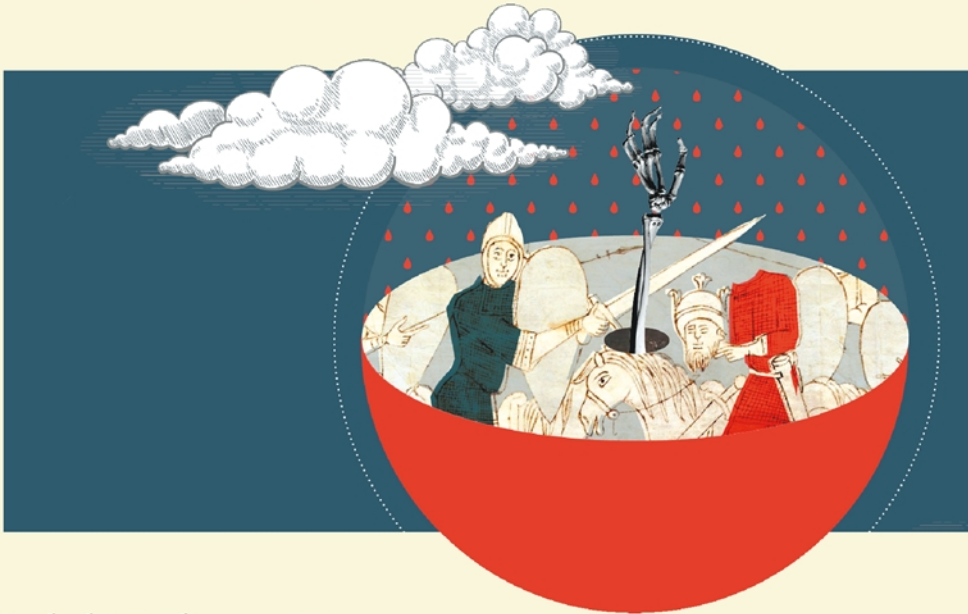


After the Feudal Revolution

Power, Local Societies, and Change
from the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries

Edited by
Christoph Haack, Annette Grabowsky,
and Steffen Patzold



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21



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Introduction to the series *Threatened Order*

What happens to societies when the options for taking action become uncertain, behavioural expectations and routines are called into question, when actors have the feeling that they will probably not be able to rely on one another either now or in the near future, when threats are spoken of, and reasons for them are sought and mostly found? Time is a scarce commodity. Emotions come increasingly to the fore and change. The boundaries of social groups become questionable. Threatened orders have a high potential for rapid social change, though this does not always have to come into force.

Threatened orders can emerge from catastrophes, they can arise from sudden conflicts within society, can erupt from latent tensions, or be the result of competition between orders. Various research traditions therefore flow into studies that do not begin with classificatory terms such as turmoil, revolution, or natural catastrophe, but instead focus on dynamic social processes that are linked to the perception and assertion of threat and the recourse to order.

Threatened orders exist in all historical periods and all cultures of the world. Do similar mechanisms operate across time and space? Can different typologies be identified? The series *Threatened Order* invites historians, social scientists and cultural researchers to contribute to these questions. While it is linked to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft-funded Collaborative Research Centre 923 “Threatened Order. Societies under Stress”, the series wishes to go beyond this in initiating and documenting research.

The Editors

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This book emerged from two workshops held by Annette Grabowsky, Christoph Haack, Steffen Patzold, and Isaac Smith in February and December 2022 at the University of Tübingen, supplemented by a number of Zoom meetings. We are very thankful to all participants for their invaluable contributions to the project and this volume. Further, we would like to express our gratitude to the Collaborative Research Center (CRC) 923 “Threatened Order – Societies under Stress” for generously providing financial support. The CRC 923, funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft – DFG), was a long-term project based at the University of Tübingen between 2011–2023. The present book was created within the framework of the CRCs sub-project “From Carolingian Order to ‘société féodale’? Threatened Order and Change in the Carolingian world”, with Annette Grabowsky and Steffen Patzold as principal investigators along with Christoph Haack and Isaac Smith as research associates.

The idea behind the workshops was to collaboratively produce a book in order to update the (debate on the) “feudal revolution”. The two workshop meetings served this purpose, and we would like to thank all participants for their lively and engaging discussions. This process of collaboration as well as the genesis of the book itself were both equally enjoyable. We would also like to extend our gratitude to our student assistants Valeria Bardos, Lisa-Marie Huber, and Samuel Schatz who provided invaluable support in all practical matters. Likewise, we are thankful to Derek Benson and Isaac Smith for linguistically editing the contributions to this book. Further thanks go to Heike Bäder, Daniel Rothenburg and Thorsten Zachary from the CRC 923 for their unfailing and always uncomplicated assistance throughout the journey of creating this book. Finally, we are very grateful to Markus Kirchner, Rebekka Zech and all their colleagues at Mohr Siebeck for their work and support in the publication process.

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Abbreviations

a., aa.	annus, anni
BnF, nouv.	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions latines
acq. lat.	
c.	capitulum, circa
CC	Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny, ed. <i>Auguste Bernard/Alexandre Bruel</i> , 6 vols., Paris 1876–1904.
Cent.	century
Cod. Guelf.	Codex Guelferbytanus
col., coll.	column(s)
dép.	département
doc.	document
ed.	edited by, edition
Ed.	Editor(s)
f., ff.	following page(s)
fig.	figure
fol.	folio
lib.	liber
LV	Liber Iudicum Popularis. Ordenat pel jutge Bonsom de Barcelona, ed. <i>Jesús Alturo/Joan Bellès/Josep M. Font Rius</i> et al., (Textos jurídics catalans 23), Barcelona 2003.
M	Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent de Mâcon, connu sous le nom de “Livre enchaîné”, ed. <i>Camille Ragut</i> , Mâcon 1864.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
– Capit.	Capitularia regum Francorum
– Capit. N. S.	Capitularia regum Francorum, Nova series
– Const.	Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum
– DD H II.	Heinrici II. et Ardvini diplomata
– DD H IV.	Heinrici IV. diplomata
– Epp. sel.	Epistolae selectae
– Ldl	Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum
– SS rer.	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series
Germ. N. S.	
ms.	manuscript
n.	(foot)note
N. F.	Neue Folge
no.	number
p., pp.	page(s)
QGIS	Quantum Geographic Information System
s.l.	sine loco, without place (e. g. of publication)
s. v.	sub voce
ser.	series

tab.	table
TF	Die Traditionen des Hochstiftes Freising, ed. <i>Theodor Bitterauf</i> , (Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte NF 4–5), 5 vols., Munich 1905–1908.
trans.	translated by
vol., vols.	volume(s)

Introduction

After the “Feudal Revolution”

A Look Back on the Debate and a Multiperspective Update

Christoph Haack

“What is dead may never die,
but rises again, harder and stronger.”

*George R. R. Martin, A Clash of Kings,
(London 1998), 133.*

“One thing must be affirmed at the outset: there was, in some sense, public order in the eleventh century”.¹ This opening remark, which might not seem very contentious to most current readers, was originally formulated as a deliberately controversial statement in one of the most spirited debates of medieval history of the 1990s. Readers of this volume will be aware that this refers to the debate on the “feudal revolution”, led under this label most prominently in the issues of *Past & Present* from 1994 to 1997.² At that time, historians debated hotly if such a thing as “public order” in fact did exist in the eleventh century. The tenth to eleventh centuries were – and sometimes still tend to be – regarded as the anarchic height of feudalism, an “age of iron”, that constituted either the “premier âge féodale” or the revolutionary womb from which sprang feudal society.³ The thesis of an erosion of public authority after the Carolingians that culminated in a revolution around the first millennium, and that eventually produced a truly

¹ *Thomas Bisson*, The “Feudal Revolution”, in: *Past & Present* 142, 1994, 6–42, at 9.

² *Bisson*, Feudal Revolution (quoted n. 1); *Dominique Barthélemy*, Debate. The “Feudal Revolution” I, in: *Past & Present* 152, 1996, 197–205; *Stephen D. White*, Debate. The “Feudal Revolution” II, in: *Past & Present* 152, 1996, 205–223; *Timothy Reuter*, Debate. The “Feudal Revolution” III, in: *Past & Present* 155, 1997, 177–195; *Chris Wickham*, Debate. The “Feudal Revolution” IV, in: *Past & Present* 155, 1997, 196–208; *Thomas Bisson*, Reply. The “Feudal Revolution”, in: *Past & Present* 155, 1997, 208–225. On this debate see in this volume *Nöllemeyer*, *Challenging*, 23–54.

³ For recent discussions of these questions, see e.g. *Levi Roach*, *Forgery and Memory at the End of the First Millennium*, Princeton 2021, 269–271, esp. 282–285; *Philippe Buc*, *What is Order? In the Aftermath of the “Feudal Transformation” debates*, in: *Francia* 46, 2019, 281–300; *Thomas Kohl*, *Einleitung. Konflikt und Wandel um 1100*, in: *Thomas Kohl* (Ed.), *Konflikt und Wandel um 1100. Europa im Zeitalter von Feudalgesellschaft und Investiturstreit*, (Europa im Mittelalter 36), Berlin 2020, 1–7; *Thomas Kohl*, *Streit, Erzählung und Epoche. Deutschland und Frankreich um 1100*, (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 67), Stuttgart 2019, 133–135; *Rafael Wagner*, *Schwertträger und Gotteskrieger. Untersuchungen zur frühmittelalterlichen Kriegergesellschaft Alemanniens*, Basel 2019, 27–28.

feudalized society where power was then the private prerogative of a new aristocracy, ultimately originated in Marc Bloch's seminal thesis of two distinct "âges féodales" 1939/40.

Bloch distinguished, very roughly speaking, a first phase of "feudal society" that spanned the ninth to the tenth centuries and was characterized by economic primitivism and aristocratic violence; while a second "feudal age" in the eleventh and twelfth centuries saw economic offtake and the first beginnings of the modern state. This thesis was transformed into what became a historiographic model known as the "mutation de l'an Mil" by Georges Duby in 1953,⁴ according to which feudal society, consisting above all of a fragmentation and privatization of political authority, only developed in the central part of the Middle Ages, while the earlier phase more closely continued late antique traditions, especially the persistence of a relatively strong central authority. Over the following decades, this French debate subsequently was adopted in anglophone scholarship under the name of "feudal revolution"⁵, which then triggered the 1990s debate.

Given the central place of this debate in medieval history of its time, there is a good, indeed almost an unmanageable number of comprehensive overviews on the "mutation de l'an Mil" and its development into the "feudal revolution".⁶ It should be noted, however, that these overviews are predominantly, to a vast degree, written in French and English, pointing to the central place of the debate in these national historiographic traditions, while there is only a single German contemporaneous commentary.⁷ This book, then, planned and edited from a

⁴ On this, see *Florian Mazel*, *Féodalités. 888–1180*, Paris 2010, 337; *Fredric Cheyette*, *Georges Duby's Mâconnais After Fifty Years. Reading it Then and Now*, in: *Journal of Medieval History* 28, 2002, 296–298. The titles referred to here are *Marc Bloch*, *La société féodale*, vol. 1–2, Paris 1939–1940; *Georges Duby*, *La société aux XI^e et XII^e siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, Paris 1953.

⁵ Following the definitions of Luise Nöllemeyer, this volume will generally use the English term "feudal revolution" to refer both to the theory and to the debate, though the terms "mutation féodale" and "mutation de l'an Mil" are used sometimes by some authors, when referring to the French side of the theory or debate. In contemporary usage, these terms were and still are mostly understood to be synonymous, see in this volume *Nöllemeyer*, *Challenging*, 46.

⁶ Most recent are *Charles West*, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution. Political and Social Transformation Between Marne and Moselle, c. 800–c. 1100*, (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. Fourth Series 90), Cambridge 2013, 1–4; *Mazel*, *Féodalités* (quoted n. 4), 637–648; *John Howe*, *Re-forging the "Age of Iron". Part I: The Tenth Century as the End of the Ancient World?*, in: *History Compass* 8, 2010, 886–887. *id.*, *Re-forging the "Age of Iron". Part II: The Tenth Century in a New Age?*, in: *History Compass* 8.9, 2010, 1000–1022; *Dominique Barthélemy*, *The Serf, the Knight and the Historian*, trans. *Graham Robert Edwards*, Ithaca, NY 2009, 1–11; for a contextualization and historization of *Duby*, *Société* (quoted n. 4) see *Cheyette*, *Georges Duby's Mâconnais* (quoted n. 4). See with further references in this volume *Nöllemeyer*, *Challenging*, 24.

⁷ *Hans-Werner Goetz*, *Gesellschaftliche Neuformierungen um die erste Jahrtausendwende? Zum Streit um die "mutation de l'an mil"*, in: *Achim Hubel/Bernd Schneidmüller* (Ed.), *Aufbruch ins zweite Jahrtausend. Innovation und Kontinuität in der Mitte des Mittelalters*, (Mittelalter-Forschungen 16), Ostfildern 2004, 31–50.

German perspective, represents a somewhat unusual take.⁸ Given the condition of the historiography on the “feudal revolution”, we will abstain from providing another synopsis in this introduction beyond the very broad strokes that follow, but we intend to take the understanding of the historiographical model a stage further in the very first chapter of this volume. This contribution by Luise Nöllemeyer represents a historization of this model, consisting of an in-depth analysis of the 1990s debate and its historical causes.⁹

At the core, medievalists debated the character of early to high medieval political communities, even of medieval societies more broadly, and, as Luise Nöllemeyer argues here, one could say that they really argued about nothing less than the methodological and theoretical foundations of their discipline. Adopting labels that were used in that debate, which were, however, rejected by those so described, the two opposing camps can be called “mutationists” and “traditionalists”.¹⁰ “Mutationists” defended the theory of a “mutation de l’an Mil” or a “feudal revolution” by claiming a fundamental divide between an earlier (non-feudal) and a later (feudal) period of Medieval history, originally to be set around the year 1000. “Traditionalist” declared such a strict divide incorrect and questioned the idea of an erosion and privatization of authority, but also, more importantly, they rejected the methodological foundations for the evidence presented by the “mutationists”. Since those rejecting the “feudal revolution” introduced new approaches into the field, most significantly conflict studies and what Florian Mazel has called a “nouvelle érudition”, i. e., a renewed focalization on manuscripts, the label “traditionalists” can appear unsuitable;¹¹ however, the rejection was partly accompanied by a call to return to a “vieille école”.¹²

⁸ It is part, however, of a group of texts that have been produced recently within the same context, the DFG-funded “Collaborative Research Centre 923”: Steffen Patzold, *Der Streit um die “mutation féodale” aus deutscher Perspektive*, in: Hans-Werner Goetz (Ed.), *Kontroversen in der jüngeren Mediävistik*, Cologne 2023, 395–423; Christoph Haack/Isaac Smith, *From Revolution to Transformation and Back Again*, in: *Journal of European Economic History* 50, 2021, 155–169; Thomas Kohl (Ed.), *Konflikt und Wandel um 1100. Europa im Zeitalter von Feudalgesellschaft und Investiturstreit*, (Europa im Mittelalter 36), Berlin 2020; Steffen Patzold, *Le “premier âge féodal” vu d’Allemagne. Essai sur les historiographies française et allemande*, in: Dominique Iogna-Prat/Michel Lauwers/Florian Mazel et al. (Ed.), *Cluny. Les moines et la société au premier âge féodal. Actes du colloque en 2 volets, Romainmôtier 24–26 juin 2010 et Cluny 9–11 septembre 2010*, Rennes 2013, 19–29.

⁹ For the following, see in this volume Nöllemeyer, *Challenging*, 23–54.

¹⁰ This and the following clarifications are taken from the contribution of Luise Nöllemeyer in this volume, see *ibid.* 27.

¹¹ Mazel, *Féodalités* (quoted n. 4), 13. On this and the scholarly debate on the turn of the tenth century, see also Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century. The Work and World of Richer of Reims*, Cambridge 2014, 13.

¹² Dominique Barthélemy, *La mutation de l’an mil a-t-elle eu lieu? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des X^e et XI^e siècles*, Paris 1997, 366.

Less due to a resolution of the fundamental question than to something closer to fatigue on both sides, the dispute silently ran out in the early 2000s.¹³ But, 20 years later, the “feudal revolution” seems to have risen from the dead. The present volume aims to take up on this revival of a historiographic model, to collect the different voices working in this (at the moment rather specialized) domain. It will thus present a new state of the debate and aims to move beyond the stalemate of the old debate.

The new interest in the “feudal revolution” could be understood as a return to a fundamental question of medieval history, namely that for the border between the early and high Middle Ages, and by consequence, to an issue of fundamental periodization about the object of our discipline. The transitional period between the end of the Carolingian empire and the monarchies of the twelfth century, from which eventually sprang the early modern European states, is still poorly understood by historians.¹⁴ Despite the heated debate and the ongoing (now almost unmanageable), ever more specialized and detailed research – over the last decades focused e.g. on conflict studies,¹⁵ religious reform,¹⁶ practices and functions of historical memory,¹⁷ or, growing archaeological data¹⁸ – the overall interpretation and explanation of the processes of

¹³ See in this volume Nöllemeyer, *Challenging*, 27 f.; see also West, *Reframing* (quoted n. 6), 7.

¹⁴ For such a definition of the period under discussion here, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To be the Neighbor of Saint Peter. The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049*, Ithaca, NY 1989, xii, 5.

¹⁵ Dirk Heirbaut, *Konfliktlösung und Feudalismus*, in: Daniel von Mayenburg (Ed.), *Konfliktlösung im Mittelalter*, (Handbuch zur Konfliktlösung in Europa 2), Berlin 2021, 245–261. Note that Heirbaut is arguing a very classic position towards feudalism and “feudal revolution”; Ryan Lavelle, *Places of Contested Power. Conflict and Rebellion in England and France, 830–1150*, Woodbridge 2020; Kohl, *Streit* (quoted n. 3).

¹⁶ Stephan Bruhn, *Reformer als Wertgemeinschaften. Zur diskursiven Formierung einer sozialen Gruppe im spätangelsächsischen England (ca. 850–1050)*, (Mittelalter-Forschungen 68), Ostfildern 2022; Tristan Martine/Jessica Nowak (Ed.), *Espaces ecclésiastiques et seigneuriales laïques (IX^e–XIII^e siècle). Kirchliche Räume und weltliche Herrschaften. Définitions, modèles et conflits en zones d'interface. Définitionen. Modelle und Konflikte in Kontaktzonen (9.–13. Jh.)*, (Publications de la Sorbonne/Histoire ancienne et médiévale 173), Paris 2021; Tristan Martine/Jérémy Winandy (Ed.), *La Réforme grégorienne, une “révolution totale”?*, (Rencontres 494. Série Civilisation médiévale 42), Paris 2021; Brigitte Meijns/Steven Vanderputten (Ed.), *Bishops in the Long Tenth Century. Episcopal Authorities in France and Lotharingia, c. 900–c. 1050*, (The Medieval Low Countries. Special Issue), Turnhout 2019.

¹⁷ Christopher P. Lewis/Emily A. Winkler (Ed.), *Rewriting History in the Central Middle Ages 900–1300*, (International Medieval Research 26), Turnhout 2022; Roach, *Forgery* (quoted n. 3); Warren Pezé (Ed.), *Wissen und Bildung in einer Zeit bedrohter Ordnung. Der Zerfall des Karolingerreiches um 900. Knowledge and Culture in Times of Threat. The Fall of the Carolingian Empire (ca. 900)*, (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 69), Stuttgart 2020.

¹⁸ See in this volume Werther, *Local Perspectives*; further Alessio Fiore, *The Seigneurial Transformation. Power Structures and Political Communication in the Countryside of Central and Northern Italy (1080–1130)*, (Oxford Studies in Medieval European History), Oxford 2020. Original Italian edition: *id.*, *Il mutamento signorile. Assetti di potere e comunicazione politica*

change with the end of the Carolingians is still deeply disputed. The question of this book is, therefore, somewhat different from that addressed in the initial quote from the “Past & Present”-debate. We do not ask whether a “public order” existed in the central centuries of the Middle Ages, rather, we want to address the question of what “public order” might be, and what it looked like, in the tenth to twelfth centuries.

At this point, we should stress that, unfortunately, this volume does not give a clear answer to the question whether a fundamental transformation of society – a “revolution” – did or did not occur between two distinct (feudal) Middle Ages at a certain time between the tenth to eleventh centuries. The debate from the 1990s teaches that this question is unanswerable, and a new book will certainly not decide the old dispute. As the various contributions show, the authors gathered here have quite different views on this topic – and the answer, naturally, depends primarily on the question of how we understand the term “revolution” and where exactly we are looking. A purely numerical enumeration of this volume’s chapters would probably result in a victory for the “mutationists” here, which, to be honest, comes as kind of a surprise to the author of these lines, starting from the debate of the 1990s. Interestingly, the different evaluations show quite a clear demarcation: Those among us trained in Germany tend to reject the term, all the others consider it – as long as it is used with specific content – to be meaningful. This state indicates that the debate has continued, if not under the label, then on the issues that were discussed under its name.

Therefore, our aim is 1) to provide first an updated look at the debate on the “feudal revolution” and, more importantly, 2) to show the modified ways historians do now look at change and society, a quarter of a century after the “Past & Present”-debate. Our task, then, is to reassemble the debate, which has fragmented over the exhaustion stalemate, in order to better understand how the model that was so hotly debated in the 1990s continues to frame the medievalist’s look at the eleventh century and, thereby, to suggest new interpretations of central phenomena.

The contributions of this volume gather, so to speak, those scholars who have revived the debate and most of those who are currently participating in it. Bringing these authors together was an early starting point for our work, which then developed into an update of the renewed discussion and a refiguration of the “feudal revolution” as a historiographic model. The initial intention was to treat the topic in a broad geographical perspective that now includes scholars from France, Catalonia, England, Italy and Germany. With this, an important concern is to broaden the debate that was so far predominantly French and subsequently Anglo-Saxon and to overcome national historiographic traditions. At this point,

nelle campagne dell’Italia centro-settentrionale (1080–1130 c.), (Reti Medievali E-Book 29), Florence 2017, 58–67.

therefore, we should admit and briefly reflect on the fact that this book is dominated by a German perspective. This in itself, however, represents an extension, since the “feudal revolution” has been almost neglected in German scholarship until quite recently;¹⁹ a status that is reflected by the above mentioned uneasiness concerning the term “revolution”, that now seems to be in the process of being altered.²⁰ Ironically, the reason seems to be that German scholarship was focused on the so-called Investiture Dispute, which now has spread to English and French debate.²¹ With this, different debates that were prefigured by different national historiographic traditions become drawn together,²² which is reflected here in the work of scholars from France, England, and Italy.

We approach the old debates with fresh eyes, as this project sprang from the theoretical approach of the “Collaborative Research Center (CRC) 923 – Threatened Order”, which has now for twelve years analysed rapid change and the effects of threats to societies,²³ or, put differently, “how social orders form, change, proliferate, and decline”.²⁴ Within the CRC project, a reconsideration of the “feudal revolution” serves as a case study to contribute to a better understanding of the transformation of the Carolingian world and we hope this volume

¹⁹ Goetz, *Gesellschaftliche Neuformierungen* (quoted n. 7), 31–50, 31–33. *Klaus van Eickels*, *Zeitenwende oder Mitte des Mittelalters? Lebensordnungen und Ordnungsvorstellung im Umbruch des 11. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Achim Hubel/Bernd Schneidmüller* (Ed.), *Aufbruch ins zweite Jahrtausend. Innovation und Kontinuität in der Mitte des Mittelalters, Ostfildern 2004*, 15–30, 15. *Hagen Keller/Gerd Althoff*, *Die Zeit der späten Karolinger und der Ottonen. Krisen und Konsolidierungen 888–1024*, (Gebhardt. Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte 3), Stuttgart 2008, 400–402. See in this volume *Kohl*, *Feudal Transformation*, 165–168.

²⁰ See *Patzold*, *Streit* (quoted n. 8); *Kohl* (Ed.), *Streit* (quoted n. 3), 16–25; *Wagner*, *Schwertträger* (quoted n. 3), 24–29; *Patzold*, *Premier âge* (quoted n. 8).

²¹ See *Martine/Winandy* (Ed.), *Réforme* (quoted n. 16); *Kohl*, *Konflikt und Wandel* (quoted n. 8); and the chapters in this volume, esp. *West*, *Toll*, 159; *Kohl*, *Feudal Transformation*, 169; *Fiore*, *Building*, 186; *Mazel*, *Rethinking Lordship*, 206; *Wickham*, *After the “Feudal Revolution”*?, 220f.

²² *Patzold*, *Streit* (quoted n. 8), 419–420. *Patzold*, *Premier âge* (quoted n. 8), 22.

²³ <https://gepris.dfg.de/gepris/projekt/170320015> and see the online exhibition that will be available beyond the end of the funding of the CRC 923: <https://threatened-orders.com/> (27.07.2024).

²⁴ Quote: *Elisabeth S. Clemens*, *Towards a Historicized Sociology. Theorizing Events, Processes, and Emergence*, in: *Annual Review of Sociology* 33, 2007, 527–549, 532. On the approach of the CRC 923 see *Ewald Frie/Mischa Meier*, *Bedroht sein und fürchten*, in: *id.* (Ed.), *Krisen anders denken. Wie Menschen mit Bedrohungen umgegangen sind und was wir daraus lernen können*, Berlin 2023, 13–25; *Ewald Frie/Thomas Kohl/Mischa Meier*, *Dynamics of Social Change and Perceptions of Threat. An Introduction*, in: *Ewald Frie/Thomas Kohl/Mischa Meier* (Ed.), *Dynamics of Social Change and Perceptions of Threat*, Tübingen 2018, 1–9; *Ewald Frie/Boris Nieswand* (Ed.), *Zwölf Thesen zur Begründung eines Forschungsbereiches*, in: *Journal of Modern European History* 15, 2017; *Arne Hordt/Thomas Kohl/Beatrice von Lüpke/Rebekka Nöcker/Sophie Stern*, *Aufbruch! Zur epochenübergreifenden Beschreibung beschleunigten sozialen Wandels in Krisenzeiten*, in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 301, 2015, 5–15. See further <https://uni-tuebingen.de/en/forschung/forschungsschwerpunkte/sonderforschungsbereiche/sfb-923/forschungsprofil/modell-re-ordering/> (27.7.2024).

will be a welcome addition. In the words of the “threatened order” model, the problem posed by the “feudal revolution” could be sketched as follows: While the fact that a thorough “re-ordering” of societies in Latin Europe starting around the tenth century is probably uncontested, historians profoundly disagree on the character and pace of this process of transformation.

The “Feudal Revolution”. Recent Developments or, the “mutation de l’an 1100”

The revival of the debate on the “feudal revolution” happened, in a sense, silently, almost without anyone, even the persons involved, aware that it had begun. Given that the debate has been summarized several times,²⁵ the point of this section is to provide an update on its fate and the continuation since ca. the 2000s. Since that time, when the aforementioned overviews were produced and a certain standstill was noted, the debate has somewhat “secretly” lingered on, despite of the impression of stasis. In retrospect, it is Charles West’s “reframing” of the “feudal revolution” that marks a revitalization of medievalist interest in the topic.²⁶ While around the 2000s the anti-mutationists could seem to have won, now, ironically, almost all recent re-uses of the debate have affirmed the existence of a “feudal revolution” in one sense or another, i. e., the usefulness of the term.²⁷

Already in 2001, Adam Kosto presented an attempt that explicitly aimed to “transcend” the “polarized state” of the debate on the “feudal revolution”.²⁸ However, to my knowledge, his book on “Agreements in medieval Catalonia” has rarely been read in this sense, which points to the exhaustion of the debate and the discipline’s reorientation towards other questions.²⁹ Still, Kosto started from the central critiques concerning the mutationist model, tackling especially the question of a connection between semantic change and social change. From this, he developed an approach to interpret changes in diplomatic formular and written culture as indicators of political transformations by reading written documents as remnants of social practice.³⁰ While his work may not have been received as a solution of the dispute on the “feudal revolution”, it can be said to be exemplary of approaches to medieval history that became predominant from the 1990s onwards, focussing on practice theory and manuscript studies – and that,

²⁵ See above, 6 f.

²⁶ West, *Reframing* (quoted n. 6).

²⁷ See the contributions in this volume, especially Wickham, *After the “Feudal Revolution”?*, 213–224.

²⁸ Adam Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia. Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000–1200*, Cambridge 2001, 10, 16.

²⁹ On which see in this volume Nöllemeyer, *Challenging*, 52 f.

³⁰ Kosto, *Making Agreements* (quoted n. 28), 26–32; similarly see Cheyette, Georges Duby’s *Mâconnais* (quoted n. 4).

according to Luise Nöllemeyer in this volume, were to a good deal established within the frame of the “feudal revolution” debate.³¹

Most prominently, a reaffirmation of the “feudal revolution” within this framework has been put forward by Charles West and Alessio Fiore, who are both involved in the present volume. While Charles West has proposed an understanding of the “feudal revolution” as an ongoing process of “formalization”, of property rights, of lordship, of social status,³² Alessio Fiore’s approach takes up the original revolutionary model more explicitly, but adapts it as a “seigneurial transformation” for a different time and region, to northern Italy around 1100.³³ Recently, a number of other works have likewise taken up the debate on the “feudal revolution”.³⁴ An extension of the old debate can be seen particularly in the work of Lukas Werther, also represented in this volume, who applies the mutation thesis to archaeology.³⁵ Somewhat similar to Fiore, he suggests a major shift around the year 1100 rather than 1000. This shift could be described as a general trend that, as imperceptible as the revival of the “feudal revolution” model itself, has shifted the debate towards the period around 1100 as a culmination point of various transformation processes: Gregorian reform, Investiture Dispute, Urbanization, Legalization.³⁶ While this shift has already been indicated by Dominique Barthélemy, the sturdiest critic of the old mutationist and revolutionary interpretation, in his contribution to the “Past & Present”-debate,³⁷ this suggestion has more recently been combined with a kind of balanced mutationist theory: the year 1100 is not regarded to be the one, catastrophic, revolutionary break point, but first, as a focal point of different cesuras, in which culminated long-term developments, and second,

³¹ See in this volume Nöllemeyer, Challenging, 50–53.

³² West, Reframing (quoted n. 6), 259–260.

³³ Fiore, Seigneurial Transformation (quoted n. 18).

³⁴ Iñaki Martín Viso (Ed.), Los procesos de formación del feudalismo. La península ibérica en el contexto europeo, Gijón 2023, esp. Iñaki Martín Viso, Introducción. La construcción del feudalismo. Debates historiográficos y perspectivas de análisis, p. 13–42 and Charles West, Feudalism and Social Reordering in Eleventh-Century Francia, p. 87–100. Further, Chris Wickham, How Did the Feudal Economy Work? The Economic Logic of Medieval Societies, in: Past & Present 251, 2021, 3–40, 19, in the form of the “seigneurial revolution”. Approaching the question from a legal perspective, starting from a fundamental divide in the interpretation of legal and historical scholars who may be reconciled, see Laura Viaut, Quand le vent se lève ... Essai sur la crise institutionnelle et juridique de l’an mille, Dijon 2021; see further, Wagner, Schwerträger (quoted n. 3), discussing the notions of “revolution” or “transformation”, 29, 431. Unfortunately, Laura Viaut was not able to participate in this volume, which would have been a great further enrichment.

³⁵ Lukas Werther, Komplexe Systeme im diachronen Vergleich. Ausgewählte Aspekte der Entwicklung von drei süddeutschen Kleinräumen zwischen Früh- und Hochmittelalter, vol. 1–2, (Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 127), Mainz 2015.

³⁶ See above, n. 21; further above, n. 15.

³⁷ Barthélemy, Debate (quoted n. 2), 204. Further, Dominique Barthélemy, La mutation de l’an 1100, Journal des Savants, 2005, 3–28.

Index of Names and Places

edited by Gabriel Anhegger and Ferdinand Soldt

Names are listed as they appear in the text and have not been standardized; for example, both “William” and “Guillem” are used.

Each personal name is accompanied by additional information to facilitate identification. Where possible, an office or affiliation is provided (Acfred, abbot of Banyoles). Names of otherwise unknown individuals, such as charter witnesses, appear in the form found in the source and are italicized (*Adraldus*). These names include a brief description of the individual’s role in the source discussed or quoted (*Adraldus*, landholder (Cluny)). If names of such individuals have been standardized in the main text by our authors or if an edition provides a standardized form, this form is followed (Raoul of Courbépine, prior of Saint-Sauveur-des-Landes).

Place names in brackets behind a person’s role indicate the geographical context of an act, which may refer to the place of writing of a charter, the location of a judicial assembly or other event, or, where no specific location is available, a broader region (Berenguer Odó, litigant (Girona)). If a place mentioned here is not listed separately in the index (because it does not appear in this book’s text), a province or region is provided (Ermengol, priest, litigant (Arenys de Munt, Barcelona)).

Place names are identified by the addition of provinces (Catalonia, Netherlands), departments (France), districts (Germany), regions (Italy) and cantons (Switzerland).

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