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From Usurper to Emperor:
Political Practice and Dynastic Tradition in the Reign of Arnulf of Carinthia, 887–899

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From Usurper to Emperor:
Political Practice and Dynastic Tradition in the Reign of Arnulf of Carinthia, 887-899

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In the autumn of 887 AD Arnulf of Carinthia overthrew his uncle Charles the Fat, the last emperor of the Carolingian dynasty that had ruled Europe since 751, and became ruler of the kingdom known as East Francia, a polity east of the Rhine river encompassing parts of modern day Germany and Austria. Arnulf occupies a unique place in the history of early medieval Europe. Historians have viewed this coup as a transitional moment when the Carolingian dynasty lost its monopoly on royal power in Europe, the authority of rulers declined, and regional aristocracies became ascendant. Arnulf sits uneasily within this model of transition. Not only was he the son of a Carolingian king but much of the evidence for these changes in political life are found after Arnulf's reign. This dissertation uses Arnulf's reign as a way into this transitional moment, questioning whether the coup was as pivotal as has often been assumed. This is accomplished primarily through the contextual analysis of the main surviving sources from Arnulf's reign, his charters.

This dissertation therefore makes several interventions in the scholarship on late Carolingian politics and society. First, I use charters to demonstrate that Carolingian ancestry continued to matter to contemporaries, but not universally. Instead it was a resource that Arnulf deployed as a strategy of selective memorialization that operated to set Arnulf apart from non-Carolingian rivals in other kingdoms. Second, Arnulf adapted the traditional tools of Carolingian government to fit the new circumstances of the late-ninth century. Grand public events such as assemblies and military campaigns

followed traditional models but took on new valences in a post-887 world. Finally, Arnulf was operating within a specific East Frankish model of Carolingian politics and rulership. In many ways Arnulf's grandfather, Louis the German, served as the example for this style of rulership. Arnulf acted as an *East Frankish* ruler, and that shaped his actions and priorities. This dissertation thus analyzes Arnulf as a fully Carolingian ruler whose reign nonetheless existed within this specifically East Frankish context.

This dissertation by Jonathan Dell Isola fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in History approved by Jennifer R. Davis, Ph.D. as Director, and by Katherine Jansen, Ph.D. and Eric J. Goldberg, Ph.D. as Readers.

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Where must we go, we who wander this wasteland in search of our better selves.
- *The First History Man* (Mad Max: Fury Road, 2015)

Finishing a PhD is not just an intellectual experience, but an emotional one as well. To get here was a long and difficult road, one that the young student who left college in the fall of 2015, to travel to Cambridge University, was only just beginning to understand. Yet no dissertation is done alone, even if only one name is listed underneath the title. As a historian, it would be wise to start at the beginning: my mother Mary Ellen has always been supportive of my dreams, even when it was not clear how the financial side of things would work out. My father Thomas also supported me in various ways over the years, and never questioned why one might pursue a graduate degree. However I never would have begun this long circuitous journey without the inspiration of my high school history teacher, Mr. Johnson. From there I have been fortunate to have so many that believed in my abilities. At American University my undergraduate thesis advisor Mary Frances Giandrea helped me think about a graduate career, and another professor at AU, Pedram Partovi, was influential in convincing me I could succeed in graduate school. I never believed that I could go to a place like the University of Cambridge, but once there Rosamond McKitterick was endlessly generous with her time and advice for me as someone diving into the Middle Ages for almost the first time. Even now I still remember her admonishments to double check the Latin, and never to split an infinitive.

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In closing these acknowledgments I want to write, in a way, to my past self, but also to anyone who might read this in the future. If you are unsure of yourself, or of whether you belong in the academic world, if you are from a working-class background and do not think you can do it, know that

it is possible. Whether or not I ever write anything else about Arnulf, or history, for a brief moment in time I was a historian. My grandfather Tony, to whom this dissertation is dedicated, once told me that nothing was too hard, only difficult. Those words have long provided an inspiration to me as I went through the Ph.D. I hope that my grandparents, none of whom were able to see me finish this, are looking down on me and are proud of me not only accomplishing this degree, but of the person I have become. I never set out to write about something personal to myself, but in the end I cannot help seeing the similarities between Arnulf, who emulated his grandfather, and myself, who was inspired by my own grandfather. Dynasty, and in particular family, are recurring themes in this dissertation, which, unbeknownst to me while writing, have a resonance with my own experiences. Historians are not, and cannot be, completely removed from their work, and I am no different.

For my *avus*

List of Abbreviations:

AB		*Annales Bertiniani*
AF		*Annales Fuldenses* (for dates 714-882)
AF (M)		*Annales Fuldenses* (Mainz continuation, 882-887)
AF (B)		*Annales Fuldenses* (Bavarian continuation, 882-901)
ARF		*Annales Regni Francorum*
AV		*Annales Vedastini*
CC		Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
DA		*Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*
D, DD		Diploma(ta). This refers to the diploma(ta) as edited in the respective edition, each ruler has a unique abbreviation.
	A	Arnulf
	B	Berengar
	Ca	Carloman
	CB	Charles the Bald
	CF	Charles the Fat
	Lambert	Lambert
	LC	Louis the Child
	LG	Louis the German
	Loth I	Lothar I
	Loth II	Lothar II
	Lo II	Louis II
	LP	Louis the Pious
	LY	Louis the Younger
	R	Rudolf
	W	Wido
	Z	Zwentibald
Einhard, *VK*		Einhard, *Vita Karoli*
EME		*Early Medieval Europe*
FMSt		*Frühmittelalterliche Studien*
MGH		Monumenta Germaniae Historica
	Capit.	Capitularia Regum Francorum
	Conc.	Concilia
	Dip. Germ.	Die Urkunden der Deutschen Karolinger
	Poetae	Poetae Latini medii aevi
	SS rer. Germ.	Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi
	SS	Scriptores in folio
Notker, *GK*		Notker, *Gesta Karoli*

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Figures 1-3 are printed with permission of the St. Gall archive. The monograms are St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv, Urk. FF2 J67 and FF2 K26. The charter is St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv, A4 A7.

Figure 4 is printed with permission of the National Numismatic Collection, De Nederlandsche Bank, Amsterdam.

For all five maps the base map uses 2018 data from EuroGeographics and UN-FAO GI.

Introduction

When the eleventh-century author Arnold composed his work relating the history of St. Emmeram's monastery in Regensburg, he added several anecdotes about the late-ninth century ruler Arnulf of Carinthia. In one passage Arnold succinctly summarized Arnulf's life: "the son of Carloman, first duke of the Bavarians, then king of the Franks, finally, after amazing victories, he was made emperor in Rome on account of his defense of blessed Peter [i.e. the pope]."[1] Arnold neglects to give us the full story, leaving out the circumstances of Arnulf's rise to power as a usurper who overthrew his uncle Charles the Fat, nor does he mention Arnulf's birth status as an "illegitimate" son. Another rendition of Arnulf's story could be: from bastard to usurper to king to emperor. Arnulf is unique among Carolingian rulers in this regard; Arnulf is the only Carolingian to successfully oust a ruler from power and remain king. This dissertation proposes to reevaluate the career of Arnulf by contextualizing his political choices and strategies within the context of his reign and the broader Carolingian past.

Historical Overview, 850-899:

Yet how did Arnulf manage to become king? It was through a combination of dynastic politics, good and bad fortune, and ambition over decades. Arnulf was born around 850, the son of the Carolingian king of Bavaria Carloman (r. 876-880). He was the grandson of Louis the German (r. 840-876), whose long reign created a distinct East Frankish political community, which was then divided between his three sons at his death in 876. Carloman, Arnulf's father, was the eldest son of Louis the

[1] Arnold, *De miraculis beati Emmerami*, ed. George Waitz, MGH SS 4 (Hahn, 1841), pp. 550-551: *Carolomanni filium, primo Baioariae ducem, dein Franciae regem, novissime autem ob beati Petri defensionem, post victorias mirificas, Romae factum imperatorem.* Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

German. Under his father, Carloman developed his connections along the frontier as an accomplished military commander. A rapid succession of deaths in the East Frankish family between 880 and 882 meant that Charles the Fat, Louis the German's youngest son, acquired the entirety of East Francia and Italy from his brothers. Charles also acquired the kingdom of West Francia after the death of his cousin Carloman II in 884. As such Charles the Fat was the last Carolingian to rule over the entire empire. At the same time, these deaths had positioned Arnulf as the only remaining adult Carolingian claimant besides Charles. In autumn 887 Arnulf realized his ambitions when he overthrew his uncle Charles.

Becoming king only created new pressures, because Arnulf needed to establish his authority in the face of both external and internal challenges. After the coup, and Charles' death in January 888, a variety of non-Carolingian rulers established themselves as kings: Rudolf in Upper Burgundy, Wido and Berengar in Italy, Louis the Blind in Provence, and Odo in West Francia. These new rulers would prove recurring rivals and foils to Arnulf, at times allying with him and at times engaging him in active military conflict. With the exception of the non-Carolingian king Boso of Provence, whose upstart kingship in 879 caused the surviving Carolingians to band together against him in mutual alliance, there had not been a non-Carolingian king since the last Merovingian in 751.[2]

Around the same time, in 890, Arnulf also faced a challenge from Charles the Fat's illegitimate son Bernard. It was during this period that Arnulf consolidated his reign. An important turning point in Arnulf's reign was the Battle of Leuven in 891, fought between a Frankish army and the Northmen, raiders from the north who had pillaged and established themselves in Lotharingia. A Frankish victory, this began a new period of Arnulf's rule marked by increasing confidence. Between 891 and 895

[2] On the alliance against Boso, see Simon MacLean, "The Carolingian Response to the Revolt of Boso, 879–887," *EME* 10, no. 1 (2001).

Arnulf won several more military victories, including several campaigns to Italy. In 895 Arnulf held the largest event of his reign, the Synod of Tribur. Bringing together elites from across the kingdom, this council was to have an enduring legacy in the Middle Ages, but had more immediate political goals in presenting a quasi-imperial persona for Arnulf. The following year Arnulf would travel to Rome where he was crowned emperor by Pope Formosus. Despite achieving his imperial ambitions Arnulf was soon struck down with illness and returned north of the Alps. In 899 Arnulf died and was buried at the monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg, where Arnold would write his history centuries later.

In what follows, the introduction first lays out the various perspectives historians have taken on Arnulf and his reign, noting how these arguments have often tied into interpretations about the end of the Carolingian world and the political transition to the tenth century. Next, I briefly discuss the sources. Then, I will provide an overview of the dissertation. Finally, I note the three main contributions of this study to the scholarship on Carolingian politics.

The End of the Carolingian Empire: Historiographical Approaches to Studying Arnulf:

Studies of Carolingian kingship and politics rarely devote extended time to discussing Arnulf. Before Herwig Wolfram's 2024 "biographical sketch" of Arnulf, one needs to go all the way back to the 1852 dissertation written by Ernst Dümmler to find a monograph-length treatment.[3] Yet Wolfram himself acknowledges that his work is not meant to be a complete scholarly biography or analysis of Arnulf, making it a different type of project than what is attempted here, which is a political analysis of

[3] Herwig Wolfram, *Arnulf von Kärnten: eine biographische Skizze* (Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2024). Ernst Dümmler, *De Arnulfo Francorum Rege: Commentatio Historica* (In Libraria G. Reimeri, 1852).

Arnulf's rulership.[4] Partly because of this lack of study Arnulf rarely comes off well: Johannes Fried described the "Carolingian bastard" Arnulf overthrowing his "terminally ill and raving mad" uncle.[5] Josef Fleckenstein wrote that Arnulf "did not amount to much and was really dependent for his authority on sheer force."[6] Kathy Pearson summarized Arnulf's reign as a time when "personal physical weakness, ambitious magnates, and outside interference, collectively reveal the decline of royal authority and power."[7]

When historians *have* paid attention to Arnulf it is generally in the context of his supposed place in "German" history. Dümmler noted Arnulf's "place in the history of our people."[8] Gerd Tellenbach argued that the question of Arnulf's role in the coup was necessary to answer because it had to do with the "history of the birth of the German people and empire."[9] This emphasis extends to Arnulf's charters, which were edited in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (MGH). The MGH itself had, from the beginning, been deeply connected to German nationalism because it sought to edit

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[4] Wolfram, *Arnulf*, p. 11.

[5] Johannes Fried, *The Middle Ages*, trans. Peter Lewis (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2015), p. 87, originally published in German as *Das Mittelalter,* Third Edition (C.H. Beck, 2009).

[6] Josef Fleckenstein, *Early Medieval Germany*, trans. Bernard S. Smith (North-Holland Publishing, 1978), at p. 107, originally printed in German, *Grundlagen und Beginn der deutschen Geschichte* (Vandenheock & Ruprecht, 1976).

[7] Kathy Pearson, "Rulers, Magnates, and Outsiders in Bavaria and its Marches," in *The Propagation of Power in the Medieval West: Selected Proceedings of the International Conference, Groningen 20-23 November 1996*, eds. Martin Gosman et al. (Egbert Forsten, 1997), p. 188.

[8] Dümmler, *De Arnulfo*, p. 170: *locum Arnulfus in historia populi nostri*.

[9] Gerd Tellenbach, "Zur Geschichte Kaiser Arnulfs," *Historische Zeitschrift* 165, no. 2 (1942): 235: "Für des Entstehungsgeschichte des deutschen Volkes und Reiches."

documents relating to "Germany" (somewhat loosely defined) in the Middle Ages.[10] Paul Kehr, the editor of Arnulf's charters, characterized the 888 coup that brought Arnulf to power as a "catastrophe of the last legitimate Carolingian of the German branch."[11] Already the MGH sectioned off Louis the German and his descendants in their own series: *Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger.*[12] They were not just Carolingians, but "German" Carolingians. This emphasis on Arnulf's role within German history meant that historians were more likely to subsume him into a broader national narrative than to investigate the context of Arnulf's own reign. As avatar for an emerging "German" kingdom, Arnulf's individuality, and the political context of his reign, were lost.

This approach reached an even more ominous form in the 1940s, when the study of Arnulf intersected with Nazi ideological currents. Marc Bloch, writing in 1940, suggested that Arnulf's rise to power "formed 'East Francia' which, by anachronism that is harmless provided we are conscious of it, we may here and now call 'Germany.'"[13] Bloch could not have known the full extent of how this type of anachronism would be used, but it turned out to be more harmful than he imagined. Walter Schlesinger claimed that Arnulf's "election" as king represented the beginning of German history as

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[10] See Enno Bünz, "Die Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1819-2019: ein historischer Abriss," in *Mittelalter lesbar machen: Festschrift 200 Jahre Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* eds. Annette Marquard-Mois et al. (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019).

[11] Paul Kehr, ed., *Die Urkunden Arnolfs*, MGH Dip. Germ. 3 (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1940), p. xi: "der Katastrophe des letzten legitimen Karolingers aus dem deutschen Zweige."

[12] For the association of charters and German rulers see Arno Mentzel-Reuters, "Das Reichinstitut zwischen Ahnenerbe und Westforschung," in *Das Reichinstitut für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde 1935 bis 1945 – ein "Kriegsbeitrag der Geisteswissenschaften?": Beiträge des Symposiums am 28. und 29. November 2019 in Rom*, eds. Arno Mentzel-Reuters et al. (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021), pp. 40-45.

[13] Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society: Volume 2 – Social Classes and Political Organization*, trans. L.A. Manyon (University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 376. Translated from the original, *La société féodale: la formation des liens de dépendance* (A. Michel, 1940).

part of the "expressions of the will" of the German people.[14] The ideas in Schlesinger's article reflect a nationalist ideology that saw Arnulf as a part of a greater narrative towards the (German) present. Heinz Zatschek, who joined the Nazi-run "Reinhard-Heydrich-Stiftung," used the East Frankish kingdom as a vehicle for advancing ideas of German superiority over Bohemia and Moravia, a project that dovetailed with Nazi imperialism.[15] Indeed we also need to understand how the MGH was co-opted as part of the Nazi project to promote a German view of history.[16] Kehr, as director of the MGH, had overseen the MGH's transformation into the *Reichsinstitut für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde,* a decidedly nationalist project associated with the Nazi regime.[17] Despite assurances that the MGH would carry on its mission as before, under Kehr's successors Jewish scholars were expelled and, in some cases such as of Wilhelm Levison, their involvement in the production of

[14] Walter Schlesinger, "Kaiser Arnulf und die Entstehung des deutschen Staates und Volkes," *Historische Zeitschrift* 163, no. 3 (1941): 457. Schlesinger joined the Nazi party in 1929, although he seems to have regretted this decision; see Josef Fleckenstein, "Walter S.," *Jahrbuch der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* (1984): 74.

[15] Heinz Zatschek, *Wie das erste Reich der Deutschen entstand; Staatsführung, Reichsgut und Ostsiedlung im Zeitalter der Karolinger* (Verlag der Deutschen Gesellschaft der wissenschaften und künste; Sudetendeutscher Verlag F. Kraus, 1940); Heinz Zatschek, "Das Werden des deutschen Volkstums in Böhmen und Mähren," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in den Sudetenländern* 78 (1940/1941): 17 which ends with anti-Semitic comments as well as nationalist proclamations of German superiority in the region; Heinz Zatschek, "Germanische Raumerfassung und Staatenbildung in Mitteleuropa," *Historische Zeitschrift* 168, no. 1 (1943) which begins and ends with an emphasis on the "Germanic achievement in Europe" (p. 27: "die germanische Leistung in Europa"); on joining this institute see Karel Hruza, "Heinz Zatschek," in *Handbuch der Völkischen Wissenschaften: Akteure, Netzwerke, Forschungsprogramme*, eds. Michael Fahlbusch et al. (De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2017), pp. 934-938 and on the institute see Michael Fahlbusch, "The Role and Impact of German Ethnopolitical Experts in the SS Reich Security Main Office," in *German Scholars and Ethnic Cleansing, 1919-1945*, eds. Michael Fahlbusch and Ingo Haar (Berghahn Books, 2007), pp. 38-39.

[16] See Mentzel-Reuters, "Das Reichinstitut," p. 2.

[17] Mentzel-Reuters, "Das Reichinstitut," pp. 3-6.

editions suppressed.[18] It was at this time of increased association between the Nazi regime and the MGH's mission that Kehr edited the charters of Charles the Fat and Arnulf, published in 1937 and 1940 respectively. This is not to say that the editing of Arnulf's charters was explicitly linked to Nazi ideology, but instead that the impetus for studying Arnulf was firmly rooted in his perceived identity as a "German" ruler.[19]

While historians have moved away from this nationalist and ideological framework, Arnulf has not been fully integrated within the Carolingian period because, as Simon MacLean succinctly claims: "The deposition and death of Charles the Fat [in 888] marked the end of an era."[20] Historians have understood Arnulf primarily in relation to the coup in 887 and its role as a pivot point in the history of Western Europe.[21] The coup served as a transitional moment because Arnulf's revolt changed the

[18] The MGH published a digital archive of some letters and internal memorandums about this in 2021, "Documents on the MGH and Anti-Semitism," MGH, accessed November 20, 2024, https://visit.mgh.de/en/jew-em/documents-mgh-and-anti-semitism. For perspectives on Levison's career see Matthias Becher and Yitzhak Hen, eds., *Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947): ein jüdisches Forscherleben zwischen wissenschaftlicher Anerkennung und politischem Exil* (Franz Schmitt, 2010), especially Rudolf Schieffer, "Wilhelm Levison und die Monumenta Germaniae Historica" and Klaus Hildebrand, "Universitäten im "Dritten Reich". Eine historische Betrachtung."

[19] See also Rudolf Schieffer, "Kaiser Arnolf und die deutsche Geschichte," in *Kaiser Arnolf: Das Ostfränkische Reich am Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts: Regensburger Kolloquium 9.-11.12.1999,* eds. Franz Fuchs and Peter Schmid (Beck, 2002).

[20] Simon MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 230.

[21] The number of works that end with 888 highlights how Arnulf is often left out of the Carolingian era. For example Stuart Airlie, *Making and Unmaking the Carolingians, 751-888* (Bloomsbury, 2020); Shigeto Kikuchi, *Herrschaft, Delegation und Kommunikation in der Karolingerzeit: Untersuchungen zu den Missi dominici (751-888)* (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021); Ingrid Rembold, *Conquest and Christianization: Saxony and the Carolingian World, 772-888* (Cambridge University Press, 2018); Mayke de Jong, "The Empire That Was Always Decaying: The Carolingians (800-888)," *Medieval Worlds* 2 (2015).

dynastic possibilities of Europe: no longer did the king have to be a member of the Carolingian family.[22] Instead, new dynasties emerged that replaced the Carolingians. Complicating matters further is that this process was different in the two main Carolingian kingdoms. In West Francia the Carolingians would compete with the Robertians (the pre-987 Capetians) for the throne while in East Francia the Carolingians would be replaced in 911 with the non-Carolingian king Conrad (who was closely allied to Arnulf and his son Louis the Child) before the first Ottonian king Henry I took over in 919. For many historians 887/888 represents the transition from Carolingian to post-Carolingian Europe. In some interpretations Arnulf is only the precipitating factor for the end of the Carolingians, but himself merits little further discussion.[23] That is, while historians have placed great emphasis on the coup in 887 as a turning point, relatively little scholarship attempts to focus on Arnulf's reign itself.

An older generation of historians identified two significant changes in the aftermath of the coup: a shift in the nature of royal authority and the emergence, or re-emergence, of regional polities. First, royal authority became more localized, with regional aristocracies competing with, and sometimes exceeding, the authority of the king. In West Francia this meant a more limited royal authority, as the Robertian and Capetian kings were restricted to the area around Paris and non-Carolingian rulers vied for the throne with the remaining Carolingians.[24] This restricted royal authority would be the starting point for the high medieval Capetian rulers as they created a more

[22] Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 273-318, esp. pp. 308-318. MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 231-232.

[23] See for instance Marios Costambeys et al., *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 426-427 and pp. 433-435, only really discussing Arnulf in relation to his illegitimacy.

[24] This often meant a devolution of royal authority to localities, in particular counts, Thomas Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 22-83. Justine Firnhaber-Baker, *House of Lilies: the Dynasty that Made Medieval France* (Basic Books, 2024), takes such a view as the starting point for Hugh Capet's reign.

standardized and robust kingdom.[25] At the same time, historians have also argued for a shift in the nature of specifically East Frankish/Ottonian rule. Instead of relying on the written word, as the Carolingians did, the Ottonians utilized more symbolic communication and an itinerant model of rulership.[26] In some cases this lack of written culture and seemingly less sophisticated royal authority of the Ottonians is back-projected to the East Frankish Carolingians: Karl Leyser in his article on Ottonian government argues that it grew out of the "least developed portion of the Frankish Empire."[27] Here too Arnulf is sometimes incorporated not as the primary object of study, but as representing a prologue to this Ottonian style of rulership. Timothy Reuter's book on Germany in the early Middle Ages claims that Arnulf's reign "pre-echoed much which was to become established and familiar in the Ottonian reich."[28] Yet Reuter was looking back from the Ottonians and finding traces in Arnulf's reign, but not investigating his specific late-ninth century context.

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[25] For example John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Phillip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (University of California Press, 1986).

[26] For the symbolic element the classic account was put forward by Hagen Keller, "Zum Charakter der "Staatlichkeit" zwischen karolingischer Reichsreform und hochmittelalterlichem Herrschaftsausbau," *FMSt* 23 (1989). See also Timothy Reuter, "*Regemque, quem in Francia pene perdidit, in patria magnifice recipit:* Ottonian Ruler Representation in Synchronic and Diachronic Comparison," in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge University Press, 2006), originally printed in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, eds. Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert (Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1998); Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale. Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed. (Primus, 2013), pp. 68-135; on the royal *iter* see Eckhard Müller-Mertens, *Die Reichsstruktur im Spiegel der Herrschaftspraxis Ottos des Grossen: mit historiographischen Prolegomena zur Frage Feudalstaat auf deutschem Boden, seit wann deutscher Feudalstaat?* (Akademie-Verlag, 1980); Karl Leyser, "Ottonian Government," *The English Historical Review* 96, no. 381 (1981): 746-748; John Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936-1075* (Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[27] Leyser, "Ottonian Government," p. 752.

[28] Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, c. 800-1056* (Longman, 1991), p. 122.

Connected to this idea of declining royal authority is the emergence of more localized and regional polities and aristocracies.[29] Often, historians suggested that elites became increasingly independent from the king, or eclipsed the king's power. Historians have taken the status of regional polities in the tenth-century Ottonian kingdom, when they had substantially increased political roles, and tried to trace their roots in Arnulf's reign.[30] These newly prominent polities were previously called "stem-duchies" in the historiography because they were organized along supposedly "tribal" lines (i.e. the Bavarians, Alemannians, etc.).[31] Fleckenstein located the origin of these polities in Arnulf's reign by arguing that royal weakness allowed powerful families to increase their own power to the point that eventually the "tribes" could select their own leaders.[32]

However recent research has done much to weaken this picture from both the Carolingian and Ottonian side. Scholarly discussions of Carolingian rule have often focused on the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. This has created the impression that what occurred under Charlemagne or Louis the Pious, rulers with different practices themselves, was the metric to evaluate later Carolingians. When later Carolingians departed from these practices it was evidence for supposed decline. One older narrative held that the late Carolingian kings lost power as they continually granted land and immunities, but scholars such as Barbara Rosenwein and Charles West have convincingly

[29] For this argument in relation to Arnulf see Martin Lintzel, "Zur Stellung der ostfränkischen Aristokratie beim Sturz Karls III. und der Entstehung Stammesherzogtümer," *Historische Zeitschrift* 166, no. 3 (1942). Tellenbach, "Zur Geschichte," p. 245 made a similar argument, that the nobility became more independent at the end of the ninth century and could impose demands on Arnulf.

[30] Adelheid Krah, "Bayern und das Reich in der Zeit Arnulfs von Kärnten," in *Festschrift für Sten Gagnér zum 3. März 1996*, ed. Maximilane Kriechbaum (Aktiv Druck & Verlag, 1996), pp. 1-3.

[31] See MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 5.

[32] Fleckenstein, *Early Medieval Germany*, pp. 108-109.

shown that property grants do not necessarily indicate a loss of authority.[33] Instead, Carolingian rulers were not opposed to the elites, but worked together as a mutually reinforcing system of authority that prioritized consensus.[34] Increasingly, scholars such as Eric Goldberg have set out to counter the older narrative of decline specifically for the East Frankish kingdom.[35] Goldberg's study of Louis the German's reign is important in setting the stage for understanding Arnulf's own reign. For Goldberg, Louis took what was a more peripheral region under Louis the Pious and turned it into a distinct political community. He did this by using many of the traditional methods of Carolingian rule, such as assemblies, charters, and church synods, but applying them to East Francia.[36] Louis also tried to elevate the status of his court by utilizing royal rituals of authority such as triumphal processions and by sponsoring new architectural projects. That is, Louis strove to create a courtly culture.[37] This East Frankish kingdom was probably not as impoverished as an older generation of historians believed, even if it was less monetized.[38] Goldberg himself suggests that Arnulf wanted to emulate his grandfather

[33] Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Manchester University Press, 1999); Barbara H. Rosenwein, "The Family Politics of Berengar I, King of Italy (888-924)," *Speculum* 71, no. 2 (1996): pp. 247-250; Charles West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution: Political and Social Transformation Between Marne and Moselle, c. 800-c. 1100* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 109-138.

[34] West, *Reframing*, pp. 132-136. Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400-1000* (Cambridge University Press, 2000). The classic account is Jürgen Hannig, *Consensus fidelium: frühfeudale Interpretationen des Verhältnisses von Königtum und Adel am Beispiel des Frankereiches* (Anton Hiersemann, 1982).

[35] Eric J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817-876* (Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 1-13.

[36] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 206-230.

[37] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 187-200.

[38] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 200-206. On the coinage see Simon Coupland, "The Use of Coin in the Carolingian Empire," in *Early Medieval Monetary History: Studies in Memory of Mark Blackburn*, eds.

Louis the German, and that the elites chose Arnulf in 887 because they wanted to continue this East Frankish political community.[39]

Likewise Simon MacLean revised our impression of late Carolingian politics under Arnulf's immediate predecessor Charles the Fat. Charles' reign had largely been viewed through a prism of decline, with the aristocracy rising in power over the ninth century before being powerful enough to dispense with the king.[40] MacLean challenges this narrative by instead emphasizing how Charles was able to utilize regional political networks to distribute access to the ruler.[41] For MacLean granting land to important people and places was not an obstacle to exercising royal power, but allowed others to wield it effectively instead of the court needing to control and manage all the land themselves.[42] Besides Charles the Fat there have been modern reappraisals of most of the other late Carolingian rulers except Arnulf.[43]

Just as historians have revised our knowledge of late Carolingian politics, historians have also reinterpreted the transition from the Carolingian to post-Carolingian world. The model of the "stem-

Rory Naismith et al. (Ashgate, 2014), pp. 277-284.

[39] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 335-346.

[40] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 1-11.

[41] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 81-122.

[42] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 83-91.

[43] Charles the Bald: Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (Longman, 1992); Lothar I: Elina Screen, "The Importance of the Emperor: Lothar I and the Frankish Civil War, 840–843," *EME* 12, no. 1 (2003); Louis the Younger: Matthias Becher, *Rex, Dux, und Gens: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des sächsischen Herzogtums im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert* (Matthiesen, 1996), pp. 110-194; Charles the Simple: Horst Lößlein, *Royal Power in the Late Carolingian Age: Charles III the Simple and his Predecessors* (Modern Academic Publishing, 2019). Lothar II has also been discussed in Charles West, *The Fall of a Carolingian Kingdom: Lotharingia, 855–869* (University of Toronto Press, 2023). Besides Arnulf, his father Carloman has also not received sustained individual treatment.

duchy" is not as common as it once was, even if it lingers on in the historiography.[44] Where the older historiography viewed the stem-duchies as the result of seemingly ancient "Germanic tribes" banding together to dispense with the king, scholars have problematized the concept of these tribes and their supposed unity.[45] Matthias Becher believed that these groups, such as the Saxons, Bavarians, and Alemannians, were subjected to a process of ethnogenesis within the Carolingian empire, where the ruler formed an essential "orientation point" (*Orienterungspunkt*) around which an ethnic unit could form.[46] During this period, Becher argues, the Saxons can only be understood as a group tied to the Frankish kings, and their "self-awareness" (*Selbstbewußtein*) began with Henry I in 919.[47] That is, this was a tenth-century change, not a ninth-century one. Part of the debate turned around determining the status of powerful elites at the end of the ninth century. For instance Becher surveys the evidence for Otto the Illustrious, sometimes referred to as a *dux* of the Saxons by historians, and notes that the

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[44] See for instance Wilhelm Störmer, "Ostfränkische Herrschaftskrise und Herausforderung durch die Ungarn. Zur Ausformung des sogen. jüngeren bayerischen Stammesherzogtums und zum Wandel der Herrschaftsverhältnisse in Bayern," in *Baiern, Ungarn und Slawen im Donauraum*, eds. Willibald Katzinger and Gerhart Marckhgott (Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung: Ludwig-Boltzmann-Institut für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1991), p. 62. For an extended argument against the concept see Hans-Werner Goetz, *"Dux" und "Ducatus": begriffs- und verfassungsgeschichte Untersuchung zur Entstehung des sogenannten "jüngeren" Stammesherzogtums an der Wende vom neunten zum zehnten Jahrhundert* (Brockmeyer, 1977).

[45] Other historians preferred to think more in terms of *regna*, see Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Völker und Regna," in *Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Reichs- und Nationsbildung in Deutschland und Frankreich,* eds. Carlrichard Brühl and Bernd Schneidmüller (R. Oldenbourg, 1997). See the helpful discussion of the literature in Bernd Schneidmüller, "Völker - Stämme - Herzogtümer? Von der Vielfalt der Ethnogenesen im ostfränkischen Reich," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 108 (2000). Schneidmüller is setting the context for a series of three articles: Thomas Zotz, "Ethnogenese und Herzogtum in Alemannien (9.-11. Jahrhundert);" Matthias Becher, "Volksbildung und Herzogtum in Sachsen während des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts;" and Hans-Werner Goetz, "Gentes. Zur zeitgenössischen Terminologie und Wahrnehmung ostfränkischer Ethnogenese im 9. Jahrhundert."

[46] Becher, *Rex, Dux und Gens*, p. 148.

[47] Becher, *Rex, Dux und Gens*, pp. 66-80.

sources do not indicate Otto having ducal responsibilities over Saxony, even if he had a high status.[48] Recent research has also suggested that the emergence of these regional aristocracies dates more from the tenth century than the late ninth.[49]

Historians have also nuanced our understanding of Ottonian rule. Roman Deutinger suggested similarities between late-Carolingian and Ottonian ruling practice, challenging the idea of a strict Carolingian/Ottonian dichotomy.[50] Simon MacLean has questioned whether the model of itinerant kingship, one of the most commonly noted features of Ottonian rule, is as unique to Ottonian rulership. Features of this model, the ruler's presence, hunting, feasting, etc., were also crucial to other systems of rulership that were far more "bureaucratised."[51] Steffen Patzold investigated another element of the supposed Carolingian/Ottonian dichotomy as it relates to capitularies. Even

[48] See Matthias Becher, "Zwischen König und "Herzog". Sachsen under Kaiser Arnolf," in *Kaiser Arnolf: Das Ostfränkische Reich am Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts: Regensburger Kolloquium 9.-11.12.1999*, eds. Franz Fuchs and Peter Schmid (Beck, 2002), pp. 94-96.

[49] Störmer, "Ostfränkische Herrschaftskrise," p. 62 argues that the root of the Bavarian duchy lies in the Luitpolding Arnulf who became increasingly influential after the Battle of Pressburg in 907. See Stuart Airlie, "Review Article: After Empire – Recent Work on the Emergence of Post-Carolingian Kingdoms," *EME* 2, no. 2 (1993); Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 222-225; Simon MacLean, "Shadow Kingdom: Lotharingia and the Frankish World, c. 850-c. 1050," *History Compass* 11, no. 6 (2013): 449-452. For Italy specifically see Igor Santos Salazar, "Shaping a Kingdom: The Sees of Parma and Arezzo Between the Reigns of Louis II and Berengar," in Gantner and Pohl, *After Charlemagne: Carolingian Italy and its Rulers* and Igor Santos Salazar, "Crisis? What Crisis? Political Articulation and Government in the March of Tuscany Through Placita and Diplomas from Guy of Spoleto to Berengar II," *Reti Medievali Journal* 17, no. 2 (2016). See also Chris Wickham and M. Valenti, eds., *Italy 888-962. A Turning Point* (Brepols, 2014) in particular three articles: Marco Stoffella, "Élites locali nell'Italia centro-settentrionale: esempi a confronto;" François Bougard, "Lo stato e le elites fra 888 e 962: il regno d'Italia a confronto (brevi considerazioni);" and Enrico Cirelli, "Le città dell'Italia del nord nell'epoca dei re (888-962 AD)." For Alemmania and Burgundy see Steven Robbie, "The Emergence of Regional Polities in Burgundy and Alemmania, c. 888-940: a Comparative Assessment," (PhD Dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 2012).

[50] See Roman Deutinger, *Königsherrschaft im Ostfränkischen Reich: eine pragmatische Verfassungsgeschichte der späten Karolingerzeit* (Thorbecke, 2006). On the problem of dynastic periodization in particular, see Simon Groth, *In regnum successit: "Karolinger" und "Ottonen" oder das "Ostfränkische Reich"?* (Vittorio Klostermann, 2017), esp. pp. 449-512.

though the Ottonians did not "issue" their own capitularies, Patzold notes that neither did the East Frankish Carolingians after ~830.[52] Yet compilations of these texts were continually copied, suggesting they remained useful, and used, by both East Frankish Carolingian and Ottonian contemporaries.[53]

Because Arnulf is relatively understudied it means that interpretations of this period as a moment of increased elite power and declining royal authority remain embedded in narratives about his reign. That is, there has not been sustained study which has reevaluated Arnulf's reign in light of the new understandings of Carolingian politics since the publication of a series of articles discussing Arnulf in 2002.[54] If the traditional paradigm, of collapsing royal authority and surging elites, no longer holds true, it is possible to incorporate these new findings about Carolingian politics and society into a study of Arnulf's reign. In many ways the two books by Goldberg and MacLean provide an updated framework for interpreting Arnulf's rulership. Understanding that there was a distinct East Frankish kingdom, and moving away from the narrative of an ever-ascending elite, means Arnulf can be

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[51] Simon MacLean, "Palaces, Itineraries and Political Order in Post-Carolingian Kingdoms," in *Diverging Paths?: The Shapes of Power and Institutions in Medieval Christendom and Islam*, eds. John Hudson and Ana Rodríguez López (Brill, 2014), pp. 316-319, quote at p. 318.

[52] Steffen Patzold, "Capitularies in the Ottonian Realm," *EME* 27, no. 1 (2019): 114.

[53] Patzold, "Capitularies," pp. 131-132.

[54] Fuchs and Schmid, eds., *Kaiser Arnolf*. There are numerous studies cited throughout but some important works on Carolingian and Ottonian politics and society since 2002 include: Steffen Patzold, *Episcopus: Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts* (Thorbecke, 2008); Mayke de Jong, *The Pentitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge University Press, 2009); Geoffrey Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840–987)* (Brepols, 2012); Rachel Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2012); Sean Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends: Intercession and Aristocratic Politics in Carolingian and Ottonian Europe* (Brill, 2014); Jennifer R. Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2015); several have already been mentioned: Deutinger, *Königsherrschaft*; Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*; Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*; MacLean, *Kingship*; Lößlein, *Royal Power*.

investigated in the context of his era. Arnulf was not attempting to create a "German" kingdom or warring with an elite, but needs to be contextualized within the immediate political history of his father and grandfather.

The Sources:

No study of a figure in the past can be contemplated without a discussion of the primary sources available to the historian. Unlike other Carolingian rulers such as Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, there are less sources at our disposal for studying Arnulf. Yet there remains a mixture of different types of sources which can be woven together to create a coherent narrative of his reign. While the detailed analysis of these sources will be covered when relevant, some general comments are warranted. There are two main bodies of evidence that work in conjunction throughout, the charters and the narrative sources, in addition to a variety of more fragmentary and limited sources.

Even though they are the most numerous surviving sources from his reign, Arnulf's charters have rarely been at the forefront of investigations of his reign. The narrative sources often take the lead in discussions of Arnulf. In part, this is because the charters present myriad difficulties, as will be laid out below in the *Excursus*[55], but also in part because the narrative sources, in particular the *Annales Fuldenses*, already seem to tell a coherent, yet superficial, story of Arnulf's reign. By contrast, this study views the charters alongside the narrative evidence as necessary for analyzing Arnulf's reign.[56] Because

[55] The technical details of the charters and the edition are covered in the *Excursus*.

[56] See the different approach in Wolfram, *Arnulf*, p. 13 which instead foregrounds the *Annales Fuldenses* as the "most important and at the same time most challenging" source for Arnulf ("Die wichtigste und zugleich schwierigste Quelle").

of the information contained in them (who received the charter, requested the king make the grant, where it was granted, etc.), this makes them a valuable source for more basic details such as the movement of the ruler and who was present at court. From these more basic details one can explore relationships between elites, and how these political networks shifted over time. Likewise parts of the charters describe why the charter was granted, giving a window into royal ideology, while others give the ruler's titles alongside epithets, meaning that seemingly subtle shifts in language allow for glimpses into royal presentation. Beyond this, this dissertation seeks to contextualize the charters in order to understand political practice. This means not just interpreting the language of the charters themselves, but situating them alongside other charters granted at similar moments in time to better understand the logic of their granting. From this one can extrapolate political priorities and the meaning of the grant.

The other major source for Arnulf's reign is the *Annales Fuldenes.* The *Annales Fuldenses* contains a series of entries, divided by year, that describes events from 714 to 901. There are two versions which share a base text up to 882, with minor differences. The first, known as the "Mainz" continuation, was likely composed in the court circle surrounding Louis the Younger and Liutbert, the archbishop of Mainz who served as Louis' archchancellor as well as to several other Carolingian rulers, and contains entries for the years 714 to 887, with a continuation of the base text for the years 882 to 887.[57] The second, known as the "Bavarian" continuation, was written by an unknown Bavarian author (based on the text's interests in Bavarian events) and contains entries for the years 714 to 901, with distinct entries from 882 to 901. Textual evidence also indicates that these annals were likely

[57] On the Mainz continuation of the annals see MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 24-30.

written somewhat contemporaneous to the events they are describing (on which see more below). This makes it one of the few narrative sources contemporary to Arnulf's entire reign. In particular the Bavarian continuation contains numerous details about Arnulf that do not appear in the Mainz continuation, understandable given the Bavarian leaning of the text and Arnulf's early career in Carinthia and Bavaria.

That in all versions the text begins in 714 (a fact not apparent in the only English translation, which begins in 830), highlights that the late-ninth century continuations were situating present events into Carolingian history. The first entry combines elements from various Carolingian texts and begins with the statement that Pippin [of Herstal] "son of Ansegisel, *dux* of the Franks…obtained the kingdom of the Franks for twenty-seven years with the kings Clovis [IV], Childebert [III], and Dagobert [III]."[58] The text, then, begins with a clear statement of Carolingian rule. Indeed there is a possibility the continuation was particularly interested in questions of dynasty: the very first line of one manuscript of the Bavarian continuation adds a note identifying Pippin of Herstal as a descendant of St. Arnulf of Metz, the supposedly saintly ancestor of the Carolingians.[59] Rosamond McKitterick has suggested that in adapting these earlier texts, especially the *Annales Regni Francorum*, the *Annales Fuldenses* before 830 represents a particularly East Frankish view on Carolingian history.[60]

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[58] *AF*, s.a. 714, p. 1: *Pippinus filius Ansgisi, dux Francorum…obtinuitque regnum Francorum per annos XXVII cum regibus Hludowico, Hildiberhto et Dagaberhto.*

[59] *AF*, s.a. 715, p. 1. This is Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 451. On St. Arnulf see Chapter Three, pp. 125-126.

[60] Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 33-36. See also Richard Corradini, "Die Annales Fuldenses – Identitatkonstructionen im ostfränkischen Raum am Ende der Karolingerzeit," in *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Richard Corradini et al. (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006).

Part of the challenge in understanding the *Annales Fuldenses* is the fact that no single codex exists which contains the entire text from 714 to 901. Further, most of the manuscripts date to well after the ninth century.[61] Yet it does seem that the manuscript now in Leipzig originally contained the entire text from 714 to 901 even if parts of it are now missing.[62] From these disparate sources the editor, Friedrich Kurze, identified three recensions of the text.[63] Yet Timothy Reuter and Richard Corradini have raised issues with Kurze's editorial process.[64] Indeed Reuter proclaimed that "[w]hat is needed is a new edition based on a full collation of all the available manuscripts."[65] The flaws of Kurze's approach notwithstanding, Reuter concludes that there is "no doubt as to the essential wording or meaning of the text."[66]

The annalist, or annalists, of the Bavarian continuation reveal that at least certain entries were written close to the events.[67] While annals could be written contemporaneously with the events they are describing, this was not inevitably true. In the case of the *Annales Regni Francorum* and the

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[61] Kurze, *Annales Fuldenses*, pp. VIII-X.

[62] Leipzig Stadtbibliothek II 129a. Bernhard Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen in der Karolingerzeit, Teil 2: Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen* (Otto Harrassowitz, 1980), pp. 7-8 and Heinz Löwe ed., *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter. Vorzeit und Karolinger, VI Heft: Die Karolinger vom Vertrag von Verdun bis zum Herrschaftsantritt der Herrscher aus dem sächsischen Hause Das ostfränkische Reich* (H. Böhlaus, 1990), p. 673 n. 67. This was evidently copied by Johannes Aventinus in the sixteenth century when it was more complete; Aventinus' copy survives as Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 966.

[63] See Kurze, *Annales Fuldenses*, p. X for a diagram of the recensions.

[64] Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 7 and Corradini, "Die Annales Fuldenses," p. 123.

[65] Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 7.

[66] Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 7.

[67] Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 5. Under the entry for 884 the annalist notes that "in the present year, in which we reckoned these things," *AF* (B), s.a. 884, p. 112: *Ceterum vero instanti anno, quo ista conputamus.*

Annales Mettenses parts were written after the events and constructed to present specific images of kingship and power.[68] Yet contemporaneous annals could also construct their own versions of events for political and rhetorical purposes.[69] Whether the annalist, or annalists, of the *Annales Fuldenses* were writing year by year, or in chunks, is a difficult question to answer. It is even possible that the original version was "more like a bundle of loose notes and jottings" than a completed text.[70] Steffen Patzold, in an appendix to his book on bishops, lays out the possibility that the text was written in three stages with several authors. For Patzold the earliest period, from 882 to 892, was overseen by Aspertus, Arnulf's chancellor and later bishop of Regensburg. From 892 to 897 they were taken over by Arnulf's chancellor Wiching, before it passed into the hands of the bishop of Passau Richard for the final years of the text.[71] Patzold suggests that Wiching may have added sentences to the earlier entries, in particular the section on the frontier conflict known as the Wilhelminer War.[72] If we accept Patzold's identifications, which he readily admits are hypotheses, the continuation of the *Annales Fuldenses* after 882 represents an important source for studying Arnulf precisely because it is not only contemporary, or close to contemporary, to the events it describes, but also because both Aspertus and Wiching were direct members of Arnulf's court, giving a potential view into ideas circulating at court. Patzold does

[68] See McKitterick, "Constructing the Past" and Hen, "The Annals of Metz."

[69] See Simon MacLean, "Ritual, Misunderstanding, and the Contest for Meaning: Representations of the Disrupted Royal Assembly at Frankfurt (873)," in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany, 800-1500*, eds. Björn Weiler and Simon MacLean (Brepols, 2006) and Phillipe Buc, "Text and Ritual in Ninth-Century Political Culture: Rome, 864," in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, eds. Gerd Althoff et al. (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[70] Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 7.

[71] Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 552-561.

[72] Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 560-561.

not believe it was meant to circulate, but was instead designed to be used by the court chaplains.[73] It is possible, then, to interpret the Bavarian continuation of the *Annales Fuldenses* as a text that witnessed the rise of Arnulf to the kingship, and reflects a specifically Bavarian, and perhaps courtly, viewpoint.

The challenge is taking these sources, which often give fragmentary information, and teasing out the connections and events that lie behind them. While traditional narratives of Arnulf's reign have largely relied on the *Annales Fuldenses* to set the stage, this study uses the charters in conjunction with the *Annales Fuldenses* to create a more comprehensive and balanced narrative. The charters cannot be easily understood without the narrative evidence, while the narrative evidence is substantially nuanced by the charters. There are also other narrative sources, such as Regino of Prüm's *Chronicon* and the *Annales Vedastini*, that are discussed elsewhere in the dissertation when relevant. Besides these narrative sources there are fragmentary sources, manuscripts, and coins which help to clarify certain points raised by the other sources.

Structure and Outline:

There are numerous monographs about Carolingian rulers, with drastically different methodological and organizational approaches. Some are largely thematic, focusing on certain trends throughout a ruler's reign.[74] Others are chronological, following the king's career from the beginning to the end.[75] Of course, the boundary between these approaches is relatively porous, as chronologically

[73] Patzold, *Episcopus*, p. 365.

[74] See for instance two monographs about Charlemagne: Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: the Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge University Press, 2008) and Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*. See also MacLean, *Kingship*.

[75] For instance Nelson, *Charles the Bald* and Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*.

focused works can have thematic discussions as well. While this dissertation proceeds chronologically, it is *not* simply a biography of Arnulf. That is, it makes little attempt to reconstruct Arnulf's personality, in part because our sources are almost entirely filtered through his court and others who rarely mention anything about his personality.[76] That being said, at places we can perhaps glimpse personal interventions or interests. The focus on politics and chronology also means that not every event will be covered, but instead this dissertation is a political interpretation using a chronological framework. As MacLean notes in his work on Charles the Fat, the goal is "to use the reign as a window on the political events and structures of the late Carolingian empire."[77]

The dissertation owes much of its structure to Eric Goldberg's monograph on Louis the German, *Struggle for Empire*, which proceeds chronologically through Louis' reign. A chronological approach is important for understanding Arnulf's reign because politics, and political geography, shifted throughout his life. At the same time one of the main sources for this dissertation, Arnulf's charters, strongly encourage a chronological focus. That is, if charters are the textual remnants of specific political interventions, then their temporal and geographical context become of paramount importance.[78] Aggregating the charters across Arnulf's entire reign risks obscuring, when compared to later in his reign, that over one third of his charters came in just two years, 888 and 889. While increased charter production was not uncommon early in a reign, Arnulf's thirty-six charters in 888

[76] This is in contrast to other rulers where we are substantially more informed, such as Charlemagne. See Janet L. Nelson, *King and Emperor: A New Life of Charlemagne* (University of California Press, 2021), pp. 1-14.

[77] MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 9.

[78] For the details on Arnulf's charters see the following chapter.

dwarfs that of any other East Frankish Carolingian ruler.[79] Likewise in the aggregate individuals or institutions may take on more importance than they really had, because their influence was actually limited to a brief period of time. Second, proceeding through time allows one to grasp the stability or instability of Arnulf's political networks.[80] Kings needed to maintain and develop political networks to remain in power and often charters were one of the avenues for doing this.[81] These networks did not spring into existence fully formed, however, but were constantly negotiated and renegotiated.[82] Analyzing Arnulf's charters over time allows this process to be explored at specific moments.

There are also several key events that signal important turning points in Arnulf's life. Of course, the coup itself in 887 was the turning point which brought Arnulf into power. Second, the victory at the Battle of Leuven in 891 also coincided with an increased sense of status and confidence by Arnulf's court. The Synod of Tribur in 895 represented the grandest expression of Arnulf's authority, soon followed by his coronation as emperor in 896. As such 895/896 represents another turning point in the reign. Finally, the onset of his illness in 896, and more severely in 897, created new challenges that distinguish the final years of Arnulf's reign as a distinct period.

The chapters of the dissertation largely follow this chronological timeline, with break points in 887, 891, and 895/896. Chapter Two discusses Arnulf's career before becoming king in 887, arguing

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[79] See the charts in Chapter Three, p. 110.

[80] See a similar approach in Lößlein, *Royal Power*, pp. 127-232.

[81] On this mechanism and monasteries see Innes, *State and Society*, for a summary of the arguments see pp. 251-254. Matthew Innes, "Kings, Monks and Patrons: Political Identities and the Abbey of Lorsch," in *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (du début du IXe aux environs de 920)*, ed. Régine Le Jan (Publications de l'Institut de recherches historiques du Septentrion, 2018), pp. 318-323.

[82] Lößlein, *Royal Power*, pp. 9-17 for a survey of this literature.

that his role along the eastern frontier was an important proving ground for developing his reputation as a military commander and political leader. It proposes a new way of evaluating legitimacy by suggesting contemporaries cared more about dynastic status than birth status. I argue that Arnulf's illegitimacy was not the decisive factor in why, when his father Carloman became ill in 879 and Arnulf seemingly made a play for the throne, he did not become king. Instead it was the ability of his more powerful uncles to mobilize elite support that prevented Arnulf from succeeding his father.

Chapter Three covers the early years of Arnulf's reign, from 887 to 891. Compared to his predecessors and the period after 891, Arnulf granted a large number of charters as a way of securing elite support for his nascent rule, making these years a distinct period. In these charters we can see how Arnulf's Carolingian heritage was a strategic resource that remained useful, but not universally, in the years after 887. In Lotharingia references to Arnulf's Carolingian predecessors emphasized the long Carolingian history in that region as a way of contrasting Arnulf with the non-Carolingian ruler Rudolf. In Alemannia, on the other hand, Arnulf's Carolingian heritage was valuable mainly in how it connected him to Charles the Fat. With these threats somewhat neutralized by 891 Arnulf's reign was seemingly more secure, and his victory at the Battle of Leuven provided additional credibility and prestige.

This victory serves as a turning point in the dissertation, and as such Chapter Four proceeds to investigate the series of military successes won by Arnulf between 891 and 893, arguing that these provided additional credibility and prestige to Arnulf's court. At the same time Arnulf was able to install several loyalists into key positions throughout the kingdom, further consolidating his rule. This

culminated in the Synod of Tribur held in 895, which represented one of the highwater marks of Arnulf's reign.

Chapter Five builds on this chapter to argue that in the period from 891 to 895 Arnulf presented himself as holding a quasi-imperial authority that distinguished him from the other rulers in the former Carolingian empire. Arnulf used large scale assemblies and public diplomatic events with neighboring rulers and peoples in order to proclaim a quasi-imperial kingship that influenced other parts of the empire even without direct territorial control. Yet this was an idea of empire that differed from the two Carolingian imperial models of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. This vision of empire was derived from the East Frankish context of Arnulf's grandfather Louis the German. The discussion then turns in Chapter Six to Arnulf's campaigns into Italy, which investigates Arnulf's Italian ambitions between 888 and 896, concluding with his coronation as emperor. Finally, in Chapter Seven, I discuss the final years of Arnulf's life from 896 to 899 when illness placed increasing pressures on the court. Despite this illness Arnulf continued to issue charters and engage in the business of being king.

This dissertation therefore makes several interventions in the scholarship on late Carolingian politics and society. First, the Carolingian past remained a valuable resource for Arnulf, but it was used selectively. It is commonly remarked that Carolingian blood still mattered, but relatively little attention is given to Arnulf's place in such a world beyond noting his illegitimate status.[83] For certain audiences, and at certain times, Arnulf wanted to tie himself to the dynasty and emphasize his dynastic status. Yet

[83] See for instance Stuart Airlie, "The Nearly Men: Boso of Vienne and Arnulf of Bavaria," in *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe: Concepts, Origins, Transformations*, ed. Anne Duggan (Boydell, 2000) and MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 231. This is more fully covered in Chapter Two, pp. 52-67.

this was not always helpful, especially in places where there was not a rival claimant such as in Bavaria. A Carolingian heritage was most useful in the places that saw direct competition from non-Carolingians, such as Lotharingia, because it allowed Arnulf to distinguish himself from these non-Carolingian rulers.

Second, the traditional tools of Carolingian politics remained under Arnulf, but were now adapted to these new circumstances. Unlike his predecessors, Arnulf had the challenge of integrating a kingdom that had undergone a process of both division and assimilation within the span of a little more than a decade. This meant there were various political networks that had developed which could not easily be dismantled. As such many of the traditional methods of Carolingian rule (charters, assemblies, campaigns) were utilized but modified to fit the new contexts of the 880s and 890s.

This leads to the third main intervention: that Arnulf was operating within a specific East Frankish model of Carolingian politics and rulership.[84] It is necessary to understand Arnulf within this specifically East Frankish history, in particular the reigns of his grandfather Louis the German and his father Carloman. Arnulf acted as an *East Frankish* ruler, and that shaped his actions and priorities. In particular his interests along the frontier and Italy were derived both from his early career before becoming king, but also the ambitions of his grandfather and father. As such we need not interpret Arnulf as a proto-German king, but as firmly rooted in a specific Carolingian and East Frankish context. At the same time, conditions had changed from the reign of his grandfather Louis the German, meaning there was a constant interplay between tradition and innovation.

[84] That is, I do not go so far as to say there was "neither 'Carolingians' or 'Ottonians'" ("Einerseits gab es weder 'Karolinger' noch 'Ottonen'") as Groth, *In regnum successit*, p. 453 concludes on the basis of differences between rulers within dynasties.

All of this taken together presents a newly revised understanding of Arnulf. This does not mean simply reinterpreting Arnulf"s reign, but also about offering a new perspective on the overall shape and trajectory of late Carolingian politics. Arnulf navigated his reign by relying on the past both symbolically and practically in order to secure his place within the dynasty and within the kingdom. That is, Arnulf's reign was not the moribund twilight of the Carolingian world, but belongs as a vibrant part of the Carolingian story.

Excursus: Charter Production Under Arnulf of Carinthia, 887-899

Early medieval charters are not straightforward documents. There is a dense and technical discipline devoted to their study, with a long and pedigreed history. The earliest scholars of diplomatic, as the discipline is called, were concerned with determining rules for evaluating the authenticity of charters.[1] Eventually, however, scholars shifted from ascertaining the veracity of documents to instead focusing on using charters to make historical arguments.[2] In part, this was because nineteenth and twentieth century editors relied upon assumptions of royal authority when they created the editions. That is, an "authentic" charter was issued by a king with specific signs of authentication, and when later charters had variance in these signs it meant a decline in the ability of the ruler to enforce standardization.[3] Questions of authenticity were thus bound up with questions of royal power.

Because charters are often quite formulaic historians have sometimes downplayed their utility for questions of royal ideology. Recently, however, historians have argued that charters' formulaic nature is not an impediment to them containing information on political values. Modern scholars have instead made convincing arguments that subtle shifts in language tell us about changes in royal ideology and practice. Multiple studies have investigated various of these formulaic elements (such as

[1] Jean Mabillon, *De re diplomatica* (Paris, 1681) is widely considered to have established the discipline.

[2] See Koziol, *The Politics of Memory*, pp. 17-21 for this history.

[3] Mark Mersiowsky, *Die Urkunde in der Karolingerzeit: Originale, Urkudenpraxis und politische Kommunikation* (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015), pp. 1-22.

the *arenga*[4], *eschatocol*[5], and the *intitulatio*[6]) in order to argue they can reveal important information about political ideology. Herwig Wolfram has argued that royal charters were "well-composed ensembles of political symbols, *Herrschaftszeichen,*" that could be modified due to changes in political circumstances.[7] Yet the formulaic nature of these documents served an important role: stability of language communicated the stability of the political order.[8] What many of these historians stress is that charters were not simply legal documents, even if they were also legal statements, but were shaped by, and reflective of, social and political circumstances.[9] Even forgeries exhibited this social and political function.[10]

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[4] The *arenga* comes at the beginning of the charter and gives the general reasons for granting the charter. On this see Heinrich Fichtenau, *Arenga: Spätantike und Mittelalter im Spiegel von Urkundenformeln* (H. Böhlaus, 1957); Susanne Zwierlein, *Studien zu den Arengen in den Urkunden Kaiser Ludwig des Frommen (814-840)* (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016).

[5] The *eschatocol* contains the various elements found at the end of the charter including the ruler's *signum* and monogram, as well as the dating clause. See Peter Worm, "From Subscription to Seal: the Growing Importance of Seals as Signs of Authenticity in Early Medieval Royal Charters," in *Strategies of Writing: Studies on Text and Trust in the Middle Ages. Papers from "Trust in Writing in the Middle Ages" (Utrecht, 28–29 November 2002)*, ed. Petra Schulte et al. (Brepols, 2008); Hagen Keller, "Zu den Sigeln der Karolinger und der Ottonen. Urkunden als 'Hoheitszeichen' in der Kommunikation des Königs und seiner Getreuen," *FMSt* 32 (1998); Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, "Ritual in the Royal Chancery: Text, Image, and the Representation of Kingship in Medieval French Diplomas (700-1200)," in *European Monarchy: Its Evolution and Practice from Roman Antiquity to Modern Times*, eds. Heinz Duchhardt, Richard Jackson, and David Sturdy (Steiner, 1992).

[6] This is the ruler's title, given at the beginning of the charter. On this see See Herwig Wolfram, *Intitulatio II: Lateinische Herrscher-und Fürstentitel im neunten und zehnten Jahrhundert* (H. Böhlaus, 1973).

[7] Herwig Wolfram, "Political Theory and Narrative in Charters," *Viator* 26 (1995): 40 and 42-44.

[8] On stability see Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 25-26.

[9] Most notably the works of Geoffrey Koziol: Koziol, *Begging Pardon* and more importantly Koziol, *The Politics of Memory*.

[10] See Levi Roach, *Forgery and Memory at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton University Press, 2021), pp. 256-272.

Yet it is not just the language that mattered, but also the visual layout of the charters. They were written on only one side of large sheets of parchment, with distinguishing elements such as the king's monogram, seal, and an elongated script for the first line.[11] These visual elements likely developed in part because charters were incorporated into public-facing ceremonies, and these distinguishing elements helped convey the status of the document.[12] Mark Mersiowsky identified a specifically Carolingian visual "matrix" (as he calls it) that developed in the 780s and 790s before being further refined under Louis the Pious.[13] Mersiowsky suggests that in later periods this form was adhered to in different ways; different rulers, at different times, had varying levels of interest, or ability, in enforcing these forms.[14]

Mersiowsky's findings intersect with debates about the organization and nature of the "chancery." An older model of charter production postulated an organized group of scribes that worked at the direction of the court as part of a semi-bureaucratic office.[15] Recently, scholars have revised their understanding of charters to emphasize recipient involvement and to reevaluate the nature of the royal chancery. Mersiowsky argued that we should view charters as encompassing a range of ideas

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[11] Koziol, *Begging Pardon*, pp. 87-90 and Koziol, *The Politics of Memory*, pp. 56-58.

[12] Keller, "Zu den Sigeln," pp. 408-410.

[13] Mersiowsky, *Die Urkunde*, pp. 54-241, at pp. 236-241 he summarizes this *Matrix* and its development. Mersiowsky defines it on p. 236 as only using one side of the parchment, a chrismon at the beginning of the document, elongated script in the first line, a *Kontext* written in charter cursive, a signum with monogram to the left, the recognition line and subscription to the right along with the seal, and the dating clause at the bottom.

[14] Mersiowsky, *Die Urkunde*, pp. 239-241.

[15] See Robert-Henri Bautier, "La chancellerie et les actes royaux dans les royaumes carolingiens," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 142 (1984): 37 but noting the possibility of recipient scribes if there were not enough chancery scribes to complete the work.

from both the court and the recipient.[16] For the Ottonians Wolfgang Huschner argued that many supposed court scribes were in fact bishops or other clerical figures, calling into question the idea of a defined chancery with permanent staff.[17] Huschner's arguments have been met with some criticism, in particular his suggestion that bishops had such a large role.[18] Regardless of the specifics for Ottonian document production, the broader question of how we interpret the composition of charters has important implications for this study, which is founded on Arnulf's charters as one of the most critical source bases. In the older model they reflected royal, or at least courtly, ideas. If we accept the role of recipient production, as recent research has indicated, can we still use charters as viable sources for an analysis of royal practice and ideology? More recent research offers a path forward by clarifying how best to understand charters in ways that acknowledges recipient involvement but also the influence of royal courts.

Several recent studies have deployed charters effectively in constructing narratives of rulers and understanding royal ideology/priorities. They are also useful in telling the historian information about political relationships.[19] Elina Screen, in her study of Lothar I, noted that charters provided a way to

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[16] Mark Mersiowsky, "Towards a Reappraisal of Carolingian Sovereign Charters," in *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, ed. Karl Heidecker (Brepols, 2000).

[17] Wolfgang Huschner, *Transalpine Kommunikation im Mittelalter: diplomatische, kulturelle und politische Wechselwirkungen zwischen Italien und dem nordaplinen Reich (9.-11. Jahrhundert)* (Hahn, 2003), see pp. 63-94 for the "hierarchical model" of the chancery. He then explores how the charters for the Ottonians were not written by low level scribes, but elites on pp. 94-198. This suggests to him that the hierarchical model no longer holds true. For the conclusions see pp. 929-980.

[18] For the challenges see Hartmut Hoffmann, "Notare, Kanzler, und Bischöfe am ottonischen Hof," *DA* 61, no. 2 (2005).

[19] Brigitte Merta, "Why Royal Charters?: A Look at Their Use in Carolingian Bavaria," in *Vom Nutzen des Schreibens. Soziales Gedächtnis, Herrschaft und Besitz im Mittelalter*, eds. Walter Pohl and Paul Herold (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002).

access "Lothar's response to the political, ideological and moral challenges of 840-843, as the most extensive of the limited sources produced by, for or near Lothar's court circle."[20] This approach has been taken to study other rulers with limited narrative sources, such as Charles the Simple.[21] Likewise Eric Goldberg has used the charters to show how Louis the German consolidated his own kingdom in the early years of his reign.[22] Simon MacLean emphasizes the contextual nature of these grants: the times and places where they are given matters for understanding their role in political struggles.[23]

An important element of recent research on charters is that they show the existence of negotiated political discourses and ideas. That is, the charters themselves were instrumental in creating versions of events and solidifying political relationships.[24] As Geoffrey Koziol describes them, charters were "performatives" which by their issuing served to enact changes in the political and social order.[25]

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[20] Screen, "The Importance of the Emperor," p. 27.

[21] Lößlein, *Royal Power*, esp. p. 18.

[22] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 156-164.

[23] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 129-134 and pp. 144-160; See also Koziol, *The Politics of Memory*, pp. 119-212.

[24] On the use of charters for solidifying relationships see Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends,* esp. pp. 43-84. On charters as creating narrative, see Koziol, *The Politics of Memory*; Sarah Foot, "Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters: Memory, Record, or Story?" In *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West*, eds. E.M. Tyler and Ross Balzaretti (Brepols, 2006); Fraser McNair, "Kingship and Consent in the Reign of Charles the Simple: the Case of Sint-Servaas (919)," *The Medieval Journal* 7, no. 2 (2017): 6-12; in private charters see Edward Roberts, "Boundary Clauses and the Use of the Vernacular in Eastern Frankish Charters, c. 750-c.900," *Historical Research* 91, no. 254 (2018); and in a slightly different context see Jonathan Tickle, "Changing Queenships in Tenth-Century England: Rhetoric and (Self-)Representation in the Case of Eadgifu of Kent at Cooling," *EME* 31, no. 4 (2023).

[25] Koziol, *The Politics of Memory,* pp. 39-42 and Geoffrey Koziol, "Making Boso the Clown: Performance and Performativity in a Pseudo-Diploma of the Renegade King (8 December 879)," in *Rituals, Performatives, and Political Order in Northern Europe, c. 650-1350*, eds. Wojtek Jezierski et al. (Brepols, 2015), pp. 43-51.

Koziol is right to emphasize the ritual and political functions of charters, but we do not necessarily need to understand every document as driven by royal interests or fitting into a model of public performance. By placing the charters within their proper historical context the emphases, relationships, and connections between recipients and the court become easier to grasp.

The Edition and Its Problems:

Arnulf's corpus of charters have specific technical problems that must be addressed in order to justify their use for a political analysis of his reign. The rest of the *Excursus* will address these problems and lay out my approach to the corpus. The edition of Arnulf's charters published in 1940 contains 178 "authentic" charters, of which two are mandates.[26] Yet not all of these charters are alike. In some cases Kehr has edited what is termed an *angebliches Originaldiplom* or an "allegedly original diploma." Often these were existing diplomas which were erased and reused by later forgers. For instance two charters for Osnabrück were used by later forgers.[27] While I may reference these in terms of grants to specific places (which in these cases is presumably the recipient of the original grant) I have largely ignored these types of charters in my analysis.[28] This is because the text of the document is often highly

[26] Kehr also included seventeen forgeries in his edition. Paul Kehr, ed., *Die Urkunden Arnolfs*, MGH Die Urkunden der Deutschen Karolinger 3 (Weidmmansche Buchhandlung, 1940). On the history of Arnulf's charters and the edition see Mark Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita*, *causa finita?* Zur Diplomatik Kaiser Arnolfs," in Fuchs and Schmid, *Kaiser Arnolf,* pp. 271-301. Mandates differed from diplomas in their appearance and very few survive. On mandates see Mark Mersiowsky, "Regierungspraxis und Schriftlichkeit im Karolingerreich: Das Fallbeispiel der Mandate und Briefe," in *Schriftkultur und Reichsverwaltung unter den Karolingern. Referate des Kolloquiums der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften am 17./18. Februar 1994 in Bonn*, ed. Rudolf Schieffer (Westdeutscher Verlag, 1996), esp. pp. 118-124.

[27] DD A 4 and 62.

[28] They are DD A 4, 36, 62, 137, and 161.

interpolated by a later scribe, making it unwise to draw any conclusions from the text itself. Likewise I have also excluded charters that are extremely fragmentary (often Kehr cobbled them together from a variety of places) or were substantially interpolated by later scribes.[29] Kehr only identified a handful of these charters, and in general I have not relied on them in my analysis. Where possible they may factor into broader discussions of distribution patterns, but only where what survives is clear. Finally, some of the charters edited by Kehr have problematic transmission histories, such as D A 143 which is a twelfth-century forgery that Kehr believed was based on a real diploma even if most of the text is forged.[30] Another, D A 6, is only the dating clause taken from a forged charter from the mid-twelfth century. Kehr believed this came from an authentic document at some point in the past, and actually translated it "back" into Latin from Middle High German (which is the language of the forgery).[31] Even if these charters were left in the analysis, they would not substantially impact conclusions about distribution patterns, royal agendas, or elite relationships. In most cases these charters are so fragmentary or interpolated that they would only be relevant in the broadest sense. For instance a fragmentary charter for an individual named Perchtolf will do little to shape my conclusions because Perchtolf does not appear in any other charters, so little determination can be made of his connections,

[29] DD A 46, 72a, 107a, and 108. Kehr calls them "fragments" (*Die Urkunden Arnolfs*, p. XIII) because they did not exist in any one document. For instance, for D A 46 Kehr found the protocol in a sixteenth century miscellany, another part in the Eichstätt archive from the end of the seventeenth century, and a summary of the charter in an eighteenth century register from Eichstätt. That is, they were not *deperdita*, or lost charters. Compare Kehr's approach to the dedicated section on *deperdita* in the edition of Louis II's charters.

[30] D A 143.

[31] See Engelbert Mühlbacher, ed. *Regesta Imperii I: Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751-918*, 2nd ed. (Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1908), no. 1770. Kehr admits that the rest of the charter is a forgery, and it is only the eschatocol that is authentic. He edited the forged text under D sp. A 177.

status, etc.[32] Another fragmentary charter was edited by Kehr alongside a more securely attested document for the same recipient granted around the same time, meaning the fragment would not skew the conclusions about that recipient.[33] As such I have taken a more conservative approach in not using these documents. The table below summarizes the charters I have excluded, leaving a corpus of 167 charters:

Table 1: Excluded Charters	
Charter	Reason
D A 6	Only survives in a later German chronicle, Mühlbacher argued it was a forgery (see n. 31)
D A 36	"Fake original"
D A 46	Fragment
D A 62	"Fake original"
D A 72a	Fragment
D A 107a	Fragment
D A 108	Reused in an eleventh-century manuscript, extremely damaged with almost no surviving information
D A 137	"Fake original"
D A 143	Twelfth-century forgery, Kehr argued it was based on a real document but almost all the text is forged
D A 161	"Fake original"
D A 163	Forgery

As suggested by this discussion of the problematic charters, Kehr's edition is not without issues. Mersiowsky highlights that when Kehr made the edition he was quite old and evidently had "failing eyesight" (*schwindende Sehrkraft*) that caused him to rely on others at times to help him.[34] Even

[32] D A 46 for Perchtolf

[33] D A 107a.

[34] Mersiowsky, "Carta edita," p. 326. Kehr himself notes his ailments and poor eyesight, *Die Urkunden Arnolfs*, pp. IX-X.

more critically, Peter Rück called Kehr a "bad paleographer" (*schlechten Paläographen*).[35] While that may be pushing too far, Kehr certainly made errors: some of the charters, such as D A 163, are in fact forgeries but edited as authentic.[36] Yet the edition itself is, as far as I can ascertain, accurate in regard to the transcriptions.[37] Mersiowsky even suggests that a new reappraisal of the documents is hard to justify because it may not get us much beyond Kehr's conclusions.[38]

What Mersiowsky criticizes Kehr for is how he approached the organization of the chancery, even if his identifications of hands is sound.[39] Mersiowsky suggests that Kehr was too conservative in his approach because of his ideas of how a royal chancery should work, namely that Kehr believed the writing of the charter would not fall to the notary or chancellor themselves, but lower level scribes.[40] This overly rigid approach to the chancery led Kehr to misidentify several court scribes as distinct persons from notaries overseeing the production of the charter, when they were likely the same person. Complicating matters is that Kehr does not explain in detail how he has localized a charter's hand and

[35] See Peter Rück, "Zur Einhundertjahrfeier des Instituts (1894 – 1994)," in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zum 65. Geburtstag von Peter Rück. Fachgebiet Historische Hilfswissenschaften*, ed. Erika Eisenlohr (Universitätsbibliothek Marburg, 2000), p. 295.

[36] See Mersiowsky, *Die Urkunde*, pp. 213-214 and n. 782. In Kehr's defense he himself acknowledges it may be a forgery, D A 163.

[37] That is, where I have been able to double check Kehr's transcriptions they are accurate, but I have not done so systematically. Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita*," p. 371 notes that while he has some corrections to Kehr, the edition remains valuable, and p. 374 refers to it as "solid."

[38] Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita*," p. 347.

[39] Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita*," p. 326.

[40] On the edition and its problems see Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita,*" p. 294; Mersiowsky, "Carta edita," pp. 344-345.

who dictated the document.[41] Kehr operated under the assumption that if the same hand wrote two documents for different recipients, they were a "chancery" scribe attached to the court. Chancellors and notaries are usually noted towards the end of the charter in the *recognition* line, which reads something like: "chancellor Ernust recognized [the charter] in the place of archchaplain Theotmar."[42] Aspertus was the most frequently noted notary/chancellor in Arnulf's charters, followed by Engilpero, Ernust, and then finally Wiching. Kehr believed that the chancellor, and archchancellor, were of higher status than the notary but in the charters they seem to fulfill similar roles. In theory these individuals were in charge of overseeing the production of the charter.[43] While the terms *notarius* and *cancellarius* could overlap, in Arnulf's charters they were more distinct suggesting these terms *did* have different meanings, at least under his reign. Aspertus was always referred to as chancellor, while Engilpero was always described as a notary.[44] In the edition, court scribes are identified with the name of the chancellor under whom they most frequently appeared and a letter. Under Arnulf's first chancellor, Aspertus, Kehr identified six scribes, noted as Aspertus A through F.[45] Kehr also identified three scribes under Arnulf's other chancellor, Wiching.[46] Besides these scribes Kehr identified several notaries who did not have any associated scribes.[47]

[41] Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita*," p. 298.

[42] D A 153: *Ernustus cancellarius advicem Deotmari archicapellani recognovit*.

[43] Paul Kehr, *Die Kanzlei Arnolfs* (Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1939), p. 12.

[44] Kehr, *Die Kanzlei*, pp. 8-12.

[45] Kehr, *Die Urkunden Arnolfs*, pp. XV-XX.

[46] Wiching A through C.

[47] Ernust. Engilpero had one scribe under him according to Kehr, who was involved in the production of three charters: DD A 157, 158, and 166. Yet these all relate to Worms so it is possible this is actually a Worms

A deeper look into these identifications and the production of Arnulf's charters suggests that certain centers, in particular Regensburg, provided a pool of scribes for royal service. The older binary, between recipient and court copies, is therefore of limited use. Theodore Sickel argued that the scribe Aspertus D and the notary Ernust were one and the same, an argument that Kehr discarded when making his edition.[48] Kehr's argument was that several of the charters listing Ernust as the notary were written by other scribes, which precluded Ernust being the scribe. Yet of the surviving originals, nine of the fourteen charters noting Ernust as the notary were written by Aspertus D.[49] There is, to me, little reason that Ernust could not have written many of his own charters, as "Aspertus D," while in a handful he acted as the notary overseeing the charter. Taking up Mersiowsky's suggestion that Sickel was correct, several *arengae* further support the argument that Aspertus D and Ernust were the same person.[50] The *arenga* formula in question emphasizes a two-fold reward for granting the charter, both earthly and heavenly reward. Besides the first charter (D A 3), every charter using a form of this *arenga* involved Ernust as notary and/or was written by Aspertus D, suggesting it was a particular formula

scribe.

[48] Kehr, *Die Urkunden Arnolfs*, p. XIX.

[49] Ernust was notary for fourteen originals (DD A 1, 17, 51, 63, 71, 96, 105, 113, 122, 135, 145-147, and 151), with nine of those being at least partially written by Aspertus D (DD A 63, 71, 96, 105, 113, 122, 135, 146, and 147). Of the other five, three were written by recipients (DD A 17, 51, and 151). Overall Ernust was notary for twenty-two charters, DD A 1, 17, 18, 51, 63, 71, 96, 98, 105, 113, 118, 122, 132, 135, 145-147, 149-151, 153, and 175. Of those twenty-two charters, twelve were wholly or partially written by Aspertus D, DD A 63, 71, 96, 105, 113, 118, 122, 135, 146, 147, 150, and 153. Aspertus D only wrote nineteen charters in total, DD A 63, 65, 71, 75, 88, 96, 105, 113, 118, 122-124, 135, 139, 140, 146, 147, 150, and 153.

[50] Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita*," p. 345.

favored by Ernust/Aspertus D.[51] If we assume that these are the same person, this overlap makes substantially more sense.

That some charters were written by Aspertus D and used this formula, while others were written by recipients under the notary Ernust, suggests that this was not two separate people, but one. Where Kehr identified the hand as that of "Aspertus D" it can plausibly be identified with the notary Ernust. This is only one example where two people may in fact be one: Mersiowsky also suggests that Aspertus C may be identifiable as the notary Engilpero.[52] In other cases scribes Kehr identified as court scribes, because they wrote several royal charters, were actually local scribes.[53] These examples suggest that the identifications of scribes was determined by Kehr's assumptions around how the "chancery" was structured.

This is not the only way we can see challenges to the organization of the chancery as proposed by Kehr. Importantly, we can trace connections between Arnulf's charters and Bavaria, in particular Regensburg. Several charters granted to Kremsmünster or its abbot Snelpero, appear to have been

[51] DD A 18, 78, 105, 105, 113, 135, 146, 150, and 153. Even in scenarios where a recipient scribe was seemingly responsible for the production of the charter, such as in D A 113, Ernust was the notary. Further, in D A 78 Kehr believed the recipient scribe took their example from Aspertus D, suggesting the origin of the *arenga*, while in D A 113 Aspertus D wrote the chrismon, *signum* line, and monogram. D A 113 survives in the original but I do not have access to a digital version to see whether it can be determined who wrote the *arenga*. Kehr suggests a Lotharingian scribe wrote the *arenga*. According to Kehr Aspertus D wrote the *signum* and monogram in advance.

[52] Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita*," p. 345.

[53] Wiching C was a clerk in Regensburg, see DD LC 19, 26, and 31. D A 173 is the only known original written by Wiching C, but Kehr believed Wiching C also wrote DD A 168 and 172. D A 162 is written by a scribe that Kehr believed came from the same writing school as Wiching C, if not Wiching C himself. Heinrich Fichtenau, *Das Urkundenwesen in Österreich vom 8. bis zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert* (Böhlau, 1971), p. 95 suggests it is actually a scribe of Luitpold who also wrote DD LC 27, 42, and 67. Luitpold's vassal is the recipient of D A 162.

influenced by Bavarian private charters.[54] This Bavarian influence may have come from Arnulf's chancellor Aspertus, who was a deacon in Regensburg.[55] Early in Arnulf's reign he can be found granting land to the monastery of St. Emmeram's in Regensburg.[56] Around the same time Arnulf granted him the royal estate of Aufhausen in the Donaugau, which upon his death was to go to either St. Peter (the episcopal church) or St. Emmeram's.[57] Aspertus also appears as an intercessor in five charters, with the last taking place after becoming bishop in 891.[58] Our evidence for the court scribes under Arnulf suggests it was not a strictly delineated office traveling with the king, challenging a firm distinction between recipient and court scribes. Several of the scribes Kehr identified under the chancellor Aspertus can be connected to Regensburg. Two scribes, known as Aspertus A and Aspertus B, do not appear to have written many charters after 891, but when they do they are either related to St. Emmeram's or were granted in Regensburg.[59] Likewise another scribe, Aspertus F, wrote about half of their charters at Regensburg.[60] This scribe provides a potential clue to how these scribes may have

[54] DD A 7 and 22.

[55] Kehr *Die Urkunden*, p. XXVI.

[56] Josef Widemann, ed., *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Regensburg und des Klosters S. Emmeram* (Scientia Verlag, 1988), no. 148.

[57] D A 63. Kehr suggests that that this happened at the same time as the private charter between Ambricho and Aspertus.

[58] DD A 25, 31, 37, 61, 98 and 109. D A 98 is dated to 892, and D A 109 is undated.

[59] Aspertus A was only involved in four charters between 891 and 894, DD A 82, 129, and 130. All three are issued at Regensburg. His last charter was granted at Regensburg in 896, D A 145. Aspertus B was involved in DD A 129 and 130 as well, seemingly both scribes worked on the charters. Aspertus B's only other two charters after 891 came in 894 where Kehr claims he added the eschatocol to the charter, and an 898 charter granted at Regensburg.

[60] Aspertus F was involved in the production of twenty charters, DD A 57, 60, 61, 73, 75, 81, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 99, 100, 101, 115, 116, 119, 134 and 138. DD A 73, 81, 88, 90, 99, 100, 115, 116, and 119 were granted

operated, because Aspertus F can be found writing charters at Regensburg in April and June 891, on campaign with Arnulf in Lotharingia in October 891, and then back in Regensburg in April 892.[61] After 892 Aspertus F wrote eight charters, of which five were granted at Regensburg. This suggests that Aspertus F was based in Regensburg and occasionally made trips with the king when needed. Scribes under Arnulf's third chancellor, Wiching, also display connections to Regensburg.[62] In particular one scribe, known as Wiching C, was in fact a Regensburg scribe.[63] The connections between Arnulf's court scribes and Regensburg suggests that the city was an important source of scribes for royal service. We do not need to understand Arnulf's scribes as working as part of a permanently staffed "chancery" but instead as a pool of scribes, many from Regensburg, who could be called upon to produce charters for the court.[64] As such the boundary between a "recipient" copy and those produced by the court is relatively thin.

There are further indications that scribes could be pulling "double duty" and were not exclusively tied to the court: in a Freising or St. Emmeram copy of Gregory I's *Regula pastoralis* we can find several pages where a scribe has placed a diplomatic *invocatio* (that is, the beginning of the charter

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at Regensburg. DD A 75 and 134 were granted to St. Emmeram's.

[61] DD A 88-90 are from April, May, and June 891 although the May charter has no place of redaction. DD A 92, 93, and 95 were issued while Arnulf was on campaign against the Northmen. DD A 99 and 100 were both issued on April 25th, 892.

[62] Wiching B only wrote four charters between 897 and 899, with two of them being granted at Regensburg. A third, Arnulf's last charter, which does not say where it was granted, was likely also granted at Regensburg because from October 898 Arnulf issued charters only from Regensburg (DD A 165-175).

[63] See above, n. 53.

[64] It is unclear if evidence of these scribes could be found at St. Emmeram or elsewhere, which would require detailed study of the manuscripts.

giving an invocation, such as "in the name of the holy and individual trinity") at the bottom of the page, seemingly as practice.[65] That these scribes were likely not part of a formalized chancery blurs the boundaries between recipient and royal copies. Functionally, were there substantial differences between recipient and court charters? Would contemporaries even notice a difference? Carolingian contemporaries did not have access to an edition, or digitized versions, of Arnulf's charters to precisely track changes in style and language. Visual elements conveyed the meaning in broad strokes: Hagen Keller argued that Louis the German made several changes to the charters precisely to make them easier to be read aloud to a collection of elites; charters took on a more public and ritual role beyond simply recording text.[66] As Mersiowsky noted, Arnulf's charters followed the same visual matrix as the charters of Louis the German but with less visual uniformity, and some recipient scribes had varying levels of familiarity with diplomatic scripts and practices.[67] Mersiowsky argues that the visual layout of the charters were "inconsistent and diverse" but this seems to be based more on parts of the charter being

[65] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14409, fols. 48v, 53v, and 126v. Accessible here: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00046497?page=,1. This is a representative version taken from D A 1: *In nomine sanctae et individuae trinitatis*. Peter Johanek, "Die karolingischen Diplome der Francia orientalis," in *Typologie der Königsurkunden. Kolloquium der Commission Internationale de Diplomatique in Olmütz 30.8.-3.9.1992*, ed. Jan Bistrický (Univerzita Palackého, 1998) p. 123 suggests that the court scribes may have been tasked with other jobs at court, suggesting a reason for the increased number of people involved in charter production. This explanation would also work if they were not solely assigned to the court, but worked at other institutions.

[66] Keller, "Zu den Sigeln," pp. 436-437. See also Koziol, *Begging Pardon*, pp. 87-90. An important element of this was the script, which was now a diplomatic minuscule, Johanek, "Die karolingischen Diplome," pp. 120-125.

[67] For instance in D A 28 where the bulk of the charter is written by a scribe unfamiliar with the *Kanzleischrift* of the time. Kehr argues D A 37 was written by a scribe familiar with chancery norms, but was a sloppy scribe. D A 96 has the first line, context, and dating clause written by Aspertus D, the *signum* line probably by Aspertus C, and the recognition is by a third "insecure" hand according to Kehr.

prefabricated beforehand than incredibly distinct visual changes.[68] The ritual context of these documents becomes more important in such a scenario for establishing the credibility of the document, regardless of its form. These changes, on the whole, do not render any charters as clearly distinct in a way akin to the pseudo-diploma of Boso in 879 which intentionally distorted the size, layout, and appearance of the document to highlight its own forgery.[69] For all intents and purposes, these charters remained legible to late ninth-century recipients. Indeed Mersiowsky concedes that "almost all [of Arnulf's] diplomas observe certain basic features."[70]

In contrast to the court scribes, Kehr considered hands that only appeared in one charter as indicating a "recipient scribe," meaning the charter was presumably produced by the recipient and not the court. Recipient involvement was not a novelty to the later Carolingians, although it is more frequent than in the earlier period.[71] Mersiowsky argued that this shift was caused by structural issues relating to Charles the Fat acquiring multiple kingdoms, meaning he now had to increasingly rely on recipients to help produce charters. By Arnulf's reign, then, recipient production was more normalized.[72] Mersiowsky also argues, following Reuter, that because of their weakened status the late

[68] Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita*," pp. 308-325 at p. 325: "uneinheitlich und vielgestaltig."

[69] Koziol, "Making Boso the Clown." On Arnulf's charters having less uniform appearances but adhering to broader Carolingian trends see Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita*," pp. 371-374.

[70] Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita*," p. 325: "beachten fast alle Diplome bestimmte Grundmerkmale."

[71] See Mark Mersiowsky, "Graphische Symbole in den Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen," in *Graphische Symbole in mitelalterlichen Urkunden: Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik*, ed. Peter Rück (Jan Thorbecke, 1996), p. 344; Zwierlein, *Studien*, pp. 319-322; Theodor Schieffer, "Die lothringische Kanzlei um 900," *DA* 14 (1958): 37-39. On the increased frequency see Mersiowsky, *Die Urkunde*, p. 238.

[72] Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita*," pp. 371-374.

Carolingians had less need to legitimize their power, and thus did not care as much about strictly controlling charter production.[73]

These two observations, of increased recipient involvement and the fluid position of court scribes, poses a problem for using Arnulf's charters to conduct a political analysis of his reign. If the charters do not reflect royal or courtly ideas, they are naturally of little use in determining the court's priorities. Yet we can also look at the question of recipient involvement differently: not every charter displays the same amount of recipient involvement. Even a brief look through Kehr's edition reveals that charters could be worked on by a variety of hands, such as an August 888 charter where the bulk of the charter was written by a recipient scribe while the *signum* and recognition lines were written by a court affiliated scribe.[74] Here I am adopting a methodological point put forward by Levi Roach, following Huschner, that it is better to understand scribes connected to the court as "court scribes" instead of as more standardized "chancery" scribes.[75] In this dissertation I therefore use the distinction between court-affiliated and recipient/unaffiliated. Conceptualizing scribes as either court-affiliated or not provides a better model for understanding charter production. As mentioned above, if charters were negotiated between court and recipient, they were likely operating within the same political and social discourses. As Susanne Zwierlein has suggested, when recipients controlled the wording of *arengae* it transformed the charter into a document addressed *to* the king but which still placed the

[73] Mersiowsky, *Die Urkunde*, pp. 941-944.

[74] D A 35. See for example D A 28 where one court scribe (Aspertus B) wrote the Chrismon and elongated first line, an unknown scribe wrote the context, and another court scribe (Aspertus C) wrote the *eschatocol*.

[75] See Levi Roach, "The "Chancery" of Otto I Revisited," *DA* 78, no. 1 (2022). Many thanks to Levi for sending me a draft version of this.

language within discourses on political authority.[76] This does not mean the recipient and court had equal authority to make changes. For instance Arnald, the bishop of Toul who crowned Arnulf's rival Rudolf in 888, likely needed to accept the language presenting him as groveling to Arnulf for forgiveness of his treachery.[77] One could also suggest that allowing recipients to produce their own charters was a practical method for outsourcing grants, potentially allowing court-affiliated scribes time to produce charters for different recipients.[78] Indeed Mersiowsky himself notes that viewing the changes in charter production under Arnulf negatively stems from modern conceptions about bureaucracy and state power.[79] That is, a different explanation needs to be sought for why there was an increase in recipient involvement under Arnulf than simply a lack of royal oversight or authority.

Yet the category of a recipient copy is unstable when looking at Arnulf's charters. Seventy-seven of the ninety-nine surviving original charters of Arnulf involved at least one court-affiliated scribe.[80] This means that the vast majority of originals display evidence of courtly involvement. This poses a problem for even identifying a recipient copy: is it whenever an unaffiliated scribe was involved? When the entire charter was written by an unaffiliated scribe? By the latter metric only eighteen charters out

[76] Zwierlein, *Studien*, pp. 381-383.

[77] See D A 113. On Arnald and Rudolf see Chapter Three, p. 126.

[78] David d'Avray makes a similar point in response to criticisms of papal charter production, *The Power of Protocol. Diplomatics and the Dynamics of Papal Government, c. 400-c. 1600* (Cambridge University Press, 2023).

[79] Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita*," p. 373.

[80] DD A 2, 5, 10, 15, 19, 24-28, 32, 38, 43-45, 49, 52-54, 56, 58, 60, 61, 63, 65-69, 71, 73-75, 77, 81, 82, 90, 93, 95, 96, 99-103, 105, 110, 113-116, 119, 121, 122, 127, 129, 130, 134-136, 139, 140, 144-147, 152, 155-157, 159, 160, 162, 169, 170, and 173.

of ninety-nine would be considered recipient copies.[81] Perhaps a better criteria is whenever an unaffiliated scribe wrote the bulk of the charter (sometimes referred to as the *Kontext*), meaning the details of the grant and not the *invocatio, signum*, and dating clause. Using that definition there are twenty-nine recipient copies.[82] Twenty-nine recipient copies would only be about thirty percent of Arnulf's original surviving charters, hardly enough to determine the corpus as a whole cannot be useful for understanding courtly ideas.

Among the twenty-nine recipient copies there are patterns which suggest that recipient production was not random: nine of the recipient copies were written by a St. Gall or Reichenau scribe.[83] St. Gall provides an interesting case, because local scribes not only occasionally wrote charters for their own monastery, but also for recipients in the surrounding area.[84] That is, recipients could take advantage of St. Gall's services in producing charters, presumably because of its connection to both the local area and the court. Of the other recipient copies, three can be traced to Salzburg scribes, three were written by Lotharingian scribes, a handful were single attributions, and twelve have scribes whose

[81] DD A 11, 14, 16, 17, 20, 35, 37, 48, 51, 59, 78, 83, 87, 133, 141, 148, 151, and 165.

[82] DD A 11, 14, 16, 17, 20, 25, 28, 35, 37, 48, 51, 58, 59, 78, 81, 83, 87, 99, 103, 113, 114, 127, 133, 141, 148, 151, 165, 167, and 175. D A 58 appears on both lists because it has two copies (A and A^1), one written by Aspertus C and another written by a Fulda monk (presumably) that Sickel identified as of British origin. Kehr disagreed but still claimed it was of a "Western Type" ("sicher ist es ein westlicher Typus") without elaborating.

[83] DD A 11, 35, 37 (survives at St. Gall), 48, 51, 81, 103, 133, and 165 (also survives at St. Gall). This of course is complicated by St. Gall's tradition of preserving the originals, which may mean they are overrepresented in the evidence. D A 151 survives at St. Gall but Kehr could not identify the hand.

[84] St. Gall scribes: DD A 11, 25 (potentially), 48 (for Reichenau), 51 (for Alberich), 81 (for Odalric), 103, and 165. D A 133 is written by a Lotharingian scribe, but is for St. Gall during the Synod of Tribur. Court affiliated: DD A 15, 110, 129, 130, and 146.

place of origin could not be determined by Kehr.[85] Arnulf had important connections to St. Gall, Reichenau, and Salzburg. In the case of St. Gall and Reichenau Arnulf had installed the abbots in 889 and 888 respectively (Solomon III and Hatto) and the archbishop of Salzburg was Theotmar, Arnulf's archchaplain. That is, certain important recipients may have been given more agency in producing their own charters. This type of arrangement was not unique to Arnulf: St. Denis was the main producer of recipient copies under Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald.[86] This is, however, easier to determine for centers like St. Gall that have multiple surviving originals.

That many of the recipient copies involved court-affiliated scribes suggests that the court continued to maintain an amount of oversight of the production of charters, even when recipients were given a "blank" charter (a charter with parts such as the *arenga* or *signum* already written).[87] As such it is unlikely that the recipient could simply choose any message they wanted; rather they had to pay some attention to diplomatic forms and the interests of the court. In some cases the scribe was likely familiar with diplomatic forms even if they were unaffiliated.[88] Rarely, this process worked in reverse, where the unaffiliated scribe wrote the *invocatio* and *signum* but the affiliated scribe wrote the

[85] Salzburg: DD A 17, 20, and 87. Kehr suggests in the notes for D A 20 that the recognition and dating clauses are in an unknown hand similar to D A 28, but does not suggest that D A 28 was written by a Salzburg scribe; Lotharingia: DD A 99, 113, and 133; Passau or Regensburg: D A 16; "Western Type" (Lotharingian?): D A 58A[1]; West Frankish: D A 127; unknown: DD A 14, 28, 59, 78, 83, 94, 114, 141, 148, 151, 167, and 175.

[86] See Mersiowsky, "Graphische Symbole in den Urkunden," p. 340. St. Gall, Regensburg, Fulda, and Salzburg recipient copies are similarly found in the reigns of Louis the Child and Conrad, see Bautier, "La chancellerie," p. 19.

[87] Blank charters are not just a Carolingian phenomenon but appear later in the Middle Ages as well, see Wilhelm Erben, "Das Kaiser- und Königsurkunden des Mittelalters in Deutschland, Frankreich und Italien," in Wilhelm Erben et al., *Urkundenlehre*, vol. 1 (R. Oldenbourg, 1907), pp. 103-104.

[88] DD A 14, 37, 59, 99.

majority of the charter.[89] We cannot conclude, as Kehr did, that because recipients were sometimes furnished with "blank" charters the *signum* and monogram had ceased to matter as signs of authenticity.[90] Sometimes the court-affiliated scribe also later wrote the rest of the charter, running out of room in the process.[91] These were, by all accounts, still rare under Arnulf and that the *signum* and monogram remained controlled by court-affiliated scribes suggests the appearance of those parts of the charter remained important signals for audiences.[92] In the later Middle Ages, when there is more evidence for these types of charters, they were strictly policed precisely because a document with the ruler's signs of authority could be misused.[93]

We can also find specific changes to the language of the charters that was presumably spread by the court. Carolingian charters often concluded with a request that the grant be strengthened by God. This phrase, *in dei obtineat,* appears in older Carolingian charters, but adding *stabilitatem* to it only appears during Arnulf's reign, and then continues in the reign of his sons.[94] It appears in charters from

[89] D A 95, with the same Lotharingian scribe as D A 99.

[90] Kehr, *Die Urkunden Arnolfs*, p. XXXII. These charters are discussed by Mersiowsky, *Die Urkunde*, pp. 200-204.

[91] See D A 67, discussed by Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita*," p. 320.

[92] On Arnulf's monogram see Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita*," pp. 355-359.

[93] See Joycelyne Dickinson, "'Blanks' and 'Blank Charters' in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *The English Historical Review* 66, no. 260 (1951) and Donald Queller, "Diplomatic 'Blanks' in the Thirteenth Century," *The English Historical Review* 80, no. 316 (1965).

[94] So the full phrase is rendered, for example: *in dei obtineat stabilitatem*. DD A 9, 21, 25, 32-34, 36, 43, 49, 51-54, 58, 71, 74, 80, 84, 85, 87, 92, 99, 102, 106, 109, 110, 115, 119, 122, 124, 132, 133, 136-138, 144, 146, 148, 156, 162, 165, 168, 172, 173. It then appears in several charters of Louis the Child: DD LC 8, 10, 11, 14, 25, 27, 42; Three charters of Zwentibald: DD Z 18, 20, 26. There is one charter of Louis the German that purports to use it, D LG 51, but it is a "fake original" from the eleventh century and seems to be taking it from Arnulf's charters; see the editorial notes. One charter of Louis II appears to use it, but it is not identical to the later use (D Lo II 16). Older charters instead tend to use *vigorem*, see DD LG 32, 47, 48, 57-60, 62, 68, 74, 75,

888 to 899 and with both affiliated and unaffiliated scribes. The problem with this type of argument is that we do not always have a surviving original as the first instance of its use, meaning we cannot determine conclusively if the original usage was court-affiliated or not.[95] Yet that many of the surviving originals using this formula were written by court-affiliated scribes suggests that the court was influential in promoting the use of this formula, which was then followed even by scribes not affiliated with the court.[96] The usage of *stabilitatem* is only one example where we can find innovations in Arnulf's charters. There are other examples discussed throughout the dissertation where older traditions were seemingly adapted or updated during Arnulf's reign. While the emphasis on this single word may seem overly technical, it tells us something important about how we can interpret Arnulf's charters. The introduction and adoption of *stabilitatem* suggests that the court could, and did, have the ability to change the language of the charters for their own goals. Given the political context of Arnulf's reign, trying to establish himself as a viable successor to Charles the Fat and his Carolingian

86, 97, 134, 165; DD Loth I 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, 22-24, 26-31, 33-35, 37, 39, 52, 61, 77, 80, 87, 89, 101, 106, 115, 133-135; DD Lo II 1, 2, 4, 5, 10,11, 15-18, 26, 31, 34, 43, 46, 48, 50, 53, 57; DD Loth I 9, 12, 15, 25-27, 32, 37; DD Ca 11, 12, 20, 22; DD CF 33, 42, 76, 80, 116, 118, 120, 122, 124, 125, 127, 129, 131, 132, 134-137, 142, 147, 152, 153, 155, 159. Only a handful of Arnulf's charters retain the *vigorem* formula: DD A 112, 120, 125, 128, 166. Older charters also use *firmitatem,* see DD LG 2-5, 7-19, 21, 22, 25-30, 34, 53, 55, 69, 70, 73, 99, 101, 104, 107, 117, 119, 121, 148, 149, 164, 175; DD Loth I 3, 34, 37, 39, 44, 47, 50, 53, 55, 60, 67-70, 78, 79, 81, 82, 86, 90, 94, 98, 100, 112, 114, 117, 128, 129, 138; DD Loth II 4, 5, 11, 13, 17, 19, 20, 35; DD Lo II 35 and 56; D Ca 3; DD CF 7-9, 11, 13, 14, 19, 22, 26, 30, 35, 41, 54, 56, 62, 65, 68, 69, 82, 87, 91, 92, 96, 97, 99, 100, 102, 103, 106, 113, 121, 123, 126, 130, 133, 140, 145, 148, 158, 168, 170, 174; DD LY 8, 19, 22. Arnulf uses *firmitatem* only occasionally: DD A 2, 3, 7, 12, 18, 20, 29, 30, 101, 103, 107a, 174.

[95] In this case it first appears in D A 9 but the first surviving original is D A 25 which was written by a St. Gall scribe.

[96] Court affiliated: DD A 32, 43, 49, 52-54, 58, 71, 74, 84, 102, 110, 115, 119, 122, 136, 144, 146, 156, 173; Unaffiliated: DD A 25, 51, 87, 99, 109, 133, 148, 162, 165.

ancestors, emphasizing stability was a valuable political strategy. As such this is evidence that the charters reflect, at least in part, royal ideas.

This discussion of the technical elements of Arnulf's charters is important for how they will be used in the rest of the dissertation. Questions of recipient involvement are thus crucial for determining which documents may display evidence for specific courtly initiatives versus individual scribal interventions. The preceding discussion suggests that we can posit a more fluid scenario for the production of charters where Arnulf drew on scribes with differing levels of attachment to the court, several of whom were based in important East Frankish centers such as Regensburg. Acknowledging that charters were negotiated documents that could, but did not always, reflect both royal and recipient input, breaks us out of the recipient/court binary. As will be seen throughout, where a given change is novel to Arnulf's reign, or becomes increasingly common, I have interpreted those changes as stemming from the court, especially when they appear under both court-affiliated and unaffiliated scribes. If only court-affiliated scribes utilize a given change, it suggests that knowledge of this practice did not filter too far downstream. On the other hand, if a change only applies to charters written by unaffiliated scribes, that instead suggests the influence of local traditions. That many, if not all, of these charters were subjected to some level of courtly involvement suggests that they all participated in a shared discourse on political power. As such even recipient produced charters can tell us something about ideas of royal authority that were circulating in the late-ninth century.

Chapter II:
Before the Throne: Arnulf in the Carolingian World, c. 850-887

According to the *Annales Fuldenses,* Louis the Younger, Carloman's brother and Arnulf's uncle, came to Bavaria in early 879 because Carloman was gravely ill. Louis received the leading men of the kingdom so that after Carloman died "they would not accept or consent to any other king to rule over them."[1] In other words, they agreed that they would only choose Louis as their king. The *Annales Bertiniani*, however, provide a different perspective: it reports that Louis needed to call off his West Frankish invasion because he received news of Carloman's illness and that Arnulf was occupying part of the kingdom.[2] In the end Carloman, who could no longer speak, wrote down his final commands that the kingdom, his wife, and his son Arnulf be commended to his brother.[3] Eight years later Arnulf would become king in East Francia when he overthrew his uncle Charles the Fat. Yet how should we understand Arnulf before becoming king in 887? The limited sources dealing with Arnulf before 887 means there are serious methodological problems with studying him before he became king. This does not mean, however, that we should ignore this period. As the following discussion will highlight, Arnulf had an active and important presence in Bavaria and along the frontier before becoming king. Because Arnulf has often been understood as hampered by his illegitimacy this chapter will argue that Arnulf's birth status was not the main way contemporaries understood Arnulf. For them it was Arnulf's dynastic status, not his familial one, that mattered. Arnulf's early career was defined by

[1] *AF*, s.a. 879, p. 92: *nullum alium super se regem susciperent vel regnare consentirent.*

[2] *AB*, s.a. 879, p. 238.

[3] *AF*, s.a. 879, p. 93.

dynastic politics and frontier conditions, not his illegitimacy. Historians have suggested that Arnulf did not succeed his father in 880 because of his "institutional" position or a supposed lack of a legalistic "claim" to the throne. Instead it was the contingent struggle for power based on marshaling elite support that mattered in 880. In some senses this made Arnulf comparable to other Carolingian royal sons such as his father Carloman. This chapter thus proceeds in two sections: first, I discuss the narrative sources to investigate how Arnulf was viewed as a viable member of the Carolingian dynasty. Second, I investigate how Arnulf's career before 887 was similar to other Carolingian royal sons like his father.

Questions of Status: Arnulf's Dynastic Role

Historians have often linked the course of Arnulf's political career to his birth status. Born around 850, he was the illegitimate son of the Carolingian king Carloman. Much of the scholarly discussion has centered on the idea that contemporaries saw illegitimacy as a disqualifying factor for kingship.[4] Indeed Simon MacLean has argued that because of Arnulf's illegitimacy he could not have laid claim to the kingdom and thus remained "content" to not pursue the throne in the 880s.[5] Contemporaries, however, rarely commented on Arnulf's birth status, so birth status is not sufficient to explain Arnulf's early career. Part of the issue is a baked-in position in the historiography that Arnulf's exclusion from power was warranted, or as MacLean has put it, "quite legitimate."[6] However Sara McDougall has recently explored Carolingian ideas about birth legitimacy, arguing that the status

[4] Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 224-233.

[5] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 134-144.

[6] MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 176.

of the mother mattered more than if the children were born within marriage. For Arnulf, she identifies the noble status of his mother, Liutswind, as a key factor in why he eventually became king.[7] Indeed the line between a concubine and a wife was often shaped by social and political considerations, and hinged on the status of the partners in the union.[8] Brigitte Kasten argued that legitimacy was not a formalized norm, but could be deployed alongside other factors to limit a son's chances of succession.[9] For instance, as McDougall points out, in some cases contemporaries only brought up that a son was supposedly illegitimate after a period of conflict, as in the cases of Bernard of Italy or Pippin "the Hunchback."[10] This all suggests that illegitimacy was a flexible category that could be shaped by other

[7] Sara McDougall, *Royal Bastards*: *the Birth of Illegitimacy, 800-1230* (Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 66-93, esp. pp. 91-93. Marriage was an important subject to Carolingian contemporaries. The older argument that Carolingian practice derived from older Germanic traditions has been dismantled, see Stuart Airlie, "Private Bodies and the Body Politic in the Divorce Case of Lothar II," *Past & Present* 161 (1998): 14-20; Ruth Mazo Karras, "The History of Marriage and the Myth of Friedelehe," *EME* 14, no. 2 (2006): 119-151; Karl Heidecker, *The Divorce of Lothar II: Christian Marriage and Political Power in the Carolingian World* (Cornell University Press, 2010), pp. 119-123. On marriage in the Carolingian world more generally see Silvia Konecny, *Die Frauen des karolingischen Königshauses: die politische Bedeutung der Ehe und die Stellung der Frau in der fränkischen Herrscherfamilie vom 7. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert* (Der Verband der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1976), esp. pp. 134-150; Pierre Toubert, "La théorie du mariage chez les moralistes carolingiens," in *Il Matrimonio nella Società altomedievale: 22-28 aprile 1976* (Spoleto, 1977); Pierre Toubert, "L'institution du mariage chrétien, de l'Antiquité tardive à l'an mil," in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra Tarda Antiquità e Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1998); Rachel Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 247-278. For attempts to regulate marriage during Arnulf's reign see Karl Ubl, "Bischöfe und Laien auf dem Konzil von Tribur 895: zur Politisierung der Ehe in der Karolingerzeit," *DA* 70, no. 1 (2014).

[8] Heidecker, *The Divorce of Lothar II*, pp. 126-127; Karras, "History of Marriage," pp. 145-150; Silvia Konecny, "Eherecht und Ehepolitik unter Ludwig dem Frommen," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 85 (1977); Andrea Esmyol, *Geliebte oder Ehefrau? Konkubinen im frühen Mittelalter* (Böhlau Verlag, 2002), pp. 142-158 for an overview of Carolingian concubines and pp. 246-247.

[9] Brigitte Kasten, "Chancen und Schicksale "unehelicher" Karolinger im 9. Jahrhundert," in *Kaiser Arnolf: das ostfränkische Reich am Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts: Regensburger Kolloquium 9.-11.12.1999*, ed. Franz Fuchs and Peter Schmid (Beck, 2002), pp. 39-52.

[10] McDougall, *Royal Bastards*, pp. 79-84.

considerations. It is even possible that Liutswind was actually married to Arnulf's father Carloman, but because the marriage was not sanctioned by Louis the German, it was not seen as fully legitimate.[11]

Carolingian royal naming practices were an important element in how the dynasty established its monopoly on royal power. Any brief examination of the names of Carolingian kings would quickly expose Arnulf as an outlier in a field of Pippins, Charleses, Louises, and Carlomans. It has been argued that illegitimate sons were given "secondary" Carolingian names such as Bernard, Drogo, or Arnulf.[12] Even with a so-called "illegitimate" name, Carolingian kings were still concerned about the potential for revolt: Louis the Pious intentionally tried to deactivate any claims his illegitimate son Arnulf may have had.[13] Yet this naming convention was not, apparently, a hard and fast rule: Charles the Bald named a legitimate son Drogo, while Lothar I named an illegitimate son Carloman.[14] That Arnulf succeeded in becoming king in 887 already sets him apart from many of the illegitimate, and legitimate, Carolingian sons who revolted in the eighth and ninth centuries. This complicates any attempts to view his rise to the kingship through the lens of illegitimacy. Because Arnulf succeeded it would be plausible to conclude that sources downplaying his illegitimacy only do so to justify his taking of power

[11] See Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 97-99 for the summary of this debate. Carloman is said to have married a daughter of the count Ernest, but this daughter is not named, leading some to argue it is in fact Liutswind.

[12] Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 102-109.

[13] Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 130-138 argued that Louis the Pious tried to intentionally deactivate any claims this Arnulf may have had. This was part of a broader effort in the *Ordinatio imperii* to limit the inheritance of illegitimate sons.

[14] Mathias Becher, "Arnulf von Kärnten – Name und Abstammung eines (illegitimen?) Karolingers," in *Nomen et Fraternitas: Festschrift für Dieter Geuenich zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Uwe Ludwig (Berlin, 2008), pp. 666-667.

in 887. It is thus necessary to analyze sources from both before and after 887 in order to understand how contemporaries emphasized, or did not emphasize, Arnulf's illegitimacy.

The annal tradition largely glosses over Arnulf's birth status despite his non-royal name. In the *Annales Fuldenses* and the *Annales Vedastini* Arnulf is described only by his relationship to Carloman.[15] Nor does the *Annales Fuldenses* comment on the birth status of two other illegitimate Carolingians.[16] Indeed that the *Annales Fuldenses* points out that Arnulf's two sons Ratold and Zwentibold were born from concubines suggests that illegitimacy was selectively identified.[17] Another source, the brief history of Verdun written by Dado in 893, simply notes Arnulf as the nephew of Charles the Fat.[18] Only the *Annales Bertiniani* mentions that Arnulf was born "from a concubine" in the entry for 879.[19] This is perhaps unsurprising, given that the author, Hincmar of Reims, was attuned to the correctness of marriage since the 860s when he intervened in the divorce case of Lothar II.[20] While Hincmar's text shows that contemporaries must have been aware of Arnulf's birth status,

[15] See *AF*, s.a. 879, p. 93: *Arnolt propter quandam dissensionem inter Carlmannum patrem suum...; AF* (B), s.a. 884, p. 112: *Arnolfi, Carlmanni regis filii*; *AF* (B), s.a. 887, p. 115: *Arnolfum filium Karlmanni regis*. *AV*, s.a. 887, p. 64: *Arnulfum filium Karlomanni*.

[16] Louis the Younger's son Hugh, *AF*, s.a. 880, p. 94. Lothar I's son Hugh, *AF* (M), s.a. 883, p. 100. *AF* (M), s.a. 885, p. 103. *AF* (B), s.a. 885, p. 114. See also *AV*, s.a. 885, p. 57.

[17] *AF* (B), s.a. 889, p. 118.

[18] George Pertz, ed., MGH SS 4 (Hahn, 1841), p. 37: *post mortem eiusdem dominum Carolum fratrem ipsius imperatorem suscepimus, et usque ad tempus domini Arnulphi gloriosissimi regis, nepotis scilicet eorum.* This was transmitted alongside the *Gesta Episcoporum Virdunensium* which likewise refers to Arnulf in terms of his relation to Charles the Fat, see p. 45.

[19] *AB*, s.a. 879, p. 238: *de concubina.*

[20] On the authorship of the *AB* see Janet L. Nelson, trans., *The Annals of St-Bertin* (Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 10-11. See also Janet L. Nelson, "Hincmar's Life in his Historical Writings," in *Hincmar of Rheims: Life and Work*, eds. Rachel Stone and Charles West (Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 49-53. Hincmar had been involved in the divorce case of Lothar II, see Heidecker, *The Divorce of Lothar II*,

that the other annals never mention it suggests that alternative factors shaped those accounts. Written roughly at the same time of the events they are depicting, the annals provide evidence that contemporaries did not emphasize Arnulf's illegitimacy.[21] And although churchmen such as Hincmar may have had strong opinions on concubines and marriage, nonetheless, Carolingian kings continued to keep concubines anyway, raising questions about how much stock to put into ecclesiastical views on these sons.[22]

Other pre-887 sources also suggest that there was no one-size-fits-all category of illegitimacy, and perhaps the legitimate/illegitimate binary is too rigid for ninth-century perceptions. That is, when modern historians refer to Arnulf, or any son, as "illegitimate" it presupposes something about their place within the family and their chances at inheritance. Ninth-century audiences may not have held such firm beliefs. We can see evidence for this in the biography of Charlemagne that Notker wrote for Charles the Fat sometime between 885 and 887. Notker, according to Simon MacLean, was writing at a time when Charles was attempting to legitimize his own illegitimate son Bernard. At the same time Notker was hoping to gain patronage for the monastery of St. Gall, where he was a monk.[23] Notker only mentions Bernard in two places and neither time refers to him as born from a concubine. The first place is at the end of the story about Pippin the Hunchback, the son of a concubine, who rebelled

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pp. 73-99 and the translators' introduction to Hincmar's *De Divortio*, trans. Rachel Stone and Charles West, *The Divorce of King Lothar and Queen Theutberga: Hincmar of Rheims's De Divortio* (Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 10-15. See also Sylvie Joye, "Family Order and Kingship According to Hincmar," in Stone and West, *Hincmar*.

[21] On the dating of the annals see Introduction, pp. 20-21.

[22] Martina Hartmann, "Concubina vel regina? Zu einigen Ehefrauen und Konkubinen der karolingischen Könige," *DA* 63 (2007).

[23] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 199-229.

against Charlemagne. Not only does Notker claim Pippin was illegitimate, he later notes several physical deformities.[24] When Notker mentions Bernard at the end of this episode, however, it is not in connection with illegitimacy, but the threat of the Northmen who had sacked Prüm in 882.[25] Two chapters later Notker hopes that Charles will take his advice, that "the sword of your brother Carloman...be joined to yours – even though it is now turned to rust, not on account of inactivity but because of a lack of resources and the barrenness of the land of your most faithful Arnulf."[26] Notker then continues by noting Arnulf and Bernard are from the "fertile root of Louis [the German]" and are under Charles' protection.[27] In a different work Notker saw Arnulf as one of the twin hopes (the other being Bernard) of the Carolingian dynasty: "[Arnulf] still lives, and oh that I wish he would live! Lest the lamp of the great Louis [the German] be extinguished from the house of the Lord!"[28] For Notker the category of illegitimacy was selectively applied, and he elided it in his presentations of Bernard and Arnulf. The emphasis was not on birth status, but on their status as members of the

[24] Notker, *GK*, ed. Hans Haefele, MGH SS rer. Germ. N.S. 12 (Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1959), II, c. 12, p. 71: *per concubinam.* Notker, *GK*, II, c. 12, p. 72: *nanus et gipperosus.*

[25] Notker, *GK*, II, c. 12, p. 74. Pippin's retirement to Prüm is noted in Einhard, *VK* c. 20, p. 25. On the sack of Prüm see Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 882, p. 118.

[26] Notker, *GK*, II, c. 14, p. 78, trans. Thomas Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious: Lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thegan and the Astronomer* (Penn State University Press, 2009), p. 108: *adiuncto sibi mucrone Karllomanni fratris verstri...sed nunc non propter ignaviam sed propter inopiam rerum angustiamque terrarum fidelissimi vestri Arnolfi*.

[27] Notker, *GK*, II, c. 14, p. 78: *Hic enim solus ramusculus cum tenuissima Bennolini astula de fecundissima Hludowici radice sub singulari cacumine protectionis vestrę pullulascit*. The symbolism of weeds and plants was tinged with biblical and political overtones, see Paolo Squatriti, *Weeds and the Carolingians: Empire, Culture, and Nature in Frankish Europe, AD 750-900* (Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 176-191.

[28] Notker, *Erchanberti Breviarum Continuatio*, ed. Roland Zingg, "Notker Balbulus als Fortsetzer des Erchanbert-Breviars, mit Edition," *DA* 74 (2018): edition at pp. 77-88, quote at p. 84: *qui adhuc vivit, et o utinam vivat, ne extinguatur lucerna magni Hludowici de domo domini!*; See also Notker, *GK*, II, c. 12, p. 74 and c. 14, p. 78.

dynasty. Their claims, according to Notker, were grounded in their dynastic status, as descendants of Louis the German, more than their specific familial status as "illegitimate" sons. It is important that Notker was writing *before* Arnulf became king in 887. If all of our sources were written *after* 887 it would be logical to conclude that they were simply trying to justify events that had already occurred. That Notker wrote before 887 highlights that this is not necessarily true, and suggests that contemporaries were able to understand birth status and dynastic status in a complex way.

Perhaps a better way of approaching the question is that despite their illegitimacy, Arnulf and Bernard both possessed a degree of "Carolingian-ness." To Stuart Airlie this Carolingian-ness was a necessary condition for becoming king, but it did not in and of itself guarantee a throne. It is only the combination of Carolingian-ness and aristocratic support, which activates that Carolingian identity that could secure a throne.[29] Yet the need to activate Carolingian-ness was true even of legitimate Carolingians, such as Pippin II of Aquitaine, who could not compete with his more powerful uncle Charles the Bald.[30] Hugh, the illegitimate son of Lothar II, discovered this first hand when his attempts to seize the kingdom of Lotharingia ended with his tonsure and imprisonment in the monastery of Prüm.[31] While he was able to generate a certain amount of elite support, it was not enough to secure

[29] Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 78-91. Lößlein, *Royal Power*, pp. 39-76 looks at how Charles the Simple became king, arguing that his Carolingian blood made him the best choice for anti-Robertian discontent. Fulk and others then had to mobilize elite support to actually place him on the throne, and they faced challenges from Odo, who was militarily powerful in his own right.

[30] See Jane Martindale, "Charles the Bald and the Government of the Kingdom of Aquitaine," in Margaret Gibson and Janet Nelson (eds), *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (Variorum, 1990), pp. 115-138 at pp. 119-122 and Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 192-204.

[31] For Hugh trying to reclaim his kingdom, Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 883, p. 120. He was tonsured by none other than Regino himself, see Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 885, p. 125. Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 187-190.

the throne. In Hugh's case the deciding element that cast him as "illegitimate" may have been the intense debate around his father Lothar II's marriage in the 860s (Lothar attempted to divorce his wife Teutberga and then marry Hugh's mother Waldrada).[32] That is, "illegitimate" royal sons may have been able to benefit from some ambiguity in their status, until their status was determined by a process of public clarification. This would also explain the resistance to Charles the Fat's attempts to retroactively legitimize Bernard.[33] In attempting to convince elites to accept Bernard as legitimate, Charles instead clarified for contemporaries Bernard's illegitimate status. Even then, however, Bernard was still able to launch a revolt in 890 against Arnulf, meaning that illegitimacy was not a complete impediment to elite support.[34] Arnulf, on the other hand, was never subjected to such a process of clarification.

The sources writing after 887 were thus able to build on an already established understanding of Arnulf as part of the Carolingian dynasty. Regino lived through Arnulf's reign, becoming the abbot of Prüm in 892 before being forced out by a rival faction. Regino then traveled to St. Maximin in Trier where he remained until his death in 915.[35] While there he evidently became friendly with the archbishop of Trier Ratbod, one of Arnulf's courtiers, who asked Regino to make a collection of canons, known as the *Libri duo synodalibus causis,* and send it to Hatto, the archbishop of Mainz.[36]

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[32] For an analysis of these debates see Heidecker, *The Divorce of Lothar II*.

[33] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 129-134. Charles' plans evidently angered contemporaries, see *AF* (M), s.a. 885, p. 103.

[34] On Bernard's revolt see Chapter Three, pp. 130-134.

[35] Charles West, "Knowledge of the Past and the Judgement of History in Tenth-Century Trier: Regino of Prüm and the Lost Manuscript of Bishop Adventius of Metz," *EME* 24, no. 2 (2016).

[36] Wilfried Hartmann, *Regino von Prüm: Sendhanbuch,* MGH Collectiones canonum 1 (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2023). For the reasons for the new edition see Wilfried Hartmann, "A New Edition of the Handbook for Visitation by Regino of Prüm," in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law.*

Similarly the *Chronicon* was written for the archbishop of Augsburg Adalbero, another member of Arnulf's court. In the work Regino created a world chronicle that began with the birth of Christ and ended in 906.[37] Regino notes that Carloman had no children from "legitimate marriage" but instead had a son from a noblewoman on account of the barrenness of his marriage.[38] Regino does not apply to Arnulf the Latin phrase he uses elsewhere to indicate Carolingian sons born from concubines, *ex pelice*.[39] Regino was familiar with the debates around marriage current at the end of the ninth century, so his decision not to use *ex pelice* suggests it was because of his views on Arnulf's birth status. We can find an insight into Regino's attitudes by looking at the late-tenth century *Annales Einsiedelnses* which borrowed heavily from Regino.[40] The entry for 880 copies almost verbatim the line about Arnulf's

Washington D.C. 1-7 August 2004, eds. Uta-Renate Blumenthal et al. (Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 2008) and Wilfried Hartmann, "Neue Erkenntnisse aus der Arbeit an der Edition des Sendhandbuchs Reginos von Prüm," *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 34, no. 1 (2017); Regino's preface is translated in Robert Somerville and Bruce C. Basington, trans., *Prefaces to Canon Law Books in Latin Christianity: Selected Translations, 500-1317*, Second Edition (Catholic University of America Press, 2020), pp. 79-80. The entire text was translated into English in 2021, see Giulia Silano, trans., *Regino of Prüm: Two Books on Synodal Causes and Ecclesiastical Disciplines* (Pontificial Institute of Medieaval Studies, 2021). Hartmann has written extensively on the collection: Wilfried Hartmann, "Zu Effektivität und Aktualität von Reginos Sendhandbuch," in *Medieval Church Law and the Origins of the Western Legal Tradition: a Tribute to Kenneth Pennington*, eds. Wolfgang P. Müller and Mary E. Sommar (Catholic University of America Press, 2006); Wilfried Hartmann, "Einige Fragen zur Arbeitsweise Reginos von Prüm in seinem Sendhandbuch," in *Wissen und Bildung in einer Zeit bedrohter Ordnung: der Zerfall des Karolingerreiches um 900*, ed. Warren Peże (Hiersemann, 2020). See also Harald Siems, "*In ordine posuimus*: Begrifflichkeit und Rechtsanwendung in Reginos Sendhandbuch," in *Recht und Gericht in Kirche und Welt um 900*, ed. Harald Siems (De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2007), pp. 67-90 and Thomas Faulkner, *Law and Authority in the Early Middle Ages: the Frankish Leges in the Carolingian Period* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp 168-191.

[37] See the preface in the edition, directed to Adalbero.

[38] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, p. 116.

[39] Zwentibald: Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 890, p. 134; Bernard: Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 887, p. 128; Hugh: Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 879, p. 115.

[40] On the date of the text see *Die Annalen des Klosters Einsiedeln*, ed. Conradin von Planta, MGH SS rer. Germ. 78 (Hahn, 2007), p. 1. The *Annales Heremi 1* (*AH1*) can be found on pp. 160-197.

birth except that the Einsiedeln annalist exchanged the phrase describing Arnulf, *elegantissimae speciei* ("of the most elegant appearance"), with *non legitimum* ("illegitimate").[41] The Einsiedeln annalist therefore changed the sentence to emphasize that Carloman "received an illegitimate son from a certain noblewoman" instead of Regino's "he received a son of the most elegant appearance from a certain noblewoman." By the 990s Arnulf was now explicitly defined as an illegitimate son; when Regino was writing, soon after Arnulf's own life, contemporaries may not have had as strict of an understanding of birth legitimacy.

Much has been made of Regino's passage in the entry for 880 which does not make any connections between Arnulf's birth status and not becoming king, only noting Carloman's marriage issues as discussed above. Instead he dryly states that "all the leading men of the kingdom flocked to him [Louis the Younger] and put themselves under his command."[42] Likewise the *Annales Fuldenses* does not mention Arnulf's illegitimacy in regards to Louis the Younger's ascension as king, suggesting this was not just Regino glossing over Arnulf's illegitimacy.[43] Krah interpreted Regino's passage as evidence for Arnulf's illegitimacy playing a role in him not becoming king after Carloman's death (while arguing that his illegitimacy did not play a role in 887 because Arnulf quickly overcame Charles

[41] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, p. 116: *Carlomannus rex paralisi dissolutus diem clausit extremum VII. Non. Apr. sepultusque est cum debito honore in Baioariam in loco, qui dicitur Hodingas.... Huic ex legitimo matrimonio non est nata soboles propter infecunditatem coniugis, sed ex quadam nobili femina filium elegantissimae speciei suscepit*; *AH1*, s.a. 880, p. 177: *Karlomannus rex paralysi dissolutus diem clausit extremum sepultusque est in Baioaria in loco, qui dicitur Hodingas. Huic ex quadam nobile femina* ***non legitimum filium*** *suscepit* (Emphasis mine).

[42] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, p. 117, trans. Simon MacLean, *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg* (Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 183: *Ludowicus comperto, quod frater obiisset, Baioariam ingressus Reganasburh venit, ubi omnes optimates regni ad eum confluentes eius ditioni se subdiderunt.*

[43] *AF*, s.a. 879, p. 92.

the Fat with an army).[44] Airlie argued that this passage foreshadows the future sterility of the dynasty, and therefore its collapse.[45] A deeper look at the passage, however, reveals a somewhat different impression. Regino explains Arnulf's birth status by noting the barrenness of Carloman's wife. Importantly, Regino does not stop there. He continues to note that Arnulf's name was intentionally chosen after St. Arnulf (the supposed saintly ancestor of the dynasty), and sets up a parallel between Arnulf and his saintly namesake. Arnulf was, according to Regino, named after the saint not "by chance, but it was regarded as a certain presentiment and portent of the future actions he would do."[46] The connection to St. Arnulf would also be highlighted by the anonymous Saxon Poet, who, writing around 891, implored the saint to look after his namesake.[47] King Arnulf, the Saxon Poet explains, was the only one left who could defend the church and the kingdom.[48] The Saxon Poet recalled Jacob's blessing to Judah that the scepter would not depart from his lineage, arguing that the Carolingians had

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[44] Adelheid Krah, "Bayern und das Reich in der Zeit Arnulfs von Kärnten," in *Festschrift für Sten Gagnér zum 3. März 1996,* ed. Maximiliane Kriechbaum (Aktiv Druck & Verlag, 1996), pp. 4-10, the passage is discussed on p. 7.

[45] Stuart Airlie, "'Sad stories of the death of kings': Narrative Patterns and Structures of Authority in Regino of Prüm's Chronicle," in *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West,* ed. E.M. Tyler and Ross Balzaretti (Brepols, 2006), pp. 129-131.

[46] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, pp. 116-7: *quod non casu accidisse, sed quodam presagio portentoque futurorum actitatum videtur*. Similarly, Ermold, *Carmen elegiacum in honorem Hludovici*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Poetae 2 (Weidmannos, 1884), p. 6 explains the meaning of the name Louis as a sign of the future importance of Louis the Pious.

[47] On St. Arnulf as the founder of the Carolingian line see Chapter Three, p. 125. On the date of the Saxon Poet see Pierre Jaffe, ed., *Monumenta Carolina*, Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicum 4 (Weidmannos, 1867), p. 542. For the context of its production see Ingrid Rembold, "The Poeta Saxo at Paderborn: Episcopal Authority and Carolingian Rule in Late Ninth-Century Saxony," *EME* 21, no. 2 (2013).

[48] Saxon Poet, *Annalium de Gestis Caroli Magni libri quinque*, ed. Paul von Winterfeld, MGH Poetae 4, no. 1 (Weidmannos, 1899), V.134-142.

been chosen in a similar way by God to rule.[49] Regino too relied on the image of the scepter, noting that Arnulf "alone from so many numerous kings was found suitable for posterity, who could take up the scepter of the rule of the Franks."[50] The name Arnulf certainly carried Carolingian connotations, and Eric Goldberg has argued this may have allowed Carloman to leave open the possibility of succession.[51] After he became king contemporaries could now utilize his name as a clear sign of his Carolingian-ness. The tradition of identifying St. Arnulf as the ancestor of the dynasty was well established even within the Carolingian family: in 875 Louis the German gave a charter to St. Arnulf in Metz where the saint is described as Louis' ancestor.[52] Regino and the Saxon Poet, writing after Arnulf became king, were attempting to emphasize the "naturalness" of Arnulf's kingship. That is, he was a Carolingian like all of his predecessors. Combined with the annals and Notker, which were written before Arnulf became king, this suggests that Regino and the Saxon Poet were not inventing this image but that they were tapping into older perceptions about Arnulf. Regino, writing after Arnulf's death, could hint at Arnulf's illegitimacy, but norms around birth status were not so formalized that Regino saw it as a disqualifying factor. Once again it was dynastic status, not birth status, that mattered most.

Regino, in the entry for 880, was foreshadowing Arnulf's future, noting that the moment when Arnulf will take up the scepter of the Franks, "will appear clearly in the following in its own

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[49] Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, V.143-148. The Biblical passage is Genesis 49:10

[50] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, p. 117: *solus de tam numerosa regum posteritate idoneus inveniretur, qui imperii Francorum sceptra susciperet*. See Ermold, *Carmen*, p. 6 also using the scepter as a symbol of royal power: *Tempore Francorum Caroli dum sceptra vigebant,* "in the time of the Franks when the scepter of Charles was flourishing."

[51] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 265.

[52] D LG 167: *attavi nostri*.

place."[53] That future action takes place in the entry for 888, which is often held up by historians to show how the idea of Carolingian dynastic supremacy collapsed in the aftermath of Arnulf's coup.[54] The oft-cited passage, that among the new kings in 888 the "equality of descent, authority and power increased the discord among them; none so outshone the others that the rest deigned to submit to his rule," cannot be read in isolation from the entry of 880.[55] Airlie has argued that the 888 passage is the "fulfilment of the declaration of the faltering of the Carolingian dynasty already made in the description of the entry of 880."[56] I would argue, however, that if we read these two passages together, Regino is foreshadowing 888 in his entry for 880 as the moment when Arnulf was "found suitable…who could take up the scepter of the rule of the Franks."[57] In this sense Arnulf's illegitimacy is not important to Regino; instead it was Arnulf's Carolingian-ness that gave him the necessary credibility to become king. While Regino clearly saw the present as a time of chaos, he is not simply recording the end of the dynasty because of their sins.[58] In the entries for 880 and 888 Regino is creating a carefully plotted narrative that culminates in one specifically Carolingian figure: Arnulf.

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[53] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, p. 117: *quod in subsequentibus suo in loco lucidius apparebit*.

[54] For discussion of this interpretation see Chapter Five, pp. 212-228.

[55] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 888, p. 129, trans. MacLean, *History*, p. 199: *sed quia inter ipsos aequalitatis generositatis, dignitatis ac potentie discordiam augebat, nemine tantum ceteros precellente*, *ut eius dominio reliqui se submittere dignarentur.*

[56] Airlie, "Sad Stories," p. 107.

[57] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, p. 117: *solus de tam numerosa regum posteritate idoneus inveniretur, qui imperii Francorum sceptra susciperet*. See also Ermold, *Carmen*, p. 6 also using the scepter as a symbol of royal power: *Tempore Francorum Caroli dum sceptra vigebant,* "in the time of the Franks when the scepter of Charles was flourishing."

[58] This is argued by Rob Meens, "The Rise and Fall of the Carolingians: Regino of Prüm and his Conception of the Carolingian Empire," in *Faire lien. Aristocratie, réseaux et échanges compétitifs: Mélanges en l'honneur de Régine Le Jan,* eds. Laurent Jégou et al. (Paris, 2015), p. 323.

It was not just in these two entries that Regino established the superiority of the Carolingians. The entry for 753, for example, was reworked from the *Annales Regni Francorum* in order to insert the so-called *Revelatio Stephanae Papae*. This text, written at St. Denis sometime before 835, purported to be a vision of Pope Stephen about his anointing of Pippin as king of the Franks.[59] In it the pope declared that he bound the leading men of the Franks "on the authority of St. Peter given to him by Christ," so that "neither they nor any of their descendants should in future ever presume in any way to make a king over them from any family other than the descendants of that one."[60] Regino's reworking of the annal in order to insert this letter (*epistola*), as he called it, highlights the way in which he wanted to present recent history as a story of dynasty. This was not unusual as sources from the eighth century onward had attempted to present the course of history as one of Carolingian triumph.[61] What was unusual was that Regino was writing after the events of 887, and continued to view the world through a Carolingian lens.[62] The goal could have been to provide a work of instruction for the young king

[59] See MacLean's translation of Regino, *History and Politics*, p. 127, n. 20; It is edited in George Waitz, ed., *MGH SS* 15, no. 1 (Hahn, 1887), pp. 2-3. The text survives in two manuscripts, one which titles it a *revelatio*, and one which titles it an *epistola*. Regino terms it an *epistola*, see Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 753, p. 44. Waitz claimed it was written by Hilduin, the abbot of St. Denis, but see Michael Lapidge, *Hilduin of Saint-Denis. The Passio S. Dionysii in Prose and Verse* (Brill, 2017), pp. 853-855 who argues on stylistic grounds that Hilduin was not the author. On this text see also Wilhelm Levison, *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit. Ausgewählte Ausätze* (L. Schwann, 1948), pp. 517-529.

[60] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 753, p. 45, trans. MacLean, *History*, p. 128: *atque Francorum proceres apostolica benedictione santificans auctoritate sancti Petri sibi a Christo tradita obligavit et obtestatus est, ut numquam de altera stirpe per succedentium temporum curricula ipsi vel quique ex eorum progenie orti regem super se presumat aliquo modo constituere, nisi de eorum progenie*.

[61] See Paul Fouracre, "The Long Shadow of the Merovingians," in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester University Press, 2005) and Rosamond McKitterick, "Constructing the Past in the Early Middle Ages: the Case of the Royal Frankish Annals," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series 7 (1997): 116-129; Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 27-34.

[62] Airlie, "Sad Stories," pp. 121-126.

Louis the Child, Arnulf's son, by showing how Louis now had the responsibility of preserving the Carolingian dynasty. Regino, according to Goldberg and MacLean, was seeking to highlight the need for a good marriage for Louis. In doing so he emphasized the East Frankish line as the representatives of Carolingian authority.[63] Regino's overall point was that Arnulf (and thus Louis the Child) remained as the representatives of the Carolingian dynasty through descent from Louis the German, and that the Carolingians had been entrusted by God with ruling the Franks. In portraying Arnulf as the latest inheritor of the Carolingian legacy, Regino is more concerned with his dynastic status than his birth status. In stressing how Arnulf was "alone found suitable," Regino implied that Louis the Child, as Arnulf's son, would have inherited such a lofty task as well.

Thus far I have argued that contemporaries, both before and after 887, understood Arnulf first and foremost within the Carolingian dynasty and *not* by his birth status. This made Arnulf a valuable and important individual: the first time we see Arnulf in a contemporary source was in 860 when Louis the German brought the young Arnulf along to a meeting with Charles the Bald precisely to demonstrate the continued viability of the East Frankish Carolingians.[64] For Louis and others Arnulf represented the future of the East Frankish Carolingians. Without the pre-887 evidence it would make sense to conclude that post-887 works were intending to "bridge the legitimacy gap" by casting Arnulf as a legitimate Carolingian.[65] Yet Regino and others writing after 887 were not creating a

[63] See Eric Goldberg and Simon MacLean, "Royal Marriage, Frankish History and Dynastic Crisis in Regino of Prüm's Chronicle," *Medieval Worlds: Comparative & Interdisciplinary Studies* 10 (2019): 110-125.

[64] He shows up in the witness list of the capitulary from the meeting: Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause, eds., *MGH Capit.* 2 (Hahn, 1897), no. 242, p. 154. On the identification as Arnulf and his utility to Louis the German see Eric Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817-876* (Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 260-261.

[65] MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 134, n. 47.

Carolingian image of Arnulf: it had existed all along. Authors such as Notker, the Saxon Poet, and Regino viewed Arnulf in a similar way as the continuing expression of Carolingian superiority. Instead of emphasizing his illegitimacy, these authors were more interested in placing him as the latest in the long line of Carolingian ancestors who had come before him. In fact, these later authors hardly even mention Arnulf's birth status. Only two Carolingian sources, the *Annales Bertiniani* and Regino, even identify Arnulf as being born outside of marriage. My argument in the preceding discussion is that in almost every source, either before or after becoming king, the main frame for understanding Arnulf was *not* his birth status, but his dynastic one. Yet this all raises the question of whether this was merely a rhetorical strategy. That is, although most of the sources do not mention Arnulf's illegitimacy, was this simply a way of avoiding the obvious? I argue that instead of seeing Arnulf as hampered by his illegitimacy and therefore unable to claim greater authority, the early years of Arnulf's career show him engaged in a power struggle first with his uncle Louis the Younger in 879 and 880, as Carloman's health declined, and then with his other uncle Charles the Fat in the 880s.

Contesting a Kingdom: Arnulf under his Uncles, 878-884

Carolingian kings often attempted to arrange for their succession before their death and Arnulf's father Carloman seems to have been no different. Before his death Carloman appears to have distributed some of the lands he ruled over. In 878 his two brothers Charles the Fat and Louis the Younger divided lands in Lotharingia handed over by Carloman.[66] A letter from Anthony, the bishop of Brescia, to Solomon II, the bishop of Constance, highlights how the issue of Carloman's succession

[66] *AF*, s.a. 878, p. 91.

worried contemporaries. Anthony was concerned that the peace in Italy would break down (after Carloman's death presumably) and harm those who lived there.[67] Solomon II seeks to reassure Anthony that as long as Carloman was still alive, none would enter Italy.[68] The continuation of Erchanbert's *Breviarum*, written by Notker, the monk at the monastery of St. Gall whom we met above, tells us that Carloman conceded the Italian kingdom to his brother Charles the Fat.[69] This itself was not without issue as Pope John VIII may have favored other candidates besides Charles.[70] Charles seemed content with this arrangement, as he remained in Italy from early 880 to May 881, perhaps in order to safeguard his power from any of these would-be claimants.[71] There seems to have been some negotiation between Charles and his brother Louis, as Louis' archchancellor traveled to Italy.[72]

While the evidence for Italy is somewhat fragmentary, we have more sources that describe the succession in Bavaria. Unlike in Italy, however, the succession in Bavaria does not seem to have been a smooth process. It is in this moment, as Carloman's health declined in 879, that we can see a contest for power between Louis the Younger and Arnulf. When Louis first heard of Carloman's illness he met with his brother in Bavaria where Louis then "accepted the leaders of the region who were coming to

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[67] *Collectio Sangellensis*, ed. Karl Zeumer, MGH Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi (Hahn, 1886), no. 39, p. 421.

[68] *Collectio Sangellensis*, no. 40, p. 422.

[69] Notker, *Erchanberti Breviarum Continuatio*, p. 83.

[70] See Johannes Fried, "Boso von Vienne oder Ludwig der Stammler?," *DA* 32 (1976).

[71] DD CF 15-40. He would also remain in Italy from December 881 to April 882, when Louis the Younger died: DD CF 44-56.

[72] On this meeting see Karl Schmid, "Liutbert von Mainz und Liutward von Vercelli im Winter 879/880 in Italien: Zur Erschließung bisher unbeachteter Gedenkbucheinträge aus S. Giulia in Brescia," in *Geschichte, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft. Festschrift Clemens Bauer,* ed. Erich Hassinger (Duncker und Humblot, 1974).

him, evidently with this plan, so that after the death of Carloman they would not accept or consent to any other king to rule over them."[73] Despite this assurance, a few months later Louis would receive a count Erambert who protested that he and others had their *honores* stripped by Arnulf, and were then expelled from the kingdom.[74] The *Annales Fuldenses* does not present the entire picture, however. The *Annales Iuvavenses maximi* provides the context for Erambert's punishment, noting that Carloman was "surrounded at Ergolding by count Erambert and certain of his companions."[75] By presenting Arnulf as expelling Erambert *after* the magnates had agreed to Louis' kingship, the *Annales Fuldenses* suggests that Arnulf was usurping a privilege that was not his: distributing and revoking *honores* was largely a royal prerogative.[76] If Erambert had laid siege to Carloman earlier in the year, after which

[73] *AF*, s.a. 879, p. 92: *optimates eiusdem regionis ad se venientes suscepit, ea videlicet ratione, ut post obitum Carlmanni nullum alium super se regem susciperent vel regnare consentirent*.

[74] *AF*, s.a. 879, p. 93. The *AF* notes that Louis had received the oaths from the Bavarian elite before moving to Frankfurt and celebrating Easter (April 12th) there. He received Erambert at Frankfurt after leading a campaign to West Francia, on account of Louis III's death on April 11th. D LY 12 is dated to May 10th and was granted at Metz, so Erambert must have come to Frankfurt after May 10th. It is possible it was later because Carloman continued to issue charters until August 11th (D Ca 28) and Louis' next charter does not come until November 22nd (D LY 13). On Erambert see Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 127-128.

[75] *Annales Iuvavenses maximi*, ed. Harry Bresslau, MGH SS 30, no. 2 (Karoli W. Hiersemann, 1934), p. 742: *Karlmannus rex circumseptus ad Ergoltinga ab Ermenperto comite et ceteris sodalibus suis*. This was apparently a royal estate, about sixty kilometers south of Regensburg, as a charter from St. Emmeram notes royal *mancipia* there: Widemann, *Die Traditionen*, no. 132. In 914 Arnulf's concubine Ellinrat would give a chapel at Ergolding to St. Emmeram, see Theodor Sickel, ed. *Die Urkunden Konrad I. Heinrich I. und Otto I.* Monumenta Germaniae Historica Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser 1 (Hahn, 1879-1884), no. 20. Carloman's palace of Ötting, where Carloman issued every charter in the final year of his reign, was only about sixty-seven kilometers southeast of Ergolding: DD Ca 19-25, 27-28. On the palace see Wilhelm Störmer, "König Karlmanns Urkunden für italienische Empfänger," in *Tirol – Österreich – Italien: Festschrift für Josef Riedmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Klaus Brandstätter and Julia Hörmann (Wagner, 2005), pp. 625-626.

[76] On the importance especially of the king's ability to revoke *honores* see Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 221-222. On royal patronage in the late-ninth century see MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 81-122. When the magnates of West Francia needed to determine which king to commend themselves to, it was decided by the part of the kingdom in which they held *honores*, see *AB*, s.a. 880, pp. 241-242.

Arnulf, operating on Carloman's behalf, stripped him of his *honores*, this may have given Louis the pretext to intervene in Bavaria against the ailing Carloman. That is, the *Annales Fuldenses*, which was partial to Louis the Younger, may be covering up that Louis, in effect, staged a coup against the still-living Carloman.[77]

Yet, Louis' maneuverings against Arnulf only make sense if Arnulf was a real contender for the throne. That is, if Arnulf could *not* become king because he was "illegitimate" why would Louis need to exact such promises from the elites there and why would the *Annales Fuldenses* explicitly frame such oaths in a way that implied they were meant to prevent Arnulf becoming king? Kahl and Becher suggest that Louis the Younger was using Arnulf's illegitimacy as a pretext to usurp the kingdom from Carloman, yet we do not have any sources that claim Arnulf's illegitimacy prevented him from becoming king.[78] It was not uncommon for Carolingian kings to interfere in the succession of other kingdoms, so we should not assume that Arnulf's legitimacy was the critical element. Legitimate Carolingians could also face challenges to their authority: Louis had to fend off his own uncle in 876![79] Louis' attempts to secure elite support speak to Arnulf's strength, not his weakness. If Arnulf did not have elite supporters of his own, there would be no need to extract such oaths from the elites there. It was not Arnulf's illegitimacy that proved decisive in 880, then, but Louis' ability to better mobilize elite support in opposition to Arnulf.

[77] On the annalist see MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 24-27. See Hans-Dietrich Kahl, "Die Kärntner Pfalzgrafschaft und ihre Verbindung zur alten Moosburg. Ein Blick auf die verfassungsgeschichtlichen Auswirkungen mündlicher Traditionen im Mittelalter mit einem Anhang: Reginos Mosaburh," *Carinthia I* 192 (2002): 230.

[78] Kahl, "Die Kärntner Pfalzgrafschaft," p. 231. Becher, "Arnulf von Kärnten," pp. 665-682, esp. pp. 668-678 which discuss the events of 879.

[79] See below, n. 81.

At the end of the day Louis ended up as king by securing the support of the magnates, leaving Arnulf and Carloman with little room for maneuver. Securing elite support was the main tactic used by Carolingian kings to gain contested territory. Charles the Bald had tried to bind as many magnates to himself as he could in 869 when Lothar II died, and when rumors swirled that Louis II of Italy had died, Louis the German (dispatching Charles the Fat) and Charles the Bald both attempted to be the first to reach the region to gain support.[80] Further, it may have been strategically difficult for Arnulf to contend with Louis the Younger, an accomplished military leader in his own right, if Charles the Fat also sought to block Arnulf's rise to the kingship.[81] Indeed this may have been part of the discussions held between Charles and Louis' counselors when they met in Italy.[82]

Arnulf's actions in in 879 are somewhat unclear, however. Was he actually attempting to become king? Was he acting on behalf of his father in expelling Erambert and his followers? Adelheid Krah took Erambert's actions as evidence that he was the leader of Bavarian elites favoring Louis over Arnulf for the succession.[83] That Arnulf had elite support is suggested by the annalist of the *Annales Fuldenses* defending Louis' actions, seemingly because Louis had offended certain unnamed people.[84] Presumably these unnamed people are those who disagreed with Louis becoming king. Indeed the *Annales Bertiniani* claimed that Arnulf was occupying part of the kingdom, suggesting that Arnulf

[80] *AB*, s.a. 869, pp. 156-157; *AB*, s.a. 871, pp. 182-183 and *AF*, s.a. 871, p. 74.

[81] Louis the Younger had already won a great victory at the Battle of Andernach in 876 against Charles the Bald, see *AF*, s.a. 876, pp. 87-88. *AB*, s.a. 876, pp. 206-210. *AV*, s.a. 876, p. 41. Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 876, pp. 111-112.

[82] See above, n. 72.

[83] Krah, "Bayern," at pp. 5-6.

[84] *AF*, s.a. 879, p. 93: *quod quorundam offendit animos*.

may have gained traction before Louis could return from his West Frankish campaign.[85] The *Annales Fuldenses* also notes that Arnulf expelled Erambert and the others because of a dispute between them and Carloman, so he was presumably operating either on his father's behalf or in his father's place as Carloman's illness worsened.[86]

The question remains, however, did Carloman intend for Arnulf to succeed him? MacLean has argued that a charter granted by Carloman in 879 shows the ailing king attempting to bolster Arnulf's position.[87] Unfortunately the charter itself is problematic as it contains many errors and may have been rejected by the court as an insufficiently adequate copy because it does not have the standard marks of authentication found on other charters.[88] Further, it is the only charter that includes Arnulf in a prayer provision, so it is pushing this one charter too far to argue that this represents an agenda in the charters by Carloman to establish Arnulf as an heir.[89] However other evidence *does* suggest that Carloman intended Arnulf to succeed him. Later in 879 when Carloman did eventually concede the kingdom to Louis, Louis promptly gave Carinthia to Arnulf, "which his father had already conceded to him."[90] As

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[85] On the West Frankish campaign see *AB*, s.a. 879, p. 238; *AF*, s.a. 879, pp. 92-93; *AV*, s.a. 879, p. 44.

[86] *AF*, s.a. 879, p. 93: *propter quandam dissensionem inter Carlmannum patrem suum et eos*.

[87] MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 135 about D Ca 26 (mistakenly attributed to D Ca 27).

[88] D Ca 26. The editor believes it was written by an inexperienced scribe and it was then rejected because it is missing a recognition sign and seal. It is authentic according to the editor because a later charter, D CF 28 copies the wording.

[89] MacLean is also citing Eugen Ewig, "Der Gebedtsdienst der Kirchen in den Urkunden der späteren Karolinger," in *Festschrift für Berent Schwineköper zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, eds. Helmut Maurer and Hans Patze (J. Thorbecke, 1982), p. 73. However Ewig suggests that Carloman's charters were more concerned with the broader dynastic family instead of his own immediate family, which makes sense given that Arnulf is only mentioned in D Ca 26.

[90] *AF*, s.a. 879, p. 93; Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, p. 117: *quod ei pater iam pridem concesserat*.

we will see below, Arnulf was trusted with responsibilities along the frontier by Carloman, a position which may have served as a training ground. Carloman's actions in 879 also seem less voluntary than the *Annales Fuldenses* describes, and Arnulf punishing Erambert on Carloman's behalf makes sense if Arnulf was being put forward as an heir to Carloman. The events of 879 make the most sense if Carloman was positioning Arnulf as his heir, and Erambert/Louis the Younger instead favored Louis as king.

We can perhaps see this chaotic moment reflected in local charters. A certain deacon "Gundbato" granted land to St. Emmeram for the salvation of his soul, which Arnulf, "the royal son", had originally given to Gundbato.[91] Because Arnulf is here termed a royal son, the editor believed it was probably granted during Carloman's reign (876-880).[92] To MacLean this was part of a broader effort by Carloman to paper over Arnulf's illegitimacy, and to promote a "fictive" identity as a fully legitimate royal son.[93] However, the charter does not record that it was written during Carloman's reign. Further, it was specifically Arnulf, not Carloman, who was permitting the grant, placing Arnulf in the role that his father held in several earlier charters from St. Emmeram.[94] While our sources do not tell us specifically what Arnulf's role in Bavaria was, his appearance here permitting the charter suggests that he had some form of authority. This designation as the *filius regalis* likely reflects the confusion swirling in Bavaria in 879 as Carloman's health declined and Arnulf attempted to claim authority. There is nothing to suggest that Carloman or Arnulf had anything to do with the drawing up of the

[91] Widemann, *Die Traditionen*, no. 86, pp. 78-79: *filio regali*.

[92] Widemann, *Die Traditionen*, p. 78.

[93] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 134-137.

[94] This charter uses the same verb as Widemann, *Die Traditionen*, nos. 85 and 87: *permittente*.

Regensburg charter, so we should not assume this reflects an attempt by Carloman to bolster Arnulf's royal credentials. Instead, this could reflect the uncertainty of 879 and 880, and the usage of "royal son" could reflect the tenuous nature of Arnulf's position. *Filius regalis* may represent how contemporaries saw Arnulf as deriving his position and status from that of his father, similar to how West Saxon charters used *filius regis* to mark out certain individuals' "relationship to the crown."[95] We do not have any sources produced from Arnulf's point of view in 879, so we cannot know for sure what exactly Arnulf's claims were. This charter, however, could reflect how under Carloman Arnulf's position was determined primarily by his status as a royal son. Similarly, Kasten argued that Carloman did not perform his duties as a margrave, *dux*, etc., but primarily as a royal son.[96] The annal tradition identified Arnulf primarily by his relationship to Carloman, so this may have been how Arnulf was perceived by contemporaries more generally.[97] This confusion in 879 also had an impact on another charter which is dated to the reign of "Carloman, Louis [the Younger] and Charles [the Fat], the sons of the most illustrious king Louis."[98] That it is dated as if all three kings were ruling suggests that there was confusion over the succession as Carloman's health declined. When Gundbato and Arnulf make another appearance in the St. Emmeram charters after 880, Arnulf is now referred to as *dux*.[99] The *dux*

[95] See David Dumville, "The Ætheling: A Study in Anglo-Saxon Constitutional History," *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979): 10-11.

[96] Brigitte Kasten, *Königssöhne und Königsherrschaft: Untersuchungen zur Teilhabe am Reich in der Merowinger- und Karolingerzeit* (Hahn, 1997), pp. 505-509.

[97] On the annal tradition see pp. 55-56, above.

[98] Widemann, *Die Traditionen*, no. 92: *regnantibus clarissimi regis Hludouuici filiis Carlomanno, Hludouvico, Carolo*. The charter only involves lands in Bavaria.

[99] Widemann, *Die Traditionen*, no. 102.

was often a military figure with responsibilities over part of the frontier, such as Wilhelm and Engelschalk in the 870s.[100] The Slavic *dux* Pribina's son Kocel was referred to as *dux* in the same charter that Arnulf is called the *filius regalis*.[101] Kocel had died in 874 and it seems that Arnulf took over from him.[102] This means that the scribe of the 879 charter chose to represent Arnulf's authority as *filius regalis* and *dominus* instead of *dux*, which had a more specifically military connotation. In the chaos of 879 *filius regalis* may have been the easiest way for this scribe to understand Arnulf's position as he tried to assert his authority.

Louis, in the end, did concede Carinthia to Arnulf despite he nephew's supposed infidelity in 879/880. This itself may highlight the high status that Arnulf enjoyed as a Carolingian son; royal sons were often spared from the harshest punishments.[103] As the above suggests, however, Arnulf's position in Carinthia was hardly formalized. He likely held some form of military command under his father, and his status as a royal son may have elevated him above other *duces* along the frontier. As Regino notes, Carloman had already conceded Carinthia to Arnulf and this grant included the swamp fortress of Moosburg.[104] Moosburg was an important and heavily fortified castle that had previously belonged

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[100] *AF*, s.a. 871, p. 73. On *dux* see Deutinger, *Königsherrschaft*, pp. 187-217.

[101] On Pribina see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 138-140 and pp. 265-267. Carloman had taken this principality during his 858 revolt and granted it to Rastislav in Moravia, before Louis the German reasserted his control over it in 864 and turned it into a comital holding, see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 273-274.

[102] Kocel likely died sometime around 874, as he is mentioned as being killed in battle in the *De administrando imperio,* see Tibor Živković, *De Conversione Croatorum et Serborum: a Lost Source* (Institute of History, 2012), pp. 129-130, for discussion of the battle see p. 139. Charles R. Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars: The Struggle for the Middle Danube, 788-907* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), p. 202 instead argues that Carloman installed Arnulf in Moosburg after Kocel's death in 876.

[103] Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 136-137

[104] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, p. 117

to the Carinthian *duces* Pribina and Kocel.[105] In the 880s, when we have evidence of a Bavarian viewpoint, we see Arnulf as a frontier commander.[106] Wolfram suggests that views from the other side of the frontier envisioned Arnulf in a quasi-royal position.[107] He was not confined solely to the frontier however: the charters above indicate his participation in Bavarian politics, and in 882 we find him as the "prince" leading the Bavarian army in Lotharingia against the Northmen.[108] Arnulf's power is also potentially reflected in the fact that Louis only issued three charters for Bavarian recipients, one seemingly when he came to Regensburg to take over in 879, and then two more the following year.[109] Two of these charters involve the archbishop of Salzburg, Theotmar, who was the archchancellor for Carloman, Arnulf, and Arnulf's son Louis the Child.[110] The earliest of these, in November 879, may have been a way of securing Theotmar's support in the response to Arnulf's ambitions.[111] The lack of charters for Bavarian recipients suggests the possibility that Louis' support there was not secure, or that

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[105] There has been much debate about whether this Moosburg should be identified with Moosburg near Klagenfurt or the site near Lake Balaton in modern day Hungary. It had formerly been held by Pribina and Kocel, who had ruled Lower Pannonia under Louis the German. Arnulf issued several charters at a Moosburg: DD A 19-20, 43, and 75. On the debate and further literature see Kahl, "Die Kärntner Pfalzgrafschaft," pp. 185-235; Heinz Dopsch, "Arnulf und der Südosten – Karantanien, Mähren, Ungarn," in Fuchs and Schmid, *Kaiser Arnolf*, pp. 151-153; and now Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 39-43. On Pribina see Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars*, pp. 101-111 and Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 83-85. See Fritz Lošek (ed.), *Die 'Conversio Bagoarium et Carantanorum' und der Brief des Erzbischofs Theotmar von Salzburg* (Hahn, 1997), cc. 10-13, pp. 118-134. Moosburg is specifically mentioned as a "new castle of Kocel" (*in castro Chezilonis noviter*) in Lošek (ed.), *Conversio Bagoiariorum*, c. 13, pp. 130-132.

[106] See the discussion below of the Wilhelminer War.

[107] Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 31-35.

[108] *AF* (B), s.a. 882, p. 107: *cum principe eorum Arnulfo*.

[109] D LY 13, 15, and 21.

[110] D LY 13 and 21.

[111] D LY 13.

the magnates did not seek out his patronage. If a charter was meant to signify the authority of the ruler and the relationships between both parties, then this is a sign that Louis' position in Bavaria was tenuous.[112] The roots of Louis' position in Bavaria do not seem to have been particularly deep: Arnulf confirmed only two charters of Louis', neither for a Bavarian recipient.[113]

Louis' takeover was immediately tainted by catastrophe: Regino relates that when Louis the Younger came to take over Carloman's kingdom, his young son, also named Louis, "fell from the window of the palace and immediately died from a broken neck."[114] Of course, there is no direct evidence in the sources that Arnulf had any involvement, but Arnulf had connections to Regensburg and thus it is not implausible that Arnulf may have had something to do with the young Louis' death. Instead of the triumphal entry into Bavaria that Louis may have envisioned, it would have become a deeply tragic moment. Indeed Regino, writing almost thirty years later, is the only source that seems to record this incident. Denied the ability to succeed his father, Arnulf may have attempted to strip Louis the Younger's ability to pass the kingdom on any further.

Having argued that Arnulf's illegitimacy is not a wholly sufficient way to understand Arnulf before 887, with elite support in 879 being key, I would instead suggest that Arnulf is better understood by comparing him to other Carolingian sons, in particular his father Carloman. Earlier in the Carolingian period some royal sons had been given the title of king but this power was strictly

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[112] Koziol, *The Politics of Memory*, pp. 60-62.

[113] DD A 107 and 124.

[114] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 882, p. 119: *idem puerulus de fenestra palacii cecidit et confractis cervicibus statim expiravit*.

overseen by the ruler.[115] In East Francia neither Louis the German or his sons had subkings under their authority. Instead, East Frankish royal sons were given duties by their fathers without being granted the official title of *rex*.[116] In 873 we can find Louis letting Louis the Younger and Charles the Fat preside over judicial cases at Bürstadt, leaving what they could not resolve to the king.[117] Louis the German also seems to have had their monograms added to royal charters that pertained to their areas of authority.[118] In not letting his sons be called kings, Louis the German was likely hoping this would prevent conflict within the royal family.[119] Throughout the 830s Louis the Pious had faced rebellions from his adult sons, including the infamous "Field of Lies" where Louis' men deserted him and removed him from power.[120] After 833 Louis tried to use succession arrangements to control his adult sons, with limited success.[121] Louis the German may have therefore been recalling his own experiences of conflict with his

[115] As a child Louis the Pious was made king of Aquitaine by Charlemagne, but had a group of advisors to really run the region, Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*, ed. Ernst Tremp, MGH SS rer. Germ. 64 (Hahn, 1995), cc. 3-4, pp. 288-296. See also Thilo Offergeld, *Reges pueri: das Königtum Minderjähriger im frühen Mittelalter* (Hahn, 2001), pp. 305-321. Even as adults Charlemagne kept overall control of the family, see McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 88-102. For direct supervision by Charlemagne of Louis the Pious see Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*, pp. 104-106.

[116] With the exception of a charter granted by Louis the German in 873 that has Louis the Younger's *signum* titled as *rex*, D LG 145. For the context of this charter see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 317. A St. Gall charter from April 870 notes Louis the German as the ruler, but that it was done under Charles the Fat as the *rectore pagi illius*, see Peter Erhart et. al., eds, *Chartularium Sangallense: Band II (841-899)* (Stiftsarchiv St. Gallen, 2021), no. 583, p. 179 and no. 587, p. 182.

[117] *AF*, s.a. 873, p. 78.

[118] For discussion of this see Chapter Three, p. 142.

[119] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 247. On the relationship between Louis and his sons see Kasten, *Königssöhne*, pp. 498-541.

[120] On this revolt see Courtney M. Booker, *Past Convictions: The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), esp. pp. 15-103 and De Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 214-259.

[121] De Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 52-58.

father Louis the Pious. In 832 Louis the German had summoned an army and threatened to annex Alemmania before backing down in the face of an army led by his father.[122] Several years later, in 838, Louis the German had lands in Thuringia, Saxony, and Alemannia stripped from him by the aging Louis the Pious (according to the annalist it was all the lands Louis the German had wrongfully taken from his father), and he was confined only to Bavaria.[123] The conflict between the two would continue all the way until Louis the Pious' death in 840.[124] If Louis the German had hoped to avoid this sort of intra-family conflict, he was disappointed. As his sons grew older and chafed at their lack of independence, it lead to conflict with the king.[125] While Arnulf did not become king until 887, his situation was not particularly unusual when compared to his uncles and father before they became kings. That is, it was common for legitimate royal sons to be given some responsibilities but not the title of *rex*, so we should not necessarily interpret Arnulf's position in the 870s and 880s as a result of his illegitimacy. Further, as the above shows, Carolingian sons were often in conflict with their fathers concerning their role within the kingdom. In Arnulf's case we can find two instructive parallels between Arnulf and his father Carloman: when Arnulf revolted against his uncle Charles the Fat and

[122] *AB*, s.a. 832, pp. 6-7.

[123] *AB*, s.a. 838, p. 24 and p. 26 and *AF*, s.a. 838, p. 29. See also the Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici*, c. 59, pp. 524-529 and Nithard, *Histories*, ed. and trans. Marco Conti, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations 28 (Peeters, 2022), I.6, pp. 100-101.

[124] See *AF*, s.a. 839-840, pp. 29-30.

[125] See discussion of the 861 revolt below. For other revolts see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 263-278. The conflict may have lead to the short text *De honore parentum,* actually Ecclesiasticus 3.5-18, being added to a St. Gall manuscript, see Eleni Leontidou, "Episcopal Identity, Penance and the Carolingian Crisis of 833. Constructing and Re-Constructing Collections of Texts in Ninth-Century St. Gall," *Revue Bénédictine* 129, no. 1 (2019): 164-165.

when Carloman revolted against his father Louis the German. In both cases they sought to gain greater independence from their Carolingian relatives.

A common element for both Arnulf and Carloman was their role along the eastern frontier. The frontier was an enduring and important element of Arnulf's career before becoming king in 887, yet we are limited in the evidence for his activities there before the 880s. There is, however, a somewhat roundabout way to understand Arnulf's position in the early 870s. Regino, in an aside in his chronicle for the year 890, tells us that before Arnulf was king, the Slavic leader Zwentibald had raised Arnulf's son from the baptismal font and "called him Zwentibald from his own name."[126] Baptism in the early Middle Ages was a way of cementing relationships and creating quasi-familial connections between parents and godparents.[127] Zwentibald standing as godfather to Arnulf's son would have created a relationship between the two, but also would have strengthened the connections between Zwentibald and the East Frankish polity (or at least the part controlled by Carloman/Arnulf).[128] Zwentibald was the *dux* of a Slavic polity who had overthrown his uncle Rastiz in 870 to become ruler and then

[126] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 890, p. 134: *antequam in regni fastigio sublimaretur, familiaritatis gratia fuerit conexus: denique filium eius, quem ex pelice susceperat, a sacro fonte levavit eumque ex nomine suo Zuendibolch appellari fecit*.

[127] See now Owen Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum* (Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 227-239. Arnold Angenendt, "Die Karolinger und die "Familie der Könige," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 96 (1989): 22-31. Arnold Angenendt, "Taufe und Politik im frühen Mittelalter," *FMSt* 7 (1973). On the development of baptismal liturgy and godparents under the Carolingians see Joseph H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 285-332 and Joseph H. Lynch, "*Spiritale vinculum*: the Vocabulary of Spiritual Kinship in Early Medieval Europe," in *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan*, eds. Thomas F.X. Noble and John Contreni (Medieval Institute Publications, 1987), pp. 181-204.

[128] On the role of baptism see Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*, pp. 208-227.

commended the realm to Carloman.[129] In 871 this *dux* Zwentibald was accused of breaching his fidelity to Carloman and was imprisoned. The *Annales Fuldenses* then vaguely notes that Zwentibald was released because no one could prove the crimes he had been accused of.[130] After leaving Carloman he returned to Moravia with "kingly gifts" at the head of a Bavarian army.[131] More than likely Carloman and Zwentibald returned to the arrangement made in 870. Zwentibald did not intend to keep this newly reforged alliance, however, as he betrayed the Bavarian army upon arriving in Moravia: an event so calamitous that it was even reported in the West Frankish *Annales Bertiniani*.[132]

This brief period when Zwentibald was at court in 871 would seem to be a prime opportunity for this baptism to happen. Gerd Althoff has argued that Carloman, likely seeing an opportunity to foster a greater connection between himself and Zwentibald, may have orchestrated the baptism.[133] Charles Bowlus, suggesting a date of 874, disagrees with Althoff by arguing that Zwentibald and Carloman would not have entered into this sort of relationship in 871 given that Zwentibald immediately betrayed the Bavarian army later that year.[134] However Carloman could not have known Zwentibald was going to betray the army, so we should not discount 871 as a possible date. Indeed

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[129] *AF*, s.a. 870, pp. 70-71.

[130] *AF*, s.a. 871, p. 73: *cum nullus crimina, quae ei obiecta fuerant, probare potuisset*.

[131] *AF*, s.a. 871, p. 74: *muneribus regiis*.

[132] *AB*, s.a. 871, p. 182.

[133] Gerd Althoff, "Zur Bedeutung der Bündnisse Svatopulks von Mähren mit Franken," in *Symposium Methodianum: Beiträge der Internationalen Tagung in Regensburg (17. bis 24. April 1985) zum Gedenken an den 1100. Todestag des hl. Method*, eds. Klaus Trost, et. al. (Hieronymus, 1988), p. 14. Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 21-22 also suggests 871 may have been when he was baptized.

[134] On the relationship between Carloman and Zwentibald and the maneuverings of this period see Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars*, pp. 197-208.

there are other reasons that 871 is a more plausible date than 874. In 874 the *Annales Fuldenses* noted that it was Zwentibald's envoys that came to Louis the German at Forcheim to secure peace, not Zwentibald himself, making it unlikely that Zwentibald baptized Arnulf's son at court as Bowlus claimed.[135] One of these envoys, a priest from Venice named John, "confirmed whatever he said with an oath so that the king might have all doubt removed and believe what he said, namely that Zwentibald would remain faithful to the king all the days of his life."[136] That is, by 874 Zwentibald may have already had a reputation for treachery. Zwentibald's cunning and deceitfulness was a recurring trope in the 880s and 890s.[137] An 871 date for the baptism fits better with the available evidence of when Zwentibald was actually at court, and before his increasingly aggressive posture towards East Francia.

Goldberg has argued that part of Carloman's reason for arranging such a baptism was to secure an alliance between Zwentibald and Carloman so that the frontier would be secure if Carloman launched an invasion of Italy.[138] Throughout the 870s Louis the German sought to install Carloman as king, culminating in him being named Louis II of Italy's heir in the mid-870s.[139] Arnulf's role in Carinthia would have been important to any of Carloman's efforts to invade Italy. Carloman had

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[135] *AF*, s.a. 874, p. 83.

[136] *AF*, s.a. 874, p. 83, trans. Timothy Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda* (Manchester University Press, 1992), p. 75: *Cuius legationis princeps erat Iohannes presbyter de Venetiis, qui etiam, ut ei rex omni ambiguitate remota crederet, quicquid verbis dicebat, sacramento firmabat, videlicet ut Zuentibald regi fidelis permaneret cunctis diebus vitae suae.*

[137] On perceptions of Zwentibald see Chapter Four, pp. 171-172.

[138] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 309-313.

[139] See Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 313-314 and 323-334 on this maneuvering. D Ca 4 notes how Louis II of Italy had given the kingdom to Carloman: *qui nobis regnum istud disposuerat*. This context is further covered in Chapter Six, pp. 251-255.

granted Arnulf Carinthia sometime before 879, meaning it is plausible Arnulf was established there for Carloman's campaigns in the later 870s.[140] It is only in the 880s that we explicitly see Arnulf engaged along the frontier, but the evidence discussed above suggests that by 871 (when Zwentibald was most likely baptized) Carloman may have been establishing Arnulf along the frontier so as to protect it during any potential Italian campaigns.

Carloman had a similar position in the 850s and 860s under his father Louis the German. In 853 Charles the Bald had instigated an attack by the Bulgarians and Slavs against Louis the German, which threatened the stability that Louis had tried to develop along the frontier. The frontier count Ratpot apparently allied with the Slavic leader Rastiz and, according to the annalist, "made sedition."[141] This led to his deposition in 854, and Carloman was soon after installed in 856.[142] Goldberg argued that Ratpot was deposed in order to make room for Carloman, which then prompted the alliance with Rastiz as Ratpot tried to maintain his position.[143] Yet it could also be that Louis deposed Ratpot because he was making alliances with Rastiz previously, perhaps even during the 853 attack. A charter of Louis' from 859, discussed by Goldberg, accuses Ratpot of withdrawing from

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[140] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, p. 117: *quod ei pater iam pridem concesserat*.

[141] *Annales Iuvavenses excerpta Aventini*, s.a. 854, p. 744: *Rastislao carmulam fecit*. This source is problematic because it does not survive, and the passage here was taken from the marginal notations of a manuscript by Johannes Aventinus., see p. 731. The Latin word *carmula* was a Bavarian term for sedition, see *Leges Baiwoariorum*, ed. Ernest von Scwhind, MGH Leges nationem Germanicarum 5, no. 2 (Hahn, 1926), p. 294: *Si quis seditionem excitaverit contra ducem suum, quod Baiuuarii carmulam dicunt*.

[142] On the deposition of Ratpot see *Annales Iuvavenses excerpta Aventini*, s.a. 854, p. 744. On Carloman see *Auctarium Garstense*, ed. George H. Pertz, MGH SS 9 (Hahn, 1851), s.a. 856, p. 565: *Karlamanno marchia orientalis est commendata*. See also *Annales Iuvavenses excerpta Aventini*, s.a. 856, p. 744: *Carolomannus terminum accepit procurandum, marchia orientalis [ei] commendatur.*

[143] See Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 242-243.

Louis' authority and betraying his oaths, suggesting that the deposition did have its roots in a real controversy.[144] In any event, Ratpot's infidelity would have provided an opportunity for Louis to install his oldest son into a position along the frontier.[145] Louis had other reasons to install his son along the frontier: in 858 he would launch another invasion of West Francia, and he may have hoped that having a strong commander on the frontier would deter any aggression.[146] If this had been Louis' goal, however, it quickly proved problematic as Carloman revolted in 857 and allied with Rastiz, just as Ratpot had done.[147]

In both cases, Arnulf in 871 and Carloman in 856, they were installed in order to secure the frontier against potential Slavic aggression. It is also interesting to note the connections between Carloman/Arnulf and Rastiz/Zwentibald. At first Carloman allied with Rastiz against Louis the German before fighting him several times throughout the 860s.[148] Carloman then used Zwentibald as a way to remove Rastiz and to secure the bond between the two polities by having Zwentibald stand as godfather to Arnulf's son in 871. Arnulf too would have an agreement with Zwentibald early in his reign, before it devolved into open warfare in the 890s.[149] These common experiences along the frontier

[144] D LG 96: *Sed quia ipse a nobis totis viribus se alienavit et fidem atque iusiurandum omni infidelitate fraudavit*.

[145] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 243-248.

[146] *AF*, s.a. 858, pp. 49-51.

[147] See Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 264-265.

[148] The alliance is noted in the later *Annales Iuvavenses excerpta Aventini*, s.a. 858, p. 744: *Rastisolao iueriurando pactum fecit cum Carolomanno*. The ninth-century *Annales Bertiniani* notes an alliance between Rastiz and Carloman in 861 during Carloman's revolt, see *AB*, s.a. 861, p. 85. There is also records of conflict between the Franks and Rastiz, in contemporary annals, in 864 and 869, see *AF*, s.a. 864, p. 62 and *AF*, s.a. 869, pp. 67-69.

[149] On the agreement and this conflict see Chapter Four, p. 169.

suggest two conclusions: first, that Carloman installed Arnulf and trained him in ways similar to his own early career. Second, that both Carloman and Arnulf were able to use their connections with the Slavic principalities to their advantage in their struggles for greater authority against their Carolingian relatives.

We can see another parallel between Carloman and Arnulf in Arnulf's participation in the so-called Wilhelminer War that lasted from 882 to 884. The Wilhelminer War had its roots in the rivalry over command of the eastern march.[150] Originally the command was held by two brothers, William II and Engelschalk, who the *Annales Fuldenses* noted as "Carloman's *duces*" in 871.[151] The *Annales Fuldenses* tells us that William II and Engelschalk had been given command of the frontier and had died in action against the Moravians.[152] It is probable they were part of the Bavarian army slaughtered by the Slavic leader Zwentibald during the 871 campaign discussed above.[153] On their death the command of the frontier was given to Arbo instead of William II and Engelschalk's sons, which later prompted the conflict in 882.[154] Arnulf, after having returned from a campaign in Lotharingia under Charles the Fat, may have chosen this moment to openly support the Wilhelminer over Arbo because Charles' most trusted commander Henry had been sent back to Lotharingia to counter further

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[150] See Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 278-288. On the Wilhelminer see also Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 116-120.

[151] *AF*, s.a. 871, p. 73: *Engilscalcum et Willihelmum duces Karlmanni*.

[152] *AF* (B), s.a. 884, p. 110.

[153] Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars*, p. 174. *AB*, s.a. 871, p. 182.

[154] *AF* (B), s.a. 884, p. 110. On the family see Michael Mitterauer, *Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten: fränkische Reichsaristokratie und bayerischer Stammesadel im österreichischen Raum* (Hermann Böchlaus, 1963), pp. 180-185. See also Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 120-121.

Northman aggression.[155] Carloman used a similar tactic in 857/858, timing his revolt to coincide with Louis the German's invasion of West Francia.[156]

This conflict takes up a large portion of the entry for 884 in the Bavarian continuation of the *Annales Fuldenses*.[157] The sons, William III and Engelschalk II, at first managed to depose Arbo, but Arbo had the backing of both Charles the Fat and Zwentibald, so he was eventually reinstalled in his post. It is after this initial failure, according to the annalist, that the men "retired [from Charles the Fat's rulership] and decided to become men of Arnulf, the son of king Carloman, who then held Pannonia."[158] This partnership may have had deeper roots, however. In the 879 charter for Gundbato discussed above one of the witnesses is an *Engilscalh*.[159] Bowlus has suggested that this witness can be identified as Engelschalk II and that he was around the age of manhood when his father died in 871, meaning he was a bit younger than Arnulf.[160] If Engelschalk II had been around court after his father's death, he and his relatives may have tied themselves to Arnulf in hopes of future rewards, as noble

[155] On Henry's campaign see *AF* (B), s.a. 882, p. 109. The target of the Northmen attack was Deventer in Frisia, see *AF* (M), s.a. 882, p. 99.

[156] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 265-266.

[157] The annalist notes that the feud lasted for two and a half years, suggesting it began in 882, see *AF* (B), s.a. 884, p. 113.

[158] *AF*, s.a. 884, p. 112: *recesserunt statueruntque fieri homines Arnolfi, Carlmanni regis filii, qui tunc Pannoniam tenuit.*

[159] Widemann, *Die Traditionen*, no. 86.

[160] Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars*, p. 208.

families had done throughout the ninth century.[161] The conflict was a full family affair it seems: Engelschalk II's brother Werinhar and another relative Wezzilo were mutilated by Zwentibald.[162]

This conflict provides a glimpse into the tension between Arnulf and Charles the Fat in the 880s. That William III and Engelschalk II could withdraw from Charles' lordship and become men of Arnulf suggests that Arnulf was powerful enough to serve as an alternative source of patronage and support. Zwentibald, hearing that the sons had gone to Arnulf, threatened his rival:

> 'You are supporting my enemies; if you do not dismiss them you cannot continue in peace with me.' And on another occasion he [Zwentibald] accused him as follows: 'Your men have conspired treacherously with the Bulgarians against my life and also against my kingdom'... 'I demand that you swear an oath to me that this is not true'; to which Arnulf replied that he would never do either of these things. On this the *dux* collected troops from all the Slav lands in a short time and invaded Pannonia with a large army, killing cruelly and inhumanly like a wolf.[163]

Zwentibald addressed his message directly to Arnulf, not to Charles the Fat, suggesting that Arnulf was more or less autonomous on the frontier. Even if we understand this quote as an invention of the annalist (which seems likely), who was writing contemporary to the events, there is a strong sense that Arnulf is operating on his own. That is, Zwentibald invaded Pannonia specifically to fight Arnulf, not the broader East Frankish kingdom. That Arnulf was able to use the Bulgarians to launch attacks against Zwentibald also presents Arnulf as a quasi-royal figure. Carolingian kings had stirred up

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[161] Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 109-119.

[162] *AF* (B), s.a. 884, p. 111.

[163] *AF* (B), s.a. 884, p. 112, trans. Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 110: *'Inimicos meos sustentas; si eos non dimiseris, nec me tecum pacificatum habebis'. Alteram etiam occasionem adversus eum protulit: 'Tum homines in vitam meam nec minus in regnum meum dolose cum Vulgaris conciliaverunt'... 'hoc volo mihi cum iuramento verum non esse contestari'; quorum neutrum umquam se facturum Arnolfus renuntiavit. Itaque dux non diu collectis ex omnei parte Sclavorum copiis magno cum exercitu invadit Pannoniam, inmaniter ac cruenter more lupi mactat*.

border peoples to launch raids on their rivals throughout the ninth century.[164] Charles the Bald had paid off the Bulgarians to attack Louis the German almost thirty years previously, and Louis had enlisted the Bulgarians against the Moravians in the 860s.[165] Of course, Arnulf was not yet king, but that he (theoretically) had the wealth or influence to convince the Bulgarians to attack Zwentibald highlights his position on the frontier. It is not until later in the year that the emperor made an appearance, holding a meeting near Kaumberg with the *dux* Zwentibald and the *dux* Brazlavo where they both swore oaths of fidelity to Charles.[166] Charles then proceeded through Carinthia on his way to Italy, which MacLean argued was a show of force to Arnulf.[167] Notably, Arnulf is not mentioned as being present at this meeting, and he confirms peace with Zwentibald (separately!) in the presence of the Bavarian nobles the following year.[168] That Arnulf confirmed this peace independent of Charles and in Bavaria emphasizes his partial autonomy but also his connections to Bavarian magnates. That is, Arnulf may have nominally been in charge of Carinthia and Pannonia, but his connections must have also extended into Bavaria.

We can find an instructive parallel to the Wilhelminer War during the 860s under Arnulf's father Carloman. Louis the German had placed Carloman in charge of the eastern march in 856, but confined him largely to Carinthia instead of the traditional seat of Tulln in Upper Pannonia, a move

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[164] See Julia M.H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 93-94 for examples of Carolingian kings stirring up border peoples to attack their rivals.

[165] *AB*, s.a. 853, p. 68. On the relations with the Bulgarians see Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 27-31.

[166] *AF* (B), s.a. 884, p. 113. On Brazlavo see Wolfram, *Arnulf*, p. 38.

[167] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 139-140.

[168] *AF* (B), s.a. 885, p. 114.

that limited Carloman's ability to build up his own political connections in Pannonia and Bavaria.[169] This exclusion by Louis would prompt Carloman to revolt in 857/858 and again in 861. This 861 revolt must have been quite serious: Louis held an assembly at Regensburg where he deprived several individuals of their *honores*. The most notable of these men, Ernest, was described as "the highest among all his [Louis'] men [*optimates*]" and was Carloman's father-in-law.[170] Kasten suggests that Ernest was treated relatively leniently because Louis was hesitant to oppose such a powerful family.[171] Louis' actions were in response to Carloman allying with Rastiz (again) and seizing land all the way to the Inn River.[172] Carloman's goal was explicitly to bring about *res novas*, an expression used by several Carolingian sources in reference to attempts to overthrow the political order.[173] That the annalist

[169] On Louis the German confining Carloman and the revolts see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 264-268.

[170] *AF*, s.a. 861, p. 55: *summatem inter omnes optimates suos*. It is the *Annales Bertiniani* that calls him Carloman's father-in-law. *AB*, s.a. 861, p. 85: *socerum Karlomanni filii sui Arnustum*. On Ernest and his family see Mitterauer, *Karolingische Markgrafen*, pp. 132-137. The others stripped of their *honores* were Berengar and Uto (Ernest's nephews), Sigihard of Kraichgau and an abbot Waldo. Ernest was allowed to remain in the kingdom, but his nephews Uto, Berengar, and Waldo were not so lucky: they fled to the court of Charles the Bald, where they were received warmly and given new *honores*, see *AB*, s.a. 861, p. 85.

[171] Kasten, *Königssöhne,* p. 511.

[172] This detail is reported in *AB*, s.a. 861, p. 55.

[173] It has classical connotations, for example see Tacitus, *Histories: Books 4-5. Annals: Books 1-3,* trans. Clifford H. Moore and John Jackson, Loeb Classical Library 249 (Harvard University Press, 1931), 2.27, pp. 422-423: *moliri res novas*. In this passage Tacitus is recounting the activities of Libo who was prosecuted for conspiring against the emperor Tiberius. Compare to *AF*, s.a. 861, p. 55: *res novas molitus est.* It appears in other Carolingian contexts associated with regime change and revolts. See *ARF*, s.a. 776, p. 43: *in Italia res novas moliri* and Einhard, *VK,* c. 6, p. 8: *res novas molientem* on the same revolt by the duke of Friuli Rotgaud. It also appears in relation to a revolt by the Alemannians in 746, *AF*, s.a. 746, p. 5: *Karlomannus Alamannos iterum res novas molientes nonnullis eorum interfectis compescuit*. This line is repeated verbatim in *Annales Sithienses*, ed. George Waitz, MGH SS 13 (Hahn, 1881), p. 35. On its derivation from the *Annales Fuldenses* see Hartmut Hoffman, *Untersuchungen zur karolingischen Annalistik* (L. Röhrscheid, 1958), pp. 91-102. Another instance involves the duke of Aquitaine Hunold revolting against Carloman and Pippin in 742, *Chronicon Laurissense breve*, ed. H. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Neue Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 36 (1911):

deployed this expression to describe Carloman's revolt in 861 suggests the gravity of the situation. The annalist also explains Carloman's actions precisely: he removed the *duces* in charge of the Carinthian and Pannonian marches and installed his own men.[174] In both the 861 revolt and the Wilhelminer War, the conflict was over the organization of the frontier marches. Further, in both instances the defeated party came to Regensburg to swear oaths of loyalty: Carloman in 862 and Arnulf in 886.[175] Installing their own supporters would have reoriented the frontier to center on Carloman and Arnulf instead of Louis the German and Charles the Fat, respectively.[176] Evidently Carloman had his own men on the frontier: when Carloman was accused of treason to his father in 863, he decided to remain in Carinthia "to be protected there by his own men."[177] Some of these relationships may have transferred from Carloman to Arnulf, such as the Wilhelminer, or the Sigihardinger, who were involved in the 861 revolt and later are visible at Arnulf's court.[178] It also highlights how both Carloman and Arnulf were able to generate elite support for their actions without having a royal title. Royal sons were rallying points for royal opposition, and Thilo Offergeld has argued this was why Carolingian kings stopped

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edition at pp. 23-39, see p. 26: *Karlomannus et Pippinus Hunoldum res novas molientem opprimunt*.

[174] *AF*, s.a. 861, p. 55: *expulit enim duces, quibus custodia commissa erat Pannonici limitis et Carantani, atque per suos marcam ordinavit*.

[175] *AF*, s.a. 862, p. 55. MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 144-160 argues that Charles the Fat had Arnulf come to a meeting at Regensburg to swear on a piece of the True Cross.

[176] Similarly Kasten, *Königssöhne*, pp. 509-514 argues that Carloman's goal 861-864 was to insert himself between the elites and the king.

[177] *AF*, s.a. 863, p. 56: *ibi tutari apud suos*.

[178] Sigihard of Kraichgau was involved in 861, see n. 170 above. On this family see Mitterauer, *Karolingische Markgrafen*, pp. 212-227. This Sigihard was the brother of Arnulf's mother Liutswind. His descendant Sigihard was a count near Ebersberg who is described as Arnulf's relative and appears in several charters: DD A 5, 144, 156, and 159.

installing their sons as subkings in the middle of the ninth century.[179] While Carloman and Arnulf were never subkings, that did not stop them attempting to carve out their own spheres of authority on the frontier.

I have suggested in the second part of this chapter that Arnulf's experiences on the frontier played a central role in structuring his early career. It was here that he got his first taste of authority in the 870s, and where in the 880s he directly challenged his uncles Louis the Younger and Charles the Fat. Like his father before him, Arnulf used his position on the frontier to develop connections to the elites in Carinthia and Bavaria. It was also in this period that Arnulf likely became proficient in military matters, a skill that would then serve him during his own reign.[180]

Conclusion:

Arnulf would finally become king when he overthrew his uncle Charles in the autumn of 887. Unlike in 880, this time Arnulf seems to have been able to martial enough support to secure the throne.[181] The Mainz continuation of the *Annales Fuldenses* notes that Arnulf came to an assembly Charles was holding with an army of Bavarians and Slavs (and eventually the Franks), while in the Bavarian continuation Arnulf's supporters were drawn from the Franks, Saxons, Thuringians, Bavarians, and Alemannians.[182] While the sources provide different accounts of the coup, historians

[179] Offergeld, *Reges pueri*, pp. 321-330.

[180] See Wolfram, *Arnulf*, p. 88 noting his early military career and how the nature of these early conflicts show Arnulf's skill at leading armies.

[181] Wolfram, *Arnulf*, p. 113 also suggests that a lack of Bavarian elite support was the reason Arnulf did not become king in 880.

[182] *AF* (M), s.a. 887, p. 106; *AF* (B), s.a. 887, p. 115.

have argued that Arnulf, seeing his chance to be made Charles' heir dwindling, was forced into action.[183] These concerns would have been further exacerbated by Charles the Fat's declining health, something noted by all the major narrative sources except the Mainz continuation of the *Annales Fuldenses*.[184] This suggests the king's declining health was of grave concern to contemporaries (as it had been with Carloman in 879), and Arnulf was able to take advantage of such an opening.[185] In 887 Arnulf's support was concentrated in Bavaria and Carinthia, and Goldberg has argued that the nobility supported Arnulf in 887 because they wanted to continue the East Frankish kingdom developed under Louis the German.[186] The crucial difference between 880 and 887 was that in 887 Arnulf could count on more elite support, and in the absence of a figure like Louis the Younger to contest this support, Arnulf became king. Yet we can also understand Arnulf's coup as part of a longer tradition of political conflict between Arnulf and his Carolingian relatives. Charles the Fat and Arnulf had already been embroiled in conflict earlier in the 880s (the Wilhelminer War discussed above) and in 886 Charles had Arnulf swear an oath on a piece of the True Cross in order to confirm his loyalty. He would later send this relic to Arnulf in a last ditch effort to avert the coup by imploring Arnulf to remember his oaths.[187]

[183] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 191-198. Krah, "Bayern," pp. 4-10. Hagen Keller, "Zum Sturz Karls III.," *DA* 22, no. 2 (1966): 347-377 argued it was really prompted by a feud between Liutward of Vercelli and Liutbert of Mainz over how to manage the succession, with Arnulf eventually displacing both of them after the coup.

[184] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 887, p. 127. *AV*, s.a. 887, p. 64. *AF* (B), s.a. 887, p. 115. On the what the illness may have been see Hans Oesterle, "Die sogenannte Kopfoperation Karls III. 887," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 61, no. 2 (1979). Charles' sickness was seemingly known as far back as the 870s, see *AB*, s.a. 876, p. 210.

[185] This issue is discussed further in Chapter Seven, pp. 304-305.

[186] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 335-346. On the development of the kingdom under Louis the German see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 187-200.

[187] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp 129-134 and pp. 161-178. On the meeting see n. 160, below. *AF* (M), s.a. 887, p. 106.

We should therefore understand Arnulf's actions in 887 as part of a longer trend throughout the 880s whereby Arnulf was seeking greater authority and independence. Arnulf was not simply "content" to remain a frontier magnate on account of his illegitimacy, instead Arnulf was struggling against his uncles in similar ways to previous Carolingian sons. Despite their lack of a royal title, Carloman and Arnulf were influential regional figures capable of mobilizing elite support for their own agendas. Arnulf's legitimacy, or lack thereof, was not a decisive element, however. While Arnulf was illegitimate, contemporaries focused on his position within the Carolingian dynasty, portraying him as the hope for Louis the German's lineage. It was dynastic status, not birth status, that mattered to Arnulf's contemporaries. Yet to actually gain power Arnulf needed to also secure elite support through benefices and *honores*. With the emphasis on Arnulf's birth status removed, we can see that Arnulf was similar to the many Carolingian sons who had fought with their fathers and uncles throughout the ninth century. Looking at Arnulf's career from the late 870s to the 880s reveals a Carolingian son seeking to establish his own authority, often in competition with his more powerful Carolingian relatives. Instead of diminishing the role of the Carolingians, conflicts within the Carolingian family served to reify the importance of the dynasty to politics.[188] The conflicts between Louis the German and his sons did not shake the belief that Carolingians should be kings but instead centered on *which* Carolingian should be king. This was precisely why Boso of Vienne's revolt in 879 was met with such strong Carolingian resistance: it threatened the centrality of the Carolingians to politics.[189] When

[188] See Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 161-172 who argues that the conflict after the death of Louis the Pious eventually reaffirmed the specialness of the Carolingians because all the agreements foregrounded the dynasty.

[189] See Simon MacLean, "The Carolingian Response to Boso, 879-887," *EME* 10, no. 1 (2001); Stuart Airlie, "*Semper Fideles?* Loyauté envers les Carolingiens comme constituant de l'identité aristocratique," in

Carloman's health declined in 879 it remained a contest between Carolingians: Louis the Younger and his nephew Arnulf. Arnulf's struggles in the 880s against Charles the Fat reaffirmed Arnulf's centrality to the frontier, as he tried to install his own supporters. Arnulf did not live outside of the Carolingian context of politics, but was intimately familiar with it; there is good reason to believe that Arnulf was at court in Regensburg with Louis the German in the 860s.[190] His upbringing throughout the ninth century was shaped by these Carolingian experiences, and as we will see in the next chapter, Arnulf would use his Carolingian heritage to help establish his new reign.

Power and its Problems in Carolingian Europe, ed. Stuart Airlie (Variorum, 2012), reprinted with original pagination from *La royauté et les élites dans L'Europe carolingienne*, ed. Régine Le Jan (Centre d' Histoire l'Europe du Nord-Ouest, 1998).

[190] Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 78-79.

Chapter III:
Establishing Authority in East Francia, 887-891

Every king, upon gaining the throne, has to establish himself as the rightful wielder of royal authority. Arnulf faced the same challenge but he differed from his Carolingian predecessors in several ways. First, as discussed in the previous chapter, although norms about birth legitimacy were not yet firmly established, Arnulf was an illegitimate child of the Carolingian king Carloman. Second, soon after becoming king Arnulf was faced with a variety of non-Carolingian monarchs across Europe, which challenged the status of the Carolingians as the only dynastic family. Finally, Arnulf only came to power after overthrowing his uncle, the emperor Charles the Fat, in the autumn of 887. Deposing a Carolingian king was no easy feat; most attempted revolts failed. Even when Louis the Pious was overthrown by his sons, they had a difficult time justifying their actions and Louis the Pious eventually made his way back into power.[1] Arnulf, then, came to power through a deposition and was confronted with rulers who were not Carolingian, which was largely unprecedented in the Carolingian era. These circumstances, among others, have led to Arnulf's coup being seen as representing a break with Carolingian tradition.

It is during the years from 887 to 891 that Arnulf reacted to these new challenges and needed to establish himself as king. The years from 887 to 891 therefore form a foundational period. This is because Arnulf quickly faced a challenge from the non-Carolingian Rudolf, who declared himself king in Burgundy (and claimed Lotharingia). At the same time Arnulf issued a large number of charters in 888 (thirty-six) and 889 (twenty-seven). These two years will form the bulk of my discussion, but I will

[1] Booker, *Past Convictions*, pp. 129-182.

also discuss events in 890 and 891. In 890 Arnulf had to respond to a revolt led by Charles the Fat's illegitimate son Bernard. By 891 Rudolf had entered into a truce (albeit an uneasy one) with Arnulf and Bernard had been killed. With these two crises dealt with, Arnulf had to contend with Northmen attacks in Lotharingia, winning at the Battle of Leuven in 891, as well as renewed conflict with the formidable Slavic leader Zwentibald in 891. I thus see 891 as a turning point in Arnulf's reign.

This chapter will look at how Arnulf attempted to establish his authority during this early portion of his reign by engaging with Carolingian tradition. If we are to understand Arnulf's actions within Carolingian tradition, however, we need to first define "tradition." What exactly this tradition entails is difficult to determine because while there are practices and activities that historians have associated with Carolingian rulers, these traditions were not static over time. Further, while West and East Francia formed part of the broader Carolingian world, they too had their own histories and traditions. Arnulf can be understood within this larger Carolingian world but also within a more localized East Frankish Carolingian tradition. While I will mainly refer back to this East Frankish tradition, I will also refer to the broader Carolingian traditions of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious.

The first part of the chapter will look at how Arnulf's assemblies fit into longer patterns of Carolingian rule as a way of establishing royal authority. Arnulf's use of assemblies was deeply traditional and followed precedents used by earlier Carolingian kings. Arnulf's charters will then be discussed in relation to two regions: Lotharingia and Alemannia. In each region, Arnulf selectively emphasized his Carolingian ancestry, but in different ways. In Lotharingia the charters emphasized his Carolingian identity to centers such as Prüm, St. Mary in Aachen, and St. Arnulf in Metz. Meanwhile in Alemannia Arnulf's charters emphasized continuity with Charles the Fat and concentrated on two

centers, St. Gall and Reichenau. This reworking of a traditional strategy served a new purpose in the tense years after Arnulf's coup in 887 as a way to distinguish Arnulf from his non-Carolingian rivals. The final part of the chapter will explore a new practice introduced under Arnulf where his monogram was placed on the charters of his predecessors in order to strengthen his connection to them. Facing a political situation unlike almost any of his predecessors, Arnulf turned to the tools of Carolingian rulership in order to establish his authority. At a time of chaos and disruption, Arnulf not only established himself as king, but as a specifically Carolingian ruler. Yet his practice of rule also allows us to see innovations that were prompted by the novel circumstances he faced in the years after 887.

A Traditional Carolingian: Arnulf and Assemblies:

One way that Arnulf sought to establish his authority was through the traditional Carolingian practice of holding assemblies with the magnates of his kingdom. Assemblies were one of the few events that gathered elites from throughout the kingdom, which, among other things, could make them useful venues for staged displays of authority. Hincmar's *De ordine palatii*, written for the West Frankish king Carloman II in 882, supposedly described the structure of the palace including what was meant to happen during an assembly. Hincmar laid out that the king should hold two assemblies a year, with the king and a small inner circle meeting at one smaller assembly before bringing their decisions to a larger assembly.[2] At this larger assembly, the king would then discuss the issues with his

[2] Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, eds. Thomas Gross and Rudolf Schieffer, MGH Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi 3 (Hanhsche Buchhandlung, 1980), cc. 29-30, pp. 82-86. This picture is complicated by the fact that Hincmar claims to have used an earlier source, written by Adalhard of Corbie in the early-ninth century, for sections of the text. See Janet L. Nelson, "Aachen as a Place of Power," in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Mayke de Jong et al. (Brill, 2001), pp. 229-230. When it came to the section specifically on assemblies and capitularies, Nelson argued that Hincmar wrote with the

men, and, while they held discussions among themselves, the king could attend to other business such as receiving gifts.[3] Even so, not only was Hincmar writing for a West Frankish king in hopes of regaining his influence at court, but he also ended his treatise with the hope that Carloman might fix these institutions, which casts doubt on whether East Frankish assemblies in the 880s actually followed this format.[4] We can catch glimpses, however, of similarities between Hincmar's description and assemblies held by East Frankish kings in the 880s, even if we should be wary of categorizing assemblies too strictly based on how contemporaries chose to record them.[5]

While we have limited details on what went on at East Frankish assemblies themselves, they were important to the maintenance of royal power because they demonstrated the king as the head of

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practices of the 860s and 870s in mind because of similarities between capitularies of Charles the Bald (which Hincmar himself had a role in writing) and the *De ordine*. Janet L. Nelson, "Legislation and Consensus in the Reign of Charles the Bald," in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrill*, eds. Patrick Wormald et al. (Blackwell, 1983), pp. 217-220, reprinted in *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Janet L. Nelson (Hambledon Press, 1986).

[3] Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, cc. 34-35, pp. 90-94.

[4] Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, c. 37, pp. 96-98. On Hincmar's attempts to regain influence at court since 876 see Steffen Patzold, "Konsens und Konkurrenz. Überlegungen zu einem aktuellen Forschungskonzept der Mediävistik," *Frühmittelalterlichen Studien* 41 (2007): 77-88. Daniel Eichler has noted how Hincmar's text presented an idealized version of assemblies that does not always correspond to reality, see Daniel Eichler, *Fränkische Reichsversammlungen unter Ludwig dem Frommen* (Hahn, 2007), pp. 38-45 and pp. 88-96. Now see Simon MacLean, "Hincmar of Rheims, *De Ordine Palatii* and Royal Assemblies," in *Versammlungen im Frühmittelalter*, eds. Philippe Depreux and Steffen Patzold (De Gruyter, 2023).

[5] Under Louis the Younger we can perhaps see evidence for these two types of assemblies, one of a small group of magnates and then a larger general assembly. See *AF*, s.a. 878, p. 91. Generally, there are two different terms for these types of assemblies: the smaller one is usually referred to as a *colloquium/conloquium*, whereas the larger one is referred to as either a *placitum* or *conventus*, yet this distinction is clearer in the Ottonian period. On this see Gerd Althoff, "*Colloquium familiare—Colloquium secretum—Colloquium publicum:* Beratung im politischen Leben des fruheren Mittelalters", *Fruhmittelalterliche Studien* 34 (1990). Likewise under Arnulf we can see one of these smaller meetings: in May 890 Arnulf held a *conloquium* where he received gifts from Angilberga, the wife of the Carolingian emperor of Italy Louis II (d. 875) and grandmother of the king of Provence, Louis the Blind, *AF* (B), s.a. 890, p. 119. On the problems of categorization see Eichler, *Fränkische Reichsversammlungen*, pp. 12-24.

the political community while also attempting to secure the consensus of the elite.[6] It therefore comes as little surprise that after overthrowing Charles the Fat in November 887, Arnulf received "at Regensburg the leading men of the Bavarians, eastern Franks, Saxons, Thuringians, Alemannians, and a large part of the Slavs."[7] Arnulf was at Regensburg throughout January and February 888 issuing charters, and this meeting of the leading men would have been an early way for Arnulf to attempt to demonstrate his authority as king.[8] By securing the acceptance of the elites of the various regions now under his control, Arnulf was also following Carolingian precedent. For example, after the death of Louis the Pious in 840 Louis the German "confirmed by oath of fidelity the eastern Franks,

[6] On the nature of the evidence see Stuart Airlie, "Talking Heads: Assemblies in Early Medieval Germany," in Paul S. Barnwell and Marco Mostert (eds), *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages* (Brepols, 2003), pp. 37-39. The assembly held at Frankfurt in 873 is one notable exception, see MacLean, "Ritual, Misunderstanding, and the Contest for Meaning." In addition to Nelson, "Legislation"; Althoff, "*Colloquium*"; and Airlie, "Talking Heads" above, see Timothy Reuter, "Assembly Politics in Western Europe from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth," in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 202-204, originally printed in *The Medieval World*, eds. Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson (Routledge, 2001); Janet L. Nelson, "How Carolingians Created Consensus," in *Le Monde carolingien: Bilan, perspectives, champs de recherches. Actes du Colloque international de Poitiers, Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation médiévale, 18-20 novembre 2004*, eds. Wojciech Falkowski and Yves Sassier (Brepols, 2009), pp. 67-81; Deutinger, *Königsherrschaft,* pp. 238-272; Chris Wickham, "Consensus and Assemblies in the Romano-Germanic Kingdoms: a Comparative Approach," in *Recht und Konsens im frühen Mittelalter*, eds. Verena Epp and Christoph H.F. Meyer, Vorträge und Forschungen 82 (Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2017), esp. pp. 406-415. On earlier Carolingian assembly practice see Eichler, *Fränkische Reichsversammlungen*, pp. 107-110. For specifically Louis the German's use of assemblies in East Francia see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 226-229. On consensus see Steffen Patzold, "Consensus – Concordia – Unitas. Überlegungen zu einem politisch-religiösen Ideal der Karolingerzeit," in *Exemplaris imago. Ideale in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Nikolaus Staubach (Peter Lang, 2012) and Steffen Patzold, "'Einheit' versus 'Fraktionierung': Zur symbolischen und institutionellen Integration des Frankenreichs im 8./9. Jahrhundert," in *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World: the West, Byzantium and the Islamic World, 300-1100*, ed. Walter Pohl, Clemens Gantner, and Richard Payne (Ashgate, 2012). Jürgen Hannig, *Consensus fidelium: frühfeudale Interpretationen des Verhältnisses von Königtum und Adel am Beispiel des Frankereiches* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1982). For specifically late-Carolingian/early tenth-century consensus, see McNair, "Kingship and Consent," pp. 12-17.

[7] *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 116: *urbe Radasbona receptis primoribus Baiowariorum, orientales Francos, Saxones, Duringos, Alamannos, magna parte Sclavanorum*.

[8] DD A 5, 7-15. The dates range from January 1st to February 9th.

Alemannians, Saxons, and Thuringians to himself."[9] This process could also take place at an assembly: Charles the Fat received the leading men at an assembly in Worms after the death of his brother Louis the Younger in 882. Arnulf himself was likely at this assembly, because he can be found leading the Bavarian contingent of the army shortly after.[10]

These examples emphasize the importance of assemblies as a useful venue for bringing together the various regions of the kingdom (as the annalist claims for Arnulf in 888). The charters granted at Regensburg in early 888 highlight the wide range of people who may have been at this assembly: we see two abbots (Kremsmünster, and St. Maximin in Trier), five bishops (Chur, Vercelli, Passau, Freising, and Regensburg), a count Adalhart, Wigand who was a vassal of Louis the Younger's daughter Hildegard[11], Sigihard (a count near Ebersberg who is later described as Arnulf's relative)[12], and the former court chaplain Liutbrand. While the charters themselves do not mention a connection to an assembly, that they were given in early 888 at Regensburg suggests the recipients were present for the assembly and corroborates the narrative evidence.[13]

[9] *AF*, s.a. 840, p. 31: *Hludowicus vero orientales Francos, Alamannos, Saxones et Thuringos sibi fidelitatis iure confirmat*.

[10] *AF* (M), s.a. 882, p. 98; for Arnulf and the assembly see *AF* (B), s.a. 882, p. 107.

[11] She would be involved in a later controversy, D A 132; *AF* (B), s.a. 895, pp. 125-126.

[12] In DD A 144 and 159. For a discussion of Sigihard and his familial connections to Carloman and Arnulf see Chapter Two, pp. 89-90.

[13] However charters granted close to assemblies do not always mean they were granted during the assembly itself. See Sören Kaschke, "Politische Versammlungen im angelsächsichen England," in Depreux and Patzold, *Versammlungen.* Kaschke convincingly argues that the English diplomas with witness lists cannot be used to identify meetings. This argument makes sense, but is slightly different from how I use charters here, which is alongside assemblies attested in other sources. While it is true that the king often had magnates at court, the combination of the charter with an attested assembly increases the likelihood there is some connection. For the situation under the Aquitainian subkings see Tobie Walther, "Herrscherurkunden im Umfeld von Versammlungen als Zeichen der Herrschaft der 'Unterkönige' von Aquitanien?" in Depreux and Patzold,

Of course, Regensburg had a longer tradition as a center of importance in Bavaria to both the Agilolfing dukes and the Carolingians.[14] The *Annales Fuldenses* records East Frankish kings holding two assemblies at Regensburg: Louis the German in 861 and Charles the Fat in 883.[15] The first, in 861, related to a conflict between Louis the German and his son Carloman. At the assembly Louis revoked the *honores* of Ernest, "the highest among all his [Louis'] men," who perhaps ran afoul of Louis by siding with Carloman (who was married to Ernest's daughter).[16] While revoking Ernest's *honores* Louis also punished several others who had allied with Carloman.[17] Likewise Charles the Fat's assembly in 883 can be situated within a Bavarian conflict, namely the Wilhelmer War in which Arnulf was one of

Versammlungen. Walther argues that the Aquitainian subkings did not regularly issue documents at assemblies, but, as Walther points out, there are limits to our knowledge of these assemblies. See also Andrea Stieldorf, "Öffentlichkeit, Ritual und Recht? Herrscherurkunden im Umfeld von Reichsversammlungen des frühen Mittelalters," in Depreux and Patzold, *Versammlungen*, esp. pp. 137-144. Stieldorf argues there is little mention of assemblies in charters, that is they rarely say they were issued during an assembly. Stieldorf interprets this as evidence that they were unlikely to be granted during assemblies but as part of more routine business. However, that the charters do not indicate they were granted as part of an assembly only means they were not interested in recording that element of their granting. In a situation where the ritual element of the granting for the assembled elites was important, the record of that in the physical document may not have mattered. Regardless, the interventions of Kaschke, Walther, and Stieldorf mean charters cannot be assumed to have been granted during an assembly, and those in close proximity to an attested assembly can only be hypothesized to have been granted during the noted assembly.

[14] See Peter Schmid, "König-Herzog-Bischof Regensburg und seine Pfalzen," in *Pfalzen-Reichsgut-Königshöfe*, ed. Lutz Fenske, Deutsche Königspfalzen: Beiträge zu ihrer historischen und archäologischen Erforschung 4 (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), pp. 53-67; Wilhelm Störmer, "Karolingische Pfalzen in Franken," in *Regensburg, Bayern und Europa: Festschrift für Kurt Reindel zum 70. Geburstag*, eds. Lothar Kolmer and Peter Segl (Universitätsverlag, 1995), pp. 161-163; for other Carolingian assemblies not recorded in the *AF* see Peter Schmid, "Die Regensburger Reichsversammlungen im Mittelalter," *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg* 112 (1972): pp. 34-55; in addition there is a hypothetical assembly in 886 under Charles the Fat proposed by Simon MacLean, see below, n. 31.

[15] *AF*, s.a. 861, p. 55; *AF* (B), s.a. 883, p. 109.

[16] *AF*, s.a. 861, p. 44: *summatem inter omnes optimates suos*; Mitterauer, *Karolingische Markgrafen*, pp. 132-133.

[17] See Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars,* pp. 119-128 for the broader context of Carloman's revolt.

the main players and which ravaged Pannonia between 882 and 884.[18] Yet assemblies at Regensburg could encompass magnates from the whole kingdom; a charter of Louis the German from 853 notes it was done during a "tribunal" with the leading magnates of the Franks, Bavarians, and Alemannians.[19] To hold an assembly in Regensburg, then, was to draw on a longer history of Carolingian assemblies there. What better place to announce Arnulf's newfound kingship to a wide audience? The assembly served to highlight Arnulf's role as the head of the kingdom and as a source of patronage. Arnulf was using this assembly as a way to potentially generate support (by granting charters) and present his rule in a traditionally Carolingian manner. That people from across the kingdom came to the assembly was a sign of Arnulf's strength: it was not just targeted at the Bavarians.

We can look at another assembly, held in June 889 at Forcheim, to see how Arnulf continued to use assemblies in traditionally Carolingian ways, specifically as venues to arrange royal succession and receive embassies. At the assembly "there was a discussion about the state of the kingdom, and it was agreed that the leading men of the Franks should confirm by oath, like the Bavarians, that they would not withdraw from the rulership and government of his [Arnulf's] sons."[20] It seems that some were hesitant to support Arnulf's sons because they were "born to him [Arnulf] by concubines."[21] The assembly, then, was meant to secure the support of the magnates and to strengthen the succession. Yet

[18] On the Wilhelmer War see Bowlus, *Franks*, pp. 208-216 and Chapter Two, pp. 85-88.

[19] D LG 66: *pro tribunali in palatio regio apud Regenunto, primatibus nobilium Francorum, Bauuarorum atque Alamannorum*. This is discussed in Schmid, "Die Regensburger Reichsversammlungen," p. 46.

[20] *AF* (B), s.a. 889, p. 118, trans. Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 118: *ibique disputans de statu regni sui consultum est, ut eodem tenore primores Francorum prout Baioarii iuramento confirmarent, ne se detraherent a principatu vel dominatu filiorum eius*; See Kasten, *Königssöhne*, pp. 547-548.

[21] *AF* (B), s.a. 889, p. 118: *qui ei de concubinis erant nati*.

Arnulf made one important concession: the magnates were only to support his illegitimate sons as long as he had no legitimate heir.[22] We will return to the consequences of this concession in the final chapter.

Earlier Carolingian kings used assemblies to announce succession plans, even if their children were not viewed as "illegitimate" like Arnulf's children. One of the most famous examples was Thionville in 806 where Charlemagne divided the empire between his sons.[23] Louis the Pious also divided the empire at an assembly in 817.[24] Louis the German had used an assembly at Forcheim in 872 in an attempt to settle his own succession troubles.[25] Receiving sworn assurances from the leading men was perhaps one of the reasons for announcing succession arrangements at an assembly. According to the *Annales Regni Francorum* the 806 partition "had been confirmed with an oath by the leaders of the

[22] *AF* (B), s.a. 889, p. 118: *Quod quidam Francorum ad tempus rennuentes, tandem regie satisfacientes voluntati dextram dare non recusabant, eo tamen modo, ut si de legali sua uxore heres ei non produceretur*.

[23] *ARF,* s.a. 806, p. 121; *AF*, s.a. 806, p. 16; On the imperial title and the *Divisio* see Helmut Beumann, "Nomen imperatoris Studien zur Kaiseridee Karls d. Gr.," *Historische Zeitschrift* 185, no. 3 (1958): pp. 540-549; For the older literature, see Walter Schlesinger, "Kaisertum und Reichsteilung. Zur Divisio regnorum von 806," in *Forschungen zur Staat und Verfassung. Festgabe für Fritz Hartung*, eds. Richard Dietrich and Gerhard Oestreich (Duncker & Humblot, 1958); Peter Classen, "Karl der Große und die Thronfolge im Frankenreich," in *Festschrift für H. Heimpel* (Berlin, 1972), vol. 2, pp. 121-134; for more recent discussions see Matthias Tischler, "Die 'Divisio regnorum' von 806 zwischen handschriftlicher Überlieferung und historiographischer Rezeption," in *Herrscher- und Fürstentestamente im westeuropäischen Mittelalter*, ed. Brigitte Kasten (Böhlau, 2008) and Sören Kaschke, "Tradition und Adaption: Die "Divisio regnorum" und die fränkische Herrschaftsnachfolge," in Kasten, *Herrscher*; Wolfgang Giese, "Die designativen Nachfolgeregelungen der Karolinger 714–979," *DA* 64 (2008): pp. 453-458. See also Yitzhak Hen, "The Annals of Metz and the Merovingian Past," in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 183-185; McKitterick, *Charlemagne,* pp. 96-102; for the text itself see *Divisio regnorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (Hahn, 1883), no. 45, pp. 126-130.

[24] *ARF*, s.a. 817, p. 20; *ARF*, s.a. 821, p. 22; On the *Ordinatio imperii* of 817 and Louis the Pious' succession problems see De Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 24-30; For the text see *Ordinatio imperii*, Boretius, *MGH Capit*. 1, no. 136, pp. 270-273. It is newly edited in Stefan Esders et al., eds., *Fränkische Herrschererlasse (814-840),* MGH Capitularia Regum Francorum, Nova Series 4 (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2024), pp. 38-46.

[25] *AF*, s.a. 872, p. 75.

Franks".[26] By using an assembly as venue for securing a succession arrangement, the king could publicly bind the magnates in a way that differed from a meeting with the king and his close counselors.

Charles the Fat provides a more direct comparison to Arnulf in terms of succession arrangements, in that Charles' son Bernard was not a legitimately born heir. Charles spent much energy to retroactively legitimize him, and Simon MacLean argued that in 885 Charles intended to hold an assembly at Worms where he would install Bernard as a subking in Lotharingia. However this plan failed when the pope, who was meant to come to Worms as part of Charles' plan to legitimize Bernard, died on the way from Italy.[27] It seems there was resistance to Charles' plan, because the annalist notes with hostility that Charles wanted "to depose certain bishops unreasonably" in order to make Bernard his heir.[28] He would try again in 887, but this plan would also fail.[29]

In 889, then, Arnulf was operating within a longer tradition of using assemblies to secure elite acceptance of succession arrangements. Yet as we can see from the cases of Charles and Bernard, this elite acceptance was not guaranteed and it was therefore necessary for Arnulf to negotiate with the magnates in order to get them to agree to his illegitimate sons as heirs. It is perhaps the experience of Charles' attempts in the mid-880s, or Arnulf's rise to the kingship, which made the elite more receptive to an illegitimate heir in 889. Arnulf used oaths in 889 to secure, at least theoretically, the acceptance of the magnates. An oath was not a guarantee of behavior, but were powerful tools freighted with

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[26] *ARF*, s.a. 806, p. 121: *iureiurando ab optimatibus Francorum confirmatum*.

[27] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 129-34.

[28] *AF* (M), s.a. 885, p. 103: *quosdam episcopos inrationabiliter deponere.*

[29] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 161-169.

meaning that, in theory, were meant to define the expectations of the parties involved.[30] In 887, when Arnulf overthrew Charles, the now deposed emperor sent a piece of the True Cross that Arnulf had sworn an oath of loyalty on (perhaps at an assembly in Regensburg in 886), "so that not forgetful of his oaths he would not come so ferociously and savagely against him."[31] Likewise when Charles the Bald attempted to invade East Francia in the aftermath of Louis the German's death Louis the Younger implored him to remember "the oaths, which you offered to my father not only once or twice."[32] The various succession crises under Louis the Pious and Louis the German highlight how succession arrangements were unstable, and so we cannot assume that just because Arnulf extracted an oath at Forcheim it meant the issue was solved.[33] What the Forcheim assembly *does* show, however, is that Arnulf was familiar with how Carolingian kings secured their succession arrangements, and applied this to his (somewhat) unusual circumstances.

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[30] See Matthias Becher, *Eid und Herrschaft: Untersuchungen zum Herrscherethos Karls des Großen* (Thorbecke, 1993), esp. pp. 128-138 and pp. 195-212; Stefan Esders, "Rechtliche Grundlagen frühmittelalterlicher Staatlichkeit: der allgemeine Treueid," in *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat – europäische Perspektiven*, eds. Walter Pohl and Veronika Wieser (Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), pp. 425-427; Stefan Esders, "Treueidleistung und Rechtsveränderung im früheren Mittelalter," in *Rechtsveränderung im politischen und sozialen Kontext mittelalterlicher Rechtsvielfalt*, eds. Stefan Esders and Christine Reinle (LIT Verlag, 2005), pp. 25-32. On the meaning of *sacramentum* see Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*, pp. 8-47, esp. pp. 31-43.

[31] *AF* (M), s.a. 887, p. 106: *Cui imperator lignum sanctae crucis, in quo prius ei fidem se servaturm iuraverat, per Liutbertum archiepiscopum destinavit, ut sacramentorum suorum non immemor tam ferociter et barbare contra eum non faceret*; on the hypothetical assembly where Arnulf swore this oath and the origin of this piece of the True Cross see MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 156-158. According to MacLean the piece of the True Cross likely came to Louis the German's court in 872 as a gift from the Byzantine emperor and Arnulf later granted the reliquary that housed it to St. Gall. See *AF*, s.a. 872, p. 75 and Ekkehard IV, *Casus sancti Galli*, eds. Hans F. Haefele, Ernst Tremp, and Franziska Schnoor, MGH SS rer. Germ. 84 (Harrassowtiz Verlag, 2020), c. 10, pp. 144-146. For the importance of the True Cross and Constantine, see Chapter Six, pp. 280-282.

[32] *AF*, s.a. 876, p. 87: *Memento etiam sacramentorum, quae patri meo non semel neque bis praestitisti*.

[33] On Louis the Pious see De Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 44-52; on Louis the German see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 263-278.

Forcheim was also the setting for another traditionally Carolingian activity: the reception of embassies. Receiving embassies was one of a number of strategies used by Carolingian rulers to place external peoples into submissive positions.[34] The assembly at Forcheim gave Arnulf the opportunity to demonstrate his authority by receiving ambassadors asking for peace from "nations on all sides."[35] The *Annales Fuldenses* specifically notes that Arnulf listened to ambassadors from the Northmen and Slavs before sending them away.[36] Forcheim had already hosted an embassy from the Slavs in 874 under Louis the German.[37] Receiving embassies at an assembly demonstrated that the king was continuing to exercise dominance over these peoples. Interactions with peoples outside the kingdom's borders allowed Carolingian kings "an opportunity for lavish, ritual displays of hegemony" which were meant to impress all who witnessed them.[38] This was part of a long standing tradition in Carolingian historiography and practice, deriving from Roman tradition, where neighboring peoples were placed in subservient positions to Carolingian rulers.[39]

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[34] For Carolingian strategies of domination see Julia M.H. Smith, "*Fines imperii*: the Marches," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History II, c. 700-c. 900*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 169-189; Goldberg, *Struggle*, p. 196.

[35] *AF* (B), s.a. 889, p. 118: *undique nationum*.

[36] *AF* (B), s.a. 889, p. 118.

[37] *AF*, s.a. 874, p. 83.

[38] See Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 86.

[39] See Anne Latowsky, "Foreign Embassies and Roman Universality in Einhard's Life of Charlemagne," *Florilegium* 22 (2005) and Andrew Gillett, *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West, 411-533* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1-35; this trope persisted into late antiquity, see Gillett, *Envoys*, p. 253, for embassies in Merovingian Gaul specifically see Gillett, *Envoys*, pp. 267-269; for the presentation of foreign peoples in Carolingian historiography see Rosamond McKitterick, "Political Ideology in Carolingian Historiography," in Hen and Innes, *The Uses of the Past*, pp. 162-174 at p. 168; McKitterick, "Constructing the Past," pp. 121-124; Helmut Reimitz, "The Establishment of Liturgical Frontiers in Carolingian Pannonia," in *The Transformation of Frontiers: from Late Antiquity to the Carolingians*, eds. Walter Pohl et al. (Brill, 2001), pp.

The assemblies Arnulf held in 888 and 889, then, operated firmly within Carolingian tradition, for even in cases that departed from traditional Carolingian practice, such as winning acceptance for his illegitimate children, Arnulf drew on the history of his immediate predecessor and publicly presented himself (or the sources did) in the manner of a traditional Carolingian king. Arnulf's struggles to secure agreement to his succession plans at Forcheim in 889, however, exposes moments of tension with the elite, which should remind us that, as in earlier periods, assemblies were delicate balancing acts between the interests of the elite and the king. It was possible for assemblies to devolve into chaos, such as when Charles the Fat stripped off his sword and renounced the secular world at an assembly at Frankfurt in 873 (Charles would nonetheless go on to become king).[40] Likewise in 894 the nobility would refuse Arnulf's attempts to install Zwentibald as king in Lotharingia at an assembly in Worms.[41] Despite these potential pitfalls, assemblies also provided opportunities for Arnulf to create patronage relationships between himself and the elite by granting charters. After 890 there is a cessation of assemblies until 894, suggesting that Arnulf utilized them strategically to boost his own authority, instead of as a yearly practice like under his predecessors.[42] Arnulf was adapting the tools of

193-196. Paul S. Barnwell, "War and Peace: Historiography and Seventh-Century Embassies," *EME* 6, no. 2 (1997): 138-139.

[40] MacLean, "Ritual, Misunderstanding, and the Contest for Meaning," pp. 97-119.

[41] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 894, p. 142.

[42] The last one is held in 890 at *Omuntesperch,* see *AF* (B), s.a. 890, p. 118; It would not be until 894 at Worms that Arnulf would hold another, see *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 125. On these later assemblies as a sign of increased confidence see Chapter Four. Charles the Fat, for instance, held at least one assembly every year from 882 to 887: *AF* (B), s.a. 882, p. 109; *AF* (B), s.a. 883, p. 109; *AF* (B), s.a. 884, p. 110; *AF* (B), s.a. 885, p. 113; *AF* (B), s.a. 886, p. 114; *AF* (B), s.a. 887, p. 115.

kingship that had been developed by his Carolingian predecessors in order to secure his nascent reign. In the next section we will turn to how Arnulf connected himself to these predecessors in his charters.

Charters and Carolingian Identity:

In the previous section I made the argument that Arnulf used assemblies in ways that were similar to past Carolingian rulers. I will now look at another instrument of Carolingian government, royal charters. As I argued in the previous chapter, the narratives sources viewed Arnulf as a member of the Carolingian dynasty.[43] This linkage between Arnulf and the East Frankish Carolingians was not restricted only to the narrative sources, but can be found in his charters as well. By taking a deeper look at the circumstances surrounding these charters, we can discover how Arnulf attempted to establish his kingship by selectively emphasizing his Carolingian heritage. Charters were often produced with court involvement and therefore give an insight into how the court wanted to present Arnulf's nascent authority. Charters mention a ruler's predecessors both for commemorative purposes, but also in a practical sense in reconfirming past grants. This practice served to locate the ruler within a longer history of kingship, while also presenting him as a new source of patronage. Arnulf used his dynastic ties to respond to the changed political circumstances after 887 and the appearance of non-Carolingian rivals. Instead of asserting his dynastic heritage at every opportunity, it was deployed in specific circumstances and in certain ways. In Lotharingia this entailed situating Arnulf within a much longer history of Carolingian rule, while in Alemannia it depended mainly on presenting Arnulf as a successor to Charles the Fat.

[43] Chapter Two, pp. 52-67.

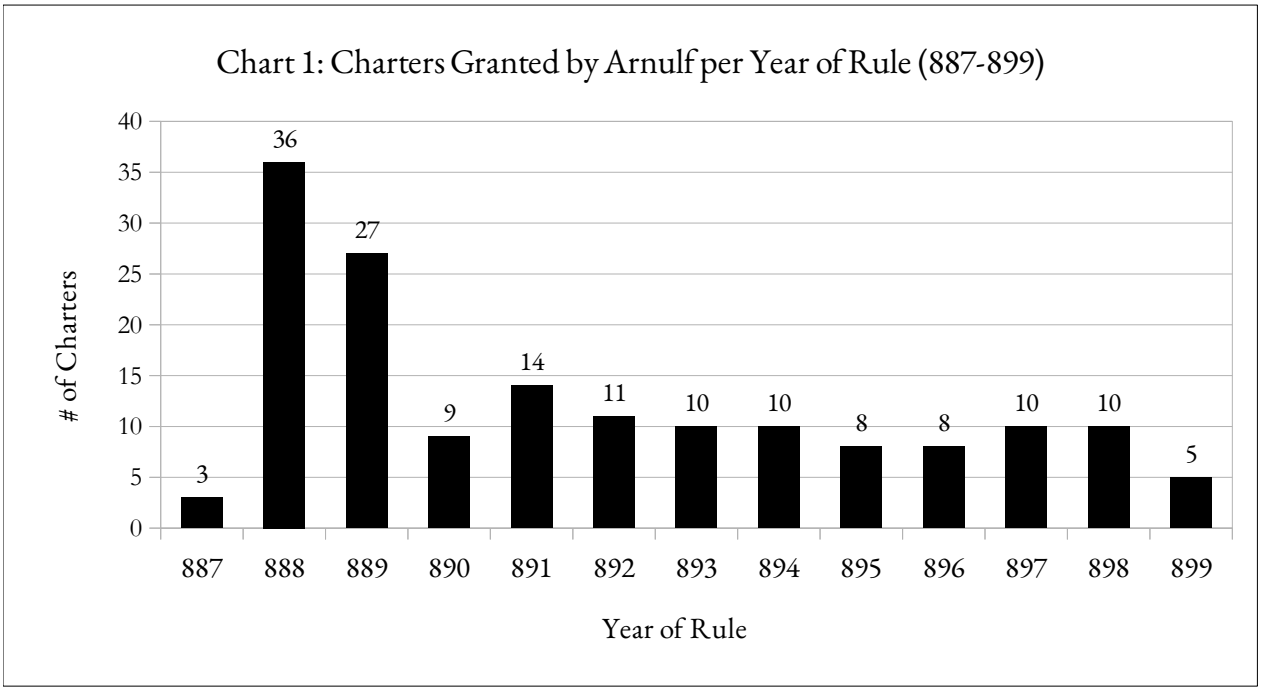
Between 887 and 891 Arnulf issued eighty-nine of his 167 charters, approximately fifty-three percent.[44] Just from November 887 to November 888 Arnulf issued thirty-eight charters, a huge number when compared to rulers such as Louis the German or Charles the Fat who issued five charters each in their first year.[45] Charles the Fat offers the most relevant comparison because not only was he Arnulf's immediate predecessor, but he ruled for a similar number of years (876-887 and 887-899 respectively) and issued a similar number of charters overall. Charles' early years had relatively few charters, but after 880, when Charles began to acquire new territories, the pace picked up substantially, and after 882 he was issuing around fifteen to twenty charters a year.[46] In contrast Arnulf issued a large number at the beginning of his reign, before settling in to around ten charters per year (Chart 1). Between 840 and 877, the number of charters given in the first year of a king's reign was usually between three and seven charters, with a few exceptions (see Chart 2).[47]

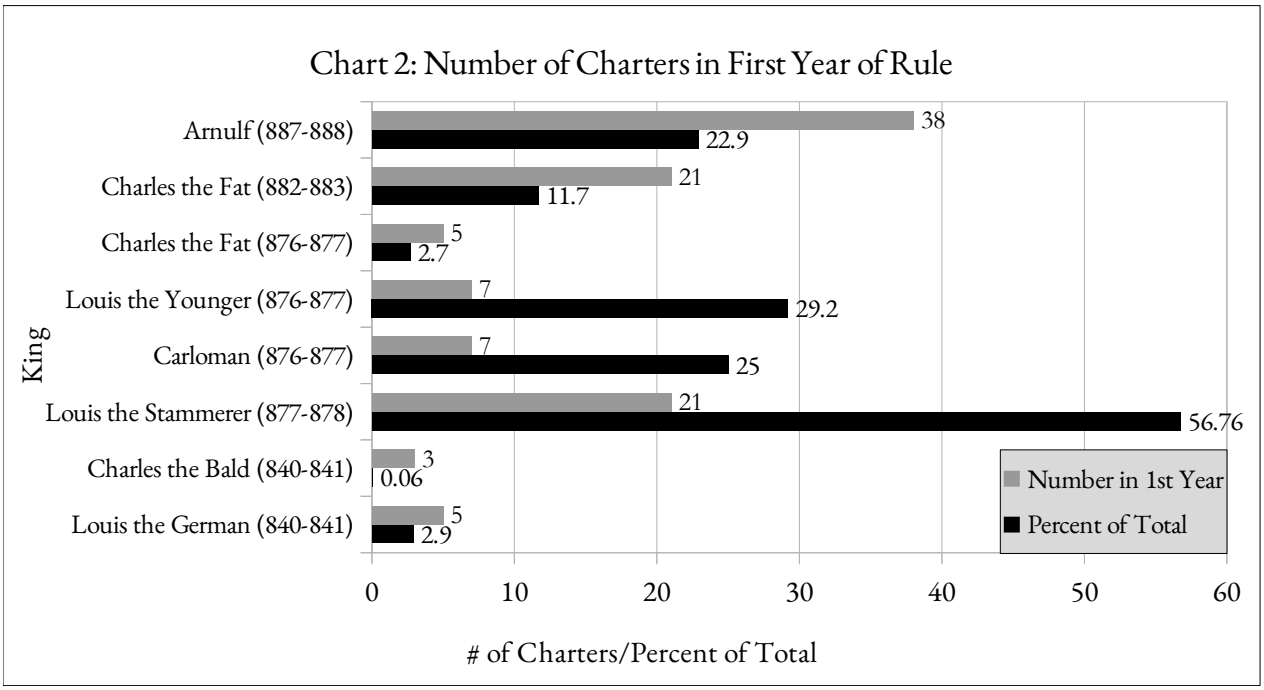
[44] See the *Excursus*, p. 35, Table 1 for the full discussion of what charters I have excluded.

[45] D LG 26-30 (December 10, 840 to August 18, 841); D CF 1-5 (August 876 to August 18, 877).

[46] 882: DD CF 47-54, 56-65 (eighteen charters); 883: DD CF 66-68, 70-79, 81-93 (twenty-six charters); 884: DD CF 94, 96, 97, 99-109 (thirteen charters); 885: DD CF 111, 112, 114-133 (twenty-two charters); 886: DD CF 134-140, 142-150 (sixteen charters); 887: DD CF 152-156, 158-172 (twenty-charters).

[47] Félix Grat, Georges Tessier, and Henri Bautier, eds., *Recueil des Actes de Louis II le Bègue, Louis III et Carloman II, rois de France (877-884)* (C. Klincksieck, 1978): Louis the Stammerer (Oct. 877- Oct. 878): nos. 3-24; Louis III and Carloman did not issue any charters in 879, and their first charters came late in 880: Louis III (879-880): no. 43; Carloman II (879-880): no. 49; Mersiowsky, *Die Urkunde,* pp. 1107-1113 has graphs for each Carolingian with the number of charters granted per year. For the purposes of this chart I calculated the number based on the first twelve months of a king's reign, Arnulf thus has thirty-eight charters (November 887 to November 888).





Closest to Arnulf's thirty-eight charters would be the first year of Louis the Stammerer's reign (877-878, twenty-one charters), which as a percentage of the total charters granted is more than

Arnulf, and Charles the Fat's first year after the death of Louis the Younger (882-883, twenty-one charters).[48] Even so, Arnulf's first year almost doubles that number of charters.[49] While Arnulf gave a similar number of charters *overall* compared to the long-reigning Louis the German (r. 817-876) and Charles the Fat (r. 876-887) (168 and 166 respectively), the fact that so many came in the first years of his reign should suggest to us that the number of charters reflects an actual increase in charter production during those years. Additionally, the range of recipients receiving charters from Arnulf means these numbers are not the result of one or a few institutions skewing the numbers (see Map 1).[50] Arnulf was likely responding to a number of factors in granting so many charters: first, he faced direct contests to his authority in Lotharingia and Alemannia, and second, he needed to generate elite support because he was a usurper. One of the ways he addressed both factors was by appealing to his Carolingian heritage. By looking at the regional distribution of these charters, we can find a pattern in how Arnulf was connecting himself to his Carolingian predecessors.

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[48] Charles' first year can be reckoned three ways: 1) from the first charter after Louis' death in January, DD CF 47-54, 56-67 (Feb. 13, 882 to Feb. 13, 883) giving twenty charters; 2) from the one charter that dates by his assumption of Louis' kingdom, DD CF 59-79, 81-85 (July 19, 882 to June 30, 883) giving twenty-seven charters; or 3) by using *AF* (M), s.a. 882, p. 98 which notes that Charles came from Italy after hearing of his brother's death and received the leading men before holding an assembly of Worms. If we use his charter at Worms on May 17th as the first then Charles granted twenty-one (DD CF 57-77). I have chosen the third method for the chart because it seems to better correspond to when Charles actually began wielding his newfound royal power.

[49] By percentage of total charters, Arnulf's first year (22.9%) is less than the first years of Louis the Younger (29.2%) and Carloman (25%). It is also much lower than the percentage for Louis the Stammerer (56.76%). While this makes Arnulf appear as less of an outlier, Louis the Younger, Carloman, and Louis the Stammerer had relatively short reigns (six, four, and two years respectively) and a smaller overall number of charters (twenty-four, twenty-eight, and thirty-seven charters respectively), which perhaps explains why their numbers are higher than other Carolingians.

[50] The map shows the range of recipients, but does not show the quantity of charters received by each recipient.

Map 1: Charter Recipients, 887–891 (Institutions Only). Map by Jonathan Dell Isola, 2025

While charters granted to each region of the kingdom mentioned Carolingians (with the exception of East Francia) in roughly similar percentages, there were quite substantial differences in *how many* rulers were mentioned (see Table 2).[51] Charters typically mentioned earlier rulers, sometimes as a group ("our predecessors") but sometimes by singling out specific relatives by name. In Alemannia the charters only directly mention two Carolingians (Charles the Fat and Louis the German), while in Lotharingia the charters mention nine different Carolingians (Pippin, Charlemagne, Louis the Pious,

[51] In general I have defined Lotharingia as west of the Rhine. Alemannia is generally defined as the region around Lake Constance. I have generally defined Saxony as the area above Frankfurt and to the east of the Rhine. These are mainly based on the clustering of charters found in Map 1. As a general rule I have located charters based on the recipient's location. If the recipient's location is unknown, usually an individual, then I have used the location of the lands involved as the determining factor. The map above does not show these individuals, however.

Lothar I, Lothar II, Louis the German, Carloman, Louis the Younger, and Charles the Fat). The percentage of charters mentioning a Carolingian are similar for Lotharingia (50%) and Alemannia (53.3%), but of the eight Alemannian charters mentioning a Carolingian, four directly mention Charles the Fat.[52] The only other Carolingian directly mentioned is Louis the German, in two charters, one alongside Charles the Fat.[53] The other charters contain indirect references, meaning either a vague reference to Arnulf's ancestors, or reference to "our father" without explicitly naming Carloman.[54]

At the same time, of the twelve Lotharingian charters mentioning a Carolingian, eleven were granted to unique recipients (Prüm received two). That is, the Lotharingian charters mentioned a greater variety of Carolingians, and were rarely given to the same recipient twice. This contrasts to the Alemannian charters, where the eight charters mentioning a Carolingian went to five recipients. We can contrast this with Bavaria, where twelve of thirty charters (40%) mentioned a Carolingian (Pippin, Carloman (Charlemagne's brother), Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, Louis the German, and Carloman). However four of these kings are only referenced in the four charters given to Würzburg on November 21, 889.[55] Of the remaining eight charters, six mention Arnulf's father Carloman, one indirectly mentions Arnulf's parents, and one mentions both Carloman and Louis the German.[56] Alemannia, on the other hand, had the lowest number of Carolingians directly mentioned, spread out

[52] DD A 9, 35, 37, and 65. Of the remaining four, one mentions Charles the Fat indirectly (D A 11), one mentions only Louis the German (D A 15), one Carloman indirectly (D A 48), and one contains an indirect mention to Arnulf's ancestors (D A 25). Direct mentions are where the king is specifically named, indirect mentions are where the king is alluded to such as "our ancestors" or "our father."

[53] DD A 15 and 65.

[54] DD A 11, 25, and 48.

[55] DD A 66-69. These are the only Bavarian charters that mention Pippin (DD A 66 and 69), Carloman (D A 69), Charlemagne (DD A 67-68), and Louis the Pious (DD A 66-69) between 887 and 891.

over five different recipients. By looking at the specific context around these two sets of charters, I hope to offer an explanation for why the charters display this pattern in mentioning past Carolingian kings. These two regions allow us to explore how Arnulf navigated the twin issues facing his nascent reign: non-dynastic competition and his status as a usurper. While Arnulf needed to face these issues in both regions, his approach differed based on the specific political circumstances of each region. In Lotharingia Arnulf was responding to the pretensions of the non-Carolingian king of Burgundy, Rudolf. In response the Lotharingian charters show Arnulf tying himself to as many Carolingians as he could, and granting to a wide net of recipients. Alemannia, on the other hand, was Charles the Fat's former power base, and where his son Bernard would launch a revolt. In Alemannia, Arnulf was tying himself primarily to Charles the Fat, and to a much smaller pool of recipients. The charters granted in both regions served to establish Arnulf as the rightful king there, but did so by creating a specific vision of the Carolingian past.

Table 2: Mentions of Carolingians in Arnulf's Charters by Region, 887-891			
Region	Mentions	# of Carolingians Directly Mentioned	# of Unique Recipients With Mention
Lotharingia[57]	12 of 24 (50%)	9	11
Alemannia[58]	8 of 15 (53.3%)	2	5
Bavaria[59]	12 of 30 (40%)	6	6
East Francia[60]	5 of 11 (45.5%)	3	4
Saxony[61]	5 of 9 (55.6%)	4	4

[56] Carloman is mentioned in DD A 18, 75, and 90. Indirectly in DD A 63 and 76. Arnulf's parents are indirectly mentioned in D A 72. Carloman and Louis the German are mentioned in D A 7.

[57] DD A 1 (which deals with both Alemannia and Lotharingia), 10, 24, 26, 29, 31, 33-34, 39-40, 50, 53, 56-57, 64, 84-85, 88-89, and 92-95; DD A 29-31, 39, 50, 53, 56, 64, 84-85, 88, and 92-93 mention Carolingians.

[58] DD A 1 (which deals with both Alemannia and Lotharingia), 9, 11, 13, 15, 25, 35, 37, 47-8, 51, 65, 71, and 81-2; DD A 9, 11, 15, 25, 35, 37, 48, and 65 mention Carolingians. On Alemannia as Charles the Fat's

Part I: The Long Carolingian Heritage in Lotharingia:

Although Arnulf had finally overcome his uncle Charles the Fat, he still had to address his birth status and the fact that he was a usurper. At the same time there were two non-Carolingian kings whose kingdoms bordered Lotharingia: to the west was Odo, while in the south was Rudolf. The charters for Lotharingian recipients display a pattern of emphasizing Arnulf's Carolingian descent from a wide variety of Carolingian kings. Several of the charters can be tied to the assembly Arnulf held in June 888.[62] They explicitly note that Arnulf was reconfirming older charters of past Carolingians, a standard clause in many Carolingian charters.[63] Two of these, the charters for Prüm and St. Mary's in Aachen, used these older charters as models for the text of the new charter. This suggests that the phrases inserted at the beginning of the charter about the old grants being brought to Arnulf were not simply rhetorical flourishes but represented a process of incorporating this old material into the new charter.[64] At the same time, the formulaic language in these charters served to emphasize the stability of the political order.[65] According to Geoffrey Koziol charters were "performatives through which a

power base see MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 83-91.

[59] DD A 5, 7, 17-18, 63, 66-9, 72, 75-6, 87, and 90.

[60] DD A 2, 14, 19, 23, 30, 38, 43, 58, 70, 73, 80, and 83; DD A 2, 18, 23, 58, and 70 mention Carolingians.

[61] DD A 3, 27-28, 41, 55, 59-60, 74, and 78; DD A 3, 27, 41, 60, and 78 mention Carolingians.

[62] For the assembly see *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 116. On connecting the charters to this assembly, see the discussion below.

[63] The charters for Bremen (D A 27), Prüm (D A 29), and St. Mary's in Aachen (D A 31).

[64] See Mersiowsky, *Die Urkunde*, pp. 554-556.

[65] Koziol, *Begging Pardon*, pp. 25-26.

particular king's authority was recognised as legitimate by a particular petitioner at a particular time."[66] In confirming the charters of his predecessors, Arnulf not only established himself as their successor, but also demonstrated his commitment to safeguarding the rights of Christian institutions. In that way Arnulf would have also been acting out his role as a good Christian ruler.[67]

From Arnulf's perspective he was performing his royal duties, and he emphasized his own claims to Lotharingia by selectively highlighting his connections to other Carolingians in charters. This meant, in part, confirming the grants of his predecessors. Kings often gave such charters and, in doing so, the ruler could demonstrate his continuity with his predecessors and "identified the predecessors he held as legitimate...whose legitimate acts of good governance he would himself uphold."[68] Arnulf continued to do this, often confirming the charters of his predecessors and noting his relationship to them. Thus Louis the German becomes "our grandfather", Carloman "our father", and so on. The repetition of these royal names was one way that the Carolingians distinguished themselves from other elite families.[69] That is, these royal names were indicators of Carolingian authority. In invoking these names, and connecting them to himself, Arnulf could likewise situate himself as a member of the dynasty. Unlike earlier Carolingians, however, Arnulf was reacting to the fact that non-Carolingians had established themselves across Europe. While his predecessors had enjoyed a dynastic hegemony of royal power throughout the ninth century, Arnulf was the first Carolingian ruler since Pippin III to

[66] Koziol, *Politics of Memory*, pp. 60-62 at p. 60. On the idea of performatives in charters see Koziol, "Making Boso the Clown," pp. 43-51.

[67] For a similar example, when Charles the Fat became king of West Francia in 884, see Koziol, *Politics of Memory*, pp. 74-81.

[68] Koziol, *Politics of Memory*, p. 99.

[69] Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 102-109.

contend with other non-Carolingians (except when the dynasty faced the non-Carolingian Boso in 879). In 879, however, the remaining Carolingians all banded together and were able to largely limit Boso's power by keeping him under siege.[70] Even in the 890s Boso continued to be cast as a "tyrant" in the *Annales Fuldenses*.[71] This made him different from the *reguli*, who, although not Carolingians, were not considered "tyrants" by contemporary sources.[72] As I will argue, Arnulf tailored the charters in Lotharingia to meet audience expectations about *who* should be ruler. That is, Arnulf selectively emphasized his own Carolingian identity to audiences that were most receptive to it at institutions such as Prüm, St. Mary in Aachen, and St. Arnulf in Metz.

Prüm, refounded by the first Carolingian king Pippin III and his wife Bertrada, maintained continuous ties to the Carolingians throughout the ninth century.[73] A catalog of its estates drawn up in 893 (likely overseen by Regino himself, who was abbot at the time) detailed the monastery's extensive landholding which was a result, in part, of Carolingian generosity.[74] On June 11th, 888, Arnulf directly referenced those ties when he issued a charter for the monastery that confirmed the charters of Pippin,

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[70] See MacLean, "The Carolingian Response."

[71] *AF* (B), s.a. 890, p. 119; for earlier references see *AV,* s.a. 880, p. 47; *AV*, s.a. 882, p. 52.

[72] For the presentation of the *reguli* in contemporary sources see Chapter Five, pp. 213-229 as well as Wolfgan Eggert, "Arnolf in der bayerischen Fortsetzung der 'Ostfränkischen Reichsannalen,'" in Fuchs and Schmid, *Kaiser Arnolf* and Hans-Henning Körtum, "*Multi reguli in Europa...excrevere.* Das ostfränkische Reich und seine Nachbarn," in Fuchs and Schmid, *Kaiser Arnolf*; Rival claimants were often described as tyrants if they were not seen as legitimate: *AF*, s.a. 879, p. 93; *AF*, s.a. 880, p. 95; *AF* (M), s.a. 885, p. 103.

[73] See Bernd Isphording, *Prüm. Studien zur Geschichte der Abtei von ihrer Gründung bis zum Tod Kaiser Lothars I. (721-855)* (Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 2005); For Pippin's 762 grant to the monastery see Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 47-50.

[74] The full text is edited Ingo Schwab, ed., *Das Prümer Urbar* (Droste, 1983), pp. 158-259, it is also edited in Heinrich Beyer, ed., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der, jetzt die Preussischen Regierungsbezirke Coblenz und Trier bildenden mittelrheinischen Territorien* (Coblenz, 1860), vol. 1, no. 135, pp. 142-201.

Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, Louis the German, Charles the Fat, Lothar I, and Lothar II.[75] Importantly, the charter noted the relationship between some of these kings (Pippin, Charlemagne, and Louis the German) and Arnulf. For instance Louis the German is noted as *avus noster* ("our grandfather"). While Charles the Fat had issued a charter for Prüm that also mentioned past rulers, it only mentioned four of the six (excluding Charles the Fat) from Arnulf's charter.[76] The charter itself displays very close similarities to two other charters: a joint charter of Louis the Pious and Lothar I, and a charter of Louis the German.[77] The names, titles, and genealogical indicators were all updated to fit the context of 888. This is not unusual on its own, because Carolingian charters often did this when referring to past rulers.

What is perhaps odd is that Charles the Fat's 884 charter, the most recent grant, was not used as the model, even though it also confirmed past grants of Carolingian kings.[78] Arnulf's charter, the joint charter of Louis the Pious/Lothar I, and the charter of Louis the German, directly emphasized the role of the Carolingians in the history of the monastery. Arnulf's charter notes that "our ancestor king Pippin and our ancestor Bertrada" were involved in the construction of the monastery.[79] This passage is a near verbatim copy of the earlier charters, but is absent from the charter of Charles the Fat.

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[75] D A 29; It, understandably, ignored Louis the Stammerer's charter for Prüm in 878 which renewed charters of Carolingians for Prüm's West Frankish properties and privileges, discussed in McCarthy, "Power and Kingship," pp. 146-148.

[76] D CF 100.

[77] D LP 251; D LG 134.

[78] D CF 100.

[79] D A 29: *quod olim bonae memoriae attavus noster Pippinus quondam rex et attavia nostra Bertrada in rebus propriaetatis suae a fundamentis construxerunt*. The Latin *attavus* can also mean "great-great-great-grandfather."

This was, then, not a simple copying of old material, but a shaping of the charters given to the monastery by Carolingian kings. Further, it was written by a court-affiliated scribe, suggesting that this shaping was the choice of the court, not the monastery.[80] It is possible to read Arnulf's charter, then, as not just reconfirming old charters, but also creating a narrative of the past emphasizing the role of the Carolingians in patronizing the monastery.[81] In placing Arnulf as their descendant, it also recalls the *Revelatio*, discussed in the previous chapter, which declared that only Pippin and Bertrada's descendants could become kings.[82] This connection to Pippin would have contrasted Arnulf with his non-Carolingian counterparts in West Francia and Burgundy. While many charters given to Prüm mentioned Carolingians, they did not always emphasize Pippin's role in refounding the monastery.[83] As such Arnulf and his court were selecting from a variety of different potential models for grants to Prüm, and chose the model that emphasized Carolingian patronage. In choosing this model it also emphasized Arnulf's dynastic connections by creating a historical narrative of Carolingian rule.

At the same time, charters had a limited audience, so we cannot discount the assembly context here. Charters could be granted as part of broader symbolic ceremonies, and charters could be read aloud at assemblies.[84] If the charter for Prüm was given during a ceremony at the Frankfurt assembly,

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[80] See Kehr's introductory notes to the charter, D A 29, p. 42; Kehr refers to this scribe as Aspert A, discussed in his introduction, p. xviii. Aspert A was likely also a scribe under Charles the Fat.

[81] Indeed Arnulf's charters as well as the charters of Charles the Fat, Louis the German, and Louis the Pious discussed above, can be found in the tenth-century cartulary from Prüm known as the *Liber aureus*.

[82] Chapter Two, pp. 65-66.

[83] Arnulf's other charter for the monastery, D A 92 (October 891) also mentioned Pippin's role, but only him; DD LG 134, 136, and 145 mention Carolingians, but only D LG 134 mentions Pippin's role.

[84] See Hagen Keller, "The Privilege in the Public Interaction of the Exercise of Power: Forms of Symbolic Communication Beyond the Text," in *Medieval Legal Process: Physical, Spoken and Written*

and the date suggests it was, in 888 it could have also publicly displayed Arnulf's authority over the monastery. The charter formed part of a constellation of six charters granted from June 8th to June 13th, which corresponds to a note in the *Annales Fuldenses* about an assembly.[85] As mentioned above, Prüm's extensive landholding made the monastery a commanding presence in Lotharingia. Further, the monastery's cultural prestige was well known in the Carolingian world: it was a prominent enough place for Lothar I to retire as a monk in 855 and he was buried there shortly after.[86] The wealth of the monastery was renowned enough that in the early 880s it would be plundered and burned by Northmen.[87] Because of the monastery's cultural prestige, Prüm's choice in seeking Arnulf's patronage at the assembly may have signaled to others the viability and legitimacy of his rule.

St. Mary's in Aachen also received a charter from Arnulf at the Frankfurt assembly in June 888, and this charter highlighted Arnulf's Carolingian ancestry as well. Arnulf was confirming a large grant of Lothar II's, which included one ninth of the revenue from forty-three villages relating to the palace at Aachen.[88] Aachen had been established as a political center under Charlemagne in the late eighth

Performance in the Middle Ages, eds. Marco Mostert and Paul S. Barnwell (Brepols, 2011), pp. 75-108 and Hagen Keller, "Zu den Sigeln der Karolinger und der Ottonen. Urkunden als "Hoheitszeichen" in der Kommunikation des Königs und seiner Getreuen," *FMSt* 32 (1998); for charters being incorporated into assemblies, see Ratpert, *Casus Sancti Galli*, ed. Hannes Steiner, MGH SS rer. Germ. 75 (Hahn, 2002), c. 8, pp. 198-202. This episode is discussed by Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 212-214.

[85] DD A 26-31. *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 116.

[86] *AF*, s.a. 855, p. 46; See Elina Screen, "Remembering and Forgetting Lothar I," in *Writing the Early Medieval West: Studies in Honour of Rosamond McKitterick*, eds. Elina Screen and Charles West (Cambridge University Press, 2018).

[87] *AF*, s.a. 881, p. 97; For a more detailed account see Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 882, pp. 118-119.

[88] On Aachen see Ludwig Falkenstein, "Pfalz und *vicus* Aachen," in *Orte der Herrschaft. Mittelalterliche Königspfalzen*, ed. Caspar Ehlers (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002); D A 31: *quomodo consobrinus noster Lotharius rex nonas partes omnium rerum de XLIII villis, id est de Aquis palatio...daret ecclesiae sancte dei genitricis semperque virginis Marie, kapelle videlicet que est in Aquis palatio*.

century, and was contested between West Francia and East Francia in the 870s.[89] Regino relates that Charles the Bald rushed to Aachen in early 870 after the death of Lothar II because it was "seen as the seat of the kingdom."[90] Louis the German, apparently having a similar thought, pushed Charles back and issued his own charter there the same year.[91] Arnulf's charter, however, does not mention either Charles the Bald or Louis the German, instead only confirming grants of Lothar II (whose death in 869 led to the conflict between Charles and Louis) and Charles the Fat.[92] Despite the apparent symbolic conflict over Aachen, neither Charles the Bald or Louis the German actually granted charters *for* Aachen.[93] Lothar I, Lothar II, and Charles the Fat, however, did grant land specifically to St. Mary's.[94] The appropriation of Lothar II's memory is particularly relevant, because Lotharingia

[89] For the establishment and development of Aachen see Donald Bullough, "*Aula renovata*: the Carolingian Court before the Aachen Palace," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 71 (1985): 267-301; Nelson, "Aachen as a Place of Power," pp. 217-242; Matthew Innes, "People, Places and Power in Carolingian Society," in De Jong et al., *Topographies of Power,* p. 420; Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*, pp. 322-325 and 334-335; For the later period see Bernd Schneidmüller, "Regnum und ducatus: Identität und Integration in der lothringischen Geschichte des 9. bis 11. Jahrhunderts," *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 51 (1987): pp. 94-114; Simon MacLean, "Palaces, Itineraries and Political Order in Post-Carolingian Kingdoms," in *Diverging Paths?: the Shapes of Power and Institutions in Medieval Christendom and Islam*, eds. John Hudson and Ana Rodríguez López (Brill, 2014), pp. 305-306; for this period and the continued competition for Lotharingia in the tenth and eleventh centuries see Simon MacLean, "Shadow Kingdom: Lotharingia and the Frankish World, c. 850-c. 1050," *History Compass* 11, no. 6 (2013): 444-449.

[90] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 869, p. 98: *eo quod sedes regni esse videretur*. Charles gave a charter there in early 870, D CB 333.

[91] DD LG 132-3; Louis would issue a total of seven charters from Aachen, four of which came from June 10-13 873 (DD LG 147-150 although D LG 150 is somewhat suspect because it is heavily interpolated and only known from a sixteenth century copy).

[92] D A 31.

[93] D CB 130, while not for Aachen itself, confirmed a charter of Louis the Pious that exempted Reims from the contributions Charlemagne imposed on it for the Aachen palace. Louis the German granted a handful of grants there, see DD LG 31, 132, 133, and 148-150.

[94] D Loth I 136 and D CF 109; The charter of Lothar II does not survive, but is what Arnulf is confirming in his grant.

derived much of its identity from his kingship: contemporary sources refer to the region as "Lothar's kingdom" (*Lotharii regnum*, hence Lotharingia).[95] In particular Lothar II issued thirteen of his thirty-six charters at Aachen.[96] While MacLean has argued that there was not yet a shared Lotharingian identity, that contemporaries identified it as "Lothar's kingdom" suggests a conception of it as a defined region.[97] Arnulf's charter refers to Lothar as *noster consobrinus* ("our cousin"). If we take all this together, it suggests that Arnulf's aim here was to present himself in continuity with *Lothar*, who ruled the kingdom alone from 855 to 869.

The following year, in July 889, Arnulf held another assembly at Frankfurt, and once again gave charters to Lotharingian recipients.[98] A grant to St. Peter in Trier was done "in perpetual commemoration of the most blessed memory of our grandfather king Louis [the German] and also our father Carloman and our uncles namely the most Christian kings Louis [the Younger] and Charles [the

[95] For instance Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 888, p. 130 has Rudolf sending his legates through the *regnum Lotharii*; however Regino, *Chronicon,* s.a. 855, p. 77 suggests the name was actually derived from Lothar I; On the name see also Schneidmüller, "Regnum und Ducatus," pp. 88-91.

[96] DD Loth II 1-4, 8, 11, 16, 22-23, 25-27, and 31.

[97] MacLean, "Shadow Kingdom," pp. 451-452.

[98] DD A 53-56 were drawn up in early July; D A 54 is undated but likely from the assembly because Wolfhelm, who received the charter, would mention in a private charter that he was "in the presence of the venerable archbishops Sunderold [of Mainz] and Willibert [of Cologne] and the venerable abbot Sigihard [of Fulda] and with many other bishops and abbots, counts and the leaders [*primatibus*] of the kingdom…in the presence of the king in the royal palace at Frankfurt, [July 6th]." The full charter is edited by Rudolf Schieffer, "Zur Frühgeschichte Des Domstifts von Münster," *Westfälische Forschungen. Zeitschrift Des Westfälischen Instituts Für Regionalgeschichte Des Landschaftsverbandes Westfalen-Lippe* 28 (1977 1976): 28-29, quote at p. 28: *coram venerabilibus archiepiscopis Sunderoldo et Willeberto, abbate quoque venerando Sihardo et multis aliis episcopis et abbatibus, comitibus et primatibus regni…praesente rege in regio palatio Franconofurd, II. Nonas Julii*; This is recorded as a synod (even though the line between synods and assemblies was porous) in Wilfried Hartmann, Isolde Schröder, and Gerhard Schmitz, *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 875-911*, MGH Concilia 5 (Hahn, 2012), no. 29, pp. 274-275; The assembly is mentioned in *AF*, s.a. 889, p. 118.

Fat] and our soul."[99] Like the charter for Prüm, this charter linked Arnulf to a long history of Carolingian rulers. Another charter granted during the assembly was also done with an eye to commemoration. Arnulf granted land to Amandus, Arnulf's *medicus*, and after his death the land was to go to St. Arnulf in Metz to be used "for the salvation [*remedio*] of the soul of our most Christian grandfather and our father Carloman and our eternal reward."[100]

It was no coincidence that Arnulf shared a name with the saintly bishop of Metz. Over the course of the ninth century the view that St. Arnulf was the ancestor of the Carolingians was put forward by several authors. The seventh century *Vita Arnulfi* and other sources did not claim the Carolingians were descended from the saint, but towards the end of the eighth century Paul the Deacon would argue this point in his *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*.[101] This genealogy was drawn upon in 869 when Hincmar of Reims used it as a way to justify Charles the Bald's crowning at Metz.[102]

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[99] D A 53: *in beatissimae memoriae Hludouuici regis avique nostri nec non Karlomanni genitoris nostri patruorumque nostrorum videlicet Hludouuici et Karoli christianissimorum regum animaeque nostrae perpetuam commemorationem*.

[100] D A 56: *pro remedio animae christianissimi avi et genitoris nostri Karlomanni nostraque aeterna remuneratione*; An almost identical phrase appears in another charter for St. Arnulf from 892, D A 99: *pro remedio animae christianissimi avi ac genitoris nostri nostraque aeterna rumuneratione*. The land given in D A 56 is eventually confirmed to St. Arnulf in D A 100.

[101] On the *Vita Arnulfi* see Corey M. Nason, "The Vita Sancti Arnulfi (BHL 689-692): Its Place in the Liturgical Veneration of a Local Saint," *Sacris Erudiri* 54 (2015); for Paul the Deacon see Damian Kempf, "Paul the Deacon's Liber de episcopis Mettensibus and the Role of Metz in the Carolingian Realm," *Journal of Medieval History* 30, no. 3 (2004); Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. George H. Pertz, MGH SS 2 (Hahn, 1829), pp. 260-270 at p. 264; See also Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, trans. Damian Kempf (Peeters, 2013), pp. 10-21 for Kempf's arguments about the place of Metz and the Arnulf connection; See also Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulf," *FMSt* 1, no. 1 (1967): esp. 252-279 who argues that that a genealogy composed at Metz at the beginning of the ninth century was a pivotal point in the veneration of St. Arnulf and appeared at the same time as discussions about the origins of the Carolingian family.

[102] *AB*, s.a. 869, p. 163.

Other ninth-century works similarly claimed St. Arnulf as the ancestor of the Carolingians.[103] Arnulf had strong Carolingian connotations, but it was not one of the "mainstream" royal names given to sons.[104] It seems unlikely that Arnulf was unaware of this idea, and his giving to St. Arnulf probably tied further into the king's efforts to portray himself as a member of the Carolingian dynasty. It was also a way of challenging his name as a signal of his (illegitimate) birth status. St. Arnulf in Metz was also a Carolingian burial ground of sorts, with Charlemagne's wife Hildegard, Louis the Pious, and Drogo (Charlemagne's illegitimate son and bishop of Metz) all buried there.[105] Thus it was a deeply symbolic location for the Carolingian dynasty, and Arnulf's charter makes sense as part of an overall pattern of giving which emphasized his dynastic connections in Lotharingia. We can see, then, that these three charters for Prüm, St. Mary's in Aachen, and St. Arnulf's in Metz all emphasized Arnulf's own lineage as a Carolingian in regards to important Lotharingian places, but also that Arnulf emphasized some rulers (such as Louis the German and Lothar) that had more relevance than others.

How are we to understand this pattern in Arnulf's Lotharingian charters? Arnulf was reacting, in part, to a challenge to his rule from Rudolf, the upstart king of Burgundy. Rudolf was an important magnate under Charles the Fat, who gave him responsibilities in Burgundy. Simon MacLean even went so far as to term him a non-royal "subking" under Charles.[106] Rudolf was crowned by the bishop of

[103] *Carmen de exordio gentis Francorum*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Poetae 2, pp. 141-145 at p. 142; Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris,* ed. Ernst Tremp, MGH SS rer. Germ. 64, p. 174. There is also a charter of Louis the German, D LG 167, which refers to St. Arnulf as *attavus noster*.

[104] On Carolingian names and Arnulf see Chapter Two, p. 54.

[105] For Hildegard and Louis the Pious see the Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 64; For Drogo and St. Arnulf in Metz as a Carolingian burial ground see Michèle Gaillard, "L'éphémère promotion d'un mausolée dynastique: la sépulture de Louis le Pieux à Saint-Arnoul de Metz," *Médiévales* 16, no. 33 (1997).

[106] See MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 64-75.

Toul, Arnald, soon after the death of Charles the Fat in early 888, and his first charter as king is dated to June 10th, 888.[107] Upon hearing about Rudolf and the other *reguli* Arnulf held the assembly at Frankfurt in June 888 where he issued six charters, including the ones for Prüm and St. Mary's in Aachen, discussed above.[108] The *Annales Fuldenses* and Regino's *Chronicon* indicate that Rudolf's accession as king prompted Arnulf to swiftly attack Burgundy. Regino, although writing after the fact, notes that after becoming king Rudolf sent legates through Lotharingia that won support "by persuasions and promises" for his cause.[109] Arnulf's attack was not just because Rudolf had set himself up as king, but that he was also claiming dominion over Lotharingia, a traditional Carolingian region, and part of East Francia since the Treaty of Meersen in 870 divided it between Charles the Bald and Louis the German.[110] Another treaty, signed in 880 at Ribemont, had further solidified East Frankish control of Lotharingia.[111]

In 884 Charles the Fat reunified the empire when he became king of West Francia, a broader political reorganization that impacted Lotharingia. Because there was now only one ruler, this restricted access to royal patronage. This lack of access, according to Simon MacLean, was part of what

[107] *AV*, s.a. 888, pp. 64-65; D R 3.

[108] *AF*, s.a. 888, p. 116; DD A 26-31 are dated June 8 to June 13.

[109] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 888, p. 130: *Post haec mittit legatos per universum regnum Lotharii et suasionibus pollicitationibus episcoporum ac nobilium virorum mentes in sui favorem demulcet.*

[110] For the terms of the treaty see *AB*, s.a. 870. pp. 172-174; On the treaty and the development of Lotharingia see Michèle Gaillard, "La place des abbayes dans la politique territoriale des souverains francs et germaniques en Lotharingie, de 869 à 925," *Revue du Nord* n° 351, no. 3 (2003); Charles West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution: Political and Social Transformation between Marne and Moselle, c. 800-c. 1100* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), esp. pp. 109-138. Michel Parisse, "La Lotharingie: naissance d'un espace politique.," in *Lotharingia - Eine europäische Kernlandschaft um das Jahr 1000 /: Une région au centre de l'Europe autour de l'an Mil.,* eds. Hans-Walter Hermann and Reinhard Schneider (Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1995).

[111] *AF*, s.a. 880, p. 94.

drove support for Arnulf's revolt in 887.[112] However, elites also wanted someone embedded in their own political community.[113] Rudolf's location in Burgundy made him a close (potential) source of patronage, which would have posed an issue for a more distant Arnulf. We know of at least one person who was swayed by Rudolf: Arnald, the bishop of Toul who was mentioned above.[114] Toul, located southeast of Metz, was not located in Burgundy but in Lotharingia. This was clearly perceived as a threat to Arnulf, because a charter from 893 reconciling Arnulf and the bishop notes that Arnald "neglecting the direction of our command, mixed himself with the company of another, who stole the rights of our kingdom, although for a short time."[115] That is, Rudolf's claims to Lotharingia were more than simply theoretical because he was able to mobilize some support there. Arnulf's actions could thus be seen as attempting to embed himself into the Lotharingian political community as a viable source of patronage in opposition to Rudolf. Yet *Königsnahe* could be a double edged sword: too much royal presence could disrupt elite networks that had been used to existing on the periphery and generate opposition to the king.[116]

All of this suggests that in Lotharingia, the references to Carolingians were not because Arnulf was simply reconfirming charters or following established diplomatic norms. Instead, Arnulf's charters

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[112] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 78-79.

[113] Airlie, "The Nearly Men," p. 30. On the tension between Lotharingian elites and distant rulers see Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 223-224 and West, *Reframing*, pp. 109-121.

[114] *AV*, s.a. 888, pp. 64-65.

[115] D A 112: *postposito nostre dominationis regimine, alterius se immiscuit societati, qui regni nostri iura, modico quamvis intervallo, subripuit*.

[116] See Innes, "People, Places, and Power," pp. 431-433 for this argument about Zwentibald and Lotharingia.

for the Lotharingian recipients were shaped according to the history of the institutions and the region. This strategy was meant to present Arnulf as the latest in a long line of Carolingian kings, and in doing so it contrasted Arnulf with the non-Carolingian Rudolf. Throughout the 890s Arnulf, and his son Zwentibald, "attacked Rudolf for all the days of their lives" but could never actually stop him.[117] If, as Airlie argued, the "Carolingian family was deeply integrated into imaginations of this world," then Arnulf's connection to these past kings would have called upon those imaginations and clearly signaled Arnulf's credentials as a Carolingian monarch.[118] That is, contemporaries would have recognized the value of these Carolingian names and their repetition. These names "did not enforce Carolingian hegemony, but they expressed Carolingian royalty and thus functioned as a resource for the dynasty in times of challenge."[119] Arnulf was thus situated into a history of Carolingian rulership, a history that Rudolf could not claim. Arnulf attempted to place himself within a tradition of political authority that called for a Carolingian king, and he tailored his charters by utilizing his Carolingian blood. Arnulf's connection to certain Carolingians was not inevitably useful, but instead was shaped to best present his own claims to authority for a particular audience, a long-standing Carolingian tradition itself. For instance, in 844 Charles the Bald confirmed a series of charters of Louis the Pious and Charlemagne as a way of rejecting Pippin of Aquitaine.[120] Arnulf's Carolingian counterpart in West Francia, Charles

[117] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 888, p. 130: *omnibus itaque diebus vitae suae Arnulfus et Zuendibolchus filius eius eundem Ruodulfum persecuti sunt*.

[118] Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, p. 4.

[119] Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, p. 283.

[120] For this see Koziol, *The Politics of Memory*, pp. 69-74.

the Simple, seems to have also selectively emphasized his Carolingian connections.[121] It is difficult to determine whether Rudolf mentioned past Carolingians, given the limited number of charters that survive from his reign, but of those that do, only one potentially mentions past Carolingians.[122] For Arnulf, the charters thus provided a vehicle for conveying his authority to Lotharingia in a *targeted* way by utilizing the long Carolingian past of the region.

Part II: The Short Carolingian Heritage in Alemannia

Conditions in Alemannia differed from those in Lotharingia and we see that reflected in the charters: Arnulf's charters for Alemannian recipients went to fewer recipients and mentioned fewer Carolingians than in Lotharingia. Arnulf granted fifteen charters to Alemannian recipients between 887 and 891, with eight mentioning a Carolingian.[123] Five of those mention Charles the Fat either directly or indirectly, a notable number given that between 887 and 891 Charles appears in eleven charters and in only sixteen charters throughout Arnulf's entire reign (after 895 Charles is no longer mentioned in any charters).[124] That is, almost half of the charters that mentioned Charles in this period were given to Alemannian recipients. In terms of recipients, five of the eight charters mentioning a

[121] See Koziol, *The Politics of Memory*, pp. 479-481 on a genealogy. For the charters see Lößlein, *Royal Power*, pp. 142-149.

[122] The edition only contains ten charters as king which survive (DD R 3-12) and six *deperdita* which no longer exist but did at some point (DD R 13-18). D R 12, if authentic would mention a Lothar, Louis, and Charles. This charter survives only in a fourteenth century copy and the editor suggests that the mention of a Lothar, Louis, and Charles has been added by a later copyist.

[123] DD A 1, 9, 11, 13, 15, 25, 35, 37, 47-48, 51, 65, 71, 81-82; DD A 9, 11, 15, 25, 35, 37, 48, and 65 mention Carolingians.

[124] For Alemannia (887-891), DD A 9, 11, 35, 37, and 65; For this period (887-891), DD A 2, 9, 11, 27, 29, 31, 35, 37, 39, 53, and 65; in general (887-899), DD A 2, 9, 11, 27, 29, 31, 35, 37, 39, 53, 65, 103, 110, 125, 128, and 131.

Carolingian went to either Reichenau or St. Gall.[125] The other three charters went to Chur and two individuals, Ruodpert and Otolf.[126] These differences are partially a function of the differing landscapes of Lotharingia and Alemannia. Lotharingia had a wealth of "imperial" monasteries and other sites with strong Carolingian connections, unlike in Alemannia. In Alemannia, then, there were fewer opportunities or reasons for Arnulf to deploy his Carolingian heritage. Arnulf favored two specific monasteries in the region, St. Gall and Reichenau. In addition to the five charters granted to either monastery, one other charter can be connected to Reichenau through Hatto, who would become abbot of the monastery in 888.[127] A further five charters granted to Alemannian recipients either survive at St. Gall or were written by scribes from St. Gall or Reichenau.[128] That is, eleven of the fifteen charters granted to recipients in Alemannia in this period have some connection to either St. Gall or Reichenau.

These two monasteries were important regional institutions. St. Gall enjoyed significant royal patronage and was one of the largest landowners in the area.[129] Reichenau was where Charles the Fat,

[125] DD A 15, 25, 35, 48, and 65.

[126] DD A 9 (Chur), 11 (Ruodpert), and 37 (Otolf).

[127] D A 81. DD A 1 involves Hatto but is likely before he became abbot of Reichenau, so it is not included in this count. K. Beyerle, ed., *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau* (Münchener Drucke, 1925), p. 112/2. [sic]

[128] D A 11 survives at St. Gall and was written by a St. Gall scribe; D A 37 survives at St. Gall; D A 51 survives at St. Gall; D A 71 was likely written by a Reichenau scribe and formed the basis for a mid-tenth century forgery; D A 82 survives at St. Gall and the land would be given to Solomon, the abbot of St. Gall, in 894, D A 129.

[129] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 87-8; Louis the German: DD LG 13, 69-71, 87, 103, 105, 144, 145, 158-9; Charles the Fat: DD CF 5, 11, 13-4, 60, 67-8, 91, 98, 136, and 159; for St. Gall and its relationship to the surrounding area see Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 79-90; Hans-Werner Goetz, "Beobachtungen zur Grundherrschaftsentwicklung der Abtei St. Gallen vom 8. zum 10. Jahrhundert," in *Strukturen der Grundherrschaft im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. Werner

who granted five charters to the monastery, was buried.[130] As Simon MacLean has argued, royal power was articulated by Charles in a variety of ways in Alemannia. One of these ways was establishing feasts and other commemorative occasions at St. Gall and Reichenau, enabling the monasteries to represent royal power locally. At the same time, Charles was also relying on local counts to operate as representatives of the king.[131] Whereas in Lotharingia Arnulf sought to connect himself to a wide variety of Carolingian ancestors, in Alemannia the charters are more interested in connecting Arnulf to Charles the Fat specifically.

The immediate political context of Alemannia in the years after 887 suggest a reason why Arnulf would have been interested in presenting himself as Charles' successor, beyond it being Charles' power base. It was at this time that Charles the Fat's own illegitimate son Bernard revolted against Arnulf. While the sources are not forthcoming about details of Bernard's revolt, they do tell us some things about its scope and when it occurred. In 890 the pope asked Arnulf to invade Italy but Arnulf "refused the request, however unwillingly, having been shackled by many causes arising in his kingdom."[132] This is likely a reference to the revolt, which happened sometime in 890 because the

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Rösener (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989); Bernhard Zeller, "Language, Formulae, and Carolingian Reforms: The Case of the Alemannic Charters from St. Gall," in *The Languages of Early Medieval Charters: Latin, Germanic Vernaculars, and the Written Word*, eds. Robert Gallagher, Edward Roberts, and Francesca Tinti (Brill, 2020).

[130] DD CF 6, 10 (most likely based on a real grant to Reichenau), 92, 99, and 172 (which is heavily interpolated); Louis the German gave one charter involving Reichenau, D LG 81; For Charles' burial see *AF* (B), s.a. 887, p. 116.

[131] See MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 83-91; See also Hans Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600-1000* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 209-210.

[132] *AF* (B), s.a. 890, p. 119: *Sed rex multimodis causis in suo regno excrescentibus praepeditus quamvis non libens postulata denegavit*.

Annales Alamannici noted that "Bernard, the son of Charles, barely escaped from Raetia."[133] Further, that the annalist presents Arnulf as turning down the pope "unwillingly" suggests it was not a minor issue, but a problem requiring his direct attention. Bernard's revolt prompted a reaction from Arnulf, who confiscated land from several of Bernard's supporters. In an undated charter from 890 Arnulf granted to Hatto, the abbot of Reichenau, all the land which Odalric and his wife possessed in Alemannia and Alsace.[134] Arnulf confiscated this land because they had "offended against our [Arnulf's] royal majesty."[135] Odalric was a count in the region and was part of a family which Louis the German promoted in western Bavaria and Upper Pannonia in the 850s and 860s.[136] Not only this, Odalric can be found at several points as a representative of Charles the Fat.[137] This thus represented a serious confiscation of land, and the most likely context would have been his support for Bernard's revolt. Arnulf also replaced the abbot of St. Gall, on account of his support for Bernard, with Solomon III, the bishop of Constance, because Arnulf's charter for St. Gall in 892 noted that "our serenity was

[133] *Annales Alamannici*, ed. Walter Lendi, Untersuchungen zur frühalemannischen Annalistik; die Murbacher Annalen mit Edition (Universitätsverlag, 1971), s.a. 890, p. 182: *berenhart filius karoli vix de retia evasit*.

[134] D A 81.

[135] D A 81: *contra regalem maiestatem nostram deliquisse*.

[136] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 221-222; Michael Borgolte, *Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit: eine Prosopographie* (J. Thorbecke, 1986), pp. 253-257 discusses the Udalrichers; See also Michael Borgolte, *Geschichte der Grafschaften Alemmaniens in fränkischer Zeit* (J. Thorbecke, 1984), pp. 193-197; Odalric also appears in a charter in 886 at St. Gall, Erhart, *Chartularum*, no. 691, pp. 271-272. See also Sophie Glansdorff, *Comites in regno Hludouici regis constituti: Prosopographie des détenteurs d'offices séculiersen Francie orientale, de Louis le Germanique à Charles le Gros 826-887* (Thorbecke, 2011), p. 197. On the revolt and Odalric see Adelheid Krah, *Absetzungsverfahren als Spiegelbild von Königsmacht. Untersuchungen zum Kräfteverhältnis zwischen Königtum und Adel im Karolingerreich und seinen Nachfolgestaaten* (Scientia, 1987), pp. 208-211.

[137] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 89-90.

disturbed to such a degree on account of the disrespect and carelessness of certain men."[138] We know about some confiscations only because Arnulf's son Louis the Child restored land to a few of these individuals in the early-tenth century.[139] The *Annales Alamannici* also revealed Bernard's fate: sometime in 891 or 892 he was killed by a Rudolf, probably the *dux* of Raetia.[140] By August 890 it seems that Arnulf had reconciled himself with Odalric.[141] In presenting himself as a successor to Charles, Arnulf may have been trying to stave off a challenge from Bernard. Yet Bernard's revolt suggests a limit to the success of this plan. Indeed only two Alemannian charters after 891 mention Charles the Fat, one in 892 and one in 893, both for St. Gall as part of broader confirmations of Carolingian charters.[142] That is, the references to Charles the Fat in Arnulf's Alemannian charters are concentrated in the period before Bernard's revolt, suggesting it was a targeted strategy at a particular moment in time. After Bernard's revolt it may not have been as politically necessary to stress Arnulf as Charles the Fat's successor.

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[138] D A 103: *Sed accidit, ut pro quorundam hominum negligentia et incautela de quodam loco a prioribus nostris inter primos habito, hoc est monasterio sancti Galli serenitas nostra adeo turbaretur, quatenus abbatem ipsum honore sibi a nobis inpenso privaremus et fidelem capellanum nostrum Salomonem in eius locum subrogaremus*.

[139] See D LC 34.

[140] *Annales Alamannici*, s.a. 891, p. 182; *Annales Laubacenses*, ed. Lendi, Untersuchungen zur frühalemannischen Annalistik, s.a. 892, p. 185; on the identification of Rudolf see Johann Friedrich Böhmer, Engelbert Mühlbacher, and Johann Lechner, eds., *Regesta Imperii I: Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751-918*, 2nd Ed. (Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1908), p. 750 using a charter from St. Gall: Hermann Wartmann, ed., *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sankt Gallen,* vol. 2 (Höhr, 1866), no. 681, p. 284. In the modern edition it is Erhart, *Chartularium*, no. 721, pp. 299-300.

[141] Erhart, *Chartularum*, no. 718, pp. 294-297. It seems that Arnulf had given Odalric the *curtis* Lustenouva, and that Odalric then gave that land to St. Gall. The rest of the charter is concerned with establishing the boundaries of St. Gall's territories, and involves elites from the Turgau, the Linzgau, and Raetia. To Borgolte, *Geschichte*, pp. 196-197 this represented a reconciliation between Arnulf and Odalric.

[142] DD A 103 and 110.

We can see how Arnulf was intentionally seeking to activate connections to Charles' reign by looking at a charter which confirmed a grant Charles made to a priest named Ruodpert.[143] Yet Ruodpert was no ordinary figure. In May 882 he can be found as "the *missus* of the emperor" overseeing a charter involving the abbot of St. Gall.[144] In a royal charter from February 880 Ruodpert is described as the custodian of the royal chapel.[145] Ruodpert was thus an important figure both regionally within Alemannia, but also at Charles' court. While traveling through Italy in May 881 Charles granted land to Ruodpert that included a church, and on his death it was supposed to revert to the king.[146] Arnulf seems to have renewed this grant and then added additional benefits. The charter created a relationship between Arnulf and Ruodpert, in effect reorienting part of Charles' political network to now center on Arnulf. Further, the charter notes that Ruodpert had accepted the land first "by the gift of our [Arnulf's] uncle of venerable memory."[147] The charter, then, is not only confirming a grant, but also situating Arnulf as Charles' successor. Arnulf is not necessarily emphasizing descent from a long line of kings (although this charter does mention Arnulf's predecessors) but is instead highlighting his relationship specifically to Charles the Fat.[148]

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[143] D A 11; The original grant is D CF 38; The following charters of St. Gall and Charles are discussed in MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 87.

[144] Erhart, *Chartularium*, no. 649, pp. 236-237 at p. 237: *Rudapertvm missum imperatoris in vicem comitis*. He is found again in Erhart, *Chartularium*, no. 695, p. 275.

[145] D CF 19.

[146] D CF 38.

[147] D A 11: *quas prius a venerandae memoriae patrui nostri dono per praeceptum in proprietatem acceperat.*

[148] For a similar argument see Robbie, "The Emergence of Regional Polities," pp. 120-121.

Unlike in Lotharingia where Arnulf's Carolingian heritage was utilized to connect him to a longer progression of kings, in Alemannia it was centered primarily on Charles the Fat. This makes sense given that it was under Charles that royal power was more forcefully brought to the region.[149] There was, then, not a longer tradition of direct Carolingian rule there for Arnulf to refer back to in his charters. In these charters there is a repeated emphasis on confirming charters of Charles and strengthening them through Arnulf's authority. Arnulf granted a charter to the bishopric of Chur, where he confirmed an earlier grant by Charles.[150] Here again we see an emphasis on the memory of Charles, as the charter notes Arnulf is confirming the "charter of the lord emperor Charles of blessed memory and our uncle."[151] The charter then continues by stressing that the privileges granted in the charter should remain in the future and "in commemoration of our [already mentioned, *iam fati*] predecessor."[152]

Arnulf's references to Charles therefore concentrate on presenting Arnulf as Charles' successor. Granted at Tribur in August 888, Arnulf confirmed a grant originally given by "the most glorious emperor and our uncle Charles [the Fat]" to Chadolt, the bishop of Novara.[153] After the bishop's death the land was to go to the monastery of Reichenau. The land, Erchingen (today part of Frauenfeld), was located to the southwest of Reichenau. The charter begins after the *intitulatio* by

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[149] See MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 83-91, referenced above.

[150] D A 9.

[151] D A 9: *auctoritatem beatissime memorie domni imperatoris Caroli et patrui nostri*.

[152] D A 9: *ita ut nunc et deinceps omni tempore idem monasterium ad sepe nominatum ecclesiam cum hiis, que prelata sunt, in commemoracionem iam fati antecessoris nostri*.

[153] D A 35: *cuidam venerabili episcopo sanctae Novariensis eclesiae Chadolto nomine*.

noting that "if that, which had been granted by the generosity of our predecessors to our *fideles*, we now strengthen by the kindness of our authority, we bring them [the *fideles*] without a doubt more ready and more devoted into our service."[154] The charter then goes on to mention how the charter of Charles the Fat was presented to Arnulf, who confirmed its contents in order to make sure the lands remained "secure and stable for all time."[155] Here the language of the charter emphasizes Arnulf as Charles' successor, specifically noting how the confirming of charters could win the loyalty of the *fideles*. While the emphasis on strengthening a past Carolingian king's grant was not uncommon, and also appears in Arnulf's other charters, it is the singular focus on Charles the Fat that stands out in the Alemannian charters. Of the five charters for Alemannian recipients that mention Charles, four of them mention only him.[156]

These charters highlight how Arnulf was seeking to reorient the channels of authority in Alemannia through local officials such as Ruodpert, but also through institutions such as St. Gall and Reichenau. Importantly, however, this was done by presenting himself as the successor to Charles the Fat. In this sense, then, the emphasis was not on Arnulf's broad Carolingian heritage as we saw in Lotharingia, but on his connection to Charles the Fat as his uncle. Indeed the charter for Ruodpert highlights how Arnulf was both presenting himself as Charles' successor using the language of commemoration, but also actively courting and reorienting relationships that had existed under Charles. We can see, then, how Arnulf deployed his Carolingian heritage selectively in order to

[154] D A 35: *Si ea, quae fidelibus nostris antecessorum nostrorum largitate concessa sunt, etiam nostrae auctoritatis benivolentia roboramus, procul dubio promptiores et devotiores eos ad nostrum efficimus famulatum*.

[155] D A 35: *perpetuis temporibus firmum et stabile*.

[156] The fifth, D A 65 mentions both Louis the German and Charles the Fat.

improvise a solution to his immediate political problems. In Alemannia the political circumstances meant that a broader dynastic lineage was not, perhaps, as important as a repeated emphasis on succeeding Charles the Fat. The references to Charles the Fat thus served a specific political purpose early in Arnulf's reign.

Playing with Tradition: *Legitimationsformel* and Monograms:

Turning from how Arnulf invoked his Carolingian predecessors, in this section I will look at how Arnulf played with the charter tradition itself. We can better contextualize the new practices introduced under Arnulf by looking at other elements of Arnulf's charters, namely how the court adapted the language used in the charters, in certain formulae, in order to make claims about Arnulf's authority and place within the dynasty.[157] This was a freer adaptation of traditional practice that served the particular political contingencies of Arnulf's reign.

One of these elements, the *Legitimationsformel,* conveyed claims about authority and identity in the Carolingian world by making an argument about the source of a ruler's power.[158] By the late-eighth century these formulas often stressed the role of God in a king's power, exemplified by the phrase *gratia dei rex.* This reflected broader currents in Carolingian political discourse that saw kingship as a *ministerium* with a set of duties given by God.[159] Ildar Garipzanov traced a shift in these

[157] On tradition in charters see *Excursus*, pp. 48-50.

[158] On these formulas after Louis the Pious see Herwig Wolfram, *Intitulatio II: Lateinische Herrscher- und Fürstentitel im neunten und zehnten Jahrhundert* (H. Böhlaus Nachf., 1973), pp. 59-77.

[159] See De Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 118-122 and also Nikolaus Staubach, *Rex Christianus: Hofkultur und Herrschaftspropaganda im Reich Karls des Kahlen, Teil II: Die Grundlegung der "Religion royale"* (Böhlau, 1993), pp. 136-148; for an example contemporary to Arnulf, see the Synod of Mainz in 888, MGH Conc. V, no. 26, c. 4.

titles, which by the mid-ninth century no longer presented royal authority as centering on a specific *gens*.[160] Garipzanov primarily looked at Charles the Bald, but similar formulas were used in East Frankish charters. Louis the German had two main formulas: *divina favente gratia rex* (more common) and *divina favente clementia rex* (less common). The main difference between the two was the use of *gratia* or *clementia*. His sons adopted them in different frequencies: Louis the Younger exclusively used the *gratia* formula, while Carloman used both but favored the *gratia* formula. Charles the Fat used both but instead favored the *clementia* formula.[161] Arnulf's charters from 887 to 891 are almost evenly split between both formulas (see Table 3 below). For Arnulf's entire reign, the *gratia* formula appears in seventy-eight charters while the *clementia* formula appears in eighty-two charters.[162]

Table 3: Legitimation Formulas, 887-891	
Formula	Count
Divina favente gratia rex (+ variants)[163]	46 (+ 4) = 50
Divina favente clementia rex (+ variants)[164]	28 (+12) = 40

[160] See Ildar H. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751-877)* (Brill, 2008), pp. 140-152.

[161] Wolfram, *Intitulatio*, pp. 70-71.

[162] For the *gratia* formula (including variants): DD A 1-4, 9-10, 14-16, 19, 22-28, 30-33, 35, 37, 39-40, 43-44, 55-57, 59-61, 66-70, 72-73, 76-77, 79, 84, 86, 89-90, 93-94, 98-101, 110, 112, 115-117, 119-120, 127, 132, 134, 138, 145, 148, 152, 160, 167-174, and 176; for the *clementia* formula (including variants): DD A 7-8, 11-13, 17-18, 20-21, 29, 34, 38, 41-42, 45, 47-49, 50-53, 54, 58, 63, 65, 71, 74-75, 78, 80-83, 85, 87-88, 91-92, 95-97, 102, 104-106, 109, 111, 113-114, 118, 121-125, 128-131, 135-136, 139-142, 144, 146-147, 149-151, 153, 155-159, 164-166, and 175.

[163] DD A 1-3, 5, 9-10, 14-16, 19, 23-28, 30-32, 35, 37, 39-40, 43-44, 55-57, 59-61, 66-70, 72, 76-77, 79, 84, 86, 89-90, 93-94; variants: *divina favente gratia serenissimus rex* (DD A 4, 22); *dei auxiliante gratia rex* (D A 73); *dei gratia rex* (D A 33).

Despite the variants, both formulas stressed the role of the divine in the king's authority. Likewise, *rex* is never modified by a geographic qualification. This emphasized Arnulf's position as a king not bound to a particular *gens* or region, but over the entire East Frankish polity (and therefore allowed room for further expansion). Eric Goldberg argued this was precisely the reason Louis the German adopted this "universal" *rex* title in the first place.[165] While much attention has been placed on the *intitulatio* at the beginning of the charter, the dating clause also made claims about royal authority. Charters of Louis the German, and his sons Louis the Younger, and Carloman, noted the geographic scope of their authority by listing them as ruling in "eastern Francia" (Louis the German and Louis the Younger) or Bavaria/Italy (Carloman).[166] These could provide subtle hints at changing political arrangements. For instance when Louis the Younger took over Carloman's kingdom in 880, the charters no longer refer to him as ruling in eastern Francia but simply ruling as king.[167] Arnulf's charters only note a geographic scope to his power when dealing with Italy, otherwise he is identified as king with no qualifications. The conception of Arnulf's rule, then, was not based on his command over any specific *gens* or region, but was broader and encompassed all the areas under his control. What we see in the *intitulatio* and *Legitimationsformel*, then, is that Arnulf was largely following the

[164] DD A 7-8, 11, 17, 20, 34, 38, 41, 45, 48-49, 50-52, 54, 58, 71, 74-75, 78, 80-83, 87-88, 91-92, 95; Variants: *divina ordinante clementia rex* (DD A 12-13, 18, 21, 53); *divina ordinante providentia rex* (DD A 29, 42); *divina annuente clementia rex* (D A 64); *divina auxiliante clementia rex* (D A 47); *divina praeordinante clementia rex* (D A 85); *divina propiciante clementia rex* (D A 65); *divina providente clementia rex* (D A 63).

[165] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 188.

[166] For Louis the German (156 total with complete dating clauses) 138 note him as ruling in "eastern Francia" or the "eastern part"; for Louis the Younger (24 total) 11 note him as ruling in "eastern Francia"; For Carloman (28 total) 2 note him as ruling in Bavaria, 6 note him only as king in Italy, and 18 note him as ruling both Bavaria and Italy.

[167] DD LY 14-24.

examples of his predecessors, in particular Louis the German. Yet in the case of the dating clause, Arnulf was departing from his predecessors by no longer noting a geographic limitation to his royal authority.

While so far we have concentrated on the way Arnulf adapted the *language* of the charters in different ways, the appearance of the charter was another way that Arnulf sought to emphasize his authority by drawing on traditional Carolingian norms of diplomatics. Royal charters had a specific graphical appearance that was meant to uphold royal authority; for instance they were written on large sheets of parchment, making them identifiable as royal even without an understanding of the text itself.[168] These features, as Koziol argued, "asserted power, majesty, and artistry in ways that went far beyond a pragmatic functionalism of writing as record."[169] The visual registers of Carolingian charters developed from those of the Merovingians, and Ottonian charters would likewise react to Carolingian charters.[170] I will look at one of these features, the royal monogram found at the end of a charter.[171] The

[168] See *Excursus*, p. 30.

[169] Koziol, *The Politics of Memory*, pp. 56-58 at p. 58; Keller, "Zu den Sigeln," pp. 434-438; See also Peter Worm, *Karolingische Rekognitionszeichen. Die Kanzlerzeile und ihre graphische Ausgestaltung auf den Herrscherurkunden des achten und neunten jahrhunderts* (Universitätsbibl., 2004), for the later East Frankish Carolingians see pp. 115-131 and Peter Worm, "From Subscription to Seal: the Growing Importance of Seals as Signs of Authenticity in Early Medieval Royal Charters," in *Strategies of Writing: Studies on Text and Trust in the Middle Ages. Papers from "Trust in Writing in the Middle Ages" (Utrecht, 28-29 November 2002)*, eds. Petra Schulte, Marco Mostert, and Irene van Renswoude (Brepols, 2008).

[170] On Merovingian seals see Andrea Stieldorf, "Gestalt und Funktion der Siegel auf den merowingischen Königsurkunden," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 47-48 (2002). For the function of the seals in the Ottonian period see Hagen Keller, "Ottonische Herrschersiegel. Beobachtungen und Fragen zu Gestalt und Aussage und zur Funktion im historischen Kontext.," in *Bild und Geschichte: Studien zur politischen Ikonographie. Festschrift für Hansmartin Schwarzmaier zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag.*, eds. Konrad Krimm and Herwig John (J. Thorbecke, 1997). For these changes see Keller, "Zu den Sigeln," pp. 404-410.

[171] On the development of the royal monogram under the Carolingians see Garipzanov, *Symbolic Language*, pp. 157-202.

royal monogram was not a neutral element of the charter. It served as a sign of the king's approval of a grant and is indicated in the language of the charter itself. Arnulf's charter for St. Mary's in Aachen, discussed above, notes that "so that this [the charter] is believed more true and accurate, we confirmed this with our own hand below."[172] Arnulf's monogram appears on his very first charter, which suggests that Arnulf benefited early on from supporters familiar with the symbolic language of royal authority, such as Liutbert of Mainz (who received Arnulf's first charter) or Theotmar of Salzburg, both of whom were chancellors for Carolingian kings.[173] Theotmar, for instance, was archchaplain for Arnulf's father Carloman and was noted as Arnulf's archchaplain on every charter between 887 and 891.[174] Whether Arnulf had as standardized a writing office as his predecessors, his court was familiar with the visual language of diplomatic authority and implemented it swiftly. Arnulf's monogram clearly intended to imitate the monogram of Charles the Fat (which itself was essentially identical to Charlemagne's) (see below, Figures 1 and 2).

By mimicking the visual style of Charlemagne and Charles the Fat, Arnulf effectively communicated his authority within the same graphical tradition of political power as a visual reminder of the continuity of Carolingian rule. In this regard Arnulf was continuing to stress his connection to

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[172] D A 8: *Et ut hoc verius credatur et diligentius, manu propria nostra subter hoc confirmavimus*. See also Bedos-Rezak, "Ritual in the Royal Chancery," p. 29.

[173] Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita*," pp. 355-359 notes this fact and suggests that it was in fact the one element of Arnulf's charters that was standardized effectively as an important element of communicating royal status. Kehr, *Die Urkunden Arnolfs*, p. 3 argues that Arnulf's second charter may have been written by the notary Engilpero himself. Engilpero was listed as the notary on fifty-two of Arnulf's charters. Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige, Teil 1: Grundlegung. Die karolingische Hofkapelle* (Hiersemann, 1959), pp. 198-201 identifies several chaplains who overlapped between the courts of Charles the Fat and Arnulf.

[174] In DD Ca 3-19, 21-2, and 25-8; He was noted as Arnulf's archchaplain in 151 charters overall.

his dynastic predecessors. Yet Arnulf also departed from standard practice by adding his monogram to charters of his predecessors.[175] Arnulf's monogram was added to four charters of Charles the Fat, two of Louis the German, and one of Carloman.[176] This was, for all intents and purposes, a novel practice with little precedent in the Carolingian world.

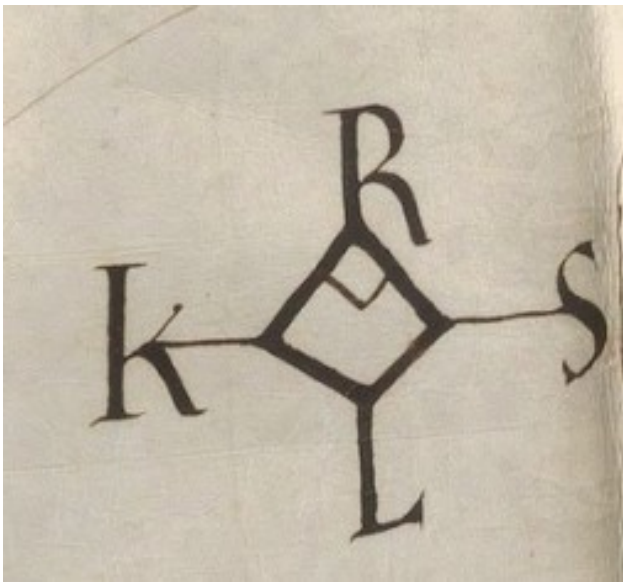

Figure 1: Charles the Fat's monogram: St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv, Urk. FF2 J67 (D CIII 68): https://www.e-chartae.ch/en/charters/view/19

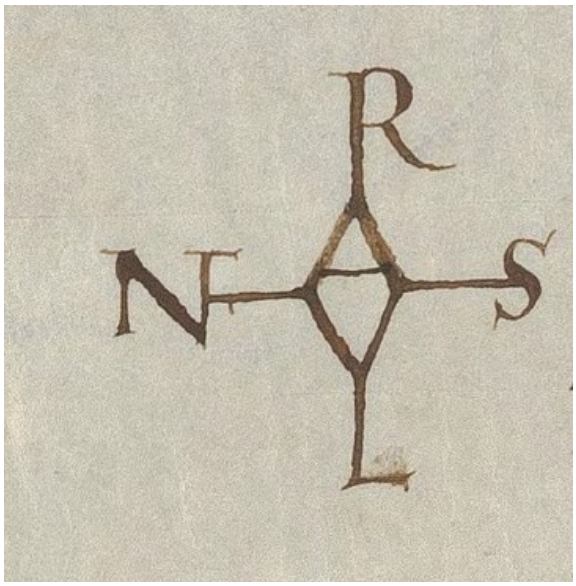

Figure 2: Arnulf's monogram: St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv, Urk. FF2 K26 (D A 15): https://www.e-chartae.ch/en/charters/view/22

Koziol has potentially identified a similar case in West Francia, where Louis the Stammerer's subscription and monogram were added to a charter of Charles the Bald after his death. According to Koziol this act had little benefit for the recipient of the charter, but great benefit for Louis as a way of demonstrating his newfound royal authority.[177] However Margaret McCarthy, following Bautier in the

[175] See Mersiowsky, *Die Urkunde*, pp. 210-211.

[176] DD CF 75, 159, 167, and 169; DD LG 163-4; D Ca 15.

[177] Koziol, *Politics of Memory*, pp. 111-115.

edition of Louis' charters, argues that it was actually added at the time of the grant.[178] Koziol argues that it was unlikely to have been added at the same time because Carolingian sons rarely added their monograms to their father's charters as kings, and in the case of Louis the Pious and Lothar's joint charters it was granted in both kings' names. Yet we have several examples where Louis the German's sons had their monograms added to his charters at the time of their granting.[179] In these East Frankish cases they are not titled as *rex*, but their monograms being placed on the charter seems to indicate their authority over the region pertaining to the charter.[180] All of this leads me to conclude that Louis the Stammerer's monogram was added at the time of the grant, making the examples under Arnulf a new phenomenon. Further, that this practice of adding monograms to older charters continued under Arnulf's sons Zwentibald and Louis the Child suggests it was introduced by Arnulf.[181] Even if Louis the Stammerer's monogram was added after the charter was produced, it was a unique case, while in Arnulf's case we have several examples from his reign and those of his sons.

We can see how this new practice looked in a charter (which survives in the original) issued for St. Gall on May 30th, 887, at Kirchen that has Arnulf's *signum* and monogram added above Charles the

[178] McCarthy, "Power and Kingship," p. 144 which follows Grat et al., *Recueil des Actes de Louis II le Bègue, Louis III et Carloman II*, pp. 3-4; The charter of Charles the Bald is D CB 425. While Koziol is right that the text does not mention Louis, McCarthy argues that Louis was in the area at the time (suggesting he could have agreed to the grant) and the ink used for the monogram matches the notary's subscription.

[179] DD LG 110, 116, 145, 161, 163-165.

[180] For instance, a charter of Louis the German issued for St. Felix and Regula, D LG 110, had both his and Charles the Fat's monograms, presumably due to it involving Alemannian places. Likewise a different grant by Louis the German to St. Mary's in Regensburg, D LG 161, had both Louis' and Carloman's monograms.

[181] Zwentibald added his monogram to one of Arnulf's charters: D A 112; Louis the Child had his monogram added to some charters of Louis the German (DD LG 92 and 118), Arnulf (D A 146) and his half-brother Zwentibald (D Z 3).

Fat's in an empty space left by the original scribe (see below, Figure 3).[182] This raises the questions of when they were added, who added them, and why. That some of these charters can be connected to new grants issued at Arnulf's court suggests a potential answer to these questions.

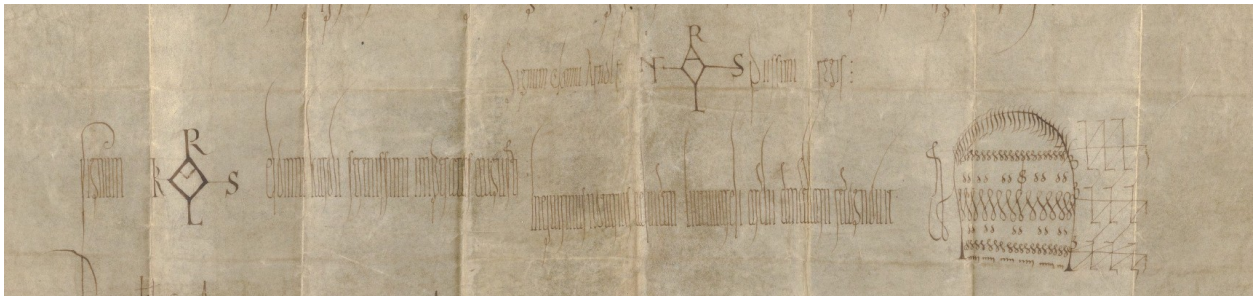

Figure 3: Charter of Charles the Fat with Arnulf's monogram added. St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv A4 A7 (D CIII 159): https://www.e-chartae.ch/en/charters/view/300

A clear example of this practice is the two charters of Louis the German, which can both be connected to Liutbrand, who would be given a charter by Arnulf in February 888.[183] Liutbrand had been given the monastery of Faurndau by Louis the German in 875, and Louis then endowed the monastery with lands and immunities.[184] Arnulf, in 888, was reconfirming these grants because Liutbrand had been in service to Louis the German and his sons "from infancy" and also noted that on Liutbrand's death the land should pass to either St. Gall or Reichenau (it would subsequently be granted to St. Gall in 895).[185] These charters already had the monograms of Louis the German's sons.

[182] D CF 159.

[183] D A 15.

[184] DD LG 163 and 164.

[185] D A 15: *ab infantia*; D A 133. D A 15 survives at St. Gall. Presumably this explains why the two charters of Louis the German survive there.

With the addition of Arnulf's monogram, these charters would have represented the entire East Frankish Carolingian family from Louis the German to Arnulf.[186]

For two of the charters, the connection seems to be Regensburg and in particular St. Emmeram. Both involved Hitto, the abbot of Mondsee, and his uncle Ambricho, the bishop of Regensburg. In 878 Carloman granted land to Hitto that was then granted to St. Emmeram in Regensburg.[187] The second charter, from 883, was similar to the first, but the land was to pass to St. Emmeram when Hitto died.[188] Both charters are presented as an agreement between Hitto and Ambricho which is then confirmed by the king. A charter of Arnulf drawn up in Regensburg in 888 would give St. Emmeram (represented by Ambricho) a villa in Mendorf in exchange for a game park controlled by the monastery.[189] This charter was also granted in February 888, around the same time as the charter for Liutbrand.

The other three charters of Charles the Fat were all granted in 887, but do not seem to have any obvious connections besides being granted in the last year of Charles' reign.[190] The earliest of the three from May 887 involved Charles the Fat granting immunities to St. Gall.[191] Kehr suggests that the

[186] Arnulf is given the same title as Louis (*serenissimus rex*) on both charters. This was somewhat uncommon in Arnulf's charters, appearing twenty-nine times in the *signum* line and twenty-eight times in the dating clause. In the *signum* line: DD A 5, 10, 25-26, 28-29, 32, 34, 40-50, 54, 58, 64, 70, 77, 79, 82, 84, 86-87, 93, 95, 98, 105, 112-113, 144, 162, and 171. In the dating clause: DD A 4, 7, 15, 19, 24-25, 31, 38, 43-44, 50, 64-65, 68-70, 74, 77, 79, 82, 86, 92, 94, 114, 120-121, 123 and 131.

[187] D Ca 15.

[188] D CF 75.

[189] D A 12. There is also a record of an agreement between Ambricho and Arnulf involving *mancipia* at Ergolding, see Widemann, *Traditionen*, no. 132.

[190] DD CF 159, 167, and 169.

[191] D CF 159, written by a scribe in Charles' court, Inquirinus B.

charter may have been presented to Arnulf shortly after Charles' deposition in essence to "reconfirm" it before it was used as the model for a later charter of Arnulf in 893.[192] It is possible that the monogram was actually added in 893 when Arnulf confirmed the same privileges, but St. Gall also received charters from Arnulf in 888 and 892.[193]

The next charter, involving land in the Condrozgau, was granted at Lustenau in September 887 to a *fidelis* of Charles the Fat named Hrotmund.[194] The only apparent connection is the proximity to Charles' deposition and the involvement of Liutbert, the archbishop of Mainz, who received Arnulf's first charter in November.[195] It is not entirely clear, then, why Arnulf's monogram was added to this charter. Given the examples where we can connect the old charters to new grants, it seems that this was not simply an *ad hoc* solution. While in the other cases we can uncover connections or later charters, in Hrotmund's case he does not appear in any of Arnulf's charters, nor is the property mentioned again.[196] Additionally, this is the only one of these charters that does not survive in the original, meaning the copyist also recorded the added monogram.[197]

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[192] D CF 159, p. 258; D A 110.

[193] DD A 25 and 103.

[194] D CF 167.

[195] D A 1.

[196] Arnulf does grant charters involving lands near Maastricht and Liege in other charters, DD A 53, 57, and 64.

[197] It is possible the land passed to the abbey of Lobbes, as it survives in a seventeenth century cartulary from there.

The final charter with the addition of Arnulf's monogram, granted by Charles the Fat in September 887 a few days after the charter for Hrotmund, also proves difficult to understand.[198] The charter was granted to the nunnery of Neuenheerse, with Biso, the bishop of Paderborn, interceding on behalf of the nunnery.[199] Adding Arnulf's monogram was not a case, as in some of the others, of utilizing blank spaces left by the original scribe, but actively removing Charles' seal to make room.[200] Charles' monogram, however, was left intact suggesting the goal was not to completely erase the signs of Charles' authority. Paderborn, as Ingrid Rembold has argued, faced dire financial issues because its tithe revenue had been restricted under Arnulf.[201] According to Rembold, Paderborn lost access to the king after Charles the Fat's death, and Biso commissioned a series of works (including the *Annalium* by the Saxon Poet) in order to curry favor with Arnulf.[202] Indeed Biso only appears in one charter of Arnulf, in November of 892.[203] Yet we can find evidence of him at court at various other points, at which time the monogram could have been added. A letter written by the bishop of Osnabrück to Pope Stephen V in 889 reports a synod at court involving Arnulf and several other bishops, including Biso.[204] Biso would also appear before a synod the following year, in May 890 at Forcheim. The

[198] D CF 169.

[199] D CF 169; Biso and Paderborn received a separate charter the same day, D CF 168.

[200] See Heinrich von Sybel and Theodor Sickel, *Kaiserurkunden in Abbildungen. 1: Text* (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1891), p. 67.

[201] Rembold, "The Poeta Saxo," pp. 180-186 for this context.

[202] Rembold, "The Poeta Saxo," pp. 169-180. On the authorship of the *Annalium* see pp. 171-172; For the broader context see Christopher Carroll, "The Bishoprics of Saxony in the First Century after Christianization," *EME* 8, no. 2 (1999).

[203] D A 105 as an intercessor.

[204] Stephen V, *Epistolae*, ed. Gerhard Laehr, MGH Epp. 7 (Weidmannos, 1928), no. 3, p. 361.

Annales Fuldenses noted that Arnulf "after Easter in the month of May in the villa, which is called Forcheim, held a *conloquium* with his men."[205] Here Biso argued for the rights of Neuenheerse which had first been granted at a council in Worms in 868, and Biso brought the charter recording these rights.[206] Indeed the charter for Charles was confirming an earlier charter of Louis the German from 871 (which was used as the model) and supplemented this with further concessions.[207] We know from other sources that Arnulf was present at Forcheim.[208] It would make sense, then, that Biso may have brought the charter of Charles the Fat with him as part of a larger collection of documents pertaining to the nunnery, and it was at this synod that Arnulf's monogram was added to the old charter. As Biso was arguing for the rights of Neuenheerse, it makes sense that Arnulf's monogram could have been added to the charter that confirmed those rights under Charles the Fat. In this way it would have reaffirmed Arnulf's protection of the nunnery (royal protection was specified by both Louis the German's and Charles the Fat's charters).

In the case of Arnulf's charters, adding the monogram may have formed part of a ritual for the new charters granted to Liutbrand, Ambricho, and Liutbert. Arnulf's monogram could then have been added when they brought the charters to court. In essence, by adding Arnulf's monogram, it represented a re-authentication of the older charters. It is possible this is precisely the reason to add

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[205] *AF* (B), s.a. 890, p. 119: *Post pascha mense Madio villa, quae dicitur Forahheim, cum suis conloquium habuit*.

[206] MGH Conc. 5, no. 31, p. 279; The original charter is edited in Wilfried Hartmann, ed., *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 860-874*, MGH Conc. 4 (Hahn, 1998), no. 25, pp. 308-311.

[207] D LG 137.

[208] The bishop Wigbert, who would receive a charter from Arnulf at Forcheim on June 1st, was a witness to the charter for Neuenheerse, MGH Conc. 5, no. 31, p. 279; D A 78.

Arnulf's monogram to the charter for Neuenheerse: it added a new king's authority to an already existing charter at a time when Biso sought to reclaim the nunnery's rights in the present. Mersiowsky believed that this practice meant that it was no longer always necessary to issue a new charter; adding the king's monogram to an old one in effect reauthorized the charter. Mersiowsky, following Keller, suggests that the late Carolingian charter got its force not from the text, but from the ceremonial handing over of the document, and thus a new document was not needed in these cases.[209] What this preceding discussion has shown, however, is that in several cases the addition of monograms to old charters can be connected to the issuing of new charters. In the case of the charter for Neuenheerse, it can still be connected to the charter being brought to Arnulf's court. If the monogram had come to symbolize royal authority, adding the monogram added Arnulf's agreement and authority to his predecessors' grants. In a way, it transplanted Arnulf's authority into the past and retroactively positioned Arnulf as involved in the granting of these (older) charters. Adding a monogram to an old charter did not necessarily replace a new grant but was often deployed alongside a new charter as a way of bolstering the authority of both grants, new and old. Arnulf faced a variety of challenges in establishing his authority, and this would have been one way for the new king to demonstrate this new authority by visually placing the symbols of Arnulf's royal authority alongside the symbols of his predecessors. In this way the monogram came to situate Arnulf into Carolingian history in an entirely novel way. In the previous section we looked at how Arnulf selectively emphasized his Carolingian lineage in charters, and the monogram was yet another way of strengthening Arnulf's connection to the dynasty.

[209] Mersiowsky, "*Carta edita*," pp. 337-339. Keller, "Zu den Sigeln," pp. 434-438.

Conclusion:

Much of this chapter has been devoted to exploring Arnulf's actions within the context of Carolingian tradition. Yet why does it matter whether Arnulf worked within Carolingian tradition in the years after 887? This interpretation shows that Arnulf operated as a Carolingian king but was also capable of adapting this tradition to his present circumstances. This forces us to reexamine our understanding of the late-ninth century in East Francia, not as a period of stagnation before the eventual Ottonian takeover in 919, but as, in many ways, a continuation of the Carolingian period in East Francia. While the political world was different after 887, contemporaries were familiar with many of the pressing issues: succession, illegitimacy, and public order. Arnulf relied upon well worn Carolingian techniques in order to establish his authority as king. At the same time, however, Arnulf also adapted these techniques to fit the circumstances that had changed as a result of his coup in 887 and the emergence of non-Carolingian kings.

As we have seen with the assemblies, Arnulf used them in traditional ways to establish his authority. By emphasizing his own Carolingian connections when relevant, Arnulf placed himself firmly in continuity with the past. Indeed the addition of monograms to past charters represents, in effect, Arnulf placing the mark of his authority into the past. In doing so Arnulf emphasized his continuity with past Carolingians. Not only did this contrast Arnulf with the non-Carolingian kings that arose elsewhere, it also served to deemphasize his own illegitimate birth status. Nonetheless, a Carolingian connection was not enough on its own anymore. Arnulf also had to adapt to the reality of the late-ninth century: kings could be from families besides the Carolingians. As seen in this chapter,

Arnulf attempted to establish his authority by relying on traditional Carolingian methods such as assemblies, but also adapting these traditions in new ways in his charters.

From 887 to 891 Arnulf was faced with the difficult task of cementing the credibility of his kingship. Indeed it was largely unprecedented for a Carolingian revolt to succeed as Arnulf's did.[210] This partially explains the large number of charters issued in the first few years of his reign: they were a way of creating obligations and relationships between the court and the recipient.[211] Granting so many charters also created opportunities to express royal largess in public settings such as assemblies. Thus these actions, although not necessarily novel, were able to be adapted to the political circumstances after 887. Carolingian rulers since Pippin III had not needed to contend with non-Carolingians (except in the case of Boso), but Carolingian rulers had certainly faced questions of legitimacy. We would be well served to remember Airlie's argument that the "Carolingian dynasty was simultaneously glorious and vulnerable."[212] That is, despite appearances in the sources, Carolingian dominance was often tenuous. By 891 Arnulf had successfully stopped the revolt of Bernard and contained Rudolf (for the time being). He now had to contend with two new threats: the Northmen invasions of Lotharingia and the Slavic polities along the eastern frontier.

[210] The revolt of Louis the Pious' sons are the obvious exception.

[211] See the discussion in the *Excursus*, pp. 32-33.

[212] Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 18-23 at p. 23.

Chapter IV:
Challenge and Response, 891-895

In June 894 Arnulf was at the royal center of Worms, presiding over an assembly of magnates. Reported in Regino's *Chronicon*, the *Annales Fuldenses*, and the *Annales Vedastini*, this assembly was seemingly concerned with sanctioning Charles the Simple as king of West Francia.[1] Between 890 and 894 the sources do not record Arnulf holding any assemblies, nor do his charters cluster in a way that might suggest an assembly.[2] Why, then, was Arnulf now holding such an event and also intervening in the succession in West Francia? Several circumstances had changed since the late 880s, when Arnulf issued a flurry of charters and held assemblies in an attempt to secure elite support for his nascent reign. Between 891 and 895 Arnulf had to face both internal and external crises. Internally Arnulf had to face challenges to his authority by several magnates as well as aristocratic feuds in Lotharingia. Externally Arnulf faced the dual threats of Northmen[3] and Moravian aggression. Further, throughout this period we see new men become more influential at court, seemingly because of Arnulf's desire to replace magnates with more loyal supporters. This chapter argues that, in reacting to these crises with a series of military successes and personnel changes, Arnulf and his court were increasingly confident while his reign became more consolidated. This chapter begins with a discussion of the Northmen and the Battle of Leuven which Arnulf won in 891. It then investigates how in the aftermath of the victory

[1] Regino reports the event in 893, *Chronicon*, s.a. 893, p. 141; *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 125; *AV*, s.a. 894, p. 74 but only noting Charles going to Arnulf.

[2] On these earlier assemblies see Chapter Three, pp. 97-108.

[3] I use the term Northmen because it is the closest equivalence to how they are described in Frankish sources as *Nortmanni*, for instance *AV*, s.a. 881, p. 49.

Arnulf rearranged political networks to install loyal supporters. The focus then shifts to the campaigns along the Moravian frontier, before discussing the synod of Tribur in 895. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the use of the word *invictissimus* in Arnulf's charters. All of this emphasizes a gradual process of political consolidation and the elimination of threats as well as an increasing sense of confidence at Arnulf's court. This was not an inevitable accumulation of power nor a grand plan put in motion in 891, but the result of a series of choices that arose out of the political challenges that Arnulf faced.

The Northmen and the Battle of Leuven:

Before he could represent his kingship in such a way, Arnulf had to contend with renewed Northmen raids. These raids had plagued West Francia for decades, and contemporary sources saw these raids as punishments for sins against God.[4] By the 880s these raids had tilted more towards occupations, because they now had winter encampments that allowed them to remain year-round.[5] This was not an issue confined solely to West Francia but impacted Lotharingia as well, namely the region near Maastricht, Liege, and Nijmegen. In 880 the *Annales Fuldenses* reports Louis the Younger setting out against a group of Northmen who had been "residing for a long time" on the Scheldt

[4] See Simon Coupland, "The Rod of God's Wrath or the People of God's Wrath: the Carolingian Theology of the Viking Invasions," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42, no. 4 (1991): esp. 536-540; Matthew Brian Gillis, *Religious Horror and Holy War in Viking Age Francia* (Trivent, 2021). On the intensification of Northmen activity after 840 see Christian Cooijmans, *Monarchs and Hydrarchs: The Conceptual Development of Viking Activity Across the Frankish Realm (c. 750-940)* (Routledge, 2020), esp. pp. 120-141.

[5] *AF*, s.a. 880, p. 96. Cooijmans, *Monarchs and Hydrarchs*, pp. 141-150.

River.[6] The following year they devastated a huge swath of territory that stretched from Cambrai in the east, through the Hesbaye, all the way to Bonn in the west (Map 2).[7]

Map 2: Places Attacked by Northmen in 881. Also shows major rivers. River data from Natural Earth. Map by Jonathan Dell Isola, 2025.

Louis III of West Francia had tried to build a wooden fort near Cambrai, at Étrun, to stop the Northmen sailing along the Scheldt River, but to no avail as they sacked Amiens and Corbie.[8] In 882 Northmen raids again devastated the region, as the Northmen burned Trier on April 5th and killed the

[6] *AF*, s.a. 880, p. 94: *longo tempore residebant*. *AV*, s.a. 880, p. 46. There are reports of Northmen in the area as far back as the 850s: *AB*, s.a. 852, p. 65; They are later found along the Scheldt in 884: *AV*, s.a. 884, p. 55.

[7] The map is using the four entries from *AB*, s.a. 881, pp. 243-245; *AF*, s.a. 881, pp. 96-97; *AV*, s.a. 881, pp. 49-51; and Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 881, pp. 117-118. Not pictured is the Hesbaye, which was a region along the Meuse near Maastricht.

[8] *AB*, s.a. 881, p. 245. On the purpose of this see Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 222, n. 4.

bishop Wala of Metz in battle.[9] Charles the Fat, as well as his immediate predecessors, struggled to stop these attacks.[10] Arnulf's coup in 887 immediately prompted further Northmen raids as they sought to capitalize on the chaos.[11] At Forcheim in 889 Arnulf seems to have come to terms with the Northmen (and the Slavs), at least for a while, as they came "asking for peace."[12] Yet in 891 a Northmen army invaded Lotharingia which prompted Arnulf to send out a Frankish army in response. The ensuing battle resulted in the death of the archbishop of Mainz Sunderold.[13] Despite this initial defeat, Arnulf himself traveled with a second army to Lotharingia and scored a victory at Leuven.[14] Numerous contemporaries recorded this victory, often casting it in sweeping terms ascribing the victory to God's will. The *Annales Vedastini* notes that "with God protecting, he [Arnulf] captured the castle."[15]

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[9] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 882, p. 119.

[10] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 30-42 argues that the Mainz continuation of the *Annales Fuldenses* presents Charles as weak in the face of these raids because it was biased to the out-of-favor Liutbert of Mainz. Yet even in the Bavarian continuation there is a sense that Charles' inability to contain the Northmen was an issue, so the idea that all negative presentations can be explained as simply pro-Liutbert bias seems pushing the argument too far. On Carolingian efforts to stop the Northmen see Simon Coupland, "From Poachers to Gamekeepers: Scandinavian Warlords and Carolingian Kings," *EME* 7, no. 1 (1998); Simon Coupland, "The Frankish Tribute Payments to the Vikings and their Consequences," *Francia* 26, no. 1 (2000); Simon Coupland, "The Carolingian Army and the Struggle against the Vikings," *Viator* 35 (2004).

[11] *AF* (M), s.a. 887, p. 107. These attacks seem to have been located in West Francia, as the Northmen targeted Rheims.

[12] *AF* (B), s.a. 889, p. 118.

[13] *AF* (B), s.a. 891, p. 119. Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 891, p. 137.

[14] His charters show him in the region sometime in October and early November, DD A 91-95.

[15] *AV*, s.a. 891, p. 70: *Deo se protegente ipsum cepit castrum.*

Regino would later also remark that God helped Arnulf in defeating the Northmen.[16] News of the victory even crossed the Channel to Wessex where it would be recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.[17]

The most comprehensive account of the battle can be found in the Bavarian continuation of the *Annales Fuldenses*.[18] The entry for the Battle of Leuven in 891 is highly dramatic and was intended to present Arnulf as a redemptive figure for the Franks. At first the Northmen invaded "the territories of the western Franks" and defeated an army led by archbishop Sunderold of Mainz, who died in the battle.[19] Arnulf gathered an army quickly to avenge the death of Sunderold, but the trip was delayed because the Alemannians "returned home from the king as if ill."[20] The annalist then switches tone, and begins presenting the campaign as increasingly successful. The Alemannians depart but Arnulf carries on "favorably" with the Franks to Lotharingia. This is all building to the encounter between the Frankish army and the Northmen near the river Dyle. The annalist depicts Arnulf as being concerned to risk such a large army due to the terrain, but in the end that he decided to lead an attack against the

[16] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 891, p. 138.

[17] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (*ASC*), ed. Janet Bately, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition*, vol. 3 (Brewer, 1986) s.a. 891, p. 54, trans. Dorothy Whitelock et al., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Revised Translation* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), p. 53: "In this year the Danish army went east, and King Arnulf with the East Franks, the Saxons, and Bavarians fought against the mount force before the ships arrived, and put it to flight." The oldest manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173, may have been written by late ninth century scribes, and this hand ends with the 891 entry, indicating that this may have been a near contemporary record of the battle. Exactly when this was added, since the 891 entry ends part way through, is debated but sometime in the 890s seems plausible, see Bately, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. xxx-xxxiii and her earlier article, "The Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Once More," *Leeds Studies in English* 16 (1985). Asser would use evidence from the *ASC* up to 889 when composing his life of Alfred in 893, see Bately, "The Compilation," p. 7, n. 5.

[18] On the *Annales Fuldenses* see Introduction, pp. 17-21.

[19] *AF* (B), s.a. 891, p. 119: *Nordmanni igitur fines occidentalium Francorum invadentes*. Western Franks means Lotharingia here.

[20] *AF* (B), s.a. 891, p. 119: *Sed Alamanni quasi egrotantes a rege domum relapsi sunt*.

Northmen. Here the annalist inserts a long "speech" given by the king to the men that emphasizes the divine element of the Franks' task: it was vengeance against a decidedly non-Christian foe who had desecrated churches and killed "ministers of God."[21] Yet the annalist also combines this with a portrayal of Arnulf's military leadership. The king exhorts the soldiers to act, exclaiming that "having the perpetrators of the crimes themselves before [your] eyes, when I dismount from my horse, showing the signal with [my] hand, follow [me]!"[22] These words excited "everyone, old and young, with equal parts will and daring," to lead the attack on foot.[23] It is possible this was a reflection of something that actually happened because Regino, in his early-tenth century chronicle, also noted Arnulf leaping off his horse and exhorting the men.[24] The annalist's depiction of the battle concludes with a grim description of the Northmen army plunging to their death in the river.

It is the actions after the battle, reported only by the annalist, that raise interesting questions about the symbolic importance of this victory. After the battle Arnulf ordered litanies be held and "he himself proceeded with the army in order to sing praises to God, who granted so great a victory to them."[25] Holding litanies and processing with the army would have reinforced the divine aid given to

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[21] *AF* (B), s.a. 891, p. 120: *ministros...Dei*.

[22] *AF* (B), s.a. 891, p. 120: *Nunc, milites, agite, ipsos sceleris factores ante oculos habentes, me primum equo descendentem, signa manu praeferentem sequimini*.

[23] *AF* (B), s.a. 891, p. 120: *His incitati dictis, omnibus, senis et iuvenibus, par voluntas et audatia pedestre bellum aggredere datur*.

[24] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 891, pp. 137-138.

[25] *AF* (B), s.a. 891, p. 121: *ipse cum omni exercitu laudes Deo canendo processit, qui talem victoriam suis tribuit*. For the role of these types of celebration see Eric J. Goldberg, ""More Devoted to the Equipment of Battle Than the Splendor of Banquets": Frontier Kingship, Military Ritual, and Early Knighthood at the Court of Louis the German," *Viator* 30 (1999): 60-72, p. 71 notes Arnulf's victory in 891.

Arnulf, but also his own role as the king and leader of the army.[26] Throughout the Carolingian period victory in battle was often interpreted as a sign of divine approval and aid.[27] For instance contemporaries viewed Louis the Younger's victory over Charles the Bald at Andernach in 876 as a result of divine favor for Louis over Charles.[28] Indeed battles were liturgically tinged: Louis the Younger ordered litanies and fasting before the Battle of Andernach, while Arnulf would order a day of fasting before taking Rome in 896.[29] Further, by holding them at the site of the battle the procession would have literally trodden on Arnulf's defeated enemies. There is a gap in the manuscript for the date of the litanies, which may suggest that the annalist is reproducing information circulating in Bavaria soon after the battle, but it was not precise enough to have the exact date.[30]

Also, according to the Bavarian annalist, two Northmen kings were killed and sixteen "royal standards" were carried off and sent to Bavaria "in witness" of the victory.[31] It is possible that this is only recorded by the Bavarian annalist because the annalist had actually seen these standards.[32] A

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[26] On liturgical celebrations see Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 342-362. Michael McCormick, "The Liturgy of War in the Early Middle Ages. Crisis, Litanies and the Carolingian Monarchy," *Viator* 15 (1984).

[27] See J. Nelson, "Violence in the Carolingian World and the Ritualization of Ninth-Century Warfare," in *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Guy Halsall (Boydell Press, 1998). Also see Mary Alberi, ""Like the Army of God's Camp": Political Theology and Apocalyptic Warfare at Charlemagne's Court," *Viator* 41, no. 2 (2010).

[28] *AF*, s.a. 876, p. 89; *AV*, s.a. 876, p. 41; Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 876, p. 112.

[29] *AB*, s.a. 876, p. 207; *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 127.

[30] For a similar scenario see Chapter Six, n. 185.

[31] *AF* (B), s.a. 891, pp. 120-121: *regia signa...in testimonium.*

[32] If Patzold's argument on identifying the author as Aspertus is correct, this becomes even more plausible. On this argument see Introduction, pp. 19-20.

similar case can be found in the *Annales Bertiniani*, which notes that in 865 Robert slew a small Northmen force on the Loire and sent their standards and weapons to Charles the Bald. As in the Bavarian context this may only have been recorded because the account was written by Hincmar, who would have been in position to see the standards at Charles' court.[33] Overall, battle standards make rare appearances in the *Annales Fuldenses.*[34] Yet they were seemingly important components of early medieval armies.[35] Possibly, their mention in these instances indicates the unusualness of the situations. That is, if it was rare for standard-bearers to be killed in battle or leave their standards, it might prompt increased attentiveness to scenarios where the standards *were* captured. The display of captured standards would have been a sign of Arnulf's dominance over the Northmen, yet this was presumably directed at a smaller, elite audience in Bavaria. Arnulf's actions would have highlighted his capabilities as a military leader, something that had been important throughout his career in the 870s and 880s.[36] The reaction of other contemporaries also suggests that the Battle of Leuven was viewed as an important victory over the Northmen, and cannot be attributed just to the Bavarian annalist's own rhetorical agenda. That the *Annales Vedastini*, a source known for its monstrous descriptions of Northmen violence, also praised Arnulf's victory, suggests that contemporaries outside East Francia

[33] *AB*, s.a. 865, p. 122. On the authorship of the *AB* see Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, pp. 9-11. Of course, Hincmar was not writing at court but continued to have contact with court in this period.

[34] *AF*, s.a. 876, p. 88; *AF*, s.a. 844, p. 35; *AF* (B), s.a. 891, pp. 120-121; *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 123.

[35] See Guy Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450-900* (Routledge, 2003), pp. 199-200.

[36] See Chapter Two, pp. 80-91.

saw the battle as representing an accomplishment for the Franks.[37] That is, we cannot reduce this presentation simply to the Bavarian annalist promoting a positive view of Arnulf.

Shifting Political Networks, 891-895:

The victory seems to have burnished Arnulf's reputation as a successful leader, and provided an opportunity for him to consolidate his rule. In some cases this meant limiting the power of certain elites or families, while in others it meant increasing the power of loyal supporters. For instance in the aftermath of the Battle of Levuen he installed Hatto (d. 913) as the archbishop of Mainz. Hatto had already been a loyal supporter of Arnulf: he appeared in Arnulf's first charter granted in November 887 alongside the then archbishop of Mainz Liutbert (d. 889, discussed below).[38] It is possible that Hatto and Liutbert were relatives descended from a noble family, known as the Hattonids, who had been influential under Louis the Pious and opposed Louis the German in the late 830s and early 840s.[39] Further, Hatto may have also been part of Charles the Fat's court, as a monk by that name can be found in Charles' entourage.[40] Hatto would become a hugely influential member of Arnulf's court, with the tenth-century St. Gall author Ekkehard reporting that Hatto was known as the "heart of the

[37] On this view see Gillis, *Religious Horror*, pp. 23-24.

[38] D A 1.

[39] On Hatto and Liutbert's relation to this family see Gerd Althoff, "Über die von Erzbischof Liutbert auf die Reichenau übersandten Namen," *FMSt* 14 (1981): 233-235. On the opposition to Louis the German see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 88-90, 92-95, and 98-100.

[40] See MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 172 citing the *Liber Memorialis von Remiremont*, eds. Eduard Hlawitschka et al., MGH Libri Memoriales 1, no. 1 (Weidmann, 1970), fol. 9r, p. 15.

king."[41] Overall Hatto appears in fifteen of Arnulf's charters, more than any other individual.[42] Yet eleven of those charters come after he became archbishop of Mainz, suggesting this new position catapulted him to an even higher status at court (similar to Luitpold, discussed below).[43] Similar to how Liutbert helped to spread access to royal patronage during the reign of Charles the Fat, Hatto was an intercessor for charters for Lotharingian, Bavarian, East Frankish, and Italian recipients.[44] Arnulf had already made Hatto abbot of Reichenau and Ellwangen, but the death of Sunderold now gave Arnulf the chance to elevate Hatto to an even more prominent position within the kingdom.

The archbishopric of Mainz had a particularly important relationship with the East Frankish kings. Liutbert, archbishop from 863 to 889, would become an important figure late in Louis the German's reign and throughout the 880s.[45] In the 870s and 880s we can also find him leading troops against both the Slavs and the Northmen.[46] That Sunderold also led troops suggests that the archbishop of Mainz may have had a role in defense against the Northmen as the ninth century progressed.[47] Not only that, as one of the leaders of the East Frankish church, the archbishop of Mainz

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[41] Ekkehard, *Casus Sancti Galli*, c. 11, p. 148: *cor regis*.

[42] DD A 1, 48, 65, 81, 96, 114, 123, 125, 135, 140, 149, 154, 158 and 166.

[43] DD A 96, 114, 123, 125, 135, 140, 149, 154, 158, and 166 are dated between 892 and 898.

[44] On Liutbert's role in diffusing access see MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 120-122. Lotharingia (DD A 114, 154, 158, 166), Bavaria (D A 135), Italy (DD A 123, 125, 140), and East Francia (D A 149).

[45] For example see *AF*, s.a. 864, p. 62; *AF*, s.a. 866, p. 65; and *AF*, s.a. 870, pp. 70-72.

[46] *AF*, s.a. 872, p. 76 and *AF*, s.a. 874, p. 81; *AF* (M), s.a. 883, p. 100 and *AF*(M), s.a. 885, p. 102. See also Coupland, "The Rod of God's Wrath," pp. 545-551.

[47] Bishops were important to warfare more generally, see Janet L. Nelson, "The Church's Military Service in the Ninth Century: A Contemporary Comparative View?" *Studies in Church History* 20 (1983): 19-25.

wielded important spiritual authority as well. Indeed, Louis the German installed Raban there in 847 as a way to install a loyalist and proclaim the rightness of his kingship.[48] Likewise the Mainz Synod of 888 proclaimed the justness of Arnulf's kingship and was overseen by Liutbert.[49] The archbishop of Mainz was one of the most important political positions within the kingdom, and Arnulf had already demonstrated an interest in choosing the archbishop when he, along with Poppo the *dux* of the Thuringians, chose Sunderold as Luitbert's successor in 889.[50]

It is unclear when exactly after Sunderold's death Hatto became archbishop. But Arnulf must have promoted him by January 21st, 892 when a charter notes that Arnulf "decreed, with the beneficial consultation of our *fideles*, that [Hatto] be made archbishop of the city of Mainz because we recognized him to be religious and prudent in spiritual and human matters."[51] The charter was meant to grant Reichenau the right to elect their own abbot after Hatto abdicated the role, but the monks apparently chose him as their abbot with their newfound right.[52] Couching the elevation of Hatto in the language of consultation was part of the process of building consensus for Arnulf's choice as "public testimony of the ties between a king and his followers."[53] After becoming archbishop Hatto (alongside the bishop of Augsburg Adalbero) baptized Arnulf's son Louis in 893, campaigned with the

[48] See Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 156-164.

[49] MGH Conc. V, no. 26, p. 255.

[50] On Poppo and Sunderold see below.

[51] D A 96: *quia eum in divinis et humanis negotiis religiosum cautumque agnovimus, salubri fidelium nostrorum consultu Magontiae civitatis archiepiscopum fieri censuimus*.

[52] D A 96 implies that Hatto resigned the role to avoid any hint of scandal, and the brothers then re-elected him as abbot.

[53] Merta, "Why Royal Charters?" p. 191.

king in Italy in 894, and finally presided over the Synod of Tribur in 895.[54] Given the importance of Mainz, Arnulf's choice of Hatto as archbishop would have been a way of placing a trusted supporter into a key position of political and spiritual authority. Hatto would accumulate even more power as one of the regents surrounding Arnulf's young son Louis after Arnulf's death in 899.[55] Although he had been a supporter from the very beginning of Arnulf's reign, it was during this period that he reached the highest levels of the court. Arnulf could now count on him to marshal the resources of not only the abbeys of Reichenau and Ellwangen, but also the archbishopric of Mainz.

The following year would provide additional opportunities for Arnulf to reshape political networks in the kingdom when Arnulf deposed magnates from two elite families. First, Poppo, the *dux* of Thuringia who had been active since at least 880, was stripped of his *honores.*[56] Apparently he convinced the bishop of Würzburg, Arn, to lead an attack against the Slavs which ended disastrously and with the bishop's death. Poppo came from an elite family known as the Popponids, who had been an important noble family in Thuringia throughout most of the ninth century but also had connections throughout the Carolingian kingdoms.[57] They also had Lotharingian interests: when

[54] On the baptism see *AF* (B), s.a. 893, p. 122. On the invasion see *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 124. On the synod see *AF* (B), s.a. 895, p. 126.

[55] He appears in numerous charters of Louis the Child, DD LC 5, 7, 13, 15, 20, 23, 34, 44, 46-49, 51, 53-55, 58-60, 63 (here noted as the *spiritalis patris nostri* of Louis), 64, 65, 67 (Hatto's *missi* apparently represented him at court), 69 (*carissimus noster spiritalis pater*), 70, 71, 72 (*spiritalis patris nostri*). That is twenty-seven out of seventy-eight charters, or almost thirty-five percent, involved Hatto.

[56] *AF*, s.a. 880, p. 95. He also appears in *AF* (M), s.a. 883, p. 100; *AF* (B), s.a. 882, p. 109. On Poppo see Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 130-131.

[57] See Innes, *State and Society*, p. 230. It is possible that Henry I's mother was the daughter of Henry of Franconia, see Eduard Hlawitschka, "Zur Herkunft der Ludolfinger und zu einigen Corveyer Geschichtsquellen," *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 38 (1974): at 92-95 and genealogical table at 162. See also Becher, *Rex, Dux, und Gens*, pp. 165-170.

Liutbert, the archbishop of Mainz, died in 889 he was replaced by Sunderold, according to Regino "with Poppo *dux* of the Thuringians and king Arnulf agreeing."[58]

It is not immediately clear why Poppo would be involved with the election of Sunderold, yet there seems to have been some connection between Fulda, the archbishop of Mainz Sunderold, and the Popponids. Sunderold had been a monk at Fulda, and Poppo can be found intervening for a charter for the monastery in July 889.[59] Fulda played an important role in the eighth and ninth centuries because of its extensive landholdings, while Mainz was one of the main eighth-century venues for grants to the monastery.[60] The abbot of Fulda in 889, Sigihard, seems to have had dealings with Liutbert in the 870s and 880s.[61] All three, Sigihard, Sunderold, and Poppo, seem to have been present at court in July 889.[62] Presumably Poppo was leveraging his influence at court to put forward Sunderold as the new archbishop of Mainz. That the fates of Sunderold, Sigihard, and Poppo were connected is further

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[58] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 889, p. 134: *Boppone Turingorum duce et Arnulfo rege annuente*.

[59] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 889, p. 134; D A 58.

[60] See Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 18-50. On Fulda as monastic community see Janneke Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c. 744-c. 900* (Cambridge University Press, 2012). See Innes, "People, Places and Power," pp. 407-408

[61] Cornelius Will, ed., *Regesten zur Geschichte der Mainzer Erzbischöfe von Bonifatius bis Heinrich II. 742?-1288* (Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1877), no. 31, p. 78. Apparently Sigihard and Liutbert came to some sort of agreement, it is recorded in Ernst Dronke, ed., *Traditiones et Antiquitates Fuldenses* (C. Müller'sche Buchhandlung, 1844), c. 148, p. 131. In 876 Sigihard and Liutbert had a dispute resolved by Louis the German in a charter (D LG 170). Liutbert also was present at the dedication of two churches near Fulda, Böhmer, *Regesten*, 8, nos. 50 and 51, pp. 80-81. Dronke, *Traditiones*, no. 31, p. 62.

[62] Sigihard and Poppo appear in a charter granted at Fulda in July 889 (D A 58); Sunderold was the intercessor for a charter granted at Frankfurt two weeks before (D A 55); Sunderold and Sigihard appear in a charter for Münster purporting to describe the meeting at Frankfurt in July 889, Schieffer, "Zur Frühgeschichte," pp. 28-29. Taken together this suggests that all three were present at court in July 889. For the broader context see Chapter Three, esp. pp. 122-123.

suggested by the fact that Sigihard was seemingly deposed by Arnulf in 891. Our only source for this is the Annalista Saxo's *Chronik* which was written in the mid-twelfth century.[63] The passage in the annal relates that Huoggi was elected as abbot of Fulda at Regensburg "in the presence of the legates of the king, Thiotbald and Poppo."[64] Thiotbald and Poppo were, in fact, the two intercessors in the charter Arnulf granted at Fulda (and for Fulda) in July 889.[65] The death of Sunderold in 891 may have been the beginning of the end for Poppo's influence at court. His last appearance before his removal is in January 891, that is *before* Sunderold's death.[66]

Poppo's role in convincing Arn to launch the ill-fated attack which led to Arn's death may have been the final straw that Arnulf needed to actively move against the *dux*. Arnulf replaced Arn and Poppo with two members of the Conradine family, Rudolf and Conrad respectively.[67] Geldner has argued that because they were both replaced by members of the same family, Poppo's deposition

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[63] Klaus Nass, however, argued that the passage describing Sigihard's deposition, and the selection of Huoggi as his replacement, was derived from a lost Fulda annal compilation. The passage: Annalista Saxo, *Die Reichschronik*, ed. Klaus Nass, MGH SS 37 (Hahn, 2006), s.a. 891, p. 114 and n. 7, referring to Klaus Nass, *Die Reichschronik des Annalista Saxo und die sächsische Geschichtsshreibung im 12. Jahrhundert* (Hahn, 1996), p. 68.

[64] Annalista Saxo, *Die Reichschronik*, s.a. 891, p. 114: *Abbaciam Fulde consilio regis et optimatum Sigehart sponte dimisit et Hugo prepositus presentibus legatis regis Thiotbaldo et Poppone electus Ratispone eam a rege suscepit*. Raajmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community*, pp. 268-269 suggested that the selection of Huoggi was an attempt by Arnulf to secure Poppo's support, but there is limited evidence to suggest that Huoggi was "a loyal follower" of Poppo. Raajmakers is drawing on, it seems, Hans-Peter Wehlt, *Reichsabtei und König. Dargestellt am Beispiel der Abtei Lorsch mit Ausblicken auf Hersfeld, Stablo und Fulda* (Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1970), pp. 268-271. If Raajmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community*, p. 270 is correct that Poppo's name was not entered into the Fulda *Annales necrologici*, then it seems unlikely that Poppo and Huoggi enjoyed a particularly close relationship.

[65] D A 58.

[66] D A 83.

[67] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 892, p. 140. On Rudolf see Alfred Wenderhost, ed., *Das Bistum Würzburg, Teil 1: Die Bischofsreihe bis 1254* (Walter de Gruyter, 1962), pp. 51-55.

cannot be seen simply as punishment but as Arnulf switching support from one elite family to another.[68]

The deposition of Poppo and the installation of the Conradines cannot be separated from the shocking aristocratic violence that took place in Lotharingia in the same year. Megingoz, the lay abbot of St. Maximin in Trier and cousin to King Odo of West Francia, was killed on August 28th in the monastery of St. Sixtus.[69] Beginning in the 850s Megingoz had managed to become one of the most important political powerbrokers in Lotharingia and by 892 was a key figure in mediating royal patronage in the region.[70] The murder of Megingoz, according to Innes, was the result of his access to royal patronage at the expense of others. Megingoz's killer, Alberic, was himself murdered in 896.[71] In response to the murder Arnulf granted some of Megingoz's *honores* to his son Zwentibald.[72] One of these *honores* seems to have been St. Maximin in Trier.[73] Arnulf's goal in installing Zwentibald may have been to place these *honores* outside the reach of aristocratic factions. Eventually, though, some of

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[68] Ferdinand Geldner, *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der "alten Babenberger"* (Meisenbach, 1971), pp. 15-20.

[69] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 892, p. 140.

[70] On Megingoz see Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 225-231.

[71] See Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 896, p. 144. He potentially appears in D A 89. A forged charter of Arnulf, D A 188, notes him as the brother of Gerard. Regino reports Gerard and Stephen being allied against Zwentibald.

[72] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 892, p. 140.

[73] Zwentibald becoming abbot of St. Maximin is not attested in the contemporary sources, but has been long assumed by historians to have been part of the *honores*, see for instance Karl Wittich, *Die Entsehung des Herzogthums Lothringen* (Vandenhoeck und Ruprechts Verlag, 1862), p. 25, n. 2. For the logic see Schieffer, "Die lothringische Kanzlei," pp. 73-74, n. 63. Sigehard, *Miracula s. Maximini,* ed. George Waitz, MGH SS 4, c. 8, pp. 230-231, written in the mid-tenth century, claims that Arnulf gave St. Maximin to Megingoz.

these *honores* would pass to the Conradines, who would then feud with the remaining Popponids in the later half of the 890s and into the early 900s.[74] These Lotharingian interests likely existed earlier, because we can find Conrad the Elder intervening in a charter for St. Evre in Toul in 891.[75] Arnulf's attempts to stabilize the situation, however, did not fully work: he quickly ventured there in February 893, about six months after Megingoz's murder in August, presumably because instability remained. It is possible that Arnulf remained in Lotharingia until May, because there is a gap in the charters from February 11th to May 31st.[76] Anxiety over Northmen attacks also remained: several Lotharingian bishops can be found at a provincial synod held at St. Arnulf's in Metz in May 893 that was concerned with the "pagans" and "defiant Christians."[77] The *Annales Fuldenses* gives a brief note that presents the king's journey simply as one of prayer: "Before Lent the king went through the whole province of the western Franks visiting monasteries and bishoprics for the sake of prayer."[78] Regino records this trip as

[74] *Libellus de rebus Treverensibus*, ed. George Waitz, MGH SS 14 (Hahn, 1883), c. 14, p. 104, an eleventh century source, claims that St. Maximin was transferred to the Conradines by Louis the Child after Zwentibald's death. Schieffer, "Die lothringische Kanzlei" suggests that this, along with the fact St. Maximin and Oeren are part of the Conradine possessions in 897 and 906 (Regino, *Chronicon,* s.a. 897 and 906), means that they were likely part of the *honores* transferred first from Megingoz to Zwentibald, and then from Zwentibald to Conrad by Arnulf and Louis the Child respectively. Simon MacLean, "Insinuation, Censorship and the Struggle for Late Carolingian Lotharingia in Regino of Prüm's Chronicle," *The English Historical Review* 124, no. 506 (2009): 25 suggests that Regino eventually revised his text to appease the Conradines who were potential allies against the Matfridings.

[75] D A 89.

[76] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 893, p. 141 notes Arnulf holding an assembly at Worms in the summer, but this could be referring to events in 894.

[77] MGH Conc. V, no. 37, p. 309, the first chapter concerns *Quod pax a paganis et contumacibus christianis per emendationem morum a deo impetranda sit*.

[78] *AF* (B), s.a. 893, p. 122, trans. Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 124: *Ante quadragesimam rex per totam occidentalium Francorum provintiam monasteria, episcopatus causa orationis obibat*.

well, noting that Arnulf was given many gifts by the bishops as he traveled throughout Lotharingia.[79] Arnulf also used this trip to reconcile himself with the bishop of Toul Arnald, confirm past grants to the bishopric of Trier, and grant a charter for St. Maximin (where Zwentibald was now presumably the lay abbot).[80] Instead of a spontaneous and triumphal trip to Lotharingia, this seems to have been a way to shore up his support in Lotharingia at a time of political instability. For the time being this approach appears to have worked, and Arnulf would travel to Worms in 894 to hold a general assembly for the first time since 890.

We can also identify a change when it comes to granting charters to Lotharingian recipients. After 891 Arnulf only granted charters to institutions, and generally the intercessors are representing their own institution (so Ratbod for Trier, Dodilo for Cambrai, etc.). That is, there was not an important regional distributor granting access to royal patronage. Instead, bishops were seemingly able to access the king to gain patronage for their own institutions. Further, by only giving to institutions, Arnulf was now channeling royal authority through these institutions. This represents a shift from Charles the Fat, where there had been magnates who operated as gateways to royal patronage.[81] Perhaps Arnulf was trying to disrupt the networks of patronage that had developed in Lotharingia, and which seemingly caused tension within the elite as they competed for royal patronage.[82]

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[79] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 893, p. 141. Arnulf remained at Regensburg through June (DD A 115-117) and in August can be found at Mautern southeast of Salzburg (D A 118) before returning to Regensburg in early September (D A 119).

[80] DD A 112-114.

[81] See MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 81-122.

[82] Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 222-236.

These shifts in charter production dovetail with the installation of trusted supporters in key positions. In doing so, Arnulf was channeling the networks of patronage to more securely center on the ruler, instead of regional mediators. Those in positions of regional power such as Hatto were handpicked by Arnulf as one of his trusted courtiers. The effect was to create more consolidated political networks in Lotharingia.

Moravia and the Frontier:

Yet Arnulf was not just concerned with conditions in Lotharingia and Bavaria, but he also had to deal with a dangerous rival in Moravia, the *dux* Zwentibald. Relations between Arnulf and Zwentibald were not simply political, but personal due to Zwentibald being the godfather to Arnulf's own son.[83] Despite the early truce that Arnulf and Zwentibald seemed to have had, by 891 relations had begun to deteriorate.[84] In both 892 and 893 Arnulf led large scale campaigns into Moravia that were recorded by contemporary sources. The Bavarian annalist emphasizes Arnulf's military power by noting how he ordered three armies to invade Moravia because Zwentibald "in his usual manner refused to come to the king, he spoke falsely about the faith [to the king] and all he had promised previously."[85] In doing so, the annalist may have been comparing Arnulf to Louis the German, who is

[83] On this see Chapter Two, pp. 80-82.

[84] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 890, p. 134 claims that Arnulf gave Zwentibald command of the Bohemians, which made Zwentibald arrogant and prompted him to rebel. MacLean, *History and Politics*, p. 207, n. 390 suggests the "rebellion" took place in 892. On the reasoning for the truce see Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars*, pp. 217-224. Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 891, p. 137 reports the "insolence of the Slavs" (*insolentiam Sclavorum*). Diplomacy continued in 891 however, see Hansmartin Schwarzmaier, "Ein Brief der Markgrafen Aribo am König über die Verhältnisse in Mähren," *FMSt* 6 (1972): 55-66, text at 57 and *AF* (B), s.a. 891, p. 119.

[85] *AF* (B), s.a. 892, p. 121: *sed ille more solito ad regem venire rennuit, fidem et omnia ante promissa mentitus est*. See also Wolfram, *Arnulf,* p. 24.

noted to have sent out three armies in 858 and 869.[86] The campaign was evidently successful as the annalist describes the region having been devastated by fire.[87] The following year Arnulf again led an army into Moravia, where "the greater part of that region was plundered."[88] Like the victory at Leuven, the success of these campaigns in 892 and 893 may have further established Arnulf's reputation as a seasoned and successful military commander, as he was now following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather who had forced the submission of the Slavic peoples along the frontier. Indeed Carloman was similarly noted to have "devastated the kingdom of Zwentibald, nephew of Rastiz, with fire and sword."[89]

Carloman had a reputation for being a warrior: one of Arnulf's charters for St. Gall notes his father was "always occupied in the pursuance of wars" and Regino in his *Chronicon* would likewise praise him because he was not just "devoted to the religion of the Christians" but also because "he fought many battles with [his] father, and more without [his] father in the kingdom of the Slavs and always brought back the triumph of victory."[90] For Regino this was part of his goal in painting the East

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[86] *AF*, s.a. 858, p. 49: *tres exercitus*; *AF*, s.a. 869, p. 68: *in tres partes divisit exercitum*. Reuter views this as a reflection of East Frankish military power, see Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda*, s.a. 892, p. 123,. n. 4. This was a long-standing Carolingian tradition however: compare to Louis the Pious sending three armies against Liudwit: *ARF*, s.a. 820, p. 152: *tres exercitus*. It is also referenced in the Astronomer's *Vita Hludowici*, p. 398: *trina partitione divise*. The *Annales Fuldenses* also references it, *AF*, s.a. 820, p. 21.

[87] *AF* (B), s.a. 892, p. 121: *omnem illam regionem incendio devastandam versabatur*.

[88] *AF* (B), s.a. 893, p. 122: *maxima parte illius regionis expoliata*.

[89] *AF*, s.a. 869, p. 69: *Carlmannus regnum Zuentibaldi nepotis Rastizi igne et gladio depopula(ba)tur*.

[90] D A 103: *patre nostro Karlomanno semper in bellorum procinctu occupato*; Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, p. 116: *christianae religioni deditus...Plurima quippe bella cum patre, pluriora sine patre in regnis Sclavorum gessit semperque victoriae triumphum reportavit*.

Frankish Carolingians in a morally and politically superior light.[91] The Moravians had posed an issue for East Frankish rulers since the late 850s when Rastiz successfully defended the realm from Frankish invasion.[92] By the 870s Moravia, under Rastiz and Zwentibald, had evolved into a rival power to East Francia in the region, and became a troublesome adversary for Arnulf and his East Frankish predecessors.[93] If Zwentibald's actions in the 870s and 880s threatened the idea of Carolingian overlordship on the frontier, then Arnulf's victories in 892 and 893 may have reasserted Carolingian supremacy.[94] Further, these campaigns gave Arnulf an opportunity to reward loyal supporters, providing another method for integrating people into Arnulf's reign. For instance, the Saxon count Ekbert, who traveled with the king during the 892 campaign, received a grant before the expedition and again after, presumably as recognition for the service he had provided to the king.[95] Bringing Saxon troops on this campaign emphasizes the seriousness of the moment, as well as Arnulf's ability to mobilize the Saxon elite. Organizing the various components of the royal host further demonstrates how Arnulf's training along the frontier had provided him with effective military skills.

Some of this hostility may have been driven by Zwentibald himself, as he is portrayed negatively in contemporary sources. When Zwentibald died in 894 the Bavarian annalist celebrated because Zwentibald was "the scabbard of all faithlessness, with all the regions near to him having been

[91] See Goldberg and MacLean, "Royal Marriage," pp. 118-120.

[92] *AF*, s.a. 855, pp. 45-46 reports that the Frankish campaign only had limited success due to Moravian fortifications.

[93] Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars*, pp. 187-216 esp. pp. 208-216. On what kind of polity Zwentibald ruled see Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 24-25.

[94] Arnulf granted several charters in 892 and 893 involving the frontier, see DD A 97, 98, 109, and 120.

[95] DD A 102 and 106.

disturbed by [his] deceit and cunning, he wandered thirsty for human blood, finally urging his men, not to be lovers of peace, but rather [that] they remain enemies to our countrymen [*domesticis*]."[96] It seems that Zwentibald's death caused the Bohemians to return to Frankish overlordship, as the *duces* of the Bohemians came to Arnulf at Regensburg and surrendered themselves to him "as is custom."[97] Also after Zwentibald's death Arnulf received envoys from the Abodrites seeking peace.[98] In 898 and 899 Arnulf would lead one final campaign into Moravia, in part because Arbo's son Isanrich had stirred up a feud between the two Moravian sons of Zwentibald. The Bavarian annalists notes that Isanrich was "carrying out his tyranny without cessation against the king."[99] Yet after Zwentibald's death in 894, however, it seems that Moravian invasions of East Francia largely ceased. This is not to say that the frontier could be ignored, as Hungarians raided across the Danube in 894.[100] In 896 Arnulf tasked the *dux* Brazlavo with guarding Pannonia in case of Hungarian invasion and in 897 he moved troops to the banks of the Danube in case they were needed.[101] The end result, then, was that after the

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[96] *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 125: *Zwentibaldus, dux Maravorum et vagina totius perfidiae, cum omnes regiones sibi affines dolo et astucia perturbando humanum sanguinem siciens circumiret, ultimum hortando suos, ne pacis amatores, sed pocius inimici domesticis persisterent, diem ultimum clausit infeliciter.* Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 129 translates the term *domesticis* as "neighbors." *Domesticis* could have a more specialized role, but that does not seem to be the sense here, see Charles Du Cange et al., eds., *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, vol. 3 (L. Favre, 1883), col. 160a, "Domesticus." Charlton T. Lewis, *An Elementary Latin Dictionary* (American Book Company, 1890)*: Domesticis* is an adjective derived from *domus* that can have the sense of "private," "internal" or "of their own country." The annalist is probably using it in this sense.

[97] *AF* (B), s.a. 895, p. 126: *prout mos est*.

[98] *AF* (B), s.a. 895, p. 126.

[99] *AF* (B), s.a. 899, p. 133: *Interim autem Isanricus tyrannidem suam sine cessatione contra regem exercens*. This is further discussed in Chapter Seven, pp. 347-348.

[100] *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 125.

[101] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 130; *AF* (B), s.a. 897, p. 131.

campaigns of 892/893 and Zwentibald's death in 894, frontier conflicts took on a very different tone and form, often against new rivals, the Hungarians.

The victory over the Moravians in 892/893 may have provided an opportunity for Arnulf to replace several magnates with his own preferred choices, similar to how in the aftermath of Leuven Arnulf installed Hatto as archbishop. In 893 Arnulf deposed the *marchio* of Bavaria, Engelschalk II. In Chapter Two I discussed the role of Engelschalk II in Arnulf's rise to power. From the 870s to the late 880s we can find Engelschalk as part of Arnulf's court.[102] The *Annales Fuldenses* provides the only substantial account of the Wilhelminer's downfall in 893. Apparently Engelschalk had kidnapped Arnulf's daughter and was living in exile in Moravia, but eventually found his way back to court where he was made margrave.[103] This abduction was a particularly grave threat to royal authority: Hincmar wrote a treatise on how preventing *raptus* was the moral responsibility of the king.[104] Then, as the annalist tells it, Engelschalk angered the leading men of Bavaria and, by their judgment, was blinded at Regensburg.[105] Arnulf was at Regensburg between May 31st and June 23rd, which gives us a timeframe

[102] On the argument for the 870s see Chapter Two, p. 86; He appears as an intercessor in D A 109 (889).

[103] On the potential identity of this daughter, Ellinrat, see Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 100-101.

[104] See Joye, "Family Order," pp. 191-193.

[105] The annalist leaves out, however, when exactly Engelschalk was in exile, but he appears in witness lists from 889 to 891. The local charters are Widemann, *Die Tradionen*, nos. 133 (888/889), 139 (889-891), 141 (889-891), 147 (889-891), and 160 (889-891). He appears in two of Arnulf's charters, DD A 64 and 109. For Reuter's comments see *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 125, n. 2. This presents two potential options: first, as Reuter suggested, that Engelschalk was exiled early in Arnulf's reign and his appearance in an 889 royal charter comes after the reconciliation, or second, that Engelschalk was exiled sometime between 891 and 893 (when he was blinded). In the former case, it seems odd that the annalist chooses to note the exile in 893 and not earlier, as they do for other figures who were stripped of *honores* such as Poppo in 892, *AF* (B), s.a. 892, p. 122. In the latter scenario it may have been that Engelschalk's return infringed on the power that other magnates had built up in his absence, which precipitated his downfall, see Mitterauer, *Karolingische Markgrafen*, p. 181 and Reuter's comments, *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 125, n. 3.

for Engelschalk's blinding.[106] His punishment set off a wave of retribution as William, Engelschalk's cousin, was beheaded while Engelschalk's brother was killed in Moravia.[107] Yet there are several features of the *Annales Fuldenses'* account that suggest it was not an aristocratic feud but a more direct challenge to Arnulf's authority. First, there is the claim that Engelschalk's cousin William was "held guilty of treason."[108] Second, Engelschalk himself was blinded, according to the annalist, because he "incautiously proceeded to the royal palace without having been presented to the king."[109] Blinding was a contentious issue in the early Middle Ages, in both the Carolingian and Byzantine realms, but it served to reinforce the king's authority as the only legitimate source of authority and, as Bührer-Thierry argued, blinding enemies "demonstrated that they had been cast forever into the world of darkness, incapable at one and the same time of seeing the king who radiated splendor and of reflecting the portion of brightness that had once been confided to them."[110] William's actions (sending messengers to Zwentibald in Moravia) would suggest that there was some type of plot between him and Zwentibald. Engelschalk had recently been in exile there, so it is possible that there was a more

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[106] DD A 115-117.

[107] *AF* (B), s.a. 893, p. 122; The brother's name was presumably Ruodpert, the entry in the *Annales Alemannici cont. Rinaugiensis*, s.a. 893, p. 98 notes that "William had been killed, Engelschalk was blinded, Ruodpert was killed": *Wilhelm occisus, Engilschalh obcecatur, Ruodpertus occiditur*. This Ruodpert is probably the same one who appears in DD A 63 and 109. Krah, "Bayern," p. 15 argues that Ruodpert is actually the son of Wilhelm II making him Engelschalk's cousin. Mitterauer, *Karolingische Markgrafen*, pp. 166-169 and pp. 180-181 views him as Engelschalk II's brother.

[108] *AF* (B), s.a. 893, p. 122: *reus maiestatis habebantur*.

[109] *AF* (B), s.a. 893, p. 122: *Radaspona urbe incaute palatium regis prolapsus nec regi presentatus*.

[110] See Geneviève Bührer-Thierry, ""Just Anger" or "Vengeful Anger"? The Punishment of Blinding in the Early Medieval West," in *Anger's Past: the Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara Rosenwein (Cornell University Press, 1998), p. 87.

general plot involving the Wilhelminer and the Moravian *dux*. Indeed Engelschalk's brother Ruodpert was in exile in Moravia in 893, but was killed by Zwentibald.

This affair could perhaps be understood as Engelschalk getting both too close to the levers of power and too friendly with Zwentibald, prompting a reaction from other Bavarian elites. Yet Engelschalk seems to have had a limited role in Arnulf's charters, suggesting that it was not a case of monopolizing access to the ruler.[111] Engelschalk's abduction of Arnulf's daughter suggests that he had grander ambitions than simply being a frontier magnate, but actively wanted to tie himself into the royal line. His actions in 893 could be interpreted as a plot against Arnulf himself, and his "incautious" entrance to the palace was part of such an effort. William and Ruodpert were meant to secure Moravian support for such an action, but when the plot failed Zwentibald executed Ruodpert. A charter granted by Arnulf in October, after the king led a campaign against Zwentibald, seems to hint at the severity of this plot. Arnulf granted to Kremsmünster "on account of the guilt of infidelity of certain people, which was carried out against us, certain things which had been returned into our public power, that is whatever the brothers, counts William and Engelschalk, namely at one time the vigorous *terminales* [boundary commanders or counts] and coheirs of their sons and descendants, held."[112] Instead of identifying the sons and descendants, the charter instead references two Wilhelminer that had been dead for over twenty years. Like other confiscations, this charter is

[111] Engelschalk only appears in two charters, DD A 64 (from 889) and 109 (undated).

[112] D A 120: *quasdam res iuris nostri ob quorundam infidelitatis contra nos perpetrate reatum in nostram publice ditionem redactas, id est quicquid Uuillihelmus et Engilscalchus germani fratres comites videlicet quondam strenui terminales vel coheredes filii ac posteri eorum…habuerunt*. That the charter calls them brothers indicates it cannot be the William and Engelschalk involved in 893 because they were cousins.

somewhat vague on the specifics, but it is clearly hinting at something directed at the king, *contra nos*.[113] In naming the former counts the charter sets up a contrast between them and their, supposedly, rebellious descendants. It is no surprise that the land (in Mautern, Kamp, and Perschling) was granted to Kremsmünster, whose abbot Snelpero had been an early supporter of Arnulf.[114] Further, Arnulf left Regensburg to travel to Mautern in August 893, perhaps as a way of demonstrating his power after Engelschalk's downfall.[115] Whatever the exact nature of the events in 893 it was *not* simply about elite access to the king, as Mitterauer suggested, but a broader threat to Arnulf's power.[116] Arnulf's expedition to Moravia in 893 was not to punish Zwentibald for his killing of Ruodpert, but for his plotting with the Wilhelminer. As we will see below, Arnulf chose to replace Engelschalk with another Bavarian magnate, Engildeo, who himself would be removed from office in 895. Arnulf was here following a familiar path: drawing on a pool of trusted supporters which he then installed in important political offices throughout the kingdom.

The events of 893 therefore capped off a tumultuous period that began in late 891 or early 892 when Zwentibald "in his usual custom refused to come to the king, and lied about his faith and everything promised before."[117] Zwentibald likely tried to recruit some Frankish elites to his cause along the frontier because in February 892 Arnulf confiscated land at Rohrbach in the Traungau from

[113] Reading it in the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century, the Kremsmünster monk Bernard would note that the land of "two counts" was granted "because they offended the royal majesty.", see *Cremifanensis Historiae*, ed. George Waitz, MGH SS 25 (Hahn, 1880), p. 668: *Item in quinto quicquid duo comites habuerant...quia offenderant regiam maiestatem*.

[114] DD A 7, 8, 21, and 44 date to 888 and 889.

[115] D A 117 was granted at Regensburg, D A 118 at Mautern, then D A 119 again at Regensbug. D A 120 names some of the Wilhelminer lands as located at Mautern.

[116] See above, n. 105.

Thiethard. According to the charter Thiethard "had become an apostate and plundered our kingdom and our *fideles*."[118] The Traungau was located in Upper Austria, which was also where Kremsmünster and its abbot Snelpero (who later received the confiscated Wilhelminer lands in 893) held land.[119] In this case the confiscated land was going to the monastery of St. Florian, located northwest of Kremsmünster along the Traun river. This, combined with the date of the charter suggests that Zwentibald's actions and Thiethard's disloyalty was connected. Referring to Thiethard as an apostate is curious, because we do not have specific information about his crimes beyond that he seemingly plundered the kingdom.[120] Thiethard going to Moravia would not have been terribly unusual; the Moravian court proved a semi-safe refuge for East Frankish dissidents at several points in the ninth century.[121] At the same time Moravian ambassadors could ask Arnulf not to accept exiles at his court.[122]

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[117] *AF* (B), s.a. 892, p. 121: *ille more solito ad regem venire rennuit, fidem et omnia ante promissa mentitus est*. The meeting was supposed to take place after Christmas.

[118] D A 97: *quia ille apostata factus est et regnum ac fideles nostros depredavit*.

[119] DD A 7 and 8. It also appears in DD A 13, 134, and 152.

[120] It is unlikely, however, that Thiethard would have been a welcome ally to Zwentibald if he was in fact an apostate, as Zwentibald was a Christian: in 890 the pope relayed a message to Arnulf through Zwentibald, *AF* (B), s.a. 890, pp. 118-119. Apostate may mean that he was a monk and had now given up his vows to return to the secular world, see Du Cange, *Glossarium*, vol. 1 (L. Favre, 1883), col. 317c, "Apostare." See also MGH Conc. V, no. 39, p. 357 for an example of this use at the Synod of Tribur in 895. For an earlier Carolingian example see Hincmar, *Opusculum LV capitulorum*, ed. Rudolf Schieffer, MGH Conc. 4, *Supplementum* 2 (Hahn, 2003), c. 24, p. 245. Perhaps the most compelling answer is that oaths were often sworn on relics, so breaking loyalty to the ruler was also in effect breaking a religious vow. Arnulf had sworn an oath on a piece of the True Cross, see *AF* (M), s.a. 887, p. 106. I owe this suggestion to Eric Goldberg.

[121] Gundachar in the 860s went to Rastiz after being exiled, *AF*, s.a. 869, pp. 67-68; Engelschalk and his brother were exiles in Moravia, see above; Erambert, who we saw in Chapter Two, is captured in 898 and brought back to court, *AF* (B), s.a. 898, p. 132; Arbo's son Isanrich would flee there in 899 after having been besieged at Mautern, *AF* (B), s.a. 899, p. 133.

[122] *AF* (B), s.a. 897, p. 130.

In one case Arnulf benefited from these cross-border exchanges by securing the services of Wiching, the bishop of Nitra. Wiching had been a member of Zwentibald's court, chosen by him to travel to Rome to meet with the pope in 880.[123] By 891, however, Wiching was chosen by Arnulf as an ambassador to Zwentibald's court.[124] Wiching would have brought a wealth of information to court not only about Moravia, but also Zwentibald. With relations between Moravia and East Francia breaking down in 892 and further in 893, this information would only increase in value. It is precisely in 893 when he appears as *cancellarius* in a charter for the first time.[125] The cases of Thiethard and Wiching highlight the fluidity of political relationships between Moravia and East Francia. Thiethard also demonstrates the challenge Arnulf faced in maintaining loyalty and why he may have sought to install more trusted supporters into frontier positions. In Wiching's case it highlights how political fortunes could change rapidly. It also shows how Arnulf often reacted to political circumstances by choosing when and who to elevate to new positions within the kingdom.

Monumental Events: Assemblies and Synods:

After the success of his campaigns into Moravia, Arnulf would invade Italy in 894. Upon his return he would hold an assembly at Worms. Regino is the only source to record that Arnulf attempted to make his illegitimate son Zwentibald king of Lotharingia at this assembly, but the elites

[123] John VIII, *Registrum Iohannis VIII. papae*, ed. Erich Caspar, MGH Epp. 7 (Weidmannos, 1928), no. 255, p. 223.

[124] Schwarzmaier, "Ein Brief der Markgrafen Aribo," p. 57. See Peter Ratkoš, "Die Bedeutung des Graf-Aribo-Briefes an König Arnulf aus dem Jahre 891 (Das Inhalts- und Datierungsproblem)," *Studia historica Slovaca (Bratislava)* 12 (1982).

[125] D A 119.

did not agree and the plan was shelved.[126] In Chapter Three I discussed the earlier resistance to Arnulf's efforts to have Zwentibald recognized in 889 as an heir.[127] One of the compromises in 889 was that they would accept Zwentibald so long as Arnulf did not have a legitimate son, but that happened when Arnulf's son Louis was born in 893.[128] Perhaps Arnulf overestimated his own position in 894, not anticipating the resistance to Zwentibald becoming king. Regardless, this assembly at Worms in 894, then, seems to have attempted to display Arnulf's superiority not just over Lotharingia, but also West Francia, Italy, and Burgundy.[129] Following successful victories in Lotharingia, Italy, and Moravia, it also highlighted Arnulf's role as a successful military leader. The resumption of large-scale assemblies at this moment likely indicates Arnulf's growing confidence in his own position both within East Francia (having somewhat reorganized the political elite in the wake of the downfall of Poppo, Megingoz, and Engelschalk) but also perhaps within the Carolingian world more broadly, as he saw fit to intervene in West Francia and Italy.

Trouble soon reappeared, however, and Arnulf's charters reflect this: he issued only three charters between the assembly in June 894 and the Synod of Tribur in May 895, two in August 894 and one in January 895.[130] The Bavarian continuation of the *Annales Fuldenses* notes a famine in Bavaria that killed many people.[131] Not only that but "Engildeo, the *marchio* of the Bavarians, was

[126] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 894, p. 142.

[127] See Chapter Three, pp. 102-104.

[128] *AF* (B), s.a. 889, p. 118; *AF* (B), s.a. 893, p. 122.

[129] On this context see Chapter Five, pp. 235-244.

[130] DD A 129 and 130 for St. Gall, D A 131 was granted on January 1st.

[131] *AF* (B), s.a. 895, p. 125.

deprived of [his] *honores*."[132] At the same time Hildegard, the daughter of Louis the Younger and therefore Arnulf's cousin, was deprived of her "royal possessions" and imprisoned.[133] The fates of Hildegard and Engildeo were connected, as they are both identified in a May 895 charter as having seized land belonging to Megingoz, a vassal of the bishop of Eichstätt "with the fraud of an evil trick."[134] The *arenga* of this charter expresses the king's devotion to his subjects and his desire to place them into royal service:

> If we are devoted to the active and illustrious men in the kingdom, which has been given to us by God, something concerning our responsibility of munificence and generosity, we believe that we are repaid with that eternal reward and will place them [the faithful men] more quickly into our service and fidelity with our grant.[135]

Further, the charter later relates that Arnulf was "recollecting a certain faithlessness of her our niece, who attempted to plot against us and our kingdom."[136] It is possible that Hildegard had been in conflict with Luitpold, Engildeo's replacement: a late-ninth century text seemingly alludes to Hildegard's imprisonment in a monastery "on account of [her] speech with the most famous count Luitpold."[137]

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[132] *AF* (B), s.a. 895, p. 125: *Engildio marchensis Baioariorum honoribus privatus est*.

[133] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 894, p. 142: *regiis possessionibus*. The *Annnales Fuldenses* notes Hildegard lost her *publicis honoribus* immediately after noting Engildeo's deposition, *AF* (B), s.a. 895, p. 125. On Hildegard see Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 106-107.

[134] Megingoz had originally received the land there in D A 86. D A 132: *fraude mali ingenii*.

[135] D A 132: *Si strenuis atque illustribus viris in regno a deo nobis conlato aliquid de pietate nostro munificencie et largicionis inpendimus, a remuneratione perpetuo illud nobis recompensari veracissime credimus eosque nostra concessione prompciores in nostro servicio ac fidelitate fore statuimus*.

[136] D A 132: *reminscentes quoque infidelitatis eiusdem neptis nostre, qua contra nos et regnum nostrum est machinare conata*.

[137] Wolfhard, *Miracula S. Walburgae Manheimensis*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS 15, no. 1 (Hahn, 1887), p. 553: *Accidit preterea quodam tempore, ut Hildegarda domina, pacifici regis Hludowici filia,*

Yet none of this exactly explains *why* this happened or Engildeo's role in the plot. Engildeo had been an important magnate since the 870s, and appears in a few of Arnulf's charters in 889 and 890.[138] Bowlus argues that Engildeo was one of the men responsible for the downfall of the Wilhelminer in 893 as a way of increasing his own status.[139] It is possible that Engildeo continued to seek ways to increase his power and authority, and in 895 these attempts, joined by Hildegard, may have crossed the line by infringing on the rights of Eichstätt's vassal Megingoz. Not only did the bishop of Eichstätt appear in several of Arnulf's charters, the dispossessed land had originally been granted by Arnulf to Megingoz.[140] As such these actions also undermined Arnulf's authority as king, which he could not tolerate. Yet it is also worth considering that a Carolingian daughter was involved in both Engelschalk's and Engildeo's cases. This suggests, perhaps, that Arnulf was, like his predecessors, keenly aware of the importance of Carolingian daughters and was interested in policing the boundaries of the royal family.[141]

The Bavarian annalist notes that Arnulf replaced Engildeo with "a relative of the king" named Luitpold.[142] Luitpold was a Carinthian count who was born around 860, making him about ten years

orationis causa cum Liutpoldo famosissimo comite ad iam dictum monasterium deveniret. On this see also Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 125-126.

[138] D Ca 18; DD A 52 (for his nephew Gotahelm) and 75. On him and his family see Mitterauer, *Karolingische Markgrafen*, pp. 169-175. On Engildeo see Wolfram, *Arnulf*, p. 127.

[139] Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars*, pp. 286-290.

[140] Erchanbold appears as an intercessor in DD A 18, 52, 72, and 135. Megingoz received the land in D A 86.

[141] See Janet L. Nelson, "Women at the Court of Charlemagne: a Case of Monstrous Regiment?" in *The Frankish World, 750-900*, ed. Janet L. Nelson (Hambledon Press, 1996), pp. 223-242. See also Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 260-272.

[142] *AF* (B), s.a. 895, p. 125: *Luitpoldus nepos regis*.

younger than Arnulf.[143] He was Arnulf's relative, seemingly through the count Rudolf of Ponthieu, who was the brother of Emma, Louis the German's wife and Arnulf's grandmother.[144] Historians have often understood Luitpold as taking over as margrave in Carinthia after the fall of Engelschalk II and his brother Ruodpert in 893.[145] Taking over the *honores* of Engelschalk II, Ruodpert, and Engildeo, would have made Luitpold an extremely powerful figure. He would retain this power under Louis the Child, and was the leader of the East Frankish army that was destroyed at the Battle of Pressburg in 907.[146] Luitpold himself never received a charter from Arnulf, but he was influential enough, as an intercessor, to secure charters for five different individuals between 895 and 899.[147] That is, before 895 Luitpold was not very influential in terms of political access but after acquiring the *honores* in 893 and 895, Luitpold was able to use this influence to secure patronage for his own men. We should see this as part of a broader trend of Arnulf installing trusted supporters into key positions (such as Hatto in 891/892). Perhaps Luitpold and Arnulf had a longer, and now obscured, connection dating back to

[143] See Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars*, pp. 314-316.

[144] On this family and working out these details see Mitterauer, *Karolingische Markgrafen*, pp. 227-246. Ernst Dümmler, *Geschichte des östfrankischen Reiches*, vol. 3 (Duncker & Humblot, 1888), p. 394 believed he was related through Arnulf's mother Liutswind. This is also the position taken in Kurt Reindel, *Die bayerischen Luitpoldinger, 893-989* (Beck, 1953), genealogical table before p. 1. Wolfram, *Arnulf*, p. 124 suggests a connection to Arnulf's mother Liutswind as well.

[145] See Mitterauer, *Karolingische Markgrafen*, p. 237. Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars*, p. 316. Dümmler, *Geschichte*, p. 394. For the argument see Reindel, *Die bayerischen Luitpoldinger*, pp. 3-5.

[146] DD LC 9, 12, 19, 20, 26, 27, 28, 31, 39, 42, 44, 53. On the battle see Adalbert's continuation of Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 907, p. 154.

[147] DD A 138, 148, 162, 168, and 173. One of Luitpold's *fideles* who petitioned Arnulf in D A 138 then later shows up in D A 175.

their collective experiences in Carinthia in the 870s and 880s. Indeed Luitpold had a son of his own named Arnulf, who was likely named after the king.[148]

With the installation of Luitpold, Arnulf seems to have regained control over the frontier, and now called for the most monumental event of his reign: the Synod of Tribur. Tribur was a royal palace where Louis the German held several assemblies in the 870s, situating the synod in a royal setting.[149] This synod, held in May 895, left an enduring legacy for canon law in the tenth century and beyond, but it had more immediate, and political, reasons as well.[150] The Bavarian annalist cast it as a kingdom-wide event bringing together "twenty-six bishops from the whole of Lotharingia, Saxony, Bavaria and Alemannia."[151] Regino suggests that the synod was also aimed against "the many laymen who were trying to diminish episcopal authority."[152] Three archbishops presided over the synod, Hatto of Mainz, Hermann of Cologne, and Ratbod of Trier.[153] Christopher Carroll has noted that this synod was unusual in terms of Carolingian church councils because of how the canons seem not to rely on

[148] On the significance of the name see Airlie, "The Nearly Men."

[149] *AF,* s.a. 871, p. 73; *AF*, s.a. 874, p. 82; twice in 875: *AF*, s.a. 875, pp. 83-84; Thomas Zotz, "Ludwig der Deutsche und seine Pfalzen: Königliche Herrschaftspraxis in der Formierungsphase des Ostfränkischen Reiches," in *Ludwig der Deutsche und seine Zeit*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004), p. 40. It was also where the Mainz annalist claims Arnulf met Charles with an army and overthrew him in 887, *AF* (M), s.a. 887, p. 106.

[150] It survives in a fair number of manuscripts from the tenth and eleventh centuries, Wilfried Hartmann, "La transmission et l'influence du droit synodal carolingien," trans. Jean-Marie Moeglin, *RHDF* 63 (1985): esp. 494-495. See also Hartmann's introduction to the canons, MGH Conc. V, no. 39, pp. 324-341; Jörg Lehn. "Die Synoden zu Mainz (888) und Tribur (895): Ihre Bedeutung für das Verhältnis Arnulfs von Kärnten zum ostfränkischen Episkopat im ausgehenden 9. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte* 13 (1987) looked at the synod specifically for the relationship between Arnulf and the East Frankish church.

[151] *AF* (B), s.a. 895, p. 126: *de toto Hlotharico regno, Saxonia, Baioaria et Alamannia in Francia XX et VI episcopis*.

[152] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 895, p. 143: *contra plerosque seculares, qui auctoritatem episcopalem inminuere temptabant*.

patristic texts or past Merovingian/Carolingian synodal decrees. However, the canons drew extensively on biblical precedents as well as older church councils such as Chalcedon and Nicea, two councils presided over by Roman emperors.[154] Carroll furthermore suggests that Arnulf was seeking to present himself in an "imperial" manner by holding such an expansive synod.[155] Yet Carroll does not fully explore this imperial presentation because he was more interested in the usage of the sources in the canons than the presentation of Arnulf.[156] In looking at Arnulf's presentation in the canons we can see a more expansive conception of his kingship that is quasi-imperial. Both Regino and the Bavarian annalist stress how the synod reached decisions important for Christianity, and set them down for posterity. Carroll noted that they succeeded in their goals, because the canons for Tribur were widely preserved and circulated after the synod.[157] The longest, the so-called *Vulgata* version, was likely produced at the synod and has been discussed in depth by both Pokorny and Carroll.[158]

The prologue of the *Vulgata* presents Arnulf as having called the synod because his "heart burned with the fire of the Holy Spirit and wished to stir up the fervor of divine love so that the whole

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[153] In 870 Louis the German also held a synod, presided over by Liutbert of Mainz, Bertulf of Trier, and Willibert of Cologne, see *AF,* s.a. 870, p. 72.

[154] MGH Conc. V, no. 39, p. 345 and p. 357.

[155] Christopher Carroll, "The Last Great Carolingian Church Council: the Tribur Synod of 895," *Annuariam historiae conciliorum* 33 (2001).

[156] He touches on this briefly, see Carroll, "The Last Great Carolingian Church Council," pp. 23-24 as representing Arnulf's desire for a reform program.

[157] Carroll, "The Last Great Carolingian Church Council," pp. 9-10.

[158] See Carroll, "The Last Great Carolingian Church Council," and Rudolf Pokorny, "Die drei Versionen der Triburer Synodalakten von 895," *DA* 48 (1992); some of the canons from the *Vulgata* may have been added later, at Freising, see Ubl, "Bischöfe und Laien," pp. 148-152; see also Phillippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 51-53.

world would learn neither from man nor through man, but through the Lord himself that he is chosen."[159] The canons also intricately entwine royal and spiritual authority, highlighting Arnulf as a participant in the proceedings themselves:

> When the most wise king decreed the sacred council to be continued, it pleased him and the whole clergy, that having completed a three day's fast, they encouraged the flowing help from heaven above them with litanies and prayers, just as the savior ascending into heaven promised his disciples, saying: *Look I am with you all days until the end of time*[160]; so that future councils should be started in Him and being finished through Him, who is the beginning and the end and the reinforcements of law, as the apostle writing to the Romans said: *For Christ is the end of law for righteousness to everyone who believes.*[161] Therefore having completed [this], proceeding to the royal palace he sat on the throne, having put on the most splendid garments, which wisdom weaves, and full of prudence, upright and strong, on account of his greatness he was accompanied by a crowd, practicing [his] practical skill concerning the state of the kingdom and [his] theoretical skill concerning the order and stability of the churches of Christ, and just as good men should live quietly, bad men should not sin unpunished.[162]

The procession to the palace establishes Arnulf as one of the central figures of the synod.[163] Using Greek words in the canons would have served to reinforce this quasi-imperial impression of the king.[164] It is possible contemporaries would have understood Arnulf's role as something analogous to Constantine's role at the Council of Nicea. Constantine, and the Council of Nicaea, had been a

[159] MGH Conc. V, no. 39, p. 343: *cuius cor sancti spiritus ardore inflammare et zelo divini amoris voluit accendere, ut totus cognoscat mundus non ab homine neque per hominem, sed per ipsum dominum eum esse electum.*

[160] Matthew 28:20.

[161] Romans 10:4.

[162] MGH Conc. V, no. 39, p. 343: *Cum autem sapientissimus rex concilium sacrum continuari decrevisset, placuit sibi et universo clero, ut peracto triduano ieiunio, letaniis et orationibus super se de caelis promissum invitarent adiutorium, sicut ipse salvator ascendens in cęlum discipulis suis promisit dicens:* Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi; *ut futura concilia in ipso inchoarentur et per ipsum finirentur, qui est initium et finis et supplementum legis, ut apostolus Romanis scribens ait:* Finis enim legis Christus ad iustitiam omni credenti. *Quo peracto pergens ad palatium regale, sedit solium indutus veste splendidissima, quam texit sapientia, repletus est prudentia, erectus et potentia, pro sua magnitudine stipatus multitudine, tractans ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΗ de statu regni et ΘΕΩΡΤΙΚΗ de ordine et stabilitate ecclesiarum Christi, et qualiter boni quiete viverent, et mali inulte non peccarent*.

[163] McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 371-375 highlights how Carolingian *adventus* ceremonies took on liturgical meaning in the early-ninth century that also served to place the king within a liturgical context.

feature of Frechulf of Lisieux's *Histories* for educating the young Charles the Bald.[165] Indeed we can find in Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* a similar depiction of the emperor entering the council "decorated with the dazzling brilliance of gold and precious stones" while also emphasizing that he "was clearly adorned with fear and reverence for God."[166] The presentation of Arnulf as involved in the proceedings establishes him not simply as an observer, but as the one who was actually safeguarding both "the state of the kingdom" and "the order and stability of the church." Indeed the canons situate the proceedings in the "royal villa, that is, Tribur, located in the land of the Franks, with bishops enrolled below [referring to the names listed later], abbots, counts and all the leaders of his kingdom and with the fitting crowd of churchmen and a countless crowd of non-churchmen."[167] This was thus a grand, and kingdom-wide, undertaking that involved both the clerical and non-clerical elites of the kingdom. By holding the synod at Tribur, a royal site, it made Arnulf the host and caused the elites to come to him,

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[164] These Greek words may be drawing on the works of John Cassian, who wrote in his *Conferences* the words of the abbot Nestor, who drew a distinction between the practical, which is the removal of faults and purification, and the theoretical, which is the contemplation of the Divine. A ninth-century copy of this text survives at St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 576, p. 71, accessible here: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0576. It may also be drawing on Boethius' *Consolatio*, in book one which describes the garment of philosophy woven with the Greek letters Π and Θ. See Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, and S.J. Tester, Loeb Classical Library 74 (Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 132-133. This passage is glossed with the same words as used in the canons in a late ninth-century St. Gall manuscript now in Naples: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. IV.G.68, fol. 5v, accessible here: https://digital.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:/21198/zz00294sdx.

[165] See Graeme Ward, "Lessons in Leadership: Constantine and Theodosius in Frechulf of Lisieux's *Histories*," in *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe*, eds. Clemens Gantner et al. (Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 70-83.

[166]Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, trans. Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall, Life of Constantine (Clarendon Press, 1999), III.10, p. 125.

[167]MGH Conc. V, no. 39, p. 343: *in villam regiam, videlicet Triburiam in terra Francorum consistentem, cum episcopis infra conscriptis, abbatibus, comitibus et omnibus regni sui principibus nec non convenientibus ecclesiasticorum et secularium innumeris turbis.*

demonstrating his authority and generosity. Arnulf's involvement was not restricted just to the ceremonial elements, however, but he also appears to have responded to inquiries set out by the bishops. At one point in the prologue they describe Arnulf "as if a theologian."[168] Chapter three is titled *Responsio regis* and is presented from Arnulf's point of view in responding to the bishops, where he notes that:

> Therefore we, to whom the care of the kingdom and the concern of the churches of Christ have been committed, are not able to rule or govern the kingdom by ecclesiastical law, otherwise unless we persecute with the zeal of faith, those who *not having the church of Christ*, confuse the Church which as the apostle said, does not *blemish nor wrinkle.*[169] About whom king David testifies: *Have I not hated them, O Lord, that hated thee: and pine away because of thy enemies? I have hated them with a perfect hatred: and they are become enemies to me*[170]; and when the Gopsel is read, we heard: *If he will not hear you, let him be to you just as a heathen or publican*[171], and by another: *Who strikes evil in him, those who are evil, is the minister of the Lord*.[172] Therefore not showing force, but displaying justice, we order and enjoin by our authority to all the counts of our kingdom, after they are given the punishment of excommunication by the bishops and they nevertheless are not inclined to do penance, that they should be arrested by them [the counts] and so they are brought before us, so that, those who do not fear divine judgments, should be pierced by a human sentence, from which it is said by a certain wise man: *The king, who sits on the throne of judgment, dissipates all evil with his stare*.[173] For if such rebels exist, so that they desire to fight back against their arresters and in such rashness they are killed, by the judgment of the bishops no penance should be imposed on the killers, and by our precept no fine of wergeld should be extorted from them and the neighbors and relatives should be bound by oath, lest they avenge them in this, rather they should keep peace and harmony toward them.[174]

[168]MGH Conc. V, no. 39, p. 343: *theologiam quasi*.

[169] Ephesians 5:27.

[170] Psalms 138: 21-22, translation taken from the Douay-Rheims 1899 American Edition.

[171] See Matthew 18:17.

[172] This is seemingly drawing on Romans 13:4, but is not a direct quote. The editor, n. 22, highlights it as coming from a commentary on Ezechial III.

[173] Proverbs 20:8.

[174] MGH Conc. V, no. 39, p. 346: *Nos igitur, quibus cura regni et sollicitudo ecclesiarum Christi commissa est, aliter regnum et imperium iure ecclesiastico regere et gubernare non possumus, nisi hos, qui* ecclesiam Christi non habentem, *ut apostolus ait,* maculam neque rugam *conturbant, zelo fidei persequamur. De quo rex David testatur*: Nonne, que oderunt te, deus, oderam illos, et super inimicos tabescebam tuos? Perfecto odio oderam illos, inimici facti sunt mihi; *et cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus:* Si te non audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus, *et alibi*: Qui percutit malos in eo, quod mali sunt, minister domini est. *Idcirco non*

Arnulf is telling the counts that they should bring those who are excommunicated but refuse to repent to the king so they can be punished with a "human sentence." At issue was what to do if, when the counts moved to arrest these "rebels" and the rebels were killed, whether the counts should have to do penance or pay a wergeld. It stresses the way in which counts, bishops, and the king all formed part of an interlocking system of authority and justice with the king presiding as judge.[175] Referencing Proverbs 20:8 recalls other uses of the quote in Notker's *Gesta Karoli* and Jonas of Orléans' *De institutione regia.* Notker uses the same quote to indicate Louis the German's greatness as a ruler while Jonas uses it to indicate the proper role of the king in dispensing justice, suggesting the passage may have been a common one in Carolingian political discourse.[176] The emphasis on communal harmony and justice also echoes the last Carolingian capitulary issued at Ver in 884.[177]

The synod in 895, then, was not only a venue for the bishops, but also a venue for promoting royal authority. At the end of the canons the bishops subscribed their names to "this holy and universal

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potentiam ostendentes, sed iustitiam exhibentes praecipimus et auctoritate nostra iniungimus omnibus regni nostri comitibus, postquam ab episcopis anathemate excommunicationis percelluntur et tamen ad poenitendum non inclinantur, ut ab ipsis comprehendantur et ante nos perferenatur, ut, qui divina iudicia non verentur, humana sententia feriantur, unde per quendam sapientem dictum est: Rex, qui sedet in solio iudicii, dissipat omne malum intuitu suo. *Si enim tam rebelles extiterint, ut comprehendentibus repugnare studuerint et in tali temeritate interfecti fuerint, iudicio episcoporum interfectoribus nulla inponatur poenitentia, et praecepto vveregeldi nulla ab eis extorqueatur compositio constringanturque proximi et eorum cognati cum iuramento, ne in illis eos vindicent, sed pacem ad eos et concordiam servent*.

[175] See Roman Deutinger, "Der König als Richter," in *Recht und Gericht in Kirche und Welt um 900*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann (De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2007) on how justice was carried out as a political action by the court.

[176] Notker, *GK*, II.11, p. 70. Jonas, *De institutione regia*, ed. Alain Dubreucq, Le Métier de Roi (Editions du Cerf, 1995), c. 4, p. 200. On Jonas see Hans Hubert Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit* (L. Röhrscheid, 1968), pp. 211-218.

[177] MGH Capit. 2, no. 287, pp. 371-375.

council" that had been aided by "the pious prince, the most glorious king, Arnulf."[178] In presenting it as a universal council it likewise expanded the notion of Arnulf's authority: he was not simply king in East Francia, but his kingship encompassed a much bigger sphere of authority. The bishops themselves shaped this impression in the prologue, and Arnulf's appearance during the synod and in the text serves to heighten his authority as a ruler concerned with the protection of the church. That is, it is taking the idea of kingship as *ministerium* and promoting a view of Arnulf as not just responsible for his own kingdom, but beyond it as well by positioning him in the role of defending the church.[179] This contrasts with the Synod of Mainz in 888 which extolled the legitimacy of Arnulf's kingship.[180] The second chapter is a verbatim copy of a chapter from a synod held at Paris in 829 which lays out "to our glorious lord king Arnulf, why he is king or, if you will, why he ought to be called king."[181] In 888 Arnulf needed to establish his own authority, but in 895 his reign was more secure. Tribur thus represented an argument for an imperial conception of Arnulf's kingship by presenting him as responsible for a broader church than simply within East Francia. More than simply an imperial conception, this was a distinctively Constantinian model. Constantine's presiding over the Council of Nicaea provided a model for later Roman rulers, including Marcian at the Council of Chalcedon.[182]

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[178]MGH Conc. V, no. 39, p. 369: *In hoc sancto et universali concilio presidente et adiuvante pio principe Arnolfo gloriosissimo rege*.

[179] See Chapter Three, n. 159.

[180] MGH Conc. V, no. 26.

[181] MGH Conc. V, no. 26, p. 255: *Ut annuncietur glorioso regi nostro domino Arnulpho, quid sit rex quidve vocari debeat*. On the importance of the 829 synod for the role of bishops in Carolingian society see Patzold, *Episcopus*, esp. pp. 135-168.

[182] On this see Raymond Van Dam, *The Roman Revolution of Constantine* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 352-353. On Constantine, the council, and the construction of the event by late antique authors see

Constantine served as a model for Carolingian rulers, and Arnulf may be drawing on those trends here to present himself as an imperial figure without yet being crowned emperor. Arnulf *would* become emperor the following year, in 896, and the implications of that will be discussed in Chapter Six.

The shaping of this imperial presentation was likely overseen by Arnulf's court. We can find several important members of Arnulf's court either presiding over the synod (Hatto and Ratbod) or in the witness list (bishop Waldo of Freising and bishop Solomon III of Constance) who may have had a role in shaping the content of the canons.[183] Indeed Wilfried Hartmann has laid out how the cathedral libraries of Freising (Waldo) and the monastic libraries of St. Gall (Solomon III) and Reichenau (Hatto) would have been possible sources for the canons.[184]

Arnulf also issued charters during the synod, and in doing so emphasized his royal qualities as well as his "spiritual" ones. One of these was the charter discussed above concerning Hildegard and

Richard Lim, *Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity* (University of California Press, 1995), pp. 182-216. See also Timothy. Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Late Roman Empire* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 120-126.

[183] Carroll notes the importance of Hatto, "Last Great Carolingian Church Council," pp. 19-20; MGH Conc. V, no. 39, p. 369.

[184] Wilfried Hartmann, "Äbte und Mönche als Vermittler von Texten auf karolingischen Synoden," in *Karolingische Klöster: Wissenstransfer und kulturelle Innovation*, eds. Julia Becker, Tino Licht, and Stefan Weinfurter (De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 211-226 at pp. 220-223. That this imperial image was perhaps tailored to the immediate context of the synod is reflected by the fact that Arnulf's involvement is referenced in much briefer detail in the other versions of the canons. For instance material from chapter three, the so-called *responsio regis*, appears in the preface of the Diessensis-Coloniensis manuscripts (MGH Conc. V, no. 39, p. 380), and is integrated into chapter eight of the Catalaunensis manuscripts (MGH Conc. V, no. 39, p. 373). By reworking the section specifically attributed to Arnulf's response into other portions of the canons, it serves to downplay Arnulf's direct role in the synod. This suggests that they may have been important to contemporary, that is late-ninth century, observers because it was reflecting a certain political and cultural moment. That is, at the time of the synod there was a desire to present Arnulf's kingship in such an expanded way, perhaps because of the overlap between these ecclesiastical figures and Arnulf's court, but in the tenth century when political circumstances had changed, the references to Arnulf's involvement were politically unnecessary. Even in the late-ninth century this was not universally accepted: the *Annales Vedastini* does not mention the synod at all, suggesting it was, at most, a particularly East Frankish presentation.

Engildeo's seizure of property. Indeed the charter itself notes that the land was restored "with the council and judgment of the Franks, Bavarians, Saxons and Alemannians, all of our *fideles*."[185] As the next chapter will discuss, ruling over many peoples was a key component of late-ninth century conceptions of empire.[186] The emphasis on Arnulf's justice in the synodal canons may be a reflection of this conflict, and how the synod became a venue not just for discussions of Christian doctrine, but of royal justice. Another charter, granted for St. Emmeram, begins with the bishop of Regensburg, Tuto, bringing a charter to Arnulf for "our gaze."[187] These phrases, along with the fact that they were granted at Tribur, strongly suggest they were done in conjunction with the synod, perhaps as part of larger displays of royal authority such as had been done with charters and assemblies earlier in Arnulf's reign. Many of the archbishops and bishops listed in the canons we have already met: Hatto of Mainz (listed first), Ratbod of Trier, Waldo of Freising, Erchanbold of Eichstätt, Adalbero of Augsburg, and Solomon III of Constance. Further, Adalbero was likely made abbot of Lorsch at the synod.[188] Already in 893 he had baptized Arnulf's son Louis, but he now begins to appear in a series of charters between 895 and 898.[189] As we have seen with Hatto and Luitpold, it was during this period that we begin to see a new group of men with increased status and power at Arnulf's court. Not long after the synod Arnulf traveled to Worms, where like in 894 he would attempt to make Zwentibald king. Unlike in

[185] D A 132: *iudicio Francorum, Bawariorum, Saxonum atque Alamannorum fidelium nostrorum omnibus.*

[186] Chapter Five, pp. 199-212.

[187] D A 134: *obtutibus nostris.*

[188] See Karl Glöckner, ed., *Codex Laureshamensis,* vol. 1 (Historischer Verein für Hessen, 1929), c. 52, p. 334, n. 3 which agrees with Dümmler, *Geschichte*, p. 454, n. 2.

[189] DD A 139, 150, 153, 158, 165, and 166.

894, however, the elites seem to have agreed and Zwentibald became king.[190] Arnulf's ability to gain the elites' support in 895, but not in 894, suggests that his power was now more secure.

The Most Invincible King: The Use of *Invictissimus* in Arnulf's Charters:

We can also find signs of such a view in Arnulf's charters, in particular his description in the *signum* line. In seventy-four charters Arnulf is styled as *invictissimus*, or "the most invincible."[191] This word is quite unusual to find in the *signum* line of Carolingian charters: it does not appear at all in the charters of Louis the German or Charles the Fat, and only twice in the charters of Charlemagne.[192] It does appear, yet only at the beginning of their reigns, in charters of Lothar I and Louis II of Italy.[193] The resonance with the charters of Lothar I and Louis II, both emperors, suggests that perhaps it was meant to convey Arnulf's authority in a quasi-imperial way. Indeed the idea of an unconquered ruler likely stemmed from Roman precedents of the invincible emperor and *Sol Invictus*.[194] McCormick believed that this title moved from papal letters to Charles the Bald and from there to East Francia.[195] Yet its usage in charters is mainly confined to East Francia, so we should look there for the reason for

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[190] This is reported in a variety of sources, *AF* (B), s.a. 895, p. 126; Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 895, p. 143.

[191] DD A 4, 11, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24, 27, 31, 33, 38, 40-42, 44, 45, 48, 51, 56, 57, 60, 61, 63, 65-69, 71-76, 78, 81, 88-90, 92, 96, 99-103, 109, 110, 115-117, 119, 131, 123-125, 127-132, 134, 135, 138-140, 146-148, 152, 169, and 170. Lewis, *An Elementary Latin Dictionary*: *invictus* can also mean unconquered, undefeated, or unsurpassed.

[192] Engelbert Mühlbacher, ed. *Die Urkunden Pippins, Karlmanns und Karls des Grossen*, MGH Die Urkunden der Karolinger 1 (Hahn, 1906), nos. 98 and 99, both for the monastery of Farfa.

[193] Lothar: DD Loth I 1-12; Louis II: DD Lo II 1-16, 52.

[194] See McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 23-24.

[195] McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, p. 383.

this adoption.[196] We can find it in one charter of Louis the Younger, and in nine charters of Carloman.[197] The origin of this styling seems to be Carloman's charters, then, but how do we explain the one charter of Louis the Younger? Louis' charter, from November 879, is the charter that represented Louis' takeover of Bavaria after Arnulf's revolt.[198] The charter involved Theotmar of Salzburg, who had been the archchancellor for Carloman and subsequent archchancellor to Arnulf.[199] That *invictissimus* appears only in this one charter of Louis the Younger, and its appearance in the charters of Carloman and Arnulf, highly suggests that Theotmar is the author of its introduction. Further, it suggests that the usage of *invictissimus* had a specifically East Frankish context and was not simply imported from papal sources or West Francia. At the same time, if Carloman and Arnulf wanted to present their kingship in a way that emphasized their military successes, *invictissimus* was a good choice.[200] In an earlier chapter I argued that Arnulf may have built his reputation as a commander along the frontier in the 870s and 880s, and the usage of *invictissimus* both emphasized that reputation and linked Arnulf to his father. Further, *invictissimus* was largely limited to the *signum* line, as only six charters use *invictissimus* in the eschatocol.[201] Kehr has suggested that the epithet in the *signum* line

[196] MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 148 makes a similar point about the supposed importation of commemoration clauses from West Frankish charters during the reign of Charles the Fat.

[197] DD Ca 9, 14-17, 19, 22, 23, and 25. This is one third of Carloman's charters (nine out of twenty-seven).

[198] The revolt is discussed in Chapter Two, pp. 68-77.

[199] D LY 13.

[200] Military success also seems to have been the reason for Ottonian usage of *invictissimus* in the tenth century, see Kurt Ulrich Jäschke, "Königskanzlei und imperiales Königtum im zehnten Jahrhundert," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 84 (1964).

[201] DD A 1, 18, 29, 76, 83, and 93.

was chosen by the scribe, but *invictissimus* appears under almost every scribe and in recipient copies.[202] That is, it cannot be linked to a specific scribe at Arnulf's court. It appears too frequently in Arnulf's charters, and too rarely in other Carolingian charters, for it to be a scribal intervention alone. This all suggests there was some other factor that was influencing its adoption by both court and recipient scribes. Most likely, it was a formulation expressed by Arnulf's court or in particular by his archchancellor Theotmar.

While *invictissimus* appears throughout Arnulf's reign, it appears with more regularity during this period from 892 to 895. The first securely dated charter to use *invictissimus* was granted at Regensburg in late January, 888.[203] The early years of Arnulf's reign, from 887 to 891, saw forty-seven percent of his charters using *invictissimus*, while from 892 to 895 this number jumps to sixty-four percent.[204] Yet after Arnulf became emperor in 896 it mostly disappears from his *signum*: approximately twenty-one percent of charters used *invictissimus* in the *signum* line.[205] In fact these charters rarely contained any descriptor at all.[206] This may be because of the illness that continued to

[202] Kehr, *Die Urkunden Arnolfs*, p. XXVII. The only scribes that do not have a charter using *invictissimus* are Wiching A and Wiching C, who appear late in Arnulf's reign. On the scribes see *Excursus*, pp. 51-64.

[203] D A 11.

[204] 887 to 891: DD A 4, 11, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24, 27, 31, 33, 38, 40-42, 44, 45, 48, 51, 56, 57, 60, 61, 63, 65-69, 71-76, 78, 81, 88-90, and 92; 892 to 895: DD A 96, 99-103, 109, 110, 115-117, 119, 121, 123-125, 127-132, 134, 135, 138, and 139.

[205] Only seven charters contain *invictissimi imperatoris*, DD A 140, 146-148, 152, 169 and 170. Total in this period (thirty-four charters): DD A 140-142, 144-160, 162, 164-176.

[206] DD A 149, 151, 153-156, 158-160, 164-168, 172-176 do not have any descriptor, 19 of 34 charters total. Out of 167 charters only 24 do not have a descriptor, meaning 19 of the 24 total came in this final period.

plague Arnulf after 896, seriously limiting his reputation as a warlike king.[207] Indeed although Theotmar, before his death in 907, was archchancellor to Arnulf's son Louis the Child, Louis was only described as *invictissimus* in one charter.[208] This suggests that it was used to describe Arnulf and Carloman precisely because of their contemporary reputations as successful military leaders. The increased use of *invictissimus* between 892 and 895 likely represents an increased confidence on the part of Arnulf's court. Yet this reputation did not exist in a vacuum. It was both received and shaped by contemporaries such as the Bavarian annalist, as we saw in the shaping of the entry for the Battle of Leuven. A ninth-century Lorsch manuscript likewise contains a single column with *Arnolfus fortis victor*, suggesting that contemporaries were receptive to this presentation.[209] This reputation would have been burnished by his victories over the Northmen in 891 and then against Moravia in 892 and 893. Arnulf's court seems to have capitalized on this by using *invictissimus* with a much higher frequency until his illness in 896.

Conclusion:

Arnulf's elevated position in 895 was not an inevitable outcome, however, but the result of a series of choices made between 891 and 895 which entrenched Arnulf's power by installing key supporters throughout the kingdom, while at the same time the series of military victories, combined

[207] On the illness see *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 129. For the last years of Arnulf's reign see Chapter Seven.

[208] D LC 49.

[209] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 133, fol. 144v. See also Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), no. 3842, p. 374. The phrase appears besides another column for Gerhart, *pius pastor*, who was the abbot of Lorsch until his death in 893, giving a date between 891 and 893.

with instability elsewhere, allowed Arnulf to present himself as a stable, and triumphal, ruler. The Synod of Tribur took this to new heights by presenting Arnulf as integrally involved with a universal council, and in doing so laid claim to a broader territorial scope than just East Francia. By the end of 895 Arnulf was again traveling to Italy, and early in 896 this triumphal presentation would attain a new form as he was crowned emperor.[210] The ideological underpinnings of Arnulf's imperial model are discussed in the next chapter before turning to Arnulf's Italian ambitions.

[210] D A 140. *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 128.

Chapter V:
Arnulf's Quasi-Imperial Rule

When Asser wrote his *Life of Alfred* in 893, drawing on the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, he also included an extended description of Arnulf's coup in 887:

> In the same year Charles, king of the Franks, undertook the way of the universe [i.e. death]; but Arnulf, the son of his brother, six weeks before he died, expelled him from the kingdom. Who once having died, five kings were arranged, and the kingdom was torn into five parts, but the chief seat of the kingdom came to Arnulf rightly and deservedly, except only that he sinned unbecomingly against his uncle. The other four kings promised loyalty and obedience to Arnulf, just as was dignified: for none of those four kings were hereditary in the paternal part of the kingdom, except Arnulf alone. Therefore five kings were arranged immediately with Charles' death, but the empire remained in the hands of Arnulf.[1]

Asser in effect casts Arnulf as the overlord of the other non-Carolingian rulers who appeared in 888. The emergence of these *reguli*, as the Bavarian continuator of the *Annales Fuldenses* calls them, is often seen by historians as marking a shift between the Carolingian and post-Carolingian world.[2] In a sense historians have assumed that the model for Arnulf was the unified empire of Charles the Fat that encompassed both West and East Francia, and thus his inability or unwillingness to recreate the empire was a sign of weakness. What if, however, this was not the imperial model for Arnulf? Charles' empire was an anomaly; since 840 the empire was only united for three years, from 884 to 887. As such Arnulf

[1] Asser, *Life of Alfred*, ed. William Henry Stevenson, Asser's Life of King Alfred, together with the Annals of Saint Neots Erroneously Ascribed to Asser (Clarendon Press, 1904), pp. 71-72: *Eodem anno Carolus, Francorum rex, viam universitatis adiit; sed Earnulf, filius fratris sui, sexta, antequam defunctus esset, hebdomada, illum regno expulerat. Quo statim defuncto, quinque reges ordinati sunt, et regnum in quinque partibus conscissum est, sed tamen principalis sedes regni ad Earnulf iuste et merito provenit, nisi solummodo quod in patruum suum indigne peccavit. Ceteri quoque quatuor reges fidelitatem et oboedientiam Earnulfo, sicut dignum erat, promiserunt: nullus enim illorum quatuor regum hereditarius illius regni erat in paterna parte, nisi Earnulf solus. Quinque itaque reges confestim, Karolo moriente, ordinati sunt, sed imperium penes Earnulf remansit*. On the dating see Chapter Four, n. 17. Asser was drawing on the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, see *ASC*, s.a. 887, p. 53, trans. Whitelock, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 52.

[2] Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 308-318. Further discussion can be found in the Introduction, pp. 7-16. For the use of *reguli* see *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 116.

himself would never have known the empire of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, but instead the divided Europe that existed between 840 and 884. This chapter first looks at ideas of empire at the end of the ninth century, arguing that for Arnulf the model was not the empires of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, or Charles the Fat. Instead it was the "imperial" kingdom of his grandfather Louis the German. I argue that contemporaries could have understood Louis the German in imperial terms without him having been crowned emperor. This differed from the empire of Charles the Fat which, of necessity, needed to accommodate the acquisition of three distinct places under one ruler. Late Carolingian ideas of empire could accommodate a ruler above others by delineating a hierarchy of authority with some operating as overlords of others. I then discuss the representations found in the narrative sources, mainly the *Annales Fuldenses, Annales Vedastini,* and Regino's *Chronicon*, arguing that they are adopting these ideas of overlordship and were working within these traditions of imperial power. The overlordship that Arnulf attempted to cultivate was thus reflected in the narrative sources even before his coronation in 896. By looking at the dating clauses of the charters of Charles the Fat and Arnulf, we can catch a glimpse of how the court may have used these ideas.

The chapter then investigates how Arnulf sought to emphasize his overlordship through his external relations with the *reguli*, in particular West Francia and Provence. By sanctioning the rulers of West Francia and Provence Arnulf positioned himself as a higher status ruler than the others. Arnulf was not able to decisively influence any of these places, but symbolically his support mattered to those rulers. In contrast, Rudolf of Burgundy and Wido of Italy, who did not come to agreements with Arnulf, were positioned as outside the orbit of legitimate authority and subjected to military

campaigns. That is, Arnulf's actions created an impression of the king as the preeminent authority in the former Carolingian empire.

Meanings of Imperium in East Francia at the End of the Ninth Century:

Arnulf has not usually been included in discussions of empire in the Carolingian world because his illness in 896 seemingly ended his control of Italy and the imperial title appears to have had little impact on his own practice of ruling. For Timothy Reuter this period was a point when Arnulf, because of his illness, "lost much of his forceful impact on events."[3] In such a perspective the imperial title matters little because Arnulf's illness prevented any real political activity.[4] Further, Arnulf's empire did not correspond to the empire of Charlemagne or Louis the Pious (or even Charles the Fat). Laury Sarti's recent monograph which discusses Carolingian conceptions of empire only refers to late-ninth century ideas of empire mainly in relation to Italy and the title's increasing ties to an Italian emperor.[5] The "Italian" emperors are seen as representing something different from the earlier emperors. Indeed Sarti does not discuss Arnulf at all in this section on the later ninth century. As such Arnulf does not fit neatly into any of the usual models of Carolingian empire.

There were multiple strands of thought surrounding empire in the early medieval world, however. Isidore in his *Etymologies* offered one definition of the imperial title: "but while the

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[3] Timothy Reuter, "Sex, Lies and Oath-Helpers: the Trial of Queen Uota," in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 225 which was first published in German in Fuchs and Schmid, *Kaiser Arnolf*.

[4] For my disagreements with this portrayal, see Chapter Seven.

[5] Laury Sarti, *Orbis Romanus: Byzantium and the Legacy of Rome in the Carolingian World* (Oxford University Press, 2024), pp. 42-47.

commanders executed the titles of *imperator* for a long time, the senate decreed that this was only the name of Augustus Caesar, from that [title] he would be distinguished from the kings of other peoples."[6] Over time a strand of thought held that imperial rule corresponded to rule over many peoples. This was not a Carolingian invention but had a longer history that drew on insular influences, especially Alcuin.[7] Carolingian authors would use this idea in their own conceptions of empire. For instance the conception of *imperium Francorum* in the *Annales Mettenses* was partly based on domination of the surrounding peoples to the Franks, while the *Annales Fuldenses* claims that Charles the Bald was made emperor in 869 because he possessed two kingdoms.[8] Yet after 875 the only rulers to use the imperial title were those crowned emperor by the pope even if they earlier used imperial motifs and language.[9] It was this papal sanction that seemed to allow a ruler to use the imperial title itself:

[6] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX (Oxford University Press American Branch, 1911), IX.iii.14, p. 14: *sed dum diu duces titulis imperatoris fungerentur, senatus censuit ut Augusti Caesaris hoc tantum nomen esset, eoque is distingueretur a ceteris gentium regibus*.

[7] Notably from Alcuin and Bede, see Mary Alberi, "The Evolution of Alcuin's Concept of the Imperium Christianum," in *The Community, the Family, and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe*, eds. Joyce Hill and Mary Swan (Brepols, 1998). Steven Fanning, "Bede, *Imperium*, and the Bretwaldas," *Speculum* 66, no. 1 (1991): 7-13 summarizing the views of a variety of Roman, biblical, and early medieval usages of *imperium*. See also Donald A. Bullough, "Empire and Emperordom from Late Antiquity to 799," *EME* 12, no. 4 (2003).

[8] Helmut Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, 550–850* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 372. *AF*, s.a. 869, p. 70.

[9] Louis II of Italy died in 875 and the only rulers to use the title were Charles the Bald and Charles the Fat, who were crowned in 875 and 881 respectively. Wido, an Italian claimant, would be crowned emperor in 891. Choosing not to adopt the imperial title while adopting imperial attributes had a longer history, see Christian Scholl, "Imitatio Imperii? Elements of Imperial Rule in the Barbarian Successor States of the Roman West," in Clauß et al., *Transcultural Approaches*. On the importance of papal coronation see Groth, "How to become Emperor," and Sarti, *Orbis Romanus*, pp. 42-47.

Louis the German never used the title in his charters, and Charles the Bald only after his coronation in 875.[10]

Even so, contemporaries were able to describe rulers in imperial terms without referring to them as emperors because ideas of imperial rule could overlap with conceptions of the kingdom. This was not a specific late-ninth century change, but had been common under Charlemagne as well, where *regnum* and *imperium* co-existed.[11] That is, the imperial title existed alongside royal authority. The imperial title did not replace the royal title, and contemporaries could continue to understand the ruler as a king governing a *regnum*. Interestingly this is the presentation of *imperium* found in Freising charters from the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious.[12] In the Freising charters the imperial title suggested a higher status of ruler, instead of a completely different form of rule.[13]

As hinted at by the Freising charters, in East Francia specifically there was a conception of empire that existed alongside royal rule but placed the emperor as a higher status than others. This East Frankish conception of empire emerged out of the actions of Louis the German in the 860s and 870s, whose rule was based on an East Frankish core that exercised dominance over the surrounding regions (namely the Slavic frontier and Italy). Louis the German certainly harbored his own imperial ambitions, at least for his son Carloman (and Arnulf's father).[14] Although Louis may have originally

[10] D CB 400.

[11] See Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*, pp. 347-364.

[12] Warren Brown, "The Idea of Empire in Carolingian Bavaria," in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany, 800–1500*, eds. Björn Weiler and Simon MacLean (Brepols, 2006).

[13] Brown, "The Idea of Empire," pp. 39-49.

[14] On these ambitions see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 304-334.

hoped to reclaim West Francia, East Frankish attempts to conquer West Francia seem to have ended with the failed invasions in 853/4 and 858.[15] In the late 860s, when Louis the German's ambitions toward Italy began to take shape, a few local charters from St. Gall refer to him as emperor.[16]

This combination, of king and emperor, can also be found in Notker's *Gesta Karoli* and the Saxon Poet's verse retelling of Charlemagne's life. Notker, writing in the 880s, explicitly notes Louis as "king and emperor of all of Germany, Raetia, and ancient Francia, but also Saxony, Thuringia, Noricum, Pannonia, and all of the northern nations."[17] For Notker control over multiple peoples was a key element of imperial rule. He notes that Charlemagne went to Rome "so that he who was already the ruler and commander of many nations might obtain more gloriously by apostolic authority the name of emperor."[18] The imperial title did not change the nature of rule, but it gave representation to an already existing state of affairs. The Saxon Poet, in recounting Charlemagne having Louis the Pious crowned emperor in 813, notes that it "struck huge fear in the foreign peoples" and prevented the decline of "the state and most right order of the kingdom of the Franks."[19] Even though Charlemagne

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[15] In 853 some Aquitainian nobles asked for Louis the German to help the West Franks, *AF*, s.a. 853, pp. 43-44. The following year Louis the Younger traveled to West Francia, presumably sent by Louis the German, *AF*, s.a. 844, p. 44; For the 858 invasion see *AF*, s.a. 858, pp. 49-51.

[16] Erhart, *Chartularium*, no. 572, p. 169; Erhart, *Chartularium*, no. 576, p. 173.

[17] Notker, *GK*, II.11, p. 67: *rex vel imperator totius Germanię Rhetiarumque et antiquę Francię nec non Saxonię, Turingię, Norici, Pannoiarum atque omnium septentironalium nationum*.

[18] Notker, *GK*, I.26, p. 35, trans. Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious*, p. 81: *qui iam re ipsa rector et imperator plurimarum erat nationum, nomen quoque imperatoris cęsaris et augusti apostolica auctoritate gloriosus assequeretur*.

[19] Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, IV, s.a. 813, ll. 317-320, p. 53: *Hinc metus externis incussus gentibus ingens...status et rectissimus ordo/Regni Francorum*.

"gave the right to rule the empire" to Louis, he was nonetheless given "the crown of the kingdom."[20] Part of the reason for such a plan was that it safeguarded the kingdom in the hands of one person: "from this the majesty of Charles was enlarged; harmony was created for future times, when one person by unanimous judgment was revealed to be followed by so many peoples."[21] The Saxon Poet is thus presenting features of imperial rule in terms of both royal and imperial power. Louis the Pious was an emperor but also a king. Contemporaries such as as the Saxon Poet and Notker did not view the imperial as overriding the royal. For instance, the Saxon Poet continues to refer to Charlemagne as king even after his coronation as emperor.[22] Conquest of those "whose names were not known by the Romans" allowed Charlemagne to surpass the Romans: "on account of this, you who read the wonderful deeds of Charles, cease to be amazed at the histories of old."[23]

This was a key message of both Notker and the Saxon Poet: that empire was associated with Charlemagne and/or the Franks. Part of Notker's goal in writing the *Gesta Karoli* was to present the

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[20] Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, IV, s.a. 813, ll. 306-308: *ius...regendi/ Tradidit imperii.../Imposito designavit diademate regni*.

[21] Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, IV, s.a. 813, ll. 314-316, p. 53: *Hinc aucta refulsit/ Maiestas Caroli; concordia facta futuris/ Hinc est temporibus, cum tot caput extitit unum/ Unanimi populis monstratum mente sequendum*.

[22] Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, IV, s.a. 803, pp. 48-49 which refers to Charlemagne as both emperor and king. The Saxon Poet may have developed an impression found in Einhard's *VK*, which the Saxon Poet relied on heavily, where Charlemagne as emperor still rules over a kingdom. See for instance Einhard, *VK*, c. 30, p. 34 where Charlemagne consults "the leaders of the Franks from the entire kingdom" and then makes Louis the Pious "consort to the entire kingdom and established him as heir of the imperial name": *de toto regno Francorum primoribus....consortem sibi totius regni et imperialis nominis heredem constituit*. The Saxon Poet follows an almost identical line of reasoning in the entry for 813 depicting the same event: Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, IV, s.a. 813, ll. 303-310, p. 53. In the 803 entry the Saxon Poet specifically refers to Einhard's text, Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, s.a. 803, p. 48.

[23] Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, V.652-654, p. 70: *Quorum Romani nomina nescierant./ Ob hoc, mirificos Karoli qui legeris actus,/ Desine mirari historias veterum*.

East Frankish lineage of the Carolingians as the latest representatives of Charlemagne's empire.[24] Notker's goal was not simple praise, however, but was driven in part by anxiety over Charles the Fat's lack of an heir.[25] Yet rule over many peoples also had an eschatological element. The conquest of foreign nations and the subjugation of peoples was an element of the biblical kingship of David, who reigned over all the tribes of Israel and was a recurring model for Carolingian rulers.[26] The Saxon Poet notes how David "had subjected countless peoples and enemies to his own triumphs" as a parallel to Charlemagne.[27] Notker begins his *Gesta Karoli* with a blending of Roman and biblical models of empire by using the succession of kingdoms that appears in the Book of Daniel:

> The almighty ordainer of affairs, the one who sets in order realms and times, when he had crushed the iron, or even earthenware, feet of that amazing image he had erected among the Romans, raised up another, no less admirable image among the Franks through the illustrious Charles, this one with a golden head.[28]

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[24] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 222-227.

[25] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 218-222.

[26] See for instance 2 Samuel 5:1-3 and 2 Samuel 8:1-18; Y. Hen, "The Christianisation of Kingship," in *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751: Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung*, eds. Jörg Jarnut and Matthias Becher (Scriptorium, 2004); Garipzanov, *Symbolic Language*, pp. 224-228; Robert L. Benson, "The King as *novus* David: Political Uses of the Old Testament in the Early Middle Ages," in *Law, Rulership, and Rhetoric: Selected Essays of Robert L. Benson*, ed. Loren J. Weber (University of Notre Dame Press, 2014); M. Garrison, "The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne," in Hen and Innes, *The Uses of the Past* critiques the idea that the Franks saw themselves as a "new Israel" but still views David as a relevant model for Charlemagne's court; on the importance of biblical history see Mayke de Jong, "The Empire as *ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and Biblical *historia* for Rulers," in Hen and Innes, *The Uses of the Past*; Gerda Heydemann and Walter Pohl, "The Rhetoric of Election: 1 Peter 2.9 and the Franks," in Meens et al., *Religious Franks*; Gerda Heydemann, "The People of God and the Law: Biblical Models in Carolingian Legislation," *Speculum* 95, no. 1 (2020).

[27] Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, IV, s.a. 813, p. 54: *Innumeras postquam gentes hostesque triumphis/Subdiderat propriis*.

[28] Notker, *GK*, I.1, p. 1 trans. Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious*, p. 59: *Omnipotens rerum dispositor ordinatorque regnorum et temporum, cum illius admirandę statuę pedes ferreos vel testaceos comminuisset in Romanis, alterius non minus admirabilis statuę caput aureum per illustrem Karolum erexit in Francis*.

Notker may have been intentionally creating confusion between Charlemagne and Charles the Fat, by seemingly collapsing them into one person.[29] He was also referencing the vision of Nebuchadnezzar found in the Book of Daniel, which was about the successive kingdoms that would rule the earth before the final, and heavenly, kingdom.[30] These ideas certainly had relevance to the Carolingian court; Hrabanus Maurus, the archbishop of Mainz, wrote a commentary on Daniel for Louis the German.[31] While the passage directly relates to a pre-Christian past, medieval commentators followed Jerome and Augustine in interpreting the vision of Nebuchadnezzar as a succession of empires that included the Romans.[32] We can see this interpretation reflected in a St. Gall copy of Daniel from the era of Abbot Grimald, who was abbot for most of Louis the German's reign and also his archchancellor.[33] An

[29] MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 225.

[30] Daniel 2:39-45.

[31] See James T. Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 166-168. It is mentioned in a letter by Hraban Maur, *Epistolae*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epp. 5 (Weidmannos, 1899), no. 34, pp. 467-469. A ninth or tenth-century copy survives, Karlsruhe Badisches Landesbibliothek Cod. Aug. perg. 208, fol. 3v which mentions a "most noble king Louis" (*rex nobilissime hludouuice*), accessible here: https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/titleinfo/3294902.

[32] On idea of *translatio imperii* see Werner Goez, *Translatio Imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Mohr, 1958), esp. pp. 62-77; L. DiTommaso, "The Four Kingdoms of Daniel in the Early Medieval Apocalyptic Tradition," in *Four Kingdom Motifs before and beyond the Book of Daniel*, eds. Andrew B. Perrin et al. (Brill, 2021), yet p. 229 DiTommaso mistakenly identifies the Charles in Notker's opening lines with Charles the Fat, not Charlemagne; For other precedents and uses of the four kingdoms idea see Joseph Ward Swain, "The Theory of the Four Monarchies Opposition History under the Roman Empire," *Classical Philology* 35, no. 1 (1940): 18-21 and Sander W. De Boer, "Rome, the *translatio imperii* and the Early-Christian Interpretation of Daniel 2 and 7," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 21, no. 2 (1985): 200-203 on Jerome specifically.

[33] For Jerome's commentary see Jerome, *Commentariorum in Danielem libri III <IV>*, ed. Fr. Glorie, CC 75A (Brepols, 1964), p. 794: *quod perspicue pertinet ad Romanos*. On the dating of this manuscript see Anton von Euw, *St. Galler Buchkunst vom 8. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts, Band I: Textband* (Verlag am Klosterhof, 2008), no. 81, pp. 379-380. Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 3 (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), no. 5526, p. 301 dates it to the fourth quarter of the

anonymous gloss notes that the weakness of the fourth kingdom, which "clearly pertains to the Romans," is also "attested by the present time."[34] Carolingian authors also identified the empire with the Franks specifically.[35] This placed the Franks into a story of Christian history that extended into the past as well as the future.[36] Notker and the anonymous glosses of the St. Gall manuscript viewed the present empire as connected to these past empires as part of a larger Christian teleology.

For Notker Louis was considered an emperor because he rules over others but also because he receives the submission of foreign peoples. This was a narrative of victory and dominance that drew on late Roman and antique models.[37] He notes Louis as *invictissimus* (the most unconquered) and who "rejoiced in iron."[38] Louis' actions in regard to these foreign peoples revealed his truly imperial qualities. Louis breaking a Northman tributary sword, then accepting another, revealed, to Notker, Louis as an emperor: "Caesar accepted [the sword], and he was truly Caesar."[39] Tied into this East Frankish "imperial" identity, however, was dominance over the Slavs.[40]

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ninth century.

[34] St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 41, p. 311: *hoc perspicue pertinet ad romanos...quod hoc tempore manifestissime comprobatur*. Accessible here: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0041/311.

[35] For the earlier period see Reimitz, *History*, pp. 412-422.

[36] On situating the Franks in the longer Christian and Roman past see McKitterick, *History and Memory*, esp. pp. 13-19 and pp. 28-59 and concluding remarks pp. 265-283; Reimitz, *History*, esp. pp. 163-239; Pohl, "Creating Cultural Resources."

[37] See McCormick, *Eternal Victory,* pp. 369-374.

[38] Notker, *GK*, II.17, p. 88: *ferro gauderet*.

[39] Notker, *GK*, II.18, p. 89: *Qua cęsar accepta, et vere cęsar*.

[40] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 119-120. Charles the Bald used a similar strategy in Brittany, see Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 108-115.

In the East Frankish imagination these Slavic tribes owed loyalty, and tribute, to the Carolingians. For instance when the Linones and Sisuli refused to pay tribute to Louis the Younger he sent an army to reduce them "to their former state of servility."[41] Yet the varying groups had different relationships with the East Frankish Carolingians; in the same year that Louis was warring with the Linones and Sisuli, there was a contingent of Slavic troops in Carloman's army traveling to Italy.[42] The constant refrain about Slavic infidelity appears almost as a rhetorical trope in the annals, perhaps to similar effect as Saxon infidelity in an earlier period.[43] That the Slavs could be in Carloman's army, and that Arnulf was able to receive the leaders of "a great part of the Slavs" at Regensburg in 888 suggests that they also had a role within East Frankish politics.[44] Indeed they are listed alongside the other constituent peoples of the kingdom: "Bavarians, eastern Franks, Saxons, Thuringians, Alemannians, and a great part of the Slavs."[45] At least in the eyes of the Bavarian annalist they formed part of the peoples under Arnulf's authority. The Slavs could thus fulfill multiple roles in East Frankish conceptions of rulership. On the one hand victory against external Slavic peoples expressed East Frankish mastery, while on the other they formed another people ruled by Carolingian kings.

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[41] *AF*, s.a. 877, p. 90: *eos sub pristinum redegit servitium*. See also Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, p. 116.

[42] *AF*, s.a. 877, p. 90.

[43] For Slavic infidelity/revolt see *AF*, s.a. 848, p. 37; *AF*, s.a. 849, p, 38; *AF*, s.a. 855, p. 45; *AF*, s.a. 858, p. 49; *AF*, s.a. 864, p. 62; *AF*, s.a. 871, p. 73; *AF*, s.a. 874, p. 81; *AF*, s.a. 877, pp. 89-90; *AF* (B), s.a. 892, p. 121; *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 125; *AB*, s.a. 853, p. 68; *AB*, s.a. 866, p. 113; Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 891, p. 137; on Saxon infidelity see Robert Flierman, "*Gens perfida* or *populus Christianus*? Saxon (In)fidelity in Frankish Historical Writing," in Gantner et al., *The Resources of the Past*. See also Robert Flierman, *Saxon Identities, AD 150-900* (Bloomsbury Academic, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), pp. 89-118.

[44] *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 116: *magna parte Sclavanorum*.

[45] *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 116: *receptis primoribus Baiowariorum, orientales Francos, Sazones, Duringos, Alamannos, magna parte Slavanorum*.

The Saxon Poet emphasized the "imperial" elements of rulership of rule over many peoples and military dominance. The Saxon Poet depended heavily on Einhard's *Vita Karoli* but has added points of emphasis on defining empire as rule over many peoples. Where Einhard could speak of Charlemagne doubling the size of his kingdom and making the surrounding peoples fear him, the Saxon Poet connects this to the problems facing the "empire" at the end of the ninth century.[46] If Charlemagne had formerly conquered so many peoples and ruled over so many, the Saxon Poet worries now for Francia: "Look! You are open to savage tribes devastating on all sides and, formerly happy, now you are too miserable."[47] Since Charlemagne died the empire has been beset by enemies, but now Arnulf "by sleepless labor restores the fallen empire."[48] As such Arnulf was not just restoring the empire but also defending Francia and "stirs the forces of the Franks to [their] bygone virtue and calls the inactive men once more into arms."[49] Yet Arnulf was not just capable of accomplishing such a feat, but was also "so similar in manners to his ancestor [Charlemagne], indeed he is noble in spirit, merciful, and eager."[50] The Saxon Poet's vision of empire was not just about the past, but about an imagined future where Arnulf has completed his task of restoring the empire.

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[46] Einhard, *VK*, c. 15, p. 17.

[47] Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, V.407-408, p. 65: *Gentibus ecce pates populantibus undique saevis/ Et, quondam felix, nunc nimis es misera*.

[48] Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, V.417-418, p. 65: *labore/Pervigili lapsum corrigit imperium*.

[49] Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, V.419-420, p. 65: *Francorumque movet veteri virtute lacertos/ Atque vocat resides rursus in arma viros*.

[50] Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, V.416-417, p. 65: *Qui similis tanto moribus est abavo,/ Denique magnanimus clemens promptus*.

We can also find evidence for imperial thinking at St. Gall where, as Bernhard Zeller has argued, a formulary collection created sometime after Solomon III's installation as abbot reveals a "hegemonic-imperial kingship" as a model for Arnulf.[51] Zeller focuses specifically on five formulae for royal charters, and as Zeller notes, these formulae rarely corresponded to actual documents.[52] Zeller, however, is not focusing on any one particular manuscript. A partial copy of the collection, from Freising, differs from other copies by presenting at least three of the five charter-formulae as those of Louis the German.[53] Both St. Gall and Freising had close connections to Arnulf's court, and more than

[51] Bernhard Zeller, "Nach 887/888: Herrscherbilder und Herrschaftskonzeptionen in der sogenannten Collectio Sangallensis," in *Neue Wege der Frühmittelalterforschung: Bilanz und Perspektiven*, eds. Walter Pohl et al. (Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2018), pp. 373-382 at p. 378. Zeller is building on the suggestion by Alice Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages: Frankish Formulae, c. 500–1000* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 152-160.

[52] Zeller, "Nach 887/888," pp. 373-374. The late-nineteenth century edition has distorted the text, creating distinctions that are not well-founded in the evidence: see Rio, *Legal Practice*, pp. 57-66 and pp. 152-157. For instance Rio on p. 159 claims one of the formula refers to Arnulf as an emperor in a letter dated Feb. 17, 888. However, Zeumer, *Collectio*, no. 17, p. 387 has no such reference. Instead Zeumer's edition states that it was dated "in the first year of king Arnulf of the Franks" (*sub anno primo Arnulfi regis Francorum*). Without access to the manuscript, Zürich Zentralbibliothek MS Rh. 131, I cannot verify this. In other instances Zeumer believed that references to Arnulf were incorrect, such as Zeumer, *Collectio*, no. 9, p. 384 where he reproduces the manuscripts initial *A*, but believes it was a mistake that originally referred to Charles.

[53] This is not true of all the manuscripts: some replace Louis with Charles the Fat, see Karl Zeumer, ed., *Collectio Sangallensis Salomoni III. tempore conscripta*, MGH Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi (Hahn, 1886), p. 396, no. 2; p. 398, no. 4 begins with *Karolus* but in the Freising manuscript it is not entirely clear, but could be an *H*, Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1609, fol. 21r, accessible here: https://onb.digital/result/10008EE9. The Freising manuscript in particular shows evidence of its connection to St. Gall. Indicated in the text as an addition, at the bottom of fol. 19v in a different hand is a recognition line for a "Waldo" and "Grimald" which was presumably taken from a charter of Louis the German for St. Gall from 861. Whoever added this note must have been looking at the charters, because this is the only time Waldo and Grimald were both listed in the recognition line. See Zeumer, *Collectio Salomoni III*, p. 397 and n. 1; The charter is D LG 103. Waldo was a subdeacon who wrote three of Louis' charters, but in two of these Waldo is listed acting alongside Witgar, not Grimald. DD LG 94 and 97. It is possible that whoever added this note believed this Waldo was the then-current bishop of Freising, and Solomon III's brother. On this specific manuscript see Warren Brown, *Beyond the Monastery Walls: Lay Men and Women in Early Medieval Legal Formularies* (Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 67-68 with references to other literature and Rio, *Legal Practice*, pp. 269-270.

that, Solomon III and Waldo the bishop of Freising were brothers. The model of imperial rule in the formulary collection was thus not far removed from the court.

The first formula describes Louis both as "king of Germany" and as "the most serene king in East Francia" but is dated "in the fifth year of his empire."[54] The next formula has a *signum* line that presents a "most serene Augustus Louis leader [*rector*] of the Franks, Swabians, Bavarians, Thuringians, Saxons and the master of barbarian nations."[55] This is very similar to the two passages of Notker's *Gesta Karoli* already discussed. The first passage of Notker mentioned above referred to Louis as "king and emperor" and then listed his rule over many peoples.[56] The second described Charlemagne as the "the leader [*rector*] and commander of many nations."[57] That is, both the formulary and Notker present a conception of imperial kingship that encompassed rule over many peoples. In fact some scholars believe that Notker was the one who assembled the formulary at St. Gall.[58] If Notker did not create the formulary it would seem that similar ideas were floating around St. Gall in the 880s and 890s.

This formula immediately flows without a break into another formula, this time in the name of a "clement emperor Augustus."[59] Unlike the other formulae it does not give a name for the ruler, leaving an N (for *nomen*) as a placeholder. It does, however, note "our father the most glorious emperor

[54] Zeumer, *Collectio Salomoni III*, p. 396: *Signum Hludowici serenissimi regis in orientali Francia. Data Kal. Mai. Anno imperii eius 5.*

[55] Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1609, fol. 19v: *signum hl<u>udowici</u> serenissimi augusti rectoris francorum suuevorum baioariorum turingorum saxonum domitorisque barbarum nationum.*

[56] Notker, *GK*, II.11, p. 67: *rex vel imperator*.

[57] Notker, *GK*, I.26, p. 35: *rector et imperator plurimarum erat nationum*.

[58] Rio, *Legal Practice*, pp. 157-158, addressing the older arguments, is somewhat skeptical of this identification.

[59] Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1609, fol. 19v: *clementia imperator augustus.*

Louis."[60] Either this refers to Louis the Pious, in which case Louis the German is the emperor named in the *intitulatio* or this refers to Louis the German and the emperor at the beginning is Charles the Fat. Given that the preceding two formulae refer to Louis the German, it seems plausible this one does as well, but in either reading Louis the German is presented as an emperor. This formula, Zeller argues, reflects Solomon III's installation as abbot of St. Gall because towards the end there is a statement that suggests the ruler installing a loyal supporter as abbot.[61] The fourth formula is somewhat ambiguous: the beginning of the charter may have an *H* but it is not clear in the manuscript.[62] Only the last formula gives any clear indication that it is referring to Charles the Fat. Yet even here the opening mention of a *Karolus* has been removed and it is only a "K" in the *signum* line that indicates a Charles.[63] Here the ruler is noted specifically as king of the Alemannians, which may have made the context obvious, and less applicable to Arnulf who, although Charles' successor, was never associated with Alemannia in the same way as Charles. The other four formulae as they appear in the Freising manuscript, then, present a picture of Louis the German's rule that was firmly imperial in both terminology and ideas. Yet this imperial conception existed alongside other indicators of Louis' royal

[60] Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1609, fol. 19v: *genitoris nostri gloriosissimi hludowici imperatoris.*

[61] Zeumer, *Collectio Salomoni III,* p. 398: *si querulosi aut contradictores inventi fuerint, aliquem de capellanis aut episcopis seu vasallis meis talem eis superimponam, qui aut eorum contumaciam edomet, aut, si etiam sic corrigi noluerint, quod absit, ex meo illos praecepto ad exemplum cunctorum in omnem ventum dispergat.* Zeller, "Nach 887/888," p. 378.

[62] Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1609, fol. 21v. In the digitized version the letter is somewhat obscured so it is not completely clear, but I believe it may be an *H.* Some of the manuscripts have either *K* or *Karolus* while others have *H.*, see Zeumer, *Collectio Salomoni III* p. 398. Zeumer does not give his opinion on the Vienna manuscript.

[63] Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1609, fol. 22r and for the other manuscripts Zeumer, *Collectio Salomoni III*, p. 399.

authority. Solomon III had been installed at St. Gall by Arnulf, so the collection may reflect ideas circulating during *Arnulf's* reign. In the same way that Notker could retroactively present Louis the German as an emperor in the 880s, the formulary collection presents Louis as an emperor in Arnulf's time. Solomon III and his brother Waldo were both high ranking members at Arnulf's court, so this might also reflect a conception of East Frankish kingship circulating at Arnulf's court itself.

Arnulf's Hegemonic Status: Narratives of 887/888:

We can return now to Asser and his borrowing from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which situated Arnulf as the imperial overlord of the other non-Carolingian rulers in 887.[64] Arnulf retains the empire because of his Carolingian descent, while the rest of the kings swear fidelity and obedience to Arnulf. The Saxon Poet and Asser were writing before Arnulf's coronation in 896, so as in the case of Louis the German, empire was a label that could be applied based on a ruler's reputation and prestige. At the same time Asser too is depicting Arnulf (and Charles) as kings who held an empire, suggesting further the imperial descriptor as a sign of distinction from other kings. It was not just Asser that presented Arnulf as different from these non-Carolingian rulers. The three main narrative sources for the coup and its aftermath, namely the Bavarian continuation of the *Annales Fuldenses*, the *Annales Vedastini*, and Regino of Prüm's *Chronicon,* all present Arnulf as higher status (i.e. quasi-imperial) than these

[64] On the rise of imperial attitudes in Wessex at the end of the ninth and early tenth centuries, see Francis Leneghan, "*Translatio Imperii*: The Old English *Orosius* and the Rise of Wessex," *Anglia* 133, no. 4 (2015), noting that it was seemingly only in the early-tenth century, when Carolingian prospects had dimmed, that these attitudes began to be more pronounced. See also Torben R. Gebhardt, "From Bretwalda to Basileus: Imperial Concepts in Late Anglo-Saxon England?" in Clauß et al., *Transcultural Approaches*. This suggests that presenting Arnulf as retaining the empire preceded the portrayal of empire shifting from the Carolingians to the kings of Wessex.

other rulers. Some historians have argued that sources commenting on the coup in 887, in particular the Bavarian annalist in the *Annales Fuldenses*, created a picture of stability to paper over the crisis of 887/888.[65] Comparing the *Annales Fuldenses* to the other contemporary source, the *Annales Vedastini*, shows that the Bavarian annalist was not creating a simple fiction. Instead our two roughly contemporary sources, the *Annales Vedastini* and the *Annales Fuldenses*, emphasize Arnulf's hegemonic status over the other non-Carolingian rulers, which was one element of the imperial kingship discussed in the previous section.

The Bavarian continuation of the *Annales Fuldenses* attempts to downplay the authority of the other non-Carolingian kings. The entry for 888 begins with "King Arnulf" receiving a variety of peoples at Regensburg. It is while Arnulf delayed there "for a while" that the *reguli* appeared in Europe.[66] The annalist then portrays these *reguli* in ways that minimize their authority in comparison to Arnulf. For instance Berengar "made himself king" and contended with the "tyrant" Wido.[67] The annalist casts Rudolf not as a full king but that he only "established himself to hold Upper Burgundy royally."[68] Similarly Louis the Blind and Wido only "proposed to hold Belgian Gaul and Provence as kings."[69] Finally Odo "usurped" a region "for his own use" while the *dux* of Aquitaine Ramnulf "set up that he be held as king."[70] The language of the annalist casts doubt on their authority, presenting the *reguli* as not-quite-legitimate. There is a distinction being drawn here between Arnulf as *rex* and

[65] See Eggert, "Arnolf," pp. 53-60 and Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 292-308.

[66] *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 116: *Rex Arnolfus.*

[67] *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 116: *se regem facit*. *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 117: *tyranno*.

[68] *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 116: *superiorem Burgundiam apud se statuit regaliter retenere*.

[69] *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 116: *Galliam Belgicam necnon provinciam prout reges habere proposuerunt*.

these other kings (*regulus* being a diminutive form of *rex*), even if we follow Kortüm that *regulus* could have a broader meaning than simply a "petty king."[71]

The annalist further connects Arnulf with the *reguli* by noting that when Arnulf "heard these things [that is, the actions of the *reguli*]" he held an assembly at Frankfurt before traveling to Worms.[72] In the annalist's view the emergence of the *reguli* prompted Arnulf into action. The annalist then presents some of these kings as holding their authority from Arnulf. Odo, as in Regino's telling, meets Arnulf at Worms because he "preferred to hold his kingdom in peace with the grace of the king than by any arrogance be haughty contrary to his fidelity."[73] Rudolf comes to Arnulf at Regensburg and is allowed to leave in peace by royal permission, implying that Arnulf had allowed Rudolf to remain as king.[74] Similarly Berengar meets with Arnulf where Berengar "was received happily by the king, and nothing of the acquired [*antequisiti*] kingdom was removed from him; [except] he was relieved of the estates of *Navum* and *Sagum*."[75]

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[70] *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 116: *Odo filius Rodberti usque ad Ligerim fluvium vel Aquitanicam provinciam sibi in usum usurpavit; deinceps Ramnolfus se regem haberi statuit*. This is the only source that recounts Ramnulf declaring himself king. Ramnulf was the guardian of the young Charles the Simple, who was passed over in 888 because of his youth. See *AV*, s.a. 889, p. 67 where Ramnulf brings Charles the Simple along with him to submit to Odo. On the West Frankish conditions in 888 see Lößlein, *Royal Power*, pp. 32-39.

[71] Kortüm, "*Multi reguli*," pp. 73-74.

[72] *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 116: *His auditis*.

[73] *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 116: *se malle suum regnum gratia cum regis pacifice habere quam ulla iactantia contra eius fidelitatem superbire*. Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 116 renders this as "than to rebel in pride contrary to his fidelity" which is a more readable translation, but less literal, so I have chosen to translate it as above. This is the only time that this verb, *superbire,* is used in the Bavarian continuation. For a similar use in the earlier text see *AF*, s.a. 873, p. 80 using the noun form *superbia*.

[74] *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 116.

[75] *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 117: *a rege est clementer susceptus, nilque ei antequisiti regni abstrahitur; excipiuntur curtes Navum et Sagum*. *Antequisiti* is probably a combination of *ante que siti* or roughly "the

The cases of Odo, Rudolf, and Berengar, as presented by the annalist, suggests a situation where contemporaries in East Francia believed they held their authority from Arnulf. One could argue, as some historians have, that the Bavarian annalist is writing to provide an East Frankish justification for a coup and thus is writing to cover up the improvisation and uncertainty of the coup.[76] Similarly Eggert argued that the annalist was trying to present an image of stability which maintained a fiction of the pre-887 world of Carolingian supremacy.[77] In essence, the argument by historians has been that the sources are imagining Arnulf as overlord *not* to represent contemporary political perceptions, but to make the post-887 world conform to a pre-887 view as a way of presenting Arnulf favorably.

Yet in the *Annales Vedastini* we get a remarkably similar presentation of Arnulf. This text gets its name from the supposed place of their production, the abbey of St. Vaast in what is now the northeastern French city of Arras.[78] Although originally part of Lothar's kingdom, the monastery changed hands between West and East Francia in the second half of the ninth century.[79] At some point

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things which were positioned before." It is otherwise unknown, Du Cange, *Glossarium*, vol. 1, col. 297b lists it but only to refer to the also unknown *Navum* in the same passage. These two courts are not easily identified, see *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 117, n. 3. Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 888, p. 129 also notes Berengar traveling to meet with Arnulf to ask for his help against Wido.

[76] Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, p. 298.

[77] Eggert, "Arnolf," pp. 53-60.

[78] They may have had access to the *Annales Bertiniani* as well, see Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 16. Compared to the scholarship on the *Annales Fuldenses* and especially on Regino of Prüm, the literature on the *Annales Vedastini* is relatively thin. See Wilhelm Wattenbach et al., eds. *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter 5: Die Karolinger vom Vertrag von Verdun bis zum Herrschaftsantritt der Herrscher aus dem Sächsichen Hause. Das Westfrankische Reich* (H. Böhlaus, 1973), pp. 534-537; Sören Kaschke, "Annales Vedastini (Annals of St. Vaast)," in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy (Brill, 2010), p. 94; on the role of bishops in the text see Patzold, *Episcopu*s, pp. 435-439.

[79] Charles the Bald gave St. Vaast as a special gift to Lothar I in 843, *AB*, s.a. 843, p. 45. Lothar II gave it back to Charles in 866, *AB*, s.a. 866, p. 128. Charles the Bald himself seems to have retained control over the monastery after receiving it in 866., *AB*, s.a. 866, p. 132. In 879 the sons of Louis the Stammerer granted it

it passed back into the West Frankish orbit: Odo celebrated Christmas there in 888 and Charles the Simple granted it as a benefice to archbishop Fulk of Reims.[80] The annalist wrote parts of the text after 891, at the least, because the entry for 888 notes that after fighting with Berengar, Wido traveled to Rome and was made emperor, an event that occurred in 891.[81] This source gives substantially more details on events in West Francia in the aftermath of the coup than most of the other sources, including the short lived attempt by Wido to become king there.[82] The annalist seems to be skeptical of this claim, however, noting that he was made king only "by a few people from Burgundy."[83] Once this petered out and Odo was made king at Compiègne, he next needed to deal with solidifying his own support. This was a contested process that also involved Arnulf:

> King Odo, partially by flattery, partially by terror, hastened to join to him the Franks who were not wishing to be placed under his power. But after they had given loyalty to him, who placed themselves under his power, they carried themselves to king Arnulf, so that he would come into Francia and receive the kingdom owed to him. Among those who were leaders of this discord were archbishop Fulk, abbot Rudolf, and also count Baldwin. But while they were doing these things, it happened that king Odo through the mercy of God won an unexpected victory. For on the feast of St. John the Baptist he, with a small army, met an army of Danes near the river Aisne and having engaged in battle soon emerged the victor. This victory brought him no small amount of glory. After this he was called to a meeting by Arnulf.[84]

alongside part of Lotharingia to Louis the Younger in order to prevent his invasion of West Francia, Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 879, p. 115.

[80] *AV,* s.a. 888, p. 67. Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 903, p. 149 but see n. 7, dating this to 899 instead.

[81] *AV*, s.a. 888, p. 65.

[82] *AV*, s.a. 887, p. 64.

[83] *AV*, s.a. 888, p. 64: *Pauci ex Burgundia*.

[84] *AV*, s.a. 888, p. 64: *Odo vero rex Francos, qui suo nolebant se subdi dominationi, partim blanditiis, partim terroribus sibi sociari festinabat. Sed cum ei fidem dedissent, quo eius dominatui se subderent, contulerunt se ad Arnulfum regem, ut veniret in Franciam et regnum sibi debitum recipieret. Inter quos erant primi huius discordiae Fulcho archiepiscopus et Hrodulfus abba necnon et Balduinus comes. Sed dum illi haec agerent, contigit Odoni regi per Dei misericordiam inopinata victoria. Nam die nativiatis sancti Iohannis baptistae cum parvo exercitu Danorum exercitum obviavit super Axonam fluvium commissoque proelio mox victor extitit. Quae victoria non modicam illi contulit gloriam. Post haec ab Arnulfo convocatur ad placitum*.

The impression is one of instability; Odo needs to resort to "flattery and terror" in order to convince these hesitant elites to support him and even then it was only a temporary success. We will see below how this was a rhetorical strategy used to downplay a ruler's authority, and the St. Vaast annalist seems to be deploying it here as evidence for the tension in West Francia over the succession. The supposed delegation to Arnulf reveals the main opponents to Odo: the archbishop of Reims, Fulk, the abbot of St. Bertin and St. Vaast Rudolf, and count Baldwin II of Flanders. We can find evidence for Fulk's support for Arnulf in other sources, which lends credibility to the annalist's account of a proposed delegation to Arnulf. In a later letter sent by Fulk to Arnulf, recorded by Flodoard, Fulk explains that Arnulf "was not willing to take up the rule of that kingdom."[85] Rudolf's presence indicates that St. Vaast was not a neutral party or neutral site, but was involved in the dispute.[86]

Odo's victory over the Danes "unexpectedly" seems to have caused his opposition to lose momentum. Perhaps as in East Francia, defense against the Northmen was a pressing matter and the elites were concerned over who could adequately rise to the challenge. Indeed it was Odo's conduct at the Siege of Paris in 886 against the Northmen that set the stage for his rise to the kingship.[87] If Arnulf had any hesitations about taking over West Francia, and Fulk's letter suggests that he did not want to, Odo's victory may have contributed to the perception that Odo was a strong ruler who was to be

[85] Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae (HRE)*, ed. Martina Stratmann, MGH SS 36 (Hahn, 1998), IV.5, p. 381: *Arnulfus regimen huius regni suscipere noluit*.

[86] This produces a somewhat puzzling contradiction: if the annalist was writing after Odo had secured the kingship, why record this evidence of disloyalty on the part of the abbot? Rudolf died on January 5, 892, so perhaps the annalist was writing after Rudolf's death when this opposition could be safely remembered. It was definitely written after 891, see above.

[87] On his rise and his position under Charles the Fat see MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 49-55. His conduct at the siege would be remembered in extended form in Abbo's verse account, *Bella parisiacae urbis*, ed. Winterfeld, *MGH Poetae* 4, no. 1. On Abbo see also MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 55-64.

respected.[88] It was this victory that seemingly prompted Odo "to be called to a *placitum* by Arnulf."[89] Odo sent along a delegation to discuss matters with Arnulf before his arrival, and it seems that during this negotiation Baldwin decided to give up his attempt to persuade Arnulf and was once more faithful to Odo. For Loßlein this is evidence that Odo's strategy to use Arnulf as a source of legitimation worked: "[b]y gaining Arnulf's acknowledgement, Odo was able to eliminate another claimant to the throne and deliver a serious blow to the faction opposing him."[90] Odo was then "received honorably by king Arnulf, and having been made friends, he sent him back with honor into his own kingdom asking that he give leniency to those who had brought themselves against him."[91] These types of political rituals could be used to publicly communicate hierarchies of status and honor.[92] The annalist of St. Vaast then makes Arnulf the main driver of the second crowning of Odo at Reims on November 13th. Odo "proceeded to the city of Reims in reply to the messengers of Arnulf, who sent a crown to him."[93]

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[88] Arnulf's own victory over the Northmen in 891 would similarly bolster his reputation as a ruler, see Chapter Four, pp. 153-160 and pp. 192-195.

[89] *AV*, s.a. 888, p. 65: *Post haec ab Arnulfo convocatur ad placitum*.

[90] Loßlein, *Royal Power*, pp. 240-243 at p. 241.

[91] *AV*, s.a. 888, p. 65: *honorificeque ab Arnulfo rege susceptus, et facti amici remisit eum cum honore in regnum suum petens, ut indulgentiam eis daret qui se ad eum contulerant*.

[92] See Althoff, *Die Macht*, pp. 9-67, esp. pp. 32-67. On friendship specifically see two works by Gerd Althoff, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue. Zum politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbindungen im früheren Mittelalter* (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), trans. Christopher Carroll, *Family, Friends, and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), esp. pp. 67-85 and Gerd Althoff, *Amicitia und Pacta: Bündnis, Einung, Politik und Gebetsgedenken im beginnenden 10. Jahrhunderts* (Hahn, 1992). See also Gerd Althoff, "Friendship and Political Order," in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Sutton, 1999), p. 94.

[93] *AV*, s.a. 888, p. 67: *Odo vero rex Remis civitatem contra missos Arnulfi perrexit, qui ei coronam...misit*. This detail was also reported in the tenth-century source written by Widukind, *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri III*, eds. Paul Hirsch and H.-E. Lohmann, MGH SS rer. Germ. 60 (Hahn, 1935), I.29, p. 42.

That Odo would be crowned a second time suggests that Arnulf's endorsement carried weight in terms of convincing the West Frankish elite to fully support Odo.[94] For Arnulf, in giving his consent to Odo it would have further affirmed his status as a ruler who could summon other rulers to him. In effect Odo was recognizing Arnulf's superior status. There is a hint of this in the Bavarian annalist's presentation, noting that Odo preferred to hold the kingdom *gratia cum regis* ("with the grace of the king"), a reworking of the *intitulatio* found on many charters where the king holds his kingdom *gratia dei* or "with the grace of God."[95] Fulk's delegation to Arnulf and the negotiation by Odo's men highlights how the rise of Odo after Charles' death was certainly contentious, and contemporaries may have been unsure which way the conflict would settle. That is, Arnulf was not sanctioning an already secure acquisition of power. As we will see below, Arnulf would continue to exert a legitimizing role in the 890s when Charles the Simple was able to challenge Odo for the kingship.

A similar process played out in Provence, albeit slightly later than 887. At issue was the young son left by the first non-Carolingian king Boso, who had become king in 879 and faced sustained Carolingian opposition.[96] Boso's wife, Ermengard, was also the daughter of the last independent Carolingian ruler of Italy, Louis II. In 889 Arnulf confirmed the Italian possessions of Angelberga, Louis II's wife, who had come to Arnulf at Forcheim and on her death the land was to go to

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[94] On the importance of the second ceremony and the importance of Arnulf's involvement, see O. Guillot, "Les étapes de l'accession d'Eudes au pouvoir royal," in *Media in Francia. Recueil de mélanges offert à Karl Ferdinand Werner à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire par ses amis et collègues français*, ed. George Duby (Hérault, 1989), pp. 215-217.

[95] On the meaning and development of this, see Chapter Three, p. 136.

[96] On this see MacLean, "The Carolingian Response."

Ermengard.[97] The following year Ermengard herself, "the daughter of Louis [II] the king of Italy, the widow of the tyrant Boso," came to meet with Arnulf.[98] Angelberga and Ermegnard seem to have been hoping to secure Arnulf's support for Louis (known to historians as Louis the Blind).[99] These continuing attempts to solicit Arnulf's support seem to have paid off because in autumn 890 Louis was consecrated as king. A description of this event notes that the pope, on hearing that the kingdom had been ravaged by Northmen and Saracens, wrote that the kingdom should be given to Louis, "a certain grandson of the most glorious emperor Louis [II]."[100] The assembled bishops then anoint Louis as king, "to who the most outstanding emperor Charles [the Fat] had granted the royal dignity and Arnulf, who became his successor, through his scepter and his most perceptive legates, namely bishop Reoculf and count Bertold, is confirmed to be the patron and founder of the kingdom in all things."[101] As with Odo in West Francia, Louis was seemingly looking towards Arnulf as a source of legitimacy and support.

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[97] D A 49.

[98] *AF* (B), s.a. 890, p. 119: *filia Hludwici Italici regis vidua Bosoni tyranni*.

[99] They had already presumably attempted to secure Charles the Fat's support in late 887, see DD CF 165 and 166. On Charles "adopting" Louis see MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 161-169.

[100] "Hludowici regis Arelatensis electio," eds. Boretius and Kruse, MGH Capit. 2, no. 289, p. 377: *nepote quondam Ludovici gloriosissimi imperatoris*. The text only comes down to us from Guillaume Paradin, *Annales de Bourgogne* (A. Gryphius 1566), pp. 121-122.

[101] "Hludowici regis Arelatensis electio," p. 377: *ad hoc dignum, cui praestantissimus Carolus imperator iam regiam concesserat dignitatem et Arnulphus, qui successor eius existit, per suum sceptrum perque suos sagacissimos legatos, Reoculfum videlicet episcopum et Bertaldum comitem, fautor regni auctorque in omnibus esse comprobatur*. It is not clear on first glance who the "bishop Reoculf" mentioned is, but the editor of the text follows Johann Georg von Eckhart, *Commentarii de rebus Franciae orientalis et episcopatus Wirceburgensis*, vol. 2 (Würzburg, 1729), p. 716 in identifying it as Theodolf, the bishop of Chur who received a charter from Arnulf in 888 (D A 9). Bertold was an important count in Alemannia, see Borgolte, *Die Grafen Alemanniens*, pp. 79-80. He is included in the list of important magnates who are meant to respect the rights of St. Gall in D A 111.

Writing after Arnulf's life, in the early-tenth century, Regino's account is, to modern historians at least, among the most famous passages detailing the coup and its aftermath:

> After his [Charles the Fat's] death the kingdoms which had obeyed his authority, just as though a legitimate heir were lacking, dissolved into separate parts and, without waiting for their natural lord, each decided to create a king from its own guts. This was the cause of great wars; not because the Franks lacked leaders who by nobility, courage, and wisdom were capable of ruling the kingdoms, but rather because the equality of descent, authority and power increased the discord among them; none so outshone the others that the rest deigned to submit to his rule. For Francia would have produced many leaders capable of controlling the government of the kingdom, had not fortune equipped them to destroy each other in the competition for power.[102]

How historians have interpreted this passage detailing the dissolution of the empire has important implications for understanding the post-888 world as one of rupture and ending, or as I would argue, one of reserved optimism. There has been much scholarly discussion of Regino's *Chronicon*, in particular his role in narrating the end of the Carolingian empire.[103] Historians have taken Regino's passage on the events after Charles' death to mean the collapse of Carolingian dynastic supremacy: there was no longer the assumption that the ruler was a Carolingian and this passage highlights Regino's belief in the end of the empire and decline of the Carolingians.[104] Simon MacLean

[102] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 888, p. 129, trans. MacLean, *History*, p. 199: *Post cuius mortem regna, que eius ditioni paruerant, veluti legitimo destituta herede, in partes a sua compage resolvuntur et iam non naturalem dominum prestolantur, sed unumquodque de suis visceribus regem sibi creari disponit. Quae causa magnos bellorum motus excitavit; non quia principes Francorum deessent, qui nobilitate, fortitudine et sapientia regnis imperare possent, sed quia inter ipsos aequalitas generositatis dignitatis ac potentiae discordiam augebat, nemine tantum ceteros precellente, ut eius dominio reliqui se submittere dignarentur. Multos enim idoneos principes ad regni gubernacula moderanda Francia genuisset, nisi fortuna eos aemulatione virtutis in pernitiem mutuam armasset*.

[103] See now Hans-Werner Goetz, *Die Chronik Reginos von Prüm Geschichtsschreibung, Geschichtsbild und Umgang mit Zeit und Vergangenheit im frühen Mittelalter* (Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek mit Bibliothek St. Albertus Magnus, 2022).

[104] See Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 273-318. See on Regino specifically, Airlie, "Sad Stories" and Meens, "The Rise and Fall of the Carolingians." References to this passage are ubiquitous in discussions of the late-ninth century: Costambeys, Innes, and MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, p. 427: "Regino of Prüm offered the most persuasive summary...Not just in retrospect, but also to contemporaries like Regino, 888 represented an ending."

in his translation of Regino noted that "Regino's [account] is regarded as the classic account of the disintegration of the empire."[105] Hans-Werner Goetz argued that Regino saw 888 as the moment that "sealed" the decline of the Carolingians.[106] Kortüm argued that when Regino was writing the kingdoms were in an "existential crisis situation" and that he relied on Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae* in understanding the events of the coup in 887.[107] More recently however, Eric Goldberg and Simon MacLean have argued that Regino was writing a history of the Carolingian family in order to impress upon the young king Louis the Child the importance of finding a good marriage partner.[108] We do not, then, need to understand Regino as completely overwhelmed with pessimism, or as one historian argued, that Regino "demonstrated that the Carolingian future was all used up."[109]

The way that Regino shapes the narrative of the coup subtly implies Arnulf was distinct from the other non-Carolingian rulers. However, the phrases *legitimo herede* and *naturalem dominum* have prompted differing interpretations. Instead of seeing *iam naturalem dominum prestolantur* as the kingdoms not waiting for their natural lord, Kortüm believed it meant "they no longer expected a natural lord" (*erwarteten sie keinen natürlichen Herrn mehr*).[110] The Latin itself is not clear, and both interpretations are possible based on the text alone. Yet there are some issues with Kortüm's

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[105] MacLean, *History*, p. 199, n. 349. See also MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 230.

[106] Goetz, *Die Chronik Reginos,* p. 158: "besiegelt."

[107] Hans-Hennig Kortüm, "Weltgeshichte am Ausgang der Karolingerzeit: Regino von Prüm," in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, eds. Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter (Oldenbourg, 1994), p. 506 ("existentiellen Krisensituation") and pp. 508-512.

[108] Goldberg and MacLean, "Royal Marriage," pp. 117-125.

[109] Airlie, "Sad Stories," p. 131.

[110] Kortün, "*Multi reguli*," pp. 73-74. See also Airlie, "Sad Stories," p. 108.

interpretation, namely that by this point in the narrative, Regino has already described Arnulf as king: Regino notes at the end of the entry for 887 that "King Arnulf granted to him [Charles] a few fiscs in Alemannia."[111] After the dissolution of the empire in the entry for 888 Regino then proceeds to list the fates of the other parts of the empire, that is Italy, West Francia, and so on, but he does not mention Arnulf. This suggests that the kingdoms referred to by Regino are all of them *except* East Francia. Regino is implicitly arguing that Arnulf is the *naturalem dominum* that the other regions did not wait for. In the entry for 880 Regino notes how the Carolingian family had been winnowed down by death and sterility so that Arnulf "alone from so many numerous kings was found suitable for posterity, who could take up the scepter of the rule of the Franks."[112] The entry for 880 is largely about foreshadowing Arnulf's own rise to power as part of a narrative of East Frankish Carolingian rule that extended from Louis the German to Louis the Child.[113]

That is why Regino places so much emphasis on Arnulf's name. Being named after the saintly ancestor of the dynasty was "not by chance, but it was regarded as a certain presentiment and portent of the future actions he would do."[114] Saint Arnulf was the progenitor of the Carolingian family, a family which had flourished under Charlemagne so that he had obtained power over "diverse peoples

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[111] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 887, p. 128: *Concessit autem ei Arnulfus rex nonnullos fiscos in Alamannia*.

[112] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, p. 117: *solus de tam numerosa regum posteritate idoneus inveniretur, qui imperii Francorum sceptra susciperet*.

[113] On this see Chapter Three, pp. 61-66.

[114] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, pp. 116-7: *quod non casu accidisse, sed quodam presagio portentoque futurorum actitatum videtur*.

and kingdoms."[115] Charlemagne's death ushered in a period of disaster for the dynasty that led to the "faltering" (*deficientibus*) of "not only the kingdom, but even the royal line."[116] It is in this context that Regino notes Arnulf was found suitable to take up the rule of the Franks. Reading both entries together, 880 and 888, Regino is laying out the reasons that Arnulf was marked out for rulership and continuing the lineage of rulers begun by Saint Arnulf. Regino even notes in the 880 entry that the full story will become clear later "in its place," evidence that Regino saw these two entries as connected.[117] In the 888 passage, then, when Regino refers to the *naturalem dominum*, he means Arnulf as the successor not only to Charles the Fat, but the latest representative of an entire lineage of Carolingians. It was this connection that distinguished him from the other leaders of the Franks.

How Regino describes the other kingdoms creates a contrast between Arnulf and these other rulers. Immediately following the passage laying out how the kingdoms dissolved after Charles' death, Regino proceeds to explain which regions and kings he means. Notably, East Francia and Arnulf are not included. The other rulers are all presented in ways that downplay their authority. Even Odo, who Regino describes with glowing praise as "an active man, who was before others in beauty of form, height and strength of body, and size of wisdom" holds his authority "with the consent of Arnulf."[118]

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[115] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, p. 116: *diversarum gentium regnorumque*.

[116] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, p. 116: *donec deficientibus non modo regnis, sed etiam ipsa regia stirpe*. MacLean, *History*, p. 183 translates *deficientibus* as "came to an end" which is perhaps too strong given that it is a present participle, suggesting that Regino is seeing it as an ongoing process that is not yet finished. This translation accords better with Regino's overall goal to show the importance of the East Frankish Carolingians as the representatives of the Carolingian dynasty, and thus Louis the Child as the latest ruler in that lineage.

[117] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 880, p. 117: *quod in subsequentibus suo in loco lucidius apparebit*.

[118] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 888, pp. 129-130: *cum consensu Arnulfi...virum strenuum, cui pre ceteris formae pulchritudo et proceritas corporis et virium sapientiaeque magnitudo*.

Berengar was established as king by "a certain part of the people of Italy" while another part "decided to raise Wido into the royal dignity."[119] This event, according to Regino, will cause various disturbances in Italy and Regino then promises to tell of Arnulf's later interventions there.[120] This division leads Regino to reference Matthew 12:25 (albeit seemingly from memory) and Italy is presented in contrast to the people of Gaul who "came together as one people" to make Odo king.[121] The cumulative effect would seem to be that the stability and order of West Francia was safeguarded by Odo, yes, but also because Odo was made king with Arnulf's consent. In Italy, on the other hand, disaster followed Wido's victory which required Berengar to come to "King Arnulf" to ask for his protection.[122]

Regino also downplays the authority of Rudolf of Upper Burgundy, who "placed the crown on his head and ordered that he be called king."[123] Rudolf then sends legates through Lotharingia so that "by persuasions and promises he charms the minds of noblemen and bishops into his favor."[124] The accusation of bribery, threats, and similar means to secure a throne was used by other Carolingian authors as a way of discrediting a claimant.[125] This was thus a pointed argument that Rudolf's claim was not legitimate; Regino had already levied the same criticism against Boso becoming king of

[119] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 888, p. 129: *Quaedam pars italici populi Berrengarium....regem sibi statuunt, quaedam Widonem...aeque regia dignitate sublimandum decernunt*.

[120] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 888, p. 129. These will be covered in Chapter Six.

[121] On Regino relying on memory in this passage see MacLean, *History*, p. 200, n. 351. Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 888, p. 129: *Interea Galliarum populi in unum congregati*.

[122] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 888, p. 129.

[123] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 888, p. 129: *coronam sibi imposuit regemque se appellari iussit*.

[124] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 888, p. 129: *suasionibus pollicitationibus episcoporum ac nobilium virorum mentes in sui favorem demulcet*.

Provence in 879.[126] Hincmar in the *Annales Bertiniani* leverages the exact same "threats and persuasions" argument against Boso becoming king of Provence in 879.[127] Regino also notes that Boso was attempting to occupy "all of Burgundy" placing Boso as a sort of precursor to Rudolf.[128]

An obvious point is that Regino was writing after Arnulf's death, so his text was written with a specific early tenth-century agenda. As discussed above, Regino was concerned with presenting a dynastic history that emphasized the legitimacy and supremacy of the East Frankish Carolingians. It is thus not entirely surprising that Regino, writing with hindsight, would attempt to downplay the authority of the other rulers outside East Francia. Yet Regino was also a direct participant in some of these events; he tonsured Hugh of Lotharingia and was made abbot of Prüm in 892, at least according to himself, "by royal agreement."[129] Regino had connections to various high level members of Arnulf's court including Adalbero of Augsburg, Ratbod of Trier, and Hatto of Mainz.[130] That is, Regino was

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[125] In 875 the annalist in the *Annales Fuldenses* notes that Charles the Bald "corrupted by gifts the whole senate and people of Rome in the manner of Jugurtha" so that the pope would crown him emperor, *AF*, s.a. 875, p. 85: *omnemque senatum populi Romani pecunia more Iugurthino corrupit*.

[126] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 879, p. 114. Boso was a constant source of Carolingian opposition both militarily and in the narrative sources, see MacLean, "Response." See *AB,* s.a. 879, p. 239 which also uses the "threats and gifts" motif for how Boso could convince others to make him king. The West Frankish sources clearly saw it as a revolt against West Frankish authority: *AB*, s.a. 881, pp. 243-244. *AV*, s.a. 879, p. 45 reports that Boso "claimed through tyranny the name of king for himself and occupied part of Burgundy": *per tirannidem nomen regis sibi vindicat partemque Burgundiae occupat*.

[127] *AB,* s.a. 879, p. 239.

[128] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 879, p. 114: *totamque Burgundiam occupare*.

[129] For the tonsuring see Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 885, p. 125; For being made abbot see Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 892, p. 138: *per concessum regis*.

[130] Regino addresses the preface of the *Chronicon* to Adalbero, Regino, *Chronicon*, p. 1. The preface to the *Libri duo de synodalibus* is addressed to Hatto and notes Ratbod asked him to make the collection, see Somerville and Brasington, *Prefaces*, pp. 79-80. For the edition see Hartmann, *Das Sendhandbuch*, p. 20.

not a bystander to the events of Arnulf's reign, but had first hand knowledge of them and an agenda in creating his narrative. Regino was unlikely to be inventing this perception of Arnulf's authority, but may have been working within a longer tradition of understanding Arnulf's power as a hegemonic figure within Europe.

The point of all this is that it seems unlikely that the image of Arnulf as having an elevated position in regards to the *reguli* was simply an attempt to present a post-887 image of stability. Instead, we can read Regino as presenting Arnulf in a different register of status than the *reguli.* This presentation is also found in sources more contemporary to the coup itself. While it is not terribly surprising to find such an image in the East Frankish sources, such as the *Annales Fuldenses*, that a similar image is found in the *Annales Vedastini* suggests a broader understanding of Arnulf as a ruler with influence over the *reguli*. Most of the *reguli* had to deal with Arnulf in some form or other, either as direct political interference (Provence and West Francia), military campaigns (Burgundy) or a combination of both (Italy). This is not the same as Arnulf exercising direct control over any of these places, but contemporaries viewed Arnulf as the senior ruler in Europe who wielded cultural and political influence. This view accorded with the ideas of "imperial" kingship laid out in the previous section, of a ruler who through dominance of others was of higher status than other rulers.[131] If empire was largely a method of distinction from other kings, then these are all quasi-imperial presentations even if they do not call Arnulf an emperor. Only sources across the Channel do so explicitly, but the other sources all fit into a model of empire that is based on influence and hegemony, not outright

[131] See Gebhardt, "From Bretwalda to Basileus," p. 181 about how the imperial titles used by Athelstan were not meant to claim Roman emperorship, but were meant to convey the king's distinction from the other kings who were subject to him.

control. This set the stage for Arnulf's own actions in the 890s that further asserted his hegemony over the *reguli*. At the same time, it suggests there was a shift in imperial ideology from Charles the Fat's reign, something illuminated in the next section by looking at the presentation of empire in charters *after* Arnulf became emperor in 896.

Imperial Ideology in Dating Clauses: From Charles the Fat to Arnulf:

The dating clauses in charters of Charles the Fat and Arnulf presented the imperial title in different manners. These differences will help to illuminate how Arnulf's model for empire was likely a reaction to the events under Charles the Fat's rule. The impression of empire in the dating clauses of Arnulf's charters instead was following Louis the German's model of "imperial" kingship as laid out above.

Charles the Fat would use the imperial title when he was crowned emperor in 881, and we can find a variety of forms in the dating clauses of his charters.[132] The language used in these clauses suggests how contemporaries at the court may have conceptualized the polity. That there are different styles therefore suggests that there was not only one way of understanding Charles' empire and that this understanding shifted over time. While there are similarities between rulers, there are also subtle differences that indicate different understandings of the nature of the ruler's authority. For instance Charles the Bald's charters occasionally date themselves to his coronation as king of Lotharingia, but identified by the ruler, not the place. So a charter may be dated "in the thirty-sixth year with King

[132] The *Annales Fuldenses* does not mention the coronation at all, but it can be found erroneously dated to Christmas 880 in *AB*, s.a. 880, p. 243. Charles was crowned emperor in mid-February 881 most likely: Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 881, p. 117. Notker, *Continuatio*, p. 83. Notker ends his narration with Charles' crowning as emperor, suggesting its importance. See MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 225.

Charles ruling, and in the sixth year of the succession of Lothar and the first of the succession of Louis."[133] For Charles the Fat there are three main types of dating clause:

- Type A (the "universal" title): This type of clause dates only by Charles' imperial rule.
- Type B (different kingdoms): This type of clause dates by the years since Charles assumed rulership over each individual kingdom.
- Type C (king and emperor): This type of clause dates to both the year Charles became king and his imperial coronation.

The most common type of these clauses dates only by Charles' imperial rule (Type A).[134] For instance a charter from January 886 gives the year as 887 and it is dated "in the seventh year of the empire of the most pious emperor Charles."[135] In these charters the emphasis is clearly on Charles's imperial title, not the kingdoms he ruled over and the dates of their acquisitions (as we will see below). Acquiring West Francia seems to have caused a change in ideas, because this more "universal" title, dating only to Charles' imperial rule, occurs in a much higher frequency of charters from before 884: almost seventy-five percent of charters between 881 and 883 use this style of dating.[136]

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[133] D CB 383: *anno XXXVI regnante Karolo rege et in sucessione Hlotarii VI et successionis Hluduwici I*. That is, this charter is dated to 875 after taking over from Lothar II in Lotharingia (869) and Louis II in Italy (875).

[134] DD CF 32, 34-36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44-54, 57, 58, 62, 63, 65-68, 70-76, 78, 79, 81-83, 85, 86, 90, 92, 95, 96, 104, 109, 111, 134, 135, 140, 161, 163, 164, 167, 170, 172. That is, fifty-seven out of 135 charters (~forty-two percent) granted after becoming emperor.

[135] D CF 135: *anno vero imperii piissimi imperatoris KAROLI VII*.

[136] DD CF 32, 34-36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44-54, 57, 58, 61-63, 65-68, 70-76, 78, 79, 81-83, 85, 86, 90, 92. Forty-three of the sixty charters that only reference Charles' imperial rule come between 881 and 883. Between 881 and 883 Charles issued only fifty-seven charters (excluding DD CF 31 (a *placita* report), 37 (a charter of "dubious originality"), 80 (heavily interpolated), and 92a (brief notice)): DD CF 32-36, 38, 39, 41-54, 56-68, 70-79, 81-93. Thus between 881 and 883 approximately seventy-five percent of Charles' charters used this more

After 884 Charles' charters begin to distinguish between the different kingdoms as well as the imperial title (Type B). This type of formula identified the constituent parts of Charles' rule: Italy, East Francia, and West Francia. For instance a charter in June 885 notes it was "the fifth year of the emperor in Italy, the third in East Francia."[137] This charter was granted at Ponthion and is correctly dating Charles' rule to his crowning as king of Italy in 880 and when he took over from his brother Louis the Younger in 882, but makes no mention of West Francia despite being granted in the west. The next charter dates two empires, the first meaning his coronation as king of Italy in 880, and the second his acceptance of West Francia in 884.[138] Differentiating the various regions of the empire seems to have been a model favored in particular by one notary named Amalbert.[139] We can find Amalbert acting as either notary or *cancellarius* for a host of charters granted in West Francia between 884 and 887.[140] Indeed several of the charters that date by Charles' assumption of West Francia were granted at West Frankish centers, suggesting a targeted message to the West Frankish elite.[141] Yet we also find this

universal title.

[137] D CF 122: *anno V imperatoris in Italia, in orientali Francia III*.

[138] D CF 123: *anno...V imperante domno nostro serenissimo Karolo imperatore augusto, in Francia vero anno imperii eius primo*.

[139] See Paul Kehr, ed., *Die Urkunden Karls III*, MGH Die Urkunden der Deutschen Karolinger 2 (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1937), p. xxvii. Amalbert first appears as a notary in D CF 79. He then appears in DD CF 81, 85, 114, 116, 117, 118, 127, 128, 130, 134-140, 142-144, 146-149, 152-155, 160, 161, 163, 164, 167-169

[140] DD CF 116-118, 138-140, 142-144, 146-149, and 152-155.

[141] DD CF 116-118 (Granges), 122, (Ponthion), 142-150 (Paris), 152-155 (Sélestat). The 885 charters are discussed as part of the "ascension charters" issued by Charles the Fat, see Koziol, *The Politics of Memory*, pp. 63-95 at pp. 74-78.

formula outside West Francia, but less commonly.[142] This may have been a way of signaling the importance of the West Frankish kingdom. If there had been fears of Charles acting at a distance or not respecting West Frankish traditions, including West Francia in the charters could have assuaged those fears among the West Frankish elite. Indeed West Francia is almost always identified as "Gaul" even if it is the only kingdom mentioned, as happened for a grant given at Paris in 886.[143] Yet this is probably also reflecting an East Frankish viewpoint, because Charles the Bald's charters generally identify West Francia as "Francia."[144]

Finally, a small subset of the charters use a formula that dates by both Charles' royal and imperial rulership (Type C).[145] Our earliest example of this comes from a charter granted at Colmar in February 884. It is dated "in the eighth year of the reign of the lord Augustus Charles, the fourth of the empire."[146] While not terming Charles a king, it is dating to the year he became king in 876, emphasizing the importance of that date. This form would be used almost exclusively under Arnulf, except Arnulf is often termed *rex*. For instance when Arnulf returned to Regensburg after being crowned emperor it was dated "in the ninth year of the reign of the lord king Arnulf, the first of the empire."[147] Yet directly above the dating clause, in the *signum* line, Arnulf is named as "the most

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[142] DD CF 127, 128, 160, 162, 168, and 169.

[143] D CF 148. It is noted as Francia in only one charter, D CF 124

[144] See DD CB 400-404, 406, 407, 411-413, 415, 419, 420, 423, 425, 427, 428, 431, 433-446.

[145] Only twenty-seven charters present it this way: DD CF 94, 98-103, 106-108, 114, 115, 119-121, 126, 127, 129-133, 156, 158, 159, 165, and 166.

[146] D CF 94: *anno vero regni domni Karoli augusti VIII, imperii IIII.*

[147] D A 145: *anno vero regni domni Arnolfi regis VIIII, imperii autem I.*

glorious emperor augustus."[148] As such Arnulf's charters are adapting the formula found in Charles' charters. But why refer to Arnulf as both king and emperor in the same document in this way?

In order to unravel why the dating clause would use this, perhaps odd, phrasing we need to know where the formula (Type C) originally came from and how it made its way to Arnulf's court. It seems that it was one specific notary and scribe, named Segoin, who first introduced this formulation under Charles the Fat. Segoin was likely a Lotharingian or West Frankish scribe who wrote in a hand that resembled scripts used in charters of Lothar II.[149] We can find three charters of Charles the Bald that use this construction.[150] Most of the early charters using this formula were written by Segoin himself.[151] One of these charters, however, notes a Solomon as the *notarius* even though Segoin wrote the document.[152] Solomon and another of Charles' notaries, Inquirinus, seem to have taken over using this formula from Segoin.[153] Between Segoin, Solomon, and Inquirinus they account for twenty-one of the twenty-seven charters that use this formula, suggesting this was more than coincidence.[154] Segoin and Inquirinus are obscure, but Solomon was none other than the future bishop of Constance and

[148] D A 145: *gloriosissimi imperatoris augusti*.

[149] See Kehr, *Die Urkunden Karls III*, p. xxv. Note, Lothar's charters do not use this formula.

[150] D CB 422, 435, 436.

[151] See DD CF 94, 98, 100, 101 (his assistant scribe), 102, 103, 106-108. Segoin does not appear in any charter after D CF 108.

[152] D CF 98.

[153] Solomon: DD CF 98, 119, 120, 131, 132; Inquirinus: DD CF 99, 115, 121, 126, 129, 133, 159.

[154] Amalbert oversaw two: DD CF 127 and 130. The others are DD CF 156 (Angelulf), 158 (Liutfred), 165-166 (Fredebold).

abbot of St. Gall, who appears as an intercessor in 889 as Arnulf's "chaplain."[155] We also saw above Solomon's potential involvement in the formulary collection produced at St. Gall that laid out a vision of imperial kingship. It is possible, then, that Solomon may have been influential in bringing this formula to Arnulf's court from the court of Charles the Fat.

Even if the origin of this styling seems clear, why would Arnulf or his court prefer this model over one that simply emphasized his imperial title? Arnulf's charters already used *rex* in a universalizing way by not identifying the different areas of his rule. This continued with the imperial title but his charters were now dated to both his royal and imperial rules. Arnulf grew up under Louis the German and would have seen first hand his efforts to secure Italy as part of his imperial ambitions in the 860s and 870s. That is, the conception of rulership in the dating clauses fits with the ideas of imperial kingship put forward during Louis the German's reign. Indeed Arnulf was perhaps hoping to avoid the challenges faced by his uncle in ruling a broader empire. After 840 the long reigns of Louis the German and Charles the Bald led East and West Francia to develop into distinct political communities by the 870s.[156] When they died in 876 and 877, respectively, there was an explosion in the number of courts as well as a rapid turnover of rulers. From 877 to 884 West Francia had three different rulers (Louis the Stammerer, Louis III and Carloman II), while from 876 to 887 East Francia also had three different rulers (Carloman, Louis the Younger, and Charles the Fat). Charles' empire was the exception, rather than the rule. The rapid expansion and then contraction of these kingdoms created challenges for Charles the Fat when he acquired all of them in 884. These various aristocracies that had enjoyed

[155] D A 61.

[156] See Nelson, *Charles the Bald* and Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*.

patronage now faced a more distant ruler, and they still expected *Königsnahe*.[157] Arnulf instead focused on a smaller East Frankish core which exerted influence over the other parts of the former empire, but did not control them directly.

After becoming emperor *regnum* could still be used in the charters. Carolingian charters of Charles the Fat and Arnulf continued to couch the ruler's authority in royal terms even after they are crowned emperor.[158] In August 896 Arnulf confirmed the right of the monks of St. Gall to elect their own abbots, noting that they were to pray "for us and the stability of our kingdom."[159] Another, in 897, notes Arnulf's belief that listening to the petitions of the elite would help "our kingdom."[160] Indeed Arnulf's power was still conceived of as royal: in 899 lands had been confiscated at a *publicum mallum* and returned to the "royal power."[161] This was true even of the built environment: Charles the Fat could grant a charter "in the third year of the empire of the lord Charles in Italy" while at a "royal court."[162] Becoming emperor did not necessarily mean the elimination of royal authority, then.

By the end of the ninth century, then, Arnulf was utilizing a vision of imperial kingship, or "king and emperor" as Notker described it, where the imperial title could exist alongside a fundamentally royal conception of authority. This was distinct from Charles' empire, where Charles'

[157] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 75-80 and pp. 120-122.

[158] See for instance, D CF 61 (November, 882) which notes that Charles "trusts this [granting the charter] pertains to the state of our kingdom" (*hoc ad statum regni nostri pertinere confidimus*). A similar sentiment is expressed in D A 150 from January 897.

[159]D A 146: *pro nobis et stabilitate regni nostri*.

[160]D A 150: *id nobis ad statum regni nostri propsere gubernandum*.

[161]D A 175: *in regiam potestatem contracta est*.

[162] D CF 88: *anno vero imperii domni Karoli in Italia III; actum Murgulam curtem regiam*. D CF 89 uses the same term, *curtem regiam*. D CF 109 describes the "royal palace" (*palatio regali*) at Regensburg.

authority was located with the imperial title. Even when the charters dated themselves to Charles kingship, they still used the imperial title. In Arnulf's case *rex* was usually the term used. Yet Arnulf's *intitulatio* and *signum* lines, in contrast to the dating clause, always described him as emperor, suggesting that the presentation of Arnulf as an emperor was important.[163] He was not just a king ruling an empire, but was both king and emperor at the same time. The difference is in part shaped by historical circumstance, as Arnulf did not control West Francia, but the difference in dating clauses also reveals that at Arnulf's court there may have been new ideas about empire. These ideas had their origins, perhaps, in the discourses around Louis the German's "empire" in the 860s and 870s. These East Frankish authors needed to accommodate Louis' imperial pretensions but also his lack of papal coronation. Thus a conception of empire that was both royal and imperial developed, where the imperial title was a sign of distinction and used in conjunction with royal power. Charles the Fat's empire composed of three distinct kingdoms fit uneasily with such a model, whereas Arnulf was ruling, essentially, the East Frankish kingdom of his grandfather.

Arnulf's Quasi-Imperial Efforts, c. 893 to 896:

Even if the sources presented Arnulf as a hegemonic figure soon after the coup in 887, Arnulf was busy solidifying his own rule. There are hints of Arnulf exerting his hegemonic status with his brief involvement in Burgundy and Italy, yet our sources are largely opaque on these earlier attempts, so it is difficult to determine how far Arnulf was willing to pursue this hegemonic status. Indeed his efforts to sanction Odo in West Francia highlights how Arnulf could claim this hegemonic status, but

[163] One exception may be D A 149 which uses *rex* in the *signum* line but Kehr identifies it as an interpolation by Eberhard. It does not survive in the original.

affairs internally seem to have quickly caused Arnulf to look inward. That is, the attempts in 893 may not have been entirely novel, but were a revival of an older quasi-imperial ambition. By 893 conditions had changed, however, and Arnulf's reign was more secure than it had been in 888. These internal developments were covered in the previous chapter and the expeditions to Italy in 894 and 896 will be covered in the following chapter. Here I will focus specifically on Arnulf's relations with the *reguli* in this period from roughly 893 to before his coronation in 896 as a way of further asserting his own quasi-imperial position. What changed in these years was that Arnulf and his court were ready to express more forcefully a view of his hegemonic position that saw his influence reach into West Francia, but also to direct military campaigns in Italy and Burgundy.

One way that Arnulf could demonstrate this hegemonic position was by summoning rulers to meet with him. That a ruler traveled to Arnulf's court indicated his power and prestige. In several cases it was the ruler himself, not a messenger, that came to Arnulf. The choice of venue for these type of meetings was highly political, and could indicate the status of the participants in relation to each other: in 859 Charles the Bald, Louis the German, and Lothar II met on an island in the Rhine as neutral ground.[164] The following year they met at Koblenz, which Goldberg has argued signaled Louis' increased political position because it compelled the other kings to travel to his kingdom.[165] Having

[164] *AF,* s.a. 859, p. 53. Islands, bridges, and ships in rivers were considered neutral ground for meetings, see Ingrid Voss, *Herrschertreffen im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. Untersuchungen zu den Begegnungen der ostfränkischen und westfränkischen Herrscher im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert sowie der deutschen und französischen Könige vom 11. bis 13. Jahrhundert* (Böhlau, 1987), pp. 23-27 (on Arnulf and this period specifically) and pp. 38-45.

[165] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 260-261. On Koblenz as a meeting place for Carolingian rulers see Zotz, "Ludwig der Deutsche," p. 43.

rulers themselves travel to Arnulf's court was a sign of contemporary perception of Arnulf's hegemonic position.

When Charles the Simple was crowned as king in opposition to Odo in 893 both Odo and Charles looked to Arnulf as a way to legitimize their own claims to the West Frankish kingship.[166] The closest parallel to a ruler securing outside sanction in this way is probably Lothar II being brought to Frankfurt in 855 where "with [Louis the German's] consent and favor they [the elites] agreed that [Lothar II] rule them."[167] Since 890 Arnulf had not held an assembly, and it is precisely at this moment, in 894 after his return from Italy where he had defeated the emperor Wido, that he held an assembly at Worms. Several sources agree that Charles the Simple came to Arnulf at Worms, and Regino and the *Annales Vedastini* note that Charles was given Arnulf's approval as king of West Francia.[168]

This represented a reversal of Arnulf's earlier position sanctioning Odo as king. Several events in West Francia and Lotharingia had potentially shifted the political calculus for Arnulf. First, one of Odo's cousins, named Waltger, rebelled against Odo and captured the city of Laon before being beheaded.[169] Waltger evidently made peace with Baldwin II, the count of Flanders who had seized the monastery of St. Vaast against Odo's wishes in 892.[170] Baldwin had also been one of the men willing to

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[166] On Arnulf's role in legitimizing the rulers from the West Frankish perspective see the discussion in Loßlein, *Royal Power*, pp. 240-245.

[167] *AF*, s.a. 855, p. 46: *cum consensu et favore illius sibi regnare consentiunt*.

[168] *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 125; *AV*, s.a. 894, p. 74; Regino seemingly dates this event to 893: Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 893, p. 141.

[169] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 892, p. 139 notes his beheading and relationship to Odo. *AV*, s.a. 892, p. 72 notes the capture of Laon and beheading.

[170] *AV*, s.a. 892, p. 72. The annalist indicates that because of this peace Waltger lost his life.

invite Arnulf to the West Frankish throne in 888.[171] The *Annales Vedastini* also suggests some type of plot against Odo in 892: "the Franks, who were a while ago hostile to king Odo, joined themselves to others, so that they were able to complete that which they wanted."[172] It was while wintering in Aquitaine that Charles' supporters first met in Reims where they "made known the enmity and hostility which they had against king Odo" and then crowned Charles the Simple king in early 893.[173]

While Odo faced internal dissent in West Francia, Lotharingia was rocked by the murder of Megingoz, the count and lay abbot of St. Maximin in Trier.[174] Megingoz's importance, and his relationship with Odo, may have made Arnulf's support for Odo a useful political prospect. After his death such a concern was no longer as pressing, and Arnulf attempted to install his son Zwentibald into Megingoz's *honores* including the lay abbacy of St. Maximin in Trier.[175] Without Megingoz occupying an important role in Lotharingia and with Odo facing sustained internal challenges, Arnulf may have been receptive to Charles the Simple's requests in 894. As recorded in Flodoard, we have a letter that Fulk supposedly sent to Arnulf about his crowning of Charles in opposition to Odo. In the letter Fulk argued that he chose Charles only because Arnulf declined the throne of West Francia, leaving Charles as the only one left from the dynasty that could be king, and that he was supporting

[171] *AV*, s.a. 888, p. 65. Baldwin went back to Odo later that year, however.

[172] *AV*, s.a. 892, p. 72: *Franci vero, qui dudum Odoni regi infesti fuerant, sociatis sibi aliis, ut possent compleri quae volebant*.

[173] *AV*, s.a. 893, p. 73: *inimicitias et odium, quod habebant contra Odonem regem, panderent*.

[174] On his death see Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 892, p. 140.

[175] This is covered in Chapter Four, pp. 166-168.

him now in 893/894 because Charles was older.[176] Further, Fulk claims that they wanted to place Charles and West Francia under Arnulf's counsel as a sort of senior Carolingian leader.[177] At the same time as the letter Fulk may have sent to Arnulf a copy of several historical texts, including the pro-Carolingian *Annales Mettenses*, that emphasized the superiority and legitimacy of the Carolingian dynasty.[178] Charles and Odo had agreed to a truce until Easter 893 (March 31st) and Charles was then besieged by Odo at Rheims. At which point Charles and his men fled to get "the help of king Arnulf."[179] According to the annalist Arnulf granted Charles "the paternal kingdom" before sending him off with supporters to help him take the West Frankish throne.[180] Yet these supporters were actually on friendly terms with Odo, and thus did not provide the requisite military support when they encountered Odo along the Aisne River.[181] Regino reports a similar story, in that the bishops and counts "around the Meuse" were meant to provide help to Charles, but that upon seeing Odo's forces assembled along the river the "*duces* of the king [i.e., Arnulf]" turned back.[182]

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[176] Flodoard, *HRE*, IV.5, pp. 380-383.

[177] Flodoard, *HRE,* IV.5, p. 381: *Hoc more hunc regem factum ipsius fidelitati et consilio committere voluerint, ut ipsius adiutorio et consilio uteretur in omnibus et eius subderetur tam rex quam universum regnum preceptis et ordinationibus*.

[178] See Yitzhak Hen, "Canvassing for Charles: the Annals of Metz in Late Carolingian Francia," in *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift: Frühmittelalterliche Hagiographie und Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, eds. Richard Corradini et al. (Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010). On the *Annales Mettenses* in Carolingian historiography see Hen, "The Annals of Metz," Fouracre, "The Long Shadow of the Merovingians," and Reimitz, *History*, pp. 367-374.

[179] *AV*, s.a. 894, p. 74: *ad Arnulfi regis auxilium*.

[180] *AV*, s.a. 894, p. 74: *regnum paternum*.

[181] *AV*, s.a. 894, p. 74.

[182] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 893, p. 141: *circa Mosam*. Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 893, p. 141: *Duces regis*.

Even if Arnulf's support was insufficient to allow Charles to gain the throne, the Worms assembly had provided an opportunity for Arnulf to demonstrate his superior status not just to Charles, but internally as well. Arnulf's close courtiers Hatto and Solomon III were with the king, as well as Wiching, the bishop of Nitra who was now operating as Arnulf's *cancellarius*.[183] At the same time Arnulf granted three charters during this assembly, with two charters going to Cambrai and St. Stephen in Toul.[184] The charter for St. Stephen explicitly notes that Arnulf "had come to the city of Worms on behalf of the various affairs of our kingdom."[185] This suggests it was not a small matter to hold this assembly, described as a "general assembly" by the *Annales Fuldenses,* but likely brought together elites from across the kingdom.[186]

Cambrai was an unusual recipient for a grant because it was located in northeastern France. Although a diocese of Rheims, Cambrai was still part of Arnulf's kingdom. Dodilo, the bishop of Cambrai, was at Worms bringing old charters of Pippin III, Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious for Arnulf to confirm.[187] Dodilo, as it turns out, seems to have sided with Fulk in wanting Arnulf to take over West Francia.[188] Dodilo and, probably, Fulk accompanied the young king to Worms where he met his cousin, and as part of the proceedings Dodilo was granted a charter in return for his support. In the

[183] Hatto had been traveling with the king during the Italian expedition, and Ellwangen received a charter at Worms, where Hatto had been abbot since 887 (D A 126). Solomon III was the intercessor for the charter for Cambrai (D A 127), and Wiching is the intercessor for a charter for Toul (D A 128).

[184] DD A 126-128. D A 126, for Ellwangen, only survives in a fifteenth century German copy.

[185] D A 128: *pro diversis regni nostri negociis ad urbem Vurmatiam devenissemus.*

[186] *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 125: *generale covnentum*.

[187] D A 127. There are no charters from Lothar I (except maybe a lost charter for a monastery in Cambrai, D Loth I 189), Lothar II, Louis the German, or Charles the Fat for Cambrai. The model for this grant was a charter of Louis the Pious, D LP 92.

lead up to the assembly there was very likely negotiations between Charles the Simple and Arnulf; perhaps Dodilo facilitated this negotiation similarly to how count Theoderic had facilitated negotiation between Odo and Arnulf in 888.[189] That this charter was mostly written by a West Frankish scribe, with only the eschatocol added by a court-affiliated scribe, suggests that it was brought by Dodilo for Arnulf's approval.[190] That is, Dodilo either already knew he had the king's preliminary approval for a grant, or was reasonably sure he would get it at the assembly.

The following year, in 895, Arnulf would continue to meddle in the West Frankish conflict, because when Odo had "carried off whatever they [Charles' supporters] held in Francia...their protest came to the ears of king Arnulf. Who, sending messengers into Francia, ordered that Odo and Charles should come to him, where he would end the evil of so great a misfortune between them."[191] The *Annales Fuldenses* reports another assembly at Worms but this time the annalist notes Odo's arrival, bringing gifts for Arnulf.[192] Evidently Charles the Simple also sent gifts to this assembly, but the king himself did not come because "those from the side of Charles" prevented him from going.[193] It was at

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[188] Loßlein, *Royal Power*, p. 35 suggests this based on the combination of *AV*, s.a. 888, p. 64 and Dodilo's appearance at the Synod of Mainz in 888, Hartmann et al., *MGH Conc.* 5, no. 26, p. 267. Dodilo was no loyalist to Odo even after Fulk was reincorporated into the fold, see Loßlein, *Royal Power*, pp. 42-43.

[189] *AV*, s.a. 888, p. 65.

[190] D A 127; Aspertus B.

[191] *AV*, s.a. 895, p. 75: *nam Odo rex eis quicquid in Francia habuerant tulerat...Venitque clamor eorum ad aures Arnulfi regis. Qui missos in Franciam mittens iussit, ut Odo et Karolus ad eum venirent, quatinus tantae calamitatis malum inter eos finiret.*

[192] *AF*, s.a. 895, p. 126.

[193] On the gifts see Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 895, p. 143: *cum exeniis* which is a specific type of tributary gift. See Du Cange, *Glossarium,* vol. 3, col. 358b. See note 'o' that in one manuscript this reads *muneribus*. On Charles' men see *AV*, s.a. 895, p. 75: *hi qui Karoli partibus*.

this assembly that Arnulf's son Zwentibald, "accepting the band [*infula*] of the kingdom in Burgundy and the entire kingdom of Lothar from [his] father, having been received by the nobles of the same kingdom, was made king."[194] The *Annales Vedastini* indicates specifically that this was done "in the presence of king Odo."[195]

There are several threads we can pull out of Arnulf's two assemblies and his involvement in the West Frankish conflict. Both assemblies, in 894 and 895, were staged venues where Arnulf attempted to resolve the dispute in West Francia. It is also possible that both assemblies were meant to situate his son Zwentibald as king Lotharingia, but the 894 attempt is only reported by Regino.[196] These were grand occasions which encompassed elites from across the kingdom.[197] The choice of Worms was important because it had been a center for assemblies under Charles the Fat, which brought magnates from West Francia.[198] Like the Synod of Tribur in 895, the Worms assemblies also demonstrated Arnulf's command over multiple peoples and a more universalizing kingship than just East Francia.[199] Compelling Odo and Charles to come to him would have added additional credence to these claims. Even though Charles did not come, he dispatched messengers including Fulk to bring gifts to Arnulf,

[194] *AF* (B), s.a. 895, p. 126: *Zwentibaldus ergo filius regis infulam regni a patre suscipiens in Burgundia et omni Hlotharico regno receptis eiusdem regni primoribus rex creatus est.*

[195] *AV*, s.a. 895, p. 75: *in praesentia Odoni regis*.

[196] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 894, p. 142.

[197] 895 is described as a *regale placitum* (*AF* (B), s.a. 895, p. 126). There was only one charter granted at Worms in 895 (D A 135) that involved Erchanbold of Eichstätt and Hatto of Mainz. This charter came ten days after the Synod of Tribur so it is possible that many of the elites there were also at Worms. For Arnulf's use of assemblies and discussion of the literature see Chapter Three, pp. 115-126.

[198] See Voss, *Herrschertreffen*, p. 25.

[199] On the Synod of Tribur and the "imperial" argument put forward by the proceedings see Chapter Four, pp. 183-190.

suggesting that both Odo and Charles viewed Arnulf's support as valuable. As has been seen, Arnulf could not swing the tide on his own, but there is a sense that these rulers desired Arnulf's sanction. When Fulk wrote to Arnulf in 894 he was explicitly trying to explain why they had "dared to do this [crown Charles] without the counsel of Arnulf himself."[200] Fulk's defense was that the Franks had always chosen their own leaders, so they had not done anything wrong in crowning Charles, but that Charles was to have fidelity to Arnulf and to follow his "counsel in all things."[201] This suggests that contemporaries valued Arnulf's sanction even if he was unable to impact conditions internally himself. Indeed Arnulf would meet with the king of Provence, Louis the Blind, at Lorsch in 894 to enlist his aid against Rudolf in Burgundy. Arnulf granted him lands in Burgundy but these grants were "empty" because Rudolf seems to have resisted the Frankish force dispatched under Zwentibald to secure the lands.[202] These rulers also had their own internal reasons for wanting Arnulf's sanction and support, even if it was more a matter of symbolism than might. Even so, the image of kings coming to Arnulf would have increased his own prestige, elevating his status. Between 894 and 895 Arnulf would have had three different kings come to him, and had his own son Zwentibald made king of Lotharingia. Arnulf's actions in regard to West Francia and Provence were not, however, an attempt to create a Carolingian alliance similar to the one that had existed in the 880s.[203] The oscillating support between

[200] See Flodoard, *HRE*, IV.5, p. 381: *quod sine Arnulfi consilio praesumpserint hoc agere*.

[201] Flodoard, *HRE*, IV.5, p. 383: *ad ipsius consilium in omnibus*.

[202] See Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 894, p. 142: *in vacuum*. On the expedition see *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 125 and for the suggestion the two are connected see Eduard Hlawitschka, *Lotharingien und das Reich an der Schwelle der deutschen Geschichte* (Hiersemann, 1968), pp. 125-126.

[203] On the 880s alliance see MacLean, "The Carolingian Response." On the argument that it was an attempt to create a Carolingian family alliance see Hlawitschka, *Lotharingien*, p. 132.

Odo and Charles suggests that Arnulf did not have a coherent policy favoring specifically one party over the other. In his relations with West Francia Arnulf used the conflict between Odo and Charles as an opportunity to assert his own hegemony in Europe.

Arnulf operating in imperial ways before his coronation is neatly emphasized by the two Byzantine embassies to Arnulf's court, one in 894 before Arnulf went to Italy, and one in 896 after returning from his coronation.[204] It is possible that these envoys gifted Arnulf a purple cloak, which was later used by a St. Emmeram author as part of a fictional story about how Arnulf translated relics from Paris.[205] These two envoys would be the first Byzantine embassies recorded in the *Annales Fuldenses* since Louis the German received legates at Regensburg in 873.[206] That Louis the German and Arnulf received Byzantine ambassadors four times (in 872, 873, 894, and 896), all at Regensburg, suggests that Regensburg was an important East Frankish site for ritual display and royal audiences.[207] The earlier envoys sent to Louis the German in 873 were attempting to "renew the former friendship with letters and gifts," which may provide a context for the embassies sent to Arnulf in 894 and 896.[208]

Further hints of this imperial kingship can be found in Arnulf's charters. One charter granted for Würzburg references the "safety and stability of our empire."[209] On the surface the reason for this is

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[204] *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 125; *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 130.

[205] See Rudolf Hiestand, "Arnulf von Kärnten, der Basileus Leon VI., der hl. Dionysius und St. Emmeram in Regensburg," *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg* 133 (1993).

[206] *AF*, s.a. 873, p. 81; he had received one in 872 as well, *AF*, s.a. 872, p. 75.

[207] See also Chapter Three, pp. 101-102 on the role of Regensburg.

[208] *AF*, s.a. 873, p. 81: *ad renovandam pristinam amicitiam cum epistolis et muneribus*.

[209] D A 66: *pro incolomitate et stabilitate imperii nostri*.

obvious: the charter is based on an earlier grant by Louis the Pious from 822.[210] Looking at Louis' charter, however, reveals that whoever wrote the charter for Arnulf took a clause and modified it. In Louis' charter the line is only for "our safety."[211] Oddly, they have updated other parts of Louis' charter in the opposite direction. Where Louis' charter notes the places under the "power of our empire" the charter for Arnulf instead replaces *imperii* with *regni*, rendering it "the power of our kingdom."[212] Why add the reference to the empire at the end of the charter but not in the main body? Plausibly *imperii* is being used as a more generic "rule" here, but that still remains an odd choice. Other charters contain similar requests for prayers but almost always with *regnum*.[213] The charter for Cambrai that Arnulf granted at the Worms assembly in 894 also relies on an older charter of Louis the Pious, but they have now left the references to "our empire" in the charter unchanged.[214] Indeed the charter was granted "for the stability of our entire empire."[215] This all suggests a flexibility of the two terms, and that they could exist alongside one another. Yet it also suggests that Arnulf or his court could actively envision Arnulf's realm as an *imperium* even before 896.

In this regard Arnulf was similar to Charles the Bald, who adopted the language and manners of imperial rule before being crowned emperor in 875.[216] The West Frankish *Codex Aureus* includes a

[210] D LP 216.

[211] D LP 216: *pro incolomitate nostra*.

[212] D LP 216: *infra dicionem imperii nostri*; D A 66: *infra ditionem regni nostri*.

[213] DD A 7, 63, 99, 103, 112, 123, 133, 146, and 150.

[214] D A 127: *infra ditionem imperii nostri*. It is based on D LP 92. On this assembly see above.

[215] D A 127: *pro stabilitate nostra vel totius imperii*.

[216] See Janet L. Nelson, "Translating Images of Authority: The Christian Emperors in the Carolingian World," in *Images of Authority: Papers Presented to Joyce Reynolds on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday*, eds.

full-page image of Charles the Bald receiving the various parts of his kingdom.[217] Evidently this codex came into the possession of the East Frankish court because Arnulf eventually granted it to the monastery of St. Emmeram along with the so-called Arnulf-Ciborium.[218] The codex, at least, was probably a gift from either Odo or Charles the Simple meant to secure Arnulf's support. The annalists record Charles and Odo bringing gifts to Arnulf at several different times. This is precisely what

Mary Margaret Mackenzie and Charlotte Roueché (Cambridge Philological Society, 1989); Robert Deshman, "Antiquity and Empire in the Throne of Charles the Bald," in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, eds. Katherine Kiefer et al. (Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, 1995); William J. Diebold, "The Ruler Portrait of Charles the Bald in the S. Paolo Bible," *The Art Bulletin* 76 (1994). Staubach, *Rex Christianus*, pp. 283-334. Charles may have done so by emulating his grandfather Charlemagne, see William J. Diebold, ""Nos quoque morem illius imitari cupiens". Charles the Bald's Evocation and Imitation of Charlemagne," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 75 (1993). For a comparable example in England in the tenth century, see Gebhardt, "From Bretwalda to Basileus," esp. pp. 157-173.

[217] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14000, fol. 5v. Deshman, "Antiquity and Empire," p. 133. Diebold, "Nos quoque," pp. 272-279 argues that the *Codex Aureus* was itself modeled on Charlemagne's Soissons Gospels and the depiction of the adoration was taken from the palatine chapel at Aachen.

[218] Generally believed to be in 893.For arguments that they instead remained at court until after Louis the Child's death and were not a gift see Alois Schmid, "Die Herrschergräber in St. Emmeram zu Regensburg," *DA* 32 (1976): 348. Schmid is somewhat skeptical of the close relationship between Arnulf and St. Emmeram, see also Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 171-172. For my view that there was a close relationship between Regensburg and Arnulf, see pp. 38-41 and pp. 318-319. On the production of manuscripts at Charles the Bald's court see Rosamond McKitterick, "Charles the Bald and his Library: the Patronage of Learning," *The English Historical Review* 95. no. 374 (1980) reprinted in Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 477 (Variorum, 1995). See Rita Otto, "Zur stilgeschichtlichen Stellung des Arnulf-Ciboriums und des Codex aureus aus St. Emmeram in Regensburg," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*15, no. 1 (1952) for the relationship between the Arnulf Ciborium and the *Codex Aureus*. Otto suggests that the Arnulf Ciborium is slightly older, and thus the artistic depictions on the ciborium are not derived from the codex. A more recent work, Peter Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800-1200* (Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 56-57 sees the Ciborium as following similar stylistic trends as other goldwork from Charles the Bald's court circle. However, Lasko suggests that the Arnulf Ciborium may have been created by Arnulf after 887, as there is not much evidence that the inscription naming him as the donor is a later addition.Uta Appel Tallone, *Das Arnulfziborium in der Schatzkammer der Münchener Residenz: eine monographische Untersuchung* (Verlag für Wissenschaft und Kunst, 2003) argues that on stylistic grounds the date of the inscription cannot be determined. Heidrun Stein-Kecks, "*Totus palatii ornatus.* Das Ziborium aus dem Schatz Arnolfs von Kärnten," in Fuchs and Schmid, *Kaiser Arnolf* argues that it does bear some similarity with metalwork from West Francia or Metz, but that the inscription does appear to be authentic to Arnulf and was not a later addition. Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 109-110 argues that it makes more sense for the inscription and ciborium to be made at the same

Regino claims Charles did in the summer of 894 when he came to Worms and "with great gifts won Arnulf over to himself."[219] The *Codex Aureus* represented one potential model of imperial rule for Arnulf. If the *Codex Aureus* demonstrated the splendid magnificence of Charles the Bald's court, then its transfer to Arnulf would have suggested Arnulf's own magnificence. At the same time, if Charles the Simple was coming to Arnulf to ask for his support, then he would have been literally enacting the figurative symbolism in the manuscript.[220] What had changed, however, was the scale of the empire. Instead of a grand, universalizing *imperium* encompassing the entire world, Arnulf's horizons were firmly rooted in the East Francia of his grandfather.

Conclusion:

Arnulf's dealings with the *reguli* expressed a sense of kingship that was quasi-imperial. Yet this was *not* the empire of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, or even Charles the Fat. Instead it concentrated on an East Frankish core. In some senses this model of imperial kingship drew on the

time, between 887 and 896. The ciborium is mentioned by Arnold of St. Emmeram in the eleventh century, *De miraculis beati Emmerami*, p. 551: *In quo erat ciborium quadratum*.

[219] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 893, p. 141: *ubi Caroluis venit et Arnulfum magnis muneribus sibi conciliat regnumque, quod usurpaverat, ex eius manu percepit*. This probably took place in 894, not 893 as Regino recounts it. It is likely meant to be connected to Charles' coronation in 893, so Regino is condensing the two events.

[220] An older historiographical tradition held that the reception of envoys was modeled on the imperial Roman *aurum coronarium* rite, which was given Christian impetus in late antiquity, see Deshman, "Antiquity and Empire," pp. 133-134. This idea has been challenged, however, see the arguments in Robin Margaret Jensen, "Allusions to Imperial Rituals in Fourth-Century Christian Art," in *The Art of Empire: Christian Art in Its Imperial Context*, eds. Lee M. Jefferson and Robin Margaret Jensen (Fortress Press, 2015), pp. 15-24 noting the paucity of evidence of the rite. Regardless, by the Carolingian era the reception of envoys as a *topos* of imperial rule was well established, Anne Latowsky, *Emperor of the World: Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority, 800–1229* (Cornell University Press, 2013), pp. 19-58 which updates her earlier article, "Foreign Embassies and Roman Universality in Einhard's Life of Charlemagne," *Florilegium* 22 (2005); McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 376-378.

precedents of his grandfather who had also harbored imperial ambitions, even if they went unrealized. It is worth considering especially that the most intense moments of diplomatic activity with the *reguli* occurred in 894 and 895, when confidence seems to have been greatest at Arnulf's court. As Arnulf consolidated his own reign, it created the conditions to express dominance over others. Especially in the middle years of the 890s Arnulf began to be increasingly involved in demonstrating his superiority by staging a coronation for his son Zwentibald, effectively creating a king, and holding public meetings with the West Frankish claimants to the throne. Arnulf never controlled West Francia, but was seemingly able to get both Odo and Charles the Simple to come to him for sanction as rulers. Yet this was also driven by internal conditions within West Francia, where the succession crisis presented an opportunity for meddling that did not exist before 893. Arnulf's ability to sanction rulers may have stemmed from a view that he was a ruler who needed to be engaged with by the others. For instance Berengar, Odo, and Louis the Blind hoped to gain legitimacy by seeking Arnulf's sanction and support, while those that did not, Rudolf and Wido, seem to have suffered direct military interventions by Arnulf. Despite not ruling over these other kings in any formal sense, Arnulf maintained an ability to influence them. This was not an effort to revive the Carolingian empire of Charlemagne or Louis the Pious, but rather Arnulf's attempt to create a new "imperial" kingship that was specifically East Frankish and more akin to the kingdom of his grandfather Louis the German. It is also possible to see this as a "middle path" that allowed Arnulf to keep his options open. It was neither isolationist or imperialist, but by using indirect influence Arnulf could have reacted to circumstances in West Francia if needed. This is, perhaps, exactly what happened in Italy, where Arnulf retained an interest there but only directly intervened later in his reign. These Italian campaigns are the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter VI:
Arnulf's Italian Ambitions, 888-896

As we saw in the previous two chapters, Arnulf's actions in 894 and 895 were part of an effort to present the king in an imperial manner. His role at the Synod of Tribur cast him as a Roman Emperor such as Constantine while large scale assemblies served as a way of demonstrating his superiority over the surrounding regions. Interwoven with these efforts were the two Italian invasions that Arnulf led, one in 894 and one in late 895 to 896. This second invasion culminated in the king capturing Rome where he was then crowned emperor by Pope Formosus. While most of the chapters thus far have been chronological, this chapter will take a slightly longer view of Arnulf's interactions with Italy. This is because while Italy has been mentioned in other places, it was only from 894 to 896 that it became a focal point for Arnulf's reign. Arnulf had flirted with the idea of going to Italy in 888 and 890, but was unable to launch an invasion for a variety of reasons. As such this chapter will cover a broader span of time, from c. 888 to 896, and will argue that Arnulf's coronation in 896 was not a spontaneous event, but was part of his earlier Italian ambitions. That is, the coronation was part of Arnulf's longer Italian interests but also dovetailed with other quasi-imperial efforts as detailed in the previous chapter. His coronation in Rome capped a period of Arnulf's rule that was defined by imperial display, suggesting a complex relationship between attitudes around empire and the coronation itself. It was after the coronation that severe illness curtailed any further Italian ambitions.

There are several challenges to studying Arnulf's activities in Italy, however. First, many of the narrative sources for Italian affairs end in the 870s or 880s soon after the death of Louis II (d. 875). For instance, even though the *Liber Pontificalis* includes a life of Stephen V (d. 891) the events it covers are

only the beginning of his pontificate, and there are no lives for the three popes between Hadrian II (d. 872) and Stephen V, meaning there is an almost twenty year gap.[1] Andreas of Bergamo's chronicle of Italian affairs ends in the late 870s after describing the brief conflict between Charles the Bald and Carloman over control of Italy.[2] There are, however, later sources which describe Italian events in Arnulf's reign, and where possible I have brought those in to help flesh out often cursory mentions in contemporary sources. These sources present their own challenges, however, and have been used sparingly. Our main later source is Liudprand of Cremona's *Antapodosis*, which was written in the 960s as way of glorifying the Ottonians.[3] Liudprand had a negative view of Arnulf in light of this agenda, and his account of the Italian invasions is condensed, but does seem to correspond to details in the account given by more contemporary sources. As such in certain places Liudprand is helpful for supplementing these late-ninth century accounts. Beyond this challenge, Arnulf himself issued surprisingly few charters (ten total) for Italian recipients.[4] His father Carloman, on the other hand, issued seventeen charters for Italian recipients in a little over three years.[5] This suggests that Arnulf's lack of charters for Italian recipients was either a lack of interest in Italy or an inability to gain traction with Italian elites. As the rest of this chapter intends to show, the latter was the more likely scenario.

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[1] See *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne, Le Liber Pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire, vol. 2 (E. Thorin, 1892), Hadrian: pp. 173-190, Stephen V: pp. 191-198.

[2] Andreas of Bergamo, *Historia*, ed. and trans. L. Andrea Berto, Italian Carolingian Historical and Poetic Texts (Pisa University Press, 2016), pp. 65-98.

[3] See n. 196, below.

[4] DD A 49, 115, 121, 123, 125, 131, 139, 140-142.

[5] DD Ca 4-10, 12, 13, 16, 17, 21-24, 27, and 28.

The Context of Italian Politics, 875-887

Important to understanding Arnulf's interest in Italy is the immediate context of Italian affairs in the 870s and 880s. The reigns of Lothar I and his son Louis II had done much to shape the trajectory of the Italian kingdom, but it is the history of Italy after 875 that is the immediate context for Arnulf's own Italian ambitions.[6] After Louis II's death in 875 Italy became the site of intense competition among his Carolingian relatives. The imperial pretensions of both Charles the Bald and Louis the German (through his son Carloman) were played out over a contest for control of Italy.[7] As Simon MacLean has shown, the Italian nobility split with a group around Milan supporting Charles the Bald, while another near Pavia supported Carloman.[8] Berengar, the *dux* of Friuli who would claim the Italian throne in 888, seems to have been one of Carloman's supporters.[9] At first Charles the Bald had the upper hand because it was only after Charles' death in 877 that Carloman seems to have started

[6] See Jörg Jarnut, "Ludwig der Fromme, Lothar I. und das Regnum Italiae," in *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)*, eds. Roger Collins and Peter Godman (Clarendon, 1990); Chris Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400-1000* (Macmillan Press, 1981), pp. 47-63; Elina Screen, "Lothar I in Italy, 834-840: Charters and Authority," in *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters*, eds. Jonathan Jarrett and Alan S. McKinley (Brepols, 2013); Elina Screen, "Carolingian Fathers and Sons in Italy: Lothar I and Louis II's Successful Partnership," in *After Charlemagne: Carolingian Italy and Its Rulers*, eds. Clemens Gantner and Walter Pohl (Cambridge University Press, 2020); See also the project led by Giuseppe Albertoni, *Ruling in Hard Times: Patterns of Power and Practices of Government in the Making of Carolingian Italy* which has produced one volume already dedicated to Lothar I: Gianmarco De Angelis and Francesco Veronese, eds., *Networks of Bishops, Networks of Texts. Manuscripts, Legal Cultures, Tools of Government in Carolingian Italy at the Time of Lothar I* (Firenze University Press, 2022). Another volume is planned Giuseppe Albertoni et al., eds., *Aristocratic Networks. Elites and Social Dynamics in the Age of Lothar I*. (Firenze University Press, forthcoming).

[7] On Charles' imperial ambitions see Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (Longman, 1992), pp. 190-253 but esp p. 209, pp. 219-220, and p. 243. On Louis the German's imperial ambitions see E. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 313-334.

[8] Simon MacLean, "'After his death a great tribulation came to Italy....': Dynastic Politics and Aristocratic Factions after the Death of Louis II, c. 870-c.890," *Millennium* 4 (2007): 243-248.

[9] See Andreas of Bergamo, *Historia*, c. 23, pp. 93-94

issuing charters for Italian recipients.[10] Carinthia was also an important entry point into Italy, suggesting Arnulf's potential role in this period, and Carloman shifted where he resided to allow for easier access to Italy.[11] Louis the German had negotiated with Louis II about Carloman succeeding him, and this would be remembered in one charter of Carloman's which notes that Louis had "allotted that kingdom to us."[12] Carloman granted the charter at Pavia during a trip to Italy from October to November 877.[13] Pavia was an important ideological and administrative center in Italy, often the capital of Carolingian Italy, where Charles the Bald held an assembly after being crowned emperor in 876 as a large occasion to express Charles' new authority as ruler of Italy.[14] Carloman would respond to Charles taking the Italian crown by invading in 877, forcing Charles to leave Pavia because he was evidently waiting for the arrival of the bulk of his army.[15] It is probable that Carloman also used Pavia as a stage for royal display; the *Annales Fuldenses* reports that Carloman received the leading men of

[10] D Ca 4 is dated to October 16th, 877, ten days after Charles' death.

[11] Störmer, "König Karlmanns Urkunden," pp. 626-628. See also Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars*, pp. 197-199 which argues that Carloman shifted the centers after Louis the German's death.

[12] D Ca 4: *nobis regnum istud disposuerat*. On the negotiations by Louis the German to secure the Italian throne see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 304-309.

[13] DD Ca 4-10. John VIII, *Registrum*, no. 64, pp. 57-58 was written in November 877.

[14] On Pavia see Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 36-39; Girolamo Arnaldi, "Pavia e il Regnum Italiae dal 774 al 1024," in *Atti del 4. Congresso internazionale di studi sull'Alto Medioevo* (Presso la sede del Centro di studi, 1969); Carlrichard Brühl, "Das "Palatium" von Pavia und die "Honorantiae civitatis Papiae,"" in *Atti del 4*, pp. 189-206; Donald A. Bullough, "Urban Change in Early Medieval Italy: The Example of Pavia," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 34 (1966). For the 876 assembly at Pavia see Boretius and Kruse, *MGH Capit.* 2, nos. 220 and 221, pp. 98-104.

[15] *AB*, s.a. 877, pp. 215-216 notes that Charles the Bald stayed elsewhere besides Pavia because he was waiting for Abbot Hugh, Boso, Bernard of Auvergne, and Bernard the *marchio* of Gothia. Hincmar suggests they formed a plot against him so did not come to his aid.

Italy after Charles the Bald's retreat from Pavia, suggesting Carloman had made it to Pavia.[16] Pavia's importance would continue under Charles the Fat who issued sixteen charters there between 880 and 885 as well as holding an assembly there in 886.[17]

Papal correspondence also seems to indicate that Carloman was viewed as the king in Italy.[18] John VIII wrote a letter to Carloman in November 877 filled with effusive praise and seemingly suggesting he come to Rome, perhaps to be crowned emperor.[19] Both Charles and Carloman were in sick condition when they left Italy in 877: Charles died on his return to West Francia, and Carloman was "diminished nearly up to his death," an illness he never fully recovered from.[20] Carloman continued to issue charters for Italian recipients, but never returned to Italy before his death.[21] It seems that two of Carloman's supporters were Adalbert of Tuscany and Lambert of Spoleto, who in 878 entered Rome with an army and forced the pope to swear an oath of allegiance to Carloman.[22] Yet this seemingly hostile takeover of Rome would not stop John from writing to Carloman that "the royal

[16] *AF*, s.a. 877, p. 90. See also D Ca 4, discussed above.

[17] DD CF 16, 25-28, 32-35, 38, 39, 54-56, 91-93, 114, and 115. On the assembly see *AF* (B), s.a. 886, p. 114.

[18] For instance see John VIII, *Registrum*, nos. 64 and 65, pp. 57-58, no. 74, pp. 69-71, no. 78, pp. 74-75.

[19] John VIII, *Registrum*, no. 64, pp. 57-58.

[20] *AB*, s.a. 877, p. 218: *pene usque ad mortem infirmatus*.

[21] His last charter, D Ca 28, was granted for Nonantola.

[22] *AF*, s.a. 878, p. 91. John VIII, *Registrum*, no. 88, pp. 83-84 seems to suggest that Carloman was to blame for Adalbert and Lambert going to Rome, but it is possible that the pope only *believed* this to be so, and that the *Annales Fuldenses* likewise is mistaken here. Indeed it seems odd that the pope would shower such praise on Carloman in John VIII, *Registrum*, no. 89, pp. 85-86 if he had in fact been responsible for these attacks on Rome.

blood from [your] great-grandfather [that is, Charlemagne] leads to the imperial scepter."[23] The swirling tensions after Louis' death continued into the 880s, when Wido rebelled against Frankish authority, prompting Charles the Fat to send Berengar with an army to deal with him.[24] The following year in 884 the Bavarians were sent against Wido, with the intriguing possibility that Arnulf was leading this army because in 882 we find him at the head of the Bavarian army as their "prince."[25] This period is often seen as a time of chaos defined by conflict between the 'Spoletan' faction (led by Wido and his son Lambert II) and the 'German' faction (led by Berengar and Angelberga).[26] Historians have also been interested in the relationship of the papacy to these various factions.[27] Recent work has begun to challenge this view of chaos, focusing instead on the continuities, mainly at a regional or local level.[28] In part this is a reflection of the narrative sources, which had their own interests in presenting this period as a time of chaos.[29] The point of this background is that by the time Arnulf became king in

[23] John VIII, *Registrum*, no. 89, pp. 85-86 at p. 85: *ad imperialia a proavis sceptra sanguine regum excellenter produxit*.

[24] *AF* (B), s.a. 883, p. 110.

[25] *AF* (B), s.a. 884, p. 110. On Arnulf as leader of the Bavarians see *AF* (B), s.a. 882, p. 107.

[26] See Giovanni Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy*, trans. Rosalind Brown Jensen (Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 144-181 esp. pp. 151-152; Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 169-170.

[27] See William Monroe, "A New Look at the Cadaver Synod," in *Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Congress of Canon Law*, eds. Florence Demoulin-Auzary et al. (Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 2022), pp. 321-335.

[28] See MacLean, "After his Death." See also the discussion in the Introduction, p. 14 with references in n. 49. For a cogent explanation of these issues see Robert Houghton, "Hugh, Lothar and Berengar: the Balance of Power in Italy, 945-50," *Journal of Medieval History* 46, no. 1 (2020): 50-76 esp. 50-52.

[29] See Cristina La Rocca, "Liutprando da Cremona e il paradigma femminile di dissoluzione dei Carolinigi," in *Agire da donna: modelli e pratiche di rappresentazione, secoli VI-X: atti del convegno, Padova, 18-19 febbraio 2005*, ed. Cristina La Rocca (Brepols, 2007).

887, not only had their been a series of rulers in Italy, but several of the most important Italian figures were now themselves vying for the throne and relying on networks of supporters that had developed in the preceding decade. That is, any attempt by Arnulf to engage with Italy would run up against these networks and these magnates. At the same time, Arnulf himself was alive during these earlier conflicts, and the memory of Carloman's claims to Italy (indeed he granted most of his charters for Italian recipients) may have been one motivation for Arnulf's actions.[30]

Arnulf's Early Italian Ambitions, 888-894

While Arnulf would not actually invade Italy until 894, there were earlier attempts to engage with Italy. The *Annales Fuldenses* reports that in 888 Arnulf intended to travel to Italy with an army but was persuaded by Berengar into some type of arrangement. At Trent, on the other side of the Brenner Pass, Berengar "presented himself to the king" in the hope of convincing Arnulf and his army to turn back "lest the Italian kingdom wrongly suffer from the entrance of so great a force."[31] The Bavarian annalist who records this meeting seems to be casting Berengar similarly to Odo, who in the preceding passage of the text likewise makes an agreement with the king and is "allowed" to remain in power.[32]

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[30] Italian charters: DD Ca 4-10, 12, 13, 16, 17, 21-25, 27, and 28. Non-Italian charters: DD Ca 1-3, 11, 14, 15, 18-20. That is, out of twenty-seven charters, Carloman only gave nine charters outside Italy.

[31] *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 117: *ne Italicum regnum cum tam valida manu ingressum perperam pateretur...regi se praesentavit*.

[32] This seems to represent a genuine consensus among the sources about Odo, for a fuller discussion see *passim* Chapter Five, pp. 212-228.

Berengar had previously supported Carloman in the 870s, and he seemingly was able to leverage this into a connection with Arnulf as well. After meeting with Berengar at Trent Arnulf then traveled through Friuli with a "few of his men" before celebrating Christmas at Karnburg.[33] Arnulf and Berengar's meeting in 888 was the start of a partnership that would not reach fuller form until 894, when Arnulf was then able to invade. Berengar had been *marchio* in Friuli in the 870s and 880s, before being succeeded by Walfred in 888, who is identified in an early Berengar charter as "our most beloved, loyal, and illustrious *marchio*."[34] Berengar's interest in dealing with Arnulf was not just because he hoped to spare Italy from Arnulf's army, but was born from his conflict with Wido. By the time of meeting Arnulf at Trent Berengar and Wido had already fought a battle and soon after Wido seems to have gained the upper hand.[35] The gap in Berengar's charters, between May 888 and August 889, suggests that Berengar really did flee Italy as noted in the *Annales Vedastini*, and likely found refuge at Arnulf's court.[36] Yet by September 889 Berengar was back in Verona, an important center for

[33] *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 117: *paucis secum*.

[34] D B 4: *illuster marchio nostri dilectissimi fideles*. On Walfred and Berengar see MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 71-72; on Walfred's broader connections before Berengar see Eduard Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien (774-962)* (E. Albert, 1960), pp. 279-282.

[35] *AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 117 notes they fought a battle. *AV*, s.a. 888, p. 65 states that Wido fought Berengar several times and won all of them. The decisive battle seems to have come at Trebbia, see Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, ed. Paolo Chiesa, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis 156 (Brepols, 1998), I, c. 18, p. 19 and Dümmler, *Geschichte*, p. 366, n. 1.

[36] D B 4 (May 8, 888) to D B 5 (August 18, 889). Both the *AV*, s.a. 888, p. 65 and Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 888, p. 129 seem to suggest Berengar going to Arnulf for support.

his court and patronage.[37] Berengar was seemingly confined mostly to the area around Verona, and it is not until 894 that he granted a charter elsewhere.[38]

We can see some of the preparations for Arnulf's Italian invasion in the charters he granted in 888, where he granted charters that involved lands in either Italy or the Alps (see Map 3, below). Two charters granted in January and August 888 went, respectively, to the bishop of Chur Theodolf and the bishop of Novara Chadolt.[39] Liutward of Vercelli, the brother of Chadolt, was the intercessor for the grant to Theodolf.[40] These two charters involved, then, a small episcopal network that straddled the Alps, including the bishoprics of Chur, Novara, and Vercelli. This was, seemingly, a very temporally localized set of grants, because none of the three bishops appear in another charter.[41] Another charter, also granted early in 888, likewise suggests Arnulf's interest in securing support along the Alps for a future invasion. Arnulf would grant a charter to a *milites* named Engilger in early 888. This *milites* of a count Jezo received the charter because of his support "before we [that is, Arnulf] accepted the name of king."[42] Importantly, the charter specifies that the land was located partially in Bavaria and partially in the Italian Alps at Völs am Schlern. The count, Jezo, seems to have been based somewhere near the

[37] D B 6. See Barbara H. Rosenwein, "The Family Politics of Berengar I, King of Italy (888-924)," *Speculum* 71, no. 2 (1996): 259-262. See also Stofella, "Élites," pp. 45-49.

[38] D B 13 is granted at Milan on December 2nd, 894.

[39] DD A 9 and 35 respectively.

[40] See Kehr's notes, D A 65.

[41] Theodolf may appear in a source from 890, see discussion in Chapter Five, p. 220, n. 101.

[42] D A 17: *priusquam regium nomen acciperemus*.

Italian Alps but he also had Bavarian connections.[43] All of these charters would have been granted before Arnulf's short lived invasion, suggesting that their granting was an attempt to rally support for the campaign. Indeed on the return from Friuli Arnulf would grant a charter for Miltrud, the wife of Arnulf's *ministerialis* Heimo, for lands located at Ramseiden in the Alps, perhaps as a reward for their loyalty.[44] Arnulf granted a charter to Heimo in 888 on account of his "repeated and devoted service", suggesting he had been a supporter of Arnulf before 887.[45] Heimo was descended from the Carinthian count Witagowo who was active during the reign of Louis the German.[46] Heimo had connections with Moravia and Italy as well: Heimo's sister Tunza was married to a converted Slav and both Heimo and Miltrud had their names entered into the Cividale Evangelistry.[47]

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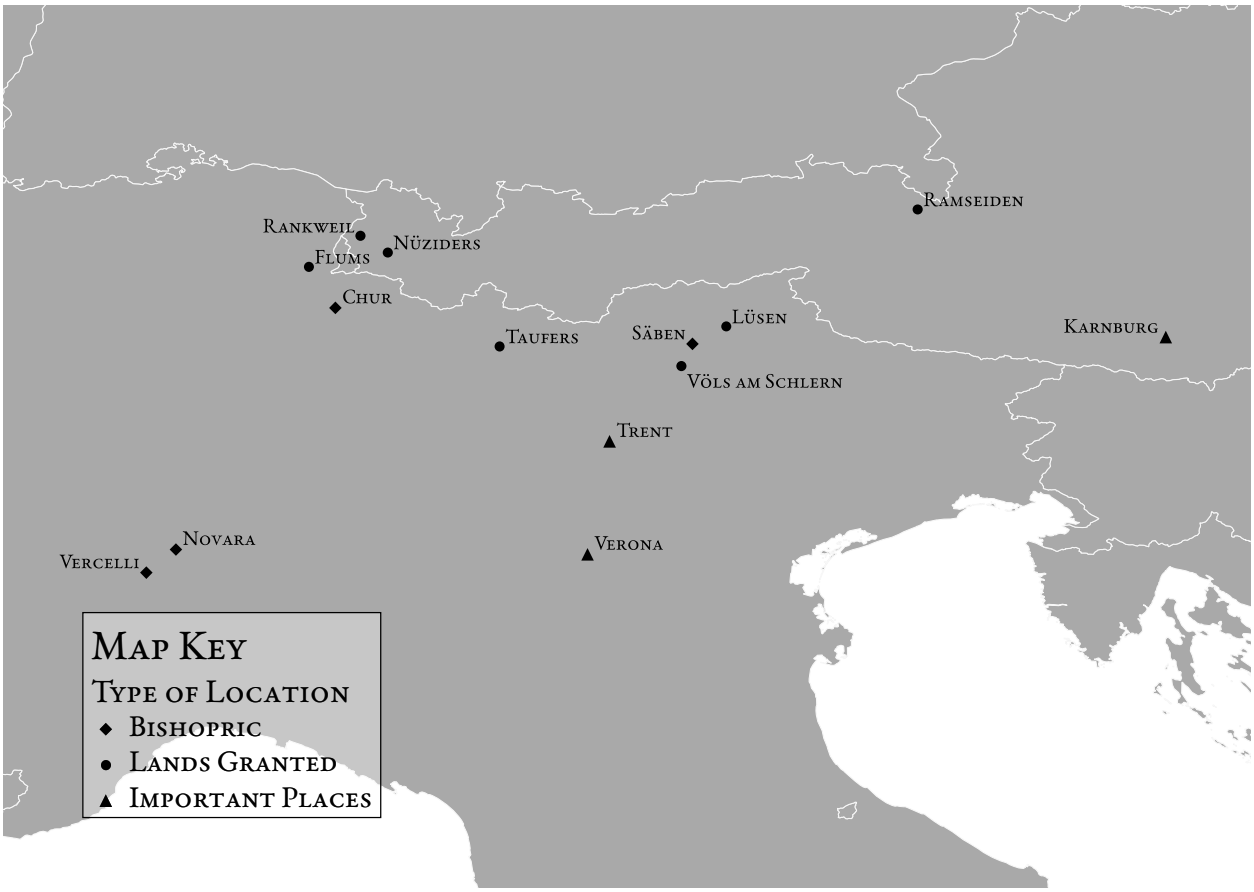
[43] His county is mentioned in D A 61. He appears in a Freising charter involving the bishop of Freising Waldo, see Theodor Bietterauf, ed., *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising (744-926)* (M. Rieger, 1905), no. 1003, done with Arnulf's permission.

[44] D A 42.

[45] D A 32: *crebri devotique eius obsequii*. See also DD A 40 (Heimo as intercessor).

[46] See Mitterauer, *Karolingische Markgrafen*, pp. 144-153. Witagowo appears in a charter of Charles the Fat (D CF 113) issued in the aftermath of the Wilhelmer War, and Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians and Magyars*, p. 293-294 argued this meant Witagowo and Heimo were Charles' supporters. This charter is undated but Bowlus follows Kehr who dated it on internal grounds to 885. Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars*, p. 293 argues that he "could not have been born" later than 810, as his first appearance in a charter is in 827 as witness (Bitterauf, *Die Traditionen*, no. 505a), presumably because this means he would be old enough to serve as a witness. Because Witagowo was quite old in the 880s, Bowlus argues, it was actually Heimo pulling the strings. Yet there is nothing in the charter that mentions Heimo, and we cannot assume that because Heimo and Witagowo were related, they must have both supported Charles. Regardless, by 887 Heimo was now a partisan of Arnulf against Charles, and was rewarded for his support. See also Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 121-124 arguing that Arnulf won over Heimo, who then served as mediator between him and Zwentibald in 885.

[47] See Michael Mitterauer, "Slawischer und bayerischer Adel am Ausgang der Karolingerzeit," *Carinthia I* 150 (1960): 693-697 and Peter Šith, "Integration on the Fringes of the Frankish Empire: The Case of the Carantanians and their Neighbours," in *Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire*, eds. Danijel Dzino, Ante Milošević, and Trpimir Vedriš (Brill, 2018), pp. 111-116. Šith also argues that Heimo was a supporter of Arnulf's coup. See Uwe Ludwig and Karl Schmid, "Hunfrid, Witagowo und Heimo in einem neuentdeckten Eintrag des Evangeliars von Cividale," in *Geschichte*



Map 3: Arnulf's Early Italian Charters. Map by Jonathan Dell Isola, 2025.

Although Arnulf did not invade Italy in 888, he nevertheless continued to maintain an interest there, even if it took a backseat to other concerns. The defeat of Berengar at Trebbia evidently prompted Angelberga, the wife of Louis II of Italy, to come to Arnulf in June 889.[48] While at Forcheim, Arnulf confirmed all of the Italian possessions of Angelberga.[49] There are quite a few

und ihre Quellen. Festschrift für Friedrich Hausmann zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. Günter Cerwinka et al. (Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1987). D A 42 gives land to Mildrud located near an important pass into the Alps.

[48] On Angelberga see Cristina La Rocca, "Angelberga, Louis's II Wife, and Her Will (877)," in *Ego Trouble: Authors and Their Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Richard Corradini et al. (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010); Simon MacLean, "Queenship, Nunneries and Royal Widowhood in Carolingian Europe," *Past and Present* 178 (2003): 26-32; for the older literature see Charles E. Odegaard, "The Empress Engelberge," *Speculum* 26 (1951).

[49] D A 49.

properties mentioned, mostly in northeast Italy, and on Angelberga's death they were meant to go to her daughter Ermengard.[50] As we have seen elsewhere, the charter is keen to point out Arnulf's relationship to Ermengard, noting her as "our relation."[51] Berengar had already confirmed some of Angelberga's possessions in 888, suggesting that her approaching Arnulf was not because she had a strong affinity to Arnulf.[52] Instead, Angelberga was a formidable political agent seeking the best way to protect her own interests in Italy. As part of this grant Angelberga may have offered support to any future invasions of Italy, and Arnulf could likewise feel he had a powerful supporter in the region. This seems to have been only the beginning of a period of diplomacy between Angelberga/Ermengard and Arnulf. The following year, in 890 also at Forcheim, Ermengard "coming to him [Arnulf] with great gifts was received honorably and [then] was sent back to her own lands."[53] Presumably this was related to Ermengard's efforts to gain recognition for her young son Louis, who would become king of Provence the same year. Arnulf sent *missi* to Louis' coronation, as a way of lending his own support and authority to the coronation.[54] Ermengard would reprise her role in 894, when she came to Lorsch and petitioned Arnulf to give Louis grants of land.[55] Positioning himself in this way essentially made Arnulf the guarantor of Louis' kingship as well as Angelberga/Ermengard's Italian possessions.

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[50] D A 49.

[51] D A 49: *cognatam nostram*.

[52] D B 4.

[53] *AF* (B), s.a. 890, p. 119: *Ibi ad eum...magnis cum muneribus veniens honorifice suscepta ac ad propria remissa est*.

[54] "Hludowici regis Arelatensis electio," pp. 367-368. On the full context of Louis' coronation see Chapter Five, pp. 219-220.

[55] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 894, p. 142.

The meeting with Ermengard took place after Arnulf had declined a papal request to invade because of the threat posed by his cousin Bernard's revolt.[56] That is, while not being able to undertake an Italian invasion, Arnulf clearly remained invested in the idea of parts of Italy being under his power, and issued charters as a way of demonstrating such ideas. Indeed by confirming Angelberga's Italian possessions it also placed Arnulf into continuity with his father, who in 878 had granted a charter giving land to the church founded by Angelberga in Piacenza.[57] Angelberga was a powerful Italian figure, who had previously thrown her support behind Carloman in the 870s, so it makes sense that Arnulf would hope to court her support during his own reign.[58] Arnulf would have watched his father's interest in Italy closely, because as I argued in Chapter Two, Arnulf's role in Carinthia would have been important to Carloman's Italian ambitions.[59] Further, from 879 to his death Carloman granted charters almost exclusively to Italian recipients while lying ill at his royal center of Ötting.[60] That is, Arnulf would have had the opportunity to learn from his father about Italian politics and the networks that were supporting him.

The sporadic references in the narrative sources and charters suggest that Arnulf *did* see himself as capable of intervening in Italy. Further, that the pope could request his help in 890, and that Angelberga viewed Arnulf as capable of guaranteeing her possessions, suggests that contemporaries also viewed Arnulf as a credible political and military authority. Even if Arnulf retained this interest in

[56] The revolt is covered in Chapter Three, pp. 130-132.

[57] D A 16.

[58] See MacLean, "'After his death,'" pp. 243-248.

[59] See Chapter Two, pp. 82-83 and above, pp. 251-252.

[60] DD Ca 21-25, 27, and 28.

Italy, however, other matters such as Bernard's revolt kept direct intervention off the table for a few years. As discussed in Chapter Four, victories over the Northmen and Moravians in 891 and 892 provided newfound prestige, and the installation of several key supporters helped to solidify Arnulf's rule. This stability would seemingly also lead to a renewed interest in Italy alongside the broader imperial project laid out in the previous chapter.

In May 893 Arnulf once again granted a charter for an Italian recipient, the first since an October 889 grant of land in the Zillertal for the cleric Pilgrim, the future archbishop of Salzburg.[61] The 893 charter granted hunting rights in a forest near Lüsen to the church of St. Cassian.[62] Zacharias, the bishop of Säben who controlled the church, came to Arnulf at Regensburg where he, "entreating [us], approached the height of our serenity."[63] The grant to St. Cassian likely had special significance, since the saint was believed to be the founder of the bishopric.[64] The bishop of Säben played an

[61] D A 61.

[62] D A 115.

[63] D A 115: *venerabilis episcopus noster nomine Zacharias adiit culmen serenitatis nostrae deprecans*. The bishopric would soon move to Brixen, directly southwest of Lüsen. See Katharina Winckler, "Roads, Tolls and the Development of Ecclesiastical Institutions in the Alps (400–900)," in *Oeconomia Alpium II: Economic History of the Alps in Preindustrial Times*, eds. Markus A. Denzel, Andrea Bonoldi, and Marie-Claude Schöpfer (De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2022), pp. 59-63. Louis the Child later granted land for Brixen in 901 that had seemingly been granted by Arnulf, D LC 12.

[64] On the medieval tradition of St. Cassian see Magdalen Bless-Grabher, *Cassian von Imola: die Legende eines Lehrers und Märtyrers und ihre Entwicklung von der Spätantike bis zur Neuzeit* (P. Lang, 1978), pp. 74-84; Paul Gleirscher, "Säben - von der Spätantike ins frühe Mittelalter. Stand der archäologischen Forschung," *Der Schlern* 60 (1986); there is not historical proof that Cassian was the first bishop of Säben but it was evidently believed by contemporaries. Prudentius wrote a brief account of his martyrdom which exists as part of the *Peristephanon.* A late ninth-century copy, from the Lake Constance region, Bern, Burgbibliothek Cod. 264, pp. 118-122 includes this text with miniatures, accessible here: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bbb/0264/118/0/. Gregory of Tours describes him in the *Liber gloria martyrum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SS. Rer. Merov. 1, no. 2 (Hahn, 1885, repr., Hahn, 1969), c. 42, pp. 66-67.

important role in traversing the Alps, so this grant likely signals a renewed interest by Arnulf in a potential invasion.[65]

This would soon become relevant because in late 893 Arnulf received envoys from Pope Formosus, along with "the leaders of the Italian kingdom" asking Arnulf to invade and save them from "the tyrant Wido."[66] It seems that Arnulf initially sent his son Zwentibald with an army of Alemmanians, but then traveled there himself when this effort stalled.[67] As we saw with the Bavarian annalist's presentation of the Battle of Leuven, there is a similarly dramatized depiction of the Siege of Bergamo that Arnulf won in 894. Arnulf's troops were able to collapse a section of wall "which had been founded long ago [*antiquitus*]" and eventually take the city.[68] The bishop of Bergamo Adalbert was handed over to Hatto, the archbishop of Mainz, as his prisoner and as a grim display of Arnulf's anger at the count Ambrose, who sided with Wido and not him, Ambrose was hung.[69] According to the annalist the hanging of Ambrose so shocked the rest of Italy that leaders of the "greatest cities," Milan and Pavia, came to submit themselves to Arnulf's will.[70] Evidently one of these leaders was

[65] For the longer trajectory see Josef Riedman, "Die Funktion der Bischöfe von Säben in den transalpinen Beziehungen," in *Die Transalpinen Verbindungen der Bayern, Alemannen und Franken bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, eds. Helmut Beumann and Werner Schröder (Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1987), pp. 93-104. For Zacharias and Arnulf see p. 99. See also Winckler, "Roads, Tolls and the Development of Ecclesiastical Institutions," p. 70.

[66] *AF* (B), s.a. 893, p. 122: *Formosi apostoloci cum...primoribus Italici regni*. *AF* (B), s.a. 893, p. 122: *Widone tyranno*.

[67] Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, c. 20, p. 60 which is seemingly confirmed by the brief note in *Annales Alamannici, Continuatio Rinaugiensis*, ed. Roland Zingg, Die St. Galler Annalistik (Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2019), s.a. 893, p. 98.

[68] *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 123: *murum antiquitus fundatum perfodere temptabant*.

[69] A detail that appears in Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 894, p. 142 as well.

[70] *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 123: *maximae urbes*.

Maginfred, count of Milan, who had once been a *consiliarius* to Wido and appeared as a count of the palace in an 892 private charter.[71]

After the battle Arnulf took the opportunity to redistribute the lands of some that were killed: the church of St. Vincent in Bergamo received the lands of a certain cleric Gottefried who had participated, and died, in the siege.[72] By February 17th Arnulf had moved on to Piacenza and in April he was on his way north at Ivrea.[73] Arnulf's siege of Bergamo and stay at Piacenza were somewhat unusual, since Pavia was where Carolingian kings had often staked their claims to Italian control.[74] Unlike his predecessors who seem to have used Pavia as the staging ground for their newly won kingdom, Arnulf instead went to Piacenza.[75] If Arnulf was intending to travel further south to Rome, then Piacenza may have been a useful stopping point, as he could presumably count on the support of Angelberga and her daughter Ermengard. Angelberga had founded the monastery of St. Sixtus in the city, and it was a frequent site of Carolingian patronage.[76] When Angelberga had come to court in 889

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[71] DD W 8 and 14; The private charter for St. Ambrose, Angelo Fumagalli, ed., *Codice diplomatico Sant'Ambrosiano: delle carte dell'ottavo e nono secolo* (dalla tipografia di Agnello Nobile, libraio-stampatore, 1805), no. 131. See for discussion Hlawitschka, *Franken*, pp. 226-229.

[72] D A 121 is dated Feb. 1st, meaning the siege must have happened before then.

[73] D A 125.

[74] See above on Charles the Bald and Carloman, pp. 251-253.

[75] DD A 122 and 123 are dated February 17th and March 11th respectively, both granted at Piacenza. But see Kehr's notes for D A 122 on the problems of the date and location, which he believes were added later in 895. Regardless D A 123 highlights that Arnulf was at Piacenza before traveling back north.

[76] Carloman gave three charters for the monastery, DD Ca 5, 16, and 27. Charles the Fat granted land to the monastery in two charters, DD CF 22 and 56, and confirmed Angelberga's properties in another, D CF 166. See La Rocca, "Angelberga," p, 224. On the lands and importance of St. Sixtus for Angelberga see MacLean, "Queenship," pp. 28-32.

Arnulf had confirmed a possession in Piacenza, and on her death the lands were meant to transfer to Ermengard.[77] By Easter 894, however, the king was on his way back north where he would then travel through Rudolf's territory on the way to Worms. Arnulf would turn back north because the "excessive length of the journey" had worn out the army.[78] What this means is somewhat unclear, because it was not an issue in 896 when the army made it all the way to Rome in a similar amount of time.[79] Perhaps the siege had weakened the army more than the annalist was willing to indicate, and Rudolf used this moment to block off the Alpine passes, prompting Arnulf to give up any further plans in Italy for the moment.[80] Arnulf traveled from Ivrea to St. Maurice d'Agaune before traveling over the Great Bernard

[77] D A 49. The land, called *Caput Trepium*, also appears in D Ca 5 and later in D A 141 as part of St. Sixtus' possessions. On Angelberga's potential death in 891 see Martina Hartmann, *Die Königin im frühen Mittelalter* (W. Kohlhammer, 2009), p. 217 which in turn relies on Carlrichard Brühl, *Fodrum, gistum, servitium regis*; *Studien zu den wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des Königtums im Frankenreich und in den fränkischen Nachfolgestaaten Deutschland, Frankreich und Italien vom 6. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Böhlau, 1968), p. 428, n. 391. Brühl cites Giuseppe Pochettino, "L'imperatrice Angelberga (850-890)," *Archivio storico lombardo* 48 (1921): 148-149. Pochettino is basing his argument on a grant given by Ermengard to St. Sixtus in 890 which was done "for the salvation of my soul and also of the emperors my father and mother." To Pochettino this does not make sense unless they were both dead, meaning Angelberga died around 890. For the grant see Pietro M. Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiatica di Piacenza*, vol. 1 (nella stampa ducale di Giouanni Bazachi, 1651), no. 29, p. 472 (noted as p. 476 in Pochettino): *pro remedium animae meae, vel quondam Augustorum genitor, et genitrix mea*. Brühl rightly notes D A 142 which seems to present Angelberga coming to Arnulf to petition the charter. Further, it is not unheard of to ask for the salvation of someone still living, but our evidence is presumably limited in that we rarely see children with the ability to grant charters in such a way. For another example see D Z 24 which was granted in October 898 and asks "for the salvation of our soul and of our pious father the most serene emperor Arnulf": *pro salute nostre anime piique genitoris nostri serenissimi Arnulphi imperatoris*. Arnulf, of course, died in 899.

[78] *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 124: *propter nimiam longitudinem itineris languescente exercitu*.

[79] See below, the army left in late 895 and was in Rome February 896.

[80] See *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 124 and Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 894, p. 142.

Pass on his way to Worms, in the process skirmishing with Rudolf but unable to win a solid victory (Map 4).[81]

Map 4: Arnulf's Itinerary, 894. Potential Reconstruction. Map by Jonathan Dell Isola, 2025.

Despite the limited number of charters that Arnulf granted for Italian recipients, Arnulf was attempting to grant them strategically. Following the siege, Arnulf would grant a charter for St. Ambrose in Milan, where Louis II had been buried in 875.[82] If Arnulf wanted to tie his newfound Italian authority to the last Italian-based king, granting to St. Ambrose was an obvious choice. This

[81] The places with dates are taken from Arnulf's charters, however, the trip to St. Maurice is only attested in Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 894, p. 142 but fits with the broader movement across the Alps. The stops at Verona, Brescia, and the use of the Brenner Pass are based on the evidence detailed below and Carloman's trip in 877. It is important to note that this map is a potential reconstruction based on the evidence, it is not definitive.

[82] D A 123. On Louis' burial see *AF*, s.a. 875, p. 84.

was also a strategy that Arnulf had employed elsewhere, for instance, in granting to St. Arnulf at Metz and Lorsch as a way of linking himself to other Carolingian burial sites.[83] A charter granted at Ivrea suggests that Arnulf's goal may have been to target Wido's supporters. The charter confirmed all the possessions of the bishop of Parma Wibod that had been granted by Louis II, Carloman, and Charles the Fat in Tuscany, Spoleto, and in Rome.[84] Wibod was one of Wido's archchaplains and appears as the intercessor in several charters, making this a highly political grant.[85] Before his role at Wido's court he was a *consiliarius regis* to Charles the Fat and an ambassador for Louis II and Angelberga.[86] The charter notes Wibod as a venerable bishop, but has applied the *consiliarius* title to Hatto, who intervened on Wibod's behalf.[87] Keller suggested that in the period after Louis II's death this term no longer represented the ruler's trust for an individual, even if they still were considered to have substantial

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[83] For St. Arnulf in Metz see Chapter Three, pp. 122-124. Lorsch was where Louis the German and Louis the Younger had been buried in 876 and 882 respectively. Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 876, p. 110 and s.a. 882, p. 118; On Carolingian burial sites see Janet L. Nelson, "Carolingian Royal Funerals," in *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, eds. F. Theuws and Janet L. Nelson (Brill, 2000), pp. 166-169. Arnulf granted four charters for the monastery, DD A 23, 30, 70 and 150.

[84] D A 125. Charles the Fat had already confirmed Carloman's grants in 880, presumably as a way of asserting his control over Italy in the wake of his death, D CF 15.

[85] Archchaplain: D W 4; DD W 2, 4-7, and 17.

[86] On the meaning of this see Hagen Keller, "Zur Struktur der Königsherrschaft im karolingischen und nachkarolingischen Italien. Der "consiliarius regis" in den italienischen Königsdiplomen des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 47 (1967). See also Kasten, *Königssohne*, pp. 410-415. On his role as ambassador see MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 183 and Hadrian II, *Hadriani II. papae epistolae*, ed. Ernest Perels, MGH Epp. 6 (Weidmannos, 1925), no. 25, pp. 730-732. He appears in seven charters of Charles the Fat: DD CF 15, 32, 33, 47, 115, 126, and 171; He also appears in two charters of Carloman: DD Ca 23 and 24.

[87] D A 125: *per Attonem sanctae Magontiae aecclesiae archiepiscoporum et dilectum consiliarium nostrum*.

influence in governing, but now indicated the influence the ruler had to grant such a title.[88] Like some of the Lotharingian charters I discussed in Chapter Three, this charter notes Arnulf's relationship to his cousin (*consobrinus*) Louis II, his uncle (*avunculus*) Charles the Fat, and his father (*genitor*) Carloman. The *arenga* of this charter highlights how Arnulf was attempting to situate himself as a successor to these rulers: "If we take care of the faithful affection of our *fideles* we follow ancestral custom and return them with greater speed into our service."[89] In following "ancestral custom" Arnulf placed himself into continuity with these predecessors, communicating a message of political stability.

We can find other hints that elites within Italy were willing to support Arnulf even if they do not appear in the charters themselves. In 892 we can find Maginfred as a count of the palace and *consiliarius* for Wido, but in 896 he was executed by Wido's son Lambert II.[90] Maginfred seems to have kept Milan out of Wido and Lambert's hands, because neither Wido or his son Lambert issued a charter there until Maginfred was captured and executed in 896.[91] In 896 Maginfred was even described as "count of the palace of king Arnulf."[92] Yet Maginfred never received a charter from Arnulf, which highlights the limitation of using only royal charters to understand Arnulf's authority in Italy. What the case of Maginfred suggests is that elites had varying reasons for lending, or switching, their support that was not based simply on reception of royal patronage. The political situation in Italy in

[88] Keller, "Zur Struktur," pp. 155-167.

[89] D A 125: *Si fidelium nostrorum pio affectui consulimus, paternum morem sequimur et alacriores eos in nostrum servicium reddimus*.

[90] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 129. This is also noted in Liutprand, *Antapodosis*, I, c. 38, p. 67.

[91] D Lambert 6 is from October 896 at Milan.

[92] Fumagalli, *Codice*, no. 133, p. 541: *Maginfredus qui fuit comes palacii Arnulfi regis*.

the years after Charles the Fat's death was incredibly fluid, and the rapid succession of rulers may have caused hesitation from elites who were not confident that royal grants could actually secure their lands.[93]

One such case of this potential fluidity is Berengar granting a charter for St. Ambrose in December 894, after Arnulf had departed.[94] Berengar granting a charter there, and the lack of Italian recipients in Arnulf's charters, raises questions about how to interpret Arnulf's authority in Italy. That is, even though Arnulf granted charters there, he did not remain in Italy long and soon after his departure Berengar and Wido seem to have quickly filled the gap. Does this mean that Arnulf had no authority in Italy? That Arnulf had little interest in Italy? Perhaps a clue lies in the joint coin issued in both Arnulf and Berengar's name (see Figure 4 below).[95] Two examples of this coin exist, both temple types, with attributions to mints at Milan and Pavia. In both cases they seem to follow the form of other coins minted for Arnulf at those mints, except with the mint attribution replacing the columns of the temple on the reverse instead of as a legend. The normal mint legend has been replaced by Berengar's name and given the title as *rex* to correspond with Arnulf as *pius rex*.[96]

[93] MacLean, "'After his death,'" pp. 256-259.

[94] DD B 13 and 19.

[95] On Carolingian coinage in general the work of Simon Coupland is essential, for recent work see, Simon Coupland, "The Importance of Coinage in the Carolingian World," *EME* 30 (2022); Simon Coupland, "The Use of Coin in the Carolingian Empire in the Ninth Century," in *Early Medieval Monetary History – Studies in Memory of Mark Blackburn*, eds. Rory Naismith et al. (Ashgate, 2014); Several older studies are found in Simon Coupland, *Carolingian Coinage and the Vikings: Studies on Power and Trade in the 9th Century* (Ashgate/Variorum, 2007). See also the work of Rory Naismith, "The Social Significance of Monetization in the Early Middle Ages," *Past & Present* 223, no. 1 (2014); and now Rory Naismith, *Making Money in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton University Press, 2023), esp. pp. 284-308.

[96] On the coins see Philip Grierson and M. A. S. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 1 (Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 225. Karl F. Morrison and Henry Grunthal, *Carolingian Coinage*

Figure 4: Coin with names of Arnulf as pius rex on obverse and Berengar as rex on reverse. Images printed with permission, National Numismatic Collection, De Nederlandsche Bank, Amsterdam inv. no. 1936-883.

Phillip Grierson dated these coins to the second invasion of Italy, in 895/896, but it is possible that they were instead minted for the first invasion of Italy.[97] This coin suggests that instead of being replaced by Berengar or Wido, Arnulf was sharing authority with Berengar. Dating the coin to 894 would make sense in a scenario where Arnulf and Berengar were allied and cooperating in ruling Italy. The path that Arnulf took through Italy also emphasizes the connection between Berengar and Arnulf. Arnulf issued a charter in October 893 at Ranshofen, and spent Christmas at the royal estate

(American Numismatic Society, 1967), p. 315.

[97] For questions around the dating and the rarity of this coin see S. Coupland, L. Gianazza, F. Huisman, and O. Florisson, "The Zuidbarge and Zuidlaren Hoards of 1860 and the Italian Coinage of the Late Ninth Century," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 183 (2023): 273-274. My thanks to Simon Coupland for sending me a copy of the article before publication as well as a high quality image of the coin. I disagree with the dating of the coins to the end of 888 put forward by Wolfgang Hahn, "König Arnulf und das Regnum Italiae (888-896). Eine numismatische Spurensuche," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* 37 (1997). It seems unlikely that Berengar/Arnulf exercised any real control in Pavia or Milan at this point, as Berengar was largely restricted to the area around Verona.

of Aibling before traveling across the Alps.[98] If he traveled south across the Alps near Innsbruck, then went west near Verona he would have traveled through a similar area to Carloman in October 877, suggesting that Arnulf was cooperating with Berengar on the campaign.[99] That is, this route would have taken Arnulf through the duchy of Friuli, the center of Berengar's power.[100] It is also probably at this moment that Arnulf's name was entered into the *Libri memorialis* for St. Salvatore in Brescia, where Berengar's daughter Berta was abbess.[101]

Just why would Arnulf be amenable to an alliance with Berengar? Perhaps it was because Berengar could claim descent from the Carolingians. Contemporaries themselves were willing to draw this connection: in 878 John VIII addressed a letter to Berengar "the beloved glorious son [and] count born from the royal line."[102] Likewise the Bavarian continuation of the *Annales Fuldenses* notes Berengar as a relative of Charles the Fat in 883 and 886.[103] The annalist would identify Berengar as Arnulf's relative in the context of the second Italian invasion in 896.[104] Berengar himself would claim

[98] D A 120. *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 123.

[99] Carloman can be found at Verona in November 877, DD Ca 9 and 10.

[100] On Verona see above, n. 37.

[101] On the date see Uwe Ludwig, "Zur Chronologie der Nameneinträge," in *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore/Santa Giulia in Brescia*, eds. Dieter Geuenich and Uwe Ludwig, MGH Libri Memoriales et Necrologia, Nova Series 4 (Hahn, 2000), p. 109. Arnulf's name is found on fol. 5v as *Domnus Arnulf*, p. 143 in the MGH edition. This is perhaps similar to the descriptions of Louis II (fol. 8r, p. 148: *DOMNUS LODUICUS IMPERATOR*) and Angelberga (fol. 8r, p. 148: *DOMNA INGELBERGA IMPERATRIX*). The lack of *imperator* being used to describe Arnulf suggests a pre-896 date. On Berengar's daughter see Rosenwein, "The Family Politics of Berengar I," pp. 254-256.

[102] John VIII, *Registrum*, no. 74, p. 69: *Dilecto filio Beringario glorioso comiti regia prosapia orto*.

[103] *AF* (B), s.a. 883, p. 110. *AF* (B), s.a. 886, p. 114.

[104] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 127.

that he was a "relative" to Charlemagne.[105] The early-tenth century *Gesta Berengarii* also uses Berengar's Carolingian lineage to distinguish him from Wido.[106]

Perhaps more important were Berengar's earlier alliances with Carloman and Charles the Fat. Berengar was clearly connected to Carolingian affairs throughout the 870s and 880s, and even after Arnulf's reign was apparently able to take refuge in Bavaria.[107] As we noted above, Carloman traveled through Berengar's territory in 877 suggesting that Carloman and Berengar also had a cooperative relationship. The Berengar-Arnulf connection is worth thinking about in light of Arnulf's efforts to intervene in other parts of the former Carolingian empire.[108] While Arnulf did send troops against Rudolf in Burgundy, this region was considered, by Arnulf at least, part of his kingdom and did not have a longer tradition of kingship.[109] This makes Italy a somewhat unusual case in that it was the only region outside East Francia that Arnulf attempted to subjugate and control through invasion. As such he may have seen Berengar as the best option for accomplishing such a goal, and until 896 the relationship seems to have been largely cooperative in comparison to his relationships with other rulers such as Rudolf.

Arnulf's actions in Italy in 894 and 896 show that he did harbor ambitions there, not to mention the short lived campaign in 888 and the declined invasion of 890. Yet only a handful of

[105] D B 1: *consobrini*.

[106] See Tomasz Dalewski, "Kings Among Kinglets? Carolingian Dynastic Identity at the Dawn of the Post-Carolingian Age," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 26 (2021) and Giuseppe Albertoni, "La fine dell'impero carolingio e i conflitti per il regno italico nei Gesta Berengarii," *Reti Medievali Rivista* 17, no. 2 (2016).

[107] See Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 905, p. 150 noting him in exile in Bavaria.

[108] See Chapter Five, pp. 235-247 for this discussion.

[109] See Robbie, "The Emergence of Regional Polities," pp. 23-25.

charters describe Arnulf as ruling in Italy in the dating clause, all coming after the Siege of Bergamo in 894.[110] For instance a charter granted in March 894 at Piacenza is dated to "the seventh year of the reign of the most serene lord king Arnulf in Francia and the first in Italy."[111] Kehr believed this type of description was used after the submission of the elites of Pavia, but quickly fell into disuse.[112] Yet I am unconvinced that the court, or Arnulf, wanted to present him as an Italian king to an Italian audience. In part because there are more charters for Italian recipients that *do not* note Arnulf as ruling in Italy than those that do, and in part because one of these charters was not even for an Italian recipient, but for Trier.[113] Just as these charters are the only ones to note Arnulf's rule in Italy, they are also the only ones to refer to Arnulf as king of Francia. That there is only one charter in 896, during the second invasion, that uses this description also suggests that it does not have to do with a systematic attempt at presenting Arnulf in a certain way.[114] That is, there was not a broader shift in the language employed in Arnulf's charters. Three of these charters, two from 894 and one from 896, were written by the same court-affiliated scribe, which provides an alternative explanation relating to the use of older charters as models.[115] This would have continued the trend in Arnulf's charters to not confine his royal authority

[110] DD A 123, 124, 125, and 140. D A 125 the words *in Italia I* were erased, but according to Kehr were "undoubtedly original" ("unzweifelhaft ursprünglich")

[111] D A 123: *regni domni Arnolfi serenissimi regis in Frantia et in Italia primo*.

[112] See Kehr's editorial notes in D A 123.

[113] That is, there are ten charters for Italian recipients throughout Arnulf's reign, and only two note him as ruling in Italy. The non-Italian recipient is D A 124.

[114] It did not last long, as D A 140 (February 27th, 896) refers to Arnulf as ruling in Italy while D A 141 (March 1st, 896) does not despite both being granted in Rome.

[115] The scribe was Aspertus D, who wrote eighteen charters overall: DD A 63, 65, 71, 75, 88, 96, 105, 113, 118, 122-124, 135, 139, 140, 146, 147, 150, 153. Kehr could not identify a scribe for D A 125. It is possible that Aspertus D wrote D A 118 as well. Kehr said it was reminiscent of Aspertus D but he could not identify the

to a specific region; instead, as we saw in Chapter Three, Arnulf's charters almost always contained a more expansive notion of kingship (which only described the ruler as *rex* with no geographic qualifications) that recalled Louis the German.[116] The argument of the previous chapter was that it was at this exact moment that Arnulf was attempting to demonstrate his rulership in an imperial manner. It is after Arnulf's return from Italy in 894 that he resumed assemblies and other triumphal activities, suggesting that the victory in Italy may have given more ideological resources to the presentation of Arnulf as a quasi-imperial ruler.

The Second Italian Invasion, 896:

The 896 invasion was, in many ways, the culmination of Arnulf's imperial project. In the preceding years Arnulf had won victories over Northmen and Moravians, intervened in the succession dispute in West Francia, and held the "universal" Synod of Tribur.[117] In several aspects Arnulf was borrowing the model of imperial rule, but without using the imperial title. As with the invasion in 894, the pope seems to have asked Arnulf to come to Rome in late 895.[118] In preparation for the campaign we can find Arnulf in September at Ötting where he granted several places near Klagenfurt, including

scribe conclusively because the charter is lost. This scribe may have been influenced by older charters and used the form found in these dating clauses when writing the new documents, for instance D CF 21 was used for D A 123. D A 124 may have been using a lost charter of Louis the Younger. Kehr thinks that the *in Italia I* in D A 125 could have come from another charter of Charles the Fat, D CF 15. Even more telling, perhaps, is that the same scribe would write a charter in December 895 while Arnulf was at Pavia (D A 139), where there is no geographic description of his rulership. In this charter Aspertus D accidentally copied the wrong name of the intercessor from the old grant before correcting it, highlighting how scribes used older charter material to aid the drafting of new charters.

[116] See Chapter Three, p. 138.

[117] For these events see Chapters Four and Five.

[118] *AF* (B), s.a. 895, pp. 126-127.

two *castra* and three royal manses, to his *fidelis* Waltuni.[119] Ötting had been built up by Arnulf's father Carloman and was a "meeting place" between Bavaria and Italy.[120] The following month Arnulf would divide the army into two parts, with the Alemannians traveling via Bologna to Florence, while Arnulf led the Frankish contingent across the Apennines to Luni (see Map 5 for the full itinerary).[121] The speed of Arnulf's progression through Italy, and the seeming lack of resistance, may have been due to the success, and brutality, of the Siege of Bergamo in 894.[122] By December 1st Arnulf had reached Pavia, where he issued a charter for the cloister of St. Mary.[123] St. Mary had been granted by Wido to his wife Angeltrude in February 891 in the wake of his imperial coronation.[124] Arnulf's charter only notes grants of Lothar, Louis, and Carloman, despite using a grant of Charles the Fat from 881 as a model.[125] In not mentioning either Wido or Charles the charter is effectively condensing time, presenting Arnulf as the successor to these other Carolingian rulers, in particular Carloman as the "last" ruler of Italy. This was also the only charter Arnulf granted at Pavia, and it came at a highly charged political moment as he was seeking to travel to Rome to be crowned emperor. Before even reaching Rome this charter expressed Arnulf's authority over Italy, warning that those who "standing under the power of

[119] D A 138.

[120] See Störmer, "König Karlmanns," pp. 626-628.

[121] *AF* (B), s.a. 895, p. 127.

[122] See Jörg Jarnut, "Die Eroberung Bergamos (894). Eine Entscheidungsschlacht zwischen Kaiser Wido und König Arnulf," *DA* 30 (1974).

[123] D A 139.

[124] D W 5.

[125] D CF 44, Kehr notes that the scribe accidentally copied Liutward of Vercelli's name as the intercessor before correcting it to Adalbero. Carloman: D Ca 9; Charles the Fat: DD CF 44 and 45.

our kingdom which was given to us by God intended to rise up or intrude on this precept of our immunity and confirmation" would need to pay a hundred *libri* split between the church and the palace.[126]

From Pavia Arnulf then traveled to Rome (through Torre and Luni), at which point the Bavarian annalist writes an extended and dramatic account of the capture of the city. Seemingly the city was under the control of Wido's widow Angeltrude, acting as regent for her young son Lambert II.[127] Even before reaching Rome the expedition was troubled; Berengar defected and seemingly convinced the margrave of Tuscany, Adalbert, to join him.[128] The annalist seems to present these as obstacles that are overcome by the rightness of Arnulf's cause. After ordering a day of fasting Arnulf was riding around the walls when a fight broke out, leading to the storming of the city: "now with the day growing late by the providence of God the strongest and most noble city was stormed nobly with triumph, the pope and city being liberated from [their] enemies."[129] The emphasis on the city being stormed "nobly" suggests that the annalist was trying to justify the fact that Arnulf had to storm the city; Regino would later point out how unusual it was for a ruler to conquer the city through force.[130]

[126] D A 139: *infra ditionem regni nostri nobis a deo dati consistens contra hoc immunitatis ac confirmacionis nostrae praeceptum insurgere vel irrumpere ausus fuerit*.

[127] Wido had died in 894, see *AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 125. On Angelrude controlling Rome see *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 127. In contrast see Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 896, p. 144 which suggests that she fled before Arnulf took the city. Liudprand, *Antapodosis* I, c. 26-27, pp. 21-22 offers another scenario for Arnulf storming the city, with his entry being denied not by Angeltrude but by the "Romans."

[128] Adalbert was a supporter of Wido in earlier charters, see DD W 1 and 12 in 889 and 891 respectively.

[129] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 128: *Sicque Dei providentia firmissima et nobilissima urbs...iam vesperascente die nobiliter cum triumpho expugnata est, apostolico et urbe de inimicis liberato*. See also *AF* (B), s.a. 900, p. 135 which also has similarities to the "noble" storming of Rome.

[130] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 896, p. 144. Compare the Bavarian annalist to Charlemagne's entry into Rome in 800, *ARF*, s.a. 800, pp. 110-112; Charles the Bald in 875, *AB*, s.a. 875-876, pp. 199-299.

The storming of the city evidently was well known, as the *Annales Alamannici* also notes that "Arnulf captured Rome by force."[131] This was only, it seems, the start for the Bavarian annalist. The king was then met on the Milvian Bridge by "the entire senate of the Romans and the school of the Greeks with signs and crosses" while also singing "hymns and *laudes*."[132] According to the annalist the pope then crowned Arnulf and called him emperor "following the manner of his ancestors."[133] A public oath was then sworn to both Formosus and Arnulf which stipulated that no one was to give aid to either Angeltrude or Lambert.[134] Curiously there are two individuals, "Constantine and Stephen, who were great among the senate, accused to be guilty of treason" and who were brought back to Bavaria with Arnulf.[135] Arnulf's coronation has long been assumed to have taken place on February 22nd, yet the evidence for this is questionable.[136] Possibly, Arnulf's coronation was done to coincide with the feast of

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[131] *Annales Alamannici, cont. Rinaugiensis*, s.a. 896, p. 98: *Arnolfus Romam vi cepit*.

[132] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 128: *Omnis namque senatus Romanorum necnon Grecorum scola cum vexillis et crucibus ad pontem Malvium venientes regem honorifice cum ymnis et laudibus*. See in comparison, *ARF*, s.a. 800, p. 110 on pope Leo coming out of Rome to meet Charlemagne before his coronation as emperor.

[133] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 128: *secundum morem antecessorum suorum*.

[134] This oath drew on the *Constitutio Romana*, Boretius, *MGH Capit.* 1, no. 161, pp. 322-323. This is now edited in Esders et al., *Fränkische Herrschererlasse*, pp. 324-326, with oath on p. 334; see the notes in Boretius and Kruse, *MGH Capit.* 2, no. 229, p. 123.

[135] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 128: *Post haec autem Constantinus et Stephanus, qui maiores inter senatum erat, rei maiestatis esse accusati sunt*. It is not entirely clear who these two are, but a Stephen and Constantine appear in a letter of John VIII from 876 as the *secundicerius* and son of the *nomenculator* respectively, see John VIII, *Registrum*, no. 9, p. 327: *Stephano secundicerio...et Constantino nomenculatoris filio.*

[136] Dümmler, *Geschichte*, p. 420, n. 1; Mühlbacher, *Regesta* no. 1913h surveys the evidence noting its paucity, but relying on the (incorrect) dating of D A 141 to Feb. 23rd. Wolfram, *Arnulf*, p. 94 believes February 15th is the best date.

the Chair of St. Peter, which was held on February 22nd.[137] The *cathedra Petri* may have in fact been brought to Rome by Charles the Bald in 875 for his own imperial coronation.[138]

Map 5: Arnulf's Itinerary, 896. Potential Reconstruction. Map by Jonathan Dell Isola, 2025.

[137] Louis the Blind was also crowned in February see D LB 6 for February as emperor in Rome. Wido's first charter as emperor was on February 21st (DD W 4-7). A St. Gall charter dated to February 22nd or 23rd 897 is potentially dated to the second year of Arnulf's imperial rule, suggesting a date around this time, see Erhart, *Chartularium*, no. 754. However, DD A 150-151 from January 30th, 897 claim it is the third and second year of Arnulf's imperial rule respectively. News of the coronation reached St. Gall by May 6th, see Erhart, *Chartularium*, no. 744.

[138] See Lawrence Nees, "Charles the Bald and the *Cathedra Petri*," in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, eds. Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson, Second revised edition (Variorum, 1990) and Deshman, "Antiquity and Empire."

Of course, the reference to the Milvian Bridge is a clear attempt to connect Arnulf to Constantine, who was often used as a model Christian ruler.[139] Louis the Pious reused a Roman sarcophagus that seems to have depicted Constantine's victory at the Milvian Bridge and likened him to Moses parting the Red Sea.[140] Yet Carolingian commentators could also use Constantine as an example of a bad ruler, in particular noting the uneasy status of his baptism by the Arian bishop Eusebius and his supposed transgressions against the church.[141] That is, Constantine was not inevitably a positive figure in Carolingian eyes.

There was, however, a continuing interest in Constantine at the East Frankish court specifically: Charles the Fat sent a piece of the True Cross as a last ditch effort to prevent the coup in 887 by reminding Arnulf of his oaths.[142] This piece had originally been sent to Louis the German by the Byzantine emperor in 872.[143] Late antique and early medieval authors believed that Constantine

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[139] See also Walter Pohl, "Creating Cultural Resources for Carolingian Rule: Historians of the Christian Empire," in Gantner, *The Resources of the Past*; Eugen Ewig, "Das Bild Constantins des Großen in den ersten Jahrhunderten des abendländischen Mittelalters," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 75 (1966): 37-46. Jan Clauß, "Imports and Embargos of Imperial Concepts in the Frankish Kingdom.: The Promotion of Charlemagne's Imperial Coronation in Carolingian Courtly Culture," in *Transcultural Approaches to the Concept of Imperial Rule in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jan Clauß et al. (Peter Lang AG, 2017), pp. 104-106. Ermold claimed that the crown used by Pope Stephen for Louis the Pious' coronation in 816 beloged to Constantine and Constantine was also part of the Ingelheim frescoes. Ermold, *Carmen*, p. 36 and p. 66. See however, Judson Emerick, "Charlemagne: a New Constantine?" in *The Life and Legacy of Constantine: Traditions through the Ages*, ed. M. Shane Bjornlie (Routledge, 2017) which suggests that the relevance of Constantine to Charlemagne waned as conflicts with the Byzantines increased, resulting in more interest in David.

[140] See Galit Noga-Banai, "The Sarcophagus of Louis the Pious at Metz. A Roman Memory Reused," *FMSt* 45, no. 1 (2011).

[141] See Rutger Kramer, "Adopt, Adapt and Improve: Dealing with the Adoptionist Controversy at the Court of Charlemagne," in *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, eds. Rob Meens et al. (Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 34-47.

[142] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp 129-134 and pp. 161-178.

[143] *AF*, s.a. 872, p. 75.

and his mother Helena had been responsible for finding the True Cross.[144] For the Saxon Poet, writing during Arnulf's reign, Charlemagne was a redemptive figure who had saved the Saxons, and was following in the footsteps of Constantine who had saved "thousands of souls."[145] There was thus an intimate connection between Constantine and Christian empire. Constantine may have been a particularly relevant model to Arnulf because Constantine was believed to have been born from a concubine.[146] Just a year before, at Tribur, Arnulf had seemingly emulated Constantine's own role at the Council of Nicaea, as we have seen in Chapter Four.[147] Around this time a manuscript of the *Vita*

[144] For instance Gregory of Tours, *Historia*, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH Scriptores rerum Morevongicarum 1., no. 1 (Hahn, 1951), I.36, p. 27. On the development of the legend in the fourth century see E.D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312–460* (Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 38-44. Eusebius does not mention the discovery of the cross at all: H.A. Drake, "Eusebius on the True Cross," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36, no. 1 (1985); Rufinus, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, Eusebius Werke, vol. 2, part 2 (J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1908), X.7-8, pp. 969-971 adds an account of the finding of the cross in his continuation of Eusebius. Venantius Fortunatus wrote to the emperor Justin II and his wife Sophia about the piece of the True Cross they sent to Radegund, extolling Justin for his similarity to Constantine, see Venantius Fortunatus, "Ad Iustinum et Sophiam Augustos," ed. Friedrich Leo, MGH Auctores antiquissimi 4, part 1 (Weidmannos, 1881), p. 277. Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 364-369 (408-423), p. 17 indicates the varying traditions around the finding of the True Cross. See also Ewig, "Das Bild Constantins," pp. 21-22. Trier seems to have had a medieval tradition celebrating Helena as a saint, see Ewig, "Das Bild Constantins," p. 19.

[145] Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, V, l. 666, p. 71: *milia spirituum*.

[146] This is noted in Jerome's translation of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, ed. Rudolf Helm, Eusebius Werke 7 (Akademie-Verlag, 1956), p. 228: *Constantinus ex concubina Helena procreatus*; Orosius, *Historae adversum Paganos*, ed. Karl Zangemeister (Teubner, 1889), VII.25, p. 266: *Constantinum filium ex concubina Helena creatum imperatorem Galliarum reliquit*. It is later repeated in Bede, *De Tempore Rationum*, ed. Charles W. Jones, CC 123B (Brepols, 1977), s.a. 4290, p. 509: *Constantinus, Constantii ex concubina Helena filius, in Brittania creatus imperator*; Regino himself notes this, *Chronicon*, s.a. 263-294 (306-337), p. 14. Both Jerome and Orosius were read in the early Middle Ages, for instance Gregory of Tours relied on them in his *Historia*, I.36, p. 27 and I.41, p. 28; See Michael Allen, "Universal History 300-1000: Origins and Western Developments," in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Deliyannis (Brill, 2003).

[147] On the Synod of Tribur see Chapter Four, pp. 183-190.

sancti Silvestri (known sometimes as the *Acta Silvestri*) was produced at St. Gall.[148] In the text Pope Sylvester cures Constantine of leprosy and baptizes him as a Christian, sidestepping some of the issues posed by his baptism by the Arian Eusebius.[149] This version also records the legend of the discovery of the True Cross. Perhaps this text was salient because of Constantine's association with Rome but also in the wake of Arnulf's severe illness following his coronation in 896. Solomon III, the abbot of St. Gall and bishop of Constance at the time of the manuscript's production, was an important member of Arnulf's court alongside the archbishop of Mainz Hatto. Both had been present at Tribur in 895, and Hatto likely played a role in the drafting of the canons.[150] That is, these references to Constantine

[148] St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 568. Accessible here: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0568/98/0/. Bernhard Bischoff, "Manoscritti Nonantolani dispersi dell'epoca Carolingia," *La Bibliofilía* 85, no. 2 (1983): 114 believes it was based on St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 567 but does not explain why he dates it to around 900. Von Euw, *St. Galler Buchkunst*, no. 115, pp. 442-443 assumes it was made under Bernard between 883 and 890. Von Euw believes there is a similarity between the initial S in the Folchart-Psalter (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 23, p. 49) and the initial S in the *Vita Silvestri* manuscript (p. 5). He also sees a similarity with the scribe Wolfcoz, although he does not give a specific example. This to me does not preclude the possibility of a somewhat later date in the 890s, since evidently the artist was capable of drawing on older illustrations for the new manuscript. It also appears in the library catalog as noted by von Euw, see St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 728, p. 15: *Vita sancti silvestri recens et bene conscripta*. That is, the "recent and well written" copy, not the older exemplar St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 567. It was a later addition to the catalog, as shown by the lack of highlighting like the previous entries and the change in hand. There are also texts related to the True Cross and Silvester in other ninth-century manuscripts: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6341 (dated to the last third of the ninth century), *De relatio de inventione sanctae crucis* in fols. 51r-56v and *Narratio de exaltatione sanctae crucis*, fols. 57r-60r; The *Vita Silvestri* is also found in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14704, fols. 101r-119r, with a rubric on fol. 101r: *Liber sanctae Silvestri urbis Romae episcopi contra Iudaeos.* The following page has a slightly different title: *De vita et actibus sancti Silvestri urbi Romae episcopi*. From earlier see Staatsbibliothek Bamberg Msc. Patr. 20, fols. 70r-176v. For an edition of the text see Bonino Mombrizio, ed., *Sanctuarium seu Vitae sanctorum* (Albertum Fontemoing, 1910), pp. 508-531.

[149] See Kristina Sessa, "Constantine and Silvester in the Actus Silvestri," in Bjornlie, *The Life and Legacy of Constantine*, pp. 78-91. Ewig, "Das Bild Constantins," pp. 13-17 discusses the reception of the text and the "Silvester Legend." For references to this in the ninth century see Ewig, "Das Bild Constantins," p. 38.

[150] See the discussion in Chapter Four, p. 189.

were not disconnected from the court, and probably reflect ongoing narratives of royal, and then imperial, rule.

It thus seems like more than coincidence that the annalist would portray Arnulf crossing the Milvian Bridge into Rome. As noted above, Constantine had a variety of both positive and negative associations, and the portrayal here is clearly positive. The *adventus* into Rome had a long imperial history which had evolved, especially in the fourth century, as the balance of power in the empire shifted east to Constantinople.[151] Rome itself had undergone a series of different building programs, begun by Constantine, that lasted into the early Middle Ages.[152] Indeed the Bavarian annalist's description of Arnulf' entrance into Rome echoed Eusebius' account of Constantine's entry into Rome after the Milvian bridge.[153] Rufinus, who translated Eusebius into Latin, was the main way Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* was transmitted in the early Middle Ages.[154] However, Rufinus went further than simply translating; he also added two books that brought the narrative down to the reign

[151] For the broader context see McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 35-79; J. Latham, "Rolling Out the Red Carpet, Roman-Style: the Arrival at Rome from Constantine to Charlemagne," in *Urban Developments in Late Antique and Medieval Rome*, eds. Gregor Kalas and Ann van Dijk (Amsterdam University Press, 2021); Ioannis Papadopoulos, *The Idea of Rome in Late Antiquity: From Eternal City to Imagined Utopia* (Amsterdam University Press, 2021), pp. 67-86; Paolo Liverani, "Saint Peter's and the City of Rome Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," in *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*, eds. Rosamond McKitterick et al. (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 28-32.

[152] Constantine's program often cast him as a "restorer" of the city for liberating it from Maxentius, see Gregor Kalas, *The Restoration of the Roman Forum in Late Antiquity: Transforming Public Space* (University of Texas Press, 2015), pp. 47-74. On other changes in the Roman Forum in the fourth and fifth centuries see Carlos Machado, "Building the Past: Monuments and Memory in the *Forum Romanum*," *Late Antique Archaeology* 3, no. 1 (2006).

[153] On the creation of narratives surrounding the battle and problems of sources see Raymond Van Dam, *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[154] For the role of Rufinus in the Carolingian world see McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp. 218-244; Helmut Reimitz, "Transformations of Late Antiquity: The Writing and Re-Writing of Church History at the Monastery of Lorsch, c. 800," in Gantner, *The Resources of the Past*, pp. 265-268.

of Theodosius at the end of the fourth century. He also modified part of Eusebius' text.[155] In both Rufinus and the Bavarian annalist the ruler enters the city in triumph.[156] More than that, however, is that both sources present the ruler's entry as a liberation of the city. The Bavarian annalist notes "the pope and city being liberated from [their] enemies."[157] Compare this to Rufinus, where Constantine is the "author of salvation and restorer of liberty."[158] Liberation was a common theme among accounts of Constantine's entry into Rome.[159] It seems that this impression survived into the ninth century. A manuscript, discovered at Einsiedeln but potentially produced elsewhere, contains recordings of inscriptions in the city of Rome written by a Fulda-trained scribe.[160] It faithfully records the inscription

[155] See Mark Humphries, "Rufinus's Eusebius: Translation, Continuation, and Edition in the Latin Ecclesiastical History," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16, no. 2 (2008).

[156] Rufinus, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae*, IX.9, p. 831: *urbem Romam triumphaturus ingreditur*; *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 128: *cum triumpho expugnata est*.

[157] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 128: *apostolico et urbe de inimicis liberato*.

[158] Rufinus, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae*, IX.9,9, p. 833: *salutis auctorem et restitutorem libertatis*.

[159] For a Greek perspective see Libanius, "To the Emperor Theodosius, for the Temples," ed. and trans. A.F. Norman, Loeb Classical Library 452 (Harvard University Press, 1977), c. 6, p. 105. On these texts see Pierre-Louis Malosse, "Libanius' *Orations*," in *Libanius: A Critical Introduction*, ed. and trans. Lieve van Hoof (Cambridge University Press, 2014) and on this specific oration see Peter Van Nuffelen, "Not the Last Pagan: Libanius Between Elite Rhetoric and Religion," in Van Hoof, *Libanius*. A nearly contemporary panegyric given at Trier in 313 also presents Constantine's victory as a liberation of the city,"XII Panegyric of Constantine Augustus," eds. and trans. C.E.V. Nixon and Barbara Saylor Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini* (University of California Press, 1994), pp. 296-297 and p. 324. If the inscription of the statue thought to be the *Colossus of Constantine* reported by Eusebius, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae*, ed. Eduard Schwartz, Eusebius Werke 2, part 2, IX.9.11, p. 832 is true, this also stressed his role as a liberator and restorer of Rome. Rufinus includes this transcription as well, but it is not a translation of Eusebius, Rufinus, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae*, IX.9.11, p. 833, noted in the translation by Philip Amidon, *History of the Church* (Catholic University of America Press, 2016), p. 363 and n. 28.

[160] Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 326 (1076), fols. 67r-79v. It also records a statue of Constantine, now lost, that likely sat on the western end of the Forum, see Kalas, *The Restoration of the Roman Forum*, pp. 58-59. On this text see Joanna Story, *Charlemagne and Rome: Alcuin and the Epitaph of Pope Hadrian I* (Oxford University Press, 2023), pp. 179-183.

on the *Arch of Constantine*, noting Constantine's triumph over the "tyrant" Maxentius during the Battle of the Milvian Bridge as well as the inscriptions under the images on either side, *liberatori urbis* and *fundatori quietis*.[161]

The entry itself, and the greeting of the ruler, are also similar between the two accounts. Eusebius writes for Constantine's entry that "he entered Rome with hymns of triumph, and all the senators and other persons of great note, together with the women and quite young children and all the Roman people, received him in a body with beaming countenances to their very heart as a ransomer, savior and benefactor."[162] In the Bavarian annalist's account Arnulf is met by the "entire senate of the Romans and the school of the Greeks."[163] Rufinus modifies Eusebius slightly, adding that the people of Rome had been "liberated as they were from an overwhelming pestilence and rescued from the yoke of tyrannical brutality."[164] Not only that, but Rufinus inserts a non-Eusebian narrative about how Constantine was nervous to attack the city of Rome itself, and prayed to God for

[161] Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 326 (1076), fol. 72v: "the liberator of the city" and "the founder of quiet."

[162] Eusebius, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae*, IX.9.9, pp. 830-833, trans. J.E.L. Oulton, Loeb Classical Library 265 (Harvard University Press, 1932), p. 363. On Eusebius potentially getting his information from a now lost panegyric which was then fitted into a Christian worldview see Raymond Van Dam, "A Lost Panegyric: The Source for Eusebius of Caesarea's Description of Constantine's Victory and Arrival at Rome in 312," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 27, no. 2 (2019). This text survives in contemporary manuscripts of the ninth century, such as Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 346 (284), p. 315, which is IX.9. It can be accessed here: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0346/315/0/

[163] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 128: *Omnis namque senatus Romanorum necnon Grecorum scola*.

[164] Rufinus, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae*, IX.9.9, pp. 831-832, trans. Amidon, *History of the Church*, p. 363: *tum vero laeti omnes cum coniugibus ac liberis, senatus populusque Romanus ingenti peste liberati et iugo tyrannicae immanitatis exempti Constantinum velut salutis auctorem ac restitutorem libertatis excipiunt*.

guidance.[165] The Bavarian annalist would mirror this in Arnulf's hesitance at the walls of Rome and his request for a day of fasting before storming the city. While Rufinus attributes Constantine's victory to divine providence through the collapse of the bridge, thus sparing Roman blood, the Bavarian annalist presents the attack as an almost spontaneous accident, but one where the Franks emerge victorious through God's will, and with "no one from the side of the king from such a great army succumbing."[166] My argument here is that the Bavarian annalist was drawing on the imagery and understanding of Rufinus' account of Constantine in his presentation of Arnulf's entry into Rome in 896. Indeed these are not features found in other texts, such as Eutropius' fourth century *Breviarium ab urbe condita,* which was continued by Paul the Deacon in the late eighth century as the *Historia Romana*.[167] A reference to the Milvian Bridge would have engendered a variety of associations, which the annalist borrows from Rufinus to create a link between Arnulf and Constantine. Indeed the reference to the Milvian Bridge as an entry point for a Carolingian ruler was largely unknown outside one life in the *Liber pontificalis*, that of Leo III, which notes Charlemagne's entry into Rome across the Milvian Bridge.[168] As we will see below, however, this *vita* was not widely known north of the Alps, so

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[165] Rufinus, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae*, IX.9.1-3, pp. 827-829, trans. Amidon, *History of the Church,* pp. 360-362 and p. 360, n. 22.

[166] Rufinus, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae*, IX.9.3, p. 829, trans. Amidon, *History of the Church,* IX.9.3, p. 362; *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 128: *nullo ex parte regis de tanto exercitu succumbente*. A similar exaggeration, of only one Frankish soldier dying, is used in the account for the Battle of Leuven, see *AF* (B), s.a. 891, p. 121.

[167] Eutropius, *Breviarium ab urbe condita,* ed. H. Droysen, MGH Auctores antiquissimi 2 (Weidmannos, 1879), p. 172: *postremo Romae adversum nobiles omnibus exitiis savientem apud pontem Mulvium vicit Italiaque est potitus*. See Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, ed. H. Droysen, MGH SS rer. Germ. 49 (Weidmannos, 1879), p. 84.

[168] *LP*.98.19, p. 6.

it is unlikely that the Bavarian annalist used it as a model.[169] That is, contemporary audiences would have associated the Milvian Bridge with Constantine and in doing so connected Arnulf to Constantine.

The Bavarian annalist's reference to the Greek *scholae* is also likely an attempt at presenting Arnulf in an imperial manner.[170] The inclusion of the Greek *scholae* demonstrates not only Arnulf's dominance over Rome proper, but also, perhaps, the Greeks as well.[171] Frankish sources mention this Greek community in Rome rarely, but one example is the *Revelatio Stephanae papae* discussed in Chapter Three.[172] Yet when copying this source into his *Chronicon* Regino excised this section on the *scholae* (or did not have access to it), tightening the focus on papal sanctioning of the Carolingian dynasty.[173] The second mention of the *scholae* is found in the Einsiedeln manuscript referenced above, where it is noted twice.[174] Finally, they are seemingly mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis*, under the *vita* for Sergius II, during the coronation of the Carolingian emperor Louis II in 844.[175] Yet the reception of this and the other ninth-century lives of the popes were spotty north of the Alps; in 866 Hincmar

[169] On the distribution of the *Liber pontificalis* north of the Alps see below, n. 176.

[170] On this group see Maya Maskarinec, *City of Saints: Rebuilding Rome in the Early Middle Ages* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), pp. 93-99.

[171] See also the comments on Byzantine embassies, below. Wolfram, *Arnulf*, p. 94 makes the same point.

[172] Waitz, *MGH SS* 15, no. 1, p. 3: *idem monasterium Ad sanctos martyres in Scola Grecorum apellari fecit*. See Chapter Three, p. 65.

[173] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 753, pp. 44-45.

[174] Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 326 (1076), fols. 77v and 83v-84r.

[175] See *LP*, 104.9-11, p. 88.

needed to ask the archbishop of Sens for a copy including Sergius' biography.[176] When the Bavarian annalist was writing his account of Arnulf's entry into Rome, then, it is unlikely they had access to the *Liber Pontificalis.* The unavailability of this *vita* can also be seen at St. Gall, where instead of the full entry on Sergius a manuscript only records that it was in Sergius' time that a church in Rome was burned.[177] Given the relative rarity of the later lives north of the Alps, and how there does not seem to be direct copying from these lives, it seems plausible that the Bavarian annalist is recording, at least, the textual remnant of narratives surrounding Arnulf's coronation in 896.[178] As with the Battle of Leuven, the annalist may have gotten his information from the court or a source close to it, meaning that the emphasis on the Milvian Bridge may not be the annalist's invention, but was coming from a desire by the court to link Arnulf to Constantine.[179] If so this would square with the presentation in the canons of Tribur, which are not connected to the Bavarian annalist. It is possible that some of this imagery was taken from the setting of Rome itself. Inscriptions praising Constantine survived over the triumphal

[176] This is noted by Rosamond McKitterick, *Rome and the Invention of the Papacy: The Liber pontificalis* (Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 180. The letter can be found in Ernst Perels, ed., *MGH Epp.* 8,1 (Weidmannschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939), no. 186, p. 194. On the lack of reception of the later lives see François Bougard, "Composition, diffusion et réception des parties tardives du Liber pontificalis romain (viiie-ixe siècles)," in *Liber, Gesta, histoire: Ecrire l'histoire des évêques et des papes, de l'Antiquité au XXIe siècle*, eds. François Bougard and M. Sot (Brepols Publishers, 2009), pp. 143-145. There are differing variants of this *vita*, see Maddalena Betti, "The Two Versions of the Life of Pope Sergius II in the *Liber pontificalis*. Anti-Frankish Feeling in Rome After Louis II's Expedition of 844," in De Angelis and Veronese, *Networks of Bishops*. See also the discussion in Duchesne's edition, *Le Liber pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire* (E. Thorin, 1892), vol. 2, pp. I-III.

[177] St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 732, p. 193: *Sergius eius tempore vastata est ecclesia sancti Petris Mauris*, accessible here: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0732/193/0/

[178] That is, it is not necessarily "exactly what happened" at Rome, see Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, pp. 51-87.

[179] Indeed if Patzold's identifications are correct then Wiching, Arnulf's archchancellor, was overseeing the *Annales Fuldenses* at this time. See Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 552-561. Wiching is noted in DD A 140 and 141, both granted during the expedition in 896.

arch inside Old St Peter's.[180] Formosus may have restored some of the images inside St. Peter's.[181] Yet Old St Peter's was also a site of Carolingian patronage.[182] At the Constantinian basilica of the Lateran the famous *triclinium* mosaics depict Jesus handing the *labarum* to Constantine while also investing Charlemagne.[183] Old St. Peter's and St. Paul (where the oath was supposedly sworn to Arnulf as emperor) were both founded by Constantine.[184]

There are additional clues in the Bavarian annalist's description that this is the remnant of a narrative of the coronation. The annalist includes the text of the oath of loyalty sworn to Formosus and Arnulf, similar, perhaps, to how an earlier annalist had included the oaths sworn at Koblenz in 860

[180] See Liverani, "Saint Peter's," pp. 155-161 and Richard Krautheimer, "The Building Inscriptions and the Dates of Construction of Old St. Peter's: A Reconsideration," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 25 (1989). The chronology remains an issue: Richard Gem, "From Constantine to Constans: the Chronology of the Construction of Saint Peter's Basilica," in McKitterick et al., *Old Saint Peter's*. The inscriptions still existed in the ninth century and are recorded in Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 326 (1076), fol. 68r: *Quod duce te mundus surrexit in astra triumphans/ hanc constantinus victor tibi condidit aulam*. This is noted as the "arch of St. Peter" (*in arcu sancti petri*) indicating it's location inside the church. Accessible here: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/68r/0/.

[181] This is noted by the tenth-century chronicler Benedict of Monte Soratte, *Chronicon*, ed. Giuseppe Zuchetti, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 55 (Tipografia del Senato, 1920), p. 156. The idea that Formosus restored these murals lasted into the seventeenth century, see BAV Vat. Lat. 2733, fols. 107v-108r. On this see John Osborne, *Rome in the Ninth Century: A History in Art* (Cambridge University Press, 2023), pp. 260-261.

[182] See Joanna Story, "The Carolingians and the Oratory of Saint Peter the Shepherd," in McKitterick et al., *Old Saint Peter's.* And see now Story, *Charlemagne and Rome*, pp. 155-168; Louis II also gave gifts but the *Liber pontificalis* does not record the precise details, see *LP*.107.43, p. 159.

[183] See the comments in Ewig, "Das Bild Constantins," p. 36; Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 115-117.

[184] See St. Peter's: *LP*.34.16, p. 176; St. Paul's: *LP*.34.31, p. 178 and on how the *LP* presented these Constantinian foundations see McKitterick, *Rome*, pp. 101-116. There may also have been images of Constantine both inside and outside the church, the ones outside were seemingly restored between 827 and 844 under Gregory IV, see Paolo Liverani, "Saint Peter's, Leo the Great and the Leprosy of Constantine," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 76 (2008): 161.

between Charles the Bald, Louis the German, and Lothar I.[185] In the case of the Koblenz oaths there are other manuscript witnesses, and it seems the annalist reproduced it accurately.[186] There are no other witnesses of the oath sworn to Arnulf at Rome, but the inclusion of the text here would suggest it was based on the actual wording. The annalist also includes other details about the trip to Rome that cannot be easily traced. For instance the annalist notes that Arnulf was brought "before paradise in the place which are called the Steps of St. Peter."[187] Evidently the top of the steps of St. Peter was the "customary" place for the pope to meet the emperor when he came to Rome.[188] As noted above however, the rarity of the lives north of the Alps suggests this was not a result of the annalist copying the *Liber Pontificalis*. This all suggests that the Bavarian annalist was working with accounts of the coronation when composing their annal.

The reference to the Milvian Bridge is only found in the Bavarian annalist; neither Regino or Liudprand mention it in their accounts. Regino provides a somewhat more muted presentation of Arnulf's coronation, likening him to Brennus, the Gallic leader who had captured Rome by force in

[185] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 128; *AF*, s.a. 860, p. 54. In some cases the annalists must have anticipated having access to a text, such as when the Mainz annalist indicated that the text of a letter would follow, but never provided the actual text, *AF* (M), s.a. 884, p. 101. In other cases there are indications the annalist was going to later verify their information; the Bavarian continuation has a note regarding the death of Louis II that "the place and date are to be searched for." See *AF*, s.a. 875, p. 84: Manuscripts 3c, 3d, and 3e (that is, the manuscripts containing the Bavarian continuation) insert the phrase *locus et dies querendi* in the passage covering Louis II's death.

[186] See Boretius and Kurze, *MGH Capit.* 2, no. 242, pp. 154-155.

[187] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 128: *ante paradisum loco, qui dicitur Gradibus sancti Petri*. There is a very brief mention of this in *LP*.103.34, p. 80.

[188] See *LP*.105.110, p. 134: *Quem tamen veniente domnus Leo papa honorifice, sicut mos est, super gradas maiores beati Petri apostoli residens suscepit*.

390 BC.[189] This seems to be picking up a thread which had been used against Constantine's entry into Rome.[190] Regino notes that Arnulf's capture of the city was "unheard of in previous centuries" but he also writes that Arnulf was "received with great honour by Formosus, the bishop of the apostolic see, and was crowned emperor before the altar of St. Peter."[191] Yet Regino seemingly overlooks Alaric, who is mentioned within the *Chronicon* in an earlier entry.[192] Perhaps Regino had read his Orosius, who argued that Brennus' attack was worse than Alaric's sack of Rome in 410.[193] Liudprand, working much later, condenses the narratives of 894 and 896 and makes it appear that the people of Rome opposed Arnulf.[194] Interestingly, Liudprand portrays Arnulf as giving a speech in which the king declares the army can capture the city because the greatest Roman leaders are gone, including Constantine who took the best when he left Rome.[195] Any attempt to signal a connection between Arnulf and

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[189] There is a lengthy account given in Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, trans. B.O. Foster, Loeb Classical Library 172 (Harvard University Press, 1924), V.38-45, pp. 128-151. See also Jerome, *Chronicon*, ed. Helm, Eusebius Werke 7, p. 118: *Galli Senones Roman invaserunt excepto capitolio*; Bede, *De Tempore*, s.a. 3588, p. 487: *Galli Senones duce Brenno Romam invaserunt excepto Capitolio*; Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. George Waitz, MGH Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum 1 (Hahn, 1878), II.23, p. 86: *Istique sunt Galli Senones, qui olim urbem Romuleam invaserunt*.

[190] See Papadopoulos, *The Idea of Rome*, p. 69 noting Libanius's, "To the Emperor Theodosius," c. 6 which presents Constantine invading Rome with an army of "Gauls." Papadopoulos believes Libanius represents the "Roman" view, but I am not convinced on that point. For Libanius see n. 159, above.

[191] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 896, p. 144, trans. MacLean, *History*, p. 220: *Quod retro ante seculis ideo inauditum, quia non factum fuit, excepto quod Galli Senones cum Brennone duce multo ante nativitatem Christi tempore semel fecerunt…Arnulfus civitatem ingressus a Formso apostolice sedis presule cum magno honore susceptus est et ante confessionem sancti Petri coronatus imperator creatur*.

[192] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 364-369 (408-423), p. 17.

[193] Orosius, *Historiae Adversum Paganos*, II.19, pp. 60-62. It is also noted briefly in Augustine, *De civitate dei*, eds. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, CC 47 (Brepols, 1955), II.22, p. 56.

[194] Liudprand, *Antapodosis* I, cc. 25-28, pp. 21-22.

[195] Liudprand, *Antapodosis* I, c. 26, pp. 21-22.

Constantine at Arnulf's court was short lived, however, likely cut short by Arnulf's increasingly severe illness. When Regino was writing in the early-tenth century he had his own set of concerns, and Liudprand likewise had his own agenda in viewing Arnulf as the one who allowed the Hungarians to ravage Europe while praising the Ottonians.[196]

The Aftermath of the Coronation:

Arnulf would grant his first charter as emperor in Rome on February 27th, 896 which, perhaps only by coincidence, was the birthday of Constantine.[197] This charter was Arnulf's first to use his new title as emperor, and was granted for San Salvatore on Monte Amiata.[198] Fittingly, it combines *invictissimus* with the imperial title in the *signum* line, presenting Arnulf as "the most unconquered emperor Augustus."[199] In it Arnulf confirmed grants that were originally made by a certain *fidelis* of Louis II to the monastery that were also confirmed by Louis II. It is not hard to imagine the scene of the abbot Peter coming to Arnulf where he "placed into our hands a certain precept of the lord emperor Louis of good memory."[200] Did it take place in the Carolingian palace that had been built near

[196] See Liudprand, *Antapodosis* I, c. 36, p. 26. On the goals of the text see, for instance, Buc, *Dangers of Ritual*, pp. 15-50; Philippe Buc, "Italian Hussies and German Matrons. Liutprand of Cremona on Dynastic Legitimacy," *FMSt* 29, no. 1 (1995); Simon MacLean, *Ottonian Queenship* (Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 130-141; La Rocca, "Liutprando da Cremona."

[197] See Theodor Mommsen, ed., *Corpus Inscriptorum Latinarum* 1 (G. Reimerum, 1893), pp. 255, 258, and 259. It is also recorded in the *Natales Caesarum* section of the Calendar of 354, a copy was made of what remained of the (now lost) original in 1620, see Vatican Barb. Lat. 2154, pt. 5, fol. 7r. On the difficult transmission of this text see Michele Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (University of California Press, 1990), appendix 1, pp. 249-268.

[198] D A 140.

[199] D A 140: *invictissimi imperatoris augusti*.

Old St. Peter's?[201] As with the charter for St. Mary in Pavia, this charter may have also been meant to target rivals to his authority in Italy. In confirming the grants of Louis II and bringing the monastery under royal protection, it may have circumvented the role of Adalbert II of Tuscany, whose father had been given control of the monastery by Louis II in 853.[202] Pointedly Arnulf's charter recalls how Louis II had "committed that monastery to a certain of his *fidelis* named Adalbert [for him] to direct."[203] The monastery was one of the most important centers within Tuscany and granting a charter to the monastery may have formed part of a tradition upon becoming ruler.[204] Adalbert II, a partisan and son-in-law to Wido, appears as the intercessor in a few of Wido's charters and remained important under his son Lambert II.[205] In not only emphasizing Adalbert's father as a loyal *fidelis* but placing the monastery under Arnulf's authority, it would have doubly presented Adalbert II as either unnecessary,

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[200] D A 140: *quoddam praeceptum detulit ad manus nostras bonae memoriae domni Hludouuici imperatoris*.

[201] On this see Carlrichard Brühl, "Die Kaiserpfalz bei St. Peter und die Pfalz Ottos III. auf dem Palatin," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 34 (1954): 1-11; Carlrichard Brühl, "Neues zur Kaiserpfalz bei St. Peter," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 38 (1958); and now, arguing for a date under Lothar I and Louis II and not Charlemagne, see Stefano Manganaro, "Dal palatium domni Karoli imperatoris al palatium di Ottone III: la presenza imperiale a Roma nell'età carolingio-ottoniana," *Studi medievali* 63 (2022): 501-525.

[202] See Marios Costambeys, *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy: Local Society, Italian Politics and the Abbey of Farfa, c.700-900.* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 349; D Lo II 11.

[203] D A 140: *illud cenobium cuidam fideli suo Adalpreht nominato ad regendum commisit*.

[204] Costambeys, *Power and Patronage*, p. 332 noting its attraction as place of safe-haven for elite lands. See also Sebastian Roebert, "Herrscherurkunden des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts für das Kloster San Salvatore al Monte Amiata: Eine Bestandsaufnahme," in *Europäische Herrscher und die Toskana im Spiegel der urkundlichen Überlieferung*, eds. Antontella Ghignoli et al. (Eudora-Verlag, 2015).

[205] DD W 1 and 12. For a broader overview see Aadolf Hofmeister, "Markgrafen und Markgrafschaften im Italischen Königreich in der Zeit von Karl dem Großen bis auf Otto den Großen 774-962," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 7 (1907): 388-390.

or outside of Arnulf's circle. Of course, this rhetorical mode may not have corresponded to reality, as Adalbert II was one of the most powerful men in Tuscany. Indeed the Bavarian annalist notes how Adalbert II and Berengar had agreed to not lend their support to Arnulf during the 896 invasion.[206] At the same time it established Arnulf as the successor to Louis II, and emphasized that it was through Arnulf's authority that the monastery was protected: "by our *mundiburdo* and protection that house of God obtains peaceful tranquility."[207] Finally, as Sebastian Roebert notes, this charter takes aim at an unnamed *violatrix,* presumably Wido's wife Angeltrude.[208]

Arnulf was still in Rome a few days later, where he granted a charter for St. Sixtus in Piacenza. Extraordinarily, the intercessor is Pope Formosus himself, who "approached our munificence" so that Arnulf would grant the monastery an "imperial judgment."[209] Arnulf was also "confirming all the charters of our predecessors, namely of our father Carloman."[210] Again we see a strategy of elision whereby Charles the Fat's influence is removed, and Arnulf is positioning himself as the next ruler of Italy in a line of succession that can be traced from Louis II to himself, through Carloman.[211] St. Sixtus

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[206] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 127.

[207] D A 140: *sed nostro mundiburdo et defensione ipsa domus dei quieta tranquillitae potiatur*.

[208] Roebert, "Herrscherurkunden," p. 49. D A 140: *Si autem, quod absit, quaevis mortalium persona temerario ausu huius praecepti violatrix existere conata fuerit*.

[209] D A 141: *predictum domnum papam nostram adiisse munificentiam, ut monasterium quoddam ab Angilberga imperatrice nepte nostra Placentie olim constructum sub nostra tuitione suscipientes cuncta, quae inibi ab aliquibus sunt conlata, inperiali censura confirmaremus*.

[210] D A 141: *confirmantes omnia precessorum nostrorum precepta, patris nostri videlicet Carlomanni*. Carloman gave three charters to the monastery between 877 and 879, DD Ca 5, 16, and 27.

[211] Charles the Fat gave two charters to the monastery, DD CF 22 and 56. Another confirmed Angelberga's properties, D CF 166.

had been founded by Angelberga in 874 and was a site of commemoration for Louis II on the anniversary of his death each year.[212] Further, Arnulf had guaranteed some of these lands in an earlier charter.[213] The *arenga* of this charter also emphasizes Arnulf's relationship with the pope: "If we decide [it] worthy to present the just petitions of the faithful to the ears of our serenity, it is judged even more worthy by our authority that we must take up the exhortations of the highest pontiff and our spiritual father the lord pope Formosus."[214] There are no other examples of this type of *arenga* in Arnulf's charters with the exception of his next, granted at St. Sixtus itself, which copies parts of this *arenga* verbatim, yet only survives in a sixteenth century copy.[215] This charter is also the first one where a new imperial seal survives, but it is plausible that it was used on the February 27th charter as well.[216] This seal is drastically different from the normal style of Arnulf's seals, featuring a left-facing portrait instead of the more normal right-facing portrait. That the seal has a reverse inscription, *Renovatio regni Francorum* ("Renewal of the kingdom of the Franks"), means it was intended to hang from the bottom of the charter.[217] By all accounts this seal was only used for a short time: a charter from August 896 has

[212] See above, p. 260.

[213] D A 49.

[214] D A 141: *Si iustis fidelium petitionibus aures serenitatis noastrae dignum diiudicamus prebere, multo dignius nostra auctoritate censetur, ut summi pontificis spiritalisque patris nostri domni Formosi papae hortamenta toto mentis adnisu suscipere debeamus et quae hortatur, intima hilaritate impendere cuicumque.*

[215] D A 142: *Si iustis fidelium petitionibus aures serenitatis nostrę dignum diiudicamus prebere, multo dignius nostra auctoritate cernitur, ut in Christo militantibus hortamenta toto mentis annisu suscipere debeamus*.

[216] D A 141 has a seal using *imperator augustus*, see Otto Posse, *Die Siegel der Deutschen Kaiser und Könige von 751 bis 1806,* vol. 1 (Verlag von Wilhelm Baensch, 1909), p. 11 and Table 5, nos. 5 and 6. D A 140 survives in the original but the seal is lost. This is noted in the edition line 37 (SI. D) for *Sigillum impressum deperditum*.

[217] Posse, *Die Siegel*, Table 5, nos. 5 and 6. Evidently the seal had originally been lost, see D A 141, note P.

an updated imperial seal that is more in line with his previous royal seals.[218] Possibly, the illness that struck in 896 prompted a change of plans that led to the abandonment of further Italian ambitions.[219] After his retreat in April 896, when he granted a charter at Piacenza, Arnulf would never grant another charter for an Italian recipient.[220] Yet the papacy seemingly continued to support Arnulf even after his departure: a denier minted in Rome under Formosus' successor Stephen VI also notes Arnulf as emperor.[221] By January of 897, however, papal charters were dated by Lambert's reign.[222]

As we saw above Carloman had his own ambitions in Italy in the 870s, and it is possible that Arnulf's interest in Italy stems from that period. Arnulf was attempting to emulate his father Carloman, who *did* seem to successfully build up some amount of political influence in Italy, but was never able to become emperor. It seems that Arnulf sought to present himself as Carloman's successor, who himself was a successor of Louis II. In doing so Arnulf's charters elided the reigns of Charles the Fat and Wido. Despite the relative paucity of charters, they are clearly attempting to situate Arnulf as the successor to Carloman and Louis II in particular. Whether this was a strategic move to appeal to Italian recipients, or also the result of Arnulf's own perceptions about his lack of succession in 880, are

[218] D A 145; D A 142 does not survive, while D A 143 is a fake diploma of the twelfth century. D A 144 survives in the original, but the seal has been removed.

[219] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 129; Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 896, p. 144.

[220] D A 142 was granted at Piacenza on April 25th, 896. D A 143 (April 27th, 896) in Kehr's edition is a twelfth century forgery, which he thought was based on a real diploma of Arnulf based on the date, so I have excluded it from my analysis.

[221] See Grierson, *Medieval European Coinage*, p. 261.

[222] See Harald Zimmermann, ed., *Papsturkunden 896-1046* (Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988), no. 3, p. 9. The previous charter, from August 896, notes Arnulf as emperor.

not entirely clear.[223] It was likely a combination of both, in that by presenting himself as Carloman, thus Louis II's, successor, Arnulf effectively reset the clock to a time of greater stability. At the same time, given the quasi-imperial notion of kingship that he had put forward in 895, an invasion of Italy would have fit into Arnulf's own self-presentation as the most powerful ruler in Carolingian Europe. Berengar, however, clearly had wider ambitions of his own, and the invasion of 896 threatened him in a way that the abortive effort in 894 did not.

Illness likely changed the trajectory of Arnulf's plans for Italy, forcing him to quickly leave Italy, much as it had forced Carloman to leave in 877. He left a man named Farold, alongside his son Ratold, in charge of Italy. His efforts to conquer Italy evidently ended in failure; Farold is never mentioned again while Ratold soon returned north where he likewise disappears from the historical record.[224] We can potentially see a glimpse of Arnulf's succession plans here: giving Lotharingia to Zwentibald and Italy to Ratold, while leaving the bulk of the kingdom for his legitimate son Louis. This broadly conforms to what some elites had agreed to in 889 at an assembly at Forcheim.[225] Arnulf wanted the elite to accept his sons as his heirs, but they refused to promise that they would not "detach themselves from the leadership or rule of his sons."[226] Eventually the magnates agreed, but only as long as Arnulf did not have an heir "from his legal wife."[227] The birth of Louis in 893 would have changed

[223] This was likely one of the factors in the rivalry between Arnulf and Charles the Fat, see Rudolf Schieffer, "Karl III. und Arnolf." in *Festchrift für Eduard Hlawitschka zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Karl Schnith (Michael Lassleben, 1993), pp. 125-140.

[224] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 129.

[225] *AF* (B), s.a. 889, p. 118.

[226] *AF* (B), s.a. 889, p. 118: *ne se detrahaerent a principatu vel dominatu filiorum eius*.

[227] *AF* (B), s.a. 889, p. 118: *de legali sua uxore heres.*

any plans for the succession, and thus Lotharingia and Italy became viable kingdoms to install Zwentibald and Ratold. Of course, in Zwentibald's case the elite also did not seem particularly pleased with him as a ruler, and he would be killed in 900.[228] Meanwhile, as mentioned, Ratold quickly disappears from the historical record after 896 and the retreat of Arnulf. Yet that Ratold was apparently with Arnulf also suggests that Arnulf viewed the invasion of Italy as a chance for displaying his authority and was relatively confident in his chances of victory. Likewise we know that members of the court were traveling with the king, as both Hatto and Adalbero appear as intercessors in charters.[229] This all suggests that it was his illness that severely curtailed Arnulf's activities in Italy, and not because his authority was inevitably going to collapse there; the Bavarian annalist notes that Arnulf was planning to travel to Spoleto to attack Angeltrude when the illness struck.[230] From this point on Arnulf's reign would take on a drastically different tone, as he was increasingly confined to Bavaria.

Conclusion:

How should we understand Arnulf's Italian campaigns and ambitions? Throughout this dissertation a common theme has been the tension between Carolingian tradition and the realities of a post-887 world. In many ways Arnulf's attempts to control Italy followed, especially, the path set out by his father Carloman, who himself was seemingly working towards a goal set out by Louis the German. Like his grandfather, Arnulf had his own imperial ideas. If his activities in 894 and 895 had presented an imperial model, then his crowning in 896 represented a further elevation of this

[228] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 900, p. 148; *AF* (B), s.a. 900, p. 134.

[229] DD A 139 and 140.

[230] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 129.

presentation. That he continued to style himself as emperor even after his retreat from Italy suggests that to Arnulf the crowning at Rome was not just about control of Italy, but reifying his position as a ruler over many peoples.[231] For many Carolingian authors the imperial title was not connected to control of Italy itself, but seems to have been a demonstration of a ruler's power and broader authority.[232]

Not only did the imperial title highlight Arnulf's authority, and recognize the legitimacy of the pope in sanctioning the choice of emperor (something promoted by popes in the ninth century), but it also would have further cast Arnulf in a Carolingian mold as defender of the papacy.[233] Einhard famously, and fictitiously, claimed the pope unwillingly crowned Charlemagne as emperor while at the same time (correctly) noting that Charlemagne went to Rome "in order to repair the state of the church."[234] The Saxon Poet, writing during Arnulf's reign, casts Charlemagne's coronation as a demonstration of Charlemagne's great piety and defense of the church.[235] This was an area that the Poet created a parallel between Charlemagne and Arnulf; Arnulf was the "sole defender" of the church,

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[231] For this see Chapter Five, pp. 199-200.

[232] See the exploration of the meaning of *imperator Romanorum* for Charlemagne, Laury Sarti, "Frankish Romanness and Charlemagne's Empire," *Speculum* 91, no. 4 (2016).

[233] On the role of the pope in imperial legitimation see Simon Groth, "How to Become Emperor – John VIII and the Role of the Papacy in the 9th Century," in Clauß et al., *Transcultural Approaches*.

[234] Einhard, *VK*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS rer. Germ. 25 (Hahn, 1911), c. 28, p. 32: *propter reparandum...ecclesiae statum*.

[235] Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, III, s.a. 800, p. 45.

and the "restorer of the fallen empire."[236] Bringing relics north would have also affirmed this role as a defender of the church.[237]

Despite being crowned emperor, Arnulf's control of Italy was not long-lasting, in part because conditions had changed from the 870s. The various conflicts since Louis II's death in 875 had created new and powerful rivals to any would-be claimant. While Berengar was a willing ally in the late 880s and 890s, Arnulf's direct involvement in 896 proved a challenge to the power Berengar had been accumulating. Further, unlike elsewhere, Arnulf did not have personal connections and experience with the elites in Italy, and could not easily reshape and adapt existing political networks to center on his own loyalists. In the end, the Italian campaigns were a failure in terms of East Frankish control, but they emphasized the exalted and imperial heights that Arnulf tried to grasp in the years 894-896. In some sense Arnulf was fulfilling an idea set in motion more than twenty years previously by his grandfather. As suggested in the previous chapter, his illness in 896 severely changed the trajectory of his reign, which makes it hard to tell if Arnulf would have continued to invest in his Italian ambitions. From his first charter as emperor on February 27th 896 to his last on July 2nd 899, Arnulf's title was always given as *imperator Augustus*.[238] During this three year period the eschatocol of his charters often date Arnulf's reign by both his royal and imperial years.[239] As Arnulf's illness increasingly restricted

[236] Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, V, ll. 138-140, p. 58: *Quo nimis ipsius indiget aecclesia,/Cui modo iustificus rex est, defensor et unus/Inter tot clades, nunc quibus atteritur*; Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, V, l. 418, p. 65: *lapsum corrigit imperium*. Compare the presentation of Arnulf as the sole defender of the church to Charlemagne, Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, III, s.a. 800, p. 45: *defensorem solum*.

[237] For Arnulf's relics see D A 145 and discussion in Chapter Seven, pp. 325-329.

[238] DD A 140, 141, 142, 144-150, 152-160, 162, 164-176.

[239] DD A 141, 142, 144-148, 150, 152, 153, 154, 156-160, 164-170, 172-175. This trend is discussed in Chapter Five, pp. 227-234.

him to the area near and in Regensburg, the imperial title remained important. The next chapter will turn to this final period of his reign, from 896 to 899.

Chapter VII:
The Final Years of Arnulf, 896-899

Soon after being crowned emperor Arnulf was afflicted with a "severe sickness of the head" that caused him to cancel his expedition to Spoleto and rapidly return north.[1] This illness would seemingly recur for the rest of Arnulf's life and, like the illnesses his uncle and father had, threaten his rule.[2] An occasionally overlooked, but crucially important, element of medieval kingship is the simple fact that the king inhabits a physical human body. This body grows old, can get sick, and, eventually, dies. While historians have only discussed Arnulf's reign sporadically, very little of this discussion focuses on the final years of Arnulf's life from 896 to 899. That is, there is effectively no substantive scholarship dealing with these years as a distinct period of Arnulf's reign. When historians have discussed this period they have viewed it as one of decline, when Arnulf, in the words of Pierre Riche "could do little but allow his dukes to act as they saw fit."[3] Timothy Reuter argued similarly that after 896 "Arnulf had lost much of his forceful impact on events."[4] This historiography therefore gives us one definition for the collapse of royal authority: a court increasingly dominated by a small circle, with limited distribution of patronage, and with Arnulf largely absent from the practice of rulership.

This impression, however, is driven mainly by the evidence of the narrative sources. This chapter offers a new interpretation of these years by evaluating all the evidence, not just the narrative

[1] *AF,* s.a. 896, p. 129: *gravi infirmitate capitis*.

[2] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 896, p. 144 describes it as a "sickness of paralysis": *paralisi morbo*.

[3] Pierre Riché, *The Carolingians: a Family who Forged Europe,* trans. Michael Idomir Allen (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), p. 231.

[4] Reuter, "Sex, Lies and Oath-Helpers," p. 225. Wolfram, *Arnulf*, p. 104 follows Reuter.

sources, and argues that while illness placed additional pressures on the ruler it did not lead to a decisive collapse in royal authority. Yet the sources (charter and narrative) contain signs of both royal contraction and royal activity. An important consideration in understanding Arnulf during these years is that the illness did not permanently curtail the ruler, but seemed to ebb and flow at different points between its onset in 896 and his death in 899. As such it was not a linear progression of decline from 896 onward, but a period of peaks and valleys. Our evidence for Arnulf's final years becomes much more fragmented than earlier periods, but we can still catch glimpses of royal activity. A sign that royal authority had not collapsed was Arnulf holding assemblies and organizing military campaigns, actions which suggest that Arnulf remained publicly visible as the leader of the East Frankish polity. Further, the charters reveal how illness restricted Arnulf to Regensburg but the patterns of activity in them does not drastically depart from earlier years. Instead, it seems that Arnulf was relying on a core group of supporters to help spread access to the ruler as he remained in Bavaria. At the same time, the succession was an important issue, as Arnulf seems to have attempted to establish his young son Louis as his successor in East Francia. This chapter proceeds by first discussing illness and its influence on royal politics. It then looks at the evidence for decline in this period from 896 to 899, before turning to the evidence for continued royal activity. Finally, there is a chronological discussion of how Arnulf's illness was not continuous, but ebbed and flowed throughout this period.

Royal Illness and Politics in the Carolingian World:

Before turning to Arnulf's reign specifically, it is important to lay out how the illness of the ruler played a role in early medieval politics. The physical health of the king was an important political

consideration because old age and illness could introduce additional challenges to ruling.[5] Paul Dutton calculated the average age of a Carolingian royal man as around forty years old and in 896 Arnulf would have been around forty-six years old.[6] Illness is also a much-remarked upon characteristic of Arnulf's contemporary, the West Saxon king Alfred.[7] Paul Kershaw has examined how illness played a role in Asser's *Life of Alfred* as a sign of the king's humility, which reflected Gregorian and Carolingian ideas around rulership. In overcoming his illness Alfred could actually increase his credibility as a ruler.[8] That is, illness was not always interpreted as straightforwardly negative. Instead there was a dynamic between illness and incapacity for rulership. Back on the continent, in 879, Carloman was claimed to be able to rule without the ability to speak. Instead, he supposedly relied on writing down his commands as his health continued to deteriorate in 879 and 880.[9] Yet the illness of Carloman gave his

[5] On old age for rulers see Paul Edward Dutton, "Beyond the Topos of Senescence: the Political Problems of Aged Carolingian Rulers," in *Aging and the Aged in Medieval Europe: Selected Papers from the Annual Conference of the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, held 25-26 February and 11-12 November 1983*, ed. Michael M. Sheehan (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990) and Paul Edward Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache and Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 151-167. See also Achim Thomas Hack, *Alter, Krankheit, Tod und Herrschaft im frühen Mittelalter: Das Beispiel der Karolinger* (Hiersemann, 2009) and for Arnulf specifically pp. 159-164. For perspectives elsewhere see Thijs Porck, *Old Age in Early Medieval England: A Cultural History* (Boydell Press, 2019), esp. pp. 177-211; Christian Alexander Neumann, "Old Age and Rulership: King James I of Aragon and Venetian Doge Marin(o) Falier(o)," in *Old Age Before Modernity: Case Studies and Methodological Perspectives, 500 BC – 1700 AD*, ed. Christian Alexander Neumann (Heidelberg University Publishing, 2023).

[6] Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache*, pp. 158-161.

[7] David Pratt, "The Illnesses of King Alfred the Great," *Anglo-Saxon England* 30 (2001).

[8] Paul Kershaw, "Illness, Power, and Prayer in Asser's Life of King Alfred," *EME* 10, no. 2 (2001). See also Beth Tovey, "Kingly Impairments in Anglo-Saxon Literature: God's Curse and God's Blessing," in *Disability in the Middle Ages: Reconsiderations and Reverberations*, ed. Joshua R. Eyler (Ashgate, 2010). On the idea of the *rex inutilis* see Edward Peters, *The Shadow King: Rex Inutilis in Medieval Law and Literature, 751-1327* (Yale University Press, 1970).

[9] *AF*, s.a. 879, p. 93.

brother a pretext for attempting a takeover of Bavaria in 879/880.[10] Injury or illness could be a dangerous political liability that needed to be concealed: when Louis the German was severely injured in a building collapse he "imitated health" when meeting his brother to divide up Lotharingia.[11] Grave illness gave rivals an opening; news of Louis the German's illness prompted Charles the Bald to quickly invade Lotharingia in 869.[12]

In 887 it was Arnulf's turn to exploit a ruler's illness. Regino notes, with hindsight, that the nobility were concerned when they looked at Charles the Fat and saw "not only the life of [his] body but also the sense from [his] mind fall away from him."[13] The *Annales Vedastini* makes this even more explicit: "the eastern Franks, seeing that the strength of the emperor was too weak to rule the empire, cast him out from the kingdom, and placed Arnulf, the son of Carloman, who was his nephew, into the kingdom alone."[14] More than likely there was unease over whether the king could adequately defend the kingdom. Henry, the "*marchio* of the Franks" and arguably the most capable Frankish commander, had been killed in 886 in battle against the Northmen.[15] This may have made Charles' declining health (and lack of heir) a particularly urgent matter. Arnulf's abilities as a commander may have served to reassure the elite that he could successfully deal with the various issues facing the

[10] On this see Chapter Two, pp. 68-69.

[11] *AF*, s.a. 870, p. 71: *simulata sanitate*.

[12] *AF*, s.a. 869, p. 69.

[13] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 887, p. 127: *Cernentes optimates regni non modo vires corporis, verum etiam animi sensus ab eo diffugere*. For what Charles' illness may have been see Oesterle, "Die sogenannte Kopfoperation."

[14] *AV*, s.a. 887, p. 64: *Franci vero australes videntes imperatoris vires ad regendum imperium invalidas, eiecto eo de regno, Arnulfum filium Karlomanni, qui eius erat nepos, in regni solio ponunt*.

[15] On Henry's death see *AF* (M), s.a. 886, p. 105. *AF* (B), s.a. 886, p. 114: *marchensi Francorum*.

kingdom. When Arnulf became ill in the years after 896 this likely prompted concern among the elites, threatening his credibility as a ruler. The evidence from these years provides signs for both royal weakness and continued royal vitality.

Part I: Signs of Decline:
A Collapse of Authority? Evidence for Royal Weakness, 896-899:

The most obvious evidence for Arnulf's illness, and his inability to rule, comes from the *Annales Fuldenses*. This source notes bouts of illness in 896, 897, and finally in 899.[16] The Bavarian annalist first notes the illness arising after the coronation in Rome. Arnulf was intending to invade Spoleto but was "held back by a severe sickness of the head."[17] Then, in early 897, the illness recurred and Arnulf had to sequester himself during the winter. This winter spent in "hidden places" represented, to Reuter, "a significant sign of decline in royal authority."[18] Reuter is correct in pointing out the potential criticism in the annalist's presentation here: public rule was an important feature of early medieval governance.[19] The annalist then continues by noting there was famine that spread through Bavaria, seemingly linking royal illness to the practical conditions of those living in the

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[16] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 129; *AF* (B), s.a. 897, p. 130; *AF* (B), s.a. 899, p. 132.

[17] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 129: *gravi infirmitate capitis detentus.*

[18] Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 136 and his comments n. 2. *AF* (B), s.a. 897, p. 130: *propter gravitudinem corporis in Baioaria secretis locis hiemare disposuit*.

[19] See Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 254-259. See also Mayke de Jong, "The Two Republics: Ecclesia and the Public Domain," in *Italy and Early Medieval Europe: Papers for Chris Wickham*, eds. Ross Balzaretti et al. (Oxford University Press, 2018).

kingdom.[20] This famine was likewise noted by the Rheinau continuation of the *Annales Alamannici*, which similarly connects it to Arnulf's illness: "The strongest famines, and king Arnulf began to be ill."[21] Connecting the actions of the ruler to the conditions of the kingdom was a common element in Carolingian political discourse, especially in mirrors for princes.[22] In the eyes of Pseudo-Cyprian, who sometime in the seventh century wrote the *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*, the king who did not rule properly risked threatening the safety of the kingdom with famine, war, and other maladies.[23] This idea would be picked up by later authors such as Jonas of Orléans when he wrote his *De institutione regia* in

[20] The sources also identify a famine in 895, *AF* (B), s.a. 895, p. 125. Evidence suggests that there was a period of food instability from 895 to 897, see Timothy P. Newfield, "The Contours, Frequency and Causation of Subsistence Crises in Carolingian Europe (750-950 CE)," in Pere Benito I Monclús (ed.), *Crisis Alimentarias en la Edad Media: Modelos, Explicaciones y Representaciones* (Lleida, 2013), pp. 144-145.

[21] *Annales Alamannici, cont. Rinaugiensis*, ed. R. Zingg, *Die St. Galler Annalistik*, s.a. 896, p. 98: *Fames validissima, et rex Arnolfus coepit infirmari*.

[22] On mirrors for princes as a genre see Karl Ubl, "Carolingian Mirrors for Princes: Texts, Contents, Impact," in *A Critical Companion to the "Mirrors for Princes" Literature*, eds. Noëlle-Laetitia Perret and Stéphane Péquignot (Brill, 2022). Often the connection is in the context of sexual impurity, see Airlie, "Private Bodies." For famines specifically see Jean-Pierre Devroey, *Le Nature et le roi: Environnement, pouvoir société à l'âge de Charlemagne, 740-820* (Albin Michel, 2019) and Adriaan Verhulst, "Karolingische Agrarpolitik: Das Capitulare de Villis und die Hungersnöte von 792-93 und 805/06," *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarszoiologie* 13 (1965). See also on Regino using the body as a metaphor for the decline of the empire, Kortüm, "Weltgeschichte," pp. 508-512.

[23] Rob Meens, "Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible: Sins, Kings and the Well-Being of the Realm," *EME* 7, no. 3 (1998): 349-357. For the *De duodecim* see Aidan Breen and Constant J. Mews, trans., "On the Twelve Abuses of the Age: A Translation," in *Addressing Injustice in the Medieval Body Politic*, eds. Constant J. Mews and Kathleen B. Neal (Amsterdam University Press, 2023), pp. 343-344. This updates the translation in A. Breen, "Towards a Critical Edition of *De XII Abusivis*: Introductory Essays with a Provisional Edition of the Text and Accompanied by an English Translation" (PhD diss., University of Dublin, 1988), pp. 332-432. Breen departed from the older tradition, Siegmund Hellmann, ed., *Ps.-Cyprianus: De xii Abusivis Saeculi* (J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1909) in creating their edition. The ninth chapter on the unjust king can be found in Breen, "Towards a Critical Edition," pp. 400-409. For the specific passage on maladies see pp. 405-407. On the text see Constant J. Mews and Stephen J. Joyce, "The *De XII abusivis saeculi*: Contexts and Textual Traditions," in Mews and Neal, *Addressing Injustice* and for its use under the Carolingians see Meens, "The Rise and Fall of the Carolingians," and now Jelle Wassenaar, "Transforming Irish Traditions: *De XII abusivis saeculi* and Justice in the Frankish World, c. 750-1050," in Mews and Neal, *Addressing Injustice*, pp. 111-140.

the 830s.[24] Public penance by a ruler was one potential option for salvaging such a situation, but by the late-ninth century this was a dangerous practice that could open the door to deposition.[25] Further, control of crops and weeds was often interpreted as a sign of the king's authority over the natural order.[26]

Yet it is only the *Annales Fuldenses* that describes continued bouts of illness during these years. Regino also notes Arnulf's illness in the entry for 896, claiming that he suffered from "a sickness of paralysis, from which sickness he was weakened for a long time."[27] Regino, in fact, gives no other information about Arnulf's illness in any later entries, and only mentions Arnulf's movements one other time in the entry for 897.[28] The Rheinau continuation of the *Annales Alamannici* not only notes Arnulf's illness in 896, but also mentions an accident he had while "celebrating a general assembly with his people."[29] That is, the illness in 896 seems to have been relatively well known, but for the later events we are almost entirely reliant on the Bavarian annalist. There is a chance, however, that we can also see anxiety over Arnulf's health in a source potentially connected to Arnulf himself: the so-called *Ludwigspsalter*. This psalter, produced for Louis the German, had a portrait of a man kneeling before

[24] Ubl, "Carolingian Mirrors," p. 79.

[25] See now Rachel Stone, "Spin and Silence: Royal Penance and Carolingian Propaganda," *FMSt* 58, no. 1 (2024).

[26] See Squatriti, *Weeds and the Carolingians*, pp. 176-191.

[27] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 896, p. 144: *morbo paralisi gravatur, ex qua infirmitate diu languescit*.

[28] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 897, p. 145.

[29] *Annales Alamannici, cont. Rinaugiensis*, s.a. 896 and s.a. 897, p. 98: *Arnolfus cum suis populis generalem celebrans conventum casuque cecidit*. Despite the assembly being noted in the entry for 897, the *Annales Laubacenses* contains an almost identical entry but notes that the assembly took place at Forcheim, where Arnulf granted two charters in August 896 (DD A 146 and 147). See Mühlbacher, *Regesta Imperii*, no. 1920a. For the *Annales Laubacenses*, s.a. 897, p. 185.

the cross added sometime after its production (see Figure 5 below).[30] With access to an ultraviolet lamp Fabrizio Crivello was able to discover an erased inscription near the man reading "Arnolf."[31] Crivello believed that the hand of the inscription matched that of the prayer, suggesting that the image and the prayer were added at the same time.[32] This prayer, preceding the image, is a text titled "A Prayer to be Said Before the Cross."[33] The first section of the prayer is on its own page, imploring God that "wherefore having been injured I ask for the healing of the body and the medicine of the soul from you the highest doctor."[34] The next page, facing the image itself, begins with a quotation from Jeremiah 17:14 and Psalm 51: "Heal me, oh Lord, and I will be healed. Sprinkle on me hyssop and I will be cleaned, wash me and I will be cleaned over the snow."[35] The prayer then switches to discussing "the healing wood of your cross" and notes how the cross will protect the supplicant: "From me it repels all

[30] The ornate miniature at the beginning contains the words: *Hludowico regi vita salvus felicitas*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Theol. Lat. Fol. 58, fol. 2v-3r, accessible here: https://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/view/sbb-pk_mstheol-lat-fol-58.

[31] Fabrizio Crivello, "Ein Name für das Herrscherbild des Ludwigspsalter," *Kunstchronik* 60 (2007). In Arnulf's surviving original charters, Arnolf is the most common spelling in the eschatocol (eighty-two charters): DD A 1, 2, 5, 10, 11, 14-17, 19, 20, 24-28, 32, 35, 37, 38, 43-45, 48, 49, 51-54, 56, 58-61, 63, 65-69, 71, 73-75, 77, 78, 81-84, 87, 90, 93, 95, 96, 99-103, 105, 110, 111, 113-116, 119, 121, 122, 127, 129, 130, 133-136, 139-141, 144-148, 151, 152, 155-157, 159, 160, 162, 165, 167, 169, 170, and 173.

[32] Crivello, "Ein Name," p. 218.

[33] Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Theol. Lat. Fol. 58, fol. 119r: *ORATIO ANTE CRUCEM DICENDA* (Hereafter "Oratio ante Crucem"). The only other version of this prayer I have found comes from an eleventh century Farfa manuscript with minor differences, see André Wilmart, "Prieres medievales pour l'adoration de la croix," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 46 (1932): 31-33.

[34] "Oratio ante Crucem," fol. 119r: *et vulneratus quapropter a te summo medico remedabilem corporis et animae exposco medicinam.*

[35] "Oratio ante Crucem," fol. 119v: *Sana me domine et sanabor. Asperge me ysopo et mundabor lava me et super nivem dealbabor.*

harmful things, it causes all beneficial and prosperous things to flow to me."[36] Knowing that the figure is meant to depict Arnulf, the most likely scenario for the addition of such an image would be during his illness.[37] Arnulf was in Regensburg, where Crivello believed the scribe who added the prayer was from, between November 896 and January 897 before disappearing from view.[38] Perhaps his illness during those months prompted an addition to his grandfather's psalter.

[36] "Oratio ante Crucem," fol. 119v: *per salutiferum crucis tuae lignum...Nociva omnia a me repellat proficua et prospera omnia mihi succedere faciat.*

[37] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 285-286 makes the same argument but for Louis the German's illness in 869 (his book came out before Crivello's investigation that revealed the name).

[38] Goldberg, "More Devoted to the Equipment," pp. 67-70 argues instead for a close similarity between the image and Otfrid's *Liber evangeliorum* which was written before 871, in particular the crucifixion scene in Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2687, fol. 153v. Accessible here: https://onb.digital/result/1118B818. However if Crivello is right that the hands match (which one would need a UV lamp to verify), it is also plausible that the *Liber evangeliorum* was accessible to the court, and from there the image's style was used for the *Ludwigspsalter* depiction. Regardless, even if only the inscription was added at this time, it reveals a reuse of the manuscript at Arnulf's court.

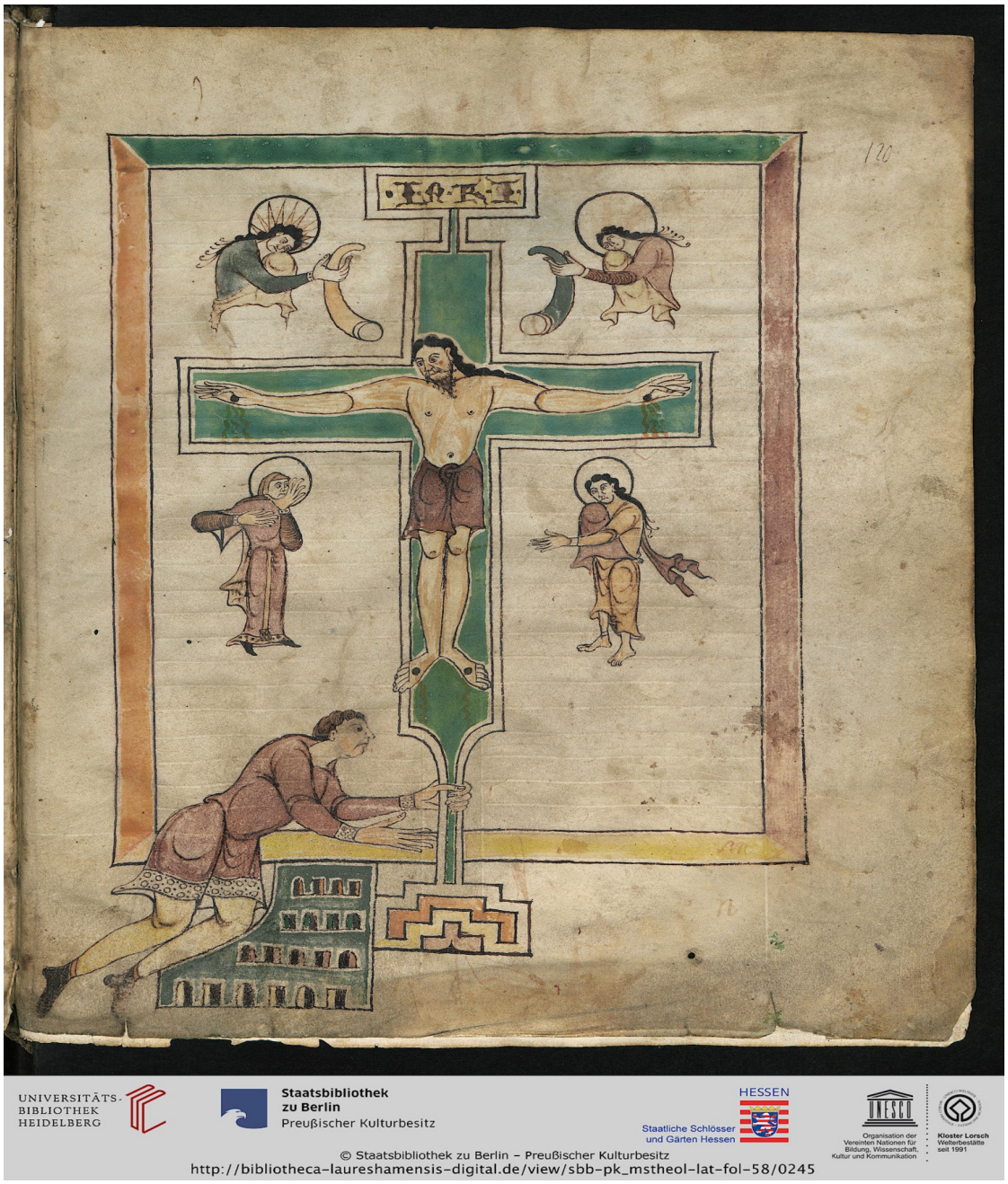

Figure 5: Man kneeling before the cross. UV analysis revealed an erased inscription above him reading "Arnolf." Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Theol. Lat. Fol. 58, fol. 120v (CC-BY-NC-SA).

Beatrice Kitzinger has discussed the pictorial representation of the man kneeling before the cross, arguing that the addition of the prayer, image, and the short excerpts from Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae* added to the front of the manuscript were meant "to amplify the manuscript's status and desired capacity as a vehicle of efficacious prayer."[39]

A charter granted in early 897, at the January assembly in Regensburg and around the same time as the addition of the prayer, hints that Arnulf was thinking about his own mortality. The charter notes how "our grandfather king Louis of good memory increased [the monastery of Lorsch] with many additions and he loved it before all others [so he] chose it to be the place of his burial."[40] Arnulf had already issued two charters for the monastery of Lorsch in 888 and 889; both mentioned Louis but neither noted his burial at the monastery.[41] That this charter in 897 (eight years after the previous one for the monastery) now mentions Lorsch as the site of his burial may indicate concerns about Arnulf's health at court and a desire to connect Arnulf to his grandfather.

The concern for Arnulf's physical body can also be glimpsed in the *arenga* for a charter granted in June 897. It reads: "if we mercifully grant the petitions of our *fideles*, which they suggested to us for the utility of the churches entrusted to them, we clearly believe that this will be useful to us for the salvation of our body and the liberation of our soul."[42] This is the only time that an *arenga* makes

[39] Beatrice E. Kitzinger, *The Cross, the Gospels, and the Work of Art in the Carolingian Age* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 197-201.

[40] D A 150: *quod bonę memorię Hludouuicus rex avus videlicet noster multa augmentatione cumulavit atque pre ceteris dilexit ibidem sibi locum sepulturę deligens*. The *Annales Fuldenses* notes his burial at Lorsch, *AF*, s.a. 876, p. 86.

[41] DD A 23 and 70.

[42] D A 153: *Si fidelium nostrorum petitionibus, quas pro ecclesiarum sibi commissarum utilitatibus nobis suggesserint, clementer annuimus, id nobis ad corporis nostri salvationem animeque liberationem liquido*

reference to Arnulf's body (*corpus*). A court-affiliated scribe was responsible for the 897 charter which suggests that the alternate *arenga* does not reflect a scribe unfamiliar with the established formula, but was an intentional change because it reflected concerns for Arnulf's health.[43] By replacing the emphasis on the "course of the present life" (*praesentis vitae cursum*)[44] with the "salvation of our body" this charter shifts the meaning of the *arenga* to one that potentially reveals the fragility of Arnulf's health. There is a strong emphasis on a two-fold reward in this formula that stresses both earthly benefit and heavenly reward. As Susanne Zwierlein argued for Louis the Pious, this two part sentence, describing the ruler's actions and the consequences of those actions, created a causal connection between action and goal; by granting this charter Arnulf was also hoping to heal his own body.[45]

There are other aspects of Arnulf's charter production in these years that would suggest, on first glance, a contraction of royal authority.[46] Arnulf's illness in early 897 seems to correspond to a

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profuturum esse confidimus.

[43] We cannot be sure that a later scribe has not tampered with the *arenga* because it does not survive in the original, but that it closely mirrors other *arengae* (except the reference to the body) suggests this is in fact a change made at the time of the grant (and there is no clear reason why a later scribe would make this change). Caution is warranted because a charter from the following year, D A 166, also for Worms and involving Hatto and Adalbero, was revised by the Worms scribe Hildebald B. For discussion see Roach, *Forgery and Memory*, p. 35. For the other *arengae* see DD A 18, 78, 105, 105, 113, 135, 146, and 150. None of them refer to Arnulf's physical *body* until the final one, D A 153, in June 897. Overall there are two variants of this formula. Some emphasize that granting the charter will bring about loyal service ("we incline them into our service") and heavenly rewards. For instance D A 113: *eos promptiores et ad nostrum inclinamus servitium*. The others, and the one that the June charter is based on, used a formula which stressed that Arnulf granted the charter for the peaceful unfolding of his life and spiritual rewards. For instance D A 105.

[44] D A 105.

[45] Zwierlein, *Studien,* p. 13 and esp. pp. 116-179.

[46] Elfie-Marita Eibl, "Zur Stellung Bayerns und Rheinfrankens im Reiche Arnulfs von Kärnten," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 8 (1984): 85-86 notes that many of the charters in 898 and 899 go to Bavarian recipients, but does not explicitly connect this to Arnulf's illness.

cessation of charter production, as no charters were granted between January and May 897.[47] A lack of charters is one potential sign of a decline in royal authority. Elina Screen, in discussing the charters of Lothar I, notes that when few charters were issued it "may be a sign of political malaise, when the political attraction of the ruler failed, and recipients did not feel it worthwhile to resort to him."[48] At the same time, between 896 and 899, we can find evidence for an increasingly important circle of elites at court. One way of interpreting this is that the court and business of government was controlled not by Arnulf but by his courtiers. Between his return from Italy and his death in 899 Arnulf granted thirty-one charters and several individuals (Engilmar, Adalbero, Hatto, Solomon III, Luitpold, Isangrim, Iring, and Sigihard) can be identified as either a recipient or an intercessor in twenty-two of them.[49] A clearer picture results by looking at who was acting as an intercessor in this period and how that compares to the previous part of Arnulf's reign. Sean Gilsdorf has argued that the role of intercession developed to become more important over the course of the ninth century. Originally, in early Carolingian charters, intercession was infrequent and mostly recorded in Tironian notes. Eventually these references to intercession moved into the body of the charter and intercession itself was more common in the charters of Arnulf and Louis the Child than the charters of their East

[47] DD A 151 and 152.

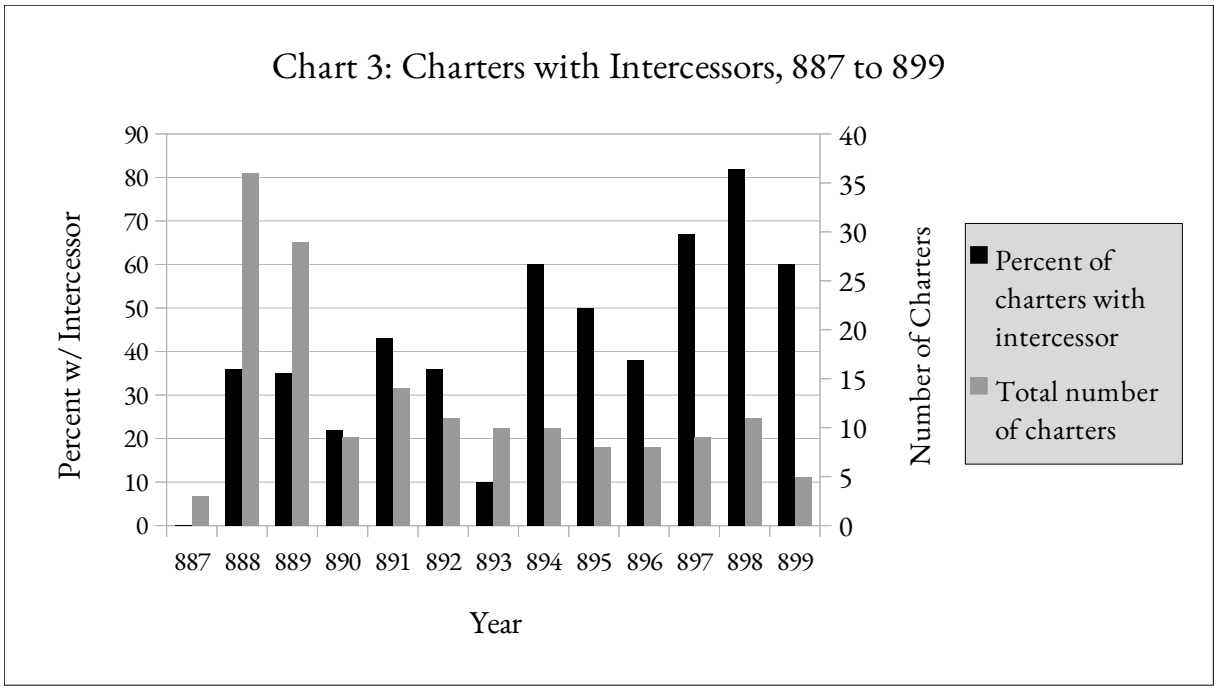
[48] Screen, "The Importance of the Emperor," p. 32.

[49] Engilmar: DD A 152 (intercessor), 169 (recipient), 170 (recipient) and 171 (intercessor); Adalbero: DD A 150 (recipient), 153 (intercessor), 158 (intercessor), 165 (intercessor), 166 (intercessor); Hatto: DD A 149 (intercessor), 154 (intercessor), 158 (intercessor), and 166 (intercessor); Solomon III: DD A 146 (recipient), 151 (recipient), and 165 (recipient); Luitpold: DD A 148 (intercessor), 162 (his vassal), 168 (intercessor), 173 (his vassal); Isangrim: DD A 162 (intercessor), 164 (intercessor), 172 (intercessor), and 173 (intercessor); Iring: DD A 156 (intercessor) and 162 (intercessor); Sigihard: DD A 144 (recipient), 156 (intercessor), and 159 (recipient).

Frankish predecessors.[50] It would appear that intercession becomes more common as Arnulf's reign progressed, first after 894, and then *again* after Arnulf's illness in 896.[51] Chart 3, below, shows the percent of charters with intercessors between 887 and 899, alongside the total number of charters granted in that year. As can be seen on Chart 3, towards the end of Arnulf's life the percent of charters with intercessors increases, even while charter production remains relatively stable in total numbers.

[50] Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends,* pp. 19-24 and pp. 153-156.

[51] To determine an intercessor I excluded cases where a person was requesting a grant for their "home" institution. For instance, if Waldo, the bishop of Freising, asked Arnulf to grant a charter to Freising, I did not classify Waldo as an intercessor, such as D A 136. I am also excluding the two mandates, DD A 111 and 155. An odd case is D A 41 where Agilhard and his daughter petition Arnulf for a charter for the monastery of Ridigippi. Because of Agilhard's connection to Mersivit (she was his daughter) I have not classified him as an intercessor. Likewise in D A 58 one version of the charter notes Poppo II and Thiopold as intercesors, while another also places Sigihard (the abbot of Fulda) in the list. Because the charter is for Fulda I have not listed Sigihard as an intercessor. Another example is DD A 116 and 119: in the first charter the person requesting the grant is identified as Arnulf's *custos* Richar but in the second it is clear that Richar is also the abbot of Metten, the recipient of both grants. This means that only cases where someone requested Arnulf grant a charter *for someone else* that they are classified as an intercessor.



That is, the rate of intercession was not necessarily a function of the total number of charters granted in these years, because between 892 and 898 Arnulf granted a relatively static amount: eight to ten charters per year.[52] What this suggests is that Arnulf's illness hampered his ability to travel around the kingdom and that access to him became increasingly mediated through certain elites, especially in 898 and 899. This would seem to corroborate the idea that Arnulf "could do little but allow his dukes to act as they saw fit."[53] That almost all of Arnulf's charters from 898 and 899 were granted at Regensburg further suggests a narrowing of the king's movements.[54]

This impression of decline is only heightened by the assembly Arnulf held in June 899 at Regensburg. It was at this assembly where illness struck again and Arnulf was "numbed and weakened

[52] See Chapter Three, chart 1.

[53] Riché, *The Carolingians*, p. 231.

[54] From May 15th 898 to July 2nd 899 Arnulf granted sixteen charters, of which fourteen were granted at Regensburg. DD A 159, 160, 162, 164-176.

by paralysis."[55] This assembly had been precipitated by a "crime which had not been heard of for a long time."[56] According to the annalist, Arnulf's wife Oda "surrendered her body to an enticing and unjust union" and it was at the assembly that she cleared herself of the accusations.[57] Accusations of infidelity and improper sexual unions were a staple of Carolingian criticisms of queens.[58] Reuter has argued that the representation of these two events were connected in the *Annales Fuldenses*; Arnulf's sudden change in health prompted a searching for scapegoats in the form of Oda and mysterious "poisoners."[59] There is not any other evidence that points to Oda's affair, but Liudprand of Cremona does report Arnulf being poisoned at a different point in his reign: after the capture of Rome in 896 by Wido's wife Angeltrude.[60] It does seem that this bout of illness marked a final turning point: after a charter in July 899 there are no more charters granted before Arnulf's death on December 8th.[61] The lack of

[55] *AF* (B), s.a. 899, p. 132: *paralisy solutus infirmatus est*.

[56] *AF* (B), s.a. 899, p. 132: *Tum vero multis temporibus inauditum scelus*.

[57] *AF* (B), s.a. 899, p. 132: *corpus suum inlecebroso ac iniquo manciparet coniugio*.

[58] See Mayke de Jong, "Bride Shows Revisited: Praise, Slander and Exegesis in the Reign of the Empress Judith," in *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300-900*, eds. Leslie Brubaker and Julia M.H. Smith (Cambridge University Press, 2004); Linda Dohmen, "Die Geheimnisse der Königin. Zur Darstellung von Unzuchtsvorwürfen gegen Herrschergemahlinnen in der karolingischen Historiographie," in *Geheimnis und Verborgenes im Mittelalter: Funktion, Wirkung und Spannungsfelder vom okkultem Wissen, verborgenen Räumen und magischen Gegenständen*, eds. Stephan Conermann et al. (De Gruyter, 2017).

[59] See Reuter, "Sex, Lies and Oath-Helpers," pp. 217-230

[60] Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, I.32, p. 24.

[61] For the date of his death see Mühlbacher, *Regesta Imperii*, no. 1955b and Franz Fuchs, "Arnolfs Tod, Begräbnis und Memoria," in Fuchs and Schmid, *Kaiser Arnolf*. See also Bernold, *Chronicon*, ed. George Waitz, MGH SS 5 (Hahn, 1844), p. 393. Arnulf's entry in the *necrologium* can be found under December 8th in the autograph copy of Bernold's late eleventh century *Chronicon*: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 432, fol. 7r: *Arnolfus imperator obiit.* Accessible here: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00039847?page=,1.

charters suggests that Arnulf's declining health caused elites to no longer seek out his patronage, and Louis the Child's first charter was not until February 7th, almost two months after Arnulf's death.[62]

If we return to the definition of collapse presented at the beginning of the chapter, the evidence does seem to point towards a change in royal authority. The increased rates of intercession and cessation of charters would seem to indicate a more static court dominated by those around the ruler, while some of the *arengae* indicate concerns for Arnulf's health. Likewise his retreat from public life in early 897 further suggests a decline in royal authority.

Part II: Signs of Agency:
A New Court Circle: Relatives, the Dilecti, and the Ministeriales:

Yet we should be careful in interpreting these changes as straightforward evidence for decline. The cessation of charter production between January and May 897 does not look as unusual when compared to the similar gaps in 889 and 895.[63] The same gap can be found in 893, when Arnulf issued no charters between February and May, and an even longer gap can be found between July 890 and January 891.[64] An increase in the percent of charters with intercessors does not mean, necessarily, that Arnulf was "dominated" by those around him. If they were controlling access to Arnulf they certainly allowed a wide variety of recipients to gain patronage. There are grants to a variety of monasteries (Fulda, Lorsch, St. Peter/St. Emmeram, and St. Gall), bishoprics (Worms, Passau, Freising, and Eichstätt), and several grants to individuals. That is, it is hard to see this as evidence that access to

[62] D LC 1.

[63] 889: DD A 43 (January 20th) and 44 (May 3rd); 895: DD A 131 (January 1st) and 132 (May 5th).

[64] 893: DD A 114 and 115; 890-891: DD A 80 and 82.

Arnulf was curtailed or limited. Instead, this suggests that patronage was still being distributed, but these elites were acting as intermediaries for access. Further, any analysis of charter distribution after 895 needs to account for the fact that Arnulf was no longer granting charters for Lotharingia. That is, the horizon had already narrowed and Arnulf was now giving charters in a more geographically restricted zone. A look at the figures who became more important in the years after 896 reveals that many of them had close connections to Arnulf either through court service (Iring, Isangrim) or familial relationships (Sigihard, Luitpold, Oda). In other cases, such as Adalbero, we can see them becoming increasingly important in the charters after 896, suggesting they were trusted advisors given more responsibility in distributing access. It is telling that almost all of the intercessors from 896 to 899 were described as either *dilectus* or *ministerialis*. Both terms indicated, in theory, a level of closeness to the ruler. These individuals did not simply direct patronage to their own institutions, but were influential in securing grants for others as mediators.

Several of these figures seem to have had courtly roles, or were active at court despite not holding a particularly high rank. Iring had already acted as an intercessor in 889 and 890, but now reappeared in 897 and 898.[65] He seems to have had special status throughout Arnulf's reign. He commissioned a new sarcophagus for Saint Emmeram, probably around 889 or 890, and the inscription notes him as "the excellent protector of the king and his highest huntsman."[66] Around the

[65] Iring appears in a few charters in early in Arnulf's reign, DD A 64, 73, and 79, before reappearing late in his reign, DD A 156 and 162.

[66] See Arbeo, *Vitae Sanctorum Haimhrammi et Corbiniani*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SS rer. Germ. 13 (Hahn, 1920), p. 4. The inscription only survives in a tenth-century manuscript, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14747, fol. 165 accessible online here: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00096536?page=330,331: *Excellens praeses regis summusque venator*. Referring to Arnulf as king suggests a pre-896 date. On "huntsman" as an honorific title see Eric J.

time that Iring commissioned the sarcophagus Arnulf was constructing a new palace complex near the monastery of St. Emmeram which emphasized his interest in the saint.[67] When Iring, alongside Isangrim, acted as intercessors for a charter in August 898 they were described as "our beloved counts."[68] The use of *dilectus* likely signals a special place for Iring at Arnulf's court: only thirty-three individuals are described in Arnulf's charters as "beloved" and only sixteen (including Iring) are called that more than once.[69] This list of sixteen includes many of the most prominent members of Arnulf's

Goldberg, *In the Manner of the Franks: Hunting, Kingship, and Masculinity in Early Medieval Europe* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020), p. 186 which discusses Iring specifically.

[67] On the palace see Klaus Gamber, "Die Pfalz Kaiser Arnulfs in Regensburg und ihr künstlerischer Schmuck," *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg* 117 (1977). This may have involved a builder named Eopreht, see Wolfram, *Arnulf*, p. 110. Eoprecht received two charters from Arnulf, DD A 77 and 152.

[68] D A 162: *Iringi et Isangrimi dilectorum comitum nostrorum*.

[69] Liutbert (archbishop of Mainz): DD A 1; Sigihard (count): DD A 5, 144, 159; Erchanbold (bishop of Eichstätt): DD A 18, 132, 135; Heimo (count): DD A 42; Oda (Arnulf's wife): DD A 44, 143, 154, 170, 171, 176; Hatto (archbishop of Mainz, abbot of Reichenau): DD A 48, 65, 81, 114, 125, 140; Ermengard (daughter of Louis II of Italy): DD A 49; Otto (count): DD A 51; Wolfhelm (bishop of Münster): DD A 54; Rotrude (unknown relative): DD A 56 and 70; Aspertus (archchancellor and later bishop of Regensburg): DD A 63 and 98; Ruodpert (imperial *missi* under Charles the Fat): DD A 63; Arn (bishop of Würzburg): DD A 66 and 68; Choppo (count): DD A 74; Engilmar (bishop of Passau): DD A 76, 102, 104, 117, 152, 169, 171; Wigbert (bishop of Verden): DD A 78 and 105; Iring (count): DD A 79 and 162; Baldram (bishop of Strasbourg): DD A 88; Conrad (count): DD A 89, 105, 149; Eginolf (priest): DD A 95; Theotmar (archbishop of Salzburg): DD A 98; Ekbert (count): DD A 104 and 106; Biso (bishop of Paderborn): D A 105; Ratbod (archbishop of Trier): D A 113; Waldo (bishop of Freising): DD A 117, 118, 170; Richar (abbot of Metten): D A 119; Snelpero (abbot of Kremsmünster): D A 120; Solomon III (bishop of Constance and abbot of St. Gall): DD A 129, 130, 146; Liutswind (Arnulf's mother): D A 136; Adalbero (archbishop of Augsburg): DD A 139, 150, 153; Drogo (bishop of Minden): D A 147; Luitpold (*marchio*): DD A 148, 168, 173; Isangrim (count): DD A 162.

court including Hatto, Solomon III, Adalbero, Engilmar, Erchanbold, Waldo, and Conrad.[70] It also seems to have been used for several of Arnulf's relatives.[71]

Like Iring, Isangrim seems to have had a particularly special place at court. Isangrim, a count, only appears as an intercessor in 898 and 899, even if he is mentioned in an earlier charter.[72] In one charter he is described as a *dapifer* which suggests that he was some type of royal steward in addition to being a count.[73] It is possible that *dapifer* is being used to denote Isangrim's increased status at court and is functioning more as an honorific title. He was at court in February 899, where he requested a charter as Arnulf's "illustrious count and *ministerialis*."[74] Neither Iring or Isangrim were seemingly as

[70] Hatto (archbishop of Mainz, abbot of Reichenau): DD A 48, 65, 81, 114, 125, 140; Solomon III (bishop of Constance and abbot of St. Gall): DD A 129, 130, 146; Adalbero (archbishop of Augsburg): DD A 139, 150, 153; Engilmar (bishop of Passau): DD A 76, 102, 104, 117, 152, 169, 171; Erchanbold (bishop of Eichstätt): DD A 18, 132, 135; Waldo (bishop of Freising): DD A 117, 118, 170; Conrad (count): DD A 89, 105, 149.

[71] Oda (Arnulf's wife): DD A 44, 143, 154, 170, 171, 176; Sigihard (count): DD A 5, 144, 159; Rotrude (unknown relative): DD A 56 and 70; Liutswind (Arnulf's mother): D A 136.

[72] DD A 162, 164, 172, and 173; D A 61 mentions him holding lands previously in the Zillertal.

[73] D A 164. For *dapifer* see Du Cange, *Glossarium*, vol. 3, col. 008c. It does appear in other Carolingian charters: D Ca 25 and D CF 16. However the phrase in D CF 16 may be an interpolation. Hincmar does not include the term in his *De Ordine Palatii*, cc. 16-17, pp. 62-66. Paul Schubert believed that *dapifer* was one of several terms used by Carolingian authors for a steward (in German the *Truchsess*), who in later periods was one of the chief palace officials: Paul Schubert, "Die Reichshofämter und ihre Inhaber bis um die Wende des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 34 (1913): 438-439. One piece of evidence Schubert cites is an Old High German gloss of *dapifer* with the word *truhtsaizo*, Elias Steinmeyer, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen* (Weidmann, 1879), p. 677. See also Cullen J. Chandler, "Charlemagne's Table: The Carolingian Royal Court and Food Culture," *Viator* 50, no. 1 (2019) on the role of feasting culture in creating and upholding ideals of elite masculinity. For the role of these officers in an English context, with useful comparative comments, see Alban Gautier, "Butlers and Dish-Bearers in Anglo-Saxon Courts: Household Officers at the Royal Table," *Historical Research* 90, no. 248 (2017).

[74] D A 172: *Isangrimo illustri comite ministerialisque nostro.* He would appear as an intercessor in the following charter, D A 173, but only as an "illustrious count" (*illustri comitis*).

powerful as other magnates at court such as Hatto or Luitpold, but both were able to successfully carve out roles at court alongside their comital roles.

Both Iring and Isangrim were part of an even smaller group than the *dilecti* who were described as *ministeriales,* a term loaded with historiographical significance for the high Middle Ages in Germany.[75] Roman Deutinger has argued that in the Carolingian period the *ministeriales* were a group of royal agents connected to the king by personal ties and not as a sort of formal office.[76] Only eight individuals were given such a title in Arnulf's charters.[77] Broadly, there are two "levels" to Arnulf's *ministeriales.* The first was composed of figures who held an office: four counts (Conrad the Elder, Heimo, Iring, and Isangrim) and bishop Engilmar of Passau. Some of these figures could appear multiple times but only be described as a *ministerialis* once, suggesting that these figures were not

[75] There is a large literature on the *ministeriales* and their role in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. For example and with numerous references to other literature: Karl Leyser, "The German Aristocracy from the Ninth to the Early Twelfth Century: a Historical and Cultural Sketch," *Past & Present* 41 (1968) touches on the *ministeriales* at points; John B, Freed, "The Origins of the European Nobility: the Problem of the Ministerials," *Viator* 7 (1976): 228-233 contains extended description of older scholarship; John B. Freed, "The Formation of the Salzburg Ministerialage in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: an Example of Upward Social Mobility in the Early Middle Ages," *Viator* 9 (1979); Benjamin Arnold, "German Bishops and Their Military Retinues in the Medieval Empire," *German History* 7, no. 2 (1989); Benjamin Arnold, "Instruments of Power: the Profile and Profession of *Ministeriales* within German Aristocratic Society, 1050– 1225," in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Peter Neumeister, "Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zur Ministerialität des 9., 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 43, no. 5 (1995); Thomas Zotz, "Die Formierung der Ministeralität," in *Die Salier und das Reich*, eds. Stefan Weinfurter and Hubertus Seibert, vol. 3 (J. Thorbecke, 1991); See now Katrin Jaspers and Stefan Pätzold, eds., *Die Kleinen unter den Großen: Ministerialität und Niederadel im spätem Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Aschendorff, 2023).

[76] Deutinger, *Königsherrschaft*, pp. 53-108 on these groups. See also Karl Bosl, "Vorstufen der deutschen Königsdienstmannschaft (Begriffsgeschichtlich-prosopographische Studien zur frühmittelalterlichen Sozial- und Verfassungsgeschichte) (II)," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 39, no. 4 (1952): 291-294.

[77] Epo: D A 19; Heimo: DD A 32 and 42; Eric: D A 73; Engilmar: D A 76; Iring: D A 79; Conrad: D A 84; Rodhart: DD A 153 and 158; Isangrim: D A 172.

defined by their status as *ministerialis*.[78] That is, while they are described as a *ministerialis*, they do not always appear as such. The second type of *ministerialis* are those who appear in Arnulf's charters and do not occupy another office; they are seemingly defined by their status as a *ministerialis*. For instance a *ministerialis* named Rodhart appears in two charters for Worms.[79]

Both types of *ministerialis* had a connection to the king and royal authority. That most of the individuals termed as *ministeriales* were also counts and bishops, and appeared in other contexts, suggests that they may have been seen as highly trusted members of the royal court. There is substantial overlap between *ministerialis* and *dilectus*: Heimo, Engilmar, Iring, Conrad, and Isangrim are all referred to as both, sometimes in the same charter.[80] That is, for those already with office such as Iring and Isangrim, *ministerialis* may be functioning as a sign of their esteem at court.

Another group that became increasingly important after 896 were Arnulf's relatives. Arnulf's first charter upon returning north of the Alps in 896 was to a count named Sigihard.[81] Sigihard had been at Regensburg in 888 to celebrate Arnulf becoming king as Arnulf's "beloved count and *fidelis*."[82]

[78] For instance Engilmar, who appears in nine charters but is only called a *ministerialis* once. It was a seemingly contextual category: Iring appeared alongside Eric in D A 73 but was not termed a *ministerialis* except in D A 79.

[79] DD A 153 and 158. Both charters, granted in June and August 897 respectively, concerned land in the Wormsfeldsgau located directly southwest of Worms. In both instances Arnulf was petitioned by Thietlach, the bishop of Worms; Adalbero, the bishop of Augsburg; and Rodhart. Rodhart is referred to as *fidelis ministerialis nostri* (our loyal *ministerialis*) in both charters. The grant made by Adalbero to the monastery of Lorsch discussed below includes a Rodhart in the witness list, described as the "overseer of the royal house," Glöckner, *Codex Laureshamensi*, vol. 1, no. 53, p. 338: *Růdhardo domus regalis procuratori*. Otherwise, he does not appear in any other of Arnulf's charters or in any of the Lorsch material.

[80] For instance Heimo, D A 42.

[81] D A 144.

[82] D A 5: *dilectus fidelisque comes noster*. His family and connection to Carloman are discussed in Chapter Two, pp. 89-90.

He does not appear in another charter until this charter granted on July 8th, 896. After this charter in 896, Sigihard appears in two additional charters.[83] He was not only the recipient of royal patronage but helped to secure a grant for a man named Diotker in July 897 as one of Arnulf's "venerable counts" alongside Iring.[84] Sigihard's reappearance and seemingly increased role (as an intercessor) would suggest a change in his political fortunes. Interestingly, it is in this charter that Sigihard is now identified as "our beloved count and relative."[85] This same description would be used again in May 898.[86] This suggests that in 888 it may have been too dangerous to explicitly reference Arnulf's relationship to Sigihard, because it was through his mother Liutswind, the mistress of Carloman. The inclusion of Sigihard as Arnulf's relative may in fact speak to the confidence of Arnulf and his court, as he could now explicitly indicate his relationship to him despite his illness.

Likewise Oda was an intercessor for four charters, but three of them came after Arnulf's illness, suggesting she became a more important mediator for royal access.[87] She had evidently traveled with Arnulf to the Worms assembly (see below) where she was the intercessor for a charter alongside Hatto

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[83] DD A 156 and 159.

[84] D A 156.

[85] D A 144: *dilecto comiti et propinquo nostro*.

[86] D A 159.

[87] DD A 154, 170, and 171. She earlier was an intercessor for D A 44. I am excluding D A 176 where she is noted as the intercessor but the grant was involving her own lands. Historians have long argued that Oda was related to the Conradines, but the evidence is not without problems. This issue, with the older literature, is discussed by Reuter, "Sex, Lies, and Oath-Helpers," p. 220. On Oda see also Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 102-105.

and Thietlach.[88] She was then operating alongside the bishop of Passau, Engilmar, as the intercessor in two charters granted in 898.[89] In every charter she is described similarly as Arnulf's "beloved wife."

Another relative, Luitpold, had already seen his star rise since the deposition of the Wilhelminer in 893, and he became increasingly important because of the pressures along the frontier, as we will see below.[90] After Arnulf's return from Italy he requested a charter for Gundpert, a hunter at Arnulf's court.[91] In another charter, granted for Luitpold's vassal, he is described as "our most beloved relative and illustrious *marchio*."[92] The elevated description may possibly be because the charter was written by one of Luitpold's own scribes.[93] The vassal, Zwentibald, is curiously described as "a certain man of a family of good nobility."[94] That many of these instances come after 896 suggests, as with Adalbero below, that it was after 896 that Luitpold's influence at court increased.

Yet it is possible to use this increased role for Arnulf's relatives as evidence for a lack of non-familial support. That is, as elites drifted away from Arnulf, relatives took over key roles. However Sigihard only secures one grant for another recipient, and Oda always appeared alongside others as intercessor in this period.[95] Indeed Sigihard appeared alongside Iring in that charter, suggesting that

[88] D A 154.

[89] DD A 170 and 171.

[90] See Chapter Four, pp. 180-182.

[91] D A 148.

[92] D A 162: *Liutbaldi carissimi propinqui ac illustris nostri marchionis.*

[93] On this scribe see *Excursus*, p. 39, n. 53.

[94] D A 162: *viro progenie bonae nobilitatis*. It is not clear who this Zwentibald was, but he does appear in a charter of Louis the Child (D LC 2) again as a vassal of Luitpold.

[95] For Sigihard, D A 156; Oda appeared as a solo intercessor in May 889, D A 44.

intercession was not simply about steering patronage in a certain direction. The evidence for Luitpold is likewise complicated because while he did secure a grant for his vassal Zwentibald, another charter for his vassal Cholo was secured by Isangrim and Engilbert.[96] Oda and Luitpold took on greater roles for probably similar reasons that Iring and Isangrim did: they were all present in Bavaria near the court in Regensburg.

Adalbero, the bishop of Augsburg, seems to have reached even greater heights at court after 896. Alongside Hatto, he had baptized Arnulf's son Louis in 893 and was given control of Lorsch in 895 at the Synod of Tribur.[97] He was also Louis' guardian, and was described as Louis' *nutritor*.[98] Possibly, Arnulf's health issues made the succession a pressing concern, making Adalbero's position increasingly powerful. He had acted as intercessor for one charter in December 895 while traveling with Arnulf and the army through Italy, but the other five charters involving Adalbero all come after Arnulf's return from Italy in 896.[99] That is, whatever role he played before 896, he now was able to access the ruler and request his patronage more directly. A January 897 charter indicates Adalbero's increased status as he is now described as Arnulf's "venerable and most beloved bishop."[100]

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[96] DD A 162 and 173.

[97] On the baptism see *AF* (B), s.a. 893, p. 122. For Lorsch see below, n. 152.

[98] See DD LC 4 (*noster admodum fidelis nutritor*), 9 (*reverendi antistitis ac studiosissimi nutritoris nostri*), 65 (*nutritoris nostri*), and 66 (*spiritalis patris et magistri nostri*). Adalbero appears in many of Louis' charters: DD LC 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 12, 19, 20, 23, 38, 44, 46, 58, 59, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68.

[99] DD A 139, 150, 153, 158, 165, and 166.

[100] D A 150: *venerabili ac dilectissimo episcopo nostro*.

But it does not seem that these figures were curtailing access to Arnulf or directing patronage in a certain direction. Of the five charters involving Adalbero after 896, only one involved Lorsch, while the rest involved Worms and Solomon III.[101] Likewise Engilmar and Oda requested Arnulf make a grant to the episcopal church in Freising.[102] Further, there are still other intercessors outside this circle of courtiers. One of Arnulf's last charters was granted at the request of Isangrim and an unknown man named Engilbert.[103] Despite the increase in intercession, elites could also secure patronage without it: Poppo needed no intercessor to reclaim his lands from Arnulf in 899.[104] What this suggests is less a court circle manipulating Arnulf's patronage for their own ends, than Arnulf leaning on a trusted circle of advisers to help manage access to the ruler and the distribution of patronage.

Arnulf's Two Chapels to St. Pancras:

There is other evidence to suggest that Arnulf was not simply dominated by his court circle and too ill to act. In particular Arnulf seems to have had a strategy to create new chapels dedicated to the Roman martyr St. Pancras. Arnulf granted land to Roding in 896, where he:

> dedicated the church and our royal chapel, which we ordered to be built at Roding from the foundations, in honor and veneration of Saint Jacob the Apostle, the brother of the Lord, and Saint Pancras and of the saints, whom we brought back with us from Rome into that home.[105]

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[101] Worms: DD A 153, 158, and 166; Solomon III: D A 165

[102] D A 170.

[103] D A 173.

[104] D A 174.

[105] D A 145: *nos aecclesiam et regalem capellam nostram, quam ad Rotagin a fundamentis construere iussimus et dedicare fecimus in honore et veneratione sancti Iacobi apostoli fratris domini et sancti Pancratii sanctorumque, quos a Roma nobiscum in istam patriam deferimus*. Louis the German had issued one charter at

Like the chapel at Roding, there was a church dedicated to Saint Pancras in Ranshofen. We do not know for sure when Arnulf had this chapel of Saint Pancras built, but it seems likely it came after 896. Ranshofen was a royal court which had been originally used by Louis the German but which was revived by Carloman.[106] Yet neither Louis the German or Carloman granted charters specifically for Ranshofen. Arnulf stayed there four times, in 888, 892, 893, and 898.[107] Arnulf granted two charters dealing with the church at Ranshofen dedicated to Saint Pancras. Both charters, in October 898 and February 899, emphasized that Arnulf had ordered the construction of the church there. The first notes the church that Arnulf "constructed from the foundations there [Ranshofen] in honor of Christ and Saint Pancras."[108] The second charter likewise notes that Arnulf constructed the church "for the Lord and his martyr Saint Pancras from the foundations in the place Ranshofen."[109] That all the references come from after 896, and that the charter for Roding indicates Arnulf brought the relics back with him, suggests that these foundations were made after the coronation.

The specific choice of Saint Pancras likely relates to Arnulf's coronation as emperor and his personal affinity for the saint. Saint Pancras was a Roman martyr whose *passio* has a problematic

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Roding: D LG 38.

[106] See Zotz, "Ludwig der Deutsche," p. 38. Louis the German issued four charters there, DD LG 1, 4, 5, and 99. Carloman issued three, DD Ca 3, 14, and 18. Louis' last charter there was in 859, Carloman's charter came seventeen years later in 877.

[107] DD A 17, 103, 120, and 162. These charters all went to other recipients, however.

[108] D A 167: *quam nos ibi in honore Christi et sancti Pancratii a fundamentis construximus*.

[109] D A 172: *ad capellam, quam in loco Rantesdorf domino et sancto Pancratio martiri suo a fundamentis construximus*.

transmission history.[110] The spot of the martyrdom was the location of a basilica (re-)built by Pope Honorius in the seventh century, and it seems that the inscription inside survived into the ninth century.[111] The Bavarian annalist notes this is where Arnulf met "in common counsel with the whole army" before storming Rome in 896.[112] The connection, therefore, seems to be Arnulf's trip to Rome in 896. Rome was an integral part of St. Pancras' identity as a martyr, and hagiographies of Italian saints overwhelmingly describe martyrs; in Gaul confessors were more common.[113] Perhaps Arnulf

[110] On the *passio* see Michael Lapidge, *The Roman Martyrs: Introduction, Translations, and Commentary* (Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 468-476. While Carolingian sources mention Pancras in liturgical settings, dedicating a church to him was rather unusual. On the spread of his cult in the Carolingian period see Hubertus Drobner, *Der heilige Pankratius: Leben, Legende und Verehung* (Bonifatius, 1988), pp. 34-43 noting that for early and pre-Carolingian churches no definitive Pancras cult can be determined even if later evidence suggests it may have been already celebrated. In the ninth century only two other sites (Auerbach and Liel) can be determined to have Pancras cults. A litany from Arnulf's reign, from Cologne, mentions several martyrs, but not Pancras. Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod. 137, fol. 181v, accessible here: https://digital.dombibliothek-koeln.de/hs/content/titleinfo/175806. On fol. 182r it notes prayers to be said for Formosus, Arnulf, and Hermann the archbishop of Cologne. Formosus was pope after 891 and the manuscript refers to Arnulf as king, giving a date between 891 and 896. However, because Cologne, and Hermann, became part of Zwentibald's kingdom in 895, and the litany makes no mention of him, a better date is between 891 and 895. There were mentions of Pancras at Reichenau and St. Gall: St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 367, pp. 205-206. They are evidently tenth-century additions to the evangelistry which had been made in 835 or 840. A late-ninth or tenth-century evangeliary from St. Gall includes Pancras in a *Capitulare evangeliorum* at the end of the manuscript, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 22311, fol. 150r. Accessible here: https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00047307?page=299. When Angilbert compiled a list of relics belonging to the institution of St-Riquier, Pancras was first on the list. Angilbert, "De ecclesia Centulensi libellus," ed. George Waitz, MGH 15, no. 1 (Hahn, 1887), p. 176. Wandelbert, a monk at the abbey of Prüm, gives almost no details of Pancras in his mid-ninth century *Martyrologium* and combines the feast with three others: Domitilla, Nereus, and Achilleus. Wandelbert, *Martyrologium*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Poetae 2 (Weidmannos, 1884), p. 585.

[111] Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 326 (1076), fol. 71r. Accessible here: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0326/71r/0/. On this text, the so-called Einsiedeln Itinerary, see Story, *Charlemagne and Rome*, pp. 179-183. The church seems to have originally been built by Pope Symmachus, *LP*, no. 53, p. 262. Honorious then rebuilt it in the seventh century, *LP*, no. 72, p. 324.

[112] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 127: *in commune consilium cum omni exercitu*.

[113] See Guy Philippart and Michel Trigalet, "Latin Hagiography before the Ninth Century: A Synoptic View," in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, eds. Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (Ashgate, 2008), p. 118. Notker mentions him briefly in his *Martyrologium*

stopping at St. Pancras in Rome and his subsequent victory led him to attribute some of his success to the saint, which prompted him to not only bring relics back but to dedicate two churches to Pancras. The sustained interest in these centers in 896, 898, and 899 suggests that this was a priority for Arnulf and was not a one-off grant.

Translating relics north of the Alps was seemingly a Carolingian innovation, but at times throughout the eighth and ninth centuries the flow of relics from Rome stopped, for instance under the pontificate of Hadrian I.[114] The translation of relics was also intertwined with royal and episcopal authority: the Synod of Mainz in 813 notes that "no one should presume to transfer the bodies of the saints without the consent of the prince or the agreement of the bishops and a holy synod."[115] These

noting his burial along the Via Aurelia and martyrdom under Diocletian. Notker, *Martyrologium,* col. 1082. A copy survives from the tenth century at St. Gall: St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 456, p. 143. Hraban Maur's martyrology also notes his decapitation in Rome "on the same day" as Nereus and Achilleus. Hraban Maur, *Martyrologium*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina 110 (Paris, 1864), col. 1144: *Eodem die Romae passio sanctorum Nerei et Achillei fratrum*. Ado also knew the martyrdom took place on the Via Aurelia, suggesting that the connection with Rome was an integral part of Pancras' identity as a saint. Ado of Vienne, *Martyrologium*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina 123 (Paris, 1879), col. 138. See also Julia M.H. Smith, ""Emending Evil Ways and Praising God's Omnipotence": Einhard and the Uses of Roman Martyrs," in *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing*, eds. Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton (University of Rochester Press, 2003).

[114] Julia M.H. Smith, "Old Saints, New Cults: Roman Relics in Carolingian Francia," in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. Julia M.H. Smith (Brill, 2000), pp. 321-324; Klaus Herbers, "Reliques romaines au IXe siècle: renforcements des liaisons avec la papauté?" in *Hagiographie, idéologie et politique au Moyen Âge en Occident: actes du colloque international du Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale de Poitiers, 11 -14 septembre 2008*, ed. Edina Bozóky (Brepols, 2012).

[115] "Concilium Moguntinese." ed. Albert Werminghoff, MGH Conc. 2, no. 1 (Hahn, 1906), no. 36, c. 51, p. 272: *Deinceps vero corpora sanctorum de loco ad locum nullus transferre praesumat sine consilio principis vel episcoporum sanctaeque synodi licentia*. The earlier council at Frankfurt in 794 had likewise regulated which saints should be venerated, while allowing for local practices, and local institutions shaped the presentation of relic acquisitions according to Carolingian regulations. On Carolingian efforts to oversee saints and relics see Paul Fouracre, "The Origins of the Carolingian Attempt to Regulate the Cult of Saints," in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, eds. James Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony Howard (Oxford University Press, 1999) and Francesco Veronese, "Rome and the Others:

types of relic translations were evidently known in contemporary circles: Notker was aware that Hatto had brought back relics from the trip to Rome.[116] In Chapter Five I argued that part of Arnulf's quasi-imperial representation was based on expressing hegemony over other parts of the former empire. The arrival of relics from Rome was a way of continuing to express that idea. In effect it brought some of the splendor of Rome north of the Alps, placing it now in a church built by Arnulf. Arnulf was not the first Carolingian to use Rome in this way.[117]

Arnulf may have been attempting to develop Ranshofen in a similar mold to Carloman's center at Ötting. Ötting was where Carloman had spent the last months of his life and where he was buried, so when Arnulf's health declined further in 898 and 899 this may have prompted the grants involving both centers.[118] The site had, perhaps, special importance to Arnulf because it was also where his son Louis was born in 893.[119] Regino mistakenly believed that Arnulf had been buried at Ötting "where his father lays having been buried" after dying on "November 29th."[120] The *Annales Fuldenses*,

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Saints, Relics and Hagiography in Carolingian North-Eastern Italy," in Gantner and Pohl, *After Charlemagne,* pp. 219-221. For local reaction to these regulations see pp. 221-237.

[116] Notker the Stammerer's *Martyrologium*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina 131 (Paris, 1884), col. 1070: *Quod idcirco significandam putavi, ut patriarcha noster Hatto Magontiacensis, qui hoc anno item ab incarnatione Domini, caput ejus et aliud quoddam membrum cum plurimis et maximis sanctorum reliquiis in Alemanniam ad novum monasterium suum a Formoso apostolico impetratis asportavit.* The manuscript survives as St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 456 (http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0456/110/0/). Hatto's name can be seen on p. 110.

[117] Smith, "Old Saints, New Cults," pp. 332-333.

[118] Carloman issued his last charters there from February to August 879: D Ca 19-25, 27 and 28. On this period see also Chapter Two, pp. 68-70.

[119] *AF* (B), s.a. 893, p. 122.

[120] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 899, p. 147: *sepultusque est honorifice in Odingas, ubi et pater eius tumulatus iacet.* Arnulf actually died on December 8th, see above, n. 61.

on the other hand, correctly notes his burial at St. Emmeram's in Regensburg.[121] When Arnulf granted St. Pancras to the priest Ellimbrecht in 898 it was after Ellimbrecht's death that control of the chapel was to go to Ötting. It was to be transferred to the church dedicated to Saint Phillip the Apostle "whose most hallowed relic [*membrum*, lit. "limb" or "organ"] is venerably buried in the villa of Ötting."[122] The charter continues, noting that this was done "in memory of our father king Carloman, who rests in that place bodily [*corporaliter*] having been buried, and also for the salvation of our soul, therefore that it remains perpetually under the right of the church of Ötting and of those who take care of it."[123] There was thus a sense of connection between the church at Ötting and the center at Ranshofen. Arnulf had created the church of St. Pancras at Ranshofen and by placing it under the control of Ötting it may have recreated the familial structure of father and son.

The Ebb and Flow of Arnulf's Illness, 896-899:

Another problem with the standard interpretation of this period is that it assumes Arnulf's illness hamstrung him permanently and continuously. Yet as Reuter himself noted, it seems that Arnulf recovered from the illness at different points.[124] It is necessary, then, to understand the chronology of this period and in particular how Arnulf reacted to bouts of illness with moments of

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[121] *AF* (B), s.a. 900, pp. 133-134.

[122] D A 167: *post obitum ipsius ad sanctum Phillipum apostolum, cuius sacratissimum membrum in villa Otinga venerabiliter humatum est*.

[123] D A 167: *in memoriam patris nostri Carlomanni regis, qui ibidem corporaliter requiscit reconditus, nec non pro remedio animae nostrae convertatur, ita ut sub iure Otingensis eclesiae perenniter consistat provisorumque illius*.

[124] Reuter, "Sex, Lies, and Oath-Helpers," p. 226.

activity afterwards. If Arnulf's illness called into question his ability to rule, assemblies offered a viable strategy to reaffirm his credibility as a ruler. This dovetailed with granting charters: they could express the ruler's viability. At the same time we also see Arnulf shift his focus back towards the frontier in a sustained way for the first time since 892 and 893.

One of Arnulf's first actions after returning from Italy in 896 was to hold an assembly at the royal palace of Forcheim. Our only evidence for this assembly is two charters Arnulf granted there and a brief note in a minor annal.[125] One of these charters notes that Arnulf had made his decision to grant the charter "for the love of God, with the communal advice of our loyal bishops, abbots, and counts."[126] Forcheim was often used for assemblies by Arnulf: in 889 Arnulf held an assembly there in hopes of having the elites agree to Ratold and Zwentibald as his heirs.[127] The following year he met Angelberga there to address her Italian properties.[128] Unlike in those cases, we have limited information on the 896 assembly at Forcheim. One of the charters Arnulf granted during this assembly was for the monastery of St. Gall, whose abbot, Solomon III, had stayed behind while Arnulf traveled to Italy.[129] The charter for St. Gall confirmed privileges that had previously been granted by Louis the German. While guaranteeing the rights of the monastery, the charter lays out that the brothers "attending to

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[125] DD A 146 and 147. *Annales Laubacenses*, s.a. 897, p. 185.

[126] D A 146: *communi consilio cum nostris fidelibus episcopis scilicet abbatibus atque comitibus*.

[127] See Chapter Three, pp. 102-104.

[128] See Chapter Six, pp. 258-259.

[129] Ekkehard, *Casus sancti Galli*, c. 22, p. 184. Ekkehard in his continuation of the *Casus sancti Galli* notes that Hatto had left some of his goods at St. Gall for Solomon to safeguard.

God for us and the stability of our kingdom continually prevail to plead the compassion of the Lord."[130] Further, the monastery is meant to send a yearly gift to the king "just as other monasteries, that is two horses with as many shields and lances."[131] During this assembly a building collapsed, injuring Arnulf, and which perhaps cut short the rest of the proceedings.[132] Yet our knowledge of this only survives in a minor chronicle. These types of events were seen as bad omens, and that it was not more well known suggests it was either not seen as a major issue, or the court was somewhat active in shaping perceptions of the incident to downplay it as a crisis.[133] The emphasis on military provisions in the St. Gall charter may suggest the motive for the assembly as it came at a time of increasingly unstable conditions on the frontier.

The peace that had developed in the aftermath of Zwentibald's death in 894 was increasingly precarious. Conflict between the Bulgarians and Byzantines prompted Arnulf to commend "Pannonia with the city of Moosburg to his *dux* Brazlavo in order to guard it at that time."[134] The annalist then

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[130] D A 146: *fratres ibidem deo famulantes pro nobis et stabilitate regni nostri domini misericordiam iugiter exorare valeant*.

[131] D A 146: *sicut de caeteris monasteriis, id est cavalli duo cum tot scutis et lanceis*.

[132] See above, n. 29.

[133] See Eric J. Goldberg, "A Man of Notable Good Looks Disfigured by a Cruel Wound?: The Forest Misadventure of Charles the Young of Aquitaine (864) in History and Legend," In *Historiography and Identity III: Carolingian Approaches*, eds. Rutger Kramer et al. (Brepols Publishers, 2021), pp. 363-364.

[134] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, pp. 129-130 at p. 130: *Pannoniam cum urbe Paludarum tuendam Brazlavoni duci suo in id tempus commendavit*. The annalist's account of Byzantine ships being sent to the Danube to catch the Bulgarians by surprise seems to be corroborated in the tenth-century continuation of Theophanes, see Immanuel Bekker, ed., *Theophanes Continuatus* (Impensis ed. Weberi, 1885), p. 853. Even earlier, the *Taktika* of Leo VI (r. 886-912) refers to this conflict and the ships being transported across the Danube, see George Dennis, ed. and trans., *The Taktika* (Dumbarton Oaks, 2010), c. 18.40, pp. 452-453.

moves to recording the arrival of Byzantine ambassadors, led by the bishop Lazaraus, at court.[135] Facing a conflict with the Bulgarians, the Byzantine envoys may have been hoping to keep Arnulf neutral or to enlist his support in restraining them. Indeed in Chapter Two we saw Arnulf directing the Bulgarians for his own purposes, so the Byzantines may have believed that Arnulf could control them.[136] It would have also provided an opportunity for Arnulf to present his newfound imperial title not only to the local elites, but to these envoys. Arnulf "retained him [Lazarus, the envoy] with him for a few days" before allowing him to depart "with honors."[137] Luitpold, the *marchio* who was responsible for both Carinthia and Bavaria, may have been at court during this delegation.[138] It was not just the Byzantines who went to Arnulf. A Moravian embassy went to Arnulf while he wintered at the palace of Ötting for Christmas. They came to him "in order to draw up peace, they asked from the emperor that no fleeing exiles of theirs should be accepted."[139] This frontier maneuvering suggests that by late 896 Arnulf had recovered from the initial bout of illness earlier in the year, and could now turn his attention to the situation in Pannonia.

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[135] Possibly in November, when he issued a charter there: D A 148. There are also possible signs of diplomacy in that around this time a manuscript was made at St. Gall that contains a Greek-Latin copy of several texts, thought to be made from a copy originally from Constantinople, St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 17, pp. 133-341, accessible here: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0017//133.

[136] Chapter Two, pp. 87-88.

[137] *AF* (B), s.a. 896, p. 130: *paucos eium dies secum retinuit, tandem honoribus ditatum remisit in sua.*

[138] A charter was granted by Arnulf through Luitpold's request in November 896. D A 148.

[139] *AF* (B), s.a. 897, p. 130: *qui pro pace constituenda, ne exules eorum profugi reciperentur, ab imperatore flagitant*.

Arnulf then held an assembly at Regensburg in January 897.[140] This was, it seems, the first large public event after Arnulf's coronation and would have been an opportunity for him to demonstrate his new imperial title. It paralleled Arnulf's first assembly after becoming king in 887, which he also held at Regensburg. While there Arnulf issued charters involving several highly placed magnates: Hatto, Conrad the Elder, Otto, Solomon III, and Adalbero of Augsburg.[141] The individuals involved in these charters suggests that the assembly held at Regensburg was particularly important, and encompassed magnates from across the kingdom. For the most part, these charters presented an image of normality by using relatively standard *arengae*.[142] These *arengae* indicate that Arnulf and his court were attempting to present an impression that affairs were proceeding as usual. Whatever illness may have afflicted Arnulf in 896, along with the collapse at Forcheim, the charters and assembly at Regensburg in January were meant to visibly present the ruler to the elite as in control.

Despite this picture of normality it was after this assembly that Arnulf would again fall ill, disappearing in the sources until May. It is this period of illness, when Arnulf spent time in "hidden places," that Reuter connected to a decline in royal authority.[143] Carolingian contemporaries made a distinction between public and private, namely that, according to Innes, "there was a publicness which attaches itself to the wielders of political power."[144] That is, those who held political power were considered part of a public realm of rightful authority, in contrast to "private" individuals without

[140] *AF* (B), s.a. 897, p. 130.

[141] DD A 149-151.

[142] DD A 149 and 150.

[143] See above, n. 18.

[144] Innes, *State and Society*, p. 257.

such trust. This is generally expressed in the Carolingian sources using the Latin word *privatus* (in contrast to *publicus*).[145] The annalist, in describing Arnulf's activities in 897, does not use *privatus* but rather *secretum*. In the *Annales Fuldenses* the word *privatus* is only used for moments when the ruler stripped someone of their public offices: for instance when Arnulf stripped the *dux* of the Thuringians Poppo of his *honores* in 892 or, as we will see below, when Zwentibald dispossessed several counts of their offices.[146] We should not, therefore, automatically interpret Arnulf's actions in early 897 as evidence for a reduction in royal authority. *Secretum,* on the other hand, is not used in the *Annales Fuldenses* as a way of indicating a lack of royal authority, but is used to denote a meeting between the ruler and a close circle of advisors.[147] The annalist, then, may be indicating something closer to "behind closed doors" or "out of sight." Viewed in this light, Arnulf's activities in early 897 look less like a collapse of royal authority and more like a period of recuperation.

After his illness, Arnulf seems to have initiated a full-scale public tour upon his reappearance in May. This was in part a reaction to the escalating tensions in Lotharingia between Arnulf's son Zwentibald (king since 895) and a series of counts. Regino tells us that Zwentibald had dispossessed four counts (Stephen, Odacar, Gerard, and Matfrid).[148] Arnulf held a *placitum* at Worms where he received Zwentibald and reconciled him to some of the elites he had dispossessed.[149] Unusually, we may have evidence for the negotiations that took place behind the scenes for this reconciliation. A grant to

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[145] See Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 256-258.

[146] *AF* (B), s.a. 892, p. 122; *AF* (B), s.a. 897, p. 130.

[147] *AF*, s.a. 873, p. 78 and *AF*, s.a. 874, p. 81. These are the only other instances of *secretum* being used in the *AF*. See also, Althoff, "Colloquium familiare."

[148] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 897, p. 144.

the monastery of Lorsch by bishop Adalbero of Augsburg dated to May 20th was done "in public in the city of Worms" and the list of witnesses gives further details for who was likely present at this meeting.[150]

Witnessing this grant were two archbishops, a bishop, seven counts, and the "overseer of the royal house."[151] This collection of magnates was not random, but can be plausibly identified with those involved in resolving the Lotharingian dispute. One group, consisting of those close to Arnulf included Hatto and Adalbero. Adalbero had been made abbot of Lorsch in 895 at the Synod of Tribur, and he had come to Regensburg in January 897.[152] The bishop Thietlach may have also been part of this group: his name was entered alongside Hatto and Adalbero's names in a fragmentary Lorsch manuscript and as we will see below, Worms received a wave of patronage in 897.[153] Conrad the Elder was likely also one of the members from Arnulf's side, as he would be selected by Arnulf as his representative in 899 for a meeting between Charles the Simple, Zwentibald, and himself.[154] Conrad and his brother, Gebehard, were also rivals to the counts Zwentibald had dispossessed. In 892 when

[149] *AF* (B), s.a. 898, pp. 130-131. It is possible that these counts were not restored to their offices, see Krah, *Absetzungsverfahren*, pp. 225-227.

[150] Glöckner, *Codex Laureshamensis*, no. 53, p. 337: *publice in civitate Wormatia*. May 20th was more than two weeks before Arnulf's June charter (D A 153).

[151] They are archbishops Hatto of Mainz and Ratbod of Trier, bishop Thietlach of Worms, counts Conrad, Walaho, Gebehard, Rupert, Liutfrid, Burchard, and Dragebod, and the royal agent Rodhart, noted as the overseer of the royal house. Glöckner, *Codex Laureshamensi*, vol. 1, no. 53, p. 338: *Růdhardo domus regalis procuratori*.

[152] D A 150. The charter notes that the lawsuit was *ante biennium*, see Dümmler, *Geschichte*, p. 454.

[153] Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, MS. 2000, fol. 1v. Accessible here: https://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/view/uben_ms2000/0002/image,info,thumbs.

[154] On the St. Goar meeting see Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 899, p. 147. Conrad was chosen along with Hatto and Gebehard.

Megingoz, the *nepos* of Odo of West Francia and the lay abbot of St. Maximin in Trier, was killed Arnulf began to promote the Conradines in Lotharingia, angering Stephen and his allies.[155] Stephen seems to have avenged the crime, killing Megingoz's killer in 896.[156] Possibly this had prompted Zwentibald to move against these counts, because they were maneuvering to reclaim their lands and therefore threatening Zwentibald's own position.

Regino provides a curious detail here: Stephen was the brother of Walaho, who appears in the grant made by Adalbero.[157] Another witness, Burchard, was likely Walaho's son who had married Megingoz's widow Gisela.[158] Importantly none of the counts dispossessed by Zwentibald are named in the charter; perhaps it was too risky for Stephen and the others to physically come to Worms, so they relied on Walaho and his son to negotiate on their behalf. Zwentibald was likely represented by archbishop Ratbod of Trier, who was his archchaplain.[159] That all of these figures appear in the witness list of the same charter may indicate the success of the negotiations, which allowed for the dispossessed counts to potentially travel to Worms in late May. The *Annales Fuldenses* claims the assembly took place at the end of May, and Adalbero's grant was done on May 20th, suggesting that the assembly with Arnulf was the public enactment of this restoration of communal harmony.[160] That is, the charter

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[155] In the wake of Megingoz's death, see Chapter Four, pp. 165-166.

[156] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 896, p. 144.

[157] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 896, p. 144: *a Stephano fratre Walonis*.

[158] See Wolfhard, *Miracula S. Walburgae Manheimensis*, p. 549.

[159] DD Z 1-3, 5-11, 13, 18-28.

[160] Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale*, pp. 16-18 and pp. 32-67. Althoff, "Colloquium familiare."

offers a glimpse into how conflicts were resolved, with much of the negotiations and jockeying already completed by the time of the public presentations involving royal authority.[161]

Arnulf was still in Worms in early June when he granted two charters, both for the bishopric of Worms. The first one on June 8th gave lands in the county of Walaho, whom we met above, to the episcopal church.[162] In the second charter Arnulf granted the royal tithes from four estates to the episcopal church in Worms.[163] The lands were given "to our lordly fisc legally in the palace of Frankfurt by a judicial decision."[164] Arnulf granted this charter "on account of memory of myself and of count Erinfrid and his wife Adalgunde."[165] Erinfrid and Adalgunde had received property at St. Cyriacus in Worms from Thietlach in 891.[166] Worms, then, seems to have been a nexus for royal patronage in 897; Arnulf granted two further charters on August 7th, 897 at Frankfurt that dealt with St. Cyriacus and the episcopal church.[167] Granted the day before the feast of St. Cyriacus, these grants may have been issued to coincide with the feast day.[168] Spanning only a few months, this was a substantial number of

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[161] See Reuter, "Assembly Politics," pp. 202-204.

[162] D A 153.

[163] D A 154. This charter was believed to be a forgery by Mühlbacher but the editor of Arnulf's charters disagreed and edited it as an authentic document. See the editor notes at the beginning of the charter. There are signs of interpolation, however, as the charter abruptly switches into first-person singular for the context of the grant instead of the normal first-person plural.

[164] D A 154: *legaliter in palatio Frankenfurt iudiciario iure ad nostrum dominium fiscata sunt*.

[165] D A 154: *ob memoriam mei et Erinfridi comitis et Adalgunde sue coniugis*.

[166] See Wolfgang Haubrichs, "Der Prestarievertrag des Bischofs Theotelach von Worms mit dem Grafen Erinrid vom Jahre 891. Edition und Untersuchungen zur Onomastik und Siedlungsgeschichte," *Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte* 16 (1990): 4-8.

[167] DD A 157 and 158.

[168] See Notker, *Martyrologium*, col. 1135 and Ado of Vienne, *Martyrologium*, col. 164.

grants orchestrated by the bishop of Worms (with the help of others including Adalbero and Hatto). Worms was a familiar stopping point for Arnulf in the summer months, but it was only these charters that were actually grants to places in the city.[169] Worms was the first stop on Arnulf's return tour, and so these charters would have also served to court support with the bishop there, Thietlach.

This assembly may have also been meant to secure support for Louis the Child as Arnulf's successor in East Francia. Hermann of Reichenau, in his eleventh century *Chronicon,* claims that Arnulf called an assembly and "trusting no one, he extracted an oath of fidelity by all to him and his young son Louis."[170] This passage does not give a location for this assembly but Hermann may be reflecting an oath sworn to Louis at the assembly in Worms in 897. A short poem, likely written by Solomon III, begins with the lines:

> Nine-hundred and nine gliding years together/
> From then, the time when Christ took on flesh,/
> The son of king Arnulf held with the scepter/
> Master Louis twelve years young.[171]

Confusingly, Louis was not twelve in 909, but sixteen. Yet as Dümmler pointed out, the twelve years here would line up with 897.[172] A manuscript from St. Gall similarly contains a brief text that is dated "in the year of the incarnation of the lord Christ 908 in the eleventh [year] of the reign of Louis, the

[169] He stopped there in 888 (*AF* (B), s.a. 888, p. 116), 894 (*AF* (B), s.a. 894, p. 125*;* DD A 126-128), 895 (*AF* (B), s.a. 895, p. 126; D A 135), and 897 (*AF* (B), s.a. 897, p. 130; DD A 153 and 154).

[170] Hermann, *Chronicon*, ed. George H. Pertz, MGH SS 5 (Hahn, 1844), s.a. 897, p. 111: *habito conventu, nulli fidens, sacramentum fidelitatis denuo sibi et filio parvulo Ludowico a cunctis exigit*. On the relation of Hermann with his older sources see Rudolf Pokorny, "Das Chronicon Wirziburgense, seine neuaufgefundene Vorlage und die Textstufen der Reichenauer Chronistik des 11. Jahrhunderts." *DA* 57, no. 1 (2001).

[171] Winterfeld, *MGH Poetae* 4, no. 1, no. 7, p. 347: *Nongentis pariterque novem labentibus annis/Ex illo, carnem quo sumpsit tempore Christus,/Filius Arnulfi regis cum sceptra teneret/Annis bissenis iuvenis Hludowicus herilis*.

[172] Dümmler, *Geschichte*, p. 457, n. 1.

son of emperor Arnulf."[173] Like the poem, this lines up with an 897 date as well. In the last chapter I laid out a potential glimpse of Arnulf's succession plan by leaving his illegitimate son Ratold in charge of Italy.[174] Already he had secured the Lotharingian throne for his son Zwentibald, so Arnulf now intended to secure further elite support for his only legitimate son, Louis. The assembly at Worms would therefore parallel the other king-making ceremonies with Zwentibald, as well as the sanctioning of West Frankish kings, in 894 and 895.[175] Perhaps Arnulf was hoping to make the succession clear because it was an issue that had caused enormous problems for Charles the Fat when he became ill in 887.[176] At the same time however, there was no figure like Arnulf that would be excluded from power if Louis was made king.[177]

After holding this assembly Arnulf then traveled to Ingelheim where he issued a mandate regarding Corvey.[178] Evidently it had "become known to the ears of our serenity that there are some among you who are compelling military service from the monastery, which is called New Corbie

[173] St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 915, p. 6: *Anno ab incarnatione christi domini dcccc viii regnante Hludouuico Arnolfi imperatoris filio undecimo regni*. Accessible here: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0915/6/0/. This had been noted in Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch*, no. 719 as well.

[174] Chapter Six, pp. 295-296.

[175] Chapter Five, pp. 235-243.

[176] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 161-178.

[177] MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 191-198 on Arnulf's motivations.

[178] Mandates were distinct from charters, differing in their graphic appearance. See Mersiowsky, *Die Urkunde*, pp. 91-92 summarizing the older literature. On mandates specifically see Mersiowsky, "Regierungspraxis und Schriftlichkeit im Karolingerreich." The other surviving mandate from Arnulf's reign survives at St. Gall (D A 111), which also preserves a mandate of Louis the German (D LG 71).

[Corvey], that is, the vassals of those same abbots, to go into the enemy more than is fair."[179] This is perhaps another sign of the challenges that appeared during Arnulf's illness that he now took steps to fix. Ingelheim was a palace with a long Carolingian history and Arnulf had previously stayed there in 893, when it was described as a "royal court."[180] Yet Ingelheim was only a stopping point for a larger public assembly at Tribur.[181] Frustratingly the *Annales Fuldenses* does not give any hints as to what went on at the assembly, and only one charter survives from Arnulf's time there, for an otherwise unknown man named Diotker.[182] The two "venerable counts" who asked Arnulf to make the grant were Sigihard and Iring (whom we met above), so they were likely part of the assembly proceedings.[183] In perhaps a sign of his illness, Arnulf then traveled from the assembly to Fulda "for the sake of prayer."[184]

Arnulf then seems to have turned his attention to the frontier once more because of instability in Moravia. From Fulda he went to Salz where he met the Sorbs, who came bearing gifts, before

[179] D A 155: *quia serenitatis nostrę auribus innotuit, quod sint inter vos qui militiam coenobii, quod vocatur Noua Corbeia, id est vassallos eiusdem abbatis, plus iusto in hostem ire compellant*. For the dating see Kehr's notes in the edition.

[180] D A 114: *curte regali*. On the context for the creation of Ingelheim see Innes, "People, Places and Power," pp. 419-424; For its role for Louis the German see: Zotz, "Ludwig der Deutsch," p. 27; Störmer, "Karolingische Pfalzen," pp. 161-163. Recent archaeological work has been collected and reprinted in Matylda Gierszewska-Noszczyńska et al., eds., *Beiträge zur Ingelheimer Pfalz und ihrer Peripherie: 2001-2020* (Michael Imhof Verlag, 2021), especially the articles pp. 83-123.

[181] *AF* (B), s.a. 897, p. 131: *generali conventu*.

[182] D A 156.

[183] D A 156: *venerabilibus nostris comitibus*. Interestingly, the scribe that wrote D A 156 is the same as DD A 144 and 159, which also involve Sigihard. This scribe, Wiching A, wrote these three charters as well as perhaps D A 155. It is possible that this scribe had some type of connection to Sigihard, in a similar way to the scribe connected to Luitpold, see *Excursus*, p. 39, n. 53.

[184] *AF* (B), s.a. 897, p. 131: *causa orationis*. See the parallel to Louis the German, *AF*, s.a. 874, p. 82.

traveling to Regensburg to receive the *duces* of the Bohemians.[185] The Bohemians had seemingly returned to East Frankish overlordship in the wake of Zwentibald's death in 894, and now came to Arnulf in 897 "offering him royal gifts and asking for judgments from him and his loyal [men] against their enemies, namely the Moravians, by whom, as they themselves testified, they were frequently [and] cruelly crushed."[186] While Arnulf's charters cease between August 897 and May 898, the *Annales Fuldenses* suggests he spent the time near the "Danube and Regen rivers" in order to be nearby so "he could step forward prepared with his loyal [men]" if need be.[187] That is, a gap in the charters may not indicate an illness-induced retreat from public duties, but that conditions on the frontier occupied Arnulf's attention.[188] Even if this only accounts for Arnulf's activities between August and the end the year, as already discussed, a gap in the charters between January and May was not particularly uncommon earlier in Arnulf's reign.[189]

This focus would occupy Arnulf throughout much of the rest of his life in 898 and 899. The cause for the instability in Moravia seems to be dissension between the two sons of the former *dux* Zwentibald: Moimir and (another) Zwentibald. According to the annalist Arnulf sent "his *marchiones,*

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[185] *AF* (B), s.a. 897, p. 131.

[186] *AF* (B), s.a. 897, p. 131: *offerentes ei munera regia et sua suorumque fidelium suffragia contra eorum inimicos, Marahabitas [scilicet], postulantes, a quibus saepe, ut ipsi testificati sunt, durissime conprimebantur*.

[187] DD A 158 and 159; *AF* (B), s.a. 897, p. 131: *Danubii Ymbrisque fluminis…paratus cum suis fidelibus existeret*.

[188] There are gaps in the charters for periods of campaigning, for instance in 892 there are no charters between July 2nd (D A 103) and October 4th (D A 104), a three month gap. Similarly in 891 there is a gap during the campaign in Lotharingia between July 21st (D A 91) and October 1st (D A 92).

[189] Nor necessarily between August and January, see D A 130 (August 26th, 894) and D A 131 (January 1st, 895).

namely Luitpold and count Arbo, together with other of his *fideles*, to the part which held [Arnulf] as the hope and refuge to itself, an aid to their liberation and protection."[190] Arbo, at least according to the annalist, was involved in stirring up the conflict alongside his son Isanrich. Arbo and Arnulf had a long history of rivalry, extending back to the early 880s when they were on opposite sides of the Wilhelminer War.[191] Arnulf had already tried to dilute the power of Arbo by granting land in Arbo's county to Kremsmünster and by bolstering Luitpold's role along the frontier.[192] The consequences of Arbo's disloyalty seems to be that Arnulf removed him from his office before returning it to him.[193] It is not clear why Arnulf would so quickly restore Arbo's position, but the following year Arnulf also returned some of the lands confiscated from Poppo II, suggesting that revocations of office and land were risky given Arnulf's fragile health.[194] Revoking Arbo's lands may have prompted further intransigence, an unwelcome prospect given Arnulf's health. Likewise by reconciling with Poppo it would have restored a formerly loyal courtier to power, and would have also demonstrated Arnulf's ability to shape aristocratic fortunes. However some elites were seemingly too disloyal to be reconciled: around the same time Erambert, the count who besieged Carloman in 879, was captured and brought

[190] *AF* (B), s.a. 898, p. 132: *Tunc vero rex imperator ista sciens marchiones suos, Liutbaldum scilicet et Arbonem comitem, una cum ceteris fidelibus suis parti, quae ad se spem ac confugium habuit, auxilium ad eorum liberationem protectionemque Bawarios suos primates transmisit*.

[191] On this see Chapter Two, pp. 85-88.

[192] On the dilution of Arbo's power see D A 120 and Krah, "Bayern," p. 28. For Luitpold see Chapter Four, pp. 180-182. I disagree here slightly with Wolfram, *Arnulf*, pp. 123-124 where he argues that Heimo's role, alongside Snelpero, was to help win over Arbo to Arnulf's side. Wolfram is right that these charters would have secured Arbo's position as count, but giving Heimo and Snelpero lands and privileges there would have impinged on Arbo's power.

[193] *AF* (B), s.a. 898, p. 132.

[194] The lands are returned in D A 174.

by Luitpold to court "having been bound with chains and other [restraints]" where he was presented to Arnulf at Ranshofen around Christmas.[195]

The charters help to flesh out Arnulf's movements: he was in Regensburg on December 13th, Ranshofen for Christmas (according to the annalist), and back at Regensburg on February 5th.[196] This means in late 898 Arnulf had made several trips from Regensburg to Ranshofen in August and December.[197] There was danger to the king not leading the army directly, as the king had an important role in managing the elite factions who were contending for glory while on campaign.[198] Yet Arnulf traveling to Ranshofen suggests that if he did not lead the army he was close at hand for this expedition. Arnulf had just been at Ranshofen in August and granted a charter for Luitpold's vassal Zwentibald.[199] Ranshofen was southeast of Regensburg, closer to the frontier, and was one the stopping points during the 892 expedition against the Moravians.[200] When Arnulf redistributed confiscated Wilhelminer lands in 893 he did so while at Ranshofen.[201] This grant, to Kremsmünster, was part of a series of grants likely intended to support the logistical functioning of armies in the

[195] *AF* (B), s.a. 898, p. 132: *aliisque vinculis illigatus regi*.

[196] DD A 170 and 172.

[197] D A 162 was granted at Ranshofen on August 31st.

[198] Thomas Scharff, "Gott gnädig stimmen und den Adel im Auge behalten – Die Rolle karolingischer Herrscher im Krieg," in *Der König als Krieger. Zum Verhältnis von Königtum und Krieg im Mittelalter. Beiträge der Tagung des Zentrums für Mittelalterstudien der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg (13. - 15. März 2013)*, eds. Martin Clauss et al. (University of Bamberg Press, 2015).

[199] D A 162.

[200] See D A 103.

[201] D A 120, this charter and the context is discussed in Chapter Four, pp. 174-175.

region.[202] Perhaps Arnulf was at Ranshofen overseeing the campaign into Moravia or likewise preparing for the next campaign "arranged for the winter season" and which was led by the "leaders of the Bavarians" who returned with booty in early 899.[203] It is highly probable that Luitpold was one of the "leaders of the Bavarians" chosen by Arnulf: as noted above Arnulf had sent Luitpold and Arbo to Moravia the previous year. The grant for Luitpold's vassal Cholo may represent a reward to one of the men who had been part of this campaign.[204]

Yet Arnulf continued to maintain an interest towards the west and Lotharingia in 899. Regino briefly describes an assembly held by Zwentibald "with the leaders of Arnulf and Charles [the Simple] and his men at St. Goar."[205] The *Annales Vedastini* likewise note that Zwentibald and Charles were reconciled.[206] Despite his attempts in 897, the situation in Lotharingia remained unstable, and it is telling that Arnulf's men attended this assembly ostensibly about Zwentibald and Charles the Simple, who had feuded the year before.[207] Even though Zwentibald had been made king of Lotharingia, Arnulf remained able to insert himself into the affair and mediate the dispute. Simon MacLean suggested that the real purpose of this meeting was to push Zwentibald aside in favor of Louis the Child, however it is also plausible that the goal was instead to establish the boundaries between

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[202] See Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars,* pp. 230-234.

[203] *AF* (B), s.a. 899, p. 132: *Iterum autem expeditione ordinata tempore hiemali Bawaiorum principes...predamque colligentes*.

[204] D A 173.

[205] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 899, pp. 146-147: *colloquium habuit cum optimatibus Arnulfi et Caroli et suis apud sanctum Goarem*.

[206] *AV*, s.a. 899, p. 81.

[207] Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 898, pp. 145-146. *AV*, s.a. 898, pp. 80-81.

Lotharingia and East Francia as part of Louis succeeding Arnulf.[208] Arnulf sent Hatto, Conrad, and Gebehard, figures who had also been involved in the 897 Worms meeting discussed above. It would be a mistake, however, to interpret Arnulf sending these men to this meeting as meaning "Arnulf was probably no longer fully capable of conducting public affairs."[209] Charles the Simple sent his own men, bishop Askericus of Paris and count Odacar, to the meeting and we would not use this as evidence that Charles was "no longer fully capable" of ruling. This is a clear example where Arnulf's activities have been viewed through the prism of his illness by assuming it was all-encompassing and creating a shadow government of advisors around him. Yet there is nothing particularly unusual about sending trusted men to do the negotiating for the ruler. Arnulf likely chose Hatto, Conrad, and Gebehard because they were trusted magnates who had already been involved in Lotharingian affairs in 897.

Reuter emphasized the trial of Oda as a moment of criticism to the ruler, but as Wolfram rightly points out, for an event which "had not been heard of for a long time," it was only the Bavarian annalist that noticed this affair.[210] Even when Arnulf's health took a further turn for the worse in June 899 he continued to oversee a military campaign against Isanrich, Arbo's son who we met above as the instigator of the Moravian feud in 898. Isanrich was "exercising his tyranny without end against the king."[211] Arnulf ordered that the army besiege Isanrich at Mautern, but by "ship because now at that time the sick [king] was weary in body."[212] Even while ill the city was taken "bravely and manfully by

[208] See MacLean, "Insinuation," p. 20.

[209] Reuter, "Sex, Lies, and Oath-Helpers," p. 226.

[210] *AF* (B), s.a. 899, p. 132: *Tum vero multis temporibus inauditum scelus*. Wolfram, *Arnulf*, p. 104.

[211] *AF* (B), s.a. 899, p. 133: *Isanricus tyrannidem suam sine cessatione contra regem exercens*.

[212] *AF* (B), s.a. 899, p. 133: *navigio quia iam tunc infirmus corpore fatigaretur*.

the king and his men."[213] This seems to be the annalist trying to present Arnulf's vitality in the face of the illness, but it also suggests that a public show of force was necessary; Arnulf could not just remain in Regensburg. If it is not a scribal invention it suggests a ruler still actively attempting to rule even as his health declined. Yet by grouping Arnulf's actions with that of his men the annalist may have been attempting to paper over Arnulf's incapacity. Our last glimpse of Arnulf in the record is the aftermath of this sea-born attack on Mautern and the capture of Isanrich: "Isanrich....presented himself to the emperor. Then the king entrusted him to the guards in order to be watched over, so that he would be lead to Regensburg."[214] Like with Erambert at the end of 898, Isanrich and his wife were forced to present themselves before Arnulf. Yet Isanrich never made it to this ritual humiliation at Regensburg because he escaped his captors and took over, with the help of the Moravians, "part of the kingdom."[215] We are unfortunately left in the dark about Arnulf's final months, but the annalist suggests that right up to the end Arnulf was attempting to demonstrate his ability to rule.

When Arnulf died on December 8th he was buried in the monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg.[216] The annalist may have already written the entry for 899 when Arnulf died, because the notice of his death is actually the beginning of the entry for 900. Burial sites had specific resonances for Carolingian audiences; Louis the Younger had Louis the German's body moved to Lorsch and would

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[213] *AF* (B), s.a. 899, p. 133: *rege quoque et suis fortiter viriliterque superantibus atque civitatem obpugnantibus*.

[214] *AF* (B), s.a. 899, p. 133: *Isanricus...imperatori sese presentavit. Tunc rex custodibus illum custodiendum commendavit, quatinus Radasponam produceretur*.

[215] *AF* (B), s.a. 899, p. 133: *partem regni subripuit*.

[216] For the date see above, n. 61. *AF* (B), s.a. 900, pp. 133-134.

be buried there himself.[217] It is not entirely coincidental that Arnulf chose the monastery of St. Emmeram as the place of his burial. An eleventh century source tells us that Arnulf "chose the blessed Emmeram as the defender of his life and kingdom" and that he was so devoted that he chose to build a "great palace" near the monastery of St. Emmeram.[218] Not only that, it was where his grandmother Emma was buried.[219] The monks themselves retained strong memories of Arnulf as a patron of the monastery: he was commemorated at the monastery until its dissolution in 1810.[220]

Conclusion:

This period from 896 to 899 has often been portrayed as a final decline, when Arnulf lost the ability to rule effectively. This chapter argues that this is an impression largely driven by a select few narrative sources that does not take into account the full range of evidence, in particular the charters. Arnulf clearly did suffer from some type of illness in this period, but it was not continuous. In between

[217] *AF*, s.a. 876, p. 86. Nelson, "Carolingian Royal Funerals," pp. 167-169. On the narrative shaping of ruler deaths see Patrick Geary, "Death and Funeral of the Carolingians," in *Death at Court*, eds. Karl-Heinz Spieß and Immo Warntjes (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012). On the usage of specific places for royal burial see Gaillard, "L'éphémère promotion d'un mausolée dynastique;" Noga-Banai, "The Sarcophagus of Louis the Pious;" Alain Dierkens, "La mort, les funérailles et la tombe du roi Pépin le Bref (768)," *Médiévales* 15, no. 31 (1996). Louis the German issued a charter in 870 while at Aachen suggesting he wanted to be buried there, not Lorsch, D LG 133.

[218] Arnold, *De miraculis beati Emmerami*, p. 551: *Is namque sperans, Deum sibi sic fore propitium, elegit beatum Emmerammum vitae suae ac regno patronum, adeoque illi adhesit, ut in vicinitate monasterii regio cultui aptum construeret grande palatium*; on the potential artistic program at the palace see Gamber, "Die Pfalz Kaiser Arnulfs."

[219] *AF*, s.a. 876, p. 85. This was contested by Alois Schmid, "Die Herrschergräber in St. Emmeram zu Regensburg," *Deutsches Archiv* 32 (1976): 337-344 who argued she was actually buried at Obermünster. Franz Fuchs, "Das Grab der Königin Hemma († 876) zu St. Emmeram in Regensburg," in *Regensburg und Ostbayern. Max Piendl zum Gedächtnis*, ed. Franz Karg (Lassleben, 1991) refutes Schmid's reliance on a charter of Charles the Fat (D CF 157) and shows Regensburg sources identifying Emma as buried there. On East Frankish burial practices more generally see Nelson, "Carolingian Royal Funerals," pp. 166-169.

[220] Fuchs, "Arnulfs Tod," p. 434.

bouts of illness Arnulf continued to rule in ways similar to what came before: holding public appearances such as assemblies, granting charters, and overseeing military campaigns. In responding to his illness Arnulf used assemblies and military campaigns to visibly demonstrate his ability to rule. Under normal circumstances these activities were important, but in moments of crisis they would have had an even more heightened meaning as a continuing indication of Arnulf's vitality.

Arnulf could have adapted to these challenges to a degree, but it still required maintaining elite support. In 887 Charles the Fat could not maintain that support in part, perhaps, because of his lack of an heir. Unlike Charles, Arnulf had a (young) son who was positioned to take over the kingdom, and soon after his death the magnates elevated Louis to the throne at Forcheim in February 900.[221] One argument made here is that it is in this period that Arnulf may have tried to lay the groundwork for Louis' succession at the assembly at Worms in 897.

We do see some changes to Arnulf's rule in this period that represent the challenges of his illness. First, there was an increasingly long period of rule from Regensburg. Second, intercession became more important as a way of accessing the patronage of the king. Contemporaries had no way of knowing whether Arnulf's health would improve or decline further, so we should not assume that they were all waiting for Arnulf to die in these years. Even kings believed to be on the brink of death could return to health such as when Louis the German fell so ill in 869 that the "physicians despaired that he would be able to regain his health" yet he recovered by February of the following year.[222] Illness had various manifestations, and it is unclear how frequently, and severely, they impacted Arnulf himself.

[221] *AF* (B), s.a. 900, p. 134. Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 900, pp. 147-148.

[222] *AF*, s.a. 869, p. 69: *ut medici illum sanitatem recuperare posse desperarent*. *AF*, s.a. 870, p. 70.

These changes, however, do not necessarily indicate a collapse of royal authority or domination by his circle. They do suggest, however, that whatever illness afflicted Arnulf limited him, and these shifts were an adaptation to these pressures. If ruling from Regensburg made the king less accessible, then increased intercession was a way to keep the networks of patronage flowing. By relying on intercessors and assemblies, it testified both to his ability to continue granting patronage and also his public ability to carry out the duties of rulership. Even if contemporaries could see the ruler's health failing, Arnulf continued to visibly practice elements of rulership.

Conclusion:

Before his death in December 899 Arnulf granted one final charter at Regensburg, in July, which contains an *arenga* that reads:

> If by our help we lift up the places having been dedicated to God, which are seen to be founded by us or by our parents, kings, having been constructed and furnished in order to praise the honor of God and his saints, we do not doubt that the omnipotent God, on account of this, will be favorable to us and certain of our predecessors.[1]

This was a document looking towards the past as a way to the future. Granting this charter was meant to secure God's favor for Arnulf in the present and his predecessors in the past. They were not just his ancestors but also kings, highlighting how royal authority was entwined with the Carolingian family. Indeed the final lines of this charter were taken from a charter of his uncle Charles the Fat and modified slightly. In Charles' charter the line only notes God's favor for Charles, but Arnulf's charter adds a clause about "certain of our predecessors."[2]

Arnulf needs to be understood in this context: as looking back to the Carolingian past as a resource, but also because it was deeply personal. This dissertation thus makes several revisionist arguments: first, that the coup of 887 should not be viewed as the moment of rupture often presented in the scholarship. Contemporaries in 887, or 890, or 898, did not know, or believe, that the Carolingian dynasty was finished. Even in the early-tenth century, with Regino's *Chronicon* aimed at the court of Louis the Child, Carolingian memory and history contained important lessons. That is, contemporaries did not see 887 as a moment for the inevitable failure and collapse of the Carolingian dynasty. One of the most commonly asserted arguments

[1] D A 176: *Si loca deo dicata, quę a fundamento a nobis vel a parentibus nostris regibus constructa et ornata ad dei laudem sanctorumque eius honorem esse videntur, nostro relevemus iuvamine, deum omnipotentem ob hoc nobis cęterisque antecessoribus nostris propitium fore non dubitamus.*

[2] D CF 167: *dominum nostrum Iesum Christum ob hoc nobis propitium fore non dubitamus*.

about Arnulf is that his illegitimacy limited his abilities to become king. Yet as I argued in Chapter Two, that misses how contemporaries understood Arnulf within the bounds of the Carolingian dynasty. What mattered to them was not his birth status, but his dynastic status as the last descendant of Louis the German. Arnulf's time before becoming king in 887 was defined largely by his relationship with the frontier and his two uncles Louis the Younger and Charles the Fat. Instead of patiently waiting for authority and power, however, Arnulf actively made efforts to secure his own position and, potentially, the kingdom of Bavaria after his father's death in 880. Arnulf's illegitimacy played a role but less so than the ambitions and power of his two uncles. As such the coup had both long-term and short-term causes that intersected in the autumn of 887 and provided an opportunity for Arnulf to make a move against his uncle.

At the same time, historians have weighted this moment with other implications. Namely, they have argued that this was the moment when non-Carolingians rose to power and forever ended the Carolingian grip on the monarchy in Europe. In doing so, this coup ushered in the "post-Carolingian" age, often defined by a declining royal authority and increasingly powerful elites. While historians have largely dismantled this image for Charles the Fat and, to some degree, Charles the Simple, the lack of sustained study on Arnulf means these impressions remained long after our knowledge of Carolingian politics advanced. Historians now emphasize that politics was based on consensus, and late Carolingian rulers were not weak and ineffective.[3] Until now Arnulf largely fell outside these interpretations, but this dissertation argues that he was an effective ruler who was not doomed to weakness.

Further, many of the elements of Carolingian kingship that existed pre-887 were present in Arnulf's reign. Chapter Three showed how in 887 Arnulf was now faced with establishing his authority as a rare

[3] See the discussion in the Introduction, pp. 10-12.

example of a Carolingian son who successfully overthrew his relative. In order to do so Arnulf issued a wave of charters which helped to reorient political networks across the realm. For certain regions such as Lotharingia his Carolingian heritage was an important way of signaling his distinction from other non-Carolingian rulers such as Rudolf in Upper Burgundy. Arnulf's charters here created a version of the past that situated Arnulf as the latest ruler in a long line of Carolingian kings and emperors. In other places, such as Alemannia, Arnulf's charters still connect him to the dynasty, but mainly through his relationship to Charles the Fat. How Arnulf and his court manipulated the language of Carolingian dynasty shows how "Carolingian-ness" remained available, and useful, to Arnulf but that this heritage was only politically useful in certain times and places. With the rise of non-Carolingian kings in other parts of the former Carolingian empire, this was a potent mark of distinction. Chapter Four argues that this wave of charters seems to have worked in establishing Arnulf's reign, and soon Arnulf led several campaigns against the Moravians and the Northmen in the years between 891 and 895. These military successes created further confidence at the court that coincided with several rearrangements of *honores* by Arnulf to install loyal supporters across the kingdom. It was during this time that Arnulf began to experiment with a more expanded conception of his kingship.

What had changed after 887 was, perhaps, the scale of political ambition. Arnulf never attempted, or became, ruler of the entire empire. This has often been cast as an acknowledgment of Arnulf's weakness due to his illegitimacy vis a vis the aristocracy, or his lack of a "claim" to the West Frankish kingdom. [4] Yet I have argued in Chapter Five that a better way of interpreting Arnulf's actions in the 880s and 890s is one of political pragmatism, but also a question of which past Arnulf was utilizing. There could be multiple

[4] See Schlesinger, "Kaiser Arnulf" and MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 230-235.

different versions of the Carolingian past. Underlying assumptions of Arnulf's inability to reclaim the empire is 1) that there was an empire to reclaim, and 2) that Arnulf by default would need to, or want to, do so. Instead, I have argued that Arnulf modeled his actions on the reign of Louis the German, and the ideas of "imperial-kingship" that had developed in the late 860s and 870s. We do not need to understand Arnulf as "unable" to reclaim the empire because he may not have wanted to in the first place! Instead, Arnulf was interested in fostering a sense of himself as a senior figure within Europe who had the ability to influence other places indirectly. Arnulf used assemblies and synods to demonstrate this expanded kingship, which encompassed his role as a mediator for the West Frankish conflict between Odo and Charles the Simple.

Chapter Six argues that this quasi-imperial maneuvering eventually led to Arnulf's second campaign to Rome in 896 where he was crowned emperor by Pope Formosus. Arnulf's ambitions, and connection to Italian politics, extended further into the past and were derived from his father Carloman. This was a short-lived expedition, however, as an illness caused Arnulf to quickly leave Italy. Soon after East Frankish control seems to have ceased and Italy was now contested between other claimants. Chapter Seven investigated the final period of Arnulf's life, when illness threatened his ability to rule. Yet Arnulf never stopped using the imperial title, and as I argued, the illness did not cause a complete collapse of authority. Instead, Arnulf relied on trusted courtiers to help him manage access to royal patronage, while utilizing assemblies and military campaigns to demonstrate his continued vitality.

At the time of Arnulf's birth in c. 850 Europe remained firmly in the hands of the Carolingian dynasty, and the reigns of Charles the Bald, Lothar I, and Louis the German had only really begun to shape the development of their respective kingdoms. By Charles the Bald's and Louis the German's deaths in 877

and 876, they had helped to solidify their kingdoms into distinct political entities. This dissertation has sought to understand Arnulf within the context of that political and cultural bedrock. By his death in 899, however, there had been several changes to the nature of the political order. Arnulf did not necessarily cause all of these changes, but had lived through them and adapted to them during his own reign as king and then emperor.

The years between 887 and 899 were not simply the twilight of the Carolingians that led to the Ottonians, but were a dynamic moment where the tradition of the past was used to react to the changes that had occurred in the years after Louis the German's death in 876 and then further in 887. The events of the 870s and 880s had fundamentally rearranged the political order of the Carolingian empire. Arnulf's reign was also not a return to the arrangements of the years of the empire under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, but a consolidation of an East Frankish core in the mold of Louis the German that would retain a more robust royal presence than its West Frankish counterpart into the tenth century. Arnulf was not indifferent to the Carolingian past, as the Ottonians may have been, but was firmly within the Carolingian orbit.[5] Above all, Arnulf situated himself in the immediate Carolingian past as an East Frankish ruler. Arnulf did not distance himself from the Carolingian past but embraced it; when Arnulf's son was born in 893 he had him named Louis "the name of his grandfather."[6] Arnulf's reign had been in part defined by a struggle to situate himself in both Carolingian tradition and the Carolingian dynasty. Arnulf's kingship and relation to the dynasty was not an accident, however, but had been the result of opportunity and

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[5] See Timothy Reuter, "The Ottonians and Carolingian Tradition," in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 276-281.

[6] *AF* (B), s.a. 893, p. 122: *nomine avi sui Hludawicum appellaverunt*.

ambition. Arnulf had begun his life with a decidedly "un-Carolingian" name, but in the end he claimed his spot within the dynasty as, in the words of the Saxon Poet, "the only just king."[7]

[7] Saxon Poet, *Annalium*, V.139, p. 58: *modo iustificus rex*.

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