probed this far, it still remains to ask where Alpaida's family came from and why Pippin needed an alliance with them. Charles Martel's maternal family came from in and around Liège. We have many indications of this. Here was his uncle Dodo's area of activity. We know one of Dodo's men and a murderer of Lambert, Godobald, came from Avroy near Liège in the Haspengau.<sup>1</sup> Local tradition has tied Charles' mother to Jupille<sup>2</sup> and Orp-le-Grand,<sup>3</sup> but most indicative and most important for us is the fact that the LHF tells us that Martel's own early military activity was in the same area.<sup>4</sup> Why then did Pippin need the alliance with this powerful liegeois family? The answer will present itself if we re-examine the history of the relationship the Pippinids have had to the area.

The area around Liège has been seen by many scholars as a major support position for the Pippinids from Pippin I right down the line. Indeed Pippin I is still often called "Pippin of Landen", even though the appellation has long been shown to be the product of local thirteenth-

1. Miracula Sancti Dionysi, the first miracle of which is edited by Krusch in: NA, XVIII (1892), p.601.

2. Vita Landiberti Auctore Sigeberto, -18; Vita Landiberti Auctore Nicolao, -16; Theoderic Pauli's Acta Sancti Suidberti, Auctore Marcellino, -25; and others.

3. Dewez, "Mémoire", pp.337-339.

4. "...usque ipsum fluvium Mosam contra Carlum dirigunt." and "... in loco quidem Amblava maximum, Carlo in eos inruente, perpassi sunt dispendium." (LHF-52).

century conditions.<sup>1</sup> Heinrich Bonnell, who first rescued the study of the origin of the Carolingians from the morass of late medieval chronicles, legends and Brabantine genealogies by basing it on a careful inquiry into the charters and other contemporary sources, assumed he had safely moved the "cradle of the Carolingians" out of Belgium and across the Meuse to the east.<sup>2</sup> Bonnell's approach was to examine the early Pippinid landholdings under the safe assumption that where they held land in their early years was also where they held power. Since his work, however, the Vita S. Geretrudis and the Annales Mettenses, both of which Bonnell rejected, have found acceptance as reliable sources. With their revaluation, Belgium, and especially the area around Nivelles, has been slowly regaining its position as the original home of Pippin I's family.<sup>3</sup> Very recently a new champion has come forth wishing to include the Liège-Maastricht area in the Carolingian cradle as well.<sup>4</sup> I have, however, come to the opposite conclusion: that is, not only was the Liège area not a region of original Pippinid family land, but, until about the time Pippin seems to have married Alpaïda, it was a decided trouble-spot for the family.

The Annales Mettenses Priores tell us that Pippin I governed the people living in the vast area between the Silva Carbonaria and the River Meuse up to the Frisian border.<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to be certain about what the Annales author meant. Pippin I had a long political career and during parts of it he would have governed far more than just

1. Bonnell, Anfaenge, pp.49-51.

2. Ibid., pp.52-133.

3. Ganshof, "Manorial Organization", pp.30f; Aubin, "Herkunft", p.45.

4. M. Werner, Luetticher Raum, pp.335, 347-348, 469, and passim.

5. "... (Pippinus) qui populum inter Carbonariam silvam et Mosam fluvium et usque ad Fresionum fines vastis limitibus habitantem iustis legibus gubernabat." (Annales Mett. Pr. for their year 688).

the area west of the Meuse, while during the periods when he was out of favour, it seems hard to imagine that he would have commanded an area as large as the one the Annales author describes. When we search for clues other than in the Metz Annals for where Pippin I's family was based, we find that, although the most likely area is, indeed, located between the Carbonaria and the Meuse, it does not encompass it all. We know that about 640/641 Pippin's wife, Itta, founded the monastery at Nivelles<sup>1</sup> and that a few years later she helped Foillan to found another one at Fosses.<sup>2</sup> But when we examine the earliest land holdings of both of these institutions<sup>3</sup> we are struck by the fact that, while each was richly endowed, with the exception of Gingelom, neither had any possessions in the Liège-Maestricht area. The evidence from Nivelles and Fosses suggests that Pippin's family lands were concentrated to the west of Namur and did not extend to Liège. M. Werner, who is anxious to have Liège included in Pippin I's heartland, can only do so by analogy. His argument is thus: since the Annales Mettenses tell us that Pippin held important office between the Carbonaria and the Meuse, and since we can see that his family had land in the western section, up to Namur, he must also have had possessions in the east near Liège.<sup>4</sup> We have, however, no evidence that he did.

1. Vita S. Geretrudis, -2.

2. Additamentum Nivialense de Fuilano (SSRM, IV, p.450).

3. For Nivelles' land holdings see: J.J. Hoebanx, L'Abbaye de Nivelles des origines au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, Bruxelles, 1951, pp.86-95. Although Hoebanx (ibid., pp.93-95) emphasizes the difficulty of determining Nivelles' early holdings, his map between pp.226 and 227 clearly shows that even by the mid-eleventh century, the Liège area was totally void of any property belonging to the abbey; and for Fosses: F. Rousseau, "La Meuse et le pays mosan en Belgique. Leur importance historique avant le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", in: Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur, XXXIX (1939), p.222.

4. Luetticher Raum, p.469. M. Werner, whose study is otherwise rather careful and exacting, resorts to a little slight of hand in his attempt to nestle Liège snugly in the Carolingian cradle. On p.348 he says a good "indirekter Hinweis" that Pippin I controlled Liège is that in 613 when he called Clothar II to invade Austrasia, the king marched through that area. He claims Clothar chose that route because Pippin held land there and could have secured the way for him. He then refers to Ewig (Trier,  
(cont.)

When we move to Pippin I's son, Grimoald I, we find the same thing to be true. We can see that he had a close connection with Nivelles where his daughter, Wulfetrud, was to become abbess in 656,<sup>1</sup> and that he cooperated with Itta in helping Foillan when he was driven out of Neustria,<sup>2</sup> but nowhere can we find any ties, either political or in terms of landholding, which would bind him to Liège. The fact that he administrated the founding of Stavelot-Malmedy has been held up as evidence that he owned land in that area.<sup>3</sup> But as we have seen, that land was not Grimoald's, but royal land, and in founding the double monastery, he was acting as Sigibert III's agent.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, when it came time for the important meeting with Bishop Dido of Poitiers, presumably to discuss the tricky business of exiling the young Dagobert II to Ireland, it was not Stavelot-Malmedy near Liège which Grimoald chose for the site but, instead, the two plotters met in the safety of the family monastery at Nivelles.<sup>5</sup> Even Grimoald's ally, the deacon Adalgisel-Grimo, whose vast holdings stretched throughout the Meuse and Moselle valleys, has left us a record of only one holding in the Liège-Maestricht area.<sup>6</sup> The vast majority of his land was on the middle Moselle between Metz and Verdun.

4. (cont.) p.114) as his source for Clothar's route. Ewig, however, freely admits that he only assumed that Clothar marched through Liège because Pippin may have had land there. Werner's argument evaporates into a tautology.

1. Vita S. Geretrudis, -6. The date is mine. See above, Chapter V, p. 122.

2. Addit. Nivial., (p. 450).

3. M. Werner, Luetticher Raum, p.469.

4. Above, Chapter V, pp. 131-133.

5. Addit. Nivial., (p. 450).

6. He donated the "villa in Tongrinse territorio sita nomine Fledismama-lacha" to the lepers in Maestricht. (W. Levison, "Das Testament des Diakons Adalgisel-Grimo vom Jahre 634", in: Aus Rheinischer und Fraenkischer Fruezeit; Ausgewaelte Aufsaeetze, Duesseldorf, 1948, p.132).

It is, in fact, during Grimoald's tenure that we begin to see that, far from being a Pippinid stronghold, Liège was actually a trouble-spot. Amandus was a zealous Aquitanian who spent most of his career as a "missionary bishop" but then was appointed as the diocesan bishop of Maestricht.<sup>1</sup> His tenure lasted only about three years and soon he was driven out.<sup>2</sup> Because Amandus is clearly addressed as a diocesan bishop in a letter of Pope Martin I, which can be dated to 649,<sup>3</sup> we know that his three-year office fell around that year. This means that it was King Sigibert III and his advisor, Grimoald, who attempted to inflict this outsider on the church in Maestricht. Amandus had been a friend of the Pippinids, as we can see from his role influencing Itta to found Nivelles,<sup>4</sup> but when Grimoald tried to use his friend to rule the Treiectensium ecclesiam, it drove him out.<sup>5</sup>

After Grimoald fell from power in the summer of 657,<sup>6</sup> the Pippinids remained cut off from court for the next eighteen years.<sup>7</sup> It is therefore

1. "Tunc vero rex sanctum arcessivit Amandum, congregataque multitudine sacerdotum populi turbam non modicam, ad regendam Treiectensium ecclesiam eum praeposuit." (Vita Amandi Episcopi I, -18. (SSRM, V, p.442).

2. "Multi etiam, quod dictu quoque nefas est, sacerdotes atque levitae praedicationem illius respicientes, audire contempserunt; at ille secundum evangelii praeceptum pulverem de pedibus in testimonium excutiens, ad alia properabat loca." (ibid., p.443).

3. Krusch edited and dated the letter in SSRM, V, pp.452-456.

4. Vita S. Geretrudis, -2.

5. M. Werner, gliding over the unhappy end to Amandus' diocesan duties, attempts to use Grimoald's appointment of him as further evidence of the family's tenure in Maestricht-Liège. (Luetticher Raum, pp.231-234). He also uses the same analogy for Grimoald as he did for Pippin I, but this time to claim that Liège was a "Schwerpunkt" of Grimoald's power: "Grimoalds enge Verbindungen zu Nivelles lassen darauf schliessen, dass auch fuer ihn das oestliche Belgien, in dem ein Grossteil seiner vaeterlichen Erbgueten anzunehmen (my emphasis) ist, einen Schwerpunkt innerhalb seiner weitraeumigen Beziehungen bildete." (ibid., p.355).

6. My date, see above Chapter V, p. 141.

7. Again, my conviction that it was Pippin II and not Wulfoald who ruled under Dagobert II from about 675. See above Chapter VI, p. 160.

not surprising that we can see activity by the family's enemies in the Liège area. In 669/670 King Childeric II confirmed Sigibert III's grant of forest land to Stavelot-Malmedy but at the same time ordered Duke Gundoin and a domesticus, Hodo, to measure off half of that land and to retain it for royal use.<sup>1</sup> The area around Stavelot-Malmedy was not the home ground of either of these two enemies of the Pippinids. They were allies and relatives of Wulfoald and came from the middle Moselle.<sup>2</sup> What this royal assignment of theirs near Liège tells us about their influence in the neighbourhood is far from obvious. All we can say is that in some way they were active there. This Gundoin may have been the same man who the Annales Mettenses claim killed Pippin II's father Ansegisel.<sup>3</sup> It was also between 670 and 675<sup>4</sup> that King Childeric installed Lambert as bishop of Maestricht.<sup>5</sup> This could be another example of the king's chief advisor, Wulfoald, trying to extend his influence into the Maestricht-Liège area. Even if it was, it is hard to imagine that whatever influence Wulfoald may have gained would have outlasted his own fall at Childeric's death in 675, when Lambert was deposed and exiled to Stavelot-Malmedy for seven years.<sup>6</sup> Thus it seems that in the years immediately preceding Pippin II's coming to power, Maestricht-Liège was not the plum of any national Austrasian political force; the locals were in control.

The Pippin-Alpaida marriage probably took place some time between 685 and 690. The second of these dates is the most likely approximate birth-

1. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 29, p.28. Krusch has redated the charter from Pertz's 667 to 669/670 (SSRM, VI, p.355, note 2).

2. Ebling, Prosopographie, p.168.

3. Annales Mett. Pr. for their year 688. Ewig (Trier, p.137, note 152) thinks the two Gundoins are the same man.

4. Krusch, SSRM, VI, p.300.

5. Vita Landiberti Vet., -4.

6. Ibid., chapter 5.

date for Charles Martel since he was baptized by Rigobert who did not become bishop of Reims until about that year.<sup>1</sup> The post quem is a less solid indication and comes from the date of a charter in which we can see that Pippin is still together with Plectrud as they jointly grant the villa of Narroy to the church at Metz.<sup>2</sup> If we briefly review what we can see of Pippin's political position up to these years, we shall glean an indication of what it was between 685 and 690 that made Pippin want the alliance with Alpaida's family.

We first see Pippin II in 675 after the deaths of Clothar III and Childeric II when he, together with Duke Martin, and under Dagobert II,<sup>3</sup> was ruling in Austrasia.<sup>4</sup> The most likely date for his marriage to Plectrud also falls upon 675 or shortly thereafter. We are led to this conclusion because the eldest offspring of their union, Drogo, was himself old enough to marry Ansfléd's daughter in the early 690's.<sup>5</sup> As we have seen, it was this alliance with Plectrud and her family which greatly expanded the Pippinid resources from their own holdings in the area west of Namur to include Plectrud's vast tracts in the Ardennes and the middle Moselle.

1. Rigobert's predecessor, Reolus, is last seen at a council held in Rouen in 688/89 (Vita Ansberti, -18).

2. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 2, pp.92-93 and Pardessus, Diplomata, II, nr. 414, p.212. The editors have incorrectly dated this charter in the year 691 whereas it rightfully belongs in 685. Pardessus' edition of the charter has a preface which Pertz correctly omitted. In this preface Pippin is referred to as mayor of the palace. Since Pippin is given this title, Pardessus, following LeCoint, assumed that the document must stem from some year after 687, which was when Pippin became mayor. The charter was issued in Theuderic III's twelfth year, but since Pippin was called mayor, Pardessus could not count the twelve years from 673 when Theuderic first became king because that would yield a date of 685. He instead added twelve years to 679, which was when Theuderic first became king in Austrasia, and this gave him the date of 691. Pertz, whose edition does not contain the spurious preface, had no need to use this irregular system of reckoning Theuderic's regnal years. He nonetheless repeated the date given by the earlier editors.

3. My deduction, see Chapter VI, p. 160.

4. LHF-46.

5. Ewig, "Teilreiche", pp.140-41 and Breysig, Jahrbuecher, p.2.

This great increase in his fortunes would have significantly increased Pippin's ability to risk the major confrontation with the Neustrians where, as it turned out, he suffered a crushing defeat at Lucofao in the late 670's.<sup>1</sup> After such a disaster we could expect that Pippin would be forced to retreat to the area where his support was the strongest, to regroup and rebuild. Indeed, this is where we next find him in the early 680's, in Namur, as he is hounded and besieged by Ghislemar.<sup>2</sup> Even though Pippin was given a temporary reprieve by Ghislemar's death and the more friendly overtures of his father Waratto, who again took up his former position as Neustrian mayor of the palace,<sup>3</sup> it is clear that Pippin needed a larger following to secure his position. This became all the more necessary when, in 686,<sup>4</sup> Waratto's death brought the selection of the far more bellicose Berchar as the Neustrian mayor.<sup>5</sup> As we have seen, this is exactly the period in which it seems most probable that Pippin married Alpaida. It is perhaps then not too bold an assumption that, just as his union with Plectrud had strengthened his position before he met the Neustrians at Lucofao, his alliance with Alpaida's family would have fattened his arsenal for the coming conflict at Tertry. Whatever Pippin's immediate motives were for forming this union in the second half of the 680's, its long-term effects, both in its male issue, Martel, and the support Martel was able to draw from his mother's family in the crucial year of 716, were to prove of greater consequence.

On 17 September, in about the year 703,<sup>6</sup> Lambert, bishop of Maestricht,

1. LHF-46.

2. Fredegar, Cont., -4.

3. LHF-46.

4. Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.138.

5. LHF-48.

6. Krusch, SSRM, VI, p.306.

was murdered in Liège by Dodo and his men.<sup>1</sup> The fact that both Lambert and Dodo were strong supporters of Pippin II has caused one noted scholar to ask whether this vendetta was not a precursor of the strife which was to rend Pippin's family after his death.<sup>2</sup> Lambert's death, a full decade before Pippin himself died, causes us to wonder if there were not reasons other than the coming succession crisis which would fuel resentment in one branch of Pippin's party toward members in another part. Indeed, we can catch glimpses of a long history of frustration on the part of the locals in the Maestricht-Liège area with their counterparts on the middle Moselle, south of the Ardennes — frustration on which Martel could well capitalise in those first months of 716.

We can see that there was a long tradition of ejecting the bishops of Maestricht; the diocese of Tongres seems to have been a hard one to control. In the early 650's Bishop Amandus was driven out,<sup>3</sup> Lambert's predecessor, Theodard, was killed,<sup>4</sup> in 675 Lambert was deposed,<sup>5</sup> in 682 Pharamund, the man appointed to succeed Lambert, was himself deposed and driven from the diocese,<sup>6</sup> and although Lambert was reinstalled by Pippin, his second term ended with his assassination in about 703. These men were politically active prelates and their political loyalties seem to have been anchored outside the local area. We have seen Amandus' connections with Grimoald I's and Itta's family.<sup>7</sup> Lambert had been a courtier of Childeric II and Wulfoald seems to have been instrumental in his appointment as

1. Vita Landiberti Vet., -12 to -17.

2. Laporte, "Les monastères", p.19.

3. Vita Amandi, -18.

4. Vita Landiberti Vet., -4.

5. Ibid., -5.

6. Ibid., -7.

7. Vita S. Geretrudis, -2.

bishop.<sup>1</sup> A tenth-century work connects Pharamund to the bishop of Cologne, whom he makes responsible for Lambert's deposition.<sup>2</sup> Finally, Lambert's restitution was brought about by Pippin.<sup>3</sup>

Pippin's wars against Radbod in the 690's returned "citeriorem Fresiam" to Frankish control<sup>4</sup> and thus secured Toxandria for Frankish settlement.<sup>5</sup> As was standard practice, the land was given to the victorious war leader's favourites. Although it lay in Maestricht's backyard<sup>6</sup> – indeed the southern part of Toxandria fell in the direct influence sphere of the bishops of Maestricht<sup>7</sup> – the land was nonetheless not given to Maestricht's magnates but to families who had come from the Eifel<sup>8</sup> and whose loyalties lay there on the middle Moselle. Their pious land donations flowed not to

1. "Ergo optimati viri et inlustrissimi, qui eo tempore rectores palatii videbantur, glorioso domno Childerico regi famam beati viri innotuerunt..." (Vita Landiberti Vet., -4). The leader at Childeric's court was Wulfoald.

2. Annales Lobienses, in: MGH, SS, XIII, p.226. See Krusch's note 2 to the Vita Landiberti Vet., -5, p.357.

3. "... Pippinus ... iussit eum cum magna honore ad propriam sedem revocare". (Vita Landiberti Vet., -7).

4. Bede, Historia Ecc., V-10. Plummer (ed., p.289) defines citeriorem Fresiam as the southwestern portion. Levison (SSRM, VII, p.83), following A. Hauck, (Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, vol. I, Leipzig, 1904, p.435, note 5), says it probably meant the whole area south of the Rhine.

5. Camill Wampach, "Das Apostolat des heiligen Willibrords in den Vorlanden der eigentlichen Frisia", in: Annalen des historischen Vereins fuer den Niederrhein, 155/56 (1954), p.247.

6. "Nam regio, cui Taxandria nomen est, que a Traiectensi oppido versus septemtrionem vix tribus miliaribus disparatur" (Vita Landiberti Auctore Nicolao, -9).

7. M. Werner, Luetticher Raum, p.279.

8. It is Bergengruen's conclusion (Adel und Grundherrschaft, pp.113-115) that they came "... aus dem ripuarischen Raum." because the pertinence formulas of their charters reveal that their lands were organized in a way particular to the nobility in the Eifel. He also notes that because their holdings are not yet divided and redivided into many "portiones", they first settled in Toxandria in the second half of the seventh century. In view of the Frisian political situation it seems most probable to place their appearance after 690 as I have done. This would also explain why the donors, whose first charter comes from 704, were only one generation behind the original occupiers.

the church in Maestricht, in whose diocese much of Toxandria lay, but to Plectrud's close associate, Willibrord, for the monastery her mother had founded at Echternach. From the donation charters which have survived from these noblemen, we can see that their holdings were vast.<sup>1</sup> Such wealth and influence flowing south to outsiders must have been a decided thorn in the locals' flesh.

In the founding of the monastery at Susteren in 714, we can see that one of these powerful families with land to the north of Maestricht was a branch of Plectrud's own. In Plectrud and Pippin's foundation charter<sup>2</sup> we learn that Plectrud had purchased the land for the monastery from the owners, Alberic and Haderic. These two were none other than her own nephews, sons of Adela of Pfalzel, her sister.<sup>3</sup> The charter sets out the arrangements for the monastery's mundiburdium and defensio and for its free election of the abbot and thus, as we have seen, we are justified in suspecting that political purposes had much to do with the founding. In fact, if we examine the charter looking for its klosterpolitischer content, we find what one recent author has termed a "Frontstellung" against Martel.<sup>4</sup> We first note that Pippin had very little to do with the arrangements it represents; the wording claims that he was even too weak to sign it.<sup>5</sup> The whole business was Plectrud's doing. She chose to place the new foundation north of Liège, in her old rival, Alpaïda's, homeland and she conceded it, not to any nearby Belgian monastery, but to Willibrord for her own abbey at Echternach. This is the more significant if we consider

1. The most recent edition of the surviving charters is found in Wampach's collection for his history of Echternach (Echternach I-2).

2. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 6, p.95. A newer edition in Wampach, Echternach I-2, nr. 24, pp.57-60.

3. Hlawitschka, "Vorfahren", p.80.

4. Felten, Aebte, p.129.

5. "Et quia propter egritudinem in ipsa carta scribere non potuimus..."

a conjecture of Miraeus.<sup>1</sup> He assumed that the name Susterne means "the sisters" (German: Schwestern) and takes its origins from Saints Geretrud, Adelgund, and Amalberga. Since the first two of these ladies were connected with the Belgian Pippinid houses of Nivelles and Maubeuge and the third with Susterne itself, it would seem far more natural to have tied Susterne to one of the former. But it was Pippin's family and not Plectrud's who held sway in Nivelles and Maubeuge and thus Plectrud chose her own Echternach. The charter also guarantees the monks free election of the abbot but only on the condition that the monastery remain in the protection of either Grimoald and his heirs or in that of Drogo's heirs; in other words, it was only Plectrud's offspring who were to be considered,<sup>2</sup> Alpaida's were blatantly shut out, and this on their own doorstep. How deep the local resentment must have been toward this intrusion by the powerful matrona from Cologne and the middle Moselle.

Somehow the lucrative new mission field also escaped the local church and fell into the hands and the coffers of Echternach. Some scholars feel that Willibrord's ecclesiastical control over Toxandria in these years was almost complete, that there in the diocese of Maestricht itself he had many Eigenkirchen with declared allegiance to Echternach,<sup>3</sup> and that it is most likely true that any church then founded in Toxandria was consecrated by Willibrord.<sup>4</sup> Some time before 704,<sup>5</sup> Willibrord's position was made even more secure when Pippin assigned him Utrecht as his episcopal seat for a

1. A. Miraeus, Opera diplomatica et historica, (edit 2), vol. III, Brussels, 1734, p.286, note 1.

2. See Heidrich. "Titulatur", p.125.

3. Arnold Angenendt, "Willibrord im Dienste der Karolinger", in: Annalen des Historischen Vereins fuer den Niederrhein, 175 (1973), p.89.

4. Wampach, "Das Apostolat", pp.249-250.

5. Between 695 and 704 (M. Werner, Luetticher Raum, p.266).

new diocese formed directly north of Maestricht.<sup>1</sup> Pippin also conceded him one tenth of all fiscal revenue there.<sup>2</sup>

It is during this same period when Willibrord was busy establishing Eigenkirchen for Echternach in the diocese of Maestricht and when the newly settled families from the Eifel were beginning to donate local land to him, that the rivalry between Maestricht's bishop, Lambert, and the local nobility erupted to the point where the bishop was murdered. We can find no record of any kind of opposition by Lambert either toward Plectrud, the new settlers, or toward Willibrord. He seems to have attracted no land for the church at Maestricht from Toxandria and his missionary activity there seems to have been very slight, leaving the whole area to be harvested by Willibrord. Whether local dissatisfaction with Lambert's failure to pre-empt the outsiders in the ecclesiastical organization of the northern sections of his diocese and the areas of Toxandria which may have lain beyond,<sup>3</sup> played a role in building the tension which erupted into his death, we cannot say. But even if it did, Lambert's demise did the local church little good for, as his successor Pippin appointed Hubert, a close relative of Plectrud's,<sup>4</sup> and the flow of land to Echternach and the

1. Bede, Historia Ecc., V-11.

2. Pippin II's charter is now lost but Pippin III's and Charlemagne's confirmations of it have survived (MGH, Dipl. Kar., I, nr. 4, p.6; and nr. 56, p.82).

3. Whether the northern sections of Toxandria were given to Utrecht is still disputed. See M. Werner, Luetticher Raum, pp.266-67.

4. Ewig ("Milo et eiusmodi similes", in: Heinrich Buettner et al. (eds.), Sankt Bonifatius - Gedenkgabe zum zwölfhundertsten Todestag, Fulda, 1954, p.423), suspected that Hubert might be Plectrud's father, who was also named Hubert. Her father, however, is called "the late" (quondam) in a charter of 706 (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 4, p.93). Wampach (Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach im Fruehmittelalter I-1 Textband, Luxembourg, 1929, p.130) and K.F. Werner ("Bedeutende Adelsfamilien im Reich Karls des Grossen", in: Wolfgang Braunfels (ed.), Karl der Grosse, vol. I, Duesseldorf, 1965, p.116) state he was a close relative of Plectrud's and Levison (SSRM, VI, p.472) says he enjoyed a "necessitudinem quondam artiozem" with her family.

establishment of that monastery's Eigenkirchen went on apace. Thus for all the above reasons -- i.e.. a) the diocese of Maestricht's long tradition of independent and rebellious spirit, evidenced by sixty years of ejecting and sometimes murdering the bishops imposed upon it; b) the recent incursion of Plectrud's and other families from the middle Moselle into nearby Toxandria, with the concurrent flood of land donations and Eigenkirchen falling to the Moselleland's abbey at Echternach; c) Maestricht's present bishop himself being a scion of Plectrud's family and cooperative with her designs; and d) the strong local position of Alpaida's family and her natural rivalry with Plectrud -- all these would have fostered Martel's cause among the magnates of the middle Meuse in the family succession struggle and given him the force he needed for that important first victory. A victory, which as LHF-52 tells us, took place in nearby Amblève.

We can still uncover the names of some of these nobles who supported Martel's bid for power from the beginning; some we can include in his camp with more certainty, some with less. Dodo was most likely dead by 716, or at least the author of the oldest Vita Landiberti takes pleasure in describing how Dodo and many of the others guilty of Lambert's death were killed by God's vengeance.<sup>1</sup> Whether or not Martel's family was really so conveniently purged, it is difficult to say, but if his uncle was indeed dead in 716, it would have given Charles a better claim, not only to the family lands, but to the loyalties of the family supporters as well. One henchman who was still alive in 716 and who probably would have helped Martel was Godobald, the warrior from Avroy, near Liège. According to the Miracula Sancti Dionyssi, his divine punishment for complicity in Lambert's murder was that he was lamed. He was later forgiven, healed, and became a monk in

1. Vita Landiberti Vet., -24.

Saint-Denis, where some time before 726<sup>1</sup> he was made abbot by Martel's order.<sup>2</sup> It was also under Godobald's abbacy that Martel was buried in that famous abbey.<sup>3</sup>

On 1 October 741, Chrodogang became the bishop of Metz.<sup>4</sup> From Paul the Deacon we learn that he was the son of Sigramn, a nobleman from the Liège area, and that he was educated at Martel's court.<sup>5</sup> Chrodogang would not have been born much before 712 because Martel's court would not have existed until about that time or a few years thereafter, nor would he have been born much after 712 because he would have been at least 30, the canonically required age, at his elevation to bishop. Since, therefore, it seems that Sigramn sent his young son to Charles at some point cir. 712, and, since the family came from the Haspengau, it is possible that Sigramn was another of Charles' supporters at the battle of Amblève.<sup>6</sup>

In all probability, Charles' first wife and the mother of Pippin III was a woman named Chrodtrud. No source explicitly calls her Martel's wife but, since the Carolingian annals list her death in 725, the year Charles married Swanahild, and, since her name also appears in a list of Carolingian women in Reichenau's Confraternity Book which, when matched with the corresponding list of men in the same book, yields Charles Martel

1. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 94, p.84.

2. Miracula Sancti Dionysii, p.601.

3. See M. Werner, Luetticher Raum, pp.126-139; and Krusch, SSRM, VI, pp.304-05.

4. J. Depoin, "Grandes figures monacales des temps mérovingiens: Saint Arnoul de Metz" (part II), in: Revue Mabillon, XII (1922), p.112.

5. Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium, in: MGH, SS, II, p.267: "ex pago Hasbaniense oriundus, patre Sigramno, matre Landrada..." and "...in palatio maioris Karoli...".

6. See M. Werner, Luetticher Raum, pp.197-98.

as her partner, the assumption is reasonably safe.<sup>1</sup> Since we know that Pippin III was born before 25 September 715,<sup>2</sup> it is also probable that Chrodtrud's family would have been at Martel's side at Amblève. The sources have left us no indication of who her relatives were.<sup>3</sup> The common element in her name with that in the name of a certain Chrodbert, "loco Hasbanio duce",<sup>4</sup> who is known to have been one of Charles' faithful followers at a later date,<sup>5</sup> might let us suspect that they were somehow related and that he was therefore with Martel at Amblève. Another candidate could be Count Chrodgar, who may have come from Zuelpich.<sup>6</sup> Martel

1. Hlawitschka, "Vorfahren", pp.78-79.

2. Pippin died on 24 September 768 "anno aetatis 54" (Annales Laurissenses Minores, in: MGH, SS, I, p.117).

3. An unfortunate conjecture about Chrodtrud has entered the secondary literature which would make her a sister of Milo of Trier and Wido of St.-Wandrille and thus a member of the "Widonen", the family which supposedly eventually produced the Salian emperors. The connection entered the literature through a remark of A. Halbedel's (Fraenkische Studien, p.29, note 22) when commenting on the report that Wido of St.-Wandrille was a relative of Martel's (Gesta Font., p.57). Halbedel mused: "... Graf und Bischof Milo (c. 720-60) vermutlich ein Schwager Martells..." H. Schreibmüller (Die Ahnen Kaiser Konrads II. und Bischofs Bruno von Wuerzburg, in: Herbipolis Jubulans. (Wuerzburger Dioezesangeschichtsblaetter, 14/15), 1952/53, p.187) although stating that we do not know how Wido and Martel were related, nonetheless picked up Halbedel's conjecture about them being brothers-in-law. Then Hlawitschka ("Vorfahren", pp.78-79) repeated the above providing Chrodtrud as the link. All these scholars have warned that there is no certainty about Chrodtrud or her family connections and that the link to Wido and Milo is only probable. I would think the opposite. If we accept the local, Liège-based, nature of Martel's politics before 716, the link to this powerful Metz family then seems highly unlikely at this early date.

4. Vita Eucherii Episcopi Aurelianensis, -9, in: SSRM, VII, p.50.

5. Cir. 732 (Vita Eucherii, -7). See Ebling, Prosopographie, pp.116-117. Semmler ("Zur pippinidisch-karolingischen Sukzessionskrise 714-723", in: DA, XXXIII (1977), p.33) has him among Charles' supporters at Zuelpich in 723, but the Gesta Font., III-5 (edit. p.33) lists Chrodgar not Chrodbert.

6. Ebling (Prosopographie, p.118) cannot decide between Zuelpich and LeMans as Chrodgar's administrative area. Ewig ("Milo", p.425), however, thinks he was Austrasian because his son, Bishop Gauziolus of LeMans, took part in the founding of Pruem in 762 which would be very strange for a bishop of the province of Tours unless he had Austrasian connections.

later installed two of the Count's sons as successive bishops of LeMans.<sup>1</sup> Charles Martel's victorious army at Amblève would have included, of course, many others representing the controlling families on the middle Meuse,<sup>2</sup> but I can find no way of even guessing who they might have been.

Charles' next military confrontations with the Neustrians were much larger undertakings. The first came on 21 March 717 at Vinchy, a little south of Cambrai, and this was in turn followed by another campaign, in which the two sides clashed at Soissons. Although in both these conflicts Charles emerged the victor, for the author of the LHF, the battle of Vinchy was by far the more important encounter. Although he certainly relates the campaign in which the battle of Soissons was fought, he completely skips over that battle itself. For Vinchy, on the other hand, he provides a surprising amount of detail. He tells us that it was Charles who took the offensive, relates his overture for peace and says that the Neustrians rejected the offer. He gives us an exact date for the conflict and describes the Neustrians' brave fighting, which was in the end nonetheless in vain. We then hear of their flight and how Charles laid waste to the area around Cambrai and returned to Austrasia with captives and much booty.<sup>3</sup>

1. K. Werner, "Adelsfamilien", p.141.

2. Laporte ("Les monastères", p.20) claims that Martel's early supporters can be found among "des outlaws de la forêt Charbonnière dont les excès et les violences ont un écho dans certaines vies de saints de la région..." However, the violent incidents in the Vitae to which he refers all happened in the preceding century. In the tenth-century Vita Sanctorum Luglii et Lugliani Fratrum auctore anonymo (in: J. Ghesquierus, Acta Sanctorum Belgici Selecta, vol. VI, Brussels, 1789, p.20) the saints were murdered by robbers who had many "satellites". One of the murderers, a certain Berenger, came from "villam Percetum" which Plechl (Graesse-Benedict-Plechl, Orbis Latinus, Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, vol. III, Braunschweig, 1972, p.127) equates with Persy, an unidentified place between Tongres and Gembloux, near Liège. The best Ghesquierus can date the murders is to say they fell in the late seventh or early eighth century. If any of this can be believed, Berenger was certainly the type of local adventurer which Martel could have easily attracted.

3. LHF-53.

This report and the implications derived from it disagree in many respects with more recent accounts. First, if Charles managed to deliver the decisive blow to the Neustrians in 717 at Vinchy, it must mean that he invaded with a considerable following. In other words, from the band of local nobility which he probably commanded at Amblève in 716, his following must have grown to a major force before he invaded Neustria, and before he had settled matters with Plectrud in Cologne. Second, the LHF is in direct conflict with the Fredegar Continuator who says that after the battle of Vinchy, Charles pursued the Neustrians to Paris.<sup>1</sup> The LHF only says that he laid waste to "regiones illas" and then went home. Since the LHF author wrote in some Merovingian centre on the upper Seine or Oise, "those regions" must refer to the area around Vinchy and cannot mean Paris. And third, even though, according to the LHF, Charles did not take Paris and the central Merovingian strongholds in 717, he nonetheless saw this battle as the decisive clash between Martel and the Neustrians and presumably the one which delivered the western kingdom into his hands. Therefore, in investigating the accuracy of the LHF's report, we are faced with three specific tasks: 1) to learn what we can about Martel's following in early 717; 2) to see what his influence was in Paris after the battle; and 3) to see how it came about that the battle at Vinchy in 717 was the real disaster for the independence of the old-line, Neustrian Franci.

Martel's success at Amblève seems to have enabled him to effect a rapid restructuring of the loyalties among Austrasia's great. There are indications that within weeks of his victory the rich middle Moselle region was aligning itself with his camp. This would have been a momentous addition to Martel's party and one which would have provided real muscle

1. Fredegar, Cont., -10.

for the coming confrontation with the Neustrians at Vinchy. As in many matters Merovingian, the above is admittedly deduction. We have no list of Charles' new adherents; in fact, we have no direct indication at all of who stood at Martel's side on 21 March 717. In order to provide the best answer we can to our first question, we must turn once again to that age's best record keeper: the Frankish Church.

716 was an important year in the religious life of Liège. On Sunday, 31 May, the relics of Saint Lambert, the former bishop of Maestricht, were solemnly translated to the village and laid in the basilica which bore his name. The current bishop, Hubert, Plectrude, and Pippin all belonged, if not to one family, certainly to the same party - a party which had not only tolerated, but probably directly fostered, the growth of Lambert's cult. We remember that it was in Saint Lambert's basilica that Plectrud's son, Grimoald, was murdered in 714.<sup>2</sup> But in May of 716 Pippin had been dead for over a year, Plectrud was in Cologne, and it was Martel and his family who now held the dominant position in and around Liège.

It is unlikely that Hubert could have moved the holy remains without Charles' permission. In fact, moving the remains of a popular local saint from his own episcopal city to a villa in the heart of Martel's land, smacks far more of Hubert cooperating with Charles than it does of simply gaining his permission. This festive translation strongly suggests that, whatever friction had been felt by Dodo's, Alpaïda's and Martel's faction toward the see at Maestricht at the time of Lambert's murder, had now been

1. The date is Krusch's (SSRM, VI, p.306) best guess; it rests on three props: In 716, 31 May was a Sunday, the usual day for the translation of relics. In the Bern manuscript of Jerome's Martyrology, a marginal comment under 31 May records Saint Lambert's translation. And Hubert, Lambert's successor, carried out the translation in the thirteenth year of his episcopacy (Vita Landiberti Vet., -25). Since Lambert died cir. 703, these three pieces of information make 31 May 716 the most likely date for the translation.

2. LHF-50.

issipated to the point where the two powers could now work together to capitalise on the popularity of the martyred bishop's cult. Indeed the earliest known centres of Lambert's veneration were locations where Charles Martel had direct control.<sup>1</sup> It was also during Hubert's episcopacy<sup>2</sup> that the episcopal seat at Maestricht was moved to Liège. This seems an obvious ploy by the Carolingians to bring the episcopal authority under their control.<sup>3</sup>

If, therefore, in May of 716 we can see that Bishop Hubert, the church of Maestricht-Liège, and the local supporters of Saint Lambert's cult had found reconciliation with Charles Martel's party, might we not suspect that Willibrord, who had long enjoyed Hubert's cooperation and who was also an avid supporter of the memory of Lambert, might have joined as well? Indeed this seems to have been true for it was probably during these very months that the bishop of Utrecht and abbot of Echternach baptized Martel's son, the future Pippin III.<sup>4</sup> This is a good sign that a strong bond had been formed between the two men.<sup>5</sup> Although we cannot date the baptism exactly, we have two pieces of information which show us that it happened about the same time as Lambert's translation. The first is, of course, Pippin's birth. We know he was born between 26 September 714 and 25 September 715.<sup>6</sup> The second is that Plectrud's side of the family

1. In Liège itself there was a church dedicated to him before 714 (LHF-50); centres were established in Nivelles-sur-Meuse and Herstal in 716 (Vita Landiberti Vet., -26) and in Bakel in 721 (Wampach, Echternach I-2, nr. 30, p.72).

2. Anselm of Liège, Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium, II-1, in: MGH, SS, VII, p.191.

3. Werner, Luetticher Raum, p.315.

4. Alcuin, Vita Willibrordi Archiepiscopi Traiectensis, -23.

5. Angenendt, "Taufe und Politik", pp.145-146 discusses the political role of the baptizing priest. See also, Vacandard, Ouen, p.54.

6. Pippin died on 24 September 768 "anno aetatis 54" (Annales Laurissenses Minores, in: MGH, SS, I, p.117).

still donated land to Willibrord at some point between 3 September 715 and 28 February 717.<sup>1</sup> This they would probably cease to do, once Willibrord had switched sides in the family succession struggle. If this was true, the date of the charter must come before the date of Pippin's baptism. By comparing the range of dates for the two events, we can see that it seems most plausible that Pippin was baptized at the next appropriate date after 3 September 715, which would have been either Easter or Pentecost of 716 – that is, after the battle of Amblève and before the battle of Vinchy, in the same period as Lambert's translation.<sup>2</sup> The bond formed between Martel and Willibrord was to be both strong and enduring. In contrast to Boniface, who found Martel a hindrance to his ecclesiastical objectives, Willibrord enjoyed a good relationship with him. In his "testament",<sup>3</sup> Willibrord refers to Martel as dominus and senior, words which belong to the terminology of vassalage and which have been seen as indicative of the way in which the bishop was bound to the prince from the beginning.<sup>4</sup> In 718 Charles donated the huge landed complex at Bollendorf to Echternach,<sup>5</sup> an act which one noted scholar thinks was performed in gratitude for the military help Willibrord provided Martel in the struggle with Ragamfred.<sup>6</sup> It is also significant that the church

1. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 7, p.96.

2. Pippin's birthdate and date of baptism are usually listed as "714" (Breysig, Jahrbuecher, p.9; and Heidrich, "Titulatur", p.202). This must be because scholars have taken Levison's remark that he was born 714/715 (SSRM, VI, p.468, note 2) at face value without realising that the range of dates (26 September 714 to 25 September 715) only includes three months of 714 whereas it extends for nine months into 715. If the above reasoning about the date of his baptism is correct, we can then define the range of dates for his birth more closely to between Pentecost 715 and 25 September of the same year. The same reasoning helps more closely define the range of dates for Duke Arnulf's charter (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 7, p.96) to between 3 September 715 and Pentecost 716.

3. Wampach, Echternach I-2, nr. 39, pp.95-97.

4. Angenendt, "Willibrord", pp.76-79.

5. Wampach, op. cit., nr. 27, p.65.

6. Prinz, Fruehes Moenchtum, p.209.

Willibrord built in Bakel in 721 was dedicated to Lambert and that Lambert was one of the few saints from the Meuse honoured in Willibrord's Calendar.<sup>1</sup> The bond was tight.

As godfather for his son, Martel chose a certain Raginfred. We are told only that he was a nobleman,<sup>2</sup> something which goes without saying; we know nothing else about his origins. He was later made bishop of Rouen and rector of Saint-Wandrille by Martel.<sup>3</sup> He took his episcopal position directly from a lay status<sup>4</sup> — a sign that he was another of Francia's politically powerful who was given a bishop's throne as a reward for political or military service. He, too, probably stood with Martel at Vinchy.

If we can see Willibrord publicly siding with Charles Martel in the spring of 716, might we not suspect that the other great ecclesiastical prince of the middle Moselle, Milo, bishop of Trier, did so at the same time? Since Milo was a scion of the episcopal dynasty<sup>5</sup> which had long cooperated with Willibrord,<sup>6</sup> it would seem natural that they would both abandon Plectrud together. Unfortunately, the sources do not allow us to know for sure. We cannot even be sure when Milo took over the diocese of Trier; we know only that it happened some time between 715 and 720.<sup>7</sup> Milo became one of Martel's most important supporters<sup>8</sup> and was given the

1. M. Werner, Luetticher Raum, p.267.

2. Gesta Font. (edit., p.59).

3. Breysig, Jahrbuecher, p.9.

4. Karl Voigt, Die Karolingische Klosterpolitik und der Niedergang des west-fraenkischen Koenigtums. Laienaebte und Klosterinhaber (Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen 90/91), Stuttgart, 1917, p.45.

5. Schreibmueller, "Die Ahnen", p.230.

6. Wampach, Echternach I-2, nr. 3, pp.17-20.

7. Ewig, "Milo", p.413. See Duchesne, Fastes, III, p.39.

8. Prinz, Fruehes Moenchtum, p.208.

sees of both Trier and Reims by him,<sup>1</sup> perhaps because of the help he rendered against Ragamfred.<sup>2</sup> There is no way of determining whether Milo was already bishop of Trier on 21 March 717 or whether he was at Vinchy. It could have been, however, that he was.

Although we are told expressis verbis that Benignus, the former abbot of Saint-Wandrille, favoured Martel's side at the battle of Vinchy,<sup>3</sup> the political importance of this fact is hard to assess. We saw that it was through Rouen and its local nobility that Pippin had made his way into Neustria's ruling circles. It could seem that what had been good for the father was now good for the son. We can tell from the many land donations Benignus made in favour of Saint-Wandrille that he did stem from Rouen's local nobility,<sup>4</sup> and thus would be the sort of ally Martel would seek, just as Pippin had sought Waratto and Ans fled. In 716, Ragamfred deposed Benignus as abbot of Saint-Wandrille and installed his own loyal supporter, the monk, Wando.<sup>5</sup> Because Pippin's grandson, Hugo, had donated land to Benignus, when he was still abbot in 713, and because the deposed Benignus had fought at Martel's side at Vinchy in 717, he has been termed a staunch partisan of the Pippinids and this is the reason given for his expulsion by Ragamfred in 716.<sup>6</sup> Hugo, however, also donated land to Ragamfred's

1. Hincmar, Vita Remigii, -prologue.

2. Duchesne, Fastes, III, p.39. Ewig ("Milo", p.417) thinks that Martel may have given the diocese of Reims and Laon to Luitwin, Milo's father and his predecessor as bishop of Trier.

3. "Nam in praefato praelio (Vinchy) Wando cum Raganfrido et Hilperico rege interfuit, Benignus vero partibus Karoli favebat." (Gesta Font., III-1, edit., p.23).

4. Gesta Font. III-5 (edit., pp.31-32). Although Benignus owned lands in many parts of the kingdom his lands "ex propria hereditate" lay between the Béthune and the Somme.

5. Gesta Font., III-1 (edit., p.23).

6. Felten, Aebte, p.113.

partisan Wando<sup>1</sup> and did so within months after the battle of Vinchy, in which Wando and Ragamfred were thoroughly routed. In the aftermath of his defeat, Ragamfred, too, donated to Wando<sup>2</sup> and these two supposedly genuine donations to the same abbot from the two opposing parties within months of each other have been difficult for scholars to explain.<sup>3</sup> Their problems come, I think, from two false assumptions. First, the Saint-Wandrille Gesta makes no statement about Benignus' party loyalties before he was deposed and thus we should be careful in assuming that he was Martel's partisan early on. Second, to assume that Hugo also was a partisan of Martel's in these early days is to overlook a significant insight the LHF gives us: namely, the important position of women, the matronae, in Merovingian politics. Hugo was not brought up by his father's side of the family, either by Drogo or Plectrud, but by his mother's, and specifically by his maternal grandmother, the powerful matrona Ans fled.<sup>4</sup> As far as we can tell, Hugo never sided with Plectrud against Martel, something which also would make it more probable to seek his political roots, not with either Plectrud's or Martel's followings, but with Ans fled's party, the local Rouen nobility. Thus it would seem that the early dealings of Hugo and Benignus were not an indication of their favouring Pippinid politics, but more likely reflected the concerns of the local leading families. In this light, it seems probable that Ragamfred deposed Benignus because he was an important local leader<sup>5</sup> and that their conflict reflected the same

1. Gesta Font., IV-2 (edit., p.41). The donation is dated "anno primo Hlotharii quem Karolus post fugam Hilperici ac Ragenfridi regem sibi statuerat..."

2. Gesta Font., IX-2 (edit., p.66).

3. See Heidrich, "Titulatur", p.275; Semmler, "Zur pippinid", p.29; and Felten, Aebte, p.114.

4. "Hunc (Hugonem) religiosa et strenua matrona Ans fledis, avia sua, relicta siquidem Waratonis, ad nutriendum suscepit." (Annales Mett. Pr. for their year 693, edit., p.16).

5. Breysig, Jahrbuecher, p.25.

sort of tension we saw between Paris and Rouen in the days of Audoin. After he had been ejected, Benignus would have looked about for a powerful friend and then found one in Ragamfred's enemy, Charles Martel. We have no record that Hugo stood with Martel at Vinchy and his charter issued to Wando after the battle makes it seem highly unlikely that he did. The charter seems contradictory in that it was issued to Wando, Ragamfred's henchman, yet dated according to the regnal years of Clothar, Martel's king. Rather than seeing Hugo, in this donation, acting as Martel's agent in an attempt to win over Wando,<sup>1</sup> it could be more simply explained as Hugo playing the same sort of waiting game that we are told Rigobert of Reims did<sup>2</sup> in support of local interests. Although Benignus stood with Martel at Vinchy, and although he would have probably brought some followers with him, since he was no longer abbot and no longer controlled the vast wealth of Saint-Wandrille and since it seems that Hugo, the more important man from Rouen, did not take Martel's part, it is difficult to imagine that Charles had yet won the important lower Seine.

In review, as far as we can tell, with the exception of Benignus, whose military importance is hard to assess, Martel's force at Vinchy seems to have been entirely Austrasian and, more specifically, limited to an Austrasian axis from the middle Meuse to the middle Moselle. I can find no evidence of Charles' ability to command the loyalties of any other area or family.<sup>3</sup> This is not totally an argument from silence for

1. Laporte, "Les monastères", p.23.

2. Vita Rigoberti, -12.

3. Duchesne (Fastes, II, p.458) would have Eucherius assume the episcopacy in Orléans in 715 with Martel's ratification although he admits it would have been impossible for Charles to do so in that year. Levison (SSRM, VII, p.42) recalculated Eucherius' accession to 717 whereas it seems more probable to me that it fell in 721. We are forced to calculate the year Eucherius became bishop from the report in the Vita Eucherii, -9 that he was exiled by Martel in the sixteenth year of his episcopacy. Vita

fortunately we do have at least two pieces of evidence which suggest where his influence did not exist. First, since Martel found it necessary to wheel about after his victory and march to Cologne in order to deal with Plectrud, it is safe to assume that she still controlled that area.

3. (cont.) Eucherii, -8 says that the exile occurred shortly after Martel returned from a campaign against the Saracens. Thus the date of the exile and consequently the date of his accession as bishop depends on which of Charles' campaigns, the one in 732 or the one in 737, the Vita author was referring to in chapter 8. An older school of thought (Henschen in AASS, Feb. III, p.210 and C. LeCointe in: Annales ecclesiastici Francorum ab origine ecclesiae usque ad annum 845, vol. IV, Paris, 1670, p.884) considered it to have been the 737 campaign making Eucherius' election in 721. Their reasoning was that, if the author meant the 732 campaign, Eucherius would have become bishop in 717 and in that year Martel did not yet control things in Orleans. Levison (SSRM, VII, p.42) on the other hand, decided in favour of the 732 campaign because the vita author specifically mentions that the campaign was fought in Aquitaine and in 737 the Saracens did not invade Aquitaine but rather Septimania and the Provence. Levison, discounting Henschen's and LeCointe's salient point that since Visigothic rule, Septimania had been considered a part of Aquitaine, concluded that Eucherius was elevated in 717. There is, however, one point in chapter 8 of the vita which has been overlooked. The author says that Martel's army was made up not only of Franks but of Burgundians and this Charles would not have been able to do until after his Burgundian campaign of 733. Thus I would return my vote to the older school and choose the 737 campaign for chapter 8 and the year 721 for Eucherius' accession.

The secondary literature (Laporte, "Les monastères", p.24 and Breysig, Jahrbuecher, p.24) also tells us that Martel was able to install his partisan Peppo as bishop of Verdun in 716. Their information comes from the following passage in the tenth-century Gesta Episcoporum Verdunensium, -11 (in: MGH, SS, IV, p.43):

"Post hunc Abbo episcopus; et deinde Peppo episcopus. Huius tempore extitit seditio non modica inter Karolum primum, qui dicitur Karolus Martellus, et Rainfridum Francorum principem. Et quia Peppo partibus Karoli tempore seditionis favit obtinuit pretio cum Karlo et quodam nobili vasallo eius, Calmontem villam cum omnibus appenditiis suis. Postquam vero Karolo Deus solidavit Francorum regnum..."

Waitz dated the passage 716 in the margin of his edition presumably thinking the "seditio non modica" referred to the battle of Amblève (April 716). There is no other way to date Abbo's death, Peppo's accession, or Martel's donation to which the passage refers other than by assigning a date to that battle. It seems more probable to me that the author was not referring to the events of 716 but rather to the campaign of 718 for it was indeed only after this invasion of Charles' that "Karolo Deus solidavit Francorum regnum". This would mean that Verdun joined Martel's ranks some time after the battle of Vinchy. This also makes more sense than the conclusions drawn from Waitz's dating, given the long history of inter-marriage and common land-holding between the Metz and the Verdun nobility and the fact that we suspect Metz was not with Charles at Vinchy.

Second, on 8 June 717, that is, some two and a half months after the battle at Vinchy, the monastery of Saint Arnulf and the Holy Apostles in Metz received a donation from Ragamfred's king, Chilperic II.<sup>1</sup> A glance at the map, then, reveals that Charles' enemies were active both to the north-east and to the south of his followers' homelands. Thus it was not a large area which provided Charles with his forces for Vinchy, but it was a rich one and one on which the Carolingians were to depend heavily for decades to come.

When we turn to our second question and ask whether the Fredegar Continuator and the Annales Mettenses Priores were correct to add that Charles pressed on after the battle of Vinchy and took Paris, we find that they were not. There is ample evidence that Chilperic and Ragamfred, even shortly after 21 March 717, were every bit as much in control of Paris and its environs as they had been before their defeat. One month later, on 24 April 717 in Paris itself, we find Chilperic, along with Ragamfred, confirming the immunity and the right of abbatial free election for Saint-Maur-les-Fosses on the Marne, near Paris,<sup>2</sup> and six weeks after that we find the king conducting business in the royal palace at Compiègne.<sup>3</sup> The battle of Vinchy had taken place far to the north and, although the old-line Franci had lost the conflict and with it any lasting possibility of retaining their heartlands, it would be nonetheless at least another year before they would be forced to hand over control of them.

This then brings us to our third question: how could it be that a battle won with what seems to be an almost exclusively Austrasian force and one which did not yield up the palaces and most important holy places of the Franci and their kings could loom more important in the mind of a

1. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 89, pp.78-79.

2. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 88, p.78.

3. Ibid., nr. 89, pp.78-79.

Neustrian patriot than the subsequent battle at Soissons, which occurred in a campaign which did see Martel conquer Neustria? The answer, I think, can be gained from the LHF author's report:

Regiones illas vastatas atque captivatas, itemque cum multa preda in Auster reversus, Colonia civitate veniens, ibique seditione intulit. Cum Plectrude matrona disceptavit et thesauros patris sui sagaciter recepit regemque sibi statuit Chlotharium nomine. Chilpericus itaque vel Ragamfredus Eudonem ducem expetunt in auxilio.

Let us first examine the effects of Vinchy on the Neustrian side. It was a crippling defeat. They could no longer stand up to Martel alone and the proud Franci, their mayor, and their king were forced to petition the help of Eudo, the independent duke of Aquitaine. From the Fredegar Continuator we learn that his help did not come cheaply; it cost them concessions of both money and authority.<sup>1</sup> The effects of the victory for the Austrasians, however, were even more significant. Vinchy set off a chain reaction for Martel which involved things close to the heart of the LHF author – things which lay at the very core of the Frankish political and military system: booty, treasure, and especially a Merovingian king. It was with the multa preda gained at Vinchy that Charles kept the zeal and loyalty of his troops until he could force Plectrud to yield up his father's treasure. It was probably also Chilperic's low prestige, brought on by his defeat in battle and his flight, which now allowed Martel to raise his own king and which provided the ability of that king to attract a following. As the LHF author has shown us from Clovis I to Clothar IV, large-scale and successful political and military operations among the Franks demanded two things: money and a Merovingian. And thanks to his victory at Vinchy in 717, Charles Martel now had them both.

1. "...regnum et munera tradunt." (Fredegar, Cont., -10).

The LHF author saw the chronology of the following years somewhat differently than did the authors of the Carolingian annals and the modern scholars who depend on them. According to the LHF, Martel raised his king Clothar to the throne when he took the treasure from Plectrud in the aftermath of his victory at Vinchy. This would place Clothar's accession in the spring of 717. If we can believe the Neustrian royal catalogue, Clothar had a very short reign, completing only one full year.<sup>1</sup> Putting the information from these two sources together, we can conclude that Clothar began his reign in the spring of 717, most likely in April, and that he died sometime between the springs of 718 and 719. Krusch has listed the five chronological indications we have for Clothar, taken from the dates of charters, and then, for reasons which are not clear to me, arranged them according to the order of the months.<sup>2</sup> Since he knew that Clothar was not raised until after the battle of Vinchy and since the first charter in the order he placed them was dated "sub die mensis Febr. III", Krusch declared this to be the third of February 718 and dated Clothar's reign from before 3 February 718 to sometime in 719. If we put more trust in the LHF than Krusch was wont to do, we can then see that a charter dated in October of Clothar's first year, which Krusch ordered as number four, should really come in the first position and be placed in 717 and not in 718 as he did.<sup>3</sup> This means that the charters we have for Clothar range from October 717 to February 718 and not from

1. SSRM, VII, p.482.

2. Krusch's ("Chronologica", p.505) order is as follows: (1) sub die mensis Febr. III anno primo regni domni nostri Hlutharii regis (Pardessus, Diplomata, II, p.488, nr. 40). (2) sub die quod fecit mensis Februarias dies XIII. anno primo regni domini nostri Luttharii regis (ib. p.447, nr. 38). (3) die ... mensis Februarii XXIII (anno I. regni domini nostri Clotharii regis) (MGH, Dipl., I, p.97;...). (4) sub die Kalandas Octobris anno primo regnante domino nostro Lutarii rege (Pardessus, l.c. II, p.448, n.39). (5) anno primo Hlotharii regis (Gesta Font., edit., p.41).

3. See Gloeckner, Traditiones, nr. 261, pp.502-503 who dates it correctly.

February 718 to October of the same year. If the charters are thus arranged, they not only fit perfectly with the LHF and the royal catalogue, but they also clear up another problem which has been puzzling scholars and which has led to some unwarranted conclusions.

Three of these five charters dated according to Clothar's regnal years come from the Alsatian monastery of Weissenburg. According to Krusch's system, all three would be dated in 718, two of them in February and one in October. The problem comes when we examine all the extant Weissenburg charters for 718 and discover that, in the midst of these dated according to Clothar's years, comes one dated 18 May according to the reign of Chilperic II.<sup>1</sup> The fact that the monks at Weissenburg seemed to have switched their allegiance from Martel's king, Clothar, to Ragamfred's king, Chilperic, has been taken to mean that there were still elements hostile to Martel and sympathetic to the Neustrians in the Alsace in May of 718.<sup>2</sup> The need for such a conjecture melts away, however, if we use the LHF as our guide and date the Weissenburg charters correctly. If we place the October charter, dated according to Clothar's reign, where it belongs, in 717 rather than in 718, then the May charter dated according to Chilperic's reign, falls at the end of all those dated according to Clothar rather than in the midst of them. This means then at Weissenburg recognition of Clothar IV had ceased by 18 May 718. We no longer have to postulate some sort of highly unlikely switch of allegiance in an Austrasian monastery from the obviously ascendent Martel to the obviously sinking Ragamfred in order to see why the monks changed the king in the dates of their charters. The far more probable explanation is that by May of 718 Clothar IV was dead. We have seen that, according to the LHF, he was most

1. Ibid., nr. 195, pp.447-454.

2. Semmler, "Zur pippinid", p.21.

likely elevated in April of 717 and that, according to the royal catalogue, he only ruled one full year. This means that, working from the LHF, the royal catalogue, and from the mentions made of Clothar in three Weissenurg charters<sup>1</sup> and in one charter by Charles Martel himself,<sup>2</sup> we should conclude his dates of reign fell from shortly after 21 March 717 to shortly before 18 May 718. This change in the date for Clothar's reign puts the LHF in conflict with the Carolingian annals. Clothar was an essential part of Martel's major successful campaign against the Neustrians and it is safe to assume that this campaign occurred before Clothar's death. Indeed, both the LHF and the Fredegar Continuator tell us that Clothar died after Charles achieved his victory.<sup>3</sup> This means that the campaign which contained the battle of Soissons must have occurred in the spring of 718, while Clothar was still living, and not in 719, where the Carolingian annals<sup>4</sup> and most modern scholars have placed it.<sup>5</sup> This interpretation of the LHF is bolstered by a certain amount of near-contemporary support in that the Annales Mettenses Priores also place the campaign in 718.<sup>6</sup>

After this campaign and the resultant fading of Ragamfred, and after the negotiations with Eudo, in which Charles managed to have Chilperic returned to Frankish home territory, the focus of all political writers concerned with the Franks, beginning with the Fredegar Continuator, both contemporary and

1. Gloeckner, Traditiones, nr. 261, pp.502-503; nr. 227, pp.447-454; and nr. 38, pp.447-454.

2. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 9, p.97.

3. LHF-53; Fredegar, Cont., -10.

4. Annales Laureshamenses; Alamannici; Nazariani; and Moselliani.

5. The exceptions are Laporte ("Les monastères", p.23) and Semmler ("Zur pippinid", p.10) who also place the campaign in 718, basing themselves on an interpretation of the events in Saint-Wandrille.

6. Annal. Mett. Pr., edit., p.25.

modern, settles firmly on Charles Martel. From the contemporaries we hear of his campaigns against Saxons, Alamans, and Swabians, the insurrection of Plectrud's grandchildren, and another campaign against Angers and Ragamfred. In addition to commenting on these events, modern scholars show us how Francia's great, both the ecclesiastical and lay princes, aligned themselves one by one with Charles<sup>1</sup> until, certainly before 723, his grasp over both Austrasia and Neustria was secure and permanent. On the other hand, once Chilperic II has been returned to Francia, the LHF author switches his attention from Martel to the monarch. We hear about Chilperic's short reign, his death, his burial in Noyon and we are told that he ruled five and a half years – an indication which even Krusch is forced to admit is more accurate than the six years claimed for him by the Fredegar Continuator.<sup>2</sup> Without so much as a whisper about Charles' role in the matter, the LHF author goes on to tell us that, once again, it was the Franci who raised the new king Theuderic IV to the throne. Theuderic was the son of Dagobert III and had been brought up in the monastery at Chelles – two details which were not important enough to the Fredegar Continuator for him to repeat. The LHF author closed his work with the simple fact that Theuderic was in the sixth year of his reign.

1. In 718 (?) Charles expelled Bishop Rigobert from Reims and handed over the *res episcopi* to his supporter Milo (Semmler, "Episcopi", pp.318-319). In 718 (my date) Charles installed his supporter Peppo as bishop of Verdun (*Gesta Episcoporum Virdunensium*, -11); sometime before 721 Martel replaced Abbot Turnoald of Saint-Denis by Hugo who, with the other titles Charles heaped on him, came to control the entire church province of Rouen and the western part of Sens (Laporte, "Les monastères", pp.23-24; Ewig, "Milo", pp.424-425; Prinz, *Fruehes Moenchtum*, p.312; Felten, *Aebte*, p.120; Heidrich, "Titulatur", p.202; Semmler, "Zur pippinid", pp.29-31); in 720 Martel restored Ravanger as abbot of Stavelot-Malmedy (Laporte, "Les monastères", p.24); in 721 (my date) Martel ratified the accession of both Ainmar as bishop of Auxerre and Eucherius as bishop of Orleans (see Levison, *SSRM*, VII, pp.41-42; Emile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, vol. II-1, Lille, 1922, p.12; Ewig, "Milo", p.427); in 723 we see that Charles commanded the loyalty of both the bishop of Cologne and Ebbo, bishop of Sens (Semmler, "Zur pippinid", p.33).

2. SSRM, II, p.328, note 1.

CHAPTER IX — THE LHF AUTHOR AND HIS TIMES

"Certe homo Neustrasius erat, id quod inter omnes constat", Krusch declared but then stepped very carefully when proceeding to tell us more about the author of the Liber Historiae Francorum. The chronicler is so totally unknown that the best even Krusch could dub him was anonymus.<sup>1</sup> No source other than the LHF itself contains any information about him; even the LHF's own manuscript tradition is unable to offer up any hints. The earliest manuscript we have postdates the work by over sixty years and is of unknown origin.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore only by his work itself that we shall know him. We can wring from his own words that he was Neustrian, a staunch Merovingian legitimist, secularly as opposed to ecclesiastically minded, and an enthusiastic admirer and probably a member of that aristocratic class based in the Seine-Oise valley whose deeds, wars, and kings he describes. The strikingly secular tone of his work could make us suspect that he was a layman and not a cleric; this would, however, make him somewhat of a phenomenon since in the early eighth century the only non-clerics we know of with the ability to write were the nobility of the very highest rank such as Eberhard, count of Alsace, and Pippin II himself.<sup>3</sup>

Where Was The LHF Written?

We know that the LHF author wrote north of the River Loire because those localities which Gregory, writing in Tours, said were on "this side

1. SSRM, II, p.215.

2. Bern ms. 599. It belonged at one time to the church at Strassburg (Krusch, SSRM, II, p.220). See Georg Pertz, "Italienische Reise", p.485; J.R. Sinner, Catalogus Codicum Mss Bibliothecae Bernensis, annotationibus, criticis, illustratus, vol. II, Bern, 1770, pp.54-61; and E.A. Lowe, CLA, vol. VII, p.8, nr. 865.

3. Pierre Riché, Education et culture dans l'Occident barbare, VI<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, Paris, 1962, p.476.

of the river", he said were "on that side".<sup>1</sup> We know too that he wrote north of Paris by comparing what both sources say about certain Parisian suburbs.<sup>2</sup> This is all the direct indication the LHF author gives us and this makes it very difficult to locate him with any more precision. There were two Neustrian centres of scholarship north of Paris in the early eighth century which have seemed likely candidates for the LHF's home: Rouen and Saint-Denis. Each has found its champion in the literature.

Krusch originally opted for Rouen. He contended that the author's seemingly disproportionate respect for Saint Audoin made it probable that the work was written in the saint's episcopal city. The fact that it is so concerned with the deeds of the Neustrian kings who resided near Paris could not, according to Krusch, be taken as evidence that the LHF was written near their royal residences. He thought so for two reasons. First, the Vita Lantberti, which was written at Saint-Wandrille, near Rouen, has a detailed account of the deaths of Childeric II and his family,<sup>3</sup> thus showing that it was certainly possible to write of the deeds of the Neustrian kings from a place other than the environs of Paris. And second, Krusch thought the LHF too full of errors concerning royal doings to have been written near the court. He admitted that it evidences a familiarity with the geography of Paris and its suburbs but declared that this information was either the sort which was known to other non-Parisian authors or which the author could have gleaned from Gregory's account. Krusch finished by pointing out that in two places

1. LHF-28 excerpted from Gregory, Historia, IV-13 and -16; and LHF-32 excerpted from Historia, IV-47. See Krusch, SSRM, II, p.216 and G. Kurth, "Etude critique", p.58.

2. LHF-32 excerpted from Gregory, Historia, IV-51.

3. Vita Lantberti, -5.

the LHF author augmented Gregory's reports with more detailed information concerning the vicinity of Rouen<sup>1</sup> and that he was also aware of Clothar II's movements in the same area.<sup>2</sup> It appears to me, however, that the LHF author's words in chapter 32: "Sighibertus vero civitates illas quae ultra Parisius sunt positae usque Rothomacum accepit." hardly evidences the geographical perspective of someone writing in Rouen. Krusch's case was not ironclad.

Godefroid Kurth, Krusch's great Belgian opponent, countered by choosing the other option, Saint-Denis. He contended that the LHF's respect for Saint Audoin is explicable in terms of the great general esteem the saint enjoyed. Of all the seventh century saints, he is the one who appears most often in contemporary accounts and he is always clothed in the same splendour. Audoin was a man who, like Dagobert and Ebroin, controlled the affairs of the whole of Neustria and, thus, veneration of such a noble patriarch does not indicate that the admirer must have come from Rouen. The information which the LHF added to Gregory's accounts concerning the vicinity of Rouen does not, according to Kurth, indicate an intimacy with the area, but came about by simple geographical deduction on the part of the LHF author. On the other hand, Kurth felt that the information which the LHF evidences concerning Paris and its surroundings was far more remarkable. For instance, the author knew the foundation story of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (then called Saint Vincent)<sup>3</sup>

1. Gregory (Historia, IV-50) says that Chilperic fortified himself in Tournai; LHF-25 adds that he took flight through Rouen. Gregory (Historia, III-28) says that Clothar I ran from his brothers Childebert I and Theudebert I into the woods. LHF-25 adds its name "silvam Arelauno", the modern Forêt de la Brotonne near Rouen. (Krusch, SSRM, II, p.217 and his supplement to Wattenbach's Geschichtsquellen, 1885, p.405).

2. Clothar entered the same forest, a detail which Fredegar does not tell us.

3. LHF-26.

and that the monastery contained the tombs of Saint Germain<sup>1</sup> and of Queen Fredegund.<sup>2</sup> He knew that the church in which Clovis I was buried was then called Saint Peter's<sup>3</sup> (now called Sainte-Geneviève) whereas in Gregory's account it is called the Church of the Apostles.<sup>4</sup> The LHF author is the only one who tells us that Chlodomer's son, Chlodovald, is buried in the Parisian suburb of Saint-Cloud,<sup>5</sup> he knew that Dagobert died in Epinay-sur-Seine,<sup>6</sup> that Saint Audoin died in Clichy,<sup>7</sup> and that Theuderic IV was brought up in the monastery at Chelles.<sup>8</sup> This is surprisingly detailed information, especially considering that overall the work has a rather general nature. Kurth felt that the LHF's unreserved praise of King Dagobert I was due to the fact that Dagobert was considered the founder of Saint-Denis. The deciding argument for Kurth, however, was the author's inclusion of the episode describing Clovis II's desecration of the relics of the Blessed Denis.<sup>9</sup> The fact that such a local detail appears in such a general history and the fact that the author passionately attributed the fall of the whole kingdom to this sacrilege allowed Kurth to exclaim that this story gave away the author's identity as a monk of Saint-Denis.<sup>10</sup>

Kurth's argument, or ones like them, were strong enough to make Krusch change his mind and he also came to place the LHF author within

1. LHF-33.
2. LHF-37.
3. LHF-19.
4. Gregory, Historia, II-43.
5. LHF-24.
6. LHF-43.
7. LHF-47.
8. LHF-53.
9. LHF-44.
10. Kurth, "Etude critique", pp.57-60.

the walls of Saint-Denis.<sup>1</sup> Other scholars followed suit and today most believe that the Liber Historiae Francorum was indeed written in that monastery.<sup>2</sup>

The case is, however, by no means closed;<sup>3</sup> it appears to me that Kurth's reasoning in pleading for Saint-Denis is in places weak. For instance, Kurth rejected Krusch's use of the prominence of Saint Audoin in the LHF as evidence of a Rouen origin on the grounds that Audoin was a national patron and liable to be admired anywhere in Neustria. But then he in turn held up the LHF's praise of an even better known national hero, King Dagobert I, as supposed evidence of a Saint-Denis origin. Kurth was also wrong when he thought that the LHF author could not have discovered from Gregory that Clovis I's burial church was called Saint Peter's. In his Historia, IV-1, Gregory relates the death and burial of Clovis' wife, Clothild, and here he says that she was buried at her husband's side in the Church of Saint Peter. And finally, the desecration of Saint Denis' relics by the reigning monarch can hardly be called a local detail. Denis was not only the patron of his monastery but was also the "particular patron" of the Merovingian family and they refer to him as such in their charters.<sup>4</sup> Thus it was enough to be close to the

1. B. Krusch, "Die neuste Wendung im Genofa-Streit, II. Teil", in: NA, XL (1915), p.276.

2. See Wattenbach-Levison, Geschichtsquellen 1952, p.114; Riché, Education, pp.495-496.

3. "... the Liber Historiae Francorum, a Neustrian chronicle put together perhaps at Saint-Denis or Rouen..." (Wallace-Hadrill, Fredegar, p.xxv).

4. "...sancti domni Dioninsis, ppeculares patronis nostri..." (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 10, p.13 of Clothar II); "...peccularis patroni nostri..." (ibid., nr. 22, p.140). This charter is listed as spurious by Pertz but Levillain successfully defends its authenticity in Examen critique des chartes mérovingiennes et carolingiennes de l'abbaye de Corbie, Paris, 1902, pp.36ff. It was issued by Dagobert I in 628); "... peccularis patroni nostri..." (MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 51, p.46 of Theuderic III in cir. 681).

monarchy and not necessarily close to the monastery, in order to be deeply concerned about the remains of Saint-Denis. In addition, the author himself tells us that he learned about Clovis II by means of written sources<sup>1</sup> and thus did not need to depend on local vestiges of his memory. Given the decidedly secular nature of the author's interests, it might make more sense to look for clues in locating him, not in either the episcopal or monastic homes of his churchly heroes, but in places where he would have been likely to have had contact with the local vestiges of his secular ones. We know where the leading Franci and their kings met in the later seventh and early eighth centuries; it was along the Oise in Compiègne, Montmaç, Quiersy, Noyon, and Soissons. Although Saint-Denis cannot be ruled out as the possible place of origin for the LHF, I propose that we also search along the Oise, where tales of the glories of the Franci and their Merovingian kings would have been the source of daily entertainment during the period when the author lived.

Along the Oise it was Soissons with nearby Compiègne, "Le palais rural par excellence des derniers Mérovingiens",<sup>2</sup> which had the richest and deepest connection with the royal house. At the very beginning Clovis I had used Soissons as his capital<sup>3</sup> until he moved it to Paris. At his death in 511, Soissons again became a royal residence and remained so under the long reign of his son Clothar I (511-561). It was also Clothar who, wishing to make Soissons a religious centre for his empire and to provide his dynasty with a holy burial site,<sup>4</sup> had the remains of

1. LHF-44.

2. E. Ewig, "Résidence et capitale pendant le haut Moyen Age", in: Revue Historique, 230 (1963), p.53.

3. LHF-12. See Carlrichard Bruehl, Palatium und Civitas; Band I: Gallien, Cologne, 1975, p.34.

4. Kaiser, Soissons, p.161.

Saint Médard translated from Noyon to Soissons and installed in a basilica built in his honour.<sup>1</sup> After Clothar's death in 561, Soissons kept its status as the royal residence briefly under Clothar's son Chilperic I (561-584) but in about 562 it fell to the invading armies of Sigibert I, the king of Reims.<sup>2</sup> Sigibert most likely retained Soissons until his death in 575; he was buried alongside his father in the church of Saint Médard.<sup>3</sup> When Sigibert died, the city reverted to Chilperic who kept the royal treasure in nearby Berny-Rivière,<sup>4</sup> the royal villa to which the king summoned the important council of bishops which heard accusations against Gregory of Tours.<sup>5</sup> It was in Soissons that Chilperic's notorious wife, Queen Fredegund, lived while the king was alive. After Chilperic's death in 584, however, we again find the eastern Franks under the young Childebert II in Soissons, as Fredegund attempted to have him poisoned there.<sup>6</sup> In 589 Soissons again became a royal residence when, at the request of the local nobles, Childebert sent his three-year-old son, Theudebert II, to reside in the city.<sup>7</sup> Fredegund and young Clothar re-took Soissons in 592<sup>8</sup> but lost it to the Austrasians again in 600.<sup>9</sup> For the next one hundred years Soissons was not to act as a royal capital although it remained an important royal centre. We find Dagobert I travelling there in 628,<sup>10</sup> Theuderic III frequently in Compiègne,<sup>11</sup> and

1. Gregory, Historia, IV-19.

2. Ibid., IV-23.

3. Gregory, Historia, IV-51. LHF-32.

4. Ibid., IV-22.

5. Ibid., IV-49.

6. Ibid., VIII-29.

7. Ibid., IX-36.

8. LHF-36. The date comes from Fredegar, IV-14.

9. Fredegar, IV-20.

10. Ibid., IV-56.

11. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 54, p.49 (from 682); ibid., nr. 55, p.50 (from 683); and ibid., nr. 57, p.52 (from 688).

then the royal residences along the Oise, especially Compiègne and Montmauq, once again became the favourite dwelling places for the Neustrian kings, beginning with Clovis III (690-694). Compiègne also seems to have been the traditional site where the kings met their war leaders in the March Field. In 711 Childebert III, the king the LHF author remembered so fondly,<sup>1</sup> was buried in neighbouring Choisy-au-Bac.<sup>2</sup> After an interlude under Chilperic II (715-721) and Clothar IV (717-718),<sup>3</sup> which ended in 719<sup>4</sup> when Charles Martel received Chilperic from Duke Eudo of Aquitaine and installed him in Noyon, we again find Theuderic IV (721-737) in "Suessionis civitate" in 721.<sup>5</sup> It is perhaps a fitting final remark that it was here in Soissons that Pippin III chose to be consecrated king in 751.<sup>6</sup> Certainly this choice of venue by the usurper indicates how closely the venerable and ancient sedes regalis of Soissons was bound to the Merovingians and the Frankish idea of kingship.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to Soissons' long and close connection to the royal house, the area was also the cradle out of which sprang many of Neustria's most important Franci. It was from Soissons that Audoin's family came.<sup>8</sup> Ebroin too came from the same area.<sup>9</sup> In fact, the Oise valley had a long history of strong-minded and often rebellious nobility stretching back

1. LHF-49 and -50.

2. LHF-50.

3. My dates.

4. My date.

5. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 91, pp.80-81.

6. "751 Pippinus in regem unctus est apud Suessiones." (Annales Sancti Amandi).

7. "Dass der Thronwechsel von 751 eben dort von Pippin inszeniert wurde, deutete darauf, dass diese sedes eines der ehrwürdigsten Unterpfänder der merowingischen Herrschaft gewesen ist." (Karl Hauck, "Von einer späantiken Randkultur zum karolingischen Europa", in: Frühmittelalterliche Studien, I (1967), p.69).

8. Vita Audoini, -1. See Sprandel, "Merov. Adel", p.222.

9. Vita Drausci Episcopi Suessionensis, -14 (AASS, Mar. I, p.403); Kaiser, Soissons, p.253; and above Chapter VI, p.174.

into the sixth century.<sup>1</sup> These were proud old Neustrian families, the Franci of the LHF. It is thus no surprise that it was here in Compiègne that the leaders of these great families so frequently held the traditional and ceremonial meetings with their kings in the spring of the year.<sup>2</sup>

Added to Soissons' harbouring both the Merovingians and the important Franci in the early eighth century, the area also had one and perhaps two literary centres which could have supported the LHF author in his work. The first, the abbey of Notre Dame in Soissons, is the less likely candidate simply because it was a nunnery, although priests and other men would have had occasional access to it.<sup>3</sup> We can tell that the abbey was closely bound to the monarchy and especially to the Franci not only because it was founded by none other than Ebroin himself<sup>4</sup> but also because it was closely connected to Rebais<sup>5</sup> and Jouarre,<sup>6</sup> two foundations of Audoin's party. We know little else about it except that just as the other great monasteries of the Neustrian court circle, i.e., Saint-Marcel

1. Duke Rauchning who tried to murder Childebert II was Duke of Soissons and Meaux (Gregory, Historia, VIII-26 and -29); Ansoald, the regent for young Clothar II (Gregory, Historia, V-3 and -45); Mummolinus, his sons Duke Bobo and Bodigisel; Siggo, Chilperic I's referendary who went over to Childebert II, and others. See Kaiser, Soissons, pp.164-170.

2. "Singulis vero annis in Kalendis Martii generale cum omnibus Francis secundum priscorum consuetudinem concilium tenuit." (Ann. Mett. Pr. for their year 692). See Ewig's list of royal appearances in Compiègne during the month of March in: "Teilreiche", pp.89-90, note 6.

3. "...nec aliis clericis aut quibuslibet saecularibus personis ibidem ingressione, excepto, si pro bona necessitate aut utilitate ipsius monasterii fuerit..." (Bishop Drauscus' privilege for Notre Dame from 666, in Pardessus, Diplomata, II, nr. 355, p.140).

4. Vita Drauscii, -14 and Pardessus, loc. cit.

5. Drauscus copied Burgundofaro's privilege for Rebais almost verbatim. (Ewig, "Klosterprivilegien", p.59).

6. Ebroin installed Aetheria, a nun at Jouarre, as Notre Dame's first abbess. (Vita Drauscii, -14).

in Châlons, Saint Benignus in Dijon, Riermont, and especially Saint-Denis, Notre Dame was governed by the mixed Columban-Benedictine rule<sup>1</sup> and thus it is very likely that the same spiritual ground which allowed a literary revival to flourish in these other houses would have nurtured scholarship at Notre Dame in Soissons as well. We have, however, no evidence that it did.

The other institution, which had far better prerequisites for supporting the author of the LHF with the means of scholarship and one for which we do have direct evidence that it was a centre of learning, is the famous monastery of Saint-Médard in Soissons. The saint himself had been closely connected with the royal family. He had appeared often at court, had consecrated Clothar I's wife, Queen Radegund, as a nun,<sup>2</sup> and he became the personal patron of Sigibert I<sup>3</sup> and of the royal house of Soissons.<sup>4</sup> It was Clothar I who had translated Médard's remains from Noyon to Soissons and began the basilica over the saint's grave which his son the Austrasian king, Sigibert I, finished. Both these rulers found their final resting place within the walls of their handiwork. As the burial place of kings the church was soon richly endowed.<sup>5</sup> We know also that it remained under royal control for it was one of the "seniores basilicas" where Queen Balthild ordered that the brothers should live "sub sancto regulari ordine"<sup>6</sup> and her son, Clothar III,

1. Kaiser, Soissons, p.255.

2. Venantius Fortunatus, Vita Sanctae Radegundis, I-12, in: SSRM, II, p.368.

3. V. Fortunatus says in his hymn, "De Sancto Medardo" (Carmen II-16), that Medard will protect Sigibert (MGH, Auct. Antiq., IV-1, p.48) and his (?) Vita Sancti Medardi (MGH, Auct. Antiq., IV-2, pp.72-73) ends with a prayer for Sigibert and his grandson, Theudebert II. See: Krueger, Koenigsgrabkirchen, p.128.

4. Kaiser, Soissons, p.65; and Krueger, Koenigsgrabkirchen, p.128.

5. C. Brunel, "Les actes mérovingiens pour l'abbaye de Saint-Médard de Soissons", in: Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen, Paris, 1951, nr. 11, p.77.

6. Vita S. Balthildis, -9.

granted the abbey the royal immunity.<sup>1</sup> Ebroin, too, had a close connection with it; he built a house which was annexed to the monastery's buildings and in which he lived in the 670's.<sup>2</sup> Later Clovis III donated this house to the abbey.<sup>3</sup> In the following period we can see that this rich and powerful abbey not only continued in the royal favour<sup>4</sup> but that it also developed a flourishing scriptorium.<sup>5</sup> Some of the products of the scribes' efforts have survived in the form of a codex of homilies of Caesarius of Arles produced in Saint-Médard under Abbot Numidius cir. 695/97.<sup>6</sup>

Thus by the 720's the Civitas Suessionis proffered the necessary factors in its environment which could have very easily nurtured a work such as the LHF: the area was the current home of the Merovingian kings and had a long and proud tradition as a sedes regalis; it was not only the homeland of many of Neustria's most powerful noble families but in Compiègne it contained a site of the traditional meeting of Franci and their kings on the March field; and, possibly in Notre Dame but definitely in Saint-Médard, it had a flourishing centre of learning and scholarship.

1. It is known from one of Charlemagne's charters (MGH, Dipl. Kar., I, nr. 75, pp.108-109).

2. Brunel, "Les actes", nr. 12, p.77. See Semmler, "Episcopi", p.321.

3. Brunel, loc. cit.

4. Childebert III confirmed the donation of Ebroin's house to the monastery. (Brunel, "Les actes", nr. 12, p.77).

5. Emile Lesne, Les livres, "scriptoria" et bibliothèques du commencement du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, (Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France, vol. IV), Lille, 1938, p.228.

6. Brussels Bibliothèque Royale ms. 9850/52, described by L. Deslisle, "Notice sur un manuscrit mérovingien de la Bibliothèque de Belgique", in: Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques, XXXI (1884), pp.33-47. See Riche, Education, p.412; Prinz, Frühes Moenchtum, p.478; and Lowe, CLA, vol. X, nr. 1547a, p.31.

The prerequisites were there, but to see if the author was present to take advantage of them, we are once again forced to glean what we can from his work itself.

The LHF author mentions the Soissons-Noyon district some twenty-two times; thirteen of these he took from his chief source, Gregory of Tours. This in itself cannot be taken as a hint of the author's local origins since his purpose was to relate the deeds of the Franci and their kings and this was in fact the area in which many of their campaigns, battles, accessions, deaths, and burials did take place. What is indicative and striking about this geographical information concerning the region around Soissons, however, is its detail and its precision. When the author speaks about events in this district, he is far better informed than he is about other areas. For instance, he knows the length of a day's march here. In LHF-36 he knew that Fredegund assembled her army at Berny-Rivière, that the battle took place at Droisy, that Fredegund pursued the losers up to Reims, and that from there she returned to Soissons. In LHF-45 he gives the same wealth of detail for Ebroin's march from Luxeuil as he passed through the same region. We are told that the mayor arrived at the banks of the Oise, that he massacred the guard at Pont-Sainte-Maxence, that he crossed the river there and put the enemy to flight, that he pursued them to Baisieux, and that he arrived at Cressy where he captured the king. In LHF-46 the author again shows the same sort of detail when relating Ebroin's movements concerned with the battle of Lucofao. Whenever an action took place in the valley of the Oise or not far from it, the LHF author was able to relate exact place names in describing his characters' movements, rather than the vague terms ("regiones illas" or "terras illas") he is wont to apply elsewhere. This sort of detail encourages the belief that the information was preserved and collected on the spot by someone living in the area. A chronicler from another area would be

much more likely simply to record the identities of the warring factions, with perhaps the name of the place of battle. This becomes especially patent if we compare the account of Fredegund's campaign against the Austrasians in LHF-36 described above with the way Fredegar relates the same events.<sup>1</sup> The Burgundian chronicler simply says that Quintrius, duke of the Champagne, invaded Clothar's kingdom and put him to flight after defeating him in a battle in which there was a great slaughter on both sides.<sup>2</sup> In this light, the LHF author, sporting his detailed knowledge of places and troop movements, appears much more as the local observer.

It was also from the Soissons area that the LHF author seems to have gathered most of the colourful popular legends with which he enlivened his work. In LHF-11 and -12 we read the long story of how Clovis I courted Clothild through his ambassador Aurelianus. This story does not come from Gregory of Tours and takes place while Clovis was living in Soissons.<sup>3</sup> Fredegund, a queen who spent a good deal of her life in Soissons, is the subject of four more of the author's stories.<sup>4</sup> We hear how she tricked Queen Audovera into standing as godmother to her own child.<sup>5</sup> To Gregory's account of the death of King Sigibert I, the LHF author adds Fredegund's speech to the assassins she sent against Sigibert, promising them to care for their salvation by enriching the churches if they were killed in their attempt.<sup>6</sup> We even have a bedroom scene where

1. Fredegar, IV-14.

2. "Eodem anno Quintrio dux Campanensim cum exercito in regno Clothariae ingreditur. Clotharius cum suis obviam pergens hostiliter Quintrione in fugam vertit, sed utrasque exercitus nimium trucidatus est." (Wallace-Hadrill, Fredegar, pp.10-11).

3. "...accepta Chrotchilde, cum magno gaudio ad Chlodovechum regem adduxerunt eam Suessionis civitate in Francia". (LHF-12).

4. See above Chapter IV, pp. 104-105.

5. LHF-31.

6. LHF-32.

King Chilperic catches Fredegund and Landeric in their adultery,<sup>1</sup> and a long account of the scheme she devised for the "moving woods" in order to take the Austrasians by surprise at Droisy near Soissons.<sup>2</sup> Since we can find these in no other written account, and especially since their tone, flavour, and content smack of a good tale, we are reasonably safe in assuming, along with Kurth<sup>3</sup>, that, at least in their main points, they were preserved locally in the haunts of their heroes, that is, along the Oise and especially in Soissons.

Even the LHF author's portrayal of Fredegund might hint at his local origins. In Gregory of Tours the two great rivals, Fredegund and Brunhild, receive rather opposite characterisations from the ones the LHF author gives them. For Gregory, Fredegund is the great villainess and he delights in listing her crimes,<sup>4</sup> whereas he cast a more sympathetic eye on Brunhild. This could be because, once Chilperic and Fredegund tried to make their authority felt south of the Loire, Gregory, as the local leader, naturally found the politics of resistance leading him to see Fredegund as the enemy and drawing him into closer sympathy with Brunhild's and Sigibert's Austrasian court.<sup>5</sup> The LHF, on the other hand, gives us a more favourable impression of Fredegund, even though he, too, does not completely shy away from telling us of her misdeeds. Especially after she and Chilperic repent of their repressive ways because their children are dying,<sup>6</sup> the

1. LHF-35.

2. LHF-36.

3. "Etude critique", p.64.

4. See among many others: her plans to lead Merovech into an ambush (Historia, V-14); her attempt to bribe Gregory himself (ibid., V-18); her rejection of her son Samson (ibid., V-22); her murder of her stepson Clovis and the torture of his girlfriend (ibid., V-39); she tortures and kills some women in Paris (ibid., VI-35); and especially the list of her royal murders delivered by Childebert II (ibid., VII-7).

5. Sprandel, "Merov. Adel", p.27.

6. LHF-34.

LHF author shows far greater sympathy with her than Gregory ever did. Although an adulteress, we are told she was beautiful and exceedingly clever;<sup>1</sup> we hear of her military prowess<sup>2</sup> and that she was given a proper Christian burial.<sup>3</sup> Brunhild, on the other hand, is presented to us as the queen who urged Theuderic II to attack his own godfather, Clothar II,<sup>4</sup> and his own brother, Theudebert II.<sup>5</sup> We are told that it was she who killed Theudebert's children,<sup>6</sup> had Theuderic poisoned and then in turn killed his children.<sup>7</sup> We hear Clothar declare that this "enemy of God" has been responsible for many royal murders, and the Franci clamour for her death by torture. In the LHF Brunhild is not given a Christian burial but her bones find their final resting place in fire.<sup>8</sup> It is certainly possible that Brunhild's change of face from the way we see her in Gregory to the way she is presented to us in the LHF was due to the influence of Jonas of Bobbio's work,<sup>9</sup> as Nelson suggests,<sup>10</sup> but it may also be true that, for the LHF author, Brunhild became the "Blutweib"<sup>11</sup> because she was the life-long bitter enemy of Fredegund, mother of Clothar II and queen of the kingdom of Soissons.

In addition to Queen Fredegund there were other Soissons-area

1. "... Fredegundis regina pulchra et ingeniosa nimis atque adultera". (LHF-35).
2. LHF-36.
3. LHF-37.
4. LHF-38.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. LHF-39.
8. LHF-40.
9. Vita Columbani, -32. See Fredegar, IV-36.
10. Nelson, "Queens", p.59.
11. Schultze, Deutsche Geschichte, II, p.171.

personalities who caught the LHF author's eye. King Childebert II is the only Austrasian king for whom the LHF gives us regnal years.<sup>1</sup> This has been taken to indicate that the LHF's B version, which is where we find this information, was written by an Austrasian author.<sup>2</sup> It is important to note, however, that this same Childebert ruled Soissons from 584 onwards and it was he who sent his young son, Theudebert II, to establish his royal residence in that city.<sup>3</sup> One of the LHF author's rare additions to Gregory which makes us suspect that he had sources available to him other than the bishop of Tours' book, comes when he is writing about Clothar I. To Gregory's account the LHF author adds that Clothar endowed the basilicas of the saints with many gifts and he notes in particular that he did so for Saint-Médard in Soissons.<sup>4</sup> He could have gathered this information from a register or a collection of Clothar's charters or it could simply be a topos he applied to a favourite king. Either way, it points towards Soissons. Not only was Clothar I king of Soissons from 511 to 561, but he died in Compiègne and was buried in Saint-Médard.

It was also from the Soissons area that the LHF author's particular heroes came. We have noted his great respect for Saint Audoin and pointed out that Audoin's politics served the interests of the Franci from the upper Seine and Oise valleys.<sup>5</sup> When we look for the origins of Audoin's family, we arrive once again at the area near Soissons.<sup>6</sup> The LHF author's strikingly balanced portrayal of Ebroin in an age when the

1. LHF (B)-37.

2. Krusch, SSRM, II, p.219.

3. Gregory, Historia, VIII-29 and IX-36.

4. LHF-29.

5. Above, Chapter VI.

6. Sprandel, "Merov. Adel", p.49.

influence of the Vita Leudegarii I had made the name of the Neustrian mayor synonymous with tyranny,<sup>1</sup> certainly allows us to suspect that if the author did not approve of the man himself, then he did indeed approve of his pro-Franci politics. It is once again Soissons where we find the house Ebroin owned, the nunnery he founded, and thus probably his origins as well.<sup>2</sup>

Médard, bishop of Noyon, is the only bishop other than Audoin to have his death recorded by the author of the LHF.<sup>3</sup> Gregory of Tours mentions Saint Médard or his basilica in six places<sup>4</sup> in the first six books of his Historia, which is the portion of Gregory's work the LHF author copied. Of those six mentions, we find four repeated in the LHF.<sup>5</sup> The LHF author did not take up a miracle story in which Modestus the carpenter escapes from captivity and flees to the Church of Saint-Médard<sup>6</sup> nor did he repeat the account of Chilperic taking back the fisc land granted to Godin and bestowing it to Saint-Médard.<sup>7</sup> If we compare this with the two authors' treatment of Saint-Denis and his church, we see that the Saint in Soissons was far more likely to command the LHF author's attention than was the patron in Paris. In his first six books Gregory mentions Denis and his church three times<sup>8</sup> and of these the LHF author repeated only one.<sup>9</sup>

The LHF author parades many kings before us; some he approves of

1. Fouracre, Ebroin, chapter 1.
2. Vita Drauscii, -14. See Kaiser, Soissons, p.253.
3. LHF-29.
4. Gregory, Historia, IV-19, -21, -51; V-3, -34, and -49.
5. LHF-29 from Gregory, IV-19; LHF-29 from Gregory, IV-21; LHF-32 from Gregory, IV-51; and LHF-34 from Gregory, V-34.
6. Gregory, Historia, V-49.
7. Ibid., V-3.
8. Ibid., I-30; V-32; and V-34.
9. LHF-34 where Chilperic's and Fredegund's young son is buried at Saint-Denis. This is taken from Gregory, Historia, V-34.

some he does not. But the one on whom he heaps the most praise and the one for whose character he shows special liking is Childébert III.<sup>1</sup> His respect for this king we cannot explain away as that due a national patriarch, as we might explain his respect for Clothar II, Dagobert I, or Saint Audoin; Childebert III did not enjoy their level of renown. It is much more likely that either direct contact with him or contact with his local memory played a large part in forming the LHF author's high regard for him. It is surely no coincidence that, with one possible exception,<sup>2</sup> we never find Childebert in or near Paris; instead we find him holding court in the royal residences along the Oise. He was buried in nearby Choisy-au-Bac, in the church of Saint Stephen<sup>3</sup> – a place which at some point belonged to the monastery of Saint-Médard in Soissons.<sup>4</sup> Thus, instead of listing Rouen and Saint-Denis as the possible homes for the author, I would look for him in either Saint-Denis or Saint-Médard. But look we must, for we cannot yet locate him with certainty.

#### The LHF As A Reflection Of Its Author's Times

The LHF is a secular and political history. The author tells us in his first sentence that he intends to set forth the origin and the deeds of the Franci and their kings and he is true to his word. Whereas Gregory of Tours saw the ideal Frankish king as a champion of orthodox Christianity, fighting God's enemies and endowing God's churches, the

1. "...Childebertus, frater eius, vir inclytus..." (LHF-49); "Tunc enim bonae memoriae gloriosus domnus Childebertus rex iustus migravit ad Dominum." (LHF-50).

2. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 69, pp.61-62 from 696. The charter is dated in "Noviginto" which is close to the spelling "Noviento", the royal villa of Saint Cloud near Paris. Noviginto is also the usual spelling for Nogent-sur-Marne, mentioned in Gregory of Tours, and since the charter deals with nearby Tussonval, Nogent rather than Saint Cloud may have been its place of origin. See Jacobs, Géographie, p.335.

3. LHF-50.

4. Krusch, "Chronologica", p.500.

LHF author saw him as king of the Franci, properly appointed and offspring of the royal Merovingian line. For him, the royal function was to hold the nation together and to defend it by commanding the loyalty of the Franci due their king. The deeds of which he speaks are largely the deeds of war. He saw these in a good light when the Franci raided or conquered non-Franks but, when they were the wars undertaken by Franci against Franci, he condemned them. We cannot find such a description of the nature of the LHF surprising; the author makes it obvious in almost every chapter. What is perhaps unusual, is that a man writing in 727 should still see the history of the Franks in these secular and Frankish terms.

The LHF is notably lacking in Christian or even ecclesiastical content. Nowhere do we find any comment about the wealth of the church, as we do in Gregory of Tours.<sup>1</sup> Nowhere do we find the men who protect it or donate to it praised or held up as models of proper conduct for doing so. Although the author tells us a good deal about Audoin, Ebroin and Queen Balthild, he completely passes over the important monastic reforms which this queen and her advisors instituted.<sup>2</sup> Even when the Church played a direct role in the Merovingians' politics, as it did in securing their hold over Alamannia, Franconia, Frisia, as well as parts of the Rhineland through its missionary work,<sup>3</sup> it still finds no mention in the LHF. Willibrord too and Boniface, who appeared at the Frankish court during the author's lifetime, are never mentioned. The author also leaves out the politically powerful Milo, bishop of Trier and Reims, and Hugo, bishop of Paris, Rouen, Bayeux, and Lizeux, both of

1. Gregory, Historia, VL-46.

2. Vita S. Balthildis, -9.

3. Wallace-Hadrill, Long-Haired Kings, p.226.

whom had close connections with Charles Martel.<sup>1</sup> Even in the picture he gives us of the Merovingian kings, the increasingly Christian image of them and their function, which we find in other Merovingian sources,<sup>2</sup> finds almost no echo in the LHF. The author does once compare Dagobert I to King Solomon<sup>3</sup> and calls Childebert III "rex justus",<sup>4</sup> a term which belongs to the vocabulary used to describe Christian kings, but his usual accolades for his royal favourites, strenuus, efficax, and utilis, although Biblical in origin and found throughout Gregory, emphasise a military rather than a Christian idea of what a king should be.<sup>5</sup> If we look in the LHF for a reflection of a political system of "Kirchenstaaten"<sup>6</sup> with a Christian king at its centre, we shall look in vain. It also does not present the Church as the purveyor of learning, culture and peace. For the LHF author, Christianity, its God and its Church are the source of holy, clairvoyant men, magic relics, ritual, and patron saints - all offering aid, advice, or protection and then usually for the pursuits of battle. He copied Gregory's story of Clovis' conversion to Christianity as a result of his need for divine help in the battle with the Alamans.<sup>7</sup> He repeated Gregory's report that it was Bishop Mamertus' initiation of the three-day fast which ended the earthquakes in Vienne.<sup>8</sup> When describing the founding of Saint Peter's Church in Paris by Clovis I and Clothild, he put the following words into Clothild's mouth - words all the more

1. For Milo see Ewig, "Milo", passim; for Hugo see Semmler, "Zur pippinid", pp.29-31.

2. For an extensive list of sources showing the increasingly Christian image of the Merovingian kings among contemporaries see Wallace-Hadrill, Early Germanic Kingship, pp.47-50.

3. LHF-42.

4. LHF-50.

5. Ewig, "Koenigsgedanken", p.42.

6. Ewig, "Teilreiche", p.126.

7. LHF-15.

8. LHF-16.

significant because these he did not find in Gregory's Historia:<sup>1</sup>

Audi ancillam tuam, et faciamus  
ecclesiam in honorem beatissimi  
Petri princeps (!) apostolorum,  
ut sit tibi auxiliator in bello.

Following Gregory, he portrayed Clovis' reverence for Saint Martin as a direct result of his desire for divine help in the war with the Goths and he mentioned Saint Hilary as Clovis' supporter in the same conflict.<sup>2</sup> In LHF-20 Clodomer was warned by Avitus not to kill the Burgundian king Sigismund, something which he did in spite of the holy man's admonition. In LHF-21 we find the result of his unheeding behaviour: Clodomer unwittingly rode into the thick of the enemy lines and was at once beset and killed. In the civil war waged by Childebert I and Theudebert I against their brother Clothar I, Saint Martin, at the instigation of the queen mother's prayers, sent a hail storm on Childebert's and Theudebert's army and thus forced them to sue for peace.<sup>3</sup> In a detail added to Gregory's account, Childebert I and Clothar I obtained the potent relic of Saint Vincent's cloak from the bishop of Saragossa. Once the cloak was in their possession, they managed to conquer the greater part of Spain and return with great amounts of booty.<sup>4</sup> King Charibert of Paris was struck down by the judgement of God when he failed to follow Saint Germanus' injunction to put aside his unlawful wife.<sup>5</sup> In LHF-32, Saint Germanus warned King Sigibert I not to move his army against his brother, Chilperic. Sigibert disregarded the saint's warning and was killed by assassins sent by Queen Fredegund. When Clovis II desecrated the relics of Saint-Denis, his act of sacrilege

1. LHF-17.
2. Ibid.
3. LHF-25.
4. LHF-26.
5. LHF-30.

brought disaster and ruin to the whole kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Audoin gave military advice and counsel, Bishop Leudegar actively partook in the conflicts of the 670's,<sup>2</sup> and it was "auxiliante Domino" that Martel escaped from custody to take up arms against Plectrud and the Neustrians.<sup>3</sup>

In his view of kings, too, he betrays his political emphasis. There are two major points which should be made about the LHF author and his view of kings. The first is that he had a very sober, practical, and political idea of what a king should be and second, to be the king of the Franks meant to be a Merovingian; there was no other royalty.

For the LHF author, the Merovingian kings neither boasted any mythical sea beast in their ancestry, as they did for Fredegar,<sup>4</sup> nor did they have any holy blood, be it Christian or pagan, as they did with Gregory.<sup>5</sup> Neither Fredegar nor Gregory was a Frank; they were both outsiders writing about the Franci's kings. The LHF author, who was himself most likely a Francus, laid aside the supernatural and tells us that the Merovingians owed their royalty to the fact that they are the descendants of the first man chosen king by the ancient warriors of the tribe:

(Franci) acciperunt consilium, ut regem sibi unum constituerent sicut ceterae gentes... et elegerunt Faramundo... et eleverunt eum regem super se crinitum.<sup>6</sup>

We are told that Faramund's grandson was King Merovech and that from his time onwards the Franci's kings have been called Merovingians: "Ab ipso Merovecho rege utile reges Francorum Merovingi sunt appellati."<sup>7</sup> It was

1. LHF-44.

2. LHF-45.

3. LHF-51.

4. Fredegar, III-9.

5. Gregory, Historia, IX-21.

6. LHF-4.

7. LHF-5.

the antiquity of their lineage which gave the Merovingians their exclusive right to be the reges Francorum; the claim was natural and firm and by no means supernatural.

The LHF author had four particular royal heroes: Clovis I, about whom he tells us almost exclusively only what he learned from Gregory, Clothar II, Dagobert I, and Childebert III. The first three of these four have indeed been seen as kings who conquered the Franks' neighbouring tribes<sup>1</sup> and this is what a king should do. Childebert, however, has not enjoyed such a reputation. The reason Childebert was a favourite of the LHF author was not merely because the author may have known him personally, as Krusch and Kurth speculated,<sup>2</sup> but because, as we have seen,<sup>3</sup> Childebert ruled the way the LHF author thought a Merovingian should rule: that is, in conjunction and in council with his leading Franci. In addition, he tells us that, under Childebert, the Franks waged wars against foreign tribes, the most important of which was the Frisian.<sup>4</sup> Thus, in choosing all his royal favourites, he is true to his political criteria.

He was a staunch Merovingian legitimist. When copying Gregory's report of the Franks ejecting their Merovingian king, Childeric, and placing the Roman Egidius over them in his stead, the author adds his own stern words of disapproval: "... malum consilium tractantes".<sup>5</sup> In the latter chapters of his work he is careful to note the role of the Merovingians and mentions them in many places where the Fredegar

1. Wallace-Hadrill, Long-Haired Kings, p.212.
2. Kurth, "Etude critique", p.55.
3. See above Chapter VII, pp.200-201.
4. LHF-49.
5. LHF-7.

Continuator, who copied him, chose to leave them out.<sup>1</sup> Even as late as Chilperic II (716-721) he still saw his kings leading armies for it was "...ipse Chilpericus cum Ragamfredo..." who led the Neustrian force against Plectrud in the spring of 716.<sup>2</sup> Although a legitimist he was no blind traditionalist. He lets us see he knows that control of campaigns and politics has shifted to the likes of Ragamfred, Plectrud, and Martel but at the same time he also makes it clear that, no matter who the actual leaders were, they could not carry out their designs without kings — without legitimate Merovingian kings.

The LHF is good witness that the Germanic or epic ideals of heroism, single combat, trickery, accumulation of booty, and fierce personal loyalty were held in high esteem in Neustria in the early eighth century. These ideals are most obvious in the sections of the LHF which have long been recognised as epic in nature, having come from a Frankish epic tradition or even from "the popular mouth". Unfortunately, these parts of the chronicle have been generally dismissed as fiction in order to concentrate on its other "historically more valuable" accounts. This approach to the LHF is misleading for two reasons. First, as we shall see, this epic or Germanic tone to the LHF is not limited to its "epic sections"; we find it throughout the work. Second, unlike many medieval chronicles, the LHF is not a disjointed compilation, formed by copying the work of various wise men of the past and then adding an original section at the end. The work is an integrated whole; it flows from beginning to end in a chrono-

1. The following phrases were included by the LHF author but omitted by the Fredegar Continuator: "in aula regis" (LHF-45, Fred. Cont.-2); "cum Theudorico rege" (LHF-45, Fred. Cont.-2); "regem recepit" (LHF-45, Fred. Cont.-2); "ad regem Theudericum veniret" (LHF-46, Fred. Cont.-3); "cum iussione regis" (LHF-47, Fred. Cont.-4); "sub supradictos reges" (LHF-51, Fred. Cont.-8); "vet rege" (LHF-51, Fred. Cont.-8); and "cum rege" (LHF-51, Fred. Cont.-8).

2. LHF-52.

logical sequence which is remarkably accurate, with the author adding and inserting his own material as he goes along. To the LHF author, the colourful "epic scenes" were every bit as much a part of the actual deeds of the Franci as were the "historically valuable" sections. To understand what was important to him we must consider his work as a whole.

His great heroes are warrior kings, conquering foreign tribes and keeping peace within their own territories; this we see especially with Dagobert I and his father Clothar II. In the LHF's report<sup>1</sup> of a campaign by these two kings against the Saxons, we find ourselves in the midst of a story some of the contents of which will appear in an even more epic form in the ninth-century "Song of Faro".<sup>2</sup> In the LHF, Dagobert first boldly hastens out to meet the enemy ("...ad pugnam exire non dubitavit.") but the heavy fighting, in which he himself takes part, goes badly for the Franks. When Dagobert's father, Clothar II, comes to his aid, their combined forces set out for the Weser River where the supposed Saxon leader, Duke Bertoald,<sup>3</sup> scoffs ("cum cacinno dicens") at the news that Clothar has arrived. But the King of the Franks was indeed present and he is described in the most heroic terms:

But the king was standing there, dressed in his leather breastplate, helmet on his head, and his long hair, bespeckled with grey, bound up.<sup>4</sup>

1. LHF-41.

2. Vita Faronis Episcopi Meldensis, -77, in SSRM, V, p.193. We have only eight lines in Latin of the poem which the vita author calls a "carmen publicum iuxta rusticitatem". About which see: Krusch, SSRM, V, pp. 175 seq. and Ferdinand Lot, "Encore la cantilène de saint Faron", in: Modern Philology, XXXVIII (1941), pp.227-233.

3. Fredegar (IV-24, -25, -26) reports a campaign in which Bertoald, mayor of the palace under Theuderic II, invaded Clothar's lands in 604. Fredegar also describes a challenge of single combat by this Bertoald. This Frankish mayor may have become a Saxon duke in the LHF account. See Zoellner, Geschichte der Franken, p.102.

4. "rex quoque illuc stans, lurica indutus, galea in capite, crines cum canicie variatas obvolutas." (LHF-41).

Bertoald hurls insults at the king and Clothar plunges his mighty steed ("equo velocissimo") into the Weser and gives chase. They meet in single combat where the king's hands are truly deadly; he was indeed the "armoured king" ("...erat enim rex luricatus."). Clothar dispatches his rival, places the corpse's head on the point of his spear, and returns triumphantly to his soldiers.

This story and indeed Dagobert's and Clothar's whole campaign against the Saxons have generally been dismissed as untrue.<sup>1</sup> Untrue perhaps, but the story is by no means unimportant. The fact that the author included it in such length and with such vivid detail shows how important these Germanic ideals of a mighty warrior king doing fierce single combat were to his picture of what a king should be. One of the ways we can see that for him this was not an "epic" story, which he wedged in amongst "historical" ones, is that some of the heroic phrases he uses here he also used to describe others of his favourites and their deeds, often adding the words to Gregory's account.<sup>2</sup> Mighty kings and mighty combat were important.

We find the prominence of another epic element in the LHF: the frequent occurrence of a Ulysses-like craftiness and trickery. Viomadus

1. Krusch (SSRM, II, p.311, note 3, and SSRM, V, p.175); Kurth (Histoire poétique, pp.446-448); Zoellner (Geschichte der Franken, p.102); Wattenbach-Levison (Geschichtsquellen 1952, p.118); and Fouracre (Ebroin, chapter II) all doubt that Clothar ever conducted a campaign against the Saxons. Ferdinand Lot in his review of Godefroid Kurth's Histoire poétique, pp.141-142 concedes that he might have done.

2. A) "ad pugnam exire non dubitavit"  
 "ad bellum exire non dubitavit (Theudebert I)" (LHF-32)  
 B) "equo velocissimo"  
 "equo suo velocissimo (Clovis I)" added to Gregory (LHF-17)  
 C) "reversus est victor"  
 "Chlodoveus vero ... reversus est victor" added to Gregory (LHF-16)  
 "Ebroinus itaque, patrata victoria, reversus est" (LHF-46)  
 "Pippinus quoque victor extitit" (LHF-47)  
 "Carlus victor extitit" (LHF-53)  
 D) "fortissimus rex"  
 "Dagobertus rex fortissimus" (LHF-42)  
 "Chlodovecho rege inclyto atque fortissimo" added to Gregory (LHF-6)

tricked Egidius into oppressing the Franci so that they would displace him and recall the rightful Chilperic.<sup>1</sup> Aridius, Gundobadus' advisor, pretended to desert to Clovis in order to persuade him to spare the Burgundians.<sup>2</sup> Theuderic I promised safe conduct to the Thuringian king, Ermenfred, to come to Zuelpich but once he had arrived, Theuderic pushed him off the city wall and killed him.<sup>3</sup> Fredegund tricked Audovera into standing as godmother to her own child.<sup>4</sup> In order to lure Merovech and Brunhild out of the safety of a church, Chilperic falsely promised he would never separate them.<sup>5</sup> Fredegund's marvellous deception for a night raid and the "moving woods" used to defeat the Austrasians is reported in full detail, even including conversations between the enemy watchmen.<sup>6</sup> Theudebert II's men lie, saying that his brother will spare him if he only hands over the treasure. When he begins to do so, they kill him as they have intended all along.<sup>7</sup> Ebroin tricks Leudesius into coming to him and then kills him.<sup>8</sup> Finally, Ebroin's men trick Duke Martin by guaranteeing his safety with an oath taken over empty relic boxes.<sup>9</sup> In all these, with the exception of the last, we find no condemnation of the deceptions and with Fredegund, the author shows approval of such slyness ("per ingenium consilium").

1. LHF-7.

2. LHF-16.

3. LHF-22.

4. LHF-31.

5. LHF-33.

6. LHF-36. Pauline Taylor ("Birnam Wood: 700 AD - 1600 AD", in: Modern Language Notes, 39 (1924) pp.244-247) has traced this delightful tale from its inclusion here in LHF-36 to its appearance in Shakespeare's Macbeth.

7. LHF-38.

8. LHF-45.

9. LHF-46.

No less than thirty-one times does the LHF author mention the acquisition of booty or treasure among the deeds and wars of the Franci. Even long after we might have expected the aims of a landed aristocracy to be directed more toward the protection of territories and the acquisition of land, he is telling us that Ebroin, Pippin II, Chilperic II and Ragamfred, Plectrud, Martel, and Eudo snatch thesauros or praedam from one another as they conduct their various campaigns.<sup>1</sup> On eight different occasions he added a mention of booty or treasure to an account of Gregory's which did not contain it.<sup>2</sup> Ring-giving and gold were an important means by which a Germanic war leader motivated and rewarded his fighting men<sup>3</sup> and the author's emphasis on treasure and booty is a good indication that this Germanic convention was still very much alive in the early eighth century.<sup>4</sup>

Another heroic trait which permeates the LHF is the importance of personal loyalty. It was obviously within the rules of accepted conduct for kingdom to attack kingdom or for campaigning armies to plunder, burn, and devastate the territories in their path. At one point Clothar II ordered that every male Saxon taller than the king's sword was to be killed as a sign of his authority in their lands.<sup>5</sup> None of these gruesome deeds evoked any word of condemnation from the LHF author. But if a rightful superior, a king, a father, or a lord was deposed, then we do

1. Ebroin: LHF-45; Pippin II: LHF-48; Chilperic and Ragamfred: LHF-52; Plectrud: LHF-52 and -53; Martel: LHF-53; and Eudo: LHF-53.

2. See above Chapter IV, pp. 71-74.

3. Dopsch, "Die leudes und das Lehenwesen", in: MIÖG, 41 (1926), p.37.

4. "Datisque eis Chlodoveus pro hac cause (in order to win over Ragnachar's following) balteis et armellis adsimilatis de auro..." (LHF-18); "...ad Francos utiliores petiit ipsoque munera multa deditus sibi subdedit." (LHF-29); and, "Brinnacum villa veniens, multa dona et munera Francis ditavit, eosque ad pugnandum contra inimicos eorum coortans." (LHF-36).

5. LHF-41.

hear his stern words of disapproval. When the Franci ejected their king Childeric I, the author added the words "malum consilium tractantes" to Gregory's account.<sup>1</sup> Clovis I informed the traitors who betrayed Ragnachar for false gold that one "qui dominum suum ad mortem tradit" deserved the false metal and that they should be thankful he allowed them to live.<sup>2</sup> The author strongly disapproved both of Theuderic II who caused the citizens of Cologne to betray their king, his brother Theudebert II,<sup>3</sup> and of Queen Brunhild whom the author makes the murderess of Theuderic's male heirs.<sup>4</sup> Grimoald I was executed justly: "...ut erat morte dignus, quod in domino suo exercuit..."<sup>5</sup> The author's wrath especially pours forth as he relates Ghislemar's death, the man who dared to supplant his father: "Qui ob injurias patris vel alia peccata crudelia a Deo percussus iniquissimum spiritum exalavit..."<sup>6</sup> In no other type of action can we feel his personal disapproval so strongly as in these crimes against a superior where loyalty was due.

#### Why Was The LHF Written?

We have seen that for the author of the LHF, history was political and secular and thus our first task in answering this question is to place the author politically. Although he never tells us directly, it is nonetheless a safe assumption that he was one of the Franci, that is, one of the established, Neustrian, leading families. In addition to the fact that he most likely wrote in either Paris or Soissons, in the

1. LHF-7.

2. LHF-18.

3. "...inicum spiritum in peccatis deficiens, mortuus est." (LHF-39).

4. "Brunhilde morte turpissima esse dignissima..." (LHF-40).

5. LHF-43.

6. LHF-47.

heartland of these families, we have two other indications that it was from this particular group of nobility that he sprang or at least that it was the political system based on rule by them and their king that he supported.

First is his use of the word Franci. He limited it geographically to mean the Neustrians.<sup>1</sup> He referred to the Austrasians, who were also Franks, as the Austrasii,<sup>2</sup> the Franci superiores,<sup>3</sup> and, when he meant those specifically in and around Cologne, as the Riboarii.<sup>4</sup> More revealing, however, than the geographical limitation he gave the word Franci was what he meant by it socially. In the LHF, the Franci are not merely the Neustrians but the leading Neustrians: the warrior-nobility who comprised the fighting force, filled both the ecclesiastical and secular positions of authority, elected the king, and sat in council with him. This is not only apparent from the aristocratic nature of the activities they perform throughout the work but becomes especially clear when we compare the word Franci with the more explicit terminology used in other sources. The works of Gregory of Tours, Fredegar, and various Merovingian hagiographers abound with terms such as seniores,<sup>5</sup>

1. Ewig ("Volkstum und Volksbewusstsein im Frankenreich des 7. Jahrhunderts", in: Settimane, 5-II (1958), pp.641-42) clearly shows that Franci has the same geographical meaning in other Merovingian sources. His list of examples, however, is to be used with caution.

2. LHF-35, -36, -40, -41, -46, and -48.

3. LHF-27, -36, and -41. In LHF-38 the Austrasians are called the Franci seniores in the A recension and Franci sublimes in the B. Although this may be an indication that these were a special group of Austrasian magnates, it could also be that the words were arbitrarily substituted for superiores by later scribes.

4. LHF-38. This is the first use of Ripuarii in the Frankish sources. In several other contemporary sources, it has the same geographical meaning. See Ewig, Trier, pp.61-62.

5. Seniores: Greg., Hist., IV-27; VI-31; VII-33, -36; VIII-31; X-16; Fredegar, III-18; IV-78; Vita S. Balthildis, -5, -10, -18; and Vita Eligii, II-21.

priores,<sup>1</sup> primores,<sup>2</sup> primates,<sup>3</sup> nobiles,<sup>4</sup> proceres,<sup>5</sup> optimates,<sup>6</sup> meliores,<sup>7</sup> and maiores<sup>8</sup> whereas, with only two exceptions,<sup>9</sup> the word Franci suffices for the LHF even when referring to that group of nobles around the king<sup>10</sup> usually called the optimates in the other sources.<sup>11</sup> This use of the word is not unique to the LHF; it is found occasionally with the same meaning in other sources<sup>12</sup> but to my knowledge nowhere else is it used so consistently and so exclusively in this limited sense. For the LHF author, the proper history of the Franks is a history of the Franci, the Neustrian nobility who ruled with their king.

His emphasis on the institution of consilium also leads us to suspect that he was a Francus. In the LHF the word often meant far more than its

1. Priores: Greg., Hist., VI-9; VII-7, -33; VIII-9, -21, -30; IX-9; and Fredegar, IV-52.

2. Primores: Greg., Hist., IV-13; V-32; VI-3; and Vita S. Balthildis, -10B.

3. Primates: Fredegar, III-58; IV-75, -76, -80, -85, -90; and Vita S. Arnulfi, -7, -14.

4. Nobiles: Greg., Hist., VII-29; Passio Leudegarii I, -5; Vita Audoini, -1; and Vita Filiberti, -22.

5. Proceres: Greg., Hist., IV-6; V-17, -46; VI-3; VIII-21; IX-8, -20 (the Treaty of Andelot); Fredegar, IV-44, -53, -56, -73, -75; Vita S. Radegundis, -10; Vita S. Geretrudis, -1; Vita Arnulfi, -12, -14, -17; Vita S. Balthildis, -10, -12, -18B; Jonas of Bobbio, Vita Vedastis Episcopi Atrebatensis, -7; Vita Columbani I, -19, II-9; Vita Desiderii, -2; Passio Praejecti, -22, -26; Vita Filiberti, -1; Passio Leudegarii II, -3, -23, -24; and Vita Audoini, -11.

6. Optimates: Greg., Hist., VII-21; VIII-2, -9; Fredegar, Cont., -23; Vita Vedastis Ep. II, -4, -8; Vita Eligii, I-5, -8, -14, -35; II-1, -21, -37, -60, -77; Passio Praejecti, -24, -27; Passio Leudegarii I, -5, -11, -12, -13, -20, -21, -28, -37; and Vita Filiberti, -1.

7. Meliores: Greg., Hist., VI-45; VII-19.

8. Maiores: Greg., Hist., V-31; VI-24; VII-32; Passio Leudegarii II, -24.

9. LHF-17, -45.

10. LHF-13, -36.

11. Werner, "Adelsfamilien", p.92.

12. See Ewig, "Volkstum", pp.638-39. A passage in the Vita S. Balthildis, -10 clearly shows how Franci meant noblemen. The Merovingian A version reads: "Nam et Franci pro eius amore hoc dilatabant..." whereas the B version has: "Sed hoc primores et proceres Francorum differebant..."

usual definitions of "plan" or "advice". Consilium referred to the institution where the Franci came together for formal deliberation. It could mean that meeting itself,<sup>1</sup> the course of action decided there<sup>2</sup> or the people or faction involved.<sup>3</sup> Consilium was a right jealously guarded by the Franci;<sup>4</sup> it was the mechanism by which they ruled. According to the LHF author, the Franci's rule by consilium was even more ancient than their rule by kings.<sup>5</sup> We have seen the special respect he had for Clothar II and Childebert III, kings we know to have ruled in close conjunction with the Franci,<sup>6</sup> and the fact that he mentions consilium some fifteen times in his work is another good indication that he was a strong supporter of that political system based on cooperative rule.

Moving beyond the supposition that he was one of the Franci and wished to write a general apology for their age-old system of rule, our task in discovering his reasons for writing becomes far more difficult because the more usual reasons medieval writers wrote do not seem to fit the LHF. There is no particular monastery whose claims or rights he sought to vindicate or whose status he hoped to raise by extolling the virtues of its founder or members. In fact, although it is a reasonable assumption

1. "...Franci in incertum vacellantes, prefinito consilio, Ebroino ... maiorum domo in aula regis statuunt." (LHF-45).

2. "... consilium dedit Francos..." (LHF-36).

3. "Farum ... qui cum Radulfo unitum habebat consilium..." (Fredegar, IV-87). Wallace-Hadrill (Fredegar, p.73) translates: "...Fara, an accomplice of Radulf..." "Eratque ex Burgundia in hoc consilio beatus Leudegarius..." (LHF-45).

4. The warrior-bishop who confronted Wilfrid claimed that Dagobert II was worthy of death because he had despised the "consilia seniorum". (Vita Wilfridi, -33).

5. LHF-3 and -4.

6. For Clothar II see: Sprandel, "Merov. Adel", p.41; Wallace-Hadrill, Long-Haired Kings, p.214; and Bergengruen, Adel und Grundherrschaft, pp.174-175. For an older and less insightful view which sees Clothar's rule in terms of conflict rather than cooperation with the nobility, see: Heidrich, "Titulatur", p.42; and Krusch, "Staatsstreich", p.411. For Childebert III, see: MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 70, p.62.

that he wrote in a monastery, he is so unconcerned with things monastic that it is impossible to tell which it was that housed him. He is also neither a Neustrian chauvinist railing against the Austrasians nor a blind apologist for the Merovingians. He certainly saw a legitimate Merovingian king as central to his political world but he was by no means blind to the family's faults. We remember his condemnation of Clovis II,<sup>1</sup> his judgement of Childeric II,<sup>2</sup> and his probable doubts about Chilperic II.<sup>3</sup> Although he treats most of the Pippinids favourably, the inclusion of Grimoald I's attempted coup in his narrative<sup>4</sup> is a clear indication that he also did not intend his work as an apology for that family. Fredegar's first continuator, who did work under their auspices and who formed the first part of his work by copying the LHF, left out the account of Grimoald's attempt, as we should expect a family apologist to do. The LHF author also did not shy away from mentioning Charles Martel's defeat in 716, something which the author of the Annales Mettenses Priores will do.<sup>5</sup> The very secular nature of the LHF rules it out as any sort of Christian statement or aid for converting the non-Christian tribes. Perhaps it was enough to sing the deeds and heroes of old in good Germanic fashion. This certainly was a large part of his motivation but it does not explain the later sections of the work, which concentrate so heavily on Neustria's politics. His motivation may become clearer, however, if we re-examine two other factors: 1) the most important political development of his times, and 2) those sections of

1. LHF-44.

2. LHF-44.

3. LHF-52. See below p. 278.

4. LHF-43.

5. LHF-52. See Ulrich Nonn, "Das Bild Karl Martells in den lateinischen Quellen vornehmlich des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts", in: Fruehmittelalterliche Studien, IV (1970), p.72.

his work where some phrase or statement reveals that the event evoked a personal reaction on his part.

The most important political development in Neustria in the early eighth century was, of course, the securing of power for the Pippinids by Charles Martel. It was Martel who displaced the traditional Neustrian Franci and concentrated the central authority in his own hands.<sup>1</sup> His chief adversary in the early stages of this struggle was the Neustrian mayor, Ragamfred, who ruled with his king Chilperic II and the traditional Neustrian nobility in the years immediately following Pippin II's death.<sup>2</sup> Once the tide had turned in Martel's favour, these Franci were shut out and Martel used none of them in his new courts under Clothar IV and Theudebert IV.<sup>3</sup> The remarkable thing is that despite the fact that the LHF author has championed the Franci throughout his work, he gives us no sense of longing for their days of rule under Ragamfred, no words of praise for either their mayor or for king Chilperic II. In fact, his use of the word nimirum leads us to suspect that the author was not without his doubts concerning the legitimacy of the monarch who was once called Daniel. On the other hand he calls the Franci's supposed enemy, Martel, "...virum elegantem, egregium, atque utilem".<sup>4</sup>

Despite the author's general sober and detached style of writing, there are several places in his work where we can see his personal reaction, approving or disapproving, shining through. We have already noted his strong reaction to those who acted against their legitimate superiors, one of whom was the Pippinid, Grimoald I. He abhorred wars

1. Werner, "Les principautés", p.104.

2. Semmler, "Zur pippinid", p.6; Ewig, "Teilreiche", pp.86-94; and Heidrich, "Titulatur", p.196.

3. Heidrich, "Titulatur", p.199; and Wolfram, "Heilige Rupert", p.19.

4. LHF-49.

in which Franci fought against Franci.<sup>1</sup> We have seen both the great respect he had for his four royal favourites, Clovis I, Clothar II, Dagobert I, and Childebert III, two of whom, Clothar and Dagobert, he called peace makers,<sup>2</sup> and his disapproval of two other kings, Clovis II and Childeric II. He was saddened by the thought of a pregnant queen being killed,<sup>3</sup> he disapproved of Berchar,<sup>4</sup> and he had a long list of non-royal favourites: Audoin,<sup>5</sup> Ansfléd,<sup>6</sup> Plectrud,<sup>7</sup> Charles Martel,<sup>8</sup> and Grimoald II.<sup>9</sup> He also tells us that Martel escaped from Plectrud's custody "auxiliante Domino".

The key to making sense of these reactions, which at first glance seem to offer a hopelessly mixed set of political loyalties, and at the same time the key to a possible indication why the LHF author wrote, can be found in LHF-51. In this important chapter describing the turmoil which took place after Pippin II's death, we find the work of the devil and the work of the Lord in close juxtaposition. The worst situation possible for the author happens once again as Franci attack Franci "instigante diabulo," rending the internal peace. In the midst of this

1. "cede crudelissima" (LHF-46); "...bella civilia et multae discordiae" (LHF-47); and "...instigante diabulo Franci denuo Cocia silva in Francos invicem inruunt." (LHF-51).

2. Clothar: "Rex vero, pacem per circuitum facta, reversus est." (LHF-40). Dagobert: "Ipse pacifus velut Salomon, quietas regnum obtenuit Francorum." (LHF-42).

3. "...quod dici dolor est." (LHF-45).

4. "Interdum Bercharium quondam statura pusillum, sapientia ignobilem, consilio inutile..." (LHF-48).

5. LHF-47.

6. "...fuitque ei matrona nobilis ac ingeniosa nomine Ansflédis." (LHF-48).

7. "...uxor nobilissima et sapientissima nomine Plectrudis." (LHF-48).

8. "...Carlo virum elegantem egregium atque utilem." (LHF-49).

9. "Eratque ipse Grimoaldus maiorum domus pius, modestus, mansuetus et iustus." His murderer, Rantgar, is called "filio Belial". (LHF-50).

burning and devastation Charles Martel escapes from custody, "auxiliante Domino". It seems the author is telling us that Martel's advent is to be welcomed as an act of God and probably Martel himself as the strong man who can quell the work of the devil, the civil wars among the Franci. It is also possible that both the account of Grimoald I's coup and the bold pronouncement that he deserved death because he had acted against his lord were inserted in the narrative as a clear statement that the Pippinids' welcome as the Franci's rulers was not unqualified. In other words, the LHF author wrote in order to say that the family from the east were proper rulers of the Franks as long as they governed under their rightful Merovingian lords. From this viewpoint, the author's personal judgements, noted above, begin to make sense. We see why he was so disposed toward Ansflod, the Neustrian matrona, whose family united in marriage with the Pippinids, why he disapproved of Ghislemar and Berchar who waged war against Pippin, but especially why he so favoured the era of Childebert III. It was Childebert who ruled along with his Franci under the auspices of Pippin II — the combination of power he seems to see as most beneficial for Neustria. This also explains why of all the Pippinids he singled out Grimoald II upon whom to heap the most praise. Grimoald was Childebert's mayor of the palace and, despite the fact that his father Pippin was still alive, he seems to have been mayor in more than just name. Not only do we find Grimoald listed among Neustria's Franci in Childebert's charters, but he seems to have attempted to defend Childebert's claim to part of the tolls levied at the fair of Saint-Denis.<sup>1</sup> There is one final aspect of the LHF which also might make better sense if this was the reason the author wrote. This is his constant reminder in the later chapters of his work that the Austrasians

1. MGH, Dipl., I, nr. 70, p.62 and nr. 77, p.68.

were a type of Franci as well. Rarely does he use the word Austrasii without coupling it with Franci superiores.<sup>1</sup> Could this not be another indication to the old Neustrian ruling circles that the new governors from the east were a proper force to take up rule under the Merovingian kings?

1. LHF-27, -36, and -41. In LHF-38 he uses Franci seniores (A) and Franci sublimibus (B) to mean the Austrasians and in LHF-40 he says, "...Burgundiones et Austrasii cum reliquis Francis pace facta..." In LHF-36 and -46 he mentions the Austrasians without calling them the upper Franks.

CHAPTER X — SUMMARY

To conclude this march from the LHF's beginnings in far off Troy to its end with Charles Martel and Theuderic IV, I shall summarize my findings, grouping them under the three aspects from which I have viewed the chronicle. Of these three platforms, it has been the third, the examination of the LHF author and his attitudes, which has produced the most revealing view of Merovingian matters. A study of the author, however, required first an examination of the present condition of his text and the accuracy of its contents.

1. The Text of the LHF — Manuscripts, Sources, and Recensions

Krusch's edition of the LHF is a masterly and accurate reflection of the chronicle's manuscripts: a credit both to the great Merovingian scholar himself and to the MGH for whom he edited it. We have older editions but Krusch's triumphantly supersedes them all, although Bouquet's notes can from time to time still provide some valuable insight.

During the course of my work with the LHF's manuscripts, I examined fifteen, including four codices which were not previously known to contain the work. Most of what I learned from them consisted of minor points, including such things as Queen Fredegund's possible place of birth (Balbancurt) in Ms. Vatican Reg. Lat. 745 and a recognition that the Latin of the A3 group was closer to classical norms than Krusch had thought. One of the copies I discovered is contained in ms. Paris BN Lat. 7906. This is an eighth-century manuscript and one of the LHF's earliest surviving. It was a significant find not only because of its early date but also because it switches recensions in the middle of chapter twelve. There are some things which the inspection of the manuscripts revealed which cannot be gleaned from the edition. The

LHF's neighbours in medieval codices were usually other works of secular history. Although the books were carefully prepared, none had a grand appearance; there was little illumination and few display scripts.

The portions which received either the scribes' visual emphasis or the annotators' marginalia suggest that the LHF was copied and preserved in the middle ages chiefly for its information concerning the early Merovingian kings. The interest usually extended no further than to the grandsons of Clovis and neither Clothar II, Dagobert I, nor the Pippinid mayors drew any special attention.

Apart from his chief source, Gregory of Tours, we can find evidence of very few written works the LHF author may have used. It seems certain that he copied sections of Isidore of Seville's Etymologies and the Auctarium an. 624 attached to Isidore's Chronicle. We find phrases used for stylistic effect which he could have borrowed from Sulpicius Severus and the Passio Praejecti and there are indications that he may have used Jonas' Vita Columbani and Sisebut's Vita Desiderii. A clear relationship exists between the LHF and the prologue to the Lex Salica; in this case, however, it is not sufficiently clear who copied whom. His mention of certain scriptories in LHF-44 and the nature of some of the information he added to his excerpts from Gregory suggest that he also had available to him works which are no longer extant. Meagre as this list is, it comprises all his sources we can find.

Krusch edited the LHF in two recensions, which he named A and B, in parallel columns. This accurately reflected the manuscripts known to him, all of which fell into one of the two versions. The discovery of the LHF in the eighth-century codex BN Lat. 7906, however, which switched from the A to the B recension in the middle of chapter twelve without any indication, such as interpolation, that exemplars of both recensions

had been available to the scribe, raised the question of how solidly founded was Krusch's view of two distinct and sequential recensions. Indeed when, in light of the evidence of BN Lat. 7906, I reviewed his arguments for both the priority of A before B and for his belief that there were two authors, one Neustrian and the other Austrasian, I came to question his conclusions. I feel we must now give equal consideration to the possibility that the LHF grew up piecemeal. It was only the fact that the manuscripts divided themselves into two groups which allowed the conclusion that the work itself was originally written in two versions; there is no internal evidence of style or of political or geographical perspective which defines two authors for us. I would therefore plead for caution in assuming that A is separate from or came before B and have treated the LHF as one work by a Neustrian author, which now contains textual variants in its manuscripts. If there is one unfortunate aspect to Krusch's edition, it is that the reader, seeing the work in parallel columns, is liable to receive an impression of unfounded certainty that the work was written on two separate and distinct occasions.

## 2. The LHF as a Contemporary Source

In summarising what I have said about the history of the Franks from my use of the LHF as a source, I almost feel compelled to apologize for my constant use of the subjunctive. "Would have been", "might have been", "could appear to be", or "would seem more probable" are phrases I have employed with frustrating frequency. Unfortunately, they often reflect the only level of certainty we can achieve when we try to view what took place in the Merovingian age. The LHF has been generally mistrusted as a source and, although the work is far from immaculate, I hope to have shown that in several important instances we should accord more faith to

it than has been done. This is the case in three ways: First, there are simply some things which the chronicle states which are deserving of more consideration: for instance, its report that King Clodio conquered Tournai (LHF-5), that Clovis I conquered northern Gaul in two stages (LHF-14), that Grimoald I was executed by Clovis II (LHF-43), and that Norbert died before the bishop of the same name assumed the see of Clermont (LHF-49). Second, when I checked the picture of events constructed by inference or deduction from the LHF's various reports against the other contemporary sources, I found a surprisingly long list of cases where it turned out to be more probable or at least as believable as the differing views currently put forth in the secondary literature. This made it probable that Clovis I defeated the Visigoths at Voulon and not at Vouillé, it yielded another possible scenario for the events during and after the coup of Grimoald I, it eliminated the supposed first reign of Dagobert II, it revealed that it was most likely Pippin II and Duke Martin who held the dominant position in Austrasia in the late 670's, it showed the factional and political nature of Saint Audoin's eminent position, it provided a new probable date for the battle of Lucofao, it showed that Pippin II's control of Neustria was based in the politics of family alliances and that he does not seem to have dislodged the Franci from Neustria's core; it suggested the local political basis of Charles Martel's early years, it made us take note of the important role played in Merovingian politics by matronae such as Ansfléd, Alpaida, and Plectrud; it showed how the battle of Vinchy was a more important victory for Charles Martel than was the battle of Soissons, and it provided new dates both for the campaign which included the battle of Soissons and for the rule of Clothar IV. All this came about by first taking seriously what the LHF author tells us and then seeking substantiation for his reports.

And third, the LHF is as clear a mirror as we have of the nature and mechanics of late seventh- and early eighth-century Merovingian political life. The picture we gain from it does not reveal a basic antagonism between crown and nobility but depicts a system in which the legitimate Merovingian king ruled through the various factions and families of the Franci by means of cooperation (consilium) not conflict. We see this reflected in the author's balanced portrayal of Ebroin, his acceptance of Pippin II and Charles Martel, and in his praise for Childebert III, who of all the later Merovingians seems to have ruled surrounded by the old Neustrian families in their traditional haunts along the Oise.

### 3. The LHF Author and His Times

The LHF author, writing in 726/727, gives us a picture of business as usual. For him, a history of the Franks is a history of the Franci and their kings and his view still held true for the era of Charles Martel. In describing a period for which later accounts will switch their attention from the Merovingian monarchs to the Pippinid mayors, this Neustrian chronicler goes on, as he has from the beginning of his work, relating the wars of the Franci and the accessions and deaths of their kings. He gives us little sense of either the dawning Carolingian age or a political order built as a religious state. It is mayors, not bishops, who play the central role and the great Carolingian churchmen of his age — Boniface, Milo, Willibrord, and Hugo — are completely ignored. His view of kings is the traditional Frankish one, little influenced by newer Christian ideas. He presents the Church itself, not as the purveyor of learning, culture, and peace, but as a source of holy, clairvoyant men, magic relics, ritual, and patron saints — all sources of aid and protection, usually in the pursuits of war.

He was a Neustrian writing in either Soissons or Paris and a staunch Merovingian legitimist. Kings still mattered to him; they were essential for any large scale political and military activity. He noted them in places where the Fredegar Continuator, who copied him, left them out. His ideal kings were warrior kings, whose function it was to keep the peace among the Franci and to conquer foreign tribes. In Childebert III, a king who resided near Soissons and ruled together with both the traditional Neustrian powerful and with the Pippinids, he had a special royal favourite. It was under Childebert that the Frisians were conquered. We can sense the author's affection for this era of internal peace, with its strong man Pippin II, its mayor Grimoald II, and its monarch, Childebert, who ruled as a king should rule.

In the picture he gives us of the political structure as well as in the values he admired, the LHF author is a good witness that the Germanic or epic ideals of heroism, single combat, Ulysses-like trickery, accumulation of booty, and fierce personal loyalty were held in high esteem in early eighth-century Neustria. Although we might expect that a landed and supposedly "Romanized" aristocracy would espouse less traditionally Frankish virtues, in these values prized by the LHF author we have a good indication that in the pulse of early eighth-century politics, there was still this strong and traditional Frankish beat.

For the LHF author, rule was rightfully exercised by Merovingian kings in conjunction with the leading Franci, the most important of whom was the mayor. He gives us no sense of antagonism between mayor, Pippinid or otherwise, and a roi fainéant. For him, both parts of the system worked together, bound by the familiar cement of advice, counsel, and deliberation (consilium). When this went awry, internal stability crumbled and the result was chaos, civil war, and Franci rising up against

Franci. His cooperative picture of Merovingian politics is far different from the one the Carolingian sources will give us, as they look back to the preceding age. And I may not be too far afield in thinking that many modern scholars, too, perhaps by paying less attention than they ought to what the "Fabulator Anonymus" can teach us, have been somewhat too willing to follow Einhard and his oxcart, as that later era sought to exalt the family of Charles at the expense of the last ruling sons of Clovis.

APPENDIX ICorrigenda and Addenda for the MGH Edition

The following corrections and additions contain only the types of information or textual variants Krusch used. I have included only the variants from manuscripts upon which Krusch based the edition. I also have not noted any orthographical variation in proper names.

- Page 217,  
line 30: Delete: Appendicem Marii and substitute: Auctarium a. 624, quod Chronicis Isidoriensis conjunctum est.
- Page 221,  
line 19: Delete: Librarius 'eius' per notam expressit. The scribe did this only once (folio 18, line 24 = edition, p.246, line 8). Eius is usually written out; rarely it is abbreviated to ei.  
line 23: Delete: (semper) and substitute: (fere). The manuscript exhibits haec or hec in several places.  
line 43: Delete: S. Mariae. Delete also: 711 and substitute: A.803.
- Page 222,  
line 21: Delete: 76 and substitute: 19. The manuscript has 316 folia. The LHF Krusch is referring to here takes up 19 of them (f. 57 to 75v).
- Page 223,  
line 29: Delete: VIII/IX and substitute: IX ex. The earlier date refers to the earlier part of the manuscript only.  
line 30: Delete: 83 and substitute: 88.
- Page 224,  
line 29: Delete the entire entry number 22. The Corpus Christi College, Oxford manuscript does not contain the LHF but rather the Chronicle of Ademar of Chabannes.
- Page 232,  
line 42: Delete: XIV and substitute: XIII.
- Page 234,  
line 13: Delete: c.24. in Alb 'ad eum' addita sint, quae Alc cum reliquis libris omittit. The words ad eum are not in the manuscript (f. 55 = edition, p.281, line 14). Krusch still has two reasons for believing that Alb was not the source of Alc. The deletion of this factor does not destroy his argument.
- Page 238,  
line 22: in, om. A3b.
- Page 239,  
line 4: alamanus, Alb.  
line 18: adversus, A3b.

## Page 240

- line 1: transito, A1b.  
 note x: Expliciunt capitula de gesta Francorum, add. A1b.

## Page 241,

- line 17: fugit, A1b, A3b.  
 line 20: fugit, A3b.  
 note y: Ala, b.

## Page 242,

- line 17: fugerunt, A3b.

## Page 243,

- line 19: exactores istos, A3b.  
 line 23: interfecerunt, A3b.  
 line 27: principe, A3b.

## Page 244,

- line 2: utroque, A3b.  
 line 5: cesi fugerunt, A3b.  
 line 10: filio Priami, A3b.  
 line 11: Antenoris, A3b.  
 line 13: acceperunt, A3b.  
 line 16: dedit eis, A3b.  
 line 17: faramundum ipsius filium, A3b.  
 lines 20-24: Raise the words his nominibus ... et Widechagm to the large type. Delete: ProI. leg. SaI. from the margin and add footnote 4 following his nominibus. 4) Cf. ProI. Lex SaI.

## Page 245,

- line 11: ligerem fluvium, A3b.  
 line 12: ligerem, A3b.  
 line 13: paganissimi, A1b, A3b.  
 line 15: qui, A3b.  
 line 21: carbonariam silvam, A3b.

## Page 246,

- line 2: obtinuit, A3b.  
 line 5: interfecit, A3b.  
 line 14: pervadunt, A1b; pervenientes, A3b.  
 line 24: chlodovei regis incltyti atque fortissimi, A3b.

## Page 247,

- line 11: grandi, A3b.  
 line 11: before hoc add pro, A3b.

## Page 248,

- line 10: retinuit, A3b.  
 line 13: revertere, A3b.  
 line 19: annis, A3b.  
 line 20: et. om. A1b, A3b.  
 line 20: finxit, A3b.  
 line 20: amicitiam, A3b.  
 line 22: Egidium, A3b.  
 line 23: Illi, A3b.  
 line 23: opprimere, A3b.  
 line 24: cepit, A1b.  
 line 25: in timorem ac seditionem, A3b.  
 line 29: opprimentes, A3b.

## Page 249,

- line 6: dixerunt for responderunt, A1b.  
 line 9: invenere, A1b.  
 line 9: meruissemus, A3b.  
 line 11: solidi, A3b.  
 line 19: uxore, A3b.

## Page 250,

- line 9: ceperunt, A1b.  
 line 10: Delete footnote 1.  
 line 15: Delete: Greg., II,9 from the margin and raise the words Treveris civitate succedentes coeperunt to the large type.  
 line 17: ceperunt, A1b.  
 line 19: Reduce Romanorum Rex to small type and add: Ib., II-27 in the margin.  
 line 23: maximum exercitum, A3b.  
 line 24: civitatem, A3b.  
 line 25: Raise terras quoque illas vastavit to the large type.  
 line 26: navali, A3b.  
 line 27: civitatem, A3b.  
 line 28: illamque terram, A3b.  
 line 28: magnam, A3b.

## Page 251,

- line 3: exercito, A1b.  
 line 4: Paulum comitem, A3b.  
 line 5: cepit, A1b.  
 line 6: civitate for urbe, A1b, A3b.  
 line 8: haec, A3b.  
 line 16: convenientes quae, A1b.  
 line 25: missis, A3b.  
 line 26: Chlodovechi, A3b.  
 line 30: Chlodovechi, A3b.

## Page 252,

- line 8: alia vasa, A3b.  
 line 9: illum urceus, A3b.  
 line 12: civitatem, A3b.  
 line 16: civitatem, A3b.  
 line 17: adquisita, A3b.  
 line 17: erunt, A1b; erat, A3b.  
 line 17: rogat, om. A1b.  
 line 28: After francisca add footnote: 2) Cf. Isid. Etymol., XVIII, 6,9.  
 line 29: urceum illum, A3b.

## Page 253,

- line 9: inculta et sordida arma, A3b.  
 line 14: colligere, A3b.  
 line 19: alium exercitum, A3b.  
 line 21: et for ac, A1b.

## Page 254,

- line 5: ligato, A3b.  
 line 8: condemnavit, A3b.  
 line 8: quam, A3b.  
 line 10: domi, A3b.  
 line 10: retinuit, A3b.  
 line 18: Chrodchildem, A3b.  
 line 22: Chlodovei, A3b.  
 line 27: sollemnia, A3b.

## Page 255,

- line 5: Chlodovei regis, A3b.  
 line 7: sacculo suo, A3b.  
 line 10: cur, A3b.  
 line 19: sacculum, A3b.  
 line 21: pauperis, A1b, A3b.  
 line 22: suum, om. A1b, A3b.  
 line 27: christianam, A3b.  
 line 28: hanc causam, A3b.

## Page 256,

- line 8: quaerat, A3b.  
 line 11: occasionem, A3b.  
 line 11: domos, A3b.  
 line 12: domino tuo, A3b.  
 line 18: Chrodochildem, A3b.  
 line 24: decidat, A3b.  
 note m: deTete: A1b (?). The word ei is in the manuscript.

## Page 257,

- line 2: Chlodovei, A3b.  
 line 4: requisiti, A3b.  
 line 4: regi, A3b.  
 line 5: inscriptione, A1b, A3b.  
 line 8: ac for hac, A1b.  
 line 12: in manu positum parvolum, om. A1b.  
 line 20: civitatem, A3b.  
 line 23: nuptali, A3b.  
 line 28: famulatus, A3b.  
 line 29: postula, A3b.  
 line 30: postulavit, A3b.

## Page 258,

- line 16: interfecit, A3b.  
 line 29: Chlodovei, A3b.  
 line 32: regnum meum, A3b.  
 line 33: substantia mea, A3b.  
 note g: agnusca, A1b.

## Page 259,

- line 12: regi, A3b.  
 line 13: thesauris, A1b.  
 line 15: amicitiam, A3b.  
 line 17: inruent, A1b.  
 line 19: consilium, A3b.  
 line 20: Aureliani, A3b.  
 line 20: Chlodovei, A3b.  
 line 32: Taudes, A1b.

## Page 260,

- line 7: Aurelianis, A3b.  
 line 7: Tigerem fluvium, A3b.  
 line 16: eclesiam, A3b.  
 line 17: cortinis, A3b.  
 line 20: albis ovis, A3b.  
 line 21: nimis rex est contristatus, A3b.  
 line 28: regnum suum, A3b.

## Page 261,

- line 3: nullum dolerem, A3b.  
 line 4: retineo, A3b.  
 line 14: relinqueret, Alb.  
 line 22: exercitibus, Alb.  
 line 22: Chlodovei, A3b.  
 note b: delete: A3b.

## Page 262,

- line 2: postulo, A3b.  
 line 10: vero, A3b.  
 line 10: et for ac, A3b.  
 line 14: regem suum, A3b.  
 line 18: inminentem, A3b.  
 line 19: plagam, A3b.  
 line 20: terram, A3b.  
 line 22: Franciam, A3b.  
 line 29: regi, A3b.

## Page 263,

- line 4: potentia, A3b.  
 line 13: abumbranter, Alb.  
 line 18: collocari, A3b.  
 note t: redolet cerea, A3b.

## Page 264,

- line 4: malia for milia, Alb.  
 line 12: populum multum, A3b.  
 line 22: avennionem civitatem, A3b.

## Page 265,

- line 12: inquit, A3b.  
 line 14: habiens, Alb.  
 line 18: famulum, A3b.  
 line 21: retinuit, A3b.  
 line 24: resistente, A3b.  
 line 27: consilio, A3b.  
 line 30: cur, A3b.  
 line 32: resideat, A3b.  
 line 34: regiones, Alb.

## Page 266,

- line 10: Viennum urbem, Alb.  
 line 22: quod for qui, A3b.  
 line 23: succensum, A3b.  
 line 24: ascensiones, A3b.

## Page 267,

- line 6: honore, A3b.  
 line 7: civitatem, A3b.  
 line 19: sancti Petri principis, A3b.  
 line 22: hortaris, A3b.  
 line 24: fiat, A3b.  
 line 27: populum, A3b.

## Page 268,

- line 4: ostium, Alb.  
 line 4: territorium, A3b.  
 line 10: equum suum velocissimum, A3b.

## Page 268 (cont.),

- line 23: domine, A1b.  
 line 24: virtutum, A1b; virtute, A3b.  
 line 30: regi, A3b.  
 line 31: exercito, A1b.

## Page 269,

- line 5: cerva, A3b.  
 line 8: populus quoque, A3b.  
 line 9: Chlodovei regis, A3b.  
 line 11: tentoria, A3b.  
 line 17: estipendo, A1b; villa stipendia, A3b.  
 line 23: conlisi, A3b.  
 line 27: Toricam, A3b.

## Page 270,

- line 10: Theudericum filium suum, A3b.  
 line 14: potestatem, A3b.  
 line 16: civitate, A3b.  
 line 17: tota hiema, A3b.

## Page 271,

- line 2: civitatem, A3b.  
 line 8: alios centum solidos, A3b.  
 line 9: alius, A1b.  
 line 14: accoepit, A1b.  
 line 14: codicillos, A3b.  
 line 23: civitatem, A3b.  
 line 29: simili, A3b.

## Page 272,

- line 4: Regnacharium, A3b.  
 line 5: ac for hac, A1b.  
 line 6: armilla, A3b.  
 line 20: fugere, A3b.  
 line 24: cur, A3b.  
 line 25: vinciri, A3b.  
 line 27: interfecit, A3b.  
 line 32: cognoscentes, A3b.  
 note c: delete: A3b.  
 note n: cognuscent, A1b. The -es was added by a later hand.

## Page 273,

- line 2: aurum, A3b.  
 line 11: civitatem, A3b.  
 line 13: omne, A3b.  
 line 14: thesaurus, A1b.  
 line 18: after est add et, A1b.  
 line 32: Delete: in pace, and substitute: quatuor.

## Page 274,

- line 3: civitatem, A3b.  
 line 4: sancti for beati, A3b.  
 line 20: altum, A3b.  
 line 20: navaTi, A3b.  
 line 21: appetit, A1b.  
 line 25: residens, A3b.  
 line 30: Delete 3 and substitute: III.

## Page 275,

- line 2: interfecit, A3b.  
 line 2: praedam, A3b.  
 line 12: Gundobadi, A3b.  
 line 13: Gundobadum, A1b.  
 line 15: Burgundia, A3b.  
 line 16: sex milia DC torum, A3b.  
 line 20: fugeruntque, A3b.

## Page 276,

- line : fugeret, A3b.  
 line 4: -que, om. A3b.  
 line 12: Sigismundum, A3b.

## Page 277,

- line 3: interimentes, A3b.  
 line 7: Chlodomiri, A3b; Chlodomirem, A1b.  
 line 7: Theudoaldum, A3b.  
 line 8: Chlodoadum, A3b.  
 line 9: retinens, A3b.  
 line 23: cedes, A3b.

## Page 279,

- line 3: conlisi, A3b.  
 line 5: persecutusque, A3b.  
 line 6: Childiberti, A3b.  
 line 8: fugere, A3b.  
 line 13: thesaurus magnus, A1b.  
 line 19: thesaurus, A1b.  
 line 20: detulit, A3b.

## Page 280,

- line 21: tondere, A3b.  
 line 21: gladio, A3b.  
 line 22: perimere, A3b.  
 line 24: comprimunt, A3b.  
 line 27: tonderi, A3b.

## Page 281,

- line 11: vitam tu a largitate, A3b.  
 line 20: interfecit, A3b.  
 line 24: compositis, A3b.  
 line 25: corpusculis, A3b.  
 line 26: Tucto, A1b.

## Page 282,

- line 2: relicto regno terreno, A1b, A3b.  
 line 3: totondit, A3b.  
 line 18: exercitui, A3b.  
 line 22: after audiens, add: ad, A1b.  
 line 27: sequenti, A3b.

## Page 283,

- line 11: caelesti, A3b.  
 line 13: repererenter, A1b.  
 line 13: vicesimo, A3b.  
 line 19: una gutta quidem pluviae, A1b.  
 line 27: ipsam terram, A3b.

## Page 284,

- line 5: ut for et, A3b.  
 line 6: martiris, A3b.  
 line 8: disolutis crinibus, A3b.  
 line 8: pallis, A3b.  
 line 9: crines, A1b.  
 line 14: eum for ei, A3b.  
 line 15: tunicam, A3b.  
 line 31: maximam, A3b.

## Page 285,

- line 2: partem, A3b.  
 line 4: multis spoliis, A3b.  
 line 15: Reduce regis to the small type.

## Page 286,

- line 3: Gunsina, A3b.  
 line 10: -que, om. A1b.  
 line 12: Add in the margin: et ib. IV,14.  
 line 15: exercitu, A1b.  
 line 16: interfecit, A3b.  
 line 21: Add in the margin: II Reg. 14:25 and reduce the words pulcher et decorus nimis to small type.  
 line 21: acerbus, A3b.  
 line 22: Tigerem, A3b.  
 line 24: regionem illam, A3b.  
 line 24: opprimere, A3b.

## Page 287,

- line 3: patruelo suo, A3b.  
 line 12: Conobre, A3b.  
 line 12: Brittannos, A3b.  
 line 20: illam, A3b.  
 line 24: Reduce cum Conober to small type.  
 line 25: rege, A3b.

## Page 288,

- line 8: ligatus, A3b.  
 line 16: Delete: ib. IV,19 in the margin and raise the words Tunc quoque to glorioso sepelivit (line 21) to the large type.  
 After Tunc add footnote: 2) Cf. Greg. H. Fr. IV,19.  
 line 21: dati for tribuens, A3b.

## Page 289,

- line 8: thesaurus, A1b.  
 line 10: muneribus multis, A3b.  
 line 10: deditos, A3b.  
 line 10: subdidit, A3b.  
 line 12: occupat, A3b.  
 line 25: remis, A3b.  
 line 30: movet, A1b.

## Page 290,

- line 8: ab hunis, A3b.  
 line 10: civitatem, A3b.  
 line 14: dominationem, A3b.  
 line 18: redidit, A1b.  
 line 19: dati sibi sacramentis, A3b.  
 line 29: ac for hac, A1b.  
 line 31: fieri, A3b.

## Page 291,

- line 2: a, om. A3b.  
 line 6: sepulta est, Alb.  
 line 11: Brunchildem, A3b.  
 line 11: Athanagildi, A3b.  
 line 11: filiam, A3b.  
 line 13: quem, Alb.  
 line 15: regi, A3b.  
 line 18: eamque, A3b.  
 note d: delete: sepulto, Alb. The manuscript has sepultus.

## Page 292,

- line 10: liberam, A3b.  
 line 15: stratu, A3b.  
 line 22: cepta, A3b.  
 line 23: dominam suam Audoveram reginam, A3b.  
 line 26: hoste, A3b.  
 line 29: filiam, A3b.

## Page 293,

- line 8: quae, A3b.  
 line 13: fontem, Alb.  
 line 24: nefandam, A3b.  
 line 30: Fredegundem, A3b.  
 line 30: condemnavit, A3b.

## Page 294,

- line 4: Burgundegalem, Alb.  
 line 15: avunculi, A3b.  
 line 18: Gundoaldi, A3b.  
 line 19: fugit, A3b.  
 line 20: Gundoaldi, A3b.  
 line 22: (Cadurcinumque) om. -que, A3b.  
 line 24: interfecit, A3b.  
 line 32: remis, A3b.  
 line 34: convocatis, A3b.

## Page 295,

- line 17: se, om. A3b.  
 line 27: qui, om. Alb.  
 note b: delete: A3b.

## Page 296,

- line 2: quam, A3b.  
 line 7: statuerunt, Alb.  
 line 15: perieritis, Alb.  
 line 26: veritate, Alb.

## Page 298,

- line 23: multusque ibi nobilissimus, Alb.

## Page 300,

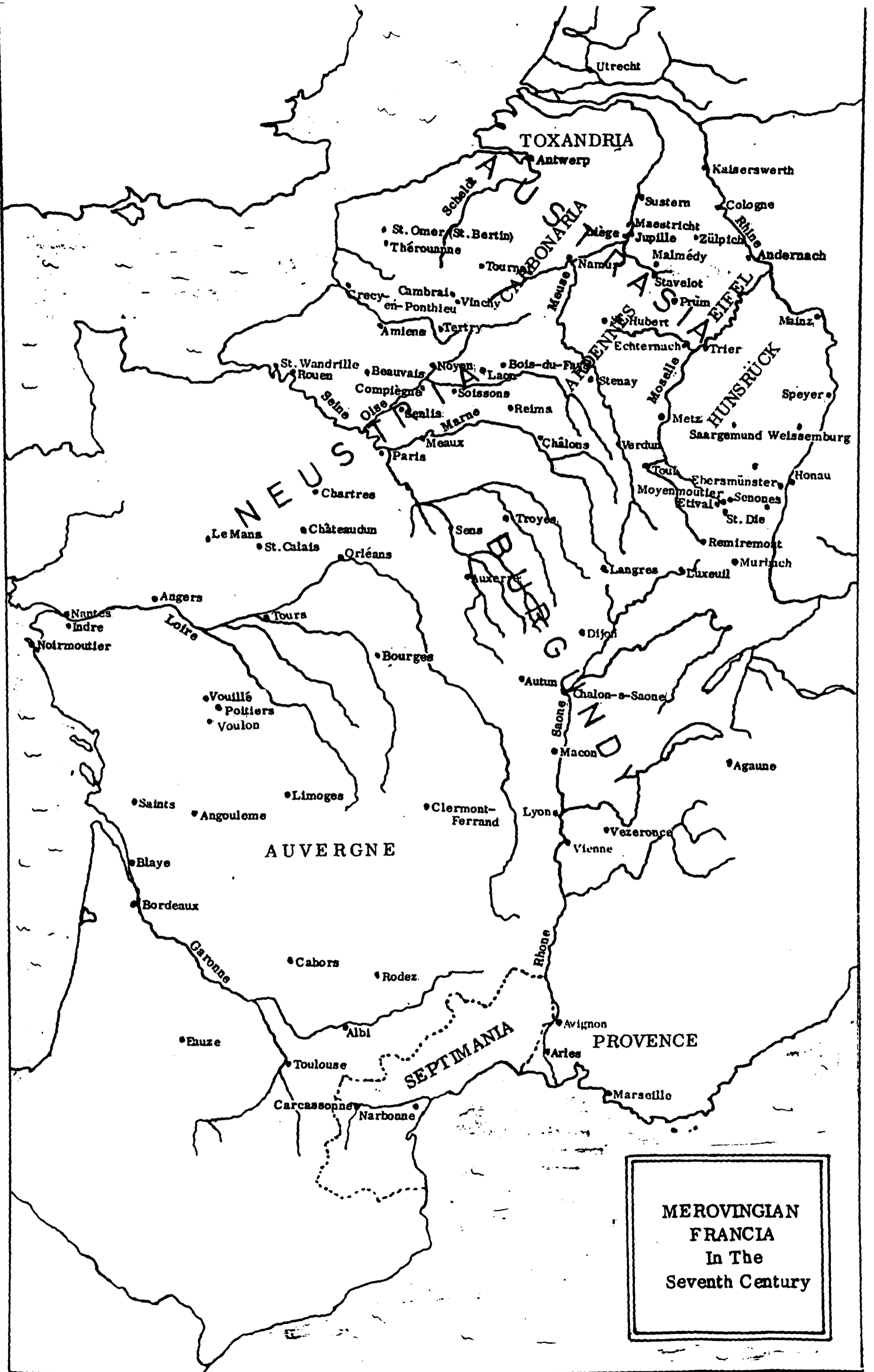
- line 26: filios, Alb.

## Page 301,

- line 21: Delete: ib. VI,12 in the margin and add footnote 3a following  
Maxime. 3a. Cf. Greg. H. Fr. VI, 41.

- Page 302,  
 line 2: Delete: Greg. VI,12 in the margin.  
 line 5: domnus, Alb.  
 note c: delete: Quare fecisti and substitute: que sic fecisti, Alb.
- Page 303,  
 line 7: quod for quid, Alb.  
 line 10: ora for hora, Alb.  
 line 20: cum consilio, Alb.  
 line 23: emissa ei homicidie inebriate vino, Alb.
- Page 304,  
 line 32: inimicus, Alb.
- Page 305,  
 line 33: After aurora insert footnote: 3. Sed cum iam aurora diei daret initium. Passio Praeiectionis, c. 26.
- Page 306,  
 line 14: exercito, Alb.
- Page 307,  
 line 2: commutu, Alb.  
 line 7: (ibidem) -dem, om. Alb.
- Page 308,  
 line 24: thesauri, Alb.  
 line 49: Delete: 57 and substitute: I, 28.
- Page 309,  
 line 5: laterae, Alb.  
 line 6: de histis, Alb.  
 line 45: Delete: Marii Append. and substitute: Auctarium a. 624.
- Page 310,  
 line 6: parbolus, Alb.  
 line 10: Chlothario, Alb.  
 line 18: venit, om. Alb.  
 line 42: Delete: 58 and substitute: I,29.  
 line 43: Delete: Marii Append. and substitute: Auctarium a. 624.  
 line 44: After Obtinuit. add: Cf. Ionas, V. Columbani, I.29.  
 line 47: Delete: Marii Append. and substitute: Auctarium a. 624.  
 line 49: After Cf. Fred. I.I., add: Ionas, V. Columbani, I-29; Sisebuti, V. Desiderii, c. 21;
- Page 311,  
 line 27: colligit, Alb.
- Page 312,  
 line 24: dominus, Alb.
- Page 313,  
 line 15: gurgitis, Alb.  
 line 24: after servo add suo, Alb.
- Page 314,  
 line 4: contingeret, Alb.  
 line 21: ipsi, Alb.

- Page 315,  
line 7: higitur, Alb.  
note f: ErconoIdo for Erconaldo, Alb.
- Page 316,  
line 4: parvuolem, Alb.
- Page 318,  
line 16: in, om. Alb.
- Page 319,  
line 5: commotu, Alb.
- Page 321,  
line 6: ad, om. Alb.  
line 18: proibuit ne ac, Alb.
- Page 322,  
note k: for Erat autem, substitute: Eratque, Alb.
- Page 325,  
line 10: suprascripto regi, Alb.
- Page 326,  
line 7: Mosa, Alb.
- Page 327,  
line 21: ad for at, Alb.



MEROVINGIAN  
FRANCLIA  
In The  
Seventh Century



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