

Francia – Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte

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wichtige Abteien sowie des Besitzes traditionell gräflichen Landes. Ein weiterer Pfeiler der Herrschaft waren vertikale wie horizontale personelle Bindungen des Grafen. In Abgrenzung zur bisherigen Forschungsmeinung, die relativ klare, stabile Loyalitätsverhältnisse in Maine zu identifizieren glaubte, betont Barton die Fluidität und Flexibilität der Loyalitäten. Dieser Interpretation kann man durchaus folgen, doch wird man wohl akzeptieren müssen, daß die wenigen Quellenzugnisse aus dieser Zeit keine sicheren Aussagen in die eine oder andere Richtung zulassen.

Im zweiten Teil seiner Arbeit untersucht Barton die Herrschaft der Burgherren. Er kommt zu dem Ergebnis, daß die gängige Chronologie der dreiphasigen Umverteilung von Herrschaft auf Maine zutrifft und Burgherren sich im Laufe des 10. Jhs. zur dominierenden Kraft entwickelten. Barton unterstreicht aber, daß entgegen des klassischen Modells damit kein Wandel der Herrschaftspraxis einherging. Die Burgherren nahmen die gleichen Rechte wahr, die vorher von den Grafen und davor von den karolingischen Funktionsträgern ausgeübt worden waren. Auch war Maine um und nach 1000 weder von größerer Gewalt und politischer Unruhe geprägt als zuvor, noch fehlte es an Mechanismen, Disputen zu begegnen: personelle Beziehungen sowie die Flexibilität rechtlicher wie sozialer Normen ermöglichen vielfach die Bewältigung von Konflikten. Abschließend wendet sich Barton den Lehnverhältnissen in Maine im 11. und 12. Jh. zu und stellt fest, daß die Bezeichnung Lehen (*feodum*) zwar durchaus auf ein auf der Grundlage von Besitz und wohldefinierten Leistungen basierendes Verhältnis zwischen Lehnsträger und Lehnsherrn verweisen konnte, in häufigerem Maße jedoch eine symbolische Repräsentation von Machtverhältnissen darstellte. Selbst wenn das Land als Eigen betrachtet und mit vollen Rechten gehalten wurde, so konnte es als *feodum* eines Dritten, in der Regel des mächtigsten regionalen Herrn, bezeichnet werden und brachte dadurch personelle Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse, zumindest aber das lokale Ranggefüge zum Ausdruck.

Bartons Ergebnisse liefern somit zum einen Argumente für die These, daß die *mutation de l'an mil* keine abrupten gesellschaftlichen Verwerfungen mit sich brachte, und unterstreichen zum anderen die fundamentale Bedeutung von Status, Ehre und Prestige als Ordnungsfaktoren der mittelalterlichen Adelsgesellschaft. Barton wie Lemesle stehen mit ihren Ansätzen und Ergebnissen für die jüngere mediävistische Forschung. Stellt man ihre Arbeiten neben das große Werk von Robert Latouche, der zu Beginn des 20. Jhs. die Institutionen des hochmittelalterlichen Maine untersuchte und mit seinen Ergebnissen einen wichtigen Baustein zur These des Verfalls »öffentlicher« Autorität im 10. und 11. Jh. lieferte<sup>4</sup>, darf man gespannt sein, welches Bild der Gesellschaft der Grafschaft Maine zukünftige Forschergenerationen aus den Quellen gewinnen werden. Für den Augenblick jedoch setzen Barton und Lemesle die Maßstäbe, die es zu beachten gilt.

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Pierre BAUDUIN, *La première Normandie (X<sup>e</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> siècles). Sur les frontières de la haute Normandie: identité et construction d'une principauté*. Préface de Régine LE JAN, Caen (Presses Universitaires de Caen) 2004, 469 p., ISBN 2-84-133-145-8, EUR 30,00.

The origins of the duchy of Normandy have long attracted international attention. The Dane Johannes Steenstrup (1876 and especially 1925), the American Charles Homer Haskins (1918), the German Karl Ferdinand Werner (1976), and the British David Bates (1982) have each offered substantial contributions, but the essential spadework continues to be done by French scholars. The indefatigable Léopold Delisle collected documents; Henri

4 R. LATOUCHE, *Histoire du comté du Maine pendant le X<sup>e</sup> et le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1910.

Prentout subjected Dudon de Saint-Quentin to close scrutiny; and Lucien Musset explored the subject in an astounding number of penetrating studies, although he produced no general work of synthesis. Pierre Bauduin from the team of medievalists at Caen now presents a new synthesis of the development of the duchy during its first two centuries, a task that had been formerly renounced by Haskins because of the penury of sources.

As would be expected, the historiographic models available for such a study are the polar opposites of discontinuity (or in recent terms, exceptionalism) and continuity. The former represented by Haskins and supported by Michel de Boüard emphasized the duchy's unique situation and its rapid development, while the latter, proposed by Musset and Bates, stressed continuity with Frankish antecedents. Pierre Bauduin steers a middle course that is more nuanced and complex. Although receiving an initial impetus from the Northmen that was unique, the duchy germinated in intimate contact with its Frankish neighbors, but its development was certainly not rapid. Bauduin's particular contribution is to focus on the duchy's frontiers not merely in their spatial dimensions but, more important, on the power exercised by the men and their families who inhabited these perimeters. The emphasis on family bonds adds an anthropological dimension to his work. In this beautifully produced volume the author introduces maps and genealogies at the appropriate places requisite for understanding his argument.

After treating the historiographic stakes in an introductory chapter to Part One, he turns to the geographic setting. As is well known, geology and forests do little to explain the unity of Normandy. More important, the Romans made Rouen the capital of the Second Lyonnaise with seven subordinate *cités* that later became the dioceses of the ecclesiastical province. A third chapter interprets the celebrated contemporary narrative of Dudon de Saint-Quentin (c. 1000) as an ideological expression of the early dukes' courts. This Vermandois cleric was the first to coin the term *Northmannia* and the first to identify the Epte as a distinct frontier between the duchy and *Francia*. (This latter observation was not recognized in charters until 1067.) Dudon's version of the duchy's origins was determinative in fashioning the views of succeeding Norman chroniclers.

Part Two investigates the implantation of the Normans under Rollon and his immediate successors in the tenth century. The traditional scheme initiated by Dudon that saw the Frankish king Charles the Simple ceding territory to Rollon in the treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte in 911, to be complemented by other concessions in 924 and 933 until the full contours of the ecclesiastical province of Rouen were occupied is, of course, overly simplified. The Normans were, to be sure, newcomers in 911, but their subsequent occupation of the territory was a complex interplay with the original Frankish residents. This process is illustrated by the discovery that the Frankish princess Gisla whom Charles gave to Rollon in marriage according to the treaty of 911 was, in fact, not his first wife, but she was preceded by a certain Popa from the Hunrochides or the Widonides of the region from whom the succeeding dukes were descended. Rollon was not, therefore, a new man in 911, but already integrated into Frankish society. Settled around Rouen, the Normans established no fixed or recognized frontiers, but their directions of expansion were already apparent: towards Picardy against the Flemish and in the Evrecin against the house of Blois.

The main thrust of Norman occupation took place in the eleventh century. In Part Three Pierre Bauduin constructs the duchy's frontiers by focussing on three areas: the Evrecin, Vexin and Picardy. Although the particulars are different, there were common factors in the process. Control over castles was urgent, and was obtained through knitting ties with local families, while counts were established along the borders. The last institution became possible when Hugh Capet was chosen king in 987 thus allowing Richard II to style himself as duke. He designated members of his family as counts and confided them territories in the border regions. Although the office was theoretically revocable, the counts sought to make their positions hereditary. In the Evrecin the dukes attended to the southern margins, par-

ticularly the »triangle of l'Avre«, against the house of Chartres-Blois with whom they initiated marriage alliances. The first Norman county was created in 1011 for Raoul, a bastard brother of Richard I, at the castle of Ivry; later another county was erected at the city of Évreux and given to Robert, archbishop of Rouen, another ducal bastard. Mastery over the Evrecin borders was reinforced by creating aristocratic honors at Tosny, Beaumont-le-Roger and Breteuil, and frontier castellanies were situated at Vernon and Tillières. The Vexin, however, had been divided into two sections, Norman and French, separated by the Epte, and constituted an exception to the other two frontier regions. No counts were established there, and it was a further anomaly because the French Vexin, like the Norman, belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Rouen. The Capetians were the chief adversaries in the region who were supported to the north by the fragile house of Amiens-Valois. Guillaume the Bastard vigorously campaigned against Mantes, and the archbishop of Rouen cited his ecclesiastical jurisdiction to lay hands on the important castles of Bouffles, Andelys, Gisors and Neaufles. The fortifications at Neaufles and Neuf-Marché were reinforced. The most complex of the frontiers was the Picard border where the Normans faced the counts of Beauvais, supported by the Capetians. The dukes were particularly attracted to the »maritime façade« of the ports of Saint-Valéry, Montreuil and Boulogne that stirred up opposition from the Flemish and Capetians. Characteristically the Normans met the challenge by erecting castles at Arque and Aumale and establishing a county at Eu and perhaps at Aumale as well.

The principal strength of this study on border formation lies in the complexity and the richness of detail that Pierre Bauduin uncovers with a sure hand and to which this rapid sketch cannot do justice. The only actors missing from the analysis are the intruding Scandinavians whose initial characteristics appear to have been effaced as they interacted with the Franks. (It is a pity that after the French translation [1880] of Johannes Steenstrup's first study of the Normans [1876], his additional volume of 1925, »Normandiets Historie under de syv første Hertuger 911–1066« has not been translated and has had little influence.) Pierre Bauduin's account is not one of triumphal progress, but he demonstrates that the duke's borders were sufficiently secure to enable Guillaume the Bastard to weather the anarchy of his minority, to improve his government and to make possible the conquest of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Since the reign of this duke is not faced directly, the climax to the development is muted. Nonetheless, international collaboration carries on. Benefiting from much richer sources, the British historian Daniel Power has published »The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries« (Cambridge University Press) in the same year as the present study.

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Patrick DEMOUY, *Genèse d'une cathédrale. Les archevêques de Reims et leur Église aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Langres (Éditions Dominique Guéniot) 2005, 814 S., ISBN 2-87825-313-2, EUR 65,00.

P. Demouy legt mit diesem Werk seine *thèse d'État* vor. Die Nachricht vom feierlichen Einzug des Erzbischofs Alberich in die Metropole am Sonntag, dem 1. Juli 1207, und seine vorausgegangene Übernachtung in Saint-Remi bilden den Auftakt, um der Bedeutung dieser entrée nachzugehen, die sich dem Herkommen nach von der Vorstadt Saint-Remi aus bis zur Kathedrale bewegte. Das bietet Gelegenheit, auf die wichtigsten spätantiken Kirchen dieser südöstlich vor Reims gelegenen Vorstadt einzugehen: Saint-Sixte, Saint-Timothee, Saint-Agricole (später Saint-Nicaise), und Saint-Christophe (später Saint-Remi), in denen mehrere der frühen bischöflichen Vorgänger bestattet lagen. Indem er die archäologische Überlieferung zu Rate zieht und die ikonographischen Zeugnisse auswertet, hebt der