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THE 'ORIGINAL' AND THE 'REVISED' *ANNALES REGNI FRANCORUM* *

Abstract: The *Annales regni Francorum* are preserved in two recensions: the so-called 'original' and the 'revised' version. The aim of this article is to make a profound analysis of both versions and to establish which version is the 'revised' and which one is the 'original'.

Key Words: Charlemagne, *Annales regni Francorum*, *Deo adiuvente*, *Deo auxiliante*, *gens Francorum*, *placitum*, *conventus*.

The *Annales Regni Francorum* (hereinafter *ARF*), as the most important narrative source for the history of the Carolingians, cover a timeline from the year 741 to 829. The *ARF* source is preserved in four major groups of manuscripts: A, B, C, and D (this division was made by Kurze published in a MGH edition).¹ The *Annales Laurissenses Maiores* (hereinafter *ALM*) are the oldest in this group, dating back to the middle of the 9th century, ca. 840. Today, the extant copies of the *ALM*

* Рад настао као резултат истраживања на пројекту Министарства за науку и технолошки развој *Српске земље у раном средњем веку* (Ев. бр. 147025). The author wishes to express his thanks to Professor R. McKitterick for a great number of valuable suggestions.

¹ *Annales Regni Francorum inde ab a. 741. usque ad a. 829 qui dicitur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, rec. F. Kurze, MGH SRG in usum scholarum 6, Hannoverae 1895, IX – XV (= *ARF*).

manuscripts are preserved in areas to the west of the Rhineland.² The so-called minor annals mostly depend on this version of the *ARF*.³ The *ARF* manuscripts have been divided into families (A, B, C, and D), run either to 788 (A1), 806 (B 3), 807 (B5), 813 (B1, B2, B4) or 829 (C and D).⁴ A number of scholars consider the divisions (families) as proof that the *ARF* was compiled on an annual basis by one or more than one author. Such a consensus has had a great impact on the research of the *ARF*. However, we shall have great difficulty discovering the original reason why, under which circumstances, and for whom the *ARF* was copied.⁵

There is another manuscript tradition of the *ARF* (the E family - named by Kurze) preserved in the earliest complete manuscript from the X/XI centuries (Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, N^o 510).⁶ This earliest complete manuscript covers the period from 741 until 829.⁷

² R. McKitterick, *Charlomagne: The formation of a European identity*, Cambridge 2008, 27, 31, 33 – 36 (= McKitterick, *Charlemagne*).

³ L. Halphen, *Etudes critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne*, Paris 1921, was the first convincingly to argue that the so-called minor annals were derived from the *ARF*; see, also, McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 37. On the other hand, R. Collins, *Charlemagne's Imperial Coronation and the Annals of Lorsch*, Charlemagne: Empire and Society, ed. J. Story, Manchester 2005, 57 – 58, thought that many minor annals were compiled independently during the 780s. Similarly, J. Story, *After Bede: Continuing the Ecclesiastical History*, Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald, ed. S. Baxter – C. E. Karkov – J. L. Nelson – D. Pelteret, Farnham – Burlington 2009, 180. A firmer view, according to which the *Annales Amandi*, *Tiliani*, *Laubacenses*, *Pataviani*, and *Alamannici*, originated in the late seventh and early eighth centuries can be found in, R. W. Burges – M. Kulikowski, *The History and Origins of the Latin Chronicle Tradition*, The Medieval Chronicle VI, ed. E. Kooper, Amsterdam 2009, 172. It is obvious that a thorough and extensive analysis of the minor annals is needed.

⁴ *ARF*, IX – XII.

⁵ For instance, the origin of the *Annales Metenses priores*; cf. H. Hoffmann, *Untersuchungen zur karolingischen Annalistik*, Bonner Historische Forschungen 10 (1958) 10, 53, 61 – 63; P. Fouracre – R. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640 – 720*, Manchester 1996, 330 – 349 (=Fouracre – Gerberding, *France*); Y. Hen, *The Annals of Metz and the Merovingian Past*, *The Uses of Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Y. Hen – M. Innes, Cambridge 2000, 179; P. Fouracre, *The Long Shadow of the Merovingians*, Charlemagne, Empire and Society, ed. J. Story, Manchester 2005, 5 – 21 (=Fouracre, *Shadow*).

⁶ McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 27. Kurze, on the other hand, dated this manuscript in the 9th century; cf. *ARF*, XII.

⁷ The E-family manuscripts (seven of them) end in 829, except E4, which ends in 827; cf. *ARF*, XII – XIV.

An earlier fragment of the E manuscript, (Cologne, Sankt Maria in Kapitol AII/18), is dated to the 830s. Today, the E family is preserved in the manuscripts in the area to the east of the Rhineland.⁸ In historiography, this version of the *ARF* is often called the 'Revised' *ARF*. It has been proposed that the 'Revised' *ARF* was composed either shortly after 801, between 814 and 817, or ca. 829.⁹ For the purpose of this paper and a more objective analytic approach the 'Original' *ARF* (741 – 829), will be designated as *ARF* 829, while the 'Revised' *ARF* (741 – 801), as *ARF* 801, ascribing 'Original' or 'Revised' to neither. Methodologically, this approach protects a researcher from an imposed subjectivity, since one would be able to understand the mutual relation between *ARF* 829 and *ARF* 801 only through the comparison of the available texts. If one undertakes research on *ARF* 829 and *ARF* 801 from a predetermined position, more precisely if *ARF* 801 is considered to be the 'Revised' version of *ARF* 829 – then the whole discussion could be biased from the beginning of the research.¹⁰ Another intriguing question is about the date of the composition of the *Annales Laureshamenses* (hereinafter *AL*), which runs from the year 703 to 803, and resembles in many aspects to *ARF* 829.¹¹

The most important questions asked by scholars regarding the *ARF* were on the number of authors of *ARF* 829, and to a lesser extent, on which sources they relied. There is a common consensus that one or two authors wrote from 741 until 794 (741 – 788; 789 – 794), then one,

⁸ McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 27.

⁹ McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 27.

¹⁰ For instance, R. Collins, *The 'Reviser' Revisited: Another Look at the Alternative Version of the Annales Regni Francorum*, *Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History*, ed. A. C. Murray, Toronto 1998, 191 – 213 (=Collins, *Reviser*). A similar approach can be found in the works of many scholars who have examined the *ARF*.

¹¹ The *Annales Laureshamenses* (originally being the property of the monastery of Saint Blasien, and later of the monastery of Saint Paul im Lavanttal, in Carinthia) covered the period from 703 to 803; cf. Collins, *Coronation*, 55 – 56. This manuscript contains also an Easter table covering the period between the years 777 and 835, which was a sufficient evidence for Collins that manuscript was compiled before 835. However, the year of 835, could have only meant that this manuscript may have been composed either in 835, or shortly after. It is worth to mention that this particular Easter table followed the 19-year cycle of Theophilus of Alexandria. See also the analysis of R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, Cambridge 2004, 104 – 111 (=McKitterick, *History*).

two, or maybe even three authors compiled the entries between 795 and 829 (795 – 801; 802 – 805; 806/807 – 829).¹² The conclusions were reached by different approaches and analysis of the text itself, including but not limited to style, vocabulary, and interests of the authors. While endeavouring to establish a correlation between *ARF 829* and *ARF 801*, we shall make an analysis of the most important phrases and characteristics of the text – as we see them – which would lead us to identify the ‘Original’ and the ‘Revised’ versions. Then, based on this analysis, we shall attempt to explain the historical context in which ‘the Revision’ of the *ARF* occurred.

The Analysis

There are some distinctive characteristics in *ARF 829*, which may be essential to understanding the correlation between *ARF 829* and *ARF 801*. Many scholars have already noticed these characteristics most recently Professor Rosamond McKitterick, who made a general overview of some of them.¹³ On the other hand, bare statistics of the usage of specific terms (i.e. *synodus*, *placitum* vs. *conventus*) do not count much if it they are not placed and explained within the context of the narrative, particularly against some other specific words. It would be scientifically ungratifying to approach this phenomenon with a preconceived opinion on the number of authors who composed the *ARF*, and inattentive to commence such research with the presumption that *ARF 829* is, indeed the ‘original’ version. More importantly the *Annales Regni Francorum* **should not** be classified as annals after all. Annals as a literary genre are more restricted in their composition. There is usually a specific event placed under a single entry during a particular year – death of a king, bishop, abbot, or king’s son, etc. The *ARF* is much closer to the genre of *chronicle*, especially a specific type of chronicle we commonly find in Byzantium – for instance, Theophanes (already set up in the *Chronicon Paschale* from the first half of the seventh century, ca. 630), where

¹² See, McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 33, and note 111.

¹³ McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 39 – 43. See also, D. Ganz, *Einhard’s Charlemagne: The Characterisation of Greatness*, Charlemagne: Empire and Society, ed. J. Story, Manchester 2005, 42 (= Ganz, *Greatness*).

narrative was centered around a ruler, and occasionally intrigues a reader with some other events closely related to the court, or generally to 'state affairs'.¹⁴ This issue of definition should be approached with great care, because it could unveil the way in which the *ARF* was compiled – i.e. whether it was written on a year-by-year basis, or considerably after the events described within. For instance, the Byzantine Chronicles were written *post festum* – never annually. In addition, the narrative, which was focused on judicial affairs, gives us a strong indication that such a work was closely connected to the ruler and the then 'current' trend of politics in the kingdom. The standpoint, from which the *ARF* explicitly linked the then Frankish present time with a whole timeline of Christian history, the life of Christ, and the appearance of the year of Incarnation in the *ARF*, making association between the history of the Franks and the linear progression of Christian history¹⁵ - was more than correct. However, the true question is: whence came this idea? One should bear in mind that the *Chronicon Paschale* introduced several methods of computing time, with a detailed section on accurate dating of Easter, as well as emphasis on the Incarnation.¹⁶ For a Byzantine author this would have clearly emanated from an imperial ideology: an emperor, who was placed upon his throne by the will of Christ, was inseparable from the historical time grid. This can hardly be applied to the Frankish king (i.e. *rex Francorum*). This is why the *ARF* could not have sent such a message before Christmas 800 and the coronation of Charlemagne. As the method of computing time in *ARF* 801 and *ARF* 829 was based on where the ruler had spent Christmas and Easter, it is rather self evident that the both works (i.e. the 'original' and the 'revised' versions) should have been written after 800.

¹⁴ *Chronicon paschale*, I – II, ed. L. Dindorf, Bonnae 1832. For the *Chronicon Paschale* and its judicial character, see, J. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis: Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century*, Oxford 2010, 37 – 59. For the general commentaries (and translation) on the *Chronicon Paschale*, see, M. Whitby – M. Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale, 284 – 628 AD*, Liverpool 1989.

¹⁵ Cf. R. McKitterick, *Constructing the Past in the Early Middle Ages: The Case of the Royal Frankish Annals*, *The Royal Society Transactions* 7 (1997) 113 – 114 (= McKitterick, *Past*).

¹⁶ See, R. Fishman-Duker, *Anti-Jewish Arguments in the Chronicon Paschale*, *Contra Iudaeos*, ed. O. Limor – G. Stroumsa, *Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism* 10, Tübingen 1996, 105.

The epithets of Charlemagne¹⁷

A notable distinction between *ARF 801* and *ARF 829* regarding the epithets of Charlemagne is *ARF 801* **never** used any specific epithet for Charlemagne, something *ARF 829* commonly insisted upon. For the author of *ARF 829* Charlemagne was most often *gloriosus* – sixteen times: 768, 769, 772 (x2), 773 (x2), 774 (x3), 781, 783, 784, 785, and 787 (x3) – or *magnus rex*, six times, 769, 772, 781 (x2), 783, and 784. *Gloriosus* was used from the first year of Charlemagne's rule, 768, and the last time under the year of 787 (three times), while *magnus rex* was used from 769, and the last time in 784. There is also a formula - *domnus rex Carolus*, which appears almost regularly in *ARF 829*: 768(x2), 769(x2), 770(x2), 771, 772, 773(x7), 774(x3), 775(x6), 776(x7), 777(x2), 778(x5), 779(x2), 780, 781(x6), 782(x7), 783(x2), 784(x5), 785(x2), 786(x4), 787(x19), 788(x9), 791, 794, 796(x2), 797, 798(x2), and 799(x5).¹⁸ During the period from 768 to 787, the author used *praeclarus* (twice, 771 and 775), *pius* (775), *praecelsus* (twice, 773 and 787), *piissimus* (three times, 781, 787 and 788), *mitissimus* (787), and *clementissimus* (twice, 778 and 788). Then the author expanded his vocabulary to *gloriosissimus* (794) and *prudentissimus et largissimus* (796).¹⁹ After 796, *ARF 829* never used a single one of these epithets for Charlemagne – except *domnus* (797, 798(x2), and 799(x5)). The years 788, 796 and 799 are, judging by the analysis of Charlemagne's epithets, apparently some kind of interruption. The strongest concentration of the epithets is remarkable in 787: *gloriosus* (three times), *piissimus*,

¹⁷ In fact he was *Carolus* (sc. Charles) in the *ARF*, but we prefer Charlemagne since it is the most commonly used name in modern historiography. Thus, Charlemagne is *terminus technicus*.

¹⁸ The *ARF 801* version used the formula *domnus Carolus* only once (770). However, *ARF 829* generally ascribed *domnus* to other prominent persons, as well: i.e. Pippin (767, 768, 781, 787(x2), and 788, but for Charlemagne already in 754, and then in 757), Pope Hadrian (773(x2), 787(x5), and 794), and Pippin the son of Charlemagne (781, 784(x2), 787).

¹⁹ Collins, *Reviser*, 193, takes the year 788 as the interruption regarding the epithets of Charlemagne. Collins did not consider the examples for 794 and 796 (as well as 799) given above.

mitissimus, and *praecelsus*.²⁰ It is also unusual that someone could have called Charlemagne *gloriosus* (768) or *magnus* (769) in a narrative source from the beginning of his rule.²¹ For the author of *ARF* 801 Charlemagne was only once *natura mitissimus* (787) and only once *clemens* (*Sed clementia regis...*, 788), but in both cases it was used as an adjective, not as an epithet. This analysis provides some crucial clues to date the origin of a part (sc. 768 – 796) of *ARF* 829, to at least after 801, or even after the death of Charlemagne in 814. Since the terminology of glorification for Charlemagne stopped in 794 (*gloriosissimus*), also in 796 (*prudentissimus et largissimus*), and in 799 (*domnus*) it appears *ARF* 829 is rather a **revised** version of an extant work. Additionally, there is an ideological message behind the epithets used in it, and it is something

²⁰ Note the vocabulary of the author of the *Translatio sancti Viti*, Monumenta Corbeiensia, ed. Ph. Jaffe, Berolini 1864, 1, 6, 9: *Eo igitur tempore, quo gloriosus rex Pippinus Francorum regebat imperium...; piissimi imperatoris Ludovici; serenissimus imperator Ludowicus haberet placitum in Saxonia*. In each of these cases the rulers were dead in the time of writing of this *translatio*. It is also *placitum* instead of *conventus* as the standard common term for the annual assembly of the Franks. Furthermore, it is important to note that the Continuator of Fredegar used similar, albeit restricted vocabulary regarding Pippin: *precelsus Pippinus, precelsus rex Pippinus, rex Pippinus clemens, praecellus rex Pippinus, precellus rex Pippinus: Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici Continuationes*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM II, Hannoverae 1888, 182 (751), 184, 185, 192 (= FC).

²¹ In diplomatic documents, the epithets such as, *gloriosus, gloriosissimus, invictissimus, piissimus, serenissimus*, were common in *signum regis*; cf. *Diplomatvm Karolinorvm I*, MGH Diplomata, ed. A. Dopsch – J. Lechner – M. Tangl – E. Mühlbacher, Hannoverae 1906, N^{os} 3 (*Signum Pippini gloriosissimi regis*); 4 – 5 (*Signum Pippini gloriosi regis*); 6 (*Signum domno nostro Pippino gloriosissimo rege*); 43 – 47 (*Signum Carlomanno gloriosissimo rege*); 55 (*Signum Caroli gloriosissimi regis*, from 769, almost regularly on each charter until N^o 97); then, in 775, he was for the first time (*Signum*) *Karoli invictissimi regis* (N^{os} 98 – 99); then again *gloriosissimus* (N^o 100) until June 801 (N^o 192), to become (*Signum*) *Karoli piissimi ac serenissimi imperatoris* (N^o 198, in September 802), then (*Signum*) *Karoli gloriosissimi imperatoris* (N^o 200, in August 803), again *Karoli piissimi ac serenissimi imperatoris* in November 803 (N^o 202), then *serenissimi imperatoris* (N^{os} 203, in January 806; 205, in April 807), then, *Signum domni Karoli piissimi imperatoris* (N^o 207, in May 808), then, *Signum domni Karoli piissimi ac serenissimi imperatoris* (N^o 208, in July 808), then back to *Signum domni Karoli piissimi imperatoris* (N^o 209, in July 809), again back to *Signum Karoli gloriosissimi imperatoris* (N^o 215, in December 811). I have excluded N^o 210 from August 810: *Signum Karoli gloriosissimi regis* – it could not be an original or verified transcription of Charlemagne's charter from 810.

which could hardly be achieved with the method of year-by-year writing of the annals. The diplomatic documents, which preserved the *signum regis*, clearly reflect gradual changes of Charlemagne's epithets (see note 21). Until his imperial coronation he was either *gloriosus* or (most often) *gloriosissimus*, with the exception of *invictissimus* (twice) in 775,²² while in 801 and onwards, he was *serenissimus* and *piissimus*. Since *ARF 829* used the epithet *piissimus* already in 781 (and as well in 787 and 788), which is, according to the extant charters of Charlemagne related only to the title of *imperator*, not *rex*, it is evident that *ARF 829* was composed **after September 802**.²³

Evidently, the 787 entry is uncommonly longer than all other entries, yielding nothing less than the statistical result presented above. Furthermore, this entry is longer **because of the importance** of the event described in it.²⁴ Consequently, the importance of the event could have encouraged the author to use so many different epithets for Charlemagne. It is questionable however, how the Bavarian duke Tassilo was forced to submit to the Franks, and the narrative actually justified Charlemagne's decision (described in the entry for 788) to depose Tassilo and to send him to a monastery. The political question of Bavaria was of the utmost importance to the author of *ARF 829*, since at the very beginning of his work, he remained silent on the events from 741, when Grifo, the half-brother of Pippin and Carloman, claimed his rights to supreme power.²⁵

²² This novelty (*invictissimus*) was probably introduced after Charlemagne was crowned the *rex Langobardorum* in 774, and then was removed from the official documents after the rebellion of the Saxons in 776.

²³ M. Becher, *Eid und Herrschaft: Untersuchungen zum Herrscherethos Karls des Grossen*, Sigmaringen 1993, 211 – 213 (= Becher, *Eid*) also argued about the retrospective approach of the annalist for the events described in 787/788; see, also, Collins, *Reviser*, 194, who thought that this part of the annals (741 – 788) was written after 790 (or shortly after that year, if I am not mistaken). On the other hand, the passages of *ARF 801* from 790 and onwards were written after Charlemagne's death; cf. Fouracre, *Shadow*, 19.

²⁴ McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 42 – 43: "The sudden burst of dramatic detail and emotional comments in 787 and 796 is also notable". However, it was not an *emotional comment* – but rather an ideological message; it was not a *dramatic detail*, but a political message; about these (very) specific entries see below.

²⁵ It is important to note that for the Continuator of Fredegar the question how Aquitaine was subdued to the Franks was the central part of his narrative. Then at the very end, the author insisted that Aquitaine, according to the will of Pippin, in his death bed, should

have ruled jointly with his sons – Charles and Carloman. Such a construction could have been created only by the one who wrote for someone who pretended to rule (Aquitaine himself), based exactly on the will of Pippin, having been a member of the Carolingians, and having strong reasons to insist on the common ancestor of the Carolingians – Pippin. Such a person could have been either Pippin II, the grandson of Louis the Pious, and son of Pippin I, who was in conflict with Charles the Bald over Aquitaine until 851/852 when he was captured and tonsured, or Charles the Bald for the same reasons. Therefore, the Continuator of Fredegar could have written in the late 840s. McKitterick, *History*, 140, also thought that the *FC* was based on the *ARF*. I will briefly point out here the most significant vocabulary which highlights the dependence of the *FC* on *ARF* 801 and *ARF* 829: *cum magno apparatu* (*FC*, 182.22) vs. *cum exercito magno* (*ARF* [801], 11 (753); *Deo adiuvante victoria, cum oni exercitu vel multitudine agmina Francorum...* (*FC*, 184.16, for year 755), which is forged on *ARF* 829, 12: *Domino auxiliante...Pippinus rex cum Francis victor extitit*, and *ARF* 801, 13: *...cedentibusque Langobardis omnes copiae Francorum; Aistulfus...divino iudico...mortem ammisit* (*FC*, 186.1 –3) vs. *Haistulfus... Dei iudico vitam finivit* (*ARF* 829], 14; *Constantinus imperatore...legationem...cum multa munera mittens* (*FC*, 186.8) vs. *Constantinus imperator misit Pippino regi multa munera* (*ARF* [801], 15. On the other hand, R. Collins, *Deception and Misrepresentation in Early Eighth Century Frankish Historiography*, Karl Martell in seiner Zeit, ed. J. Jarnut – U. Nonn – M. Richter, Sigmaringen 1994, 227 – 247, had another opinion, followed by, J. L. Nelson, *Carolingian Royal Funerals, Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. F. Theuvs – J. L. Nelson, Leiden 2000, 142, n. 38, which considered the *FC* as a “virtually contemporary source” (close to 768); similarly, C. Bornholdt, *Engagings Moments: The Origins of Medieval Bridal-quest Narrative*, Berlin – Göttingen 2005, 37 – 38.). Generally, the opinion in historiography is that the *FC* was a source compiled in ca. 768. However, I would suggest that because of all these similarities with *ARF* 829 and *ARF* 801, the *FC* was later compilation, ca. 840s.

The same is applicable to the *Annales Metenses priores* (*AMP*), which are usually considered as a compilation of 805 or 806, with the verbatim copy of the *ARF* from 806 to 829, and with an additional (the last) entry for 830; see, Fouracre – Gerberding, *France*, 333 – 337. The reason for this compilation, Hoffmann, *Untersuchungen*, 61 – 63, sought as justification for the royal and imperial power of the Carolingians (against whom?). For some other theories on the origin of the *AMP* see; Fouracre – Gerberding, *France*, 340. However, the *AMP* was preserved as whole in a single 12th century manuscript, which runs from 687 to 830, and was based on numerous sources, such as *FC* or the *ARF*. Therefore it could not have been produced in 805 or 806. As it was the case with the *FC*, the author of the *AMP* also had mixed vocabulary regarding numerous key words such as: *conventus*, *placitum*, *synodus*, *epithets for the ruler*, *invocations of God*, as the consequence of the usage of *ARF* 801 and *ARF* 829. Thus, the *AMP* must be posterior to both *ARFs*, and *FC*, roughly speaking, ca. 850s. It probably contains traces of the common source used by the authors of the *ARFs*. For instance, the *AMP* preserved the story about Grifo (*Annales*

Also, when he introduced Grifo into his narrative in 748, it is obvious that he had knowledge of him from the events described between 741 and 747, but he made a choice to omit that.²⁶ On the other hand, *ARF 801* introduced Grifo in 741, and described Grifo's conflict with his half-brothers Pippin and Carloman until his captivity and death.

The concentration of the epithets for Charlemagne in the 787 entry is not the only example of accumulation of interesting wording – there is also a concentration of some other specific terms only typical of *ARF 829*, never (or extremely rarely) used in *ARF 801*. There is a

Metenses priores, ed. B. de Simson, MGH SRG, Hannoverae et Lipsiae 1905, 32.11 – 12 (= *AMP*), as it is in *ARF 801*, but Grifo's mother was claimed to be a concubine: *ex concubina sua Sonhilde*, vs. *ARF 801: matrem habuit nomine Swanahildem*; cf. *ARF*, 3. Swanhild was in fact the legal wife of Charles Martel; cf. B. Kasten, *Stepmothers in Frankish Legal Life, Law, Laity, and Solidarities*, Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds, ed. P. Stafford – J. L. Nelson – J. Martindale, Manchester 2001, 65 – 66. Then: *Eodem quoque anno Carlomannus princeps germano suo Pippino* (*AMP*, 37.15) vs. *Tunc Carlomannus confessus est Pippino germano suo* in *ARF 829* (*ARF*, 4), and vs. *Carlomannus...patefecit fratri suo Pippino* in *ARF 801* (*ARF*, 5). Then again the *AMP* is closer to *ARF 801: Grippo, frater eius...occisus fuisset* vs. *...de morte fratris suis Grifonis...fuisset inefectus* (*ARF*, 11). Note the end of this sentence in *ARF 829: occisus fuisset* (*ARF*, 10), which is the same as in the *AMP: occisus fuisset*; cf. *AMP*, 44.13 – 14. Then again, the *AMP* is closer to *ARF 829: Constantinus imperator misit regi Pippino inter cetera dona organum* (*AMP*, 49.21 – 22) vs. *Misit Constantinus imperator regi Pippino cum aliis donis organum* (*ARF*, 14), than to *ARF 801: multa munera inter quae et organum* (*ARF*, 15), which itself is congruent with the *FC*, 186.8: *cum multa munera*. Then, the *AMP: Pippinus rex conventum Francorum habuit in Duria villa publica* (*AMP*, 51.5 – 6), vs. *Pippino regi generalem conventum agenti in villa Duria* in *ARF 801* (*ARF*, 19), and: *rex synodum suum teneret in villa qui dicitur Duria* in *ARF 829* (*ARF*, 18). Then again, *AMP*, 52.10: *Pippinus rex habuit placitum generale Francorum*, is closer to *ARF 829: Pippinus rex habuit placitum suum* (*ARF*, 20), then to *ARF 801: ...conventu...habito* (*ARF*, 21). There are literally hundreds of examples which point to the inevitable conclusion that the author of the *AMP* used: *FC*, *ARF 801*, *ARF 829*, as well as a common source which was much closer to *ARF 801* than to *ARF 829*.

²⁶ The *FC* also excluded Grifo from the events of 741, and introduced him only to announce his death in 753 – but, he said that he was *germanus* of Pippin (*FC*, 183.2: *...quod germanus ipsisus rege nomine Gripho...*). *ARF 829* used the same Latin term – *germanus* (cf. *ARF*, 10), while *ARF 801* used *frater* (cf. *ARF*, 11). This is not without a good reason, since *germanus* could have been understood as cousin, and *frater* was strictly brother. In other words, the authors of the *FC* and *ARF 829* had intention to cover up the exact blood relation of Grifo and Pippin.

considerable number of TUNC (five times) and ET (eleven times) words opening sentences – in medieval texts both words usually indicated abbreviations or retelling of the original source.²⁷ In the same entry *ARF 801* used ET only twice, but never in the middle of the narrative, rather to connect with another topic, different from the preceding one.²⁸ There is also a specific term for Pope – *apostolicus* (**eleven times**), common for *ARF 829*, but never used in *ARF 801* (terms used: *papa* or *pontifex*).²⁹

The following entry (788) provided the justification for annexation of Bavaria and Tassilo's bitter destiny. *ARF 829* differs very much in its narrative from *ARF 801*. For the author of *ARF 829* Charlemagne was *piissimus rex*, *clementissimus rex*, and his final judgment on Tassilo was moved by *misericordia ab amorem Dei*, and Tassilo did penance (according to his own choice, because Charlemagne generously asked him to propose his penalty) for all his evil deeds to save his soul (*et pro tantis peccatis paenitentiam agendi et ut suam salvaret animam*) – which was a typical phrase for an ecclesiastical writer. Then, after it was done – Tassilo having been sent to monastery, as was his son Theodo, and some other exiled Bavarians who were enemies of Charlemagne – the annalist turned his attention towards the battles (four of them) against Lombards (one battle) and Avars (three consecutive battles). It is interesting that the author persistently explained these victories as the consequence of God's help: *Et auxiliante Domino victoria est facta a Francis* (Lombards); *opitulante Domino victoriam obtinuerunt Franci* (Avars); *Domino auxiliante victoria fuit Francorum seu Baioariorum* (Avars), and *Domino protegente victoria christianorum aderat* (Avars). After that, when Charlemagne left for Aachen, he undertook measures to protect Bavaria against the Avars – *Domino*

²⁷ Collins, *Reviser*, 193, thought that *tunc* marked bridging of the author's narrative, but in itself this usage 'maybe thought to have a retrospective rather than a contemporary flavour'.

²⁸ On the other hand the author of the *AMP* used, beside *tunc* and *et* (x47), another word to create a connection or a transition between the sections in a single entry – it was: *eodem anno* (x25), rarely used in *ARF 801* (x5), and more often in *ARF 829* (x15).

²⁹ The *FC* and the *AMP* mixed *papa*, *apostolicus*, and *pontifex* – sometimes even all three terms in a single entry or when referring to the same event; cf. *AMP*, 34.13, 15, 17; 74.9, 13, 27, 31. This is another piece of evidence that they both used the *ARFs* (801 and 829).

protegente. More importantly, after numerous charges against Tassilo were presented to him (788) – (1) that he broke his vassalage, (2) made an alliance with the Avars, (3) tried to command the king's vassals to come to him, (4) tried to make an attempt on their lives, (5) that even if he had 10 sons he would rather have allowed them to perish than to keep his oaths, and (6) it was even recalled that he once betrayed Pippin during the military campaign in Aquitaine (in 763),³⁰ the father of Charlemagne – the annalist mentioned all who were at this assembly: the Franks, the Bavarians, the Lombards and the Saxons, as well as other peoples from **various provinces** who were there – condemning him to death. By insisting on the specific names of the tribes which were already (even though more recently) part of the *regnum Francorum*,³¹ the annalist unveiled one of his most important political messages: it was a

³⁰ The author of *ARF 829* had left a trace of his Germanic origin here, since the desertation of Tassilo he used a German word: *harisliz* (lit. 'to run away under the banner'); cf. *ARF*, 80. He also revealed his possible Germanic origin using *scara* for an army, instead of a proper Latin term – *exercitus*; cf. *ARF*, 24 (*Francorum scaram conlocavit*, 766); *Carolus rex...mittens scaram suam*, 773); 48 (...*per Francos scaras...*, 776), 52 (...*rex mittens scaram Franciscam*, 778; ...*Caroli regis et de scara eius*, 778, and *scaras Francorum*, 778), 66 (*Carolus dimisisset una cum scara*, 784), 68 (...*multotiens scaras misit*, 785). For the discussion about *scara* see, B. S. Bachrach, *Early Carolingian Warfare: Prelude to Empire*, Philadelphia 2001, 80 – 82. The *FC* used *scara* exactly in the same place where it occurred in *ARF 829*; cf. *FC*, 192.12 – 13: *Pippinus...scaritos et leudibus suis* (766). The term *scara* can be found in the Fredegar's Chronicle on two occasions; cf. *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici libri IV*, MGH SRM II, ed. B. Krusch, Hannoverae 1888, 138.8 – 9: *Ibique Theudericus cum escaritus* (related to the Visigoths in 609/610); and 185.16: ...*scaram de electis viris* (related to the Franks in 631). The insistence on *scara* by the author of *ARF 829* places him towards the 9th century, since this term was frequently used by the *Annales Bertiniani*, MGH SRG in usum scholarum, ed. G. Waitz, Hannoverae 1883 (= *AB*), and only in the section written by Hincmar. For instance: *scaras Karoli* (866), *scaram ex quam* (869), *et ordinatis scaris* (871), *dispositis scaras suis* (876), *scaras quoque* (876), *una cum praedicta scara* (880); cf. *AB*, 81, 97, 116, 132, 134, 151. On the other hand, the author of *ARF 829* used other specific German words: **waddi*, **alod*, and *harisliz*, never found in *ARF 801*; cf. *ARF*, 46 (776), 48 (777), and 80 (788). Their appearance in the text coincides with the results obtained in Charts 1 to 5 presented in this paper, where traces of the 'revision' are most apparent.

³¹ See a similar view on this episode, S. Airlie, *Narratives of Triumph and Rituals of Submission. Charlemagne's Mastering of Bavaria*, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 9 (1999) 115, 119.

strong idea of **unity** of the *regnum Francorum*. If one insisted on unity of a *regnum* in a historical work, then he wrote about it only when this unity **did not exist**.

On the other hand the author of *ARF 801* did not use any epithet for Charlemagne, neither he had thoroughly described Tassilo's *evil* deeds. He simply stated that he was accused in front of the emperor by the Bavarians, especially for the political ties of his wife Liutberga with the Huns (sc. Avars). Hence, he was condemned by all to death. This penalty was replaced by *clementia regis* to monastic life.³² Subsequently, the Huns, as they promised Tassilo, invaded Friuli and Bavaria, but both armies were defeated. Finally, *ARF 801* at this point presented an account about the battle against the Lombards.³³

These two accounts differ essentially not only in the vocabulary used, but also in the ideological background of their narrative. While *ARF 829* insisted on the close 'cooperation' between Charlemagne and God, there was nothing about it in *ARF 801*. By accumulating four Frankish victories immediately after the annexation of Bavaria, the victories were won exclusively through the help of God. *ARF 829* had a function to justify the righteous decision of Charlemagne to depose Tassilo and annex his dukedom. It seems that the annalist wanted to say: "Well, as you can see, God was so pleased with Charlemagne's decision about Tassilo, that immediately afterwards He provided the Franks with four consequent victories". Now, it would be very interesting to explain why the author of *ARF 801* had to erase so carefully every single trace of this message in the 'Revised' version of the *ARF*! He was so careful in this task to not use a single word from the ecclesiastical vocabulary of the

³² *ARF*, 80: *Carolus piissimus rex motus misericordia ab amore Dei...clementissimo domno rege preaeditus Tassilo...*This passage was reused by, *CF*, 184.26 – 27: *...rex Pippinus clemens, ut erat, misericordia motus* – but for the case of Aistulf, king of Lombards in 755.

³³ The narrative about Tassilo's deposition of *ARF 801* is congruent with the *capitula* of the synodus at Frankfurt in 794: *His peractis de Tasiloni definitum est capitulum, qui dudum Baioariae dux fuerat, sobrini videlicet domni Karoli regis. In medio sanctissimi adstetit concilii, veniam rogans pro commissis culpis, tam quam tempore domni Pippini regis adversus eum et regni Francorum commiserat, quam et quas postea sub domni nostri piissimi Karoli regis, in quibus fraudator fidei suae extiterat...*; cf. *Karoli magni Capitularia*, MGH, Legum sectio II. Capitularia regum Francorum I, ed. A. Boretius, Hannoverae 1883, 74.3 – 18.

original text. And yet, even though he was most probably a civil man, he was a Christian after all who would most likely not have dared to remove God's name (six times in this entry) from his version of the *ARF*. On the contrary, the narrative of *ARF 801* is plain and simple – based on the original text, it was the author of *ARF 829*, who tried to create an ideological message. It would have been impossible *vice versa*.

The ecclesiastical provenience of the author of *ARF 829* is evident in the entries relating to the Saxons and the Lombards in 773, 774, 775, and 776. In the 773 entry, which opened with **tunc** (*domnus Carolus rex perrexit ad hiemdandum in villa...*) vs. *ARF 801: Adrianus papa, cum insolentiam Desiderii regis...*, the author of *ARF 829*, besides his standard epithets for Charlemagne – *gloriosus, praecelesus* – or the phrases such as – *pro Dei servitio et iustitia, auxiliante Domino, intercedente beato Petro apostoli*, enriched his narrative with an episode about an unsuccessful attempt by the Saxons to burn down the church at Fritzlar. That church, built by St Boniface *novissimus martyr*, as it was predicted by the Saint, could not have been burnt as it was miraculously spared by two young men on white horses. This episode comes from the literature of *Miracula sancti*, and is peculiar to the ecclesiastical writers who often inserted such episodes into descriptions of historical events.³⁴ In the 776 entry, there are even more details indicating that the author of *ARF 829* was of clerical background. The author wrote about the siege of the Frankish fortress, Syburg, and his narrative was ultimately aimed to praise God: *auxiliante Domino Francis...*, *Deo volente, Dei virtus* (twice), *manifeste gloria Dei supra domum ecclesiae, omnipotentem Deum laudaverunt* (sc. Franks), *manifestare potentiam super servos suos* (sc. God).³⁵ These episodes from 773 and 776 do not exist in *ARF 801*, as

³⁴ In the entry for 754 *ARF 829* stated: *Et domnus Bonifacius archiepiscopus in Frisia nuntians verbum Domini et praedicando martyr Christi effectus est. ARF 801* provides a more complete account: *Eodem anno Bonifatius archiepiscopus Mognotiacensis in Frisia verbum Dei praedicans a paganis interfectus martyrio coronatus est*; cf. *ARF*, 12 – 13. The abridged version already highlighted the opening ET at the beginning of a sentence, is the preserved in *ARF 829*. On the other hand the *AMP* depends on *ARF 829*: *Et Bonifacius archiepiscopus in Frisia verbum Dei nuntians martirio coronatur*; cf. *AMP*, 48.11 – 12. This example shows also that *ARF 801* was the oldest text, abridged in *ARF 829*, and further contracted in the *AMP*.

³⁵ *ARF*, 44, 46.

well both of them were not part of the eventual common source – they were inserted by the author of *ARF* 829 rather than removed by the author of *ARF* 801. In such a manner, the conquest of the Saxons was described as the holy war of the Christians against the pagans (*christianorum operata..., tanto magis christiani confortati..., vidissent pagani...*). For the author of *ARF* 801, the Saxons were enemies second to the pagans, and the advancing armies of *rex Carolus* were just the Franks, not the Christians.³⁶ The vocabulary of the author of *ARF* 829 reveals him as a person who wrote much after these events occurred, with an obvious attempt to accentuate a divine role in them. He definitely used some *Miracula* closely related to St Boniface, since he called him *novissimus martyr* and we know that Boniface became a martyr in 754 (755) as stated in his source, not because he was writing on an annual basis (year-by-year) some two decades after Boniface's martyrdom.³⁷ On the contrary, the author of *ARF* 801 had briefly mentioned the episode in Fritzlar, by stating that there was a church built by *Bonifatius martyr*.

Annual Assemblies of the Franks

The author of *ARF* 829 used a specific term for the annual assembly of the Franks - it was most frequently *synodus* (18) and sometimes *placitum* (9).³⁸ The author of *ARF* 801 regularly used the term *conventus*, never *synodus* or *placitum*. When *ARF* 829 mentioned assemblies after 795, it was only in 806, and even then it was *conventus*, not *synodus*. This striking divergence regarding terminology used for the

³⁶ However, the author of *ARF* 801, mentioned that Charlemagne had the intention (775) to attack the *treacherous and treaty-breaking tribe* of the Saxons and to continue persisting in the war until they were either defeated and forced to accept the **Christian religion** or entirely exterminated; cf. *ARF*, 41.

³⁷ The *Miracula sancti Bonifatii* were not preserved. However, judging by this fragment which could be from his *Miracula*, it is reasonable to assume that the *Miracula* were written after 773, but probably not much after the events described therein, since in that source Bonifacius was *novissimus martyr* it appears that the *Miracula* could not have been composed until the 780s.

³⁸ However, McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 40, reached different figures: seven *placitum* (758, 761, 763 – 766, and 795), plus *placitum* of 811, and 13 *synodus* (767, 770 – 772, 776 – 778, 785 – 788, and 794).

‘assembly’, most likely should have meant that we would again encounter ecclesiastical (*ARF 829*) and civil (*ARF 801*) authors.³⁹

ARF 829:

Synodus: 761 (*rex synodum suum teneret*), 767 (x2: *synodum magnum* [sc. ecclesiastical], and *synodum fecit cum omnibus Francis*), 770 (*rex habuit synodum*), 771 (*rex synodum habuit*), 772 (*rex sinodum tenuit*), 773 (*synodum...gloriosus rex tenuit*), 775 (*rex habuit synodum*), 776 (*rex...coniunxit synodum*), 777 (*rex synodum publicum habuit*), 779 (*Et fuit sinodus*), 780 (*rex...synodum tenens*), 782 (*rex...synodum tenuit*), 785 (*Sinodum vero publicum tenuit*), 786 (*ad synodum*), 787 (*Synodum namque congregavit*), 788 (*rex congregans synodum*), and 794 (*congregata est synodus magna* [sc. ecclesiastical]).

Placitum: 757 (*Pippinus tenuit placitum suum*), 758 (*in placito suo...per singulos annos*), 763 (*rex habuit placitum suum*), 764 (*Pippinus habuit placitum suum*), 765 (*Pippinus rex placitum suum habuit*), 766 (*placitum suum habuit*), 772 (*rex...cum Saxonibus placitum habuit*), 776 (*ibi placitum publicum tenens*), and 795 (*rex...tenuit ibi placitum suum*).

ARF 801:

Generali conventus: 757, 758, 761, 764, 765, 770, 771, 772, 775, 777, 779, 782, 787, 788, 794, 795, 799 and 800.

Conventus: 763, 766, 767, 776 and 785.

Synodus: 767, and 794 (Frankfurt) which was ecclesiastical as well as *generali conventus* of the Franks.

When the author of *ARF 829*, used the term *synodus*, he had to clarify that sometimes it was an assembly of the clerics, not *synodus* of

³⁹ McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 40, seemed to observe these differences as the consequence of the change of the author. The term *synodus* for an assembly was most often used for ecclesiastical assemblies, but not exclusively; cf. T. Reuter, *Medieval Politics & Modern Mentalities*, Cambridge 2006, 195.

the Franks.⁴⁰ The author of *ARF 801* had not faced such a problem – when he decided to speak about the ecclesiastical assembly, he used the exact term: *synodus*. The term *placitum* can be found in the Old and the New Testaments with the meaning that something was “right”, or of “pleasure” to God.⁴¹ Its primary meaning changed during the Middle Ages as the substitute for the ‘assembly’. This way the ‘assembly’ of the Franks, instead of *conventus*, was connected closely to God. It is very difficult to understand why the alleged reviser (*ARF 801*) would persistently have replaced *synodus* and *placitum* with *conventus*,⁴² which was normally used in the ‘common continuation’ of the *ARF* to designate annual assemblies from 806 until 829 (with four exceptions: *placitum*, in 811, 821, 823 and 828).⁴³ Furthermore, there is again an ideological message in *ARF 829* – the same one which was pointed out by the usage of the epithets ascribed to Charlemagne – that the annual assembly of the Franks was something which was closely related to God.⁴⁴ A secular

⁴⁰ For instance, *ARF*, 24 (767): *synodus magnum* (ecclesiastical), then *synodum fecit cum omnibus Francis solito more in campo* (sc. regular annual assembly of the Franks). See, also, *ARF*, 48 (777): *synodum publicom habuit* versus *ARF 801*, 49: *generalem populi sui conventum*; *ARF*, 94 (794): *congregata est synodus magna episcoporum* (and under this term he placed together assembly of the Franks and ecclesiastical assembly), while *ARF 801* is unambiguous about it: *quando et generalem populi sui conventum habuit, concilium episcoporum ex omnibus regni sui provinciis*; cf. *ARF*, 95.

⁴¹ *Deut.* 13:18: *quod placitum est in conspectu Domini Dei tui*; see, also, *Deut.* 6:18, 12:28. Also, *Kings 2*, 15:3: *fecitque quod erat placitum coram Domino*; cf. *Kings 2*, 15:34, 16:2, 20:3, 22:2; *Chron.* 2, 14:2, 29:2. *Ezra* 10:11: *et facite placitum eius*.

⁴² *Conventus* was used in the Old Testament only twice, and only once it had a meaning for an assembly; cf. *Ma* 1, 3:44: *Et congregatus est conventus ut essent parati in proelium et ut orarent et peterent misericordiam et miserationes*. The terms *synodus* and *concilium* were regularly used in the Frankish sources to describe ecclesiastical assemblies; cf. G. I. Halfond, *Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils, AD 511 – 768*, Leiden 2010, 8, and note 26.

⁴³ *ARF*, 134, 156, 160, and 174. However, for the assemblies in 821 and 823, the annalist used both terms – as for him these two terms were equal: *...coventus generalis...*; *...in hoc placito* (821), and *...conventus in eodem loco...*; *in eodem placito...* (823). The same can be concluded for entry 828, where he initially had mentioned *Conventus Aquisgrani mense Februario factus est*, and then the second assembly in July: *...mense Julio...per aliquot dies placitum habuit*; cf. *ARF*, 174.

⁴⁴ In the documents produced during the rule of Charlemagne, there was a significant difference between the terms *placitum* and *synodus*. For instance: *Capitula vero quae bonae memoriae genitor noster in sua placita constituit et sinodus conservare volumus*

author wrote the annals focusing on political matters and the ruler himself as the chief executor of policy, while an ecclesiastical author would have written from the perspective of the Church, describing God's role as the vital element for the ruler's success. Therefore, it is more convincing that someone used the work of the secular author to build up an ideology on that basis, rather than *vice versa* – the secular author who would have removed all the traces of the ecclesiastical perspective from the work he was revising.⁴⁵ Here again, we have more reasons to observe the *ARF 829* version as the **revised** work based on *ARF 801*, or their common source. It is unthinkable that a medieval author **would have removed** God's guidance of the events from a narrative source.

(Herstal, 779); cf. *Capitularia I*, 50.10 – 12. In the same document (Herstal, 779) the Councils of Nicea, Chalcedon, or Antiochia, were regularly called either *concilio* or *synodus*; cf. *Capitularia I*, 54.21, 25, 31, 33, 36; 55.33. See also documents related to the synod of Frankfurt (794): *Coniungentibus...apostolica auctoritate...episcopis ac sacerdotibus synodali concilio*; or... *de nova Grecorum synodo*; cf. *Capitularia I*, 73.23 – 25; 73.31. In the document from 806, (or later) it noted: *Ut per singulos annos synodus bis fiat*; cf. *Capitularia I*, 133.13. However, the bishops were also regular participants at the annual assemblies of the Franks (sc. *conventus*), and the ecclesiastical matters were also discussed during these occasions; see, McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 227. I disagree that *synodus* and *placitum* were older words, and *conventus* more recent; see, McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 227. The presence of the bishops at the assemblies probably led to the introduction of the term *placitum* designating in fact *conventus populi generalis*. *Conventus* as the term to designate an annual assembly was simply used by the author of *ARF 801* for an assembly which was predominantly of secular character. The word *conventus* for the annual assembly of the Franks was used regularly from the time of the Merovingian kings. See, for instance, the document from the rule of Hilperic (561 – 584): *Petractanes in Dei nomen cum viris magnificentissimus obtimatibus vel antrustionibus et omni populo nostro convenit*; or Childebert II from 596: *In sequenti hoc convenit una cum leodos nostros decrevimus...*; cf. *Capitularia I*, 8.11 – 12; 15.11. In the document from the time of Carloman (743): *Modo autem in hoc synodali conventu*, it is clear that *conventus* was in fact an older term, since the ruler had to clarify that it was the ecclesiastical council; cf. *Capitularia I*, 27.42. See also an opinion about *conventus* as an older term in, R. C. van Caenegem, *An Historical Introduction to Western Constitutional Law*, Cambridge 1995, 41.

⁴⁵ For instance, the author of the *AMP* used all three terms: *conventus*, *synodus* and *placitum*, sometimes all three of them to describe a single assembly; cf. *AMP*, 65.28; 66.1, 4.

The use of God's name

There are some specific phrases closely related to the name of God in *ARF* 829 in the section when the author was describing the Frankish victories, or some other turning points, which were beneficial to the Franks.⁴⁶ He had most often used the following:

Domino auxiliante/auxiliante Domino/Domino adiuvente

Domino auxiliante (755, 788), *auxiliante Domino* (769,773, 774, 775x2, 776, 778, 779, 783, 784, 788), *Deo adiuvente* (774), *cum Dei adiutorio* (776), *Domino adiuvente* (783), *adiutorio Domini nostri Iesu Christi* (791), *Dei adiutorio* (791) and *cum Dei auxilio* (799).

In addition to this group of phrases that were used in similar ways (sc. the victories of the Franks), is the term:

Deo volente (775, 776, 784 and 786).

Subsequently, when the author of *ARF* 829 addressed the death of the Aistulf, king of Lombards, he said: *Dei iudicio vitam finivit* (756).⁴⁷ There are also specific phrases such as: *pro Dei servitio et iustitia* (773), *intercedente beato Petro apostolo* (773), *Dei virtus* (776(x2)), *omnipotentem Deum laudaverunt* (776), *Deo largiente* (786), *Carolus piissimus rex motus misericordia ab amore Dei* (788), *opitulante Domino* (788), *Domino protegente* (788), *Domino preducente* (789), *Dei solatium postilaverunt* (791), *a Domino eis terror pervenit* (sc. Saxons, 791), *magnificantes Deum de tanta victoria* (791), and *dissipavit Deus consilia eorum* (sc. Saxons, 794). None of these phrases can be found in *ARF* 801. This is probably the strongest evidence that the author of *ARF* 829 was a man of the Church, and the author of *ARF* 801 was a secular man. The common places in their works point out that they also used the

⁴⁶ Ganz, *Greatness*, 42, also noticed this, but his conclusion that it was removed in the 'Revised' version of the *ARF* cannot be accepted.

⁴⁷ Note Continuator of Fredegar: *...divino iudicio...mortem ammisit*, *CF*, 186.2. – 4.

common source traceable in the work of Poeta Saxo.⁴⁸ This evidence strongly suggests that the **original** *ARF* (if such existed) was much closer to *ARF* 801 than to *ARF* 829.

Poeta Saxo:
772, Indict. 9.

Paulo Romane praesule sedis
Suscepit post hunc Adrianus pontificatum
Et rex Wormatiam Carolus collegit in urbem
Francorum proceres ad concilium generale,
*Cum quibus ut bello Saxones aggrederatur...*⁴⁹

ARF 829:

*Tunc domnus Carolus mitissimus rex sinodum tenuit ad Warmatiam.*⁵⁰

ARF 801:

Romae Stephano papa defuncto Adrianus in pontificatu successit. Rex
vero Karlus congregato apud Wormaciam generali conventu Saxoniam
bello adgredi statuit.⁵¹

Or

Poeta Saxo:

773, indict. 10.

Missis legatis Adrianus papa sacratus,

⁴⁸ *Poetae Saxonis Annalium de gestis Caroli Magni imperatoris, libri quinque*, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SS I, Hannoverae 1826, 225 – 279. Cf. McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 25, who also noticed that Poeta Saxo and Einhard used the *ARF* primarily in the ‘revised’ version.

⁴⁹ *Saxo*, 227.

⁵⁰ *ARF*, 32.

⁵¹ *ARF*, 33

*Auxilium Caroli studuit deposcere magni
Adversus Langobardos, quorum fuit illo
Tempore rex Desiderius; nam valde premebat
Improba Romanos huius violentia gentis.*⁵²

ARF 829:

*Tunc dominus Carolus rex perexit ad hiemandum in villa, quae dicitur
Theodone-villa. Ibique veniens missus domini Adriani apostolici, nomine
Petrus, per mare usque ad Massilia et inde terreno ad domnum Carolum
regem usque periungens, invitando scilicet supranominatum gloriosum
regem una cum Francis pro Dei servitio et iustitia sancti Petri seu
solatio ecclesiae super Desiderium regem et Langobardos...*⁵³

ARF 801:

*Adrianus papa, cum insolentiam Desiderii regis et Langobardorum
**oppressionem ferre non posset, decrevit ut legationem ad Karolum
regem Francorum mitteret eumque sibi atque Romanis adversus
Langobardos opem ferre rogaret.***⁵⁴

Or

Poeta Saxo

777, Indict. 14

*Aspirante novi placido **cum tempore veris
Horrida iam transisset hiems, rex Noviomagum
Adveniens, celebravit ibi sollempnia paschaliae***⁵⁵

ARF 829:

(the closing sentence of 776)

⁵² Saxo, 229.

⁵³ ARF, 34.

⁵⁴ ARF, 35.

⁵⁵ Saxo, 233.

*Et celebravit natalem Domini in Haristallio et pascha in villa, quae dicitur Nimaga*⁵⁶

ARF 801:

*Rex prima veris adspirante temperie Noviomagum profectus est et post celebratam ibidem paschalis festi sollemnitatem...*⁵⁷

Additional evidence in this direction can be found in Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni*, which is also much closer to *ARF 801* than *ARF 829*.

Vita Karoli Magni:
(746)

*In monte Soracti...in Samnium provinciam*⁵⁸

ARF 801:

*In monte Soracti...in Samnio provincia*⁵⁹

ARF 829:

*In Serapte monti*⁶⁰

Or

Vita Karoli Magni:

(788)

*...iuncto federe cum Hunis*⁶¹

⁵⁶ *ARF*, 48.

⁵⁷ *ARF*, 49.

⁵⁸ *VKM*, 5.

⁵⁹ *ARF*, 7.

⁶⁰ *ARF*, 6.

⁶¹ *VKM*, 14.

ARF 801:

*Et ut bellum contra Francos suscipere**n**t **Hunorum gentem** conitaret*⁶²

ARF 829:

*...ad Avaros transmisisse vassos...*⁶³

Or

Vita Karoli Magni:

*His motibus ita conpositis, Sclavis, qui nostra consuetudine **Wilzi proprie vero, id est sua locutione, Weletabi dicuntur...***⁶⁴

ARF 801:

*Natio quedam Sclavenorum est in Germania, sedens super litus oceani, quae **propria lingua Welatabi, francica autem Wiltzi vocatur.***⁶⁵

ARF 829:

*Inde inter permotum partibus Sclaviniae, **quorum vocabulum est Wilze.***⁶⁶

Or

Vita Karoli Magni:

(783)

In loco Theotmelli nominato⁶⁷

⁶² ARF, 81.

⁶³ ARF, 80.

⁶⁴ VKM, 15.

⁶⁵ ARF, 85.

⁶⁶ ARF, 84.

⁶⁷ VKM, 11.

ARF 801:

*In eo loco, qui Theotmelli vocatur.*⁶⁸

ARF 829:

*Ad Theotmalli*⁶⁹

If Einhard continuously used the *ARF 801* version in the *Vita Karoli Magni* (hereinafter *VKM*), and if he was able to merge information from different parts of that work (i.e. from 804 back to 783, or from 799 to 804, or from 810 back to 808, or from 807 back to 801/802, or from 810 back to 796)⁷⁰ then it is obvious that he wrote Charlemagne's biography according to, among other documents, *ARF 801*, which was at least extended to 814. Since the terminology and style of the entries from 802 to 829 was almost identical in *ARF 829* and *ARF 801*, then it is quite clear that Einhard used the *ARF* for the composition of the *VKM* either **after** 829 (also possible after 814) or he indeed was the author of both works.⁷¹ Consequently, *ARF 801* preceded *ARF 829*, or both works were in circulation ca. 830s, but we could firmly state that Einhard **was not aware of** *ARF 829*. It appears that Einhard used the *ARF 801* version as the chronological timetable, basing the narrative of the *VKM* on it and was able to create a smooth and effective "jump".

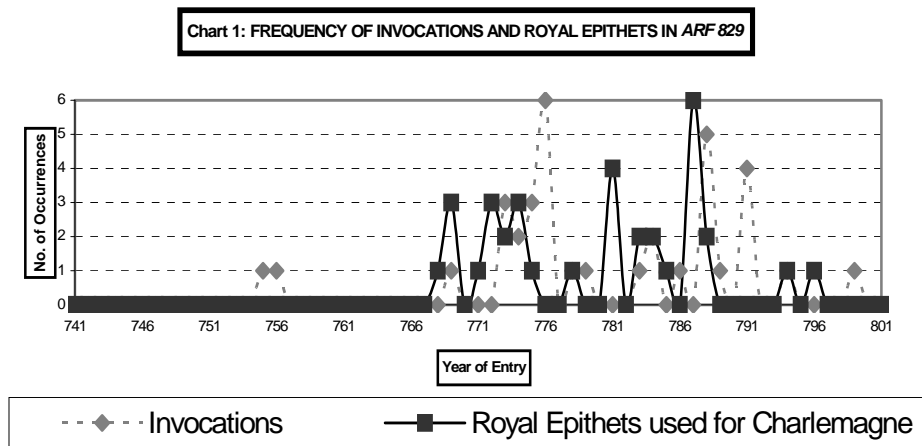
Therefore there is only one logical conclusion: *ARF 829* (until ca. 796 or 799) must in fact be the revised version of the work very close to the *ARF 801* version, which itself was obviously already extended until 829. It appears that someone revised a work covering the period between 741 and 829, but only in the part from 741 to 796/799. If this conclusion is correct, then all the elements - why, how, and when it was done, are hidden in this part of the *ARF 829* version – not in *ARF 801* where all the answers have been sought for more than a century.

⁶⁸ *ARF*, 65.

⁶⁹ *ARF*, 64.

⁷⁰ Cf. *VKM*, 10, 16, 17, 19, 24. For this diachronic approach of Einhard and his usage of the *ARF*, see also, Ganz, *Greatness*, 42.

⁷¹ See note 136.



The data in this chart reveals peaks related to the specific entries indicating their importance to the author of *ARF 829*. The results of this chart will be examined with Charts 2 to 5 inclusive.

The terms designating the Pope

Another piece of evidence, relatively minor but nevertheless worthy of mention, which suggests that the author of *ARF 829* was a man of the Church, is the term used for pope – *apostolicus* – **never** used by the author of *ARF 801*.

ARF 829:

Zacharia papa (749), *Stephanus papa* (753), *apostolicus* (753), *apostolicus* (754), *apostolicus* (755), *papa* (755), *papa* (767) *apostolicus* (773(x3)), *papa* (781), *apostolicus* (781), *apostolicus* (787(x9)), *apostolicus* (792), *apostolicus* (793), *papa* (796), *papa* (799), *pontifex* (799(x2)), *papa* (800) and *papa* (801).

ARF 801:

Zacharia *papa* (749), *pontifex* (753), *papa* (754), *pontifex* (755), *papa* (755), *papa* (767), *papa* (772), *papa* (773), *papa* (781), *pontifex* (781), *papa* (787(x2)), *pontifex* (792), *papa* (794), *pontificatum* for Leo (796), *papa* (799), *papa* (800) and *papa* (801).⁷²

Interestingly, they both exclusively used the term *papa* from 796 onwards. It is obvious that for the author of *ARF 801* *papa* and *pontifex* were synonyms, while for the author of the *ARF 829* version (until 793) the synonymous terms were *papa* and *apostolicus*. Consequently, we could conclude that *ARF 801* was actually part of the work extended to 829, with a revision made for the part from 741 – 796. It is apparent that the vocabulary of *ARF 801* is congruent with the vocabulary of *ARF 829* after 796 and until 829. Thus, since the vocabulary of *ARF 829* from 796/799 until 829, is the same one used by the author of *ARF 801* – it should be concluded that the ‘Original’ *ARF* covered the period from 741 to 829, and that it was much closer to *ARF 801* than to *ARF 829*.

The terms designating the size of an army

Cum exercitu and *cum magno exercitu*

There is an apparent distinction by which both authors treated the size of the Frankish armies warring against the pagans or generally speaking, against the enemies of the Franks. For the author of *ARF 801* it was sometimes important to accentuate the size of the Frankish army:

ARF 801:

maximo exercitu (Pippin, 748), *cum exercitu magno* (Pippin, 753), *cum valida manu* (Pippin, 755), *cum magno belli apparatu* (Pippin, 761), *cum magnis copiis* (762), *cum magno exercitu* (Charlemagne, 773), *cum ingenti exercitu* (Charlemagne, 777), *ingenti exercitu* (787), *cum magno exercitu* (Charlemagne, 780) and *validissimis copiis* (war against the

⁷² I have intentionally excluded: *apostolicae auctoritatis* (787), *apostolica benedictione* (787).

Avars, 791). However, most often, the size of the army was not mentioned at all, rather it was simply *exercitus*.

The size of the Frankish army was **never** mentioned in *ARF 829*:

...*cum exercitu suo* (Pippin, 748). In 753, he did not mention the army at all, only the victory (Pippin). He did not mention the army (Pippin) in 755, *cum exercitu*, (Pipin, 761), as well as in 762, 777, 780, and finally in 791.

It is notable that the phrase *Domino auxiliante* for the first time was used in 755, exactly one year after Pope Stephen *confirmavit Pippinum unctione sancta in regem ...* (754). Pippin had won some battles in 748 and 753, but it was **before** he was crowned King by the Pope. This example provides a clue about the ideological pattern applied by the author of *ARF 829*. After 755, God's name featured regularly as the most important grantor of the Frankish victories. Additionally, it meant that the size of the army mentioned in *ARF 801* was intentionally removed from *ARF 829* to establish God's providence and support over secular world and political power of the ruler. That is why the author of *ARF 829* removed *magno exercitu*, while deliberately adding God as the key element for the Frankish victories. His message was intended to be interpreted along these lines - *the ruler is powerful and victorious because of God's will*. This could lead to a general conclusion that *ARF 829* is indeed the revised version of *ARF 801*.

In support of this conclusion, we also should mention that when it comes to the pagans the author of *ARF 829* used the term *magno exercitu* with intention to underline that the Franks defeated a large enemy with a handful of warriors (*cum paucis Francis*), only with the help of God. On the other hand, the author of *ARF 801* never recorded the exact size of the barbarian army, while *ARF 829* was diametrically opposite underlining the size of the Saxons' army that attacked the Franks. It is also in the function of the author's narrative as well as the ideological pattern that a small number of the Franks, shielded by God's will, crushed large armies of infidels.

Abridgement of the text

If one would dare to conduct a comparison of *ARF* 829 and *ARF* 801 with respect to their grammar and style then it would consume hundreds of pages, more appropriate for a full-scale study than a paper. Therefore, I shall underline only two distinctive Latin words which support the assumption that *ARF* 829 was based on *ARF* 801, or their common source.⁷³ These words are *et* and *tunc*.⁷⁴ In support of the view that *et* and *tunc* are a direct consequence of retelling or abridgement of the text, I shall present some other examples from Thegan, the author who certainly worked after 829, and who partially based his narrative on the *ARF*.

For instance:

ARF: *Atquae his ita dispositis ipse cum maximo exercitu Britanniam adgressus generalem conventum Venedis habuit. Inde memoratum provinciam ingressus captis rebellium munitionibus brevi totam in suam potestatem non magno labore redegit. Nam postquam Mormanus qui in ea praeter solitum Brittonibus morem regiam sibi vindicaverat potestatem, ab exercitu imperaotris occisus est...*⁷⁵

Thegan: *Tunc perrexit domnus imperator partibus Britanniae cum exercitum et ibi Murcomannus dux eorum interfectus est, et omenm terram illam suae dicioni subegit.*⁷⁶

Or

⁷³ Other words, which usually served as the connections or abridgements of the text, by medieval authors, were: *eodem anno*, *sequenti anno*, *alio anno*, *postea*, *post haec*, *eodem tempore*, *interim*, etc. It was usual that a specific author preferred two or three phrases for abridgements and retellings. For instance, if one used *tunc* and *et*, he would have rarely used *eodem anno*, *eodem tempore*, or *vice cersa*.

⁷⁴ The equivalents in Byzantine texts were *de* and *oun* (δέ, οὐν), which indicated that narrative was related to a previous sentence or passage, but also marked the interchange on the subject.

⁷⁵ *ARF*, 148 (818).

⁷⁶ *Theganus Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, MGH SRG 64, ed. E. Tremp, Hannover 1995, 214.6 – 10 (= *GH*).

ARF: *Interea domnus Leo papa...migravit, Stephanusque diaconus in locum eius electus atque ordinatus est; nondumque duobus post consecrationem suam exactis mensibus quam maximis poterat itineribus ad imperatorem venire contendit, missis interim duobus legatis, qui quasi pro sua consecratione imperatori suggererent.*⁷⁷

Thegan: *Eodem anno Leo papa Romanus obiit, et Stephanus post eum successit. Qui statim, postquam pontificatum suscepit, iussit omnem populum Romanum fidelitatem cum iuramento promittere Hludouico. Et dirigens legatos suos ac supradictum principem, nuncios ei, ut, libenter eum videre voluisset in loco, ubicumque ei placuisset.*⁷⁸

Or

ARF: *Eodem tempore Herioldus cum uxore et magna Danorum multitudine veniens Mogontiaci apud sanctum Albanum cum his, quos secum adduxit, baptizatus est; multisque muneribus ab imperatore donatus per Frisiam, qua venerat via, reversus est. In qua provincia unus comitatus, qui Hriustri vocatur, eidem datus est, ut in eum se cum rebus suis, si necessitas exigeret, recipere potuisset.*⁷⁹

Thegan: *Sequeti vero anno erat in palatio regio Ingilenheim, et ibi ad eum venit Herolt de Danais, quem domnus imperator elevavit de sacro fonte baptismatis, et uxorem elevavit de fonte domna Iudith augusta. Tunc domnus imperator magnam partem Fresonum dedit ei, et donis honorificis ornavit eum, et cum legatis suis dimisit eum ire cum pace.*⁸⁰

Et and Tunc in the ARF

ARF 829:

⁷⁷ *ARF*, 144 (816).

⁷⁸ *GH*, 196.4 – 9.

⁷⁹ *ARF*, 169 – 170 (826).

⁸⁰ *GH*, 220.1 – 6. Using the abridging method Thegan completely distorted the original text, changing *one comitatus* of Frisia to *great part* of Frisia.

Tunc: 743, 745, 746, 760, 764, 765, 766, 767, 770 (x2), 771, 772 (x2), 773 (x4, plus once *et tunc*), 774, 775 (x3, plus once *et tunc*), 776 (x2, plus once *et tunc*), 777, 778 (x2), 779, 780 (x2), 781 (plus twice *et tunc*), 782 (x2), 783, 784 (plus once *et tunc*), 785 (x2, plus once *et tunc*), 786 (x3), 787 (x5, plus once *et tunc*), and 788 (Total: 52 times)

Et: 745, 747, 749, 753, 754, 755, 756 (x2), 757, 758 (x3), 760 (x2), 761, 762, 763 (x2), 764, 765, 766, 767 (x3), 768 (x3), 769 (x4), 770, 771 (x2), 772 (x3), 773 (x3), 774 (x3), 775 (x5), 776 (x9), 777, 778 (x3), 779 (x4), 780 (x2), 781 (x8), 782 (x6), 783 (x6), 784 (x2), 785 (x5), 786, 787 (x14), 789 (x2), 791, 796, 797 (x2), 798, 800 (x2), and 801 (x2). (Total: 120 times).

ARF 801:

Tunc: 778 (Total: once)

Et: 741, 743, 747, 760, 767, 771, 773, 775, 778, 779 (x2), 781, 782, 787 (x2), 796, 799, and 800. (Total: 18 times)

Another very important phrase is: *Quod ita et facta est* – which is common when the author abridged the narrative: 782, 784, 787, and 788, while *ARF 801* **never** used this phrase.

This simple analysis provides us with an inevitable conclusion, *ARF 829* was based on a source, which then, judging by fewer examples of the usage of *tunc* and *et* in the *ARF 801* version, abridged or considerably edited the main narrative of its source. Whether it was *ARF 801* or some other common source it is not critical at the moment. However, it is important to acknowledge that if such a common source existed, it was much closer to *ARF 801* than to *ARF 829*. The same source is traceable in the *FC* and the *AMP*.

The traces of the abridgments of text can be also presented graphically:

Chart 2: FREQUENCY OF ET, TUNC & ET TUNC IN ARF 829

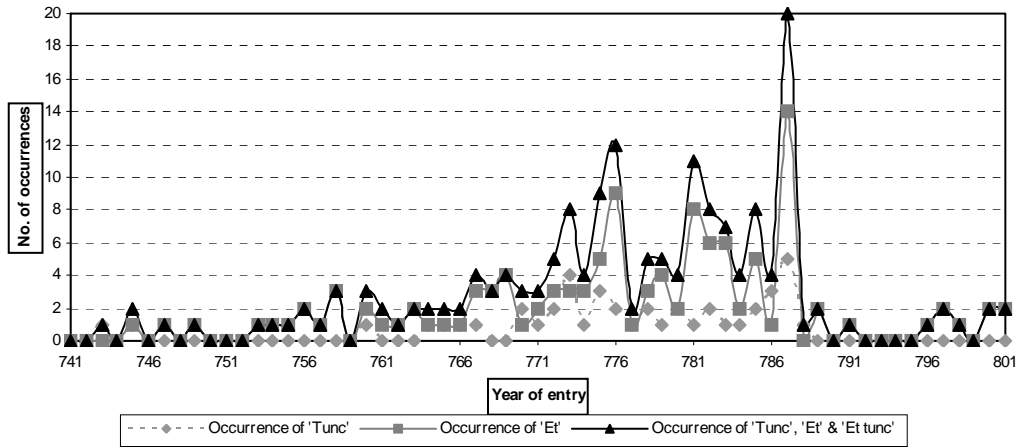
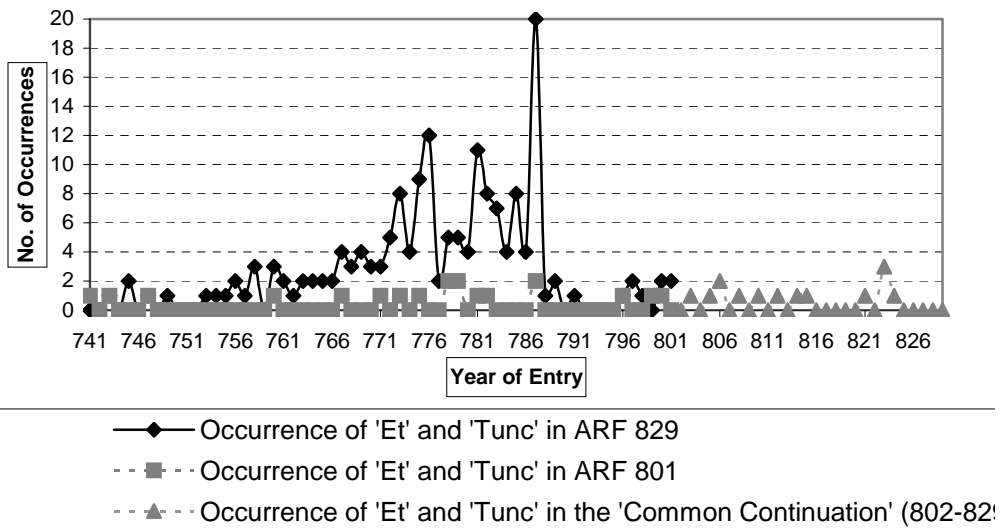


Chart 3: FREQUENCY OF ET AND TUNC IN ARF 829, ARF 801 AND IN THE 'COMMON CONTINUATION' (802-829)



The message of unity of the *regnum Francorum* – the Army

The Frankish armies operating in the various parts of Europe, at the time were usually called *exercitus* in *ARF 801*. However, the author of *ARF 829* had somewhat a different approach. When his source enabled him to do so, he underlined the tribes that were allied members of the Frankish armies. In the entry for 778, he insisted that the armies were gathered from Burgundy, Austria, Bavaria, Provence, Septimania and Lombardy.⁸¹ In the entry for 787, he had mentioned Austrasians, Thuringians, Saxons, and in 788, he accentuated that Franks, Bavarians, Lombards and Saxons – demanded the death penalty for Tassilo.⁸² On the other hand the author of *ARF 801* had never insisted on the names of tribes which were members of an army, only when he was describing a particular military campaign. For instance, he said that the Burgunds went from one place to another, while the Franks went in the opposite direction.⁸³ Therefore, when he mentioned the tribal characteristics of an army, it was just in the function of the description of a particular campaign. From this narrative the author of *ARF 829* could have put together all the tribal elements involved in a specific campaign and assemble them in one sentence. This approach demonstrated a strong idea of general unity of the Franks, or *regnum Francorum*.⁸⁴ The same ideological/political message could be read in the author's omissions of the Frankish defeats (regularly mentioned by the author of *ARF 801*), as well as, the internal discords or rebellions.⁸⁵

An apparent persistence on the *gens Francorum* or *regnum Francorum* in *ARF 829* is quite noticeable: *Carloman and Pippin dividerunt regnum Francorum inter se* (742), vs. *ARF 801: regnum, quod*

⁸¹ *ARF*, 50.

⁸² *ARF*, 78, 80.

⁸³ Cf. *ARF*, 79 (787): *Cumque Pippinum filium cum Italicis copiis...orientales quoque Franci ac Saxones...Alamanos et Baioarios dirimit.*

⁸⁴ McKitterick, *History*, 114 – 115, rightfully pointed out that the *ARF* (i.e. *ARF 829*) accentuated the incorporation of all peoples (mentioned in the text) 'into an all-encompassing Frankish *gens*'.

⁸⁵ For instance, the rebellions of Count Hardrad in 785, or Pippin the Hunchback in 792; cf. *ARF*, 71, 91. The defeats that have happened in the year 776 and 778; cf. *ARF*, 45, 51.

*communiter habuerunt, diviserunt inter se.*⁸⁶ *ARF 829: ...obviam Pippino regi et Francis venit (755) vs. ARF 801: Pippinus rex...Italia cum valida manu ingreditur.*⁸⁷ *ARF 829: Pippinus tenuit placitum...cum Francis vs. ARF 801: ...ubi tunc populi sui generalem conventum habuit (757).*⁸⁸ *ARF 829: Pippinus rex...consilium fecit cum Francis...in Aquitania vs. ARF 801: Nam rex contractis undique copiis Aquitaniam ingressus (760).*⁸⁹ *ARF 829: Tunc rex Pippinus...et nullum iter aliud fecit, nisi in Francia resedit vs. ARF 801: Rex Pippinus...illo annodomi se continuit (764).*⁹⁰ *ARF 829: ...Francorum scaram conlocavit vs. ARF 801: ...dispositque ibi...Francorum praesidio (766).*⁹¹ *ARF 829: ...ibi synodum fecit cum omnibus Francis solito more in campo vs. ARF 801: ...et Bituricam veniens conventum more Francico in campo egit (767), etc.*

The question of unity of the then Bavarian and Italian affairs in the *regnum Francorum*, was the turning point in the narrative of *ARF 829*, with the addition of the ecclesiastical vocabulary and God's support for the ruler of the Franks are the main distinctive characteristics of the author's style. If one insisted on unity of a *regnum*, then it must have meant that this unity was non-existent or at least was weak during the time when it was recorded. If there was a detailed explanation how Bavaria, Italy and Saxony came under the rule of Charlemagne, decorated often with God's name to strengthen further the connection between the king and God, then these countries and its peoples were important for unity of the kingdom. Since *ARF 829* runs until the year 829, and the revised part only until 801, the time of instability of the *regnum Francorum* must have occurred **after 829**.

The account of the Franks, or Francia, in *ARF 829*, as well as in *ARF 801*, and the 'common continuation' can be also presented graphically:

⁸⁶ *ARF*, 2 – 5. McKitterick, *History*, 114, noticed that such an accent on the Franks as *gens* was "unprecedented either in Merovingian or in other eighth-century narrative sources". See, also, R. McKitterick, *Carolingian Historiography*, Bonner Historische Forschungen 63 (2010) 109 – 110.

⁸⁷ *ARF*, 12 – 13.

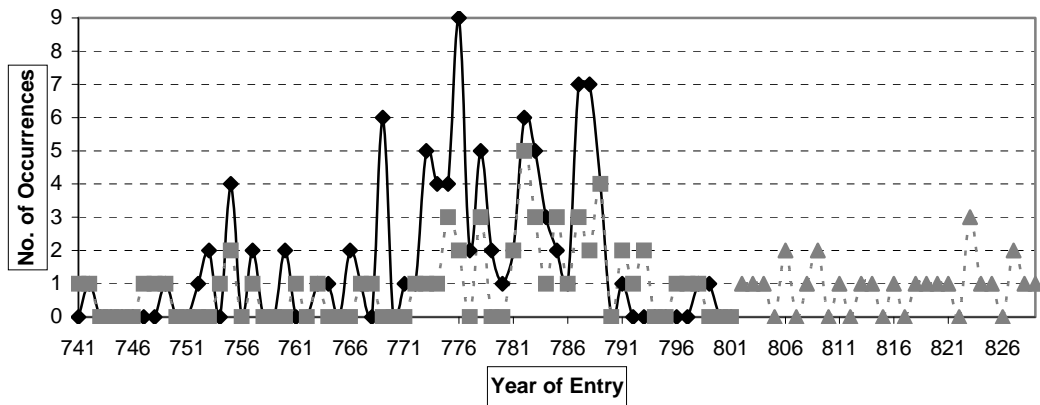
⁸⁸ *ARF*, 14 – 15.

⁸⁹ *ARF*, 18 – 19.

⁹⁰ *ARF*, 22 – 23.

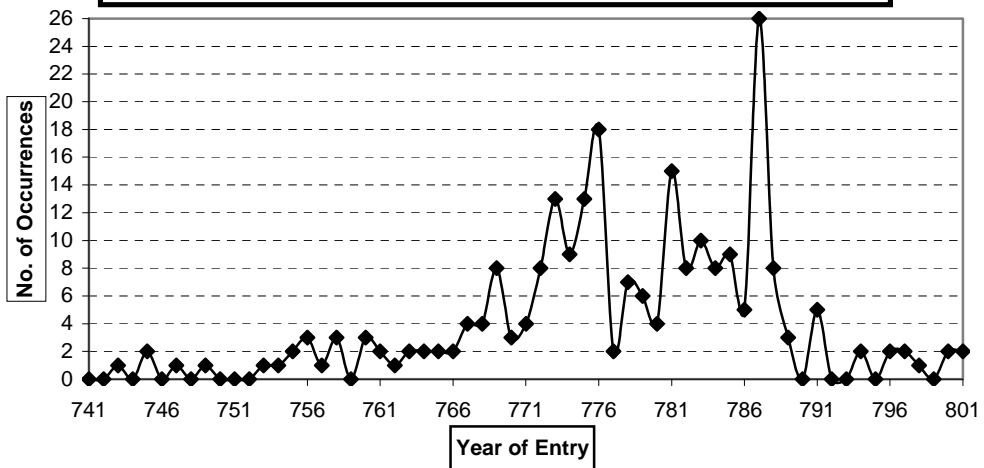
⁹¹ *ARF*, 24 – 25.

Chart 4: FREQUENCY OF *FRANCI* AND *FRANCIA* IN ARF 829, ARF 801 AND IN THE 'COMMON CONTINUATION' (802-829)



- ◆— Occurrence of 'Franci' and 'Francia' in ARF 829
- -■- - Occurrence of 'Franci' and 'Francia' in ARF 801
- -▲- - Occurrence of 'Franci' and 'Francia' in the 'Common Continuation' (802-82)

Chart 5: FREQUENCY OF *ET*, *TUNC*, *ET TUNC*, INVOCATIONS AND ROYAL EPITHETS IN ARF 829 (IN TOTAL)



- ◆— 'Et', 'Tunc', 'Et Tunc', Invocations & Royal Epithets in Total

The epithets used for Charlemagne (beside ubiquitous *domnus* in *ARF* 829), the invocations of God, and the appearance of *tunc* and *et* at the beginning of sentence, yield very interesting results, which could be presented graphically:

The words presented in graphs 1-5 can be categorised in the following order:

- 1) Words which suggest abbreviations in the original text – *et* and *tunc*
- 2) Ideological words – epithets for ruler(s), invocations of God's name.
- 3) Political words – unity of the *Regnum Francorum*, *gens Francorum*, *Franci*, *Francia*.

It is important to note that these particular words were structurally congregated in a particular way or place of the text in the *ARF* 829 version and only in the lead up to 799. The *ARF* 829 and *ARF* 801 versions are terminologically coherent only after 799. In other words, only the parts of the text in *ARF* 829 that had undergone a technical intervention are terminologically coherent with the parts of the text that emit a strong ideological and political message.

The graphical presentations (Charts 1 to 5) of the phrases typical only for *ARF* 829 reinforce that there are four separate groups of entries edited by the reviser (i.e. A, B, C, and D). Group A covers the entries for 741 to 766. Group B covers the entries for 767 to 776. Group C covers the entries for 777 to 786, and group D the entries for 787 to 801. The peaks of each group should indicate the most important issues for the reviser. These particular years are: 776, 781 and 787. The content of the narrative in these entries has to be examined regarding a possible ideological or political message of the reviser. The 776 entry contains an elaborative narrative about submission of the Saxons; the 781 entry introduced a Pope as the mediator between Charlemagne and Tassilo; while the 787 entry narrates about Tassilo and his submission, and a divine judgment on the rebel (i.e. Tassilo). Other entries in these groups are equally important. As such, entries 773, 774 and 775 have been dedicated to the conquest of Lombardy and the papal role in it. Then, entries 777 and 778 promoted a divine role during the battles with the rebel Saxons; as well as entries 782, 783, 784 and entry 791 underlining a

divine influence in the battles against the Avars. It appears that *ARF 829* was intended to make a strong correlation between the royal title and God. All these characteristics are missing in *ARF 801* (our analysis did not show such peaks as on the graphs presented above). In regard to phrasing, which could have suggested an ideological message, *ARF 801* is ‘a flat liner’. The text is as plain and simple as *Vita Karoli* is.

There are some other details which are more difficult to render on a graph. These important details are omissions of some specific events – rebellions against Charlemagne and military failures of the Franks – then, Grifo’s adventures, and insistence on unity of the *regnum Francorum* – that are explicitly expressed either by *rex habuit placitum* or *synodus cum Francis/cum omnibus Francis*, or that he went on a campaign *cum Francis*. The *ARF 801* version occasionally underlines that something was done *more Francorum*, or *cum Francis*, however *ARF 829* presents these phrases rather frequently (Chart 4). The context of the narrative is important when it comes to such phrasing, and each example should be scrutinized carefully. However, a general chart presentation of all these terms, regardless of the ideological or political message hidden behind them clearly imposes an impression that it was the author of *ARF 829* who used the terms more frequently.

Historical context of the *ARF*’s ‘revision’

The first cracks in the monolithic *Regnum Francorum* appeared in 817, when Louis the Pious promulgated the *Ordinatio Imperii*, and when his eldest son Lothar was crowned co-Emperor.⁹² The future of the Frankish kingdom was sealed by this document in which division of its territory was allocated to Louis’ sons: Lothar, Pippin (Aquitaine, Gasconne, *marca* of Toulouse) and Louis the German (Bavaria, Carantania, Bohemia, Pannonia, sc. Avars and Slavs in the areas to the east of Bavaria).⁹³ A dispute between Louis and his sons started when Charles (the Bald) was born (in 823) to Louis by his second wife Judith,

⁹² See, E. J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict Under Louis the German, 817 – 876*, New York 2006, 29 – 32.

⁹³ *Capitularia I*, 270.20 – 25.

and when Louis had to introduce changes in the *Ordinatio Imperii* in 829, assigning Allemania and a part of Burgundy to Charles the Bald.⁹⁴ This has led to a conspiracy in which Pippin, Lothar, Louis the German, the arch-chaplain Hilduin and some other magnates were involved.⁹⁵ However, Louis the Pious resumed his reign⁹⁶ in October 830,⁹⁷ successfully managing to establish order in the Empire by sending Lothar to Italy, Pippin to Aquitaine, and Louis the German to Bavaria.⁹⁸ In such a way the problem was temporarily solved until 832, when Pippin and Louis the German rose against their father.⁹⁹ This time, after a whole set of events, Lothar, Pippin and Louis the German managed to depose their father in June 833. Louis the Pious was deposed only temporarily, having been in custody in the monastery of Saint-Medard¹⁰⁰ until March 834, when he resumed his reign.¹⁰¹ Louis secured his position as the Emperor between 834 and 837.¹⁰² He felt strong enough to make further steps to

⁹⁴ Cf. *GH*, 220.10 – 13; *Nithardi Historiarum libri IIII*, MGH SRG, ed. E. Müller, Hannoverae 1907, 3.24 – 25 (= *Nithard*).

⁹⁵ *GH*, 220.15 – 222.12; *Nithard*, 3.26 – 4.5; *Astronomus Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, MGH SRG 64, ed. E. Tremp, Hannover 1995, 454.15 – 460.20. Note that the timeline of *ARF* 829 is up to 829, while Louis was deposed in 833. Kaschke, *Reichsteilungen*, 290 – 296, thought that it was Hilduin who wrote *ARF* 829, and that his involvement in the plot against Louis the Pious in 830 resulted in ending of his writing. For a brief view on the Annals of Saint-Bertin, Thegan, the Astronomer, and Nithard, as the main sources for the reign of Louis the Pious, see, J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, Oxford 2001, 235 – 240; also, C. M. Booker, *Past Convictions: The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of Carolingians*, Philadelphia 2009, 26 – 42 (= Booker, *Penance*). For a more detailed analysis, see, T. F. X. Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious*, Philadelphia 2009, *passim*.

⁹⁶ *Astronomus*, 460.20 – 464.9; *Nithard*, 4.11 – 23; *GH*, 222.13 – 224.4.

⁹⁷ It was during the assembly at Njemegen; cf. *AB*, 2.

⁹⁸ *Astronomus*, 464.10 – 20; *AB*, 3. It is worth to mention that in 830, Einhard left the court and retreated to his estate; cf. H. Shutz, *The Carolingians in Central Europe, their History, Arts and Architecture: A Cultural history of Central Europe, 750 – 900*, Leiden 2004, 83, 177, n. 123.

⁹⁹ *AB*, 4 – 5; *GH*, 226.14 – 15.

¹⁰⁰ *AB*, 6.

¹⁰¹ *AB*, 8; *Nithard*, 6.17 – 25.

¹⁰² At the general assembly at Thionville in February 835 a declaration of loyalty was signed by those who were present at the time, and bishops wrote and signed individual declarations. In March 835, Ebbo, the archbishop of Reims, an old advocate of the hostile party was forced to confess and resign; cf. *AB*, 10 – 11. This relatively strong

secure the most prominent position for Charles the Bald among his sons. During the winter assembly in Aachen (837) he gave Charles Burgundy, Frisia, including the lands between the Meuse and Seine, as well as the counties of Brienne, Troyes, Auxerre, Sens, Gatinais, Melun, Étampes, Chartres, and Paris.¹⁰³ This new division of the kingdom, provoked Louis the German who rose up against his father,¹⁰⁴ but Louis the Pious forced him back to Bavaria.¹⁰⁵ When Louis the Pious died on the 20th June 840, his sons joined the struggle for power, which ended with the famous Treaty of Verdun in 843. The united *regnum Francorum* ceased to exist and this is precisely why the revision of the *ARF* was not possible after Verdun; – it was not in the interest of Charles the Bald or Louis the German to continue insisting on the **united** *regnum Francorum*. Therefore the revision occurred most probably after 829 (end of the *ARFs*) and before 840 (death of Louis the Pious).

In my view, it appears that Louis the Pious was capable of controlling his sons only between 834 and 837 – during the time when the ‘revised’ version of the *ARF* could have been written. It was necessary for the author to invoke God in his attempt to establish an unchallenged rule of Louis the Pious in the *regnum Francorum*. When it comes to the invocation of God in defending kingship then the political position of the ruler may already have been weakened. We assume that the ideal time for the author to create an ideologically based background of Louis the Pious’ kingship over the united *regnum Francorum* could have been between 834 and 837.

An interesting detail, preserved in the 757 entry of *ARF* 829 notes that Tassilo made his oaths to Pippin and his sons *supra corpus sancti Dionisii, Rustici et Eleutherii, necnon et sancti Germani seu sancti Martini*,¹⁰⁶ provides us with a clue where this work could have been created. In particular, the author of *ARF* 801 mentioned only SS Dio-

position of Louis was underlined by Nithard’s words: *Videns autem* (sc. Louis the Pious), *quod populus nullo modo diebus vitae suae illum relinquere, uti consueverat, vellet, conventu Aquis hieme indicto portionem regni his terminis notatam Karoli dedit...*; cf. Nithard, 8. 26 – 29 (winter 837).

¹⁰³ Nithard, 8.26 – 9.8.

¹⁰⁴ Nithard, 10.9 – 11.5.

¹⁰⁵ Nithard, 12.22 – 30.

¹⁰⁶ *ARF*, 16.

nysius, Germanus and Martinus, but not SS Rusticus and Eleutherius.¹⁰⁷ The later two belonged to the cult of St Dionysius and they had been worshipped as a triad – it could have been well known to a man of the Church. However, this could have also meant that the 'Revised' version of the *ARF* was composed at the Abbey of St Denis. We have to bear in mind that Louis' restoration in power had occurred precisely at the abbey of St Denis in 834.¹⁰⁸ This coincides with Louis the Pious' command to Abbot Hilduin (ca. 835) to compile a volume of various texts relating to St Denis and had it dispatched to him as soon as it was possible.¹⁰⁹ Abbot Hilduin, as far as it is known, was the chief propagator of the theory that St Denis was in fact the famous Dionysius the Areopagite.¹¹⁰ In his letter to Hilduin, Louis the Pious explicitly mentioned the Greek histories (...*ex Grecorum hystoriis*) as the main source for Hilduin's translation and compilation.¹¹¹ The Greek (sc. Byzantine) component had to be kept in mind regarding the appearance of a 19-year cycle of the Easter table of Theophilus of Alexandria in the manuscript which contained the *AL*.¹¹² It is indicative that Louis the Pious was the author of the letter to Abbot Hilduin in which he mentioned St Denis as a mediator, and as the representative of God, and about his restitution.¹¹³ It is also interesting to note that monk Adrevald from Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire reported to Fleury¹¹⁴ the translation of some relics of SS Denis, Rusticus and Eleutherius in 836. This is something that should be connected with the 757 entry of *ARF* 829 where the triad of saints was mentioned. Only

¹⁰⁷ *ARF*, 17. See, also, *AMP*, 49.27.

¹⁰⁸ *Nithard*, 6.20 – 25.

¹⁰⁹ *Epistolae variorum inde a morte Caroli Magni usque ad divisionem imperii collectae*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH *Epistolae Karolini Aevi III*, Berolini 1899, 327.4 – 25 (= *Epistolae*).

¹¹⁰ A. W. Robertson, *The Service-books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages*, Oxford 1991, 328 (= Robertson, *Images*).

¹¹¹ *Epistolae*, 327.5.

¹¹² See note 11.

¹¹³ *Epistolae*, 328.6 – 13; cf. Booker, *Penance*, 251. In a previous letter to Hilduin, Louis also indicated that he was aware that St Denis was worshiped together with Rusticus and Eleutherius, since he stated: ...*venerabili abbati* (sc. Hilduin) *monasterii sanctissimorum martirum ac specialium protectorum nostrorum Dionisii...salutem*; cf. *Epistolae*, 326.2 – 5.

¹¹⁴ Robertson, *Images*, 41.

someone who was near the abbey of Saint Denis or Fleury himself could have written it.

The Bavarian issue was of great importance to the author of *ARF* 829. He had omitted Grifo from the beginning of his work in 741, because he was the king's son from his second wife. It was exactly the same situation with Charles the Bald – he was the son of Louis the Pious from his second wife. Since Grifo's bitter destiny was recorded in the official history (as the *ARF* were) it could have been an example that a half-brother had to be (rightfully) discharged as a potential heir to the throne. The reviser could have removed the story about Grifo from the revised version of the *ARF*. He briefly mentioned Grifo as a common noble in 747, while in 748, he explained how Grifo took power in Bavaria – but he did not mention that Grifo acted as such because he was the son of Swanhild, *neptem Odilonis ducis Baioariorum*, which was clearly stated in *ARF* 801.¹¹⁵ Consequently, when Pippin intervened in Bavaria, he installed Tassilo 'by his grace' (*per suum beneficium*) as the duke of Bavaria.¹¹⁶ The author of *ARF* 801 simply noted that Pippin restored Tassilo: *Tassilonem in ducatum restituit*.¹¹⁷ The phrasing is important, since it reveals the ideological message of the author of *ARF* 829 which would become clearer in the following entries related to Bavaria and Tassilo. According to *ARF* 829, Tassilo was restituted only because of Pippin's will, who actually granted him *ducatus* as his *beneficium*. It was a play of words – *beneficio* vs. *beneficium*. Even though it was Pippin's *grace*, in turn, it was *beneficium* – a fief. However, Tassilo officially became Pippin's vassal in 757. He appeared at the assembly in Compiègne performing the full ceremony of becoming a vassal to the king. Only after this event, the author of *ARF* 829 began from the 758 entry, with his common closing sentence of each section until 808 – *Et inmutavit se numerus annorum in...*, and from the next entry (759) he had introduced a place where the ruler would spend Christmas and Easter, in the same fashion as *ARF* 801 did.¹¹⁸ In reference

¹¹⁵ *ARF*, 3. Only in 753, *ARF* 829 mentioned Grifo as the *germanus* of Pippin; cf. *ARF*, 10.

¹¹⁶ *ARF*, 8.

¹¹⁷ *ARF*, 9.

¹¹⁸ *ARF*, 17. Also, *AMP*, 50.14 – 15, which follows *ARF* 829 (note *Lonclare* in *ARF* 801, and *Longlare* in the *AMP* and *ARF* 829).

to God's name, which regularly appeared after the coronation of Pippin as the most important provider of the Frankish victories, there was a pattern of the closing formula; *Et inmutavit se...* that was introduced for each entry only after Tassilo became Pippin's vassal. Furthermore, the parts of the *ARF* which were most affected by the vocabulary of the reviser were actually entries describing the final stages of the conquest of Italy, Saxony, Bavaria, and Pannonia (sc. Avars). This is why the revision did not continue after year 796, echoing only until 801 (because of the coronation of the Charlemagne in 800), when the *regnum Francorum* took its final shape during the rule of Charlemagne, inherited by Louis the Pious. It was the ultimate year when Charlemagne conquered territories which would become a matter of dispute between Louis the Pious and his sons. The aim of the reviser was to preserve the realm for the central figure of the kingdom – Louis the Pious, and to secure a stronger political position for his favourite son – Charles the Bald – by excluding Grifo from *ARF* 829.

The phrase "*Et inmutavit se numerus annorum in...*" was used in *ARF* 829 from 758 until 808, and it was never used in *ARF* 801.¹¹⁹ It is interesting that in the 809 entry, Louis (the Pious) was *domnus Hludowicus rex*, and the entry was closed with a short sentence related to the eclipse of the Moon.¹²⁰ The content of this entry is also interesting: Louis the Pious besieged Tortosa, but he failed – and the annalist underlined that Louis retired with his army unharmmed (*cum incolomi exercitu in Aquitaniam se recepit*).¹²¹ Simultaneously, (1) the Byzantine fleet had entered Dalmatia and Venice; (2) the port city of Piombino in Toscana was ravaged by the Greeks called Orobioetae; (3) the Deacon Aldulf was captured by a pirate crew and taken to Britain (even though he was later ransomed and returned to Rome); (4) the Danes made a strong political and military pressure while the meeting between the Danes and the Franks did not settle the issue; (5) Thrasco, duke of the Obodrites, and the ally of the Franks was killed by the Danes; and (6) finally Amorez, the governor of Saragossa and Huesca took several

¹¹⁹ It was also noticed by Collins, *Reviser*, 208, n. 63: "E class of manuscripts never use it at all".

¹²⁰ *ARF*, 127, 130.

¹²¹ *ARF*, 127.

castles, even though he informed the Emperor that he was willing to submit.¹²² It was definitely a difficult, if not the most arduous year for Charlemagne to date. If the annalist's idea of using the phrase *Et inmutavit se numerus annorum in...* to signal the beginning of a new age marked by constant spreading of the Frankish influence, which was started by Tassilo's vassalage in 758, and then after several consequent setbacks in 809, the annalist probably felt that this message did not accurately represent the reality. Therefore, this phrase was most probably introduced by the annalist of *ARF* 829, and used only until 808. However, there is yet another speculation we should not neglect, and that is the change of the scribe in 808, who was also the one who resumed the former work copied the original *ARF* as it was i.e. without *Et inmutavit se numerus annorum in*.

Conclusions

According to our analysis it appears that *ARF* 801 was revised between 834 and 837, most probably at the Abbey of St Denis, Paris. The author revised entries from 741 to 801, while the rest was eventually copied and slightly edited. Thus, *ARF* 801 is in fact the 'Original' work written ca. 830. It is also clear that the *ARF* addressed the importance of the ruler as the central figure of the empire while the divine role was almost completely neglected. Since it was composed ca. 830, it definitely means that it was aimed to strengthen the position of Louis the Pious. It could also have meant that Louis the Pious thought that he was capable of keeping his sons under control. When he was deposed in 833, and after he regained the emperorship in 834, he had changed his attitude. From that point onwards he turned to God as the exclusive protector of the emperor, as well as the protector of unity of the *regnum Francorum*. The earliest fragment of *ARF* 801, containing the 'E' family of the *ARF*, (Cologne, Sankt Maria in Kapitol AII/18) written in the court scriptorium of Louis the Pious,¹²³ supports the results of our analysis, which

¹²² *ARF*, 127 – 130.

¹²³ See, R. McKitterick, *Political Ideology in Carolingian Historiography*, The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages, ed. Y. Hen – M. Innes, Cambridge 2000, 171 – 172.

associated the origin of *ARF 801* (genuine work covers the period from 741 to 829), with Louis the Pious. However, it was not the revised version, but rather the original version used by the reviser ca. 834 – 837 to create the *ARF 829* version. In such a way we have approached to the crucial year of Louis the Pious' reign (837) when he had assigned important territories to his son Charles the Bald. The next conclusion must be that the revision took place exactly because of this particular political issue – to offer a new version of the *ARF* congruent with the needs of Louis the Pious, to protect his youngest son from the aspirations of his other sons Louis had with his first wife. That is why Grifo's story was removed from the 'original' version, and that is why God was introduced into the narrative as the chief protector of the ruler and the one who punished the enemies of the emperor.¹²⁴ That is also why the reviser insisted upon unity of the *regnum Francorum* and the Franks – because that unity was seriously challenged by the temporary deposition of Louis the Pious in 833.

We should be addressing now a very important question on the origin of the *AL* because the *AL* is considered to be the source of *ARF 829*¹²⁵. The authorship was ascribed to Richbod the abbot of Lorsch from 785 and bishop of Trier from 791 until his death in 804.¹²⁶ It is proposed

¹²⁴ The turning point in the ideological representation of the king's rule, particularly after 833, is also strongly suggested by L. Halphen, *Charlemagne et l'empire Carolingien*, Paris 1968, 280: *Enfin les dramatiques péripéties de la lutte engagée par Louis le Pieux avec ses fils en 833 avaient familiarisé les fidèles avec cette idée que le pouvoir royal n'était détenu par son titulaire, en dépit de son caractère sacré, qu'à la condition d'être exercé normalement*. This is something that could only be found in *ARF 829*, and never in *ARF 801*.

¹²⁵ See, Collins, *Coronation*, 55 – 59. McKitterick, *History*, 104 – 110; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 25, 34, 117, 258.

¹²⁶ See, H. Fichtenau, *Abt Richbod und die Annales Laureshamenses*: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Klosters Lorsch, *Geschichtsblätter für den Kreis Bergstraße*, Sonderband 4, Lorsch 1980, 286 – 299 (first edition from 1953). Also, McKitterick, *History*, 110. For the date of the composition of the *AL*, see, R. McKitterick, *Entstehung und Gestaltung fränkischer Annales im Spiegel der Lorscher Annalen*, *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift: Hagiographie und Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, ed. R. Corradini – M. Diefenberger – M. Niederkorn-Bruck, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 18, Wien 2010, 107 – 113.

that the author compiled sections from 703 to 784 in 785, and then he continued writing on a year-by-year basis until the year 803. Only two other annals are closely linked to the *AL*: *Annales Mosselani* and *Fragmentum Chesnianum*.¹²⁷ The *AL* differs significantly from the *ARFs* (801 and 829) in sections from 793 onwards, especially in 794, 800, and 801. On the other hand, specific words, which could indicate that the author of the *AL* used the *ARFs*, are the same words found elsewhere in the *AL* from 764, lead us to the inevitable conclusion that the *AL* must be posterior to the 'original' and the 'revised' versions of the *ARF*. The places in the *AL* which differ significantly from the *ARFs* should be carefully examined, since they could be an indication why, how, and when the *AL* could have been compiled. This dependence of the *AL* on the *ARFs* can be clearly seen in the following examples: the *AL* calls pope - *apostolicus* (x6),¹²⁸ which was specific only for the *ARF* 829 version, or *papa*, which is peculiar for *ARF* 801;¹²⁹ the annual assembly of the Franks was most often *conventus*, as in *ARF* 801, and only once *placitum*,¹³⁰ as was the case in *ARF* 829; the author used the term - *synodus*¹³¹ to mark an ecclesiastical assembly, the same as in *ARF* 801; the *AL* also underlined God's role in the military affairs, something specific only for *ARF* 829, even though not as often;¹³² the author included rebellions¹³³ the same as in *ARF* 801, but never in *ARF* 829; the author sometimes called the Frankish army *magno exercitu*,¹³⁴ as it was the case in *ARF* 801; the Avars were recorded either as Avars or archaically as Huns, while in *ARF* 829 they were **always** recorded as Avars, as well as the Huns (sc. Avars) were **always** recorded as Huns in *ARF* 801; the author called Pippin/Charlemagne *domnus*, but not as frequently as in *ARF* 829. Finally, at the very end, the *AL* used a specific

¹²⁷ Collins, *Coronation*, 56.

¹²⁸ *AL*, 35, 37, 38.

¹²⁹ *AL*, 38.

¹³⁰ *AL*, 32.

¹³¹ *AL*, 32, 39.

¹³² *AL*, 31 (778, *Dei auxilium*); 32 (783, *gratia Christi...victoria; gratia Dei victor reversus est in Francia*); 35 (793, *Christo adiuvente*); 34 (791, *Et terruti eos Dominus in conspectu eius*); 37 (799, *Sed iuxta Dei dispensationem malum...*).

¹³³ *AL*, 32, 35,

¹³⁴ *AL*, 32 (783, *magno exercitu*), 34 (791, *movit exercitum suum, innumerabilem multitudinem*).

term which was often and exclusively used in *ARF* 829: - *scara* instead of *exercitus*.¹³⁵ These examples are sufficient to show that the author of the *AL* used both versions of the *ARF*. It would be impossible *vice versa*. For instance, it is impossible that the author of *ARF* 829 decided to use *synodus*, *placitum*, *domnus*, *Deo adiuuante/auxiliante* or similar, and then, *Avarum*, or *apostolicus*, from the *AL*, while another author of *ARF* 801 decided to use *conventus*, and *papa*, but not *domnus*, *Deo adiuuante/auxiliante* or similar. On the other hand the author of the *AL* used combination of all these terms because he used both versions of the *ARF*. Thus, the *AL*, as well as the *Annales Mosellani* and *Fragmentum Chesnianum*, are posterior to the 'revised' version of the *ARF*.

It is obvious that this analysis forces us to offer a very different perspective on the mutual relations between the *AL*, *ARF* 801, and *ARF* 829. If *ARF* 801 was the 'original' *ARF*, then *ARF* 829 was its revision, and, inevitably, the *AL* was based on both of them. In the same way, as we have outlined earlier the *AMP* and the *FC* must have also been posterior to the 'revised' version of the *ARF*.

Finally, if one wishes to research how many authors compiled the *ARF*, or how many parts of this work existed or work on establishing the date of the composition of a particular part – then *ARF* 801 must be considered as the primary objective of such a research – not *ARF* 829 as it was the case until now. The graphs we presented use specific words – invocation of God, epithets for the ruler, insistence on the Franks or *Francia*, as well as usage of *et* and *tunc* – as traces of abridgments or retellings, and clearly indicate that *ARF* 801 had consistent vocabulary from 741 to 829, but also that *ARF* 829 is significantly different only in the section of the text dating from 741 to 799. Based on this analysis, we can claim with certainty the existence of a text in the *ARF* belonging to the E family that covered a timeline from 741 to 829, which was revised after 829. This particular revision is in fact preserved in the A, B, C, and D families of the *ARF*'s manuscripts. Therefore, I would conclude that *ARF* 801 is a genuine work written ca. 830.¹³⁶ Additionally, it is evident

¹³⁵ *AL*, 39 (*scara suas transmisit*).

¹³⁶ Since the vocabulary of *ARF* 801 was very close to Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni*, Einhard appears as the main suspect for the authorship. Kurze proposed that Einhard

that a new critical edition of the *ARF* is necessary, as well as a fresh approach to the so-called minor annals, and to the whole set of questions related to the Frankish sources – the *AMP*, the *AL*, or the *FC*.

wrote sections from 795 to 820 (*ARF*, VII). It is possible that Einhard could have commenced writing of the *ARF* as an official history of the *regnum Francorum* c. 804/805, and then proceeded from 806 (it was the beginning of more detailed entries) to 829 on an annual basis, but always had written retrospectively with at least one year delay. In such a way the interruption in the *ARF* could be explained as Einhard's departure from the court in 830, but definitely not because of Hilduin's involvement in the plot in 829, as it was postulated by Kaschke, *Reichsteilungen*, 290 – 296. On the other hand, during the fragile years of Louis the Pious' reign, from 831 to 833, it appears that no one had continued Einhard's work. Subsequently, when the revision eventually was done, it was entrusted to a far less educated man who was close to Louis the Pious and to the Abbey of St Denis. Therefore, *ARF* 829 was indeed compiled at the Abbey of St Denis, as McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 47, suggested, however it was the revised, not the original work. Furthermore, judging by the quality of the Latin language in *ARF* 829, Hilduin should be ruled out as a possible author. Hilduin could have formulated the ideological and political agenda by providing his tutorship to the author, but the author, as it is appears, was a cleric (a monk?) of an average education. It is interesting that the word *scara*, used by the 'Reviser' can be found frequently only in the Annals of St Bertin, specifically in the part written by Hincmar of Reims. It is probably a vital clue which makes a connection between the 'Reviser' and Hincmar. It is well known that Hincmar (born in 806) was brought to St Denis in 822, and his teacher was Hilduin. It was most probably Hincmar, who wrote at St Denis, 834 – 835, *Miracula* of Saint Denis and *Gesta Dagoberti regis* (see, G. M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography*, Baltimore 1997, 144; R. F. Berkhofer, *Day of Reckoning: Power and Accountability in Medieval France*, Philadelphia 2004, 20). In other words, Hincmar was involved in the project, pursued by Louis the Pious and Hilduin, to establish Saint Denis (as Areopagite) as the supreme royal protector. Finally, it was Hincmar who wrote about the events in the past which proved the authority of the Church over the imperial authority: *Hludowicus Pius...in imperatorem est coronatus et demum factione quorundam terreno imperio desitutus, in praedictam regni partem unanimitate episcoporum et fidelis populi ande sepulchrum sancti Dyonisii eximii martyris ecclesiae sanctae est redditus...*; cf. *AB*, 105 – and that message is scattered across the whole 'revision' of the *ARF* seemingly in an unpolished manner.

Тибор Живковић

**‘ОРИГИНАЛНИ’ И ‘ИСПРАВЉЕНИ’ АНАЛИ ФРАНАЧКОГ
КРАЉЕВСТВА**

Резиме

Анали франачког краљевства представљају један од најважнијих наративних извора за историју раних Каролинга, обухватајући раздобље од 741 до 829. године. Дело је сачувано у две основне рецензије - “оригиналној” и “исправљеној” – које су прибележене у две основне групе рукописа, А, Б, Ц, Д, и Е. Прве четири групе, како се до сада веровало у историографији, заправо представљају “оригиналну” верзију, док је група Е сачувала “исправљену” верзију. На основу овако успостављеног односа између две рецензије Анала франачког краљевства, грађена је у историографији и слика о идеолошким и политичким тенденцијама у време Карла Великог, али и решавано питање настанка самих Анала – да ли постепено из године у годину, или у већим целинама – као и питање броја аутора. Оно што је недостајало приликом досадашњих анализа Анала франачког краљевства, јесте пажљиво поређење специфичних израза који се јављају само у једној или само у другој верзији. Употреба одређених појмова могла би да укаже не само на политичку и идеолошку позадину једне верзије, већ и да укаже која је заправо “оригинална”, а која је “исправљена”. У верзији која се сматрала за “оригиналну” јављају се специфични изрази који се могу разврстати у три категорије. 1. Изрази који указују на интервенције у тексту – *Et* и *Tunc* на почетку реченице, указујући на препричавање или скраћивање претпостављеног предлошка 2. Изрази који носе снажан идеолошки печат, пре свега епитети за владара (*gloriosus, magnus, praeclarus*), затим они који франачке победе редовно доводе у везу са Богом (*Deo adiuvante, Deo auxiliante*), или они који световно подређују духовном, као што је то случај са црквеним изразом *synodus* или *placitum*, за народни сабор Франака. 3. Изрази који носе снажну политичку поруку, као што су *gens Francorum, Francia*, затим истицање јединства Саксонаца, Тиринжана, Лангобарда и Бавараца са Францима, или испуштање

франачких пораза против спољних непријатеља и побуна против владара. Све ове поменуте карактеристике специфичне су за рецензију Анала франачког краљевства сачувана у рукописној традицији А, Б, Ц, и Д групе. Ниједну од ових карактеристика није могуће пронаћи ни у најмањем трагу у рецензији сачуваној у рукописима Е групе – која се сматра за “исправљену” верзију.

Будући да је анализа показала да се специфични изрази јављају само од 741 до 799/800. године, искључиво у тзв. “оригиналној” верзији, а да су обе рецензије надаље уједначене до 829. године – намеће се закључак да рецензија сачувана у рукописима А, Б, Ц, и Д групе заправо представља прераду предлошка који је по својој саставу био сасвим близу рецензије сачуване у Е групи рукописа. Није у питању само подударане употребе кључних речи из једне групе, већ из све три групе – изрази који указују на интервенције у тексту, политички и идеолошки изрази, показују концентрацију на истоветним местима. С друге стране, тешко је замислити да један раносредњовековни аутор, прерађујући наративни извор у којем се налази тако често Бог као заштитник Франака – редовно уклони Бога из наратије; или, да такав писац сваки пут изостави епитете *magnus* или *gloriosus* испред имена владар; или да црквено *synodus* доследно замени са световним *conventus*. Таква особа била би попут паганина или јеретика – а као таква сигурно није могла да буде блиска двору и да буде задужена да “преради” Анале франачког краљевства. Стога, једино решење јесте да је рукописна традиција Е групе сачувала заправо “оригиналну” верзију, а да је рукописна традиција А, Б, Ц, и Д групе заправо “исправљена” верзија. Коначно, анализа представљена у овом раду указала је да је “исправљена” верзија настала највероватније 836. године у Сен Денију, под будним оком Хилдуина, тада блиског сарадника цара Лудвига Побожног, по свему судећи руком, тада још увек веома младог, Хинкмара, будућег архиепископа Ремса. Такође, рецензија сачувана у рукописима Е групе, осим што представља заправо “оригиналну” верзију, мора се довести у најближу везу са Ајнхардом, који је, по свему судећи, аутор Анала франачког краљевства. Такође, јавља се могућност да је Ајнхард око 805. године сачинио *ad hoc* верзију Анала од 741. до 805. године, а да је надаље, сваке године, проширивао своје дело све

до 829. године (али увек са годину дана “закашњења” у односу на описане догађаје).

Кључне речи: Карло Велики, Анали франачког краљевства, *Deo adiuvente, Deo auxiliante, gens Francorum, placitum, conventus.*

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