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## History and Memory in the Carolingian World

The writing and reading of history in the early middle ages form the key themes of this book. The primary focus is on the remarkable manifestations of historical writing in relation to historical memory in the Frankish kingdoms of the eighth and ninth centuries. The book considers the audiences for history in the Frankish kingdoms, the recording of memory in new genres including narrative histories, cartularies and *Libri memoriales*, and thus particular perceptions of the Frankish and Christian past. It analyses both original manuscript material and key historical texts from the Carolingian period, a remarkably creative period in the history of European culture. Presentations of the past developed in this period were crucial in forming an historical understanding of the Greco-Roman and Judaeo-Christian past and, in subsequent centuries, of early medieval Europe. They also played an extraordinarily influential role in the formation of political ideologies and senses of identity within Europe.

ROSAMOND MCKITTERICK is Professor of Medieval History in the University of Cambridge. Her previous publications include *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (1989), *The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages* (1995) and *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, II, c. 700–c.900 (1995). She has presented many conference papers and lectured extensively at universities in Britain, continental Europe, North America and Australia. She is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

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Rosamond McKitterick

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In loving memory of  
Claude Anthony Pierce,  
21 November 1919–16 May 2001

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## Preface

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This book's themes are the writing and reading of history in the early middle ages. The primary focus is on the many remarkable manifestations of historical writing in relation to historical memory in the Frankish kingdoms of the eighth and ninth centuries. I consider the audiences for history in the Frankish kingdoms and the recording of memory in various new genres, including narrative histories, cartularies and *Libri memoriales*, and thus particular perceptions of the Frankish and Christian past. I offer analyses of manuscript material and of key historical texts from the Carolingian period, a remarkably creative period in the history of European culture. Presentations of the past developed in the eighth and ninth centuries were crucial in the formation of an historical understanding of the Greco-Roman and Judaeo-Christian past, as well as for the history of early medieval Europe in subsequent centuries. They also played an extraordinarily influential role in the formation of political ideologies and senses of identity within Europe.

This book draws in part on material already published in articles or chapters in books over the past decade, but here presented in a completely revised and augmented form. I am grateful to the original publishers as listed below for their kind permission to make use of my work in this way.

In Cambridge I am fortunate in being able to draw on the wonderful resources of the Cambridge University Library, and I should like to thank all the staff in Manuscripts and Rare Books, the Periodicals Department, the West Room, the Reading Room, the Anderson Room, the Map Room, and the departments of Accessions and Cataloguing for their unfailing helpfulness over the years. I am also greatly obliged to all the assistance given me as a reader by the staffs of the manuscripts departments of Bamberg Staatsbibliothek; Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek; Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek; The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek; London, British Library; Oxford, Bodleian Library; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France; Prague, Knihovna metropolitní Kapituli; Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana;

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St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek; and to many others for kindly meeting my requests for microfilms and photographs.

Much of the material in this book, moreover, was first presented at conferences, as working papers at ‘workshops’, or as lectures in Aix, Auxerre, Bergen, Cambridge, Chapel Hill, Cividale, Copenhagen, Laurence (Kansas), Leeds, Lille, London, Oslo, Oxford, Paris, Perth (Western Australia), Rome, Sewanee, Utrecht, Vienna, Washington, DC, York and Zwettl. I have consequently benefited greatly from the comments, suggestions and reactions from the many friends, colleagues and students who heard them, especially Sverre Bagge, Lars Boje Mortensen, Claude Carozzi, Christine Carpenter, Mayke de Jong, Flavia de Rubeis, David Ganz, Carl Hammer, Wolfgang Haubrichs, Martin Heinzelmann, Yitzhak Hen, Michael Hoefflich, Matthew Innes, Dominique Iogna-Prat, William Klingshirn, Regine Le Jan, Niels Lund, John Morrill, Ruth Morse, Marco Mostert, Jinty Nelson, Thomas Noble, Michel Parisse, Richard Pfaff, Walter Pohl, Susan Rankin, Alastair Reid, Susan Ridyard, Anton Scharer, Jonathan Shepard, Terje Spurkland, Jonathan Steinberg, Huguette Taviani-Carozzi and Chris Wickham. Many of these friends were also kind enough to send me photocopies of rare editions of texts and offprints of their own work, which have been of immeasurable help. Most of the ideas explored in this book, moreover, were initially formulated in the context of lectures and classes for undergraduates and research students in Cambridge, who provide an unfailingly stimulating and demanding audience. Despite all the efforts of government institutions to make working in a university in Britain an exhausting and demoralizing juggling act, it is the students who continue to make university teaching and research so enjoyable and worthwhile.

I was especially fortunate to be elected to a Hugh Baldson Fellowship at the British School at Rome in 2002 and should like to thank all at the School who helped to make my stay in Rome so productive and enjoyable. For assistance with visits to France (in connection with my collaborative research project with Dominique Iogna-Prat) I am indebted to the British Academy and the CNRS. I am grateful, as ever, for the support offered by the Principal and Fellows of Newnham College. I am particularly indebted to my audiences in Oxford, Paris and York in spring 2003 who commented on the material offered in the introduction. My greatest debt, however, is to my current and former graduate students in early medieval history in Cambridge, and to the gatherings of graduate students in Utrecht, Vienna and Cambridge since 1997 for the ‘Texts and Identities’ workshops, for the constant stimulus of their criticism

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and questions on all the topics discussed in this book. I should especially like to thank Helmut Reimitz, Max Diesenberger and Richard Corradini in Vienna for the work we have done together and the generous help they have given me.

As usual, I am indebted to Cambridge University Press and the unfailingly professional assistance and support they provide for their authors, but I wish here, in the year of his retirement, to acknowledge my long, happy and productive association with the History Editor William Davies. I am very grateful to Liz Hosier of the Faculty of History in the University of Cambridge, who gave me invaluable help with typing. My daughter Lucy has contributed in many ways to this book, both in practical assistance and with information and suggestions. But without my husband David the work for this book could not have been undertaken or completed; my lasting and most fervent thanks, as always, are to him.

Cambridge, September 2003



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The cover picture is from the *Psalterium Aureum* (Golden Psalter) of St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek MS 22, p. 140, produced in the second half of the ninth century (before 883). It depicts King David's general Joab setting out on campaign against the Syrians and Ammonites from the illustration to Psalm 59 and is one of the few historical narrative pictures to be found in Carolingian manuscripts. I am grateful to the Bibliothekar Ernst Tresp, and the Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen, for kindly permitting me to reproduce this page.

I am grateful to the following editors and publishers for kindly allowing me to make use in this book of work published in earlier versions: Paolo Chiesa, Wolfgang Haubrichs, Jörg Jarnut, Flavia de Rubeis, Marco Mostert, Meta Niederkorn, Anton Scharer, Georg Scheibelreiter and Susan Ridyard; Blackwell (*Early Medieval Europe*); Brepols and Utrecht University's Centre for Medieval Studies; Cambridge University Press; Centre d'études médiévales, Auxerre; Ecclesiastical History Society (*Studies in Church History*); Finnish Institute, Rome; Forschungsstelle für Geschichte des Mittelalters der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna; Forum, Udine; Oxford University Press (*English Historical Review*); The University of the South (*Sewanee Medieval Studies*); Institut zur interdisziplinären Erforschung des Mittelalters und seines Nachwirkens, Paderborn; Oldenbourg Verlag; The Royal Historical Society of Great Britain (*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*).

## Abbreviations

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*Apart from the following, all works are cited in full at the first reference to them and subsequently in short title form in each chapter. Full details may also be found in the Bibliography.*

BAV	Rome, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana
Bischoff, <i>Katalog</i>	Bernhard Bischoff, <i>Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen) Teil I: Aachen-Lambach</i> (Stuttgart, 1998)
Bischoff, <i>Mittelalterliche Studien</i> I, II, III,	Bernhard Bischoff, <i>Mittelalterliche Studien</i> , 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1966, 1967 and 1981)
Bischoff, <i>Schreibschulen</i>	Bernhard Bischoff, <i>Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit</i> , I: <i>Die Bayerischen Diözesen</i> , 3rd edn (Wiesbaden, 1974), II: <i>Die vorwiegend Österreichischen Diözesen</i> (Wiesbaden, 1980)
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
c., cc.	capitulum, capitula
CCGM	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> (Turnhout, 1966–)
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> (Turnhout, 1952–)
ChLA	<i>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</i> , ed. Albert Bruckner, facsimile edition of the Latin charters prior to the ninth century 1– (Olten and Lausanne, 1954–)

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CLA		E. A. Lowe, <i>Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century I–XI</i> plus Supplement, Oxford (1935–71)
cod.		codex
CSEL		<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> (Vienna, 1866–)
DA		<i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i>
EHR		<i>English Historical Review</i>
EME		<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
fol.		folio
Innes and McKitterick		
‘Writing of history’		M. Innes and R. McKitterick, ‘The writing of history’, in R. McKitterick (ed.), <i>Carolingian culture: emulation and innovation</i> (Cambridge 1994), pp. 193–222
McKitterick, <i>Books, scribes and learning</i>		R. McKitterick, <i>Books, scribes and learning in the Frankish kingdoms, 6th–9th centuries</i> (Aldershot, 1994)
McKitterick, <i>Carolingians and the written word</i>		R. McKitterick, <i>The Carolingians and the written word</i> (Cambridge, 1989)
McKitterick, <i>Frankish kings and culture</i>		R. McKitterick, <i>The Frankish kings and culture in the early middle ages</i> (Aldershot, 1995)
McKitterick, <i>Migration</i>		R. McKitterick, <i>The migration of ideas in the early middle ages</i> (Cambridge, forthcoming)
McKitterick (ed.), <i>NCMH</i>		R. McKitterick (ed.), <i>The new Cambridge medieval history II c. 700–c. 900</i> (Cambridge, 1995)
McKitterick, <i>Uses of literacy</i>		R. McKitterick (ed.), <i>The uses of literacy in early mediaeval Europe</i> (Cambridge, 1990)
MGH		<i>Monumenta germaniae historica</i>
AA		<i>Auctores antiquissimi</i> , 15 vols. (Berlin, 1877–1919)

## List of abbreviations

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<i>Cap.</i>	<i>Capitularia, legum sectio II, Capitularia regum francorum</i> , ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, 2 vols. (Hannover, 1883–97)
<i>Conc.</i>	<i>Concilia, legum sectio III, Concilia</i> , II, ed. A. Werminghoff (Hannover, 1906–8), III, ed. W. Hartmann (Hannover, 1984)
<i>Epp.</i>	<i>Epistulae III–VII (=Epistulae merovingici et karolini aevi</i> , Hannover, 1892–1939)
<i>Epp. Sel.</i>	<i>Epistulae Selectae in usum scholarum</i> , 5 vols. (Hannover, 1887–91)
<i>Fontes</i>	<i>Fontes iuris germanici antiqui in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi</i> , 13 vols. (Hannover, 1909–86)
<i>Leges nat. germ.</i>	<i>Leges nationum germanicarum</i> ; ed. K. Zeumer ( <i>Lex visigothorum</i> ); L. R. de Salis ( <i>Leges burgundionum</i> ); F. Beyerle and R. Buchner ( <i>Lex ribuaria</i> ); K. A. Eckhardt ( <i>Pactus legis salicae</i> and <i>Lex salica</i> ); E. von Schwind ( <i>Lex baiuvariorum</i> ); 6 vols. in 11 parts (Hannover, 1892–1969)
<i>Poetae</i>	<i>Poetae latini aevi carolini</i> , ed. E. Dummler, L. Traube, P. von Winterfeld and K. Strecker, 4 vols. (Hannover, 1881–99)
<i>SRG</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi</i> , 63 vols. (Hannover, 1871–1987)
<i>SRL</i>	<i>Scriptores regum langobardicarum et italicarum saec. VI–IX</i> , ed. G. Waitz (Hannover, 1898)
<i>SRM</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum merovingicarum</i> , ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, 7 vols. (Hannover, 1920)
<i>SS</i>	<i>Scriptores in folio</i> , 30 vols., Hannover (1826–1924)
<i>MIÖG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung</i>
<i>MS</i>	manuscript
<i>ÖNB</i>	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols., Paris (1841–64)

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<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
Reynolds, <i>Texts and transmission</i>	Reynolds, L. D. (ed.), <i>Texts and transmission. A survey of the Latin classics</i> (Oxford, 1983)
Scharer and Scheibelreiter, <i>Historiographie</i>	A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter (eds.), <i>Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter</i> (Munich and Vienna, 1994)
Settimane	Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo (Spoleto, 1954–)
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>