CHARLES WEST

Group formation in the long tenth century: a view from Trier and its region

Amongst attempts to understand the historical impact that assaults of »foreign peoples« (*fremde Völker*) have had upon western European societies, interpretations of the raids that shook the Frankish successor kingdoms in the decades around 900 have long held a distinguished place[1]. According to one of the more influential of these interpretations, the Hungarian raids in particular bear some, even much, responsibility for the development of a distinctive East Frankish community – a community forged through the necessity of self-defence against these raids, co-ordinated by a king (Henry I) whose desperation made him unusually receptive to consensual notions of rulership, and a community that lies at the roots of properly German history[2]. In this reading, the tenth-century »external pressure« (*äußerer Druck*) applied by Magyar incursions, whatever its short-term destructive force, in the long term not only helped to break down lingering traces of pan-Frankish sentiment in the eastern kingdom, but worked to promote and consolidate the emergence of a new group at the regnal level, thereby building the foundations for the united Ottonian *Reich*.

The emphasis on group formation (*Gruppenbildung*) that this analysis bears is instructive. Studying the changing forms of community is perhaps one of the most reliable methods of tracing historical change and how people made sense of it for themselves, and this paper will therefore also take this approach to the tenth century, notoriously difficult to analyse in its own terms[3]. Further, there is plenty of anecdotal evidence to show that the Magyar raids were indeed a serious menace to life and property, even if that menace was somewhat intermittent[4]. Nor, finally, can it be denied that an East Frankish identity did come into existence and that the tenth century was a critical moment in that evolution[5]. This paper however approaches the question of group formation in the tenth century from not a regnal but a regional perspective, that of the province of Trier in Lotharingia, for most of the period the

---

[1] This paper is an expanded version of the one given at the conference in Mainz. I am grateful to the organisers, particularly Christine Kleinjung, and to my fellow participants for their helpful suggestions.

[2] This reading is most cogently articulated in Althoff, Amicitiae und Pacta 69-87 and 97-103.

[3] In thinking about groups, I have found helpful O.-G. Oexle's Soziale Gruppen in der Ständegesellschaft … (Oexle, Gruppen). As a guide to other approaches to the tenth century, still useful is Reuter, Introduction, more recently, see: Howe, Re-forging the »Age of Iron«.

[4] See for a general guide Kellner, Ungarneinfälle. – Quite apart from narrative accounts of various kinds, documentary material survives that attests to the impact of the raids in the region in question. For instance, two charters from St-Maximin indicate the impact of Hungarian raiding from 926 (Urkundenbuch Coblenz und Trier) nos.166 and 167, pp. 230-232. Further to the south (but still in the archdiocese of Trier), f.57v of the *Liber Memorialis* of Remiremont preserves a commemoration of seven men killed »a paganis«, written in an early tenth-century hand and plausibly to be connected with raids on Remiremont: Liber Memorialis Remiremont 129.

[5] Brühl, Deutschland – Frankreich, treats the emergence of a distinctive East Frankish identity in depth.

westernmost part of the East Frankish kingdom, paying particular attention to the objects that preserve our evidence (for this paper mostly manuscripts). Working from that perspective, it suggests that the role of the Hungarian raids in consolidating new collective identities needs to be carefully contextualised.

In the first place, it should be remembered that around Trier at least, there was no contemporary consensus on the precise nature of the crisis. Some observers, like Regino of Prüm, the ex-abbot who wrote a chronicle in Trier a little after 900, took Roman models of barbarian ethnography as their guide to the raiders, allocating them an origin myth and typically uncivilised habits[6]. Such a reading did not ignore the challenge posed, but at least made them reassuringly familiar, even comparable in some ways to the Bretons. No wonder then that Bishop Salomon of Constance, writing to Bishop Dado of Verdun (d.923), called for greater political unity (and a better king) as the practical way to fend off barbarian attacks[7]. Yet Bishop Dado knew that alternative, more ominous interpretations of the Hungarian razzias were circulating too. At some point after 911, he received another letter, this from an anonymous author, stating that some were concerned the Magyars were none other than Gog and Magog, terrifying signs of the end of time itself[8]. This letter originated from a community of St-Germain. It is possible (and usually assumed) that this was the monastery of St-Germain in Auxerre, but it may well have been Montfaucon on the Meuse instead[9]. If they really did stimulate controversially millennarian thinking in Lotharingia, then not only would the category of »Christian« be more salient than that of »East Frank«, the Hungarian raids would also have worked to divide as much as to unify – much like, for that matter, the intermittent but divisive raids launched by West Frankish kings such as Lothar (d.986), another kind of »external pressure« of which tenth-century Trier archbishops were keenly aware[10].

Perhaps more serious however is the familiar danger that concentration on the formation of groups at the level of the kingdom skews our analysis to fit modern

---

[6] Regino von Prüm, Chronicon 282-287 (for the year 889).
[7] This is the general import of Bishop Salomon of Constance's letter, or rather poem, to Bishop Dado of Verdun, *Salomonis et Waldrammi carmina* 297-306, blaming the devastation wrought by a *gens ethnica* on weak (and immature) leadership and internal disunity. On the interpretation of this poem, see Maurer, Bischöfe 115f.
[8] The letter is edited by R. B. C. Huygens, Serta mediaevalia 46-55. The best commentary is that of M. Diesenberger (Diesenberger, Steppenreiter).
[9] Bishop Hatto of Verdun (d. 870) had been a monk at St-Germain of Auxerre, but St-Germain of Montfaucon (in the diocese of Rheims) is geographically closer to Verdun, had been given by King Arnulf to Dado in 893, and Heiric's *Miracula* show it enjoyed links with Auxerre, which could explain the Auxerrois influence some have discerned in the text. A potted history of Montfaucon is provided by Demouy, Genese d'un cathedrale 287f. – It is probably significant that a priory of the community at Dieulouard was in fact obliged to flee the Hungarians: Flodoard, Historia IV, c. 43, 445.
[10] See West, Lotharingia. – Bishop Dado also organised an annual *conventus* bringing together at Jouy relics from three different monasteries in his diocese, which seems oddly to resemble later Peace of God meetings: Flodoard, Historia IV, c. 41, 443.

priorities rather than following the grain of the evidence. When working within the frameworks of national historiographies, and even when challenging them, historians tend to privilege questions relating directly or indirectly to the emergence of national or quasi-national groups, evaluating the forces that promoted or impeded them. Yet the study of group formation needs not be restricted to the emergence of regnal identities and their relation with other ethnic communities. Developments working at different social levels and in different ways may have been more keenly felt by contemporaries, and even have been more historically important than those that can be more easily put into relation with national historiographies. In what follows, therefore, I shall assess the evidence from the region around Trier for processes of group formation, leaving aside issues of ethnicity that have been exhaustively treated elsewhere. The findings are quite clear: diverse and important processes of *Gruppenbildung* were active in this region in this period which cannot be grasped if we focus only on the kingdom; and, when processes of group formation are approached in this way, then the Magyars, or other external pressure, seem frankly to be rather peripheral.

Communities of knowledge

I shall begin with Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek MS 506, a manuscript that is thought to date from around the year 900, or perhaps a little earlier. In the twelfth century it was owned by St-Maximin of Trier, and palaeographically it is thought to have been written west of the Rhine, so it has a securely Lotharingian provenance[11]. The manuscript's content, 114 folios mostly concerned with penance, is interesting for a number of reasons[12]. It is however folio 109 that is particularly significant for the purposes of this paper. Possibly a separate sheet that circulated independently before being bound in with the manuscript, this folio records a number of questions aimed at a local priest[13]. They investigate the priest's legal status, his character and personality, and his knowledge of a range of topics from liturgy to canon law. Though it is not explicitly stated in the text, it is clearly a bishop or his representative who is envisaged to be asking these questions, and in view of the manuscript's provenance, it is plausible (though ultimately unprovable) that reader and author would have had the archbishop of Trier in mind.

Sets of questions like these reflect a theme that developed over the course of the ninth century, the determination of bishops to monitor and regulate those most closely involved in »delivering« Christianity, namely rural priests[14]. Some texts that articulate this concern, detailed instructions directed at priests throughout the bishop's diocese, are known as episcopal capitularies. Though often anonymous, and usually thought to be products of the ninth century, texts of this kind continued to be drawn up and

---

[11] Mordek, Bibliotheca 127-130. – Knoblich, Bibliothek des Klosters St. Maximin 54.
[12] For example, its version of the Pseudo-Gregory penitential is perhaps the earliest surviving. The penitential is edited in Paenitentiale Pseudo-Gregorii 161-188, though Knoblich points out that his edition does not take this manuscript fully into account.
[13] MGH Capit. Episc. 4, 44, A. 246, offers a transcription of the first few lines.
[14] Rhijn, Shepherds, is an excellent investigation of this topic.

circulated in the early tenth century, and in fact a tenth-century manuscript explicitly attributes a set of them to Archbishop Roger of Trier (d.934)[15]. From the turn of the century, however, many texts focused more specifically upon the moment of interaction between a bishop or his agents and and rural church communities in the episcopally led inquiry known in German scholarship as the *Send*[16]. Folio 109 of the Gent manuscript appears to provide materials for this encounter.

Its clear parallels with Regino of Prüm's similarly designed set of questions in his canon law collection, written in Trier around the same time, raise questions about Regino's sources and the extent to which his work reflected local practice[17]. The most striking clause in the folio however is one stating »That the priest shall be chosen by the election of the respectable men (*boni homines*) living in the parish to whose church he is to be ordained«[18]. For it is through this clause that we glimpse a community in the process of formation whose nature has long been obscured by scholarship on *Eigenkirchen*, the proprietary church[19]. Though it is widely assumed that local churches in the early Middle Ages were always built on the command of the *Grundherr* or other authority, and remained within their control, in this passage we see an insistence that the consent, indeed perhaps even the initiative, of the local residents is required for the working of the institution. These local residents were acting collectively as a group, with a certain defined and active responsibility. In effect, what we see is the community of the parish, not merely as a passive recipient of instruction or command, but as a body engaged in a relationship.

Most work on early parish formation has concentrated on the spatial aspect of the association – justifiably so, since its development from the later ninth century onwards irreversibly changed the spatial organisation of western Christendom[20]. The institution of Christianity would henceforth be given clear topographical structure, and Christians organised around local churches whose workings could be more systematically supervised by bishops and their agents[21]. Yet we should not forget that, though

---

[15] These capitula are in MGH Capit. episc 1, 61-70. They are preserved as a complete text (and attributed to Roger) in just one manuscript, a tenth-century Einzelheft, Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Vulcan 94 B.

[16] The trend clearly drew on Carolingian precedents, however: Vykoukal, Examens du clergé paroissial, edited a similar text from a ninth-century manuscript, and there are also similar ones in the MGH edition of the *capitula episcoporum,* such as the »Capitularia Monacensia« MGH Capit. Episc. 3, 155-165. For the Sendgericht, see Hartmann, Kirche und Kirchenrecht. – The division between episcopal capitularies and other, similar texts, merits further attention, and more work is needed from the perspective of the manuscripts, as opposed to the notional genre.

[17] Regino von Prüm, Sendhandbuch. The questions for the priest are at 24-38; as Mordek, Bibliothek, noted, questions 76-96 are especially close to those in the Gent manuscript.

[18] *Ut presbyter eligatur per electionem hominum bonorum in illa parrochia degentium in cuius ecclesie titulo ordinetur.* My thanks to Steffen Patzold for drawing my attention to the interest of this passage during the conference in Mainz.

[19] Here I refer to forthcoming work of Steffen Patzold on Eigenkirchenwesen.

[20] Guerreau, Caractères.

[21] Iogna-Prat, Maison Dieu. Some of these issues are explored in West, Miracles.

geographically defined, the logic that underpinned the association of men responsible for electing the priest, according to folio 109, was based fundamentally upon the local priest's capacity to impart religious knowledge, as well as to perform the sacraments. Questions like those recorded in the rest of the Gent text were intended to test the priest's capability to sustain and care for this group, which included people of varied ages and social status, »a minimo usque ad maximum«[22]. It was the priest's job to ensure that they all had the necessary essential grounding in the Christian faith, even if that went no further than knowing the Lord's Prayer and the creed.

It may seem methodologically hasty to draw conclusions about group formation from normative sources like model sets of questions without proof that they were ever put to a real-life priest. However, we do have concrete evidence to suggest that the parish was a real entity in the tenth-century diocese of Trier – for example, a charter in which Archbishop Henry of Trier (d.964) set out the parish boundaries at Mersch in 960[23]. We should also think hard about what we mean by »normative« evidence. Historians tend to attribute manuscripts with texts of this kind to episcopal circles, but this need not drive a wedge between them and actual practice, since it was, after all, the bishops' task to co-ordinate that practice[24]. Be that as it may, this particular manuscript, of modest size (21cm × 16cm) and rather scruffy, does not seem likely to have been drawn up for a bishop. Rather, judging from the combination of contents and appearance, it was surely a book intended for use by a rural priest, who would have found the predominantly penitential contents of great assistance in carrying out his duties to the parish community[25]. Whether or not any Trier bishop ever actually asked these questions of any priest is therefore in a sense irrelevant, since what matters is that someone considered he might, and made preparations accordingly.

Virtuosic communities

If Gent 506 suggests something about a kind of group formation around Trier based ultimately on knowledge, a second manuscript, Berlin Staatsbibliothek Theol. lat. fol. 726, points in a rather different direction. More unequivocally designed for monastic use, the manuscript was not only preserved but also written in St-Maximin. It is the

---

[22] The quote comes from Ruotger of Trier's *capitula*, where expectations are laid out for all to attend mass regularly (c. 25), confess regularly (c. 26), and also to know the Lord's Prayer and the creed (c. 22), all obligations that were to be monitored by the priest. MGH Capit. Episc. 1, 57-72.

[23] Urkunden- und Quellenbuch Luxemburg 1 n. 169, 220-223. See Wisplinghoff, Abtei S. Maximin 190f., for discussion of the charter, which survives only as a draft, but an apparently contemporary one. For an analysis of similar texts from an earlier date, see Semmler, Zehntgebot.

[24] This is the argument advanced by Körntgen, Bußbuch und Bußpraxis.

[25] Admittedly, it is uncertain whether the manuscript acquired its current shape in the decades around the 900, or whether parts were put together later: the matter requires further investigation. We can sadly only speculate how long it might have seen service before coming to the library of St-Maximin, though of course it could easily have been loaned out from there. Lending from monastic and episcopal libraries is indicated in a number of catalogues, such as ninth-century ones from Wissembourg and Cologne: see Becker, Catalogi 35-37.

earliest known copy of a text attributed to a certain Grimlaicus, known as the »Rule for Solitaries« (*Regula Solitariorum*)[26]. This text is note-worthy as the earliest attempt to provide a rule for a community of solitaries (*solitarii* or *retrusi*), however paradoxical that may sound, and as such it is often mentioned in work on eremeticism in the Middle Ages[27]. It has however seldom received extended treatment, doubtless because of uncertainties over its dating and authorship. Since both its author and its (oddly homonymous) dedicatee are otherwise unknown, the time and place of composition can be estimated only from the sources used and the earliest surviving manuscript. On these grounds, it used to be attributed to late ninth-century Metz. However, Berlin SB 726, as already mentioned the earliest *Regula* manuscript, has been redated by experts. It is now thought to be not ninth- but rather tenth-century in date, and perhaps from the second half of that century[28]. There is therefore no longer any reason to presume that Grimlaicus wrote in the ninth century, and a tenth-century date, which would put Grimlaicus neatly into the context of the Lotharingian monastic reform movement, is now considered most likely[29].

This recontextualisation is significant for two reasons. In the first place, it adds extra weight to recent scholarship on that reform movement that stresses its character as a moment of group formation[30]. This is because the whole thrust of Grimlaicus's text is to create a working and integrated community of recluses. Though living in sealed cells, these solitaries are enjoined to have disciples, to give advice to the wider world (including women), and even to have windows adjoining one another so they can give mutual encouragement[31]. This fits well with a reform movement that can be seen as less about removing corruption, notwithstanding the prominence of that rhetoric, and more about the creation of new communities based on principles of what we might call, following Weber and Silber, virtuosic religiosity[32]. These monastic reformers, including Grimlaicus, were people marked out as spiritually more determined than the masses, demonstrating their mastery of religious practice through their lifestyle. Their reform movement was the welding together of heroic efforts of individuals to create groups capable of effective action, both within the confines of a cloister, and, for the still more spiritually determined, outside it, without stifling individual inspiration.

If this new contextualisation holds, Grimlaicus's rule also has something to say about a well-known characteristic of this reform movement, namely the centrality of bishops[33].

---

[26] Grimlaicus, Regula Solitariorum. There is now an English translation (Thornton, Grimlaicus).
[27] Doerr, Institut der Inclusen. – McAvoy, Anchoritisms, offers a rather elaborate gendered reading, extracting the »spectral feminine«, but at least gives this under-appreciated text the attention it merits.
[28] Knoblich, Bibliothek des Klosters St. Maximin 92. – Becker / Brandis, Handschriften 279f.
[29] Frank, Grimlaicus.
[30] Oexle, Individuen.
[31] Grimlaicus, Regula Solitariorum c.16.
[32] Silber, Virtuosity, Charisma, and Social Order.
[33] The classic though somewhat over-emphatic comparison between reform movements is Hallinger, Gorze-Kluny.

Famously, Lotharingian monastic reform is said to have differed from Cluniac reform in its openness to episcopal influence. Promoted by bishops, even if not entirely orchestrated by them, within this reform monastic exemptions were not so heated an issue as they were in parts of Western Francia[34]. It is to the bishop that Grimlaicus attributes responsibility for performing the ceremony of reclusion itself, the moment at which the hermit became a hermit, and it is the bishop too whom Grimlaicus envisages disciplining those recluses who reneged on their commitment[35]. Put differently, in Grimlaicus's rule the bishop plays the central role in the formation and regulation of a community of solitaries, even as this is embedded in a monastic environment. In Grimlaicus's text, the bishop – for the monks of St-Maximin who put together the Berlin manuscript, the bishop of Trier – is made into the arbiter, so to speak, of groups based on religious virtuosity, just as he was also the co-ordinator of the dissemination of the knowledge necessary to the faith in the countryside.

Competitive communities

Around the same time as a group of monks in St-Maximin was copying out Grimlaicus's rule, elsewhere in Trier a goldsmith was busily hammering out the celebrated *Petrusstab*, a remarkable reliquary in the shape of a staff now kept in the cathedral treasury at Limburg[36]. Commissioned by Archbishop Egbert of Trier (d.993), the reliquary has a lengthy and helpful inscription explaining that it adorned half of the Apostle Peter's very own staff, as well as a careful decorative scheme that includes matching roundel-portraits of popes and archbishops of Trier. The staff, and much else of Archbishop Egbert's remarkable campaign of artistic patronage, is often discussed with reference to the struggle between Mainz, Cologne, and Trier over ecclesiastical primacy[37]. With the claim, asserted on the staff itself and preserved in hagiography that can be traced back to the early tenth century, that the first three bishops of Trier were sent directly from Rome by Saint Peter himself, and brandishing the miracle-working staff itself as proof, Trier bishops could assert a superiority of antiquity over the Rhineland sees as well as a historically greater intimacy with the church in Rome[38]. The position was further fortified by papal charters granting Trier a privileged status that were composed around the same time, some entirely forged, others genuine[39].

---

[34] For the tension between monastery and archbishop expressed in Adalbert's continuation of Regino's Chronicle, see Kölzer, Studien, who compares the chronicle with documentary evidence. The recent collection of material, Abbaye de Fleury, is an excellent introduction to the very different controversies swirling around Fleury and Abbo in Western Francia around the same time.

[35] Grimlaicus, Regula Solitariorum c. 15 and c. 48 for the former, c. 69 for the latter.

[36] A detailed survey of the literature on the staff legend is provided by Bauer, Lotharingien. For the staff itself, pictures and a description are in Ronig / Weiner / Heyen, Egbert 38-39 and Taf. 160-165a.

[37] Ph. Depreux is preparing a study of this struggle as part of the Compétition research project, organised by the universities of Tübingen, Paris I, Paris-Est, Paris-Ouest, Padua, Hamburg, Limoges, and the IFHA. In the meantime, see Boshof, Köln, Mainz, Trier.

[38] See in general for the hagiography Krönert, Exaltation de Trèves.

[39] Head, Art and artifice, sets out the relations between texts and object in a methodologically interesting fashion.

We should nevertheless guard once again against the shadowy influence of national categories. As Hehl and Boshof have both argued, in the tenth century the archbishops of Trier perceived rivals to the west as well as to the east, notwithstanding the supposed East Frankish unity forged in the face of the Hungarian threat touched on earlier[40]. The audience that the staff was designed to impress was perhaps to be found in Rheims as much as in Cologne. Moreover, contest between archbishops was not the only arena in which St Peter's staff could have proved of value. In some ways an equally pressing question was Trier's status vis-à-vis its suffragen bishops, particularly Metz. Metz had mounted claims to a status beyond that of a mere suffragen since the eighth century. Relations continued to prove occasionally tense into the twelfth century, and the tenth century in particular may have been a moment when these claims were once again asserted by influential bishops like Theoderic I (d.984)[41].

Direct evidence for such tension may be provided by another manuscript, Paris BnF MS lat. 13313, a pontifical apparently produced for the bishop of Metz in the decades around the year 1000[42]. There is a revealing additional note on folio 107, concerning the examination of a bishop-elect, where the bishop is asked whether he will swear loyalty to the archbishop. Above the formulaic »N. archiepiscopo« has been added the single word *Trevirensi*, to clarify which archbishop was concerned. Still more revealingly, the addition has subsequently been partially erased. Perhaps that erasure is due to a later owner of the manuscript, putatively at Cambrai, since the manuscript has associations with that city too; but erasures are hard to date, and we should not exclude the irritation of the circles around powerful bishops like Adalbero II of Metz (d.1005), who might have been reluctant to have their technically subordinate status so plainly reinforced in their service books.

The pontifical also reflects wider changes in the status of the bishop taking place in the tenth century. With its episcopal blessings and a whole range of rites including those for church dedication, ordination, and penance, Paris lat. 13313 is a good example of the specialised bishops' books known as pontificals that were becoming more common in the period. In recent work, this development has been considered as speaking to a certain intensification of episcopal identity, representing bishops' growing confidence in their authority[43]. Yet it could also be read in quite the opposite manner, as responding to a need to support episcopal identity in the face of the growing prestige attached to priests. As Rauwel has argued, the greater importance of the Eucharist from the ninth century onwards effectively posed a growing challenge to episcopal

---

[40] Hehl, Erzbischof Ruotbert.
[41] For a similar suggestion, Seibert, Egbert 190. For the background, see Gaillard, De privato honore. – See also Oexle, Karolinger 362-364.
[42] I am grateful to Henry Parkes for discussion of this manuscript. A detailed description is available in Avril / Rabel, Manuscrits, n. 62. 77.
[43] Hamilton, Early Pontificals.

standing, whose superiority over priests was one of dignity rather than of nature[44]. The rise of the transfer of »instruments« of office as part of ordination to lower orders – a book to lectors, a key to doorkeepers, and so on – manifested this challenge quite clearly. From this perspective, Trier's choice of a staff as the relic to demonstrate episcopal authority appears a natural response, for the staff, together with the ring, had constituted the quintessential »equipment« of the bishop since the time of Isidore of Seville. Concentration on this object served to differentiate the bishop from the mere priest with great clarity, though of course such emphasis, developing over the course of the tenth and eleventh century, eventually brought its own problems[45].

To summarise, then, the *Petrusstab* can be read as representing the emergence of groups defined by competition over ecclesiastical status and honour. It points to the self-consciousness of the archbishop of Trier as a claimant to primacy, and so part of a competing group that included Rheims, Mainz, and Cologne, all jostling for position; it points too to the archbishop's claim to be a metropolitan, the authorised leader of Verdun, Toul and Metz in spite of resistance from the latter; and finally, it points to the archbishop's sense of himself as a bishop, distinguished in this way from the rest of the clergy in his diocese. These were struggles over the articulation of increasingly differentiated ecclesiastical hierarchies, struggles that, I would argue, helped promote the emergence of groups based on positions within these hierarchies.

Communities of domination

This paper has so far touched upon processes of group formation based on the possession of expert knowledge and capabilities, on virtuosic ascetic practice, and on the contested distribution of clerical status. In all these groups and processes, the bishops of Trier occupied a central position; and it should be added that their control of their city was more or less assured, to the extent that in the early eleventh century, they could hold it even against sustained royal siege[46]. That authority was also extended into the countryside in coalition with royal authority in the form of the famous »forest grants«, first issued by King Zwentibold in 897[47]. However, we can also see processes of group formation at work in the region over which the archbishop of Trier had little direct influence.

Relevant evidence is provided by an estate survey produced by the monastery of Mettlach, not far from Trier and long associated with the archbishops, and which was in fact attacked by the Hungarians in 954[48]. Preserved in an eleventh-century parchment roll in Koblenz, the survey has been little studied perhaps because the only reliable edition, which carefully teases out the different chronological layers of a rather

---

[44] Rauwel, Hierarchies.
[45] Much light on this aspect of the »Investiturstreit« is shed by Ph. Depreux's unpublished *Habilitationsschrift* (Depreux, Le sceptre, la baguette et le fétu).
[46] Bönnen, Trier.
[47] For the tenth-century origins of Trier's territorial *Landesherrschaft*, see Boshof, Erzstift Trier.
[48] According to the *Miracula Liutwini*: see Kellner, Ungarneinfälle 58f.

dismayingly complicated text, is difficult to obtain, yet it sheds much light on the area around Trier[49]. Of particular value is an entry, difficult to date precisely but probably written around the year 1000, that concerns the village of Roden, which the monks of Mettlach controlled[50]. As one would expect, and as is entirely typical of these kinds of texts, including Prüm's earlier and rather more considerable *Urbar*, the entry gives various details on the dues that the estate owed them, mostly dues in kind, such as eggs, chickens, sheep and so forth. However, what is more surprising is that the entry also records what was owed, separately, to the advocate (*Kirchenvogt*), namely small amounts of cash and various payments in kind[51].

This evidence for advocatial exactions is amongst the earliest in this region, and points to an important shift[52]. German-language scholarship has seldom given much consideration to French notions of *seigneurie banale*, since the concept of *Grundherrschaft* that still remains influential in much work on early medieval society conceives of power over land and people as inherently combined, leaving little room for the arguments of Duby and others[53]. Whatever the merits of this position, it would seem that at some point after the year 1000, people living in Roden were to pay some dues for the land they worked, and, separately, some in the name of the judicial powers exercised over them. From our perspective, the dues exacted at Roden in the name of an advocate represent the emergence of a new group, a community of the dominated, defined by a new kind of control: one no longer based on ownership of land, but on a set of rights that gave better definition to hitherto informal relations of power.

It hardly seems likely that an archbishop of Trier would have been greatly bothered by the kind of man who received payments of a few chickens, and indeed even the monastery at Mettlach seems to have kept the advocate at bay in Roden (though not elsewhere)[54]. However, archbishops of Trier were demonstrably bothered by other men whose power essentially rested on leveraged accumulations of precisely this kind of extraction. The obvious example here is Count Siegfried 'of Luxembourg' (d.998). From his hilltop powerbase, whose chapel was consecrated by the Trier archbishop in 987, he exercised an ever more effective and indeed territorialised lordship. That lordship was largely based on his access to the estates of the monasteries of St-Maximin and Echternach, a control working along the lines exposed by the Mettlach entry, and articulated in the nascent and steadily crystallising form of advocacy[55]. There is a direct line to be traced, in other words, between a group of villagers handing over dues in Roden, and the new forms of regional power manifested by the fearsome Siegfried.

---

[49] Mettlacher Güterrolle. For a recent commentary on the text, see Schneider, Erzbischof Hinkmar, 251- 265.
[50] For Mettlach's estate at Roden, see Raach, Kloster Mettlach, 113- 118.
[51] Mettlacher Güterrolle, 123- 124.
[52] A convenient survey is to be found in Boshof, Kirchenvogtei.
[53] Kuchenbuch, Abschied.
[54] Raach, Mettlach 116-117.
[55] In general, see Twellenkamp, Haus der Luxemburger. – On the effect of the »luxemburger Expansionsdrang«, see Bönnen, Trier.

The communities of domination put together by Siegfried and his ilk had regional as well as local impact, considerably shaping the archbishops' freedom of manoeuvre.

Conclusion

Instead of offering a comprehensive and generic account of group formation in the region around Trier in the tenth century, this paper has used four pieces of evidence – three manuscripts and a reliquary, all linked in some way to Trier – to try to shed light on specific processes at work. Important elements have thereby been entirely passed over, such as Lotharingian »ethnic« consciousness, aristocratic lineages, and urban solidarities[56]. In spite of these lacunae, it seems possible to propose two provisional conclusions on the basis of what has been discussed.

The first is that due emphasis needs to be given to the diversity and energy of processes at work in creating groups. The growth of the parish community, the integration of virtuosic asceticism into communal structure, the self-consciousness of jostling bishops, and the emergence of communities of jurisdictional lordship, were all quite different phenomena, and none can be neatly subordinated to another. Some of the groups discussed above were consciously based on consent or agreement (parishes and groups of recluses), others were consequences (though none the less real for that) of other forces, such as competition over honour and aristocratic expansion. Organised around varied and diverse principles that included knowledge, virtuosic practice, hierarchical status, and domination, each of these groups possessed its own specific dynamic, even while interacting with others. It is precisely this energetic proliferation that we risk losing sight of if we automatically prioritise the questions of ethnicity that still stalk much historiography of medieval Europe, or for that matter if we write off the tenth century as a bleak »Age of Iron«[57].

Yet this diversity does not of course mean that these phenomena were not associated in other ways. It is striking that the archbishop of Trier was involved in some way with each of these emerging groups, whether actively or passively. This is partly a question of perspective, but it also confirms the importance of bishops in the tenth century, and more than that, demonstrates the *way* in which they were important, as highly networked mediators who linked evolving groups together. But perhaps more importantly, the case could be made that the emergence of groups revolving around the parish, monastic reform, ecclesiastical hierarchies, and aristocratic domination, while illuminating the tenth century, should all be traced back to earlier developments. The Carolingian empire at its height saw important shifts in each one of these fields. This is not to rob the phenomena outlined above of their autonomy or historical authenticity, it is simply to remind us that the boundaries between a »long tenth century« and the implied »short ninth« are not quite as clear cut as they may seem.

---

[56] For Lotharingian consciousness, see Bauer, Lotharingien, which can be read alongside Schneider, Lotharingien. – For aristocratic lineages in this period, see Le Jan, Aristocratie.
[57] Cf. Geary, Myth of Nations.

As a consequence, it may be that to account for the dynamics of the groups discussed in this paper, and thereby properly to grasp something of the nature of the period in question, we need to pay less attention to marauding Hungarians, apocalyptic or otherwise, and more to more mundanely internal historical developments. It has recently been observed that convictions about the role in social and cultural development of outside forces of whatever kind (barbarians, climate degradation, or resource exhaustion) wax and wane on an almost cyclical basis, illustrating modern anxieties about the limits to human agency as much as historical factors[58]. No one would dispute that the Hungarians, like the Vikings, constituted a considerable and often violent disruption in the tenth century, in Trier as elsewhere. It is just that it is difficult, at least from the Trier evidence explored above, to see them as being much more than that.

Quellen und Literatur

Quellen:
Abbaye Fleury: L'abbaye de Fleury de l'an mil, ed. R.-H. Bautier / A. Davril. Sources d'histoire médiévale 32 (Paris 2004)
Flodoard, Historia: Flodoardus Remensis historia Remensis ecclesiae, ed. M. Stratmann. MGH SS 36 (Hannover 1998).
Grimlaicus, Regula Solitariorum, ed. J. P. Migne. Patrologia Latina 103 (Paris 1864) 575-664.
Liber Memorialis Remiremont: Liber Memorialis von Remiremont 1-2, ed. E. Hlawitschka / K. Schmid / G. Tellenbach (Dublin 1970).
Mettlacher Güterrolle: H. Müller, Die Mettlacher Güterrolle. Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Saargegend 15, 1965, 110-146.
MGH Capit. Episc. 1: MGH Capitula episcoporum 1, ed. P. Brommer (Hannover 1984).
MGH Capit. Episc. 3: MGH Capitula episcoporum 3, ed. R. Pokorny (Hannover 1995).
MGH Capit. Episc. 4: MGH Capitula episcoporum 4, ed. R. Pokorny (Hannover 2005).
Paenitentiale Pseudo-Gregorii: Das Paenitentiale Pseudo-Gregorii. Eine kritische Edition, ed. F. Kerff. In: H. Mordek (Hrsg.), Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken. Festschrift für Raymund Kottje zum 65. Geburtstag (Frankfurt 1992) 161-188.
Regino von Prüm, Chronicon: Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte 3, ed. R. Rau. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe 7 (Darmstadt 1960) 179-319.
Regino von Prüm, Sendhandbuch: Das Sendhandbuch des Regino von Prüm. Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis, ed. W. Hartmann. Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe 42 (Darmstadt 2004).
Salomonis et Waldrammi carmina: Salomonis et Waldrammi carmina, ed. Paul von Winterfeld, MGH Poetae lat. 4,1 (Berolini 1899) 296-314

---

[58] Moreland, Going native.

Serta mediaevalia: Serta mediaevalia: textus varii saeculorum X-XII in unum collecti, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout 2000).
Urkunden- und Quellenbuch Luxemburg: Urkunden- und Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der altluxemburgischen Territorien bis zur burgundischen Zeit 1, ed. C. Wampach (Luxemburg 1931).
Urkundenbuch Coblenz und Trier: H. Beyer (ed.), Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der, jetzt die Preussischen Regierungsbezirke Coblenz und Trier bildenden mittelrheinischen Territorien 1 (Koblenz 1860).

Literatur:

Althoff, Amicitiae und Pacta: G. Althoff, Amicitiae und Pacta: Bündnis, Einung, Politik und Gebetsgedenken im beginnenden 10. Jahrhundert (Hannover 1992).
Avril / Rabel, Manuscrits: F. Avril / C. Rabel, Manuscrits enluminés d'origin germanique 1 (Paris 1995).
Bauer, Lotharingien: Th. Bauer, Lotharingien als historischer Raum. Raumbildung und Raumbewusstsein im Mittelalter (Köln 1997).
Becker, Catalogi: F. Becker (Hrsg.), Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui (Bonn 1885).
Becker / Brandis, Handschriften: P. Becker / T. Brandis, Die theologischen lateinischen Handschriften im Folio der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin 2 (Wiesbaden 1985).
Bönnen, Trier: G. Bönnen, Trier zwischen dem 10. und dem beginnenden 12. Jahrhundert. In: H. Anton / A. Haverkamp (Hrsg.), Trier im Mittelalter (Trier 1996) 203-237.
Boshof, Erzstift Trier: E. Boshof, Das Erzstift Trier und seine Stellung (Köln 1972).
        Kirchenvogtei: E. Boshof, Untersuchungen zur Kirchenvogtei in Lothringen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung 96, 1979, 55-119.
        Köln, Mainz, Trier: E. Boshof, Köln, Mainz, Trier – Die Auseinandersetzung um die Spitzenstellung im deutschen Episkopat in ottonisch-salischer Zeit. Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins 49, 1978, 19-48.
Brühl, Deutschland – Frankreich: C.-R. Brühl, Deutschland – Frankreich: die Geburt zweier Völker (Köln 1990).
Demouy, Genese d'un cathedrale: P. Demouy, Genese d'un cathedrale: les archevêques de Reims et leur église aux XIe et XIIe siècles (Langres 2005).
Depreux, Le sceptre, la baguette et le fétu: Ph. Depreux, Le sceptre, la baguette et le fétu. Etudes sur l'histoire sociale, institutionnelle et culturelle du Moyen Âge occidental (VIe-XIIe siècles). Unpubl. Habilitation à Diriger des Recherches, Université de Paris I – Panthéon-Sorbonne, décembre 2005.
Diesenberger, Steppenreiter: M. Diesenberger, Die Steppenreiter aus dem Osten: eine exegetische Herausforderung. In: R. Zehetmayer (Hrsg.), Im Schnittpunkt frühmittelalterlicher Kulturen: Niederösterreich an der Wende vom 9. zum 10. Jahrhundert (St. Pölten 2008) 150-168.

Doerr, Institut der Inclusen: O. Doerr, Das Institut der Inclusen in Süddeutschland (Münster 1934).

Frank, Grimlaicus: K. S. Frank, Grimlaicus: »Regula solitariorum«. In: F. Felten / N. Jaspert / S. Haarländer (Hrsg.), Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Kaspar Elm (Berlin 1999) 21-36.

Gaillard, De privato honore: M. Gaillard, De privato honore Mettensium Pontificum: Les archevêques de Metz à l'époque carolingienne. Annales de l'Est 55, 2006, 151-174

Geary, Myth of Nations: P. Geary, The Myth of Nations: the Medieval Origins of Europe (Princeton 2003).

Guerreau, Caractères: A. Guerreau, Quelques caractères spécifiques de l'espace féodal européen. In: N. Bulst / R. Descimon / A. Guerreau (Hrsg.), L'État ou le Roi. Les fondements de la modernité monarchique en France (XIVe- XVIIe siècles) (Paris 1996) 85-101.

Hallinger, Gorze-Kluny: K. Hallinger, Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter (Rom 1950-1951).

Hamilton, Early Pontificals: S. Hamilton, The Early Pontificals: the Anglo-Saxon evidence reconsidered from a Continental perspective. In: C. Leyser / D. Rollason / H. Williams (Hrsg.), England and the Continent in the Tenth Century (Turnhout 2010) 411-428.

Hartmann, Kirche und Kirchenrecht: W. Hartmann, Kirche und Kirchenrecht um 900. Die Bedeutung der spätkarolingischen Zeit für Tradition und Innovation im kirchlichen Recht. MGH Schriften 58 (Hannover 2008).

Head, Art and artifice: T. Head, Art and artifice in Ottonian Trier. Gesta 36, 1997, 65-82.

Hehl, Erzbischof Ruotbert: E.-D. Hehl, Erzbischof Ruotbert von Trier und der Reimser Streit. In: E.-D. Hehl / H. Seibert / F. Staab (Hrsg.), Deus qui mutat tempora. Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Alfons Becker (Sigmaringen 1987) 55-68.

Howe, Re-forging the »Age of Iron«: J. Howe, Re-forging the »Age of Iron«. Parts I and II. History Compass 8, 2010, 866-887 and 1000-1022.

Iogna-Prat, Maison: D. Iogna-Prat, La Maison Dieu: une histoire monumentale de l'église au Moyen-âge (v. 800-v. 1200) (Paris 2006).

Kellner, Ungarneinfälle: M.G. Kellner, Die Ungarneinfälle im Bild der Quellen bis 1150. Von der »Gens detestanda« zur »Gens ad fidem Christi conversa« (München 1997).

Knoblich, Bibliothek des Klosters St. Maximin: I. Knoblich, Die Bibliothek des Klosters St. Maximin bei Trier bis zum 12. Jahrhundert (Trier 1996).

Körntgen, Bußbuch und Bußpraxis: L. Körntgen, Bußbuch und Bußpraxis und Busspraxis in der zweiten Hälfte des 9Jh. In: W. Hartmann / A. Grabowsky (Hrsg.), Recht und Gericht im Kirche und Welt um 900 (München 2007) 197-215.

Krönert, Exaltation de Trèves: K. Krönert, L'exaltation de Trèves: écriture hagiographique et passé historique de la métropole mosellane, VIIIe-XIe siècles (Ostfildern 2010).

Kuchenbuch, Abschied: L. Kuchenbuch, Abschied von der Grundherrschaft? Ein Prüfgang durch das ostfränkisch-deutsche Reich (950-1050). Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte 121, 2004, 1-99.

Le Jan, Aristocratie: R. Le Jan, L'aristocratie lotharingienne au Xe siècle: structure interne et conscience politique. In: H.-W.Herrmann / R. Schneider (Hrsg.), Eine europäische Kernlandschaft um das Jahr 1000 (Saarbrücken 1995) 71-88.

Maurer, Bischöfe: H. Maurer, Die Konstanzer Bischöfe vom Ende des 6 Jahrhunderts bis 1206 (Berlin 2003) 115-116.

McAvoy, Medieval anchoritisms: L. H. McAvoy, Medieval anchoritisms: gender, space and the solitary life (Woodbridge 2011).

Mordek, Bibliotheca: H. Mordek, Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta: Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse (München 1995)

Moreland, Going native: J. Moreland, Going native, becoming German: Isotopes and identities in late Roman and early medieval England. Postmedieval 1, 2010, 142-149.

Oexle, Gruppen: O.-G. Oexle, Soziale Gruppen in der Ständegesellschaft: Lebensformen des Mittelalters und ihre historischen Wirkungen. In: O.-G. Oexle / A. von Hülsen-Esch (Hrsg.), Die Repräsentation der Gruppen: Texte, Bilder, Objekte (Göttingen 1998) 9-44.

      Individuen: O.-G. Oexle, Individuen und Gruppen in der lothringischen Gesellschaft des 10 Jahrhunderts. In: M. Parisse / O.-G. Oexle (Hrsg.), L'abbaye de Gorze au Xe siècle (Nancy 1993) 105-139.

      Karolinger: O.-G. Oexle, Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulf. Frühmittelalterliche Studien 1, 1967, 249-364.

Raach, Kloster Mettlach: T. Raach, Kloster Mettlach/Saar und sein Grundbesitz: Untersuchungen zur Frühgeschichte und zur Grundherrschaft der ehemaligen Benediktinerabtei im Mittalalter (Mainz 1974).

Rauwel, Hierarchies: A. Rauwel, Les hierarchies internes à l'ordre sacerdotal: épiscopat et presbytérat des temps patristiques à Pierre Lombard. In: F. Bougard / D. Iogna-Prat / R. Le Jan (Hrsg.), Hiérarchie et stratification sociale dans l'Occident me\u0301die\u0301val (400-1100) (Turnhout 2008) 105-116.

Reuter, Introduction: T. Reuter, Introduction: reading the Tenth Century. In: T. Reuter (Hrsg.), Cambridge Medieval History III (Cambridge 1999) 7-20.

Rhijn, Shepherds: C. van Rhijn, Shepherds of the Lord, Priests and episcopal statutes in the Carolingian period (Turnhout 2007).

Ronig / Weiner / Heyen, Egbert: F. Ronig / A. Weiner / R. Heyen (Hrsg.), Egbert. Erzbischof von Trier 977-993. Gedenkschrift der Diözese Trier zum 1000. Todestag 1 (Trier 1993).

Schneider, Lotharingien: J. Schneider, Auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Reich: Lotharingien im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert (Köln 2010).

Schneider, Erzbischof Hinkmar: O. Schneider, Erzbischof Hinkmar und die Folgen: der vierhundertjährige Weg historischer Erinnerungsbilder von Reims nach Trier (Berlin 2010)

Seibert, Egbert: W. Seibert, Egbert als Metropolit und Bischof von Trier. In: F. Ronig / A. Weiner / R. Heyen (Hrsg.), Egbert. Erzbischof von Trier 977-993. Gedenkschrift der Diözese Trier zum 1000. Todestag 2 (Trier 1993) 187-195.

Semmler, Zehntgebot: J. Semmler, Zehntgebot und Pfarrtermination in karolingischer Zeit. In: H. Mordek (Hrsg.), Aus Kirche und Reich. Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter (Sigmaringen 1983) 33-44.

Silber, Virtuosity, Charisma, and Social Order: I. Silber, Virtuosity, Charisma, and Social Order: a comparative sociological study of monasticism in Theravada Buddhism and medieval Catholicism (Cambridge 1995).

Th. Kölzer, Studien zu den Urkundenfälschungen des Klosters St. Maximin vor Trier (10.-12. Jahrhundert) (Sigmaringen 1989) 39-61

Thornton, Grimlaicus: A. Thornton, Grimlaicus: Rule for Solitaries (Collegeville 2011).

Twellenkamp, Haus der Luxemburger: M. Twellenkamp, Das Haus der Luxemburger. In: S. Weinfurter / H. Kluger (Hrsg.), Die Salier und das Reich, vol. 1 (Sigmaringen 1991) 475-503.

Vykoukal, Examens du clergé paroissial: C. Vykoukal, Les examens du clergé paroissial à l'époque carolingienne. Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 14, 1913, 81-96

West, Lotharingia: C. West, Lotharingia viewed from West Francia. In: M. Margue (Hrsg.), La Lotharingie en question: identités, oppositions, integration. Actes des 14es Journées Lotharingiennes, 10-13 octobre 2006, Université du Luxembourg. Publications du Centre luxembourgeoise de documentation et d'études médiévales 26 (Luxembourg 2013).

        Miracles: C. West, Unauthorised miracles in mid-ninth-century Dijon and the Carolingian Church Reforms. Journal of Medieval History 36, 2010, 295-311.

Wisplinghoff, Abtei S. Maximin: E. Wisplinghoff, Untersuchungen zur frühen Geschichte der Abtei S. Maximin bei Trier von den Anfängen bis etwa 1150 (Mainz 1970).

Dr Charles West
Department of History, University of Sheffield, Sheffield, S3 7RA, United Kingdom
c.m.west@sheffield.ac.uk