The Burgundian « visage ». Seals between tradition and innovation

Jessika Nowak

This text was automatically generated on 25 November 2020.

The Burgundian « visage ». Seals between tradition and innovation[1]

Jessika Nowak

Like master, like man ?

1   In 888, Charles III died, the Carolingian

empire fell apart[2] and several *reguli*[3] emerged. Among those, we find the aristocrat Rudolph who had been count, margrave and lay-abbot of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune during the lifetime of Charles the Fat. Rudolph's ancestors were Welfs[4], and the family had come to the Transjurane region only some decades before, when the area had been assigned to Rudolph's father Conrad by Louis II[5]. But how did an « outsider » get a royal crown ? How could someone, who had no Carolingian blood in his veins and who could not therefore boast direct Carolingian descent claim (royal) legitimacy in 888 ? How did he increase his legitimacy so that he was accepted and could seek to establish a new dynasty and to set up a new kingdom[6] ? Unsurprisingly, Rudolph I tried to signal that he aspired to continue the Carolingian tradition[7]. He chose a prestigious and deeply symbolic place for his coronation[8], the abbey of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune[9]. Thanks to the Merovingian and Carolingian kings, the abbey had a long royal tradition[10], and it had been entrusted to Rudolph by Charles the Fat. « Le choix d'Agaune évoque donc également la légitimité d'un grand commandement de l'empire, une aura royale et, partant de là, une continuité carolingienne » writes François Demotz who has published – about a hundred years after the last monography dealing with Burgundy[11] – a monumental volume whose title « Bourgogne, dernier des royaumes carolingiens » toys with the Rudolfian strive for Carolingian continuity[12]. Rudolph's effort to inscribe himself into the Carolingian tradition became even more evident if we consider his anointment which took place in all likelihood at Toul, « [au] cœur de la *Francia*, (…) [dans] une zone de forte tradition carolingienne et donc fortement légitimante », as Demotz put it[13].

2   In the year of his coronation(s), on the 10th of June 888, Rudolph I ceded the abbey of Romainmôtier to his sister Adelheid[14]. In this first charter that we possess from his kingship, the royal seal is announced – *manu nostra subter firmavimus et de anuli nostri inpraessione sigillari praecepimus*[15] – and the original seal survived alongside the document. Of course, the seals are also a visual means of communicating legitimacy and authority. The performance of the rituals of sealing « generated authenticity of a royal ruler »[16].

3   Even if seals in the post-Carolingian time did not have the very strong symbolic value that they had possessed in the Merovingian period, as Bedos-Rezak stresses[17], it is quite fascinating to look at the seals of the four Burgundian kings[18] which « functioned as

well as a juridical and diplomatic instrument of authentification as well as a mark of identity »[19].

Rudolph I's seal

4   Can Carolingian traditions be identified in Rudolph I's seal[20] ? Even if the way of the mounting of the seal resembles the West Frankish style[21], it is not surprising to see that the East Frankish seals bear Rudolph's orientation mark. The East Frankish influence is apparent and unmistakeable. Rudolph's seal – as the East Frankish ones – is nearly round, while the West Frankish ones are oval[22]. On Rudolph's seals – as on the East Frankish ones – the circumscription « RODVLFVS REX » is located on the same surface as the seal image, whereas on the West Frankish ones there is a dividing line between the seal legend and the seal image. Moreover, the circumscription on Rudolph's – and on the East Frankish – seals extended from one shoulder of the portrait bust to the other shoulder, whereas the circumscription on the West Frankish ones was circumferential, starting on the top[23]. Furthermore, in the West Frankish seals, the legend includes a religious symbol, a Greek cross, and a formula of intercession, whereas the East Frankish seal legends – as well as Rudolph's – include only the title and the name, without any territorial designation. The East Frankish influence is therefore undeniable. But which East Frankish model did Rudolph I imitate[24] ? Who does the seal image, a portrait bust turned to the left in the heraldic sense, remind us of ? Apparently, Rudolph's seal is inspired by one of Charles the Fat's seals[25], a seal which the latter seems to have used between the 7th of July 877 and the 29th of December 880, before being crowned emperor. Rudolph's seal shows a male bust which is presumably beardless. The hair is short and possibly covered with a laurel wreath with flying ribbons. Moreover, the bust is dressed in an antique garment, a *paludamentum*, held together on the shoulder[26].

5   What is remarkable is that Charles' seal that served as an archetype for Rudolph's seal does not correspond to the seal of Charles the Fat[27] which inspired the seal of Arnulf of Carinthia. The latter had replaced Charles the Fat in the East Frankish kingdom in 887 and tried to confine Rudolph I's influence[28]. Arnulf and his son, Louis the Child, chose Charles' « imperial versions » with the buckler and the lance[29] ; in Burgundy, in contrast, these military emblems did not appear on the king's seal. Astonishingly, Zwentibold, Arnulf's illegitimate son, whom his father would have liked to become king of Lotharingia and Burgundy, renounced these attributes of a military leader, too[30]. Perhaps the buckler and the lance were seen as references to imperial aspirations, an objective which the Burgundian kings never pursued[31]. As François Demotz emphasises, the Rudolfian kingship is to be considered in its beginnings as « une monarchie modeste », or as « une monarchie modérée », a moderate and modest kingdom with greater resemblance to a « royal princedom » than to a « monarchic kingdom »[32] : There was neither a desire to demonstrate glamour or splendour nor a need to produce historiographical sources in order to disseminate a certain glamorous image of Burgundian kingship. No spectacular secular buildings were constructed in the king's name, and the Burgundian chancellery was relatively modest, as the archbishop of Besançon[33] was rapidly replaced with the bishop of Sitten and then with a simple notary. This unpretentiousness is also reflected in the naming of the royal family. The Rudolfian kings avoided imperial names like Charles or Judith for their descendants[34].

For the first Burgundian king, who was fought initially by the Carolingian Arnulf, legitimacy had to be established by stressing the Carolingian tradition, but it had to occur in an unobtrusive, modest way.

Rudolph II's seal

6   Some rulers – as Louis the German's son Louis the Younger – maintained the seals of their homonymous fathers[35]. Rudolph II, on the other hand, did not. He did not « recycle » it or if he did so – which we are unable to verify due to a lack of original charters – he employed another seal, too[36].

7   Douet d'Arcq and Stückelberg mistakenly attribute an oval seal, which appears in a charter from the 21st of June 932, to the second Rudolfian king[37]. It is not the seal of Rudolph II of Burgundy, however, but of Rudolph, the king of the *Francia occidentalis*, who ruled at the same time[38].

8   Rudolph II of Burgundy also managed to be offered the crown of the *Regnum Italiae* which he was able to keep for a short period[39]. He is known to have used a completely different seal during his reign in the *Regnum Italiae*[40]. This seal neither looks like the one his predecessor and opponent Berengar usually employed[41] – in Berengar's seal the simplified circumscription goes from shoulder to shoulder and the buckler and the lance are displayed –, nor does Rudolph II's seal replicate elements of the seal of Louis the Blind, who had also ruled over the *Regnum Italiae* for some years and had even become emperor[42]. Rudolph II's seal depicts a beardless profile bust which is turned to the left. The hair is cut in a different way and the bust is not wearing a laurel wreath, but instead a crown, a circlet with three lilies. Instead of being clothed in a *paludamentum,* the bust is dressed in a garment consisting of squares containing little rosettes which probably represent a *corazza*, a cuirass. There is a dividing line between the seal image and the circumferential legend which starts with a Greek cross « + RODULFUS GR(ATI)A DEI PIUS REX »[43]. The pellets or pearls surrounding the seal ring bear some resemblance to the globules on the border of Merovingian seals[44].

9   The Burgundian realm was stabilized during Rudolph's II reign. His position in Burgundy was uncontested, although it was not advisable for him to compete in the *Regnum Italiae* with his rival in « appearing Carolingian ». He was supposed to succumb due to his inferior lineage. After all, Berengar, Rudolph II's opponent in the *Regnum Italiae*, was a Carolingian through the female line[45]. Following Charles the Fat's seal meant stability once for Rudolph I, but, for Rudolph II, « appearing Carolingian » was tantamount to precariousness. It is likely that Rudolph II and his chancellery therefore decided to opt for a completely different seal image.

Conrad's seals

10   While the cross and the circumscription « GRATIA DEI PIUS REX » were maintained in the seals in the *Regnum Italiae*[46], Rudolph's son Conrad omitted the « PIUS »[47]. The circumscription in his seals is known from some of his charters which date from 943, 946 and 949[48]. The legend reads « + CHVUONRADUS G(RATI)A D(E)I REX ». As for the image, the seal is showing a very tiny beardless profile bust swathed in a *paludamentum* and turned to the left. The intaglio that might result from an antique or a medieval gem is surrounded by

a huge frame. The round seal's diameter is about 41 mm and it is bordered by a punctured line. The seal differs from the seals used by Conrad's father and grandfather as well as from those utilised in these years in the *Francia occidentalis* and *orientalis*. Conrad had spent several years during his childhood at the Ottonian court, and Otto the Great supported him when he turned to rule in Burgundy at the beginning of the 940s[49]. But obviously, Conrad did not imitate the Ottonian seals[50] at the beginning of his reign. What might have been the motives for his chancellery? Which models gave them inspiration? One might imagine that the fusion of Upper and Lower Burgundy which took effectively place under his rule[51] might have played a decisive role. It is probably not a mere coincidence that the first two charters, which we are acquainted with and which display the seals, concern property in Lower Burgundy. On the 23rd of April 943, Conrad endowed the villa Bouligneux which was situated *in pago Lugdunense*, to the abbey of Cluny[52]; whereas on the 18th of May 946 (?) he transferred the Chapel of St Genesius which belonged to the *comitatus Uienensis* to his chaplain Ermentheus[53]. Most likely the style of the seal follows the seal of Boso of Vienne who had been crowned king of Provence in 879 and who had been the first non-Carolingian who had managed to become king[54].

11 Eventually Conrad whose sister Adelheid had married Otto the Great and who had, for his part, wedded in his second marriage Mathilda, the sister of the West Frankish king, had another seal at a later date. At least two copies[55] made from a charter which was issued on the 4th of September 967 in favour of the canons of Saint-Étienne (Besançon) have the indication *Sigillum Chuonradi regis pergameno affixum cum sceptro liligero*[56] respectively *Et sigillum sigillo affixo impresso uno capite cum sceptro et in circonferentia est scriptum: Conradus rex*[57]. Otto the Great changed his seal in 962; it was inspired by Byzantium, and more specifically by the Byzantine imperial bulls[58]. Having been crowned emperor Otto the Great or his chancellery effectuated that the ancient type of effigy was abandoned. The ruler was not represented any longer as a profile bust with a lance and a buckler, but he appeared in front view, styled *en face* with a crown, a sceptre and a sphere, first without a cross, subsequently ornamented with a cross. The king's forearms were almost vertical[59]. The new seal was replicated: It is known that Lothar, the king of the West Frankish kingdom, followed the Ottonian example after 966 supplanting the globe with a baton[60]. It is possible that Conrad imitated Otto's new seal; remarks in copies which date from the 17th century, which denote a sceptre, suggest that he did. It is also likely that he also reduced the circumscription. The mention of the circumscription « + CHVONRADVS REX » is found in a charter issued by Conrad between 981 and 990 in favour of Saint-André-le-Bas. Ulysse Chevalier, who made a copy in the 19th century from another copy which is now lost[61], described the seal as follows « où il était représenté assis sur son trône, la couronne en tête, tenant de la droite une épée et de la main gauche une main de justice »[62].

Rudolph III's seal

12 Rudolph III who was definitively under the Ottonian influence did imitate the Ottonian seals[63]. We have two versions of his seals which differ slightly. The first, which might be the one of the royal chancellery, is found for example in a charter issued on the 24th of April 1011 in favour of Rudolph III's second wife, Irmingard[64]. The second, which might be the one of the chancellery of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, is placed on a charter from

the 15th of February 1018[65], in which Rudolph III made a restitution of several possessions to Saint-Maurice d'Agaune. In both seals the Burgundian king is shown *en face*. He has a thin and long face and a beard, and he is wearing a crown with spikes extending into the circumscription. While the Ottonian king is holding a sceptre and the orb, the Burgundian king is holding two sceptres[66] or a sceptre and a baton[67]. In the version of Saint-Maurice which is completely round – while the other one is slightly oval – the sceptre in the right hand is more perpendicular than in the version of the royal chancellery, whereas the sceptre in the left hand is more inclined[68].

13   However, both seals whose circumscription was « + RODVLFVS PIVS REX » remind of the one of Robert[69] in the *Francia occidentalis*[70].

Conclusion

14   Undoubtedly, seal images are of importance for getting an idea of how the kings sought legitimation and for shedding light on which image of royal power they wished to achieve. The particular nature of this power as well as important stages of the kingship might be revealed by the sigillographic symbolism. Even if the kings did not themselves participate in shaping the iconography or if their environment was for the most part responsible for the choice of the programmatic elements, it is certainly no coincidence that the four seals that we know in case of the four Burgundian kings were dissimilar in size, shape and the use of props and symbols, whereas in the *Francia orientalis* or *occidentalis*, when the reign was passed from the father to the son, the style of the seal was often maintained. While the *Francia orientalis* or *occidentalis* had persisted with little modifications since 843, a new kingship had to be formed in Burgundy. A new « ruling class » respectively a new elite had to be configured, and a territory had to be shaped. Rudolph I's seal attests the wish and the need to join the Carolingian line, to continue and to incarnate the Carolingian tradition for securing legitimation and gaining recognition. Rudolph II, whose Burgundian reign was stabilized, expanded his radius and even became king of the *Regnum Italiae* for a short period. His son Conrad managed to merge the kingdom of Upper Burgundy and the kingdom of Provence and had a predilection for Vienne, the centre of the kingdom of Provence. Conrad oriented himself to the local traditions whereas Rudolph III's position was enfeebled due to the lack of male heirs and slanted towards the Ottonians – their influence is undeniable in his seals. The facets of Burgundy were manifold and multidimensional and the features changed over the years, as did the seals. The Burgundians never copied someone else's style completely, neither at the beginnings the style of the Carolingians, nor at the end the one of the Ottonians. It was less an imitation than an emulation. We are reminded of the bee-metaphor that is used by Seneca and in his succession by Petrarch according to which a bee collects honey from different flowers in order to transform each individual part into a whole : « in inventiveness one must imitate the bees, who do not make an offering of flowers just as they have found them, but through a wondrous blending produce wax and honey »[71]. We may hope that in the future these fascinating Burgundian wax seals will attract and lure many researchers like the flavoursome honey. This article was intended to give a taste, to offer a glance into the Burgundian strategies for gaining recognition and to sketch the rough outlines.

Fig. 1 – Rudolph I

Figure according to M. DALAS, *Corpus des sceaux français du Moyen Âge*, t. 2 (*Les sceaux des rois et de régence*), Paris, 1991 [St 8037].

Fig. 2 – Charles III

Figure according to M. DALAS, *Corpus des sceaux…, op. cit.* [St 7982] ; cf. O. POSSE, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser und Könige von 751 bis 1806*, t. 1 (*751-1347. Von Pippin bis Ludwig den Bayern*), Dresden, 1909, table 3, fig. 5 (https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/
Die_Siegel_der_deutschen_Kaiser_und_K%C3%B6nige_Band_1/Tafel_3 [1-05-2017]).

Fig. 3 – Charles III

Figure according to M. DALAS, *Corpus des sceaux…*, *op. cit.* [St 7818] ; cf. O. POSSE, *Die Siegel…*, *op. cit.*, t. 1, table 3, fig. 7 and 8 (https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ Die_Siegel_der_deutschen_Kaiser_und_K%C3%B6nige_Band_1/Tafel_3 [1-05-2017]).

Fig. 4 – Arnulf

Figure according to O. POSSE, *Die Siegel…*, *op. cit.*, t. 1, table 4, fig. 8 (https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ Die_Siegel_der_deutschen_Kaiser_und_K%C3%B6nige_Band_1/Tafel_4 [1-05-2017]).

Fig. 5 – Rudolph II

Figure according to E. A. STÜCKELBERG, *Denkmäler des Königreichs Hochburgund, vornehmlich in der Westschweiz (888-1032)*, Zurich, 1925, table 5, fig. 1a and 1b.

Fig. 6 – Conrad

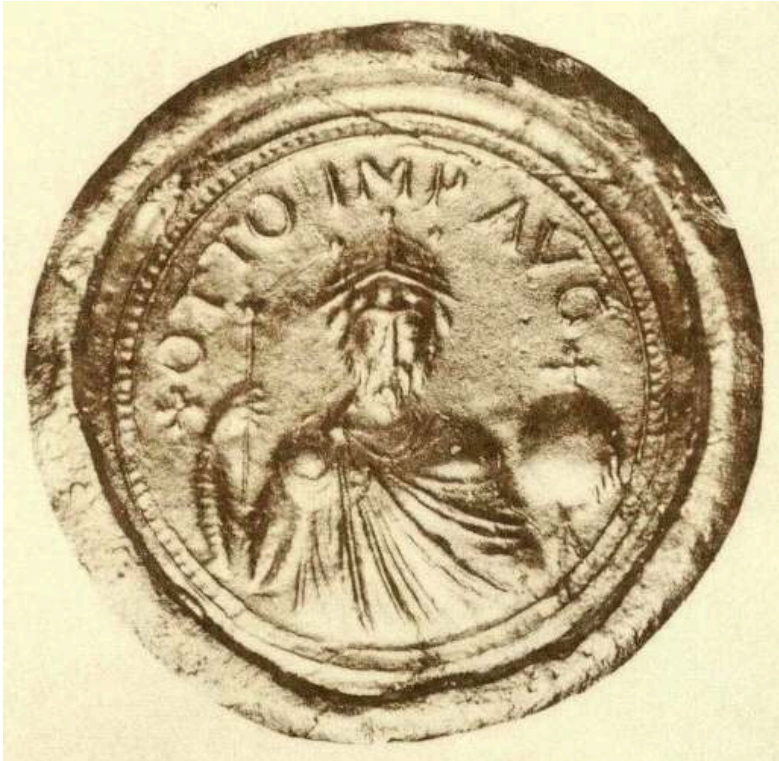Figure according to M. DALAS, *Corpus des sceaux…, op. cit.* [B 5].

Fig. 7 – Otto I

Figure according to O. ꜱᴏꜱꜱᴇ, *Die Siegel…*, *op. cit.*, t. 1, table 7, fig. 6 (https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ Die_Siegel_der_deutschen_Kaiser_und_K%C3%B6nige_Band_1/Tafel_7#/media/ File:Posse_Band_1_b_0041.jpg [15-11-2017]) ; cf. *ibid.*, t. 1, table 7, fig. 5 and fig. 7.

Fig. 8 – Rudolph III

Figure according to M. DALAS, *Corpus des sceaux…, op. cit.* [St 7890] ; cf. E. A. STÜCKELBERG, *Denkmäler des Königreichs Hochburgund…, op. cit.*, table 5, fig. 4 and fig. 5.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank Victoria Barnes and Carla Teresa Roth for the corrections of my English text.

2. S. MACLEAN, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century. Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire*, Cambridge, 2003.

3. *Annales Fuldenses cont. Ratisb.*, ed. F. KURZE, *MGH SS rer. Germ., 7,* Hanover, 1891, a. 888, p. 116.

4. B. SCHNEIDMÜLLER, *Die Welfen. Herrschaft und Erinnerung (819-1252)*, Stuttgart, ²2014, esp. chap. 2 « Wege in die Geschichte : Die Welfen im karolingischen Frankenreich (819-886) », p. 40-72 ; for the following see likeweise chap. 3 « Königtum : Die welfische Herrschaft in Burgund (888-1032) » , p. 72-105.

5. Louis II, for his part, had received the land from his brother Lothar II who tried to get rid of his wife Theutberga. Louis II asked Conrad to shield the region against Theutberga's battlesome brother Hucbert who had been named lay-abbot of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune by Lothar's and Louis' uncle Charles the Bald. For further detail, cf. M. ZUFFEREY, *Die Abtei Saint-Maurice d'Agaune im Hochmittelalter (830-1258)*, Göttingen, 1988, p. 54-58, and the contribution of K. WEBER, « Alsace and

Burgundy : Spatial Patterns in the Early Middle Ages, c. 600-900 », in the next volume [upcoming http://journals.openedition.org/cem/14838].

6. For the beginnings, cf. L. DUPRAZ, « L'avènement de Rodolphe I et la naissance du royaume de Bourgogne transjurane (6 janvier 888) », *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, 13/2 (1963), p. 177-195. The date of the 6th of January is disputed. The coronation probably took place between the 13th and 28th of January.

7. G. SERGI, « Genesi di un regno effimero. La Borgogna di Rodolfo I », *Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino*, 87 (1989), p. 5-44.

8. For the coronation, cf. A. Hauff's contribution, « Carolingian Traditions and New Beginnings in the Kingdom of Upper Burgundy from a Religious Perspective. The Coronation of Rudolph I of Upper Burgundy », in the next volume [upcoming http://journals.openedition.org/cem/14839].

9. B. H. ROSENWEIN, « One Site, many Meanings. Saint-Maurice d'Agaune as a Place of Power in the Early Middle Ages », *in* M. DE JONG, F. THEUWS and C. VAN RHIJN (ed.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden *et al.*, 2001, p. 271-290.

10. L. RIPART, « Saint Maurice et la tradition régalienne bourguignonne (443-1032) », *in* P. PARAVY (ed.), *Des Burgondes au Royaume de Bourgogne (vᵉ-xᵉ siècle). Espace politique et civilisation*, Grenoble, 2002, p. 211-239 ; F. DEMOTZ, « Saint Maurice et les rois de Bourgogne du lien identitaire à la sainteté symbolique », *in* N. BROCARD, F. VANNOTTI and A. WAGNER (ed.), *Autour de saint Maurice. Actes du colloque Politique, société et construction identitaire : autour de saint Maurice*, Saint-Maurice, 2012, p. 147-160.

11. R. POUPARDIN, *Le royaume de Bourgogne (888-1038). Étude sur les origines du royaume d'Arles*, Paris, 1907.

12. F. DEMOTZ, *La Bourgogne, dernier des royaumes carolingiens (855-1056). Roi, pouvoirs et élites autour du Léman*, Lausanne, 2008, p. 84. And Demotz had good reasons to entitle the first of the four main parts of his book « la force des traditions carolingiennes » (p. 41-137).

13. F. DEMOTZ, *La Bourgogne...*, *ibid.*, p. 86.

14. *Die Urkunden der burgundischen Rudolfinger*, ed. T. SCHIEFFER, *MGH DD Burg.*, Munich, 1977, n° 3, p. 95-98.

15. *Die Urkunden...*, *ibid.*, n° 3, p. 98. For an illustration, cf. appendix, fig. 1 ; A. J. BERNARD and A. BRUEL, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, t. 1 (*802-954*), Paris, 1876 (Reprint Frankfurt am Main, 1974), table 2, fig. 1 [gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k28908j/f907.image (17-07-2017)] ; A. STEYERT, *Nouvelle histoire de Lyon et des provinces de Lyonnais – Forez – Beaujolais – Francs-Lyonnais et Dombes*, t. 2 (*Moyen Âge*), Lyon, 1897, p. 190, fig. 175.

16. B. M. BEDOS-REZAK, *When ego was imago : signs of identity in the Middle Ages*, Leiden *et al.*, 2011, p. 84.

17. « (...) seal usage was consistently articulated around the concept of kingship, evolving from a symbolic usage in Merovingian times, to ritualistic and administrative uses for the first Carolingians, to formulaic usages in the time of the later Carolingians, the Robertians and the early Capetians... » [B. M. BEDOS-REZAK, « Ritual in the royal chancery. Text, image, and the representation of kingship in medieval French diplomas (700-1200) », *in* H. DUCHHARDT *et al.* (ed.), *European Monarchy. Its Evolution and Practise from Roman Antiquity to Modern Times*, Stuttgart, 1992, p. 27-40, here p. 27 *sq.*]. For the Merovingian seals, cf. A. STIELDORF, « Gestalt und Funktion der Siegel auf den merovingischen Königsurkunden », *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 47-48 (2001-2002), p. 133-166.

18. For the importance of royal seals, cf. H. KELLER, « Zu den Siegeln der Karolinger und Ottonen. Urkunden als Hoheitszeichen in der Kommunikation des Herrschers mit seinen Getreuen », *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 32 (1998), p. 400-441 ; R.-H. BAUTIER, *Chartes, sceaux et chancelleries. Études de diplomatique et de sigillographie médiévale*, 2 vol., Paris, 1990.

19. B. BEDOS-REZAK, « Suger and the Symbolism of Royal Power : The Seal of Louis VII », *in* P. L. GERSON (ed.), *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis. A Symposium*, New York, 1986, p. 95-103, here p. 95 (again in B. M. BEDOS-REZAK, *Form and order in medieval France. Studies in social and quantitative sigillography*, Aldershot *et al.*, 1993, p. 1-18).

20. The charter issued on the 10th of June is a charter in which the archbishop of Besançon, Dietrich, appeared as *cancellarius*, a strong indication for Rudolph's aspiration to Lotharingia. Cf. A. HAUFF, « Die Stellung des Erzbischofs und Erzkanzlers Dietrich von Besançon zwischen Rudolf I. von Hochburgund und Zwentibold », *in* J. NOWAK and J. RÜDIGER (ed.), *Zwischen Basel und Marseille. Das Burgund der Rudolfinger (9.-11. Jahrhundert) (= Itinera)* [in print].

21. For the position and the mounting, cf. E. GEIB, « Siegel deutscher Könige und Kaiser von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich I. im allgemeinen Reichsarchive », *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, NF 2 (1891), p. 78-183, here p. 104.

22. For the West Frankish seals, cf. M. DALAS, *Corpus des sceaux français du Moyen Âge*, t. 2 (*Les sceaux des rois et de régence*), Paris, 1991.

23. M. DALAS, *Corpus des sceaux..., ibid.* This is valid for the seals of the Francia media, too. For Lothar II's seal, cf. G. KORNBLUTH, « The Seal of Lothar II : Model and Copy », *Francia*, 17/1 (1990), p. 55-68.

24. He probably took an effigy of an emperor originating from a coin or a locket dating from the third or fourth century (T. SCHIEFFER, « Historisch-diplomatische Einleitung », *MGH DD Burg.*, Munich, 1977, p. 1-87, here p. 86).

25. For an illustration, cf. appendix, fig. 2 ; O. POSSE, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser und Könige von 751 bis 1806*, t. 1 (*751-1347. Von Pippin bis Ludwig den Bayern*), Dresden, 1909, table 3, fig. 4 (https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Die_Siegel_der_deutschen_Kaiser_und_K%C3%B6nige_Band_1/Tafel_3 [1-05-2017]) ; for a description of Charles' seal, cf. *Diplomata Karoli III*, ed. P. F. KEHR, *MGH DD Karl*, Berlin, 1937 [Reprint Berlin, 1974], p. LXIII, SI. 1 ; P. E. SCHRAMM, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, Leipzig, 1928, t. 1 (*Text : Bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts, 751-1152*) [New edition, F. MÜTHERICH, Munich, 1983], p. 182 ; O. POSSE, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser..., op. cit.*, t. 5, Dresden, 1913, p. 8.

26. T. SCHIEFFER, « Historisch-diplomatische... », *op. cit.*, p. 86.

27. For an illustration of Charles' seals with buckler and lance, cf. appendix, fig. 3 ; O. POSSE, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser..., op. cit.*, t. 1, table 3, fig. 7 and 8 ; for a description of Charles' other seals, cf. *Diplomata Karoli III..., op. cit.*, p. LXIII, SI. 2, SI. 4 and SI. 5 ; B. J. RÖMER-BÜCHNER, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser, Könige und Gegenkönige*, Frankfurt am Main, 1851, p. 15 ; O. POSSE, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser..., op. cit.*, t. 5, p. 9.

28. For Arnulf, cf. for example, F. FUCHS (ed.), *Kaiser Arnolf. Das ostfränkische Reich am Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 2002.

29. For an illustration of Arnulf's seal, cf. appendix, fig. 4 ; O. POSSE, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser..., op. cit.*, table 5, fig. 1 [https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Die_Siegel_der_deutschen_Kaiser_und_K%C3%B6nige_Band_1/Tafel_5 (1-05-2017)] ; for a description of his seal, cf. B. J. RÖMER-BÜCHNER, *Die Siegel..., op. cit.*, p. 16 ; *Arnolfi Diplomata*, ed. P. F. KEHR, *MGH DD Arn*, Berlin, 1940 [Reprint Munich, 1988], p. XXXLIII, SI. 2 and SI. 3 ; P. E. SCHRAMM, *Die deutschen Kaiser..., op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 183 ; O. POSSE, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser..., op. cit.*, t. 5, p. 9 *sq.* For an illustration of Louis the Child's seal, cf. O. POSSE, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser..., ibid.*, t. 1, table 5, fig. 9 and 10 ; for a description of his seals, cf. B. J. RÖMER-BÜCHNER, *Die Siegel..., op. cit.*, p. 17 ; *Zwentiboldi et Lvdowici infantis diplomata*, ed. T. SCHIEFFER, *MGH DD Zw/DD LK*, Berlin, 1960 [Reprint Berlin, 1963], p. 93, SI. 2 and SI. 3 ; P. E. SCHRAMM, *Die deutschen Kaiser..., op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 183. With Louis the Child, the seals displayed a taller buckler and revealed a bigger part of the torso and the entire right arm. These seals remained in use until the time of Otto the Great (E. GEIB, « Siegel deutscher Könige... », *op. cit.*, p. 123).

30. For an illustration of Zwentibold's seal, cf. O. POSSE, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser…, op. cit.*, t. 1, table 5, fig. 7 ; for a description of his seals, cf. ed. T. SCHIEFFER, *MGH DD Zw, op. cit.*, p. 15 ; P. E. SCHRAMM, *Die deutschen Kaiser…, op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 183. For further information, cf. C. ROBERT, « Sceau et monnaie de Zuentibold, roi de Lorraine (895-900). Monnaie de son successeur Louis, fils d'Arnould (900-911) », *Mémoire de la Société d'archéologie et d'histoire de la Moselle* (1893), p. 273-276.

31. For these non-existent aspirations, cf. J. NOWAK, « Imperial Aspirations in Provence and Burgundy », *in* C. SCHOLL, T. R. GEBHARDT and J. CLAUSS (ed.), *Transcultural Approaches to the Concept of Imperial Rule in the Middle Ages*, Frankfurt am Main, 2017, p. 139-156.

32. F. DEMOTZ, « Burgund – zwischen Tradition und Innovation. Diversität der Modelle und der Eliten an einer europäischen Drehscheibe », *in* J. NOWAK and J. RÜDIGER (ed.), *Zwischen Basel und Marseille…, op. cit.* (in print).

33. A. HAUFF, « Die Stellung des Erzbischofs… », *op. cit.* (in print).

34. F. DEMOTZ, « Burgund… », *op. cit.* (in print) ; J. NOWAK, « Imperial Aspirations… », *op. cit.*, p. 153.

35. Even Louis the Child should (re)use Louis the German's (and Louis the Younger's) seal as one of his seals later on, even it had already cracked under Louis the German (E. GEIB, « Siegel deutscher Könige… », *op. cit.*, p. 92).

36. It is an interesting question asking what happened to the Burgundian seals after the kings' death. Roman Emperors and Empresses had sometimes been buried with their jewellery and signet rings, as grave finds illustrate ; the Merovingians retained eventually this custom, as findings in Childerich I's tomb show ; contrariwise the pope's signet ring, the fisherman's ring, was broken after his death ; several French kings meanwhile bequeathed their signet rings to nunneries (E. GEIB, « Siegel deutscher Könige… », *ibid.*, p. 93).

37. L. DOUET D'ARCQ, *Collection de sceaux*, t. 1, part 1, Paris, 1863 [Reprint Munich, 1980], p. 270, n° 30 ; E. A. STÜCKELBERG, *Denkmäler des Königreichs Hochburgund, vornehmlich in der Westschweiz (888-1032)*, Zurich, 1925, p. 20 ; for the illustration, cf. A. J. BERNARD and A. BRUEL, *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny…, op. cit.*, t. 1, table 2, n° 3 (gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k28908j/f907.image [17-07-2017]).

38. *Diplomata Karolinorum. Recueil de reproductions en fac-similé des actes originaux des souverains carolingiens conservés dans les archives et bibliothèques de France*, part 8 : *Raoul, Louis d'Outre-Mer, Lothaire, Louis V (927-985), Pépin I et Pépin II d'Aquitaine (827-848)*, ed. F. LOT and P. LAUER, Toulouse, 1945, table 2 ; M. DALAS, *Corpus des sceaux…, op. cit.*, p. 120.

39. R. POUPARDIN, *Le Royaume de Bourgogne…, op. cit.*, p. 34-58 ; H. ZIELINSKI, *J. F. Böhmer, Regesta Imperii*, I : *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751-918 (926)*, vol. 3 : *Die Regesten des Regnum Italiae und der burgundischen Regna*, part 2 : *Das Regnum Italiae in der Zeit der Thronkämpfe und Reichsteilungen 888 (850)-926*, Vienna *et al.*, 1998, esp. n° 1372-1374, 1381-1383, 1385, 1388, 1390-1392 and 1419-1434 ; *ibid.*, part 3 : *Das Regnum Italiae vom Regierungsantritt Hugos von Vienne bis zur Kaiserkrönung Ottos des Großen (926-962)*, Vienna *et al.*, 2006, esp. n° 1469-1471, 1473 and 1477.

40. For an illustration of Rudolph II's seal, cf. appendix, fig. 5 (for a description, cf. E. A. STÜCKELBERG, *Denkmäler des Königreichs Hochburgund…, op. cit.*, p. 19 *sq.*) ; P. E. SCHRAMM, *Die deutschen Kaiser…, op. cit.*, p. 329, n° 71 ; *I diplomi italiani di Lodovico III e di Rodolfo II*, ed. L. SCHIAPARELLI, Rome, 1908 [Reprints Turin, 1960 and Rome, 1970], n° 8, p. 117-120.

41. P. E. SCHRAMM, *Die deutschen Kaiser…, op. cit.*, p. 328, n° 65-66 ; for his charters, cf. *I diplomi di Berengario I*, ed. L. SCHIAPARELLI, Rome, 1903 [Reprints Turin, 1960 and Rome, 1966] ; *ID.*, « I diplomi dei re d'Italia. Ricerche storico-diplomatiche 1 : I diplomi di Berengario I », *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano*, 23 (1902), p. 1-167.

42. In Louis the Blind's seals which tended to be oval with the circumscription « + XPE SALVA HLVDOVVICVM AVG(us)T(u)M » the influence of the kings of the *Francia occidentalis* is evident. It's perceptible in Louis' charters from 903 and from the 4th of April 912, and it's even more obvious in a document from 924. For Louis the Blind's charters and seals, cf. P. E. SCHRAMM, *Die deutschen Kaiser…, op. cit.*, p. 329, n° 69-70 ; R. POUPARDIN, *recueil des actes des rois de Provence*

(855-928), Paris, 1920, esp. pl. II, 3 and pl. III, 1 and 2 ; *I diplomi italiani di Lodovico III...*, *op. cit.* ; L. SCHIAPARELLI, « I diplomi dei re d'Italia. Ricerche storico-diplomatiche 3 : I diplomi di Ludovico III », *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano*, 29 (1908), p. 105-207.

43. On one of Arnulf's seals the circumscription had been « ARNOLFVS PIVS REX » (O. POSSE, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser...*, *op. cit.*, t. 1, table 5, fig. 1 ; *Arnolfi Diplomata...*, *op. cit.*, p. XXXIX, SI. 3), and one of his bulls shows him with a circlet with three lilies (*Arnolfi Diplomata...*, *ibid.*, p. XXXIX, B. 1).

44. For some examples, cf. M. DALAS, *Corpus des sceaux...*, *op. cit.*

45. For Berengar whose mother Gisela was the daughter of Louis the Pious, cf. G. ARNALDI, « Berengario I, duca-marchese del Friuli, re d'Italia, imperatore », in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, t. 9, 1967, p. 1-26 ; B. ROSENWEIN, « The Family Politics of Berengar I, King of Italy (888-924) », *Speculum*, 71 (1996), p. 247-289 ; EAD., « Friends and Family, Politics and Privilege in the Kingship of Berengar I », *in* S. K. COHEN and S. A. EPSTEIN (ed.), *Portraits of Medieval and Renaissance Living. Essays in Memory of David Herlihy*, Ann Arbor/Mich., 1996, p. 91-106.

46. Lothar whose father Hugh was going to replace Rudolph II in the *Regnum Italiae* used the circumscription « + LOTHARIUS GRATIA DEI PIVS REX », too. He – like his father had done before – adopted likewise the crown in his seal image, and he and his father – who had a shared seal showing both of them – added a sceptre. Lothar maintained the royal attributes in his own seal, which did not show any more a mere bust, but a huger part of the torso and an extended arm (L. SCHIAPARELLI, *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario II e di Adalberto*, Rome, 1924, p. X ; for an illustration, cf. P. E. SCHRAMM, *Die deutschen Kaiser...*, *op. cit.*, p. 329, n° 72-73).

47. For Conrad's seal, cf. T. SCHIEFFER, « Historisch-diplomatische... », *op. cit.*, p. 86 ; for an illustration, cf. appendix, fig. 6 ; E. A. STÜCKELBERG, *Denkmäler des Königreichs Hochburgund...*, *op. cit.*, table 5, fig. 3 (for a description, p. 20) ; cf. A. STEYERT, *Nouvelle histoire de Lyon...*, *op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 209, fig. 195 ; A. J. BERNARD and A. BRUEL, *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny...*, *op. cit.*, t. 1, table 2, n° 4 (gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k28908j/f907.image [17-07-2017]) ; G. DEMAY, *Inventaire des sceaux de l'Artois et de la Picardie recueillis dans les dépôts d'archives, musées et collections particulières des départements du Pas-de-Calais, de l'Oise, de la Somme et de l'Aisne*, Paris, 1875 [Reprint Munich, 1980], table 5, n° 342 ; A. COULON, *Inventaire des sceaux de Bourgogne recueillis dans les dépôts d'archives, musées et collections particulières des départements de la Côte-d'Or, de Saône-et-Loire et de l'Yonne*, Paris, 1912 [Reprint Munich, 1980], table 2, n° 5 ; G. HIEBAUM, *Gemmensiegel und andere in Steinschnitt hergestellte Siegel des Mittelalters*, Graz et al., 1931, p. 27, n° 39.

48. T. SCHIEFFER, *MGH DD Burg...*, *op. cit.*, n° 27, 30 and 31.

49. H. KAMP, *Burgund. Geschichte und Kultur*, Munich, 2007 [²2016], p. 38.

50. For the Ottonian seals, cf. H. KELLER, « Ottonische Herrschersiegel. Beobachtungen und Fragen zu Gestalt und Aussage und zur Funktion im historischen Kontext », *in* K. KRIMM and J. HERWIG (ed.), *Bild und Geschichte. Studien zur politischen Ikonographie. Festschrift für Hansmartin Schwarzmaier zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag,* Sigmaringen, 1997, p. 3-51 [again in H. KELLER, *Ottonische Königsherrschaft. Organisation und Legitimation königlicher Macht*, Darmstadt, 2002, p. 131-166 and 275-297].

51. According to Liudprand's Antapodosis [*Liudprandi Cremonensis Opera omnia*, ed. P. CHIESA, Turnhout, 1998 (*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 156), III, 48, p. 93] Hugh of Arles had already given *omnem terram, quam in Galliam ante regni susceptionem tenuit* to Rudolph II who had promised in counterpart not to interfere in the *Regnum Italie* ; cf. H. ZIELINSKI, *J. F. Böhmer, Regesta Imperii*, I : *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751-918 (926)*, vol. 3 : *Die Regesten des Regnum Italiae und der burgundischen Regna*, part 4 : *Die burgundischen Regna (855-1032)*, fasc. 1 : *Niederburgund bis zur Vereinigung mit Hochburgund (855-940er Jahre)*, Vienna et al., 2013, n° 3014.

52. T. SCHIEFFER, *MGH DD Burg...*, *op. cit.*, n° 27.

53. *Ibid.*, n° 30.

54. Unfortunately, Boso's seal seems to be a forgery (*Recueil des actes des Rois de Provence...*, *op. cit.*, table 2, n° 2).

55. They date from the 17th century (T. SCHIEFFER, *MGH DD Burg...*, *op. cit.*, n° 43).

56. *Ibid.*, p. 163 k".

57. *Ibid.*

58. For the Ottonian seals, cf. H. KELLER, « Ottonische Herrschersiegel... », *op. cit.* ; M. RUPRECHT, « Die Siegel der Ottonen, Spiegelbilder der Macht », *in* R. JENDYSCHIK, G. SCHLENKER and R. WERNER (ed.), *Auf den Spuren der Ottonen III. Protokoll des Kolloquiums am 22. Juni 2001 in Walbeck/Hettstedt*, Halle a. d. Saale, 2002, p. 61-69.

59. For an illustration, cf. appendix, fig. 7.

60. M. DALAS, *Corpus des sceaux...*, *op. cit.*, n° 46, p. 123 ; B. SCHNEIDMÜLLER, *Karolingische Tradition und frühes französisches Königtum. Untersuchungen zur Herrschaftslegitimation der westfränkisch-französischen Monarchie im 10. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 1979, p. 98 *sq.* ; ID., « Ottonische Familienpolitik und französische Nationsbildung im Zeitalter der Theophanu », *in* A. VON EUW and P. SCHREINER (ed.), *Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnungen des Ostens und des Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin*, Cologne, 1991, t. 2, p. 345-359, here p. 350 *sq.*

61. The copy of the cartulary of Saint-André-le-Bas burnt in 1854.

62. T. SCHIEFFER, *MGH DD Burg...*, *op. cit.*, n° 53, p. 186 w. Schieffer underlines that this description should not be understood as the announcement of an earlier form of the throne seal which became popular only in the eleventh century, but that one had to imagine « den mit allen Herrscherenblemen ausgestatteten König auf dem Throne sitzend (...), ohne daß dieser Thron darum sichtbar wäre » (T. SCHIEFFER, « Historisch-diplomatische... », *op. cit.*, p. 86). It is not sure whether the seal which is now lost, but which was mounted on a forged charter which Conrad was supposed to have issued on the 8th of April 861 in favour of Payerne (T. SCHIEFFER, *MGH DD Burg...*, *op. cit.*, n° 54) was a forgery. It is possible it was not genuine. Another the seal of Conrad's mother Bertha which was placed on a charter dating from the 1st April 961 and pretending to be the donation thanks to which Payerne could be founded is a fake (T. SCHIEFFER, *MGH DD Burg...*, *op. cit.*, n° 55, esp. p. 192). A likely seal with the circumscription « BERTA DEI GRACIA HVMILIS REGINA » with a seal imagine presenting the queen with a crown with three spikes, holding a book in the left hand and a sceptre in the right hand was not in use at that time, but only much later. For women's seals, cf. A. STIELDORF, « Die Siegel der Herrscherinnen. Siegelführung und Siegelbild der "deutschen" Kaiserinnen und Königinnen », *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 64 (2000), p. 1-44.

63. M. DALAS, *Corpus des sceaux...*, *op. cit.*, n° 59, p. 135 ; cf. P.-A. MARIAUX, « Brèves considérations sur le sceau de Rodolphe III (993-1032) », *Revue historique neuchâteloise*, 150 (2013), p. 265-269 ; M. TRIPET, « Le sceau de Rodolphe III et les armes de Bourgogne », *Archivum heraldicum*, 6 (1892), p. 59-60. For the Ottonian model, cf. R.-H. BAUTIER, « Échanges d'influences dans les chancelleries souveraines du Moyen Âge, d'après les types des sceaux de Majesté », *Comptes rendus. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 2 (1968), p. 192-220 [again in ID., *Chartes, sceaux et chancelleries...*, *op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 563-591].

64. T. SCHIEFFER, *MGH DD Burg...*, *op. cit.*, n° 99 ; the seal was to be found in n° 98, 102, 114 and 122, too ; for an illustration, cf. E. A. STÜCKELBERG, *Denkmäler des Königreichs Hochburgund...*, *op. cit.*, table 5, n° 4, p. 20.

65. T. SCHIEFFER, *MGH DD Burg...*, *op. cit.*, n° 112 ; for an illustration, cf. appendix, fig. 8 ; E. A. STÜCKELBERG, *Denkmäler des Königreichs Hochburgund...*, *op. cit.*, table 5, fig. 4 and 5 (for a description, p. 20 *sq.*) ; É. ANTOINE-KÖNIG (ed.), *Le Trésor de l'abbaye de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune*, Paris, 2014, p. 70 *sq.* ; B. ANDENMATTEN *et al.*, *Écrire et conserver. Album paléographique et diplomatique de l'abbaye de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune VIᵉ-XIᵉ siècle*, Chambéry/Lausanne/Saint-Maurice, 2010, p. 23-25 and table 3. The

second seal is found in a charter from 996, too, in which Rudolph III assigns the county of Tarentaise to the archbishop Amizo. This charter which is kept in the Archives départementales de la Savoie (cote AD 073 – SA 176) can be consulted online [http://www.savoie-archives.fr/1630-la-charte-de-rodolphe-iii-10e-s-.htm]. For a slightly divergent seal cf. http://gilles.maillet.free.fr/histoire/recit_bourgogne/recit_bourgogne_transjurane.htm [15-11-2017].

66. According to the scepters Schieffer wrote : « Lilienszepter in der rechten, schräg gehaltenes Kugelszepter in der linken Hand » (T. SCHIEFFER, « Historisch-diplomatische… », *op. cit.*, p. 87).

67. H. KELLER, « Ottonische Herrschersiegel… », *op. cit.*, p. 6, n. 11.

68. The version of the chancellery of Saint-Maurice shows pearls on the spikes of the crown. However, the differences are that marginal that they might be the mere result of an old and decrepit mould, too.

69. M. DALAS, *Corpus des sceaux…*, *op. cit.*, n° 61, p. 140. For Robert's seals, cf. H. PINOTEAU, « Les sceaux de Robert le Pieux », *in* O. GUYOTJEANNIN *et al.* (ed.), *Pratiques de l'écrit documentaire au XIe siècle*, Paris, 1997, p. 235-245. For Hugh Capet's lost seal, which we only know from a draft of Mabillon and according to whom the seal was showing a hand of justice, cf. M. DALAS, *Corpus des sceaux…*, *op. cit.* ; O. GUYOTJEANNIN, « Nouveaux témoins du sceau perdu de Hugues Capet », *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1993), p. 122-134 ; for an explanation of the hand of justice, cf. H. PINOTEAU, « La main de justice des rois de France : essai d'explication », *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1978-1979), p. 262-265 ; ID., « Les insignes du roi vers l'an Mil », *in* M. PARISSE and X. BARRAL ALTET (ed.), *Le roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an Mil*, Paris, 1992, p. 73-88.

70. When Otto III introduced in 997/998 the aforementioned throne seal, a seal in which the king is sitting full-face, bearded and crowned, holding a fleur-de-lis sceptre and an orb and, swathed with a full length tunic and a mantle on his backless throne, his legs wide apart and his feet pointed outwards, Henry I, who was enthroned king of the *Francia occidentalis* in 1031, copied and maintained the chief features of the seal, but in his seal the king held a fleuron and wore a fleur-de-lis crown. Rudolph III, on the other hand, who had not any male children and who might have felt the end of his line as his own soon death which occurred in 1032 did not seem to have changed and adapted his seals any more. For these seals, cf. H. KELLER, « Die Siegel und Bullen Ottos III », *in* A. WIECZOREK and H. HINZ (ed.), *Europas Mitte um 1000*, Stuttgart, 2000, t. 2, p. 763-773 ; B. M. BEDOS-REZAK, « Suger and the Symbolism… », *op. cit.*, p. 95.

71. *Apes in inventionibus imitandas, que flores, non quales acceperint, referunt, sed ceras ac mella mirifica quadam permixtione conficiunt* (FRANCESCO PETRARCA, *Epistole familiares*, I, 8, II [http://www.mlat.uzh.ch/MLS/xfromcc.php?tabelle=Francesco_Petrarca_cps6&rumpfid=Francesco_Petrarca_cps6,%20Epistole%20familiares,%20%20%201,%20%20%208&id=Francesco_Petrarca_cps6,%20Epistole%20familiares,%20%20%201,%20%20%208&level=&corpus=6&current_title=LIBER%20I (16-06-17)].

ABSTRACTS

Les grandes étapes de l'histoire du royaume de Bourgogne ainsi que les transformations que ce royaume subit pendant près de cent vingt ans se reflètent dans plusieurs sources, notamment dans les sceaux. Ces derniers permettent, en autres, d'en comprendre l'orientation politique. C'est le cas, par exemple, de Rodolphe Ier qui tient énormément à s'inscrire dans la continuité des

Carolingiens de la *Francia orientalis* pour renforcer sa légitimité et consolider son règne. Par ailleurs, de nombreuses évolutions se lisent dans les sceaux, oscillants entre traditions et innovations, comme lorsque Rodolphe II tente d'agrandir le royaume en focalisant son attention sur la Souabe et sur le *regnum Italiae*, puis lors de la fusion de la Transjurane et du royaume de Provence sous Conrad et, enfin, au moment où les Ottoniens étendent leur emprise sur Rodolphe III.

INDEX

AUTHOR

JESSIKA NOWAK

Researcher and Lecturer at the University of Basel